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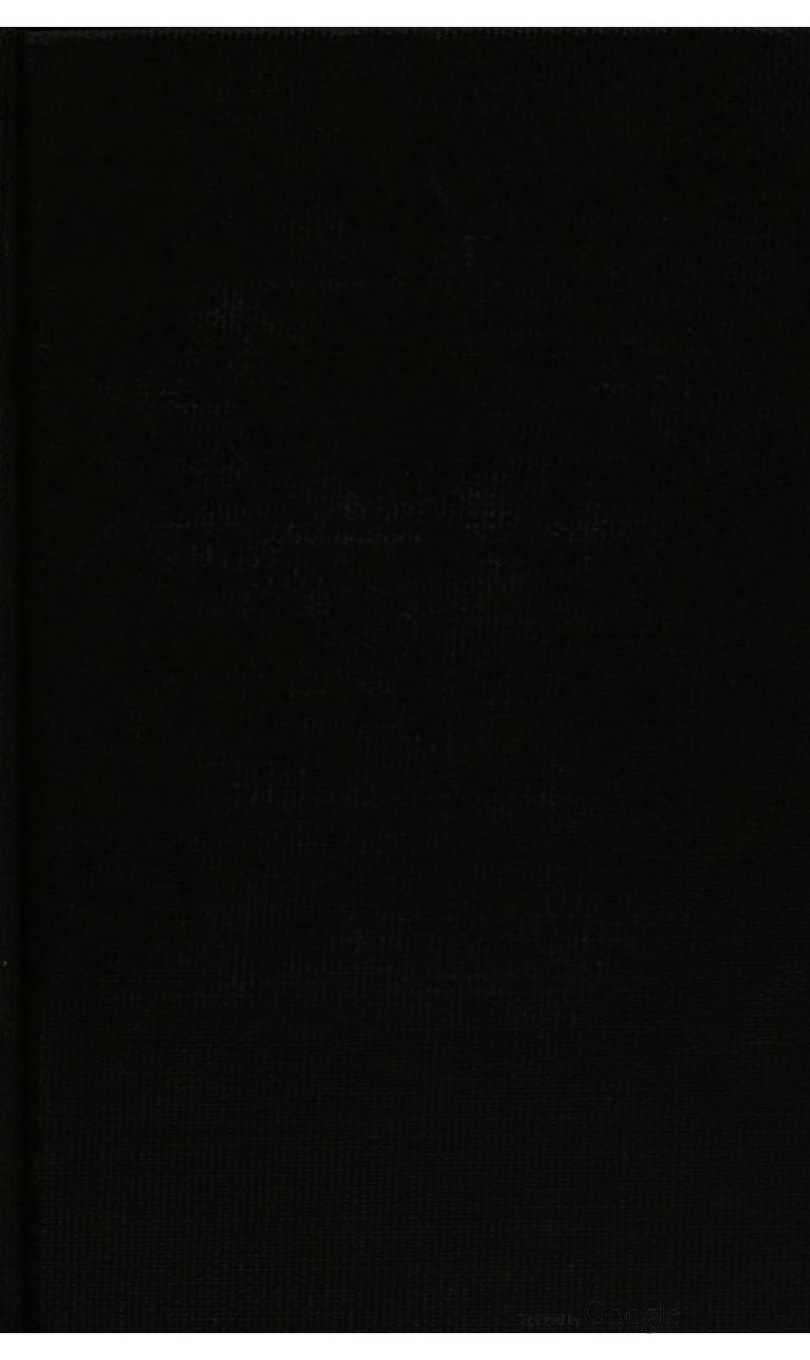
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# LETTERS AND MEMOIRS

RELATING TO THE  
WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,  
AND THE  
CAPTURE OF THE GERMAN TROOPS

AT SARATOGA.

BY MADAME DE RIEDELSEL.

---

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN.

*By Jules Wallenstein.*

— celebrare domestica facta.

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*1/2*  
NEW-YORK:

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1833 June 19

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BE IT REMEMBERED, that on the 30th day of July, A. D. 1827, in the fifty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, G. & C. Carvill, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors in the words following, to wit :

“ Letters and Memoirs relating to the War of American Independence, and the capture of the German troops at Saratoga. By Madame de Riedesel. Translated from the original German. — celebrare domestica facta.”

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, “ An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ;” and also, to an Act, entitled, “ An Act, supplementary to an Act, entitled an Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

FRED. I. BETTS,

*Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.*

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“ Whithersoever your destinie shall dryve you, either by the furious waves of the great oceane, or by the manifolde and horrible dangers of the lande, I will surely beare you company. There can be no peryll chaunce to me so terrible, ~~nor~~ any kynde of deathe so cruell, that shall not be much easier for me to abyde, than to live so farre separate from you.”—*Hope Leslie*, vol. 1. p. 227.





THE  
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

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THE Baroness de Riedesel departed from Germany in 1776, to join her husband, the commander of the Brunswic troops incorporated with the British army, then in Canada. During her voyage and residence in America, she addressed to her mother, the widow of the minister of state, Mr. de Massow, a detailed account, not only of all that occurred to herself, but of the political events of the day. These papers became afterwards the property of Mad. de Riedesel's son-in-law, Count Henry Reuss the 44th, grand marshal and chamberlain to the court of Berlin. During a summer which this nobleman spent with his lady's parents on their estate, he helped them to put into order these inte-

resting family records, with a view of having them printed; but on account of their confidential and private character, it was, at first, intended that their circulation should not be extended beyond the circle of a few relatives and intimate friends; and but a small number of copies were therefore struck off. At the suggestion, however, of Mr. Spener, an intelligent editor at Berlin, they were, at length, given to the public, in 1800, a few months after the death of General Riedesel, under the title, "Voyage of Duty to America," &c. &c.

Fragments of this work were first published in English, by General Wilkinson, in the "Memoirs of my own Times." They were afterwards, if we mistake not, copied into one or more periodical works; and all, or the greater part of them are also to be found, literally transcribed from that former translation, in Professor Siliman's entertaining Tour to Canada. But the whole work had not as yet been transferred to the English, from the ori-

ginal German, when a friend, for whose taste we have a high regard, and who is, by his knowledge not less of the German than English literature, a competent judge of the merit of books in both languages, suggested the utility of adding to the latter, a work more peculiarly interesting to the two nations, who have that tie of common feeling, than to the Germans, who can merely find in its pages melancholy memorials of misfortunes, which no duty, no reasonable interest, no national impulse led a portion of their countrymen, very small, it is true, to incur beyond the ocean.

The translation was begun with an alacrity that was soon succeeded by dismay, the reason of which needs not be intimated to those who have been engaged in similar undertakings. But works of an analogous character had been received with much favour. The success of the "Recollections of the Peninsular War," and the "Subaltern," and of other works of the same authors, must always be as-

cribed, in a great degree, to the able execution, as much as to the subject. But it may certainly be expected, that a delineation of an eventful life, in the midst of military camps, will attract attention at a time, when the long and dreary epoch of wars is not yet so distant, that the thrilling emotions they excited could be forgotten, and when the world enjoys, at last, peace, and the prospects of its duration. "The Adventures of a Young Rifleman," would otherwise have hardly found a publisher, and certainly not such an editor as the title-page mentions. Mad. de Riedesel's memoirs and letters may claim, in addition to an equal interest with the works just mentioned, that, also, which belongs to the true picture of a conjugal devotion, of which there are few brighter examples, whether in history, biographies, memoirs, or even in novels;—of fortitude, courage, and confidence in Providence, of which there can never be afforded too many examples for the event-

al profit of the happiest, or the support of those who need encouragement and consolation—and of success in a most arduous but noble undertaking, which, also, may be a lesson to all who have duties to fulfil, that seem above their strength. The moral of the story is more striking and impressive, coming from a female—a lady, who by birth and rank was probably the least prepared to encounter dangers fit only for the professional soldier. Whatever may be thought of the political expediency of admitting into camps, in the midst of actual war, the sex whose organization and whose duties are calculated for the sunny season of peace, the promptitude with which she hastened to traverse the ocean, in order to share with her husband, toils, sufferings, want, or death, and the reflected courage with which she disregarded the chances of a struggle, in which she had been told that savages were a portion of the belligerents, will ever be interesting as a new example

of the strenuous exertions to which female tenderness can be exalted. There has been, indeed, in recent times but one brighter example of female fortitude and affection. Madame de Larochejaquelin stands alone in uninimitable grandeur and goodness, in the midst of circumstances which put her sex to trials unknown before, and which we devoutly wish may never more return to urge even a heroine equally courageous and amiable, upon the scene of civil wars.

For the public to whom this translation is presented, it has, moreover, a national interest. Mad. de Riedesel's memoirs are a genuine appendix to American history. They trace national events, and delineate the state of society, in this country, at one of its most momentous epochs. Names that will go down to posterity, with the memory of lofty actions and events of a new, lasting, and far-spreading character, are here brought together by one, who was the friend, the associate,

the companion, or, at least, the acquaintance of their bearers : of Washington, Gates, Schuyler, Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillips, and the person the nearest related to the Noble authoress, General Riedesel.

Although we are neither authorized nor inclined to vouch for the correctness of many anecdotes related by the authoress, nor the truth of the characters she traces of some distinguished men, we think she deserves to be heard as a witness for the opposite party; and the reader or historian who shall compare her relations with those of a still less dubious authenticity, will be able to determine its real value. General Burgoyne's reputation generally was, we believe, that of an elegant writer, a good speaker, an amiable and accomplished gentleman, and a gallant officer, devoutly attached to his country, ambitious, but ambitious of distinction in the service of his sovereign, and who was not more successful in his great expedition,



because, (taking the most comprehensive view of the events of that time) it was the will of Providence, that England should in vain employ her most distinguished generals, and devote her extensive means, to the preservation of her dominion over her ancient colonies. Thus, in vain Gates had, perhaps, only new troops; in vain was Washington in a most critical situation, at the same time that Gates, too, was cooped up between two armies, better organized, more amply provided, better disciplined and armed, and, perhaps, commanded by more experienced officers. But whatever might have been thought of Burgoyne, previous to, and after the inquiry before the House of Commons, the charges brought against him by Mad. de Riedesel, are the least known. We should not have enlarged so much upon a few lines of her work, did we not wish to remove at once, by some striking instance, all doubt of the manner in which we consider her testimony, in spite of the

respect due to her sex, and to give clearly to understand that we are mere translators, and on no account vouchers of her statements ; and we say with Montaigne, "As for the tales I borrow, I charge them upon the conscience of those from whom I have them."

For the passages which have been omitted in the translation, no apology will be required by those who can peruse the original. Whether right or wrong, (a question not now to be discussed,) the reading portion of mankind has become so hostile to vulgarity, so delicate, in some respect so fastidiously refined, that many things and words that were perfectly innocent and inoffensive, or only pervertible by the sagacity of profligates and rakes, at a time not distant from that of Fielding and Smollet, are now considered utterly disgraceful, and are wholly banished from polite literature. We thought, however, that we might, upon the authority of Cervantes, name, "with-

out begging pardon," the word hog or swine—"for so they are called," as the immortal novelist humorously adds. Yet, for some expressions, and some details, alike "unfashionable" or unpleasing, we venture to ask, in behalf of the authoress, the reader's indulgence.

A few short notes have been added: there is but one in the original, which is omitted in the translation. A long quotation from Weld's *Voyage to North America*, relative to Brandt, the Indian chief, which forms the appendix to the German volume, would be useless to the American public, and is omitted. In its stead, we give, through the kindness of a most obliging friend, several original letters of General Riedesel to General Washington and General Gates. The author of an interesting *Life of Mr. Jefferson*, in the *Memoirs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence*, has quoted a letter of the latter, which proves, like those published in the appendix, that in the midst of the Revolutionary war,—a

war which, it might have been supposed, would necessarily bear the stamp of the strongest animosities and incensed passions, peculiar to civil dissensions,—not only humanity, but urbanity, kindness, and genuine sympathy were shown to the captives:—a sufficient proof that the time was not yet remote, when, as at Fontenoi, the English and French guards took off their hats and saluted each other, before they began to fight a bloody battle. It is painful to remember how different and more lamentable has been the fate, in later times, of the vanquished, in other countries. The American revolution, which was one of the most powerful promoters of that of France—which has given to other nations the doubtful example of a war for abstract principles—which revived, if it did not create, the warfare with militia troops, free-corps, guerillas, “Landwehr,” &c. &c. has not been more imitated elsewhere in its general character, than in the sparing of every avoidable infliction of misery, and in the

continuation of the charities of peace, as far as it was possible:—and if no where, in apparently similar circumstances, there has yet appeared a second Washington,—the peerless patriot,—there were, too, we fear, but few Gates and Schuylers to mitigate, in the heat of a civil war, the sufferings of the vanquished and the dying, and to gladden the sad hours of the captive.

General Wilkinson, who knew Mad. de Riedesel personally, calls her “the amiable, the accomplished, and dignified baroness.”—“I have more than once,” says he, “seen her charming blue eyes bedewed with tears, at the recital of her sufferings.” According to information imparted from Virginia, where she is yet remembered, as she must be in some other parts of this continent where she has resided, she had much “embonpoint,” a handsome face, and rendered herself an object of wonder, in riding in boots, and what was then called “the European fashion.” She visited some of the princi-

pal families in the neighbourhood of Charlottesville. How far the circumstances in which she found herself, might have been a plea for the carelessness in her attire, it is not for us to say, who, as translator of her memoirs, may be permitted to confess, that we should be glad to represent her as perfect as possible.

Of the German captives, there are probably many yet living in this country. They were generally pleased with their situation in Virginia,—were industrious, active, peaceful, and liked by those with whom a singular fate had brought them into connexion. Lieutenant Auburey (author of “Travels through the interior parts of America,” 2 vols. London, 1789) wondered at the preference which was shown to them over the English. The thing is easily conceived, if it was meant to say that the British prisoners bore their misfortune with less resignation. The German troops that were sent to this country, had neither great love for Eng-

land, nor resentment against the Americans. Little did a Brunswick soldier understand the sorrow of witnessing the separation of a part of the British family, the pain of losing vast regions, and the humiliation of national arms. The Duke or Prince received the subsidies ; regiments were organized ; officers, partly veterans, who had already begun to enjoy the sweets of a military pension, were called to head them : many of the men were enlisted by violence :—they embarked, and “ fierce Germania’s blue-eyed youth,” *fera cœrulea Germaniæ pubes*, with the heavy accoutrement which distinguished, until the late war of Germany, the equipage of the troops of that country ; with haversacks, long-skirted coats, long swords, enormous canteens, grenadier caps, with heavy brass ornaments, much powder and pomatum in the hair, and clumsy queues, jogged spiritless, through dense forests, and over impassable roads, heart-sick of a mercenary warfare, and longing after

the dear "Fatherland." Lieutenant Aubrey says, "The Germans, to the number of twenty or thirty, at a time, will, in their conversations, relate to each other, that they are sure they shall not live to see home again, and are certain that they shall soon die. Would you believe it, after this they mope and pine about, haunted with the idea that

"Nor wives, nor children shall they more behold,  
Nor friends nor sacred home"——

Nor can any medicine or advice you can give them, divert this settled superstition, which they as surely die martyrs to, as ever it infects them. Thus it is, that men, who have faced the dangers of battle and of shipwreck, without fear, (for they are certainly as brave as any soldiers in the world,) are taken off a score at a time, by a mere phantom of their own brain. This is a circumstance known to every one in the army."



If any one of these good Germans find pleasure in perusing this volume, he is fully authorized to think it particularly inscribed to him, by

THE TRANSLATOR.

*July, 1827.*

## NOTES TO THE PREFACE.

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### NOTE I—PAGE 11.

GENERAL Wilkinson ascribes Burgoyne's misadventure, to the express order he had received to form a junction with Sir William Howe. He might otherwise have taken a safe position, within reach of his magazines at Fort George, and waited events. Unappalled by the misfortune of Baum, or the discomfiture of St. Leger, he redoubled his activity and exertions to surmount the almost insuperable difficulties of deficient transport, and pursued his course with astonishing decision. "*Indeed,*" says general Wilkinson, "*the conduct of Burgoyne, on this occasion, marked the soldier, regardless of personal motives, faithful to his profession, and solely intent on the execution of his instructions.*"—Memoirs of my own Times, vol. 1. p. 223.

### NOTE II—PAGE 15.

"The English officers," says Voltaire, "saluted the French, taking off their hats. Count Chabanes

It is but justice to add the British editor's note to the passage printed in italics :

“It is wonderful that Lord Oxford should have allowed this expression to remain, after he had lived to witness and admire the subsequent career of that great man, general Washington.”

There is in the next page a curious anecdote of general Gates, who had just returned to London from Nova-Scotia, when the ministry received the news from Virginia.

# LETTERS.

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## LETTER I.

FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO HIS WIFE.

Leifert, Feb. 22, 1776.

My dear wife,—Never have I suffered so much, as at our separation this morning. My heart was sinking within me and could I have returned, who knows what determination I might have taken. But, my dearest, it is God's will and I must obey; duty and honour compel me to yield; we must therefore take comfort and not repine. Indeed, your health, the anxiety arising from your situation, and the care of our dear daughters, alone give me uneasiness. Take the greatest care of the dear girls, whom I love most fondly.

I have reached this place in safety and in good health, though much fatigued, in consequence of the anxiety which my mind has suffered for some days past. I hope sleep will refresh me and that your's will be likewise beneficial to you.

I have this evening been promoted to the rank of Major General. Be therefore pleased, Mrs. General, to be in good health and to join me as soon as your situation will permit.

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## LETTER II.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Gifhorn, Feb. 23, 1776.

I have reached Gifhorn without any untoward accident, and, thank Heaven, we have had no deserters. I could have enjoyed a good rest, had not my mind been so much occupied by thoughts of you and our dear children. You did not observe and I was far from wishing that you should observe, how much I have suffered during the last four weeks, and how difficult it was to conceal my anxiety. My duties have weighed but little upon my mind, in comparison with the mournful thoughts which oppressed it. The sacrifice is now made. It was the will of God : let His will be done. I have little doubt of the possibility of your joining me, when you shall be able to leave your chamber. Take good care of your own health and the infant's.

I believe our eldest daughter and Frederica will bear the fatigues of the journey well; but you must not expose the youngest to such trials, whatever may be its sex, nor must you injure it by excessive tenderness. It is better to part with a child, for a short time, than to incur the self-reproach of having occasioned its death. Neither must you depart, before knowing, by my first letters from America, where I am myself; and you must endeavour to procure good letters of introduction for England, in order to live there comfortably. Take care to travel slowly, and not to expose the children too much to the open air.

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### LETTER III.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Haukenbüttel, Feb. 25, 1776.

I received this morning, my dear wife, your first letter, by which I see, thank God, that you are well and have begun to submit with patience to the sacrifice which my duty and the will of Heaven have imposed upon me. Continue in this laudable disposition, and by praying to God you will obtain

the strength necessary to support you under your affliction. I am, thanks to Providence, very well, though I am still deprived of sleep, and my heart is loaded with a heavy burden. I feel the want of you and of my dear children. What does Gusta-va say? how does Frederica do? Give my compliments to Mrs. Paasch and her daughter, and say to the latter that I expect from her (without your knowledge,) a letter full of news, respecting your health and spirits. Kiss our dear children for me, and be assured that I shall ever be, &c.

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#### LETTER IV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Amelinghausen, Feb. 29, 1776.

I will relate to you the occurrences of the day in a few words. You know that, on the 22d, I was at Leifert thoughtful, low-spirited, fatigued and deprived of sleep.

The 23d, I passed at Gifhorn: we had cold and unpleasant weather; I dined with General Bremer.

We made a day's halt at Haukenbüttel.

On the 25th and 26th, we were at Vriestädt. I went to inspect my regiment of dragoons, which had been quartered on the estate of a Mr. de Grote.

I reached Ebsdorff, on the 27th, and on the 28th I arrived at Amelinghausen. Here I inspected my regiment of infantry, and it was 11 o'clock before I returned to this place.

Since yesterday I have had my dragoons with me, and they will remain with me until we reach Stade, where we shall be on the 5th of March. I have again to-day a large company to dine with me. Our ordinary table consists of 12 persons. On our march we have five, and on our halting-days, we have six dishes. The expense of the kitchen is on an average half a Louis d'or a-day. I send enclosed a letter for Gustava and Frederica, both of whom I embrace tenderly, and remain your's with all my heart and soul.

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## LETTER V.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Stade, March 3, 1776.

I write you now, though much fatigued, yet transported with joy at the happy embarkation of



the dragoons and grenadiers. At 5 o'clock, the embarkation began, and in less than three hours not a soldier remained in town: all were on the Elbe, an hour and a half's journey hence. The departure of the boats was one of the finest spectacles that could be seen. All was contentment and joy, and the citizens are at a loss how to express their admiration of the good order in which the embarkation was effected, and of the behaviour of our troops, during their residence here. Prince Henry's regiment and mine are expected to-morrow, but I do not yet know when they are to embark, for we have not half boats enough, and their arrival is so much the more uncertain as the boats' crews were not ready when those which are here, left England.

I shall probably remain here a week longer—and shall have on board my ship a good officer, Captain Foy, whom you remember having seen at Minden. He served in the English artillery, and is very tall. His wife, who is an American, is now in England,—but he intends that she shall join him in America, as soon as tranquillity shall be in some degree restored, and it would give him great pleasure if she could accompany you, yet not until he and myself shall learn somewhat more respecting our own situation.

Foy remains with me until we reach America.

According to him, crossing the Ocean is a mere trifle. I shall embark on board the *Pallas*, a very good ship, though the state-room is too small for the seven officers whom I am obliged to keep with me,—but Foy assures me that I shall sail from Portsmouth on board a man-of-war, of a large size. I have to-day inspected several ships that are here.

But enough of me, my dear wife, and let me say a word of you, whom I love better than myself. I hope that you are now perfectly recovered, and that towards April you will be ready for the voyage.

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## LETTER VI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Stade, March 18, 1776.

Dear wife,—I am now ready to embark, completely resigned to Providence, which will kindly watch over me in future, as it has done until now. Do not be alarmed at the news which I send to you, and keep in mind that life on board a ship is quite agreeable. I have good company ;—on my arrival

on the British coast and embarkation in a man-of-war, I shall be still better off.

I have finally concluded that you go to Portsmouth, as soon as your health and that of the newborn one, my little Carolina, will permit, and that you there await my first letters from America. Be not impatient : God loves us too well to keep us long separated.

My brother dines to-morrow with me ; and after that, all will be over : but that moment hangs darkly before my eyes. Kiss our children, our dear little ones, for me. The ship waits for me :— I must go—farewell—love me always. Preserve for my sake your precious health, and be assured that I shall ever be, &c.

## LETTER VII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, March 21, 1776.

We are still lying quietly before Stade, in consequence of contrary winds, and we must bear it with patience. However, we shall go to Fryburg, which is not far from Gluckstadt, to wait for more

favourable winds for England. We are meanwhile in good spirits, and nothing is wanting to my happiness except your presence, which, I confess, I do exceedingly desire.

I send you for your amusement a short sketch of my present situation and movements.

Our state-room is nearly as large as your room : on both sides is a small cabin, in one of which is my bed, and in the other that of captain Foy. In the state-room itself are four dormitories, on each side, for captains Hensch, Gerlach, and Cleve, and Lieutenant colonel Fricke. The cashier, the Pay-master General and the secretary are in the space reserved for the soldiers, a private cabin having been constructed for them.

I rise towards 7 o'clock, after having said my prayers in bed. We immediately make our toilette, and breakfast, after the English manner, on tea and bread and butter. After breakfast, I go on deck to smoke a pipe, and that over, I write or read, drink coffee, walk up and down with the two English officers, and spend my time in this way until dinner, that is, 2 o'clock, smoking occasionally one or two pipes more. We sit down nine at table, have three dishes, which take nearly an hour. When the cloth is removed, we drink healths for half or three quarters of an hour, viz.; 1. the King, 2. the Duke, 3. You and our Children, 4. Mrs.

Foy, 5. good voyage, and, 6. a successful expedition to America. At 4 o'clock the dinner is over. We drink daily four bottles of wine, and half a bottle of rum serves for our punch. I then drink coffee with the English officers: the other officers provide for themselves. After coffee I visit the other ships, and in the evening we play a game of whist. At half after eight we have some cold meat, wine for those who desire it, and beer. Lastly, at ten o'clock, we all retire to rest, and in this way, one day after another is spent.

Captain Foy goes from Dover to London, to make his report to the King, and will join me at Portsmouth. I shall then be transferred to a man-of-war, where every thing will be more agreeably arranged. In this ship, general Gage returned from America. It had then eight small cabins, a state-room for the general, and a dining room, all which conveniences are to be again provided for me. But of all this, you may expect to hear more, by my letter from Portsmouth, as also of the state of things in America, and the means of our meeting again, in the safest and quickest way.

## LETTER VIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, March 22d, 1776, at sea, near the  
Red Ton, where the pilots leave their ships.

We are now on the vast sea. The pilots are departing, and through them, I address to you my last letter, from the coasts of Germany. Fear not, we are all well, and I hope we shall reach Spithead without suffering, and arrive in America in perfect health, after having once become accustomed to the sea.

Foy gives me hopes of being near Spithead on Wednesday, at latest; and my first business will be to inform you of our safe arrival and of my health.

## LETTER IX.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, opposite Dover, March 26, 1776.

I write you at the moment we come in sight of the British coast. Captain Foy, who goes from

hence to London, will put this letter in the Post Office. I rejoice to be able to assure you, that I have not been sick for a single moment; that my appetite remains good, and that my sleep is sound and refreshing. My servants, however, and almost all the soldiers have been sick, and continue so. The cook is so much affected, that he cannot raise his head, much less attend to his business. This is somewhat troublesome, for Captain Foy and myself are obliged to supply his place, the sight of which would greatly amuse you.

Let me now give you a brief account of our voyage. On Thursday we sailed from Stade for Fryburg. The beautiful villages on both sides of the river presented a most delightful prospect. We left Glückstadt, a fine Danish fortress, on the right. We were in excellent spirits, ate, and drank heartily, and in the evening had our game of whist.

On Friday we sailed for Ritzebüttel or Cashaven, where we arrived in the evening, and immediately landed to take a view of the city, and afterwards played whist, as usual.

On Saturday we got under weigh, with but little wind. We felt as well as if we were not at sea. We are all in excellent health, and eat with great appetite. From the Red Ton, where the Hanoverian pilots left us, I wrote you my last letter. In the afternoon, fishermen from Heligoland ap-

proached us, and for two dollars I bought a large codfish, twenty haddocks and four flounders, all of which I could not have had at Brunswic for ten dollars. The weather now became rainy.

On Sunday morning we had a thick fog, and the sea became stormy. We fired two guns from our ship, as a signal to the rest of the squadron. The vapours rose, the wind and the waves became more agitated, though we had no real storm. Every body was now sick; the cook was unable to go to the kitchen, Müller could not dress me, and Valentin could find nothing :—in short, we had much lamentation, and little cleanliness. I was hungry, but had nothing to eat, until at last captain Foy and myself set ourselves to prepare a pea soup, which we ate with cold roast beef, and that was our whole dinner. The soldiers took no meal.

On Monday the weather became milder; some of our people got better, though most of them still continued sick. Captain Foy and myself were again busy in the kitchen, with a soup made of preserved bouillon, a haddock, with anchovy-sauce, a ragout of veal, and roast veal with potatoes.

On the following day, we had the finest weather imaginable, and some of our people recovered their health. The soldiers cooked for themselves, for



our cook was still sick, and Foy and myself supplied his place in the preparation of our own meal. We had a rice soup, beef with turnips, codfish with anchovy-sauce, and a ragout of veal.—We had a distant view of the land.

To day—Wednesday—we are in sight of Dover. Captain Foy leaves us, and takes charge of this letter. Remember, dearest wife, that every body is liable to sea-sickness,—that you might be without the assistance of any of your servants; and that you ought, therefore, to make your voyage as short as possible;—in my opinion, that by Calais to Dover would best answer your purpose.

Captain Foy says, that should Quebec still belong to us, and should no American troops be on this side of Montréal, not only he but General Carleton, also, would desire his wife to join him. You must not depart before *they* do: but if they set out, you can accompany them, and have the advantage of travelling with security, in good company and with good attendance:—in a word, nothing would be wanting to your comfort.

## LETTER X.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, in the harbour of  
Portsmouth, March 28, 1776.

You see, my dear wife, that I neglect no opportunity of writing to you. We are now in this harbour, and I am about to go on shore to pay a visit to Admiral Douglas, and to the other general officers, who, like us, are preparing for their departure to America. Our people have recovered from their sickness, and the cook has resumed his functions, to our great convenience. You cannot imagine a finer spectacle than that which we enjoyed yesterday morning, at six o'clock, when we were near enough to Calais to see distinctly every house, and at the same time, and as clearly, Dover on the British coast. Captain Foy left us at nine o'clock to depart for London; and we sailed the whole day along the coast of England, having at every instant the view of a city new to us, of people labouring in the fields and of travellers, who gazed with curiosity on our little squadron. This lasted until night. I then slept quietly. This morning, at 5 o'clock, we saw Portsmouth; at 9 we anchored; and, at present, are near landing.

## LETTER XI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, between Portsmouth  
and Plymouth, April 6, 1776.

We sailed from Portsmouth sooner than I expected. The wind having become favourable, we immediately weighed anchor, and sailed with the finest weather imaginable, on the 4th instant, making a fleet of thirty vessels, and firing a salute with all our guns, which was answered by all those of the squadron, which was still lying at Spithead. On the 5th the wind changed, and continued unfavourable until this morning. We sail now under better auspices directly for Plymouth, where, however, we shall not stop, though I hope to find means of sending this letter to the town. Thanks to Heaven, your husband enjoys good health. Several of my officers, and among them my English Aid-de-Camp, are already sick, but I have a good appetite, sleep soundly, and hope to reach America with unimpaired health.

This may be the last letter that you will receive from me; until our arrival in America, unless we fall in with some vessel, by which I can send

you a letter, which, with that hope, I shall constantly keep ready.

Let me give you some advice. You must endeavour to procure at Brunswic letters of introduction, in order to find at London private lodgings, in which all your expenses may be known and fixed beforehand. In a public inn, your expenses would be three times as great as in such quarters. I paid twenty-two pounds sterling (nearly 132 dollars of our money) for seven days' lodging of my two aids, myself, and our servants, one dinner, and seven evening repasts,—the dinner for twelve persons, the supper for four.

This rule you will do well to observe in all your halting places, where you intend to remain several days. If you go through Exeter, Plymouth, or Bristol, (in which latter city Mrs. Foy resides,) you must procure at London the addresses of private boarding-houses, where you may lodge. Such houses are not scarce in England. I advise you, also, to examine in London, or elsewhere, the vessels generally employed for the conveyance of passengers, in order that you may be able to arrange your plans for your accommodations beforehand. You cannot take in your birth more than one child, another can remain with the maid, and the youngest must be kept in a hammock.

You must purchase, in London, portable soup,

that you and the children may not want a good bouillon, whenever your butcher's meat shall be spent.

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## LETTER XII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, April 24th, 1776.

From the 4th instant, when we sailed from Portsmouth, we have been on the open sea, having had alternately good and bad weather, and having experienced already three gales, which to us seemed a little like hurricanes. All our people were sick, but I continue to enjoy good health, and bear admirably all inconveniencies.

We are now more than two thousand miles from Stade, and twelve hundred from Quebec. In five or six days I hope to be in sight of the coast of Newfoundland, and shortly afterwards to find ourselves on the Saint Lawrence, where our navigation will be more agreeable, and the number of our sick less.

My best and dearest wife, notwithstanding my fond attachment to you, and my anxious desire to

see you again, as soon as possible, I should not advise you to undertake such a long voyage, especially with your children, had I not given you my word that I would consent to your rejoining me in America, before I knew all the difficulties connected with such a voyage. I confess that I tremble when I think of it ; but you have my word, and I must keep it, and live in the hope that God will sanction it by His blessing. Still you must not leave Europe alone. Wait for Mrs. Foy, or some other lady of rank, with whom you may embark in the same ship,—but it must be a person who has already been in America, and knows all the precautions necessary in undertaking such a voyage ; and who may be able to advise and assist you, in case you or your children should be taken sick. You must know, my dear wife, that you and your children, and every one of your servants, may be sea-sick, if not constantly, yet during strong winds. In my ship, there are not five persons who have not been sick for more or less time, and every one wonders that my health has continued good. You run, therefore, the risk of lying sick in bed with your children, without the least assistance, and without any thing to eat or to drink. A ship's company generally consists of filthy and coarse people, whose chief food is salt meat, half done, and scarcely eatable. The wa-

ter, after a short time, becomes so bad and nauseous, that it is impossible to drink it. You must, therefore, procure a stone for filtering it, and accustom the children to drink beer, or have the water for your daily consumption, for awhile, near the fire. Unfortunately my poor cook is almost constantly sick. For many days we have been at a loss on what to live. Our fresh meat is gone; and we are reduced to salt meat and poultry. We shall soon begin to kill our sheep. The worst of it is, that through the sickness of our cook, nobody attends to the preservation of our victuals, and that, consequently, they are partly wasted, and partly purloined. In one word, I could not, without deceiving you, represent such an existence as an agreeable one. It is still very fortunate for me, that I enjoy good health, and that I am able to endure with patience so many inconveniences.

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### LETTER XIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

On board the Pallas, two leagues from Quebec, June 1, 1776.

I cannot tell you much of our voyage; for what can be said of nine weeks spent between heaven and

the deep ocean, where our days passed away pretty much in the same monotonous manner? We are now, after much suffering, two leagues distant from Quebec, where we shall arrive this evening, but where we shall not make any stay, general Carleton having, before our arrival, driven the rebels from the environs of Quebec, and being at present engaged in their pursuit. We shall, therefore, continue our navigation up the river until we join the general. I cannot yet give you any direction with respect to your voyage. Captain Foy thinks that it is indispensable to know previously where we shall be ourselves. I can, therefore, only advise you not to embark alone, and not depart except in company with a lady of rank, be it the wife of general Carleton, or Mrs. Foy, or any other lady.—I must conclude my letter, as it must be sent to the ship, where care will be taken that it is forwarded. As soon as I shall have joined general Carleton, I will give you more detailed information about myself, the situation of our affairs, and respecting your voyage.



## LETTER XIV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Between Quebec and Montreal, June 8, 1776.

I shall now relate to you briefly all that has occurred since our arrival at Quebec on the 1st instant. We were near that city on that day, at 6 o'clock in the evening. I went on shore immediately to pay a visit to general Carleton, who received me with much civility and friendship, and invited me to dine with him on the following day. To form an idea of his personal appearance, you need only recollect the figure of the Abbé Jerusalem :\* the same stature, the same countenance, the same carriage, the same voice ; and were the general dressed in a black coat, and had he a wig, there would be no difference between them.

On the 2d, after having dined at the general's, I went to see the prisoners taken from the rebels. In the evening I waited upon commodore Douglas, who commands the squadron. On my re-

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\* The father of the young man whose adventures served in part as the ground work of "The Sorrows of Werther." See Goethe's memoirs of himself.

tiring from his ship, a salute of thirteen guns was fired in honour of me.

I passed the third, which was my birthday, on board my ship. I was not much pleased to receive from general Carleton an order to leave my dragoons and prince Henry's regiment in garrison at Quebec.—Captain Foy was this day appointed adjutant-general and military secretary to general Carleton.

On the 4th, the king's birthday, I waited, with all the officers under my command, on the general, to present him our congratulations. The guns of the fortress, and all the vessels, fired salutes, and in the evening we had a ball.

The next day general Carleton conferred upon me the command of a separate body of troops. This was quite unexpected to me, and has excited much notice.

On the sixth, I received my last orders from the commander-in-chief, and, the wind being favourable, I embarked with my troops. We are now on the shore of Lake Champlain, but you have nothing to fear for us from the enemy. He has disappeared, and we have seen no living trace of him this side of the lake.

My dearest, no place would suit you better than Quebec. If you choose, you can go as far as Montreal, and there receive directions from me,

me, or find my farther directions. You will be delighted with that part of the country: it is a pity that the colonies are yet in such an infant state, that one can but seldom procure what is necessary for the table, as, for example, vegetables, fruit, and such things; but butcher's meat, poultry, and milk, can be had in abundance. The houses are but one story high, but are divided into many rooms, and are, generally, very neat. An ordinary peasant's house is capacious enough for our whole family. The inhabitants are remarkably civil and obliging, and I hardly think that, under similar circumstances, our peasants would behave as well. I have nothing else to tell you. We are here very quiet. General Carleton is with part of the army at Chambly, general Fraser is at St. John; and I am here, and travel in the neighbourhood, to make myself acquainted with the country.—I dine at 3 o'clock; and, generally, go rather fatigued to bed. At 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, I am again abroad. Nearly a month may yet elapse before we pass Lake Champlain.

## LETTER XVI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

La Savanne, Sept. 12, 1776.

The army is encamped for the purpose of remaining united. I occupy an excellent position, at a place called Savanne; and, as I command a separate corps, I have always a great deal of work on hand, and must continually move about. This has a very good effect on my health. The nights begin to be cool: we think and even talk of our winter quarters already, into which we shall probably enter within the next month. How much I should rejoice if I could then enjoy your society and that of our children! I know, indeed, of no greater happiness. But where are you now? Perhaps at sea; perhaps in great danger! Oh! how often do such thoughts occupy my mind during whole nights! I hope that God will soon end my anxieties, and grant me the happiness of holding you in my arms. On the 4th instant, after the exercise of our troops, general Carleton, and the principal officers of the army, dined with me. We were thirty-six persons, and had twenty-six courses, served twice. My guests seemed gratified by the hospitality which I displayed on

that occasion, for the honour of the king, and to gratify his majesty's army. My success is complete, for I am on a good footing with every body.

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## LETTER XVII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

From the camp at La Savanne, Sept. 23, 1776.

I have at last received, my dear wife, your letters of the 9th, 13th, 20th, and 30th of April, and 12th of May. Each of them has given me a great deal of pleasure, and I thank God for the good health you and our children have enjoyed. I embrace you all most cordially. I was, also, very much gratified by the indirect news I received of you through England, and am thankful that Providence has so far prospered your voyage. According to the news I have at present, you must have reached London, towards the 12th, and, on the 18th, departed for Bristol; and you, as well as our children, were then in perfect health. O'Connel, who was despatched to London by colonel Specht, has conversed with the landlord of

the inn where you lodged, and you had set out for Bristol only three hours before he arrived in London. I do not direct this letter to England, but shall despatch it by the first vessel bound to that country, with an injunction to the captain, to deliver it to you if he should fall in with your ship, and to give all the news which may contribute to tranquillize you about my health. On your arrival at Quebec, Mrs Murray will give you farther information. My winter quarters will be at Three Rivers, where you may quietly await my return.

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## LETTER XVIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Crown Point, on board the *Washington*, a vessel  
taken from the rebels, Oct. 26th, 1776.

We have destroyed the squadron of the rebels, and taken possession of Crown Point. We shall now go into winter quarters. Our campaign is at an end, and I shall return to Three Rivers, where I have my quarters, and shall wait for you with the greatest impatience. How happy I should be if you could yet join me this winter! The winter-quarters will probably be undisturbed,

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and I should be able to spend with you almost all my time. General Carleton has heroically attacked the enemy's fleet, leaving behind him the whole army. He has carefully spared the fathers of families, and if the war is carried on in the same manner next year, I shall be in the midst of it, surer of my life than when exercising the troops in the squares of Wolfenbüttel and Brunswic. General Burgoyne, who takes charge of this letter, will do his best to cause it to be delivered to you at sea, if you are still on the ocean, but if you are in England, he will spare no pains to procure for you, next spring, a passage in a good ship, and you need only write to him.

I have been here for six days, as a volunteer. We have been very near the camp of the rebels, at Fort Carillon, and have made some prisoners.

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## LETTER XIX.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Three Rivers, Nov. 10, 1776.

I have now little hope of seeing you during the ensuing winter, and, therefore, address you this letter, in order that, if you are still in England, you may not be without news of me.

I am, thank God, well, but extremely anxious about you, not knowing where you are. I shall not, however, complain, if you do not come, whatever pleasure I should have experienced in seeing you here. My uncertainty about your place of residence, in this season, is the principal cause of my uneasiness. I must conclude in order that my letter may go by the mail of to day for Quebec. I entrust you to the care and protection of the Almighty, embrace you and our dear little ones, and fondly indulge the hope, that you will be here next spring at latest.

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## LETTER XX.

FROM MADAM DE RIEDESEL TO HER MOTHER.

Wolfenbüttel, March 8, 1776.

My own dear mother,—Your last letter has made me very uneasy. By some passages it would seem that you are angry with your daughter; and, in some others, you show me again so much kindness and affection, that I am very sorry to be obliged, for the first time in my life, willingly to disobey you. Be assured that, had it been possi-



ble to shake my resolution, it would have been through the delightful prospect of seeing you here. But I knew myself too well, not to foresee how painful it would be to leave you, and refuse you any thing; wherefore, in my last letter but one, I omitted to entreat you to come to see me. I could not, indeed, bear the thought of parting with you, especially for so long a time. Yet the reflection that you should beg—command me to comply with your wishes, made me shudder. On the other hand, it was impossible for me to remain here, while the best, the fondest of husbands had consented that I should follow him. Duty, love, and conscience carried me away. Is it not the duty of a woman to forsake every thing for her husband? You know my love for you, as well as his for me and my children.

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## LETTER XXI.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Wolfenbüttel, May 3d, 1776.-

Oh! could you know the pleasure I felt to see by your letter, that you begin to be reconciled to the necessity of my leaving you. My satisfaction

is now complete, and I have the approbation of all for obeying the calls of my duty. Yet I depart with the strongest hope, that God, who knows my heart, and to whom all my thoughts are known, will protect me and my children. The only thing that troubles me is to part from you, dearest, kindest mother ; but I trust that it will be but for a short time : perhaps Heaven will grant us again the blessing of peace, and then we may live with more quiet. May we have God's blessing. If you pray to him, dear mother, for us and our children, we shall surely prosper. On my part, my most fervent wishes and daily prayers will be, that the Almighty may preserve you, dearest mother, and give you all possible felicity. Keep us in your love, and we shall ever remember you with the fondest attachment and deepest veneration. Have the goodness to write me once more, and assure me again of your affection. If you immediately grant me that favour, your letter would yet reach me before my departure, which is fixed on the 18th instant, if we keep our health. You will be pleased afterwards to address your letters to Bristol, where I shall wait for verbal intelligence from my husband.

*Madam de Riedesel's Account of her Journey from  
Wolfenbüttel to Bristol.*

I departed, on the 14th of May 1776, at 5 o'clock in the morning, from Wolfenbüttel, and notwithstanding my anxious desire to meet again with my husband, I could not but be alarmed at the difficulties of my undertaking, especially as, for some time, I had constantly been kept alive to the dangers to which I exposed myself. My eldest daughter, Gustava, was four years and nine months old; Frederica, my second daughter, was two years old; and Carolina was born but ten weeks before my departure. I needed all my courage and tenderness to keep my resolution of following my husband. Besides the perils of the sea, I was told that we were exposed to be eaten by the savages, and that people in America lived upon horse-flesh and cats. Yet all this frightened me less, than the idea of going into a country, with the language of which I was not conversant. I had, however, made up my mind; and the prospect of seeing my husband, and the con-

sciousness of doing my duty, has preserved me during my whole voyage from despondency.

At our first halt, my good old Rockel observed to me, in a tone of serious conviction, while he took the children out of the carriage, "You see, madam, how God prospers your journey: our children look better than ever." This man had been with us eight years, when my father appointed him forester. As soon as he heard of my husband's departure, and of my intention of rejoining him, he forsook every thing to follow me in the capacity of a servant, and has not ceased, during our whole journey, to show us the strongest attachment and greatest zeal, especially in regard to the children, whom he considered it as his duty to take care of, and bear in his arms. In the first inn where we were to dine, I met with an extremely rude landlord. While the horses were in the stable, I took a beer-soup, for which he asked ten "groschen."\* To my observation on this exorbitant demand, he answered saucily, that it was the price, and that nobody had obliged me to alight at his inn; that I might think he was insolent, but that I should find ruder ones, who would ask six times as

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\* Twenty-four groschen make a Prussian dollar.

ments for my passage to England. I was advised to hire a packet-boat for ourselves ; and I left my carriage at Calais, because I was told that I should be obliged to pay at Dover a tax of thirty or sixty guineas, if I entered England in a coach built in a foreign country. Contrary winds detained me for two days at Calais. At last I was sent for from the ship. At that moment, I confess, the palpitations of my heart were rather stronger than usual. My two eldest children were quite merry ; for I had told them, with a view to increase their courage, that they would see their father, as soon as we should be on the other side of the channel. I affected great courage ; and we went in our carriage to the embarking-place, where the boatmen already waited for us, and taking the two eldest children in their arms, carried them immediately on board the ship. I held the babe in my own arms, and my servants followed me on foot. When I looked around for the man with my children, I saw them already on board the ship, sporting with the sailors. The youngest one was then carried on board, and, from that moment, the vessel lost in my eyes all its terrors. The ship was, besides, very clean and neat, and the sailors looked happy. I had a very neat cabin, provided with eight births : all the furniture was of mahogany, inlaid with

bronze, and so well polished, that one could almost use them for mirrors. We were invited, my children and myself, to lay ourselves on the beds, but we preferred walking on the deck, and ate and drank with excellent appetite. My daughter Frederica became soon so well acquainted with the sailors, that when she wished to go down or up, she called out to any one of them, "Friend, your arm." These people are very fond of children, and understand well how to attend them. One of them took up little Carolina, carried her about, and took care of her. It was diverting to see him, a tall, weather-beaten fellow, with a little girl constantly laughing in his face. We all remained in good health. The captain said, that, for a long time, he had not had so fine weather. Yet the wind, though favourable, was rather strong. We made our passage in five hours. As the tide would have prevented our landing, until 8 or 9 o'clock, we determined to take a small boat, which carried us on shore in six minutes. My heart was filled with thankful feelings toward God, who had so highly favoured our voyage, and kindled at the inward thought, "You will carry your children in good health to your husband." But they cried for their father, which damped my joy. I tranquillized them, by saying, that we must first embark again; upon which they teased me,

and could not be kept quiet whenever they saw a ship.

On our landing at Dover, we received many congratulations, on having supported so well the fatigues of so long a voyage: but this cost money. I was accosted by more than thirty innkeepers, who all begged me to take lodgings at their houses. I gave the preference to a French hotel, and was much pleased with it. It was a splendid establishment, and particularly remarkable for its extreme cleanliness. The custom-house officers came to visit the baggage, which was rather an irksome business; but I was provided with letters for the collector, who, as soon as he was informed that the purpose of my voyage was to rejoin my husband in America, politely observed, that it would be very rude to vex the wife of a general, who had gone so far for the service of his king. This settled the matter. Having been obliged to leave my carriage at Calais, I found it necessary to take here a post-chaise for my journey to London—a mode of travelling, which is very expensive, as the transportation of the baggage is regulated according to its weight.

I reached London on the evening of the 1st of June, and found many of my acquaintance there, among whom were general Schlieffen, Mr. de Kurtzleben, and Count Taube. My husband had

written to the latter, begging him to procure for me private lodgings; but, for fear I should not come, he had given himself no trouble about it, by which I might have had better and cheaper accommodations. I was, however, happy to see how much interest my husband had taken in my voyage, and how sure he was that I should keep my resolution, and I rejoiced so much the more that I did not yield to the apprehensions with which some persons endeavoured to impress me.

I must now mention a circumstance, which rendered my lodgings here rather disagreeable. I had trusted entirely to my landlord at Calais, to whom I had been recommended; but now I think that he abused my confidence, by sending over to England many things at my expense. He also advised me not to depart without being accompanied by some trusty man, because I should otherwise be exposed to great dangers; and he seemed to take much pains to procure such a person for me. He at length came with a well-dressed man, whom he introduced to me as a nobleman, a friend of his, who was willing to accompany me to London. I received him with great civility, and felt at a loss how to acknowledge his extreme politeness. In the carriage I begged him to take his seat next to me, and kept the children opposite to me; thus endeavouring, by all means, to



prevent them from being troublesome to him. He affected the manners of a man of much consequence, and ate at my table during the whole journey. I observed, however, that the servants in the inns were on free and easy terms with him; but I did not reflect much upon it, the obligation under which I thought I was to him, blinding me altogether. But I could not help feeling some astonishment when, at the hotel where we alighted, on our arrival in London, I was ushered into a miserable room in the fourth story, though I had asked for a good apartment, and had been assured by Mr. de Feronce, of Brunswic, that I should find splendid lodgings. I imagined that I could not have a better room because the house was already full, and general Schlieffen, and the other gentlemen who came to visit me, and, particularly, the ladies for whom the hereditary princess, now duchess of Brunswic, had given me letters of introduction, wondered that I was in so bad an abode. On the following day, the landlord came with an abashed air, and the most reverential demeanour, to ask me, whether I knew the man with whom I had arrived, and whom I had so particularly desired him to provide with good lodgings? (I had not thought proper to have him at my table in London.) I answered, that he was a nobleman, who, on the request of Mr. Guilhaudin, my land-

lord at Calais, had been kind enough to accompany me on my journey. "Ah!" cried the landlord, "that is one of his tricks. The man is a footman, a 'valet de place,' a rogue, through whom he is glad to promote his own interest. Seeing him sitting next to you in your carriage, when you arrived, I could not, I confess, believe that you were the lady you pretended to be, and thought that these rooms were good enough for you. But I see now, by the persons that visit you, how much I was mistaken, and I ask your pardon, madam, and beg that you will follow me into another apartment, for which you shall not pay more than for that which you now occupy, for I really wish to atone by all means for my error." I thanked my host, and requested him to rid me of my companion as soon as possible. I was, however, obliged first to pay him four or six guineas (I do not remember the exact sum) for his company. I could never forgive Mr. Guilhaudin this trick; and he did not behave much better concerning my carriage. It was he who told me that it was prohibited to import carriages into England, and advised me to leave mine in his care. I was afterwards informed, that his purpose was to do with it, what he had already done with other vehicles entrusted to him, namely, to hire it to travellers on their way to Germany. But this I prevented,

by soliciting of Lord North permission to bring it over to England, free from duties. The minister immediately complied with my request; and though this detained me a few days, I found it much to my convenience and comfort to have waited for my carriage.

On my arrival, my eyes were so weak, from the fatigues of the journey, that one of them became much inflamed. General Schlieffen insisted upon my consulting an oculist, and brought me the one who attended the queen. He seemed alarmed, but encouraged me to hope. He took some sort of powder in a quill, and desired me to open my eye, which I did without hesitation, little aware of what I was to suffer. But when he had finished the operation, I experienced such excruciating pains, that I have never since been able to submit again to that experiment: and, even when I was most resolute upon it, my eye closed itself involuntarily. However, I found myself much better for it. The physician gave me another prescription, and I was obliged to pay him three guineas, which did not please me much; but general Schlieffen told me that I could not give him less, as he was the queen's oculist.

While at London, I lodged in Suffolk-street, and found every thing very dear. As I intended to remain only two days, I did not make any agree-

ment; but when the first week was over, I called for my bill.

I took, in my carriage, short rides through the city; which I could not extend far on account of my little child, whom I nursed myself; but I promised myself to see more of London on my return. I went, however, twice to St. James' Park, and had a near view of the king and queen, who were in their sedans. The park is a delightful promenade: from five to six thousand persons walk there every day.

I met with an unpleasant accident during my first stay in London. I had been advised to buy a short cloak and a hat, without which, I was told, I ought not to go into the street. One day, after a dinner at the Hanoverian envoys, Mr. de Hinüber, his lady proposed to me to take a walk into St. James', but forgot that our attire was not according to the English fashion. My Gustava, dressed in the French style, had a "panier," and a neat little cap. I observed that some people stared, and almost pointed at us, and I inquired what it meant. Mad. de Hinüber replied, that it was on account of my fan, which it was not the fashion to wear with a hat; that my little girl was too finely dressed; and that we were, therefore, taken for French women, who were generally of ill repute. I went the next day to the same place,

and as we were all dressed in the English fashion, I thought that nobody would notice us. Yet I heard some cry again, "French women, pretty girl!" I asked our "valet de place," why we were taken for French people? and was told that it was because my children wore ribands. I immediately tore them off, and put them in my pocket; upon which I was the more stared at, and at last discovered that it was only on account of the form of the children's hats. I was thus led to know how important it is to conform to the manners of the country, in order to live peaceably, for the mob is soon gathered together, and if one ventures to dispute with them, it is at the risk of still greater insults.

My plan was to go to Bristol, and there wait for an opportunity to embark for America. All those to whom I had been recommended, endeavoured to dissuade me from it, because they thought I could not so well receive intelligence in Bristol, respecting the sailing of the ships: but I wished to conform myself to my husband's directions. I therefore left London on the 10th of June, and arrived the next day at Bristol. When I stopped at the inn, the rabble stared and laughed at the German style of the steps of the carriage, and at the two guns which my servant had fastened under the driver's seat. They touched them, and lifted

the oil-cloth, with which the carriage was covered, to see how it was painted. My servant, who knew but a few words of English, instead of keeping himself quiet, began to scold them, whereupon he received a volley of curses. He rejoined by giving a severe blow to the person who was next to him. The whole rabble then fell upon him, and the story might have had a tragical end, had the mayor not arrived in time to prevent it. I had written to Mrs. Foy, who was a niece to this gentleman, to procure me a lodging, and, as soon as I arrived, I sent for him to carry me to it. This respectable old gentleman went in all haste for his niece, who knew a little of the French language, and with whom I went to the lodgings prepared for me, which were very elegant and spacious, but also very dear.

*Residence of Mad. de Riedesel at Bristol, Portsmouth, and London, and her sailing from Portsmouth.*

I became aware, soon after my arrival at Bristol, how disagreeable it is, to live among people whose language one does not know. My servants were out of spirits and I was obliged to conceal from them what I felt on that account. I often passed whole hours weeping alone in my chamber. But at last I resolved to overcome all my present difficulties. I spared therefore no pains to learn the English language, and in six weeks acquired sufficient knowledge of it, to be able to ask for all I wanted, and to read the newspapers, which at that time interested me extremely, particularly such as contained news from Quebec, where my husband then resided.

I was soon obliged to change my lodgings, my landlady having opposed the washing even of the children's linen in her house. In my new lodgings I enjoyed a delightful prospect of the whole "College-green;" which was the rendezvous of numerous visitors; and children were not excluded; my own were much there.

Bristol would be a very agreeable residence if the society were better composed ; but the crowd of sailors that one constantly meets, renders that city unpleasant. On the day after my arrival, my hostess urged me to look at what she called “ a most delightful spectacle.” When I reached the window, I beheld two naked men in the act of boxing with the greatest eagerness. I saw the blood running from them and fury was painted in their eyes. Little accustomed to such a hateful exhibition, I retired into the remotest corner of the house, to avoid hearing the shouts of the spectators, at every blow which either of the combatants received.—In this city I met with an adventure very similar to that in London. I was indebted for it to a chintz gown trimmed with green taffeta. This probably seemed outlandish to the Bristol people, for on walking one day with Mrs. Foy, more than a hundred sailors followed us, and pointing at us, cried out, “ French w—— !” I retreated into a shop as quickly as possible under pretence of buying something, and while I remained there the rabble dispersed. This adventure, however, gave me such a dislike to my gown that on returning home, I gave it to my cook-maid, though it was yet quite new. About three miles from Bristol is a bathing place called Hot-Wells, which reminded me strongly of Wendefurth, near Blankenburg in the Hartz,



except that the former has finer buildings and an open saloon for all the guests. There are always a great number of the latter here on account of sickness, and principally persons affected with pulmonary complaints. The mountainous and rocky nature of the country obliges ladies to be a great deal on horseback, and those who cannot manage a horse, ride in a kind of arm-chair and have a guide. The season for visiting this place is summer, and the counterpart of it during the winter is Bath, eight miles distant from the Hot Wells. Bath is a very agreeable residence, with a multitude of splendid buildings, and one never wants amusement there. But this I say from general report, for I visited Bath only in the summer and found it very lonely. I met in the house where I lived in Bristol, a captain Fenton, whose wife had remained in Boston with a daughter of fourteen. He was a fond husband and a doting father, and begged me to take charge of some letters on my departure for America. On my arrival I learned that on account of his long absence, Mrs. Fenton had been arrested and suffered much ill-treatment : but of this anon. I made another acquaintance in Bristol, of which I shall ever preserve a grateful recollection. The occasion of it was a letter of introduction I had received for an English banker, by the name of Ireland, from young Mr. Lee, the nephew of the American general of that name, who

was a student at Caroline College in Brunswick. He mentioned Mr. Ireland with much regard and respect, and assured me that I should be much gratified with his acquaintance. Although I put at first but little trust in the recommendation of so young a man, I forwarded my letter to the banker, who lived about seven miles from town. Immediately after I was waited on by an old gentleman with a very beautiful lady, whose friendship I was fortunate enough to gain so promptly, that they entreated me to pay them a visit. I went and dined with them. Their residence was a splendid country seat, in a most beautiful situation, and adorned with gardens. They had two charming little girls on whom they doated with parental fondness; yet they wished for a male heir. They were wealthy and their establishment corresponded to their fortune. This excellent family showed me much kindness, and on my departure to Portsmouth, in expectation of a passage to America, I was obliged to promise them, that, should the ship be detained, as it sometimes happens, I would not embark after the middle of October. Having afterwards missed the time of departure and having returned to London at the end of September, from whence I wrote them in the spring, that I was about finally leaving England, these excellent people travelled about eighty miles to meet me in London, and repeat their offers of service. I had

now no occasion for them, but could not refuse letters of recommendation for all the ports where contrary winds might oblige me to enter, and where they wished their friends to be serviceable to me. When on my arrival at Quebec, these letters had become useless, I opened them and could not help feeling deeply moved at discovering that they had requested their friends to advance me as much money as I should ask. The birth of a son afforded them another opportunity to give me a mark of regard which is not slightly bestowed in England. They chose me for god-mother. I have often wished that the young man of whom I thus became the sponsor, might visit Brunswic, that I might be able to show him my gratitude for the favours I received from his parents, and which will never be obliterated from my memory.

I spent three or four months in Bristol, and desired nothing so much as to rejoin my husband, especially since I knew that Quebec was occupied by the English. But I could never prevail on Mrs. Foy to hasten our departure. She always said she must first receive letters from her husband. In the meanwhile, winter approached; I wrote therefore to lord George Germain, begging his advice. He replied very politely, that indeed the winter was coming on, and that I had reason to be

anxious to rejoin my husband, especially as he urged me to come, but as he, at the same time, had requested me not to depart without Mrs. Foy, and he (the minister) believed me disposed strictly to obey my husband's wishes, he did not know well what advice he could give me; but he offered me, at all events, a passage in one of the packet-ships, and suggested that I should persuade Mrs. Foy to profit of the same conveyance. But with her all my entreaties were in vain, until she received the long expected letter. Then my impatience was at its very height, but still not so great as Mrs. Foy's irresolution. I at length overcame her hesitation, and wrote again to lord Germain, who immediately answered that a packet-ship was in readiness to depart, of all the cabins of which I might freely dispose for my own convenience, and that of the persons belonging to me; and that Mrs. Foy could therefore accompany me. He added, that I should find every thing prepared for our reception, and that it gave him great pleasure to be serviceable to me. I was afterwards informed, that by his express orders, provisions, and even a cow, (to provide my children with milk,) had been put on board. Yet on our arrival at Quebec, the captain of the packet-ship demanded payment from my husband for all these articles.

As the moment of our departure approached, Mrs. Foy became less willing to go. She loved her comforts, and could not endure the idea of leaving her handsome and elegantly furnished house. But at last we set out for Portsmouth, where we were to take our passage. Mrs. Foy and her sister had many old acquaintances in that city among the officers, and spent the evening pleasantly in their company, while I had enough to do, to put my children to sleep. These officers assured Mrs. Foy that the season was too far advanced; that the voyage would be extremely unpleasant; that it was a real pity that such handsome ladies should expose themselves to such dangers;—and much more of the same import, which, however, I could but guess at, from my imperfect knowledge of the language. Suffice it to say, that she declared to me, in the course of the evening, that she was determined to return to Bristol. I entreated her to consider of it, and retired, while she returned to her company. The next morning at 8 o'clock, I received a message that all was ready for our departure. I then again besought Mrs. Foy; I even wept, but all in vain; for she knew that my husband had insisted that I should not depart without her. She had already despatched our coachman with our baggage for Bristol. I knew not what to do;—the carriage was ready and I was obliged to

yield. While we were driving through the city, I observed a great waggon escorted by a soldier on horse-back. I inquired what sort of a vehicle that was. My English maid (whom I had engaged in Bristol for my voyage) informed me that it was a waggon containing money, which was to be shipped on board our packet. This news fell like a weight on my heart, and I observed to Mrs. Foy, that the season could not be so very dangerous, when so much money was shipped. "Well," replied she, "if you still reason in this way, why don't you embark?" "Because you have prevented me from doing it," cried I, "by sending our baggage back to Bristol." She then rejoined, in a tone of raillery; "With so much courage as you have, you might embark with the few things you have with you, and I will send you all the rest by some other vessel." She had naturally a mild temper, but was on this occasion misled by her sister, who, besides being not as good as she, was really alarmed at the dangers of the voyage. The manner in which she had behaved, however, inspired me with new courage, and I resolved to return to Portsmouth to wait for the vessel, which, it must be observed, had not yet arrived. It was expected every minute, and I doubted so much the less of its immediate arrival, as I yet knew but little of the dilatoriness of sea-people, and the

frequent delays in the sailing of a vessel. I ordered my faithful "chasseur," Rockel, to run after the carter, who fortunately understood a little German, and was, therefore, more easily persuaded to unpack his charge and deliver my baggage. When this was done, I bid adieu to Mrs. Foy, and returned to the place from whence we had set out, and where I was determined to wait, as long as the season left me any hope of a passage, according to the promise I had made my good friend Ireland; especially as the friends of admiral Douglass, whose acquaintance I had made, at Bristol, and some other persons assured me, that we might yet reckon on good weather for two weeks. Even the officers who had dissuaded Mrs. Foy, were now of the same opinion, and excused themselves to me, for having spoken otherwise, by saying, that they had found that lady and her sister so alarmed at the dangers of the voyage, that they thought they could not please them better, than by humouring their reluctance to undertake it. I dined often with the Douglasses. Not being yet very conversant with the manners of the country, I was continually apprehensive of being like the romp in the comedy, "Ninette introduced to the count." Thus, for instance, I could never eat vegetables merely boiled in water, until at length I observed that they eat them with a good

sauce of butter. I then followed their example, and was much better pleased with that manner of serving vegetables, than with ours. However, vegetables are so excellent in England, that one can eat them with pleasure, even when only boiled, with salt. The manner of drinking, also occasioned me some perplexity. Several persons proposed to me to drink with them; a custom, of which, I had long before been informed, and I knew that it was considered a rudeness to refuse. But I did not know how to act, while I was weaning my little Carolina and I could not taste any wine. At first, I durst not decline, but as I feared it might injure my child, I asked frankly, if it would be an offence, if I returned the compliment by drinking water. They smiled, and told me that half-bred, or ill-natured people, might take it very ill; but that in good company nobody would ever be offended by such a trifle. I was thus relieved from another embarrassment.

In the English church, the congregation repeat in a loud voice, the service, the Lord's prayer and the commandments. I was, at first, much struck by the noise which ensued, and was once near running away: at length I did as the others.

Women, in England, are obliged to keep their bonnets on when in church, and they would be pointed at, if they came without such a gear. On



my return to Germany, when I and my daughters entered the church with our bonnets, all eyes were turned upon us. Now, they are worn in several ways. Such is the fate of every new fashion. I remained three weeks at Portsmouth, waiting for a ship, until at last I was assured that I risked too much, chiefly in regard to my children, by embarking at that late season; and that there were a hundred chances to one, that I should find the St. Lawrence frozen, and, consequently, the entrance to Quebec shut, even if I departed this year. This was, indeed, a sad prospect, and my tenderness for my children forbade me longer to think of my departure. It would have been quite otherwise had I been alone.

Portsmouth is an agreeable seaport, and much enlivened, as it seemed to me, by the daily arrival of vessels, which announce their approach by salutes. There is then always a great running to the shore, to know whence they come. Ships are also built here, and the dockyard is very fine. The naval academy is a splendid establishment. In no other school had I ever seen so much neatness and good order. The admiral's mansion is beautiful, and the view from it grand. The town is surrounded by walls, with fine walks on their tops. There are more handsome houses in Portsmouth than in Bristol, and the inhabitants, though

for the most part sailors, are more polite. The admiral kept a watchful eye over them, and punished severely all disorders, but was withal an amiable and kind gentleman. My money was now almost gone, as I had provided myself only with as much as I thought would be necessary in order to prepare for my voyage. But my journey to Portsmouth, and residence there, had been more expensive than I had anticipated, and had nearly drained my purse. I was, therefore, glad to meet, at my inn, with friends, from whom I could expect assistance in case I should need it. These were a captain Young, and his wife, who had arrived from Tabago. The captain had been, during the seven years' war, aid-de-camp to our duke, who was then hereditary prince, and was much attached to him; and, as he was well acquainted with my husband, he proposed to me to go with him and his wife, to London, and to lodge with them, at proportional expense. He was a middle-aged man, and his wife was about thirty years old, by no means pretty, of a sallow complexion, but with a very prepossessing countenance. I thanked God that I had met with them; and seeing that it would be impossible for me to reach Quebec during this year, I promised to follow them to London, which I did a few days afterwards. On my journey, I stopped in a small but neat town, the name of

which has escaped my memory. For fear that every thing might be as expensive here as in Portsmouth, I contented myself with a small room, and with mutton chop and potatoes. The inn was spacious, and all the furniture very elegant. The corridors, galleries, and, in one word, the whole house, was adorned on the outside with plants and shrubs, between which hang globes of glass, filled with birds and fishes. I was frightened at all this splendour, on account of my purse, and the more so, when I was ushered into the most elegant rooms, and had five or six palatable dishes. When the landlord came to serve himself, I thought inwardly, "This costs a guinea more." At breakfast I saw my servants feasting on chocolate, coffee, cakes, and other such luxuries, and could not forbear chiding them somewhat, for living so splendidly, when they knew that I had but little money. They protested they had only asked for tea, but that the landlord had answered, that such honest servants, who were willing to follow their masters to America, deserved to be well treated. In a word, no attention or civility was spared towards me. I asked at last, with fear and trembling, for my bill, and how astonished was I when I heard that it was only 10 shillings. I told the landlord that he must be mistaken. "No, madam," replied he, "that is

more than it cost me ; and I am happy to show you that there are honest people in England. I admire your fortitude, and wish to convince you that my admiration is sincere."

On entering my carriage, I found the inside trimmed with flowers and shrubs, and on accidentally putting my hand into one of the pockets, I found it filled with apples and cakes, a present, undoubtedly from the good landlord to the children. I reached London towards the end of September, and was not a little vexed at being shortly afterwards informed that the ship for which I had waited so anxiously, had touched at Portsmouth, and immediately departed for America. I was, however, assured, that I should have risked much by embarking at that late season. The vessel, nevertheless, arrived safely at its destination ; but another, within a few days of the same time, had met with a sad accident ; she struck against the ice, and the crew alone escaped.

In London, I was elegantly lodged with my friends, the Youngs, and had an excellent table. When I alluded to paying, they answered that they were very happy to enjoy my company. This was rather perplexing to me ; but as I supposed them to be extremely wealthy, and inferred that they would not accept any money from me, it came into my mind, that I could not better show

them the sense I entertained of their hospitality, than by presenting Mrs. Young my portrait in a diamond bracelet, and as I had the latter, I hoped I should in this way acquit myself towards my host and avoid expense to my husband. I spent most of my time with Mrs. Young, who was of delicate health, and a melancholy disposition, and with our landlady, Mrs. Bohlen; and, upon the whole, had reason to be pleased with my situation. Mrs. Young made all this while several acquaintances, expended much money on her toilette, bought dresses and caps by dozens, and kept the house constantly full of milliners and mantua-makers; and when she was thus well provided, she begged me to accompany her to the public resorts and private company. I excused myself on the score of my youngest child, and pleaded besides my anxiety on account of my husband, who was so far from me. I confess, that I feared, moreover, to expend too much money. "You know," said I, "that I wait for money from Germany, and though my husband has not restricted my expenses, I should be sorry to abuse his confidence." She seemed much displeased with my answer, for she was anxious to walk about, and imagined that she could do it with more decency, accompanied by a lady, than alone. She was now nearly as rude as she had formerly been civil; and the worst was, that

her husband spoke in high terms of my attachment to my children, for whose sake I preferred to remain at home. One day she came to ask me if I had found a lodging! Their repeated entreaties to remain longer with them, had made me forget to seek one; but I replied that I had taken measures to procure one. She replied, that she could recommend me one, and would accompany me to see it. She then carried me to a miserable house, situated in a remote and dirty street. I confessed that such lodgings would not suit me, and that I would rather dispense with other things than with good lodgings, which I wished to be decent enough to receive some distinguished ladies for whom I had letters of introduction. She replied, scoffingly, that I was so saving and so fond of remaining at home, that she thought these would answer my purpose.

On our way homeward, I saw an advertisement on a house in a convenient part of the town. I alighted from the carriage, and met with apartments, rather small, but neat and decent; the rent of which was four pounds a week. I observed that this was more than I could afford; but that I could promise, that if I could have the apartments at a reduced price, I would always be at home early in the evening, so that the house could be shut at 10 o'clock. The landlady looked at my

children, and when she was informed of my history and mishaps, she said to her husband, "Look; we have no children of our own, and these would supply their place, and that is better than a few guineas." She then offered to rent me the apartments for three pounds a week; furniture, kitchenware and linen included. I immediately took leave of Mr. and Mrs. Young, and went to my new quarters, where I was very comfortable, not only with respect to the lodging itself, but from the kind manner in which my hosts treated me. I candidly confessed that I intended to spend as little as possible, that though my husband had left me unrestricted as to expense, I was the more intent on living with the greatest economy. I told them also, that at that time, my whole capital consisted of ten guineas, and that six weeks might pass before I should receive a fresh remittance. "Well," replied Mrs. Russel, my new landlady, "I will be your housekeeper, and buy the bread and meat you may want; all the rest you shall have from ourselves, and you can pay for all, whenever most convenient to yourself." These good people amused themselves with teaching my children English, and I left them to their care when I went out. When I was about to depart the next spring, I found the honest landlord uncommonly dejected, and as it were, careworn. I inquired what ailed

him. "He is distressed on account of your departure," answered his wife; "but principally on that of your little Carolina, and he has desired me to beg of you to leave her to our care." "What would you do with her," said I, "in case I should die." "From the moment of your departure," she replied, "we would consider her as our adopted child, and make her heir of all we possess." As often as I thought of buying some trifle for the children, the good landlady always asked me whether the expense would not exceed the limits which I had set to myself. I felt quite happy to live with these excellent people, and I had so much the more reason to thank Providence that I had rid myself of Mrs. Young, as she was in the sequel, on the point of being arrested for debts, and all her property was seized, after her husband had left the country from the same cause. She was obliged to depend, at last, upon the humanity of her friends. How much uneasiness have I escaped by separating myself from these people! I cannot enough commend the behaviour of the English, in general, towards me. Persons with whom I had no friendship, offered to lend me as much money as I should want; and when I expressed my astonishment at so much liberality, and told them they were wrong to make such offers to a person who might have assumed a re-



spectable name: they replied, that such a suspicion was effectually precluded by my retired mode of living, and the tenderness which I showed for my children.

I was advised to present myself at court, the Queen having expressed a desire to see me. I ordered therefore a court-dress, and Lady George Germain introduced me to her Majesty. This was on the first of January, 1777. The saloon seemed to me to be very ugly, and the furniture old-fashioned. The ladies and gentlemen were all in attendance in the levee-room. At length the King entered, preceded by three Chamberlains. Then came the Queen, her train born by a lady and followed by a Chamberlain. The King went round to the right and the Queen to the left, and neither passed any one without addressing some words. At the end of the saloon their Majesties met, exchanged low obeisances, and returned to the side from which they had entered. I asked Lady Germain how I must behave, and whether (as I had been told,) the King gave a kiss to each lady who was presented to him. She answered that it was only the usage with English Marchionesses, and that I had nothing to do, but to stand quiet in my place. I was, therefore, much astonished, at receiving that attention from his Majesty; and unexpected as it came, I could not

help blushing. His Majesty immediately asked me, if I had received letters from my husband. I answered that my last were under date of the 22d of November. "He is well," said the King, "I have inquired about him; every body is satisfied with him, and I hope that he will not suffer from the cold." I rejoined that I too indulged in that hope the more readily as he was born in a cold climate. "I can moreover assure you," said the King, "that the country is very healthy and the air very pure." He then made me again a gracious bow and continued his round. I whispered to Lady Germain that the King had naturalized me by his salutation. The Queen approached and showed me also great affability. She asked me how long it was since I arrived in London? I said "two months." "I thought," returned the Queen, "that it was longer."—"I arrived in England seven months ago," said I, "but have been in London only two months."—"How are you pleased with your residence here?" asked the Queen. "Very well, madam," I answered, "but all my thoughts are bent on Canada."—"Have you then no dread of the sea?" asked her Majesty again, "I do not like it."—"Nor I, madam," I replied; "but as there is no other means of meeting my husband, I shall cheerfully embark."—"I admire your spirit and resolution," said the Queen,

“ for it is a great undertaking, especially with three children.”

I naturally inferred from this conversation, that the Queen had heard of me, and I was therefore, the more pleased that I had paid my duty to her Majesty. After the levee I saw all the Royal infants, except one, who was ill. They were ten in number, and every one of them was wonderfully beautiful.

The kind reception, with which I had been honoured, encouraged me to pay my duty to their Majesties several times. In the spring, when I was on the eve of departing to Portsmouth in order to embark, I took leave of the Queen ; and her Majesty asked me again if I was not afraid of the terrible voyage I was to undertake. I replied that as it was the wish of my husband, I should do it with courage and pleasure, in the hope of fulfilling a duty, and that I was sure her Majesty would act in the same manner, if placed in a similar situation. “ Yes,” replied the Queen, “ but a correspondent of mine informs me that you go, without the knowledge of your husband.” I replied that her Majesty, as a German Princess, was surely convinced that I could not do it without his consent, for I should want the necessary money. “ You are right,” said the Queen, “ and I approve of your determination and wish you all

imaginable success. What do you call your ship? I will often inquire about you, and I hope that on your return to England, you will come and see me.”—She was as good as her word: and not only inquired after me, but sent me often her gracious compliments.

General Burgoyne had promised my husband, that I should embark with him. I took lord George Germain’s advice, who told me that a man-of-war was a sure conveyance; but that passengers on board of one are entirely dependant on the commander, as he never accepted any thing either for the passage or the provisions; and that I should find it on that account inconvenient, especially as I had children with me; and he advises me, to go rather in a merchant-ship. A rich banker in London, Mr. Watson, a most worthy gentleman, who had already thrice filled the office of lord-mayor of that metropolis, (the same who, while bathing once in the East Indies, had his leg bitten off by a shark,) had met with my husband in Canada, and promised him to procure a passage for me in one of his own ships. General Howe, an old friend of my late lamented father, and my own friend, advised me to accept of the offer, and, for my greater security, he promised to procure for the ship a *letter de marque*, and two officers, with sixty soldiers. This suited Mr. Watson very well, as it would every

other ship-owner, though at the same time, a vessel fitted out in that way is obliged to fight, if met by the enemy. Mr. Watson accompanied me to the ship, and introduced me to the captain and the whole crew, and told the latter, that whoever should commit any offence against me, would incur the same responsibility, as if the offence were committed against himself; and that any person of whom I should complain, might be sure of being immediately dismissed from his employment.

The ship was spacious, and of the first rate; and all the accommodations which I desired, were presently made.

To gratify my husband, I wrote to Mrs. Foy, and proposed to her to accompany me. She accepted my offer, and all past differences were soon forgiven and forgotten. We met at Portsmouth; and on the 15th of April, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we embarked. We passed the evening in arranging our things, and separated for the night at 9 o'clock.

*Continuation of the Extracts from the Correspondence.*

## LETTER XXII.

FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO HIS WIFE.

Three Rivers, April 16, 1777.

What a sudden transition from happiness to sorrow! At the Isle aux Noix, I received, at the end of our late campaign, the agreeable intelligence, that you and all our children were arrived in safety at Quebec. I was transported with the prospect of passing an agreeable winter in your company, and in the enjoyment of domestic bliss. But how great was my disappointment upon my arrival here, when, instead of finding you, I received the letter which you sent me by the ship London, informing me that you had postponed your departure till spring. This was, indeed, like a thunderbolt; and my only consolation was, to thank God that you and our dear children were in good health.

The ship London, which should have conveyed you to this country, reached Quebec on the 8th of December, without having met with any accident.

I had procured neat lodgings for you and your little ones, and furnished them as well as I could. We might thus have spent a most delightful winter. That is now gone! It was the will of God; and we must not complain, but submit to his dispensations. I have in vain endeavoured to alleviate my sorrow by dissipation. I remained from the 30th of December until the 16th of January in Quebec, to pay my duties to general Carleton; and was loaded with civilities and attentions. Since my return, I have given a dinner, a ball, and a supper, in celebration of the queen's birthday; and afterwards continued, like the other generals, to give once every week a supper and an entertainment, partly to gain the good will of the inhabitants, and partly to provide the officers with innocent pleasures, and thus prevent them from indulging in those which are to be found in public places and bad company. General Phillips paid me a visit in February. I have inspected our regiments several times in their winter-quarters; and, in the beginning of March, I received a visit from general Carleton, who passed all our troops in review, and seemed very well satisfied. I accompanied him to Montreal, where I spent a week with him at general Phillips'. On his way homeward, he passed two days more at my house. From that time I have made many excursions to

inspect our regiments. The week after Easter, I spent alone in the country, the better to fulfil my religious duties; and now that the weather begins again to be fine, and we may hope for some arrivals from Europe, and to be able to despatch vessels, I make haste to write to you, inasmuch as I am yet ignorant when you will come, if, indeed, you come at all, and am unwilling that you should be without news of me. Yet I should be glad to find that I have written the letter unnecessarily, if I might enjoy the pleasure of seeing you arrive by the first ship.

I have already written you a brief account of all my doings during the last winter; and I must only add, (to give you an idea of the rapidity with which we travel here in sledges,) that from the 20th of February till the 10th of April, I have travelled over five hundred and eighty French leagues, or four hundred and thirty-five German miles, partly on the snow, but chiefly on the St. Lawrence. I cannot yet tell when the army will be put in motion towards New-England. If you come, as I still hope you will, pray remain a few days in Quebec, where you will find your lodgings ready, at my worthy friend's, Mr. Murray, whose wife is an accomplished woman, and will please you, and should we be already on our march, you may go to Three-Rivers, where you will find my



quarters in readiness and vacant, to which end I propose leaving there a part of my baggage. The grand-vicar, Mr. Saintonge, will hand you the keys, and he, as also the Tonnaucourts, will provide you with every thing that you may want.

You will find the garden pleasant for walking, and excellent for the kitchen; and you may remain at Three-Rivers until we obtain a footing upon the sea-coast of New-England, when I will take care to provide a large ship, commanded by an intelligent officer, for your voyage thither. Quebec may possibly not please you, and general Carleton's wife will not be much to your taste, for she is far too haughty. But Mrs. Murray is a worthy woman, and all our officers think that she resembles you, on which account I have always found her more agreeable than all the other ladies. In Three-Rivers you will find three families, who will be very attentive to you, and do every thing in the world to please you: first, that of the grand-vicar, who has a cousin of the name of Cabenac, a girl of much understanding, and who, I am sure, will please you; secondly, Mr. Tonnaucourt, who is colonel of the militia, and a widower, with three daughters, who have received a good education, and will be very agreeable companions to you; and thirdly, the whole nunnery, which is, at the same time, a school for girls, and where our two

eldest daughters would make pleasant acquaintances. I think you will prefer Three-Rivers to Quebec on the score of cheapness. Every thing there costs one half less than in Quebec or Montreal.

I send duplicates of this letter, one to England, in case that you have not embarked, and the other to Quebec, to the care of Mrs. Murray.

## LETTER XXIII.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Three-Rivers, June 5, 1777.

My dear wife,—On the 6th ult. General Burgoyne arrived here from England and brought me the agreeable news that you were about taking passage on board Mr. Watson's ship. I have therefore been anxiously waiting for you, through the whole of the last month, and am now obliged, in consequence of the tardiness of your vessel, to leave this place without having enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you, which grieves me extremely. But as we cannot help it we must submit, without murmuring, to the will of Providence who disposes

every thing for the best, and more for our convenience than we are often aware of.

I depart this moment for St. John, from whence we shall proceed through Lake Champlain to New-England. I leave it to you to determine whether you will do better to remain at Quebec, Three-Rivers, or Montreal. I still believe that Three-Rivers will suit you the best, because every thing is so much cheaper there, and because you will find a furnished house and will enjoy the society of Germans; Lieutenant-colonel Ehrenkron is the commander of the place. Besides, you are then nearer our treasury and will never be without money. I leave you a good provision of wine and several other things, and commission the "Captain d'Armes," Bühring to assist and advise you in your domestic arrangements. Your attendants can take their rations from the provision office. I am sure that the inhabitants will be very kind to you, inasmuch as I flatter myself that I generally stand well with them.

Whenever you wish to drive out with your children, you need only order post-horses, and you pay but one shilling for the French league. Be withal sure that I will not leave you long here, but that I shall send for you as soon as the situation of our affairs will permit.

Adieu, my dear wife. My heart sinks within me

when I think that I must leave this place without seeing you ; but I comfort myself with the hope that we shall not be separated much longer.

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## LETTER XXIV.

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Chambly, June 10, 1777.

Though far distant from you, my dear wife, I am always near you in thought, and am now seeking solitude in order to write to you and to muse on the sweet recollection of the time we have passed together.

A few days before our departure from Three-Rivers, I was imprudent enough to sleep with an open window, and in consequence caught a fever, which abated on the 6th of June, the day of our departure, but left me somewhat weak on the first day of our march. I am, however, now perfectly re-established, and to-morrow we shall set out for St. John, where we shall prepare our boats. I trust that you are arrived at Québec by this time, and I wait for your first letter with the greatest anxiety. I shall want courage to open it, for fear

of learning that you or one of our children have met with some misfortune, during your voyage ; but as soon as I shall have been informed that you and the children are well, I will thank God with a joyful heart, and our separation shall then soon be over, for I will send for you as soon as things shall become somewhat more tranquil.

I have not time to write a longer letter. Farewell ; be not fearful. God will be your protector and mine in all that may yet await us.

*Diary of Mad. de Riedesel during her voyage from  
Portsmouth to Quebec, until her arrival at the latter  
place.*

On the 16th of April, 1777, when the signal had been given from the Blonde, we departed, thirty-one sail strong, from Spithead for St. Helens, to meet there the other man-of-war, the Porpoise, destined to escort the convoy. We were all of us sick the whole day, especially while at anchor; for I think the motion of the ship is then much more disagreeable than at other times.

On the 17th, the wind became stronger, and on the 18th, at 6 o'clock in the morning, on a second signal, we set sail, to the great satisfaction of us all.

On the 19th, we passed Plymouth, with a favourable wind. Most of us had recovered our health, and I and my children were as well as on land. The weather was so fine, that we danced on the deck. Our orchestra consisted of two drummers and an excellent fifer.

From the 20th until the 23d inclusive, we had contrary winds, heavy seas, and cloudy skies.

Every body was sick, except myself, who wanted time to partake of the general calamity, as my servants were among the most afflicted, and I was obliged to attend to my three children. I verily believe, that the best remedy for sea-sickness is constant occupation; for on the first day I suffered as much as the others; but when I saw my children sick and without assistance, my whole thoughts were bent upon them, and from that moment I mended, and soon regained a good appetite. In fact, one's life, during a voyage, passes with eating and drinking: we had daily four, and sometimes five or six excellent dishes. On rising, I took my breakfast in my cabin, washed and dressed my children, made my own toilet, and then went on deck. Whenever nothing prevented, I worked. We dined at 2 o'clock, took tea at 6, and at 8 I put my children to bed. After this I supped, and at 10 retired to rest. My eldest daughter, Augusta, was for two days very sick, but after that she enjoyed better health than ever; the two others were but very slightly affected by the sea, and all the three had an excellent appetite.

On the 24th, the weather was fair, but cool, and the wind feeble.

On the 25th, we had scarcely any wind, and made no progress. Our rudder broke, but the captain,

who understood his business, had it immediately repaired. We had then made only 250 miles.

Perhaps the hope of shortly seeing my husband, gave me uncommon spirits; but indeed the sea did not seem to me so dreadful as some had depicted it; and I felt not the least regret at having ventured myself upon it. Conscious of having acted according to the dictates of duty, I was perfectly free from anxiety, trusting in God that He would conduct me in safety to the arms of my dear husband. I would gladly have sent back my servants, who had much less courage and confidence, and were of no use to me. I had pity for them, for they had not the prospect of recovering a beloved and excellent companion. The children, when I asked them in the midst of their severest suffering, whether they would prefer to remain or return, answered, "We do not care about being sick, if we can only go to papa."

On the 26th, the wind became again favourable, and we made our way.

On the 27th, we had divine service. It was an edifying spectacle to see the whole crew on their knees, praying with fervour. In the course of the evening the wind changed, and the ship's motion increased so much, that we were all again sick, but not so much as at the beginning of our voyage. I toppled several times, and one of my daughters



had a finger bruised by a door that was unhinged, and the other had her chin wounded.

On the 2d of May, we were 650 miles from Portsmouth.

From the 3d till the 6th, we had contrary winds and squalls, and on the 4th we had no divine service, on account of the continued bad weather.—The ship was so much tossed by squalls during the night, from the 5th to the 6th, that we could not sleep a moment, and I was in a continual dread of crushing one of my children, for they were all in my birth. Frederica never went to bed without praying for her father, and once she said, to me “I long to see papa.” I asked her what she would pray for after she should have enjoyed that pleasure. “Oh!” cried she, “I would pray to God every day of my life, never to be separated again from my father.” I looked on the child with deep emotion.

On the 6th towards noon the wind changed at last, and we had it very fair the next day and made 130 miles in 24 hours, upon which every body on board was mightily gay, and visits were exchanged from one ship to another. On board the *Henry*, which conveyed one hundred and thirty men of our troops, they had the courtesy to hoist the colours and to shout, “Long live our general and his lady.” I answered, “Long live the passen-

gers of the ship Henry," holding up my three children, to show my greatest treasure. Thereupon they broke out into huzza ! huzza ! and throwing themselves on their knees, they sang hymns. How could I have been otherwise than deeply moved at this scene ? The Porpoise, approached our vessel almost every day, to inquire after my health and to tender offers of services. The captain of that ship had carried my husband to Canada, and was indebted to him for his promotion to the rank of captain. He had now amongst his passengers a colonel Skin, governor of the province of Georgia, and his son, whose acquaintance I had made in Portsmouth, and who had offered me a loan of two hundred guineas if I wanted them. Although I had no occasion for accepting their offer, I cannot but remember their kindness with gratitude.

We met on the 8th with a sail which at first we took for an American. Though we had nothing to fear, I was nevertheless somewhat uneasy, for a naval engagement was not amongst the spectacles that I was the most desirous of witnessing. The Blonde lost three men in consequence of the parting of a rope ; another who fell likewise in the sea, was saved.

On the 9th we had made a thousand miles, or the third part of our voyage.

We had fair wind until the 11th, and went on that day at the rate of one knot the hour. Divine service was performed, and our soldiers were drawn up in parade.

On the 12th, the weather was fair, but the winds ahead ; it became better on the 13th, but on the 14th it was changeable and the atmosphere so foggy during the night, that the vessels were continually in danger of running foul of each other.

On the 15th, it rained the whole day, and it was very cold ; yet until noon the wind was fair ; but then it changed, and we had from the 16th until the 21st, contrary winds, generally bad and very cold weather, and what was still worse, the captain of the *Blonde*, one of the ships of war which conveyed us, having no practical knowledge of this part of the Atlantic, had sailed too far to the north, by which we ran five hundred miles in that direction and were obliged to wait for a northerly wind to reach the Banks of Newfoundland.

On the 22d, with full-moon, the wind became favourable, which gave us all great joy.

On the 23d, the wind was again unsteady. We saw the Banks but could not reach them. I thought of the fox and the grapes in the fable and could have wept. We had been now five weeks at sea and had not made more than 1660 miles. The weather was so dark that the ships of war were

obliged to fire guns every hour to keep the convoy together.

One of the transports, the *Silver-Eel*, lost one of her masts, and during the night she separated entirely from us, with the *Porpoise*, which made me somewhat uneasy, for my whole baggage, my husband's wine and regimentals were on board of that ship : but they joined us again on the 30th.

On the 24th and 25th, the sky was very clear but the wind still unfavourable.

The wind having become fair, we reached, on the 26th, the Banks. Our cook caught and presented me a large cod-fish. Our captain, who was an old intimate acquaintance of Mrs. Foy, was not much pleased with that preference shown to me, and snatched the fish from my hands and flung it into the sea; but I rewarded the good fellow's civility with a guinea. We caught nothing more the whole day; but I had the joy of receiving from the captain of the *Porpoise* four cod-fishes, bound on a board and fastened with a string, so that they could be thrown again into the sea. I treated on them the whole ship's company, as if nothing had happened; but the captain seemed so much the more ashamed at his incivility towards me.

This was not the only displeasure which Mrs. Foy caused me; and I had, on the contrary, fre-

quent occasions to regret that I had urged her to accompany me; for her sister, who was with her, did not behave in a very lady-like manner, and was besides very capricious; and for her old intimacy with the captain, Mrs. Foy could not avoid the liberties which he was used to take with her. Her maid, a most beautiful girl, had embarked only to leave a country where she already was too much known, and in hopes of finding among the sailors that sort of friends whom she liked best. One day a theft was discovered in the captain's wine store; and my poor Rockel was suspected of it : I felt deeply for that honest man. But fortunately, one night, when Miss Nancy (for this was the maid's name) was pilfering the captain's wine, the ship tossed, on a sudden, with such a violence, that she fell down with two bottles in her hands, and uttered such a cry as to make the people run towards her, upon which her theft was discovered. She alleged that the leader of the soldiers had directed her to bring him some wine. This man was an old sot, who often spent with her whole nights in the fore-cabin, and generally on Saturdays, when it was usual to spend the evening in drinking the health of "wives and sweethearts." Fortunately I had won the good will of the lieutenant, the inferior officers, and the pilot, by sharing my meal with their wives and children. They

all came to me one night, when the maid and her drunkard made the most noise, and protested that they felt deeply for me, but they had kept an eye upon them; and had these wretches dared any thing against me, they would have run to my assistance; and they volunteered to watch likewise on the following Saturday. I could not help being grateful for their kindness, and felt since, less uneasiness.

From the 27th to the 29th, the weather was fine and the wind fair. On board the Blonde, they caught about a hundred fish, mostly cod, some of which weighed fifty pounds, and all very fine. They were cured and put to dry about the rigging, so that they were preserved.

On the 30th, we had the finest weather imaginable, but not a breath of wind; it was a glorious sight to see about thirty ships on the sea, which was like a mirror. We had now passed the great Bank, and had accomplished two thirds of our voyage, being 2112 miles from Portsmouth. We saw a great number of whales close to our ship, the smallest of which were from 35 to 40 feet in length.

On the 31st, we had the joy of seeing, for the first time, land again. It is called Chapeau Rouge. My heart throbbed with delight. We passed in the afternoon Isle de St. Pierre.

On the 1st of June, the weather was rainy, but the wind fair.

On the 2d, we had, at first, calm, but afterward good wind, and passed the Isle of St. Paul and Cape Breton.

On the following day, we entered the gulf of St. Lawrence, and saw Port islands, which are a mass of rocks.—This was my husband's birth-day. My heart was filled with mixed feelings of joy and anxiety, and fond yearnings at the thought of seeing him soon, of holding him in my arms, and of presenting him our dear children.

On the 4th, we entered the river St. Lawrence, and saw on our left a hilly shore. We met with a multitude of vessels, which were making sail towards Europe, but the wind blew so fresh, that we could not speak to them. Some persons in our vessel thought they had seen soldiers on their decks, which made me very uneasy until we reached land, for the idea of going to a distant country, from which my husband had just departed for Europe, was indeed dreadful.

We passed the island of Anticosty in the night, of the 6th. On that day, we saw already valleys and mountains on our right and our left, and were now as far as two thousand seven hundred and sixty miles from Portsmouth. My impatience increased hourly, and I worked the whole day to di-

vert my anxieties. I had already knit a double night-cap, two purses, and several caps, for myself and my children, and made many other little things of that sort.

We had, on the 7th, contrary winds.

On the 8th, the wind was fair again, and we were now within 160 miles of Quebec.

On the 9th, we had calm weather, and anchored at the island of Pôt de Brandé.

On the 10th, at 4 o'clock in the morning, we weighed our anchors, and we had now passed all the dangerous places. Both banks of the river present here a beautiful landscape: the houses, the falls of Montmorency, and afterwards Quebec, within the sight of which we were.

On the 11th, at 10 o'clock, my whole frame was in commotion at the delightful view of the long wished-for end of our voyage. The sight of Quebec, at a distance, is very fine; and while surveying the noble scene which was lying before me, I remembered the captivating description which Mrs. Emily Montagu has given of it in her letters,\* and which is very exact. But the inte-

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\* Mad. de Riedesel means Mrs. Brookes' "Emily Montagu." The author of the "Travels through the interior part of America, in a series of Letters," (lieutenant Auburey,) who had



rior of the city is as unsightly as possible, and one is much fatigued at walking through its streets, on account of its mountainous situation. There are, besides, few handsome houses; but the inhabitants are civil. While we anchored, I had an additional pleasure. Our captain who had behaved ill towards me, in consequence of the relations in which he stood to Mrs. Foy, but who was, upon the whole, a good sort of man, came to beg my pardon, and asked of me to intercede for exempting his sailors from impressment, for an order had been given to examine every ship at its arrival, and if the crew was more numerous than necessary, part of them were taken for the king's ships. I made an application to that effect, and with good success.

As soon as they heard of my arrival in Quebec, all the vessels which were in the harbour fired salutes, and at noon, we saw a boat approaching, manned with twelve sailors dressed in white, and with silver helmets and green sashes, who came for me, and brought me a letter from my husband, inform-

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reached Quebec but a few months before Mad. de Riedesel, thought that, in consequence of the devastations occasioned during the last siege, Quebec "would by no means answer the beautiful description given by that elegant writer Mrs. Brookes, in her *"Emily Montagu."* Vol. 1, p. 150.

ing me that he had been obliged to join the army. This intelligence, of course, made me very uneasy, and grieved me, but I soon determined upon following him, if it were but to spend with him a few days. I went into the boat with all those who belonged to me, and I asked leave to take also Mrs. Foy and her sister, by which I had the gratification to make them feel ashamed of the displeasure they had given me: and we landed safely, about one o'clock, after a voyage of eight weeks. A vehicle with one horse, was waiting for me. Lady Carleton had sent it, with a message, requesting me to take my lodgings in her house, and to dine with her. I accepted of the latter invitation, because I was determined to set out immediately to join my husband. At general Carleton's, I was received by every body in a very affectionate manner, and all seemed at a loss to express to me the pleasure which my arrival gave them, and assured me that my husband would feel happy at it. As soon as lady Carleton was informed of the approach of the convoy, and that I was on board of one of the ships, she had despatched a messenger to sir Guy, to apprise him of my arrival, in order that he might inform my husband. They had seen at Quebec no German women, except some soldiers' wives, dressed with jackets, short cloaks, round caps, and they fancied that this was our national cos-

tume : they were much astonished at finding me dressed like an English woman. The Canadians of the lower classes wear large cloaks of scarlet cloth : the wealthy ladies have cloaks of the same size, but of silk ; and they never go abroad without that article of dress. The latter wear, besides, a covering for the head, with large knots of different colours, which may be considered as a sign of nobility, and upon which the ladies of rank pride themselves so much, that they could find it in their hearts to tear it from the head of the plebian woman, bold enough to wear it. The large cloaks cover sometimes very ordinary and mean dresses. The female garb consists, besides, of gowns and jackets, with long sleeves, and (for the street) large hoods, which cover not only the head, but almost the whole face, and which, in the winter, are stuffed with down.

At 2 o'clock, we sat down to dine at lady Carleton's.

## LETTER XXV.

*Extract of a letter of General Riedesel to his wife, dated St. John, June 13th, 1777, which did not reach her, in consequence of her departure from Quebec, for the purpose of meeting him.*

I welcome you, my dear love, on your arrival in Canada. I was dining with the other generals, at general Phillips', when the express arrived with the delightful tidings, that the convoy from Portsmouth was in sight, near the isle de Bec, and that intelligence had been received that you were on board of one of the vessels, with our three children, and that you were all well. You must have reached Quebec, on the same evening that that letter was written. The whole company complimented me most heartily, and we drank your happy arrival. My joy is increased by the share which every body seems to take in it. I only wished that you had arrived a week sooner, inasmuch as I could then have enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you immediately, for I intended to return to Quebec, previous to our crossing the St. Lawrence; but now it is too late. We must have patience: our separation, my dear wife, will not be long, and only until things can be dis-

posed in such manner, that you may be amongst us with safety, tranquillity, and comfort. As our correspondence will now be more regular, I beg you to keep, for my sake, a sort of diary of all that may happen to you and our dear little ones; and in the hope of imparting to you the same gratification I promise myself from the fulfilment of my request, I will also give you an account of all that occurs to me.

*June 5th.*—At 8 o'clock in the morning, I left Three-Rivers,\* dined at Riviere de Loup at the rectory, and slept at Massinonge, where I arrived very much fatigued.

*June 6th.*—We went to Berthieux, where we dined. In the afternoon, I crossed the Saint Lawrence, in a birch canoe, and passed the night in Sorel, at the clergyman's house.

*June 7th.*—I set out at 6 o'clock, dined at St. Denis, with lieutenant-colonel Specht of our troops, and reached Chambly in the evening.

*June 8th.*—The two battalions Berner and Breyman marched towards St. John, and two others came in their stead. My baggage could not be carried so quickly, in consequence of which

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\* Three Rivers was the winter-cantonment of the German troops under general Riedesel's command, which extended over the whole district lying between Quebec and Montreal.

it looked rather dismal in my quarters, for I had nothing to eat or drink. But my servants reached me at length in the evening. The passage of the St. Lawrence gave me a good deal of trouble, but all ended well.

*June 10th.*—General Phillips dined with me; and on the 11th, general Burgoyne took his breakfast with me. In the afternoon, I left Chambly for St. John, and stopped, on my way, to dine with colonel Mackenzie, at St. Theresa.

*June 12th.*—I dined in company with sir Guy Carleton and general Burgoyne, at general Phillips', and had the happiness to hear of your arrival. I hope to receive now from yourself a detailed account of your voyage. I shall depart to-day, or, at latest, to-morrow, for Crown Point, and will write to you whenever I have a moment of leisure.

Adieu; my love to our dear children. I hope that you are provided with money; if not, they will supply you at Quebec with as much as you have occasion for; and our pay-master Gödecke, whom you will find at Three-Rivers, will likewise make you all the necessary advances. Again, adieu, my dear wife. May God continue to protect us.—Write to me soon, and be assured that I shall ever be yours.

*Continuation of Mad. de Riedesel's Diary, from Quebec, until her meeting with her husband,—during the time of their second separation—and till their re-union at Fort Edward.*

Captain Pownell, who, as I already have said, had conveyed my husband from England to Canada, volunteered to carry me by water to Point Tremble, and a Mrs. Johnson offered to accompany me. In the evening of the 11th of June, (the same day that I landed,) we departed from Quebec in a boat of one of the ships of war, and reached, towards midnight, a place seven miles from Quebec. The moon shone bright, and we had delightful music. After having put my children to-bed, I sat down to drink tea with my fellow-travellers.

On the 12th, at half past three in the morning, we set out in three chaises of the country, or calashes, as the Canadians call them, which are very small, and not at all easy, but convenient for a speedy journey. I could not bear to leave any of my children with my maid-servants, and our vehicles being open and very narrow, I fastened my second daughter in the corner of my calash, for

fear that she might fall, and took the youngest on my knees, while the eldest, Gustava, sat at my feet, on my casket. I had no time to lose, if I wished to join my husband, who was marching with the army, and I promised, therefore, to reward the drivers, if they carried me speedily, and by these means, we travelled very fast. The Canadians talk continually to their horses, and give them all sorts of names. Thus they cried, while whipping their horses, "Allons, mon prince;" "Pour mon général:"—but oftener, "Fi donc, madame." I thought they meant me, and I said, "Plait-il?"—"Oh," replied the driver, "I only meant that little rogue, my horse;" ("Ce n'est que mon cheval, la petite coquine.") Whenever we met any peasants, they made me their obeisances, crying, "the wife of our good general," and carried me almost on their shoulders. It gave me great joy to perceive that my husband had made himself so acceptable, and to hear them say, "How pleased he will be!"—"How often he has mentioned you!"—"Oh, how much he loves you!"—In the afternoon we reached Berthieux, where I was told that I could have no vehicle, but must take a bark canoe. I made all possible application for a chaise, offered to pay as much as they should ask, for the weather was very bad, and I had to pass the three rivers which cross each



other, and run towards the town of Three-Rivers.\* But all was unavailing, for the passage across the rivers is reckoned for a post-relay, and as I was a foreigner, I was, of course, liable to be imposed upon, as strangers are every where. I took a boat, and seated in one corner of it, I held my children on my knees, while my three attendants sat opposite to me. It was necessary to trim the boat, of which, however, I was only informed, when we were overtaken by a storm, which frightened my second daughter so much, that she screamed and started from her seat ; whereupon our boatman told me, that we ran a great risk of being overturned by the least imprudent motion. I was, therefore, obliged to hold the child close by me, in spite of her cries : and thus we reached, at last, the same evening, Three-Rivers, where our officers were all agreeably surprised at our safe arrival, which first made us aware of the danger to which we had been exposed. Two gentlemen, engaged in an angling party, were once overtaken by a storm, which upset their canoe, and both were drowned. I thanked God when I found myself safe on land, though I often afterwards regretted having been told the danger I was

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\* They join there, and fall into the St. Lawrence.

in, upon that occasion, for I was in great dread, whenever I was obliged to cross a small river, even in the finest weather.

The grand-vicar was prompt in paying me a visit. He had taken a great fancy to my husband, who had passed the whole preceding winter at Three-Rivers. The good clergyman increased my impatience to join Mr. de Riedesel, by all that he reported he had said of his tender love for me and my children, and the anxiety he felt during our voyage. He informed me that my husband had been ill, which he ascribed to his great regret at being obliged to depart without seeing us, chiefly as he had often been put in great alarm, on our account, by unfounded reports. Thus he was once told, that a lady, who had embarked with three children, had perished:—and on another occasion, that I had sailed from England, and soon become so terrified at my undertaking, that the captain was obliged to put me ashore again. All this strengthened my determination of joining my husband with all possible speed, and I despatched an express to inform him that I should be with him within a very short time. The weather continuing to be very bad, the grand-vicar kindly offered to lend me a close chaise, in which I set forward on my journey, the next morning, at 6 o'clock. Our driver drove so fast, that I could

hardly breathe, and the jolting of the vehicle, added to my being obliged to hold my children, made me feel as if all my joints had been dislocated, so that the first thing I did, whenever we made a halt, was to stretch out my arms, and to walk up and down awhile, to restore the circulation of my blood. Two roads lay before me to go to Chambly, where I was told I might yet find my husband. I chose that of Montreal, where I arrived the 13th, in the evening, and passed the night, and from whence I departed again early the next morning. Upon reaching Chambly, I saw several of our officers, and my coachman, whom my husband had left here. I ran towards the latter to inquire after Mr. de Riedesel. "He is on his way to meet you," replied he, "between here and Berthieux; (fifteen miles from Chambly.) I was not a little chagrined at my ill-luck. However, general Carleton, who was one of the officers present, approached, and assured me that my husband would certainly be back, at the latest, on the following day. He then took leave of me and returned to Quebec, after having surrendered to general Burgoyne the command of the army. One of my husband's aids-de-camp remained with me, and the time, until the next day, seemed to me uncommonly long. Meanwhile my children, and the honest Rockel, watched on the road, in

the hope that Mr. de Riedesel might yet arrive that evening : and, indeed, a chaise was at length seen advancing up the road, and a Canadian in it. I saw the vehicle stop, the traveller alight, run towards my children, and fold them in his arms. It was my husband ! not having yet got rid of his fever, he wore (though it was summer) a blanket coat or gown with ribands, and the usual blue and red fringes, in the Canadian fashion. With my baby in my arms, I ran as quick as I could to join the beloved groupe. My joy was inexpressible, though I beheld with painful feelings the sickly and wearied looks of my poor husband. I found my two daughters bathed in tears ; the eldest from joy to see her father again, and the second, because he wore a dress so different from that with which he was represented in the portrait she was wont to see, and from which she had conceived that he was as elegant as handsome. “No, no ! this is an ugly papa,” cried she in English ; “my papa is pretty :” and she would not go to him. But as soon as he had thrown off his Canadian coat, she jumped upon his neck.

My husband had stopped to dine with colonel Anstruther, and was accidentally informed that a female had arrived at that place from Berthieux. She was sent for, and asked what was the news at Berthieux. “Nothing,”

answered she, "except that a German lady has arrived with her children, who is said to be the wife of the German general."—"How many children did you say?" inquired my husband.—"Three," said the woman. Mr. de Riedesel did not want to know more; and he thus accidentally learned that his children were alive and had arrived, for he had not received any intelligence of us during the whole winter, and our vessels were the first by which news from Europe could be received. We spent two happy days together. I wished extremely to follow my husband, but he would not consent to it, and I was obliged to return to Three-Rivers, with so much the more regret, as the army was marching in search of the enemy, and I went alone with my children to live in the midst of a people entirely strange to me. I travelled, therefore, in a depressed situation of mind. How different were now my feelings from those which accompanied me on my journey hither! I was now in no hurry, and the aching of my heart increased with every mile we advanced.

On passing a wood, I was suddenly roused from my reveries, by something that seemed like a cloud before our carriage, until I discovered that it was a flight of wild pigeons, of which there are such an abundance in Canada, that they are for many weeks the exclusive food of the inhabitants, who

shoot them with fowling-pieces, loaded with the smallest shot. Upon perceiving a flock, the Canadian hunter shouts, which makes the pigeons start all at once, so that by shooting at random, sometimes two or three hundred are wounded, and afterwards knocked down with sticks. The hunters sell a part, and keep the remainder for their own use; and these birds furnish soups and fricassees, which are usually dressed with a cream sauce and small onions, (chives.) During the shooting season, pigeons are on every table.—The peasants are very hospitable, and generally live in good houses, with spacious rooms, and curtained beds. Each house has a large entrance-hall, and three or four chambers. On the marriage of a daughter, the Canadian usually asks his son-in-law whether he wishes to live in his company; and if the offer is accepted, he causes a house and a stable to be built close by his own, and the surrounding land is put into cultivation, by which means agriculture flourishes apace with population. All the houses are whitened on the outside, and present a most pleasing prospect from the St. Lawrence, through the embellishing aid of distance. Each dwelling has a little orchard: in the evening, the returning herds add a new and picturesque feature to the landscape. Hogs and cows are, throughout this country, dri-

ven into the wood, and return homeward at a certain hour, when the latter are milked, and care is then taken to provide them with some food, for they would otherwise not regress to the stables. It often happens that sows remain absent for some time, and at once return with a new litter. They would soon die if they were kept shut up in sties, as in Germany. They are fine animals, and seem to be of a mixed breed, being partly tame and partly wild.

I reached Three-Rivers in an uneasy and anxious state of mind. My usual company in that town, consisted of the grand-vicar and his "soi-disant" cousin:—as such, at all events, she was introduced to me by my husband; she was cheerful, and talked agreeably. The grand-vicar was not inferior to her in either respect, and moreover a man of good understanding. I was afterwards informed, that all the gentlemen of his profession had in their company pretty cousins, whom they call their house-keepers.

I was always sure of company in the convent of the Ursulines, who are also called "charitable sisters," and justly, for they give almost all their time to the sick of the hospital, annexed to their establishment. On my first visit to the nunnery, and while I passed before the hall of the sick, a man threw himself at my feet, crying, "Save me, Madam: have

me killed, that I may return to Germany." The man was mad: I gave him some money, and made haste to get out of his reach.

Many of the nuns were very amiable, and I spent with them many agreeable days. They had a great regard for my husband, who had often sent them wine and roast meat. I followed his example, and from my sex, had it in my power to be still kinder to them, for I often ordered my dinner to be brought to the convent, and ate in company with the nuns. From the excitement arising from their wish to keep up my spirits, from our free conversation, and perhaps also, the wine we drank, the good sisters grew sometimes so merry, that they disguised themselves, danced a sort of Cossack dance, or dressed me in their garb. A young novice had conceived a particular affection for me, and thought that in the religious dress I resembled so much to a picture of the holy virgin, that the best I could do, would be to take the veil forever. I replied, that I had no objection, if they would make my husband their prior, in order that he might live in our company. She knew so little of the world, that she imagined this could easily be done: she ran away, and after a little while, I found her kneeling before a crucifix, pouring out thanks to God for my conversion. I sent for my children; Gustáva wept when she saw me



in my mummery. "Dear mama," she cried, "pray be not a nun." In order to tranquillize them both, I was obliged to throw off the dress.—There was also a school for girls in the convent, where they learned all sorts of work. The nuns sang beautifully, and as they chanted in the choir behind curtains, one might almost fancy it to be the symphony of cherubs.

My principal domestic cares were for my children; and I sometimes amused myself at my work-table, or with reading. The company of the officers, who had been left at Three-Rivers, was not very desirable: and the paymaster-general was a rude man, whose ungentlemanly behaviour often displeased me, and increased my uneasiness. While I daily expected captain Arbuthnot from Montreal, whom I wished to pay for my passage, I sent to the paymaster a draft, which my husband had left with me, for one hundred and fifty pounds sterling; but he refused to pay it. I asked him whether my husband owed him any thing. He replied, that on the contrary, some money was yet due to him; but as he was daily in danger of being killed, caution required him not to make me any advance. I was much irritated at this answer, and told him that his behaviour was not such as to make me willing to address myself often to him; and that even in case I had the misfortune to lose my hus-

band, I should be entitled to a quarter of his yearly salary, which exceeded the sum I asked of him. "Certainly," replied he, "but how would it then be with your return to Europe?" "Heaven will take care of me," returned I. I never spoke to him more about the money, but addressed myself to a British paymaster, who not only made me the advance, but offered to give me in future as much money as I should want. I informed my husband of what had happened, and he became very angry with the paymaster; wrote him a severe letter, and directed him to give me as much money as I should ask. From that moment he grew polite, and I advanced so rapidly in his favour, that a letter from his wife was found, after his death, among his papers, in which she said, "You write so many fine things about the general's wife, that I cannot help feeling some jealousy." Four years after the incident, which I have mentioned, I took pleasure in presenting him, during his last illness, all sorts of refreshments, and he sent me his apologies for his uncivil behaviour. The alarming manner in which this man used to talk, and the various rumours that were daily afloat, depressed me extremely, and embittered my life; so much the more, as I was often for many days without letters from my husband, although he wrote to me daily, and those I received were generally of a distant date. Certainly

we suffer more, while absent from those we love, and whom we know to be in danger, than when we are near to them. I begged and besought my husband to permit me to join him; I assured him that I had sufficient health and courage for such an undertaking, and that he should not hear any complaint from me, whatever might happen, and that I flattered myself that in many cases I should prove a useful companion. He answered me that he would not make any difficulty, whenever it should be possible for women to follow the army; shortly afterwards he informed me that my wish would soon be fulfilled; and while I, in consequence of these tidings, kept myself ready to set out on my journey, and waited for that moment with impatience, captain Willoe arrived at last with the order to accompany me. I need not say that he was welcome.

We departed together, two days after his arrival. A boat which belonged to my husband, and another small one, carried us to Three-Rivers. The detachment of soldiers which was on board the pinnace, was under the command of an honest sergeant called Bürich, who did all he could to oblige me, and to whom I entrusted our baggage. Night came on, and we were obliged to anchor at an island. The other boat, which carried more weight, and was not so well manned as

ours, remained behind: we were therefore without beds, and what was the worst, we had nothing to eat, for we had taken victuals but for a single day, and we found in our island nothing but the four naked walls of an abandoned and half finished house, full of brambles: over these, however, we spread our cloaks, and using the cushions of the boats as pillows, we had a tolerable night's rest.

I could not persuade captain Willoe to follow us into the shed; nor could I conceive what could be the cause of the uneasiness he seemed to feel. Meanwhile, a soldier put a pot to the fire. I asked him what it contained. "Some potatoes," quoth he, "which I have brought with me." I threw a longing glance at them; but as they were few, it would have been cruel to deprive him of them, especially as he seemed quite happy to possess them. At last, my desire to have some for my children, overcame my diffidence; and he gave me half of his little provision, (about twelve potatoes,) and took, at the same time, from his pocket, two or three ends of candles, which I accepted with great pleasure, for my children were afraid to remain in the dark. A dollar which I gave him, made him as happy, as his liberality had made me. I observed that captain Willoe had ordered a large fire to be lighted around our retreat, and placed a watch for the whole night, and I was often waked by a noise.

When, the next morning at our breakfast, which was served up on a large stone, I asked the captain, who had slept in the boat, what had caused the noise, he confessed that we had been in great danger, because the place where we were was the Rattlesnake Island, (*Isle à Sonnettes*), a name which had been given to that spot on account of the great number of that kind of serpents which it contained;—that he had not been aware of it, before we landed, and had felt uneasy when he heard it, but that it was too late in the night to take boat again;—that the only remedy he could devise, was to prevent the rattlesnakes by fire and by noise, from approaching us;—and that he had not shut his eyes during the whole night. I was much alarmed, and observed to the captain, that we had been exposed to great danger, as we had slept on bushes, where the snakes are apt to conceal themselves. He told me that if he had known it, he would have taken care that the house was cleared of all such brambles, or that he would have proposed to us rather to sleep in the boat. He knew nothing of the spot, until the second transport reached us, which was much later than our arrival. We saw many traces of those venomous creatures; skins and slime: and we were therefore not long at our breakfast. We afterwards crossed lake Champlain, and reached at noon Fort

John, the commander of which received us with much kindness and attention. We were every where welcomed in a most flattering manner, for my husband had won the good will both of the English and the natives. We embarked again to meet with a cutter, on board of which we reached Wolf's island, and passed the night in our vessel, notwithstanding a thunder storm, which presented a very awful scene, as we were encircled with mountains and large trees. On the following day, we passed Ticonderoga, and arrived towards noon at Fort George, where we dined with colonel Anstruther, the kind and gallant commander of the 62d regiment. In the afternoon we set forward on our journey in a chaise, and reached on the same day (14th August) Fort Edward. My husband had left this place, on the preceding day, with the army, but as soon as he received intelligence of our arrival, he came back (on the 15th,) and remained with us till the 16th, on which day he was obliged to rejoin his troops. But in consequence of the unfortunate engagement which shortly afterwards took place at Bennington, I had the pleasure to see him again on the 18th, from which day we passed three weeks in delightful tranquillity. A few days after my arrival, news was received that we were cut off from Canada. Had I not, therefore, availed myself of a fortunate

opportunity, I should have remained three years in that country, separated from my husband; and that opportunity was occasioned by lady Harriet Ackland's arrival at the army, upon which general Burgoyne observed to my husband, that he ought also to send for his wife, and he immediately despatched captain Willoe. We passed very happily the three weeks together. The country around us was beautiful, and we were in the midst of the encampments of the British and German troops. We had for our lodgings a dwelling called the Red House. It consisted of one room for my husband, myself and our children, a small study for my husband, and an entrance hall, in which my female servants slept. When the weather was fine, we dined under the trees, and if not, in a barn, where planks were laid upon some casks, to serve as a table. Here I tasted, for the first time, bear's flesh, and found it delightful. We often were in want of every thing, and I was nevertheless very happy and content, for I was with my children, and was sure of the attachment of those who surrounded me. There were, if I remember right, four or five aids-de-camp. While the gentlemen played cards, I took care that my children retired to rest.

*Abstract from a Military Memoir, concerning the  
Campaign of 1777.\**

From the beginning of 1777, general Riedesel was never permitted to take a part in the deliberations held by the British generals in their counsels of war, in regard to the military operations, nor was he ever made acquainted with the instructions which general Burgoyne had received from his government, on that subject. General Riedesel desired, from an early period, to obtain the command of the vanguard of the army, or, at least, as far as circumstances would allow, of a separate corps; and this was, from time to time, granted to him. The general endeavoured, by all means, to execute general Burgoyne's orders with the utmost exactness, to maintain discipline among the troops entrusted to him; to promote a good understanding between the British and German troops; and to secure to the latter all that had been promised them by the treaty of subsidy, and according to

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\* Written by general Riedesel.



rank, the full enjoyment of the privileges which were granted to the national troops of England.

Although bickerings arose occasionally among the soldiery, in consequence of the difference of language, and the misunderstanding which thence resulted, they had never any serious consequences, at least, when general Riedesel was with his regiments.\*

\* We copy the following lines from general Burgoyne's "State of the expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons," &c. &c. London, 1780, 2d edition, page 132.

"The mode of war in which they (the German troops) were engaged, was entirely new to them; temptations to desert were in themselves great, and had been enhanced and circulated among them by emissaries of the enemy with much art and industry. Jealousy of predilection in the allotment of posts and separate commands, ever subsists among troops of different states; and a solid preference of judgment in the commander-in-chief, often appears a narrow national partiality.

"I confess, I was much assisted in maintaining cordiality in an army thus composed, by the frank, spirited, and honourable character I had to deal with, in major general Riedesel;—a character which was very early impressed upon my mind, and which no trials of intricacy, danger and distress, has since effaced; but address was still requisite to second his zeal, and to diffuse it through the German ranks, and I studied to throw them into situations that might give them confidence in themselves, credit with their prince, and alacrity in the pursuit of an enterprise, which, when its difficulties were considered, in fact required enthusiasm."

Under such auspices, the army had broken up their winter quarters, on the 3d of June. On the 6th of July, the Americans evacuated Ticonderoga; and on the same day, general Riedesel was sent off with three German battalions to support brigadier general Fraser, in the pursuit of the enemy, who were retrograding towards Huberton. While on the 7th, he was within an hour's march from brigadier Fraser, the latter, without waiting for the junction of the other forces, had engaged himself with the enemy. A brisk fire was kept up, and things were in a critical situation until general Riedesel arrived with his vanguard, and made a fresh attack on the right wing of the enemy, which produced such a change, that the enemy was beaten, and experienced a considerable loss; and brigadier general Fraser, and all his officers, expressed to general Riedesel, in the liveliest terms, their gratitude for his aid.

After this affair, general Burgoyne rallied the army near Skeensborough. On the 12th, general Riedesel was detached with six battalions, to post himself in the neighbourhood of Castletown, in order to induce the enemy to make a demonstration on the Connecticut river. Meanwhile, general Burgoyne caused the roads to be repaired, and

made preparations to advance by Fort Anne, towards Fort Edward. While he was on his march, general Riedesel received orders to follow the English in that direction, and rejoined the army, on the 3d of August.

Here general Burgoyne resolved to detach a body of troops under lieutenant colonel Baum towards Bennington, in order to seize a considerable magazine of stores, disregarding all the reasons which general Riedesel had earnestly urged against that enterprize;—and that detachment being thought not sufficiently strong, lieutenant colonel Breymann was sent to its support, with an equal disregard of the general's objections. The affair near Bennington, on the 16th, had a most unfortunate end. The enemy was four or five times stronger than the English. Lieutenant colonel Breymann had been prevented by the march he had to perform, from reaching the place of action sufficiently early; and thus both detachments, one after the other, were defeated. Both the men and their officers, were very brave;—but they were too distant from the main body of the army, to keep up communications with it, or avoid the fate which they met with.

This unfortunate event paralyzed at once our operations. From St. George we could receive

neither boats nor provisions; the army was consequently prevented from advancing, while the enemy, recovering suddenly from their depression, increased their numbers daily.

On the 8th of August, general Riedesel was detached with three battalions to John's Farm, which lay between Fort George and Fort Edward, to protect the communications with Fort George, and to accelerate the departure of the convoy for the army. He entrenched himself in his camp, with a firm resolution of defending himself to the last extremity. The whole army was, in the meantime, stationed at Edward's house and Fort Miller; and one battalion had charge of protecting the communications with Fort Edward. It was natural to expect, that when the army should advance towards Albany, care would be taken to construct some works on the intermediate space, along the Hudson, to maintain the communications with Fort George; but general Burgoyne, apprehensive of thereby weakening his army, followed quite a different plan. He determined to march towards the enemy, with stores for forty days, and a proportionate train of artillery, to endeavour to beat the enemy, and thus by force, effect a communication with the army which was said to be advancing from New-York, and to abandon entirely the com-

munications with Fort George, Ticonderoga and Canada; but all this was kept secret.

When the provisions and all other necessities were ready, the army set out on its march, on the 11th of September. On the 13th, it had completely passed the Hudson, and on the next day it encamped on the heights of Saratoga. On the 15th it marched to those of Dovogat, and on the 17th arrived at Sword's house. All these marches were very fatiguing, for it was necessary to repair the roads and bridges, and to make reconnoissances continually. Besides, as the mountains extend at unequal distances from the banks of the river, in order to direct the march of the columns, so as to occupy the heights and road close to the river, they were always separated from each other more than half an hour's march, and often without any possibility of effecting their junction.

Meanwhile, in consequence of the unfortunate action at Bennington, and the successful attempt of the American general Arnold to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix, (which had just been commenced by the British lieutenant colonel St. Leger,) the courage of the enemy was roused to such a wonderful pitch, that the militia flocked in from New-Hampshire, and the other parts of New-England, independently of three brigades of the armies of

Washington and Putnam; and general Gates was sent by general Washington to take the command of the army, which, though it consisted of but four or five thousand men at the end of July, at the beginning of August could muster from fourteen to twenty thousand. With this respectable force, general Gates marched, at first, to Stillwater, and then three miles on this side, to Behmus' heights, where his right wing rested on the Hudson. Before the front of the army was a marshy ravine, and behind it the troops were covered by an Abattis. The left wing rested upon a height where there was a school-house, and was also covered, on the declivity of the hill, by a breastwork of logs. The ground was equally steep before and behind the front, and the American army was entrenched on these heights, waiting for our arrival. On the 19th of September, about 11 o'clock in the morning, our troops marched in three columns from Sword's house; that on our left, consisted of four German regiments and the 47th of the British, which covered the batteaux. These troops, with all the artillery and baggage, were under the command of general Riedesel. On the heights on our right, at an interval of half an hour's march, all the other English regiments defiled under the immediate orders of general Burgoyne, and the third column, which marched on the ex-

treme right, consisted of brigadier general Fraser's and lieutenant colonel Breymann's corps, and was commanded by the former of these two officers. They advanced slowly, because they were almost incessantly obliged to make bridges, to fell trees and clear the road.

About 1 o'clock, a brisk cannonade and fire of musketry was heard, and general Riedesel presumed that general Burgoyne's column was then engaged with the enemy. The fire again commenced towards 3 o'clock, and became much hotter. General Riedesel finding himself without any intelligence from general Burgoyne, despatched captain Willoe to him. This officer returned in about three quarters of an hour, and brought orders to general Riedesel to take the best measures to preserve the artillery, baggage and batteaux, and to repair immediately afterwards to general Burgoyne's relief, with as many troops as he should be able to take along, and to attempt an attack on the right flank of the enemy.

General Riedesel immediately took his infantry regiment, and two companies of the Rhetz regiment, and passed through the wood, in the direction from which the cannonade was heard. On clearing the wood near Freeman's Farm, he perceived both armies engaged, and found himself completely on the right flank of the enemy. The

left wing of the English was just preparing to retreat, but general Riedesel drew up hastily his seven companies, and attacked the enemy briskly. As soon as the British observed that movement, they rallied, and in a little while the enemy was completely beaten; and but for the approach of night, they might have been followed into their camp, into which they retired in great disorder. The troops passed the night on the field of action, and general Riedesel returned along the river side, to the left wing of the army. On the 20th, our troops occupied the position of Freeman's Farm, down to the end of the hill towards the river. Redoubts were thrown up on the heights which overlooked the valley, a bridge was thrown over the Hudson, and a work erected on the other side; and the whole army intrenched itself within lines and redoubts, which, in the most convenient positions, were strengthened with batteries.

Both armies remained in that position till the end of September. Our pickets were from time to time attacked: we were obliged to furnish strong escorts to our foraging parties, and forage became very scarce. We often sent detachments to reconnoitre the right flank of the enemy, but could never acquire a due knowledge of his camp. He also did not neglect to send occasionally detachments in the direction of our right flank, and beyond the



river towards Battenkill. We were here also informed that he had made an attempt on Carillon, through Skeensborough, but without success: except that he had fallen by surprise upon four companies of the 53d regiment, near the saw-mill, and made them prisoners. We were so short of supplies, that the daily rations were reduced to one pound of fresh beef and one pound of bread, at which, nevertheless, the soldiers did not murmur. Our situation becoming, however, daily more critical, and the enemy being too strong, as well by his numbers as by the position which he occupied, to attack him; general Burgoyne sent, on the 4th of October, for generals Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser, to consult with them on the measures which were to be taken. He proposed to leave the boats and the stores for a few days to the care of about eight hundred men, who were to remain intrenched; and turning the left wing of the enemy, to attempt an attack. But as we did not know the nature of the country, nor the position of the enemy's left wing, three or four days might pass before we could begin the attack, and it would be dangerous to leave our stores for so long a time under a feeble protection: these difficulties and other obstacles were taken into mature consideration; and a second conference was held on the evening of the 5th, when general

Riedesel positively declared, that our situation was so critical, that if we did not march against the enemy within a day, attack him, and bring about a favourable change in our affairs, it would be better to return to Battenkill, for after having passed the Hudson, in the rear of Battenkill, we should not be in danger of again being cut off from Fort George, and might wait until we should hear of general Clinton's movements towards acting in concert with our army. General Fraser approved of the latter plan; general Phillips refused to express any opinion, and general Burgoyne, who was not much pleased at this idea of retreating, declared that he would make, on the 7th, a reconnoissance as near as possible to the left wing of the enemy, with a view of ascertaining whether it could be attacked with any prospect of success. He would afterwards attack the enemy, on the 8th, or return to the position at Freeman's house, and begin, on the 11th, the retreat in the rear of Battenkill. This being his final resolution, there remained nothing to be done but to conform to it.—During the 6th, foraging parties were sent out, and provisions were distributed for four days in advance. On the 7th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the fifteen hundred men destined for the reconnoissance, marched out of the camp with eight pieces of cannon, under the immediate command of general Burgoyne, who was accom-

panied on that expedition by generals Riedesel, Phillips, and Fraser. Formed in three columns, they advanced within about a quarter of a mile of the enemy's left wing, where we met one of his detachments occupying Weisser's house; and after having driven him from that place, the neighbouring heights, which were almost surrounded with woods, were occupied. Whilst we were consulting upon the best manner of pursuing our reconnaissance, the enemy impetuously attacked our left wing: and the British grenadiers posted in the wood were defeated. Lieutenant-colonel Specht, who commanded the centre, made a good stand, and would have maintained the conflict still longer, had not lord Balcarras, who was on his right, been recalled through some mistake. Being now assailed in front and on both his flanks, he was obliged to retreat with his three hundred men. From that moment, the enemy rushed forward from all sides; upon which general Burgoyne gave order to retreat to the great redoubt, on the right wing of general Fraser's division. The troops had scarcely arrived there, when the enemy began their attack on the redoubt with the utmost impetuosity, but could not carry it, and we remained in possession of it during the night. However, Breymann's corps, reduced to two hundred men, and simultaneously assailed on all sides by the enemy, gave away soon after its leader was killed.

General Burgoyne determined now, but unfortunately too late, upon retreating to Battenkill. On the 8th, before daybreak, we left our position, and defiled into the plain, where our stores were, but were obliged to make a halt until the evening, because the hospital could not be sooner removed. In the evening we continued our retreat, general Riedesel forming the vanguard with four battalions, to cross the Hudson, and take post behind Battenkill. But the general had scarcely reached Dovogat, when he received orders to stop. To our great amazement, a day was again unnecessarily lost. In the evening we set out, and passed Fishkill, near Saratoga. The enemy having already posted himself on the bank of the Hudson, near Battenkill, general Burgoyne thought it dangerous to pass that river. The army, therefore, (on the 10th,) took up a position near Saratoga, which was strong enough on the left flank, towards Fishkill, but which, on the other flank, and in the centre, was so defective, that it was impossible to defend it. In the evening, the whole army of the enemy came up. We had, on that day, detached two regiments under the command of lieutenant-colonel Sutherland to this side of the Hudson to reconnoitre the road towards Fort Edward, and captain Twiss, of the engineers, accompanied this detachment to repair the bridges.

Sutherland got as far as an hour's march from Fort Edward, and began repairing the principal bridge, when unluckily he received an order to retire. On the 11th, in the morning, the enemy passed the Fishkill with three brigades, in order to attack the rear of our army. He succeeded so far as to take our boats, an officer with thirty men, and a great number of boatmen. A brisk fire being kept up there, the enemy were obliged to repossess the Fishkill; but the batteaux and a great portion of our stores were lost. During the whole day, our army was cannonaded in front and in the rear, and the outposts fired on each other incessantly. In the evening, general Burgoyne sent again for generals Riedesel and Phillips, to consult with them; and being himself of opinion, that it was impossible to make a successful attack, and to maintain our position, either in the centre, or on the right flank, Mr. de Riedesel proposed to sacrifice the baggage, and to retreat during the night, to this side of the Hudson;—not towards Fort Edward, but to ford the river four miles below that point, and then to advance speedily to Fort George, which might yet be accomplished, the enemy not having yet occupied the road on this side of the river. But nothing was definitely concluded upon that evening. Things continued in the same state the following

day (the 12th.) The enemy occupied the posts along the river to Fort Edward, and, also, extended more along our front.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon, we had again a conference, to which the brigadiers Gall and Hamilton were invited. General Riedesel urged most diligently, and in the strongest language, the necessity of the retreat, and recommended a plan, which he considered still practicable, but which the least movement of the enemy would render impossible. The retreat was, at last, resolved upon; but when nothing seemed wanting to its execution, it was discovered that the order for distributing, on the next morning, provisions for six days, in advance, had not been executed. The commissariat was directed not to delay any longer, and it was determined that the retreat should begin between 10 and 11 o'clock, when it was thought the provisions would be distributed. General Riedesel was to lead the vanguard, and general Phillips the rear.

At 10 o'clock, general Riedesel sent word to general Burgoyne, that the commissariat had performed their duty; but, to his great astonishment, he received for answer, that it was now too late, and that the army should remain quiet.

On the 13th, in the morning, our situation was greatly altered. Surrounded by the enemy, and obliged to pass a marshy ravine, and to ascend a

steep hill to reach them, we, on the other hand, would have removed from the river at such a distance, that the enemy could easily have advanced from the other bank to attack our rear; consequently, the fit moment of retreating was past, and the retreat itself impracticable. We had provisions only for five days. General Burgoyne called, therefore, the commanders of the battalions into a general council of war, where he explained the situation of our army, and the force and position of the enemy. He stated, that he saw no mode of attacking the enemy; and should we, against all probability, beat him, the want of provisions would prevent us from reaching Fort George; that a retreat seemed impracticable in any other manner than that each individual should make his way as well as he could, through almost impassable forests; that we could, indeed, maintain ourselves, in our actual positions, five days longer with the provisions we had, but, after that time, our situation would be worse; that our positions in the centre, and on the right flank, were altogether untenable; and, consequently, the defeat and dispersion of our army not only probable but certain. After a short pause, intended to leave the officers time to reflect upon what he had told them, general Burgoyne solemnly declared, that he alone would be responsible for the present situation of the army, as he never had asked any

advice, but required a submissive obedience to his commands. General Riedesel could not but approve of a public declaration so well calculated to convince every body, that he had in no manner participated in the preceding measures; and he begged all the British officers to testify the same, whenever he should be called to an account on that head. General Burgoyne then laid the following queries before the council of war :

1st. Whether military history offered precedents of any army having capitulated in such a situation ?

2d. Whether a capitulation, under such circumstances, would be dishonourable ?

3d. Whether the army really was in such a situation as to be obliged to capitulate ?

On the first proposition, it was generally answered, that the situation of the Saxon army at Pirna, of general Fink at Maxen, and of prince Maurice of Saxony, had been less unfortunate and forlorn than that in which our army was placed; and that nobody could have blamed generals who should have capitulated at such a juncture, in order to save their armies, although the king of Prussia cashiered general Fink, but chiefly to gratify his personal resentment.

On the second question, the general answer was, that the capitulation could not be dishonour-



able, on the ground already stated in the answer to the first query :

And on the third, all the officers replied, that if general Burgoyne should see any possibility of successfully attacking the enemy, they were ready to sacrifice their lives in the attempt ; but that, on the contrary supposition, they thought it advisable rather to preserve to the king his army, by means of an honourable capitulation, than by a protracted hesitation, after all stores should be exhausted, to surrender at discretion, or, on the first attack from the enemy, in such an untenable position, to be dispersed and separately destroyed.

After this unanimous declaration, general Burgoyne exhibited the heads of a treaty, which being deemed advantageous, were approved of without any dissent. General Burgoyne then determined to send a flag of truce to the enemy's camp, to inform them, that an officer would be despatched, on the following day, to treat with general Gates, (the commander of the American army,) on some business of great moment, and to agree upon a suspension of hostility, in the mean time : general Gates immediately acquiesced.

On the 14th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, major Kingston\* was sent to the Americans with ge-

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\* He was deputy adjutant-general.

neral Burgoyne's proposals to surrender our army, upon condition that it should be conveyed to Boston, and from thence shipped for England, under an engagement not to bear arms against the Americans in the present contest, or before an exchange.

General Gates rejected these conditions, and sent counter-proposals, consisting of six articles, by the first of which it was required that the army should surrender as prisoners of war ; and by the last, that the troops should lay down their arms in the intrenchments which they actually occupied, and march afterwards to the points which should be indicated to them.

General Burgoyne convened anew a council of war, and read general Gates' proposals. The officers declared, unanimously, that they would rather die than submit to such dishonourable conditions. General Burgoyne rejected them, therefore, and assured the enemy, that no other conditions would be agreed to, than those which he had proposed. The suspension of hostilities ceased in consequence. But to the great astonishment of every body, general Gates sent, on the 15th, in the morning, new proposals of capitulation, in which he acquiesced to all that general Burgoyne had stipulated, except some immaterial things, but

insisted that the army should leave its actual position, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Such a sudden change, and especially the new article, created fresh doubts. The council of war was again convoked, and it was resolved that general Gates' proposals should be accepted; but as they were but preliminary articles, and many subsequent arrangements were to be made before general Burgoyne could sign the capitulation, the proposed delay, it was alleged, was too short. It was therefore suggested, that a commission should be appointed, to be composed of two staff officers from each army, who should treat together respecting the additional stipulations, and prepare the conditions to be finally acted upon.

Lieutenant-colonel Sutherland and captain Craig were accordingly sent on our part. The commissioners remained in session until 11 o'clock in the evening, and, at last, all our propositions were accepted by the enemy. There were, respectively, orders asked and sent, on points of little importance, but as the commissaries of the enemy consented to all that ours proposed, the latter thought that they were fully authorized to conclude the treaty, and promised, upon their own and general Burgoyne's word, that it would be returned with the general's ratification the next morning. They rejoined us at midnight. Not long

afterwards, a deserter informed us that he had heard that general Clinton had not only taken the intrenchments on the Highlands, but that a week ago, he had advanced with his troops and his fleet to *Æsopus*, and must, in all probability, have reached Albany, by that time. General Burgoyne, and several other officers, were so much elated with this news, that they began to think of breaking the capitulation. Another council of war was instantly convened, and the following questions were put to them :

1st. Whether a treaty definitively settled by commissioners, might, even after the general had promised to sign it, be broken, without a violation of the rules of honour ?

2d. Whether the intelligence just received was sufficiently authentic, to justify the rupture of so advantageous an arrangement, considering our actual situation ?

3d. Whether the army had spirit enough to defend its actual position, until the last extremity ?

On the first question, there were fourteen votes against, and eight for declaring, that a treaty concluded, under such circumstances, and by which one of the parties had granted all that was required by the other, could honourably be broken.

The opinions were, also, divided upon the second question. Those who were in the negative, were influenced by the consideration that the intelligence received was mere hearsay. It would be very different, said they, if general Clinton had sent a despatch, or if the informer had arrived from that general's army; and, even if the general was at *Æsopus*, he would yet be too distant to relieve us from our desperate situation.

To the third question, the officers of the left wing answered in the affirmative; but the rest stated, that although they were convinced that the soldiers would display the greatest courage, should we attack the enemy, still, as they were aware of the inconveniences of our position, it might be apprehended, that they would not so well sustain an assault. To gain time, general Burgoyne resorted to the expedient of writing to general Gates, early in the morning, to tell him that he had been informed, through deserters and others, that general Gates had detached a considerable portion of his army to Albany, and this during the course of the negotiation on the treaty; which, he added, was contrary to all principles of fair dealing and good faith, and he could not sign the capitulation, unless he was assured that the American army was three or four times more numerous than the English; that general Gates

should, therefore, show his forces to the officer whom general Burgoyne should despatch for the purpose; and should it appear from his report, that such is the relative strength of the two armies, he would immediately sign the capitulation. Major Kingston was the bearer of this letter, and brought back general Gates' answer, that general Burgoyne might depend upon his word, that the strength of his army remained as it had been, at the time when he arrived before Saratoga; that he had even since then been reinforced by a brigade, and that during the negotiation no post had been reduced; that it would be as unwise as derogatory to his honour, to display his army before a British officer, and that this was altogether inadmissible; that general Burgoyne should reflect well, before he resolved upon breaking his word, and consider the consequences; but, that as soon as the capitulation should be signed, general Gates would readily show to general Burgoyne his whole army; and he gave him his word, that he would find it four times stronger than his own, without including the troops which were on the other side of the Hudson; but that he could not now grant more than an hour for a final answer, and that, after the expiration of that period, he should be obliged to adopt the promptest measures.

In consequence of this communication, another council of war was summoned, and, in this meeting, those who had voted for the rupture of the capitulation changed their opinions. General Burgoyne took generals Riedesel and Phillips aside, and requested their friendly advice. Both remained silent for a while, until general Riedesel declared, that if general Burgoyne should be called to an account in England, it would only be for the movements by which the army had been brought into such a situation, and, perhaps, on the score, that the overture for a capitulation had first come from him, and for not having early retreated so far as to remain master of the communications with Fort George; but that, after all the steps which had been taken, he considered it as still more dangerous to break the treaty on the ground of news which were so uncertain and unauthentic. Brigadier-general Hamilton, who joined our little circle, was of the same opinion. But general Phillips contented himself with saying, that things were in such a situation, that he was unable to offer either advice or help. After much deliberation, general Burgoyne resolved to ratify the capitulation, and he forwarded it by major Kingston.

On the 17th of October, the army set off, and all the conditions of the treaty were fulfilled. Ge-

neral Gates ordered his whole army, which was on this side of the Hudson, to be drawn up on the other side of the Fishkill. Some officers, who were commissioned to muster it, declared it to be from 23 to 24,000 men strong.—General Riedesel ordered that no colours should be surrendered with the arms; that the staves should be burnt, and the flags carefully packed up: by means of which, each of the German regiments remained in possession of its colours.

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The Memoir from which the preceding account is extracted, was dated from Stillwater, on the next day after the surrender at Saratoga; that is, the 18th of October, and signed and certified by all the officers who had commanded the several German regiments and battalions. It may be added, that after the captive army had reached Cambridge, near Boston, the American Congress refused to ratify that article of the capitulation by which it was stipulated that these troops should be shipped from Boston for England: and that they were consequently obliged, contrary to the treaty, to remain in America as prisoners of war.

This gave rise to much debate in Congress. On the question whether in regard of that article,



the treaty should be strictly executed, various opinions existed, and it was only through the interposition and suggestions of general Lafayette, that it was decided, as already said, to the prejudice of the English and German troops; for he could easily foresee, that a war would soon break out between France and England, and he wished to prevent the latter from employing these forces elsewhere. To overcome all the hesitations of Congress, Lafayette referred to the example which the English had given in the seven-years war, respecting the capitulation of Kloster-Seven.

When general Burgoyne showed the first draft of the capitulation, general Riedesel advised him to propose to general Gates, that the troops should return to Canada, without their arms, and under an engagement not to fight against the Americans, during the present war, unless exchanged; but general Burgoyne thought that the enemy would never agree to it, and therefore proposed that the troops should be sent to Boston, and shipped from that port to England. When this was afterwards a subject of conversation, during the march, general Gates' adjutant general intimated, that general Riedesel's propositions would have been accepted, on account of the great difficulty of providing the captive troops with provisions, on their

march to Boston. Had the general's advice been followed by general Burgoyne, the army, instead of being lost to England, could have been employed elsewhere, and would have escaped many sufferings.

*Continuation of Mad. de Riedesel's account of her residence in America.*

When the army broke up, on the 11th of September, 1777, I was at first told that I must remain behind ; but on my repeated entreaties, and as other ladies had been permitted to follow the army, the same indulgence was extended to me. We advanced by short journeys, and went through many toils ; yet I would have purchased at any price the privilege thus granted to me of seeing daily my husband. I had sent back my baggage, and only kept a small bundle of summer dresses. In the beginning, all went well, we thought that there was little doubt of our being successful, and of reaching "the promised land," and when on the passage across the Hudson, general Burgoyne exclaimed, "Britons never retrograde," our spirits rose mightily. I observed, however, with surprise, that the wives of the officers were beforehand informed of all the military plans ; and I was so much the more struck with it, as I remembered with how much secrecy all dispositions were made in the armies of Duke Ferdinand, during the se-

ven-years' war.\* Thus the Americans anticipated all our movements, and expected us wherever we arrived: and this of course injured our affairs. On the 19th of September, an action took place, which ended to our advantage; but we were in consequence obliged to halt at a place called Freeman's Farm. I witnessed the whole action, and knowing that my husband was among the combatants, I was full of anxiety and care, and trembled at every shot—and nothing escaped my ear. I saw a great number of wounded, and what was still worse, three of them were brought into the house where I was. One of them was a major Harnage, whose wife was with us; the second a lieutenant, whose wife was of our acquaintance; and the third a young English officer, called Young. The major occupied, with his wife, a room close by to that where I was.

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\* Lieutenant Auburey made a similar remark, when the army was yet in Canada: "We have more dangerous enemies at home, than any we have to encounter abroad; for all the transactions that are to take place, are publicly known, long before they are officially given out in orders; and I make no doubt, but you will be as much surprised as the general (Burgoyne) was, when I tell you, that the whole operations of the ensuing campaign were canvassed for several days before he arrived, who no doubt supposed, that in giving out his orders, he was communicating an entire secret." —[Montreal, May 20th, 1777. Vol. 1, p. 203.]

Great secrecy, observes the same writer, was, on the contrary, observed in the American army.

He had received a shot through his body, and suffered exquisite pains. A few days after our arrival, I heard groans in another room, and was told that the young officer, whom I have just mentioned, was lying there, and that his recovery was very doubtful. I took much interest in him, as a family of his name had shown me great kindness, during my stay in England. He expressed a great desire to see his benefactress, for so he called me. I went into his room, and found him on a thin bed of straw, for he had lost his whole baggage. He was eighteen or nineteen years old, an only son, and the nephew of the same Mr. Young I had known in England. He lamented for his parents' sake, but said nothing of his sufferings. He had lost much blood, and the surgeon advised him to submit to the amputation of his wounded leg; but he would not consent to it, though the limb had become gangrenous. I sent him pillows and blankets, and my maids gave him their mattress. I took more and more care of him, and visited him daily; for which he thanked me a thousand times. At last, the amputation took place, but it was too late, and he died a few days afterwards. My room being close to his, and the walls very thin, I heard his last moans.

I occupied a tolerably good house and had a large room. The door and the wainscot were of cedar,

a sort of wood which is found in abundance here : insects are driven away by the smell of it, when it is burned ; and it is often used for that purpose ; but some people believe that the smoke of it is injurious to the nerves, and principally to females in certain situations.

For our farther march, I had caused a calash to be made for me, in which I could take, not only my children, but also my two female attendants : and thus I followed the army in the midst of the troops, who were in great spirits, and sang and longed for victory. We marched through endless forests, and a beautiful district, though deserted by the inhabitants, who ran away at our approach, to reinforce general Gates' army. They are naturally soldiers, and excellent marksmen, and the idea of fighting for their country and their liberty, increased their innate courage. My husband was encamped with the rest of the army : being myself about an hour's ride behind the army, I went every morning to pay him a visit in the camp, and sometimes I dined there with him, but generally he took his dinner in my quarters. There were daily skirmishes with the enemy, generally of little importance. But my husband could never sleep without his clothes. The weather having already grown rougher, colonel Williams of the artillery thought our mutual visits were rather too fatiguing

for us, and proposed to have a house built for me with a chimney, which should not cost more than five or six guineas, and which I could uninterruptedly inhabit. I accepted of his offer, and the building, which was to be about twenty feet square, was begun. Such a dwelling is called a block-house, for which logs nearly of equal diameter are put together; and if the interstices are filled up with clay, it is not only very solid, but very warm. I was to take possession of it on the next day: and I rejoiced in it the more, as the nights were damp and cold, and it being close to the camp, my husband would be able to be with me. But all at once, on the 7th of October, he marched away with the whole staff, and then our misfortunes began. While breakfasting with my husband, I heard that something was under contemplation. General Fraser, and I believe, generals Burgoyne and Phillips were to dine with me on that day. I remarked much movement in the camp. My husband told me that it was a mere reconnoissance; and as this was frequent, I was not much alarmed at it. On my way homeward, I met a number of Indians armed with guns, and clad in their war dresses. Having asked them where they were going, they replied, "War, war;" by which they meant that they were about to fight. This made me very uneasy, and I had

scarcely got home, before I heard reports of guns; and soon the fire became brisker, till at last the noise grew dreadful, upon which I was more dead than alive. About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, instead of guests whom I had expected to dine with me, I saw one of them, poor general Fraser, brought upon a hand-barrow, mortally wounded. The table, which was already prepared for dinner, was immediately removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the general. I sat terrified and trembling in a corner. The noise grew more alarming, and I was in a continual agony and tremour, while thinking that my husband might soon also be brought in, wounded like general Fraser. That poor general said to the surgeon, "tell me the truth: is there no hope?" His wound was exactly like that of major Harnage; the ball had passed through his body, but unhappily for the general, he had that morning eaten a full breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon remarked, passed directly through it. I heard often amidst his groans, such words as these, "*O bad ambition! poor general Burgoyne! poor Mistress Fraser.*"\* Prayers were read, after which he desired that general Burgoyne should be

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\* In the original work, these words are in English, as here written.



requested to have him buried on the next day, at 6 o'clock in the evening, on a hill where a breast-work had been constructed. I knew not what to do : the entrance and all the rooms were full of sick, in consequence of the dysentery which prevailed in the camp. At length, towards evening, my husband came, and from that moment my affliction was much soothed, and I breathed thanks to God. He dined with me and the aids-de-camp in great haste, in an open space in the rear of the house. We poor females had been told, that our troops had been victorious; but I well saw, by the melancholy countenance of my husband, that it was quite the contrary. On going away, he took me aside, to tell me every thing went badly, and that I should prepare myself to depart, but without saying any thing to any body. Under the pretence of removing the next day to my new lodgings, I ordered the baggage to be packed up. Lady Ackland's tent was near ours. She slept there, and spent the day in the camp. On a sudden, she received the news that her husband was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. She was much distressed; we endeavoured to persuade her that the wound was not so dangerous, but advised her to ask permission to join her husband, to take care of him in his sickness. She was much attached to him, though he was rude and intem-

perate ; yet he was a good officer. She was a lovely woman. I divided the night between her whom I wished to comfort, and my children who were asleep, but who, I feared, might disturb the poor dying general. He sent me several messages to beg my pardon for the trouble he thought he gave me. About 3 o'clock, I was informed that he could not live much longer, and as I did not wish to be present at his last struggle, I wrapped my children in blankets, and retired into the entrance hall. At 8 o'clock in the morning he expired.

After he had been washed, he was wrapped in a sheet, and laid out. We then returned into the room, and had this melancholy spectacle before us the whole day. Many officers of my acquaintance were brought in wounded, and the cannonade continued. There was some talk of retreating, but I saw no indications of it. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had been built for me, in flames, from which I inferred that the enemy was near. We were informed, that general Burgoyne intended to comply with general Fraser's last request, and to have him buried at 6 o'clock, in the place which he had designated. This occasioned an useless delay, and contributed to our military misfortunes. At 6 o'clock, the corpse was removed, and we saw all the generals, with their retinues, on the hill, assisting at the funeral ceremony. The English

chaplain, Mr. Brudenel, officiated. Cannon-balls flew around and above the assembled mourners. General Gates protested afterwards, that had he known what was going on, he would have stopped the fire immediately. Many cannon-balls flew close by me, but my whole attention was engaged by the funeral scene, where I saw my husband exposed to imminent danger.\* This, indeed, was not a moment to be apprehensive for my own safety.

Orders had already been issued, that the army should break up immediately after the funeral,

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\* General Burgoyne has described this scene with his usual felicity of expression and eloquence, and in a much more graphical style than our authoress. We beg leave to copy the following passage :

“The incessant cannonade during the solemnity; the steady attitude and unaltered voice with which the chaplain officiated, though frequently covered with dust, which the shot threw up on all sides of him; the mute but expressive mixture of sensibility and indignation, upon every countenance; these objects will remain, to the last of life upon the mind of every man who was present. The growing duskiess added to the scenery, and the whole marked a character of that juncture that would make one of the finest subjects for the pencil of a master, that the field ever exhibited.—To the canvass, and to the faithful page of a more important historian, gallant friend! I consign thy memory. There may thy talents, thy manly virtues, their progress and their period find due distinction; and long may they survive; long after the frail record of my pen shall be forgotten!”—*State of the Expedition from Canada, &c. &c.* p. 169.

and our calashes were ready. I was unwilling to depart sooner. Major Harnage, though hardly able to walk a step, left his bed, that he might not remain in the hospital, upon which a flag of truce had been erected. When he saw me thus in the midst of danger, he drove my children and female attendants into the vehicle, and told me that I had not a moment to lose. I begged to be permitted to remain a little longer. "Do what you please," replied he; "but your children I must at least save." This touched my most tender feelings: I sprang into the carriage, and, at 8 o'clock, we departed.

Profound silence had been recommended to us; large fires were lighted, and many tents were left untouched, to conceal our movement from the enemy. We proceeded on our way the whole night. Frederica was afraid, and began to cry: I was obliged to press a handkerchief to her mouth.

We were halted at six o'clock in the morning, to our general amazement. General Burgoyne ordered the artillery to be drawn up in a line, and to have it counted. This gave much dissatisfaction, as a few marches more would have ensured our safety. My husband was exhausted by fatigue, and took a seat in the calash, where my maids made room for him; and he slept for three

hours upon my shoulder. In the mean time, captain Willoe brought me his pocket-book, containing bank-notes, and captain Geismar, a beautiful watch, a ring, and a well-provided purse, requesting me to keep them, which I promised to do to the last. At length we recommenced our march; but scarcely an hour had elapsed, before the army was again halted, because the enemy was in sight. They were but two hundred in number, who came to reconnoitre, and who might easily have been taken, had not general Burgoyne lost all his presence of mind. The rain fell in torrents. Lady Ackland had caused her tent to be fixed up. I again suggested to her the propriety of rejoining her husband, to whom she might be of great service, in his present situation. Yielding to my advice, she sent a message to general Burgoyne, through his aid-de-camp, Lord Patterson,\* to beg his permission to leave the army. I told her that she need only insist upon it, and she

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\* General Burgoyne had two aids-de-camp,—captain lord Petersham and lieutenant Wilford. The Baroness probably mistook the name of the former, who was afterwards earl of Harrington, viscount Petersham, and colonel of the 29th regiment of foot. Her spelling of English names is very incorrect; which, however, is less astonishing in a German, than in Hamilton, whose Warmestre, one of the heroes of count de Grammont's *Memoirs*, is yet an unknown personage.

would certainly succeed. The Rev. Mr. Brudenel accompanied her, and they went together in a boat with a flag of truce, to the enemy. There is a well known and fine engraving of that event. I afterwards met with lady Ackland at Albany, when her husband was almost entirely recovered; and both thanked me for my advice. On the 9th, it rained terribly the whole day; nevertheless we kept ourselves ready to march. The savages had lost their courage, and they walked off in all directions. The least untoward event made them dispirited, especially when there was no opportunity for plunder. My chamber-maid exclaimed the whole day against her fate, and seemed mad with despair. I begged her to be quiet, unless she wished to be taken for a savage. Upon this she became still more extravagant, and asked me, "If I should be sorry for it?"—"Surely," replied I.—She then tore her cap from her head, and let her hair fall upon her face. "You take it quite easily," said she, "for you have your husband; but we have nothing but the prospect of being killed, or of losing the little we possess." I observed, that with regard to her losses, I would promise to repay them, as well as those of the other maid, who was also much afraid, but was too good-natured to say any thing.

We reached Saratoga about dark, which was

but half an hour's march from the place where we had spent the day. I was quite wet, and was obliged to remain in that condition, for want of a place to change my apparel. I seated myself near the fire, and undressed the children, and we then laid ourselves upon some straw.—I asked general Phillips, who came to see how I was, why we did not continue our retreat, my husband having pledged himself to cover the movement, and to bring off the army in safety. "My poor lady," said he, "you astonish me. Though quite wet, you have so much courage as to wish to go farther in this weather. What a pity it is that you are not our commanding general! He complains of fatigue, and has determined upon spending the night here, and giving us a supper." It is very true, that general Burgoyne liked to make himself easy, and that he spent half his nights in singing and drinking, and diverting himself with the wife of a commissary, who was his mistress, and who was as fond of Champaign as himself. I refreshed myself at 7 o'clock, the next morning, (the 10th of October,) with a cup of tea, and we all expected that we should soon continue our march. General Burgoyne had given orders to set fire to general Schuyler's fine buildings and mills at Saratoga, for the purpose of securing our retreat. An English officer brought me some good soup, and

insisted that I should partake of it. After this, we continued our march; but only for a short time. There was much misery and disorder in the army. The commissaries had forgotten to distribute provisions, though we had an abundance of cattle. I saw more than thirty officers, who complained bitterly of hunger. I gave them coffee and tea, and every thing eatable that I had in my calash. My cook was a great rogue, but a man of infinite resources. He availed himself sometimes of the darkness of the night, to ford brooks and steal poultry, sheep, and hogs, and put them upon his bills, as if he had bought them; a manœuvre, of which it was a long time before we knew any thing. But my provisions were now exhausted, and regretting deeply my inability to assist those who came to complain of hunger, I called to adjutant-general Patterson, (lord Petersham,) who accidentally passed close by me, and said, with all the indignation which I felt at that moment, "Come, sir, see these officers, who have shed their blood for the common cause, and who are in want of every thing, because they do not receive what they ought to receive. It is your duty to call the general's attention to all this." He seemed much affected, and the consequence was, that, in less than a quarter of an hour, general Burgoyne came towards me, and thanked me



most pathetically, for having reminded him of his duty. He added, that a general whose orders were not obeyed, was much to be pitied. I replied, that I begged his pardon, for having meddled in affairs with which a woman had nothing to do ; but that I could not forbear saying what I had expressed, when I saw so many gallant officers in need of every thing, while I was destitute of the means of assisting them. He thanked me again, (though I really believe he has never forgiven me,) and, addressing the officers, said, that he felt much regret for their sufferings, and that he had given orders to remedy them, and asked why they had not called on him, as they must know, that as long as he had any thing to eat, they might dispose of it. They replied, that British officers were not accustomed to intrude themselves into their general's kitchen, and that they had accepted, with much pleasure, the least morsel that I had given them, for they were sure that it was offered with real kindness. He then gave new orders to the commissaries, to be, in future, more attentive to their duties. But this did not much mend our situation, though it caused a longer delay. The general went to eat, and our calashes remained in readiness to depart. Every body advised a retreat, and my husband pledged himself to effect that movement, if no time was lost. . But general Bur-

goyne, who had been promised an Order, if he should effect his junction with general Howe, could not be persuaded to it, and lost every thing by his dilatoriness. About 2 o'clock, we heard again a report of muskets and cannon, and there was much alarm and bustle among our troops. My husband sent me word, that I should immediately retire into a house which was not far off. I got into my calash with my children, and when we were near the house, I saw, on the opposite bank of the Hudson, five or six men, who aimed at us with their guns. Without knowing what I did, I threw my children into the back part of the vehicle, and laid myself upon them. At the same moment the fellows fired, and broke the arm of a poor English soldier, who stood behind us, and who being already wounded, sought a shelter. Soon after our arrival, a terrible cannonade began, and the fire was principally directed against the house, where we had hoped to find a refuge, probably because the enemy inferred, from the great number of people who went towards it, that this was the head-quarters of the generals, while, in reality, none were there except women and crippled soldiers. We were at last obliged to descend into the cellar, where I laid myself in a corner near the door. My children put their heads upon my knees. An abominable

smell, the cries of the children, and my own anguish of mind, did not permit me to close my eyes, during the whole night. On the next morning, the cannonade begun anew, but in a different direction. I advised my fellow-sufferers to withdraw, for a while, from the cellar, in order to give time to clean it, for we should otherwise injure our health.\* On an inspection of our retreat, I discovered that there were three cellars, spacious and well vaulted. I suggested, that one of them should be appropriated to the use of the officers who were most severely wounded, the next to the females, and the third, which was nearest to the staircase, to all the rest of the company. We were just going down, when a new thunder of cannon threw us again into alarm. Many persons, who had no right to enter, threw themselves against the door. My children were already at the bottom of the staircase, and every one of us would probably have been crushed to death, had I not put myself before the entrance, and resisted the intruders. Eleven cannon-balls passed through the house, and made a tremendous noise. A poor soldier, who was about to have a leg amputated, lost the other by one of these balls. All

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\* Mad. de Riedesel is here too particular in her narrative.

his comrades ran away at that moment, and when they returned, they found him in one corner of the room, in the agonies of death. I was myself in the deepest distress, not so much on account of my own dangers, as of those to which my husband was exposed, who, however, frequently sent me messages, inquiring after my health. Major Harnage's wife, a Mrs. Reynell, the wife of the good lieutenant who had, on the preceding day, shared his soup with me, the wife of the commissary, and myself, were the only officer's wives at present with the army. We sat together, deploring our situation, when somebody having entered, all my companions exchanged looks of deep sorrow, whispering at the same time to one another. I immediately suspected that my husband had been killed. I shrieked aloud; but was immediately told that nothing had happened to my husband, and was given to understand, by a sidelong glance, that the lieutenant had been killed. His wife was soon called out, and found that the lieutenant was yet alive, though one of his arms had been shot off, near the shoulder, by a cannon-ball. We heard his groans and lamentations during the whole night, which were dreadfully re-echoed through the vaulted cellars; and in the morning he expired. My husband came to visit me, during the night, which served to diminish my sadness and dejection in

some degree. On the next morning, we thought of making our cellar a more convenient residence. Major Harnage and his wife, and Mrs. Reynell, took possession of one corner, and transformed it into a kind of closet, by means of a curtain. I was, also, to have a similar retreat; but I preferred to remain near the door, that I might escape more easily in case of fire. I had straw put under my mattresses, and on these I laid myself with my children; and my female servants slept near us. Opposite to us were three officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to remain behind, if the army retreated. One of them was captain Green, aid-de-camp to general Phillips, and a very amiable and worthy gentleman. All three swore they would not depart without me, in case of a sudden retreat, and that each of them would take one of my children on his horse. One of my husband's horses was constantly in readiness for myself. Mr. de Riedesel thought often of sending me to the American camp, to save me from danger; but I declared that nothing would be more painful to me, than to live on good terms with those with whom he was fighting; upon which he consented that I should continue to follow the army. However, the apprehension that he might have marched away, repeatedly intruded itself into my mind; and, I crept up the staircase,

more than once, to confirm or dispel my fears, and when I saw our soldiers near their watch-fires, I became more calm, and could even have slept. I was, also, uneasy on account of the articles which had been entrusted to my care.\* Our cook procured us our supplies of eatables, but we were in want of water, and I was soon obliged to drink wine to quench my thirst, and to give the same to my children. My husband, too, had no other drink, which made our honest Rockel intimate to me one day, that he feared that his master used so much wine, because he was afraid of falling into the hands of the enemy, and, therefore, weary of life. The danger in which my husband was, kept me constantly in the most unpleasant state of mind. Being the only one who had not lost her husband, or whose husband had not been wounded, I asked myself very often, "Is so much happiness reserved for me alone?"—a reflection so much the more natural, as he was day and night in the very jaws of death. He

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\* Our authoress here becomes, again, too particular in her narrative, and says too much respecting her toilette,—the gallantry of the wounded officers who were in the cellar, while she dressed herself,—and their ingenuity in diverting her children, by imitating the bellowing of bulls, and the bleating of sheep, by which the elder were greatly amused, while the younger fell asleep.

never passed a whole night in his tent, but sat by the watch-fires, which alone, considering the coldness and dampness of the ground, may be thought sufficient to have killed him.

The want of water continuing to distress us, we could not but be extremely glad to find a soldier's wife so spirited as to fetch some from the river, an occupation from which the boldest might have shrunk, as the Americans shot every one who approached it. They told us afterwards that they spared her on account of her sex.

I endeavoured to dispel my melancholy, by continually attending to the wounded. I made them tea and coffee, for which I received their warmest acknowledgments. I often shared my dinner with them. One day a Canadian officer came creeping into our cellar, and was hardly able to say that he was dying with hunger. I felt happy to offer him my dinner, by eating which he recovered his health, and I gained his friendship. On our return to Canada, I became acquainted with his family.

I also took care of major Blomfield,\* who was

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\* The German lady calls him Plumpfield. Major Blomfield was, according to general Wilkinson, in 1816, member of parliament for Plymouth, major-general in the army, lieutenant-colonel of the royal artillery, chief equerry, and clerk-martial to the king.

wounded by a musket-ball which passed through both cheeks, knocked out his teeth and injured his tongue. He could retain nothing in his mouth, and soup and liquids were his only nourishment. Fortunately we had some Rhenish wine, and in the hope that the acidity would contribute to heal his wound, I gave him a bottle, of which he took a little now and then, and with such effect that he was soon cured. I thus acquired a new friend, and enjoyed some happiness in the midst of cares and sufferings, which otherwise would have weighed heavily upon my spirits. On one of these mournful days, general Phillips, wishing to pay me a visit, accompanied my husband, who came once or twice daily, at the risk of his life, and seeing our situation, and observing the entreaties I made to my husband not to be left behind, in case the army should suddenly break up, and my reluctance to fall into the hands of the enemy, he plead my cause, and said, on retiring, "I would not, for ten thousand guineas, see this place again. I am heartbroken with what I have seen."

All our companions, however, did not deserve so much commiseration. We had some in our cellars who ought not to have been there, and who, afterwards, when we were prisoners, were in perfect health, and walked about quite erect and



strutted as much as they could. We remained six days in this doleful retreat. At last a capitulation was talked of, in consequence of having lost, by useless delays, the opportunity of effecting our retreat. A cessation of hostilities took place, and my husband, who was quite exhausted by fatigue, could now, for the first time, take some rest under a tolerable shelter. He slept quietly in a little chamber, while I retired with my children and the maid-servants into the adjoining room. Towards one o'clock, a person came and asked to speak with him. I was very reluctant to awaken him, at that hour of the night; and I soon observed that the errand did not much please him, for he immediately sent the messenger back to the head quarters, and laid himself down again, out of humour. Soon after this, general Burgoyne sent for all the generals and field-officers to attend a council of war, early next morning, when he proposed to break the capitulation, in consequence of some groundless information he had received. It was, however, decided that this step was neither advisable nor practicable; and this determination was very fortunate for us, as the Americans told us afterwards, that had we broken the treaty, we should all have been cut to pieces. This they could easily have done,

as our army was reduced to four or five thousand men, while we had given them time to raise theirs to twenty thousand. On the morning of the 16th, however, my husband was obliged to repair to his post, and I to my cellar.

On this day, fresh beef was abundantly distributed to the officers, who had hitherto lived on salt meat, to the great injury of all, but especially of those who were wounded. The good woman who used to fetch us water from the river, made us an excellent soup; but I had lost all appetite, and had, for many days, eaten nothing but crusts of bread dipped in wine. The wounded officers who shared my misfortunes, cut off the best piece of the meat, and presented it to me with some soup. I declined, but as they saw that it would be dangerous for me to remain longer without eating, they declared that they would not touch a morsel, until I had set them the example. I could no longer withstand such kindness, and they assured me very politely, that nothing could give them more pleasure than to share with me the first good thing which they could enjoy.

On the 17th of October, the capitulation was carried into effect. The generals waited upon the American general Gates, and the troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war and laid

down their arms. The time had now come for the good woman who had risked her life to supply us with water, to receive the reward of her services. Each of us threw a handful of money into her apron ; and she thus received more than twenty guineas. At such a moment at least, if at no other, the heart easily overflows with gratitude.

At last, my husband's groom brought me a message to join him with the children. I once more seated myself in my dear calash, and, while riding through the American camp, was gratified to observe that no body looked at us with disrespect, but, on the contrary, greeted us, and seemed touched at the sight of a captive mother with three children. I must candidly confess that I did not present myself, though so situated, with much courage to the enemy, for the thing was entirely new to me. When I drew near the tents, a good looking man advanced towards me, and helped the children from the calash, and kissed and caressed them : he then offered me his arm, and tears trembled in his eyes. " You tremble," said he ; " do not be alarmed, I pray you." " Sir," cried I, " a countenance so expressive of benevolence, and the kindness which you have evinced towards my children, are sufficient to dispel all apprehension." He then ushered me into

the tent of general Gates, whom I found engaged in friendly conversation with generals Burgoyne and Phillips. General Burgoyne said to me: "You can now be quiet and free from all apprehension of danger." I replied that I should indeed be reprehensible, if I felt any anxiety, when our general felt none, and was on such friendly terms with general Gates.

All the generals remained to dine with general Gates. The gentleman who had received me with so much kindness, came and said to me, "You may find it embarrassing to be the only lady in such a large company of gentlemen; will you come with your children to my tent, and partake of a frugal dinner, offered with the best will?" "By the kindness you show to me," returned I, "you induce me to believe that you have a wife and children." He informed me that he was general Schuyler. He regaled me with smoked tongues, which were excellent, with beefsteaks, potatoes, fresh butter, and bread. Never did a dinner give me so much pleasure as this. I was easy, after many months of anxiety, and I read the same happy change in the countenances of those around me. That my husband was out of danger, was a still greater cause of joy. After our dinner, general Schuyler begged me to pay him a visit at his house near Albany, where he expected that

general Burgoyne would also be his guest. I sent to ask my husband's directions, who advised me to accept the invitation. As we were two days' journey from Albany, and as it was now five o'clock in the afternoon, he wished me to endeavour to reach, on that day, a place distant about three hours ride. General Schuyler carried his civilities so far as to solicit a well-bred French officer to accompany me on that first part of my journey. This gentleman commanded the reconnoitering party of which I have made mention. As soon as he saw me safely established in the house where I was to remain, he went back to the general. I met here with a French surgeon, and with an officer of the Brunswic troops under his care, who was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards. The patient spoke in the highest terms of the doctor's humanity, who was perhaps very skilful in his profession, though very silly in his general deportment. He was in a great ecstasy to find I knew French, and began to address me with impertinent speeches, varnished with many fine compliments. Thus he told me that he did not believe I was the wife of a general, because he thought it impossible that a lady of that rank should follow her husband into the camp; and when once among military people, he thought it was wiser to prefer the vanquishers to the van-

quished. I was disgusted by this impertinence, though I dared not show him the contempt which I felt, because I had no body to defend me. When night approached, he begged me to share his room with him: and when I told him I would watch the patient, he became still more forward and profuse in his gallantry. At this moment my husband entered, followed by his aid-de-camp. "There is my husband," cried I, and my look expressed all the scorn and contempt I felt for the Frenchman. He immediately retired, with much confusion, but had presence of mind or politeness enough to offer us his room. On the next day, we reached Albany, where we had so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter that city, as we hoped we should, with a victorious army. The reception, however, which we met with from general Schuyler, his wife and daughters, was not like the reception of enemies, but of the most intimate friends. They loaded us with kindness; and they behaved in the same manner towards general Burgoyne, though he had ordered their splendid establishment to be burnt, and without any necessity, as it was said. But all their actions proved, that at the sight of the misfortunes of others, they quickly forgot their own. General Burgoyne was so much affected by this generous deportment, that he said to general Schuyler, "You are too

kind to me, who have done you so much injury." "Such is the fate of war," replied he; "let us not dwell on this subject." We remained three days with that excellent family, and they seemed to regret our departure. Our cook had remained in town with my husband's baggage, all of which was lost on the second night after our arrival, though it was under the guard of ten or twenty American soldiers. I preserved only my bed and that of my children, and the little I had kept with me for daily use. This was the more unfortunate, as it was at a time when we were in pressing want of many things which we could not have procured, even had we been furnished with plenty of money; and my husband was obliged to board his aid-de-camp, his quarter-master, &c. &c. Each of the English officers, or as I should rather call them, our friends, for such they proved themselves to be, during the whole time that we were together in America, supplied something for our relief; one gave plates, another spoons, &c. and from these supplies we were obliged to keep up our establishment for three years; and only upon our arrival at New-York, were we able to supply any of our losses, and even then at great expense. Fortunately, I had kept my little waggon, which contained my own trunks. The season being quite advanced and the weather raw, I caused the vehicle to

be covered with oil-cloth, and we continued our journey to Boston, though by short stages, and with many inconveniences. I am not sure that my vehicle excited much curiosity, though really the waggon looked more like a cart in which wild animals are conveyed, than any thing else; but we were frequently stopped, and inquiries were made for the German general's wife and children. To prevent them from tearing the oil-cloth cover, I often alighted immediately, and did well in doing so. But I must say, in justice, that the Americans were civil, and seemed much pleased that I spoke their language, the English.

In the midst of all my troubles, God enabled me to keep up my spirits and to be cheerful; but my poor husband, who brooded continually upon the late disastrous events, and upon his captivity, became moody, and was easily irritated by scenes like those I have mentioned. His health was much impaired in consequence of having passed so many nights in the damp air. One day, when he was much indisposed, the American sentinels at our doors, were very noisy in their merriment and drinking, and became more so when my husband sent a message, desiring them to be quiet; but as soon as I went myself, and told them that the general was sick, they immediately became silent, which proves that the Americans also re-



spect our sex. Some of their officers who accompanied us, had been shoemakers, and, on our halts, made boots for our officers, and sometimes even mended the soldiers' shoes. Specie was of great value among them, on account of its scarcity. One of our officers, whose boots were much worn, said in jest to an American of military rank, who had a good pair, that he would pay a guinea for his in exchange. He immediately alighted from his horse, took the guinea, gave up his boots, and, putting on the old ones of the officer, again mounted his steed.

At length we reached Boston, and our troops were quartered in barracks, on Winter-Hill. We were billeted on a peasant, whose whole house contained but one room. Our maid-servants slept on the floor, and our male servants in the entrance. We laid straw under our mattresses, as we had no other bed-furniture with us. The peasant was a good natured man, but his wife took the meanest revenge for the trouble we gave her. We were obliged, however, to bear every thing, for fear that they might otherwise thrust us out of the house.

One day, our officers celebrated, in that unseemly place, the birth-day, I believe, of the queen, and drank freely. My two eldest girls, who observed, that the wine which remained, had been put behind the staircase, went to imitate the

example which the gentlemen had set them. They seated themselves before the gate, and drank so many toasts, that they grew tipsy ; in consequence of which, Frederica had a fever, accompanied with convulsions : my alarm was the greater, because I did not know what had been the cause. At last, I discovered it ; and, of course, chid the girls severely, who replied, that they also loved the king and the queen, and could not forbear drinking their health.

We passed three weeks in this place ; and were then transferred to Cambridge, where we were lodged in one of the best houses of the place, which belonged to Royalists. Seven families, who were connected by relationship, or lived in great intimacy, had here farms, gardens, and splendid mansions, and not far off orchards ; and the buildings were at a quarter of a mile distant from each other. The owners had been in the habit of assembling every afternoon in one or another of these houses, and of diverting themselves with music or dancing, and lived in affluence, in good humour, and without care, until this unfortunate war at once dispersed them, and transformed all those houses into solitary abodes, except two, the proprietors of which were, also, soon obliged to make their escape.

None of our officers were permitted to enter Boston. Desirous of seeing the daughter of ge-

neral Schuyler, Mrs. Carter, I went to town, and saw her, and dined with her several times. Boston is quite a fine city, but the inhabitants were outrageously patriotic. There were among them many wicked people; and the persons of my own sex were the worst: they gazed at me with indignation, and spit when I passed near them. Mrs. Carter resembled her parents in mildness and goodness of heart; but her husband was revengeful and false. They came often to see us, and dined with us, and in company of our generals. We endeavoured, by all means, to show them our gratitude; and they seemed to feel much friendship for us; though, at the same time, this wicked Mr. Carter, in consequence of general Howe's having burnt several villages and small towns, suggested to his countrymen to cut off our generals' heads, to pickle them, and to put them in small barrels; and as often as the English should again burn a village, to send them one these barrels;—but that cruel plan was not adopted.

I had, during my residence at Bristol, in England, made the acquaintance of a captain Fenton, whom the Americans claimed at the beginning of the war, but who remained faithful to his sovereign, and refused to go to America. Upon this the infuriated rabble seized his wife, who was a most respectable woman, and a daughter of the

age of fifteen, who was very beautiful, and stripped them both of their dresses, without regard to their moral worth, their beauty, and their delicacy; and after having besmeared them with tar, and covered them with feathers, drove them through the city. What had one not to fear from people maddened to that degree of hatred!

I heard, also, of two brothers, who had been extremely attached to each other, but who took different sides in regard to the political affairs of the country. The one, who had embraced the royal cause, asked permission to pay a visit to his brother, and having obtained it, went to see him. He was received with great demonstrations of joy. "How happy I am to see you return to the good cause," cried the republican. "No, my brother," rejoined the royalist, "I remain faithful to my king; but this shall never prevent me from loving you." Upon this, the republican rose with fury, seized a pistol, and threatened to kill him, if he did not instantly depart. His brother's repeated protestations, that their different sentiments in politics should never alter his attachment to him, were in vain. The other cried, "Nothing but the love which I bear you prevents me from killing you instantly; every royalist is my enemy:" and he would have killed him, if the other had not retired. Few families lived in good harmony;

and I saw here, practically demonstrated, that nothing is more dreadful than a civil war. We had, no other alternative but to live with such people, or in perfect solitude. I preferred, of course, the latter.

General Phillips remained unto the last a good and sincere friend of ours, and visited us frequently. Our house was always full of English gentlemen, from the moment we had been informed, that we were expected, in courtesy, to ask them to come again: previously we had sometimes been at a loss to conceive why some of them, whose society was very agreeable, and whom we had received with civility, had not returned to see us. We found this usage quite convenient for an intercourse with those persons with whom we were the best pleased. There were, however, some who were not so nice in regard to this rule, but favoured us with their visits rather more frequently than we desired.

I saw, in Cambridge, a whole house transported on some large logs, provided with small wheels.

On the 3d of June, 1778, I gave a ball and supper, in celebration of my husband's birth-day. I had invited all our generals and officers, and Mr. and Mrs. Carter. General Burgoyne sent an apology, after he had made us wait for him till 8 o'clock. He had always some excuse for not vi-

siting us, until he was about departing for England, when he came and made me many apologies; to which I made no other reply, than that I should be extremely sorry, if he had put himself to any inconvenience for our sake. The dance lasted long, and we had an excellent supper, to which more than eighty persons sat down. Our yard and garden were illuminated. The king's birthday falling on the next day, it was resolved that the company should not separate before his majesty's health was drank; which was done with feelings of the liveliest attachment to his person and to his interests. Never, I believe, was "God save the king" sung with more enthusiasm or with feelings more sincere. Our two eldest girls were brought into the room to see the illumination. We were all deeply moved, and proud to have the courage to display such sentiments in the midst of our enemies. Even Mr. Carter could not forbear participating in our enthusiasm. When our guests retired, the house was surrounded with people, who struck with the many persons that successively entered the house, and with the illumination, began to suspect that we had planned a conspiracy, and the least disturbance would have cost us our lives. When the Americans wish to call their troops together, they light torches on some surrounding heights: and that telegraphic order

is strictly obeyed. We were witnesses of it, on the occasion when general Howe attempted to rescue the troops detained in Boston. The inhabitants were, as usual, informed long before-hand of that plan, and immediately planted their torches, whereupon a crowd of people, without either shoes or stockings, and their rifles on their shoulders, flocked together; and it would, therefore, have been extremely difficult to effect the landing.

We passed our time at Cambridge quietly and happily, and should have been glad to have remained in that place, as long as our troops were to continue in captivity; but, towards the approach of the winter, we received orders to set out for Virginia. On that occasion, it became incumbent on me to devise new means of preserving the colours of the German regiments, which we had made the Americans believe we had burned. They did not seem to take this well, though they did not say much about it afterwards. We had, however, only sacrificed the staves, and the colours had been carefully concealed. My husband having told me this secret, while we were preparing for our journey, and desired me to take care of them, I shut myself up in my room with an honest tailor, to make a mattress, into which we introduced them. Captain O'Connel, under

pretence of some commission, was sent to New-York, and he took the mattress in lieu of a bed; and he did not part with it until his arrival at Halifax. There I received it again, while we were on our voyage from New-York to Canada, and, in order to avoid all suspicion, if our ship should be attacked, I kept it in my cabin, and slept, during all the rest of our passage, upon these honourable badges.

While making the preparations for our journey, I discovered that our cook, whose expenses I paid every day, and whose vouchers I happily had kept, had paid nobody, and bills to the amount of a thousand dollars, were presented to me for payment. My husband had the cook arrested; but he escaped, and went into general Gates' service, who found, however, that he was too expensive, whereupon he engaged with general Lafayette, who, long afterwards, told us, "that he was a cook only fit for kings." My husband liked him for his skill in the mysteries of the kitchen; but the rogue never liked me, for he saw well that I watched him close. I never doubted that he had been a partner in the robbery of our baggage at Albany. When we met him in New-York, he was in a state of abject wretchedness.

My husband complained often of the disordered state of his nerves, and of drowsiness. His only



amusement was to work in the garden, and to walk about, and for that reason I took care, as often as we removed to some new quarters, to arrange a little garden for him, which I always found means to provide for, without much expense, as almost all our soldiers understood more or less of gardening, and were eager to gain some little money. I was now, more than ever, glad that I had followed my husband to America. The sorrows of captivity, the painful situation of our troops, and the deprivation of news from home, distressed him extremely: but how much more would he have suffered, if nobody had been with him to dispel his melancholy, while six months, and longer intervals, passed sometimes without receiving any letters! How much do I rejoice, even now, as my recollections carry me back to the time, when I stoutly resisted all those who endeavoured to prevent me from fulfilling my duties, and following the dictates of the tenderest attachment, or to that when I faithfully shared his cares and sufferings!

We received the order to depart for Virginia, in the month of November, 1778. My husband bought for me an elegant English coach, that I might travel more conveniently. My little Gustava, had requested one of my husband's aids-de-camp, captain Edmonstone, not to leave us. He

seemed much affected with that innocent display of confidence and attachment : he promised to do as she wished, and was as good as his word. I journeyed always with the troops, and sometimes over roads that were almost impassable. The captain, who rode on horseback close to our carriage, and who was very strong, was often obliged to alight, and hold up our vehicle. Our old chasseur, Rockel, who accompanied me, and to whom such an assistance was very welcome, being himself worn out with fatigue, often remained quietly on his seat, and cried only for the captain's help ; a call which never remained unanswered. I upbraided Rockel constantly for taking such liberties ; but captain Edmonstone took it all with good nature, and begged me not to chide the poor old man.

We had always provisions in our baggage-wagon ; but as this moved more slowly than ourselves, we were often without food. Every fourth day we made a halt, and being detained in that way, at a place called Hartford, we met with general Lafayette, and my husband invited him to dinner, because he would otherwise have been much embarrassed to find it elsewhere. This perplexed me not a little ; for I knew that the general was fond of a good dinner. At last, however, I found means to have my provisions prepared in such a

way, as to answer his expectations. He was so civil and affable, that we became all much pleased with him. He had many Americans in his suit, who did not seem much pleased to hear us speak French. It may be that they feared, on seeing us on such friendly terms with him, that we might attempt to dissuade him from their cause, or that he might tell us what they did not wish we should know. I could not forbear asking him, how he could find it in his heart to accept so many distinctions from the king, on the eve of his departure for America, and then fight against his troops. He seemed at first somewhat embarrassed, but soon replied, "Indeed, such scruples were not far from my mind: and one day when the king offered to cause his fleets to be shown me, I answered, that I expected to see them on some future day. I retired directly, to avoid the awkwardness of my situation, should I be obliged to refuse anew such a gracious offer." Some persons, nevertheless, suspected him of having been a spy in England, whence he departed for America.

We reached one day a pretty little town; but our waggon remaining behind, we were very hungry. Seeing much fresh meat in the house where we stopped, I begged the landlady to sell me some. "I have," quoth she, "several sorts of meat: beef, mutton and lamb." Enraptured with

this answer, I told her, "Let me have some, I will pay you liberally." But, snapping her fingers, she replied, "You shall not have a morsel of it: why have you left your country to slay us and rob us of our property? now that you are our prisoners, it is our turn to vex you." "But," rejoined I, "see these poor children; they are dying of hunger." She remained still unmoved; but, when at length my youngest child, Caroline, who was then about two years and a half old, went to her, seized her hands, and told her in English, "Good woman, I am indeed very hungry," she could no longer resist, and carrying the child to her room, she gave her an egg." "But," replied the dear little one, "I have two sisters." Deeply affected by that remark, the hostess gave her three eggs, saying, "I am loth to be so weak, but I cannot refuse the child." By-and-by, she softened, and offered me bread and butter. I made tea, and the hostess looked at our tea-pot with a longing eye, for the Americans are very fond of that beverage; yet they had stoutly resolved not to drink any more, the tax on tea, as is well known, having been the immediate cause of the contest with Great Britain. I offered her, however, a cup, and presented her with a paper case full of tea. This drove away all clouds between us; she begged me to go with her into the kitchen, and there I

found her husband eating a piece of pork. The woman went into the cellar to bring me a basket of potatoes. When she returned into the kitchen, the husband offered her some of his dainty food; she tasted it, and returned to him what remained. I was disagreeably struck with this partnership and common enjoyment; but the man probably thought I was envious of it, on account of the hunger I had manifested, and presented me with the little which both had left. What could I do? I feared, that by refusing, I should offend them, and lose the potatoes. I accepted, therefore, the morsel, and having kept up the appearance as if I eat it, I threw it secretly into the fire. We were now in perfect amity; with the potatoes and some butter, I made a good supper, and we had to ourselves three neat rooms, with very good beds.

We continued our journey the next morning, and excited the curiosity of the inhabitants. Having reached the bank of the Hudson, we were lodged in a skipper's house, where we, with much difficulty, obtained a half-finished room without windows; so that we were obliged to hang blankets before the openings, and to sleep upon straw. In consequence of an accident which happened to our waggon, we had neither our mattresses, nor coffee, tea and sugar, which were of great service to us, during our journey. Our hostess, who was a

real termagant, permitted us at last, on the following morning, when our baggage had arrived, to breakfast in her room, as it was now the month of December, and we could not have a fire in the room where we had passed the night. But we could not obtain a table to ourselves, and we were not allowed to sit at hers, before she and her children and servants had finished their meal, which consisted of remnants of the preceding evening's repast, of cabbage, ham, and other things of that sort, and coffee with brown sugar. They left us then the dirty table, in all the disorder of a finished breakfast. They requested us, nevertheless, to put all things to rights, after we had finished ours. And when we ventured the least remark, they gave us directly to understand, that we had better be off. The woman behaved in this way only for revenge, as she was a stanch republican. Unluckily, the weather was stormy, and the wind ahead, so that it was dangerous to cross the river, as the boatman himself informed us. The shrew insisted, notwithstanding, on our departure, and all we could obtain from her, after many entreaties, was, that we might remain two days longer. On the third day, her husband came to tell us, with a perplexed mien, that it was time to depart. I begged him to consider the danger we were exposed to, and that he would accompany us at

least, as I should then be less afraid to embark. He promised to go with us; and we went on board a small boat, carrying one mast only; but in the same instant that he shoved it off, he jumped ashore, and left us alone with one sailor only, who was but an indifferent steersman, so that, what with his ignorance, and what with the contrary wind, we were tacking to and fro for more than five hours, until we at last reached the opposite shore, after much fear and anxiety. We were then obliged to wade through mire, before we arrived at the house of colonel Osborn, a rich gentleman, where we were to lodge. We had two rooms, which were rather small, but neat, for me, my husband, my children, and my two maid-servants, and at dinner and supper, the general's aids-de-camp. These latter wished, to warm themselves in the kitchen. But our host soon followed them, and, taking them by their arms, said to them, "Is it not enough that I give you shelter, ye wretched royalists?" He had just returned from his fields, and frightened us by his coarse dress and his long beard. But his wife was more amiable. On the following day, which was Sunday, she invited me to drink coffee with her, after our dinner. Scarcely had I taken a seat, when her husband, who now looked much more decent, entered. Deeply impressed yet with the

scene of the preceding evening, I rose, and was about to retire ; but he shut the door, and asked me, "Are you afraid of me?"—"No, sir," cried I, "I fear nobody, not even a figure as ugly as you were yesterday."—"Do I not look better to-day?"—"Yes, sir; but I wish to avoid new incivilities." Instead of waxing wroth, he softened; and taking me by the hand, he begged me to sit down again, next to his wife. "I am not so rude as you imagine," said he, "I like you, and if I were not married, I cannot tell but I might fall in love with you."—"Do you believe that I would encourage your affection?"—"As for that, we should see: I am very rich; this whole estate is mine; my wife, you see, is old: you will do well, therefore, to remain here." From that hour, my host would have given me all that I asked for; and the good hostess seemed quite glad to share with me all that her household could afford.

We remained here a week, the passage of our troops across the river suffering much delay, on account of the scarcity of boats. On the third day after our departure, we stopped at the house of a German, who gave us good lodgings and good fare. Our host, who was very old, happened to be the son of one of count Görtz's coachmen. His father having punished him one day for some youthful slip, he determined upon deserting



his home, and went without much premeditation to England; wence he was sent to America, with a number of people, who were drawn to settle in the colonies. It was his good fortune to fall into the hands of a generous master, who took him in kindness, put him to school, and after having kept him among his menials for some years, he gave him a small tract of land to manage and live upon, agreeably to the custom which then existed in this country, in regard to such servants. Being industrious and active, he soon found means to procure a lease from his master, who, observing how every thing prospered by his diligence, married him at last to his daughter. He had now several sons, who were, also, farmers; and the only thing that disturbed his happiness, was the self-reproach of having deserted his home: but he often made remittances to his father. As he knew that my husband's family lived in the neighbourhood of count Görtz, and in great intimacy with him, he felt happy to have us under his roof, and sincerely regretted our departure.

We slept, at another time, in the house of one colonel Howe, to whom I meant to pay a compliment, by asking him if he was a relative of the general of that name. "God forbid," replied he in great anger, "he is not worthy of that honour." The colonel was a man of a very fair reputation; and spent in husbandry, the time which he was

not obliged to devote to the military service. He had a daughter, who was about fourteen years old, and quite pretty, but very ill-natured. Sitting with her near the fire-side, she said, on a sudden, staring at the blaze, "Oh! if I had here the king of England, with how much pleasure I could roast and eat him!" I looked at her with indignation, and told her, "I am almost ashamed to belong to a sex, which is capable of indulging such fancies." I shall never forget that detestable girl; and I was impatient to leave her, though we had very good accommodations.

Before we passed the Blue Hills, we made another halt of eight days, for the sake of the soldiers. In the mean time, it had snowed so much, that we were obliged to have four men on horseback, before our carriage, to clear the road. We passed through a picturesque country, but of so wild a character, that it left awful impressions. The travelling was dangerous, the roads being almost impassable; and we suffered besides not only from cold, but from want. After our arrival in Virginia, and when we were a day's journey distant from the place of our destination, we had, for our last meal, tea, and a piece of bread and butter for each. This was the end of our little stock, and we could here procure nothing, either for our present or future wants, except some fruits,

which a peasant gave us for our journey. At noon, we reached a house, where we begged for some dinner; but all assistance was denied us, with many imprecations against the royalists. Seeing some maize, I begged our hostess to give me some of it, to make a little bread. She replied, "That she needed it for her black people: they work for us," she added, "and you come to kill us." Captain Edmonstone offered to pay her one or two guineas for a little wheat. But she returned, "You shall not have it even for hundreds of guineas; and it will be so much the better if you all die." The captain became so enraged at these words, that he was about to take the maize; but I prevented him from doing it, thinking that we should soon meet with more charitable people. But in this I was much mistaken, for we did not see even a solitary hut. The roads were execrable, and the horses could hardly move. My children, starving from hunger, grew pale, and for the first time lost their spirits. Captain Edmonstone, deeply affected at this, went about asking something for the children, and received, at last, from one of the waggoners who transported our baggage, a piece of stale bread, of three ounces weight, upon which many a tooth had already exercised its strength. Yet to my children, it was, at this time, a delicious morsel.

I broke it into pieces, and was about giving the first piece to the youngest; but she said, "No, mama; my sisters are more in want of it than I am." The two eldest girls, with no less generosity, thought that little Caroline was to have the first piece. I then endeavoured to distribute to each her small portion. Tears ran down my cheeks, and had I ever refused to the poor a piece of bread, I should have thought that retributive justice had overtaken me now. Captain Edmonstone, who was much affected, presented the generous waggoner who had given us his last morsel, with a guinea, and when we were arrived at our place of destination, we provided him, besides, with bread for a part of his journey homeward.

The place of our destination was Colle, in Virginia, where my husband, who had advanced with the troops, already expected us with impatience and anxiety. This was about the middle of February, 1779. We had passed, in our journey, through the provinces of Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland; and had travelled, in about three months, six hundred and twenty-eight miles. The house where we lodged, and, indeed, the whole estate, belonged to an Italian,\* who hired it to us, as he was about

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\* Probably Mr. Mazzei,

setting out upon a voyage. We looked impatiently forward to the time of his departure, and that of his wife and daughter, on account of the smallness of the house, and the scarcity of provisions. In respect to the latter, our landlord voluntarily assumed a kind of tutorship over us. Thus, when he killed a calf, he gave us, on the first day, only the head and the tripe, though we represented that this was not enough for twenty persons. He replied, that we could make a very good soup of it. He then added to the meat two cabbages, and some stale ham; and this was all we could obtain from him.

In the expectation that the troops would have arrived sooner, a great number of horned cattle and swine had been sent to the butcher; and salt being very scarce here, there were no other means of preserving it, but to lay it under earth, and to dress it over with ashes, which seem to have the same qualities as salt. Yet, the weather being sometimes very hot here, even in the month of January, the meat which was laying uppermost, was spoiled. Our rations were brought to us on wheelbarrows; but we were often obliged to throw it away, or to salt it and have it smoked. One day, when we had scarcely enough for ourselves, I saw eight officers suddenly arrive, a little before dinner. What could we do but share

with them the little we had? The troops were at Charlottesville, three hours' ride from us, and the road thither ran through a fine wood. At first, they suffered many privations: they were billeted in block-houses, without windows or doors, and but poorly defended from the cold. But they went diligently to work to construct better dwellings, and, in a short time, the place assumed the appearance of a neat little town. In the rear of each house, they had trim gardens and enclosed places for poultry. Afterwards, when the old provisions were consumed, they received fresh meat, and flour to make bread; and as this latter was of wheat, they could even make cakes and pies. They wanted nothing but money, of which the English sent but little; and as it was difficult to purchase any thing on credit, the soldiers were in many perplexities on that account. In the middle of February, the fruit trees were already in blossom; but the night frost killed them. As soon as the weather would permit, we caused the garden and the fields to be cultivated; and as our landlord left us within three weeks after, we took into our care all the poultry, &c. &c. We had turkeys which weighed fifty pounds, and were perfectly tame, but, on the approach of spring, they flew off to hatch their eggs, which they had laid in the woods.

We had already given them up for lost, when they suddenly returned with a numerous brood.

We had a large house built for us, with a spacious saloon in the centre, and with two rooms on each side, which cost us a hundred guineas, and was quite elegant.

The negroes sold us their little stock of poultry and vegetables. Every week, we and general Phillips sent, by turns, an ox and two swine to the slaughter-house. Thus with respect to provision we had nothing to wish for, but we suffered much by the heat during the summer : we lived in continual apprehension of rattlesnakes, and our fruit trees were destroyed by three sorts of insects. Sometimes, also, we had tremendous thunderstorms, accompanied with such winds, that more than a hundred trees were blown down around us. I must say, however, that their roots were scarcely under ground ; and when a strong wind blew away the earth, which was nothing but light sand, they remained almost entirely bare. The woods were, besides, often wasted by the fires of negroes and herdsmen ; and, indeed, nobody seems here to care much for trees. Whole forests are sometimes burnt down, to redeem land for the purposes of agriculture. The heat was so great, even during the night, that we were obliged to sleep with open windows ; but this brought upon us another

inconvenience. Frequently three or four bats, three times as large as those which are known in Germany, would flutter round our beds, and we would spend half the night in driving them out of the room. One night, the servants came to tell my husband, that the stable, which had been recently built, was in danger of being blown down by the wind. Every body, except myself, my children, and the maids, ran immediately to prop it. The wind increased, and large fragments of the chimney fell down into the room. The house tottered, and, through the remainder of the night, I was apprehensive lest I should be buried under its ruins. We were often in such dangers.

We had no chairs; in lieu of which we made use of round blocks of timber, which also served us for tables, by the help of planks. In this way we passed three or four months, and not unhappily. My husband, however, continued to be much depressed, partly perhaps because he could not bear such a high temperature. It was, indeed, very oppressive to every body, for the thermometer rose sometimes to a hundred and three degrees. We all endeavoured to buoy up his spirits, and when our little garden began to be in such a state as to afford him some occupation, he seemed to be less dejected. He was very liable to headaches, and disliked to wear his hat in the garden;



and this was the cause of one of the greatest shocks to me that I had yet experienced. One day, while I was just engaged in arranging his room, I suddenly heard a great noise. I ran to the window, and saw some men bringing my husband homeward. His face was blue, his hands were white, his eyes staring, and sweat ran from his brow, evidently from a stroke of the sun. I was terrified, and the children screamed aloud: happily the surgeon of the regiment lived in the house, and bled him immediately. He then recovered his speech, so that he could explain the accident. The effect of the "*coup de soleil*" was so sudden, that he was scarcely able to reach the house, and he would have fallen down, had not his aid-de-camp just arrived in time. If I had lost him, what would have become of me and my poor little ones, in the midst of a captive army, in the enemy's land, and at such a distance from home! I can never think of that event without terror. When my husband felt a little better, he took me by the hand, and looked at me with deep emotion. He was uneasy, whenever I left him. We sent for a physician, and by using all possible care, I was enabled, through God's mercy, to preserve my dear husband; but he remained feeble, and, therefore, so much the more sensible of his painful situation, and for many years afterwards

he complained of some pain in his head. His physician and acquaintances advised him to go to a watering-place called Frederic-Springs, and we went there; but I fear he increased his disorder by washing his head. Seeing that he could not sleep during the night, I willingly imposed upon myself the task of entertaining him with some books, and I purposely read in a drowsy manner: this had a good effect. His hands and feet were purple-black, and cold as ice. Sometimes when I fancied I could retire to rest, he awoke, as if disturbed by anguish. The least thing provoked him. One day a native entered the room, and addressing me, said, he was curious to see a German lady. This observation struck me only for its oddity; but when, with the intention of complying with the wish of our strange visiter, I introduced him to my husband, the idea of being constantly subject, from his situation, to the caprices of every body, drew tears from his eyes. I felt much regret for having been instrumental in doing what seemed to give him so much pain.

At the springs we became acquainted with general Washington's family, and with Mr. and Mrs. \*\*\*. Mrs. \*\*\* was a very amiable woman, and, notwithstanding her great attachment to her country, we became great friends. She generally spent the forenoons with us. She delighted in

our musical displays, when captain Geimar played the violin, and I sang Italian airs. One day, while we were engaged in this way, a peasant, whom we had repeatedly requested to furnish us with fresh butter, arrived, and, fond of music, as all his countrymen are, he listened eagerly; when I had finished my song, he desired me to sing it once more. I asked him, in jest, what he would give me for doing so, "for it cannot be expected," said I, "that I should sing without being paid for it." "Two pounds of butter," he immediately rejoined. The joke amused me. When I had finished, the rustic cried out, "Play again, but something livelier." He must have been pleased with my performance, for he came the next day with his wife, and giving me four or five pounds of excellent butter, begged me to sing. I thus gained his good will, and was no longer in want of many things, which for a long time I had been unable to procure. The most amusing part of the story is, that he really believed that I expected to be paid for the pleasure I afforded him, and wondered that I insisted upon paying him for his butter.

The Virginians are generally indolent, which may be attributed to their hot climate; but, on the least excitement, they become animated, and dance and whirl about: and as soon as they hear

the reel, (an English or Scottish national dance,) they look for a partner, and jump about with wonderful yivacity; but when the music ceases, they are again like statues.

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While we were at Frederic-Springs, my husband received the agreeable news, that he and general Phillips, with their respective aids-de-camp, were expected in New-York, where they were to be exchanged for American prisoners; upon which my husband returned to Colle, in order to place the troops, during his absence, under the command of colonel Specht, and to make some arrangements for the disposal of all our superfluous furniture, but chiefly that of the house which we had lately taken, and had not yet entered. We experienced the same thing several times: when the house where we were quartered happened to be destitute of conveniences, we endeavoured to furnish it; but scarcely had we succeeded so far as to make it a little comfortable, when we received, to our great annoyance, orders to depart. I left Frederic-Springs in August, 1779, to join my husband in Yorktown, in Pennsylvania. Mrs. \*\*\*, the amiable lady whom I

have already mentioned, having begged me to pay her a visit on her estate in Maryland, whenever I should pass in the neighbourhood, I chose the present occasion. Captain Freeman, one of my husband's English aids-de-camp, remained with me. Captain Edmonstone had been exchanged, in consequence of applications made by his father. He was so devoted to my husband, and so unwilling to leave him, that it was not easy to persuade him to return to England. We all felt deeply his departure, and so much the more as he had presentiments of never seeing us again.

On our way to Mrs. \*\*\*'s we were upset, but without any injury to any of us. I had given my friend notice of my arrival, and she sent a man on horseback to meet us. After having passed a neat village, inhabited by negroes, each of whom had a little garden near his hut, and knew some handicraft, we rode through a fine avenue towards the beautiful mansion-house, where the whole family waited for us, and received us with great cordiality. By family, I mean Mrs. \*\*\*'s father-in-law, a gentleman of eighty-four years of age, not less remarkable for his hale, cheerful look, and his scrupulous neatness, than for the quiet happiness which shone in his venerable countenance, his four beautiful grand-children, and our excellent

hostess. All was in plenty in this house. We eat off silver, and every thing corresponded with this show of wealth, though only so far as was warranted by good taste, and not as a matter of ostentation. My friends told me that I was expected to remain long with them, and that they should, therefore treat me without the least ceremony.

The garden was splendid, and the day after my arrival, Mrs. \*\*\* took me in her carriage to her vineyard, which was still more beautiful and tasteful, and much exceeded my expectations. We drove through an extensive orchard, at the end of which we ascended the slope by a winding path to the top, and all along the vines were gracefully interwoven with rosebushes and amaranths. From the top of the slope the prospect was charming, and such as I have not seen in any other part of America through which I have travelled.

Not far from this place is Baltimore, which I am told is a very beautiful town, and the residence of many interesting families. One of Mrs. \*\*\*'s intimate friends, an agreeable and pleasant lady, came from Baltimore to pay us a visit; and when I saw them together, I could imagine I witnessed the meeting of Rousseau's Heloise with her friend, and old Mr. \*\*\* reminded me of Mr. Wolmar. Mrs. \*\*\* resembled the heroine of the

novel in warmth of feeling, and would, I dare say, gladly have chosen a St. Preux for a husband. We built for her, upon a design which captain Freeman furnished us, a temple hung with festoons, and which we consecrated to friendship and gratitude. Several years afterwards, she wrote me that her relations had dressed it with fresh-gathered flowers. But the kind and amiable Mrs. \*\*\* is now with the dead. She is a great loss to her friends, a still greater to her children. We spent with her eight or ten days, and departed with regret. She furnished us with many things, which there was little prospect we should want for a long time; and that liberality was in reality superfluous, for the royalists received us with frank hospitality, from political sympathy, and those of opposite principles gave us a friendly welcome, merely from habit, for, in that country, it would be considered a crime to behave otherwise towards strangers; and thus we were plentifully supplied with all we needed.

We were overtaken by a violent thunder-storm, in a wood, not far from the place where I was to meet my husband. An uprooted tree fell down between the driver's seat and the horses, which effectually prevented our advancing, not one of my servants being strong enough to remove the

tree. The thunder, meanwhile, continued to roar; it fell several times near us, and another large tree was struck, and threatened to crush us in its fall. I encouraged my servants to try again to disengage the carriage, but the driver had lost all presence of mind, and protested that it was impossible. On a sudden, my little Gustava, who was then but eight years old, advised him to unharness the horses, and to hook them to the back part of the carriage. This immediately put an end to our perplexities, and every one wondered that the idea had not sooner occurred. We at length reached Yorktown, where I found my husband, who had been much alarmed for us on account of the weather. We had travelled through a beautiful country, part of which was inhabited by Moravians, and was extremely well cultivated. One village is called the Holy Sepulchre; and in another district, called the Holy Land, is the village of Bethlehem, where we found a good inn, and waited for those of our company who had remained behind. I had with me some beautiful birds from Virginia, the male of which was scarlet, with a kind of hood of a deeper red, of the size of a linnet, and which sang beautifully; his companion was gray, with a red breast, and was likewise hooded. These birds become domesticated as soon as they are caught, and will eat out of



your hands. They live long, but the males are so jealous of each other, that two of them cannot be kept in the same room, without one dies, as it were, heart-broken. I saw, also, in Virginia, blue birds, of the same size, whose ordinary cry is *wil-lo!* and this being the name of one of my husband's aids-de-camp, we had a good deal of sport with the poor thing. One of our attendants had found a whole nest of red birds, and trained them, and, knowing how much I loved the beautiful little creatures, he brought two cages full of them from Colle, upon his back; but, to my great sorrow, they had all died when he reached us. I had also made a collection of splendid butterflies, and packed them carefully in a casket; but, by the upsetting of the waggon, the box was dashed to pieces. Having twice met with such an accident, I forbore making any new collection. After we had once again been re-united and reposed ourselves, we continued our journey, during which we met with a family, who received us very kindly, and pretended to be royalists in their feelings. They showed us much affection, and desired us to recommend them to general Cornwallis, who, as well as general Clinton, was on terms of intimacy with general Phillips, and had contributed to our recall from Virginia.

We reached a beautiful place, called Eliza-

beth-Town, opposite to Staten Island, where we met with many royalists, who treated us with great hospitality. We were now so near to New-York, and so sure of my husband's being exchanged, that we thought all our present wishes fulfilled, and talked during our dinner of crossing over to the city, and finding ourselves, on the same evening, restored to blessed freedom. But on a sudden the room-door opened, and there entered an officer commissioned by general Washington to deliver to general Phillips a letter containing an order to return to Virginia, in consequence of the congress having rejected the proposal of a cartel. The general gave way to the natural irritability of his temper. Transported by passion, he started, and stamped and uttered the most injurious expressions against the members of congress. I was at first so terrified, that I could not say a word. The general came to me, and taking me by the hand, he said, "Do not lose courage, my dear madam; pray, follow my example: see how composed I am!" "Every one," returned I, "manages his sorrows in his own way. I conceal mine in the recesses of my heart, and you give vent to yours without restraint: but would it not be better not to show so clearly what you feel, and thus avoid becoming the sport of your enemies, who may, besides, take other revenge?" He very good-

naturedly answered that I was right, and promised to bear his sufferings with as much resignation as myself, and, in fact, from that moment, he became composed and self-possessed.

I was in circumstances which rendered traveling extremely fatiguing to me, and was so much the more disappointed, by not finding quiet and help in a permanent residence. After a day's halt, we were obliged to begin our journey back to Virginia, and we stopped at the house of the gentleman whom I have already mentioned. We met there with a nephew of general Washington, and several other officers of the American army, who, within three days, had brought about such a change in the opinions of our host, that not only his daughters were extremely affable towards the republican officers, but indulged them with the song of "*God save great Washington; God d—n the King.*" I could scarcely conceal my indignation, when I took leave of them the next morning. On reaching Bethlehem, my husband and general Phillips obtained from the American officers permission to remain there, until the difficulties respecting the cartel should be removed. Having had reason to be gratified with the host at whose house we had put up on our first journey through Bethlehem, we determined to board with him. We were sixteen in number, besides four servants,

who received money to provide for their meals, and we had twenty horses. We wished to agree upon a fixed price for all expenses ; but our host declined this proposal, offering, however, to wait for his pay until we should receive money, for, at that time, we had none. We immediately set him down as an honest and liberal innkeeper, and the more so because he was of the Moravian community, and his establishment was the inn of the society. But how sadly were we disappointed, when, after six weeks lodging at his house, and on the day when at last we received permission to go to New-York, he presented us a bill amounting to 32,000 dollars, (in American paper money, it is true,) but which still corresponded to about 400 guineas in specie. Fortunately for us, a traveller passed through the place, whose business it seemed to be to buy silver coin at any price. He gave us eighty dollars in paper money for every dollar in silver. Without him, we should not have been able to have left Bethlehem so soon.\*

My husband continued to suffer much from headache, and his respiration was oppressed during the night. He began, at that time, to use snuff, for

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\* The author of the "Travels through the Interior Parts of America," says that he discharged, in an inn at Fredericstown, a reckoning of 732*l.* sterling, with about four guineas and a half.

which before he had a real horror. When I first suggested to him to try that remedy, he suspected that I meant to rally him; but having experienced some relief, a few moments after having followed my advice, he gave up smoking for the use of snuff. My little Caroline suffered much from the hooping-cough; and owing to my own situation, we became more and more impatient to reach New-York, where we expected to find good accommodations, and medical assistance.

There were in Bethlehem, as in all other Moravian establishments, separate houses for the males and females. The latter wrought beautiful embroidery, and other delicate handiworks, of which I bought several articles. A German lady, of noble birth, by name of Gersdorff, who afterwards settled at Herrnhuth, had taught the sisters these sorts of work. The houses were well built, and there were several manufacturing establishments, among which was one of leather, which furnished articles not inferior in quality to those of England, and half as cheap. There were, besides, several very good carpenters, and manufacturers of articles of iron and steel. I was very desirous to see Philadelphia, which is but twelve or fifteen miles from Bethlehem, and the road between the two places was said to be throughout

very good. But as my husband, as well as the other officers, was prohibited from going there, and as I was resolved to share with him all his joys and sorrows, I gave up that journey. We went often to the church in Bethlehem, and were always delighted with the rich melody of their sacred music. The clergyman's wife died while we were in Bethlehem. The corpse lay, waiting for burial, in the open air, and within an enclosure made of bars, for the Moravians never keep a dead body in their houses.

At length, towards the end of November, 1779, we again left Bethlehem, though neither my husband nor general Phillips, nor their respective aids-de-camp, were yet exchanged, but only permitted to go to New-York upon parole. I did not wish to see again, the family which I have already mentioned twice, for their inconsistency had filled me with disgust; but, unfortunately, our vehicle broke down close to their door, and I was thus obliged to remain with them, until it was repaired. I did not, however, spend the night under their roof, and when they again begged us to recommend them, and indulged in self-applause for their devotion to the king, in whose army the chief of that family had served as a colonel, I replied coldly, that I thought they did not want

our recommendation ; an answer which had more than one meaning.

In Elizabethtown, we again met with a very friendly reception, and from thence we crossed in a boat to New-York, where we arrived late in the evening, and where my husband already waited for us. From the gate of the city, a soldier went before us to show us the way to our lodgings. It was a beautiful and spacious house, where every thing seemed ready for our reception, and where a good supper awaited us. I was so fully occupied in putting my children to bed, and so fatigued, that it never occurred to me to inquire respecting my new residence, and nothing was farther from my mind, than that I was any where else but in a public hotel. My husband, who had been invited to a supper at general Cornwallis', came home late. On the next morning, a servant came to ask me, what I should wish for my dinner, and how many guests I expected to have every day. I replied, that as my husband dined seldom at home, three dishes would be sufficient ; and that we were six persons ; myself, my children, my female attendants, and the Rev. Mr. Mylius, the chaplain of my husband's regiment, and now the only instructor we had for our children. He was a most worthy gentleman, and, at the same time, of such a cheerful temper, that we all, including the children,



loved him. I was told that orders had been given to furnish my table with six principal courses, and three smaller services; and still supposing that I was in a public hotel, I strongly objected against such profusion, for fear of excessive expense. But I soon discovered my error. The house was that of the governor, general Tryon, who apprehending that I might refuse to take my abode with him, had given orders that I should not be informed where the soldier had conducted me: and such was his generosity, that in order to leave me more at ease, and to avoid my thanks, he went to Long-Island, under the pretence of attending to some affairs connected with the provisional command he held there. All my wishes were fully gratified, but I was constantly apprehensive lest I should abuse so much kindness. General Patterson, the commandant of the city, came to wait upon me, and informed me, that the house which we should have to ourselves, was in progress of preparation. I received, also, visits from general Cornwallis, and general Clinton. The former, soon afterwards, set out on a military expedition; and the latter offered me a country-seat, of which he was permitted to dispose, that I might have my children inoculated there, on account of the danger of that operation in the city, where the small-pox was then making sad ravages. I readily ac-



cepted this obliging offer, and we made our preparations to go there immediately with the children. I gave the cook ten guineas to buy provisions for that journey; but he soon returned to ask for more money, saying that what I had given him would not pay for two days' provision, such was the scarcity and high price of every thing. For instance, a pound of meat cost twelve groschen;\* a pound of butter, eighteen groschen; a turkey, four dollars; a fowl, twenty groschen; an egg, four groschen; a quart of milk, six groschen; a hamper of potatoes, two dollars; half a hamper of turnips, one dollar and a half; ten oysters, eight groschen; and half a dozen onions, one dollar. There was nothing to do but to bear it with patience.

One day, the servant came to announce to me the visit of a general: I answered, that I should be glad to see him. The general came, and, after the usual preliminaries of conversation, inquired how I was pleased with my lodgings. My heart was so full of feelings of gratitude, that I enlarged much upon the attentions I had received, and expressed my anxious wish to become person-

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\* A groschen, as has been said in a preceding note, is one twenty-fourth of a Prussian dollar.

ally acquainted with my generous host. I had scarcely time to observe a light smile which played upon the countenance of my visiter, when my husband, who had entered the room at that moment, told me, "You are speaking to him who has shown you so much kindness." My joy, my emotion, my stammering voice, deeply affected that excellent man, who ever afterwards continued to show me an affectionate regard.

General Clinton's country seat, where we went with the children, was one mile from the town. It was beautifully situated, and the house would have been also quite to my taste, had it not been for the season. This was a summer residence, and as we went there in December, we suffered much from the cold. The inoculation of my children, however, succeeded, and when the danger of infection in the city was over, we prepared ourselves to return, and sent before us the cook and the servants, with directions to make every thing ready for our arrival on the following day ; but during the night we had a dreadful storm, which endangered our house, and, indeed, threw down part of the balustrade, which fell with a terrible crash. On awaking the next morning, we found ourselves shut up by the snow ; and, in some places, where the wind had thrown it together in large drifts, it was eight feet deep. We could

not think of leaving the place except in sledges. We had a difficult task to provide for our dinner. An old white fowl, which had fortunately escaped the cook's notice, furnished us with a broth, which, with a few potatoes the gardener gave us, served for the dinner of more than fourteen persons. In the afternoon, while I was standing in a melancholy mood, near the window, pondering upon the difficulty of extricating ourselves from our present perplexities, I saw my cook arrive on horseback. I immediately turned round towards the company, and joyfully told them, that we should now be soon relieved. But when I looked out again, the cook had disappeared. The gentleman, who were with me, in great alarm ran to see what had become of him, and found him and his horse sunk deep in the snow. He had in vain attempted to rise, and, perhaps, might have perished, if he had not been succoured. Our other servants had begun to be uneasy at not seeing us arrive at the appointed time, and as they had carried off every thing, they sent us some provisions by the cook, by means of which we had, at least, a tolerable supper, though it was still impossible to return to the city.

The next morning, captain Willoe arrived, with two large sledges, in which we set out for New-York. I was still uneasy, on account of my child-

ren, their recovery from the distemper attending their inoculation, having been retarded by the cold weather ; but fortunately they arrived in good health. My little Caroline had not been troubled with the whooping cough during that crisis, but now she suffered from it again, and was not rid of it for a whole year. On our return to New-York, I was not a little surprised to find my apartments fitted up with mahogany ; and was really alarmed for the expense. But captain Willoe told me, that the furniture had been purchased at the governor's cost, and that general Patterson esteemed it his good fortune to contribute in justifying the confidence which I had placed in his countrymen. To explain this, I must observe, that while conversing with him once on the arrangement of my establishment, I happened to say, that I trusted wholly to our English friends, who had constantly given us proofs of kindness and civility, and who surely would not now change their opinion of us, after they had sent for us. Indeed, they loaded us with distinctions and marks of affectionate interest, for which we were indebted to no one more than to general Phillips, who was generally beloved, and felt such a friendship for us, that he repeatedly declared, that any favour bestowed on us, would give him more pleasure, than if it were bestowed upon himself. Gradually the number

of my friends in New-York increased considerably.

The queen's birthday (or rather the day fixed upon for its commemoration, for the convenience of milliners and merchants) was approaching, and my friends wishing to give me on that occasion a particular mark of their regard, with the purpose of compensating me for past sufferings, and of complying with the wish of general Phillips, determined to confer on me the principal honours of the festivity, as representative of the queen. To do this, they were obliged to persuade the wife of the aid-de-camp of general Cornwallis, who, from her birth, might have claimed the precedence, not to attend the ball, seemingly out of regard to the delicate situation in which she then was, but really with a view to remove all the difficulties which might be in way of my having all the honours of the occasion. On the appointed day, I was received in the most respectful manner, in presence of all the ladies who had been invited by governor Tryon. At supper, I was seated under a canopy, and drank the first health. Much as I was flattered by all these distinctions, I should not have remained until two o'clock, had it not been necessary in order to evince my gratitude. I continued to be treated with excessive kindness, during the whole time I remained at New-York,

and I spent the winter very agreeably. The severe cold was the only alloy which mixed with my pleasures. The commissary had, for his private convenience, left it to the care of his negro slaves to cut wood for fuel; and the winter having set in earlier than usual, and the river not being frozen hard enough, to transport it in sledges, we, and the whole garrison, suffered much from want of fire-wood. Sometimes it was utterly impossible to procure it for any money, and when there was some in the market, the price was exorbitant. ✓

Shortly before my confinement, I was terribly frightened. One of my attendants brought me something, and I observed that he had a singular look, and spoke with difficulty. I became alarmed, and attempted to run out of the room; but he set off before me, tumbled, shut the door in falling, and displayed to my eyes all the horrors of an epileptic fit. Precluded, by his position, from running for succour, I called and shrieked; but in the hurry the lock of the door was deranged, and it became necessary to force it open; and when this was done, we had yet a good deal of trouble before the man could be removed, and I was at last obliged to leap over his body, and to squeeze my way out of the room, while he gnashed his teeth, and struck his arms about him in a

rage. I was now, however, so much familiarized with tragic and dreadful scenes, that this had no injurious effect upon my health.

Early in March, 1780, I had the pleasure of meeting with general Loos, of the Hessian troops, who had known me when I was very young. "Ha! ha!" exclaimed he, as he looked at me, "what have you done with your elegant figure, your brilliant complexion, and your pretty taper white hands? They are gone; but you have seen many countries, and on your return amidst your old friends, you will have much to narrate; but the same ladies who will beg you to tell them much about your adventures, will, perhaps, from mere envy, soon find that your story is rather tedious, and while fanning away their *ennui*, they may whisper loud enough for you to hear it, 'That good gentlewoman never ceases to travel in America.'" I remembered that he was wont to clothe his most serious counsels in the garb of raillery, and thanked him for his good intention, assuring him that I should show how well I had profited by his advice, by forbearing to relate to him the scenes through which I had passed; but begged him to take also from me the advice, never to remind a lady of her past beauty, lest he should meet with many, who would not hear such things with as much indifference as myself.

On the following day, March 7th, I presented my husband with another daughter. He had much desired a son; but the little girl was so pretty, that we soon consoled ourselves, and determined to call her America, promising ourselves not to think more of the Americus, which we hoped to have in our family; but the baptism was so hurried, owing to the necessity under which general Phillips was of leaving New-York on a short excursion, he, with general Knyphausen, and colonel Wurmb, being the only sponsors, that the name of America was forgotten, and we were obliged to have it afterwards added in the church register. On the same day, my eldest daughter had the first symptoms of a dangerous complaint, which is called *asthma infantile*, and, in a few days afterwards, my third child sickened also. I had them both in my room, while there was apparently little hope of their recovery. My heart suffered as much as ever, but my frame was so much hardened by toils and suffering, that my life was not endangered, notwithstanding the situation in which I then was. Six weeks afterwards, I complied with my husband's wish, to attend a dinner given by general Tryon. The invitation had, as I afterwards discovered, a more important object than social pleasure. While we were dining, my child was inoculated, by an English physician,



there being, at that time, a vast number of children in the city sick of the small-pox. Every thing was arranged in such a manner, as to spare me all anxiety, and my husband might have succeeded, if he could have concealed his own uneasiness ; but when we were in our own rooms, he repeatedly went to the child's cradle, and murmured, "How pale she is ! She is certainly ill." Alarmed at length by hearing these words, I told him, he surely had some reason to fear, and asked him, whether he had caused the child to be inoculated ? and, without waiting for an answer, I ran to the cradle, and looked at her arms. I felt, at first, quite angry, and was really much troubled, but soon duly appreciated, my husband's good intention. Our child became so ill, that we feared for its life ; and my poor husband was so disconsolate with the idea that he had brought upon us this affliction, that I could with difficulty keep up his courage ; but insensibly the child mended, and recovered its health. An English nobleman, who had followed our example, was less fortunate.

During the winter, we constantly enjoyed the company of generals Phillips, Tryon, and Patterson. Once a week, we gave a great dinner. Every thing was so excessively dear, that we could not carry our hospitality any farther. On general Tryon's departure for England, in the begin-

ning of the spring, I unexpectedly found that he had left me, as a token of his remembrance, carpets, furniture, and silk tapestry for one room. I shall never forget the many marks of kindness which I have received from every Englishman with whom my good fortune has made me acquainted ; and it will give me so much the more pleasure to oblige any of their countrymen who may visit Germany, as they have so often imparted to me the consolation of meeting with sympathy among foreigners. At that time began, also, our intimacy with general Clinton, who was general-in-chief of the British armies in the southern provinces of North America. With him, as with almost every other Englishman, the beginning of our acquaintance was cold and formal. His first visit was very ceremonious ; he came as commander-in-chief, and was followed by all his aids-de-camp. His manners and conversation being agreeable, I said to his friend, general Phillips, that I regretted that he treated us with so much ceremony, and that a friendly intercourse would flatter our feelings infinitely more. He afterwards offered us his country-seat for the summer ; and our residence there was very agreeable. The situation was uncommonly beautiful : around the house we had meadows and orchards, and at our feet the Hudson. We had abundance of delicious fruit ; our ser-

vants had more peaches than they could eat ; and our horses, who ran loose through the orchards, trampled upon the fruit lying on the ground, preferring to eat that on the trees. Hogs were fattened upon what seemed to be not good enough for the steeds ; and six of them being killed, afforded us excellent meat, except that the fat was rather soft.—In America, peach and apricot trees shoot up without support, and have trunks as thick as those of common trees.

Not far from us were the dangerous rocks called the Hell-Gates. Many ships, we thought, were near foundering ; but only one was actually driven upon the rocks and lost.

General Clinton visited us frequently, in his hunting-dress, accompanied by only one aid-de-camp. At first, he told us, "I know you like me better when I come to see you as a friend, and this being perfectly agreeable to my feelings, I promise never to appear under any other character." The last time he called on us, he was accompanied by the ill-fated major André, who, on the succeeding day, set out upon the fatal expedition in which he was made prisoner by the Americans, and afterwards hanged as a spy. It was a pity that this excellent young man should have become a victim of his zeal and of the goodness of his heart, which led him to volunteer on

such a sad commission, instead of leaving it to the officer to whom the duty really belonged; but whom, being old and too well known, he wished to save from the dangers to which he thought he would, on that account, be more exposed than himself.

We spent our time very agreeably, until our pleasures were disturbed by the news of a malignant fever, which was making dreadful ravages in New-York. In our house, alone, there were twenty persons labouring under that disease, and eight of them were dangerously ill: among these latter, were my husband and my daughter Gustava. I leave it to be imagined what I suffered! Day and night I tended them. My husband was so ill, that we more than once feared that he would not survive the day; and my daughter's fits of fever were so violent, that no covering was sufficient to warm her: I was obliged to stretch myself upon her; and then her endeavours to rise were so strenuous, that I could with difficulty avoid falling, or keep her covered. In the midst of such convulsions, the patients generally expired. Every day I heard of fifty or sixty burials; and such tidings were not calculated to strengthen my courage. The heat, which the sick suffered at intervals, was so great, that their pulse beat one hundred and thirty-five times in a

minute. All our attendants were sick, and I was, therefore, obliged to attend to every thing. I nursed my little America, and took no rest, except in those moments when I nursed her : overcome by fatigue, at such times, my eyes sometimes closed. During the night, I prepared for my poor patients, absinthiated lemonade, mixed with lemon and sugar. A thousand lemons were thus consumed in the course of a fortnight.

We were one day in anxious expectation of our physician from New-York, my husband's symptoms having become, of late, more and more threatening : he was continually in a lethargic stupor, and when I presented him the sago-water, which the physician had ordered for him, and wished him to drink frequently, he turned round, desiring me to let him die quietly. He thought his end must be near. The physician having entered the room, at that moment, I urgently begged him to tell me the truth, and to let me know, if there was any hope of my husband's recovery. He had scarcely said "yes," when my children, upon hearing this merciful word, sprang from under a table, where they had laid concealed in dreadful expectation of the doctor's sentence, and threw themselves at his feet, and kissed his hands with rapturous feelings of gratitude. Nobody could have witnessed this scene without sharing my deep emotion. The

doctor, who was a man of great sensibility, could not restrain his tears. He had previously been very punctual in his visits; and he now dined with us every day, in order to give us more of his time, of which he had but little left for repose, owing to the great number of his patients. Our venerable clergyman, and the good Rockel, who happily were both in good health, assisted me by turns in my night-watches. Out of thirty persons, of whom our family consisted, ten only escaped the disease. The latter, however, suffered much from the heat, which was excessive. It is astonishing how much the frail human creature can endure; and I am amazed that I survived such hard trials. My happy temperament permitted me even to be gay and cheerful, whenever my hopes were encouraged. The best health is often undermined by such sufferings; still I rejoice to think that I had it in my power to be useful to those who are dearest to me, and that, without my exertions, I might have lost those who now contribute so much to my felicity. At length all my patients were cured.

We spent the whole summer of 1780 in our delightful country-seat, where the two Misses Robinson contributed to enliven our solitude. They spent a fortnight with us, previous to our return to town, where they hastened to see the new

fashions, lately imported from England. On our next meeting, I hardly recognized them in the extravagant and ridiculous attire, into which a very beautiful woman, who had arrived from England, had cheated them, as well as all the other fashionable belles of New-York.

Our friends in New-York received us with great kindness, and vied with each other in endeavouring to make the winter as agreeable to us as possible. At last, in the autumn of 1780, general Phillips and my husband, with their aids-de-camp, were exchanged; but the rest of the army who surrendered at Saratoga, still remained prisoners.

General Clinton, partly through friendship for my husband, and partly through regard to the interest of the duke, our actual sovereign, wished to replace Mr. de Riedesel in active service, and with that view appointed him, in virtue of the powers conferred on the British general-in-chief, lieutenant-general in the royal army. Every thing being excessively dear, we had so much the more reason to rejoice that this promotion was accompanied by a corresponding increase of salary. My husband was, moreover, invested with the command at Long-Island, which lies opposite to New-York, and is only separated from it by the East River. I was not able to accompany him thither, during the winter, the house which was prepared

for his quarters, having but few rooms provided with fire-places. But every thing was then so quiet, that he came often to see me. Shortly before he received his new appointment, he had a dangerous relapse of his fever, in consequence of a cold which he had caught when bathing in the sea. It was as if he had been struck with the palsy; he was deprived of motion, could not speak; and had not his friend, colonel Wurmb, been in the room when he experienced the first attack of the disease, he might have lost his life. Remedies were quickly applied, and again, through God's mercy, he escaped death; but he was more than ever deprived of sleep, and his oppressions, head-aches, and convulsions increased. All the physicians were of opinion, that his distemper arose chiefly from the climate, and that he would never recover as long as he should reside in that part of America in which we then were. Whatever weight such counsels might have had at another time, my husband could not, under the present circumstances, leave the army, or ask a furlough.

In the spring of 1781, I established myself on Long-Island, where, notwithstanding the loneliness of our situation, we might have lived agreeably, had we not been often disturbed by the Americans as soon as the river was thawed. They



frequently attempted surprises, and actually carried away from his bed major Maybaum ; and we knew that they had meditated something like it against my husband. Our house being on the shore, and insulated, all they had to do, was to surprise the sentries. Great vigilance was, therefore, indispensable ; the general was awakened by the least noise ; and in this way his restlessness during the night augmented ; and I also became so much accustomed to such interruptions of my repose, that I did not often close my eyes before daybreak. Such were the apprehensions and terrors of my husband, lest he should again be made prisoner, that he never yielded to sleep when I slumbered.

The prospect from our house was extremely beautiful. In the evening, the city illuminated by numerous lamps, was reflected from the river, while the stillness of the night rendered audible not only the drums, but the challenges of the sentries. For our communications with New-York, we had a boat, and we generally went thither in about fifteen minutes.

One day, I discovered from my window, a squadron of five and thirty sail ;—shortly after I saw, from another window, that they had cast anchor between us and the city.

My husband had many English troops under his

command, and among them the light dragoons. Although the British military are proud, and, according to common belief, difficult to keep in submission, my husband was a great favourite with them. One day, when the British officers had dined with us, my husband told them, that he would accompany them to their camp; upon which they begged me to do them the same honour. I got into my carriage, and reached the camp before them. But I can hardly believe that they had not given the other officers notice of my visit; for scarcely had I reached the place, when one of them came to my carriage, handed me out, and begged me to walk with him along the line. To my utter confusion, I was greeted with all the military honours; and when I observed to the officer, that German ladies were not accustomed to such distinctions, he gallantly replied, that this was merely the due of the wife of an excellent general, and that nobody in his corps had forgotten how kind I had been to their brethren at Saratoga. I confess, that however flattering and encouraging all this was, I felt glad when I could withdraw from this exhibition of exaggerated respect.

There were many wounded and sick sailors in our hospital. These good people thus answered the usual expressions of sympathy: "We have

fought for our king, and are glad of it; and when once in Greenwich, we shall be abundantly rewarded." Greenwich, near London, is an excellent hospital, for disabled seaman, where they are attended, clothed, and supplied with all the conveniences of life.

About this time, general Phillips was sent on an expedition to Carolina. We parted with mutual regret. We never saw again this excellent friend, for he died of a fever, which originated in a cold, that he caught by imprudent exposure. We have always deplored his loss, for he was truly a most benevolent man.

My husband's health mended slowly, and his thoughts being often fixed upon the remnant of his late regiments, which had remained in Canada, general Clinton, at length, consented that he should pay them a visit, and have thus an opportunity of being useful to them. He separated, however, with reluctance, from a friend to whom he felt so sincerely attached. Their intimacy, however, continued uninterrupted as long as general Clinton lived. Being about to depart in July, 1781, I sent the residue of our wood (about thirty cords) to the poor, and to a family who had suffered much for the royal cause, and was, at last, compelled to emigrate, though I could have sold it at a great price; and I contemplated leaving the furniture, but

we were told that it belonged to us, and were advised to carry it to Canada; where we might need it. But fearful of abusing so much kindness, we kept only a few articles, and returned the rest to the commissary of the army. I must confess, that I afterwards regretted that I had done it, not only because we were in want of every thing in Canada, but because the splendid royal magazine of furniture was plundered and burnt by the Americans.

We embarked at last, but remained more than a week at anchor, about three miles from New-York. The transport-agent, whom general Clinton had commissioned to retain for us a ship, he believed to be an active and intelligent man, and he had ordered him to choose the best and most fast-sailing vessel, to enable us to escape the pursuit of pirates. The good intentions of the general, like those of many other well-meaning chiefs, were, however, disregarded by the commissioner, who was not less lazy than ignorant and insolent. He had either not examined the ship which he had chosen for our passage, or he had been bribed by the captain, which is not uncommon among these people. We embarked on board one of the smallest and worst-conditioned ships of the whole convoy. She sailed so slow, that we were frequently in danger of being left

behind, had not the commander of the second armed vessel appointed for the protection of the convoy, come to our assistance by towing the ship. This was not, however, without inconvenience and danger to us, for the ships might have run afoul, and if a pirate had then given us chase, we should have been between the opposite fires. Besides, we had but few sailors, and the ship being leaky, we had not hands enough to work her, and to manage the pumps, whenever the wind suddenly changed. As little care had the captain taken with regard to the lading, and we were often obliged, on our passage, to increase our ballast, by filling our empty barrels with sea-water. The agent was ill-bred and cross-grained, and made such a noise with his yawnings, that we were often awakened, though separated from his cabin by a partition of boards. The worst of it was, that we were obliged to have him at our table, and to treat him like a gentleman. Before we embarked, we had the misfortune to lose our good negro servants,—a man, his wife, and a young girl related to them. Their master, from whom they had been taken by the rights of war, he being a rebel, having redeemed them, under the pretence that he now was devoted to the royal cause. Besides that they were extremely attached to us, their master had treated them badly: the poor

people, therefore, were in great dread of the sufferings that awaited them. The little girl, whose name was Phyllis, would not part with us, and fainted away : when she recovered, she threw herself at my feet, and clung to them so fast, that it was necessary to withdraw her by force. My husband offered to buy her : but the owner, seeing how glad we should be to have his slaves, asked thirty guineas for each of them, which we thought an exorbitant price. Had it not been at the moment of our departure, we might have bought them. We left them the clothing and the beds, with which we had provided them ; and this, instead of gratifying them, served but to increase their sorrow. Phyllis cried, " If I live, I will join you, were it at the end of the world." She afterwards begged several persons to permit her to accompany them, until they should meet us, saying, " My lady will be glad to pay my passage." She was perfectly right in saying so, but as our intentions could not be generally known, nobody was willing to trust to her words. My husband would have paid the price her owner demanded for her, but to buy all the three, was, at that time, beyond our pecuniary means. We had afterwards so much trouble with our maid-servants in Canada, and found it so difficult to procure any, that we would gladly have made any sacrifice to have our three good negroes again, at any price.

From the first day of our voyage, a distemper which I had caught shortly after having weaned my little girl, disappeared ; but I was long afterwards the worse for it, the germ of my indisposition having only changed its seat. I suffered so much, that even laudanum could not procure me sleep. In this state, I continued during our whole voyage.

We had, besides, many untoward accidents. In the Dusky-Bay, during dark weather, we were nigh running upon a dangerous rock, called the *Old Woman*. Happily the weather cleared up, and the captain discovered the danger in which we were, soon enough to apply to the commander of the armed ship, who towed us ; and, favoured by the wind, we were in less than half an hour out of our perilous situation. We touched at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and met with a very kind reception from the governor and his lady, who were both very obliging, and invited us to dinner. They had a very agreeable company, consisting of seven or eight families, who lived in continual intercourse. On the following day, they accompanied us through the city, and showed us the environs which we greatly admired. The living in Halifax is very cheap. Salt water fish are here remarkably fine ; and there was a strange story about lobsters being found in abundance

since the revolution, though previous to that time none had ever been seen so far north. The wits of Nova Scotia said that the lobsters were good royalists, not only in their outward appearance, but in their feelings.

During the latter part of our voyage, we experienced several squalls. We were obliged to cast anchor every evening, on account of the tide. We lost two anchors, while lying near a rock, and the security of our vessel depended upon our last anchor, which was the smallest. We were so badly provided with victuals, that we were obliged to send a boat on shore for some eggs and poultry. My husband determined that we should leave the vessel on the following evening; and, as soon as we had anchored, he, his two aids-de-camp, the servants, and myself, went ashore in the long boat. We put up at the house of a peasant, who received us very kindly.

My husband departed the same evening, with one of his aids-de-camp, for Quebec. I set out in the same direction the next morning, and reached Quebec on the third day. The country through which we passed, was very picturesque. Each family lives in a separate house, which they whitewash once a year. This gives to the Canadian village an appearance of great neatness and



makes them visible from a considerable distance. The space around each house is successively filled up by the settlements, which the young people on their marriages make around their parents. They call themselves on that account "habitans" or settlers, and not peasants. Each habitation has its own stables, garden and pasturage: and scattered along the banks of the St. Lawrence, they contribute much to the romantic aspect of the scene. The ice cellars, of which there is one near each house, and commonly in the barns, are of an easy construction. A hole is dug and lined with planks; ice and water are thrown into it, until it is filled up to the surface, which shines like a mirror, and clean boards are thrown over it to support the victuals which are intended to be preserved. The Canadians think that straw or hay are particularly apt to impede the congelation, and they therefore take great care to have the water very pure. The villagers could not dispense with ice cellars, as each family kills the cattle necessary for their consumption, and as the weather is very hot, during a considerable part of the year.

During the summer they feed much cattle, which they kill, at the beginning of the winter, for the consumption of the inhabitants of the cities. The few beasts, which are kept through the winter,

(oxen, calves and hogs,) are driven into the forests to seek their subsistence, and are provided with food in the stables, only when they are brought in towards evening. The Canadians catch from under the frozen river, a small species of fish, which they call *small cod*. To catch them they break the ice, at intervals of three or four hundred steps, and introduce their nets into these holes, having first fastened them with strong ropes to long poles. They sometimes carry home five or six sledges full of fish caught in this manner, and keeping them in ice, they never want a good dish, during the winter.

The houses of the villagers are very commodious, and in all of them you may be sure of finding clean and good beds with curtains. They have no bed chambers, but sleep in their largest rooms. Their stoves, which are proportioned to the size of the rooms, serve them instead of kitchens. The soups they eat are very nourishing, and generally consist of fresh meat, vegetables and pork, all boiled together; but they have no second dish. They make sugar from the maple, which they therefore call *sugar maple*. In the spring they go into the woods with pots and kettles to collect the liquor, which is obtained from incisions made in the tree. They afterwards boil it, and the upper part of it is the best. This

sugar differs from that made from the sugar cane, chiefly in its colour, which is brown, and is considered as a good pectoral.

The Canadians are hospitable and cheerful; they sing and smoke the whole day. Many of the women have wens or "goîtres," but generally the Canadians are a healthy people and live to a great age. It is not rare to find among them, a great-grandfather who dwells with his descendants, and is the object of their kindest attentions.

After a journey of about two months, from the time we had left New-York, we reached Quebec, in the middle of September, 1781, and met with a friendly reception. My husband soon won the affections of the governor of the province, lieutenant-general Haldimand, who was also commander-in-chief of the troops in Canada, though he had been described to us as a man of untractable temper. He was not only civil to me, but showed me much friendly regard, and continued to do so until his death. Several persons endeavoured to make us distrustful of him, but instead of listening to such insinuations, we behaved towards him with openness and frankness, and this pleased him so much the more, as he rarely met with such behaviour. The governor's house which had been like a barrack, was now furnished in the English style, and though general Haldimand had

been in Quebec, but five years, his gardens were already full of fruit trees and exotic plants, which it would have been impossible to preserve in that climate, had he not judiciously chosen for them, a place where they had the benefit of a southern exposure. The house was seated on an eminence, and quite on its summit. We remained four weeks at Quebec, during which interval, the governor went with Mr. de Riedesel to Sorel, where he was to be stationed. He expressed on that occasion his regret at the uncomfortable quarters we should occupy at Sorel, but said that considering the military importance of that point, he thought it his duty to entrust it only to the surest hands. As it was impossible to have an entirely new house, built for us immediately, the governor bought one that had been begun, but of which the walls only were as yet finished. He ordered that it should be ready towards Christmas, and desired us to settle the manner in which the rooms should be distributed; while the building went on, we lodged with one of the inhabitants. We gave our plan of building, and to our great surprise, found ourselves able to eat our Christmas-pie in our new house, though the trees for the construction of it were not felled till after we had arrived, and no planks were yet ready. The walls were covered with coloured paper, and the whole house was

very neat. We had a large dining-room ; next to which was Mr. de Riedesel's study ; then came our bed-room and that of the children, with a separate closet for my eldest daughter ; and lastly, a second large and fine room, where we received company. The entry was not much different from a spacious saloon. Along the walls were benches, and in one corner was a large stove with pipes, by means of which the whole house was warmed. The upper story consisted of four rooms, two of which were for our servants and the two others for visitors

In the spring of 1782, two covered galleries were added, which led to the kitchen and the wash-house, in the upper story of which was the guard-room. Our house was out of the town, and so near the outposts, that Mr. de Riedesel, for fear of a surprise had six men always watching in the entrance-hall during the night. The stove kept the house so warm, that we had no reason to complain of the rigours of a Canadian winter ; but the walls began to warp, by which our neat paper-hanging was considerably injured.

In the summer of 1782, general Riedesel made a journey of three weeks, during which interval, the English artizans, who, according to the governor's direction, were all at our command, lent, at my request, their aid to the completion of our

establishment. Carpenters, upholsterers, and painters were busy in adjusting the walls, in repairing the paper-hanging, and painting the room-doors, chairs, and tables. On his return, my husband found, to his great surprise, every thing in good order again, and, as it were, a new house, though the expense was trifling, as the mechanics were not permitted to receive anything from me except their daily food. Our only visitors were gentlemen. The deficiencies of our social pleasures were, however, in some measure compensated by the invitations we received from general Haldimand, during both winters we spent in Canada, to pass some time in Quebec, where we remained, at each time, six weeks, at the house of Dr. Mabine, one of the general's intimate friends, but always dined with the general. The general spent the evenings at our house, played at cards, and often remained until 1 o'clock; but he had from the beginning begged me to retire, whenever it was convenient to myself. I never saw a man who was so kind and obliging to his friends, in the number of which he soon included us.

The next spring he invited us to meet him at Montreal, whither his duties called him, and he assured us, upon that occasion, that he never spent his time more agreeably than in our society. I went to Montreal in a sledge, remained there a

week, and returned in the same conveyance, though I was not aware at that time how perilous it then was to travel upon the St. Lawrence, which had begun to thaw, so much so, indeed, that the ice was already covered with water. Our Canadian drivers seemed uneasy; yet they would not leave the sleigh-track, which was marked by beacons, for fear of running greater risks on the sides of them. We, however, reached Sorel in safety, and the next morning, a ship made her way swiftly through the river, over which we had travelled in sledges the preceding evening. The winter season is very healthy in Canada, owing to the steadiness of the weather, and the abundance of means to provide against the cold, in the interior of the dwellings. In the beginning of November, every family provides its winter stock. I stared, when I was asked how many fowls and fish I wished to have for the season. I asked, in my turn, where I was to keep the fish? "In the garret," was the answer; "and you will better preserve them there, than in the cellar." I bought three or four hundred, and they kept fresh during the whole winter, and the only thing necessary to render our meat, eggs, fish, apples, and lemons fit for daily use, was to lay them in water twenty-four hours previous; and all our victuals were as succulent and fresh, as in any

other season. Poultry are besides laid in snow, which soon becomes an icy crust, and so hard, that it must be broken with an axe.

The Canadians have a fruit which they call ot-tocas. It grows in the water, is red, and of the size of a small cherry. It is commonly brought to market by the Indians, and makes a good sweetmeat, especially when it has been well-frozen. All other kinds of fruit are very scarce, though in Montreal excellent apples can be had, —French Reinettes, and a sort of large red and highly-flavoured apple, which the Canadians call Bourrassas. They are put for preservation in small and close-stopped barrels; for, once opened, they cannot be kept much longer. The other fruits that can be had, are very costly, especially pears, which are more scarce than apples, and cannot be so well preserved. I ordered six tons of apples, and half a ton of pears. My astonishment, when I was asked to pay for them twenty-one guineas, will be easily imagined. By my husband's direction, a large spot, in the rear of our house, was laid out in a garden, and twelve hundred fruit trees were planted, by which method we could hope to unite the agreeable with the useful. Vegetables, also, which were very scarce in the country, prospered wonderfully in our garden.



and not only general Haldimand, but all my acquaintances were supplied by us.

My establishment was like a large, ornamented farm. I had cows, poultry in vast numbers, Virginia hogs, which are black, smaller, and more short-legged than those in Europe, and I made my own butter. For the soldiers this was the promised land. Every thing appeared to be in a thriving state around their barracks and in their gardens, for which my husband had provided them with seeds. It was amusing to see them employed in their domestic pursuits and cookery. They exchanged half their rations of salt meat for fresh; and having thus two kinds, they boiled it in large kettles, with all sorts of vegetables. There was much emulation among them to excel in the culinary art. However, the several domestic duties were very regularly divided. Some attended to the garden, while others did the business of the kitchen; some had charge to clean the barracks, and others to cut wood, and to carry home their provision of fuel, in little carts made for that purpose.

Mr. de Riedesel had nets made, and each company went at times to fish: they were always so civil as to send us a part of what they caught. They, thus, had fish twice or thrice a week; and once every six days, they received a bottle of rum,

their rations of rice and butter, twelve pounds of wheat flour for their bread, and daily a pound of salt pork or one pound and a half of beef; but notwithstanding this, they sent many fond and longing thoughts to their own country.

There were, also, Indians under my husband's command. His uprightness had gained their confidence, and they were very much attached to him. Before I had, on my first arrival in Canada, rejoined my husband, one of these savages, by the name of Hansel, having heard that Mr. de Riedesel was ill, that he was married, and felt uneasy on account of the delayed arrival of his wife, came with his wife to my husband, and told him, "Hear! I love my wife; but I love thee also: in proof of which I give her to thee!" Mr. de Riedesel replied, "I thank thee, and acknowledge thy attachment, but I have a wife whom I also love, and beg thee to keep thy own." The man seemed distressed and almost offended at this refusal, and he could hardly be persuaded to carry his wife back, who, as having seen her afterwards, I can testify was very pretty. Hansel was not an Indian by birth, but a German, who, with several of his countrymen, was taken prisoner by the savages, when he was about fifteen years of age. All his countrymen were killed, and his escape from the same fate, was owing to his imposing sta-

ture, and the respect with which he had inspired the Indians by his valiant defence. They, however, saved him from death only on condition that he should be wedded to an Indian woman, and adopt their customs and habits. This he did. The life of the savage must have many attractions, for a nephew of general Carleton lived long among them, became husband to an Indian girl, and grew so fondly attached to that roving, but free and careless life, that many years passed before he could be persuaded, by the repeated and earnest entreaties of his uncle, to rejoin him. He afterwards married the general's sister-in-law, an agreeable and amiable young lady; but it was generally said that he repined at the change, and remembered his wild companions and his wife with fond yearnings. He served in the British army, (I believe with the rank of major,) and was a very polite gentleman. I saw, at that time, the famous Indian chief, captain Brandt, of whom there is a print. The natural talent and ability which he exhibited when a boy, led general Carleton to send him to England, when he had the good fortune to please the king so much, that his majesty provided for his education and maintenance. He made some progress in his studies, but when he was between twenty and twenty-four, he expressed a strong desire to be sent back to his early com-

panions. At the time we were in Canada, he was the principal leader of the Indians. His manners were polished; he expressed himself with fluency, and was much esteemed by general Haldimand. I dined once with him at the general's. In his dress, he showed off to advantage the half military and half savage costume. His countenance was manly and intelligent, and his disposition very mild. Mr. de Riedesel was once invited to a meeting of the Indians, where after a solemn speech had been addressed to him, he was invited to take a seat and to smoke. The presenting of the pipe is, among them, a mark of great respect and of affection. They gave him a name in their own language which signifies *Sun*. Upon my husband's invitation, they came to see him, and were entertained there, according to the rites of Indian hospitality, with tobacco and rum.

Among these Indians, was one decorated with several medals, which are insignia of bravery. We invited him to dinner, and obliged him to drink; but he did it reluctantly, saying in broken French, "*Bon enfant le sauvage, lorsque sobre, mais trop bû, animal féroce.*" He took a fancy to my daughter Frederica, and begged her to present him with a new ribbon for his medals, which, he said, he should then value more than ever.

He was very good-natured, and his civility arose from the natural kindness of his disposition.

The savages attach great weight to dreams. A certain Johnson, by shrewdly humouring this foible, became a rich man. They were wont to come and tell him, that they had dreamt he had given them much tobacco and rum. "Well," replied he, "I will prove that you were right," and thereupon gave them their favourite delicacies. Upon this, visits and dreams, and consultations became more and more frequent. But one day he went to tell them, that he had, also, had a dream : that in return for the kindness and hospitality he had shown them, they had granted him a large tract of land, which he described. "Have you really dreamt that?" they exclaimed, with countenances expressive of terror ; and having said this, they went into deliberation ; at the conclusion of which they returned to him, and said, "Brother Johnson, we give thee that tract of land—but never dream any more."

These savages are not very kind to their own flesh, for they make many incisions in their faces, which they daub with colours, that they may make a more martial appearance. A young man being upon one occasion elected the chief of one tribe, much dissatisfaction arose among the others, and so many insults were levelled against him by one of

the opposite leaders, that, after much recrimination, the youth sprang from his seat, and split the head of his antagonist with his tomahawk. When he had become cool enough to reflect upon the long and bloody strife which must ensue from his rash act, he went to the English commanding officer, asked him for a piece of black ribbon, and having received it, he pierced both his arms, passed the ribbon through the flesh, and caused himself to be fastened with it on his back. He then went to the offended tribe, and exclaimed, that he acknowledged himself guilty of having, in a transport of rage, killed one of their brethren, but to avoid the effusion of more blood, he had disabled himself, and had now come to deliver himself up to them, in that state. By that magnanimous behaviour, and display of courage and penitence, he excited the sympathy of the tribe so much, that they not only pardoned him, but adopted him in the place of their murdered companion, and afterwards even chose him for their chief.

In battle, as long as victory was on our side, the savages behaved bravely ; but, during retreats, as, for instance, upon that previous to the surrender at Saratoga, I saw them run and conceal themselves ; which, however, may be partly ascribed to

the fact, that they dreaded not captivity merely, but death.

We spent some weeks, during the summer of 1782, very agreeably at Quebec. A house had been built for General Haldimand upon the top of a hill, which he called Montmorency House, after the famous water-fall of that name. He invited us to pay him a visit in this his favourite residence, which, indeed, was charmingly situated. The river precipitates itself from a height of one hundred and sixty-three feet, with a terrible noise, into a chasm between two mountains. When we first went to see that sublime scene, I happened to say to the general, that it must be delightful to have a little dwelling opposite to it. Three weeks afterwards, we accompanied him thither a second time, and, after having climbed up the steep ascent, and the detached rocks, which were connected by small bridges, and which reminded me of some descriptions of Chinese gardens, we, at last, reached the top, where the general begged my hand to show me into a small house, which was, as it were, suspended upon the cataract. He wondered at my courage, when I followed him without hesitation. The foundations of the house consisted of eight strong beams, laid athwart, beneath which the cataract hurried down with tremendous velocity. The situation of this

house afforded an awful, but majestic sight. The noise was so tremendous, that it was impossible to remain long within it. Trout may be caught among the rocks above the cataract. An English officer, however, paid dear for that pleasure. He was about leaping from one rock to another, to catch some of these fish, when, by an unfortunate slip, he fell into the rushing waters, was carried away, and his mangled limbs soon left no reason to doubt of his melancholy fate.

We visited this spot once in the winter. The effects of the frost presented fantastic and varied objects to the sight, and created a new and imposing spectacle; but the thundering roar was wanting to produce the solemn impressions we had previously felt. The winter was so severe, that wine froze in bottles; it was not spoiled, but preserved, on the contrary, all its flavour when thawed: the part, however, which remained liquid, seemed to be superlatively excellent.

In the autumn of 1782, when I was near my confinement, Mr. de Riedesel was sent to the Isle aux Noix, to superintend the construction of some fortifications. During his absence, I felt very lonely; and he was not better off than myself. Happily, at intervals of three or four weeks, he came to see me. From Isle aux Noix, he made a short excursion to Point de Fer, which lies at the



confluence of the river Sorel with Lake Champlain, to visit the outposts. He was near being burnt in the barracks. In the midst of the night, he heard a great noise, which, from the proximity of the enemy's pickets, he attributed to an attempt of the Americans to seize him. An English commissioned officer came in, and asked for the general, and when my husband had made himself known, he exclaimed, "Quick, quick, general, run, lest we both perish; the barracks are in flames:" and saying this, he did not suffer my husband to save any thing, but carried him away on the ice, though barefoot, in the midst of smoke and flames. The danger was, indeed, imminent, owing to the barrels of gunpowder deposited in the barracks. But when Mr de Riedesel saw the men engaged in arresting the flames, he joined them, and dressed himself afterwards at one of the watch-fires.

In November, I became ill, while riding in my carriage to dispel the gloom which overcast my mind. I was worse on my return, and could not dine at table. On the same day, however, I announced to my husband the increase of our family. He was unwilling to be persuaded, that his hopes of having a son, were again disappointed, and the health of his youngest daughter being drunk by one of his friends, he again looked into my letter,

before he pledged it. But when he saw the pretty little creature, he forgot all his previous wishes. The parental hopes we entertained of this child, were of short duration. It died, when only five months old. Augusta and America were so deeply distressed at the death of their sister, that we were in fear of losing them also, and my husband grew so uneasy, that it was with reluctance he entered the house, until the physician assured him we were all perfectly recovered.

My little girl, whom we had named Canada, having been buried in Sorel, the officers promised to have an inscription engraved upon her tomb, to save it from any profanation, which it might suffer, on the score of our religious principles, from some zealous Canadian Catholic.

In the summer of 1783, general Haldimand, with a view of diverting me from my sorrow, expressed a wish to see us in Quebec, but my husband, having received the news of the death of his father, became more impatient than ever to return to Europe. His health was yet very frail. Although the climate of Canada suited him better than that of New-York, he still suffered from headaches and a noise in his ears. I was also anxious to see my family again. We should otherwise have been glad to remain longer in Canada, for the climate proved favourable to our

children ; we had many friends and our situation was altogether agreeable. The preliminaries of peace having been signed, it was believed that our troops would yet in the course of the present year return to Europe. General Haldimand, who also wished himself back in England, had already written to his government respecting it. We often canvassed the ways and means of making the voyage together. Walking one day with him in his garden, we observed on a sudden, a great number of vessels enter the bay, and a beautiful one cast anchor at the foot of the mountain. The general said, "These vessels are surely come to convey you and your troops to Europe. Perhaps we go in company." My Frederica, who stood near me, exclaimed, "Well, if we go, will you give me that fine ship there?" "My dear child," replied the general, "if it is a transport-ship, you shall have it : but what would the king of England say, if I occasioned him such an expense?" "Oh!" returned she, "the king loves his wife and children, and surely will not grudge my father the pleasure of conveying his family home in safety. And will you not be glad to have your little wife in a good ship?" (The good general always called my little Augusta his wife.) He smiled, and said, "Well, we will attend to it." Two days afterwards, he came and told me, with

evident emotion, that we must soon part; that our wishes were fulfilled, but that he must remain; and that he should ever regret our absence. He had found, he said, my husband to be a man worthy of all confidence, and met in every individual of his family, a friend: he had fondly indulged the hope of returning to Europe, in company with us, but that the king directed him to remain; and he must obey. Remembering what my daughter had recently told him, and wishing, by every means in his power, to render our voyage safe and commodious, he had himself examined the ship, on board of which we were to embark; but that it did not answer his expectations: that which had so much pleased my daughter, was, on the contrary, as good a one as we could wish, but was not of the number of those which were destined for the transportation of the troops. He took it, nevertheless, upon his personal responsibility to freight it, and to have it arranged according to our wishes. He begged me to look at it, and give my directions for our farther accommodation; strict attention would be immediately paid to them, orders to that effect having been already issued. He told me that my husband was preparing to depart for Sorel, and that I should do well to follow him thither without delay, to make all necessary arrangements for our great

voyage. He hoped, he said, that he should enjoy, on our return to Quebec, our society as much as we could indulge his wishes in that respect. He then went away, deeply affected. How could one avoid feeling, for such a man, the most sincere friendship! An hour afterwards, major Twiss came to accompany me to the ship, which was a West-Indian three-decker. The captain was highly recommended to us, not less for his nautical skill, than for the urbanity of his manners, and for his moral character. While examining the ship, I was asked, which part of it would suit me best for my dining and drawing rooms. I smiled at the question. "Where could you find space for such an extensive establishment?" asked I. "This can be easily managed," returned the captain; and immediately he caused the guns to be removed; a window was made in the upper deck; and on both sides, several cabins were constructed by means of partitions, in which beds, tables, and chairs were put for the use of the gentlemen. The state-room was reserved for us, on the two sides of which three dormitories were arranged for my husband, myself, and the children, and every thing was better than could be expected in a floating gaol.

On the following day, I departed for Sorel. For the sake of greater speed, I had been advised

to go in a boat, but the river being too shallow to hold it, we were obliged to seek the shore again. The men who carried us upon their shoulders, from the boat through the slippery mud, were often near falling. Upon touching land, we had yet to ascend a steep hill: I thought the Canadians would never be able to help us farther; but two of them took me under their arms, while the others carried my children. The weather was extremely hot. At last we reached a house, where we could spend the night. The beds were good. We refreshed ourselves with sleep and some food, and the next morning continued our journey.

On my arrival at Sorel, I found my husband engaged in making preparations for our final departure. I also pursued my arrangements with so much activity, that within a week I was able to return to Quebec, whither my husband shortly followed me. Yet, before leaving Sorel, I consulted with the priest of the parish, about the means of preserving my child's tomb from all violation. The good clergyman assured me, that my fears were groundless, as the infant had only been baptized and not yet confirmed, and, therefore, was in no way different from one whose parents were catholics; and that he would attend to my wishes, should it be necessary.

On our return to Quebec, we were informed, that our ship was nearly ready, and that general Haldimand had several times looked at the progress of the new arrangements, which were making in its interior for our accommodation. By his directions, a cow had been bought to supply us with milk. In a suitable part of the deck, seeds of salad had been sown in a layer of vegetable earth. We bought as many vegetables, poultry, &c. &c. as we thought would be necessary for an increase of twenty-two persons to the ship's company.

Our physician, Dr. Kennedy, with whom we again met at Three-Rivers, begged us to obtain for him, his wife, their three daughters, and three servants, permission to embark on board our vessel. I thought that a physician might prove an useful companion during a voyage. The general, to whom I repeated his request, replied, that we could do with the ship whatever we pleased, but that he feared we should have troublesome companions. The event proved that he knew them well. My husband presented the general with his favourite mare and her fine foal; and, in return, the general begged my acceptance of a splendid muff and tippet of sable, as a memorial of the country where we had so long resided.. Furs are among the most important productions of Canada.

Many Englishmen have become rich, by importing into that province European merchandize of little value, and taking peltry in return.

The British officers had the civility, the last time we attended their dramatic performances, which generally took place twice a week, to express, in an affecting song, composed for the occasion, their regret at the departure of our troops, their gratitude for the benevolence with which they had always been treated by Mr. de Riedesel, and their hearty wishes for our happy voyage.

After the troops had been embarked, we yet passed some hours with the good general. After supper, he accompanied us to the vessel, where at last we took a hearty and affecting farewell of him, and many other friends.



*Mad. de Riedesel's Journal, from the time of her departure from America, until her arrival at Brunswick.*

It was towards the middle of August, when we embarked for Europe. The next morning, the signal for departure was given, and within an hour, which was employed in buying yet some provisions, the whole convoy sailed. We passed the Isle de Bec, and were detained two weeks, at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, by contrary winds, which was the more unfortunate, as we could not procure fresh provisions, at least not as good as those which we were consuming to no purpose, and we could, besides, no longer entertain the hope of reaching Europe, before the equinox.

On a Sunday, while we were attending divine service, and our clergyman fervently prayed for the preservation of all those "on the great deep," and for our safe return to our country, our ship, which had been motionless during the calm, began suddenly to roll, and the "Amen" had hardly been uttered, when we were informed, that the officer who commanded the convoy had given the

signal to weigh anchor ; and, in less than half an hour, he passed our ship, and all the transports followed him. My husband was very anxious to deliver the despatches with which general Haldimand had entrusted him, in less time than we could hope to reach England, by going with the convoy, and stopping as often as they did. The captain of our ship desired nothing so much as to sail separately, but he could not do it, without the permission of the commander. On the second day a vessel made a signal, upon which all the others shortened sail ; but the commander was so polite, as to call to my husband with his speaking trumpet, "General, go on." Our captain took this for a general permission to go before the convoy, and all sail was spread which our masts could carry, and in a short time we had lost sight of the other ships, whereat I was, at first, much rejoiced ; but I soon began again to be apprehensive of the evils which our impatience might bring upon us.

Two pigeons flew from the commodore's ship upon our deck, and could not be frightened away. Our captain considered this as a good omen for us, while, on the contrary, the crew of the other vessel thought it a bad one for them ; and the event proved that they were right, inasmuch as the poor commodore became insane during the

voyage. I had no idea of the superstitions to which sailors are apt to yield. They draw from trifling incidents, the most important prognostics and consequences.

Soon after we had put to sea, we beheld a flock of blackbirds : a prodigious number of porpoises gathered around our ship, and the horizon assumed a yellow colour. Our captain bid us all prepare for a heavy gale, which accordingly began the same evening, and blew with great violence, though favourably for us, three weeks without interruption, except the day we passed near the banks of Newfoundland, and carried us along so rapidly, that we ran from the Isle de Bec to St. Helen's Bay in eighteen days, which is an instance of unparalleled celerity, nothing but a French frigate having yet sailed that space in nineteen days, which was one day more than our passage.

One evening, one of our sails was carried away, and being very dark, it was hard work to replace it. Our ship was terribly tossed, and lay entirely upon one side : however, before the next night set in, the damage was repaired.

A few days afterwards, we thought we perceived the smell of something burning, at which we were the more alarmed, as we had plenty of gunpowder on board. After much searching, we

discovered that the cord which supported a lantern in Mrs. Kennedy's cabin, had taken fire. Our captain begged the lady to be more careful in future, representing the dangers to which we had been exposed, but she grew angry, spoke with nobody for a whole week, and continued to keep a light burning in her cabin, through the whole night, to our great annoyance and discomfort. Neither my husband nor myself could sleep much. Mr. de Riedesel spent the greater part of the night upon deck. I said once to the captain, that the dead-lights frightened me to death. He good-naturedly consoled me, saying, that the gale must be tremendous, and the sea very dangerous, that with a ship like ours, it should be necessary to resort to that measure; and that there was hardly an example of such strong winds having blown once in the summer. This was about eight o'clock in the evening, and at ten, the storm became so violent, that nobody felt inclined to go to bed. Towards midnight, some one knocked at our door. I asked, what was the matter. A rough voice answered, "The captain orders the dead-lights." "You are mistaken," replied I; "beg the captain to come." He came, and told me, that the sea was so heavy, that he must shut our windows: but that I should not be alarmed: "the ship wears bravely,"

added he, "and can challenge any danger." The storm continued to rage through the whole night, and towards daybreak, one of our masts was split. Mrs. Kennedy wept the whole night, and growled over the good fortune that her sons would probably have to survive her.

Towards 5 o'clock, I went into my daughters' cabin, undetermined whether I should wake them, or leave them in happy ignorance of our perils. I could not, however, refrain from embracing every one of them, as this might be the last moment of our existence in this world. Augusta was awake, though she had not said a word for fear of increasing my anxiety. "What a storm this is," said I: "are you not alarmed?" "Surely, mother," replied she; "but I find my consolation in thinking that I shall not survive you." These few words, so expressive of love and resignation, affected me deeply.

At every toss of the rolling sea, I thought that it would be our last moment. At daybreak, however, my alarm ceased, for the gale moderated. The wind had always been prosperous for our voyage; and, we moved along at the rate of fourteen miles within the hour. "Should the wind continue so favourable," said our captain one day, "we may see the coast of England within three days." This news filled us

all with transport, for though we were still well provided with every thing, and had a band of music for our amusement, we would, nevertheless, have gladly exchanged our present conveniences for the most miserable hovel. My husband could not reconcile himself to the imprisonment on board of the ship; and such was his restlessness, that I hardly believe that he retired into his cabin more than five or six nights, during the whole voyage.

During one of the squalls, one of our cows fell from a sort of hammock in which she was kept, and was so much injured, that the captain determined to kill her, whereby our crew were no losers.

Towards the end of our voyage, the sky was so overcast, that the captain was doubtful how near we were to the wished-for harbour. The captain, by his computation, did not agree with my husband in the belief that we had passed the Scilly Isles, and were near the British coast. In this uncertainty, he determined on the eighteenth day of our voyage to lay-to, for fear of accident.

We sat in the cabin, and the gentlemen were at the table, all in a sad and thoughtful mood; the captain had ascended to the deck, to give his orders for laying-to, when a cry of "land," from above, attracted our attention, and shortly after-

wards the captain called my husband to come on deck, and showed him a small white speck, just visible through the misty vapour, which he told him was the chalky coast of England.

The wind having soon afterwards dissipated the fog, and, as it were, unveiled the horizon, we had the unspeakable joy of seeing distinctly the Isle of Wight, and the coast of England. The captain immediately determined to spread all sail, in order to weather the Isle of Wight, and cast anchor before night, for fear that we should be driven to the north: nor was this easy to effect, for it was past 4 o'clock, and the island is thirty leagues long. However, with much difficulty, and some damage, we reached St. Helen's bay, and cast anchor, before 8 o'clock.

I narrowly escaped a very fatal accident. I had gone upon deck, like the rest of the company, to feast myself with the sight of land. An English officer, captain O'Connel, jumped for joy, toppled down, and, in falling, pushed towards me a heavy piece of timber, which considerably hurt one of my feet. Screaming from pain, I was carried into my cabin, where however, I was soon relieved by proper care. There was a sofa on each side of the cabin: I was seated upon one, and my seven-year's-old girl sat on the other, opposite to me. On a sudden, by a violent motion

of the ship, she was thrown upon me, and thus escaped serious injury. We passed the night in the bay, and hoped to be safely landed on the next day at Portsmouth, but at the entrance of the harbour, our ship unfortunately ran upon the wreck of the *Royal George*,\* and we were obliged to spend another night on board, during which time the ship rocked from side to side, while lying upon the sunken vessel, and the fragments of the ships that had parted their cables, and foundered in the late heavy gale, presented a melancholy spectacle, and increased our anxieties. By a singular coincidence, we cast anchor in the harbour of Portsmouth, between the ship which had conveyed me to Canada, and the one on board of which we had gone from New-York to Quebec.

Though we were within half an hour's sail of the landing, the tide would have kept us a good while on board our ship, had not Mr. de Riedesel resolved to freight a lugger : but this was a costly conveyance, for we were obliged to pay fifteen guineas. Thus we at last reached Portsmouth. Our hearts grew light when we were again on land, and I thanked God for our safe return to

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\* She was overset on the 28th of June, 1782. Admiral Kempenfelt and the crew were lost, and about one hundred females.



- Europe, and especially for the preservation of my husband. We put up at the best inn, and our dinner seemed to us, after the fare we had been accustomed to aboard, the most delicious we had ever tasted. The fresh bread, which, indeed, was excellent, seemed to us so much the more delicious, as, owing to the bad weather, or to some want of care, our ship-bread was seldom well baked. In the evening, we indulged ourselves with oysters, which we thought excellent, but soon we had abundant reason to wish we had not tasted them. My Augusta and Dr. Mylius sickened, the latter most severely, though my daughter's indisposition was serious enough; Dr. Kennedy believing it to be the cholera morbus. The oysters probably were from a spot, where it is prohibited, under a considerable fine, to collect any, experience having shown that they contained verdigris, from lying near the coppered bottom of ships which anchor there. But such orders are not unfrequently disregarded, when, by disobeying them, a thing can be obtained with less cost and trouble.

Early on the following day, my husband, with his aid-de-camp, set out for London. I particularly requested him to spend the night at the honest landlord's, who had behaved so well towards me, on my first journey, but the postillion went

over another road ; and the same would have happened to me, had I not strongly remonstrated against it. The good innkeeper received me with great demonstrations of joy. In a little amateur-concert which he arranged for the evening, his sister, who had been blind for five years, performed a part. She was very anxious to conceal her defect from strangers, and for that reason seated herself at her piano, before the company arrived, and her eyes having no external defect, nobody would have known any thing about it, had not her brother whispered the secret, for fear that, on an accidental discovery, some one might make remarks to her, or in her presence, that would have distressed her. He expressed great regret at not having seen my husband. I asked him what could be the reason that the postillions had taken a different road. He said, that he thought it dishonest to bribe them ; while, on the contrary, the man who kept the inn two miles from his house, paid them largely, not, indeed, from his own purse, but from those of his guests. "But those who have once visited us," added he, "come again, knowing, by experience, that I do all I can to satisfy them." The house was much improved since my first visit. The entrance, and the yard, were decorated with a profusion of choice flowers, and trailing plants covered the walls, along which

- hang several glass-balls, containing gold-fish; all which produced a very pleasing effect. I again had the best rooms in the house, and though the fare was as good as I could wish, the reckoning was extremely moderate. My husband, on the contrary, was terribly cheated.

Two days afterwards, we arrived in London, where we lodged splendidly in a hotel, called, if I remember rightly, The King George. My first visit, on the next morning, was to the good Russel, who had been so attentive and kind to me, during my first stay in London. I sent for a hackney-coach, and anticipated the pleasure of surprising them with such an unexpected call. Being told Mr. Russel was dressing himself, we went into his shop, and placed ourselves near Mrs. Russel's counter, who was then engaged with a purchaser. Turning her eyes upon me, she at first looked astonished, but soon exclaimed, "Is it you?—but you had only three children." I could not dissemble any longer; tears of joy betrayed me, and I threw myself upon her neck. At the same moment, some one exclaimed close behind me, "My lady, I must embrace you."\* It was worthy and honest Mr. Russel. These good people could not refrain

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\* We preserve Mad. de Riedesel's English phrase.

from tears when I retired, but I promised to come and see them once more with my husband.

We were daily invited to dinner, and once at the house of our good friend of New-York, general Tryon. One day, while we were yet at dinner, the queen's first lady of honour, my lady Howard, sent us a note to inform us that her majesty would expect us at 6 o'clock. My court-dress not being yet ready, I was obliged to apologize for the impossibility of paying my duties upon that day, and I renewed my excuse when we were presented to their majesties. The queen, who like her royal consort, received us most graciously, replied with the greatest affability: "We care not for the dress, when we are glad to see our visiters." All the royal princesses were present. The queen, the princesses, the lady in waiting and myself formed half a circle around the fire-place. The king and my husband stood near the chimney. Tea and cakes were handed round. I was seated between the queen and one of her royal daughters, and was obliged to relate a great deal. Her majesty told me, "I have often thought of you, and inquired after you, and the news I received gave me great pleasure, for I always heard that you enjoyed good health, passed your time agreeably, and were beloved by every body." The princess Sophia, observing that I

had a dreadful cough, went for a jelly of black currents, which she recommended to me as an excellent remedy, and of which she obliged me to accept a pot full. At nine o'clock, the prince of Wales came; the young princesses, his sisters, ran towards him, and he embraced them and jumped about with them. The natural condescension of their majesties was so successful in dispelling all uneasiness and constraint from the minds of those whom they deigned to admit into their presence, that we could have thought ourselves in the midst of a happy family of our own rank. We remained with their majesties until ten o'clock. The king and my husband conversed a long time respecting America, and always in German, which his majesty spoke with great fluency. Mr. de Riedesel was much struck with the king's excellent memory. On taking leave, the queen was so condescending as to tell me that she hoped I would remain some time in England, and that she wished to see me once more before my departure. But we shortly received news that the squadron which was to convey us and the troops to Germany, was waiting, and we were therefore obliged to relinquish the honour of waiting a second time upon the royal family. During this latter stay in London, I became acquainted with lord North and Mr. Fox, who both called

upon us. I made several short excursions in the environs of London, to see whatever was most worthy of attention. I might have been more active in this way, had we not been unexpectedly compelled to abridge our residence in the capital of England. The transports waited for us at Deal, and there we went. To our great dismay, the equinoctial wind had begun. The captain wished it was over before we embarked, for it blew a perfect hurricane; and the entrance of the Elbe, especially in tempestuous weather, is rather difficult. After having spent a day at Deal, in the vain expectation of a change in the weather, my husband resolved not to detain the convoy any longer, but to put to sea. The wharf at Deal is not at all convenient, and much less so when the weather is stormy. The ships' boats lie on the beach, until the tide floats them. This seemed to me a perilous operation. A great crowd stood round the boat. On a sudden, my youngest daughter, who was but three years old, and who lay upon my lap, cried out in English, with a tone of anguish, and stretching out her little arms, "Is there nobody here who will take me?" A well-dressed female came running towards me, and strove to take the child, at the moment when the sailors shoved off the boat, and I had the greatest difficulty to prevent her from doing so.

Our skiff was rocked dreadfully by the rolling waves, and my actual danger discomposed me so much the more, as on my arrival in England I had flattered myself that my courage would not be exposed to new trials. Even on reaching the vessel, we had yet a vast deal of anxiety and trouble. Our boat was so much tossed by the rolling sea, that it was extremely difficult to get on board the ship. I was determined not to leave the boat until all my children and my husband were safely on deck. My husband first ascended the ship's side; the sailors then took my children and climbed up the ladder, during which time I suffered inexpressible anguish; and I, the last of the company, was hoisted up in a chair. On reaching the quarter-deck, the captain said to me, "I must indeed congratulate you, madam, for you have to-day been in greater danger than during your whole voyage." On the next morning, we weighed anchor, and were three days on our passage to Stade. We were obliged to go to and fro, on account of the difficulty of passing the barrels placed in that part of the Elbe, to indicate the only route by which large ships can make their way with the help of the tide. My husband at last grew tired, and having requested to be put on shore, he continued his journey to Stade in a calash; but as it would have been troublesome for a large family to

travel in this way, I remained on board with my children and suite. The captain, who fortunately chanced to be the same man who carried us from Quebec to England, volunteered with his usual obliging readiness, to carry me to town, if the ship should not be able to get under way. We departed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in the long-boat. On leaving the ship, I requested the captain, in my husband's name, to accept of our stock of provisions, which consisted of two cows, fifteen sheep, six hogs, and much poultry; by which he seemed much gratified. We were rowed by six sailors, but as we went against the tide, the poor fellows were so much wasted by fatigue, that I began to fear we should be obliged to spend the night in the boat. With great exertions, however, we reached Stade at eleven o'clock, though we were not able to approach the landing place, on account of the great throng of vessels already lying near it, and the obscurity of the night, and were compelled to make our way ashore on some planks that were thrown for our passage across three or four ships. When at last we were in the town, I was at a loss to inquire for my husband's lodgings. All the houses were shut, and every body retired to rest, except a few loiterers, who were either drunk or unable to direct us. Indeed, from my own anxiety to meet my husband, I was foolish enough to think that every body



must know the German general who had lately arrived at Stade, and when I was answered by some, "We know no German general," and by others, "What do we care about him?" I felt ashamed, and would gladly have dispensed with the presence of the captain and of the sailors, who assisted my faithful Rockel to carry the children. At length we met with a good natured creature, who guided us to the inn where my husband had put up, but to reach which we had to dive through so many dark lanes, that we began to be apprehensive, and therefore determined not to enter any house which should seem suspicious. When we arrived at the hotel, however, all my fears vanished at once, upon finding at the door a sentinel of our dragoons, an old soldier, who had long been with my husband. "How happy I feel to see you once more safe in Germany," exclaimed the honest veteran, extending his hands to me and my children: and the affectionate tone in which he spoke these words, evinced the sincerity and goodness of his heart.

My husband, who had already retired, rejoiced extremely at our arrival. I hoped to be able to offer to the captain some refreshment, but our grumbling host gave us bad tea, bad bread and butter, and there was such a striking want of neatness, that feeling really humiliated at the opinion which the captain might conceive of my

country, I begged him not to judge of it from the present specimen. He left us on the following day, and we parted with sincere regret from this honest man, who had invariably treated us with urbanity, regard, and kindness. I spent a day more at Stade with my husband, who was obliged to wait for the remainder of his troops, and stopped the next evening at Zelle, in the joyful expectation of reaching Brunswic the following day. But in the middle of the night, a soldier, with tremendous mustachios, appeared on a sudden at my bedside with a light in his hand, and though I soon recognized him to be the porter of the hotel, I was not the less frightened on hearing that a man on horseback had brought me a letter from my husband, which he held out to me; the object of which, however, merely was to desire me to change the direction of my journey, by going to Wolfenbüttel. I there found our ancient establishment in the same state in which I had left it, on my departure for America. My good friends, Mad. Paasch and her daughter, had come from Brunswic expressly to arrange all things for our arrival. A good supper awaited us, after which I retired with the deepest gratitude to the Almighty for the protection he had dispensed to me in so many dangers, for the preservation of all those who were dear to me, and the increase of their number by my little America.

The next day, our excellent duchess, and several old and dear friends, came to see me ; and a week afterwards I had the joy of seeing my husband march through the city, at the head of his regiments. Eight years back, I thought I had lost joy and happiness forever, in the same street where I now witnessed a most interesting and touching scene, but which I should in vain endeavour to describe. My excellent and dear husband, who for so many years had exclusively lived for the fulfilment of his duties, and who had been indefatigable in protecting and assisting, as much as possible, those who were committed to his charge, standing in the midst of his soldiers, and a multitude of parents, wives, children, brothers, and sisters, who either rejoiced at meeting again their relatives, who had been so long absent, or mourned over the loss of those who had been long missed and expected ; and himself struggling with his emotions.

On the following day we went to Brunswic. I remember it was on a Sunday, in the autumn of 1783. We dined with the ducal family, and in the evening, in the levee-room, we met with almost all our old acquaintance, after a separation of many years. These were delightful hours ; but they excited my feeling almost to a painful degree.

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# **A P P E N D I X.**

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## **GENERAL RIEDESEL'S OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE**

**WITH  
GENERAL WASHINGTON  
AND  
GENERAL GATES.**

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## APPENDIX.

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FROM GENERAL BARON DE RIEDESEL TO GENERAL  
WASHINGTON.

Cambridge, Jan. 11th, 1778.

Sir,—Major-general Gates having, at the request of his excellency lieutenant-general Burgoyne, exchanged a certain number of British officers, prisoners of war, for an equal number of officers of the Continental army; and being farther required to exchange a proportionable number of German officers, who were made prisoners of war, said “he could not enter upon any exchange of the German troops, without an express order from congress.”

I have too high an opinion of your excellency's justice, to believe that you would make any distinction between the troops of different nations engaged in the same cause, and am persuaded you will grant the same indulgence to the prisoners of war of one party which you do to the other, in every respect, but particularly in that of a fair and equal exchange: I therefore request that you will allow a number of the German officers of

general Burgoyne's army, prisoners of war, to be exchanged, in proportion to the number of British officers exchanged by general Gates; and as the officers of general Burgoyne's family, and those of general Phillips', have been exchanged, though included in the convention; I request the same indulgence may be granted to the officers of my suite. A return of their names, and of the officers made prisoners of war during the campaign, is enclosed herewith.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,  
your excellency's most obedient humble servant,  
RIEDESEL, Major-General.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

Head-Quarters, Valley-Forge, March 31, 1778.

Sir,—It is some time since I have been honoured with yours of the 11th January, to which I should have replied sooner, had I not been obliged to wait for an answer from general Gates upon the subject of your letter. He says you never applied directly to him for the exchange of yourself or any German officers, either of your family or the corps; but that he was told at Albany, that you and major-general Phillips had separately ap-

plied to sir William Howe to be exchanged for general Lee, and had been answered, that as general Prescott had been first taken, he must be first exchanged. I imagine, from the foregoing, that general Gates must have misunderstood you, as he says he should have had no objection to exchanging the foreign as well as the British officers.

Commissioners from me are now negotiating a general exchange of prisoners with commissioners from sir William Howe. If they agree upon terms, I shall not have the least objection to exchanging a proportion of foreign as well as British officers. But you will please to observe, that this is a matter which depends solely upon sir William Howe's pleasure, as he has a right to demand such officers as he thinks proper, for an equal number of equal rank; but I should suppose, that justice to his allies would point out the equity of an impartial exchange. I am, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON,

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FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES,

Cambridge, Nov. 21st, 1778.

Sir,—Having flattered myself, from day to day, with the hopes of having the pleasure to see you

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at Cambridge, I have deferred writing to you, to felicitate you on your safe arrival at Boston, and I should not have failed of seizing the first opportunity of waiting upon you, if I had not been prevented by an order, which has been in force ever since we have been here, that no officer of the convention was allowed to go into Boston.

As the affairs relative to money, which have detained me here, are now settled, and as I intend to set out in a few days, I request the favour of you to allow me and Madam de Riedesel to go to Boston; to take leave of you and Mrs. Gates, and to return you many thanks for the civilities which you have shown me, ever since I had the pleasure of making your acquaintance.

I must once more have recourse to your goodness, and request your assistance, in order to make the long journey we are to undertake as easy to Madam de Riedesel, to myself, and family as possible.

I take the liberty to request an officer to conduct Madam de Riedesel upon the road, and a guard to escort my baggage, and that of the persons belonging to the general staff of Brunswic troops, who are still here, and are to accompany me. I beg of you to give a written requisition to the officer, in order that we may be supplied with good quarters on the road, and may receive pro-

visions at the places where they were issued to the troops upon their march.

You will know how far this officer and escort can accompany us ; and I beg of you to write to the next governor or commander, where this officer will be relieved, requesting him to grant me another, as well as carts, and that I may meet with the same accommodations, as those which you are so good as to allow me.

You will judge whether I will farther require a passport signed with your name.

When I left Albany, you was so obliging as to give a colonel Sprout, who accompanied Madam de Riedesel a little way, and who showed every possible mark of attention ; and I should consider myself under double obligations to you, sir, if you would send an officer with Madam de Riedesel, whose behaviour and sentiments may correspond with those of colonel Sprout.

Major Hopkins, deputy-quarter-master-general, acquainted me before his departure, that 'squire Watson, of Cambridge, had orders to furnish me with carts, and that the number was fixed by major-general Heath before your arrival. I therefore will not trouble you upon that head.

As all my business is settled, I intend (if you have no objection) to set out from hence on Friday next, the 26th inst. and arrive the same day at

Worcester. I propose sending away my baggage on Wednesday, which can easily reach Worcester in three days. From Worcester I shall continue my journey, retaining the baggage always along with me. I should be particularly obliged to you, if you would allow, that the officer who conducts Madam de Riedesel, and the guard for the baggage, could be here by Tuesday evening or Wednesday morning.

Madam de Riedesel desires to join with me in compliments to you and Mrs. Gates.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem, &c.

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO MAJOR-GENERAL GATES.

Essex Court-House, Jan. 2, 1779.

Sir,—After innumerable difficulties and fatigues, I arrived here yesterday with Madam de Riedesel and little family in good health. Colonel Troup leaves me here, and proceeds to Morris-town. General lord Sterling, who commands at Middle-Brook, in the absence of his excellency general Washington, has been so obliging as to send me a captain Browne, who is to accompany me to Virginia.

Allow me, sir, to return you once more my most sincere thanks, for your goodness in having sent colonel Troup with me. I cannot sufficiently express the politeness and attention which he has shown to Madam de Riedesel and me, upon the journey, and the trouble which he gave himself to alleviate the difficulties which naturally and unavoidably occur upon such a long voyage.

Madam de Riedesel begs leave to join with me in offering her best compliments to Mrs. Gates, and of wishing her and you every kind of health and happiness.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

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FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Colle, near Charlottesville, Feb. 16, 1779.

Sir,—The great obligations which I am under to captain Browne, who will have the honour of delivering this letter to your excellency, occasion my taking the liberty of recommending him to your excellency. This officer was appointed by lord Sterling, to accompany me and my family to the place of our destination in Virginia. The great care he took in procuring us the best accommodations and conveniences upon the road,

and his attention and endeavours to render the long journey as commodious as possible to Madam de Riedesel and to me, call upon my highest acknowledgments; and, although the recommendation of an officer, by one who is engaged in the opposite side of the great cause in dispute, ought to have no weight, yet the well-known and universal sentiments of generosity and humanity which your excellency has testified upon so many occasions, encourage me to recommend captain Browne to your excellency's notice and protection.

Captain Browne can acquaint your excellency with the various difficulties we met with, the scarcity of every thing upon the road, the enormous prices of every article, and with the ungenerous and inhuman sentiments of people at different places.

Captain Browne can likewise inform your excellency, of the melancholy situation of the troops of the Convention at present, but which was much worse, on their first coming here. On their arrival, they found a few buildings, (which had received the appellation of barracks,) but which, in fact, consisted of nothing but some logs laid upon one another, without any covering, and the snow three feet deep on the ground. The troops have nobly supported their distress, and are now employed in building their own barracks, which would long ago have been finished, if there had not

been such a scarcity of utensils. I must confess, that according to the description which we had, I expected to have found a more plentiful country, and better able to maintain such a number of troops. But I am far from troubling your excellency with complaints, as I am fully sensible that we are not in this situation by your excellency's orders.

Your excellency will allow me to assure you of the respectful sentiments with which I have the honour to be your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, Oct. 12, 1779.

Sir,—Your excellency, I hope, will have the goodness to excuse my troubling you with this letter. I do it from motives of justice due to Mr. Randolph, the gentleman who will have the honour of delivering it to you. I beg to recommend him to the knowledge of your excellency, as the person to whom colonel Bland, the commandant at Charlottesville, gave the commission of conducting the officers of my family and baggage to Elizabeth-

Town, I having, as you, sir, must have been apprised, taken the route before, in company with major-general Phillips.

The great care which Mr. Randolph has had to render the journey as convenient as possible to the officers of my suite, the politeness he has shown to them, and the exactness with which he has executed his orders, require my best acknowledgments, and have induced me to mention this gentleman to your excellency.

I will not enter upon the subject of my detention, as major-general Phillips has written to your excellency, and must have fully explained, with his own, my sentiments on that affair; but the pleasing prospect I had of going to New-York was heightened, from it becoming in a manner necessary for my health, which has lately been declining under a slow fever, which change of climate alone will cure. My disappointment is in proportion to the flattering idea I had of visiting my friends. Your excellency may then judge how severely I must feel the returning to Virginia in my present state of health, where I am certain my constitution must suffer from the climate.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest personal respect, your excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

## FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

Head-Quarters, West-Point, Oct. 23, 1779.

Sir,—I have had the honour of your letter of the 12th, by Mr. Randolph.

It gives me pleasure to learn that this young gentleman's attentions, during the course of your journey, have been such as to deserve your approbation.

I beg leave to refer you to my letter to major-general Phillips, for my answer to his request in your favour. I sympathise in the bad state of your health, and very sincerely wish an alteration for the better, which I would hope from your change of situation. I am, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

## FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Bethlehem, Oct. 29, 1779.

Sir,—Yesterday evening, I was honoured with your excellency's letter of the 23d of October, in answer to mine, sent by Mr. Randolph; and major-general Phillips has communicated to me that part of your excellency's letter to him, which concerns me. I return your excellency my warmest



thanks for the share you take in my indisposition, and am persuaded, whenever my disagreeable situation can be changed, every thing in your excellency's power will be done to forward it.

Your excellency mentions, in major-general Phillips' letter, that I might represent the ill state of my health to the American congress : but when I consider that the sole motive which determined me to undertake the very long journey from Charlottesville to Elizabeth-Town, was a letter from your excellency to colonel Bland, the contents of which he communicated to me, I place my whole confidence and dependence entirely on your excellency, under whose immediate directions I conceive myself to be. These reasons were, also, my inducement to take the liberty of making a faithful description to you of the total change of my health, and am convinced, whenever your excellency may think proper to make a representation of these facts to the American congress, setting forth the circumstances which I have mentioned, it would have much greater weight, indeed could not fail of success, than any address from an individual to the American congress, a body to whom I am unknown.

It is through your excellency's kind intentions that I am in this place, and as the very impaired state of my health is now known to you, I cannot,

sir, doubt your generous sentiments in procuring me permission to go into New-York, at least for the time it may be necessary to re-establish my health, for which I shall ever deem myself highly obliged to your excellency.

I have the honor to be, sir, with the most perfect personal respect, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant.

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

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FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Brooklyn, April, 1781.

Sir,—Several German officers of the convention of Saratoga, having applied to me to be exchanged, on account of their particular private affairs, I made a requisition accordingly to major-general Phillips, to propose such an exchange to your excellency; and, in answer to my request, general Phillips communicated to me your letter of the 25th of January, to his excellency sir Henry Clinton, in which the proposed exchange made by major-general Phillips to you, sir, on the 23d of December last, is agreed to, and, consequently, involves in it the German officers, who were included in the proposition, though not nominated at that time.

In consequence of your excellency's acquiescence to this measure, I delivered to major-general Phillips a list of the officers I begged to be exchanged, which he has assured me has been forwarded in his last proposals made between the British and American commissary-generals of prisoners, on the 3d of March.

As all the British officers major-general Phillips asked to be exchanged at that time are already arrived, without one German officer included in their number, I presume that the before-mentioned list has not reached your excellency's hands, being convinced that you, sir, would be guided with the same impartiality towards one nation as another; I, therefore, take the liberty of repeating major-general Phillips' application for, your having the goodness to exchange the German officers mentioned in the said list, a copy of which I annex to this, and to give your excellency's orders for those gentlemen being sent to New-York.

Major Meibom, of my regiment of dragoons, and ensign Meibom, of my regiment of infantry, belonging to the troops of his serene highness the duke of Brunswic, being made prisoners of war, a few days past on Long-Island, I shall acknowledge it as an effect of your excellency's goodness to permit these two officers to come to New-York on parole. The infirm state of major Meibom's

health claims a particular attention, and I shall make use of every interest in my power, with his excellency general sir Henry Clinton, to procure permission for their being exchanged, if your excellency will please to give your approbation.

I have the honour to be, sir, your excellency's most obedient and most humble servant,

RIEDESEL, Major-General.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

Head-Quarters, New-Windsor, May 11, 1781.

Sir,—I have been honoured with your favour of April, without particular date. You must either have been misinformed as to the letters which passed from general Phillips to me of the 23d December, and from me to sir Henry Clinton, on the 25th of January, in answer, or you must have misunderstood them. I therefore enclose you copies of them. You will observe, that I acceded only to the exchange of the British officers particularly named in general Phillips' letter. I refused his proposal of permitting an indeterminate number of British or German officers to be sent to New-York, at the discretion of brigadier-general Hamilton.

Some time after, proposals for a farther exchange, bearing date the 3d of March, and in which are included the German officers whose names you mention, were communicated to me by my commissary-general of prisoners, to which I did not think proper to accede, as I conceived the exchange of lieutenant-general Burgoyne was unreasonably delayed. My answer and instructions upon this head have been communicated at large to Mr. Loring by Mr. Skinner.

Were I inclined to partiality in favour of the British officers, I have it not in my power to exercise it, as the choice of the objects of exchange does not lie with me. .

At your particular request, I have given orders to have major and ensign de Meibom sent into New-York upon parole. I am, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

FROM GENERAL RIEDESEL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

Sorel, June 21, 1783.

Sir,—I beg leave hereby to introduce lieutenant Danier, of the Brunswic troops, and to request your excellency will permit him to have passports to go to New-York, by land, and return

by the same route, on business which only concerns the interior and particular economy of the troops I have the honour to command. The pacific situation of public affairs emboldens me to make this request, and I suspend farther apology, that I may seize the occasion, before my departure from this continent, of congratulating with your excellency on the blessed return of peace—to wish every union and prosperity to the two countries, and you, sir, every personal happiness and domestic enjoyment it can produce.

I have the honor to be, with all deference and high esteem, sir, your excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

RIEDESEL.

FROM GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL RIEDESEL.

Head-Quarters, July 14, 1783.

Sir,—I had the satisfaction of receiving your polite letter of the 21st June, by lieutenant Danner, and the particular pleasure of complying with your request, by granting the passports you mentioned for that gentleman to go into New-York, and to return again to Canada.

Had this request needed any apology, (which I beg you to believe it did not,) your very agreea-

ble congratulations on the happy return of peace, with the benevolent wishes which you are pleased to express for the future friendly union and intercourse of the two countries, and for my own personal happiness and domestic enjoyment, would have formed a most pleasing one. I pray you to be persuaded, sir, that my best and most devout wishes for your safe return to your own country attend you, as well as for your future happiness, prosperity, and glory.

The Baron de Steuben will do me the favour to place this in your hand. This gentleman is instructed from me, to form some arrangements with general Haldimand respecting the execution of the seventh article of the provisional treaty, and receiving possession of the posts now under his direction, and in the occupation of the British troops, which are ceded by treaty to the United States.

As an officer of distinction and reputation, as a foreigner, and a gentleman of agreeable and genteel manners, I beg leave to recommend the Baron to your particular attention and civilities, persuading myself that your goodness will afford him every aid in the prosecution of his tour, and the execution of his commission, that shall fall within your power. I am, &c.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

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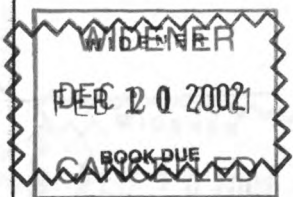
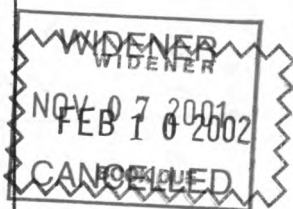


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