


SULLIVAN'S

CAMPAIGN.

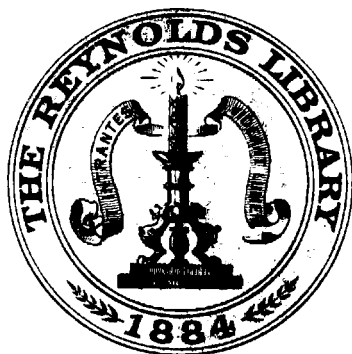
A. TIFFANY NORTON.



R

2973 3356

n 8824



Dup

9
92-93 sent by ship

authentic 124

True 125

disc of bones

125

132D



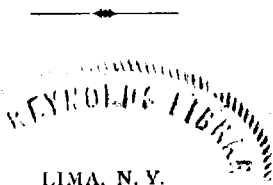
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN.

r 973.3356
N 882h

HISTORY
OF
SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN
AGAINST THE IROQUOIS;
BEING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THAT
EPOCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

—BY—

A. TIFFANY NORTON.



LIMA, N. Y.

A. TIFFANY NORTON, PUBLISHER, RECORDER OFFICE.

DEC 1879. R. B.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1879, by
A. TIFFANY NORTON,
in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

E. R. ANDREWS, PRINTER, ROCHESTER.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
CHAPTER I.	
The Iroquois Confederacy,	8
CHAPTER II.	
Outbreak of the Revolution—Indian Hostilities,	33
CHAPTER III.	
Retaliatory Measures Proposed,	61
CHAPTER IV.	
Preparations for the Campaign,	81
CHAPTER V.	
General Clinton's Division,	96
CHAPTER VI.	
March from Tioga—Newtown Battle,	110
CHAPTER VII.	
March from Newtown to Kanadesaga,	126
CHAPTER VIII.	
March from Kanadesaga to Kanaghsaws,	139

CHAPTER IX.

Massacre of Boyd's Scouting Party,	150
------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER X.

March to Chinese Castle,	163
--------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

The Return March,	169
-------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII.

Unjust Criticism of Sullivan,	186
-------------------------------	-----

APPENDIX,	192
-----------	-----

PREFACE.

THE expedition of General John Sullivan against the hostile Indian tribes of the north was one of the most important military movements of the Revolutionary war. Undertaken during one of the darkest periods which the struggling Colonies saw, it furnishes an example of devotion, heroism and noble self-sacrifice that has seldom been equalled in the annals of history. The daring and intrepid march has been not inaptly compared to the famous expedition of Cortez to the ancient halls of the Montezumas, or that later brilliant military achievement, Sherman's march to the sea. In many respects it was a remarkable undertaking, and the boldness of its conception was only equalled by the bravery and determination with which its hardship and danger were met and its objects accomplished. ✓

Notwithstanding the magnitude of the undertaking, however, and the beneficent results, immediate and remote, which are to be attributed to it, no portion of the history of the Revolution has received less attention from historians than this expedition. This fact having been emphasized by the approaching centennial anniversary of the campaign, the author of this little volume was prompted to supply these missing pages in our country's history. Engaged for some years in historical research, there had come into his hands a collection of materials relating to this campaign of considerable value, and he was both unwilling that the public should lose the benefit of the knowledge in his possession, and convinced that there was need of a work of this character. Hence, although conscious from the outset that the work could be better performed by others abler and wiser than

he, the writer made the attempt to give a complete and accurate yet entertaining history of Sullivan's campaign, with such results as now appear to the reader. Believing that the custom which makes so many prefaces simply vehicles for the conveyance of apologies is well honored in the breach, the author will offer no other excuse than this for adding to the world's already large store of books.

From the start the work has been conscientiously performed, without bias or prejudice, with the exercise of great caution against drawing hasty conclusions, and with patient toil and research, that the history might have the one merit, even if it possessed no other, of a strict fidelity to truth. In the belief that it will be found to possess this qualification, without which it would be valueless, this volume is now presented to a discriminating but generous public.

While omitting nothing that would add interest to the narrative, whatever was of doubtful authenticity has been either rigidly excluded or its mythical character so plainly shown that the reader will be in no danger of mistaking it for undisputed fact. In thus drawing the line between truth and error, it has been found necessary to sweep away many misty traditions and beautiful but delusive legends. Hence the reader who scans these pages for accounts of buried cannons, exciting tales of the driving of the Indians from some dizzy precipice, or other doubtful local traditions, will be sorely disappointed. Others, who have possessed for years a superficial knowledge of the expedition, derived from sturdy pioneers of honest heart but treacherous memory, will in all probability dispute some of the statements made in this work. Anticipating such criticism, the author would seek to disarm it in advance by giving the sources of his information and the grounds for his statements. During Sullivan's campaign in the Indian country, over thirty different army officers, at least, kept journals, wherein was daily recorded the line of march, the character of the country traversed, the number of miles marched, every important event, and many minor details. These journals are still in existence, while others

Preface.

vii

are constantly coming to light. While some are brief, others enter into the minutest details and furnish a complete epitome of each day's events during the campaign. By the aid of these journals the author has been able to verify every statement of fact by the concurrent testimony of those who were themselves participators in the events described. In addition he has had the aid afforded by the maps and data of the engineers who accompanied the army and chained every mile of the distance from Easton to the Genesee river, while letters, official reports, army documents and state papers have been accessible. In this rich field the gleaning was laborious but pleasant, and while the falsity of many traditions was exposed, it was satisfactory to know that the accuracy of the narrative was thus secured.

The grateful acknowledgment of the author is due to the Rev. David Craft, of Wyalusing, Pa., who has made the history of this expedition a special study for years, and whose rich collection of materials, freely placed in the former's hands, greatly aided him in his work. The researches of General John S. Clark, of Auburn, have also proved of inestimable value. The profundity of his knowledge concerning the history of the Indian tribes of New York is already well known, and the readiness with which he has given the public the benefit of his researches is worthy of commendation. To others, whose name is legion, who have greatly aided in the preparation of this work by the loan of rare books and documents, heartfelt thanks are due. The readiness with which such favors have been rendered, even by strangers in this and adjoining states, has been proof to the author of the warm and wide-spread interest felt in the work he had undertaken. The author is also under obligations to Mr. E. E. Doty for the loan of the engravings of the powder horn, bullet mould, etc., which first appeared in the pages of Colonel L. L. Doty's *History of Livingston County*.

It is a fact to be much regretted that while the present generation devotes much attention to the history of the Old World, it has little acquaintance with that of our own land. Thus there is a tendency to forget at what cost the liberties of the American

people were purchased, and as this remembrance fades, these privileges will be less highly prized and cherished. That this little volume may have its influence in awakening new interest in the history of the struggle for Independence, increase our veneration for the noble founders of the Republic, cause to burn with a brighter glow the fires of patriotism in the hearts of the American people, and help in its feeble way to perpetuate our free institutions, is the sincere wish of

THE AUTHOR.

LIMA, N. Y., August, 1879.

HISTORY OF SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN.

CHAPTER I.

THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY.

SCARCELY a page in history possesses greater interest than that which gives the story, traditional as well as authentic, of that powerful Indian confederacy of North America known as the Iroquois,* whose domain, once nearly the entire State of New York, was the scene of those incidents of the Revolutionary War which are recorded in this volume. Proud, ambitious and warlike in spirit, imbued with dauntless courage, and far surpassing neighboring tribes in prowess and the arts of savage warfare, they wielded a controlling influence over the whole eastern portion of this vast continent, and carried their wars of subjugation and extirpation into the remotest borders. Tribe after tribe yielded to their superiority, until their nominal empire extended over a region six hundred miles wide and fully twelve hundred miles in length.

Our authentic history of this remarkable people dates back to about the time of the discovery of America by Columbus, and consequently covers a period of only about four hundred years. Tradition, however, has been busy with the Iroquois, and its doubtful authority

* So called by the French; the English called them the Five Nations, and afterward the Six Nations.

is cited to show that they have had existence as a confederacy for nearly a thousand years. Much of this legendary narrative is interesting, but little of it can claim a place in any authentic history. It gives to the Iroquois a mythical origin, and traces a long series of triumphs which followed the league which Hiawatha advised. Of the predecessors of the Iroquois but little is known, and eminent authorities differ as to whether other peoples inhabited this region before the Indian. While some assign the ancient fortifications and artificial structures found so frequently in Western New York to the age of the Mound Builders, and other works to races of men who came later than that strange people, yet preceded the Iroquois, others whose opinions are entitled to weight, believe that all of these indications of prior occupation are attributable to a much later period than that of the Mound Builders. De Witt Clinton, who had given the subject much careful study, was of the opinion that long before the Indian's time this region was peopled by a race greatly excelling the Iroquois in numbers and civilization.

The confederacy was formed about the year 1450, tradition says, to resist the invasion of their territory by the tribes of the north, beyond the great lakes. Hiawatha, the mythical patron saint of the Indians, said to them, "Unite the Five Nations in a common interest, and no foe shall disturb or subdue us; the Great Spirit will then smile upon us, and we shall be free, prosperous and happy. But if we remain as now, we shall be subject to his frown; we shall be enslaved, perhaps annihilated, our warriors will perish in the war storm, and our names be forgotten in the song and dance." Having seen his plan of union adopted, the tradition says that Hiawatha went down to the shore of Onondaga lake, near which the conference of the tribes was

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

11

held, and seating himself in his canoe, was wafted to the happy hunting grounds to the strains of unseen music. The tribes which thus united their forces came originally from north of the lakes, where they had lived under subjection to the Adirondacks. Tiring of a yoke which their proud spirits could not bear, they had revolted, and finally emigrated to the rich territory of New York, which ever after remained theirs until advancing civilization robbed them of it step by step, and drove the remnants of their tribes to the reservations which they now occupy.

The confederacy was originally composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. In 1712 the Tuscaroras emigrated from North Carolina, on account of troubles experienced there, and being received into the confederacy, were assigned lands between the Oneidas and Onondagas. The principal towns of the Mohawks were along the Mohawk river; the Oneidas had theirs near Oneida lake, the Onondagas near Onondaga lake, the Cayugas along the eastern shore of Cayuga lake, while the Senecas, the largest tribe of the league, occupied all that territory lying between Cayuga lake and the Genesee river, and which is called the Genesee country. Between the Genesee river and the great lakes was a debatable ground which was the scene of many bloody conflicts with neighboring tribes, especially the Kah-kwas and Eries. Eventually their sway was extended over that region also, but for a long period it remained uninhabited and seldom traversed save by the hunter in search of game, or savage bands intent on hostile missions to the domains of distant tribes. The vast territory of the Iroquois, so well adapted to the habits and necessities of this people, was called by them the Long House, and they designated themselves Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or People of the Long

House. "The Senecas in Western New York were the keepers of the great western gate, which led into the valley of the Mississippi, and the Mohawks, the fiercest and most powerful clan, the keepers of the eastern door or gate, from which they issued to conquer the Algonquins in Canada, or the Mohicans and other tribes of New England." * Bancroft says that their immediate dominion stretched from "the borders of Vermont to Western New York, from the lakes to the head waters of the Ohio, the Susquehanna and the Delaware," and he adds that the geographical position of the Iroquois made them umpires in the contests of other nations, and their own political importance was increased by their many conquests. "Not only did they claim some supremacy in Northern New England as far as the Kennebec, and to the south as far as New Haven, and were acknowledged as absolute lords over the conquered Lenappe,—the peninsula of Upper Canada was their hunting field by right of war; they had exterminated the Eries and Andastes, both tribes of their own family, the one dwelling on the south-eastern banks of Lake Erie, the other on the head waters of the Ohio; they had triumphantly invaded the tribes of the west as far as Illinois; their warriors had reached the soil of Kentucky and Western Virginia,' and pushing their conquests, their war-cry was heard at one time, as another writer has said, along the Straits of St. Mary's, and at the foot of Lake Superior, and at another under the walls of Quebec, where they finally defeated the Hurons, under the very eyes of the French. "They eradicated the Susquehannas. They put the Metoacks and Manhattans under tribute. They spread the terror of their arms over all New England. They traversed the whole length of the Appalachian Chain

* Ex-Governor Seymour.

and descended like the enraged yagisho and megalonyx on the Cherokees and Catawbias."

Nor was it alone in the arts of war that the Iroquois exhibited their superiority.* In their tribal relations, the structure of their confederacy, their intelligence, diplomatic skill and wise statesmanship, they were a remarkable people. The excellent system of government which bound the tribes together for purposes of defense, yet preserved the individuality and reserved rights of each separate tribe, manifested their large conception of the problems of government, and their ability to form and maintain a government of their people on the basis of a pure democracy. The league bore a strong resemblance to that which binds together the several states of the Union. It was purely democratic in principle, and any other would have been unsuited to the character of this proud and haughty race, who could brook no opposition nor bow beneath a yoke which in any degree restrained their liberties. Brave, restless and ambitious, strongly marked in their love of freedom, holding in proud disdain anything servile or degraded, with an admiration approaching reverence for all acts of bravery, and a contempt that often gave birth to hatred and ferocious cruelty for any exhibition of weakness and cowardice, the restraints of government must needs bear lightly upon them to secure their continued sanction and support. It was only a system that should secure them protection and greater strength, while abridging in no degree their individual rights, that would meet the conditions of that time. How wisely the confederacy was formed is best shown by the fact that it has existed for over four hundred years,

* The Six Nations were a peculiar and extraordinary people, distinguished from the mass of Indian nations by great attainments in polity, in negotiation, in eloquence and in war.—*De Witt Clinton.*

and is even still in force among the remnants of the tribes. There is nothing to show that the compact was ever broken, or that the slightest element of discord has ever crept in to weaken or destroy it.

The affairs of the nation were in the hands of sachems, fifty in number, who met in council when any important question was to be considered. In this council each tribe had its allotted representation. The sachems of each tribe were chosen by unanimous consent, those being selected to this office who had shown marked wisdom and integrity of character. They usually met in the council house of the Onondagas, on account of its central location, and their deliberations were conducted with a gravity and decorum worthy of imitation by more civilized nations. It is stated that "the reason and judgment of these grave sachems, rather than their passions, were appealed to," and it is said to have been a breach of decorum for a sachem in the great council to reply to a speech on the day of its delivery. Still, though conducted so gravely and decorously, the meetings of the sachems were often the occasions of strains of eloquence that would have moved critical audiences of cultured people. "Their language, though guttural, was sonorous. Their orators studied euphony in their words and in their arrangement. Their graceful attitudes and gestures, and their flowing sentences, rendered their discourses, if not always eloquent, at least highly impressive. An erect and commanding figure, with a blanket thrown loosely over the shoulder, with his naked arm raised, and addressing in impassioned strains a group of similar persons sitting upon the ground around him, would, to use the illustration of an early historian of this State, give no faint picture of Rome in her early days." It is said that a remarkable difference existed between the Iroquois and

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

15

other Indian tribes with respect to oratory, and that no research will show in the records of the past "a single model of eloquence among the Algonquins, the Abenakis, the Delawares, the Shawanese, or any other nation of Indians, except the Iroquois. The few scintillations of intellectual light; the faint glimmerings of genius, which are sometimes to be found in their speeches, are evidently derivative and borrowed from the confederates." Examples of this native oratory might be cited, but it is enough that we write the names of Cornplanter, Logan and Red Jacket, as masters of that eloquence which could move multitudes, and has perpetuated their names on the page of history.

The league was the offspring of necessity; an alliance offensive and defensive in its aims. The system upon which it was founded, as previously stated, was a singularly well-chosen one, and illustrates the superior intellectual character of this people. A study of this system is an interesting one, for it was "wisely conceived by the untaught statesmen of the forest, who had no precedents to consult, no written lore of ages to refer to, no failures or triumphs of systems of human government to serve for models or comparisons; nothing to guide them but the lights of nature; nothing to prompt them but necessity and emergency." A high authority long since pronounced the Iroquois the Romans of the West, and another eminent writer* says: "Had they enjoyed the advantages possessed by the Greeks and Romans, there is no reason to believe they would have been at all inferior to these celebrated nations. Their minds appear to have been equal to any effort within the reach of man. Their conquests, if we consider their numbers and circumstances, were little inferior to those of Rome itself. In their harmony, the unity of their

* President Dwight.

operations, the energy of their character, the vastness, vigor and success of their enterprises, and the strength and sublimity of their eloquence, they may be fairly compared with the Greeks. Both the Greeks and Romans, before they began to rise into distinction, had already reached the state of society in which men are able to improve. The Iroquois had not. The Greeks and Romans had ample means for improvement; the Iroquois had none."

The underlying principle of the Confederacy was a perfect equality, which gave to each tribe equal rights and immunities. No special privileges were granted to any portion of the nation that were not enjoyed by the whole. A distinguishing feature of the league was that unanimity was required in determining its policy. Where, however, this unanimity could not be reached in the council, each tribe was at liberty to follow its own inclinations. Thus, when the great council was held to consider the question of joining the British in the war against the Colonies, a division occurred. The Oneidas strongly opposed the alliance, while nothing could restrain the fierce Mohawks from entering the conflict. Consequently, as the necessary unanimity which would have been binding on the whole could not be secured, each tribe was, by the law of the nation, free to engage in the war or remain at peace with the Americans. In the subsequent pages of this work it will be shown that the greater portion of the league yielded to the persuasions of the British agents, while many of the Oneidas remained neutral, or aided, as guides, the feeble cause of the Colonies, and would have been willing to have done still more, had their proffered services been accepted by the Colonial government.

Champlain, one of the first of the French explorers who visited this continent and aided in the settlement of

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

17

New France, now Canada, very injudiciously allied himself in 1609 with the Algonquins and Hurons, of Canada, in an expedition against the Iroquois. Near Lake George they met a war party of two hundred of the latter nation, and a battle ensued, in which the usually victorious Iroquois were defeated. By this act Champlain made implacable enemies of the confederates, and a warfare lasting many years ensued, with only an occasional and brief respite gained by some short-lived truce. About the year 1649 the Iroquois conquered and almost wholly annihilated the Hurons, who had been allies of the French, and "flushed with their victories over their own race, the Iroquois grew bolder and more determined to expel another race whom they regarded as intruders, and who had been the allies of their foes." In 1658 they defeated and massacred the Algonquins under the very walls of Quebec and within sight of their white allies. A new treaty suspended hostilities for awhile, but the struggle for supremacy soon commenced anew, and continued with but little cessation for many years. About this time the Iroquois, who had long regarded the English with favor, united their fortunes with the latter, and entered into an alliance which was observed with singular fidelity for upward of an hundred years. In 1771 the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis wrote that "history perhaps cannot furnish an instance where a treaty of this kind has been more faithfully adhered to," and he added that with the exception of such as had been drawn over to the French by the influence of the Jesuit missionaries, there had been no material breach of the treaty. In all the struggles for supremacy in the new world which occurred between England and France, the Iroquois gave material aid to their friends, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing their old foes, the French, conquered, and their province wrested from their possession. Perhaps we may

find here some explanation of the subsequent course of the Six Nations in aiding the British in their efforts to subdue the Colonies, being moved, it may be, as much by gratitude and long friendship as by the presents lavished upon them by the British agents. In the French war, to which allusion has been made, the Iroquois fought many desperate battles under the leadership of Sir William Johnson. A letter dated July 25th, 1759, says of their service in the siege and final capture of Fort Niagara: "The Mohawks have done wonders, serving in the trenches and every place where Sir William was," and of the latter the writer said, "the Indians adore him."

From the close of the French war to the outbreak of the Revolutionary struggle, the Iroquois enjoyed a period of comparative peace. The word enjoyed is used advisedly. Mary Jemison says that "no people can live more happily than the Indians in time of peace." At such times they gave themselves up to a round of simple sports and pleasures in keeping with their wild, untrammelled life. Their wants were few and simple, and were supplied with but slight exertion, while "their cares were only for to-day." During this period, also, they learned the value of peace to a nation vastly reduced by the hardships of war, and recuperated their wasted strength. The warriors and young men followed the chase, or indulged in rude sports which served at once to amuse them in their idle hours, and to retain their strength of limb and skill with their weapons upon which they relied so confidently in time of war. Thus they preserved and taught to the growing youth the tactics of Indian warfare, "laying the ambuscade, surprising their enemies, and performing many accurate manoeuvres with the tomahawk and scalping knife." While the men were thus schooling themselves in the arts of war or else idling away their time, the squaws were performing their

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

19

simple domestic duties, or industriously tilling the soil of their vast possessions. Extensive apple and peach orchards were planted about the scattered villages, the attention of the Indians having been directed to the cultivation of these fruits by the Jesuit missionaries who came among them soon after the advent of the French in America. Vast fields of corn were also planted in the rich valleys, and immense quantities of melons, squashes, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables were raised, as was also a fine quality of tobacco. Throughout the region traversed by Sullivan, and especially in the valley of the Genesee, he found cornfields producing crops exceeding in quality and quantity anything to which the soldiers of the army had been accustomed in their eastern homes. Many of the ears of corn which they saw measured twenty-two inches in length, and they carried away with them the finest sweet corn ever seen by the residents of New England. As in the arts of war and diplomacy the Iroquois had proved their superiority, so in the pursuits of peace they showed greater intelligence and advancement than surrounding tribes, and a progressive spirit in strong contrast with the aversion which many savage peoples show to all civilizing influences. This tendency to a higher civilization was also shown in their houses, many of which were more than mere wigwams, and some were so good that General Sullivan was led to speak of them in his official report as "elegant Indian houses." It is true that some of the brave General's unfriendly contemporaries laughed at this description and questioned his knowledge of the meaning of the word elegant, but the weight of evidence sustains the assertion that many of them were both framed and painted, and of such a creditable order of architecture as to excite surprise in those who accompanied Sullivan's expedition. His own praise of these habitations was echoed by many

of his army comrades, who wrote to their friends of finding "houses large and elegant, some beautifully painted."

The continued wars in which the Iroquois had been engaged were the cause of a rapid depletion of their numbers, and at the time of the Revolution, their ranks were much reduced, although they were still formidable foes. The whole number of persons, young and old, at this time, was estimated at fifteen thousand, and the nation was able to put in the field a force of warriors about twenty-two hundred strong. Captain Dalton, who was a prisoner among the Indians for several years, published in 1783 "an estimate of the Indian nations employed by the British in the Revolutionary war, with the number of warriors annexed to each nation," in which he estimated the number of the Mohawks thus employed at 300, the Oneidas 150, Tuscaroras 200, Onondagas 300, Cayugas 230, Senecas 400. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland estimated the whole number of fighting men in the Seneca tribe in 1783, at 600. Another authority,* however, put the whole number of souls in the Iroquois nation at only about ten thousand, "the Seneca nation alone amounting to one-half that number," and the warriors were estimated at two thousand.

Reference has already been made to the location of the several tribes comprising the league, but a clear understanding of the work accomplished by Sullivan's expedition calls for a more particular description of the country and villages of the Cayugas and Senecas, as it was through their territory that he pursued his march, and their villages, orchards and growing crops that he destroyed. The principal Cayuga village was on the eastern shore of Cayuga lake, near the foot, with several smaller villages scattered along the eastern and western

* Gov. Tryon, 1774.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

21

shores to the head of the lake. Coming westward we find several small Seneca villages along the eastern shore of Seneca lake; and at the foot of that lake, near the modern village of Geneva, was Kanadesaga, or Seneca castle. The next important village was on the site of the present village of Canandaigua, and bore the Indian name of Kanandaque, the orthography of the modern name being but little changed. Farther westward was the village of Hanneeyaya, at the foot of Honeoye lake. Beyond this there appear to have been no Indian villages at this time until the limits of the present county of Livingston were reached. Within these limits were to be found the principal villages of the Senecas. Their favorite dwelling place seems to have been the Genesee valley, whose beauty had a charm for even their savage natures, and called forth all their poetic feelings. Here they established the abodes of many of their greatest warriors and principal sachems, and from here went forth the predatory bands which waged relentless war against neighboring tribes, or carried death and desolation to the peaceful settlements of the east. Here, also, were brought the prisoners taken in their bloody conflicts, and hither flocked the women and children and those unfit for service, from the outlying towns, when the news of Sullivan's advance spread terror among the tribes. Brant and the Butlers frequently tarried here in their journeyings from Fort Niagara to the east, and often planned here those expeditions which have made their names a by-word and reproach.

Dyn-non-dah gá-eeh, or Little Beard's Town, was the most important village of the Senecas. It was the home of Little Beard, the great chief, and though not the place where the tribe kindled the council fire, most of the expeditions were here planned. Sullivan called it

in his report the capital of the western Indians, and it is frequently mentioned in his papers as Chinesee Castle, while others call it the castle or principal town of the tribe. While it has no claim as the capital of the tribe, it is entitled to the distinction of being the largest village visited by Sullivan on his march. Little Beard, by reason of his renown as a warrior, had gathered about him many of the bravest and wisest of the tribe, and the consequence was to build up a village of considerable magnitude. Butler and Brant frequently visited it, and Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee, whose husband was one of Little Beard's most trusted warriors, says she has "many a night pounded samp for them from sunset till sunrise, and furnished them with the necessary provisions and clean clothing for their journey." The location of the Indian village was on the eastern part of the site of the present village of Cuylerville, on the west side of the Genesee, and about three miles from Geneseo, the present county seat. At a late day the ruins of the huts found in this vicinity showed that the village had been one of considerable proportions. Sullivan says it contained one hundred and twenty-eight houses, "mostly very large and elegant." The Indian orchard stood nearer the river, while to the south of it was the burial ground. Its location was a beautiful and commanding one. To the east the land gently sloped to the river, while in the vicinity were broad flats, on which were found by Sullivan extensive fields of corn and "every kind of vegetable that can be conceived." Little Beard himself appears to have been a person of considerable importance. Fierce and cruel while on the warpath, in the councils of the tribe he was a man of keen good sense and judgment, and his views carried with them great weight. According to actual surveys made by Captain

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

23

Machin, who accompanied Sullivan as an engineer, Little Beard's Town was two hundred and eighty miles from Easton, Pa., by the route which the army traversed. It was the extreme western point reached by the expedition. Little Beard's Town was known to the English as Chenussio, the great town of the Senecas. Ten years before it had stood on the east bank of the Genesee, at the mouth of the Canaseraga creek, where Williamsburg afterward stood. The Guy Johnson map of 1771 gave this as its site. At the time of DeNonville's expedition, in 1689, it probably stood on the hill above Geneseo. The location of these Indian towns changed about every ten years, and when Sullivan came to the Genesee he failed to find Chenussio at the mouth of the Canaseraga, as his maps indicated, but several miles distant, and on the other side of the river, while nearly all traces of the Indian village at the former place had disappeared.

Still further to the north was the village of Canawaugus, on the west bank of the Genesee, nearly opposite the Avon sulphur springs. It seems to have been one of the most populous of the Seneca villages. Some authorities have estimated its population at one thousand. This estimate is doubtless too high, yet the village was a favorite resort of the Senecas, who often availed themselves of the healing waters of the neighboring springs. Old settlers have stated that there was another smaller village on the east side of the river, a mile or more below Canawaugus, which was also destroyed by a detachment from Sullivan's army, but this is untrue. Near the great spring at Caledonia was the Indian village of Dyúneganooh. Here the Senecas brought many of their prisoners for torture, and for years it was a noted stopping place for the Indians and afterward for white men. Situated on the great trail leading from Albany

to Niagara, its good pastures and the fine trout which abounded in its streams were quite inviting to the travelers on that thoroughfare. This village appears to have escaped the fate of others when Sullivan's army came into the Genesee country, and here the fugitive squaws and children from the other villages up the river tarried for a short rest while fleeing before the army. Butler and his rangers also halted here the next day, on their way to Niagara.

Near the present village of Nunda was Ó-non-dá-oh, or Nundow. It was quite an important village, but when its warriors yielded to the importunities of the British and started out on the warpath, their families removed to Little Beard's Town for greater security, and the village remained unoccupied for several years. As no part of Sullivan's command went as far as Ónon-dáoh, it was also spared. Several smaller villages were scattered about within the present limits of Livingston county, among them Kanaghsaws,* or Adjusta, at the head of Conesus lake, where the army encamped on the night that Lieutenant Boyd set out on his fatal mission, and Gathsegwarohare, two miles from the confluence of the Genesee river and Canaseraga creek, where that ill-fated officer and his companions spent the night preceding their massacre. Besides these villages there were smaller ones scattered throughout the Seneca country, including Schoyase (now Waterloo), Catharinstown, at the head of Seneca lake, and settlements

* This was the home of Big Tree, a noted chieftan, who deserves more than passing notice for his adherence to the cause of the colonies during the Revolution. He vainly endeavored to induce his people to observe a strict neutrality, and failing in that, he entered the Continental army. In 1778 he was despatched by Washington to use his influence with the Senecas to cause them to withdraw the support they were giving the enemy, but his efforts were again unavailing, although his people were at first inclined to listen to him.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

25

on the present sites of Elmira and Chemung. As far as possible these places will be fully described as we follow the march of the army.

In General Sullivan's report to the Continental Congress of the results of his expedition, he stated that his army destroyed forty Indian villages. Some difficulty having been experienced in tracing out so large a number, some of Sullivan's brother officers said that his report was a "pompous account of his military peregrinations." These critics failed to accord to Sullivan the measure of justice which was his due. They credited him with the destruction of but eighteen towns,* when he actually destroyed at least forty, and gave as the result of his long and weary march, with its many privations and dangers, "eleven Indians killed, two old squaws, a negro and a white man taken." While some jealous partisans were thus disposed to question Sullivan's services, it is gratifying to know that the commander-in-chief and congress awarded him his due meed of praise, and commended the bravery and faithfulness with which he carried out the plans of the expedition.

As the hostility of the Iroquois to the struggling colonists during the Revolutionary War was largely due to the influence which Sir William Johnson and his family had over the Indian tribes, the remaining pages of this chapter will be devoted to a brief sketch of these prominent loyalists. The coming of Sir William Johnson to a country in which he was destined to occupy an important position, occurred in 1734. He was a native of Ireland, which he left on account of a love affair

* Sullivan, in his report, says 40; but if a few old houses which had been deserted for several years, were met with and burnt, they were put down for a town. Stables and wood-hovels, and lodges in the field, when the Indians were called to work there, were all reckoned as houses.—*Gordon's American War*, 1789.

which brought him disappointment and trouble. Landing in America he was made the agent of a vast estate in the present county of Montgomery, owned by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, an English admiral. He established his home near the present village of Port Jackson, and soon succeeded in winning the friendship not only of the few settlers who surrounded him, but also of the Mohawks and the tribes farther to the west. So thoroughly did he win the confidence and esteem of the red men that he was able to wield over them a powerful influence to the day of his death. He appears to have possessed the rare faculty of thoroughly adapting himself to surrounding circumstances, and in ingratiating himself in the favor of those with whom he was brought in contact. He could conform to all requirements, and was peculiarly happy in making himself beloved by all sorts of people. With his Dutch neighbors he would smoke his pipe and drink his flip, as the incidents of frontier life or the prospects of the settlements were discussed, while, if occasion required, he could sustain his part in the most genteel company. With the Indians he was equally at home. He soon acquired their language and spoke it with great fluency. Their habits and peculiarities he studied, their wants he anticipated, and by a wise course he secured their confidence and an ascendancy over them which has scarcely a parallel in history. He is said to have possessed a hardy, vigorous constitution, a strong, coarse mind, unsusceptible to the finer feelings, and "unconfined by those moral restraints which bridle men of tender conscience, he here saw the path open to wealth and distinction, and determined to make the most of his opportunity." He often donned the Indian dress, out of compliment to his dusky friends, and at his mansion they were always welcome guests. Frequently, when they came to consult him on some important matter, they made his house

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

27

and grounds their home. He had on the Mohawk two spacious residences known as Johnson Hall and Johnson Castle, the former being his summer residence. Returning from their summer excursions and exchanging their furs for firearms and ammunition, the Indians used to spend several days at the castle when the family and domestics were at the Hall. "There they were all liberally entertained by Sir William, and 500 of them have been known, for nights together, after drinking pretty freely, to lie around him on the ground, while he was the only white person in a house containing great quantities of everything that was to them valuable or desirable."

Enjoying, as he thus did, the favor of the Indians, Sir William was just the man the English government needed in the exigencies of that period. The French still maintained a foothold in Canada, and made strenuous endeavors to plant their settlements in the rich domain of the Iroquois. Their Jesuit missionaries, with more of state craft than religious ardor, penetrated to the remotest villages of the tribes, and with the Senecas especially, their efforts to draw the Iroquois to the support of the French were in a measure successful. There was need of one who was able to resist the intriguing diplomacy of the French, and hold the Iroquois to a firm allegiance to the crown. Sir William fully proved his fitness for this task, and being made the Indian agent, and the almoner of the King, who craftily lavished his gifts on the Indians, the Baronet's power and position were greatly advanced. In the last war against the French he was made a general of militia, and having been chosen as a chief by the Iroquois, he led those dusky warriors in the engagements of that final struggle. He was made a baronet for his services in the expedition against Crown Point, and Parliament voted him five thousand pounds. He was active in all

Indian affairs, negotiating many treaties with the Iroquois and Western tribes. With such opportunities within his reach, and enjoying in largest degree the favor of the King, he became the possessor of great wealth,* which he seems to have enjoyed after the old baronial style, with much of its rude splendor and generous hospitality.

The darker side of Sir William's life was shown in his marital relations. A comely Dutch maiden soon filled in his heart the place once occupied by the fickle Irish lass, and taking her to his abode she lived with him as his acknowledged wife for many years, but society was set at defiance by the omission of the usual marriage rite. By her he had three children, two daughters and a son, Sir John Johnson. One of the daughters married Colonel Daniel Claus, and the other Colonel Guy Johnson, a nephew of Sir William. When on her death-bed Sir William was married to this woman, in order to legitimatize his children. Afterward he took to himself Molly Brant, a sister of the noted chieftain, and lived with her several years before any marriage ceremony was performed.

Sir William Johnson's death, which occurred July 11th, 1774, at the age of 59 years, has always been shrouded in mystery. It was sudden and unexpected, and occurred under circumstances that gave color to the

* An anecdote frequently told, illustrates the manner in which he acquired one valuable grant. Hendrick, the great sachem of the Mohawks, was at Sir William's at a time when the latter had just received several rich suits of military clothes. Coveting the richly caparisoned garments, Hendrick soon came to Sir William, saying, "I dream." "Well, what did you dream?" asked the latter. "I dream you give me one suit of clothes." Much amused by the Indian's ingenuity, Sir William gave him a suit, but soon after the latter also said, "I dreamed last night." Hendrick replied, "Did you; what you dream?" "I dreamed you gave me a tract of land," describing a rich tract about twelve miles square. Hendrick, after a long pause, replied, "Well, I suppose you must have it," and then raising a warning finger, he added, "but you must not dream again; you too much for me."

theory of suicide. The great struggle for independence had just commenced, and men were rapidly taking their position, either with the oppressed people or on the side of the King. In this emergency Sir William found himself placed in trying and peculiar circumstances. Many of his neighbors, to whom he was deeply attached, had already espoused the cause of the Colonies. He had led them on to victory in previous wars, for years had been in daily association with them, and enjoyed their fullest esteem and confidence. It was repugnant to his feelings to think that he must engage in a warfare against them and against the country of his adoption. On the other hand he could not forget his obligations to his King, to whose favor was due his success. His sovereign had bestowed upon him honor, distinction and vast wealth, and gratitude alone would lead him to espouse the cause of his friendly monarch. While thus distressed by his trying position he one day said to a friend that he should never live to see the Colonies and the mother country in a state of open war. Soon after, while at a court then in session in Johnstown, he received a packet from England, (instructing him, it is said, to secure the alliance of the Indians with the crown, in case of a war,) and immediately went to his home. His death occurred soon after, and before the rising of the court. While the circumstances attending this sudden ending of his life might justify the suspicion of self-destruction, this theory is rejected by those who have patiently investigated the question, and the explanation most generally accepted is that his mental anxiety and distress brought on an attack of apoplexy, and thus ended a life already well advanced.*

* Col. Stone rejects both the theory of suicide, and the inference that Sir William was embarrassed as to the course he should pursue. He had but recently returned from a visit to England, and Stone says that "he probably came back with his loyal feelings somewhat strengthened."

Sir John Johnson succeeded to the title and estates of Sir William, and Colonel Guy Johnson was made general superintendent of Indian affairs, the position which the deceased baronet had so long filled with signal ability and success. Perhaps there is no doubt as to what Sir William's position would have been, had he lived, but there is reason to suppose that he would not have encouraged the savage and cruel warfare waged on the frontier settlements, which found favor with his son and nephew, who in some degree inherited his influence, but lacked his ability and many virtues. They had no hesitation in supporting the cause of the King, and their wealth and power were freely used against the Colonists. Surrounding them on their broad domain were many Scotch tenants whom they armed, and with their adherents, Colonel John Butler,* his son Walter Butler, and Joseph Brant, the Mohawk chieftain, they waged a relentless war on the scattered and feeble settlements, which made their names a terror throughout the border, and consigned the leaders to lasting infamy for acts of cruelty which rivaled even those of their savage followers.

Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea), took a conspicuous part in the events of which this volume treats. He was a noted chieftain of the Mohawk tribe, but the date of his birth and his parentage are mooted questions. One writer has said that he was a Mohawk, born on the Ohio, whither his parents had emigrated, and Colonel Stone accepts this theory, but Draper assumes that he was a native Cherokee, of whom there were many among the

* Colonel John Butler was the son of an Irish Lieutenant who settled in New York in 1711, and became the owner of a large landed estate in the Mohawk valley. Sir William Johnson, in 1755, procured commissions for John Butler and his brother Walter, and they accompanied him in his expedition against Crown Point. In the action of the 8th of September, Walter Butler was killed, but John escaped. The Walter Butler of the Revolution was a son of Colonel John, and nephew of the Walter Butler killed at Crown Point.

Iroquois, captives and their descendants. He was a protege of Sir William Johnson, who sent him to Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, Connecticut, and after educating him, gave him employment in public business. He acquired great influence in his tribe, and being a man of strong passions and great sagacity, he was a



JOSEPH BRANT.

(From a Painting by Cutlin.)

formidable foe. After the war he made his home in Upper Canada, where he translated a portion of the New Testament into the Mohawk tongue, and busied himself in other ways in advancing the interests of his people. Taking the active part he did in the Revolutionary struggle, his name often appears in the history of its events, not always perhaps with strict justice, as it has been the habit to paint him blacker than he really was. He was often cruel and vindictive, it is true, but it should be remembered that notwithstanding his advantages, he was still a savage, with all the instincts of a savage nature. It must be conceded, too, that his white

allies often exceeded him in cruelty, and many of the dark deeds laid at Brant's door are justly chargeable to those of whom better things were to be expected. Campbell says of him that "combining the natural sagacity of the Indian with the skill and science of the civilized man, he was a formidable foe." Cruel and passionate as he was in war, in his intercourse with others "he was affable and polite." Brant was jealous of his character, and claimed that he had often urged the Indians to be humane, and to spare the women and children. Where he had exclusive command this was often done. Campbell is authority for the statement that at Cherry Valley Brant secretly incited the massacre, according to the allegation of Colonel Butler, in order to stigmatize the latter's son, who had superseded Brant in command, but Brant stoutly denied the charge. The same writer says: "Whatever may have been the motives and conduct of Brant, it will not wipe away the stain from the character of Walter Butler." At Cherry Valley he refused to allow friends to be notified of danger, lest they should alarm others. Thus he sacrificed his friends that he might punish his enemies. While on a raid in the Mohawk Valley in August, 1781, Walter Butler was killed, an Oneida tomahawking and scalping him as he supplicated for that mercy which he had never shown.

Brant was strongly attached to the Johnsons, and eagerly espoused the cause of the loyalists when the struggle commenced, and when the Iroquois broke their plighted faith, he led the savages in their many expeditions against the settlements. He continued thus the great chief of the Iroquois to the close of the war, and will be found, as the fortunes of the brave Sullivan and his army are followed, commanding the Indian forces, inspiring them by his spirit and bravery, and after the defeat at Newtown, vainly endeavoring to induce them to stand and give battle again to the advancing enemy.

CHAPTER II.

OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION—INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

THE frequent border wars had given the Colonists a thorough knowledge of the Indian character, and taught them to dread him as a foe. On the outbreak of the Revolution, therefore, they naturally felt great anxiety as to the attitude of the Indian tribes with which they were surrounded, and especially were they concerned about the Iroquois,* whose favor was worth the courting, whose enmity was more to be feared than thrice their number of civilized foes. This anxiety was aggravated by the hostility which the Johnsons and their adherents early manifested. Knowing the powerful influence which these men exerted over the Iroquois, it was felt that the peace and safety of the borders were subject to constant menace, and that at any time this baneful influence might bring ruin and destruction to the peaceful settlements. How well founded these fears were, subsequent events too sadly proved. The worst forebodings of the people were realized, as often when least expected the savage foe, led on by Brant and the Butlers, stealthily approached their settlements, pillaged and burned their homes, and massacred the inhabitants or drove them away to a hopeless captivity, perhaps to suffer the most cruel torture which savage ingenuity could invent.

The whole Province of New York at this time, west of a line running north and south nearly through the

* "In consequence of the superior social and political organization * * * and the Spartan-like character incident to the forest life, the Six Nations, though not the most numerous, were beyond a doubt the most formidable, of the tribes then in arms in behalf of the crown."—*Stone's Life of Brant*.

center of the present county of Schoharie, was called Tryon county, in honor of William Tryon, then the provincial governor. Its population was but a few thousand souls, and its settlements few and widely scattered. Various causes, but mainly the presence of the Indians, had prevented the rapid growth of the province, and it was not until after the close of the Revolutionary war that any considerable advance was made westward. The population of the whole province in 1774, was estimated at only 182,247, of whom 20,000 were blacks, and Tryon county, erected in 1772, marked the extreme western verge of civilization. The principal settlements were along the Mohawk, and to the south of that stream, except Johnstown and one or two others, which were north of the river. The county was divided into five districts, the first, known as the Mohawk district, embracing Fort Hunter, Caughnawaga, Johnstown and Kingsborough. The Canajoharie district included that place, Cherry Valley, Harpersfield, and all the country south. The Palatine district was north of the Mohawk, and the German Flats and Kingsland districts embraced the extreme western settlements. The county buildings were at Johnstown. German Flats still retains its name, enabling the reader to readily distinguish the greatest advance westward which the settlements had made at that remote period.

Beyond these settlements there stretched away to the westward a vast wilderness, almost unknown and unexplored, reaching to the present western border of the State. Here the Iroquois held undisputed possession, and save when visited by an occasional missionary or trader, or when traversed by the armies of contending foes, the feet of white men never voluntarily trod its Indian trails, and their eyes never saw the beauty of its lakes and valleys, or the grandeur of its hills and far-

reaching forests. It was a primeval wilderness, broken only by the forts at Niagara and Oswego, and but for the stirring events of the Revolution, which served to bring it into notice, and to break the power of the Indians, it must have remained the home alone of the Iroquois many years longer than it did.

In enunciating those principles of civil liberty which placed the Colonies in antagonism with the mother country, and precipitated the Revolutionary war, New York bore no secondary part. Her people were among the first to make declaration of their rights, and to protest against the usurpations and unjust exactions of the crown. Indeed, as has recently been shown, with all the warmth and eloquence of a justifiable state pride, New York was far in advance of her sister provinces in resisting the encroachments of despotism and in the assertion of those doctrines which marked the birth of civil liberty in America. As early as 1708 she declared that "it is, and always has been, the unquestionable right of every freeman in this colony, that he hath a perfect and entire property in his goods and estate," and resolved that the imposition of taxes without the consent of the people in general assembly was "a grievance and a violation of the people's property." And when the repeated wrongs done the Colonies could no longer be endured, New York was as ready to sustain, with force of arms, the position she had taken, as New England or Virginia.

In the immediate territory, however, with which this work deals, governing causes existed unfavorable to the Colonies. Sir William Johnson's influence was widely felt, as all those about him, neighbors, dependants and Indians alike, attached to his opinions great weight. Thus many were led to look with disfavor upon the cause of the Colonies, and when hostilities actually com-

menced, a considerable number of the inhabitants of Tryon county attached themselves to the King. Sir John Johnson and Colonel Guy Johnson early exercised all the influence which had come to them through Sir William, to prejudice the settlers and awaken in the Indians a feeling of animosity for the Colonists.

Meanwhile those friendly to the Colonies were busy in showing their sympathy for the cause and taking means for co-operation and mutual assistance. On the 27th of August, 1774, a large meeting of the inhabitants of the Palatine district was held, and resolutions adopted breathing a spirit of indomitable courage and independence, and approving the calling of a continental congress.

In the spring of 1775, while court was sitting at Johnstown, a paper was circulated by the loyalists of the county, avowing their opposition to the measures of the continental congress, which had met in Philadelphia the previous September. This was the cause of much altercation, but most of the grand jury and the magistrates attached their names to the paper. These persons were principally the Johnsons and their followers, the Butlers, Colonel Claus, and dependants of these men. This action immediately aroused the people of the entire county. Already they were prepared to declare boldly their principles, and those who favored the cause of the Colonies immediately held meetings and appointed committees in all the districts of the county to secure concert of action and mutual aid and protection.

At a meeting held at Caughnawaga, three hundred men were assembled to give expression to the sentiments which filled their breasts. Here Colonel Guy Johnson used his influence to induce the people to disperse, telling them of the great power and resources of the crown, and denouncing in bitterest terms those who favored the cause of the patriots. One, Jacob Sammons,

unable to restrain his feelings, called Johnson a "liar and scoundrel," and a scuffle ensued, in which Sammons was severely handled. After the loyalists retired, Sammons was carried home, "bearing on his own body the first scars of the Revolutionary contest in Tryon county." In May a similar meeting was held at Cherry Valley, and the little church wherein it was held was filled with people. "Parents took their children with them, that they might early breathe the air of freedom, and that their first lisplings might be in favor of the liberties of their country." At these meetings articles of association were adopted and very generally signed, reciting the opposition of the Colonies to the oppressive and arbitrary acts of Parliament, and approving the course of the Continental Congress, to which they pledged a hearty support and allegiance.

The Palatine committee, on the 18th of May addressed the Albany committee a letter, giving an account of matters in Tryon county, in which they wrote that the district they represented had been "foremost in avowing its attachment to liberty, and approving the method of opposition adopted in America." They were met by difficulties, however, and the committee said that "This county has for a series of years been ruled by one family, the different branches of which are still strenuous in dissuading people from coming into congressional measures, and even here, last week, at a numerous meeting of the Mohawk district, appeared with all their dependents armed to oppose the people considering of their grievances; their number being so large, and the people unarmed, struck terror into most of them, and they dispersed."

It was also said that Johnson Hall was being fortified by placing swivel guns around it, and Colonel Johnson was busily engaged in training the militia under his

command. A promise was made to watch the Indians, and the committee closed by saying that though few in numbers, the people were none the less attached to American liberty, were ready to carry into execution every recommendation of the continental congress, and were fixedly determined "to be free or die."

It soon became evident that not only the Johnsons and their dependents were hostile to the Colonies, but that there was danger of the Indians joining them. A letter was discovered signed by Joseph Brant, who was then Colonel Guy Johnson's private secretary, and by four other chiefs, addressed to the Oneidas, which read as follows:

"Written at Guy Johnson's, May, 1775.

"This is your letter, you great ones (or sachems).
 "Guy Johnson says he will be glad if you get this
 "intelligence, you Oneidas, how it goes with him now,
 "and he is now more certain concerning the intention
 "of the Boston people. Guy Johnson is in great fear of
 "being taken prisoner by the Bostonians. We Mohawks
 "are obliged to watch him constantly. Therefore we
 "send you this intelligence that you shall know it, and
 "Guy Johnson assures himself, and depends upon your
 "coming to his assistance, and that you will without
 "fail be of that opinion. He believes not that you will
 "assent to let him suffer. We therefore expect you in
 "a couple of days' time. So much at present. We send
 "but so far as to you Oneidas, but afterward perhaps to
 "all the other nations. We conclude and expect that
 "you will have concern about our ruler, Guy Johnson,
 "because we are all united."

This fear on the part of Guy Johnson that he was to be made a prisoner by the Colonists must have been wholly feigned, as there appears to have been no intention on their part to molest him at this time. It answered

his purpose, however, which was to make the Indians believe that the man to whom, because he was a Johnson, and filled the place of their life-long friend, the dead baronet, they were strongly attached, was going to be made the victim of hostile demonstrations, and thus awaken their animosity against the settlers. At the same time Johnson was busy among those in the settlements whom he could hope to influence, and in furtherance of his plans he addressed the following letter to the magistrates and leading persons in the upper districts of the county:

GUY PARK, May 20, 1775.

"GENTLEMEN:—I have lately repeated accounts that
 "a body of New Englanders, or others, were to come
 "and seize, and carry away my person, and attack our
 "family, under color of malicious insinuations that I
 "intended to set the Indians upon the people. Men of
 "sense and character know that my office is of the
 "highest importance to promote peace among the Six
 "Nations, and prevent them entering into any such
 "disputes. This I effected last year, when they were
 "much vexed about the attack on the Shawnees, and I
 "last winter appointed them to meet me this month, to
 "receive the answer of the Virginians. All men must
 "allow that if the Indians find their council fire dis-
 "turbed, and their superintendent insulted, they will
 "take a *dreadful revenge*. It is therefore the duty of all
 "the people to prevent this, and to satisfy any who may
 "have been imposed upon, that the suspicions and alle-
 "gations they have collected against me are false, and
 "inconsistent with my character and office. I recom-
 "mend this to you as highly necessary at this time,
 "as my regard for the interests of the country and
 "self-preservation has obliged me to fortify my house,

"and keep men armed for my defence, till these idle
"and malicious reports are removed."

Thus under the pretence that his own safety was threatened, he was drawing around him a large force of armed men, and preparing for an active participation in the measures of the crown to crush the revolution. Meanwhile, by intrigue and secret measures, he was endeavoring, in the face of his high-sounding professions, to incite the Indians to take up arms against the settlers, and already might have boasted of considerable success.

The Palatine committee, having secured these letters, condemned in terms of great severity Guy Johnson's course in surrounding himself with armed Indians, fortifying his house, and "stopping and searching travellers upon the King's highway." They again addressed the Albany committee, stating that Johnson was surrounded by five hundred armed men, that he had stopped all communication between Tryon and Albany counties, a blockade which they proposed to force if possible, and that he had invited the other Indians to go to his neighborhood, that he might win their support. The committee said, "We are, gentlemen, in a worse situation than any part of America is at present. We have an open enemy before our faces, and treacherous friends at our backs." The Albany committee replied by urging mild measures, and discountenanced the attempt to open communication with Albany. The municipal officers of Albany also addressed a conciliatory letter to Guy Johnson, regretting that reports prejudicial to him had been circulated, and trusting that he would "pursue the dictates of an honest heart, and study the interests, peace and welfare of his country."

He was also assured that there was not, nor had there been, any intention of taking him captive or offering him any indignity whatever, either by the people of New England or the inhabitants of Albany.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

41

The Indians met in council, in accordance with the invitation of Guy Johnson, at his home, on the 25th of May, 1775. At this council the Iroquois seem to have been represented only by the Mohawks. Delegates were also present from Albany and Tryon counties. Here only the most amicable feelings were manifested. Little Abraham, a Mohawk chief, said he "was glad to meet them and to hear the reports concerning taking Guy Johnson, their superintendent, were false. The Indians do not wish to have a quarrel with the inhabitants. During Sir William Johnson's life time, and since, we have been peaceably disposed. The Indians are alarmed on account of the reports that our powder was stopped. We get our things from the superintendent. If we lived as you do, it would not be so great a loss. If our ammunition is stopped we shall distrust you. We are pleased to hear you say you will communicate freely, and we will at all times listen to what you say in presence of our superintendent." The delegates having responded with expressions of friendship, and a promise that whenever they had business with the Indians they would apply at the council fires, and in the presence of their superintendent, the Mohawks replied, "The Indians are glad that you are not surprised we cannot spare Colonel Johnson. The love we have for the memory of Sir William Johnson, and the obligations the whole Six Nations are under to him, must make us regard and protect every branch of his family." The council broke up with apparently good feeling on both sides, and it was hoped that the amicable relations existing between the whites and the Indians might continue. But, as might be supposed, the results of the council were not such as Guy Johnson had hoped or looked for, though, still pursuing his dissembling policy, he professed to be anxious to secure the peace of the settlements. He called another

council to meet in the extreme western part of the county, and under the pretence of going to meet the Indians, he removed his family and followers to the house of Mr. Thomson, in Cosby's Manor, a little above German Flats, commencing thus a journey that was to end only in the ultimate removal of his whole retinue to Canada, there to be employed in furthering the English cause. At Cosby's Manor he replied to a letter addressed to him by the Tryon county committee, in which he made a long defence of his course, denied that he had influenced the Indians to assume a hostile attitude, and justified his action in fortifying his house and surrounding himself with armed retainers. He concluded his letter by assuring the people "of a county that he regarded," that they had nothing to apprehend from "his endeavors, but that he should always be glad to promote their true interests."

Soon after this Guy Johnson removed to Fort Stanwix, and thence to Ontario, (Oswego), followed by the Butlers and many loyalists, as well as by Brant at the head of a formidable body of Mohawks.*

From here he addressed a letter on the 8th of July, to the President of the New York congress, evincing unswerving loyalty to the King, and reiterating his denial of a purpose to harm the people of the settlements. Nevertheless he soon departed to Montreal, and making that the base of his operations, became actively engaged

* Few of the Mohawks returned to their native homes upon the banks of that river which bears their name. The graves of their ancestors were abandoned. Their council fires were extinguished. Every movement indicated the gathering of that storm so much dreaded, and which afterward burst with such desolating effects upon the inhabitants of this defenceless frontier. Those inhabitants had the satisfaction of reflecting that it was a calamity which they had not called down upon themselves, but which they had labored with all their powers to avert. They had proffered to their red brethren the Calumet of Peace though in vain.—*Annals of Tryon County.*

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

43

in enlisting the Indians in a warfare, principally against his former neighbors. Here he distributed presents to the tribes as the almoner of England, and conducted his intrigues until his influence and cunning overcame the scruples that the Indians had in breaking the pledges they had made at Albany and German Flats, and won their consent to go upon the war-path in behalf of his monarch.

On the 28th of June a conference was held with the Oneidas and Tuscaroras at German Flats. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas, had previously exerted his influence with that tribe to persuade them to observe a strict neutrality in the coming struggle. At this last conference, when both tribes were present, delegates from Albany and the inhabitants of the district met them. Here, after the addresses by the delegates, the most of the Oneidas promised to remain neutral, and this pledge they kept faithfully, although a few joined the British. They did more than this. They freely offered their services to the Americans, but these offers were kindly yet firmly declined. It is to the lasting credit of the Colonists that they thus refused to employ savage allies against their foes. Better would it have been for England had she done likewise. Many of the Oneidas, however, rendered important service as guides and in notifying the inhabitants of the scattered settlements of the approach of danger. Among these was Skenando, who earned the title of "white man's friend."

The importance of securing the alliance, or, at least, the neutrality of the Indians during the impending conflict, had meanwhile attracted the attention of the colonial congress, and that body, on the 12th of July, 1775, determined to establish three departments of Indian affairs. The Northern department included the

Six Nations and all tribes north of them. The commissioners who had charge of these departments were empowered "to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, to preserve peace and friendship, and to prevent them taking any part in the present commotion."

The commissioners for the northern department were Major-General Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, Turbot Francis, Oliver Wolcott and Volkert P. Douw, and these commissioners, with the exception of Major Hawley, who declined to serve on account of ill-health, held a treaty with the Six Nations at Albany in August, 1775. Two of the commissioners, Douw and Francis, met representatives of the tribes at German Flats on the 15th of August, there acquainted them with their purpose and authority, and invited them to a council at Albany, the "ancient place of treaties." On the 23d, the sachems and chiefs of the several tribes met at Albany, and during that and the following days until the 25th, the time was spent in the exchange of those courtesies and ceremonies which usage prescribed on such occasions. On the latter day, the council fire having been lighted, negotiations were commenced, the united colonies being represented by the colonial commissioners and by the Albany committee. The proceedings were witnessed by the leading citizens of the town. The negotiations continued until the 1st of September, in the course of which the Indians were informed of the nature of the quarrel between the Colonies and the mother country, and the desire of the Colonists for peaceable relations with the Six Nations. The *ultimatum* of the latter was finally delivered by the Mohawk sachem, Abraham, as follows:

"Now therefore attend, and apply your ears closely.
"We have fully considered this matter. The resolutions
"of the Six Nations are not to be broken or altered.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

45

When they resolve, the matter is fixed. This then is "the determination of the Six Nations, not to take any part, but as it is a family quarrel, to sit still and see you fight it out. We beg you will receive this as infallible, it being our full resolution; for we bear as much affection for the King of England's subjects on the other side of the water, as we do for you, born upon this Island. One thing more we request, which is, that you represent this in a true light to the delegates from all the colonies, and not vary, and that you observe the same regard for truth when you write to the King about these matters; for we have ears, and shall hear, if you represent anything in a wrong point of light."

At the conclusion of the treaty a few presents of small value were made to the Indians, who then departed. This ended another conference with the Iroquois and it was believed that their neutrality was assured.

During this period Sir John Johnson appears to have remained a passive spectator of the exciting events around him. Desiring, probably, to preserve and protect his vast property, he had assumed a neutral position. Soon after the departure of Colonel Guy Johnson, however, his house became the resort of the many loyalists who still remained, and he was their active leader in devising measures to thwart the Tryon county committee's efforts to preserve the peace and safety of the settlements.

The proceedings of the committee were ridiculed, their authority questioned, efforts were made to supplant them by other committees, and in various ways the loyalists engendered strife, confusion and ill-feeling. It was also discovered that Sir John Johnson was carrying on a correspondence, through the Indians, with Guy Johnson, and keeping him informed of all the movements of the Colonists, the letters being carried by the Indians concealed in the heads of their tomahawks and about

their persons. Subsequently Sir John went so far as to commence preparations for fortifying Johnson Hall, and it was reported that when this work was completed he would garrison the Hall with three hundred Indians, in addition to the large number of armed retainers with whom he was surrounded. The people were much alarmed by these movements.

Congress on the 30th of December, 1775, ordered General Schuyler to proceed to Tryon county and disarm the loyalists. In the month following he marched into the county with a detachment of troops, and accompanied by General Ten Broeck, Colonel Varick and others. General Herkimer ordered out the militia, and the combined forces repaired to the vicinity of Johnson Hall, and a correspondence was opened with the tory proprietor, which resulted in his surrendering himself a prisoner. Sir John had mustered nearly six hundred men, mostly Highlanders, all of whom were disarmed, and four pieces of artillery, together with a large quantity of ammunition, were captured. The dependants were paroled, and Sir John was sent to Fishkill, where he was liberated on parole. In the following May, dishonorably breaking his pledge, he went to Montreal, followed by a large number of his tenants. There he organized a company known as Johnson's Greens, and was during the war a leader in many predatory excursions on the border. The valuable property which he left behind was confiscated by congress and sold. In June, 1776, the council fire was lighted again at German Flats by General Schuyler, and the compact between the Six Nations and the Colonies was renewed. Here the tribes were more fully represented than they had been at the Albany treaty. The case was restated to them, the pipe of peace was smoked, and the Iroquois solemnly pledged themselves that they would take no

part in the struggle already commenced, but would maintain a strict neutrality. "The Indians returned to their homes well pleased that they could live on neutral ground, surrounded by the din of war, without being engaged in it."* This was the second general conference with all the tribes of the league, and resulted in all that the Colonists had asked for, which was simply that the Indians would remain neutral spectators of the Revolutionary struggle.

In the winter following this treaty a large number of Indians gathered at Oquago, on the Susquehanna, and the Provincial Congress ordered Colonel John Harper to visit them with a letter, to ascertain their intentions. He arrived on the 27th of February, and soon learned that the Indians were peaceably disposed, and the reports of an invasion of the settlements untrue. The Indians assured him of their regret on account of the troubles in which the country was involved, and said they would take no part against it. Brant soon after came to Oquago, and in June, 1777, he went to Unadilla with some seventy or eighty warriors, where he sent for the militia officers of the district, and informed them that he was in want of provisions, which he must have, even if he had to obtain them by force. He said their agreement with the King was a strong one, and they were not so unprincipled that they would break it. He complained also that the Mohawks who had stayed behind were imprisoned and were not at liberty to pass and repass as before. He wanted those Mohawks removed, lest, if the Western Indians should come down upon the settlements, they should suffer with the rest. The inhabitants supplied the wants of Brant and his warriors, and they soon departed, but the people friendly to the cause of the Colonies immediately removed their families and property to

* *Life of Mary Jemison.*

more secure places. News of the presence of Brant having been conveyed to General Herkimer, he went in July, to Unadilla, at the head of a force of 380 militia, where he met Brant and 130 warriors. Brant reiterated the complaints he had made before, but when asked if he would remain neutral if these things were righted, he replied that "the Indians were in concert with the King, as their fathers and grandfathers had been. The King's belts were yet lodged with them, and they could not falsify their pledge. General Herkimer and the rest had joined the Boston people against the King. The Boston people were resolute, but the King would humble them. Mr. Schuyler, or General, or what you please to call him, was very smart on the Indians at German Flats, but was not at the same time able to afford them the smallest article of clothing. The Indians had formerly made war on the white people all united ; and now they were divided, the Indians were not frightened." Colonel Cox, who accompanied General Herkimer, when he heard Brant's declaration that he should adhere to the cause of the King, imprudently remarked that if such was his determination that ended the matter. Brant took offence at this remark and spoke to his warriors, who running to their camp a mile distant raised the war-whoop, and firing several guns, immediately returned, but Brant quieted them when General Herkimer assured him he had not come to fight. The chief was insolent and threatening, however, and demanded that Mr. Stewart, (the missionary to the Mohawks), and the wife of Colonel Butler should be permitted to pass to the upper Mohawk castle. To this General Herkimer assented, but demanded that the Tories and deserters should be given up to him. Brant refused, and threatened to go to Oswego and treat with Colonel Butler. The termination of the interview was marked by a singular occur-

rence. "It was early in July, and the sun shone forth without a cloud to obscure it," when suddenly a violent storm of hail and rain came up, which drove each party to seek shelter. "Men less superstitious than many of the unlettered yeomen who, leaning upon their arms, were witnesses of the events of the day, could not have failed in after times to have looked back upon them, if not as an omen, at least as an emblem of those dreadful massacres with which the Indians and their associates afterward visited the inhabitants of this unfortunate frontier."*

At this interview Brant is said to have boasted that he had a superior force of five hundred warriors at his back, and that he could crush General Herkimer and his forces, but, said he, "we are old neighbors and friends, and I will not do it." He also said, at the conclusion of the interview, "we are old friends: I can do no less than to let you return home unmolested, although you are entirely within my power."

This interview was the last effort on the part of the Americans to prevent the Indians from engaging in the war, and soon after Brant went, as he had threatened to do, to Oswego. For some time previous the Johnsons and Butlers had been dispatching runners to all the tribes of the Six Nations, inviting them to a great council at this place, and through their constant intrigue, misrepresentation, and lavish gifts, they succeeded in inducing the Indians to attend the council. It was held in the month of July, 1777, and one authority states that the Indians were invited to "banquet on a Bostonian and drink his blood!"

All the tribes were fully represented, and the council being opened the Indians were harangued by Walter

* Annals of Tryon County.

Butler.* They were told their services were wanted to help subdue "the rebels, who had taken up arms against their good father the King, and were about to rob him of a great part of his possessions and wealth." Ample reward, it was hinted, would be made for this service. The chiefs, in reply, stated the nature of the treaty they had made the year previous with the people of the Colonies, and informed the loyalists that they could not now violate their pledges and take up the hatchet against them. The British agents continued their importunities, but they were wholly unavailing, and it was not until the avarice of the Indians was excited, that they showed any signs of yielding. The Indians were assured that the "rebels" were few in number and would be easily subdued. They had been disobedient and "richly deserved all the punishment that it was possible for white men and Indians to inflict upon them. The King, on the other hand, they declared to be rich and powerful, his rum was as plenty as the water in Lake Ontario, and his men as numerous as the sands upon the lake shore. More than this, if the Indians would lend their assistance, they should never want for money or goods. This appeal to their avarice overcame the scruples of the Indians, and with the exception of the larger portion of the Oneidas, they concluded a treaty with the British agents, in which they engaged to take up arms against the Colonists, and continue in the King's service until they were subdued. Upon the conclusion of the treaty each warrior was presented with a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a gun, a tomahawk, a scalping knife, a quantity of powder and lead, and a piece of gold. The crowning infamy of the British was the promise of a

* It has been stated by other writers that this speech was made by Sir John Johnson, but the evidence seems clear that Butler made it.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

51

bounty on every scalp which the Indians should bring in.*

The poverty of the Colonies, and the greater difficulties which they had to meet in consequence, is shown in the result of this council with the Indians. At the Albany and the German Flats conferences, the American commissioners could only appeal to the friendship of the Indians; they had comparatively nothing to give them. No coffers of gold had been placed at their disposal by the anxious settlers who had delegated to them the task of holding the Indian in check; no large stores of utensils, arms, ammunition and clothing was theirs with which to conciliate him, nor were they able to assure the warriors that the rum of the Americans was as plenty as the waters of the lake. They had much to ask, but nothing to give, and the Indians were soon able to see that the Colonists were "either very poor, or too mean to make them any gifts." The British agents did not hesitate to take advantage of this circumstance, and they repeatedly held up to the view of the Indians the pov-

* It appears by the manuscripts of General Gansevoort, quoted in Stone's *Life of Brant*, that in September, 1776, (the year preceding the above treaty), "a grand Indian council was held at Niagara Falls by Colonel John Butler, and Lieutenants Matthews, Burnit, and Kinnesley, and Ensign Butler, with the Hurons, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatamies, Mississagas, Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Delawares, Nauticokes, Squaghkies and Connoys, in the presence of Lieut.-Colonel John Caldwell, then in command at Niagara. It appears that only one Oneida sachem was present, and one Tuscarora. They adopted an address, which was unanimously signed by the chiefs attending the Congress, declaring their intention to embark in the war, and abide the result of the contest of the King with his people. They made a strong appeal to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, to quit the Bostonians, and be strong and determined to fulfill their engagements to the King. They also exhorted the Mohawks to be strong, and assured them that they, and all their western brethren, would fly to their assistance at the first call." I have been unable to discover any other evidence than this of the holding of this council. It was probably merely a conference of those who were already friendly to the English cause, and it was certainly barren of results, else the Oswego council in July, 1777, would not have been held.

erty and helplessness of the struggling Colonists. Said Guy Johnson to them, in one of his harangues, "are they (the Americans), able to give you anything more than a piece of bread and a glass of rum? Are you willing to go with them, and suffer them to make horses and oxen of you, to put you into wheel-barrows, and to bring us all into slavery?" In all their dealings with the tribes the British emissaries endeavored to impress upon the savage mind the great power and vast wealth, the mighty armies and exhaustless resources of the King, and his readiness to reward with lavish hand, all who supported his cause and aided in punishing his enemies. It was only this argument which prevailed with the Iroquois, after they had promised the Americans to remain neutral. They resisted all other pleas, but an appeal to their avarice and to their love of indulgence overcame whatever scruples they had entertained. Yet aside from this motive of self-interest, there were other causes which doubtless had a strong influence in inducing the Six Nations to pursue this course. For an hundred years they had been the recipients of English bounty, its trusted agent had proved their truest friend, and respect and gratitude exerted their influence, especially with the Mohawks. Their supplies had come from this source, "and the chain of their friendship had been brightened by constant use." It was not strange, therefore, that the persistent emissaries of the crown were able to win the allegiance of the red men, nor should our condemnation for their breach of faith toward the Americans be any severer than that of more civilized nations which have broken as sacred obligations. Indeed, justice to a fast disappearing race demands that the character of the red man should be painted in brighter colors than we have been wont to present it, and that his commendable features should receive at least passing attention. That

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

53

in his warfare he was cruel, vindictive and unrelenting, is true, yet he fought only as his wild untamed nature taught him to fight, while it may be said, with equal truth, that his most horrible acts of cruelty may find their parallel in the deeds of white men, who, engaged in the border warfare with them, were often guilty of the commission of deeds from which even the savage Indian shrunk. On the other hand the Indian warrior was faithful in his friendships, magnanimous to his foes except when exasperated, ready to forgive an injury when convinced that it was done unintentionally, and was brave, noble, devoted, and self-sacrificing in whatever cause he espoused. Had it not been for the powerful and mercenary influences which were brought to bear on the untutored savage, he might still have remained the friend of the settlers, such as he had proved himself to be during long years of peace.

But while this much can be urged in behalf of the Indians, there is no palliating circumstance to justify the action of the English government in employing them against the colonists during the Revolution. It was without a valid excuse, and has left upon the page of English history a dark spot which can never be effaced. Time can soften the memory of the wrongs committed by the savage, and its healing influence may lead to a better feeling toward him, but the government which employed him, and the agents who incited him to the commission of his dark deeds will ever remain under the ban of the shame and reproach which their course so richly deserved. It should be said, however, in justice to their memory, that there were Englishmen who could not and did not look with favor on the course of the ministers in employing savage allies, and denounced the measure in the most bitter terms. When Lord Suffolk announced in the Parliament that such measures had

been adopted, William Pitt's indignation burst forth with all the force and eloquence which have made his name immortal, and his denunciation of the wrong caused even the ministers to tremble. It was urged in defence of the course of the ministry that it was a retaliatory measure, but this was merely a pretence. At this time, it is believed, the Indians had neither been employed by the Americans nor had any plan for their employment been considered or adopted by the authorities. No suggestion, even, had been made that their help should be invoked by any one whose position or influence would lead to the belief that he spoke with authority. Campbell says "it would have argued an extreme of weakness to have provoked, by setting the example, the employment of such a foe in a war which was to be carried on in their own territory, and where, if acts of cruelty were committed, their own wives and children must necessarily be the sufferers." Even after the larger portion of the Iroquois joined the British, the repeated proffers of assistance made by the Oneidas were courteously, yet firmly refused, nor were they permitted to share in the struggle, save as guides or scouts. Nevertheless there were commanding officers, General Sullivan among the number, who could see no impropriety in employing these savage allies, and would have welcomed their aid, could it have been given.

Colonel John Butler having followed Guy Johnson to Canada, as previously stated, soon fixed his residence in the vicinity of Niagara, where he became the leader of the Tory refugees. Brant, at the same time, located at Lewiston, with nearly the entire Mohawk tribe, and this point became the headquarters from whence emanated the various predatory expeditions to the settlements of the Mohawk and Susquehanna valleys. The plans were here perfected, and then, having notified the various

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

55

forces which were expected to be engaged, they would rendezvous at some point nearer to the ill-fated settlement they expected to visit. If the valley of the Mohawk was the objective point, the bands of Tories and Indians would generally gather at Oswego. If, on the other hand, the evil eyes of the leaders were fixed on the settlements nestling in the Susquehanna valley, then the rendezvous was on the Genesee, Seneca Lake, or a branch of the Susquehanna. Oquago was a favorite meeting place for these hostile bands, and many expeditions had their inception there.

Having entered into an alliance with the British, the Iroquois were eager to prove their good faith to their new allies. An opportunity soon presented itself. An expedition from Canada under General Burgoyne, numbering some ten thousand British and Indians moved down by the old French and Indian war-path to Lake Champlain, and thence, following up his successes, to the very banks of the Hudson. Having given a grand feast to the chiefs of the Six Nations at Crown Point, a considerable number of the league were induced to join him. Meanwhile, as a part of this general movement, Colonel St. Leger had been sent by another route to lay waste the Mohawk valley. He was accompanied by Johnson and Butler, with their rangers, and Brant, at the head of the Mohawk warriors. These combined forces laid siege to Fort Stanwix (now Rome) which was defended by two New York regiments under Gansevoort and Willett. General Herkimer, hastening to their relief with a body of Tryon county militia, fell into an ambuscade near the fort, and the battle of Oriskany ensued. Colonel St. Leger, on his march from Oswego, had induced a large force of the Iroquois, stated to have been one thousand warriors, to join his ranks, not to fight, but just to sit down, smoke their pipes and look on

while he whipped the rebels. After a hotly contested fight, the British forces were driven to their camp.* Shortly after, St. Leger and his forces fled in dismay, through the alarm created by a wise stratagem employed by another American force sent to the relief of the fort.

The warfare was now fairly begun, and this chapter of our country's history is a dreary, dismal tale of murderous cruelty and desolation. As has been graphically written already, the Indians hung like a "scythe of death" on the borders of New York and Pennsylvania, and spread the terror of their names throughout the settlements. Springfield, near the head of Otsego lake, was soon laid in ashes by Brant; Cobleskill and the various settlements of the Schoharie region felt his dread presence, marked by the smouldering embers of the settlers' homes, and the ghastly forms of the slain; the whole Mohawk valley was repeatedly traversed by the predatory bands of Tory rangers and Indians, and far down into the beautiful Susquehanna valley they carried terror, desolation and death. In July, 1778, occurred the memorable massacre of Wyoming, an event which sent a thrill of horror through the colonies, and which to this day, causes a deep feeling of indignation and condemnation when its cruelties are called to mind. The inhabitants of this valley were far removed from the theatre of war, and were dwelling in fancied security when misfortune came

* Mary Jemison says, in relation to this invitation of the British commander, "Our Indians went to a man; but, contrary to their expectation, instead of smoking and looking on, they were obliged to fight for their lives; and in the end of the battle were completely beaten, with a great loss in killed and wounded. Our Indians alone had thirty-six killed, and a great number wounded. Our town exhibited a scene of real sorrow and distress, when our warriors returned, recounted their misfortunes, and stated the real loss they had sustained in the engagement. The mourning was excessive, and was expressed by the most doleful yells, shrieks and howlings, and by inimitable gesticulations." Mary Jemison's home was at Beardstown, on the Genesee; her husband, at this time was Hiokatoo, a noted Seneca warrior.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

57

upon them. Most of those fitted for service were in the continental army, only those who were either too young or too old for the army remaining at home, and the settlement was in an almost defenceless condition. Such was the spot selected by Colonel John Butler for the perpetration of deeds which have consigned his name to lasting infamy. He organized his expedition at Niagara, and passing across the Genesee country to the Chemung, moved down that stream to the Susquehanna, and thence floated down to a point about twenty miles above Wyoming. Then, almost before the inhabitants of the valley knew of the approaching danger, the foe fell upon them. They fled to their forts, but these were quickly captured, and the inhabitants were at the mercy of a savage and relentless foe. The brave men who had vainly endeavored to protect their homes were ruthlessly murdered. The tomahawk and scalping knife reeked with blood, and the savage war-whoop mingled with the shrieks and groans of the dying. The foe had no mercy. A Tory brutally tomahawked his own brother as he pleaded for life. A captive was burned in the embers of a fort, and others were subjected to torture and lingering death. The Indians carried away over two hundred scalps as ghastly trophies of their victory.

The autumn of the same year saw the horrors and cruelty of Wyoming repeated at Cherry Valley. After the massacre at the former place, Brant* hovered about the branches of the Susquehanna until autumn, when he started for Niagara to go into winter quarters. Meanwhile Colonel Butler, who had returned to Niagara with his rangers, had yielded to the importunities of his son, Captain Walter Butler, and given him command of a

* Brant always denied that he participated in the Wyoming massacre, and the weight of evidence would seem to exonerate him from any share of responsibility in it.

portion of his regiment with permission to employ the warriors under Brant. At this time Walter Butler was smarting under wrongs which he fancied had been done him by the citizens of Tryon county, who had imprisoned him in Albany early in the summer of this year. It was late in the season, but Butler determined to make an incursion into Tryon county, to avenge himself for this imprisonment. On his way east he met Brant. The latter was much displeased at being placed under Walter Butler, but yielded to his entreaties and joined the expedition. Brant had under his command at this time five hundred Indians, and Butler's rangers numbered two hundred. This time the settlers had ample warning, but placing little confidence in the rumors which reached them, were surprised by finding the foe upon them. Early in October, Mr. Dean, the Indian interpreter and agent, had written Major Robert Cochran, commanding at Fort Schuyler, the following letter: "As the Seneca chief, called the Great Tree,* who was all the summer past with General Washington, returned through Oneida, he gave our friends there the most solemn assurances, that upon his arrival in his country, he would exert his utmost influence to dispose his tribe to peace and friendship with the United States, and that should his attempts prove unsuccessful, he would immediately leave his nation, and join the Oneidas with his friends and adherents. A long time having elapsed, without hearing from the Great Tree, the Oneidas, a few days since, despatched a runner to him, desiring an account of his success. The express returned yesterday with the following intelligence, which the sachems immediately forwarded to me by three of their warriors: namely, that upon his arrival in the Seneca country, he found that whole people in arms, and the two villages,

* Big Tree. His home was at Kanaghaws, at the head of Conesus Lake.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

59

"Kanadaseago and Jennessee, where he was, crowded with their warriors, who were all collected from the remote settlements.* That upon the Great Tree's first arrival, appearances seemed to promise him success, but that a rumor being circulated that the Americans were about to invade their country, they had all flown to arms. The Great Tree was there, and determined to chastise the enemy that dared presume to think of penetrating their country. That they are to be joined by all the Indians as far as the Onondagas, a small party of which has gone to meet them; and likewise by those of the several settlements upon the branches of the Susquehanna. That the Senecas were to march the eighth, and the others the ninth instant. That the whole party were to rendezvous at Kanakals, a place situated on that branch of the Susquehanna called Tioga branch, and from thence were to proceed against the frontiers of Pennsylvania or the Jerseys; our Oneida friends rely on the authenticity of the above intelligence, and beg that it may not be neglected."

Colonel Ichabod Alden, stationed at Cherry Valley, was consequently notified on the 6th of November, 1778, of the approaching danger, but the warning was disregarded. On the morning of the 11th, under the friendly obscurity of a heavy mist, Butler and Brant led their forces into the valley, and before the inhabitants discovered their presence, they had surrounded the principal houses. "A few moments thus sufficed to turn a quiet village into a heap of ashes, and change the happy villagers into mangled corpses or miserable captives. The morning prayer was suddenly changed into the groans of the dying and the frantic yells of the ruthless savage. The father, just as his lips were teaching his loved chil-

* Undoubtedly the Indians were roused as suggested by Campbell, through the agency of Walter Butler, to serve his own ends.

dren early devotion to God, was summoned with his little ones to another and unseen world. Most of those who had escaped the first blow, were wretched prisoners, doomed to suffer in the remote wilderness the agonies of long and hopeless captivity, or perish by the most frightful tortures."

The massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley were but the enactment on a larger scale of frequently recurring events along the whole frontier. The scattered hamlets became the scenes of the ruthless desolation which the savage allies of the British carried wherever they went, and the peace and security of the settlers were constantly menaced. "The blood-curdling yell of the savage foe was ever echoing in the forest, the tomahawk and scalping knife were uplifted against the settlers, and the blood of the patriot, and of his defenceless wife and children, was drenching the soil of the fertile valleys where he had sought a home.

Such was the warfare which the English ministry had instigated, that the pet prerogatives of the crown might be sustained, and a brave band of patriots brought to submission to the oppressor's yoke.

CHAPTER III.

RETALIATORY MEASURES PROPOSED.

THE continued depredations of the Indians on the border settlements rendered imperative some decided measures to punish them, and prevent their further operations. It was long, however, before those in authority heard the urgent appeals of the settlers for protection and redress, and longer still before those appeals were answered by positive action. It was at this time the darkest hour of the Revolution. The country was wearied by long years of warfare, and needed rest. The struggle had nearly exhausted the means and the patience of the people. The army suffered terribly for the want of proper food and clothing, and the most strenuous efforts to supply these wants met with little success. Evil seemed everywhere prevalent. The continental currency had become so depreciated that farmers refused to furnish supplies to the army and take their pay in it. The soldier's pay, measured in this currency, did not suffice to provide food for his suffering family, while it was often far in arrears, and his earnest appeals that justice might be done him awoke pity in the hearts of those who could render no aid, but produced little effect on those whose official position made it their duty to care for him. Many were compelled to throw up their commissions that they might return to civil life and earn a support for themselves and families. A general feeling of apathy and indifference prevailed, and the leaders met with serious discouragements. Enlistments were few, and only high bounties would prevail on men to go into

the army. These often deserted after months of toil and privation, because their complaints were not heeded, or utterly refused to do duty until their demands were conceded. Among the army officers jealousies and discords prevailed. Precedence in authority, the claims of superiority, military renown,—these seemed the aim of many, while intrigue or open disobedience continually harrassed Washington and the noble-minded leaders who were impelled solely by patriotism. John Adams wrote in 1777, "I am wearied to death by the wrangles between military officers, high and low. They quarrel like cats and dogs." Often these intrigues worked rank injustice to noble patriots like General Schuyler and others, and harm to the country which thus lost their best services.

Meanwhile contractors grew rich by the frauds they practiced in furnishing supplies to the army, while among the people there was an alarming increase of gaming and speculation, which awakened serious apprehensions. In this trying hour Washington wrote to a friend: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war. By a faithful laborer, then, in the cause; by a man who is daily injuring his private estate without the smallest earthly advantage, not common to all in case of a favorable issue to the dispute; by one who wishes the prosperity of America most devoutly, but sees it, or thinks he sees it, on the brink of ruin; you are besought most earnestly, my dear Colonel Harrison, to exert yourself in endeavoring to rescue your country, by sending your best and ablest men to Congress. These characters must not slumber nor sleep at home in such a time of pressing danger. They must not content themselves with the enjoyment of places of honor and trust in their own State, while the common interests of America are mouldering and sinking into

irretrievable ruin." And he added in conclusion, "If I were to be called upon to draw a picture of the times and of men, from what I have seen, heard, and in part know, I should in one word say that idleness, dissipation and extravagance seem to have laid fast hold of most; speculation, speculation, and an insatiate thirst for riches have got the better of every other consideration and almost every order of men." Congress, too, shared in the general decline in morals and high purposes. The best men remained at home, and their places were supplied by those who were weaker, less patriotic, less ready for any hardship, or sacrifice which promised to aid the patriot cause, than the sturdy, honest, devoted men of '76.

Such was the condition of affairs when the repeated atrocities of the Indians on the border caused a cry for redress and protection to go up from every defenceless settlement. It is not strange that the cry was not sooner heeded, or that Congress answered only with empty resolutions and meaningless declarations.

That body was ready enough with such resolutions, but utterly failed to carry them out. On the 11th of June, 1778, Congress resolved that "an expedition be immediately undertaken," for the purpose of reducing the garrison at Detroit, and to bring to terms of peace such of the Indian nations as were contiguous to the route between Fort Pitt and Detroit. To facilitate this enterprise, another expedition was planned at the same time, to proceed from the Mohawk river to the Seneca country, "in order to chastise that insolent and revengeful nation." General Gates, or the officer commanding in the Northern department, was directed to take measures for organizing this expedition, and to appoint a suitable officer to command it. Nothing seems to have been done, however, and on the 25th of July, the Wyom-

ing massacre having sent a thrill of horror through the settlements, and renewed the demands for retaliatory measures, Congress again directed its attention to the subject, and resolved that "the expedition meditated against the Indians from the northward be forwarded with all possible despatch, and that the Board of War take the necessary steps for that purpose." General McIntosh was also directed to collect a force of 1500 men at Fort Pitt "and proceed without delay to destroy such towns of the hostile tribes of Indians as he in his discretion shall think will most effectually tend to chastise and terrify the savages, and check their ravages on the frontiers of these states." Notwithstanding these high-sounding resolutions, the measures proposed were still delayed, and on the 3d of September, 1778, it was resolved that the expedition proposed in the resolution of June 11th, "be for the present laid aside." General Washington was directed to take such measures as he deemed advisable for the protection of the frontiers, and all thoughts of an expedition against the Indians were abandoned for that year. Perhaps there was some excuse for this delay. The country was in no condition to undertake an expedition of such magnitude as the situation demanded, even if Congress were inclined to order it. With half-fed, half-clothed troops, scanty supplies, disaffected officers and an indifferent people to sustain it, such a movement would seem an impossibility, and so it would have been, had not Washington wisely adapted his plans to the condition of affairs then existing.

Realizing the condition of the country at this time, the great need of economy in public expenditures, and the husbanding of the strength and resources of the people, Washington's policy for 1779 was to remain wholly on the defensive, except with regard to such

measures as might be found necessary to hold the Indians in check. England, it was expected, would be too much occupied with affairs in Europe at this time, to push with much vigor her operations in America, and hence such a policy, which would permit the languishing and exhausted country to recuperate its wasted energies, was rendered possible. But with the Indian foe it was different. With such an enemy no merely defensive measures would suffice, but a war of devastation must be carried even into their own forest haunts, to be effective in staying their ravages. Hence the exception Washington made in forming his plans for the year, and the active, earnest efforts he made in organizing the expedition against the northern Indian tribes.

In spite of the obstacles in the way there were many who realized the importance of taking such steps as would effectually punish the Indians for their growing insolence and repeated depredations and prevent their further operations. By such, active measures were repeatedly urged on Congress. Washington, himself an experienced Indian fighter, familiar with their methods of warfare and habits of life, and knowing how they could best be punished and restrained, early favored an expedition into the very heart of the Indian country. He had little faith in the plan proposed of establishing chains of forts along the western and northwestern frontiers, and believed that the measure would result in little good. He would carry the war to their own villages, destroy their habitations and their means of subsistence, and force them either to sue for peace or fall back on their English allies for their sustenance. The English post at Niagara he also desired to reach, if possible, the possession of which aided the British authorities so materially in controlling and directing the movements of the savages.

During the enforced inactivity of the winter of 1778-79, General Washington gave this subject his earnest attention. In the previous autumn, an expedition having been ordered against Chemung, then believed to be a formidable stronghold of the Indians, Washington submitted the question of its practicability to Generals Hand, Clinton and Schuyler, that, as he wrote, "if thought practicable at this season of the year, it may be undertaken; if not, that I may stand justifiable to Congress for laying it aside." These officers, after mature deliberation, reported that the advanced season of the year would require the greatest despatch merely to march a body of troops without cannons to Chemung, so as to return before the winter set in. Even if it were possible to carry cannons, the work of gathering troops, with their clothing, blankets, pack horses and provisions, would cause such delay that the rainy season would have commenced, and the rivers and creeks be rendered impassable before the expedition could move. The judgment of these experienced military officers being against the expedition, it was finally abandoned. The Commander-in-chief did not give up all thoughts of carrying out his plans, however, and in February, 1779, was corresponding with General Hand as to the best route to follow to the Indian country. His letters show how little was known of the country occupied by the Senecas. The difficulties entailed by this ignorance, on the expedition subsequently formed, were great. In one of his letters, Washington says: "Although all thoughts of an Indian expedition are laid aside for the winter, I do not know but we may be induced to prosecute one in the spring, should circumstances demand it, and the situation of affairs on the sea-coast admit of it. I would have you therefore be making every possible inquiry, in the course of this winter, of those who are best informed

of the different routes leading to the country of the Six Nations by land and water, having particular regard to the distance and face of the country, and kind of navigation. I would not wish you to intrust any person with the true reason of making inquiry concerning routes to the Indian country. Let it seem as if intended to satisfy your own curiosity."

Again on the 21st of March, 1779, General Washington wrote to Hand as follows: "Since I wrote your honor on the 16th, I have been informed, though not in such a way that I can depend upon it, that the country between Chemung and the Seneca nation is great part of it so low and swampy that it is traversed with difficulty by even a few foot. This is a matter that should be ascertained with the utmost precision, because should we endeavor to move a body by that route to co-operate with another from the northward, and they on account of the difficulty I have mentioned, either find it impossible to proceed, or be so retarded as to fail in point of time, our whole plan would be ruined.' The country between the waters of the Susquehanna and those emptying into Lake Ontario was the territory to be the most carefully inquired about, as that was an unknown region.

On the 25th of February, 1779, Congress directed "that the representation of the circumstances of the western frontiers, communicated by a committee of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and also copies of the memorials and of the letters from the Governors of Connecticut and New York, respecting the depredations on the said frontiers, be transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, who is directed to take effective measures for the protection of the inhabitants and chastisement of the savages." It was also resolved that all volunteers under the call for this service should receive a bounty of one hundred dollars, and be entitled to continental pay and rations.

In letters to Governor Clinton and General Gates, written early in March, General Washington announced his determination to obey this order by carrying the war into the most populous country of the Six Nations, "to cut off their settlements, destroy their crops, and inflict upon them every other mischief which time and circumstances would permit." He had been busily engaged during the previous winter in informing himself as to the best route to the Indian settlements, the face of the country, and the difficulties to be overcome, as has already been shown. Differences of opinion prevailed as to the route the invading army should take. General Schuyler, probably from his greater familiarity with the Mohawk and the contiguous territory, believed the best course to be up that stream and thence westward, if possible to Niagara. The plan finally adopted was a sort of combination of two routes, or rather, the expedition was divided into two detachments, each moving over a different route for a part of the distance, and then joining forces for the principal work of the campaign. One of these divisions was to rendezvous in Pennsylvania, ascend the Susquehanna and form a junction with the division which was to come from the eastern part of New York, through the country of the Mohawk, and a junction having been effected, the united armies were to carry their devastating march into the very heart of the Indian country. The plan thus formed was carried out to the letter, except the intended attack on Fort Niagara, and the results of the campaign proved that it had been well conceived as well as well executed. The credit of this belongs in a large degree to General Washington, who took a deep personal interest in the movement and labored to secure its success. As has been said, he made it the most important military enterprise of that year, and sought by it to deal a blow which

should prove a lasting lesson to the hostile tribes of the north.

Another expedition was planned at the same time, under the command of Colonel Brodhead, from Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh). With six hundred men he left that fort August 11th, 1779, and penetrated one hundred and eighty miles into the Indian country, on the Alleghany, burning ten towns. For some unexplained reason he failed to form a junction with Sullivan, as was contemplated.

While Washington was making these preparations, however, a demand had come from another quarter for active measures against the Indians. The settlers, discouraged by their hitherto fruitless appeals to Congress, had called the attention of the New York Legislature, then sitting at Poughkeepsie, to their danger and sufferings. That body, doubtless ignorant of the action just taken by Congress, or having little confidence that the latter, which had been "content to resolve, to rescind, to postpone," would act with becoming energy, immediately took steps to redress these wrongs.

The Governor was directed to raise a force from the militia of the State and send it against the Senecas. Notice of this action was immediately transmitted to Congress, the letter of the Legislature bearing date March 13th being laid before that body April 1st, 1779.*

The Continental Congress applauded the "spirited exertions of the New York Legislature" to aid the expedition, and directed that the State's militia, raised for this purpose, should draw rations and continental pay.

* Doty, in his history of Livingston County, has fallen into an error in stating that "thus was the first step taken in the famous expedition of 1779." In fact, General Washington had appointed a commander for the expedition nearly a month before.

The campaign having been decided upon, and its general plan of operations mapped out, it became necessary for Washington, as Commander-in-chief, to select a suitable officer to command it. Accordingly, on the 6th of March, 1779, he tendered the command to General Gates, but that officer saw fit to decline it in a manner that highly displeased Washington, and drew from him some unwonted strictures. On the 14th of April following he wrote to the President of Congress: "The plan of operations for the campaign being determined, a commanding officer was to be appointed for the Indian expedition. This command, according to all present appearances, will probably be of the second, if not of the first, importance for the campaign. The officer conducting it has a flattering prospect of acquiring more credit than can be expected by any other this year, and he has the best reason to hope for success. General Lee, from his situation, was out of the question; General Schuyler (who, by the way, would have been most agreeable to me) was so uncertain of continuing in the army that I could not appoint him; General Putnam I need not mention. I therefore made the offer of it, for the appointment could no longer be delayed, to General Gates, who was next in seniority, though, perhaps, I might have avoided it, if I had been so disposed, from his being in a command by the special appointment of Congress. My letter to him on the occasion I believe you will think was conceived in very candid and polite terms, and that it merited a different answer from the one given to it." *

* The answer of General Gates thus referred to was as follows: "Last night I had the honor of your Excellency's letter. The man who undertakes the Indian service should enjoy youth and strength: requisites I do not possess. It therefore grieves me that your Excellency should offer me the only command to which I am utterly unequal. In obedience to your command, I have forwarded your letter to General Sullivan."

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

71

Washington's letter sent to General Gates was accompanied with the request that if that officer did not accept the command he would forward the letter to General Sullivan.

It read as follows :

X "Head Quarters, Middle Brook, March 6th, 1779.

"Dear Sir :

"Congress having determined upon an expedition of
"an extensive nature against the hostile tribes of the In-
"dians of the Six Nations, the command is offered to
"Major General Gates as senior officer, but should he
"decline, it is my wish it should devolve upon you.
"That no time may be lost by General Gates' non-ac-
"ceptance, I have put this Letter under cover to him, and
"have desired him to forward it to you, should that be
"his determination. Should it therefore be sent to you,
"I must request you to set out, as speedily after the rec^t
"of it, to Head Quarters, as the season is already far
"advanced. Upon your arrival, the whole plan of the
"expedition shall be communicated to you, and measures
"concerted for carrying it into execution.

"Nothing will contribute more to our success in the
"quarter where we really intend to strike, than alarming
"the enemy in a contrary one, and drawing their atten-
"tion that way. To do this, you may drop hints of an
"expedition to Canada by the way of Coos. This will
"be the more readily believed, as a thing of that kind
"was really once in agitation, and some magazines form-
"ed in consequence, which the enemy are acquainted
"with. You may also speak of the probability of a
"French fleet making its appearance, in the Spring, in
"the river St. Lawrence to co-operate with us. It will
"be a great point gained if we can, by false alarms, keep
"the force already in Canada from affording any timely
"assistance to the Savages, Refugees and those people
"against whom the blow is leveled.

"I would wish you to keep the motive of your journey
 "to Head Quarters a secret, because if it is known that
 "an officer of your rank is to take a command to the
 "Westward, it will be immediately concluded that the
 "object must be considerable.

"I am, with great Regard, Dear Sir,

"Your Most Obed^t Servt.,

"GO. WASHINGTON.

"Maj. Gen. SULLIVAN." X

The command having been declined by General Gates, was promptly accepted by General Sullivan. Upon no worthier shoulders could the honor and responsibility of the campaign have rested. Previous service in the Continental army had shown his fighting qualities and proven his earnest patriotism. Major General John Sullivan was born in Somersworth, N. H., in 1740, his father being an Irish emigrant who settled in Massachusetts about the year 1723. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was practicing law in New Hampshire, and was sent as a delegate to the first Congress in 1774. In 1775, he, with seven others, was appointed a Brigadier General, and assigned a command in the Continental Army. He superseded Arnold as commander of the forces in Canada in 1776, and in August of the same year was made a Major General. He was then transferred to Long Island, where he succeeded General Greene, and in the battle of August 27th, was taken prisoner by the British. In November he was exchanged for the English General Prescott. In 1777 he led an expedition against Staten Island, took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and in 1778 was placed in command of the troops in Rhode Island. In 1779 he was given the command of the expedition against the Indians. Soon after his return from this campaign he resigned his position in the army, and returned to New Hampshire, where he

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

73

resumed his practice, and took a leading part in public affairs. He was a member of the convention which framed the State constitution, in 1785 was in the first council, represented his State in Congress, and in 1786-87 and 1789 was President of the State. In 1789 he was appointed District Judge and died January 23d, 1795, at the age of 54 years, closing a life that had been full of activity and usefulness, of which full recognition has not yet been rendered by those who have profited by his services. Although blessed with an abundance of this world's goods when he entered the army, his affairs reached a deplorable state while he was in active service, because of their necessary neglect, and he was never able to retrieve his fortunes. He died, as he had lived for years, surrounded by numerous creditors, and even the funeral services over his remains were interrupted by creditors, who, under an infamous statute, attached the body, and held it from burial, until an old companion in arms, General Cilley, drawing his pistols, held at bay the officers of the law, while the funeral rites were performed and the remains were committed to the earth. He is described as having been a dignified, yet genial and amiable man, courteous to those about him, and commanding respect. His eyes were keen and dark, his hair curly black, his form erect, his movements full of energy and grace. His height was five feet nine inches, and a slight corpulency when in his prime gave but an added grace to his figure. General Sullivan was a man of undaunted courage, warmth of temperament and independent spirit, equalled only by his patriotic devotion to his country's cause, and his zeal in all public affairs. His free criticisms of the acts of Congress and the Board of War, in their conduct of the war, were often as indiscreet as they were outspoken, and aroused their animosity, while the vexatious jealousies and in-

trigues of his brother officers were painful and displeasing to him. He resigned his commission in the army in November, 1779, on the plea of ill-health, but his action was doubtless hastened by the evident disinclination to recognize his services or deal justly with him. It is true Congress gave him a vote of thanks for the successful termination of the Indian expedition, but, smarting under his caustic criticisms, it was as ready to censure and degrade him for his disrespect and independence.

Doubtless he was too impatient and outspoken, and may have been deserving of some measure of blame, still his faults should not have detracted from that meed of praise to which he was justly entitled. Neither should the jealousies of his companions in arms, which prompted them to ridicule his achievements, question his reports and detract from his hard-earned laurels, have had weight with the historian. Yet such has been, in great degree, the case, and the name of Sullivan occupies a lesser space in the history of our Revolutionary struggle, than those of many others whose achievements fall far short of his in magnitude and importance. Sullivan has been made the victim of the intrigues and petty jealousies of his time, and while for much of this his own indiscretion may justly be blamed, the duty is none the less incumbent on the present generation to render due homage to one who was a brave soldier, and a devoted, disinterested, self-sacrificing patriot.*

Subsequent to General Sullivan's appointment, Gen-

✕ * "A friend of Washington, Greene, Lafayette, and all the noblest statesmen and generals of the war, whose esteem for him was universally known—to whom his own attachment never wavered—he will be valued for his high integrity and steadfast faith, his loyal and generous character, his enterprise and vigor in command, his readiness to assume responsibility, his courage and coolness in emergencies, his foresight in providing for all possible contingencies of campaign or battlefield, and his calmness when results became adverse."
—*Amory's Memorial Sketch of Sullivan's Life.*

eral Washington submitted to him several maps and written accounts of the Indian country, and on the 15th of April, Sullivan wrote to his superior officer his views concerning the expedition at some length. General Schuyler, it would seem, had computed the number of unfriendly Indians in the Indian country, at about 2,000. Sullivan said: "Underrating the number of the enemy has been a prevailing error with the Americans since the commencement of the war. This is ever a source of misfortune, and has to some armies proved fatal. As in no instance it could be more dangerous than in the present intended expedition, it will be necessary to consider whether there is not a probability of the enemy being more numerous than General Schuyler's account makes them. * * * It is impossible that he should gain an accurate account of the number of Tories and French (?) volunteers who have joined the parties commanded by Butler and their other leaders.

"The number of troops to be sent by the Susquehanna should, in my opinion, be 2,500, which, when the posts for magazines, etc., are established at Augusta, Wyoming, Wyalusing, and Tioga, will be reduced to less than 2,000. The party sent by the Mohawk river should consist of 4,000, which by draughts for boatmen, provision guards, and a detachment to make a feint at Cherry Valley, will be reduced to nearly 3,000. With this force the business may be effectually done, and with such expedition as will prevent the enemy from escaping, and in the end will be attended with much less expense than a smaller party. As this expedition is intended to cut off those Indian nations, and to convince others that we have it in our power to carry the war into their own country, whenever they commence hostilities, it will be necessary that the blow should be sure and fatal, otherwise they will derive confidence from an ineffectual attempt, and become more insolent than before."

Preparations were immediately commenced for the great undertaking, General Sullivan being guided by the letter of instructions drawn up by Hamilton in accordance with Washington's directions, and signed by the Commander-in-chief. It bore date of May 31, 1779, and read as follows :

"Sir :—The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate object is their *total destruction* and devastation, and the capture of as many persons of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground, and prevent their planting more.

"The troops to be employed are Clinton, Maxwell, Poor and Hand's brigades, and the independent companies raised in the State of Pennsylvania. In Hand's brigade, I comprehend all the detached corps of continental troops now on the Susquehanna, and Spencer's regiment. Cortland's I consider as belonging to Clinton's brigade. Alden's may go to Poor's, and Butler's and the rifle corps to Maxwell's or Hand's according to circumstances. Clinton's brigade, you are informed, has been ordered to rendezvous at Canajoharie, subject to your orders, either to form a junction with the main body on the Susquehanna by way of Otsego, or to proceed up the Mokawk river and co-operate in the best manner circumstances will permit, as you judge most advisable.

"So soon as your preparations are in sufficient forwardness, you will assemble your main body at Wyoming, and proceed to Tioga, taking from that place the most direct and practicable route into the heart of the Indian settlements. You will establish such intermediate posts as you think necessary for the security of

“ your communications and convoys ; nor, need I caution
“ you, while you leave a sufficiency of men for their defence, to take care to diminish your operating forces as
“ little as possible. A fort at Tioga will be particularly
“ necessary—either a stockade fort or an entrenched
“ camp. If the latter, a block house should be erected
“ in the interior. I would recommend that some fort in
“ the centre of the Indian country, should be occupied
“ with all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions ; whence parties should be detached to lay waste
“ all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in
“ the most effectual manner, that the country may not be
“ *merely overrun*, but *destroyed*. I beg leave to suggest,
“ as general rules that ought to govern your operations,
“ to make, rather than receive, attacks, attended with as
“ much impetuosity, shouting, and noise as possible ; and
“ to make the troops act in as loose and dispersed a way
“ as is consistent with a proper degree of government,
“ concert and mutual support. It should be previously
“ impressed upon the minds of the men, wherever they
“ have an opportunity, to rush on with the war-whoop
“ and fixed bayonet. Nothing will disconcert and terrify
“ the Indians more than this. I need not urge the necessity of using every method in your power to gain intelligence of the enemy's strength, motives and designs ;
“ nor need I suggest the extraordinary degree of vigilance and caution which will be necessary to guard
“ against surprises from an adversary so secret, desultory,
“ and rapid as the Indians. If a detachment operates on
“ the Mohawk river, the commanding officer should be
“ instructed to be very watchful that no troops come
“ from Oswegatchie and Niagara to Oswego without his
“ knowledge ; and for this purpose he should keep trusty
“ spies at those three places, to advertise him instantly of
“ the movement of any party, and its force. This de-

"tachment should also endeavor to keep a constant
 "intercourse with the main body. More than common
 "care will be necessary of your arms and ammunition,
 "from the nature of the service; they should be partic-
 "ularly inspected after a rain, or the passage of any
 "deep waters. After you have very thoroughly com-
 "pleted the destruction of their settlements, if the In-
 "dians should show a disposition for peace, I would have
 "you encourage it, on condition that they will give some
 "decisive evidence of their sincerity, by delivering up
 "some of the principal instigators of their past hostilities
 "into our hands,—Butler, Brant, the most mischievous
 "of the Tories that have joined them, or any others they
 "may have in their power, that we are interested to get
 "into ours. They may possibly be engaged, by address,
 "secrecy, and stratagem, to surprise the garrison of
 "Niagara, and the shipping on the Lakes, and put them
 "into our possession. This may be demanded as a con-
 "dition of our friendship, and would be a most import-
 "ant point gained. If they can render a service of this
 "kind, you may stipulate to assist them in their distress
 "with supplies of provision, and other articles of which
 "they will stand in need, having regard, in the expecta-
 "tions you give them, to our real abilities to perform.

"I have no power at present to authorize you to con-
 "clude any treaty of peace with them; but you may
 "agree upon the terms of one, letting them know that it
 "must be fully ratified by Congress, and giving every
 "assurance that it will. I shall write to Congress on the
 "subject, and endeavor to obtain more ample and definite
 "authority. But you will not by any means listen to
 "overtures of peace before the *total destruction* of their
 "settlements is effected. It is likely enough that fear, if
 "they are unable to oppose us, will compel them to make
 "offers of peace; or policy may lead them to endeavor

“to amuse us in this way, to gain time and succor for
“more effectual opposition. Our future security will be
“in their inability to injure, in the distance to which they
“are driven, and in the terror with which the severity
“of the chastisement they will receive will impress them.
“Peace without this would be fallacious and temporary.
“New presents, and an addition of force from the ene-
“my would engage them to break on the first fair
“opportunity, and all the expense of our extensive pre-
“parations would be lost.

“When we have effectually chastened them, we may
“then listen to peace, and endeavor to draw further ad-
“vantages from their fear. But even in that case, great
“caution will be necessary to guard against the snares
“which their treachery will hold out. They must be
“explicit in their promises, give substantial pledges for
“their performance, and execute their engagements with
“decision and despatch. Hostages are the only kind of
“security to be depended on.

“Should Niagara fall into your hands in the way I
“have mentioned, you will do everything in your power
“towards preserving and maintaining it, by establishing
“a chain of posts in such manner as shall appear to you
“most safe and effectual, and tending as little to reduce
“our general force as possible. This, however, we shall
“be better able to decide as the future events of the
“campaign unfold themselves. I shall be more explicit
“on the subject hereafter.

“When you have completed the objects of your expe-
“dition, unless otherwise directed in the meantime, you
“will return to form a junction with the main army, by
“the most convenient, expeditious, and secure route, ac-
“cording to circumstances. The Mohawk river, if it
“can be done without too great risk, will perhaps be most
“eligible on several accounts. Much should depend on

"the relative position of the main army at the time, and
"it is impossible to foresee what may be the exigencies
"of the service in that quarter. This, united with other
"important reasons, makes it essential that your opera-
"tions should be as rapid, and that the expedition should
"be performed in as little time, as will be consistent with
"its success and efficacy.

"And here I cannot forbear repeating to you my
"former caution, that your troops should move as light
"and as little encumbered as possible, even from their
"first outset. The state of our magazines demands it
"as well as other considerations. If much time should
"be lost in transporting the troops and stores up the
"river, the provisions for the expedition will be con-
"sumed, and the general scarceness of our supplies will
"not permit them being replaced ; consequently the
"whole enterprise may be defeated.

"I would recommend it to you for the purpose, that
"the general officers should make an actual inspection
"of the baggage of their several brigades ; and absolutely
"reject, to be left behind at proper places, every article
"that can be dispensed with on the expedition. This is
"an extraordinary case, and requires extraordinary at-
"tention. Relying perfectly on your judgment, pru-
"dence and activity, I have the highest expectation of
"success equal to our wishes ; and I beg leave to assure
"you, that I anticipate with great pleasure, the honor
"which will redound to yourself, and the advantage to
"the common cause, from a happy termination of this
"important enterprise."

CHAPTER IV.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

THE headquarters of the main division of the army designed for the Indian expedition was established at Easton, Pa., where, on the 24th of May, 1779, General Sullivan issued a general order concerning the arrangement of his forces, and their marching order. At the very outset the movement met with a serious check, which might have proved fatal to its success, had it not been for the wise and pacific measures adopted by Washington. The Jersey brigade, which during the previous winter had been stationed at Elizabethtown, was ordered in May to march by regiments to Easton, there to join the force under Sullivan. On the eve of the march, General Maxwell wrote that the officers of the first regiment had addressed a remonstrance to the New Jersey Legislature, stating that unless in three days the complaints concerning their pay and support received attention, they were to be considered as having resigned. Still, as they said, they were willing to continue preparations for the march, and to remain in their stations until a reasonable opportunity had been given for the appointment of their successors. General Maxwell added, "This is a step they are extremely unwilling to take, but it is such as I make no doubt they will all take; nothing but necessity—their not being able to support themselves in time to come, and being loaded with debts contracted in time past, could have induced them to resign at so critical a juncture." This intelligence caused infinite concern to Washington. He took

a deep interest in the welfare of the army, and felt keenly its distress and suffering. He realized the justice of the demand which these men made, knew that they and their families were actually suffering, and that their appeals to the civil authorities for justice had been disregarded. Still he could not approve the step they had taken, while he hesitated to use his authority in adopting any harsh measures. He accordingly addressed the mutinous officers a letter in which, appealing to their patriotism and relying upon his own influence, he sought to move them from their purpose. "The patience and perseverance of the army," he wrote, "have been, under every disadvantage, such as to do them the highest honor both at home and abroad, and have inspired me with an unlimited confidence of their virtue, which has consoled me amidst every perplexity and reverse of fortune to which our affairs, in a struggle of this nature, were necessarily exposed. Now that we have made so great a progress to the attainment of the end we have in view, so that we cannot fail without a most shameful desertion of our own interests, anything like a change of conduct would imply a very unhappy change of principles, and a forgetfulness, as well of what we owe to ourselves, as to our country. Did I suppose it possible this could be the case, even in a single regiment of the army, I should be mortified and chagrined beyond expression." After a review of their action, and the probable evils that would flow from it, if persisted in, Washington made this closing appeal: "I am now to request that you will convey my sentiments to the gentlemen concerned, and endeavor to make them sensible that they are in an error. The service for which the regiment was intended will not admit of delay. It must at all events march on Monday morning, in the first place to camp, and further directions will be given when it arrives. I am sure I shall

not be mistaken in expecting a prompt and cheerful obedience." This letter did not have the desired effect, as the rebellious officers still maintained their position. In their reply to Washington they expressed regret that they had caused him pain, yet they justified their action. They said: "At length we have lost all confidence in our Legislature. Reason and experience forbid that we should have any. Few of us have private fortunes; many of us have families who already are suffering every thing that can be received from an ungrateful country. Are we then to suffer all the inconveniences, fatigues, and dangers of a military life, while our wives and our children are perishing for want of common necessities at home:—and that without the most distant prospect of reward, for our pay is now only nominal? We are sensible that your excellency cannot wish nor desire this from us."

By this time the Legislature of New Jersey was alarmed by the determined attitude of these officers, and made provision for the immediate payment of the regiment, upon which the officers withdrew their remonstrance. Thus was a serious disaster to the cause diverted by Washington's conciliatory yet firm course in dealing with these justly indignant men. The regiment immediately marched to Easton, and amply sustained the good reputation it had already won for valor and patriotism.

In the latter part of June General Sullivan moved his headquarters to Wyoming, where he remained about a month, busy with his preparations for the march. This place which had once been a prosperous village, was now but little more than a desolate waste, and the crumbling ruins, as well as the scores of bereaved widows and children which the soldiers found here, told the story of the fatal blow which the savages had struck the year before.

At this stage much embarrassment was felt by the delay in filling Sullivan's requisitions and furnishing the quotas of men promised him. The impoverished condition of the public exchequer was in some degree responsible for this, while the dishonesty and inefficiency of contractors and commissaries added to the delays and difficulties. There were other causes at work, however, which not only delayed the expedition, but seriously threatened its success. Pennsylvania had been relied upon to furnish the bulk of the supplies, as well as most of the volunteers for the independent companies. Yet from the start the people of that commonwealth failed to give the expedition their warm support and encouragement. The Quakers were opposed to any chastisement of the Indians, and advocated mild and conciliatory measures. Another party of men were offended because a New Englander had been appointed to command the expedition instead of a Pennsylvanian. Still others, who owned grants covering the Wyoming valley, which had involved them in heated controversies with the settlers of that place, whom they regarded as squatters on their lands, were rejoiced that the Indians had visited the settlement, and openly declared the fate of the settlers richly deserved. These persons discouraged the expedition, and secretly threw every obstacle in its way that it was in their power to do. Another cause contributed to the difficulties which had to be met at the outset. Congress had laid an embargo on flour, which had reduced its price. Pennsylvania, being a large exporter of this commodity, found her income seriously affected, and demanded that the embargo should be removed, backing up the demand with the assertion that she should hesitate to sell any flour to the general government until it was complied with. Not satisfied with secret opposition, these disaffected parties carried their

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

85

animosity to the very doors of Congress, and that body was disposed to censure Sullivan for the large requisitions he made, and especially for the luxuries, such as eggs, tongues, etc., for which he asked. Such requisitions were deemed unsoldier-like, and created considerable feeling against him. "When Sullivan was preparing to proceed," says Gordon, "he presented to Congress a most expensive and extravagant list of enumerated articles, in which was a large number of eggs. He made his detachment equal to 7000 rations per day. Congress was so disgusted with the great demand, and some of the specified articles, that for some time they would not order him any. The quantity of rifle powder required was more than could, on any calculation, be necessary."

The supplies, tardily and reluctantly as they were furnished, were inferior in quantity and much less than the needs of the army demanded.* When he reached Wyoming, he wrote that "of the salted meat on hand, there is not a single pound fit to be eaten." "I requested Com. Blaine," he adds, "to forward a thousand head of cattle. Some few more than two hundred arrived, and about one hundred and fifty more having arrived at Sunbury were left, being too poor to walk and many of them unable to stand." More than a third of his force were "without a shirt to their backs." His stay here

* Examples of the supplies provided and requisitions made for the army will be interesting. Before leaving Wyoming there had been furnished, of felling axes, 1,337; horse shoes, 4,285; candlesticks, 100; spades, 254; shovels, 385. Some of the requisitions for supplies show the nature of the service expected. The German Regiment, July 2d, 1779, besides wanting guns, flints, drum heads, fifes, etc., called for 325 tomahawks. On the same date General Hand's brigade wanted pack saddles, letter paper, wafers, quills, ink powders, bells and bell collars, sealing wax, etc. No call was made for scalping knives, which induces the belief that the soldiers were already provided with them, since border life had taught them to use the knife and tomahawk as deftly as the Indian did.

was lengthened into weeks by the delay in replacing the supplies which "had been spoiled through the villainy or carelessness of the commissaries." Beside this trouble with the supplies, other difficulties were encountered. Sullivan was disappointed in regard to the independent companies of Pennsylvania, the people of that Colony having failed to volunteer as they had been expected to do, and their place had to be supplied. Moses Van Campen was a quartermaster in Sullivan's army at this time, and we find in his narrative much that throws light on the incidents and difficulties of the period spent at Wyoming. His time was spent in collecting supplies for the army, purchasing of the settlers up and down the river such provisions as they had to spare. These were transported to camp in boats that plied on the river.

All these delays and disappointments were particularly annoying to Washington. He had urged despatch, but there was only irksome inactivity. Several months had now elapsed since the inception of the campaign, yet the army still lacked thorough preparation and organization, and had not moved beyond the line of the Pennsylvania settlements. Sullivan has been greatly blamed for this delay, but the responsibility rests in a large degree on the civil and military authorities who so reluctantly aided him, or threw in his pathway obstacles that must have disheartened and driven from the service a less patriotic and determined officer.

On the 24th of July a fleet of one hundred and thirty-four boats loaded with provisions of all kinds came up the river, and the preparations having been finally completed, General Sullivan, on the 31st of July, began his march to Tioga, where he was to be joined by Clinton's brigade. The distance to be traversed was eighty miles, through a rough, mountainous region, new to most of

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

87

the command, and exceedingly difficult for the army's passage. The whole route from Easton, in fact, had been through a country so broken and mountainous that the soldiers who saw it for the first time thought it would never be settled, and one of them stated in his journal that "it abounded chiefly in deer and rattlesnakes." Time has worked wonders in the valley of the Susquehanna, as elsewhere, and the once lonely wilderness teems with a busy population. When ready to march, the army was organized as follows:

Major General John Sullivan, Commander-in-Chief:

Brigadier General Edward Hand, of Pennsylvania, commanding the Light Corps, consisting of the regiments of Colonels Arnaud, Hutley, (11th Pa.,) Schott (six companies), Independent and Ranger companies, Captain Carbury's Light Horse, (afterwards dismounted,) Colonel William Butler's battalion, (4th Pa.,) which included Morgan's Rifle corps, three companies, (added after the junction with Clinton,) and Captain Franklin's Wyoming Volunteers. The German Battalion formerly connected with Butler's regiment was put on the flanking division, and replaced by two companies of light infantry from General Clinton's, one from General Maxwell's and one from General Poor's brigade. Subsequently these four companies of light infantry, the rifle corps and such riflemen as might join the army, were to be considered a separate corps, and kept in advance of the army, as General Hand should direct.

The brigade of Brigadier General Enoch Poor, of New Hampshire, consisted of Colonel Cortland's 2d New York regiment (afterward transferred to Clinton's brigade), Colonel Scammell's 3d New Hampshire (commanded at this time by Lieut. Colonel Dearborn), Colonel Cilley's 1st New Hampshire, Colonel Reed's 2d New Hampshire, and the 6th Massachusetts, commanded by

Major Whiting, (transferred from Clinton's brigade after the union of the two armies.)

The New Jersey brigade was under the command of Brigadier General William Maxwell, of that State, and consisted of Ogden's 1st New Jersey, Shreve's 2d New Jersey, Dayton's 3d New Jersey, Spencer's Independent New Jersey, Farman's regiment (united with Spencer's command June 26th, 1779), and Sheldon's Light Dragoons.

Colonel Thomas Proctor, commanded the 1st Pennsylvania regiment of artillery, which consisted of four brass 3-pounders, and two 6-pounders, two 5½ inch howitzers, and one cohorn, a small gun for throwing shells, having four short legs. It could be easily carried, and the legs permitted it to rest solidly on rough ground. From the fact that it turned over backward whenever fired, the soldiers gave it the name of "grasshopper."

A force consisting of one hundred men, with two Captains and six subalterns, was left at the Wyoming fort, under the command of Colonel Zebulon Butler.

General Sullivan's force at Wyoming has generally been estimated at 3,500 men; it was in fact much less. The total fit for duty July 22, was reported as follows: Brigadier Generals, 3; Colonels, 7; Lieut. Colonels, 6; Majors, 8; Captains, 48; Chaplains, 3; Surgeons, 10; Drum Majors, 8; Fife Majors, 3; drummers and fifers, 131; rank and file, 2,312. The full compliment of a Continental regiment was about 688 men, but in actual service they did not average 300, all told. The full force after the junction with Clinton, did not therefore much exceed, if any, 3,800 men, and after the establishment of the fort at Tioga, the total of men who marched into the Indian country must have been less than 3,500.

✱ The order of march which General Sullivan had pre-

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

89

scribed was for the light corps to march about a mile in advance of the main body, with a strong line of skirmishers in front. Strong flanking parties were to guard the right and left, and inside those lines the main body was to march, with the artillery and pack-horses in the center. Clinton's and Hand's brigades were on the right of the line, and Poor's and Maxwell's on the left. A strong rear guard, composed in part of riflemen, guarded against attack in that quarter. Specific directions were given for forming the order of battle in case of attack, and this order of march was to be adhered to wherever the nature of the country would permit. This was not often the case, however, and the line was often five or six miles long, when proceeding through the narrow valleys and crawling along the precipitous hillsides. A company of pioneers, drafted from the line, was formed to proceed in front of the artillery. They frequently rendered great service in opening a road for the passage of the guns.

The army commenced its march about one o'clock of the day named, and as it moved up the Susquehanna it presented a grand spectacle. The baggage and artillery had been placed in two hundred and fourteen boats, under the command of Colonel Proctor, which were propelled against the stream by soldiers, who used setting poles for the purpose. In addition to these, there were fourteen hundred pack-horses, bearing the supplies and provisions, which moved along the narrow pathway on the east bank of the river, in single file, forming a line several miles long. The boats arranged in regular order on the stream, presented a beautiful appearance, and as they moved forward, a salute was fired by those in the fort, and answered by the hearty cheers of the boatmen. The army, as it thus commenced its march, was visible from the mountain sides for miles, "and was

well calculated to form a powerful impression upon the minds of those lurking parties of savages which still continued to range upon the mountains."

The first day's march brought the army at four o'clock to Lackawanuck, ten miles distant. Here it was compelled to wait until after noon of the day following for the boats, which had been delayed by the difficult navigation. Two boats were lost, but fortunately most of the stores were saved. The march was resumed at three o'clock P. M. A difficult path was soon entered upon, skirting the precipitous mountain side, below which the river flowed swiftly. A detachment was sent across the mountains to guard against surprises, while the main body slowly threaded its way along the mountain side. The light corps reached Quilutimunk, a distance of seven miles from the last camp, at six o'clock in the evening, but the main body was occupied nearly all night in reaching the camp. Large quantities of baggage were dropped on the way, and many pack-horses were employed in bringing up the scattered stores. The following day, Monday, August 2d, was spent in camp at this place. On the 3d the troops marched across the mountains, passing Buttermilk Falls, and about noon descended to the river, and a mile up the stream reached Tunkhannunk, having marched twelve miles. On the 4th the army marched fourteen miles, crossing Meshoppen creek, and encamped at Blackwalnut Bottom, or Vanderlip's Plantation. The boats were again delayed, and the army did not move until nine o'clock on the morning of the 5th, when the right and left columns of the light corps were sent over the mountains, together with the baggage, while the rest of the troops followed the bank of the Susquehanna. Just before reaching Wyalusing, a small valley called Deprie's farm was reached, which was carefully recon-

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

91

noitered, as the year before Colonel Hartley was attacked here by the Indians, on his return with a small expedition from Tioga. About two o'clock P. M., Wyalusing was reached, and the army encamped, having marched about ten miles. Here Sullivan remained until the 8th, delayed by the boats and a heavy rain which set in on the night of the 6th. The army moved about ten o'clock A. M., August 8th, and when Standing Stone was reached made a short halt for refreshment. At three o'clock P. M. Wysocking was reached, and the army encamped. A small Indian encampment, seemingly occupied but a few days before, was discovered here. On account of indisposition, General Sullivan was obliged to come on in one of the boats.

The route on the 9th took the army over Break Neck Hill, where the path was not more than a foot wide, with a precipice 180 feet deep on the left. Several pack-horses and three head of cattle fell from this precipice and were killed. A march of nine and one-half miles brought the army to Shesequin, where it encamped. A small Indian village called Newtychanning, containing about thirty houses, was destroyed this day. It was near the mouth of Sugar creek, on the west side of the Susquehanna, and was burnt by a detachment from the boats, sent on shore by Colonel Proctor.

A heavy rain on the 10th kept the army in camp. The day following it moved at eight o'clock A. M., and soon reached the fording place, where the troops crossed to the west side of the Susquehanna, great precautions being taken to guard against surprise while fording the stream. Queen Esther's Plain was then entered upon, and soon the ruins of Queen Esther's Castle, destroyed the year before by Colonel Hartley, were reached. About a mile beyond this the army came to Tioga, at the confluence of the Tioga and Susquehanna rivers.

About a mile above the confluence of the streams they come closely together, the distance between them being less than two hundred yards. Below this narrow isthmus a wide flat spreads out, reaching to the point where the rivers mingle their waters. Four strong blockhouses were built on this isthmus, which were afterward connected by palisades by Colonel Shreve, who was left in command of Fort Sullivan, as it was called, while the army was invading the Indian country. The modern village of Athens now occupies this site, the academy building marking almost the identical spot where the fort stood. Just above the fort General Hand's light corps encamped, and on the flat below the main body, together with the volunteer boatmen and artillery.

In reaching the camp ground the soldiers were compelled to wade the Tioga, which was waist deep and flowed in a swift current, rendering the passage a difficult one, especially as the men were burdened with heavy packs. The long march had tested severely their powers of endurance, and several had died on the way from the effects of the heat and exhaustion, while one was accidentally drowned. As the army was to await the arrival of General Clinton, the soldiers welcomed the prospect of a few days' rest in camp.

Meanwhile the Indians had been gathering at Chemung, an Indian village on the Tioga, twelve miles from Tioga, from whence their sorties gave considerable trouble. They watched every path leading from Sullivan's camp, that they might cut off any stragglers or small parties sent out from the army. The pack-horses having wandered away to an adjacent plain, they watched for the men sent in search of them. General Sullivan determined to entrap these Indians, and for that purpose sent for Moses Van Campen, whom he directed to pro-

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

93

ceed to the plain with a few men and watch for the savages. Sullivan's plan was, for the detachment to conceal themselves, while a sentinel, posted in some tall tree, should give the signal upon the approach of the Indians. The sentinel was to be provided with a cord, having attached to it a piece of lead and a bit of paper; this he was to lower from the tree top a certain distance for a given number of the foe. Proceeding to the spot selected, Van Campen posted his sentinel, who, seating himself on a limb, prepared to keep his watch of the adjacent plain. After the lapse of an hour the men below saw the paper descend about five feet. Van Campen exclaimed: "My good fellows, we'll soon have sport; there are but five of them." The paper soon descended about five feet further. "We'll have something more to do, there are ten of them," was Van Campen's comment. The signal continued dropping, however, until it had descended fifteen feet. Then Van Campen exclaimed: "We shall now, my brave fellows, have enough of it, for we are nearly equally manned." But this comment had scarcely escaped his lips before the sentinel himself came tumbling to the ground head-foremost. He had fallen asleep, and unconsciously permitted the cord to slip through his fingers. The party returned to camp, where the incident afforded much amusement, although the poor sentry was severely injured by his fall.

On the same day, August 12th, Captain Cummings, with a detachment which included Van Campen, was detailed for a hazardous duty. General Sullivan had determined to attack the enemy at Chemung, but before doing so desired to learn their position and strength. The men chosen for this duty were well fitted for the task by reason of their knowledge of the Indian character, and their experience in border warfare. Soon

after dark the party set out, Van Campen and a companion being arrayed in Indian costume, consisting of breech-cloth, leggins, moccasins, and caps ornamented with feathers. Advancing with the utmost caution through the forest, they came to a fording place, which, to their surprise, they found unguarded. Crossing the river, they ascended a hill beyond, from which they could see the camp fires of the enemy. Moving nearer, the men waited until the savages laid down and seemed to be sleeping soundly, when Van Campen went forward, determined to have a still nearer view of his foe. With a fool-hardy boldness he went into the very midst of the savages, as they laid about their fires. Remaining only long enough to count those about one fire, and then the number of fires, he hurried away, having estimated the whole number of Indians at seven hundred. Having accomplished their mission, the detachment returned to camp, which they reached at daybreak.

General Sullivan now proceeded to put into execution his plan for driving the Indians from their stronghold. The whole army, except two regiments left to guard the camp, was ordered to be ready to march at nightfall of August 13th. Only one howitzer was taken, Colonel Proctor ingeniously constructing a light carriage on which to carry it. General Hand was ordered to gain the upper end of the town, General Poor to attack the right of it, Colonel Reid with two regiments to pass to the front of the town, while General Sullivan was to move in person to the lower end of the town, thus completely surrounding it. The march was attended with great difficulty, and Chemung was not reached until daybreak, when it was found that the enemy had not occupied the village, but had encamped a mile higher up the river, from which place they fled with such precipitation on the approach of General Hand as to leave behind many blankets and utensils. The village,

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

95

consisting of nearly forty houses, located near the present village of the same name, was burned, and about sixty acres of corn were destroyed. A small party of Indians and Tories on the opposite side of the river fired on the soldiers, killing one and wounding five others.

After a short pause, General Hand moved on up the stream, it being understood that the enemy had made a stand about two miles above their village. On approaching the spot, Van Campen, who was leading an advance party, warned his men that this was an excellent place for an ambuscade. Every eye was fixed on the hill they were about to ascend, and suddenly the bushes at the top trembled, and the muzzles of the Indians' rifles were pointed toward them "as thick as hatchel teeth." The deadly fire which immediately followed cut down sixteen brave fellows, three officers and seven privates being wounded, and six privates killed. The path ran along the brink of the river, and the men, reserving their fire, threw themselves below the bank. Scarcely had they concealed themselves before half a dozen stalwart savages rushed down the hill with gleaming knives to scalp the dead and wounded soldiers, when they took good aim, and the savages fell before their fire. General Hand then coming up, he ordered his men to fire and then to charge with the bayonet, when the enemy were completely routed.

The army then returned to Tioga, having marched about forty miles, and accomplished this work in less than twenty-four hours. In the skirmishing seven men had been killed and fifteen wounded, chiefly of Colonel Hubley's regiment. General Sullivan wrote at this time: "I am happy in assuring Congress that I think no force they can send against me after a junction is formed with General Clinton can possibly prevent my effecting the purpose of my destination."

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL CLINTON'S DIVISION.

HAVING followed thus far the incidents in the formation and march of General Sullivan's division to Tioga, we must now turn our attention to the operations of General James Clinton, who had command of the eastern division of the expedition. It will be remembered that Clinton was to organize his force in the eastern part of the state of New York, and effect a junction with Sullivan at Tioga. Before doing so, however, he took direction of a minor expedition against the Onondagas, the destruction of whose villages formed a part of the general plan of Sullivan's campaign. For this purpose he, early in April, 1779, detailed Colonel Van Schaick of the 1st New York regiment, who, with six companies of New York troops, one Pennsylvania company, one Massachusetts company, and one of rifles, amounting to about five hundred men, left Fort Schuyler on the 19th of that month, accompanied by Lieut. Colonel Willett and Major Cochran of the 3d New York regiment, for the villages of the Onondagas. General Clinton's instructions to Van Schaick were that he was to destroy the villages and fields of that tribe, and to take as many prisoners as he could, but to do this with as little bloodshed as possible. The details of this expedition are meagre, and the historian finds but little to record. The measure was successful, however, resulting in the utter destruction of the Onondaga villages, and the dispersal of the tribe. A march of three days, impeded by rainy weather, swollen streams and morasses, brought the force to the Indian villages. Desiring to

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

97

open hostilities in as many different quarters as possible simultaneously, Van Schaick divided his force into detachments, to each of which was assigned certain work.

Scattering themselves through the valley of the Onondaga creek, the detachments fell suddenly on the scattered villages and began their work of destruction. The villages, comprising in all about fifty houses, were burned, the cultivated fields destroyed, provisions wasted and cattle killed. Between twenty and thirty warriors were killed and thirty-seven taken prisoners. The dusky inhabitants fled precipitately when they saw their homes invaded and their possessions so ruthlessly destroyed, leaving behind them even their weapons. Thus were they suddenly reduced from a state of plenty and fancied security to want and destitution, yet this terrible punishment was richly merited. Professing friendship for the Americans, they had still been guilty of many depredations on the settlers, and their war parties were accountable for the torture and murder of numbers of the peaceful inhabitants about Fort Schuyler and on the border.

It is said that this expedition also had a salutary influence on the Oneidas, who although actually friendly to the Americans, deemed it best to make renewed overtures, which they did through a deputation sent to Fort Schuyler for that purpose. Colonel Van Schaick returned to Fort Schuyler after an absence of only about five and one-half days, and without the loss of a single man. The entire distance marched was 180 miles going and returning.

General James Clinton's brigade, to which the detachment engaged in the expedition just mentioned belonged, included the following regiments, viz: Colonel Peter Gansevoort's 3d New York Line; the 4th New York, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Fred Weissenfels; the 5th

New York (Independent), commanded by Colonel Lewis Dubois; the 6th Massachusetts (transferred to Poor's brigade after arriving at Tioga), and Captain Harper, with volunteers. The 2d New York was transferred from Poor's brigade to Clinton's August 23d, and the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment from Clinton's brigade to Hand's at the same time. The whole force amounted to about 1400 men. Clinton was ordered early in the spring to rendezvous at Canajoharie, where he was to be subject to the orders of General Sullivan, and either effect a junction with the latter by the way of the Susquehanna, or proceed westward through the Mohawk valley and co-operate with the main army as seemed most advisable.

In accordance with these instructions General Clinton busied himself in concentrating his troops at Canajoharie, and in gathering the supplies necessary for the expedition. Boats were provided at Schenectady, which ascended the Mohawk to Canajoharie, whence they were to be transported to the head of Otsego lake. Large quantities of stores were also sent to Fort Schuyler, to be ready in case of emergency, and every provision was made for the success of the expedition that was dictated by the prudence and experience of the commanding officer. During this time General Clinton was in constant communication with General Washington, and with his brother, Governor Clinton, both of whom were giving the enterprise every aid and encouragement within their power. Realizing the importance of the movement, and anticipating from it results of the greatest moment, they anxiously watched every step taken, and urged on the preparations with impatient zeal.

On the 3d of June, 1779, General Sullivan instructed Clinton to proceed with his preparations for effecting a

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

99

juncture with the main army, but his letter found the latter already well advanced with his arrangements. On the 16th of June General Clinton arrived at Canajoharie in person, where his troops were already gathered. He immediately commenced to open a road to the head of Otsego lake, a distance of twenty miles, over which his boats and army stores were to be transported. The work was beset with difficulties, the route being hilly and through an unbroken wilderness, but the men worked with such zeal under the inspiration of their earnest leader that but a few days elapsed before the entire force, with baggage and supplies, were at the head of the lake. The boats provided for the expedition numbered two hundred and twenty, and these had to be transported across the twenty miles of wilderness in wagons, four horses being required for each boat. Notwithstanding this, Clinton was able to notify General Sullivan on the 26th of June that one hundred and seventy-three boats had already arrived at the lake, thirty more were on the way, and the remainder would be forwarded immediately on their arrival from Schenectady. All the supplies and provisions for a three months' campaign,* had also been transported to this point, and the army was nearly ready for the advance to Tioga.

Only two incidents of importance occurred while the army was engaged in these operations. One was the arrest of two spies, Hare, a lieutenant in the British army, and Newberry, a Tory sergeant, both of whom had been residents of Tryon county, and identified with many of the border outrages. At the head of sixty warriors they were at this time preparing for a descent

* Nothing gave General Washington greater dissatisfaction than the large amount of stores and baggage which Clinton had provided, and which the Commander-in-chief regarded as a serious incumbrance. He forcibly expressed his displeasure in a letter to General Sullivan July 1st, 1779.

on Cherry Valley, Schoharie and the vicinity of Fort Schuyler, when the leaders were fortunately captured. They were tried by a court martial, and being convicted, were "hanged pursuant to the sentence of the court, and to the entire satisfaction of all the inhabitants of the county," as Clinton wrote to General Schuyler. The latter officer, in replying, said: "In executing Hare, you have rid the State of the greatest villain in it. I hope his abettors in this country will meet with a similar exaltation."

The other incident referred to was a series of conferences with the Oneidas, with reference to their joining the expedition. General Sullivan had expressed a desire that Clinton should induce as large a number of the Oneidas as possible to engage in the service. General Clinton was opposed to such a departure from the policy which had thus far been observed in the conduct of the war regarding the employment of savage allies, and much preferred that the example of the British in this particular might not be followed. Yielding, however, to Sullivan's importunities, the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the Oneida missionary, was summoned to Albany for consultation with the colonial authorities. From thence he was despatched to Sullivan's army, which he joined as a chaplain, while the task of securing the services of the Oneidas was assigned to Mr. Deane, the Indian interpreter at Fort Schuyler. His efforts met with such success that nearly every Oneida warrior and many of those Onondagas who were still friendly to the Americans, volunteered to join the expedition. Just as this arrangement had been consummated, however, and after Clinton had written to General Sullivan on the 26th of June that Deane, at the head of the warriors, would join him on the following Saturday, a circumstance occurred which changed the whole aspect of

affairs, and resulted in the loss to the Americans of the services of the entire Oneida force, with the exception of two or three of their warriors. This change was wrought by an address sent to the Oneidas by the British General Haldimand, which so filled them with alarm for the safety of their homes that they were reluctant to leave them unprotected. General Haldimand in his address recounted the wicked course of the Americans in rebelling against the King, through whose deceitful machinations they also had been led to take a different part from the rest of the Five Nations, desert the King's cause, and forget all their former engagements. He reminded them of their pledge of strict neutrality at the outbreak of the troubles, and asserted that they had not adhered to their promises, but had given aid and comfort to the enemy, and assumed an insolent and daring position toward the King's subjects and their confederates of the Five Nations who had embraced the British cause. "In consequence of this your daring and insolent behavior," Haldimand wrote, "I must insist that you declare yourselves immediately on the receipt of this my speech and message, whether you mean to persist in this your daring and insulting course." As if this demand were not enough, he accompanied it with threats of dire vengeance. "Do not imagine," he said, "that the King has hitherto treated the rebels and their adherents with so much mildness and indulgence, out of any apprehension of their strength, or getting the better. No, by no means. For you will find that in case you slight or disregard this my last offer of peace, I shall soon convince you that I have such a number of Indian allies to let loose upon you, as will instantly convince you of your folly when too late, as I have hardly been able to restrain them from falling upon you for some time past. I must therefore once more repeat to you that this is

my last and final message to you; and that you do not hesitate, or put off giving me your direct and decisive declaration of peace or war, that in case of the latter (knowing that there are still some of your nation who are friends to the King and the Five Nations), I may give them timely warning to separate themselves from you."

While negotiations with the Oneidas were in progress, Clinton was busy with his preparations for the campaign, and on the 30th of June he wrote to General Sullivan that these were completed. He had at the head of the lake his entire force, with all necessary stores and munitions of war, and two hundred and ten boats in which to transport them to the foot of the lake, and thence down the Susquehanna branch to Tioga. On the 1st of July he joined the force himself, and embarking on the clear waters of the lake, the army glided down toward the foot. Otsego lake is famous for its beautiful scenery, which was not without its charms for the soldiers at this time, although they had before them months of hardship and privation. The lake is about nine miles long and from one to three miles wide. High hills surround it, and so clear and deep is the water that it is said,

"Tall rocks and tufted knolls, their face
Could on the dark blue mirror trace."

The hand of civilization had as yet made but little trace of its presence in this spot, but, as Campbell says, "though

'Each boatman bending to his oar,
With measured sweep the burthen bore,'

they could not but gaze at times with delight on the natural beauties which surrounded them."

Before leaving the head of the lake Clinton received a letter from General Schuyler, informing him that a spy just returned from Canada brought intelligence that on

the 18th of June four hundred and fifty regular troops, one hundred Tories and thirty Indians had been despatched from Montreal to aid the Indians in the Genesee country, and that an additional force was to be sent on from Niagara, including a portion of Sir John Johnson's regiment.

Having reached the foot of Otsego lake, Clinton passed his boats through into the narrow outlet below which forms the east branch of the Susquehanna. He then caused a dam to be built across the foot of the lake, with the design of raising the water, purposing, when this was done, to tear away the dam and float his boats down the stream on the rising tide. While waiting for this rising of the waters, Mr. Deane arrived on the 5th of July, with thirty-five Oneida warriors, who came to explain why the warriors of their tribe had not joined the expedition. General Clinton held a conference with them the same day, when they delivered to him the following message:

"Brother: We suppose you imagine we have come here in order to attend you on your expedition, but we are sorry to inform you that our situation is such that it will not admit of it.

"Brother: From intelligence which we may depend upon, we have reason to believe that the Six Nations mean to embrace the opportunity of our absence in order to destroy our castles; these accounts we have by spies from among them, and we know that a considerable body of them are now collected at Cayuga for that purpose, waiting in expectation of our warriors leaving the castle to join you.

"Brother: It was our intention to join you upon your intended route, and hope that you will not think hard of it that we do not; but such is our present danger, that in case we leave our castle it must be cut off, as a large party of the enemy are waiting for that purpose.

"Brother: This is a time of danger with us. Our brethren, the Americans, have always promised us assistance for our protection whenever we stand in need of it; we therefore request that, agreeable to these promises, we may have some troops sent to our assistance in this time of great danger. Should you send a body of troops to our assistance and protection, and the enemy attack us, and we should have the fortune to beat them, we will with those troops pursue them, and join you down in their country; or if they should not make an attack upon our castle in a short time, we will march through their castles* until we join you."

To this explanation and petition for protection, Clinton replied that the present expedition was intended to chastise those nations who had broken faith with the Americans and joined the enemy. The force already gathered was quite sufficient for the purpose, and the entire plan of the campaign had been considered and forwarded by the great council of the nation. It was not desired that any great number of the Oneidas should leave their homes to join the expedition. An invitation had been given to the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras and such Onondagas as professed friendship for the Americans, to go with them, that they might have an opportunity of "evidencing their spirit and determination to partake of our fortune." "I am entirely satisfied," said Clinton, "that such only should join me as think proper. It is not for want of warriors that I have given you this invitation, but that every warrior who is a friend to these United States may have an equal opportunity of punishing the enemies of our country." He assured the warriors of his belief that the hostile tribes of the Six Nations "would find too much to do at home, to suffer any of their warriors to go abroad to do mischief."

* It should be remembered that castle, in this connection, means village.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

105

However, he told them that he would immediately command the officers at Fort Schuyler to send some troops for the protection of the Oneidas, and to afford them every assistance needed. He also told them that should they find subsequently that their villages were not in danger, and any of the warriors should join his forces, he would be glad to receive them, yet perhaps they would be as serviceable where they were as they would be with him.

In accordance with the assurances thus given, General Clinton issued an order commanding the officer in charge at Fort Schuyler to send a detachment of thirty or forty men to the Oneida castle. In consequence of this ten of the principal Oneidas returned to their homes, leaving twenty-five of their companions to accompany Clinton. Before reaching Tioga, however, all but two of these deserted. Of those remaining one was Han Yerry, a devoted friend of the Americans. Both of these warriors proved of great service, in the march through the wilderness, until they fell victims to the fury and hatred of their hostile brothers after the army reached Conesus lake.

The Oneidas, on the occasion of this interview with Clinton, informed him that about three hundred Indians and a few Tories had departed from Cayuga a few days before, for the purpose of hanging on the outskirts of his army and harrassing its march. It was not believed, however, that the foe would make any decided stand until the united forces under Sullivan should advance up the Tioga river to the fortifications on that stream, which the Indians and Tories had already begun to construct.

On the 6th of July, while still lying at the foot of Otsego lake, awaiting further orders from General Sullivan, Clinton wrote to his brother, Governor Clinton, as follows :

“ I have the pleasure to inform you that I am now at
“ this place, with two hundred and eight boats, with all
“ the stores, provisions and baggage of the army ; and
“ I am well convinced that such a quantity of each hath
“ never before been transported over so bad a road in so
“ short a time and with less accidents, so that I am now
“ in the most readiness to move down the Susquehanna,
“ whenever I receive General Sullivan's orders for that
“ purpose. I have thrown a dam across the outlet,
“ which I conceive will be of infinite importance, as it
“ has raised the lake at least two feet, by which the boats
“ may be taken down with less danger than otherwise,
“ although, from the intricate windings of the channel, I
“ expect to meet some difficulties on the way. It is un-
“ certain when I shall leave this place. I received a let-
“ ter from General Sullivan yesterday, dated at Wyo-
“ ming, July 1st, in which he informs me that he was
“ anxiously waiting the arrival of his stores from Sun-
“ bury—that he expected them daily—that it was deter-
“ mined in council that that army should proceed almost
“ as far as Tioga previous to my leaving the lake, as by
“ that means he might make a diversion in my favor, and
“ facilitate my movements down the river. This I imag-
“ ine to be in consequence of a letter which he probably
“ has received from General Washington, and one I re-
“ ceived from him dated the first instant, in which his
“ Excellency expresses his surprise at my taking so much
“ stores with me, when it was determined that all the
“ supplies of the army should come up with General
“ Sullivan, and that nothing more should come up with
“ me than was absolutely necessary for the troops until
“ the junction was formed at Tioga. However, as it was
“ General Sullivan's orders to bring what provisions I
“ could, and as his Excellency added in his letter to me
“ that it was not his intention to contravene any orders I

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

107

"may receive from General Sullivan, I ordered the whole
"to be forwarded to this place; which I have happily
"effected, and of which I do not repent, as I believe I
"shall fall short of many articles. The troops are in
"good spirits, and everything seems to promise a most
"favorable and successful campaign."

The Indians continued to hover in the vicinity of the army, and on one occasion at least, nearly effected the capture of one of the soldiers, who had incautiously wandered too far away from the camp. The foe was careful, however, to keep a safe distance, and provoked no conflict with a foe of such superior strength.

The tardiness in furnishing supplies to Sullivan's army at Wyoming held him there until the last of July, and Clinton at Otsego lake until the second week of August. To both of these officers this delay was an irksome and vexatious one. They saw valuable time slipping away, their stores fast consumed, and ample time in which to take defensive measures afforded the enemy, yet they were powerless to move. General Clinton took no pains to conceal his vexation, and his troops shared fully his impatience. At last orders were received on the 9th of August for him to move forward, and with both rank and file they were the cause of great rejoicing. The batteaux were loaded below the dam, and parties were sent forward to clear the stream of drift-wood. When all was in readiness the dam was torn away, and the boats glided swiftly down on the swollen current. The damming of the lake proved a wise measure, since it not only lessened the difficulties of navigation, but spread terror among the Indians in the vicinity. The swollen stream overflowed its banks, and the flood destroyed their growing crops. They could not account for the sudden flood in a dry season, and believed the Great Spirit had caused it, to show that he was angry with them. Nor was the

appearance of Clinton's forces, with the vast flotilla riding on the advancing tide, calculated to reassure them. They were seized with dismay, and many fled to Newtown, and afterward to the Genesee and further westward, as the advancing host under Sullivan compelled them to continue their flight.

On the route to Tioga, Clinton passed Unondilla, Canagronta, and Onoquaga, Indian villages burned by Colonel William Butler in 1778. General Sullivan having been disappointed in the independent companies expected to be furnished by Pennsylvania, Lieut. Colonel Albert Pawling, who was stationed at Warwasing, was ordered to join Clinton at Onoquaga with a force of two hundred men. Governor Clinton had designed to lead these troops in person, but at General Washington's request, Pawling was given the command, as he desired the patriotic Governor to remain at his civil post. When General Clinton arrived at Onoquaga he waited for Pawling to join him, and sent a detachment to meet the latter. As Pawling failed to appear, Clinton moved on. Two days afterward Pawling reached Onoquaga, but finding Clinton gone he returned with his troops to Warwasing, and did not join the expedition.

Three miles from Onoquaga was a small Indian village called Onequga, or Shawnianghto, which was burned by Clinton August 17th. On the same day Tuscarora, or Ingaren, near Great Bend, was also destroyed.

Meanwhile General Sullivan had despatched Poor with a strong force to meet Clinton, who, after a march of about thirty miles, surprised a large body of Indians lying in ambush at Round Hill, near the mouth of Big Choconut creek, a small stream emptying into the Susquehanna. They were here awaiting the approach of Clinton, but were completely routed by Poor's forces. Near this place was the Indian village of Choconut,

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

109

comprising fifty or sixty houses, mostly on the south side of the river, which Poor burned. A junction was now effected with Clinton near the present village of Union, Broome county, N. Y. (whence the name), and the united forces, proceeding down the river, destroyed the Indian village of Owego (near Owego) on the 20th of August.

The sudden rise of the Susquehanna was as great a surprise to the men in Sullivan's division at Tioga as it had been to the Indians along the stream. But the mystery was explained, when Clinton had neared Tioga, by his sending forward a small detachment under Lieutenant Boyd (who so soon met a tragic death) to announce his approach. Boyd arrived in camp on the 15th of August, but it was not until the 22d that Clinton's division arrived, owing to the delay caused by a long continued rain.

At noon on the 22d Clinton came in sight, and his appearance was greeted with every expression of delight. Thirteen rounds were fired by the artillery, which were answered by two three-pounders which Clinton had, the light corps was drawn up, with Colonel Proctor's band of music at the front, and while the band played and the men cheered, Clinton's division moved down past Fort Sullivan to the camp of the main army below. One brave soldier, who followed the fortunes of the army from the battle of Bunker Hill to the end of the war, quaintly writes in his diary: "We received them with great joy, and saluted them with 13 cannon fired and a tune on Col. Proctor's Band of Musick."

CHAPTER VI.

MARCH FROM TIOGA—NEWTOWN BATTLE.

THE whole force, now nearly four thousand strong, consisted of the infantry brigades of Generals Hand, Clinton, Poor and Maxwell, Proctor's artillery, a rifle corps, and a large number of volunteer boatmen. Immediate preparations were made for their onward march, but these occupied several days, and it was not until the 26th of August that they were fully completed. Some of the tents were cut up and made into sacks for the transportation of the flour on horseback; the packs and the fleet of one hundred and fifty boats were got ready, and on the 26th the signal gun was fired, and at noon the order to march was given. A force of two hundred men was left at Fort Sullivan, under the command of Colonel Shreve, with the sick and lame, the women who had come thus far with the army, and such baggage as could be spared. The two six-pounders were also left in the fort.

Such had been the long delay since the inception of this enterprise that the enemy were by this time fully informed of its design, and were not wholly unprepared to resist the army's forward march. The utmost precaution was therefore necessary, in advancing through the forest, to guard against any sudden attack of ambushed foes. The order of march decided upon was for General Hand's brigade to take the front and advance in eight columns; on the right General Poor's brigade with a flanking party of light troops; on the left General Maxwell's brigade and another strong flanking party; General Clinton's brigade in the rear; Proctor's artillery

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

III

in the center, flanked on both sides by double files of pack-horses ; in advance of all Major Parr with his rifle corps, to whom was given the order to reconnoitre all places where the enemy might be concealed before the army came up. The cattle were also placed between the columns, with the pack-horses, where they would be safe in case of an attack. The progress was necessarily slow, as the way was exceedingly difficult, especially for the ammunition wagons and heavy artillery. The first day the army made five miles and then encamped for the night. Clinton's brigade only made about three miles, and encamped nearly two miles in the rear of the main army. On the 27th the march was much impeded by the artillery and ammunition wagons, as there were a dense forest and difficult defiles through which to pass. The men were required to cut a road for much of the way, as well as to right up overturned wagons and cannons, and rescue the pack-horses, which were in danger of being swept away by the current when fording the river. Clinton's brigade was much delayed by the artillery, and it was soon felt that the command would be much better off without this heavy ordnance. On this day large quantities of corn, squashes, beans and other growing crops were destroyed. General Clinton's brigade, at the close of this day's march, was far in the rear, and consequently the march on the 28th was delayed until 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The intervening time was spent in destroying the corn and other crops in the vicinity. The main body, on the evening of the 27th, encamped at Old Chemung, an abandoned Indian town on the left bank of the Tioga (Chemung) river, three miles below the present village of Chemung. Clinton, not being able to reach this point, turned back to a small stream just east of the Narrows and encamped. On the 28th two brigades, together with the artillery,

baggage, pack-horses and cattle, forded the river twice in going only a mile, and the water being waist deep, and the current rapid, some of the baggage, flour and ammunition was lost. The march this day was only about three miles. At night the army encamped at Chemung, where the growing crops were destroyed. A small scouting party reported that about four miles above Chemung there was a large force of the enemy. A party of troops engaged in burning some houses was fired upon but received no injury. The rear of the baggage train did not cross the last ford until 10 o'clock that night, Chemung was an Indian village of about thirty houses, destroyed by Sullivan August 13th; it was located near the present village of the same name.

Up to this time the Indians had offered no determined resistance to Sullivan's progress; yet they had no thought of permitting his destroying host to invade their territory without at least one desperate effort to prevent such a calamity. As has already been stated, the work of fortifying the spot which they had chosen for a general action, had been for some time in progress. It is probable that the general plan of the fortification had been decided upon, and perhaps some of the work done, before Sullivan left Tioga. The spot chosen, five miles below the present populous city of Elmira, was admirably suited to the purpose. The fortifications were erected a mile and a half below the Indian village of Newtown, where the river makes a long bend and the level flat is nearly two miles wide.* A sharp rise of ground, or 'hogback,' extends from near the river in an easterly direction for two-thirds of a mile, when it ends abruptly just at the present wagon road which

* The battlefield is in the town of Ashland, Chemung County, on the flat about two miles north of the village of Wellsburg, and in plain view from the trains and station of the Erie Railway.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

113

crosses the flat from Wellsburg. Perhaps a third of a mile farther east is Baldwin's creek, which flows in a southerly direction and empties into the Tioga. Along the ridge just mentioned the enemy threw up breastworks, which were continued from the easterly terminus obliquely in a northeastern direction to the creek. These fortifications were so protected by the river on the enemy's right that only their front and the left flank were exposed to attack. On the left the hill rose quite abruptly to a considerable height, greatly protecting it, while farther still to the left was another range of hills which extended to the rear of the American army. On the hillside was a heavy growth of pine and low shrub-oaks. A large number of these were cut down by the enemy and planted in front of their works, so artfully that they had the appearance of being still growing, and quite effectually concealed the breastworks. The trail, which Sullivan was following, after crossing the brook opposite the oblique corner of the fortification, turned sharply toward the enemy's left, and ran along directly in front of the breastworks. Should Sullivan continue on this trail, as he was expected to do, without discovering the position of the enemy, the whole flank of his army, on coming in front of the works would be exposed to the enemy's fire. On the hills mentioned were parties of the enemy, communicating with each other by means of a scattered line, ready to fall on Sullivan's right flank and rear, as soon as his attention was engaged at the front. At the same time a small party of the enemy was on the opposite side of the river, prepared to move down and stampede the pack-horses and throw the American forces into confusion. It was evidently the intention of the enemy to so demoralize the Americans, and cut off and destroy their supplies, that the latter would be compelled to retreat to Tioga and abandon the

expedition. More than this they could not hope to do with their inferior force, and their plans would seem to indicate it to be the main object in their making a stand at this place.

Behind the formidable works described, the enemy were congregated in force. General Sullivan estimated their strength at fifteen hundred, inclusive of two hundred British troops and rangers. While these figures are probably too large, the statement of Colonel John Butler putting his force at five hundred and fifty Indians and two hundred and fifty regular British troops and rangers, was as far below the mark. Careful investigation shows that the enemy must have had at least eight hundred Indians and three hundred rangers and regular troops. Colonel Butler had with him his regiment of rangers, Sir John Johnson was there with the "Johnson Greens," McDonald commanded a force of fourteen British regulars, and Guy Johnson and Captain Walter Butler, whose revolting cruelty had already placed a lasting stigma on his name, were also present. Brant, the Mohawk chieftain, had command of the Indians. On the retreat of the enemy after the battle, they were so closely pressed that the younger Butler's commission, as well as other papers and several orderly books, fell into the hands of the Americans. Considering the importance of the engagement which followed, the fact that so many of the prominent British leaders were present, and the probability that the Indians would muster as strong a force as possible to oppose Sullivan's movements, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the enemy were eleven hundred or twelve hundred strong behind their breastworks, notwithstanding Butler's assertions to the contrary.*

* General Sullivan caused a careful examination of the fortifications to be made after the battle, with a view to determining the actual strength of the

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

115

On the morning of the 29th of August, Sullivan broke camp at 9 o'clock, and after a march of about five miles, Major James Parr, who was in advance with his rifle corps, fortunately discovered the enemy's works when within eighty rods of them. Scouting parties the night before, had heard the enemy busy at work with axes in this quarter and divined their intentions. Consequently a more careful reconnoitre was made on this day's march, and the fact that numerous small bodies of Indians were seen in advance, who seemed to invite pursuit, strengthened the belief that the main body of the enemy was near at hand. Upon approaching the breastworks some of the riflemen remarked that the trees and brush were set with too great regularity, and suspected that the enemy were there in force. Accordingly a rifleman climbed a tree when he could readily look over the breastworks and see the painted savages behind them. Many of the soldiers at the time regarded this discovery as almost accidental, so well concealed were the enemy's works, and believed it a providential interference to save the army from disaster.

Immediately on discovering the position of the enemy, General Hand formed the light corps in the forest about four hundred yards from the breastworks, and awaited the arrival of Sullivan with the main body. Meanwhile

enemy. The breastworks were found to extend fully a mile, with frequent bastions, while a house in front of the works had been converted into a fort. These were all fully manned, but by a single rank only. A scattered line extended from the breastworks to the hill assaulted by General Poor, half a mile distant. From thence another line extended to the hill on the American right. From the extent of these lines and the apparent force at each point, General Sullivan assumed that the enemy must number fifteen hundred, although the prisoners taken assured him that there were only eight hundred, all told. The number given in the text cannot be far from the truth. The prisoners admitted that all the warriors of the Senecas and six other tribes were engaged in the battle. If only half of them were so engaged, the number of Indians alone would have been at least eight hundred.

skirmishers were employed in ascertaining the position and strength of the enemy, and a lively firing was kept up with parties of the Indians, who sallied forth from their works, fired and retreated, meanwhile making the forest echo with their war-whoop, as if to create an exaggerated idea of their numbers. While the riflemen were thus engaged, the musketry became impatient lest the former should disperse the enemy and carry off all the honors. It was said that it was with difficulty the militia could be restrained by the officers until Sullivan's arrival. When General Sullivan came up he ordered the artillery to form in front of the works, and directed Poor to wheel off to the right with his brigade and gain the hill, which Sullivan correctly supposed was occupied by the savages. The artillery was to make a vigorous attack in front while Poor was thus turning the enemy's left. Poor promptly proceeded to execute these orders. He was supported by a portion of the riflemen, the right flanking divisions, and General Clinton's brigade. General Maxwell's brigade formed a reserve corps, and General Hand's brigade and the left flank covered the artillery, ready to pursue the enemy when they began to retreat. General Poor's brigade marched in columns, but being compelled to march through a swamp thickly covered with bushes, great difficulty was experienced in moving forward.

General Sullivan had supposed that Poor could reach the foot of the hill and begin the attack in that quarter in about an hour. Accordingly when an hour had elapsed after Poor's departure, Sullivan ordered the artillery to open fire, but it was some time later that Poor crossed the creek, and began the ascent of the hill. Clinton, meanwhile, had moved farther still to the right and crossed the creek a little higher up. While Poor's troops were forming, his riflemen kept up a scattering

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

117

fire. The men then advanced with fixed bayonets but without firing a shot, although the enemy maintained a steady fire on them all the way up the hill. Colonel Reed's regiment, on the left of the brigade, sustained the brunt of the attack, and its progress was thus delayed. When it was supposed that this regiment had gained the enemy's left, with the rest of the troops, a heavy fire was opened upon the enemy, which they were not able to withstand, and they slowly retreated. Reed's regiment, however, had been the special object of attack by the foe, and Colonel Dearborn, whose regiment was next to his, determined to go to his assistance. General Poor was too far away to give the necessary order, and Dearborn acted on his own responsibility. His assistance was timely, however, for he found Reed nearly surrounded by the enemy, and the gallant Colonel debating the question whether he should retreat, or charge upon a force numbering double his own, which had formed in a semi-circle about him. With his augmented forces a heavy fire was opened on the enemy, followed by a fierce charge, which caused them to retreat in great haste.

As Poor ascended the hill, the savages concentrated as much of their strength on this point as possible, for the leaders knew it was the vital point, and if lost defeat would be their fate. The fight became hotter with every step made in advance,* and the wild war-whoop of the savages, the rapid discharge of the musketry, and the roar of the artillery, awakened with an awful din the usual quiet of the primeval forest. The Indians and their Tory allies disputed bravely every inch of the ground, but they were overpowered by superior numbers, and

* A legend connected with this fight is to the effect that when the assaulting column halted for a moment, there hovered over the men, in the smoke of the conflict, the vision of a mother closely clasping her babe and shielding it from an upraised tomahawk. The sight inspired the men, who again dashed forward with such impetuosity as to immediately disperse the enemy.

were driven back step by step. Every tree, rock or other object that could afford shelter or concealment, shielded its man, and a rapid fire was kept up, but with little effect on Poor's forces, who continued to drive them back. The ground was contested at the point of the bayonet, a rare occurrence "even with militiamen, and still more rare among the undisciplined warriors of the woods." As the Indians were forced to yield they darted from one tree to another "with the agility of the panther," and from each new shelter they were driven only by the bayonet. Brant was the leading spirit and was incessant in his efforts to encourage his warriors.

Meanwhile the artillery kept up a hot fire in front, but it was borne with great spirit by the foe. It is said that Butler complained bitterly of the conduct of some of the Indians, who became badly frightened and panic-stricken in the early part of the fight by the bursting of some shells which, being thrown beyond them, they supposed came from a force of the enemy in their rear, and that they were about to be surrounded. The Indians, for the most part, however, bore the heavy cannonading with unusual fortitude and bravery. But victory was not for them. In spite of their determined opposition, Poor succeeded in gaining the flank of the enemy, and the fortunes of the day were decided. The Indians, perceiving that they were in danger of being surrounded, raised the peculiar yell which was the signal for a retreat, and abandoning their position, they precipitately fled down the narrow valley, through the Indian village of Newtown. In their haste they left not only many of their packs and arms, but also quite a number of their dead. This circumstance serves to show their haste and disorder in retreating, as they were always careful to prevent the bodies of those slain in battle from falling into the hands of the enemy.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

119

The conflict lasted about six hours, from first to last, and was contested bravely on the part of the Indians and their white allies, and with equal spirit by the American forces. The Indians were fighting now, not for the favor and bounty of the king, but for the preservation of their homes and firesides, their wives and children, and all they held most dear. Were they to fail in this struggle, they saw only devastation and ruin, sorrow and distress in store for them, and hence their desperation. Colonel Butler stated in his official report that the Indians selected this spot and persisted in making a stand here, in spite of the protestations of himself and Brant.

The fleeing enemy was pursued about two miles, and their rout rendered complete. In this pursuit the scalps of eight Indians were taken, and two prisoners, a Tory and a negro. Evidence was discovered of their having carried off a number of their killed and wounded, as their trail was marked by blood, and two canoes were found covered with blood. The bodies of fourteen* Indians were also found partially concealed by leaves. On the field of battle they left the dead bodies of eleven of their warriors. The exact loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but it must have been considerable. After Sullivan reached Catharinestown an old Cayuga squaw was discovered in the woods, who informed him "that on the night after the battle of Newtown, the enemy having fled the whole time, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women that they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded. She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connexions." In addition she assured Sullivan "that some other warriors had met Butler at that place, and desired him to return and fight again.

* One journal says nineteen.

But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer; for as they observed, 'Butler's mouth was closed.' The warriors, who were in the action, were equally averse to the proposal."*

The loss of the Americans, considering the length of the engagement, and the desperation with which it was fought, was quite small. The greatest loss was of course in Poor's brigade, which was in the thickest of the fight. The wounded in this brigade were Major Benjamin Titcomb, of the 2d New Hampshire regiment, Captain Elijah Claves, of the same regiment, Lieutenant Nathaniel McCauley, of the first New Hampshire, (who died the same night of his wounds), and twenty-nine privates; the killed were three privates. The loss in the other brigades was four wounded.†

The battle of Newtown proved the decisive engagement of the campaign, and made the further progress of the army comparatively an easy march. Had it resulted in defeat to our arms, it is difficult to measure the degree of misfortune that would have followed to the cause of the Colonies. Unless such a disaster had been promptly retrieved by Sullivan, the enemy would probably have followed up its success until the Colonial army had been driven back to its starting point, and elated by victory as well as inspired by a desire for revenge, the savage foe would have wreaked terrible vengeance on the unprotected frontiers. It might have had more serious consequences. The utter defeat of the chief military movement of that year might have so disheartened the

* Colonel Butler, of the British forces, only acknowledged the loss of "five rangers killed or taken; five Indians killed and nine wounded." This statement, however, was wide of the truth.

† Marshall gives the total loss as thirty; Stone as five or six killed and between forty and fifty wounded; while a third writer says the total loss could not have been less than seventy. The numbers in the text are based on reliable data, and are correct.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

121

Colonies, at a period when disaster was doubly dangerous, that they would have given the further prosecution of the war a feeble support or abandoned it altogether; while the British government, inspired by such success, would have put new vigor into its measures for the suppression of the revolution. Without weighing, therefore, the influence which Sullivan's campaign subsequently had in directing the march of civilization toward the rich country of Western New York, the battle of Newtown may justly be considered one of the most important engagements of the Revolutionary War, and as worthy of commemoration as Bunker Hill or Monmouth, Brandywine or Princeton.

The immediate effect of the victory at Newtown was to completely dishearten the Indians and fill them with despair. They appreciated now the power and resources of the Colonies as they had never done before; and seeing this mighty host advancing against them, they felt their utter inability to arrest its march or stay its desolating hand. Already they saw what was in store for them, for even thus early many of their houses had been ruthlessly burned, their carefully cultivated fields and growing crops destroyed, and their wives and children compelled to flee through a trackless forest to a brief security on the banks of the Genesee, whence they might soon be compelled to flee again. Yet such was the terror and despair which the success of the Americans had inspired in the savages that their leaders were unable to persuade them to again make a stand against the advancing army. At first they retreated in great disorder, fleeing precipitately through the dense forest even in the dead of night, and throwing away golden opportunities for attacking Sullivan under circumstances that would have caused him great loss, even if the enemy could not have gained any permanent advantage. They

soon recovered from this utter demoralization, but the lesson of Newtown was not to be soon forgotten, and though improving every opportunity to hinder the march of the army by stealthy blows, they sullenly yet steadily retreated before it. Thenceforth the army met with no opposition, though often the enemy was just before it. The villages were hastily deserted as Sullivan approached, and the women and children fled to the western strongholds, often in such haste that they left behind them not only their trinkets and cooking utensils, but occasionally the aged members of their families.

A notable character among the Indians, one whose name is destined long to outlive the last remnant of the Iroquois, appeared on the scene of action soon after the battle at Newtown. This was Red Jacket, afterward renowned as an orator and statesman. Between Red Jacket and Brant there existed in after years an irreconcilable animosity. The cause, Stone tells us, was Brant's jealousy of Red Jacket's growing reputation. Brant denied this, but while acknowledging the former's great intellectual powers, maintained that "he was not only destitute of principle, but an arrant coward." In support of this assertion Brant stated that, although Red Jacket at first gave the measure for resisting the approach of Sullivan his fullest approval, he lost heart after the battle at Newtown, and held frequent councils with the younger warriors and some of the more timid sachems, whom he could hope to influence, and endeavored to persuade them to sue for peace, even if obtainable only on the most ignominious and degrading terms. This intrigue greatly troubled and embarrassed Brant, and he attributed to Red Jacket much of the disgrace and misfortune of the Indians. The latter carried his plan so far as to induce the discontented warriors to send a runner privately into Sullivan's camp,

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

123

without the knowledge of the principal chiefs, advising him of the dissensions and dissatisfaction prevailing, and inviting him to send a flag of truce and proposals "calculated to increase their divisions and produce a dishonorable peace." Brant, learning of this, but fearing the consequences if the proceedings were exposed and an attempt made to forcibly suppress them, despatched two trusty warriors to waylay and kill the bearer of the flag of truce while on his way from the American camp, and to return secretly with his despatches. Stone states that this was accomplished, and all further attempts at negotiation thereby prevented.* While some doubt may reasonably be entertained of the correctness of the last statement, it is certain that many of the warriors were dissatisfied, and probably Red Jacket's eloquence had drawn around him quite a following of those who were ready to accede even to humiliating terms to save their homes and hunting grounds from hostile visitation.

After the battle of Newtown, the army encamped at sunset on the battlefield. Here the soldiers found a large number of new blankets and trinkets which the enemy had left in their precipitate retreat. The army remained encamped during the whole of the 30th of August, while large detachments destroyed the crops and houses of the Indians in the vicinity. Newtown, on the left bank of the Tioga, three and one-half miles below the present city of Elmira, and consisting of about twenty houses, was occupied by the riflemen on the night of the 29th, and destroyed on the 30th. A village comprising about thirty new houses, which ap-

* No mention of a flag of truce seems to have been made by Sullivan, and it is probable that the emissaries sent by Red Jacket never reached the American camp. They, and not a soldier from the American army, must have been the victims of Brant's decisive measures. General Washington had already peremptorily commanded Sullivan that he should not even listen to any overtures for peace from the Indians until he had "very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements."

parently had never been occupied, the site of which was on both sides of Baldwin's creek, east of the ridge, was destroyed by General Poor on the 29th, while making his flank movement. Another small town is mentioned as having been near the mouth of Baldwin's creek, the timber of which the enemy had used to construct the fortifications. Of the corn, upward of six thousand bushels were destroyed, and the work of destruction was made complete. The enemy, it may be remarked, had been living on this corn for eight days, their other supplies having been exhausted. On the evening of the 30th General Sullivan sent back to Tioga two three-pounders, the two largest howitzers, all the ammunition wagons, and the sick and wounded, in the boats which had come up the river with such stores as the pack-horses had been unable to carry. The artillery retained consisted of four brass three-pounders and one small howitzer or cohorn. All the ammunition, provisions and camp equipage were loaded on pack-horses, so that the army was less encumbered and better able to make its way through the trackless forest.

The experience of the army, even during the short time it had been beyond the bounds of civilization, had convinced General Sullivan that the work he was expected to accomplish would take a much greater length of time than was at first supposed. On making a careful calculation he was satisfied that the supply of provisions he had on hand would be inadequate to meet the wants of the army. He had no reserve supply to draw upon, however, and no additional pack-horses with which to transport it, had there been such a reserve. Under these circumstances he had but one alternative, and that was to prevail upon the soldiers, if possible, to content themselves with half the daily allowance. This would give the men each one-half pound of flour and the same quantity of beef per diem, provided there was no further

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

125

loss of the stores. At this time there were, according to the estimates of the commanding officer, twenty-two pounds of flour and sixteen pounds of beef per man; "the former liable to many deductions by rains, crossing rivers and defiles; the latter much more so from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle when suffered to range the woods at night for their support." Driven to it by this necessity, General Sullivan drew up an address to the army, setting forth the condition of the stores and the necessity of issuing short rations if the work of the expedition was to be accomplished. At the same time, improving the opportunity thus presented, he severely criticised the authorities for not furnishing sufficient supplies of provisions and pack-horses. The address being read to the soldiers, it was answered with three cheers by the whole army. "Not one dissenting voice," says Sullivan, "was heard from either officer or soldier. * * * I was, however, encouraged in the belief that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories by this truly noble and virtuous resolution of the army, for which I know not whether the public stands more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes and rendered persuasion unnecessary." The men suffered nothing, however, by this action, since the country through which they passed was abundantly supplied with fruits and vegetables, and they were able, to a certain degree, to live on the country. Hominy, made from corn found on the route, was a favorite article of food, an old camp kettle having its bottom punctured full of holes with a bayonet serving as a grater. Its use had to be discontinued for a time, on account of its effect on the health of the men, but the Indian orchards and gardens supplied substitutes both excellent and plentiful.

CHAPTER VII.

MARCH FROM NEWTOWN TO KANADESAGA.

ON THE morning of August 31st, the army broke camp about 8 o'clock, and again moved forward up the Chemung river, the right flank on the hills, and the left following closely the banks of the stream. For the former the way was mountainous and difficult, until the forks of Newtown were reached, when a low bottom was entered upon. A small Indian village called Middletown, about half way between Newtown and Kanawlohalla was destroyed. Near the junction of a small stream with the Tioga, or Chemung, a very pretty little Indian village was found, consisting of about eight houses, the name of which was Kanawlohalla. It was located on the present site of Elmira, and five miles from the place where the battle was fought. It had the appearance of having been only recently deserted, and several boats were seen moving off up the river by the advance guard of the army. The soldiers here discovered a number of feather beds in the houses, and several chests were found buried in the fields containing household utensils. The growing crops in the vicinity were destroyed. From this point Colonel Dayton with his command, the 3d New Jersey regiment, and a company of riflemen from Colonel Butler's regiment, was sent up the Chemung to destroy several large fields of corn in that quarter. He went about seven miles, and then returning a mile, encamped for the night near Big Flats. The next day he took a northwesterly course and overtook the main army at the place of encampment near Horseheads. Colonel Dayton burned a small town on the north side of the Chemung

near Big Flats, called Runonvea, on the 31st of August.

After a halt of about an hour at Kanawlohalla, the march was resumed, the route bearing off to the right from the Chemung, and after proceeding about five miles, a halt was ordered, and the army went into camp for the night, being now within thirteen and one-half miles of Catherinestown. The army was formed into a hollow square, with the horses and cattle occupying the center, thus keeping them safe from attack. The site of this camp was near Horseheads, Chemung county. Here Sullivan was compelled to order the shooting of fifty of his horses, which were unable to proceed further. Afterward the Indians arranged the heads of these animals beside the trail, and the place thus acquired its name of Horseheads.

The next day, September 1st, the army broke camp at 9 o'clock, after having been joined by Colonel Dayton and the detachment under his command, which had been sent up the Chemung, and proceeded about three miles without encountering any difficulties to impede their march. A narrow defile between a high hill and a deep marsh, was then passed, and a mile further on they found their progress impeded by a swamp nine miles long and almost impassable.

The course of the Indians and Tories in retreating so far after the battle of Newtown, from a military point of view was a grave error. On the route from Newtown to this point Sullivan had been compelled to pass through several narrow and dangerous defiles, where a mere handful of the enemy might have held him at bay and given him considerable annoyance. The streams along which he had passed, with their circuitous windings, had also increased his difficulties and dangers—one of them, the inlet of Seneca lake, which was quite deep and wide, having to be forded seven or eight times, with the men

often waist deep. A fearless and determined foe, acquainted, as the Indians must have been, with the topography of the country, would have improved the opportunity thus afforded to harass and inflict loss upon the advancing army. That the Indians did not avail themselves of this opportunity to retaliate upon their persecutors only serves to show the utter demoralization caused by their defeat at Newtown.



SULLIVAN'S ROUTE, AS TRACED ON A SOLDIER'S POWDER HORN.*

It was the desire of General Sullivan to press forward as rapidly as possible, and hence he announced his intention of passing through the swamp and reaching Catherinestown that night. To this his scouts offered the most strenuous opposition, presenting to him in forcible language the risk he ran. Sullivan was determined to make the effort, however, and throwing out strong flanking parties, and taking every other precaution possible to guard against surprise, he gave his orders for the forward march. The right flank marched over the hills the entire distance, but the rest of the army went through the swamp itself, which presented almost insur-

* This drawing was made by Lossing, from a powder horn which belonged to a soldier in Sullivan's army. Several horns were thus decorated by the soldiers, while the army was encamped at Conesus Lake.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

129

mountable obstacles to the passage of the troops. Through the center ran Catharine's creek, which, flowing northward emptied itself into Seneca Lake. Upon either side were high hills, rising often to a height of 400 to 600 feet above the bed of the stream with steep declivities frequently broken by deep ravines and gullies. The swamp itself, as has been stated, was nine miles long, and for the entire distance it was a wet, miry, treacherous morass, affording scarcely safe footing for the men, to say nothing of a roadway for the artillery and pack-horses. Some attempt was made to construct a roadway through the swamp, but it proved unsuccessful.

Such was the region through which Sullivan intended to push his way, and well might any less resolute and courageous general have shrunk from its dangers. Urging his men forward he penetrated the deepest part of the swamp, when night, which came on exceedingly dark, overtook him. The way was full of dangers; the men and pack-horses were compelled to ford the deep and swift running stream at least thirty times; groping along through the darkness, they frequently lost their way, or sank helplessly in the mire; and wearied, disheartened, scattered, in the impenetrable gloom, many a brave soldier laid down and refused to go further.

Their situation afforded the golden opportunity to the enemy. "At that time," says Gordon, "such was the steepness of the hills, the narrowness and difficulty of the defile, that twenty or thirty of the Indians might have thrown his troops into the utmost confusion." But the Indians, who were only a few miles away, roasting corn by their own camp fires, were wholly unaware of the army's approach; the route through the swamp was so difficult, and the night had come on so dark, that they did not even dream of Sullivan's pushing on

that night. While it was light all his movements had been closely watched by Indian scouts, but as the shades of evening approached they had withdrawn, under the belief that his onward progress would be stayed until the next day. The advance guard reached Catharines-town shortly after dark, where they found the fires still burning, and every appearance of the enemy's precipitate flight on their approach. The main army was still two or three miles from the town, and only reached it about midnight, through almost superhuman exertions. General Clinton, in fact, who was much fatigued before he entered the swamp, and was, moreover, assured that he would run great risk of losing his horses and cattle if he attempted its passage, did give it up finally, and his brigade, together with most of the pack-horses and cattle, spent the night in the depths of the swamp, with neither pack, baggage, nor any of the conveniences of the camp. The brigades which reached Catherinestown were obliged, just before reaching the town, to pass through a narrow and dangerous defile "so formed by nature that had it been possessed by the five and twenty Indians who were in the town roasting corn, they might have shot down, while ammunititon lasted, what Americans they pleased, when within reach of their guns and sight of their eyes, without risking their own persons." The soldiers were greatly fatigued on reaching the Indian village, and were obliged to halt all the next day to recruit.

This forced march, through a region so full of difficulties and perils, was characteristic of Sullivan, whose courage and intrepidity, impetuous zeal and restless nature, so well known in the army, admirably fitted him for this command. When the perils were over, however, and his anxiety had passed away, Sullivan felt great relief, and looking back with a shudder at the dangers

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

131

encountered, he declared emphatically that he would not make another such march, even for the honors of a command.

On the 2d of September Clinton's brigade passed the swamp, and joined the main army at Catharinestown about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. This town, sometimes called French Catharine's Town, and by the Indians Gasheoquago, or Sheoquaga, was situated on both sides of the inlet, nearly three miles from Seneca lake. The village of Havana now marks the site of this once famous Indian town. It derived its name from Catharine Montour, the queen of the Senecas. She was the reputed daughter of Count Frontenac, one of the early French governors of Canada. Her childhood days were passed amid the luxuries and refinements of the best society, but at the age of ten years she was made a prisoner by the Senecas, in one of their expeditions against the French, and adopted into their tribe. Her grace and beauty, coupled with a proud spirit and strong mind, captivated the haughty Senecas, and gave her great influence in the nation. She became the wife, when she reached womanhood, of one of the most renowned and distinguished Seneca chiefs. Accompanying him to Philadelphia on several occasions, her extraordinary beauty and easy, polished manner attracted great attention, and opened to her the most refined and luxurious homes. She had a castle on "Queen Esther's Flats," near Tioga Point, which was destroyed after the Wyoming massacre by Colonel Hartley's expedition. Catharinestown, however, was her more permanent home. Her husband was early killed in battle with some of the southern tribes, but two of her sons participated in the border warfare of the Revolution. Historians have differed widely as to the character of Catharine Montour. The earlier writers ascribed to her

a fierceness, barbarity and cruelty which it is hard to reconcile with her known refinement and grace. It is said that she often participated in the fierce border contests, and Campbell says that at the Wyoming massacre "she followed in the train of the victorious army, ransacking the heaps of the slain, and with her arms covered with gore, barbarously murdering the wounded, who in vain supplicated for their lives." Stone, however, an excellent authority, utterly discredits this statement. On the approach of Sullivan's force, "Queen Catharine" fled to Niagara, where she was treated with marked attention by the British officers. After the war she returned to Catharinestown, where she was visited in 1796 by the French King Louis Phillippe, then an exile from his native land. Schuyler county has perpetuated her name in the two towns of Montour and Catharine. The grave of one of her sons, John Montour, is still discernible on the west bank of the Genesee, opposite the village of Geneseo, near the site of the Indian village of Big Tree. Another son, dying of wounds received in a skirmish, was buried at Painted Post, and the stake set up at his grave and painted with various hieroglyphics is said to have given the name to this place. Catharinestown, containing about thirty houses, many of them excellent dwellings, was destroyed, together with many fruit trees and the growing crops of grain and vegetables. The soldiers found in a thicket near this town the old squaw mentioned in a previous chapter, who had been unable to make her escape. From her Sullivan gained much information. She told him, in addition to what has already been noted in these pages, that the Indians "kept runners on every mountain to observe the motions of our army, who reported early in the day on which we arrived that our advance was very rapid, upon which all those who had not been before sent off

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

133

fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape." Sullivan adds in his report that the squaw informed him that most of the wounded had been sent up the Tioga in canoes by Brant. "I was from many circumstances," he says, "fully convinced of the truth and sincerity of her declarations, and the more so as we had, on the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms and accoutrements thrown away in the road and in the woods on each side of it. Besides which we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who died by wounds. Those circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead on the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, was sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended."

While at Catharinestown, General Sullivan, who was disappointed that the Oneidas had not given him more assistance as guides and scouts, despatched one of those with him to the warriors of his nation, calling upon all who were friendly to the Americans to join the expedition immediately. The runner was also instructed to give his people a full account of the decisive victory won at Newtown, that they might be the more impressed by his power, and assured of his future success. The messenger proceeded on his journey, but did not rejoin the expedition until the army reached Kanadesaga, September 19th, on its return march, when he presented himself with two other Oneida warriors and a sachem, bearing a reply to General Sullivan. This message stated that on the arrival of the warrior among his people a council had been convened and his report of the American victory received with delight. In answer

to the summons sent by Sullivan, seventy of the warriors had started with him to join the army, and thirty others were to have followed the next day. Proceeding but a short distance, however, they met an Oneida warrior near the Onondaga village, who had just come from the army, and who informed them that Sullivan had already reached Kanadesaga, and had a sufficient force, his only need being a few good guides. The warriors, therefore, turned back, but sent by this delegation an address interceding in behalf of a portion of the Cayugas, who, as they asserted, had always been friendly to the Colonies. The Oneidas therefore begged Sullivan that he would not destroy the crops of these Cayugas, as the Oneidas would be compelled to support them, and the burden was already a heavy one, in caring for the destitute Onondagas. General Sullivan returned a reply in which he thanked the Oneidas for their fidelity to the American cause, but expressed his surprise that they should intercede for the Cayugas, whose course had been marked by treachery and hostility. Afterward, as will appear in the course of this narrative, the Oneidas were convinced of this fact, and were satisfied with the course pursued by General Sullivan in punishing the Cayugas.

On the 3d of September the army again took up the line of march from Catharinestown at 8 o'clock in the morning, and passing down Catharine's creek three miles, came to the head of Seneca lake. Here a detour was made to the right, and the march continued on the east side of the lake, over high but level ground, timbered chiefly with white oak. At 2 o'clock the army passed Peach Orchard,* an Indian village, on the shore of the lake, which was destroyed. After making eleven miles on this day, the army encamped in the woods, near

* Called Appletree Town in some journals of the expedition. It was located in the present town of Hector, Schuyler county.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

135

a small town of about eight houses. On the 4th the march was resumed in good season, and the army made twelve miles, when it halted and encamped in the woods on the lake shore. The Indian town of Condawhaw, on the present site of North Hector, was burned, and several cornfields and scattered houses passed on this and the previous day's march, shared the fate in store for all the possessions of the ill-fated Indians. The march on the 4th was somewhat impeded by several deep and narrow defiles, where the streams had cut their way through to the lake. On the 5th of September, after a good half day's march, the army reached Kendaia (or Kendai), at 12 o'clock.* This town, consisting of about twenty houses, "neatly built and finished," was situated about half a mile from the lake shore on land now owned by Edward Van Vliet, in the present town of Romulus. This place was known as Appletown to the early settlers. It had the appearance of being an old inhabited town. The tombs found here, especially of the warriors, were "beautifully painted boxes," built over the graves, of planks hewn from the timber. A great many apple trees were growing in the vicinity, some of them of considerable age, showing that the place had been long peopled by the Indians. At this place a white man, who had been captured at Wyoming the year before by the Indians, came into the lines, having made his escape from his captors in the confusion of their flight. He was quite overjoyed that he had escaped, and was delighted to find some of his old neighbors at Wyoming, who had accompanied the expedition as volunteers. He informed General Sullivan that the Indians were very much dejected and alarmed by their defeat at Newtown, and had left the town three days before in the greatest confusion.

* A small town on the present site of Lodi Landing, appears to have been missed by Sullivan, the trail being nearly two miles east of the lake at this point.

Some of the Tories informed him that great numbers had been killed and wounded at Newtown, and there was no safety but in flight.. Butler had endeavored to induce the Indians to make a stand at Kanadesaga, but they declined to throw away their lives in what they regarded as a vain attempt to oppose such an army. This man's testimony corroborated that of the squaw found at Catharinetown in regard to the wounded being taken up the Tioga in boats, and in other particulars, showing that she had been truthful in her statements. It was the opinion of this man that the King* of Kanadesaga was killed, as he saw him on his way down to Newtown and did not see him return. The description he gave of this chief's person and dress corresponded with that of one found on the field after the battle, which convinced Sullivan that the Indians had lost one of their most distinguished leaders. Nearly a day was spent at Kendaia in destroying the crops and fruit trees. This work of destruction being accomplished the army again moved forward, and after proceeding a distance of about three miles encamped on the edge of the lake. The land in this vicinity was timbered with white oak, and sloped gradually toward the lake.

The march was resumed on the 7th of September in good season, and the foot of Seneca lake was finally reached. Here the army crossed the outlet and passed through a narrow defile, about a mile in length, with the lake on the left and an impassable morass on the right. At sundown the northeast corner of the lake was reached, when a small settlement was found and destroyed. Beyond this a short distance was Kanadesaga, or Seneca Castle, of which much had been heard by the soldiers,

* Thus given by Sullivan. The Iroquois had no kings, however, and the person referred to must have been one of the noted chiefs, who were often called kings by the whites.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

137

and a strong desire was felt to surprise and capture it before the Indians should discover their approach. Situated on the great trail leading from Albany to Niagara, it was frequently visited not only by the Indians of neighboring villages and tribes, but by the Butlers and other Tory leaders, and often was the resting place of predatory bands on their way to or returning from the ill-fated settlements. Here Brant and Butler paused to divide the prisoners and spoils, after the Cherry Valley massacre, and doubtless many a prisoner had within its bounds experienced the most excruciating torture which savage ingenuity could devise or ferocious hatred inflict. Kanadesaga was situated on the present "Castle road," two miles west of the present flourishing village of Geneva. As Sullivan approached the town he sent one brigade to the right and another to the left, through the woods, while the main army advanced in front, intending to surround it and cut off the Indians from any means of escape. They had already fled, however, and the town was entirely deserted except by a male white child about three years old, which was found by the soldiers playing in front of one of the dwellings.* The town was found to consist of fifty houses, and in the vicinity were extensive apple and peach orchards, all of which were destroyed. In the center of the town was a stockade or fort, built by Sir William Johnson in 1756, which

* This child was evidently of Dutch parentage, and had probably been captured on the Pennsylvania border. It could speak a few Indian words. When found it was entirely naked and nearly starved. General Sullivan took a great interest in the little waif, and caused it to be placed in a panier or basket on a pack-horse, in which conveyance it accompanied the army until its return to Wyoming. Captain Machin of the engineer corps, had the little fellow christened Thomas Machin, and its nourishment was derived from an excellent cow which shared all the vicissitudes of the campaign and returned in safety to Wyoming. The child was taken to New Windsor, near Newburgh, at the end of the campaign, where it soon died of the small-pox. No clue to its identity was ever discovered.

had long been disused and had gone to ruin. The soldiers found in the houses many skins and Indian trinkets, besides a quantity of corn which the hasty flight of the Indians had caused them to abandon. Very large fields of corn and a considerable quantity of hay in stacks were found, which were burned. A member of the expedition also states that several horses and cows were found here.

On the 8th of September, while the main body were employed in destroying the crops, trees and dwellings of the Senecas at this place, a detachment of four hundred men, including the riflemen, was sent up the west side of the lake to destroy Gothseunquean, and the crops and orchards in the vicinity. It was situated on the shore of the lake, about seven miles south of Geneva. It contained twenty houses. At the same time Captain Harper and a company of volunteers made a forced march toward Cayuga lake, and destroyed Scawyace, a village situated on the north bank of the Seneca lake outlet, on the present site of Waterloo. It contained about eighteen houses. General Sullivan despatched a captain and fifty men from this point to the garrison at Tioga with the sick and lame, and such others as were unfit to continue the march.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARCH FROM KANADESAGA TO KANAGHSAWS.

THE heavy rain on the previous night prevented the army from marching until about noon of September 9th. When ready to break camp the soldiers destroyed all the "corn, beans, peas, squashes, potatoes, onions, turnips, cabbages, cucumbers, watermelons, carrots and parsnips the men, horses and cattle could not eat."* For three miles of the route on this day, the army passed through old fields which had been cultivated at an earlier day, but were then overgrown with bushes and grass. The way then lay through a swamp which seriously impeded the march for six miles, when a small stream was crossed and the army encamped in an old field near Flint creek, in Ontario county, having marched about nine miles from Kanadesaga.

Early on the morning of September 10th the army broke camp and proceeded westward. About two miles of the way was again over swampy ground, which being safely passed, other large fields formerly cultivated, were entered upon. These extended, with occasional intervening forests, for a distance of about three miles. Marching about a mile after leaving these fields, the army came to the foot of Canandaigua lake, and crossing the outlet, proceeded about half a mile further, when Kanandaigua was reached. This was an Indian village of about twenty-three houses, located on the west side and about one mile from the lake. The houses, Sullivan says, were "very elegant, mosty framed, and in general

* Moses Fellows' journal.

large.' Another officer states that the town had the appearance of having been inhabited by white people, as some of the houses had "very neat chimneys, which the Indians have not, but build a fire center, around which they gather." After destroying this place, which was reached about two o'clock, the army would have marched much further, but finding some large fields of corn in the vicinity of the town, the soldiers were ordered to destroy them. Mention is also made by a member of the expedition, of another town destroyed two or three miles from Kanandaiqua, but other officers do not speak of it. The army then encamped near the village. Previous to reaching Kanandaiqua this day, the detachment sent to destroy the village on the west side of Seneca lake, rejoined the army, having been employed nearly two days in the discharge of this duty.

Desirous of reaching the next town that day, the army marched on Saturday, September 11th, at a much earlier hour than usual. At six o'clock in the morning the whole force was moving forward. For a few miles the route lay through a swamp, thickly covered with a thicket which much impeded the march. Several high hills had also to be ascended, but all these difficulties were successfully met, and at dusk Hanneyaye was reached, after a march of about thirteen hours. Before reaching this point the summits of the hills had given the soldiers views of the wide stretch of country to the westward which they were to traverse, covered with forests of oak and hickory, with here and there a field where the wild grass grew to a remarkable height. Hanneyaye was found to be an Indian village of fifteen or twenty houses, finely situated about half a mile from the foot of Honeoye lake. The site was on the east side of the outlet, near the present village of Honeoye, in the town of Richmond, Ontario county. Surrounding

it were apple and peach orchards, and several extensive cornfields.

While at this place General Sullivan gained such information from two prisoners as determined him at all hazards to push forward to the Genesee. He was informed by them that Chinesee* was the grand capital of the Indian country, where the stores of the enemy and their broadest fields were to be found. Here all the Indians, assisted by a large force of Tories and British troops, had been engaged the preceding spring in planting the fields, that sufficient supplies might be raised to support the tribes while they were engaged in their depredations on the border. It is said that these operations were carried on under the direction of Walter Butler, who spent several months in the Genesee valley, "making his headquarters at the cabin of Mary Jemison, the White Woman. Here he was supplied with port wine by the barrel, and amused his leisure hours in fishing and hunting." This information, says Sullivan, "determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbade the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack-horses and in the passage of creeks and defiles; and twenty of the cattle had been unavoidably lost." Before proceeding, however, a post was established at Hanneyaye, where a garrison of fifty men was left, under the command of Captain Cummings, of the 2d New Jersey. He constructed a fort called Fort Cummings, using for the purpose one of the Indian houses, which was pierced with loop holes and surrounded with apple-trees arranged as abatis. Here were left all the heavy stores, two field-pieces, and all

* The name applied by Sullivan and his contemporaries to Little Beard's Town, on the west side of the Genesee.

the sick and lame, nearly two hundred and fifty in number. A large number of pack-horses were also left here, which were suffered to roam in the woods.

On the 12th of September a heavy rain delayed the march until nearly noon, although both rank and file were impatient to move. At eleven o'clock came the welcome order to advance, and relieved of the heavy stores, it was hoped that the next Indian town, Kanaghsaws, might be reached before nightfall. But the rough country through which the route lay, prevented a rapid march. The steep hills and narrow defiles broke the order of march, while the recent heavy rains made the way almost impassable for the artillery. After proceeding about five miles Hemlock lake was reached, and was forded near the mouth of the outlet by the troops, where the stream was about two feet deep and ten yards wide. A short distance west of this point the troops ascended the steep hill and gained the table-land between Hemlock and Conesus lakes. The army then proceeded in almost a direct southwest line, through the present townships of Livonia and Conesus, and at nightfall General Hand's light corps had arrived within half a mile of Kanaghsaws,* at the head of Conesus lake.

The army's progress had been so slow, however, that the light corps had left the main body far to the rear, and the original intention of encamping that night in the Indian village was reluctantly abandoned. General Hand encamped on what is now the Dr. McMillan farm, in the town of Conesus, while the main body encamped three-quarters of a mile southwest of the modern village of Conesus Center. Doty states that the spot is now embraced in a nine-acre field, forming part of the farm

* Conesus, called Gah-nyuh-sas, Adjuton and Adjusta. It was an Indian village of eighteen houses, on the east side of the inlet, a short distance from the head of Conesus lake. Captain Sunfish, an enterprising negro, was said to live here. It was also the home of Big Tree.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

143

taken up after the war by Lemuel Richardson, who was a Revolutionary soldier and a member of the expedition. Portions of the force, however, were still far in the rear. The march had been an extremely difficult one, and the several commands becoming widely separated, some detachments encamped far in the rear. The route from Hanneyaye, about which there has been some dispute, ran in nearly a direct west line from that place to the foot of Hemlock lake, and not north or south of that point, as local tradition has it. On "Short's flats," which extend north from the foot of the lake, the army destroyed large fields of corn. The trail probably followed the present wagon road leading past the Jacques House. Smaller detachments, straying out of their course, might have passed over diverging trails, but the main army followed the old Big Tree trail, which wound around the foot of Hemlock lake, and ran southwesterly to Kanaghsaws.

While the army was thus drawing nearer to the Indian villages on the Genesee, the enemy held a hasty council, and resolved once more to give Sullivan battle, that they might, if possible, prevent his total destruction of their homes. Mary Jemison says all the women and children were accordingly sent into the woods just west of Little Beard's Town, where they would be able to retreat in safety, if necessary, and then the Indians and their allies set out to meet the dreaded foe. The spot which they selected for their attack was near the head of Conesus lake.* Here the Indians, after waiting some time, rose up on the approach of the advance of Sullivan's army, but succeeded only in capturing two Oneida Indians, who were acting as guides and scouts for the Ameri-

* Mary Jemison says between Honeoye creek and the head of Conesus lake, and Colonel Stone adds, "at or near a place now called Henderson's Flats." This would be near the Indian village at the head of the lake.

cans.* While these prisoners were being taken toward Little Beard's Town, one of them was killed under the most shocking circumstances. He had been an earnest friend of the Americans during the war, and had rendered important service to the Colonies. He was one of Sullivan's trusted guides, and his zeal and faithfulness had been marked. At the beginning of the war an elder brother had sought in vain to induce him to enter the British service, and so they had separated, one to espouse the cause of the king, the other to become the faithful friend of the struggling Colonists. The elder brother was with Brant, and now the two were suddenly brought face to face by the strange vicissitudes of war. When this warrior recognized in the captive his younger brother, his eyes blazed with anger, and advancing toward him with scornful, haughty mien, he thus addressed him:

"Brother! You have merited death! The hatchet or the war-club shall finish your career! When I begged of you to follow me in the fortunes of war, you were deaf to my cries; you spurned my entreaties!

"Brother! You have merited death, and shall have

* The published accounts of this affair are conflicting and unsatisfactory. Both Stone and Mary Jemison state that the Indians fell on the advance of the Americans, and that a sharp skirmish ensued. Members of the expedition make no mention of this, but on the contrary state that no engagement was had with the Indians after leaving Newtown, until the ill-fated Boyd and his party were ambushed. Van Campen states that Sullivan was looking for an attack after leaving Hanneyaye, and kept his riflemen on the alert, so that the design of the Indians to surprise them was frustrated. He then disposes of this account of the capture of two Oneidas, by making them two guides who accompanied Boyd and were captured with him. But only one Oneida, and that Hanyerry, was with Boyd, and he was slain in the skirmish and his body left on the field, when that officer was captured. Colonel Stone makes a clear distinction between these Oneidas and Hanyerry. Weighing the conflicting accounts I am satisfied that the narrative given in the text is substantially correct. The two Oneidas were probably considerably in advance, and were cut off and captured without a struggle.

your deserts! When the rebels raised their hatchets to fight their good master, you sharpened your knife, you brightened your rifle, and led on our foes to the fields of our fathers!

"Brother! You have merited death and shall die by our hands! When those rebels had driven us from the fields of our fathers, to seek out new homes, it was you who could dare to step forth as their pilot, and conduct them even to the doors of our wigwams, to butcher our children and put us to death! No crime can be greater! But though you have merited death, and shall die on this spot, my hands shall not be stained with the blood of a brother! Who will strike?"

Instantly Little Beard, one of the most blood-thirsty of the Seneca warriors, stepped forward, his tomahawk flashed in the air, and descending, cleaved the skull of the Oneida captive, who fell dead at his feet.* The other captive was then assured by Little Beard that they were warring only against the whites, and that his life should be spared. He also told him that at the proper time he would be set at liberty. Shortly afterward, however, distrusting the good faith of Little Beard, the Oneida made his escape and gained Sullivan's lines in safety.†

* Stone says: "This was truly a shocking transaction, but not so shocking as that of the horrible fratricide before recorded at Wyoming, nor so shocking as the attempt of the brother of Colonel Frey at Oriskany. The Indian had far the most humanity, and far the highest sense of honor and duty."

† It has been stated that while the Indians were pursuing the escaping prisoner, they accidentally fell in with Boyd's party, an account of whose fate is given in the following chapter. This does not seem reasonable, and I am inclined to agree with Treat that the attack on Boyd was premeditated. Closely watched as all the movements of Sullivan's army were, it is not probable that Boyd went far beyond the lines without the knowledge of the foe. Those pursuing the Oneida very likely soon joined the party lying in ambush for Boyd's unfortunate men, and aided in the massacre which followed.

Returning to note the movements of Sullivan's army, we find the Commander-in-chief, at nightfall of the 12th of September, in his headquarters with the main body on the present Richardson farm. Hither he soon summons Lieutenant Thomas Boyd,* of Morgan's Rifle Corps, and when that young officer, who had been chosen on account of his bravery and devotion, obeys the summons, he is ordered to take three or four riflemen, the Oneida chief Hanyerry, and a guide, and proceed immediately to reconnoitre the famed Chinesee castle, on the Genesee, stories of the importance of which had been borne to Sullivan, and caused him to determine, if possible, to surprise and capture it.

Much uncertainty existed as to the precise location of the town, and doubtless Boyd's mission was to learn where it was, and the most direct route to it. General Sullivan expected to find Chinesee castle on the east side of the river, near the mouth of Canaseraga creek, where it appeared on the maps which he consulted. These maps were denounced by Sullivan as "erroneous and calculated to perplex rather than to enlighten," but they doubtless represented the position of the towns at the time they were made, the changes made by migration causing the difficulty. It is stated that as early as 1750 and as late as 1770 the great village was on the east side of the river, on the site of the pioneer village of Williamsburg, at the mouth of the Canaseraga. Here

* Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was a native of Northumberland county, Pa., where he was born in 1757. His father and only sister died before the Revolution. His mother had three sons whom she sent into the field with the injunction "never to disgrace their swords by any act of cowardice." Lieutenant William Boyd fell at Brandywine, in 1777. Thomas, the youngest son, went to Schoharie in the autumn of 1778, with Major Posey's command, consisting of three companies of Morgan's rifle corps, under Captains Pear, Simpson and Long. Lieutenant Boyd belonged to Simpson's company. He is described as having been a very sociable and agreeable young man, strongly built, and brave even to rashness.

the Guy Johnson map of 1771 located it under the name of Chenussio, and hence Sullivan, when at Conesus, believed himself within seven miles of the village. One of the greatest difficulties Sullivan had to encounter was the want of competent guides. It is said there was not a person in the whole army who had before seen the Genesee river, and Sullivan says: "We had not a single person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it at night, though they were the best I could possibly procure." No mention is made of any town at that time at the mouth of the Canaseraga, and hence it is concluded that the ancient town of Chinesee, or Chenussio, was entirely abandoned, Little Beard's Town, on the west side of the river, having taken its place.

The duty assigned to Lieutenant Boyd was one full of danger. The route lay through an unknown wilderness, swarming with the savage foe. Hence General Sullivan was very explicit with his instructions. He cautioned the young officer of the dangers to be encountered, knowing that if the latter failed to accomplish his mission, it would be because of his impetuous bravery, and not through cowardice. He was to explore the route to the Chinesee castle, ascertain the strength and disposition of the foe, and return with all possible expedition to the army. It is probable that General Sullivan expected Boyd and his little band to return before the dawn should multiply the chances of their discovery by the enemy.*

Boyd left the tent of the Commander-in-chief to enter with the greatest spirit on his dangerous mission. Proceeding through the camp, where the men were gathered about the fires preparing their supper, or entertaining

* Moses Fellows says they were ordered to return at daybreak.

each other with stories of their exciting life on the borders, he selected carefully those whom he desired to accompany him. Here, however, he departed from the strict letter of his instructions, and instead of taking only three or four riflemen, his party as finally made up consisted of twenty-six men, including Hanyerry, the faithful Oneida chieftain, and Thomas Murphy, whose daring exploits on the border had already won him renown as a bold as well as successful Indian fighter. The unfortunate Boyd, in taking so many men with him, made a fatal mistake. The number was "too few if battle were intended; too many if secrecy and celerity were prime requisites of the enterprise." It was dusk when the heroic little band, leaving their companions in the enjoyment of the comforts and safety of the camp, cheerfully and resolutely set their faces westward, and plunged into the depths of the forest, where danger lurked behind every tree and bush, and their safety depended on the slenderest cord of chance. An eloquent orator says: "The world for ages has sung the song of praise to Leonidas and his few Spartan braves who resisted the mighty hosts of Xerxes at the pass of Thermopylæ, and I ask if this little scout had a less heroic duty; a handful of men in an unknown and hitherto untraversed wilderness, in the very camp of a powerful foe, who were the more dangerous for being unseen, * * * and sure of suffering the bloodiest vengeance of savage hate."

As Boyd proceeded, the utmost caution was observed, yet, realizing the value of time, the march was pushed as rapidly as possible. Crossing the Conesus outlet, the little band went north along the base of the hill about a third of a mile, then, turning to the west, ascended the steep hillside. On the brow of the hill the Indian path they were following ran westward, and at a distance of

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

149

a mile and a half from Sullivan's camp it divided, one branch running nearly due west and leading to a small Indian village named Gathsegwarohare, on Canaseraga creek, about two miles from its confluence with the Genesee; the other followed a northwesterly course directly to Little Beard's Town, or Chinese castle. On reaching the point where the paths divided, the guides took the wrong one, and the party followed the trail to the Canaseraga village.*

On reaching the village, after a march of about seven miles, Boyd found it deserted, but the fires were still burning, a circumstance which showed that the enemy had but just abandoned it. Fatigued with the forced march, the little band encamped near the town, intending on the approach of dawn to push their inquiries to Chinese castle. Doubtless they fully realized their dangerous position. Miles of almost trackless forest separated them from their companions-in-arms, and even at that moment they might be hemmed about by their unseen foe. Yet they had cheerfully volunteered for this dangerous service, and rested on their arms fully determined to accomplish their mission when dawn should permit them to proceed.

* This town, called also Cassawaughloughly, and various other names, consisted of about twenty-five houses, almost new. It was situated on the east side of Canaseraga creek, about two miles from its mouth. The "Hermitage," the home of the late Judge C. H. Carroll, marks the spot, the house occupying the site of the ancient village. The Canaseraga flats, on the opposite side of the stream, as well as the neighboring swamp, are particularly described in the journals of the expedition, and leave no doubt as to its exact location. Those writers who have located this village on the site of the pioneer village of Williamsburg, near the residence of the late D. H. Abell, were probably misled by the remains of the ancient Chenussio castle discovered by the early settlers at that place.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACRE OF BOYD'S SCOUTING PARTY.

JUST at daybreak on the morning of the 13th of September, while their companions were yet sleeping, Boyd and Murphy, of the little scouting party sent out by Sullivan on the previous night, stole away to gain a nearer view of the Indian village near which they had encamped. As they approached the town they discovered two Indians emerge from one of the houses and endeavor to creep away unobserved. Quick as thought Murphy raised his ever-ready rifle, and sped the unerring ball on its way. One of the warriors fell, and Murphy quickly secured his scalp, making the thirty-third he had thus taken during his border service. He also took from the feet of the dead warrior a handsome pair of moccasins and put them on his own feet.* The other Indian escaped. This was an unfortunate circumstance, as the savage foe was doubtless soon apprized by him of Boyd's presence, and the fate of the little band was sealed from that hour. Boyd realized that he could not now carry out his original design, and accordingly des-

* "After Sullivan reached Conesus lake, a young Indian named Sahnahdahyah, who could neither run nor walk well, because of a previous wound received in one of these skirmishes, said he must again go out to fight the Yankees. His orphan sisters begged him to remain with them. One of them clung about his person to keep him back, but he pushed her aside and left the hut. Arriving just at daybreak in the little village where Boyd's scouting party had passed the night, he was discovered by Murphy, and sunk under his death-dealing rifle. His moccasins, worked with a sister's care, were transferred to Murphy's feet."—*Doty's History of Livingston County.*

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

151

patched two* messengers to General Sullivan with intelligence of his operations and his intention to return at once.

While the little band is preparing to set out on the return march, let us glance at the movements of the army during the same period. Early on the morning of the 13th the light brigade moved from its camp into the Indian village of Kanaghsaws, where it was soon joined by the other brigades. Here the soldiers breakfasted, after which a large force was employed in destroying the crops in the vicinity, while another detachment commenced the construction of a bridge across the inlet, which Sullivan describes as "an unfordable creek."

While the army was thus employed an incident occurred which showed the near proximity of the enemy. Mr. Lodge, one of the engineers who accompanied the expedition, was proceeding to chain from the west side of the inlet, and for this purpose had ascended the hill a short distance, outside of the picket line, when he was fired at by an Indian who had crept up unperceived. Mr. Lodge immediately turned and ran toward a sentinel, leaving his jacob-staff still standing. The Indian was close at his heels, with tomahawk upraised, when the sentinel, after Mr. Lodge had passed him, raised his gun and brought down the savage before the latter had noticed his presence. The whole picket line was at once ordered to advance, strongly supported, and on ascending the hill, found a large number of blankets, hats and other articles, which the Indians had left in their hurried flight. Simultaneous with the attack on Mr. Lodge, a sentinel near the end of the picket line was fired on and received a wound which caused his death on the follow-

* Sullivan's report says two, but other officers say four men returned early in the morning from Boyd's party, bringing intelligence of the desertion of the Indian town.

ing day.* The sentinel whose bravery and presence of mind saved the life of Mr. Lodge, is said to have been a mere lad, and extremely diffident when questioned by General Sullivan, who ordered a sum of money to be paid to him on the return of the army.

By this time the morning was well advanced, yet the troops were still employed in destroying the village and the crops in the adjacent fields, and in building the bridge across the inlet. The borders of the stream were a deep morass, impassable for horses, which extended to the edge of the Indian village. A log bridge was constructed, with corduroy approaches, at a spot about four rods below the present bridge. The remains of this structure were plainly visible years afterward, when the first settlers came into the country. While this work was going on, a picturesque scene was presented. "Five [four] thousand soldiers had improvised their camp upon the plain and its immediate hillsides; their white tents contrasting vividly with the autumnal tint of woodland foliage. Anon, the drum-beat and sentry-call emphasized, at intervals, the undertone of warlike preparation. The resounding echoes, as the forest trees gave way for the bridge, and the fruit trees, loaded with apples and peaches, fell before ringing axe-strokes; the rustling of crisp corn, trampled under heedless feet; all lent their busy music to the scene which had hitherto been the domain of solitude and silence." Such is the picture an enthusiastic writer † draws for us of the scene presented on the morning of this eventful day. As time elapsed, and the scouting party did not

* This is probably the occasion referred to by Colonel Stone and Mary Jemison, when the two Oneidas were captured. Doubtless a general engagement was contemplated at this point, but abandoned when Sullivan made such a prompt and masterly disposition of his troops.

† The late Colonel L. L. Doty.

make its appearance, General Sullivan was filled with anxiety, and about mid-day summoned a council of officers at his tent. Here came General James Clinton, General William Maxwell, General Edward Hand, General Enoch Poor, and doubtless others, among them the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, so long a missionary among the Indians, and now Sullivan's chaplain and guide. What was done at this council we do not know, as no written account of its deliberations has been preserved. We may surmise, however, that Sullivan gave expression to his intense anxiety, and that the determination was reached to push the work of destruction and devastation even to the very stronghold of the Senecas.

Meanwhile the greatest consternation prevailed in the Indian villages on the Genesee. For days beforehand the Indians had known of the steady approach of Sullivan and his avenging host. Runners and wounded braves arriving daily, brought intelligence of the devastation which marked the path of the army. "The air seemed to grow heavy with omens, and the very birds gave signs of approaching evil." After the army reached Conesus, several warriors, wounded probably in the skirmish with Boyd, returned to their villages, adding to the dismal forebodings of the squaws.* The

* "Though the commotion in the Indian villages increased with the march of our men, none fled until, on the evening that witnessed the enemy's arrival near the lake, a 'noise like thunder' was heard in that direction. An old warrior said to the wondering village that this was the echo of the Yankee's big guns—those terrible engines which embodied, to Indian superstition, all the dread mysteries of hostile 'medicine men.' On hearing this portentous word, the women set up a wail, the children bawled out a wild accompaniment, and the excitement grew every moment greater. By laying the ear to the ground the Indians could hear the tread of the troops in Sullivan's camp. The day was misty and rainy by turns, but preparations for quitting their villages went actively forward, and in a brief space the few horses that could be collected were ready to begin the long journey to Fort Niagara, whither the families were told to direct their pilgrimage."—*Doty's History of Livingston County.*

utmost terror and confusion were everywhere manifested, and rapid preparations were made for flight.

At the same time Boyd and his little band were cautiously retracing their steps, as has been stated before, hoping to reach the army undiscovered by the savages. To guard against surprise. Hanyerry, the faithful Oneida, went before, Murphy brought up the rear, and every tree and bush or other place where a foe might be concealed, was closely scanned, as the little band advanced. "The senses of all were fully alive to the slightest sound. Nothing escaped their observation. On, on they went, only about two miles of the distance remained." Here they reached a trail running off to the southeast, around the hill, and Hanyerry earnestly advised Boyd to take that and not the one by which they had come. The advice was disregarded, however, and herein Boyd made his second fatal error. Had he pursued a different course perhaps the savage host then in his front might have been eluded, and the camp safely reached. At least the chances of escape would have been greatly increased, though the foe had doubtless watched his movements closely from the time of his starting on his return. Probably lurking savages had kept the warriors advised of his movements until nearing the forks in the path the whole force had swiftly but silently gathered at the front, there to form the ambush into which Boyd was so unsuspectingly drawn. Five miles of the distance had been traversed in silence, and with nerves stretched to their utmost tension, but no signs of the enemy were discovered. Having now reached the brow of the hill, within less than two miles of Sullivan's camp, most of the little band began to breathe freer, and their vigilance was greatly relaxed. Delusive hope! They had come so far, only to be overwhelmed by the foe, and slain almost in sight of their comrades and within the reach of succor.

Gradually the enemy lessened the circle formed about the doomed men, and their savage cunning had been exercised to draw the detachment on. During the latter part of the march a warrior had been seen to start up here and there and run on at some distance ahead, as if inviting pursuit. Boyd desired to pursue them, but Hanyerry protested, as he was too well acquainted with Indian artifice to be deceived by the apparent timidity of these savages. "These," he said, "are only wishing to draw us after them until they bring us into a large party, that are lying in some place of concealment, where we shall all be cut off." Nevertheless Boyd led on the detachment until the events immediately following proved that Hanyerry's surmises were only too well founded. Just as they were descending the hill at the base of which the army lay, five or six hundred warriors and loyalists under Brant and Butler, rose up before them, and with horrid, blood-curdling yells closed in upon the little band from every side. Boyd realized at once his fearful position, and the whizzing bullets of the enemy showed him that he had no time to lose. With such great odds against him, there was but one course to pursue, and that was to cut his way through the ranks of the opposing force. Such a movement offered but a slender chance of success, but much rather, thought the men, was death to be preferred on the field, than to fall into the hands of the savages, who were filled with hate and thirsting for revenge. The order was quickly given, and the men charged against the foe. The first attack was unsuccessful, but their fire told fearfully on the enemy, while, strange as it may seem, none of Boyd's men fell. Again they make their desperate charge, and again for the third time they throw themselves upon the foe, the conflict being so close that the powder from the enemy's muskets blackens their faces. Seventeen of the

little band fall, and only Boyd and eight of his men are left. These nine succeeded in dashing through the line, Murphy, of whom it was said that "he bore a charmed life," tumbling one huge warrior in the dust who happened to be in his way, and causing the savages to shout with laughter at the discomfiture of their comrade. Hanyerry had already fallen. This faithful Oneida, who had rendered distinguished services in the battle of Oriskany, where so many Mohawk and Seneca warriors were slain, was no less conspicuous on this occasion, and his unerring rifle caused many of the savages to bite the dust. The Indians, who never forget a face, knew him, and when they closed in upon the detachment, Hanyerry was slain, and his body literally hacked to pieces by the Indians, who thus thought to avenge themselves for his unswerving devotion to the Americans. "The hope of the party was now in Murphy," and Boyd, knowing that if any escaped it would be the bold frontiersman, endeavored to follow him. This attempt, however, was unsuccessful, and Boyd and one of his men named Parker, who were less fleet of foot, were taken prisoners.* Most of the others were also slain before gaining any great distance, one poor fellow, Benjamin Curtin, falling after having slain one Indian in a hand to hand conflict.

Murphy, finding himself clear of the savages, raised his fist and shook it defiantly at the foe, exclaiming "Clear again, Tim." Continuing his flight he soon found that he was pursued by two savages. As these neared him he from time to time pointed toward them his unloaded rifle, when they would immediately fall back. While thus beating a rapid retreat he found his progress much impeded by the moccasins which he had transferred to his own feet from those of the Indian whom

* Sullivan says that Boyd was wounded in the engagement by a shot through the body. If this were so his inability to follow Murphy may be explained.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

157

he had slain in the morning, and taking his knife he slit the tops as he ran, cutting deep gashes in his feet at the same time, from which the blood flowed freely. He soon entered a swale, where the tall grass entangled his feet and threw him to the ground, but fortunately he was hidderd from his pursuers, who having lost sight of him gave up the chase. He now loaded his rifle again and being satisfied that he could do nothing to rescue his companions, he set out to reach the camp. Scarcely had he come out of his place of concealment, however, than he found that he was again pursued by an Indian, and dodging behind a tree, while the Indian sought the shelter of another, they vainly sought for a shot at each other for some time. At last Murphy placed his hat upon his ramrod and thrust it a few inches beyond the tree. The Indian immediately put a ball through it, and rushing up to scalp his supposed victim received Murphy's bullet in his breast and fell dead. Murphy now hastened on before the sound of his rifle should draw about him an overwhelming force of the savages, and soon reached the camp. Three others, McDonald, Garret Putman, and a French Canadian, also succeeded in returning to the camp. John Putman, a cousin of Garret, was killed in the engagement. "At his burial it was found that he had been shot while in the act of firing, as a ball and several buck-shot had entered the right arm-pit without injuring the arm." Putman and the Canadian secreted themselves in the early part of the engagement under a fallen tree, and escaped discovery, although several Indians leaped over the log when pursuing Murphy.

From these survivors General Sullivan learned the fate of the detachment. He was greatly moved by the recital, but condemned in strong terms the course pursued by Boyd in exceeding his orders. General Hand

was immediately ordered to hurry forward with his brigade to the relief of Boyd, but the succor came too late. The troops found the bodies of a portion of those slain on the field of action, as well as the body of an Indian, accidentally left by the retreating foe, and a large quantity of blankets, provisions, and other articles, but the foe had vanished after completing their murderous work. Thinking it would be useless to pursue them, he returned to the army, after burying in one grave* six of those who had fallen in the skirmish. Subsequently, the bodies of the others which were scattered through the woods were buried in another grave near the first one.

From the battle-field Boyd and Parker were conducted to Little Beard's Town, where they were ushered into the presence of Colonel Butler. Previous to this Boyd had asked for an interview with Brant, and having by certain masonic signs made known to the latter that they were of a common brotherhood, Brant's stern brow relaxed, and he assured the prisoners that their lives should be spared. Soon after this, however, the chief was called away, and the prisoners were left to the mercy of the Indians.† Brought before Butler, that

* The ambushade occurred on the farm in the town of Groveland now owned by the widow of James Boyd, who, although bearing the same name, was no kin of the unfortunate lieutenant. The slain soldiers were buried in what is now a small field just below the graveyard, and a few rods south of the road leading to the lake. For many years the site of the graves was marked by a deep depression, where the earth had sunk, and residents of the vicinity still identify it. The Indian trail leading to Conesus lake was used for many years as a private roadway. At the time of the skirmish this ground was covered by a dense forest, but this has largely disappeared, and it now commands an extensive view of the lake and the sloping hillsides of the opposite shore.

† It is said, with how much of truth does not appear, that on Brant's departure the Indians cut the sinews of the prisoners' feet, and forced them to pursue their painful march to Little Beard's Town in this maimed condition.

officer sought to obtain some information from them concerning General Sullivan's purposes. The prisoners were caused to kneel before him, with a savage grasping either arm, and a third at their backs with uplifted tomahawk, and in this situation they were plied with questions.* But they refused to impart any information. Relying on the assurance which Brant had given them, and scorning in any event to betray their comrades and the cause of the Colonies, they met their questioner only with defiance. Butler threatened, but they still remained firm. "What is the number of Sullivan's army?" asked the British officer. "I shall not answer the question," was Boyd's reply. "Boyd," said Butler, "life is sweet, and you are yet a young man; there is no possibility of your escape, and you have only one alternative; either answer my questions or you must die." "Colonel Butler," replied the dauntless young officer, notwithstanding the tomahawk still gleamed above his head, "I am in your hands; do with me as you see fit. I know your power and your will to put me to the severest torture, but you cannot shake my determination to refuse to answer your questions." "Your death be upon your own head, then. Take him away,"† exclaimed the angry officer, and the Indians,

* While giving here this account of Butler's interview with the prisoners, the author does not vouch for its entire truthfulness. It is doubtless, however, substantially correct.

† Some doubt exists as to whether this Butler was Colonel John Butler, or his more infamous son Walter. The former, it is said, was inclined to mitigate the rigors of the war, but the son rivalled even the savages themselves in barbaric cruelty. Considering the opposite character of the two men it is more than probable that Walter Butler was the one guilty of inciting the Indians to the torture of Boyd. Colonel Stone and others take this view, but at the best, it is only a surmise, based on the divergent characteristics of the two Butlers, father and son. Colonel Butler, in his official report, stated that Boyd was sent forward with a guard to Niagara, but while passing through Little Beard's Town, an old Indian rushed out and tomahawked him.

who were ready enough to wreak their vengeance on the prisoners, seized them, and under the leadership of Little Beard, who was distinguished for his vindictive cruelty, and diabolical ingenuity in torturing prisoners, they were borne away to the place of torture. Here they were stripped of their clothing, and being bound to trees, the savages commenced their horrid work. Little Beard raised his blood-stained hatchet, and sent it with unerring aim into the tree just above Boyd's head. The other warriors now imitated his example, and with terrific yells and frantic demonstrations of joy they danced about the hapless victims, hurling at them their tomahawks, and brandishing their knives in their faces. They then pulled out Boyd's nails, cut off his nose and ears, enlarged his mouth with a knife and thrust into it the severed nose, cut out his tongue, forced out one of his eyes, and stabbed him in several places. As if this were not enough they now unbound him from the tree, and making a small incision in his abdomen a severed intestine was fastened to the tree. Then by sheer brute force he was driven around the tree until his entrails were literally wound upon its trunk.* His head was then cut off and placed upon a pole. Parker was simply beheaded, owing, probably to the haste of the Indians in fleeing from the town.

The cruelty shown in the torture of Boyd is almost unparalleled in the history of the border. Its unusual

* Recently this story of Boyd's disembowelment has been questioned, but it seems to be well substantiated, Mary Jemison, who was then living at Little Beard's Town, states the facts substantially as they are given in the text, and Major Van Campen, a member of the expedition and an intimate acquaintance of Boyd, corroborates the story. Moreover, General Sullivan, in his official report, after describing the manner in which Boyd's body was mutilated, says, "and inflicted other tortures which decency will not permit me to mention." It is said that some years afterward, when Horatio Jones visited the scene of this cruelty he found the intestines of the unfortunate Boyd still wound about the tree.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

161

severity can be explained only by supposing that the Indians, powerless to oppose Sullivan's progress, and forced to see him day after day laying waste their villages and driving their homeless women and children into the forest, were frenzied with rage and vindictive hate, which they vented on the first prisoners to fall into their hands. But this theory would still leave unexplained the heartless cruelty which prompted Butler to deliver the prisoners to the exasperated savages. He could have been moved only by partisan hate and vindictiveness which serve to show his desperate character. Well merited was his fate when two years later, while engaged in a raid on the settlers of the Mohawk valley, he was tomahawked and scalped by an Oneida warrior, regardless of his supplications for mercy.

Having concluded their fiendish work of torturing and murdering Boyd and Parker, the Indians and their British allies held a council to decide whether to offer further opposition to Sullivan's advance, or to retire and leave the last Indian stronghold and the vast fields of corn surrounding it to fall into the hands of the enemy. There is reason to believe that Colonel Butler desired to make a stand at this point, but the Indians would not hearken to it.* The women and children were accordingly started on their pilgrimage to Niagara, while the warriors lingered in the vicinity to watch the destruction of their possessions.

* While Sullivan was at Genesee, a female captive from Wyoming was re-taken. She gave a deplorable account of the terror and confusion of the Indians. The women, she said, were constantly begging the warriors to sue for peace; and one of the Indians, she stated, had attempted to shoot Colonel Johnson for the falsehoods by which he had deceived and ruined them. She overheard Butler tell Johnson that after the battle of Newtown it was impossible to keep the Indians together, and that he thought they would soon be in a miserable situation, as all their crops would be destroyed, and they could not be supplied at Niagara.—*Life of Brant*.

It has already been stated that when General Sullivan learned of the attack on Boyd's detachment he despatched Hand's light corps to the rescue. On his return the whole army was ordered to move forward. The bridge over the inlet, now completed, was guarded by the artillery, while the troops moved across, and as General Sullivan and his staff passed over they were saluted by the enthusiastic soldiers. On reaching the hill on the west side of Conesus lake, the army followed the trail* previously traversed by Boyd and his party, and before dusk reached the village where that ill-fated officer had passed the previous night.

Here the Indians were gathered in considerable force, and their position was such as to indicate that they intended to offer fight. Accordingly Maxwell's brigade and the left flank were ordered to turn the enemy's right, while Poor's brigade, the right flanking division and two of Clinton's regiments were directed to move against the enemy's left, while the rest of Clinton's brigade and the infantry occupied the center. Seeing this disposition of the troops, and that they were in danger of being surrounded, the Indians fled precipitately across the Canaseraga. The army then encamped for the night, but at half past three on the following morning the signal gun was fired, the whole army was formed in line of battle, and the men lay on their arms until daybreak, expecting every moment to be attacked by the enemy.

* The trail through Groveland ran nearly directly west from the Jas. Boyd farm, past the stone dwelling of the late Abram Harrison, following the present road running just south of Edward Logan's residence, and leaving the road where it turns to the south to follow the ravine, continued in nearly a straight line to the Hermitage, now owned by W. D. Fitzhugh, where the Indian village was located.

CHAPTER X.

MARCH TO CHINESEE CASTLE.

AT six o'clock on the morning of the 14th of September, large detachments were ordered to destroy the extensive fields of corn in the vicinity of the village. The huts were also fired, and the work of destruction here, as elsewhere, was rendered complete. General Sullivan expected to find the great Chinesee castle within two miles of the Canaseraga village, on this side of the river, but parties sent out to reconnoitre reported that it was six miles from here, and on the other side of the river. Accordingly, at eleven o'clock A. M., the army was ordered to cross over to the west side of the Genesee.

The army crossed the Canaseraga at the fording place just below the mouth of Coshaqua creek, which empties into it, and passing through a small grove, entered on the flat beyond, which excited the wonder and admiration of the entire force. The broad plain permitted the army to form in the regular order of march, and "the army, as it emerged from the woods, and as company after company filed off and formed upon the plain, presented a highly animating and imposing spectacle." Colonel Hubley says in his journal that this plain contained "not less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived, not having a bush standing, but filled with grass considerably higher than a man. We moved up this plain for about three miles, in our regular line of march, a beautiful sight, indeed, as a view of the whole could be had at one look." The army proceeded across these flats to the fording place of the Genesee, within less than a mile of the present

village of Mount Morris, and ascended the rising ground beyond, "which afforded a prospect so beautiful that to attempt a comparison would be doing injury, as we had a view as far as the eye could carry us of another plain besides the one we crossed, through which the river formed a most graceful winding, and, at intervals, cataracts, which rolled from the rocks and emptied into the river." From this point the troops proceeded northerly over somewhat rougher ground, and soon reached the famed "Chinesee castle," or Little Beard's Town, on the site of the present village of Cuylerville. The fires were still burning in some of the huts, and in the woods to the westward, though the soldiers were unaware of the fact, many of the warriors were still lurking to watch their movements. In approaching Little Beard's Town, a private soldier* who was on the extreme right, as his detachment wheeled sharply about to enter the village, stumbled on the remains of Boyd and Parker. The blood was said to be still oozing from the headless trunks. The bodies were fully identified, and were placed in charge of the rifle company of Captain Michael Simpson, of Major Parr's corps, to which both Boyd and Parker belonged. They were buried that evening with military honors, by their sorrowing companions, under a clump of wild plum trees, at the junction of two small streams† which form what is known as Beard's creek. Quite a large mound still marks the spot, close by the bridge across the creek, on the road from Cuylerville to Geneseo.

In 1841 the remains of Boyd and Parker were taken from this grave with great pomp and ceremony, and conveyed to Rochester, where they now rest in the

* Paul Sanborn, afterward one of the first settlers in the town of Conesus, Livingston county.

† Named Boyd's creek and Parker's creek in 1841.

beautiful cemetery on Mount Hope. The ceremonies of this occasion drew a vast crowd of people. For some time the question of their removal had been discussed. The citizens of Rochester, who had named a beautiful spot in their cemetery, "Revolutionary Hill," and designed it as the burial place of all soldiers dying in Western New York, asked that the remains of the soldiers of Boyd's detachment might be buried there. The request met with some opposition, but at a meeting held in Geneseo, August 14th, 1841, the people of Livingston County consented to such removal. Accordingly a committee appointed for the purpose, obtained the bones of those buried in Groveland, and also exhumed the remains of Boyd and Parker, near Cuylerville, and on the 20th of August they were formally delivered to the Rochester authorities at Cuylerville. The Rochester delegation, consisting of the military and civic organizations, municipal authorities, and many private citizens, reached the scene of the ceremonies in a flotilla of five canal boats.

In a beautiful grove near the village, whither the remains of the brave dead had been borne with measured tread and muffled drums, an eloquent address was delivered by Judge Samuel Treat, and the remains were formally delivered to the Rochester authorities. The next day they were consigned to their resting place in Mount Hope, Governor Seward and his staff, and other distinguished citizens participating in the ceremonies. "Though these rites evince the reverence in which the patriot dead were held, yet a just feeling would dictate that their remains should have been allowed to sleep, uncoffined, in the rude graves beneath the sod, moistened by their life-blood, where they had been placed two-thirds of a century before. And respect for their remains demands that they should yet be brought back and re-

interred in the spot made doubly interesting from being the extremest point westward at which fighting took place in New York during the Revolutionary war."*

On Wednesday, August 15th, the day following the arrival of the troops at Little Beard's Town, the work of destruction was continued. The crops here, one officer says, "were in quantity immense, and in goodness unequalled by anything I ever saw. Agreeable to a moderate calculation, there was not less than two hundred acres, the whole of which was pulled up and piled in large heaps, mixed with dry wood taken from the houses, and consumed to ashes." Immense orchards were also found here, one, it is said, containing 1,500 trees, besides large crops of beans and potatoes. These were all destroyed, and, by the middle of the afternoon, "the work was finished, the total ruin of the Indian settlements and the destruction of their crops was completed."

While this work was in progress at Little Beard's Town, General Sullivan, according to the undisputed tradition of years, sent Generals Poor and Maxwell down the river to Canawaugus, which place they destroyed, and on their return march, likewise burned Big Tree village. General Sullivan makes no mention of this fact, nor is the destruction of Canawaugus recorded in any of the numerous journals kept by officers of Sullivan's army. The conclusion is irresistible that no portion of the army got as far north as Canawaugus, and that that village escaped the general destruction. Big Tree village, it is sufficient to say, had no existence on the Genesee until after the Revolution. Chief Big Tree, of the Senecas, after whom this village was named, and who, it will be remembered, was friendly to the Americans, standing on an eminence near Kanaghsaws, and seeing his own possessions destroyed, some one said

* Doty's *History of Livingston County*.

to him, "You see how the Americans treat their friends." "What I see," he responded, "is only the common fortune of war. It cannot be supposed that the Americans can distinguish my property from yours, who are their enemies."

It was estimated by officers of the expedition that at least 20,000 bushels of corn were destroyed in and about Little Beard's Town, besides vast quantities of vegetables. The work concluded, General Sullivan issued an order wherein he said: "The Commander-in-chief informs this brave and resolute army that the immediate objects of this expedition are accomplished, viz: total ruin of the Indian settlements and the destruction of their crops, which were designed for the support of those inhuman barbarians, while they were desolating the American frontiers. He is by no means insensible of the obligations he is under to those brave officers and soldiers whose virtue and fortitude have enabled him to complete the important design of the expedition, and he assures them he will not fail to inform America at large how much they stand indebted to them. The army will this day commence its march for Tioga."

Butler and his rangers, together with a small force of British regulars who had been sent to join him, continued their flight westward from the Genesee, and reached Fort Niagara on the 18th of September. The Indian women and children also flocked thither, "and as the plain far and near became covered with knots of fugitives, it strikingly resembled the diversified landscape formed by groups returning from an English fair." The British authorities, finding themselves suddenly burdened with the support of their savage allies, provided for them temporary homes elsewhere. The Indians, however, expecting that the Colonists would soon be subdued and their homes again restored to them, refused to quit

the Fort. Here their sufferings during the winter were great. The supply of food was insufficient, and the winter one of great inclemency, while the salted food, to which they were not accustomed, caused scurvy, of which hundreds of them died. A few, who had lingered in the forest until the departure of the army, returned to their villages on the Genesee, but a cheerless sight met their gaze. Their houses were smouldering ashes, while "there was not a mouthful of any kind of sustenance left—not even enough to keep a child one day from perishing with hunger." Mary Jemison, who was of the number who returned, made her way up the river to the Gardeau Flats, above the present village of Mount Morris, where she husked corn for two negroes, and thus earned enough to support herself and her children. She pictures in pathetic language the sufferings of the Indians who, with her, passed the winter on the Genesee. The snow fell five feet deep, the game upon which they depended for subsistence perished, and they were reduced to a starving condition. Terrible, indeed, had been the vengeance of the Americans! Homeless and hungry, they realized now the full force of the blow they had received at the hands of the settlers. Of those who went to Fort Niagara, few returned to their homes east of the Genesee, but settled west of the river, at Squawkie Hill, Little Beard's Town, Canawaugus, Buffalo Creek, and a few smaller villages.

x.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RETURN MARCH.

ON the afternoon of Wednesday, September 15th, the army having completed its work of destruction at Little Beard's Town, set out upon the return march. The route was much the same as that by which they had come. The order of march observed was as follows: An advance guard of one hundred men in front, General Clinton's brigade following in four columns, the other troops marching next; General Händ's brigade brought up the rear, with the two field pieces in the rear of him, and the riflemen in the rear of the whole. The cohorn was carried by the advance guard. On the night of the 15th the army encamped on the flats northeast of Mount Morris, near the Canaseraga village. The march was resumed on the morning of the 16th, but previous to the army's reaching Kanaghsaws, detachments were sent out to search the woods for the bodies of those who fell in the engagement of the 13th. Eight were found and were buried with military honors in one grave near that of their comrades who had been previously interred. The sight was a shocking one, as the brave fellows had all been scalped, tomahawked and most inhumanly mangled. The army reached Kanaghsaws at six o'clock that evening, having marched nine miles. At six o'clock on the morning of the 17th the march was resumed, and Hanneyaye was reached at noon, where the garrison, which had been left at that point, was found safe. This was the cause of great satisfaction, since it was feared that

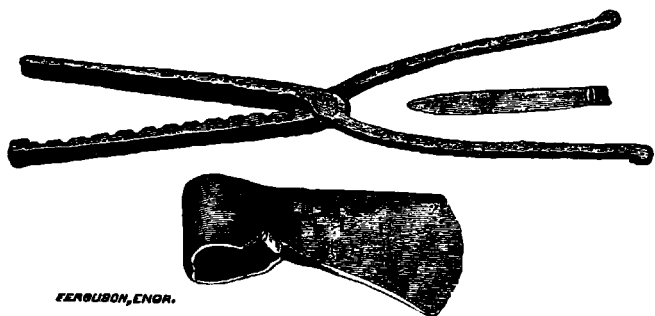
the enemy, perhaps learning from Boyd and Parker that a garrison had been left here, had made an attack on it.

Before leaving Hannevaye on the 18th, orders were given to the rear to kill all such horses as were unable to move along, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. Some of the horses left at this post had strayed so far that they could not be found. Consequently many packs would have been left behind had not the officers who were entitled to ride given up their horses. It is said that General Sullivan was one of those who thus relinquished their horses. Here also, one officer writes, General Sullivan was met by three Oneida Indians who brought him despatches. They reported that the city of New York was laid in ashes and evacuated. Canandaigua lake was reached before night, and passing the outlet the army encamped about a mile beyond it. On the 19th the march was resumed, and a little before sunset the army arrived at Kanadesaga. Here the Oneidas, whom General Sullivan had sent with a letter to their tribe, as has been previously noted, met the Commander-in-chief and gave to him their answer.

On the morning of the 20th of September, Colonel Smith was sent with a party up the west side of Seneca lake, to destroy the corn which had been cut down, and whatever else belonging to the Indians he might discover. Colonel William Butler, of the 4th Pennsylvania regiment, was also detached with the rifle corps and five hundred men to destroy the Cayuga Indian settlements on the east side of Cayuga lake, and with him were sent all the Oneida warriors (a few having just joined the army), who had assured Sullivan that if they could find the Cayugas they would endeavor to persuade them to deliver themselves up as prisoners, "the chief of them, called Segathlawana, being a near relative to the sachem who was with Sullivan."

The reader will recall the fact that the Oneidas had already interceded for these Cayugas, and this action on their part was a further effort to save the Cayugas from punishment.

A third detachment of one hundred men under Colonel Gansevoort, was on the same day despatched to Albany to forward the baggage of the New York regiments to the main army, together with such soldiers as he might find at that place. A misapprehension of certain facts by General Sullivan led to an unfortunate occurrence in



connection with this detachment. When, at the outbreak of the war, the great body of the Mohawks followed the retreat of the Johnsons to Canada, those at the lower castle on the Mohawk river remained behind and continued to occupy their village. They lived quietly and peaceably, tilling their fields or following the chase for a livelihood, and living on the best of terms with their white neighbors. But General Sullivan was in some manner led to believe that they were giving aid and comfort to the enemy, and accordingly he ordered

NOTE.—The engraving on this page represents a pair of huge bullet moulds, an axe and a scalping knife, found near Conesus, and undoubtedly relics of Sullivan's march. The knife was the property of James Boyd, the owner of the farm where the ambuscade occurred.

Colonel Gansevoort to destroy the lower Mohawk castle on his way down, and capture the inhabitants, consisting of only six or seven families. These, Sullivan said in his official report, "were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When the Mohawks joined the enemy those few families were undoubtedly left to answer those purposes, and to keep possession of their lands." Colonel Gansevoort was ordered to proceed with those whom he should capture in this village to the headquarters of the American army, and was explicitly forbidden to leave any of the prisoners at Albany. Sullivan directed that the inhabitants of the upper castle, who were, as he said, Onheskas and friends, should not be disturbed, but should be shown such necessary marks of civility and attention as might engage a continuance of their friendship and give evidence of our pacific disposition towards them.

Colonel Gansevoort proceeded on his march as directed, and on the 25th of September reached Fort Schuyler. His route lay through the Oneida and Tuscarora castles, where he was received with every mark of hospitality and friendship, and he found that "not the least damage nor insult was offered any of the inhabitants." After resting at Fort Schuyler the detachment moved on, and on the 29th surprised the lower Mohawk castle and captured every Indian. Colonel Gansevoort's official report of his proceedings, made to General Sullivan under date of Albany, October 8th, 1779, says that the Indians occupied but four houses. "I was preparing," he says, "agreeable to my orders, to destroy them, but was interrupted by the inhabitants of the frontiers, who have been lately driven from their settlements by the savages, praying that they might have liberty to enter into the Mohawk's houses, until they could procure

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

173

"other habitations; and well knowing those persons to
 "have lately lost their all, humanity tempted me in this
 "particular to act in some degree contrary to orders,
 "although I could not but be confident of your approba-
 "tion, especially when you are informed that this castle
 "is in the heart of our settlements, and abounding in
 "every necessary, so that it is remarked that these In-
 "dians live much better than most of the Mohawk river
 "farmers. Their houses were very well furnished with
 "all necessary household utensils, great plenty of grain,
 "several horses, cows and wagons, of all which I have
 "an inventory, leaving them in the care of Major New-
 "kirk, of that place, who distributed the refugees in the
 "several houses. Such being the situation, I did not
 "allow the party to plunder at all. The prisoners
 "arrived at Albany on the 2d instant, and were closely
 "secured in the fort. Yesterday, the 7th, I received a
 "letter from General Schuyler, (of which I enclose a
 "copy), respecting the prisoners, desiring that the send-
 "ing of the prisoners down might be postponed until an
 "express shall arrive from General Washington. Agree-
 "ably to this request, a sergeant and twelve men are
 "detained to keep charge of the prisoners until his
 "pleasure is known.'

General Schuyler was at this time at the head of the
 Indian Commission, Northern Department, and thus in-
 terposed in behalf of these Indians because he believed
 they had been unjustly treated. In his letter to Colonel
 Gansevoort, referred to by the latter in the above extract,
 he says: "Having perused Gen. Sullivan's orders to you
 "respecting the Indians of the lower Mohawk castle and
 "their property, I conceive they are founded on misin-
 "formation given to that gentleman; these Indians have
 "peacefully remained there under the sanction of the
 "public faith repeatedly given them by the commis-

"sioners of Indian affairs, on condition of peaceable demeanor; this contract they have not violated to our knowledge. It is therefore incumbent on us, as servants of the public, to keep the public faith inviolate; and we therefore entreat you to postpone the sending of the Indians from hence until the pleasure of his Excellency, General Washington, can be obtained, and a letter is already despatched to him on the occasion, and in which we have mentioned this application to you."

The result of this interposition in behalf of the Indians was that they were speedily released, and General Washington directed the Indian commissioners to "lay them under such obligations for their future good behavior as they should think necessary." No measure of blame was attached to General Sullivan, for his course in the matter, as it was clear that he had been misinformed, and had acted under a misapprehension of the facts in the case.

Before General Sullivan moved from Kanadesaga, he sent out still another detachment of two hundred men under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Dearborn, of the 3d New Hampshire regiment, to the west side of Cayuga lake, to destroy all the settlements that might be found there, and to intercept the Cayugas if they attempted to escape from Colonel Butler. Thus there were instituted four minor expeditions from the main army, against as many different points in the enemy's country: Colonel Gansevoort against the lower Mohawk village, Colonel Smith up the west side of Seneca lake, Colonel Butler along the east side of Cayuga lake, from the foot to the head, and Lieut.-Colonel Dearborn up the west side of the latter lake. Having sent out these detachments, Sullivan broke camp on the morning of the 22d, and continued his march southward, expecting that the detached troops would rejoin him near

Newtown. Passing over the old route by which it had come, night found the army within seven miles of Catharinstown. The march was resumed the next morning and continued to a point about four miles southeast of Catharinstown, when the army encamped on the edge of the swamp. The soldiers had not forgotten the terrible night many of them had passed in this swamp, and they had looked forward with dread to the return passage through its morasses. However, the army got through without any difficulty, and arrived at the forks of Newtown on the 24th. Here Sullivan met Captain Reid, with a detachment of two hundred men, who had been sent forward with some stores and cattle from Tioga. He had thrown up breastworks, and when the army arrived it was saluted by a round of thirteen guns from the breastworks, which Sullivan's men returned with their artillery. The army was now allowed full rations again, having cheerfully submitted to short allowance for nearly a month.

From this point Colonel Spaulding was sent up the Chemung with a strong detachment, who in two days destroyed Painted Post, and another small Indian village called Knacto, twelve miles above Elmira, besides extensive fields of corn. At the same time Colonel Dayton was sent down the river to destroy whatever had escaped the notice of the army in its northern march.

On the morning of the 25th the small arms of the whole army were discharged, and at five o'clock in the afternoon the men were drawn up in line, with a field piece on the right of each brigade, for the purpose of firing a *feu de joie*. First thirteen rounds of cannon were fired, and then a running fire of musketry from right to left; this was repeated twice. Five oxen were then killed, one delivered to each brigade and one to

the artillery and the staff officers, together with five gallons of whiskey, and a joyous feast followed, commemorating not only the safe return of the army from its weary and dangerous march, but also "the accession of the King of Spain to the American alliance, and the generous proceedings of Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men." Thirteen toasts were drank, to Congress, the Spanish King and others, and lastly the following: "May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack-horses, and sent on a western expedition against the Indians."

Colonel Dearborn, on leaving the main army at Kanadesaga, proceeded due east eight miles, and found in the woods three huts, with small patches of corn, squashes, watermelons and cucumbers, and fifteen horses, which he could not take with him. This village is believed to have been on the farm of Thomas Shankwiler, in the town of Fayette, Seneca county. After destroying it, Dearborn marched east four miles and came to Skanayutenate, or Skannautenates, a village of ten houses, which stood about a mile north of the present village of Canoga. About a mile north of this place was a smaller village, and a mile south of it was a third settlement, which Dearborn called Newtown (recently established), consisting of nine houses. These were all destroyed September 21st, after which Dearborn marched south four miles, along the west shore of Cayuga lake, destroying on the way a large house standing alone, and encamped for the night. On the morning of the 22d he marched before sunrise, and proceeding five miles "came to the ruins of a town which a part of our army burnt when it was advancing, who missed their way and happened to fall in with it." Half a mile beyond this a large field of corn and three houses were found. The corn was gathered and burnt in the houses. This place

was called Swahyawana, and its site was on a creek running through the farm of Edward Dean, in the north-east corner of the town of Romulus. It was nearly opposite the present village of Aurora, and commanded a fine view of the lake. Five miles further on a hut was found, with three squaws and a young Indian who was a cripple. Two of the squaws were made prisoners. Eight miles beyond this point the detachment encamped for the night. The next day's march, although over a route "so horribly rough and bushy that it was difficult to advance," brought the detachment to the head of the lake. On the morning of the 24th, after a march of three miles on the high land, small parties were sent out to look for a large town that Dearborn had been informed was not many miles from the end of the lake. After destroying several houses and cornfields, he found the large town three miles from the lake. It consisted of twenty-five houses, and Dearborn named it Coreorgonell.* It was two miles above the present village of Ithaca, on the east side of Cayuga inlet, the main village being on the farm now owned by James Fleming.

Colonel Dearborn expected to meet Colonel Butler at this point, but the latter detachment did not reach Coreorgonell until the next day. Without waiting for him, Colonel Dearborn marched on the morning of the 25th for Catharinetown, which he reached at four o'clock in the afternoon. On the 26th of September he overtook the army at Kanawlohalla, (Elmira), having destroyed six towns, and large quantities of corn.

On the 28th Colonel Butler also rejoined the army, and as the other detachments sent out had also returned, with the exception of Colonel Gansevoort, a complete

* General John S. Clark, of Auburn, a recognized authority on such points, fixes the site of this town as given in the text.

junction was thus formed at Kanawlohalla, on the 29th day after the battle fought at that place.

Colonel Butler's march up the east side of Cayuga lake resulted in the destruction of much Indian property. He left Kanadesaga on the 20th, and following the Seneca outlet for eight miles, came to Scawyace, which had been destroyed by Colonel Harper when the army was advancing northward. Here a halt was made until the next day, when a force of two hundred men under Major Scott was detailed to destroy the crops in the vicinity, while the main body under Colonel Butler pressed forward. Seven miles of the way the road was bad, and no water could be procured. A swamp where there was excellent growing timber, was then reached. A march of four miles then brought the detachment to the foot of Cayuga lake, where the outlet was crossed, the men wading in water waist deep. A small village named Coharo, was destroyed here, and a halt was made until Major Scott came up, when the march was resumed along the eastern shore of the lake, through a level, well watered country, heavily timbered. On the 21st, the detachment reached Gewawga, on the present site of Union Springs. Two miles south of this point, and a mile back of the lake, was Cayuga castle containing fifteen very large houses; two miles east of the latter village was East Cayuga or Old Town, containing thirteen houses, and on the south side of Great Gully Brook, in the town of Ledyard, was Upper Cayuga, containing fourteen houses. In these villages was found some salt which the Indians had made. Several muskets bearing the brand of the United States were also discovered in the houses, and a few regimental coats, of blue faced with white. Colonel Butler remained here until the afternoon of the 23d, destroying the houses and crops. He then marched five miles, to the village of Conodate,

(now Aurora), where were found about fourteen houses, and a peach orchard of 1500 trees, which were completely destroyed. Encamping on the night of the 24th on the hill north of Ludlowville, Colonel Butler reached Coreorgonell the next day, where he expected to find Colonel Dearborn, but his detachment had destroyed the town and marched to Catharinestown the day previous. Colonel Butler took a more south-westerly course, and came to the route of the main army at Horseheads. On the 28th of September he rejoined the army at Kanawlo-halla.

On the 29th the onward march south was commenced by the united forces, and soon after noon of the next day Tioga was reached. Here the army was saluted by thirteen guns from Fort Sullivan, a compliment that was returned by the artillery. This done the army marched past the Fort and encamped on its old grounds in the forks of the river. On the evening of that day Colonel Shreves gave an entertainment which we are told, was as grand as the circumstances of the place would permit, to which the commander-in-chief, the generals and staff were invited. The Fort was demolished on the 3d of October, and the army proceeded by the way of Wyoming to Easton, reaching the latter place on the 15th, and immediately thereafter the troops went into winter quarters.

At the end of the campaign the intelligence of its success spread rapidly throughout the colonies, and everywhere caused great rejoicing. The inhabitants of Northampton County, Pa., sent an address to General Sullivan, congratulating him on his success, and thanking him for the inestimable service he had rendered the settlements of the frontier. The troops under his command imitated this example, and other military and civic organizations took occasion to express their appreciation

of his meritorious services, and the gratitude they felt at the successful accomplishment of his mission. The addresses from the several bodies of troops under his command were especially noticeable, as showing the esteem in which he was held by his own soldiers. The Continental Congress also promptly recognized General Sullivan's services. On motion of Elbridge Gerry it was resolved that its thanks "be given to his Excellency General Washington for directing, and to Major General Sullivan, and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing an important expedition against such of the Indian nations as, encouraged by the councils and conducted by the officers of his Britannic Majesty, have perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against the United States, laid waste many of their defenceless towns, and with savage barbarity, slaughtered the inhabitants thereof." Congress also resolved that "it will be proper to set apart the second Thursday in December next, as a day of general thanksgiving in these United States, and that a committee of four be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the said United States, for this purpose." Mr. Root, Mr. Holton, Mr. Muhlenberg and Mr. Morris were named as this committee, and in the address which they prepared they acknowledged that God had granted them the victory, as "He had gone out with those who went out into the wilderness against the savage tribes."

In his general orders of the 17th of October, General Washington announced to the army the result of the expedition, as follows:

"Headquarters, More's House, Oct. 17, 1779.

"The Commander-in-chief has now the pleasure of congratulating the army on the complete and full success of Maj. Gen. Sullivan, and the troops under his command, against the Seneca and other tribes of the

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

181

“Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for
“their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and in-
“numerable cruelties, their deafness to all remonstrances
“and entreaty, and their perseverance in the most horrid
“acts of barbarity. Forty of their towns have been re-
“duced to ashes, some of them large and commodious ;
“that of the Genesee alone containing one hundred and
“twenty-eight houses. Their crops of corn have been
“entirely destroyed, which, by estimation, it is said,
“would have provided 160,000 bushels, besides large
“quantities of vegetables of various kinds. Their whole
“country has been overrun and laid waste, and they
“themselves compelled to place their security in a pre-
“cipitate flight to the British fortress at Niagara. And
“the whole of this has been done with the loss of less
“than forty men on our part, including the killed,
“wounded, captured, and those who died natural deaths.
“The troops employed in this expedition, both officers
“and men, throughout the whole of it, and in the action
“they had with the enemy, manifested a patience, per-
“severance and valor that do them the highest honor.
“In the course of it, when there still remained a large
“extent of the enemy's country to be prostrated, it
“became necessary to lessen the issues of provisions to
“half the usual allowance. In this the troops acquiesced
“with a most general and cheerful concurrence, being
“fully determined to surmount every obstacle, and to
“prosecute the enterprise to a complete and successful
“issue. Maj. Gen. Sullivan, for his great perseverance
“and activity, for his order of march and attack, and
“the whole of his dispositions; the Brigadiers and
“officers of all ranks, and the whole of the soldiers
“engaged in the expedition, merit and have the Com-
“mander-in-chief's warmest acknowledgements for their
“important services upon this occasion.”

On the 9th of November, 1779, General Sullivan wrote to the President of Congress: "It is with the deepest regret I find myself compelled to request from Congress liberty to retire from the army. My health is so much impaired by a violent bilious disorder, which seized me in the commencement and continued during the whole of the western expedition, that I have not the smallest hope of a perfect recovery. My physicians have assured me that nothing but a total release from business, and a particular attention to my health, can restore me; and my own feelings indicate that even this will fall far short of my own wishes and their expectations."

General Washington endeavored to dissuade Sullivan from thus retiring, but seeing that "matters were drawing to a happy conclusion," he persisted, and Congress accepted his resignation, accompanying the acceptance, however, with renewed thanks for his meritorious and patriotic services.

General Sullivan, in transmitting to Congress an official account of his operations, reported that during the campaign forty Indian villages, beside many scattering houses, had been burned. "The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind. Every creek and river has been traced, and the whole country explored in search of Indian settlements, and I am well persuaded that, except one town situated near the Alleghany, about fifty-eight miles from Chinesee, there is not a single town left in the country of the Five Nations. * * * I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, or is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara. Messengers and small parties have been constantly pass-

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

183

ing, and some imprudent soldiers who straggled from the army mistook the route and went back almost to Chinesee without discovering even the track of an Indian."

Sullivan was mistaken in regard to the destruction of all the Indian towns as there were several small villages undiscovered by his troops. The principal villages, however, and probably nine-tenths of the growing crops, upon which the Indians had depended for sustenance during the following winter, were effectually destroyed.

The march through the enemy's country had been attended with great difficulties, and few armies have experienced a more fatiguing campaign. Yet the Commander-in-chief was able to report that he had not suffered the loss of forty men during the whole time, and he said that he "felt much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for the unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition." General Sullivan adds that "it would have been very pleasing to the army to have drawn the enemy to a second engagement," but that so great was the panic which seized the Indians after the Newtown battle, he found it impossible to do so.

The Oneidas asked permission of General Sullivan to hunt in the country of the Five Nations, as the latter "would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and when their settlements must ever be in our power." The request, which was referred to Congress, serves to show the belief generally entertained at that time, that the Iroquois were thoroughly subdued, and no longer to be feared. Such had been the hope which inspired the expedition, and now that its work had been so thoroughly done, the frontier settlers believed their homes safe from any further molestation. They little

knew the character of the proud and unconquerable Iroquois. The Indian had been beaten in one campaign; he had been driven from his own hunting grounds, and his possessions destroyed; he was now a homeless wanderer, subsisting on the bounty of strangers; yet his spirit was unbroken, and his hand as ready as it had ever been to strike a blow at the settlers. Smarting under the chastisement which Sullivan inflicted, he thirsted for revenge, and the following summer found him again on the war-path. "They bent a tree," says one writer, "and twisted its rugged top around the trunk, as an emblem of their own situation—bent but not broken—smitten but not overthrown." Thus while Sullivan fully accomplished the task given him to perform, the results expected were not fully realized. The power of the savages had been weakened, but they were not entirely subdued until years afterward, when "Mad Anthony Wayne" defeated the confederated bands of the Indians of the west, in 1794, a measure which thoroughly humbled the Indians of Western New York, and gave to the settlers peace and security.

Sullivan's expedition was fruitful of great results in other ways, however, than the temporary subjugation of the Indians. The fertile and beautiful country now forming the western part of the State of New York, was then an unknown wilderness, and its value and attractiveness were first made known to the white people through this expedition. "There had come along with Sullivan," says Turner, a great number of those who were looking forward to the time when the war should close, and opportunity would be given for the growth of new settlements. "They passed through the valleys of the Mohawk, of our interior lakes, of the Susquehanna, delighted at every step with the beautiful prospects that surrounded them, until arriving at the valley of the Gen-

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

185

esee, it realized their highest hopes and most extravagant expectations. They returned to their homes to mingle with the narratives of an Indian war, descriptions of the country that they had seen, resolved themselves to retrace their steps upon the more peaceful mission of emigration and settlement; and their representations turned the attention of others in this direction." On their way they recognized the extraordinary fertility of the soil in this new country, the salubrity of its climate, and the beauty of its ever changing vistas of hills and valleys and forest-bound lakes. Soon after the close of the war the tide of emigration commenced to flow westward. From the New England States, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, came hardy pioneers, led on by the glowing accounts they had heard of the new country, and the vicinity of the inland lakes, the borders of the flowing streams, the forest-covered hills became the dwelling places of a rapidly growing band of settlers. The road which Sullivan had opened from the Susquehanna valley was followed by many of the settlers, even to the banks of the Genesee.

Thus many of those who had shared the perils and privations of Sullivan's expedition against the Indian tribes of Western New York, afterward became settlers of the land they had aided to conquer, and under the hand of civilization it has literally become one of the garden spots of America, where nature rewards abundantly the labors of the husbandman, and hundreds of villages and cities teem with busy populations.

CHAPTER XII.

SULLIVAN UNJUSTLY CRITICISED.

FOR his course in three particulars, General Sullivan has been sharply criticised by his contemporaries, as well as by those of a later period. These were, his failure to advance to the British stronghold, Fort Niagara; his practice of firing morning and evening guns, which thus kept the Indians advised of his movements; and finally, his wanton destruction of Indian property, especially the fine orchards which he discovered in his march.

It may be urged as a primary reason why Sullivan did not push his conquest to the very walls of Fort Niagara, that he had no express orders to do so. He says in his official report on this point, that "he had it not in command." The object of the expedition, as declared by Washington, was to devastate the country of the Six Nations, and in his letter of instructions to Sullivan, he speaks of the capture of Fort Niagara as a contingent event, to be decided on together with other matters, as the "future events of the campaign unfold themselves." But even had Sullivan's orders included the capture of the British fort, it is clear that the circumstances of the case would have compelled him to exercise that degree of discretionary power conceded to every military officer, by returning as he did after reaching the Genesee, instead of pressing forward. For a period of over two weeks his soldiers had been subsisting on half rations, and even with sparing use, the stores had become greatly reduced. To have gone on through an unknown wilderness with such scanty stores

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

187

that but a few days would be sufficient to exhaust them, would have been sheer madness. It has been suggested that the soldiers might have subsisted on a portion of the Indian stores which they destroyed. As these consisted either of vegetables, which were largely of a perishable nature, or of corn, which the effort to eat had already caused considerable distress and disease among the men, it will be seen that this expedient was out of the question. Again, the season was far advanced, and had Niagara been reached, the amount of provisions secured by conquest would have been wholly inadequate to support both the conquerors and the conquered. In that event, General Sullivan would have been compelled to care for his own forces, and inhumanly allow the British and Indians to starve; or, with a rigorous winter just before him, have set out upon the return march of hundreds of miles, with stores barely sufficient to keep his soldiers from starving. Under these circumstances, Sullivan would have been justified in the course he took, even had his orders been to continue the march to the Niagara frontier. That it was through no lack of courage that he did not press on is shown by his letter to Congress, in which he declares that he would have gone on to Niagara if he had been supplied with fifteen days' rations in addition to what he had, and expresses his conviction that "from the bravery and ardor of our troops," Fort Niagara would have fallen into our hands.

As a second count in the indictment of General Sullivan, it is said, that, by firing his morning and evening guns he kept the Indians constantly advised of his presence and movements, who were thus able to avoid him. It seems to be forgotten that long before the army left Tioga the enemy had learned the object of the expedition, and made its preparations accordingly. Sullivan would have found great difficulty in surprising and cap-

turing any portion of the enemy while they possessed this knowledge of his purpose, even had he moved with all the secrecy possible. His movements were constantly watched by the savage scouts, who, though unseen, were ever on the alert to discover his designs and warn their dusky companions in time to make good their escape. After leaving Newtown it was impossible to come up with the enemy or draw them into an engagement. Thus, Sullivan was unable to reach those whom he desired to punish, and would have found, had he come upon the Indian villages unawares, only the old men, the women and the children. "Humanity dictated the fore-warning that those he did not come to war against could have time to flee. It would have been a far darker feature of the campaign than those that have been complained of, and one that could not have been mitigated, if old men, women and children, had been unalarmed, and exposed to the vengeance of those who came from the valleys of the Susquehanna and the Mohawk to punish murderers of their kindred and neighbors." Another purpose served in thus firing the large guns was to impress the Indians with a sense of the power of the advancing force, and to fill them with terror. The same device had been used years before, and it would seem to have been a favorite mode of spreading consternation among the untutored savages. The terror and despair of the Indian women on the Genesee, when they heard these big guns has already been noted. Doubtless this was the case throughout the march.

The third point against General Sullivan is as uncalled for as those just noticed. In destroying the villages, cultivated fields and extensive orchards in the Indian country, he was simply executing the orders of his commanding officer. These left him no discretion, but

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

189

expressly directed that he should lay waste the Indian country and drive its inhabitants to seek shelter and protection of their English allies. Doubtless the destruction of these villages and orchards seems to many wanton and useless, but it should be remembered that in war, acts seemingly the most cruel are often in fact the kindest; that prompt, decisive action, though accompanied by waste and bloodshed, may prove the very means of preventing further strife, and restore peace and safety to communities. In this particular case the chief aim of the campaign was to destroy the crops and orchards of the Six Nations, that they might be deprived of the means, during the following autumn and winter, of troubling the frontiers. The authorities also aimed at such a demonstration of the power and spirit of the Colonies, that the Indians would no longer think they could carry on their cruel warfare against the unprotected frontiers with impunity. They had been led by the British authorities to think the Colonies were so poor and weak that they were powerless to punish their savage foes, and thus thinking, the Indians had become bold, insolent and defiant to the last degree. The duty of humbling them had become imperative, and the means adopted were not only such as the usages of modern warfare sanction, but such only as were feasible or gave reasonable promise of success. A recent writer, in considering this subject, has said: "Much has been said in censure of the expedition, on the score of humanity. Retaliation, prompt and decisive, has ever proved a stern necessity in dealing with savage tribes,—the only method of staying their brutalities. In carrying out that policy in this campaign, the aim was to strike a salutary terror, without unnecessary destruction of life. Few Indians were slain, except at the battle of Newtown. Unreasoning sensitiveness may be shocked at the

approach, in a Christian nation, to savage warfare, even with a savage foe. But what the best men of the country, who knew well the Indian character, deemed justifiable and expedient, needs little apology."

Another fact, having an important bearing on this question, is that the Indians of the Genesee country were not only raising supplies for themselves, to be used while engaged in their border warfare, but were also supplying the needs of the British troops at Niagara. The Genesee valley was the granary whence the British authorities drew an important part of their provisions, and during the year 1779 unusual pains were taken to augment these supplies, that the allied forces of the British and Indians might be amply provided for while engaged in active operations in the field. The blow struck at the Iroquois was therefore scarcely less a blow at the British themselves, and its results were nearly as disastrous to the latter as to their savage allies.

The same writer whom we have before quoted says: "However reluctant Washington and Sullivan—both more than ordinarily generous and humane—may have been to inflict such wide-spread devastation, public duty demanded it; and Sullivan had no alternative but to carry out his instructions, and obey the orders of Congress." It is a notable fact that while Sullivan was unjustly censured for laying waste the Indian country, such was his love and veneration for the Commander-in-chief that he never sought to justify himself by quoting Washington's orders, which would have been a complete defence, but was content to rest under unjust condemnation rather than bring criticism or reproach on his beloved commander.

This subject calls into question the abilities of General Sullivan as a military officer. It will not be irrelevant, therefore, to quote the words of an eminent foreigner

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

191

who, when writing of this campaign, said that "the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed, and discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern generals." Another authority says: "Sullivan was said to have always the best intelligence of any in the army. His instructions for special or partisan service are minute and sensible. His marches were well arranged and expeditious, and, on several occasions, at night; and, although through a strange country, they were without the least confusion.

* * * From the outset of the Revolution, Sullivan took pains to fit himself for its exigencies. He purchased a valuable collection of military works, and studied them until they, unfortunately, were captured."

Such is the judgment of unbiased contemporaries, as well as that reached after patient research by modern students of history, concerning Sullivan and his achievements. His rank as an able military officer is fully acknowledged, his faithfulness in carrying out the instructions of his superiors shown to have won unqualified approval, and the results achieved are proved to have been all that could have been reasonably expected. With this array of testimony to vindicate him, therefore, candor should compel the admission that the ground taken by those who have seen fit to criticise Sullivan's conduct of the Indian expedition is untenable, and that in all respects he is entitled to praise, not censure.

APPENDIX.

BRODHEAD'S EXPEDITION.

MENTION has already been made of Colonel Brodhead's expedition from Fort Pitt against the hostile Indian tribes. It was the original intention that he should make a junction with Sullivan's army near the Genesee, but for some unknown cause, this was not done. The service performed by Colonel Brodhead is thus referred to by General Washington :

"Extract from General Orders.

"HEAD QUARTERS, MORE'S HOUSE,
"October 18th, 1779. }

"The Commander-in-Chief is happy in the opportunity
"of congratulating the army on our further success, by
"advices just arrived. Col. Brodhead, with the Conti-
"nental troops under his command, and a body of militia
"and volunteers, has penetrated about one hundred and
"eighty miles into the Indian country, on the Allegany
"river, burnt ten of the Muncey and Seneca towns in
"that quarter, containing one hundred and sixty-five
"houses; destroyed all their fields of corn, computed to
"comprehend five hundred acres, besides large quantities
"of vegetables; obliging the Savages to flee before him
"with the greatest precipitation, and to leave behind
"them many skins and other articles of value. The only
"opposition the Savages ventured to give our troops, on
"this occasion, was near Cuskusking. About forty of
"their warriors, on their way to commit barbarity on
"our frontier settlers, were met here. Lieut. Harden,
"of the 8th Pennsylvania regiment, at the head of one of
"our advance parties, composed of thirteen men, of

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

193

"whom eight were of our friends the Delaware nation, who immediately attacked the Savages and put them to the rout, with the loss of five killed on the spot, and of all their canoes, blankets, shirts, and provisions, of which, as is usual for them when going into action, they had divested themselves, and also of several arms. Two of our men and one of our Indian friends were very slightly wounded in the action, which was all the damage we sustained in the whole enterprise.

"The activity, perseverance, and firmness, which marked the conduct of Col. Brodhead, and that of all the officers and men, of every description, in this expedition, do them great honor, and their services justly entitle them to the thanks, and to this testimonial of the General's acknowledgment."

In a letter dated "West Point, 20th October, 1779," addressed to the Marquis de Lafayette, Gen. Washington incidentally alludes to these two campaigns, and their probable effects upon the Indians. He informs Gen. Lafayette, as news that may be interesting to him, that—

"Gen. Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations; driven all their inhabitants, men, women and children, out of it; and is at Easton on his return to join this army, with the troops under his command. He performed this service without losing forty men, either by the enemy or by sickness. While the Six Nations were under this rod of correction, the Mingo and Muncey tribes, living on the Allegany, French creek, and other waters of the Ohio, above Fort Pitt, met with similar chastisement from Col. Brodhead, who, with six hundred men, advanced upon them at the same instant, and laid waste their country. These unexpected and severe strokes have disconcerted, humbled, and distressed the Indians exceedingly, and will, I am persuaded, be productive of great good, as they are undeniable proofs to them that

"Great Britain cannot protect them, and that it is in our power to chastise them whenever their hostile conduct deserves it."

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

The reader will remember that Sullivan was accompanied on this expedition by two civil engineers, Thomas Machin and Mr. Lodge. Aided by the engineer corps, these men chained every mile of the distance from Easton, Pa., to the Genesee river, and the data and maps prepared by them have aided very materially in tracing the route of the army and the situation of the Indian villages. Among Captain Machin's papers, the following table of distances was found, accompanying a map of the route. It will be found that the names of places as here given correspond with those in the text, except that of Adjusta, which appears in the text as Kanaghsaws.

"Distances of places from Easton, Pennsylvania to Chenesee Castle, taken in 1779, by actual survey :

NAMES OF PLACES.	MILES.	TOTAL.
From Easton to Weomining,	65	65
To Lackewaneck Creek,	10	75
Quailuterunk,	7	82
Tunkhannunk Creek,	11	93
Meshohing Creek,	9	102
Vanderlips Plantation,	5	107
Wealusking Town,	8	115
Wessawkin, or Pine Creek,	14½	129½
Tioga,	15½	145
Chemung,	12	157
Newtown,	8½	165½
French Catherinestown,	18	183½
Kandia or Appleton,	27½	211
Outlet of Seneca Lake,	11½	222½
Kanadesaga, or Seneca Castle,	3½	226
Kanandaque,	15½	241½
Haunyauya,	13½	255
Adjusta, - - -	12½	267½
Cossauwauloughly,	7	274½
Chenesee Castle,	5½	280

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

195

A PROTEST FROM SULLIVAN.

The delay in furnishing General Sullivan with men and provisions for this expedition, drew from him some spirited protests. Unjustly criticised in other campaigns, those who were unfriendly to him again improved the opportunity afforded by these delays to hold him responsible for them, and thus place him in a false position. He deeply felt the injustice of this course, and to vindicate himself, as well as to forward the preparations for the campaign, he wrote to Congress from Wyoming, July 21st, as follows:

+ "I have hitherto delayed troubling Congress, in the hope that I should have been able before this to have given them more favorable accounts from this quarter. My duty to the public, and regard to my own reputation, compel me to state the reasons why this army has been so long delayed here, without advancing into the enemy's country. In April last, it was agreed that the army should be put in motion the 15th of May, and rendezvous at Easton on the 20th, to proceed immediately on the expedition. The necessary preparations were to be made in the quartermaster and commissary departments, that no delay might take place; success in a great measure depending on secrecy and despatch. I immediately detached parties to clear a road from Easton to Wyoming, which was done in season, and might have been done sooner, had not the backwardness of affairs in other quarters obliged me to hold a great part of the army at Easton, to prevent the unnecessary consumption of stores destined for the expedition.

The plan for carrying on the expedition was not agreeable to my mind; nor was the number of men destined for it sufficient, in my opinion, to insure success. This Congress will see by the inclosed copies of my letters to General Washington, Nos. 1 and 2, which eventually

had no other effect than to alter the route of General Clinton's detachment from the Mohawk to the Susquehanna. I had, early in April, received, from the heads of the quartermaster and commissary departments, assurances that every thing should be in a perfect state of readiness upon my arrival at this post. But, on my arrival at Easton, I was informed by General Hand, who then commanded here, that there was not the least prospect of the boats or stores being in readiness in season; upon which I halted the army at Easton, sending forward only such corps as were necessary to defend this post and assist in forwarding the stores.

When I felt encouraged by the flattering accounts that were sent me, I came to this place, and here have remained without its being in my power to advance toward the enemy. To prove this clearly to Congress, I inclose a return of provisions, made me in April, which were said to be deposited on the Susquehanna, and would be at Kelso's Ferry so as to be transported here by the time specified. The notes at the bottom of the return will show what we now have on hand, and of what quality. Nearly one-half the flour, and more than two-thirds of the live stock mentioned, I have caused to be procured from Easton, fearing to meet with those disappointments I have too often experienced. The inspector is now on the ground, by order of the Board of War, inspecting the provisions; and his regard to truth must oblige him, on his return, to report that, of the salted meat on hand, there is not a single pound fit to be eaten, even at this day, though every measure has been taken to preserve it that possibly could be devised. I also inclose a list of articles in the quartermaster's department which were to have been procured, with notes thereon of what have been received. Upon examining these returns, Congress will be at no loss to account for the delay of this army.

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

197

I requested Commissary Blaine to forward a thousand head of cattle; some few more than two hundred arrived; and about one hundred and fifty more sent to Sunbury were left there; being too poor to walk, and many of them unable to stand. Three hundred of our horses came in with Colonel Copperthwait on the 20th inst.; but there is not a sufficiency of them, and no pack-saddles for one-half we have.

I inclose a letter from Major Clayburn, of the 19th of May, to show that the boats were then unbuilt which were to have brought the provisions to this post by the 20th; and to show that the first boats, upon presumption that others would be procured, were ordered not to return; but the small number procured has occasioned them to be sent down the river four times since. The other copies of letters, numbered from 5 to 10 inclusively, will show the steps which have been taken to procure provisions, point out the deficiencies, and explain the mortifying necessity I have been under of remaining in a state of inactivity at this post. They will show that we are now bringing on pack-horses, from Carlisle, flour destined for the use of this army, which ought to have been here the 20th of May last. I beg leave to assure Congress that these deficiencies did not arise from want of proper and repeated application, nor has a single step been left untried, which was possible for me, or the army under my command, to take, for procuring and forwarding supplies. Having been taught by repeated disappointments to be cautious, I early gave orders to General Clinton to supply his troops with three months' provisions, and wrote to Governor Clinton for his assistance in April last. This has been done, and they are supplied. I have procured provision from Easton and other places, which, with what is now on its way from Sunbury, to be here on Sunday, will enable us to move the beginning of next week.

To avoid censure in case of misfortune, I beg Congress to recur to the reasonings in my letters to General Washington, respecting the numbers necessary to insure success, and then to examine the inclosed return of the forces here. They now stand at two thousand three hundred and twelve, rank and file. General Washington, in consequence of my letters, wrote the Executive Council of Pennsylvania for rangers and riflemen. They engaged seven hundred and twenty, and the President frequently wrote me that they would be ready in season. Not a man of them has joined us, nor are any about to do it. The reason assigned by them is, that the quartermaster gave such extravagant prices to boatmen, that they all enlisted into the boat service; but this is evidently a mistake, for we have not a hundred boatmen engaged for the army, and but forty-two pack-horsemen, so that I must draft near nine hundred for boatmen and pack-horsemen. This will reduce my numbers to fourteen hundred and twelve; then I must deduct for drivers of cattle and for the artillery one hundred and fifty, for the garrison one hundred, which leaves me eleven hundred and sixty-two; from these, I deduct the officers' waiters and managers of battery-horses, two hundred and twenty-four; this reduces me to nine hundred and thirty-eight, and more than a third of them without a shirt to their backs.

This is the force with which I am to advance against an enemy allowed to be two thousand strong, and who have certainly been lately reinforced with seven hundred British troops from Canada. I need not mention, that it is easy for the enemy to act with their whole force against either part of our army before the junction is formed, and that common prudence will prompt to this. I have therefore nothing to rely on but the ardor and well-known bravery of my troops, which I trust will

History of Sullivan's Campaign.

199

surmount all opposition. But should a defeat take place, and the ruin of the army be the consequence, whether I do or do not perish in the action, I call upon the members of Congress to witness to the world, that I early foresaw and foretold the danger, and used every means in my power to procure a force sufficient to insure success, but failed to obtain it."



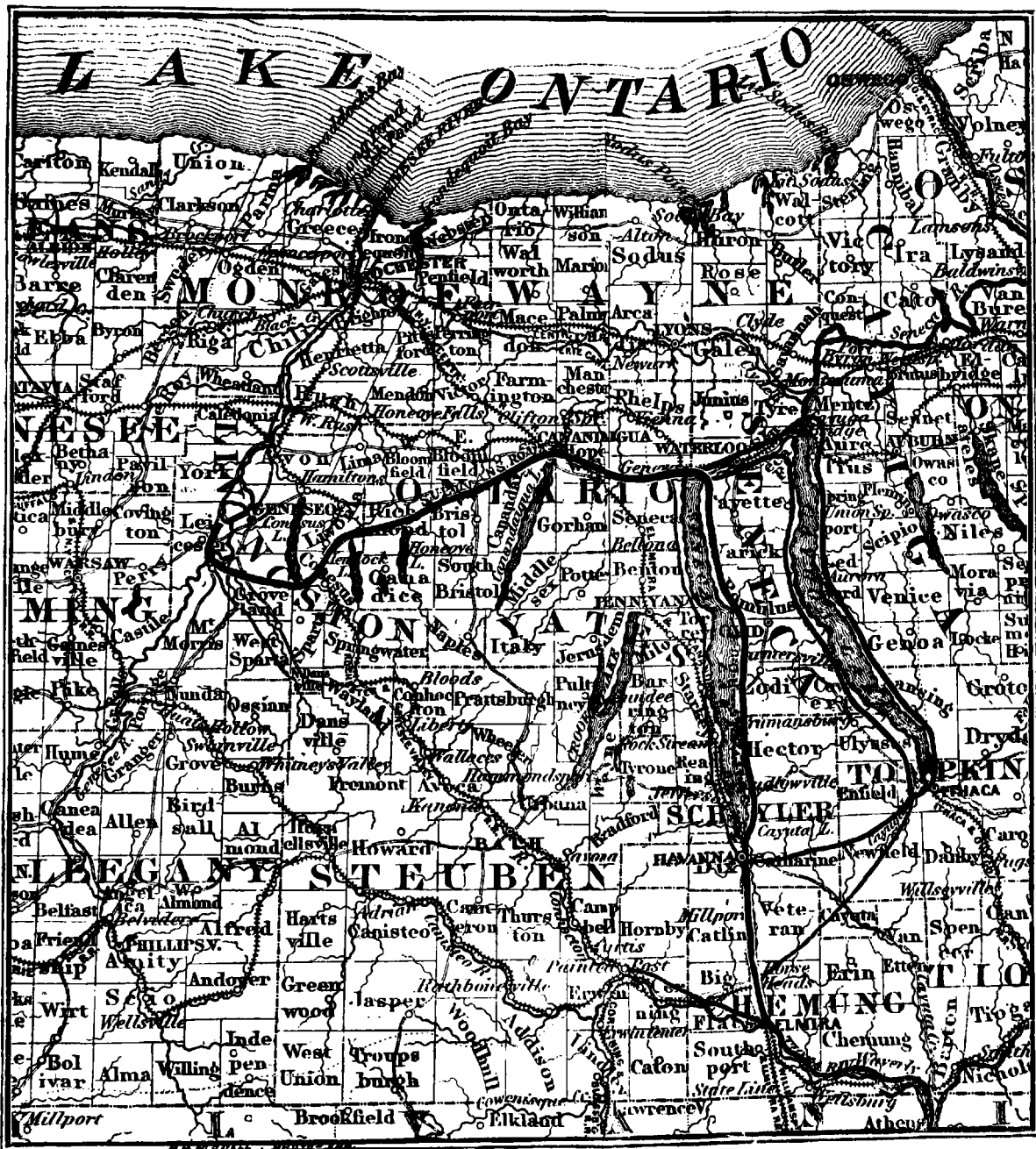
EXPLANATION OF THE MAP.

The map which follows shows the route followed by Sullivan's army from Tioga (now Athens, Pa.), northward. The reader will remember that Clinton's division effected a junction with General Sullivan at that point, and the united forces moved together from Tioga, up the Tioga or Chemung river, to what is now Elmira. The further movements of the army were in that portion of Western New York shown on the map. The heavy line shows the route of the main army; the lighter lines the courses of the detached expeditions (on the return march) of Colonel Butler, Colonel Dearborn and Colonel Smith, which left the main body at Kanadesaga and proceeded up the west side of Seneca lake and both sides of Cayuga lake. The course of Colonel Spaulding is also shown, who marched from Kanawlohalla (Elmira), after the army reached that point on its return, and destroyed Painted Post and Knacto.

It has not been thought necessary to show on the map the route from Easton to Wyoming, and thence to Tioga. From Wyoming the route followed the Susquehanna to its confluence with the Tioga, and the reader can readily trace it on any good map of Pennsylvania.

Doubtless it would have been gratifying to some persons if this map showed every detail of the route, even so minutely as to name every farm through which it lay. Such a map, however, would have been too large for the

present purpose, even if the author possessed the ability to make it, which he does not; but he has the pleasure of stating that such a map is in the course of preparation by General John S. Clark, of Auburn, N. Y., who has made careful surveys of the entire route, and is sparing no pains to make it accurate in all its details. When given to the public, as doubtless it soon will be, it will prove a valuable contribution to our store of historical materials.



SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN—ROUTE OF THE ARMY.

Showing the country traversed north of Athens (Tioga), Pa.

REYNOLDS LIBRARY, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Circulating Department

*

M.23
Norton
28267

This book may be retained for two weeks. A fine of two cents a day and the expense of a messenger will be imposed if retained beyond that period.

Any person who shall mutilate, mark or otherwise deface this book will be subjected to the penalty of the law.

Q. 1, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14-15, 29, 33, 57
81, 89