

APPENDIX I. PRIMARY SOURCES - LOYALIST SOURCES

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Loyalist
Anonymous

"When the Hessians were sent to take the stores at Bennington I went with them, and took my station with some of the other Loyalists in a redoubt or small fort in the line. We were all ready when we saw the Rebels coming to attack us, and were on such a hill, and behind such a bank that we felt perfectly safe, and thought we could kill any body of troops sent against us before they could reach the place upon which we stood. We had not expected, however, that they would approach us under cover, but supposed we should see them on the way. We did not know that a little gully which lay below us was long enough and deep enough to conceal them; but they knew the ground, and the first we saw of the party coming to attack us they made their appearance right under our guns. Your father was at the head of them. I was standing at the wall with my gun loaded in my hand, and several of us levelled our pieces at once. I took as fair aim at them as ever I did at a bird in my life, and thought I was sure of them although we had to point so much downward that it made a man a small mark. Your father and I fired together, and he fell I thought he was dead to a certainty, but to our surprise he was on his feet again in an instant, and they all came jumping in upon us with such a noise that we thought of nothing but getting out of the way of their muskets as fast as possible, and we scattered in all directions. I had a Sister living in that vicinity with whom I sought refuge."

Ellen M., Emma L. Raynor and Petitclerc, *History of the Town of Cheshire, Berkshire County, Mass.* (Holyoke: Bryan & Co., 1885), pp. 50/51

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Headquarters
Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne

Instructions to Colonel [Philip Wharton] *Skeene*, upon the expedition to Bennington.
(undated)

SIR,

I request the favour of you to proceed with Lieutenant Colonel Baume, upon an expedition of which he has the command, and which will march this evening, or to-morrow morning.

The objects of his orders are to try the affections of the country; to disconcert the councils of the enemy; to mount the regiment of Reidesel dragoons; to compleat Lieutenant Colonel Peters's corps, and to procure a large supply of horses for the use of the troops, together with cattle and carriages.

The route marked for this expedition is to Arlington and Manchester, and in case it should be found that the enemy is not in too great force upon the Connecticut riv•... it is intended to pass the mountains to Rockingham, and descend the river from thence to Brattlebury. Some hours before the corps marches for Arlington, Colonel Peters with all his men are to set forward for Bennington, and afterwards are to join at Arlington.

Receipts are ordered to be given for all horses and cattle taken from the country. Lieutenant Colonel Baume is directed to communicate to you the rest of his instructions, and to consult with you upon all matters of intelligence, negotiation with the inhabitants, roads, and other means depending upon a knowledge of the country for carrying his instructions into execution.

I rely upon your zeal and activity for the fullest assistance, particularly in having it understood in all the country through which you pass, that the corps of Lieutenant Colonel Baume is the first detachment of the advanced guard, and that the whole army is proceeding to Boston, expecting to be joined upon the route by the army from Rhode Island.

I need not recommend to you to continue the requisites of the service with every principle of humanity in the mode of obtaining them; and it may be proper to inform the country that the means to prevent their cattle and horses being taken for the future, will be to resist the enemy when they shall presume to force them, and drive them voluntarily to my camp.

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

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), pp. lxxi-lxxii.

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

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Loyalist
Orra Cronk

Orra Cronk [...] went with the party under Fester, to the British camp. He was a timorous, irresolute man. He was stationed at a breast work, down the river below Barnets brick house, as I have understood it. A party of Americans advanced to attack this breast work. The bullets commenced flying thicker and thicker, and Cronk became horrified and frightened out of the little courage he possessed. A large tub or cask in which bread had been brought to the soldiers, was standing empty behind the breast-work. Cronk got his eye on this, and gradually got himself up by the side of it, & without being observed, in the height of the battle, got behind it, & pulled it over him. Here he laid smug & secure, until the firing had ceased, at that particular spot. Peeking out from under his covert, he found the breast-work had been evacuated – not a man standing anywhere near him. He crawled out from his lurking place, & made for the woods, with all speed, & took straight course over hills & hollows to his own dwelling, having had enough of “war – horrid war”. (R. Powell.)

Asa Fitch, *Notes for a history of Washington County, N.Y.* 7 vols. vol. 4, # 771, Call No. Mss Col NYGB 18065. New York Public Library, New York, NY.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Indian Department

Claude-Nicolas-Guillaume de Lorimier

Claude-Nicolas-Guillaume de Lorimier was born to a very old family in Quebec in 1744. He followed the family's military tradition, serving the French and later the British conquerors of Quebec. He learned the languages of the Mohawk and Iroquois along with his brother and served the army as an interpreter, scout and leader of raids.

In 1777 I went on campaign with General Burgoyne and was under the direct command of Colonel Campbell. I was ordered to scout ahead of the army as far as Ticonderoga where, three days after our arrival, Brigadier Fraser sent me to reconnoiter the mouth of Lake George. Not finding anything worth mentioning there and having five trusty Indians with me, I took it on myself to go and have a look at Sugar Hill. There, I found a place from which making a series of little detours I thought it would be possible to drag a few fieldpieces without too much difficulty. This, I came within sight of Ticonderoga and found a good place for a battery from which it would be possible to fire our shot directly into the fort. On the way back, the Indians and I blazed the trees along what we considered to be the best route, and when we rejoined the main body of the army I told Brigadier Fraser of what I had discovered. The next day he sent me back with a party of sappers and some Indians to reconnoiter the way through the thickets, which we did in two days. But, as it turned out, our people couldn't build their platform without being seen and as a result the enemy abandoned the fort the next night. Brigadier [Fraser] set out in pursuit of them so quickly that I didn't receive any orders either from him or from General Burgoyne, so I trailed along after the main body of the army without knowing where we were going. When we got to Skene's Bay I was in command of all the Indians [since] Colonel Campbell had not yet rejoined us.

Then, I received orders from General Burgoyne in person to march out and cover the retreat of Brigadier Fraser and his wounded, of which there were a great number. I set out to execute this order, but we had scarcely gone when a runner came bringing orders for me to about-face and march in the direction of Fort Ste. Anne to rescue the 29th Regiment who, to tell the truth, were badly shot up. There wasn't much we could do except to cover their retreat, but I never was able to join up with them- the war whoops of my Indians had terrified them and they legged it through the brush so fast we couldn't catch them. The same night they abandoned their fortifications.

I sent off Captain Lamothe [to headquarters] to make a report of what had happened and I received orders to rejoin the army. We marched for Sarasota [sic] the next day and there I

was sent under Colonel Baum's command in the direction of Bennington. Baum had been ordered to advance until he was repulsed, which we did successfully, driving off all the ambushes that had been laid for us. However, once we reached the hills around Bennington we ran into opposition from a considerable number of the enemy. This made me decide to call a halt and I wrote a note to the respectable colonel to hurry forward. He did this, even though he had to march all night, and came up on our position at daybreak. When he had judged for himself the great number of the enemy he decided to ask for reinforcements from the army, and while we were waiting for them our troops hurriedly dug themselves in and established a two-gun battery. On the second day we received a reply that Major Breymann was coming up with 500 men.

When they heard this, the Indians asked me to suggest to Colonel Baum that we fall back upon the reinforcements during the night which was very dark and which would serve to cover our withdrawal. I did speak to the Colonel and he replied that the Indian's idea was sound and that he was grateful for their suggestion, but his orders were so strict that he could not withdraw and leave his position undefended. I said nothing of all this to anyone, for the whole lot, Indians and volunteers alike, would have abandoned us. The next morning we saw a great deal of movement and perceived that the enemy was preparing to attack. I established myself on some high ground with my Indians, and there I heard four musket shots on our right, the same number on our left and four behind us. Not doubting that this was the enemy's signal to attack, I went and found the Colonel and suggested to him that I be allowed to go forward with the left-hand column of my Indians in the hope that we might succeed in routing the enemy. Colonel Baum approved.

I returned to my Indians and we had marched about 600 yards when our scouts were killed just in front of us. The Indians fell back upon the camp and only one Caughnawaga named Jakonowe came forward with me. The enemy spotted us and we became the target of a considerable fusillade. The Indian and I flung ourselves flat on the dead run to let the volley go by and then I rejoined my party. I wasn't hurt, but I found them in disorder. By this time, Colonel Baum was coming under heavy attack and since I had only about 150 men I sent Martin Hasaregoua [to scout]; he came back saying the enemy were too numerous for us to try an attack.

I fell back on the left and Martin went out ahead to scout, or so he said, since I didn't see him again until we got back to Sarasota. I still continued the movement I had started, believing that I might take the enemy in the rear by surprise. To do this, I had to jump over a fence and there I fell into a fairly deep valley where I found myself face to face with the left-hand column of the enemy. I gave the war cry and we fired, but we got a volley in return from the American rear column that had come up to join the column of the left. Fortunately for us, the enemy wavered and in their confusion began firing at each other. Their

fire went over our heads, but we were hemmed in on all sides and couldn't make our way back into the camp.

Here I have forgotten to mention that Major Campbell had accompanied me as a volunteer. In the midst of all this firing, I just had time to shout to him, "Let's get back to the reinforcements," which we did at top speed. Once we were out of danger I saw that I was short one man and that poor Major Campbell had swooned. This held us up for a while, since we set about hastily picking blueberries and feeding them to the major so that he was soon fit to travel again.

Not far from this place we met Major Breymann who ordered his troops to doff their packs and we turned toward the enemy on the double. But we had hardly gone 400 yards along the base of a very high crag when we received a terrible volley of musket fire from some traitors who, two hours earlier, had come into our entrenchments as friends on Major Skene's recommendation. These wretches subjected our troops to a dreadful fire and there was nothing we could do about it because the rock was too steep for us to get at them. The major asked me to climb the crag, which I did with my little party. When we came near, the scoundrels I had taken for friends and to whom I had given pieces of paper to stick in their hats that we might recognize them in battle, I cried out, "Who goes there?" They replied, "Friends" and opened fire on us. The Indians shrieked the war cry and without my being able to persuade them that it was a mistake, my own Indians left me, snaking their way from rock to rock, and I found myself alone. I went forward on the side where the enemy had withdrawn; there I saw a man making his way toward me. I called out, "Who goes there?" and he answered, "Friend," while still advancing. I too made my way towards him, but fearing treachery I secretly cocked my gun and repeated, "Who goes there?" I had made up my mind to fire if he came another step in my direction, but he forestalled me. Saying "Congress," he fired from the hip. His aim was so bad that the ball struck me in the leg. I fired in turn and got him in the stomach and then kneeled down to have a look at my own wound. I was just getting ready to go and see if my man was dead or alive when I saw about sixty Americans coming towards me. I fled limping off, and seeing that my leg held up under me I soon out-distanced the enemy while they fired several shots after me in vain. When I got back to the read party, I found Major Campbell ; Major Breymann was wounded in the shoulder, and his party was completely routed. I also found my won group of Indians who procured me a horse so that I could make it back to Saratoga.

Claude-Nicolas-Guillaume de Lorimier, *At War with The Americans: The Journal of Claude-Nicolas-Guillaume de Lorimier*, Translated by Peter Aichinger, Press Porcepic, n.d, 63-66.

This transcription was provided by Mr. David Pitlyk, Historic Site Assistant, Bennington Battlefield State Historic Site.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Indians

Claude Nicholas Guillaume de Lorimier

p. 64:

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At War with the Americans. The Journal of Claude-Nicholas-Guillaume de Lorimier. Peter Aichinger transl. and ed. (Victoria, B.C.: Press Porcepic, 1980?), p. 64-66.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Queen's Loyal Rangers
Lieutenant Colonel John Peters

Sir

As much has been said about Genl. Burgoine & as he has wrote Letters to Canada & England "that his Defeat or Convention at Saratoga in 1777 was brought on him by the ill Conduct of the Indians, Canadians & Provi[n]cials on whom he found too late was no Dependence" I have presum'd to (again) trouble you with what is said by the Provincials in Vindication of themselves & Indians which has been conveyed to me by various Letters from Canada the Substance of all is — that Genl. Burgoine while at Quebec encouraged the Indians to join him under their own Captains and to fight the Enemy in their own way – the only Argument that could have prevailed with the Indians to join him. The General also encouraged the Canadians & Provincials (Refugees from other Provinces) to inlist & be under their own Officers – many Colonels with their Regiments composed of many Gentlemen went with the royal Army over the Lakes & landed at Southbay when & where the Generals Humanity overcame his Engagement to the Indians, (tho' Indians were employed by the Enemy against him) and he told the Indian Cheif that he & his men Should be hanged if they carried on the war in their own way – at which he cried Maw-Maw – that is, Death in the Pat – whereupon they set up their Howl – fled & left him. The General next told the Provincial Officers that, as they knew not the Art of War, his Serjeants & officers should take the Command of their men (& kept back their Commissions which had been promised them at Quebec when they should be on the Lake) at which a mutany sprung up among the Americans – and they resolved to follow the Indians Sooner than submit to the Order – N.B. the Americans had no Boats, nor Provisions, and must obey the Order, or return to Canada through the woods, or join the Rebels – in this Situation they obstinately chose to follow the Indians – whereupon an Order came that they should proceed with their men as usual, (but their Commissions were not given) however the Americans (not the Indians) rejoin'd the royal Army, and marched to Fort Miller about 40 miles (on the Bank of Hudson's River where centred, or met, the three Roads from the three new England Colonies with that from New York & New Jersey and become one Road to the Lake Champlain or Southbay – by which Single Road the royal Army must have supplies from Canada] – here (at Fort Miller) the General ordered a Party to proceed to Albany on Connecticut Road through Bennington only 60 miles out of the way in a wilderness where nothing could be obtained if they met with Success (and a

hundred to one against Success) – this order was refused by several Provincial Colonels because they knew the certain Danger & the mountains between which they must pass – General Fraiser gave Countenance to the Provincial Colonels – for which Genl. Burgoine told Genl. Fraizer, “when I was your Advice I shall ask for it” – the General Added that the Americans were Cowards and disobedient – at this Colonel Peters told the General that, he was ready to obey his Orders “but we Shall not return” – Peters was the Guide to Bennington, but between the mountains the Rebels, secreted behind Rocks & Trees, killed in half an Hour above one thousand men – Peters returned to the royal Army at Saratoga with only 117 of his Regiment which contained 603 – But a few Rebels were Seen ~~that Day~~ the royal Army having left Fort Miller & passed the River to Saratoga, the rebels soon Seized upon & kept Fort Miller which cut off all Intercourse between Canada & the royal Army – the General received Peters & those who had escaped Death at Bennington with great Goodness & Commendations. The Night before the Convention was signed the General gave Leave to Peters & others to return to Canada according to their Petition – 700 went off to Canada without Loss – after all these things the loyal Provincials were traduced by General Burgoine as the Cause of his misfortunes – and he has Settled with Government but neglected Payment (contrary to his Promise) which was due, and is due to the Canadians & Provincials under his Command.

The Provincials further Say, that if Genl. Burgoine had condescended to the Advice of those who knew the Country and had stayed at Fort Miller, until he Could hear from New York all America could not have tarnished his Glory, nor hurt or Starv’d his Army – the Provincials think themselves ill treated, as their Characters are wounded by the General for whom they went to die, and offered to die to save him if he would retreat from Saratoga to Fort Miller – a thing no way impossible in their Opinion.

They wish that Genl. Burgoine would consider this Question, as he calls the rebel Americans bold & brave – how it comes to pass that loyal Americans are Cowards, when he (the General) knew that they had had Courage to leave their wives & Children, their Friends & Property and turn Soldiers and go in the forefront of all his Army to receive the first Blows of the Enemy and be Guardians to Each Wing & Rear – when in fact the loyal Provincials under his Command were killed ten to one of the royal Army – if any one can consider us as Cowards for what we did under General Burgoine the General cannot prove it from our Obedience to his Command at Southbay which was called a mutany.

N.B.– Neglect is a Persecution that may be attended with equal bad Consequences to Insult or reproach.

— the Substance —

Decembr. 9th 79

No. 12 Dyers Building

New-York Historical Society, John Peters Papers. Transcript courtesy of Todd W. Braisted

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Queen's Loyal Rangers Lieutenant Colonel John Peters

A Narrative of John Peters Lieutenant Colonel of the Queen's Loyal Rangers in Canada, drawn by himself in a Letter to a Friend in London.

[...]

August 16th 1777 I commanded the Loyalists at Bennington, where I had 291 Men of my Regiment with me, and I lost above half of them in that Engagement. The Action commenced about Nine oClock in the Morning, and continued till near four O Clock Afternoon, when we retired in much confusion; a little before the Royalists gave way, the Rebels pushed with a Strong party on the Front of the Loyalists where I commanded, as they were coming up, I observed a Man fire at me, which I returned, he loaded again as he came up, & discharged again at me, and crying out Peters you Damned Tory I have got you, he rushed on me with his Bayonet, which entered Just below my left Breast, but was turned by the Bone, by this time I was loaded, and I saw that it was a Rebel Captain, [blank] an old Schoolfellow & Playmate, and a Couzin of my Wifes: Tho his Bayonet was in my Body, I felt regret at being obliged to destroy him. We retreated from Bennington to the reinforcement that was coming up, which was soon attacked and obliged to retreat, to the Bridge at the Mill in Cambridge, which I broke up after the Troops had retreated over it, and the same Evening we retreated towards the Camp, which we reached the next Day. General Frazer received me very kindly and as I was wounded in the Breast, and was also lame with a hurt I received in a Skirmish the day before the Action, by a Ball Grazing my foot, and was much fatigued, and for some time had been harassed, with a fever and Ague, he generously gave me up his Bed for the Night, and he laid himself in his Cloak upon a Bench. I received his and General Burgoynes approbations of my conduct in this Action.

The report of the defeat of the Royal Troops at Bennington reaching Montreal, Genl: McLean Colonel of the 84th Regiment, went to Mrs. Peters and told her, bad news had come from General Burgoynes Camp; and that she must expect to hear of many being Killed and wounded, but if Colonel Peters or her Son were among them, she must hold up with good courage and not despond, as he would see to care being taken of her and her Family that they should never want.

After some conversation in like manner, Genl: McLean thought proper to let her know that there was a report, that Coll. Peters and his Son were both wounded and since Dead: Mrs.

Peters said “my calamities are very great: but, thank God they died doing their duty to their King and Country; I have Six Sons left who, as soon as they shall be able to bear Arms I will send against the Rebels while I and my Daughter will mourn for the Dead, and pray for the living.”

[Undated but late 1780s]

New-York Historical Society, John Peters Papers. The transcript courtesy of Todd W. Braisted

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Queen's Loyal Rangers
Lieutenant Colonel John Peters

To his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton Knight
of the most Honorable order of the Bath,
General & Commander in Chief of his
majesty's forces in Canada & the frontiers
thereof.

The Memorial of John Peters
Most Humbly Sheweth

That in the month of June 1777 your Excellency Gave Verbal orders to your Memorialist to accompany General Burgoyne's Army then preparing for an Expedition towards New York. That a few Days afterwards your Excellency was kindly pleased to acquaint your memorialist that if he could raise a Suficient number of men to form a Battalion he Should have the Command thereof as Lieutenant Colonel and that as soon as he Should have Compleated the Levy of two thirds of the Number of the said Battalion he should receve Commissions for the officers & that in the mean time Lt. General Burgoyne who was then Present Should have the Commissions as Blank in his possession and would give your memorialist directions Concerning the number & Quality, of the men requisite to compose the Battalion. That in Consequence thereof your memorialist Received in wrighting Directed to him as Lieut. Col. from major Kingston, Secretary to General Burgoyne and Deputy Adjutant General Respecting the Number of officers and men to be Rais'd to Compleat the Battalion a Coppy whereof is anex'd.

That by the annexd Copy of certificate from Colo. Carleton the Quarter Master General it will appear that your memorialist was ordered by General Burgoyne to take Command as Colo. That in Consequence of the afore Said orders & Promises from your Excellency your memorialist Exerted himself to the utmost of his Power to Raise the Said Battalion & [at] Diferent times inlisted to the Number of Six [torn] att any one time under his Command [torn] owing to the Losses his Corps Sustain'd in the Different actions & to the Casualties which attended that Expedition and the Confution which followed the ill Success thereof. That at the action att Huberton in Jully Lost Six men. That at the action at Bennington the 16 of August Lost Kill'd Taken & missing 200 out of 270 out of his Core that were with him there. That att

the two attacks made on the Royal army by the Rebels Neare Stillwater on the 19th Sept. & 7 Octr. Lost Killd & missing fifty Seven. In the Confution that Preceeded & followed the Convention, your memorialist Lost 40 men. That in the morning of the 15th of October being the Day before the Convention took Place your memorialist being very obnoxious to the Rebels had a written Permission from major General Phillips, in Consequence of orders from Lieut. Genl. Burgoyne to attempt to make his way through the Rebels to Canada. That he Successfully accomplished with 40 men & att Tyconderoga was Joind by [illegible] more who had made Escaped before the Convention was Signed. That there Remained [illegible] of the Corps under the articles of the Convention only about thirty men besides about 100 of his men who have Joined Capt. McKay but do Justly belong to your memorialist.

Your memorialist actually Raised and Brought into actual Service the Number of 553 men being Considerably more than two thirds of the Proposed Battalion & he Lost in actual Service more than three hundred of them.

That in Consequence thereof, your memorialist humbly Conceives himself intitled to the accomplishment of your Excellencys Engagement with him.

[John Peters]

[2 July 1778]

New-York Historical Society, John Peters Papers. Transcript courtesy of Todd W. Braisted

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Loyalist
Joshua Pell, Jr.

16th The Rebels consisting of 4000
attack'd our party who had march'd the
13th near St. Coicks Mills, and totally
defeated them, and took four pieces of
Cannon, two three, and two six pound-
ers: The Redizel Dragoons who con-
sisted of 170 before the engagement,
only five return'd; and of Fifty Chas-
seurs, one serjeant and fourteen re-
turn'd; and of one hundred and sixty
Indians, thirty only return'd; this little
army was commanded by Lieut. Colonel
Baume entirely at the desire of General
Redizel, and everything was expected
(that was designed) from this expedi-
tion.

“Diary of Joshua Pell, Junior. An Officer of the British Army in America 1776-1777” *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, vol. 2 (1878), Part 2, pp. 107-112, pp. 107/08.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Civilian

Richard Powell on Col. Francis Pfister

Interview with Richard Powell "an elderly man" on 22 August 1850

Col. John^a Fester (as he speaks the name. Query, was not the name Foster? no; Francis P. Fister, vide § 890) was a colonel in the British service in the old French war, & was stationed at Niagara. He was discharged or retired from the service on half pay, and came here to the Hoosic valley & bought himself a fine farm & built a house, well known of old as The White House – which stood upon the present MacAdamized turnpike (from Troy to Bennington) a half mile west of Hoosic corners [...].

[Having met at his place, Pfister and his fellow loyalists] went into the camp a day or two before the battle. In the battle Fester was wounded severely & taken prisoner. He was placed in a cart to be conveyed to Bennington, but died before he reached there, and was buried beside the road with some others; he being placed with his face downwards, it is said, so that his friends might recognize which body was his, if they desired to remove him. His body was taken up, by his friends, or his wife's family, and taken to New York, as I have always understood, & there buried. He is not buried here in Hoosic. His property was all confiscated & sold by the government.

Asa Fitch, *Notes for a history of Washington County, N.Y.* 7 vols. vol. 3, # 768, Call No. Mss Col NYGB 18065. New York Public Library, New York, NY.

On Pfister see Corinne Eldred, "Francis Pfister and John Macomb of Hoosick" here: [online essay](#). See also <http://www.hoosickhistory.com/pdf/pfistermacomb.pdf>

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Loyalist
George Rosenbarica

That your Memorialist Joined the British army under the Command of General Burgoyne – then at Fort Edward – and remained with the Said army about three weeks – when a Detachment of Said army was sent out for to goe to Bennington & he made one of the party.

That your Memorialist Took an active Part in the action at Benington – on the 16th of august 1777 and had his gun Shot to pieces in his hand – and when Said Party of the British Troops was defeated and put to the Rout – he made his Escape and Returned home to Hosick aforesaid – and finding the American scouts to be so thick – he felt Timidated & durst not venture to Return back to the main army – and Kept secreted in the woods and other secret places amongst his friends until the first of January when the Inclimancy of the Season obliged him to apply to Major Banker, who gave him Liberty to be openly seen and at Liberty.

Like his brother Peter Rosenbarica, George Rosenbarica was living in Hoosic during the time of Burgoyne's invasion of New York State.

Audit Office 13/24/406/07, quoted in Gabriel, *Soldiers and Civilians*, p. 77.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Loyalist
Peter Rosenbarica

That Your Memorialist Joined his Majesties Army under command of General Burgoyne at fort Edward on the 26th of July 1777 – and Remained with said Army until they advanced to Fort Miller – when a Detachment was sent out from said army for Bennington & your Memorialist made one of the Party& marched directly to St. Coick. Your memorialist was left at St. Coick at Colo. John Van Rensellaers Mill with others to guard the mill and stores that was there – and remained at said mill until after the Bennington Battle – then Hearing of the Defeat – and finding thearmy Retreating back Your Memorialist in Company with Capt. John Riter Immediately Repaired through the woods to Hosick aforesaid to his family – with an Intention if possible to take them into Camp at Saratoga, where the main army lay.

That Your Memorialist finding his family in such a Distressed Circumstance having all he had Pillaged away, & the American Scouts so thick that he Concluded it was impossible to Return back without great Danger of falling into their hands and your Memorialist after Returning home as aforesaid, was obliged to Retire to his Loyal friends and Keep secreted, until the January following, when he applied to Major Banker who see him at Liberty, to be again seen in the Country without being taken up.

Like his brother George Rosenbarica, Peter Rosenbarica was living in Hoosic during the time of Burgoyne's invasion of New York State.

Audit Office 13/24/408/09, quoted in Gabriel, *Soldiers and Civilians*, p. 76/77.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Loyalist
Justus Sherwood

Some of the early settlers, by their enterprise, disinterestedness, and endurance, have laid posterity under lasting obligations. Among these, it is due that we should mention Justus Sherwood, though the finale of his life was anything but such as demands the acknowledgment of obligations from an American. As already mentioned, he settled in 1774, on the farm now owned by Judge Bottum, on Lanesborough street. He was proprietors' clerk, from the first meeting held in town, Oct. 1774, until probably the latter part of 1776, when he left on account of the war.

Aiming other improvements, he planted a nursery of apple-trees; and though broken down by the deer and moose, during the Revolution, they were found alive at the close of the war, and transplanted. In 1776, Mr. Sherwood returned as far as Shaftsbury. On a visit to Bennington,— being not a man to disguise his sentiments, — he gave utterance to remarks that denoted sympathy with the royal cause, at which the Whigs of that place taking offence, tried him before Judge Lynch, and sentenced him to a punishment, of the precise character of which I am not informed ; but which, according to the account before me, was common at that place and time, in respect to a certain class of political offenders, and much more amusing to the spectators, and wounding to the feelings of the culprit, than to his body.

Exasperated at this treatment, he raised a company of royalists, conducted them to Canada, and entered the British service. He was one of the agents employed by the English to conduct negotiations with the leading men of Vermont respecting its re-annexation to Great Britain.

After the war he received a pension of a crown a day during life, and the grant of 1,200 acres of land in Upper Canada, opposite Ogdensburgh, N. Y. Before leaving New Haven, having in his hands, as proprietors' clerk, their records, he buried nearly all of them in an iron pot, having a potash kettle turned over it, near his house, marking the place, with the view of its being recognized, but it was never afterwards found.

The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A magazine embracing a history of each town, civil, ecclesiastical, biographical and military Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., 3 vols. (Burlington, Hemenway, 1867-1877) vol. 1 (1867), p. 71.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Unit: Canadians and Indians
Chevalier Saint Luc de la Corne

Letter to Sir John Burgoyne dated Quebec, 23 October 1778.

The 16th, the day of the action at Bennington, you sent orders by Major Campbell to hold myself ready to march the 17th, in the morning, with the corps of Canadians and Indians, which was to precede the brigade of General Frazer, to take post at Still-water ; but the same morning, at four o'clock, M. de Lanaudiere informed you of the defeat of the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Beaume and that of Lieutenant colonel Breyman, which marched to sustain it. He informed you that these two corps had lost at least 700 men ; you gave little credit to this report, and you said to me that the loss was not 150 ; nevertheless the real loss justified the first report. You then, Sir, gave counter-orders to the whole army which was to march that day, and the next day ordered us to pass the North-river with the brigade of General Frazer, to encamp at Batin-guild. The Indians astonished, and unaccustomed to your grand manoeuvres, having observed that you detached no corps to collect the remains of the two scattered detachments at Bennington, and to succour those that were wounded, and in part perishing ; some of the former of whom I saw enter your camp five days after. This conduct, Sir, gave no high idea of the care which you should have taken of the men destined to fight under your command. This indifference towards the Indians also, who had served in the affair at Bennington, who amounted to 150, disgusted them ; many of whom, with their grand Chief, were killed, and of 61 Canadians only 41 remained.

James Murray Hadden, *Hadden's journal and orderly books. A journal kept in Canada and upon Burgoyne's campaign in 1776 and 1777, by Lieut. James M. Hadden, Roy. art. Also orders kept by him and issued by Sir Guy Carleton, Lieut. General John Burgoyne, and Major General William Phillips, in 1776, 1777, and 1778. With an explanatory chapter and notes by Horatio Rogers.* (Albany: J. Munsell's Sons, 1884), Appendix 17, pp. 530/31.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Philip Skene, Commissary of Oaths

The following letter is very similar to the incomplete fragment found in the papers of Philip Skene and may constitute a more polished version of the same. It was written to The Earl of Dartmouth, who occupied the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies previous to Lord Germain. In describing the second engagement of the Battle of Bennington, it clearly incorporates language verbatim from the fragment. It is included in B.F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783. Stevens was an American, born in Vermont, who worked to copy manuscripts from European archives during the 19th century. The copy held by the State of New York was almost destroyed in the Capitol Fire of 1911.

Camp at Saratoga the 30th of August 1777

My Lord

On the 10th Inst^t by the Request of General Burgoyne, I set out with L^t Col Baum to try the affections of the Country, to disconcert the councils of the Enemy, to mount a Reg^t of Riedesels Dragoons; and to procure a large supply of stores, cattle, and Carriages for the army; on the 10th of Aug^t I attended L^t Col Baums detachment, Consisting of Reidesels dragoons (not mounted) Cap^t Frasers Comp, Provincials, Canadians and Indians, to the amount of 556; we marched from the side of Fort Miller, to the South Side of Batten Kill, from thence to Cambridge, to Sancoick and Wolloomscoock [sic]; at that part where the road crossed the River and a Bridge now is, there L^t Col Baum halted; as some Rebels appeared on the road to Bennington he was informed that the Rebels were about 2000 Militia. This induced him to send for a reinforcement which consisted of the Light troops, and Granadiers of the Left Wing of Germans; under the Command of L^t Col. Brymer [sic]; about 11 oclock at Night on the 15th an express arrived with an account that the reinforcement was within 14 [the second digit is difficult to decipher] Miles. I immediately sent off Carriages and Horses to help them on, and on the Morning of the 16th set off to bring them up; about 4 [?] o'clock in the afternoon, Major Berner [sic] pressed forward to the Mills at Sancoick, with the Light troops, and intended to March on, Untill I begged he would be Cool and wait for the Detachment, he accordingly halted and L^t Col Brymer came up; about this time, a Volunteer of the provincials came in, and said L^t Baums party was cut off, I own I wanted faith to believe him, especially when Cap^t Campbell arrived and said he believed things were not so bad, that he with a party of Indians was ordered to Attack the Rebels in their Rear but on [going?] got between two fires; he got of, with the Indians he

had with Him; L^t Col Brymer then asked me if I would March on with Him, I answered yes, and put myself at the Head of the party; he ordered [six?] Chasseurs in front as an Advanced guard, and Advanced himself; when we marched about 1000 yards, I saw the Rebels at the end of a Worms fence ascending to the Eastward, while we were Marching on the road due South; I was in doubt whether they were Rebels, or Loyalists, as they had the same Signals of white feathers, or paper in their hats, however to be Certain I galloped up to them, at the Distance of 100 yards and desired them to halt; some did, I then asked them if they were for King George, they immediately presented and fired confusedly, hit my horse but missed me. The Chasseurs advanced near Enough to Return their fire and begin the Action, Major Berner immediately took the side of the Hill on our Left flank, and pushed the Enemy so Close that they retreated before him- L^t Col Brymer always advanced in front to show his men an Example. Unluckily the Grenadiers did not close with the Enemy, but continued firing away their Ammunition at too great a Distance; the Cannon (two six pounders) advanced within point Blank Grapeshot & continued firing for an hour and a half and the Enemy continually retreated for about two miles, the Country was pretty open on our Right with a River near our flank; on the left was an Easy Hill of ascent thinly wooded, Victory was at our Command had the Grenadiers been Quick in their March; and not wasted their ammunition at to great a Distance, which they wanted when the Sun was Setting; and I endeavored to supply by Galloping to the Ammunition Cart, which I brought up until I found them retreating; as Col. Brymer was not with them, I [rallied?] and took the Liberty of halting them, at the Mills of Sancoick L^t Col. Brymer was the Last man of his party that arrived in the Night, it was my duty as Commissioner of Supplies to provide Carriages, which I did, and brought off the wounded, and Baggage even to all the knapsacks, we retreated the party until day light, and then Marched to Saratoga, without hearing of any of the Enemy, that we were informed had retreated during the Night to Bennington; it is Certain that the Enemy lost a great many men and some of their most forward officers, and that they have not advanced any party since.

Unluckily at the time L^t Col Baum advanced, the whole militia that the Rebels could raise in the [Grants?], of New England, from Massachusetts Bay, were at, or on their March to Bennington, which they look upon as the Grand pass into New England; the post Baum took was not a bad one, I was behind on some business when he halted and took it; two days before the last Attack he had made a Disposition that Covered his ground to the best Advantage but I find that he detached from his Party and therefore weakened his post, that should have been on the defensive until the reinforcement arrived; I had no Military Command but shall have my share of censure for what should be, as well as what should not, some blame laid on the Inhabitants being spies and without doubt they were, but General Burgoyne has held out a Manifesto inviting the Inhabitants to return to their duty, and take the Oath of Allegiance which brings in many and I am well satisfied his Humanity will Conquer more than the Sword, his mind is unalterably good: the Savages do little

Service but from the Idea of their cruelty, they have had their talk, and are mostly gone; indeed, was their Example followed of Marauding the army would be debauched from their [illeg.] discipline. General Burgoyne has been Unluckily Circumstanced, not hearing from Gen^l Howe or any army on the North River to open the Communication, and the want of Carriages to transport his Provisions, Ammunitions, Artillery and necessarys for his army is incredible, and we can not move without thirty days provision at least with us, for so soon as we move, our rear will be occupied by the Rebels to Lake George, if St Leger is retreated from Stanwix as I hear; however nothing will be wanting to guard against the worst that may happen; Schuyler is sent to the Congress with Sinclair [sic] jealousy is a good deal spread amongst the Rebels, this army is in good Health and Spirits, you will please pardon on the hurry and uncorrectness I write this with in the open air and believe that I am with the Highest Sense of Gratitude my Grateful respects to Lord North.

Your Lorships most obedient humble
And obliged Servant
Philip Skene

Lord Dartmouth

Skene, Philip. Letter to Lord Dartmouth 30 August, 1777. In *B.F. Stevens's facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives relating to America, 1773-1783. : With descriptions, editorial notes, collations, references and translations*, edited by Benjamin Franklin Stevens. Vol. 18. Malby & Sons, 1889-1895.

This transcription was provided by Mr. David Pitlyk, Historic Site Assistant,
Bennington Battlefield State Historic Site.

Primary Sources Battle of Bennington

Philip Skene, Commissary of Oaths

This letter written by Philip Skene to an unknown recipient is dated August 27, 1777. It provides a description of his actions during the second engagement of the Battle of Bennington. It is regrettably damaged, with about a quarter of the double-sided page missing. The letter appears to have been hastily written, containing many insertions between lines.

Camp at Fort Miller on Duers Farm
The 27th Aug.^t, 1777

Dear Sir,

On the 16th August I set out with the German Regiment of Dragoons, Frazer's Company, the Canadians, Indians and Provincials amounting to about 556; on the [illeg.] we were reinforced with about 60 German chasseurs at Walloomscoick within seven miles of Bennington meeting house, we then Received information that the Rebels were collecting their militia from the Bay Government, New Hampshire and Connecticut and therefore Lieut.^t Col.^o Baum applied for afurther Reinforcement which was ordered the 15th consisting of Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the left wing of Germans. About 11 Oclock that Night an Express arrived that they were about [12?] miles from Lieut.^t Col.^o Baum's position the morning of the 16th

[beginning of tear, right half missing]

Carriages from Saratoga...
they arrived at Saintcoick...
press'd forward with some [Yaegers?]
his Corps, until I begged he...
=cording Haulted and Col. [Breymann?].
came into Saintcoicks and...
I wanted faith to believe him...
who said he believed things...
was ordered to attack the Rebels...
fires of Rebels; he got off with...
me if I would march on with him...
Head of his party; he then [ordered?].
[illeg.] and advanced Himself...
[illeg.] the Rebels at the End of...

were in one Line of March due...
they were Rebels, or [Loyalists?]...
feathers, or papers on [illeg.]...
to them at the Distance of...
some did. I then asked them if...
[illeg.] by and Missed me...

the Chasseurs got near Enough to Return their fire and began the Action. Major Bernar [sic] took to the side of the Hills on our Left flank and pushed the Enemy so close that they Retreated before him. Col.^o Brymen [sic] behaved very Bravely and always advanced in front to show his men an Example the Grenadiers got over the fence on their Left and should have taken the Ridge of the Hill and of Course would have flanked the Rebels, but unluckily the German Grenadiers did not close with the Enemy, but continued in a Line firing away their Ammunition at too great a Distance; the Cannon ([illeg.] six pounders) advanced within point Blank Grapeshot & continued firing & advancing for an hour and a half, and the Rebels continually Retreated for about two miles, one mile and a half the Country was pretty open on our Right, with a river on the right flank; on the left was an Easy Hill of [Ascent?] thinly wooded- Victory was at our Command had the Grenadiers been Quick in their March, or not wasted their Ammunition at too great A Distance; which they wasted by calling for more- some others that had Horses to supply them, and finding that instead of Cannon they wanted small Arms Ammunition, I galloped to the Cart of Ammunition and brought it within a small dis-

[beginning of tear, left half missing]

... retreating. The sun was then
... therefore took upon me to stop them at
... and waited until Col.^o Brymen [sic] the Last
... was taken up, and our party [illeg.]
...wounded, Col.^o Brymen [illeg.]
... and had he
... a few moments Longer would have
... they suffered very much in the Action and
... the Cannon came to be Left I cannot
... nor did a man appear during our Retreat
... the Rebels Lost a good many men and
... no attempt since though they have the
... had the Germans brought off their [Cannon?]
... had the best of the Action, some prisoners
... that the Enemy did not return to the Ground [illeg.]

... in the Night Retreated, my being obliged
... the Saintcoick mills [illeg.] where
... from whence they Marched after Col.^o Brymen
... duty to Guide and bring them through the woods
... this Beyond my intention. Please [illeg.]
... and my best prospects to Sir Guy Carleton
... from Gen. Howe.

Along the margins on the front of the sheet, a largely illegible description (perhaps in another hand?) describes a fire.

Though the ... were of the... of that Country- who by such... act of violence which they... to the [King?]
... the whole body of the people... Inhabitants [were loyal?]
... wasted in the... this design-that... to those fallacies from... from the town and... lone of... cannon... set fire to those houses- the town was at that time abandoned by the Inhabitants out of the Rebels farms there... to burn the... of the City with a view to inducing the... it to the fire of...

Philip Skene to unknown recipient, 27 August 1777. Box 1, Folder 3, Philip Skene Papers, ca. 1765-1786. Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library.

This transcription was provided by Mr. David Pitlyk, Historic Site Assistant, Bennington Battlefield State Historic Site.

great numbers of the inhabitants were by all means loyal & great special regard was had to the executing this design that the fire should not extend to the houses of those persons from whom they were aware of the plan they were to execute - for the purpose of this they carried the flames from the town - and in fire of them can be

through the darkness, many of the disaffected eyes might be that County - jobs by such an act of violence which they attributed to the thing, and had a private conversation with me and others of the people

Dear Sir

landed & set fire to these houses - the town was not that time abandoned on the instigation of the rebels but the incendiarism which they afterwards executed to burn the rest of the City with a view of isolating the Country by attaching it to the fire of the shipping

Camp at Port Moller is close from the 27th Aug

On the 13th Aug. I set out with the German Regiment of Dragoon Major's Company, the Canadians, Indians, and Provincials amounting to about 550; on the 14th we were reinforced with about 60 German Chasseurs, at Wallumeroch within seven miles of Bennington Making horse, we then received information that the rebels were collecting their Militia from the Bay Government, New Hampshire, and Canada - therefore Lieut. Col. Baram applied for a further reinforcement which was ordered the 15th consisting of Light Infantry and Grenadiers of the Left wing of Germans, about 11 O'clock that Night an Express arrived that they were about 14 miles from Lt. Col. Baram's position the morning of the 16th I set out to meet them & arrived at

Carringtons from Saintorick
They arrived at Saintorick ^{some}
rushed forward with the 19th
his Corps, and I begged he
= cording Haultic and Col. Baram
came in to Saintorick, and in
I wanted faith to believe him
who said he believed things were
was ordered to attack the rebels
fires of rebels; he got off with a
one if I would march with him
Head of his party he then Pro
Guard and Advanced Stormy
saw the rebels; The End of Arms
were in one Line of March due
(They were rebels, or Loyal
feathers, or papers, on their
tip to them at the Distance of
some did, I then asked them if
Consequently and Missed me;

The Chieftains got near enough to deliver their fire, and began the action. Major
Bernier immediately took to the side of the Hill on our Left Flank and pushed
the Enemy so close that they retreated before him. Col. Brymer behaved very
bravely, and always advanced in front to show an example. The Grenadiers
got over the fence on their left, and should have taken the Ridge of the Hill and
of course would have flanked the Rebels, but unluckily the German Grenadiers
did not close with the Enemy, but continued ^{maxim} flinging away their ammunition
at too great a distance: the Cannon (two six pounders) advanced within point
blank grape shot & continued firing ^{& advancing} for an hour and an half, and the Rebels
continually retreated for about ^{one mile and a half} two miles; the Country was pretty open
on our right, with a river near the right flank; on the left was an easy Hill
of soft thin wooded - Victory was at our command had the Grenadiers
been quick in their march, or not wasted their ammunition at too great
a distance; which they wanted by calling out for more - I endeavoured with
Capt. Campbell and some others that had horses to supply them,
and finding that instead of Cannon; they wanted small arms ammunition
I galloped to the Cart of ammunition, and brought it within a small dis-
tance.

the sun was then
taken upon me
therefore could not afford to stop them at
and waited until Col. Brymer the last
of was taken up, and our party retreated
and wounded, Col. Brymer, however
was almost killed, and had he
not a few minutes longer would have
been suffered very much in the action and
how the Cannon came to be left I cannot
say, nor did a man appear during our retreat
the Rebels lost a good many men and
no attempt since, though they have the
troops, had the Germans brought off their Cann-
on had the best of the action, some prisoners
that the Enemy did not go to the ground until
they in the night retreated, my being obliged
to me to send some men to strong posts where
from whence they marched, after Col. Brymer
duty to guide and bring them off through the wood
filled this beyond my intention, please to write
and my best respects to Sir Guy Carden
from Gen. Horn.