

GERMAN (SO CALLED HESSIAN) SOLDIERS WHO REMAINED IN MASSACHUSETTS AND NEIGHBORING STATES, PARTICULARLY AFTER THE BATTLES OF BENNINGTON AND SARATOGA

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Introduction

Local historical records and accounts, along with information given to or discovered by the author about German soldiers who remained in Massachusetts and neighboring states, led to this compilation of German soldiers who served in the Revolutionary War and remained in the region. Interested readers will either discover something about their "Hessian" ancestors and/or elect to contribute additional data for files formerly held by the JSHA, and now archived with the Archives and Special Collection of the Shadek-Fackenthal Library at Franklin and Marshall College in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

It is noted that British soldiers also deserted and remained in the New England region. This work makes no attempt to identify them except in a few cases where a known deserter could have been English or German.

Preface

On 3 July 1777 the General Council of Massachusetts Bay issued an order concerning the hire of Hessian prisoners by subjects of the State.¹

"Ordered that the Commissary of Prisoners be empowered and directed to permit such of the Hessian Prisoners of War as are in this town (Boston), and are desirous of going out to labour for their maintenance, to hire themselves out to labour for and with any of the well disposed and faithful subjects of this State inhabiting in any part thereof, excepting the Port Towns."

The prisoners held in jails or on prison ships in Boston Harbor in July 1777 had been captured at sea. The greatest numbers were Hessian Jägers captured aboard the transport *Favourite*.² Captives from the Battles of Bennington and Saratoga would arrive in Massachusetts later in the year.

In the autumn of 1777, following the capture of hundreds of German troops at the Battle of Bennington, the General Council issued a similar directive to the Committees of Safety in Massachusetts Counties to take captives as laborers, paying them reasonable wages and providing protection and sustenance. These captives were taken from their march from Bennington to Boston, from the prison ships in the harbor and, later, from the newly constructed prison camp at Rutland, Massachusetts.³

The cost to the state of caring for the captives would be less if some were housed and fed by state inhabitants. A substantial number of the "farmed out" soldiers elected to remain in America, often marrying American women and raising many children in their new country.

The Routes taken by the Captives from the Battlefields

After the Battle of Bennington, where almost all captives were German troops, the rank and file marched

from the battlefield southward to Williamstown, to Pittsfield, then eastward across the hill towns to Northampton, to Hadley, Palmer, Brookfield, Worcester and Boston. The captive officers, instead of crossing the center of the western counties of the state, were taken from Pittsfield to Great Barrington, then to Westfield, Springfield, Palmer, Brookfield, Worcester and Boston along the Knox Trail. The American military wanted to keep the officers separated from the men so the men could be encouraged to hire out to farmers or desert without admonition or threat from their superiors.

After the Battle of Saratoga, Burgoyne's remaining army of over 5000 soldiers and non-combatants was split into two sections, British and German. The British were further separated into two groups for the first part of the march. One group went the way taken by the Bennington rank and file captives, to Northampton and then eastward. The other group went from Williamstown across a northern route to Greenfield then southward to Hadley where the two sections were merged for the remainder of the trip to Cambridge.

All Germans able to march were taken the way of the officers captured at Bennington, along a southern route through Great Barrington, to Springfield, Worcester and Cambridge.⁴ A few German soldiers deserted from the march, some died, while others later ran off from the prison camp at Winter Hill in Cambridge or later from the POW camp at Rutland, Massachusetts. Some captives from Bennington and Saratoga, who were in hospitals at Albany and Bennington, were released to go about freely after their recuperation if they desired. Some remained in the region.

Massachusetts Towns and Names of German Soldiers Who Remained in Those Towns

Some of the following names were found in local history books and records. Most of those men have been confirmed as members of the German (Hessian) forces in North America. Some have not yet been fully confirmed as combatants from German military records.

Williamstown

John Hindersass, also Hendersass, Henderson, (Johann Hintersass) from Windersheim, a Jäger with the von Barner Combined Battalion of the Brunswick Army, wounded and a prisoner of discretion after the Battle at Freeman's Farm, 7 October 1777. He is listed in army records as captured but whereabouts unknown.⁵ Hintersass was hospitalized at Albany and, when released, he chose to remain in the area and eventually settled at Williamstown, Massachusetts. Hintersass is not listed in the 1790 Federal census but is listed in following years. In 1800 he was recorded John G. Hindersass with one young son and two young daughters. In 1810 the census shows

he had 2 sons and 4 daughters and was recorded as John Henderson. He is listed as John Henderson in 1820 with one son and 2 daughters in the household. No record of his marriage or his death have been found; however, there is a record of Eliza Ann Henderson, wife of John, who died in March 1832 and is buried in the East Lawn Cemetery.⁶ It appears the oldest son was John G., born Hinndersiss in 1799. The 1870 census shows him as Hendersass, age 71, born in Massachusetts. His wife was Hannah, age 65, and they had son, John Jr. who attended Williams College in 1870. Another possible child of John was Seline Hindersass who married Joel Baldwin King in February 1823.

West Stockbridge

Michael Kastler/Cassler/Castle (Johann Michael Kessler) from Schuttenburg, born in 1761, served with Captain Thoma's Company with the von Barner regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was reported captured but whereabouts unknown in the army's records.⁷ Kessler, who became Kastler, was badly wounded at the Battle of Bennington but recovered to find his way to West Stockbridge where he and Susan Minckler began a family. A daughter, Sophia, was born to Susanna Minckler in 1780; and two sons, Kelion, 1786 and Abram, 1806 were born to the couple.⁸ Census records indicate there were other children born to the couple but the names have not been discovered. Neither has a marriage record for the union of Michael and Susan been found. The Kastlers moved from West Stockbridge to Grand Isle, Vermont, and returned to West Stockbridge on two separate occasions, and later moved to New York State.

The story of Michael's ordeal from lying wounded after the Battle of Bennington is interesting. He was shot through the lungs by an American militiaman who saw him lying with a leg shattered by a musket ball. That man left Michael for dead. Another American found him barely alive and brought him to a hospital where a German surgeon, who claimed to be a deserter serving with the Vermont Militia, saved his life. Later in life, he and the surgeon would meet and recall the day his life was spared.⁹

Egremont

Christoph Thorna, possibly Johann Heinrich Thoene, a Jäger with the First Company of the Hessen-Hanau Jäger Corps. The military record shows Thoene from Helmershausen, born in 1764, and deserting around 24 October 1777 near Saratoga.¹⁰ No Brunswick soldier with the name Thorna (or any name sounding like Thorna) has been identified. A record of birth of one son has been found at Egremont, but no further information is known. He has not been found in any census listing or vital records of Egremont or neighboring towns. Of interest is the name change from Heinrich to Christoph, suggesting Heinrich is not the deserter in question or he used another given name in America.

Great Barrington

George Notewire, also Nothemware, Notwere, (Georg Nothwehr) a Musketeer from Hessen in Captain Aler's Company of the von Rhetz Regiment of the Brunswick Army who was reported a deserter at Saratoga on 16

October 1777 just before Burgoyne surrendered to Gates.¹¹ The 1790 and 1800 federal censuses list George Notewire as head of household in Berkshire County. His wife's name may have been Huldah. Records of birth of his eight children are at Great Barrington and his family history after moving to Sheffield is held by the Sheffield, Massachusetts Historical Society. John was born 1787; Daniel, 1788; Jacob, 1790; Rebecca, 1793; Deidamia, 1794; Norton, 1797; Eliza, 1799 and Lorinda, 1802.¹² The 1790 census shows only one young male, two older males and one female. The older male's name is unknown but might be another German deserter living with Nothwehr, possibly Jobst Witte. The 1800 census shows four young males and three young females corresponding to the birth records. Only one marriage record is listed, that of Diademea Notewear who married Joel Miller in 1812.

John Whitty (Jobst Witte), a Grenadier from Deligen in Capt. Löhneisen's Company of Breymann's Grenadier Battalion of the Brunswick Army. Born in 1738. Listed in military records as captured but whereabouts unknown.¹³ Witte was captured on 7 October 1777 at Freeman's Farm. He likely deserted near Saratoga and joined the Americans where he served as a fifer with Captain Simon Larned's Company in Colonel Shepard's 4th Massachusetts Regiment and later settled in Great Barrington.¹⁴ No record of a family has been found. The military records show Witte born in 1738, which means he was age 74 in 1812 and not 103.

His gravestone reads:

This monument is gratuitously erected
by the friends of JOHN WHITTY the
old German Soldier who died
March 24th 1812, in the 103rd year of his age
Nearly 30 of which he spent in the
Bloody wars of Europe

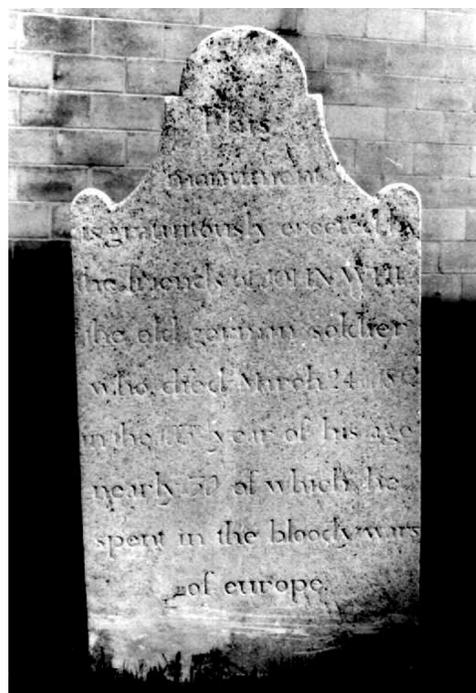


Photo courtesy of James Parrish, Great Barrington, MA

Emanuel Hodget (a possible Hessian soldier). A town record reported Emanuel Hodget, killed by a fall from a bridge, was buried in 1824 at age 76. While mentioned as a Hessian soldier in a local history, no Hodget, or any name variation, has yet been found in the records of German soldiers who remained in North America.

Blandford/Granville

Friedrick Heilman, also Hilliam, (Friederich Heilemann) was a Company Surgeon with the Lieb (Body) Company in Lieutenant Colonel Baum's Dragoon Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was from Claustal and born in 1755.¹⁵ The military record is not clear. While it shows he was captured at Bennington and then deserted to the enemy, it indicates he did not desert until 11 May 1781. At that time, the POWs were in Pennsylvania and not Massachusetts. A family history of Doctor John Frederick Heileman shows he lived with Timothy Robinson and married Olivia Robinson of Granville. It is possible that Heilemann deserted near Blandford while on the march to prison in Boston but notice of his desertion did not get in the military records until May 1781. Birth records of three children are held at the Berkshire Family History Association and are recorded in the vital records for the town of Granville. Amelia was born 15 Jan 1781, Henrietta on 28 June 28 1783, and Julius Frederick on 9 July 9 1787. The 1790 federal census shows the family with one young male, one older male and three females, reflecting the births record exactly. The family later moved to Nelson, New York.

Westfield

The Brunswick Army records show two men who remained in Westfield while on the march from Saratoga to prison at Cambridge. They died while on march, likely in the winter storm near Blandford, and are buried in Westfield. They were Christian Meyer and Hennig Siebel.¹⁶

Christian Meyer was with Captain Ahlers of the von Rhetz Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He is listed as born in 1765 in Braunschweig and captured at Saratoga but dying on march at Westfield on 28 October 1777. Since the dates show him only 12 years of age at death, his reported birth year must be questioned.

Hennig Seibel was from Ingolstadt, born in 1733. He served with Major von Mungen in the Riedesel Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was captured at Saratoga and listed as dying on 28 October 1777 at Westfield while on march to prison.

John Baker (Johann Becker), a so-called Hessian, is said to be buried in Westfield.

He could have been Johann Becker, drummer (tambour) with Captain Ahler's Company of the von Rhetz Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was from Friedersdorf and born in 1749. He deserted (date unknown) and joined the American forces. Or it could have been Johann Becker of Negenborn, born in 1765, who served with Major von Lucke of the von Rhetz Regiment. He was captured at Saratoga and went missing from prison camp in Cambridge on 17 May 1778. Further research is

needed to determine the identity of John Baker. This is another apparent youth whose listed birth year may be in error.

West Springfield

Hendrick Salter, also Selter (Heinrich Sölter), from Helmstedt, born 1742, tailor, Musketeer with the vacant Company of the von Riedesel regiment. He was captured at Bennington 16 August. One record shows him deserting to the enemy. Another indicates he did not return to his unit.¹⁷

Hendrick married Sabra (Sarah) Leonard 18 May 1780 and they raised a family in West Springfield although there is no record showing the family had their own home. No records of death or burial have been found in West Springfield. Seven children were born between 1780 and 1792: Jonathan, Lucretia, Henry Jr., Sabra, Zerviak, John and Oren.¹⁸

Fredrick Stackman, also Stickman (Friedrich Sackmann), from Breustedt, born 1756, shoemaker, Musketeer with von Lucke's Company of the von Rhetz regiment. He was captured at Saratoga and deserted to the enemy at Cambridge 14 May 1778.¹⁹ His intention to marry Rebekah (Rebecca) Bond was published on 19 Nov 1778. Fredrick was enumerated in the 1790 federal census for West Springfield indicating one son and three daughters living with the parents. The family listed in the 1800 census for West Springfield included two daughters. The 1810 census listed one young female with the parents. The names of children have not been found. Both Fredrick and Rebecca are buried in the Third Congregational Church, Ireland Parish Cemetery in West Springfield. Fredrick died in January 1838 at age 82 and Rebecca on 26 Feb 1836 at age 89.²⁰

Daniel Hartunk, likely Rudolph Hartung, from Halberstadt, born about 1740, drummer with Captain Pölinitz's Company of the Riedesel regiment. He was captured at Bennington and listed as a POW in Springfield.²¹ He may have become a stonemason. Springfield vital records show his marriage to Aurelia Brooks in November 1792 and the births of twelve children: Daniel, Loviss, Sally, William, Chauncey, John, Sophia, Mary, Emily, Margaret, Harriet, Charles.²² Daniel died at age 82 in 1825. His wife was 30 years younger than he. He was age 74 at the birth of his 12th child. Their marriage was recorded by town clerk Bezaluel Howard in November 1794. *The Springfield Republican* of 30 July 1860 mentions Daniel Hartunk as one of the Hessian soldiers who settled in Springfield.

Godfrey Vagonier, Gottfried Wagener, from Rothenburg, born 1758, Jäger with the Barner combined battalion, was captured on 11 October just before the Battle of Saratoga. Military records show him captured but whereabouts unknown.²³ He possibly deserted near Saratoga and lived in Berne, New York, before moving to West Springfield where he worked as a miller. He died 9 September 1807 and was buried in the First Congregational Church Cemetery.²⁴ Godfrey has not been found in 1790 – 1810 censuses for West Springfield or New York State, suggesting he resided with someone who employed him. Since no record of marriage has been found and no

record of a wife is listed buried with him, it is likely he never married.

Apollos Miller, possibly one of more than a dozen Muellers who either deserted or went missing; or he could have been a British soldier. His intention to marry Mercy Sexton of Southwick, Massachusetts, was published 27 October 27 1792.²⁵ He was enumerated in the 1800 federal census for Hampshire County, the census showing 1 male over age 45 and 1 female over 45. He had not been found in either the 1790 or 1810 census. Apollos may have resided in Southwick with Stephen Sexton. The census of 1810 suggests he and his wife were included in Stephen's household. There were 2 males over 45; 1 female under 10, 1 female 16-26 and 1 female over 45. No records of children, death or burial have been found in vital records for Southwick or neighboring towns. Apollos is not a common given name of the period, especially not a Germanic name, although possibly of Huguenot origin. There was a family living in West Springfield at the time that included a man with the name Apollos. Perhaps the young German soldier chose to adopt and use that name rather than his own given name.

John Andrew Isense (Johann Andreas Isensee) from Biewende, born in 1757, a Dragoon with Lieutenant Colonel Baum in the Prinz Ludwig Dragoon Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was wounded and captured at Bennington. The military records show his death on 16 August 1780.²⁶ He was killed by lightning while working in a field, as noted on his gravestone in the Old Field Burying Ground on Union Street in West Springfield. However, his age (28) on the gravestone and his year of birth do not agree. He was either born in 1752 or died at age 23.

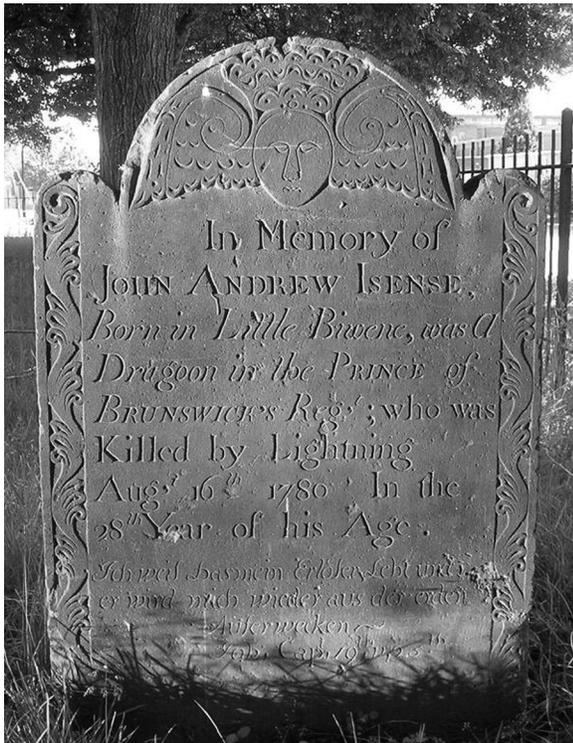


Photo courtesy of Rusty Clark, West Springfield, MA

Wales

Andrew Vienecke/Vineca (Andreas Wienecke) from Bockenem, born in 1749, a Dragoon with the Leib Company of the Prinz Ludwig Dragoon Regiment of the Brunswick Army. Captured at Bennington but went missing and did not return to duty.²⁷ He likely farmed himself out from the prison camp at Rutland and decided to remain in America. He married Elizabeth Pratt of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and later settled in Wales and raised eight children: Philip, Andrew, Elizabeth, David, Daniel, Hosea, Jonathan and Lydia. Andreas died in 1816 and Elizabeth in 1832.²⁸ The Norcross Wildlife Sanctuary in Wales, Massachusetts, is situated on Vineca's land and a stream and pond carry his name. Local tradition claims James Dorman was another Hessian who settled in Wales with Vineca. However, it is now known that Dorman served in the British Army with Burgoyne.

Northampton

Christian Schrader from Denkte, born in 1759, a Dragoon in the Leib Company of the Prinz Ludwig Dragoon Regiment of the Brunswick Army. He was recorded by the military as dead by disease, accident or other non-battle related cause at Northampton on 2 July 1780.²⁹ Schrader was one of 24 German soldiers hired out to inhabitants who worked as laborers for tradesmen in Northampton. A headstone for him was discovered in the basement of a city home in the 1980s and reported in the *Hampshire Gazette* on April 29-30, 2000. The stone shows his death on July 2, 1780 at age 24.

Christian Kniep from Schoeningen, born in 1759, a Dragoon in the Leib Company with the Prinz Ludwig Regiment in the Brunswick Army.³⁰ He was captured at Bennington and was one of the soldiers hired out in Northampton. He remained there, married Meribah Miller of the town who birthed at least two sons: Charles who married Louisa Clark, and John, who drowned as a youth in the Connecticut River in 1798.³¹ Family tradition reported Christian's later migration to Illinois.

Bernardston

John Euda/Eudy (Johann Uhde) from Seboldshausen, born in 1755, a Musketeer in the Leib Company of the von Barner Combined Battalion of the Brunswick Army. He was captured at Bennington and the military records indicate he was a POW but whereabouts unknown.³² He was paroled to work for a farmer from the POW camp at Rutland, MA and never returned. He married Mary Turner of Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1785. He and Mary settled in Bernardston, Massachusetts, and had at least three children: David, Thankful and Lemmule. David served in the War of 1812 but died at age 43. Lemmule and Thankful evidently never married. John operated a successful farm and distillery. He died in 1821 and Mary in 1848. They are buried in a family graveyard on the east side of the Eden Trail reportedly across the road from the farm. The Cushman library at Bernardston has a book containing Euda's story.³³

John Millis/Millish, (a possible German soldier) who lived near Euda in Bernardston. No Millis listed, nor any

spellings like it, in the records of German soldiers remaining in North America. Possibly he was a British soldier who served with Uhde in Burgoyne's army.

Chesterfield

John Pittsinger (Johannes Petzinger) from Dudenhofen born in 1757, a Cannoneer in the Hessen-Hanau Artillery Corps attached to Burgoyne. He was captured at Bennington and imprisoned at Rutland, Massachusetts. He was paroled and went to work as a carpenter in West Springfield and Northampton while periodically reporting in at Rutland. He worked on parole from prison until war's end when he deserted. In 1780 he married Rhoda French of Westhampton and settled at Chesterfield where they had five sons, three surviving: John (1) (died), John (2), William, Jonathan and Harvey (died). John died in 1823 and Rhoda in 1831. His life story and genealogy has been published.³⁴ One of John and Rhoda's granddaughters was Eliza Ann Pettsinger known as the "California Nightingale." She was a noted poet, her greatest work entitled "Song of the Soul Victorious." (Editor's note: The Pittsinger story appears in the 2000 volume of this journal.)

Petersham

George Hatstat (Georg Zacharias Hatstadt) from Englesbach, born in 1750, a Jäger in Company 3 of the Hessen-Cassel Jäger Corps.³⁵ He was captured at sea on the transport *Favourite* 22 April 1777. He was held in jail in or near Boston until a prison camp was completed at Rutland, Massachusetts, in April 1778. He deserted from POW status at Rutland and hired himself out to a local farmer. He married Beulah Martin of Paxton and settled in Petersham, Massachusetts, where they had 13 children, 11 reaching maturity: Thomas, Lucy (1) (died), Lucy (2), John, George, Charles, Samuel, Roseanna, Susannah, Betsy, Lucinda, William and Joseph (died). The 1790-1810 federal censuses show him as head of a household in Petersham. His land was later set off to the new town of Dana, which would succumb to the Quabbin reservoir in the 20th century. George died in 1819 and Beulah in 1823, the year she remarried. He is believed to be buried near Petersham, his grave has not been found and may have been moved. Some descendants of his 11 surviving children live in the area. His life story with genealogy has been published in the 1985 volume of this journal.³⁶

Abraham Scholt, local records indicate he was a servant to Captain Fricke of the Brunswick Dragoons who was quartered in Westminster after his capture at Bennington. Scholt is said to have deserted and married a local woman and settled in Petersham where they raised a family. No one named Scholt is listed in the vital records for Petersham. Servants were not listed in the army muster rolls.

Leominster, MA/Rockingham, VT

John Caspar Shana Wolfe, (Kaspar Schoenewolf) from Retterode, born in 1753/54, a Jäger with Company

1 of the Hessen-Cassel Jäger Corps.³⁷ The military record shows he was captured near New York City in June 1781 and quickly joined the American forces. The data is confusing in that he apparently married Rachel Battles of Leominster, Massachusetts, in 1780. Rachel bore three children: John, Mabel and James before dying in 1787. John almost immediately married Lucy Baker who bore 10 children, six surviving: Sylvanus, Rachel, Jehil (died), Orin (1) (died), Jonas (died), Orin (2), Patience, Lucy (died), Abel, Barzalael (died) and Ordinay He settled in and is buried in Rockingham, Vermont. John died in 1828 and Lucy in 1837. He was known in America as John Shana Wolf and, later, John Wolf.³⁸

Colrain/Petersham

Peter Hart, possibly Reinhart. Records at Petersham, Massachusetts, show Peter Hart and George Hatstat were POWs hired out for farming. It is not certain that Peter was a German soldier. No one with the name Hart or Reinhart is listed among the Brunswick and Hessen-Hanau troops who remained in America. It is possible that Peter was a Hessen-Cassel Jäger serving with Georg Hatstadt and captured at sea, but his military records, like most of the Jäger Corps, did not survive. Federal census records show Peter living in Petersham in 1790, in Sutton, Massachusetts, in 1800 and in Colrain, Massachusetts, in 1810. Those records indicate he had at least three sons and four daughters. There are records of young Harts marrying at Colrain who, by the dates of their marriages, could have been Peter's children. Betsey, Olive, Sally, Charles and William are the names contained in the town records. Peter died in 1830 at age 80 and is buried in Colrain.³⁹

Orange

Fritz Caffiree, likely Heinrich Graefe from Voldagsen, born in 1752, a Musketeer with Captain Plessen's Company in the Specht Regiment of the Brunswick Army.⁴⁰ Military records show he deserted near Worcester on 14 November 1778 while on march from Cambridge to Charlottesville, Virginia. According to local history, he hired out to a local widow but no record of a family has been found. He is buried in a cemetery in Orange, Massachusetts.

Boston

Johann Kurtz from Stockhausen, a Dragoon with the Prinz Ludwig Regiment of the Brunswick Army.⁴¹ He was captured at Bennington and imprisoned in Boston where he likely went out to work. He married an American woman but was kicked while harnessing a horse in July 1778 and died.

Newburyport

An interesting story alleges that a Hessian soldier, *William Clelland*, is said to have been instrumental in establishing the business of making combs in Newbury. No German soldier named Clelland or any name sounding like Clelland has yet been found.

German Soldiers from Bennington and Saratoga Who Remained in New Hampshire, Vermont and New York

John Luke (Johann Friedrich Luecke), from Gross Elbe, with von Rhetz of the Brunswick army.⁴² He was captured at Bennington and imprisoned in Massachusetts. He likely went to work for a local inhabitant near Rutland, Massachusetts, and married Betsey Stone of Rindge, New Hampshire, in 1778. Luke moved to Woodstock and Reading, Vermont, then to German Flatts and Hamilton, NY before removing to South Gower Township, Ontario, Canada. John and Betsey had 14 children, most surviving to marry and raise families. John died in 1839 and Betsey in 1854. (Editor's note: The story of John Luke is published in the 2006 volume of the Journal.)

John Buckley, possibly Johann (unknown) Buechler, a musketeer in the Hessen-Hanau army captured at Saratoga. A single muster roll entry shows him ransomed from POW status.⁴³ There is no evidence he returned to military duties. Local writings in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, report he married Peg Dunlap in 1784 and raised seven children. He worked in town as an accomplished cabinetmaker. John died in 1817.⁴⁴

Berne, New York

Friedrich Gleichman and a possible brother, Lawrence. Likely Friedrich Gleichmann from Braunlage, with von Barner of the Brunswick army who was captured at Freeman's Farm on 8 October. His brother, also from Braunlage, could have been Christoph, a grenadier with von Breymann of the Brunswick army. He was reported captured at Bennington. Since both men were captured before the final battle at Saratoga, they were reported as captured, whereabouts unknown.⁴⁵

Gotlieg/Godfrey Waggoner (Gottfried Wagener) claimed he and a brother came to America together. That brother could have been **Ferdinand Wagener** from Tappenburg who was also reported as captured and whereabouts unknown. Gottfried was captured at Bennington and was also listed as captured and whereabouts unknown. Both Wageners were Jägers in the same unit under von Barner of the Brunswick Army.⁴⁶ Ferdinand took an oath to Pennsylvania on 7 Sep 1782. It is possible Gottfried Wagener moved from Berne, New York, to West Springfield, Massachusetts, where he is also listed.

Andrew Bottger. Possibly Andreas Böcker from Gandersheim with Captain Lützwow of the von Specht Regiment of the Brunswick army. He was reported captured and whereabouts unknown. There is also the possibility he could have been Andreas Böttcher from Emmerstadt, with Captain Plessen of the von Specht Regiment, who deserted to the enemy after being captured at Freeman's Farm on 7 October 1777.⁴⁷

Daniel Angle (Daniel Engelcke) from Hildesheim with von Specht of the Brunswick army. He was captured at Saratoga and held captive at Winter Hill, Cambridge, Massachusetts.⁴⁸ He deserted on 4 Sep 1778 and evidently returned to the Saratoga area.

Michael Willman/Willmann from Langstadt, with the Hessen-Hanau Artillery Corps. Listed as captured

and a POW in October 1777, he did not return to his unit.⁴⁹ He was captured at Saratoga and likely left the march before the captives left New York State on the way to Cambridge. The military record is intriguing. It appears Michael participated in General Sir Guy Carleton's invasion of New York in late 1776 and was taken prisoner in November during the capture of Crown Point and ransomed soon after being captured.

Upstate New York

John Foot (Johannes Caspar Fuss) from Altengronau, with the Erb Prinz Regiment of the Hessen-Hanau Army attached to Burgoyne.⁵⁰ He was listed as missing and joining the enemy in October 1777. John evidently deserted from the march of the Saratoga captives near Claverack, NY. He joined the 3rd New York Regiment of the Continental Army where he was listed as John Foot or John Foor. He served throughout upstate New York. He married Catherine Miller of Mohawk, New York, and they had at least one son, Daniel.

Conrad Webler (Conrad Weppeler) from Hessen Homburg with Captain von Lützwow of the von Specht Regiment. Captured at Saratoga, he left the march on 21 October at Kinderhook, New York. He and Maria Winne married and they had at least two children Coenraadt and Maria while living in Marletown and Kingston, New York.

John Christopher Wieting (Johan Christoph Witting) from Lochau, with von Ehrenkrook of the von Specht Regiment of the Brunswick Army. Captured at Saratoga, he deserted on 22 Oct near Kinderhook, New York, while on march to Cambridge. He was age 19, a cabinetmaker and had been in the army 1&1/2 years. He settled in Greenbush, New York, where he taught school before entering the Lutheran ministry where he served a congregation in Minden, New York. He also founded two Lutheran Churches in the region, one at the Otsquaga and the other at Geissenberg, He married twice; to [?] Hainer, who bore eight children and then to [?] Groff, who bore six. He died at age 58 in 1817.

Gotlieb Krake (Gottlieb Krach) from Königsberg, with von Barner's Jäger Company of the Brunswick Army. He was captured at Bennington. The army records show him a POW but whereabouts unknown. He likely went to work for a local farmer or mechanic and settled in Geissenberg, New York, where he was a fore singer (chorister) at the Geissenberg Lutheran Church. He farmed in Montgomery and St. Lawrence Counties where he died in 1833.

Other so-called "Hessians" remaining in Massachusetts Bay, other New England States and New York State are subjects for further investigation. For example, it is believed that a group of Brunswickers settled on the land of John Knox near Waldoboro, Maine. They pose a challenge for the interested researcher.

These new Americans and their descendants are an intriguing consequence of the Revolutionary War. Research and publication of their life stories could be an interesting challenge to their descendants and add their human-interest aspect to the history of the Revolutionary War.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks all correspondents who shared information about their Hessian ancestors. Assistance provided by historical society members, town clerks and librarians throughout the region is appreciated. Special thanks to Don Londahl-Smidt whose criticism, suggestions and corrections improved the manuscript.

Endnotes

¹ Massachusetts State Archives: vol. 173, 246.

² William James Morgan, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 8 (Washington D.C.: Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1980), 788.

³ Robert M. Webler, "Records of Massachusetts Bay Concerning Brunswick Army Prisoners from the Battle of Bennington," *The Hessians: Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* (hereafter cited as *JJSHA*), 8 (2005): 51-57.

⁴ Robert M. Webler, "Braunschweig and Hessen-Hanau Captives from Burgoyne's Army Marching Through New England to Prisons, August-November 1777," *JJSHA*, 7, no.3 (2003): 1-16.

⁵ Claus Reuter. *Brunswick Troops in North America, 1776-1783* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books Inc., 1998) (hereafter cited as Reuter), 35, line 1105.

⁶ Vital Records of Williamstown, Massachusetts to the year 1850, (Boston, MA, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1907): 46/116.

⁷ Reuter, 41, line 1304.

⁸ Cooke Collection, Vol 15, *Reverend Gideon Bostwick's Records, St. James and Great Barrington, Massachusetts Congregational Church Vital Statistics*, unpublished booklet held by the Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, MA: 324/354.

⁹ H. H. Reynolds, "Reminiscences of Dr. James Roebuck," *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, II, Abby Maria Hemenway, editor, vol. II, published by A. M. Hemenway, 1871), 549,550.

¹⁰ Inge Auerbach und Otto Frölich, *Hessische Truppen Im Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg*: (Marburg: Archivschule Marburg, 1987), VI. 486 (hereafter cited as *HETRINA*).

¹¹ Reuter, 59, line 1864.

¹² Vital Records of Great Barrington, Massachusetts to the year 1850, (Boston, MA, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1904): 15.

¹³ Reuter, 91, line 2866.

¹⁴ Miss Elsie Huntley, compiler, typewritten list in vertical file in the Historical/Genealogical Room of the Great Barrington, MA public library: 1955/56.

¹⁵ Reuter, 32, line 1010.

¹⁶ Reuter, 78, line 2454; 55, line 1737.

¹⁷ Reuter, 79, line 2482.

¹⁸ Vital Records of West Springfield, Massachusetts to the year 1850, (Boston, MA, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1944-1945), (hereafter cited West Spfld): 2-153.

¹⁹ Reuter, 69, line 2155.

²⁰ West Spfld, 2-291.

²¹ Reuter, 31, line 984.

²² Vital Records of Springfield, Massachusetts, (photocopy of town clerk's original records held by the Connecticut Valley Library and Museum, Springfield, MA): 339/340.

²³ Reuter, 87, line 2725.

²⁴ West Spfld, 2-297.

²⁵ Ibid, 2-116.

²⁶ Reuter, 51, line 1614.

²⁷ Reuter, 90, line 2830.

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²⁹ Reuter, 74, line 2338.

³⁰ Reuter, 43, line 1357.

³¹ Vital Records of Northampton, Massachusetts, (photocopy of town clerks original records held at the Northampton town clerk's office): I – 118/194.

³² Reuter, 85, line 2667.

³³ Caryl Dyer, *John Hendrick Euda, Hessian Soldier*, an unpublished manuscript in the collection of the Cushman Library, Bernardston, MA.

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³⁶ Edson B. Harrington and Jo Ann Hatstat, "Georg Zacharias Hatstatt, Our German Hessian Ancestor," *JJSHA*, 3, no. 1 (1985): 37-45.

³⁷ *HETRINA*, IV, lines 6298/6299.

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³⁹ Vital Records of the Town of Colrain, Massachusetts to the year 1850, Salem, MA, the Essex Institute, 1934.

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⁴¹ Reuter, 48, line 1502.

⁴² Reuter, 51, line 1615.

⁴³ *HETRINA*, VI, No. 1, 85.

⁴⁴ Albert Annett & Alice Lehtinen, *History of Jaffrey (New Hampshire)*, II, (published by the town of Jaffrey, 1934): 107-111.

⁴⁵ Reuter, 27, lines 837/ 838.

⁴⁶ Reuter, 87, lines 2725/ 2726.

⁴⁷ Reuter, 9, lines 254/270.

⁴⁸ Reuter, 19, line 631.

⁴⁹ *HETRINA*, VI, no. 2, 525.

⁵⁰ *HETRINA*, VI, no. 1, 149/150.