

APPENDIX G. PRIMARY SOURCES - BRUNSWICK SOURCES

APPENDIX C.

BAUM, BREYMAN, AND ST. LEGER, IN THE CAMPAIGN PRECEDING BENNINGTON, JULY-AUG., 1777.

BURGOYNE.	ST. LEGER. BAUM (and BREYMAN).	DATE
		July
At "Skeensborough House." "Headquarters of the King's Army" (since July 6).		18
" " "		19
" " "		20
" " "		21
" " "		22
" "Advanced corps moved to Ft. Anne."		23
" "Gen. orders Skeensborough."		24
Ft. Anne. "Army moved to Ft. Anne 14 miles."		25
Ft. Anne. Fraser 7 miles farther.		26
Ft. Anne. [Anne "		27
Ft. Anne. Part of army "marched from Ft. Anne."		28
"Headquarters near Ft. Anne." "Right wing moved forward to Ft. Edward, 14 miles."		29
Ft. Edward.		30
Ft. Edward. "Germans remained at Ft. Anne."		31
		Aug.
Ft. Edward.		1
Ft. Edward.		2
Ft. Edward.	St. Leger invested Ft. Stanwix (Ft. Schuyler).	3
Ft. Edward.		4
Ft. Edward.		5
Ft. Edward. "German troops...from Ft. Anne to Cross Roads," 2 miles from Ft. Edward.	Battle of Oriskany.	6
Ft. Edward.	St. Leger demands surrender of Ft. Stanwix; is refused; and continues siege to Aug. 22	7
Ft. Edward.	BAUM (and BREYMAN).	8
Ft. Edward. "Frazier's Corps moved forward to Ft. Miller...Duer's House, 7 miles."	Baum at Ft. Edward receives Burgoyne's instructions and marches to Ft. Miller.	9
Ft. Edward.	Probably at Ft. Miller.	10
Ft. Edward.	Marches from Ft. Miller to Saratoga.	11
Ft. Edward.	Delayed at Battenkill "to receive fresh instructions."	12
Ft. Edward.	Marched to Cambridge, N. Y., "about 18 miles from Bennington."	13
Duer's House. "Army marched to Duer's House (usually called Ft. Miller)...7 miles."	At Sancoick, 12 miles from Bennington. (Breyman "opposite Saratoga")	14
Burgoyne "near Saratoga. Seven at night."	"At k'd near Ben'gt'n." (Breyman marched from Bat'kill to within 7 miles of Cambridge)	15
Ft. Miller.	"Attacked, defeated and taken." (Breyman, also defeated, retreated to Cambridge)	16

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Brunswick Forces

Anonymous Author

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Sund. Aug. 17

The entire army marched ahead for about 2 hours but re-entered our old camp at Fort Miller that very same day.

The reason for the return was as follows:

On August 10, Lt. Colonel Baum¹² had been detached in Albania with the Dragoon Regt., one commando of infantry, some Savages, Volunteers, and 2 cannons to hunt up fresh supplies and other necessities for the army, as well as horses to mount the Dragoons. In the beginning, he was successful in his undertaking; they made their passage about 2 hours this side of Bennington, drove the enemy away and got hold of many horned cattle and many horses. But when the enemy was reinforced and gathered a force of 3,000 to 4,000 men, while Lieut. Colonel Baum was scarcely 400 men strong, he reported [that] to General Burgoyne, who in turn ordered Lieut. Colonel Breymann to set out quickly with his corps to assist Lt. Colonel Baum. Thus, Lt. Colonel Breymann started early Frid. Aug. 15 in rainy weather; add to this Lt. Col. Breymann's jealousy that he as the older officer had not been allowed to move first. While the march was now proceeding rather slowly, on Sat. Aug. 16 Lieut. Colonel Baum was attacked by the enemy with far superior forces, encircled in the woods and so driven in a corner that after a long and brave resistance, he finally had to surrender with the entire corps.

. . . Lieut. Colonel Breymann came too late to be of any

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assistance. He found the enemy, it is true, and put them to flight. But when he realized the enemy's superiority, and that Lt. Colonel Baum had already been captured and, moreover, his men had used up their ammunition, he withdrew with his troops during the night from Aug. 16 to 17.^b

We received the unfortunate news on Sunday the 17th when we had already marched out; we were compelled to return to Fort Miller in order to procure the necessary supplies etc. from Carillon.

[There follows a list of 18 Dragoon officers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner at Bennington, including their commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum.]

Moreover, some 100 non-commissioned officers and common soldiers of the Dragoons as well as of the infantry commando have been killed or wounded in this affair. The remainder have been made prisoners of war.

The wounded had been taken to Bennington into the hospital of the Provincials. After having given their word of honor not to escape, some officers were first taken in by the inhabitants but later moved to Boston onto a guard-ship. After having experienced a most wretched existence there, they were removed to Westminster [(to stay)] with the inhabitants. Many non-commissioned officers and common soldiers were placed as prisoners here and there with [(the local)] subjects and had to work for their supplies and clothing. Those who did not wish to accept the offer, were taken along in custody to Boston onto the guard-ship in the harbor. There the conditions were so bad and the space so confined that they wished they had accepted the first offer. So it came about that the prisoners roamed one by one into Albany and the Province of Massachussets [sic] Bay straying around like lost sheep.

These are the dead and wounded of the Breymann corps: [seven names follow]. In addition, about 6 [?] non-commissioned officers and common soldiers were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.

Of the Battalion von Baerner: [3 officers killed, 3 wounded

p. 16:

and/or taken prisoner]. Likewise about 100 non- com. off. and common soldiers killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

On the other hand, the Rebels have never paid dearer for a victory of this kind inasmuch as they have certainly lost close to 2,000 men in both these affairs.

“The Battles of Saratoga from an ‘Enemy’ Perspective”. Helga Doblin, transl. *Tamkang Journal of American Studies* vol. 3 no. 3 (Spring 1987), pp. 5-35.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Hessen-Hanau Regiment Erbprinz

Anonymous Bat-Man of Stabs-Capitain Friedrich Wilhelm von Geismar

The account of the Battle of Bennington begins on page 126 of the original document:

18ten [August 1777]: Abens bekahmen wir ordre zu Marschieren, hörten auch zu gleicher zeit, dass die Braunschweigische Dragoner eine unglückliche affaere mit den Rebellen gehabt hatten. Den

19ten: Früh Morgens Marschierten wir von Fort St. Anna ab, musten aber dannoch ein Comando zurück lassen, welches ein Blockhaus be___ musste, wir marschierten nach Johns Haus wo selbst wir in das Lager kahmen, hier Trafen wir das 47te Regiment von den Engländer an, welches alhier im Lager stund, es kahn auch heute noch der General von Riedesell mit dem Rhetzischen Regiment und ein Corps Englischer artillerie von Fort Miller zurück, welche alhier das Lager bezogen, weil diser Platz alhier starck besetzt sein musste, damit uns die Rebellen die Communion mit Fort George nicht abschneiden konten, hier

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erfuhren wir nun ferner, wie unglücklich die affaere vor die Dragoner welche sie mit den Rebellen gehabt hatten, aus gefallen war, nemlich den 14ten Schickte Obristl. Baum von den Dragoner (welcher Comandieret war, dem feind Korn, Mehl, Pfert, und sonstiges Vieh weg zu nehmen), an den General Burgoyne einen Brif, das er dem Rebellen schon wirklich etlich und achtzig stück Pfert, 1000 Minot Korn, und etwas weniger Mehl abgenommen hatte, allein er sey schon etliche mahl von den Rebellen attaquieret worden, und zwar das letzte mahl bey Bennington von ohn gefehr 3000 Mann, er hatte sich zwahr auf eine anhöhe Postieret, wo er aber doch allzeit gewärtig sein musste, von der Menge der feinde umringt zu werden, hier auf bekam Obristl. Breymann die ordre mit seinem Corps zu dem Obristl. Baum zu stossen, er brach auch so gleich den 15ten Morgens auss seinem Lager auf, bekam den 16ten unter wegs von

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dem Obristl. Baum einen Brif, in welchen ihn der selbe bath, so balt wie möglich zu ihn zu stossen, in dem Er von den Rebellen gänzlich um ringt währe, und er sich unmöglich durch schlagen konte, wann er keine hülfe bekam, hier auf setzte sich Obristl. Breymann abermahls in Marsch, welcher er __ halt gemacht hatte, um die Dragoner auf zu suchen, auf disen weg begegnete Ihm der Obrist oder Gouverneur Skien welcher ein Americaner war, jetzt aber bey unser armee dient, diser sagte Ihm, dass allen ver___ nach, alle Dragoner

gefangen sein wahren, h__ auf hörte Obristl. Breymann vor sich feuern, der Obrist Skien bath den Obristl. Breymann den eine bedeckung bey die Crick Mühle, um daselbst eine Brücke zu besetzen, welche die Rebellen in besitz hatten, hier Detaschirte Er den Capit. Kleisenberg mit 50 Mann, diese Brücke in besitz zu nehmen, dieses Comanto zug auch gleich die Rebellen von der Brücke weg, Obristl. Breymann Marschierte

(page 129)

aber fort, um die Dragoner auf zu suchen, gleich hier auf wurde aber sein lincker flügel von den Rebellen attaquirt, und das feuer der Dragoner lies nach, dass er nicht mehr hören konte in welcher gegent sie wahren, worauf Er die Rebellen starck angrif, jagte sie von zwey anhöhen herunter, seine Truppen verfeuerten aber gar balt ihre bey sich gehabte 46 Batronen dass ihr feuer anfang Todt zu werden, dann ihren Pulver Karn hatten sie zurück gelassen, weil sie glaubten zu den Dragoner zu stossen, die Rebellen welche über 4000 Mann starck wahren wurden kaum gewahr dass das feuer von dem Corps von Breymann nach lies, so drungen sie gleich mit gewalt auf, dass Er also nichts mehr übrig hatte, zu dem er auch schon seine zwey Canons welche zwar dhl. Lieut. Spangenberg so balt Er keine amunition mehr hatte vernagelen lies, verlohren hatte, als sich nach der obgedachten Brücke zu Retiriren, wo Er den Capit. von Kleisenberg mit 50 Mann gelassen hatte wann Er nicht das jenige schicksal erleiden

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wolte, welches die Dragoner gehabt hatten, __ Er erfahren hatte, das die Dragoner mit ihren beyden Canonen welche dhl. Lieut. Bach comandirt hatte, gänztlich umringt und gefangen wahren bey dem Retiriren verlohr der Obristl. Breymann seine mehrste Leute, dann er Muste sich einige Englische Meilen zurück ziehen biss Er an der Brücke kahm, weiter getrauten ihn aber die Rebellen nicht zu verfolgen, nach dem nun die affaere über drey stunden gedauert hatte, und alles wieder still war, so zog Er sich in der nacht noch etaws zurück, der Verlust des Obristl. Breymann besteht aus Toden, 2 officiers, 2 unter officirs und 16 gemeine, Blesirten 6 officirs 8 unter officirs 1 Tambour 54 gemeine, Gefangen und vermist 5 officir 11 unter off. 4 Tambour 122 gemeine, die Dragoner wahren starck vor der affaere 21 off. 37 unter off. 10 Tambour 1189? gemeine und 17 knecht, da von sind Todt blesirt und gefangen 21 offic. 37 unter off. 10 Tambour 280 gemeine und 17 knecht da bey ist noch der hl.Lieut Bach mit einen Comanto artillerie, von Hessen Hanau, und ein Comanto Engländer und Canadienter, welche

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aber keine 100 Mann starck gewesen sein soll, diese all sind so wie die Dragoner, was nicht Todt geschossen, ist gefangen worden, ein Theil von unser armee muste noch etwas vor wärts rücken, der Obristl. Breymann kahm wieder zurück, und bezog sein vorher gehabtes Lager[.]

TAGEBUCH EINES BURSCHEN von STAABS-CAPITAIN FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON
GEISMAR vom HESSEN-HANAUISCHEN ERBPRINZ REGIMENT und BRIGADE-MAJOR zu
BRIGADIER-GENERAL von GALL (15 März 1776 bis 14 December 1778)

Hessisches Staatsarchiv-Marburg, Bestand 12 b I Nr.23 (früher O.W.S.1386 acc. 1893/2)

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Hesse-Hanau Artillery
Lieutenant Johann Michael Bach

Johann Michael Bach to Count Wilhelm IX of Hanau. [excerpt]

Im Lager zu Point Levie den 3ten Oktober 1782

“Den 16ten August 1777 in der unglücklichen Affaire bei Bennington wurde ich auf dem champs de bataille gefangen, äusserst misshandelt und völlig geplündert. Ich suchte Geld zu erborgen bei einigen braunschweigischen Officieren – denn da ich der einzige Hochfürstlich Hessen-Hanauische Officier war, musste ich der fremden Güte und Hilfe suchen – hier von kaufte ich mir wieder das höchst nöthigste und war dennoch dadurch noch in der Verlegenheit, meine Wäscherin am Fluße selbst zu sein. Kaum, daß ich dieses wenige hatte wurde mir alles wieder von den Rebellen gestohlen, und war nun just wieder so situiert wie ich mich nach der Plünderung auf dem Champ de Bataille befande. Hierauf wurden wir alle zusammen auf ein Wachtschiff gebracht sehr schlecht darauf gehalten und besonders da ich ein Hesse, auf welche die Rebellen sehr verbittert waren, wäre, ich ohne die Protektion der übrigen Braunschweigischen Officiere fast gänzlich verloren gewesen. Von diesem Wachtschiff wurden wir nach Westminster in der Massachussetsbay gebracht, erhielten anfangs Quartiere, wurden nachher aber mit Negros Speisen gefüttert, aber noch schlechter gehalten.”

At Bennington “über dem Auge durch einen Schrammschuß blessiert und in die Verlegenheit eine Auge zu verlieren gesetzt wurde, wenn nicht der Regimentsfeldscher der Braunschweiger Dragoner die äußerste Sorgfalt für mich gehabt hätte.”

The recipient of the letter, Count Wilhelm IX of Hanau (3 June 1743 – 27 February 1821) was the eldest surviving son of Frederick II, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (or Hesse-Cassel) and Princess Mary of Great Britain, the daughter of George II. Following the death of his father in 1785 he became reigning *Landgraf* of Hesse-Kassel and as Wilhelm I. *Kurfürst* von Hessen following the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of 1803, a title which he continued to use even after the end of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

William van Vleck Lidgerwood Collection Fiche 304-309, Letter U: Reports of the Hesse-Hanau Infantry Regiment von Gall, 1776-1782, fiche 305 pp. 157-167, pp.157-159 and 161-162. Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

Bach (26 October 1750-20 August 1827) served in artillery company, is exchanged late September 1779 and returned to Hanau on 12 November 1783. His map of the battlefield at Bennington is included as an appendix to this report.

For biographical information on Bach see „Bach, Johann Michael (* ca. 1750)“ in: Hessische Truppen in Amerika

<http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/subjects/idrec/sn/hetrina/id/57302>

and

http://www.lagis-hessen.de/de/help/info/fdb_id/21/sn/hetrina

A translation was published in *Most Illustrious Hereditary Prince ... Letters to their prince from members of the Hesse-Hanau military contingent in the service of England during the American Revolutionary War*. Bruce E. Burgoyne, transl. (Bowie: Heritage Books, 2003), pp. 177/80.

On 16 August 1777, I was captured on the field of the battle, during the unfortunate affair at Bennington, badly mistreated and completely plundered. I tried to borrow money from Brunswick officers – because, as I was the only Hesse-Hanau officer, I had to seek relief and help from strangers. With [the money] I again bought the most essential items and thereafter I was embarrassed, and had to do my own laundry in the river. No sooner did I have this least little bit, than the rebels again stole everything, and once again I was in the same position that I had been after the plundering on the field of battle. Following that we were all brought together on a prison ship, treated very badly thereon, and especially, as I am a Hessian against whom all rebels are very bitter, I would have been lost without the protection of the other Brunswick officers. From the prison ship we were taken to Westminster, in Massachusetts Bay, receiving quarters initially, but fed with Negro food, and still treated [worse].

At Bennington “I was wounded above the eye by a grazing shot, and placed in the embarrassment of losing an eye, if the regimental surgeon of the Brunswick Dragoons [Wasmus] had not given me exceptional care.”

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Hesse-Hanau Artillery
Lieutenant Johann Michael Bach

Johann Michael Bach to Count Wilhelm IX of Hanau [excerpt]

New York den 7. Dezember 1778

Hochwohlgeborener Herr, Gnädiger Herr Hofmarschall !

“Meine Instrumente und Bücher nebst der wenigen Equipage nahmen mir die Feinde in der unglücklichen Affaire zu Williams Cook bei Bennington ab und dieses ist die Ursache, weshalb ich Hoch denenselben mit keinem ausgearbeiteten Plan aufwarten kann. Sobald ich im Stande bin, mir ein Reißzeug anzuschaffen, so werde ich mit mehreren Plans vermögend sein, Ew Hochwohlgeboren unterthänigst zu dienen.

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“My instruments and books and what little equipment I had, was taken from me by the rebels during the unfortunate affair at Williams Cook, near Bennington, and that is the reason why I can not provide you with a detailed map. As soon as I am in a position to obtain a case of instruments, I will be able to draw more maps with which, most humbly to serve you.”

Bach’s map of the battlefield at Bennington is included as an appendix to this report.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Dragoon Regiment "Prinz Ludwig"
Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum

Batten Kill, 12th August, 1777.

SIR,

I HAD the honour of acquainting your Excellency, by a man sent yesterday evening by Colonel Skeene to head-quarters, of the several corps under my command being encamped at Saratoga, as well as of my intention to proceed the next morning at five o'clock; the corps moved at that time, and marched a mile, when I received a letter from Brigadier General Fraser, signifying your Excellency's order to post the corps advantageously on Batten Kill, till I should receive fresh instructions from your Excellency; the corps is now encamped at that place, and wait your Excellency's orders. I will not trouble you, Sir, with the various reports which spread, as they seem rather to be founded on the different interests and feelings of the people who occasion them.

I have the honour to be, most respectfully, Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant, F. BAUME.

The reinforcement of fifty chasseurs, which your Excellency was pleased to order, joined me last night at eleven o'clock.

General Burgoyne.

John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada: as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by Evidence, With a collection of authentic Documents, ... Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the Officers of the Army he commanded* 2d ed., (London: J. Almon, 1780), p. lxviii.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004877784.0001.000/1:39..1?rgn=div3;view=fulltext>

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Dragoon Regiment "Prinz Ludwig"
Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum

Cambridge, 13th August, 1777.

SIR,

IN consequence of your Excellency's orders I moved this morning at four o'clock, with the corps under my command; and after a march of sixteen miles arrived at Cambridge at four in the evening. On the road I received intelligence of forty or fifty of the rebels being left to guard some cattle. I immediately ordered thirty of the provincials and fifty savages to quicken their march, in hopes to surprize them. They took five prisoners in arms, who declared themselves to be in the service of the Congress; yet the enemy received advice of our approach, and abandoned the house they were posted in. The provincials and savages continued their march about a mile, when they fell in with a party of fifteen men, who fired upon our people, and immediately took to the woods with the greatest precipitation. The fire was quick on our side, but I cannot learn if the enemy sustained any loss. A private of Captain Sherwood's company was the only one who was slightly wounded in the thigh. From the many people who came from Bennington they agree that the number of the enemy amounted to 1800. I will be particularly careful, on my approach at that place, to be fully informed of their strength and situation, and take the precautions necessary to fulfil both the orders and instructions of your Excellency.

I cannot ascertain the number of cattle, carts, and waggons taken here, as they have not been as yet collected. A few horses have been also brought in, but am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that the savages either destroy or drive away what is not paid for with ready money. If your Excellency would allow me to purchase the horses from the savages, stipulating the price, I think they might be procured cheap, otherwise they ruin all they meet with, their officers and interpreters not having it in their power to controul them. Your Excellency may depend on hearing how I proceed at Bennington, and of my success there: praying my respectful compliments to General Reidesel,

I am, most respectfully, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

F. BAUME.

P. S. The names of the men taken in arms are as follows.

- George Duncan,
- David Slarrow,
- Samuel Bell,
- John Bell,
- Matt. Bell.

Hugh More, a noted rebel surrendered himself yesterday evening.

The express left Cambridge at 4 o'clock on the morning of the 14th of August.

John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada: as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by Evidence, With a collection of authentic Documents, ... Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the Officers of the Army he commanded* 2d ed., (London: J. Almon, 1780), p. lxix-lxx.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004877784.0001.000/1:39..1?rgn=div3;view=fulltext>

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Dragoon Regiment Prinz Ludwig Ernst
Lieutenant-Colonel Friedrich Baum

Sancoick, 14th August, 1777, 9 o'clock

SIR,

I have the honour to inform your excellency, that I arrived here at eight in the morning, having had intelligence of a party of the enemy being in possession of a mill, which they abandoned at our approach, but in their usual way fired from the bushes, and took their road to Bennington; a savage was slightly wounded; they broke down the bridge which has retarded our march above an hour, they left in the mill about seventy-eight barrels of very fine flour, 1000 bushels of wheat, 20 barrels of salt, and about 1000l. worth pearl and pot ash. I have ordered thirty provincials and an officer to guard the provision and the pass of the bridge. By five prisoners taken here, they agree that 1500 to 1800 men are in Bennington, but are supposed to leave it on our approach; I will proceed so far to-day as to fall on the the enemy to-morrow early, and make such disposition as I think necessary from the intelligence I may receive. People are flocking in hourly, but want to be armed; the savages cannot be controuled, they ruin and take every thing they please.

I am, Your excellency's

most obedient, humble servant,

F. BAUME.

Beg your excellency to pardon the hurry of this letter, it is wrote on the head of a barrel.

General Burgoyne.

John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada: as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by Evidence, With a collection of authentic Documents, ... Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the Officers of the Army he commanded* 2d ed., (London: J. Almon, 1780), p. lxx-lxxi.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004877784.0001.000/1:39..1?rgn=div3;view=fulltext>

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Grenadier Battalion Breymann
Grenadier Johann Bense

15 August 1777:

»Heute Morgen setzen Wier Grenadier und Chappser auch in Marsch nach Benneng-
tong, und blieben Auf den halben Wege in Walde liegen gegend Abend uhm 4 kahmen
Wier an die Feinde, es Kahmen zum Treffen unßer Dragoner Waren bereiz gefangen,
Wier Kahmen hier mit Vollen Lauffen ins Feuer, bey den Dragoner, das Commando
Von die Grenadier da Wahr Ein Man Mit Nahmen Cristigan Genrede [?]. Von Cappi-
daine von Schick Comppagnie das Mein Guder Freund und Vötter Wahr der Selbie ist
aber mit die Dragoner gefangen Worden. Die Feinde zogen sich zwahr Erstlig zurück,
weil aber noch 4 bis 5 Mahl so starck vormals Wier [sic] auch Ihnen die hiesige gegent
auch beßer bekandt so zogen sie sich um uns herum, und unßer rechter Flügel Muste
retteriren, [...] da kriegte ich eine Plösur in das hole Leib an der linken Seite, Waren
15 Mann Von der Comppagnie mit Mihr nach Forth Müller in das Hospithall gebracht,
da aber sehr Viele Von der Compagnie gefangen und dodt geschosen sind die Zahl weis
ich nicht [...] ich habe ein Ganzen Monat in den Hospital gelegen bey Saratoga Vor-
sammelten Wir uns Wider «

The German original in Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Wolffenbüttel VI HS 11 Nr. 248,
vol. 2 is quoted from Stephan Huck, *Soldaten gegen Nordamerika. Lebenswelten
Braunschweiger Subsidientruppen im Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg* (München:
Oldenburg Verlag, 2011), p. 157. The Battle of Bennington is covered on pp. 146-159.

Huck's study, as the term *Lebenswelten* = living, experiential environment in the book
title indicates, focuses on how Brunswick soldiers experienced and responded to the New
World and its inhabitants as well as their relationship with the British. Statements
concerning the strictly military aspects of the campaigns are questionable, however, if not
downright wrong: on 16 August 1777 Baum's troops did not run headlong "into an ambush
laid by the militias of Vermont and New Hampshire who were wearing Loyalist insignia
and thus could approach the Brunswickers to musket range." Ibid., p. 146.

See also Huck's "Sozialstruktur und Motivationen Braunschweiger Soldaten im
Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg" in: *Die >>Hessians << im Amerikanischen
Unabhängigkeitskrieg (1776-1783). Neue Quellen, neue Medien, neue Forschungen* Holger
Th. Gräf et al., eds., (Marburg: Historische Kommission für Hessen, 2014), pp. 151-170.

Translation:

15 [August] This morning, we Grenadiers and Chasseurs continued our march to Bennington and stopped halfway in the woods.

16 Around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we encountered the enemy; a skirmish ensued; our Dragoons had already been made prisoner. We ran into the fire at full speed. A man by the name of Christian [?] Genrecke [?] from Captain von Schick's Company, who was my good brother and cousin, had been taken prisoner together with the Dragoons [although he actually was a member] of the commando of the Grenadiers. The enemy at first withdrew but because they were as yet 4 to 5 times as strong as we and were also better acquainted with this region, they encircled us, and our right wing had to withdraw. I have this as proof [?] because as the Rebels first time, I received a wound in the belly on the left side from the company were taken together with me to the Miller. Since very many of the company had been taken killed, I did not complain.

21 We also lost 2 cannons and withdrew. On the 17th, we camp one by one. I lay in the hospital a whole month. at Saratoga. Rhetz and Hesse-Hanau were standing 70 behind us and Riedesel and Specht 40 miles at Fort Miller.

“A Brunswick Grenadier With Burgoyne: The Journal of Johann Bense, 1776–1783” Helga B. Doblin and Mary C. Lynn, transl. And eds., *New York History*, vol. 66, no. 4 (October 1985), pp. 420-444, pp. 432/32.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Breymann Grenadier Battalion (Brunswick)

Lieutenant-Colonel Heinrich von Breymann

Account of an affair which happened near Walloon Creek Augst 16th 1777

On the 15th of August at 8 o'clock in the morning Sr. Francis Clarke Aid de Camp to his Excellency Genl. Burgoyne brought me the order to march immediately with the Corps under my Command, consisting of a Battallion of Grenadiers, one of Chasseurs, one Rifle Company [das Jäger Compagnie] & 2 peices of Cannon, to the Support of Lt. Col Baum. I marched at 9 O'clock, & on account of the Scarcity of Carts, I put two boxes of Ammunition upon the Artillery Carts. Each Soldier carried 40 Rounds in his Pouch.

The Troops being obliged to ford Batten Kill, I was detained a considerable time by it. The Number of Hills, excessive bad roads, & a continued rain, impeded our march so much that we Scarce made 1/2 English mile in an hour. Each gun & ammunition Cart was obliged to be dragged up the hill one after another. One artillery Cart was overturned & with the greatest difficulty was put into a Situation to proceed. All these difficulties delayed us much, & notwithstanding every means was used, & no trouble or labour spared, it was not possible for me to march faster. Our guide lost his way, & after a long search in vain, Major Barner was obliged to look out for a man who put us again in the right road.

All these accidents prevented me from reaching Cambridge the evening of the 15th, & was therefore obliged to halt 7 miles this side of it, where the men lay upon their arms all night.

Before I came to the place where I halted, I wrote to Lt Col. Baum, to acquaint him of my coming to his Support. Lieut. Hannemann went with this account to Cambridge, & from thence to Lt Col Baum's post, where he arrived at 11 o'clock at night. I received an answer the next morning.

16th. Early in the morning I marched on, but the Artillery horses had had no food all the day before, & very little during the night, they were so weak as to be scarce able to drag the Can[n]on, on which account our march was very slow. Major Barner with the advanced Guard was obliged to go forwards to press horses, to drag the Guns; he met us before noon with Some horses, which we immediately made use of, & we continued our march as fast as

possible, till about 2 miles this side of Cambridge, where I halted about 1/2 an hour to assemble the Troops.

About 2 O'Clock in the afternoon Col. Skene sent me two men, desiring an officer & 20 men to take possession of the Mill at Saint Cork [St Coyk] which the Rebels intended possessing themselves of. Instead of the Detachment which he asked for, I sent Captain Gleisenberg, with the advanced Guard consisting of 60 Grenadiers & Chasseurs & 20 Riflemen [Jäger]. I followed with the Column as fast as possible. Upon this march an ammunition Cart broke down.

At 1/2 past 4 O'Clock in the afternoon, I reached the Mill, & found the advanced Guard in possession of it, & all quiet. I must positively declare, that neither during the march, not even after I reached the Mill, did I hear a Single Shot fired either from Small arms or Canon.

Col. Skene was at the Mill, & as he gave me to understand, that the Corps of Lt. Col. Baum, was not above 2 miles from me, I imagined I could not do better, than push on to his Support. Col. Skene was of the Same opinion, & we marched on, over the bridge near the mill, endeavouring to reach Col Baum as soon as possible. At this time I knew nothing of his engagement being over. If Col. Skene knew it, I cannot conceive what his reasons were for concealing it from me. If I had known it, I certainly Should not have engaged the enemy.

I had scarce passed the bridge 1000 yards When I perceived a considerable number of armed people, some in Jackets [Camisolen] & Some in Shirts, who were endeavouring to gain a height, which was on my left flank. I Shewed these people to Col. Skene, who assured me they were Royalists, & rode up towards them, & called out, but received no other answer than a discharge of firearms. I immediately ordered Maj: Barner's Battallion to move off towards the height. The Rifle [Jäger] Company & Grenadiers moved towards the right, & thus began the attack & lasted till towards 8 o'clock.

The Canon were posted on the road, where there was a blockhouse, which the Rebels left as soon as they began to fire upon it. Notwithstanding fresh Support was constantly coming in to them, they were driven from every height.

The troops did their duty, & every one concerned did the Same. As all the ammunition was expended, & the Canon ceased firing, nothing was more natural than to expect the enemy to renew the attack, which in fact was the case. I hastened with a Number of men towards the Canon, in order to bring them off. On this occasion the men received the most dangerous wounds, particularly Lt. Spangenberg, some fireworkers, & some Artillery. The Horses were all killed & if every one had been alive, it would not have

been possible to have moved him. In order then, not to risque every thing, as I could not return the enemy's fire, as soon as it was dark, I retired over the bridge, which I broke down, brought off as many of the wounded as I could, & in company with Col. Skene, arrived about 12 o'Clock at Cambridge, where after taking the necessary precautions, I remained all night, & the next day the 17th. Instt. arrived at the Camp.

This is the best account I can give of the whole affair. The loss of my Canon gives me the greatest concern. I did every thing in my power to save them, but the want of ammunition prevented me, not only from returning the enemy's fire, but even of getting out of it. Many lost their lives & limbs, & could I have saved my Canon, I would with pleasure have Sacrificed my life to have effected it.

(Signed) BREYMANN
Lt. Colonel

(Translation)

[In Camp by Saratoga
20th August 1777]

[Docketed] Lt. Col. Breymann's Account of the affair near Walloon Creek Augt 16th 1777

The New York Public Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Bancroft Collection, Hessian Manuscripts, No. 46, Riedesel Letters, 1776-1783, Folder 1777.

NOTE: The above is an original document. The German language original is also in this folder. The German version did not have Breymann's rank beneath his name. Key words in the German version are placed in brackets after the English version. Also, the English translation did not have the place or date of the document as shown in brackets.

This transcript of Breymann's account is used here courtesy of Todd W. Braisted

A slightly different account is printed in William L. Stone, *Memoirs and Letters and Journals of Major General Riedesel, during his Residence in America* 2 vols., (Albany: J. Munsell, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 256-258.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Headquarters

Major General Friedrich Adolf Riedesel, Freiherr zu Eisenbach

List of the Losses of the Brunswick and Hessian Corps under Lieutenant Colonel Baum, near Bennington, August 16, 1777.

COMPILATION, 26 AUGUST, 1777.

Composition of the corps.	Effective condition of the expedition.					Number of those whose fate is not known.				
	Officers.	Noncom. officers.	Drummers.	Soldiers.	Servants.	Officers.	Noncom. officers.	Drummers.	Soldiers.	Servants.
Generals of staff,.....	1					1				
Regiment of dragoons,.....	15	28	6	171	14	15	28	6	165	14
Grenadier battalion,.....	1	2	2	20	1	1	2	2	19	1
Regiment Rhetz,.....				2					2	
Regiment Riedesel,.....	1	1	1	17		1	1	1	17	
Regiment Specht,.....				16					16	
Light battalion of Barner,.....	2	5	1	51	2	2	3	1	49	2
Hesse Hanau artillery,.....	1	1		12		1	1		12	
Total,.....	21	37	10	289	17	21	37	10	280	17

Number of those who returned to the army: Soldiers—regiment of dragoons, 6; grenadier battalion, 1; light battalion of Barner, 2; total, 9.

Names of those officers whose fate is unknown.

Of the dragoon regiment:

1. Captain O'Connell, of the General's staff; 2. Lieutenant Colonel Baum; 3. Major Von Maiborn; 4. Captain Fricke; 5. Captain Reineking; 6. Captain Schlagenteufel, Jr.; 7. Lieutenant Brown, adjutant; 8. Lieutenant Von Reckroth; 9. Lieutenant Von Bothmer; 10. Cornet Schönewald; 11. Cornet Gräf; 12. Cornet Stutzer; 13. Quartermaster Gericke; 14. Chaplain Melzheimer; 15. Auditor Thomas; 16. Chief Surgeon Vorbrott.

Of the other regiments:

17. Lieutenant Burghoff, of the grenadier battalion; 18. Ensign Andrea, of the regiment Riedesel; 19. Captain Thomas, of the regiment Barner; 20. Ensign Specht, of the regiment Barner; 21. Lieutenant Bach, of the Hessian artillery.

The English lieutenant of engineers, Dumford, who was detailed to Lieutenant Colonel Baum, shared, also, the fate of the above officers.

List of losses of the German detachment, under Lieutenant Colonel Baum during the affair near St. Coyk, on the 16th August, 1777.

Composition of the corps.	Effective condition.				Killed.				Wound'd.				Missing.				Total.			
	Officers.	Nonc. Offl.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offl.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offl.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offl.	Drummers.	Privates.	Officers.	Nonc. Offl.	Drummers.	Privates.
Grenadier battalion,.....	10	24	15	284	1	1	..	13	1	5	..	23	4	4	3	65	6	10	3	101
Lt. battalion Von Barner,	11	27	10	240	1	..	..	..	4	2	1	28	1	7	1	37	6	9	2	85
Hesse Hanau artillery,....	1	2	..	18	..	1	..	3	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	2	..	6
Total,.....	22	53	25	542	2	2	..	16	6	8	1	54	5	11	4	122	13	21	5	192

Officers killed.

Captain V. Schiek, of the grenadier battalion ; Lieutenant Muchlenfield, of the battalion Barner.

Wounded officers.

Lieutenant Colouel Breymann, Major Von Barner, Captain Von Geisan, Captain Von Gleisenberg, Lieutenant Hanemann, all of Barner's battalion ; Lieutenant Spangeuberg, of the Hessian artillery.

Missing officers.

Captain Von Bartlin, Lieutenant Gebhardt, Lieutenant Meyer, Lieutenant Von Anuieres, all of the grenadier battalion ; Ensign Hagemann, of the battalion Barner.

Thus the corps numbered, after the engagement, only, 9 officers, 32 noncommissioned officers, 20 musicians and 350 privates.

William L. Stone, *Memoirs and Letters and Journals of Major General Riedesel, during his Residence in America* 2 vols., (Albany: J. Munsell, 1868), vol. 1, pp. 255/56.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Headquarters
Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne

Copy of Lieutenant-General *Burgoyne's* Letter to Colonel *Baume*.

Near Saratoga, August 14, 1777. Seven at Night.

SIR,

THE accounts you have sent me are very satisfactory, and I have no doubt of every part of your proceeding continuing to be the same.

I beg the favour of you to report whether the road you have passed is practicable, and if so, if it is convenient for a considerable corps with cannon.

Should you find the enemy too strongly posted at Bennington, and maintaining such a countenance as may make an attack imprudent, I wish you to take a post where you can maintain yourself till you receive an answer from me, and I will either support you in force, or withdraw you.

You will please to send off to my camp, as soon as you can, waggons, and draft cattle, and likewise such other cattle as are not necessary for your subsistence. Let the waggons and carts bring off all the flour and wheat they can that you do not retain for the same purpose. This transport must be under the charge of a commission officer.

I will write you at full to-morrow in regard to getting horses out of the hands of the savages.

In the mean time any you can collect from them, fit to mount the regiments, at a low price, shall be allowed.

I am with great esteem, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant.

J. BURGOYNE.

John Burgoyne, *A State of the Expedition from Canada: as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by Evidence, With a collection of authentic Documents, ... Written and collected by himself, and dedicated to the Officers of the Army he commanded* 2d ed., (London: J. Almon, 1780), p. lxxvi.

<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/ecco/004877784.0001.000/1:39..1?rgn=div3;view=fulltext>

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Infantry Regiment von Rhetz
Captain Heinrich Urban Cleve

p. 120:

AUGUST 12TH.—The vanguard of Brigadier Frazier's corps had pushed on to Saratoga. The dragoons, with two cannon and a detachment of Indians and men from the provinces stand seven English miles above Fort Miller, vis-a-vis, the residence of General Schuylers. General Arnold is said to be at Stillwater with his corps.

AUGUST 13TH.—At daybreak Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann departed with his two battallions to Fort Miller. The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was reinforced by a detachment of 60 men infantry, because a corps of approximately 1400 rebels tried to hinder him in his excursions. Lieutenant-Colonel Baum is said to have gone to Bennington.

[...]

p. 121:

The corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann has gone five English miles to Saratoga. It has instructions to build a suspension bridge there across the Hudson, so the army can cross over to the other side of the river. The enemy facing the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, had drawn back. We received news from this corps that they had gotten hold of some cattle and 70 head of horses, also of 90 tons of flour and about 1000 "minots" of corn which the enemy had left in different houses. [...]

AUGUST 15TH.—A report arrived during the night from Lieutenant-Colonel Baum that the enemy was assembling in these parts and that an attack was to be expected. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was therefore ordered to start this morning with the grenadiers and chasseurs and two six-pound English cannon in charge of Lieutenant Spangenberg, of the Hesse-Hanau artillery, to reinforce the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, which was as far as 24 English miles away from Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann. According to these instructions, Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann really started at 9 o'clock in the morning, leaving baggage and tents behind. [...]

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AUGUST 17TH.—The army was ready for departure when sad news, caused by the shifting fortune of war, arrived. The news was that on the preceding day Lieutenant-Colonel Baum

had been attacked on all sides near St. Cuicksmills (Sancoik's Mills?) before Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann had been able to reach him. After all the ammunition of the artillery, as well as of the rifles had been exhausted in a violent defense, he was forced to surrender unconditionally with what remained of his corps. Governor Skenes had already reported this unfortunate affair during the night, and Monsieur de la Nadiere, who had been present at the event and had been able to escape, confirmed these statements the next morning. The latter added that Lieutenant-Colonel Baum had entrenched himself, as well as the circumstances permitted, on a hill, with his regiment of dragoons and some regular infantry. He had learned of the approach of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann and was resolved to defend him self to the utmost until the arrival of Breymann's corps, at the same time keeping all the provisions captured, to obtain which had been the purpose of his mission. The hostile army, consisting of a great number of regulars from Stillwater, and militia summoned from the provinces within 24 miles, amounted to at least 4000 men. Their attack on Baum's corps had been so desperate and violent that they did not even hesitate to rush within eight paces of the cannon, loaded with grape-shot. After Lieutenant-Colonel Baum's corps had lost almost all light troops and the ammunition began to fail, Lieutenant-Colonel Baum decided to cut his way through with the rest of his dragoons. At this attempt, however, he had to surrender to the enemy. It must be added that Lieutenant-Colonel Baum was

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shot in the abdomen; Lieutenant Bock, from the Hessian artillery, was also wounded, and the English engineer, Lieutenant Dumford, was killed. We could learn nothing about the fate of the other officers of the corps; but it may be taken for granted that they were either wounded or killed. As missing may be reported : Major v. Meibom, Captains Fricke, v. Schlagenteufel, Jr., and Reinking; Lieutenants Breva, v. Bothmer and v. Reckroth; also Cornets Graef, Stuzzer and Schonewald, the clergyman, auditor and surgeon, and Captain Dommies and Cornet Specht, from the battalion v. Berner; Lieutenant Burghoff, from the grenadiers, and Cornet Andree from the regiment v. Riedesel, also Captain O'Connell. The messenger of this sad news informed us likewise that Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was also attacked on the same day not far from Baum's corps, but that nothing was as yet known of the result, except that this corps had to retreat on account of lack of ammunition. This news changed our marching plans altogether. The army did start at 6 o'clock, but left the bridge across the Hudson at their right and pushed towards Bennington to support the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, in case of further attacks from the enemy. However, certain news was received that Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, with his two battalions was safe and only a few English miles away. Therefore, the main body of the army stopped near the river Battenkill, and General Bourgoyne took only the 47th English regiment with him to meet Lieutenant-Colonel Baum. Towards 4 o'clock in the afternoon the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann arrived, much worn out and weakened. They

told us the following exact circumstances: Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann arrived yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock at the place where Lieutenant-Colonel Baum had met with such misfortune. He was informed that this corps had been completely defeated. However, he clung to the hope that it might at least be possible to release the prisoners and violently attacked the enemy with his two battalions at once. He suc-

p. 124

ceeded in driving the enemy from three different points pursuing them for about an hour, when his ammunition began to give out. The enemy noted this, and turned around to attack again his already weakened and decreased corps, forcing him to seek a retreat.

The rebels, who probably had paid dearly for the advantages of the day, did not dare to pursue the retreating corps longer than a quarter of an hour. They remained in their position and left Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann to retreat quietly, which retreat was still more protected by the approach of night. As this affair had also taken place in the woods and among the bushes, it had been impossible to ascertain the fate of all missing. Captain v. Schick was killed, and Lieutenant Mühlenfeld, from the battalion v. Berner, who was left on the spot, mortally wounded, has to be counted among the dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was wounded on the leg, while Captain v. Baertling, Lieutenants Meyer and Gebhard, who was wounded, and Lieutenant d'Anniers, Jr., are missing. Major v. Berner received a bullet in his right arm and another one in the chest. Capt. v. Geysau was shot through the flesh of the upper leg, and Captain v. Pleissenberg received a bullet in the abdomen. Lieutenant Hannemann, of the Yaeger, was shot through the neck under the chin. Lieutenant Spangenberg of the Hanau artillery, who had to give up his two cannon, was wounded badly through the shoulder. Cornet Hagemann is missing. The hostile corps is under the command of a general by the name of Starke. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann's corps took up its quarters in the old camp, and the army went back to camp at Duars House to remain there for several days until enough provisions from the storehouses can be supplied to enable them to undertake further expeditions. Besides, the bridge across the Hudson was broken and had to be repaired. The corps of Brigadier Frazer changed its camp also, and took up a position above the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, near Battenkill, in the same part of the country where the army had been in bivouac for several hours during the day. In the evening many of the Indians, Canadians and men from

p. 125

the provinces, who had been with the corps, came back, also Major Campbell and Captain Charret, who made their retreat through the thickest woods and wilderness. These men told us, how the rage of the rebels, who had been partly drunk, had turned upon the men from the provinces. All of them who were caught were treated with the utmost cruelty. By and by, in the evening and through the night, more men arrived who had been either wounded or completely worn out. [...]

AUGUST 18TH.— [...] Some more men from the Breymann corps returned, who had been wounded or lost in the woods. These told that they had been half an hour's distance from the place of battle without seeing a sign of the enemy. They had even buried Captain v. Schick. They raised our hopes to see Lieutenant d'Anniers, Jr., and Lieutenant Gebhard who had been wounded, return; possible some more of our men, who had been very much fatigued. Captain Fraser and Makay also came back, bringing with them some Indians and Canadians.

Charlotte Epping erroneously attributed the account to Lieutenant August Wilhelm Du Roi (the Elder). See *Journal of Du Roi the elder, lieutenant and adjutant, in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, 1776-1778* Charlotte S.J. Epping, transl. and ed., (New York, D. Appleton, 1911), from where these quotes are taken.

For a discussion of the authorship see Gerhard Friesen, "The Authorship of the *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanda und NeuEngland vom J[ahre] 1777 und 1778*" *Yearbook of German-American Studies* vol. 30 (1995), pp. 35-46.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Brunswick Regiment von Specht
Chief Clerk Carl Philipp Julius Dehn

In Camp near Fort Miller, September 1 [?], 1777

[...] Since the 16th of this month we have been standing here in the camp. Our dragoons, grenadiers, and chasseurs have had a fierce affair with the Rebels on that very day. We set out for their succor – yet it had already been decided. Although for lack of ammunition, our men could not remain master of the battlefield that they had actually conquered, we received all the honor because our men had done so well in spite of those superior forces. The Rebels have suffered a major defeat; on our side, not many remained [on the battlefield] but so many more have been wounded. Lieut. Colonel Breymann, Major v. Barner, Capt. V. Geyso, Capt. V. Gleisenberg, Liruts, Hannemann, Gebhard and Spangenberg have been wounded. Capt. V. Schick and Lieut. Muehlenfeld have been killed [Blotted out] Erhard, that Woehler from the Geyso Comp. has been made prisoner. Capt. V. Poellnitz has been shot in the loin and arrived in our camp yesterday saying he had podagra [i.e. gout of the foot].

Staatsarchiv Braunschweig H VI 6 Nr. 26, translation by Helga Doblin. Quoted from a typed copy at Saratoga National Historical Park.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Brunswick Headquarters Lieutenant August Wilhelm Du Roi (The Elder)

p. 114:

It seems incomprehensible, why the army left this country afterwards and why in order to reach the main road for Fort George to Albany, roads had to be cut with greatest difficulty through the thickest woods and where neither baggage nor provisions could be taken. It would have been far easier to go back across Lake George. Perhaps this may have been against Gen. Bourgoyne's military ambition, since it might have been considered a retreat by the inexperienced.

Another thing that makes the above expressed opinions of

p.115:

Gov. Skene still more probable is the unfortunate ending of the affair at Bennington, the plan for which is said to have been proposed by him. His intentions were most likely the same as above, to keep his property free from the incursions of the enemy and to draw part of the army to this part of the country. He also accompanied the unfortunate Lt. Col. Baum to Bennington, and one could almost say, directed the expedition, making, however, the bad mistake of letting all the people who came to him pretending to be good royalists, go without discrimination, supplying them with Gen. Bourgoyne's proclamation with the expectation of gaining more followers. To be sure, this was done according to the order of the general, but the consequences were that the enemy received daily, I might say hourly, the most reliable news about the intentions, movements and exact strength of Colonel Baum's corps, thus enabling the rebels to lure the same to the trap set. Furthermore, I was unable to find out, why Gen. Bourgoyne kept the army for so long a time at Still water instead of retreating to a place of greater safety.

p. 120:

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We encamped near Fort Miller, or rather to the left near Duars House, where General Bourgoyne established headquarters, This house is built in very good taste, has two stories and the roof is in Italian style. On each side of the house is a small building serving as kitchen and storehouse. Both of these are connected with the house by a covered passage. The doors and windows were badly damaged, and all furniture was taken away. The owner of the house is a member of Congress and

p. 121:

occupies the position of commissioner in the army. Fort Miller is on that side of the river. It never consisted of anything else but a poorly built loghouse and a penthouse surrounded by palisades. [...]

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ceeded in driving the enemy from three different points pursuing them for about an hour, when his ammunition began to give out. The enemy noted this, and turned around to attack again his already weakened and decreased corps, forcing him to seek a retreat.

The rebels, who probably had paid dearly for the advantages of the day, did not dare to pursue the retreating corps longer than a quarter of an hour. They remained in their position and left Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann to retreat quietly, which retreat was still more protected by the approach of night.

As this affair had also taken place in the woods and among the bushes, it had been impossible to ascertain the fate of all missing. Captain v. Schick was killed, and Lieutenant Mühlenfeld, from the battalion v. Berner, who was left on the spot, mortally wounded, has to be counted among the dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann was wounded on the leg, while Captain v. Baertling, Lieutenants Meyer and Gebhard, who was wounded, and Lieutenant d'Anniers, Jr., are missing. Major v. Berner received a bullet in his right arm and another one in the chest. Capt. v. Geysau was shot through the flesh of the upper leg, and Captain v. Pleissenberg received a bullet in the abdomen. Lieutenant Hannemann, of the Yaeger, was shot through the neck under the chin. Lieutenant Spangenberg of the Hanau artillery, who had to give up his two cannon, was wounded badly through the shoulder. Cornet Hagemann is missing.

The hostile corps is under the command of a general by the name of Starke. Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann's corps took up its quarters in the old camp, and the army went back to camp at Duars House to remain there for several days until enough provisions from the storehouses can be supplied to enable them to undertake further expeditions. Besides, the bridge across the Hudson was broken and had to be repaired. The corps of Brigadier Frazer changed its camp also, and took up a position above the corps of Lieutenant-Colonel Breymann, near Battenkill, in the same part of the country where the army had been in bivouac for several hours during the day.

In the evening many of the Indians, Canadians and men from

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the provinces, who had been with the corps, came back, also Major Campbell and Captain Charret, who made their retreat through the thickest woods and wilderness. These men told us, how the rage of the rebels, who had been partly drunk, had turned upon the men from the provinces. All of them who were caught were treated with the utmost cruelty. By and by, in the evening and through the night, more men arrived who had been either wounded or completely worn out.

Journal of Du Roi the Elder Lieutenant and Adjutant, in the Service of the Duke of Brunswick, 1776-1778. Charlotte S. J. Epping, transl. (New York: D. Appleton, 1911)