

The Secretary at War ordered Lieutenant Colonel Caleb North, of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, to take charge of the transfer of the men, at the same time empowering him to call on the Militia of Virginia and Maryland to provide escorts. North's instructions were first to prepare for the introduction of additional prisoners at the internment camps at Lancaster and York, in Pennsylvania, and at Frederick, Maryland, and then to proceed to Winchester, evacuating all of the men at the latter post. The British prisoners at Frederick and Winchester were to be transferred to Lancaster and York respectively and the Germans were to be concentrated in the vicinity of Frederick. At these posts the Congress had contracted with local merchants for their subsistence. In the event that the facilities in Maryland were inadequate, a part of the German troops were to be left at Winchester and removed later.²⁴

Colonel North undertook his mission with every confidence that he would have the full cooperation of the local inhabitants. Indeed, in Maryland he experienced little difficulty, the citizenry being more than willing to exchange what they considered a constant headache for a

²⁴Letter from Benjamin Lincoln to County Lieutenant of Frederick, December 12, 1781, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, II, 653; letter from Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Moses Rawlings, December 12, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 383-384; letter from North to the Executive of Virginia, January 6, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 8.

The decision regarding the German troops stemmed from Washington's pronouncement early in the war that the former should not be considered too harshly since they had been forced to participate in the war. Throughout the conflict the Germans proved to be docile prisoners, showing little inclination to rejoin the British command. Cf. Edward J. Lowell, The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War (New York, 1884), 106.

very useful source of cheap labor.²⁵ In contrast, at Winchester, the Continental officer was confronted with a general reluctance on the part of the Virginians to assist him. At first the natives, resenting the hardships produced by the continuous presence of prisoners in their locality, had petitioned the Governor to relieve them of their burden. However, a rumor that the troops were soon to receive their back pay had been circulated prior to North's arrival²⁶ and the local people, eager to share in the soldiers' good fortune, now desired them to remain. Because of this change in the attitude of the inhabitants,

²⁵The antipathy of the Marylanders toward the British troops stemmed from an unfortunate series of circumstances occurring prior to the Yorktown campaign. With the advance of Cornwallis from the south, a body of the Convention prisoners had been moved from Virginia to Frederick, where due to the kindness of Colonel William Beatty, the resident Commissary of Prisoners, the troops and particularly the officers were permitted a considerable freedom of movement. This fraternization between the inhabitants and their enemies continued until May, 1781, when news reached them of the death of Captain William Beatty, in the previous month at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. The loss of a favorite son sobered the natives and they thereafter assumed a hostile attitude toward the prisoners. Resenting the change, the British responded with equal hostility, resorting to plunder, rape and other depredations. Finally, after repeated petitions by the citizens, in September, 1781, the enlisted men were transferred to Pennsylvania and their officers to Connecticut. The arrival of the British troops captured at Yorktown found little change in the local situation. Lucy Leigh Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown (Frederick, Md., 1939), 19-21; Roger Lamb, Journal, 395-396.

²⁶On November 30, 1781, General Sir Henry Clinton requested a passport for a Deputy Paymaster to carry two thousand pounds sterling to the British officers at Frederick and Winchester. Letter from Clinton to Washington, H.M.C.; Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, II, 356. His request was granted on December 6. Letter from Washington to Clinton, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 373. In spite of this permission to pass through the lines, the paymaster did not reach the troops until after their transfers had been effected in February, 1782. Cf. below, 62-63.

Colonel Holmes had difficulty in securing a sufficient number of militia-men to escort the prisoners to Maryland.²⁷ Despite the protestations of the Virginians, preparations went forward and by January 24, the plans had been completed. On that date Holmes, who had been assigned the command of the escort, wrote Colonel James Wood²⁸ that the troops would march in two divisions, the British in one and the Anspachers in another. This division of the troops had been adopted in consideration of the coldness of the weather, with the expectation that the smaller groups, one leading the other, would more easily find shelter on the road. Describing the condition of the prisoners, Holmes noted that

many are almost as naked as the hour they were born, & not an ounce of animal food. Whether you could not with propriety detain them a few days, or one half of them, then there might be a chance of getting into some sort of shelter at night. It seems to shock the feelings of humanity to drive out of a warm habitation a poor creature stark naked in such a season.²⁹

The militia officer's sympathy for the captives did not delay their departure, and on the morning of January 27 the British column left Winchester, the Germans following a few hours behind them.³⁰

²⁷Letter from Colonel John Smith to Governor Harrison, January 5, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 7; letter from Holmes to Colonel William Davies, January 6, 1782, ibid., III, 9; Communications of Inhabitants of Frederick County to the Governor, January 6, 1782, ibid., III, 12; letter from Harrison to Smith, January 10, 1782, Official Letters of the Governors, III, 124.

²⁸Colonel Wood had been appointed Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners, to supervise any prisoners who remained at Winchester.

²⁹Letter from Holmes to Wood, January 24, 1782, Anonymous, "As Others Saw Us," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, I (July, 1921), 13.

³⁰Doehla, Tagebush, 170; "Popp's Journal," 250. Major Rowland Broughton-Mainwaring, citing the no-longer-extant Journal of Captain Thomas Saumarez, says that the 23rd Regiment left Winchester on January 12. Though not impossible, this is unlikely. Cf. Historical Record of the Royal Welch Fusiliers (London, 1889), 106.

Left behind them at Winchester were those too ill to be moved and many who had deserted the barracks to find a means of surviving the winter.³¹ To accurately number the latter would be impossible because of the dearth of public records recounting their activities. On February 1, in a report to Ephraim Blaine estimating the monthly cost of supplies necessary for the remaining prisoners and their guards, the resident Assistant Commissary of Purchases requested rations for six hundred men.³² In view of the number of convalescents yet to arrive, many of them scattered through the counties between Yorktown and Winchester,³³ it seems logical to assume that at least one half of the rations were destined for prisoners. In May, 1782, Colonel Holmes reported that one hundred men were still under guard at Winchester and allowed to remain there as part of the Continental quota for Virginia.³⁴

³¹Apparently there is no complete set of statistics giving the total number of deaths or desertions at Winchester. In his Journal, Doehla noted that in the period November 1, 1781 -- January 27, 1782, ten men of the Bayreuth Regiment died and nine deserted, some of the latter joining the State Militia. Additional victims were the wives of two of the soldiers. The loss in military personnel represented 4.2 per cent of the regiment's complement. Tagebuch, 165-170; cf. Roger Lamp, Journal, 397.

³²Memorandum from F. Tate, Assistant Commissary of Purchases to Ephraim Blaine, February 1, 1782, in Ephraim Blaine Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Ephraim Blaine was Commissary General of Purchases for the Continental Army from January 1, 1780 to July 24, 1782.

³³Cf. above, 28-32.

³⁴Letter from Holmes to Colonel William Davies, May 21, 1782, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, III, 173.

On December 25, 1782, Doehla noted in his Journal the arrival at Frederick from Virginia of three hundred British troops who had been at Yorktown. Tagebuch, 187

Of the troops who left Winchester on January 27, only the Germans kept a daily record of their march north. The route before them covered about forty-five miles and led across the swift-running waters of the upper Potomac River. The raggedness of their dress, many of them having neither shoes nor stockings, made the march in the bitter cold weather a gruelling experience. On their first day out, they traveled twelve miles and that night slept in a snow-covered field. The next morning, Monday the twenty-eighth, they moved up to Opequan Creek, a distance of nine miles, forded the stream and proceeded on in the direction of Charlestown. That night, at least three of the English troops were frozen to death and the feet of many of the men were frost-bitten. Finally, on the twenty-ninth, they reached the Potomac, regarded as the half-way mark to Frederick. The intense cold had turned the river into a solid block of ice, forming a natural bridge. Because of the late hour of their arrival, the crossing was postponed until morning and the soldiers spent the night under the brow of a wind-swept hill above Shepherdstown. Wednesday morning, Colonel Holmes led the column across the frozen river and beyond into the little town of Sharpsburg where, for the first time, the men had some respite from their sufferings. The inhabitants not only provided the troops with warm food but were able to offer many of them shelter for the night. On Thursday, the thirty-first, the column covered the remaining twenty-one miles to their destination.³⁵

³⁵Doehla, Tagebuch, 170-172; "Popp's Journal," 250-251; Harold Clem, "A Hessian Prisoner's Memoirs of Frederick in 1782-1783," The Maryland Bulletin, LIVII (February, 1947), 55-56, hereafter cited as Clem, "Hessian Memoirs." Professor Clem's article contains translated excerpts from the diary of Lieutenant Johann Ernst Prechtel of the Anspach Regiment. The original is in the Bavarian Archives in Munich, Germany.

At Frederick the troops were quartered for the night in the enclosure surrounding the Frederick Barracks, about one half mile from the town, their final disposition to be settled the following morning. In accordance with the instructions from Congress, on February 1, the British prisoners started for Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania, arriving there about the tenth of the month.³⁶ Their route took them across the Monocacy River, northward through Taneytown, Littlestown, and McAlisterstown (now Hanover) to where they intersected the great colonial highway that connected Philadelphia with the western lands around Fort Pitt. Here, at York, the regiments who had previously resided at Winchester were lodged in newly constructed huts surrounded by a high stockade. In sight of their quarters, though situated on higher ground, stood a similar camp occupied by about four hundred men from the Convention Army. Because of the liberties granted the latter, in contrast to the close confinement of the Yorktown prisoners, the new arrivals named the camp of the Convention troops "Camp Indulgence" and their own, "Camp Security." The prisoners billeted at Frederick marched twenty miles beyond York to Lancaster, on the north bank of the Susquehanna River. There the troops found a well-built barracks that had served as the Continental Army's central prison camp for almost five years. It, too, was surrounded by a high log stockade, this one

³⁶Apparently some of the British regiments stationed at Frederick had left prior to the arrival of the Winchester column for an inhabitant of Lancaster reported their arrival near the latter town on January 11, 1782. Letter from Ester Atlee to William Atlee, in the Atlee Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

having blockhouses at each corner and one entrance to the yard which encircled the barracks. Here, and at York, the British prisoners were closely guarded by troops of the Continental Line.³⁷

Shortly after the arrival of the troops in Pennsylvania, and due primarily to their regimental paymaster, the men of the Seventy-sixth Regiment were issued new shoes. Learning of their good fortune, an enterprising Irish trooper of the Forty-third Regiment asked Captain Graham if he could have a pair. The officer informed him that, in light of his behaviour during their confinement at Winchester,³⁸ the request showed surprising impudence. To this the soldier responded with the following answer:

Your honour, ask the Guardsmen, ask your own soldiers, if ever they have been in want of tobacco since I entered the Colonel's store, and your honour knows we have had no money to buy it; no, no, Pat Sullivan is no deserter, but I had my reasons for not telling the officers; and there was no great harm in taking a few more hogsheads of tobacco and giving it to my starving comrades.³⁹

Fortunately for the welfare of Pat and the other troops at York and

³⁷Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 71-73; Roger Lamb, Journal, 397; Sir John Ross, ed., Memoirs ... of Admiral Lord de Saumarez, II, 341; letter from Washington to Brigadier General Moses Hazen, December 6, 1781, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, 374.

³⁸The soldier had left his quarters at the barracks, without the proper permission, to obtain employment in town. During their stay in Winchester he lodged with Colonel Holmes, as did Captain Graham. Because the trooper had not received a pass from the officer commanding the Forty-third Regiment, Graham had regarded him as a deserter.

³⁹Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 72-73.

Lancaster, Herman Ryland, a Deputy Paymaster General, arrived from New York around February 15. He remained with the men and thereafter their needs were regularly provided for.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, in Maryland, the German regiments were being established in their new quarters. The Frederick Barracks, into which the Germans moved after the British troops departed, was a stone casern built in two L-shaped wings, each having two floors.⁴¹ The Anspach and Bayreuth troops were assigned to one wing, equally sharing the choice of floor space and with a resident officer's rooms separating their quarters. Similarly quartered in the adjacent wing were the Hessian regiments, Bose and Prince Hereditaire.⁴² Though the barracks assigned the men provided better shelter than that which they had previously enjoyed they continued to be crowded and sought to relieve this condition by erecting log huts. When they left Frederick in 1783, about one hundred such structures stood in the enclosure surrounding the barracks.⁴³

Unlike the British troops who had received both money and supplies soon after their arrival in Pennsylvania, the soldiers confined at Frederick had to wait almost three months for relief from New York.

⁴⁰Ibid., 73-74; H.M.C. Report on American Manuscripts, II, 392-398.

⁴¹Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 8, 9 and 23; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

One wing of the old barracks still stands on the grounds of the Maryland School for the Deaf and has been set aside as a national shrine.

⁴²The Hessian regiments had first been quartered several miles from Frederick in the yard of Fort Frederick, in Washington County, Md. Later, for security purposes, they were moved to the poorhouse within the town and on February 1, they joined the Anspachers at the Frederick Barracks. "Popp's Journal," 252. During the months succeeding, the poorhouse was used as a hospital. Doehla, Tagebuch, 174ff.

⁴³"Popp's Journal," 252; Doehla, Tagebuch, 174; Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 27.

Once again a predominantly German population was the salvation of the prisoners. Many of the local inhabitants had migrated from the same continental provinces which the soldiers called home. Hence, those Marylanders were more than willing to lessen the hardships of their countrymen. Neighboring farmers invited the men to their farms, offering them food and shelter in exchange for labor, and the troops who exhibited a talent for craftsmanship readily found employment in Frederick or some other nearby town. But these aids were not sufficient to fill the needs of nearly two thousand men, many of them having with them wives and children.⁴⁴ Consequently, after waiting four weeks for their supplies to arrive, Major von Beust sent his adjutant to Lancaster to report their circumstances to Major Gordon. The latter forwarded a request for provisions to New York and late in April the Germans not only received their personal baggage, transported by water to Baltimore and shipped across Maryland in wagons, but on April 30 they were given five months pay and a liberal allotment of clothes, cooking utensils, and other necessaries.⁴⁵ Thereafter, the garrison received additional shipments of supplies periodically, and, to prevent another food shortage similar to that at Winchester, funds were sent to their officers to purchase provisions. Hence, by May, 1782, the Germans were as adequately provided for as the British.

⁴⁴"Popp's Journal," 250; Doehla, Tagebuch, 165-176; Bowie, The Ancient Barracks at Fredericktown, 22; Herrmann Schuricht, History of the German Element in Virginia (Baltimore, 1898), I, 149; Max von Belking, The German Allied Troops in the North American War of Independence 1776-1783, trans. Joseph G. Rosengarten (Albany, N.Y., 1893), 217.

⁴⁵Doehla, Tagebuch, 177; "Popp's Journal," 252; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

With the establishment of the prisoners in the internment camps in Maryland and Pennsylvania in the spring of 1782, their disposition had been accomplished to the satisfaction of both the American and the British commanding generals.⁴⁶ No further major alteration in their location was ordered by the military authorities until after the signing of the peace treaty the following year.

⁴⁶Cf. Journals of Continental Congress, XVI, 383-384; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 161; ibid., III, 40.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION

The final settlement of the prisoners in what was to be their permanent quarters during the internment had required nearly four months. The five chapters preceding have related the main events of that period. Together, the story they contain had fulfilled the requisites set forth in the introduction of the narrative. However, before the captive troops regained their freedom another fifteen months were to pass, and though the happenings of those months did not directly concern the ordered disposition of the men, they represented a significant part of the prisoner's experiences. As such they offer the most fitting conclusion to this study.

Shortly after the surrender at Yorktown, General Sir Henry Clinton had proposed the arrangement of a cartel for a general exchange of prisoners.¹ Initially, the plan was to exchange Americans prisoners taken at the fall of Charleston for troops who surrendered at Yorktown. In spite of an unwillingness to see British veterans returned to their lines, Washington was induced by constant political pressure to consent to such a cartel. Hence, in late November, 1781, commissioners representing the hostile armies began negotiations at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Almost at once they encountered difficulties which were to plague them for more than a year. Clinton claimed that he had no authority to grant a carte blanche approval of all captured

¹H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 354.

Americans as prisoners eligible for exchange since many had been serving in a civil capacity. A further complication arose from the nonexistence of a captured American officer equal in rank to Cornwallis. While the commissioners haggled over the former problem, the latter began to assume complexities that eventually stalemated all negotiations. A group of Southern delegates in Congress, taking advantage of the delay in the exchange proceedings, instigated the passage of a secret resolve which prohibited the exchange of Cornwallis by composition.² Washington was notified that the British officer was not to be relieved of his parole, and he in turn sent word to Clinton. When the latter received the news, he promptly informed his representatives that the exchange of Cornwallis was to be a sine qua non to any agreement. As a result, the negotiations were terminated, not to be reopened until the following spring.³

In March, 1781, Washington succeeded in persuading Congress to repeal the resolve concerning Cornwallis,⁴ and, by April, the Commissioners had resumed their work. But once more they were to be

²The prejudice of the delegates seems to have arisen from their rage over the depredations committed by Northern Loyalists under Cornwallis' command during the Southern campaign.

³Details of the various communications between the two commands may be found in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIII, passim, and H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, passim.

⁴Letter from Washington to the President of Congress, February 20, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV, 9-12; Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 95.

interrupted by a failure of the commands to agree on general policy. The confinement and provisioning of such a large number of British prisoners had required funds which the American Congress could ill-afford. Consequently, Washington's representatives demanded two hundred thousand pounds sterling to settle all accounts. To this the British commissioners refused to agree, and as a counter-proposal, suggested that in the future each country subsist its own men through agents located near the internment camps. At the same time they proposed that the Americans accept a ransom for all the British prisoners now held in captivity. The American commissioners refused to consider the proposition, and so about April 15, the conference ended.⁵

The termination of the negotiations coincided with an incident which was to create so much turmoil that it occupied the full attention of the two armies for more than five months. Frequently during the war, the divided loyalties of the citizens of New Jersey had resulted in armed conflict between former neighbors. The patriot participants in the numerous raids that ensued followed the leadership of the New Jersey militia, while those still loyal to the crown acted under the Board of Associated Loyalists who were seated in New York. On the night of March 24, 1782, a company of Loyalist troops surprised the Tom's River blockhouse in New Jersey, and carried off as prisoner its commander, Captain Joshua Huddy. Huddy was put in irons in New York for two weeks and then returned to

⁵Cf. H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, II, 449-450.

Monmouth County, New Jersey, supposedly for purposes of exchange.

However, instead of exchanging him, his captors hanged him on a public highway, afterwards affixing to his body a placard stating that he had been executed for the murder of one Philip White.

Huddy was quite popular and when the local inhabitants discovered his body, they insisted that Washington demand the executor so that he might be punished, asserting that White's death had been an accident. The American commander immediately notified Clinton of the circumstances and requested the surrender of the guilty person. The British general refused to give up Captain Lippincott, the officer who had commanded the Loyalist party, but he did agree to see justice done. Subsequently, Lippincott was arrested on the charge of murder and ordered to be tried by court-martial. Though Clinton's action aroused the Loyalist troops to the point of rebellion, he persisted, as did Sir Guy Carleton who arrived to assume command of the British forces amid the furor over the incident. When Lippincott came before the military tribunal, he claimed first that they had no jurisdiction over his activities in New Jersey and secondly, that he had acted under orders from the Board of Associated Loyalists. His plea resulted in an acquittal.

In the meantime, the fury of the citizenry of Monmouth County had been fanned to unreasonable extremes by local patriots. As a result, when the news of Lippincott's acquittal reached them, they called upon Washington to retaliate. Under this pressure, Washington turned to his corps and division commanders for advice. Their response was that an unconditional, captive British officer, of rank equivalent

to that of Huddy, should be chosen by lot, and, in the event that Carleton did not offer satisfaction for Huddy's death, the captive was to be hung. On May 3, Washington ordered the decision carried out, and, on June 2, Captain Charles Asgill of the Guards was designated the prospective victim.

The choice of Asgill added new complications to the already involved affair. He was one of the Yorktown prisoners and as such supposedly protected by the Articles of Capitulation. Furthermore, Asgill was the son of an English family which enjoyed considerable favor with the ruling monarchs of both Great Britain and France. When the news that Washington intended to go through with the retaliatory act reached England, Asgill's family appealed to both sovereigns for intervention. As a result, the French ambassador presented a remonstrance to the American Congress, which demanded the officer's release. Faced with this representation from France, the Congress complied, and, in November, 1782, they permitted Asgill to pass to New York from which point he sailed for home. With Asgill's release the Huddy incident was closed, and Washington turned to more pressing problems.⁶

⁶No satisfactory description of the Huddy incident has yet been written. The most detailed account available is a highly colored narrative by Katherine Mayo, General Washington's Dilemma (New York, 1938). Almost all of the contemporary diarists recorded the highlights of the affair. The best American version of the proceedings is that of James Thacher, A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783 (2nd ed.: Boston, 1827), 302-310. Contemporary British accounts may be found in Roger Lamb, Journal, 417-434; Graham, ed., Memoir of General Graham, 75-104. Washington's letters to Clinton, Carleton, the Congress and others, concerning the affair, have been published. Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV and XXV, passim. Many of the British communications are listed in H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, passim.

In September, 1782, a third attempt was made to arrange a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. Cornwallis had been relieved of his parole on June 28,⁷ previous, and was no longer a block to the proceedings. Also, due to a change in the British ministry, American captives were now recognized as prisoners of war,⁸ and all of those formerly imprisoned in England had been returned to North America by August, 1782.⁹ Thus, a second point of contention had been removed. Still the question of the unpaid British accounts remained to complicate the negotiations of the bargaining commissioners. When it became apparent that the Americans would insist upon a financial settlement before discussing a general cartel, the British commissioners proposed an exchange of all the American officers taken at Charleston and afterwards, for an equivalent number of the British and German officers who surrendered at Yorktown.¹⁰ After several weeks of deliberations the commissioners concurred on the merits of this proposition and a number of the

⁷Letter from Benjamin Franklin to Robert Livingston, June 28, 1782, Francis Wharton, ed., Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States (Washington, 1889), V, 525.

⁸Letter from Franklin to John Jay, April 24, 1782, Albert H. Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1907), VIII, 434-435.

⁹Letter from Franklin to Livingston, July 22, 1783, ibid., IX, 72.

¹⁰H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 135-136. This proposal was to be based upon an exchange tariff settled at Perth Amboy in March, 1780.

Yorktown officers were freed.¹¹ The good fortune of the officers was not extended to the rank and file of the Yorktown prisoners who continued in their appointed places of confinement until the cessation of hostilities.¹²

Although no exchange was arranged for the several thousand imprisoned British and German soldiers, many of them did succeed in gaining their freedom before the end of the war. This was accomplished in various ways. The easiest way for the troops to escape their confinement was to enlist in the military units of one of the American states, or in the Continental Army. Washington and Congress, fearing the unreliability of such recruits, at first attempted to prevent this. However, by April, 1782 Washington had changed his mind and he suggested the enlistment of a limited number of the German prisoners.¹³ This idea was favorably received by Congress and he was authorized to enlist German troops for three years service. The new recruits were to receive a small bounty and to become American citizens upon their enlistment.¹⁴

¹¹ Cf. Letter from Washington to the Secretary at War, October 7, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXV, 240-241; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 139. The only officers mentioned were several members of Cornwallis' staff: Major England, Captain Page, Lieutenant Sutherland, Lieutenant Stratton, Lieutenant Campbell, and Commissary Coffin. Three of his aides-de-camp, Lord Chewton, Major Ross and Lieutenant Haldane, had been released earlier.

¹² Letter from Washington to Robert Morris, December 11, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXV, 418; H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 190.

¹³ Because of their closer attachment to the service, the British troops were not considered reliable recruits.

¹⁴ Letter from Washington to the Secretary at War, April 27, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV, 175-176; Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 275, 317.

A second means by which the prisoners could gain their freedom was to hire themselves out to an American employer. This practice had been adopted early in the war, and in 1781-82, the Yorktown troops found it especially valuable as a means of survival.¹⁵ Others used the employment as a way of escaping to the British lines. As a result, in the first week of June, 1782, Congress instructed General Benjamin Lincoln to call in all of the prisoners and to keep them closely confined until some regulation respecting their employment could be passed.¹⁶ The issuance of these orders brought so many protests from the people who had employed the captive troops, that before the end of the month Congress passed rules permitting the hiring of the men. In the future, a citizen who wished to employ one of the prisoners would have to be bonded by the Bank of North America, and, should the prisoner escape, the bond would be forfeited. Further, the subsistence of the hired man would be the responsibility of the employer. In the event that the employee decided to become a citizen of the United

¹⁵Cf. above, 59, 64.

¹⁶Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 321.

One of the prisoners at Frederick copied the following order into his journal:
Beginning the 4th of June, no one is allowed any longer to give shelter to one of the prisoners of war. In case of violation, the guilty person must pay the sum of five hundred Pounds Sterling, and in case he is not able to pay he must serve as a marine on an American ship for three years. In case his health does not permit this, he will be punished with thirty nine stripes. Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56.

States, he would be able to do so by paying to the Bank of North America eighty Spanish milled dollars or its equivalent in other specie.¹⁷ Though the British troops were frequently employed as laborers there is no indication that any appreciable number of them became citizens. By way of contrast, more than a hundred of the Anspachers confined at Frederick availed themselves of the opportunity during the winter of 1782-83.¹⁸

To accurately enumerate the prisoners who became citizens by one of the above means would be impossible. Historians have estimated that as many as 12,544 German troops remained in the United States at the end of the war. While many of these were casualties, no less than 5,000 accepted citizenship.¹⁹ The preceding paragraph has given some indication of the number of Yorktown prisoners who purchased their citizenship. No record of the total number of those who enlisted has survived. The heaviest enlistment seems to have been between September 1 and November 1, 1782. In that period Lieutenant Prechtel recorded the enlistment of sixty-two men from the four regiments quartered at Frederick.²⁰ The best example of the losses for any

¹⁷Journals of Continental Congress, XXII, 243-244; Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 56-57; Doehla, Tagebuch, 183.

¹⁸Cf. Doehla, Tagebuch, 183-198. They represented about 12 per cent of the complements of the Anspach and Bayreuth Regiments.

¹⁹Cf. Lowell, The Hessians and Other Auxiliaries, 300; G.W. Greene, The German Element in the War of American Independence (New York, 1876), 210.

²⁰Clem, "Hessian Memoirs," 57. Doehla names an additional thirty-one men who enlisted during the period of confinement. Tagebuch, passim.

single group was that of the two Anspach regiments. Of the 2,353 Anspach officers and men who were brought over from Germany before the Yorktown campaign, only 1,183 returned home at the close of the war. The ones remaining, who had not died in battle or during the internment, probably became American citizens.²¹

A final means by which the prisoners could gain their freedom from the internment camps was to escape outright.²² This method was used chiefly by the British. Besides pretending to accept employment in the neighborhood of the prison camp, the men sometimes feigned illness in order to be left poorly guarded. Once clear of the internment area, the escapees found many Loyalists to assist them in reaching the British lines.²³ As an inducement to their men to escape, the British command offered at first one and a half gold guineas and later two guineas to men who succeeded in eluding the Americans. From the sums allotted for the payment of this bounty between the fall of 1781 and March, 1783, nearly three hundred of the Yorktown prisoners must have escaped.²⁴

²¹Cf. Friedrich Kapp, Den Soldatenhandel Deutcher Fursten nach Amerika 1775-1783 (Berlin, Germany, 1874), 209-210.

²²The most spectacular escapee among the Yorktown prisoners was Roger Lamb. Between October 19, 1781, and January 15, 1782, he eluded his captors on three different occasions, but each time was returned to the internment area. Then, during the relocation of the prisoners in late January, 1782, he escaped a fourth time and successfully made his way from Winchester, Virginia, to the British encampment on Long Island. He arrived at the latter place on March 23. The details of his escapes are given in his Journal, 389-413.

²³Cf. H.M.C., Report on American Manuscripts, III, 14; IV, 385 and 440.

²⁴Cf. ibid., III, 105 and 417; Mackenzie, Diary, II, 694, 702-703.