“The Patriot’s Flame:”

An Expedition Against the Six Nations Iroquois

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An honors thesis submitted to the History Department of Rutgers University, written under the supervision of Professor Camilla Townsend.

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“It would require the aggregate of a large number of predatory incursions and isolated burnings, to balance the awful scene of conflagration and blood, which at once extinguished the power of Sassacus, and the brave and indomitable Narragansets over whom he reigned. No! until it is forgotten, that by some Christians in infant Massachusetts it was held to be right to kill Indians as the agents and familiars of Azazel; until the early records of even tolerant Connecticut, which disclose the fact that the Indians were seized by the Puritans, transported to the British West Indies, and sold as slaves, are lost; until the Amazon and La Plata shall have washed away the bloody history of the Spanish American conquest, and until the fact that Cortez stretched the unhappy Guatimozin naked upon a bed of burning coals, is proved to be a fiction, let not the American Indian be pronounced the most cruel of men!”

Table of Contents

The Acknowledgements...........................................................................i
The Introduction.........................................................................................iv

Part I: A Brief History, & from the Perspective, of the Six Nations Iroquois

The Kanonsionni.........................................................................................1
The Seeds of Deceit.....................................................................................8
The Brothers Divided..................................................................................26
The Battle of Chuknut...............................................................................35
The Last Stand............................................................................................49

Part II: The Sullivan Campaign from the Patriots’ Perspective

The Battle of Newtown...............................................................................56
The Groveland Ambush............................................................................64
The Genesee Castle...................................................................................74
The Road Home.........................................................................................79

The Conclusion..........................................................................................93

Bibliography..............................................................................................110
The Acknowledgements

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the elusive Native American primary sources. Without his help, I might not have found the documents (Draper Manuscripts) which proved to be an integral asset for my thesis.

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On a serious note, I am forever grateful for all of the faculty members I was so privileged to study under who have influenced me in too many ways to mention. I would like to give a quick and special thanks to Professors Anne Coiro of the English department, Parvis Gahssem-Fanchandi of the Anthropology department, and Matt Mattsuda of the History department, for helping to shape me into the student I am today.

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The Introduction

The following is an examination of General John Sullivan’s expedition against the Six Nations of Iroquois in 1779 during the American Revolution. My intention is to put into focus some of the blurred lines of the traditional history of the United States. I am not going to take an ultra-liberal stance, nor will I take an ultra-conservative stance when analyzing the expedition. Too much time is spent on attempting to create a “truth” about the past, and not enough emphasis is placed on the various ways of interpreting one event. There is this “love it or leave it” mentality that plagues this country, and which also infects our history. There is no distinct “right” or “wrong,” and those who linger in the middle are often seen as weak and wishy-washy. There should be no passive voice when attempting to be completely objective, but one can still have conviction while looking at both sides of a story. I hope that the readers of this paper will think twice when the idea of United States superiority comes to mind, and realize that our past is much more complicated than the myths that have been engrained in us from elementary school and perpetuated throughout our early education.

I have divided this thesis into three sections from two perspectives. First, I begin with a chapter on the brief history of the Six Nations Iroquois. I discuss their origin and reason for their formation. I follow that with two chapters on the backgrounds of the relationship between the Iroquois and the European settlers. These three chapters are designed to give the reader some context to enable a clearer understanding of the situation and relationships formed by the Iroquois by the time of the American Revolution. This background should be looked at as a way to try to gain some understanding about the complexities of issues the Iroquois, and Native Americans in general, had to maneuver through while trying to hold on to their way of life.
Following those chapters is my best attempt at a narrative of the Sullivan Expedition from the perspective of the Iroquois. I only say my best attempt due to the lack of primary source materials from the Iroquois themselves. I will explain a little further down what sources I used to accomplish this task. Immediately following the narrative of the expedition according to the Iroquois will be three chapters of the Sullivan Campaign from the perspective of the officers of the Colonial Army. I will also go into further details about those chapters shortly. Finally, I end with my conclusion. There I use the two perspectives that I have positioned one after the other as a way to highlight the myths that have been born out of the American Revolution and preserved in the historical discourse of U.S. academia.

I have collected and scrupulously read through a large array of sources in order to put together this dual view of the Sullivan Campaign. The number of primary sources directly relating to the expedition is, on the Colonial side, fairly large. I have used the 27 journals from the officers of the expedition which were conveniently compiled by Frederick Cook in his single volume book, *Journals of the Military Expeditions of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*, which was printed in 1887. I began my research with an actual copy of an original print, but, unfortunately, time has taken a serious toll on some books and I had to find a digital copy for the sake of preserving the disintegrating binding and pages. I used these journals in order to create a descriptive narrative of the expedition from the direct point of view of the Colonial Army, which I will explain in further detail soon. To accompany the journals, I have gone through five volumes of *The Writings of George Washington*, which was edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. These were printed in 1936, so their condition was much better than Cook’s book. It was a lot of fun going through the correspondences between Washington and the Generals of the Sullivan campaign. I also used
the collection of the *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan*, edited by Otis G. Hammond, and also printed in 1939. Cross referencing between the journals of the officers and the Washington and Sullivan papers was really enjoyable. Tracing the path of discussion from letter to letter was like putting together a puzzle. Each letter led to another discussion and another thought, both, creating a coherent picture of the events and illuminating underlying motives that were not so apparent.

During my long and extensive visits to Alexander Library, I sat on the floor in front of the vast collection of volumes of the Writings of Washington, Letters and Pamphlets of Washington, Journals and Letters of Washington, Diaries and Journals of Washington, and The Life and Letters of Washington,¹ until I found the corresponding volumes for the expedition. I had first made the mistake of grabbing every volume with the corresponding dates, but soon realized that even if the dates match, the subject could be completely different. Had these volumes been small paperbacks, it would not have been such a big deal, but these are some hefty hard cover books, close to 600 pages each. I spent many hours going through microfilm and microfiche in the basement of Alexander Library as well. There I was able to cross reference Cook’s compilation of journals with the individually published ones and some hand written originals for any possible discrepancies. It was a relief to find no discrepancies between any of the primary sources, each journal I was able to find matched up with the one in Cook’s book. I felt like a detective, searching through evidence, trying to find one thing out of place. The only noteworthy element I found, besides the different observations between the officers, was between the journals of Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn and Major James Norris in the compilation by Cook. What I found was less of a discrepancy and more of a cause of plagiarism.

¹ Not actual titles.
The journals shared some general similarities in the beginning, but as the expedition continued, some of the instances were direct copies of each other. I was unable to find out who copied whom, or if both copied from the other. No other journals shared so much of the same information. I was well aware that these men were all on the same mission, and, for the most part, experiencing the same things, but these two journals at certain instances were word for word replicas of each other. Where I found it relevant, I noted in the text, otherwise I tended to use Dearborn’s entries because he was a higher ranking officer than Norris. This does not mean that I believe that Norris copied Dearborn. Rather, I chose to use Dearborn’s entries because the lower ranking officer must submit to the higher rank, so I followed suit with the journals too.

Finding primary sources for the Native American perspective proved to be much more difficult. It is unfortunate for research purposes that the American Indians rarely wrote things down. Most of my sources that dealt with the Native American perspective had to be secondary. What I was able to use as primary documents was the Penguin Classic’s *Women’s Indian Captivity Narratives*, “A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison”, dictated by Mary Jemison in 1824. This copy is edited by Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, and published in 1998. Jemison’s descriptions of life before and during the American Revolution gave me great insight into the character of the Seneca nation where she lived. I was also able to look at hand written letters by Molly Brant, Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant’s sister and wife of Sir William Johnson, thanks to the collection of Lyman C. Draper, known as the Draper Manuscripts, now on microfilm. Unfortunately for my paper, the topics of the letters were not useful, but being able to look at hand written documents from over 200 years ago was worth it. In the Draper Manuscripts I was able to read his notes and corresponding documents for the book on Brant that he was planning on writing but never did. These also helped me create a similar narrative to the
one I had done for the Patriot’s perspective. In addition to the Jemison’s Narrative and the Draper Manuscripts, I also read through a series of transcribed speeches by Native American Chiefs in, *Speeches Delivered by Several Indian Chiefs: also, an Extract of a Letter from an Indian Chief*, edited by James D. Bemis and Daniel Lawrence in 1812.

The main secondary sources I used in order to give the history of and perspective from the Native American were Mary Riggs Diefendorf’s, *The Historical Mohawk*, 1910; Barbara Graymont’s, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 1972; Allan W. Eckert’s, *The Wilderness War*, 1978; Isable Thompson Kelsay’s, *Joseph Brant 1743 – 1807: Man of Two Worlds*, 1984; and Daniel K. Richter’s, *Facing East from Indian Country*, 2001. There were many more sources that I read through, which I will be listing as additional readings, but these provided the most information and aid in developing what I could to create the perspective of the American Indian before and during the Sullivan Expedition.

I would like to take a moment to explain my use of terminologies when discussing the Native Americans. I jump between terms like Native American, American Indian, and Iroquois. When I am speaking in generalities about the Native American, I will use either the phrase “Native American” or “American Indian.” I will only use the term Indian alone when either directly quoting a source, or during the narrative portion of the text. The term Iroquois is even more ambiguous in this paper.

Iroquois is actually the name of the language that is shared between groups of Native American nations. Dean Snow, in his book, *The Iroquois*, 1994, discusses the origin of the proto-Iroquoian language and how linguists have associated the term with many nations of American Indians who have occupied the North American continent for centuries.² Snow

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compares the early Iroquoian language and its influence on the languages of the nations that speak its dialect to the European Romance languages derived from Latin. He states that Iroquoian is the root language of an offshoot of different morphologies of that root language. For instance, the Cherokee, whose language is a derivative of Iroquoian, would need an interpreter in order to communicate with a Seneca, much as an Italian would need an interpreter to speak to a Spaniard. It is not uncommon for a group to be named according to their language, such as the English, French, Italian, German, and Chinese are all named after their respected languages, or rather their languages have become their labels. This chicken-or-the-egg scenario is for another discussion; however, what is clear is that these groups share a common space and language. They are all mostly sedentary societies, with the exception of early Germanic culture, and their linguistic structure remained contingent on their settlements. This was a little different with the Iroquoian speaking societies. Much like the Semitic societies of southwest Asia (the Middle East) and North Africa, the nomadic organization of many of the North American societies, created far fewer distinct differences between the nations, as far as the Europeans at that time could tell. The vast similarities in religious customs, trading practices, cultivation and use of currency (all characteristics of a civilized people, thought the Europeans did not see them as such) caused an ethnocentric nomenclature. All Native Americans were Indians, and all Iroquoian speaking people were Iroquois. This has stuck throughout historical discourse, and for the purpose of this paper, I will perpetuate this misconception for clarity. When I use Iroquois, I am specifically referring to the Five or Six Nations, depending on the time frame of the conversation. I do this so I can avoid writing out all the individual nations, or writing things like “the People of the Six Nations,” or “the Iroquoian speaking Native Americans of the north east
region of North America.” I apologize for continuing to allow this consolidation of vastly diverse societies into one.

For the creation of the narrative from the Iroquois perspective, I have, to the best of my ability, used all the resources I could find. During my research, I have collected and used a mixture of primary and secondary sources with the intention of creating a clear and readable narration. One of the major problems concerns reliability of the sources and the objectives of the authors. For example, I have taken excerpts out of Allan W. Eckert’s 1978 book, *The Wilderness War*. He calls his book a historical narrative and opens in the Author’s Note with: “*The Wilderness War* is fact, not fiction. Every incident herein described actually occurred.”

Eckert has accompanied his narrative with an abundance of footnotes and an equal number of bibliographical references; however, the majority of his notes are only further explanations of the text without any direct reference to a specific source. He goes on to mention in the Author’s Note that “certain techniques normally associated with the novel form have been utilized in this book, in order to help provide continuity and maintain a high degree of reader interest.”

Within his text, Eckert alludes to the state of mind a person would have had at the time of an event. He gives, to a great degree, specific gesticulations of characters which would be impossible to ascertain. As an example, he tells of Chief Joseph Brant writing a letter alone in his tent where he concludes with Brant smiling to himself as he seals the letter. I am not sure why he takes such liberties into the mindset of a person when it is clear that there is no evidence, since Brant left no diary or journal (at least none that I was able to acquire). This technique, however, does add a level of personality and enables the reader to associate more easily with the character, which is something that is lacking in the other secondary sources. There is a problem which

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4 Ibid., p. x.
occurs, and that is the questioning of the remainder of his writing. If he is so willing to assume an omniscient role into the characteristics of these historical figures, what other liberties has he taken throughout his narrative? This is the dilemma when pursuing historical research, or research in general. The need to be critical of the collected sources and documents is paramount in the deciphering of the “truth.” So the question arises as to why I am using such a source after being so critical of it? The answer is this, despite his unrealistic interjections pertaining to the feelings and mindsets of the figures in his book, his research and source collection is very well organized, and where the “facts” do line up, his interpretation of events are well thought out and every measure seems to have been taken to create an evenly balanced perspective from both sides of the war against the American Indians. I have also included Eckert as an example of how one might use and manipulate recorded events in order to support one’s point of view. Now, I put “facts” in quotes because even with a primary document, such as a journal or diary, an incredible level of subjectivity must always be taken into account.

For instance, in A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, Mrs. Jemison overly praises the valor and “uncontaminated character” of her captors, the Seneca. This is most certainly done in response to the overwhelming negative attributes which were associated and ascribed to the Native American in general; the degree of praise she proclaims of her adopted family was, in a sense, a way of counter balancing the harsh racism and echoes of savagery unfairly placed on the American Indian in their contemporary discourse. What certainly validates Jemison’s narrative is the fact that she does not hold back any of the atrocities done at the hands of the Seneca. Some authors, like Colin Calloway in his book, The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America, have completely ignored the brutality and torture of two captured Colonial soldiers during the Sullivan Campaign even while citing directly
from Jemison’s narrative, where she describes the event in great detail. One explanation for this is that Calloway was intentionally attempting to perpetuate a specific image that the Native American was a victim of unmerited persecution. Furthermore, by enlightening the reader that the brutality of human nature runs equally as deep in the Native American as it does in a more “civilized” people, might bring dishonor to the “noble savage.” Jemison does not concern herself with such moments of ideological perpetuation; rather, she plainly presents the events and stories she has witnessed with the motive of telling a true account of her life. Yet, even here we fall into the murky waters of second hand interpretations. In her narrative she often relays second hand accounts of the time.

In this instance, there is less of a problem of translation and more of a problem similar to the game called “telephone.” The farther one is removed from the source of the information, the better the chance for misrepresentation and misunderstanding. However, in the situation of translations, one encounters an even more arduous task at deciphering through the language. In the collection, *Speeches Delivered by Several Indian Chiefs: also, an Extract of a Letter from an Indian Chief*, edited by James D. Bemis and Daniel Lawrence in 1812, one of the speeches printed was purportedly given by an unnamed Indian chief in response to sermon given by a Swedish Missionary. The sermon was translated to the Indians and the Indian’s response was then translated to the Missionary. The Missionary returned to Sweden and published his sermon and the Indian’s response in Latin which was then translated into English for publication in 1809 and then reprinted into this collection in 1812. In this situation, one is dealing with a multiplicity of translations, into and out of non-related languages. The Germanic based Swedish language shares absolutely no similarities to any of the Indian languages of North America, nor does it share any with Latin. English is the closest relative to Swedish, both being primarily Germanic
based, and English is also influenced by Latin-based languages; however, the final translation into English occurred only after the speech had been translated twice. One needs to be wary of the liberties taken by the translator, and in this case second and possibly third translators, when deciding how to define words and ideas which have no comparison from language to language. The reason for this digression is to keep the reader in mind of the choices I have made when deciding what information to include in this writing. Throughout my research, I have discovered a myriad of discrepancies between the sources I have acquired. I have noted a few of the discrepancies in footnotes within my paper; however, the number of them continued to grow so that it has come to my attention that this would make for another thesis topic all together, and I believe that this might be an endeavor I would like to pursue in the future. It is surely disconcerting to find so many instances where claims of factual events vary so greatly. I fully understand the liberties of interpretation. Scholars have spent years drudging through primary source documents, deciphering hand written letters, and consulting others with scholarly references in order to come to the conclusions which they stand by. What concerns me are not their interpretations, nor are their conclusions what I am criticizing. What I am interested in is the misrepresentation of individual events used as a way to back up their argument.

Following the Iroquois narrative is a depiction of the military expedition of the Patriot Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Iroquois in 1779, at a crucial moment in the American Revolution. This narrative is entirely from the point of view of the officers of Sullivan’s army, interpreted from the collection of their published journals. All events and descriptions have been taken and reinterpreted from the journals of the officers on the expedition. Where there is an agreement between two or more journals regarding an event, there will be no footnote; however, where there is a direct quotation, an issue that I deem important, or
if something is only stated in one entry, it will be noted as to who wrote the information, and/or what inconsistencies there might be between the accounts. For example, where there is a list of timber, or crops, or fish given without a footnote, I have taken pieces of information from many different journal entries which seem to agree to compile a full list; however, where a footnote is placed, that will indicate a direct list from one journal entry. I proceed in that same manner throughout the narrative in order to create a complete picture of the expedition; where two journals might mention rain and three might mention it to be cold on a specific day, I will write, “it was a cold and rainy day.” All the spelling in the direct quotations has been preserved to maintain the integrity and feel of the journals. The narrative has also been written with that thought in mind.

An attempt to preserve the style of an eighteenth century work has been made throughout the narrative. For the reference of diction, the Oxford English Dictionary has been a great asset throughout the writing of this narration providing me with the definitions of the words I chose according to the years they were used. It is once again worth noting that the opinions and points of views presented in the narrative are solely those of the officers as described in their journals. For example, the use of the term “savage” is by no means supported by any opinion of mine; it is solely used to preserve the diction of the officers and to grant access into the mindset of the Colonial officers who were on this expedition. It is also not my intention to vilify the Colonial army as a whole; rather, the intent is to illuminate the diverse opinions held by the individuals. This will become more apparent when reading the narrative, if the reader keeps in mind the information I choose to highlight. I have not changed any of the facts as depicted in the journals, nor have I brought any outside research, other than the 27 published journals, into the narrative portion of this paper. While the preservation of the language used during the eighteenth century
was important, I have not tried to completely mimic the style as to be a reflection; instead, I attempted to preserve the feel while interjecting a more contemporary style where I see fit to offer clarity that may be lost in the windy over romanticized language they sometimes used. I have combined information between the journals in order to create a complete narrative of the expedition. Some of the events have been condensed, and as a result, not every officer’s voice is heard; however, every entry has been carefully taken into account when deciding which information to include.

Many long hours and sunrises have been put into the writing of this thesis. It has been an overall fun, enlightening and enjoyable experience. I hope that the reader will learn something new from my presentation of the research I have done and have as much fun reading this as I had writing it.

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Part I:

A Brief History, & from the Perspective, of the Six Nations Iroquois
The Kanonsionni

“A long time ago, many years before white people came to our country, there lived in a Mohawk village just above Little Falls, two brothers, who were chiefs of the village. The elder, named Tekanawidagh, kept the east gate; and the younger, named Adergaghtha, watched the western gate. Tekanawidagh was a peaceable man, but Adergaghtha was cruel and had no peace for anyone who came within his reach.

The evil disposition of his brother grieved Tekanawidagh very much, and finally the good chief resolved to do something about it. He set out for the west to find some allies who might help him obtain peace. First he went to the neighboring Oneida and explained his plan of a confederacy to their chief, Otatseghte. The latter fell in with the idea at once and, being the younger man, politely addressed Tekanawidagh as “father.” Tekanawidagh with matching courtesy suggested that the son take precedence in the union, but Otatseghte modestly declined the honor. The two chiefs then decided that they would be equals.

After a while the Mohawk and the Oneida went together to Onondaga, the next country. The leader there, T’hadodarhoagh, stubbornly refused to join them, no matter how much they pleaded. Not until Tekanawidagh proposed that the Onondaga should keep the great council fire of the confederacy, was he at last won over by the distinction and induced to come in.

5 Means “people of the longhouse” in Iroquoian, Isabel Thompson Kelsay, Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds, p.3.
The chiefs next proceeded to Cayuga Lake, where they met no opposition. They immediately named the Cayuga chief son, and brother to the Oneida. Finally they went on to the far country of the Senecas, and here they found two leading chiefs who also agreed to join them. The Senecas, because of their frontier situation, were assigned the rank of doorkeeper of the confederacy.

All these negotiations took more than four years to accomplish. Thereafter, the five separate nations considered themselves mutually bound to share one another’s fortune, whether good or bad, and to act toward one another with brotherly and filial love.”

This is the story of the Five Nations Iroquois as told by Chief Joseph Brant. The League of the Five Nations spanned from east to west across the state of New York and began with the Mohawk, followed by the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and with the Seneca being farthest west. The origin story by Brant showed the governing structure of the League. Each nation operated independently; however, in order to keep peace between them and maintain control over their area, all the nations worked in a consortium with each other, giving each nation a voice, and advising each other on political and military decisions.

The name Kanonsionni is derived from the type of dwelling they lived in called a longhouse. It was usually a multi-family house, ranging from approximately 20’x16’x18’ up to 60’x18’x18’. The largest longhouse on record was measured at 334’x23’, and found in a village in the nation of the Onondaga. As told in the story, the Onondaga were the keepers of the council fire, so it is appropriate that the largest longhouse would be located within their nation.

6 Kelsay, p.3.
7 Graymont, p.9.
The houses were rightfully named Longhouses due to their construction. They were constructed with rows of poles about four feet apart, that would intersect at forks, rising from the floor to the roof. At the intersection of the main supports and start of the roof, poles were lashed together and then arched forming a dome. The exterior of the Longhouse was covered in the tree bark of cedar, ash, elm, basswood, fir, or spruce. The interior structure was open, allowing space for hanging corn to dry. At various intervals along the floor were fire pits or hearts, which would be shared by two families. In the roofs, directly above the hearths were holes for ventilation, which were fashioned with wooden planks that could be opened and closed with a pole.

New York State Museum, Albany, N.Y.

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8 Graymont, p.9.
There is no precise date as to when the League was formed; however, based on archeological evidence, Snow places the date of the “development of Iroquoian culture” to around 1350 to 1525 c.e., and the “rise of the league” from 1525 to 1600 c.e.10 Whenever the formation of the League occurred, it is apparent, from the origin story by Brant, that they formed to unite the Iroquois against a common threat in order to establish peace in their land. According to the story, a certain sense of hierarchy seemed to be established where the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca were the “fathers,” and the Oneida and Cayuga were the “sons.” Although this hierarchy seemed to be set in place, as mentioned earlier, each nation tended to their affairs and would choose delegates to send to the Council Fire held at Onondaga.

The Iroquoian social structure (this did not only pertain to the Five Nations, but all Iroquoian Nations as well) was based on a matrilineal system; the children born would belong to the clan of their mother. All nations were divided into clans named after a certain animal. The ascribed animal took on a totemic form, and in turn, became taboo to kill. Marriage within a clan was also taboo. This extended across all the nations of Iroquois. For example, a member of

10 Both are the names of chapters three and four in Snow’s book.
the Mohawk Turtle clan could not marry a member of the Turtle clan of any nation. Members of the same clans saw themselves as brothers and sisters.\textsuperscript{11} The line of descent through the mother, gave women much influence over the decisions of their clan. The matrons of the clans would appoint the chiefs; in addition, they would also have the power to unseat them. When it came time to appoint a new chief in the event of his death, “he did not pass his title on to his son, for titles were hereditary only in the clan; the son belonged to his mother’s, not his father’s clan. The chief’s title would be inherited by one of his brothers, or one of his sister’s sons, or another male member of his clan matron’s lineage.”\textsuperscript{12} The women had as much influence, if not more, as the men in making decisions at the councils; however, they would often delegate a warrior as their representative to present their opinions to the council. This use of the warrior as their voice gave the clan mothers’ significant influence over the warriors, which would become very important when deciding which alliance should be made during the American Revolution.\textsuperscript{13}

Furthermore, Brant’s story gives a deeper insight to his interpretation of Iroquoian history. In his story, the two brothers, Tekanawidagh and Adergaghtha, were both born and lived in a Mohawk village.\textsuperscript{14} The Mohawk nation was situated at the most eastern area of the northern Iroquois territory. Brant’s story places the two brothers, who represented conflict, in the east, which was where the first contact with Europeans began. The elder brother was the peaceful one, while the younger was cruel to anyone who came within his grasp. One might argue that this could be a representation of the relationship between the Iroquois, the elders of the land, and the European descendants, the “younger brothers” of the land. What is also

\textsuperscript{11} Graymont, p.12.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., p.13.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} We can assume that they were born there, because Brant tells that they were both chief’s, and chiefs could only be from the line of the clan mother, or the brother of the previous chief.
interesting are the roles the two brothers play. The elder held the door to the east, peacefully protecting his people; whereas, the younger brother holds the door to the west, treating all within his reach with cruelty. Tekanawidagh, the elder, was obviously concerned for the people who dwelt in the west, fearing that his cruel brother might have had plans to assault them or have them join in his cruelty; so the Mohawk set out to join an alliance with them. The Oneida, being closest to the conflict, agreed without hesitation to join with Tekanawidagh. This eager acceptance to ally in the name of peace was a reflection of the Oneida’s diplomatic strategy. They were chief proponents for the Iroquois to remain neutral during the American Revolution. Prior to the Revolution, they fought to put an end to Pontiac’s Rebellion, and to bring the Seneca back into the League.

Next were the Onondaga; they were not so easily swayed. The Onondaga had to be bribed in order to agree to fight together for peace. They too were proponents for neutrality during the American Revolution; however, during the French and Indian War, they sided with the French, against the British and their eastern brothers. Their geographic location also played a role in their initial decision to stay out of the fight. The Onondagas’ land was bordered by the Mohawk and Oneida on the east, and the Cayuga and Seneca on the west. They had Lake Ontario bordering their north and Catskill Mountains to their south. Their fear of a threat was much smaller than any of the other nations having had all their boundaries protected. The Onondagas’ reluctance was also shown in their decisions during the Revolution. Their neutrality wavered and alliance was never proclaimed to one side or the other. They were divided on all sides; some wanted to side with the Colonials, some with the British, while others wanted to remain neutral. Historically, the Cayuga and Seneca agreed on alliances. The two nations fought in Pontiac’s Rebellion, both sided with the French, and in the American Revolution.
They would both make the same choice, and in turn, share the same consequences. What the origin story revealed about Brant’s view of history is that the creation of the League of Five Nations Iroquois united the nations under one household.

This household was called Ganonsyoni, “which means ‘The Lodge Extended Lengthwise.’ The Mohawk were Keepers of the Eastern Door of the lodge, while the Senecas were the Keepers of the Western Door.”\textsuperscript{15} The Iroquois League saw themselves as living under one symbolically “all-encompassing roof,” uniting them into one brotherhood.\textsuperscript{16} The brotherhood was tested when the Anglo-Europeans arrived. It was not until 1710 that the Five Nations became Six with the induction of the Tuscarora.\textsuperscript{17} The Tuscarora were an Iroquoian-speaking people who had migrated south to the area of, what is now, Southern Virginia and North Carolina.\textsuperscript{18} There was a major migration of the Tuscarora to return north as a result of the Tuscarora War. About 1500 to 2000 refugees were welcomed under the Tree of Peace and found a safe haven on Oneida land.\textsuperscript{19}

\textsuperscript{15} Graymont, p.13.
\textsuperscript{16} Kelsay, p.2.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p.14.
\textsuperscript{18} Graymont, p.6.
\textsuperscript{19} Richter, p.167.
The Seeds of Deceit

The colonies were torn apart by the onset of the war between the Americans and their English Father. Immense pressure was placed on the Native Americans settled near the frontier to decide where their allegiances would lie. There had been years of tension and strife in the eastern woodlands of the North American continent between the early English settlers and the Native Americans from the time of European arrival until the end of the French and Indian War. For over 150 years, wars, rebellions, and skirmishes had plagued the region due to disputes between Colonial powers over land, trade and hunting, which had forced the indigenous populations into a loyalty tug-of-war.

The Iroquois found themselves intimately involved in the rivalries between French and English claims over territory. Both empires were eager to acquire the allegiance of the Iroquois mostly due to their strategic position of land on the continent and their political influence over the surrounding tribes. The Iroquois, being an excellent political machine, tended to ally themselves between the two powers in order to maintain trade agreements with both.\(^20\) However, after the French and Indian war, the colonial powers were resigned to reside in relative peace with each other. War tended to be very costly, and, in addition, the French had lost a considerable amount of their territory to the British with the signing of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1763. Britain gained most of Canada and all the territory held by France east of the Mississippi River; they also received Florida from Spain giving them control over the entire eastern seaboard. Peace between the colonial powers was maintained because one of the powers held most of the control. The Native American tribes who were divided during the war remained so after,  

\(^{20}\) For further discussion on the formation of relationships between the Iroquois, French and English see chapter II: Forging an Alliance in Barbara Graymont’s, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, p.26.
but the philosophy of the Native American was, war in times of war and peace in times of peace. The grudges held against each other were easily extinguished by the pressure to commit to an alliance between warring parties. The Native Americans had set borders which were relatively respected among each tribe, and as long as the respect remained mutual, peace would be presumed until peace was broken.

The Seneca were settled on the westernmost border of the territory held by the Six Nations and were the focal point of destruction by the Sullivan Expedition. They occupied some of the most fertile land in the Finger Lakes region of New York State. Being so far removed from the colonies, the onset of the war did not affect them immediately. It was not long before the brothers of the Iroquois League reached out for assistance. Jemison remembered that “after the conclusion of the French war, our tribe had nothing to trouble it until the commencement of the Revolution. For twelve or fifteen years the use of the implements of war was not known, nor the war-whoop heard, save on days of festivity, when the achievements of former times were commemorated in a kind of mock warfare; thereby preserving and handing to their children, the theory of Indian warfare.”

During the time of peace, the Seneca practiced religious rites by giving offerings to their deities in order to either appease the evil deity or elicit sympathy and compassion from their “Great Good Spirit” whom they revered as the grantor of everything that is good. To maintain their physical prowess and to make a proper selection of Chiefs for the councils of the nation and leaders for war, the warriors would partake in many rigorous athletic activities. This kept the warrior strong and free from laziness. Community life continued in the traditional fashion. Men would hunt and fish while the women would tend to the agriculture and

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22 Ibid.
domestic chores. The Seneca lived in a time of peace, and it seemed that “no people can live more happy than the Indians did in times of peace, before the introduction of spirituous liquors amongst them. If peace ever dwelt with men, it was in former times, in the recesses from war, amongst what are now termed barbarians.” The unfortunate change seemed to be inevitable and conflict did come to the Seneca land, first with a promise of neutrality, followed by a deception which led to war.

Neutrality proved to be a challenge for the Iroquois to maintain. The British were consistently praising them for their neutral stance while at the same time they attempted to plant seeds of deceit. The Colonials remained firm in their hope for the Six Nations of Iroquois to remain neutral. Red Jacket of the Seneca was a major proponent for the position of neutrality for the Six Nations. He was to become a great orator of the Seneca, but, at the time of the Revolution, he was young and under attack by Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant for being a coward. Nevertheless, Red Jacket openly spoke out against the Iroquois involvement in the “unnatural war” between England and the Colonials: “Let these whites fight it out amongst themselves, while we remain upon our own lands and take care of ourselves. What have the English done for us? What will they do for us if they win, but insist upon a division of our land?” The Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga were far enough removed from contact with the colonies that neutrality was a luxury they could more easily afford; however, for the Mohawk, Oneida, and Tuscarora, proximity made neutrality a dangerous decision.

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23 Jemison, p.160.
For the Onondaga and Cayuga the situation was similar to that of the Seneca. All three of the tribes were bordered by another, keeping them buffered from direct contact with either the Colonial Army or the English. Most of their interactions with the English were through trade at British forts or passing travels of British Officials through their lands.\textsuperscript{27} The Mohawk and Oneida, on the other hand, were both at a much closer proximity to the conflict. The Iroquois had a long-standing relationship of loyalty to the British since the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, declaring them to be “subject to the domination of Great Britain.”\textsuperscript{28} The treaties that the English had down on paper showed the promise of the Native Americans’ subordination, but where the true influence lay was in the religious influences ingrained through the re-education systems of the missionary schools. Although only a few of the Iroquois attended, the ones who did attend had a great impact on the sway of the Nations.

The active religious influence over the Eastern Woodland Indians began with the conclusion of hostilities between France and the Mohawk in 1666. At this time, the Iroquois League was the Five Nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga), but the Mohawk were alone in the clash with the French. The hostilities began because of economical conflicts between the French and the Mohawk. Both the Mohawk and the French were battling it out for domination over the fur trade. At the close of the conflict, the Mohawk requested missionaries to be sent to their villages. The French sent Jesuit missionaries into the Iroquois land, and thus began the Christian involvement into the Five Nations. The British, too, had realized how powerful the missionaries could be politically and were determined to establish an Angelical mission in the Iroquois land. Despite the missionaries’ influence, tensions and hostilities

\textsuperscript{27} Glatthaar & Martin, p.91.
\textsuperscript{28} For further description of the relationship between the Iroquois League and Great Britain see Daniel K. Richter’s \textit{Facing East from Indian Country}, chapter five, Native Peoples in an Imperial World p.166.
remained between the Iroquois and the French. For years the Iroquois land was covered in blood over the fur trade and land disputes. Raids by the French into Iroquois settlements forced the Five Nations to seek aid from the English; however, this did not stop the incursions of the French and the Iroquois could no longer count on the British for protection. They sought out the only option which seemed realistic for survival: total neutrality. Tensions between the French and English were still high and the Iroquois pledged to remain neutral in the case that war should ignite between the two empires.\textsuperscript{29} Three major intercontinental wars were fought on American soil which directly involved and caused tension between the Iroquois. These were the Queen Anne’s War of 1701-13, King George’s War of 1744-48, and the French and Indian War of 1754-63. Throughout these conflicts between England and France, the Iroquois held a position of relative neutrality; however they were also divided as to whom they should support when they did become involved. The Mohawk tended to support the British while the Seneca set their allegiance with the French and the seeds of division between the Iroquois had been planted.

A chief proponent for the solidification of the relationship between the Iroquois and the English was Sir William Johnson. Johnson came to the New World when he was 23 years old in order to manage a large estate which was purchased by his uncle Sir Peter Warren. The estate was situated on Mohawk land along the Mohawk River. He moved onto the land and quickly became friendly with the Iroquois and eventually learned their customs and language. He even took many Mohawk women as wives who bore him many children.\textsuperscript{30} A curious story has survived which tells of how Johnson acquired a large territory for the Crown. The story goes:

\textsuperscript{29} Graymont, pp.26-29.
\textsuperscript{30} Ibid., 29.
A famous Indian Chief – King Hendrick – ruled over the destinies of the Mohawk Indians when Sir William Johnson, an Irish Baronet\(^{31}\), obtained a grant to a great track of territory here, and came to live in America. Sir William built a fine house and treated the Indians so well that they came to like him and would often visit him in great numbers.

King Hendrick was one day at the Baronet’s house, and seeing a richly embroidered coat lying across a chair, he had a strong desire to possess it. So upon the following morning he went up to Sir William and said:

“Brother, me dream last night a big dream.”


The king of the Mohawk pointed to the embroidered coat.

“Me dream that the big coat was mine.”

Sir William smiled. “It is yours,” said he. “Take it and wear it as a proof of my friendship for you.”

Not long afterwards the jovial Baronet visited the wigwams of the Mohawk, and, after lighting the peace pipe, spoke to King Hendrick in the following manner.

“Great Sachem,” said he, “I had a big dream last night.”

“Ugh! Ugh!” grunted the Mohawk brave. “What did my paleface brother dream?”

\(^{31}\) Oxford English Dictionary Online: orig. A word meaning young, little, or lesser baron, found as a title from the 14th c. According to Spenser (State of Ireland) originally applied to gentlemen, not barons by tenure, summoned to the House of Lords by Edward III; perhaps to the heirs of barons summoned by writ in their fathers' life-time. Applied in Ireland to the holder of a small barony.
The Irishman took up a stick and drew with it upon the ground. “I dreamed that this tract of land was mine,” said he, describing a square bounded on the south by the Mohawk river, on the east by Canada Creek, and on the north and west by some well known hills. “And I would like to have my red-skinned brother present it to me.”

Old Hendrick was completely undone, for he saw that this request covered nearly a hundred thousand acres of the finest territory in his possession. But he remembered the gift of that splendid scarlet coat, and, he came to the conclusion that the request was not, after all, such a great one. Finally he arose and stretched out his right arm in the direction of the territory which the Irishman wanted.

“Brother,” said he, “the land is yours, but you must never dream again.”

It is stated that the tract of land given to Johnson was later to be recognized by the British Government and named the “Royal Grant.” For whatever reason this story has survived, it shows the kind of understanding Johnson had in regards to the customs of the Mohawk and the trust he was gaining from them. At a glance, the story might look as if Johnson used his understanding of Iroquois custom to deceive Hendrick into granting him a gift which far exceeded the worth of his offering. It is apparent that Hendrick was smart in his acquisition of the coat, and Johnson knew that. Furthermore, Hendrick paused at the request of Johnson and debated the worth of, and from whom the request was being made. Although the tract of land was very large, the Iroquois lands were far larger, and Hendrick must have seen Johnson as either being a brother to the Iroquois, or becoming one. This is all concluded under the

33 Ibid.
assumption that the story has validity; but despite how true it is, the story permits a look into the formation of the relationship between the Iroquois and the English.

Of the many wives Johnson took the most notable was Molly Brant, sister of Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant and granddaughter to King Hendrick.\textsuperscript{34} Johnson became very intimate with all aspects of Mohawk society and was made Commissary for Indian Affairs in 1746.\textsuperscript{35} In 1755, after a victory over the French in the northern territory of New York, he was made Superintendent of Indian Affairs.\textsuperscript{36} His influence was far more than just political; he was also a supporter of Reverend Wheelock’s school and sent his brother-in-law, Joseph Brant, to gain an Anglo education.

Reverend Eleazar Wheelock’s school was named Moor’s Indian Charity School after Joshua Moor who donated two of the buildings that were on his property, one for the use of the school house, and the other for boarding.\textsuperscript{37} He established this free school for Indians in Lebanon, Connecticut. The mission of Wheelock’s school was to re-educate the “savage” in order to create a “civilized” person worthy of baptism into the Christian faith. By doing this, his hopes were to have created good Christians who would return to their villages as missionaries to teach and convert their people.\textsuperscript{38} He saw the heathenistic ways of the American Indians as ignoble and in need of remedy:

Strangers to the sweets of friendship, and all the emoluments of science, immersed amidst scenes of cruelty and blood, they have nothing noble or worthy the rational creature to entertain and feast themselves on one and one other with,

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\textsuperscript{34} She is also referred throughout a number of sources as Mary.
\textsuperscript{35} Graymont, p.29.
\textsuperscript{37} The school would eventually move to New Hampshire and be renamed Dartmouth College. Kelsay, p.71.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., p.87.
\end{flushright}
in a social way. Can we think of this wretched state of our fellow men, and feel no compassion moving towards them? Or can we think much of a little expense, to turn such habitations of cruelty into dwelling places of righteousness, and little sanctuaries where the true God may be worshipped in spirit and truth, instead of sacrifices to devils?  

Brant was sent to Rev. Wheelock’s Charity School in July, 1761 and arrived there on the first of August. To the sight of Wheelock, Brant was exceptionally dirty and scantily clothed; however, he spoke a little English, and as he was highly referred by Sir. Johnson, the reverend assumed that Brant came from a “Family of Distinction.”  

At Wheelock’s school, Brant was taught to read and write in English, as well as Hebrew, Latin, Greek, arts and sciences, and, most importantly, Christianity. A staunch Calvinist, Wheelock pushed the Puritan values in his sermons which were full of “human depravity, the moral impotence of the sinner, the approaching wrath of God, and the imminent duty of repentance and faith.”  

The thoughts of hell fire and eternal damnation would be enough to haunt the dreams of anyone, including Brant, who became devout in the teachings of Christianity. Brant soon came to be a favorite pupil of Wheelock who noted that he was “of a Sprightly Genius, a manly and genteel Deportment, and of a Modest courteous and benevolent Temper, I have Reason to think began truly to love our Lord Jesus Christ Several Months ago; and his religious Affections Seem Still agreeably increasing.”  

Wheelock had big plans for Brant: “I am much pleased with [Brant]. If his Disposition, and Ability, upon further Trial, shall appear as inviting as they seem to be at present,  

39 Kelsay, p.87.  
40 Ibid., p.76.  
41 Ibid., p.73.  
42 Ibid., p.88.
there shall nothing be wanting, within my Power, to his being fitted, in the best Manner for Usefulness."\(^{43}\)

Brant’s earliest task for the Reverend Wheelock was one of recruitment. Brant was sent home for a visit in November and was to take along Samuel Kirkland, a white student of Wheelock’s, who intended to become a missionary and study the Mohawk language. Wheelock must have seen great potential in the pair, and Brant, being very fond of the missionaries, was eager to be Kirkland’s teacher. Kirkland was dispatched with a letter from Wheelock to Sir Johnson, which praised Brant and the other Mohawk that accompanied him to the school, and requested if he knew of any other boys of equal stature whom Johnson might send to him.\(^{44}\) Brant had now become an indirect missionary; a poster boy for the success of the “savages” conversion: “One by one [Wheelock] would take them into his study and inquire with fatherly concern into their spiritual state. And when they felt any religious stirrings in their primitive young breasts, they would go to him, and he would exhort and instruct them. At times the poor young creatures would burst into tears, thinking of all their sins.”\(^{45}\) Wheelock was gaining influence over the Mohawk, and at this time, Johnson was wise in supporting him. In response to Wheelock’s letter via Kirkland, Johnson arranged for two young Mohawk boys to return with Brant and Kirkland.

The two boys took to their studies with much enthusiasm, and were in preparation of becoming assistant teachers. At this time, Brant had become fluent in English, and was able to read and write very well, all within fewer than two years. The accomplishments of these students were a great measure of the success of the Charity School, as well as the aptitude of the

\(^{43}\) Kelsay, p.77.  
\(^{44}\) Ibid.  
\(^{45}\) Ibid., p.88.
Mohawk. Wheelock continued to send word to Johnson in regards to the progress of the boys, and in June of 1762, he sent David Fowler, the boy who initially brought Brant to Wheelock, with writing samples from all the boys, to Johnson, in order to try to get some more recruits. In addition, Wheelock sent a request with regards to Brant. He praised Brant’s progress and mentioned that he would like to send him to accompany Kirkland off to New Jersey College (presently Princeton) where Brant would be able to further instruct Kirkland in “the Mohawk Language Without any great Interruption to his other Studies, While Joseph in the Grammer School there May be pursuing other parts of Useful Learning perhaps fitting for College.” Fowler returned with three more boys and a response from Johnson that he would have to discuss the matter with Brant’s family. Johnson’s reply came too late, and Kirkland had been sent to the college alone.

About two months prior to Wheelock’s request to send Brant along with Kirkland, Johnson held a meeting with the Six Nations where he offered a large belt of wampum to represent “the Ancient Covenant Chain” between the English and the Six Nations. The English promised to keep it “entire and unbroken” as long as the Iroquois kept to their promise of remaining faithful allies to the king. It had been nearly two years since the end of hostilities caused by the French and Indian War, and one year before the signing of the Peace Treaty of Paris of 1763, which would officially end the conflict and grant most of the French occupied Canada and all their territory east of the Mississippi River to England. The Senecas, who sided with the French during the war, asked for forgiveness and pledged their future loyalty to the British. The loyalty of the Six Nations to the Crown seemed to be solidified with the covenant made that day.

46 Kelsay, p.84.
47 Graymont, p.32.
Trade anxieties seemed to have been alleviated with the removal of the French. Just prior to the signing of the Treaty, most of the French had been removed from the territory, and seeing that the competition for the fur trade between the English and French was over, commander-in-chief of the British army, Sir Jeffery Amherst, consolidated the fur trade in the Ohio River Valley to military posts throughout the frontier. He also banned the selling of weapons and ammunition to the American Indians, which, during the conflict with France, was always readily available to them. The consolidation of trade opened up the opportunity for traders to go straight to the posts, bypassing the Iroquois, and cutting them out of the potential profits. Iroquois were met with much hostility and racial hatred at the trade posts which caused them much anxiety. Over and over they went to public councils with Sir William and demanded the posts be disbanded to no avail. Amherst’s hatred of the Native American was too deeply rooted to find any tolerable situation between the Iroquois and himself. By cutting out the Iroquois from trade, and banning the sale of weapons and ammunition to them, a black market system emerged. Ignoring Amherst’s orders, British traders continued to sell their goods to the Iroquois at incredibly inflated prices. Some French traders were still in the area and frequently visited villages, trading and spreading warnings about the British. The French traders told the American Indians that the British “carried poisoned rum and poisoned blankets among the Indians to sicken them with deadly diseases, and that they were plotting to kill them all off, every one, and seize their land.”

49 Ibid., p.192.
50 Kelsay, p.82.
of the Six Nations, and together with the hostilities at the trade posts, the French words seemed true.\textsuperscript{51}

When the Peace Treaty of Paris was signed in February, 1763, there were no clear stipulations as to the land claims and boundaries of the Iroquois land and the settlers that had begun to encroach onto occupied territory concerned the Iroquois. This was not a new dilemma for the Iroquois, and as history has shown, it would not be a resolvable one. Fraud and outright violent methods were used by some settlers to gain Iroquois land. A German farmer, George Klock, acquired a tract of land from a man named Philip Livingston, who had acquired much more of the land that was agreed upon through deception. The Mohawk never recognized the added acreage as part of the deal, and continued to rent it out to tenant farmers. Claiming the rights to the lands, Klock began to evict the tenants who had been paying rents to the Mohawk. He also was accused of getting some of the Mohawk drunk, and convincing them to sign in favor of his disputed land. These actions created much tension and aggression among the Iroquois. Coming to the defense of the Iroquois, Sir Johnson, with the help of royal officials, had taken Klock and Livingston to court on charges of fraud. The court ruled that the deed to the land was valid, no matter how it was obtained. Matters seemed to worsen in the southern territory of the Iroquois. Settlers from Connecticut began to establish residence on Iroquois land without regards to Iroquois opposition, and once again, the Iroquois tried a diplomatic pursuit. The Six Nations appealed to Johnson once more to come to their aid. Johnson sent his nephew, Guy Johnson, to speak with the Governor of Connecticut with hopes that he might be able to appeal to the settlers and convince them to abandon their illegally acquired claims.

\textsuperscript{51} For more information regarding the policy of Amherst and the rise of the racial division between the “white” and “red” man, see chapter six, “Separate Creations”, in Richter.
In the early spring of 1763, Wheelock had made big plans for Brant to accompany and assist Charles Jeffery Smith on his first mission into Mohawk country where he was to become a paid interpreter and aid to Smith. Wheelock had also planned to take Brant along to Boston and Plymouth for a fundraising trip. Before consent could be given, Brant, out of respect and loyalty, first needed to gain permission from Sir Johnson. Then in May, during a time of great turmoil, a letter arrived from Molly requesting Brant’s immediate return home. This letter puzzled Wheelock as much as it did Brant and Wheelock wrote a letter to Sir Johnson requesting more information. Brant became very anxious to return home, but Wheelock feared to let him go alone. After Smith had been ordained, Wheelock sent him with Brant, nearly two months after the letter, to return to Brant’s home.\textsuperscript{52} The tensions between the native Americans and the encroaching settlers, which were causing the possibility of an uprising, is what Wheelock was unaware of, was exactly what Molly feared was going to happen.

The power of the government was not so effective when dealing with white settlers. When Guy Johnson finally met with the Governor of Connecticut regarding the squatters, the Governor relayed to Guy that, he had done all he could to bring the settlers back to Connecticut; they, even with the request coming from London, refused him and denied his authority.\textsuperscript{53} The hands of the Six Nations seemed to be tied. Concerned about this situation, and remembering the Covenant Chain, an Iroquois spokesman wrote the following, in the early spring of 1763, intended for Amherst:

\begin{quote}
At the commencement of the war between you and the French, we were applied to by you, for our assistance, and told then, and often since, that if we took up the hatchet against the French, you would remove them off our lands, and restore
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{52} Kelsay, p.89-91.
\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., p.90.
them to us. It was also promised to us that if you should conquer the French, your hands would be ever open to us, and, that as the English were a wealthy and trading people, we should be supplied with goods at a very reasonable rate; all these promises we expected (after assisting you) would be fulfilled. But alas we find it quite otherwise; for instead of restoring to us our lands, we see you in possession of them, and building more forts in many parts of our country, notwithstanding the French are dead. This, together with the dearest of goods which are so high that all our hunting cannot supply our wants, gives our warriors and women the greatest uneasiness, and makes us apt to believe every bad report we hear of your intentions towards us.\textsuperscript{54}

Fearing their land would be taken from them, a great pan-Indian movement occurred across the frontier. Inspired by a vision, an Ottawa Chief, Pontiac, led a rebellion against Detroit in May, 1763. (In one account Pontiac claimed that it was the Seneca who urged him to revolt).\textsuperscript{55} The vision urged the American Indian to abandon the ways of the “white man” and to return to the “true” ways of the American Indian. The Great Spirit blamed the state of things on them, not the “white invaders.” The reasons were that the Spirit saw the Native American had become too reliant on the wares and ways of the European, and in order to bring balance back to the land, all of the ways of the Europeans needed to be removed forever.\textsuperscript{56} Pontiac’s rebellion spurred revolts all over the frontier, resulting in the destruction of many trading posts all along the Ohio River valley and up to Niagara. Throughout the movement, Pontiac was able to rally the Ottawa,

\textsuperscript{54} Richter, p.193.  
\textsuperscript{55} Kelsay, p.92.  
\textsuperscript{56} For an in-depth analysis of Pontiac’s vision, see pp. 193-201 in Richter.
Huron, Potawatomie, and Chippewa together to take Detroit. Farther west, the Delaware, Shawnee, and Mingo took Fort Pitt, while the Seneca took Fort Venango. The survivors of the forts began to circulate vicious stories of American Indians drinking the blood of their victims.\(^{57}\) Being the furthest removed from the revolt, the Mohawk remained out of the confrontation, but word spread to their land and Johnson set out for Albany to recruit volunteers to help defend the frontier.\(^{58}\) Although an ally to the Iroquois, Sir Johnson’s main concern was protecting his family and his land.

Once again Johnson erred on the side of diplomacy. He had become a brother and friend to the Six Nations, and thought, perhaps, that this relationship would help sway them to assist in squashing the rebellion. In July, on Johnson’s land, an assembly was held where five delegates from the Six Nations met to discuss the rebellion, to assure that the Six Nations would stay out of it. The Seneca were not there; they had broken the Covenant Chain, and this disturbed Johnson. He knew that without the support of the Six Nations, the white settlers would never be able to control the trade routes between the Great Lakes and the coast, and also feared that they would lose their holdings already established on the frontier.\(^{59}\) In an act of either desperation or hope, Johnson relayed a message to Amherst assuring him of the support of the Six Nations. In a letter he wrote:

> I then delivered them a Speech, wherein I represented the behavior of the Western & other Indians, their unprovoked hostilities and the absurdity of their attempts to distress a People, who had entirely defeated the united efforts of both the French & them, concluding with recommending it to them to consider [the] behavior of

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\(^{57}\) Kelsay, p.93. Also, for further descriptions of ritual torture and sacrificial practices by the Iroquois, see chapter one, “The People of the Longhouse,” in Graymont.

\(^{58}\) Ibid.

\(^{59}\) Ibid., p.94.
these People as a breach of the Covenant, not only with us, but with themselves, & that therefore it was expected they would give us proof of their Attachment to us by a Strict observance of their Treaties, and by their resentment at the Hostilities committed.⁶⁰

Whatever Johnson was thinking, he certainly trusted his relationship with the Iroquois, and assumed his influence held power over them. At the conclusion of the conference, the delegates agreed to attempt to reach out to the Seneca with hopes to sway their loyalty back to Johnson and the English.

Throughout that summer, hostilities remained a plague on the frontier. Many efforts, both diplomatic, as well as aggressive, were made to end the fighting.⁶¹ As a diplomatic approach, the English government proposed the Royal Proclamation Line, in October, 1763. The Proclamation line divided the English occupied territory from the American Indian land that the English allotted to them. All territory west of the Appalachian Mountain range up to the Mississippi River was allotted as “reservation land” to the Nations of American Indians residing within that territory. It was the agreement of the Proclamation which stated that “the several nations or tribes of Indians, with whom we are connected, and who live under our protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts of our dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by us, are reserved to them.”⁶² Although, it was not the Royal Proclamation which singled handedly ended the rebellions throughout the frontier, what had been established, was a shift in the administrative practices of the English

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⁶⁰ Kelsay, 94.
⁶¹ Between chapters six, “Separate Creations,” in Richter, and chapter six, “The Conspiracy of Pontiac,” in Kelsay, all possible avenues, both militarily and diplomatically, for the settling of the revolt is discussed.
⁶² Richter, p.208.
government from military strategy, to diplomacy. Johnson’s influence within the Six Nations had proved beneficial when the Seneca, at the close of the rebellion, came to Niagara to take hold, once again, of the Covenant Chain that they let go of at the start of the revolt. The alliance between the English and the Six nations had been restored when the Seneca pledged to “take the Axe with which we Struck you at the instigation of the French, and we bury it under the same tree with that of the Cayugas causing a Great Stream to run under the Tree; and Carry the Axe into the Ocean, so that it may no more be found.” Peace seemed to be restored among the Iroquois and the English, thus ending the hostilities in the land of the Six Nations until the rise of the American Revolution.

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63 Graymont, p.33.
Upon Kirkland’s return to the country of the Six Nations in 1764, he eagerly became the missionary among the Seneca, and he stayed for two years before joining the Oneida as their missionary. He soon became an invaluable influence on the Oneida which would later affect their decisions to maintain loyalty during the American Revolutionary War. Just preceding Kirkland, New England missionaries set up a mission called New Stockbridge in Oneida territory. These New England missionaries, like Wheelock, preached Puritan values. Through Wheelock and Brant, the Mohawk were well-acquainted to the teachings of the Puritans; however, the Seneca were used to Jesuit missionaries, who followed teachings closer to the Anglican denomination. The same issues that divided the church in England found a new home in the New World. The tensions between Anglicanism and Puritanism were exemplified during the fight over the Native American support and promise of loyalty. The Puritans left for the New World with the intention to free themselves from the corruption of the Anglican Church in order to be able to perpetuate their ideas of “true” Christianity. One of the main facets of their faith was to bring as many “lost souls” into the teachings of Jesus. The conquests for the American continents, whether it is the English, Spanish or French, were always underlined with the want of religious expansion. It was always more important to the Crown for the acquisition of land and riches, but in order to morally justify the pacification of the Native American societies, The Church became the proponent of the Native Americans’ conversion.

However difficult it is to assess how aware the Iroquois were of the resentment between the Anglicans and the Puritans, the Iroquois who were taught by the Jesuits noted a definitive

64 Mary Riggs Diefendorf, The Historic Mohawk, p.118.
65 Graymont, p.33.
difference in the teachings. The Anglican missionaries regarded baptism as an essential avenue to salvation and would eagerly baptize anyone who wanted it. For them, it was the number of saved souls which was most important. Alternatively, the Puritans, too, regarded baptism as a crucial step towards salvation (both believed that one could not get into heaven without it) however, they only granted it to those individuals and their children who were regenerate\textsuperscript{66} and were fit for baptism. God must call them to Him. They cannot go to God. Kirkland was a strict adherent to this rule, and would not even waive if an infant was on the verge of death. This caused great uneasiness with the Seneca who had learned the Anglican ways, and knew that salvation could only be attained through baptism. Kirkland also preached three times on Sunday, and all were required to attend. The sermons would begin in the morning, and continue often till midnight.\textsuperscript{67} It must have been a relief to the Seneca to learn that Kirkland was leaving their land and moving east. Just after two years with the Seneca, Kirkland left to live with the Oneida until his death.

At the time of Kirkland’s arrival in Oneida territory, he was welcomed by a familiar face, David Fowler.\textsuperscript{68} Fowler worked with Reverend Wheelock during the time that Kirkland was studying there. He was the one who brought Brant to the school, and, he was the one whom Wheelock would send to Johnson in order to recruit more students. Now, Fowler was the

\textsuperscript{66} Regenerate or regenreated describes the converted individual; regeneration is a sovereign gift of God, graciously bestowed. Only God can determine who should be saved In their fallen state, men and women may mistakenly think that they can reform at will and return to God; this delusion counteracts God's plan and denies God's omnipotence. As Dr. Warfield says, "Sinful man stands in need, not of inducements or assistance to save himself, but precisely of saving; and Jesus Christ has come not to advise, or urge, or woo, or help him to save himself, but to save him." The individual is passive during this transforming process. The glory is all God's. Brooklyn College Website, \textit{Puritanism},<http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel_18c/defoe/puritanism.html#regenerate>, 2002.
\textsuperscript{67} Graymont, p.36.
\textsuperscript{68} There are a few discrepancies within the sources as to when Kirkland and Fowler met. In Graymont’s book, Kirkland met Fowler when he arrived at the mission of the Oneida, whereas Kelsay claims that the two set out for the mission together.
schoolmaster at the mission Kirkland was to take charge of. Although Kirkland had been tutored by Brant in the Iroquois language, he had also learned the dialect of the Mohawk. Now, being in the Oneida territory, Fowler needed to instruct him as he learned the Oneida dialect.

One of Kirkland’s first influential moments with the Oneida was his demand of temperance from alcohol. He saw that one of the major problems within the Native American community was the over-consumption of alcohol. He might not have been too far from the truth, seeing how years prior, certain Mohawk, along with Johnson, brought a claim against George Klock accusing him of getting them drunk and signing away their land. To Kirkland, the answer was obvious, remove the poison that plagued the people and the plague would end. This was met with some resistance on the side of the Oneida, but Kirkland gave an ultimatum; either they would adhere to the doctrine of temperance, or he would leave. After a few days of deliberation, the Oneida “finally esteeming their minister’s services and his desires for their welfare more highly than their attachment to firewater, they acceded to his demands and unanimously appointed eight men nominated by the missionary as guardians of the sobriety of the village.” In a test of their willpower, kegs of liquor would be brought into town and offered for sale, and even sometimes for free. The Oneida remained resolute in their promise and “with Spartan courage, they stoutly declined, informing their would-be tempters: ‘It is contrary to the minister’s word, and our agreement with him.’” Kirkland’s influence was spreading throughout the Oneida and Tuscarora lands. Individuals from several villages would come to hear Kirkland’s sermons, and he would also go out to visit many more villages, spreading his word all along Iroquois land. Kirkland also involved himself within the gift giving philosophy of

69 Graymont, p.34.
70 Ibid., p.35.
71 Ibid.
the Iroquois by freely sharing what he had when his congregation was in need, and he would borrow money in order to supply the people who followed him when he had little to share:

In such an Extremity, I apprehend no Christian spectator could stand unaffected. It must move the most sturdy relentless heart to benevolence & charity, … even when I an destitute & in want myself. I have often borrowed, yea sometimes hired money to relieve Persons in such distressing circumstances. Now if some little Charities are not communicated in such cases of necessity, I don’t know how the credit of the Gospel can be maintained among them.72

He had established himself as a true member of the Oneida and Tuscarora brotherhood, “becoming in his own person an indispensable member of the community.”73 His influence over the Oneida and Tuscarora seemed to be a testimony to his ability as a missionary, and a statesman.

As Kirkland was gaining the loyalty and friendship of the Oneida and the Tuscarora, tensions once again arose on the Iroquois land. It seemed that the luxury of peace was held by the Iroquois nations farthest removed from the Proclamation Line. At first, settlers respected the boundary, but many land speculators were pushing for access to more of the territory. Unfortunately for the American Indians, speculators were not alone in the desire for their land and settlers began to cross the line. Fearing another bloody rebellion, Johnson held a meeting at Fort Stanwix, once again, in order to renegotiate the line with the Iroquois and the other nations who had claim to territory, in order to cede more of their land over to England and open the

72 Glatthaar & Martin, p.63.
73 Graymont, p.39.
territory up for settling. The meeting was held in October, 1768. It had been reported that over 3000 Native Americans assembled at Fort Stanwix for three days of deliberation.\textsuperscript{74} The result was that the council split the Iroquois territories of present day New York and Pennsylvania in half from northeast to southwest, then followed the west bank from the Ohio river to the Mississippi. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix, opened large areas of land to the British, and by drawing the line on the west bank of the Ohio River, it also gave the British control of the water. In conjunction with the Treaty of Hard Labor in the South, which moved the boundary set by the Proclamation Line farther west to encompass what is now West Virginia and guarantee the Cherokee Nation rights to thousands of acres which could not be settled by colonials, both treaties opened desirable lands to settlement, while at the same time, guaranteeing the Native Americans land claims which could not be disputed by the white colonists.

During the treaty of Stanwix negotiations, Johnson urged the Oneida to give up a large portion of their land. Already stricken with hunger due to a bad harvest, and at the dependence of the missionary, they were reluctant to give up more hunting grounds. Fearing that they would lose the support of the English, the Oneida begrudgingly agreed to cede portions of their land. They hoped that this would end the encroachments into their nation, but, the pressure from Johnson might have diminished their trust in him.

The Oneida were not the only ones upset over the treaty. Besides the obvious complaints from the Native Americans, dissent was also heard throughout the colonies. The colonists were getting tired of adhering to the Crown’s decisions as when to and when not to settle land. After the Pontiac Rebellion, the Crown gave most of the authority over domestic matters to Johnson, to handle the northern territory, and John Stuart, to care of the south. The white Colonial

\textsuperscript{74} Kelsay, p.125.
population felt that these two were out of touch with the issues concerning them. They felt that the treaty, chiefly negotiated by Johnson, was to benefit him solely and wanted to have a say in the matter.\textsuperscript{75} Furthermore, the Hard Labor Treaty in the south was solely negotiated by Stuart, without any provincial to witness the negotiations. When the colonists finally learned about the outcome of the treaty, “White Virginias objected to the treaty’s terms, which guaranteed to the Cherokees thousands of acres for which provincials such as Thomas Jefferson and George Washington has already received patents from the Old Dominion’s government. Also provoked were countless veterans of the Seven Years’ War, who had been promised western lands as rewards for their service.”\textsuperscript{76} Ironically, not one delegate from the Cherokee nation was present during the negotiations, yet they received thousands of acres which angered the colonists.\textsuperscript{77} One might wonder if Jefferson and Washington would have adhered to the same decision that was given to the Iroquois when they disputed the acquisition of their land by Klock through fraud, or if, in light of their personal events, would they have supported the Iroquois in their attempt to regain their lost land. The answer is clearly no. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix was not the only event which shook the loyalty of the colonists to the Crown. Underestimating the cost of the new colonies, the British government imposed taxes on the colonists in order to help pay for the conquest. This treaty just added to the fuel that would feed the fires of the revolution.

Tensions between Crown and Colony were not the only fissures in the new world. Kirkland and Wheelock had a falling out, too. In October, 1770, Kirkland cut his ties with Wheelock and aligned himself with the Boston Board of Commissioners for the London Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in America;

\textsuperscript{75} Richter, p.215.  
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., p.211.
also, the Corporation of Harvard College agreed to support Kirkland. What made this decision so important was the influence Boston now had over Kirkland, and the Oneida and Tuscarora as well: “It was in Boston that their fathers the commissioners lived and from Boston that the support for their church and schools came.”

What a strategic enterprise this was to become, the seeds of loyalty to the patriot’s cause had been firmly planted in the Oneida as was the Tuscaroras’ loyalty to Kirkland.

Johnson had supported Kirkland in the earlier years of his mission, but as the sentiments within the colonies had shifted, the truly Anglican Johnson decided at this time to do what he could to prevent the Puritan influence from spreading throughout the Six Nations. Johnson was always loyal to the Crown and he saw the Puritan New Englanders as trouble making dissenters. It was in New England that the murderers of King Charles I fled to and found refuge; it was New Englanders who pressed into Iroquois land and refused to leave even after commanded by their Governor. This led to the Pontiac Rebellion and the formation of the Proclamation Line. It was New Englanders who refused to respect the line and invaded American Indian territory, forcing a renegotiation of the boundaries, which they were also dissatisfied with; it was the New Englanders who refused to pay the taxes appointed by the Crown. When it was said among the American Indians that the white man has an insatiable appetite and would consume all of their lands, Johnson replied that it would be the New Englanders.

Hostilities refused to cease within the Native Americans’ lands. Despite the border lines established by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Colonials continued to press into American Indian territory. Precious hunting lands had already been given to the Colonials through the treaty, but the speculators wanted more. The continued pressing by the Colonials added to the anxieties of

78 Graymont, p.39.
the American Indians, culminating in the border conflicts known as Dunmore’s War in 1774. The conflict broke out on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. It was named after the Virginian Governor who “was determined to push into the Indian country and punish the murderous and marauding red savages,” in retaliation for the Native Americans defending their disappearing land. Hatred began to boil towards the Colonials. They were not respecting any agreement made, and seemed to retaliate with violence every time; so violence met with violence, and the Nations who resided on those boundaries, (specifically the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo), declared that the “white people were hogs, they raged, and they meant to slaughter them.”

This situation worried the Six Nations as well as Johnson, but perhaps for different reasons. The Six Nations, primarily the Mohawk and the Seneca, aired their grievances regarding the continual encroachments of the Colonials, while Johnson feared a Six Nations-Shawnee alliance in a war on the frontier. A council was called at Johnson Hall in July, 1774, to discuss the frontier situation. Close to 600 Iroquois attended to speak out about their seemingly irreconcilable situation. It was as if the policies of Amherst had been adopted by the Colonials. The Six Nations “complaints were very long, and covered everything from the recent murders in the Ohio country, the encroachments on Indian land, and the lack of trade regulations, to the too-great plentitude of rum in their villages and George Klock’s illegal activities.” All the while, Johnson pleaded to the Iroquois to sit still and have faith in their loyalty to the King, to know that he will soon punish those who have wronged his allies. Perhaps, if Johnson had more time, he might have been able to keep the Six Nations together in alliance with Britain, but at the end of that day, he died.

79 Kelsay, p.135.
80 Ibid.
81 Ibid., p.137.
82 Ibid., p.136.
Proceeding Johnson’s death and funeral, Guy Johnson took charge of the department business and later would be officially made Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In what would have been to Sir William’s great pleasure, the Six Nations pledged not to join the frontier battle, and promised to try to convince the other western nations to stay out of the conflict as well. The unity of the Six Nations for now seemed strong; however, when the English called for aid against the colonials, the Anglican versus Puritan influence would divide them in two. Brant and the Mohawk helped to influence the Seneca, Cayuga, and some of the Onondaga with memories of Sir Johnson and the Anglican teachings. He also reminded the Iroquois of the lessons of Reverend Wheelock about worshiping God and the King. Kirkland, on the other hand, had the most influence over the Oneida and the Tuscarora, who were able to sway some of the Onondaga to join them, or at least remain neutral. The Oneida remembered, and resented Sir William’s actions during the negotiations at Fort Stanwix and how he urged them to give up their land, while he gave up none. It is ironic that the Oneida would support the Bostonians, the same men who would seek to attain all of the Oneida land.

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83 Kelsay, p.138.
Fatigue and malnutrition plagued the Tory and Iroquois troops from the commencement of the Revolutionary War. Having been driven out of most of their land, Brant and the Mohawk were residing between the Senecas’ Genesee Castle, home of Little Beard and Mary Jemison, and Fort Niagara. The large number of refugees weighed heavy on the minimal amount of supplies. In addition, the divided Six Nations could no longer rely on each other for support as much as they could before. With the Oneida and Tuscarora firmly allied with the Colonials, and the Onondaga refusing to openly involve themselves on either side, the Mohawk had to rely on the good nature of the Seneca and their British allies. The battle at Fort Stanwix greatly depleted the Mohawk supplies, and also took time and man power away from tending to the crops for the next season. British Col. John Butler reported that:

In this part of the Country [the Seneca and Cayuga] are so ill off for provisions that many of them have nothing to subsist upon but the roots and greens which they gather in the woods, [and] although there was last Fall a considerable quantity of Cattle in the Indian Country these have been chiefly consumed by the Indians themselves. It is well known that they never raise more Corn, Pulse and things of that kind which compose the principal part of their food than will just suffice for their own subsistence.\(^{85}\)

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\(^{84}\) Chuknut is the Iroquoian name of Newtown, Graymont, p.208. The Battle of Newtown is also referenced as the Battle of Chemung in a number of sources.

\(^{85}\) Graymont, p.203.
Some, however, did not suffer as much as others; at the Genesee Castle, the reports were of the crops fairing very well and in great abundance.\textsuperscript{86} The Seneca town of Little Beard’s was far enough away from the colonies that the war had not reached them, nor did it seem plausible that it would. However, situations were not as good for others throughout the Iroquois territory. The summer of 1778’s campaigns had left many families with not “an ear of corn the whole winter and [they] were obliged to live such as had them upon Cattle, such as had no Cattle upon Roots.”\textsuperscript{87} For years, the Iroquois territory had been torn apart by colonial settlement hostilities which greatly affected their ability to tend to their fields, and in addition, with the onset of the Revolutionary War, the influx of British troops diverted much of the Iroquois supplies to them. Butler realized that the lack of provisions would inhibit future military campaigns and saw that “had I a Prospect of being able to take any of these [the enemy’s forts] I could not march against them with a sufficient Body for the want of Provisions.”\textsuperscript{88} Because of the serious lack of provisions, “the physical condition of the Rangers and Indians was not of the best. The Rangers, living off the country, were generally in poor health. Before the corn was ripe, the Tories and Indians had been forced to grub for herbs and roots in the woods.”\textsuperscript{89} As a result of the malnutrition, fever broke out among the troops (especially with the Tories). The Tory and Iroquois troops were in a great state of vulnerability by the spring of 1779.

Word first reached the Iroquois about an invasion of their land by the Colonials in April, 1779 of an attack on Onondaga. Although the Onondaga had decided to take up arms with the Oneida for the Americans, an attack was made on a number of Onondaga villages under the

\textsuperscript{86} Jemison, p.166. \\
\textsuperscript{87} Graymont, p.203. \\
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., p.209
command of the colonial Colonel Goose Van Schaick with the help of some Oneida warriors.\textsuperscript{90} Fortunately for many of the Onondaga, after the council was held in January, 1779, by which the pledge was made to the Oneida and the Colonials, a great number of Onondaga left their land to live with the Oneida. There was still some opposition within the Onondaga. Even though they accepted the decision of alliance, they refused to leave the land granted to them by “the Great Spirit, and were resolved to die thereon.”\textsuperscript{91} Twelve Onondaga were killed, and thirty-four taken prisoner. Most of the prisoners were women taken by surprise in the fields, and word spread among the Iroquois that they were treated in the most vile manner by the American soldiers.\textsuperscript{92} Chastity was highly valued by the Iroquois and any violation of it was met with harsh punishment. This attack sent those Onondaga, who had not moved to Oneida territory, to Seneca land for refuge. They could no longer trust the word of the Americans, and moving further away from the conflict seemed to be the best option. They began planting corn on the Seneca land, but while the seeds needed time to grow, the refugees added further strain on the supplies of the Tory and Iroquois troops.\textsuperscript{93} The Onondaga told about the unwarranted and vicious attack on their land, how their homes and crops had been destroyed, and how the Great Council Fire had been

\textsuperscript{90} The only account found about the Oneida involvement in the attack on the Onondaga was found in Allan W. Eckert’s book, \textit{The Wilderness War}, p.294. It seems highly unlikely that the Oneida would attack the Onondaga because of how closely they were related through intermarriage. What also adds to the lack of plausibility is that most of the Onondaga, after pledging alliance with the Oneida to take sides with the Americans, moved out of their land and into Oneida territory, as stated in Graymont, p.193. Furthermore, Graymont does not even mention the Oneida being present at the time of the attack, and Kelsay reports that the Oneida were tricked by Van Schaick to go on a “wild goose chase” in order to attack the Onondaga without interference by the Oneida, p.246. The information remains in the paper as an example of one’s use of information to create a specific image to the reader. Eckert writes: “But what hit the Indians hardest was that leading the attack was the principle chief of the Oneida. Oneida! Members of the Iroquois League! Brothers! The treachery was unparalleled in Iroquois history.”

\textsuperscript{91} Graymont, p.193.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., p.196. Brief mentioning’s of American soldiers disgusting and immoral conducts towards Native American women have been found in numerous sources; however, this instance was only mentioned in Graymont. Furthermore, Graymont does claim them to be rumors, and follows the assumption with an order given by General Clinton urging the Patriot soldiers \textit{not} to violate any women, so we may assume that it happened on occasion. Why the need to urge not to if it never happens?

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
extinguished. If it did not seem as if the Six Nations were falling apart before, it most certainly seemed like the end of them now.

Because of the swiftness and unexpectedness of the attack on Onondaga, the obscurity of the Rebel Army’s plans worried Butler. There were rumors of Colonial troops moving towards Detroit, others claiming that they were on their way to attack the Cayugas, and that the Americans’ objective was to take all the land from the Iroquois and the king, offering nothing in return, because they had nothing. 94 Whatever the motives and plans of the Americans might have been, what was clear was that the Iroquois were in desperate need to defend their southeastern borders. It became all too real to the Tory commander and his Iroquois allies that the Colonials were moving, and they were moving into the heart of their country. 95

Reports continued to come into Niagara about a large army that was being assembled at Easton, Pennsylvania, under the command of the Colonial General John Sullivan. The motives of this assembly were all too vague for the Tories to plan a counter attack. Some of the reports said that the Colonial troops coming out of Easton were to move through Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and meet up with another army coming from the east out of Schenectady, New York, through Mohawk country, at Tioga. From there they would move towards Niagara following the Chemung River. British General Frederick Haldimand, who had control over the troops in the northern frontier, attempted to reassure the British Army and Native American allies that the likelihood of an American invasion into Iroquois land was improbable, and that “if [the Rebels] mean any Thing it is to secure their Frontiers against your Incursions and Depredations, and in order to enable you to keep them better at Bay, I shall give my Leave and encourage the seven Nations of Canada to cooperate with and join you in opposing your Enemies 96

94 Kelsay, p.248.
95 Eckert, p.297.
the Rebels.”96 The roles seemed to have switched; where the British once came to the Iroquois for aid against the rebelling Colonials, it was now a question of the British aiding the Iroquois against a Colonial invasion. This was not what the Iroquois had intended; they agreed to come to Britain’s aid, not the other way around.97 If the rumors were true about the size of the collecting Colonial Army, Haldimand and Butler both knew that the British troops in the northern territory were not enough to stave off defeat and their Native American allies were an essential asset in holding their ground.98

Much time had elapsed since the first reports of the assembling Colonial Army and no movement was apparent. This reassured Haldimand and also confirmed his thoughts that the Colonials were only interested in protecting their frontier territory, not invasion. However, pressure increased due to the lack of provisions and the Tory and Iroquois troops were planning a raid for food. Most of the troops were now at Genesee Falls, near the main Seneca village of Little Beard’s. Brant received word that the Rebel troops were at Lake Otsego in western Mohawk territory, and knew that moving in that direction would be disadvantageous; in addition, the news of Sullivan’s army moving north out of Easton to Wyoming Valley meant that going down the Susquehanna River might place them in the direct path of the Colonial Army. Therefore, Brant decided to attempt a raid on a settlement at Minisink, New York. He took 60 Iroquois and 27 Tories with him in search of food. The distance from the falls to Minisink was close to 300 miles one way and over some very harsh terrain. Brant gave orders to his men not

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96 Graymont, p.199.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
to kill any women or children, not to kill anyone attempting to surrender, but to take them
prisoner; however, orders were to kill anyone running from them.\footnote{99 Kelsay, p.249.}

The Tory/Iroquois forces arrived at Minisink around noon on July 20. Brant had been
hoping for an attack just before morning,\footnote{100 Graymont, p.199, Kelsay, p.250.} but the “fog of war” settled in and what was intended
did not happen. Brant and his men raided the settlement, burning all the buildings but leaving
the main fort unscathed. Four people were killed and scalped, one being the schoolmaster,
Jeremiah Van Auken, which Brant saw as an unfortunate and senseless act. Upon seeing the
Tories and American Indians rushing into the town, the schoolmaster told the children to run for
safety. He then ran out to meet the ascending invaders with arms stretched out and called out
“Brother!” The Indians responded by tomahawking him. Three schoolboys were being pursued
by another American Indian, but his attention was diverted by the murder of Van Auken and he
left the boys to go witness the killing. The schoolmaster’s death possibly saved the schoolboys
from either a death of their own, or certain capture. Brant, fearing for the children’s safety,
placed his mark on the aprons of the little girls and the dresses of those who were not wearing
aprons in paint and told them to show the mark to any of the men passing and they would be
safe. The girls made the boys sit next to them and draped their dresses and apron over their laps
and the troops left them alone.\footnote{101 The story of Brant and the school children was found in Graymont, p.201.}

After burning the town, Brant and his men encamped for the night and set out at eight
o’clock the next morning. Word spread fast about the raid and reached the Colonial militia camp
at Goshen, New York, which was about twenty miles east of Minisink. The militia moved out of
Goshen under the command of Colonel John Hathorn. Hathorn and his 120 Colonials caught up
to the Tory/Iroquois troops two days after the raid. Brant’s troops moved slowly, due to carrying the plunder and moving the cattle from the raid; this made it easy for the Colonials to overcome them. When the Colonials were in distance, they opened fire on Brant and his troops. Hearing the shots, Brant, along with forty of his men, took to the high ground and circled behind the Colonial militia. The fight went on for about four hours until, seeing an advantage, Brant ordered a full attack and his troops fell on the Colonials from all sides causing them to retreat. Brant’s troops made chase and took over 40 scalps and one prisoner.\textsuperscript{102}

While Brant and his troops were returning, they stopped at the ruins of an old village called Oquaga on July 29. From there, he decided to send most of his troops back to Chemung, just south of Chuknut, and he would take the rest of his men to report on what the Rebel Army was doing at Lake Otsego. On August 2, Brant and his men attacked a small settlement, just outside the lake, where he took two prisoners. The prisoners informed him that General George Clinton of the Colonial Army was in charge of a large outpost at Otsego with boats and provisions, and was planning a major invasion into Iroquois country. He had also learned that by the orders of Sullivan, Clinton had dammed up the outlet of Lake Otsego and awaited orders. The militia heard about the attack and once again, Brant was in a skirmish with the Colonials. This time Brant was not so lucky. He was shot and wounded. Brant was forced to release his prisoner and headed for Chemung to meet up with the rest of his troops.\textsuperscript{103} He set off with a mission, to alert Butler and the rest of his army about the Colonial invasion.

Meanwhile, Sullivan set out from Wyoming on July 31, and on August 11, had reached Tioga, a settlement just south of Chemung and found it deserted. The invasion had already begun before Brant was able to inform the rest of his army. Along the way, Sullivan sent word

\textsuperscript{102} Graymont, p.201, Kelsay, p.251.
\textsuperscript{103} Kelsay, p.255.
to Clinton that on August 9, Clinton was to break the dam and ride the swell down the Susquehanna River. When Clinton broke the dam, “his flotilla was not only borne triumphantly along upon the pile of the impatient waters accumulated for the occasion, but the swelling of the torrent beyond its banks caused wide and unexpected destruction to the growing crops of the Indians on their plantations at Oghkwaga and its vicinity.”

It was a spectacle to behold. The usually calm river, that had only been navigated by small canoes, now had more than 200 vessels careening down its violent waters. It was most certainly a strategy to leave anyone in their path in awe at the sheer power of nature and the Colonials’ ability to manipulate it.

As Clinton was riding a wave of destruction through Iroquois land, Sullivan and his army burned Tioga and desecrated many of the graves there. On the August 13, Sullivan’s army moved north out of Tioga towards Chemung. An Iroquois scouting party had been watching every movement of the Colonials since their arrival at Tioga. They were still awaiting the arrival of Captain Brant and Major Butler, but had evacuated Chemung in order to protect their people. Sullivan’s army was much too large for the small number of Iroquois troops to handle alone. Sullivan ordered the deserted lower Chemung to be burned along with all the crops. The great destruction on the lower settlement took the entire day. Brant and his men met up with the rest of his army at upper Chemung on August 14. He received word that Sullivan had destroyed the lower settlement and was moving north. Brant set up his troops to wait for Sullivan. At the arrival of the Colonial Army, Brant attempted an ambush, but the size of the Colonial forces was far too large and he called for a retreat. Brant’s men caused Colonials seven casualties and

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104 Stone, p.17.
105 Ibid.
wounded thirteen.\textsuperscript{106} The rest of Chemung was destroyed by the Colonials and they returned to Tioga to await the arrival of General Clinton. Brant and his men moved north to Chuknut to wait for Major Butler and his Rangers.

As Sullivan waited for Clinton, streams of Iroquois warriors were gathering at Chuknut and their morale was high. Brant had counted about 300 warriors and was still awaiting the arrival of Butler, his Rangers, and most of the Seneca. Brant was worried that the numbers of his army would not be enough to repel the Colonials. The exact number of Colonial troops was hard to ascertain, however, from their camp, Brant and his men could see the fires of the enemy light up the night sky and could hear their gunshots into the morning.\textsuperscript{107} Brant sent word to Butler and Niagara, urging them to bring all the troops they could. He knew that if they were to stop a Colonial invasion of their land, they would have to stop them at Chuknut. Brant knew that a major battle would be fought very soon, deciding the fate of his people, and “then, we shall begin to know what is to befall us the People of the Longhouse.”\textsuperscript{108}

Butler kept receiving reports from Brant and other scouting parties with regards to the urgency of troops and the imminent threat of a Colonial invasion. He, too, knew that the Colonial army was positioning for a major invasion into the heart of the Iroquois land; he, too, was worried about the number of troops at his disposal. Butler sent word to Colonel Bolton at Niagara as well, urging that all the warriors in the area be sent to aid in the impending battle: “let them march night and day till they join us, and that Such as do not Come, may not be allowed Provisions nor any thing Else, nor be looked upon as Friends, and this we desire you will tell

\textsuperscript{106} Both Kelsay and Eckert have Brant at the ambush but Graymont has Brant arriving at Chemung the day after the skirmish and the destruction of the settlement.
\textsuperscript{107} Kelsay, p.256.
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p.257.
them.”\textsuperscript{109} Butler was ready to depart with his Rangers and Seneca troops on August 16, but because of the reluctance of the Seneca, and their desire for a war dance, he was delayed another day. Butler felt that “such another tardy Set never was known. The enemy, if they had known it, might overrun half their country before they got together.”\textsuperscript{110}

All the troops finally assembled at Chuknut on August 21. Butler counted their numbers at no more than 600 men. There were 180 Rangers and Tories, and the remaining 420 were a mix of Iroquois warriors and Brant’s white volunteers.\textsuperscript{111} Scouts were providing estimates of the colonial numbers which were hard to ascertain, but assumed to be well over 3000 “of the best of the Continental troops commanded by the most active of the Rebel Generals, and not a Regiment of Militia among the whole.”\textsuperscript{112}

Brant was healing well from the wounds he received reconnoitering the Colonial troops’ position at Lake Otsego. Brant and his troops heard the cannon fire upon the arrival of Clinton’s brigades meeting with Sullivan’s army on August 22 at Tioga. They knew that the arrival of more troops meant a greater necessity of holding their position and repelling the Colonial army. They were in Delaware country and although Butler sought a more advantageous position, the Delaware “pointed out a place where the Enemy ought to be opposed, and the Senecas and others in consequence of this were obstinately determined to meet them in a Body, and I of course was obliged to comply.”\textsuperscript{113} After the destruction of Tioga and of Chemung, the Delaware decided to try to save Chuknut from destruction and offered a very advantageous position for an ambush. It was near the same place where Brant and his men stopped Sullivan on August 14. This time

\textsuperscript{109} Kelsay, p.275.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{111} Both Gramont, p.208, and Kelsay, p.285, agree on the number of troops.
\textsuperscript{112} Graymont, p.209.
though, they had many more men, and were able to prepare for the battle. It rained hard on August 25 and there was no movement from either camp, however on the 26th, the Tories and Iroquois began to work on fortifying their posts.

The position chosen was about a half a mile in length with a large plain extending to the Chemung River on the right. The plain narrowed with the river to a pass near Chuknut. At the left of the pass was a steep mountain, and further up in front of the pass was a large creek. The chopping echoed through the forest as they cut logs to set up as breastworks for the front line of defense. Many of the houses near the ambush spot were dismantled and their wood used for fortification. In front of the breastwork, the Iroquois placed fresh cut saplings and bushes in order to conceal them from the advancing troops. Behind the works, where the wall was low, the men dug trenches to further protect themselves from gun fire, to lie unnoticed. Behind the breastworks, to the right, is where Brant would be posted with British Captain McDonnell and their men. Butler and his rangers were positioned at the center of the works, while a large party of Iroquois would be positioned on top of the steep mountain to the left of the creek ready to attack the Colonial’s right flank. Their hope was to lie inconspicuously as the Colonials moved north through the narrow pass, biding their time for the right moment to attack. The Colonials would follow around the river leaving their entire right flank exposed to the Iroquois troops stationed on the ridge. When the Colonials proceed further along the Chemung River, the attack would begin from the ridge, while simultaneously the troops behind the breastworks would attack the enemy’s rear. This would cause the pack horses and cattle to stampede and send the Rebels into a state of confusion.\footnote{Eckert, p.366.} Being attacked on both their right flank and rear, and with a
large mountain to their left and a narrow pass and large creek to their front, the enemy would be crushed, and victory would be had by the British and Iroquois.

Butler, Brant, and their men were set on August 27 where they waited all day. There was no movement and the scouts on the ridge saw nothing, so the troops returned to their camp at Chuknut to rest for the next day. The next morning, all the troops resumed position eager for the battle. All day they waited again, but to no avail. Sullivan and his army were moving slowly, possibly taking every precaution, or maybe bogged down by the terrain. Once again they had to fall back to their camp and try again the next day. Not expecting the Colonials to take so long to move up out of Tioga, the troops sent most of their bags and supplies north in preparation for battle, and in case of a need to retreat. Better to send the baggage off then lose it in battle, or be bogged down by it in flight. The lack of provisions that had been plaguing them since the beginning of the war had not let up. The Tory diet was not used to solely sustaining on corn, and “Despite the abundance of growing fields about them, their rations were restricted to seven ears of corn a day per person. For the whole week that they had thus far spent in the vicinity of Newtown [Chuknut], they had subsisted mainly upon corn, with an additional ration of five small cattle, which provided a very insignificant portion of meat.”\(^{115}\) Two days laying and waiting with empty bellies, left the troops greatly fatigued.

On the third day, August 29, the troops once more took position behind their ambuscade. Perhaps it was fatigue, or maybe frustration, but that day, the troops on the mountain ridge altered their position from the original plan.\(^ {116}\) The repositioning of the troops left them vulnerable if by some chance the Rebels would be able to circumvent to their rear. The troops were waiting, impatiently that day, but still hoping to squash the Colonial’s invasion. All the

\(^{115}\) Graymont, p.211.

\(^{116}\) Ibid., Kelsay, p. 261.
men were lying still at their posts, except for the troops who changed position, and waited. The first shots were fired by the Rebels who had discovered the trap. Surprisingly, the enemy had moved within 400 yards of the Tory and Iroquois line. The troops exchanged fire, darting behind trees and then moving out to fire and dodging back. This exchange went on for about an hour; all the while, Brant and Butler were calling for the troops to fall back to the ridge, but the men were insistent on holding the line. With a crash, the artillery opened fire. Grape shot, round shot, and iron spikes shredded through the breastworks. The fortification worked well against rifle fire, but was no match for the heavy artillery that rained down on them. The troops immediately moved for the higher ground to regroup with the rest of the army. Brant led the troops’ movements back to the ridge, stopping to fire on the approaching enemy, and rousing his troops. He was “always in the thickest of the fight, he used every effort to stimulate his warriors, in the hope of leading them to victory.” However, as the cannonade relentlessly continued, panic began to set in with the retreating Tory and Iroquois troops, but they remained relentless in their fight. When they reached the top of the hill, they were met with yet another surprise. It seemed that the worst came to pass and the enemy troops had come around the rear of the Iroquois and moved through the hole created by the change of position.

As the Rebel forces moved up the hill towards the rear of the troops, Brant tried once more to rally his troops to an offensive. What seemed a valiant effort soon turned futile. Brant and his men were almost completely surrounded and most certainly outnumbered. The call for a full retreat was given, and against their liking, they had to leave their dead on the field and whatever packs they had so they could aid the wounded in the retreat. They were pursued for about three miles by the Rebel Army, but were not overtaken. They regrouped about five miles

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117 Graymont, p.212.
118 Stone, p.20.
up the Chemung at a town called Nanticoke, where they had sent most of their baggage three days prior. They collected their things and moved about another five more miles up the river where they made camp for the night. The enemy took twelve scalps on the field of battle and employed in torching the town along with all the crops. It was the business of the Colonials to lay waste to the Iroquois land, and “nothing, however, was to be left behind in an edible condition. It is the business of a soldier to know how to kill, but the business of this campaign would prove a strange task indeed for men at arms – a warfare against vegetables.” This warfare would be executed with such perfection, that the Iroquois lands would be so bare by the end, not one person would be able to stave off starvation during the coming winter.

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119 Graymont, p.213.
121 Graymont, p.213.
The Last Stand

The loss at Chuknut severely broke the moral of the Iroquois warriors. As Butler and Brant moved their troops towards Niagara, scouts were dispatched to report on the movements of the Colonial Army. Every day it seemed the Rebels remained on the heels of the troops. There was no time to rest. Some days they had to flee with such haste that they had no time to extinguish the fires, or collect the cooking corn. Brant, whose intention was to capture a prisoner for information, moved alongside the advancing Colonial Army, remained undetected, but also without success. The Loyalist Army arrived at Shechquago on August 31. There, Butler held a council with the Iroquois about what action should be taken next.

There was much worry and dissent amongst the Iroquois. The women and many of the men wanted to sue for peace with the Colonials. The defeat at Chuknut and the size of the Rebel Army brought great fear into the hearts of the Iroquois. They were unable to repulse the enemy from entering their land, and now it seemed that they were on the verge of losing it all. But, the warriors, who generally agreed with the advice from the women, were against a plea for peace at this time. Butler, too, was against any peace with the Rebels. He told the women that if they were to stay at Shechquago, they would be scalped by the Colonials. He told them that if they were to go with him to Niagara, they would have food and clothing for them upon their arrival. The whole town was evacuated on September 2, except for one very old Cayuga woman who was too feeble to ride.

122 Jemison, p.165.
123 Kelsay, p.264.
124 This is the Iroquoian name for Catherine’s Town, Graymont, p.215.
125 Kelsay, p.264.
126 Graymont, p.215.
Butler led the troops out of town and arrived at Canadesaga on September 3. On their way, Butler attempted to rally the troops for another stand to defend Canadesaga. He also thought it would be to their advantage to attack the advancing enemy with small parties, slowly weakening them along their route. This, however, was not accepted by the troops. With the morale of the Iroquois broken, no reinforcements, and hundreds of sick malnourished Rangers, many of the warriors took their families into the woods for safety. It seemed to them that fleeing for survival alone was better than retreating with an army that was being hunted.\textsuperscript{127} Disillusioned by the inability to rally his troops at Canadesaga, Butler continued to move west, past the Genesee River to the last Seneca settlement, the Genesee Castle.

Brant remained behind the main forces with a small reconnoitering party, all the while on a lookout for prisoners. He and his party were just outside Canadesaga when Sullivan and the Rebels entered the deserted town. Brant was able to remain undetected as he observed the Colonials. He decided against attempting to attain a prisoner and returned to the main army at the Genesee Castle. There he informed Butler that Sullivan’s army could be no less than 3000 troops, and that they were still on the move. In addition to Brant’s report, other informants from the west were coming in and reporting that Rebel Colonel Daniel Brodhead was also progressing deep into American Indian territory towards the Seneca Castle. Upon hearing that news, the chiefs decided to assemble all the available warriors to make one more stand against the enemy.\textsuperscript{128} To prepare for the worst, the Seneca “sent all their women and children into the woods a little west of Little Beard’s Town, in order that we might make a good retreat if it should be necessary, and then, well armed, set out to face the conquering enemy. The place

\textsuperscript{127} Graymont, p.215.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., p.216, Kelsey, p.265.
which they fixed upon for their battle ground lay between Honeoy Creek and the head of Connessius Lake.”

On September 12, Butler and the Iroquois, numbered at about 400 troops, went to meet the Rebel Army with an ambush. Four Iroquois were sent out to report on the status of Sullivan and his men, unaware that Sullivan had sent out a reconnoitering party of his own. The four Iroquois were not expecting any of the Colonials to be so close to the Castle so soon and were taken by surprise by a group of twenty-six men. The Colonials shot and killed one, wounded the other, and the other two escaped. The one that was killed was immediately scalped, and his body mutilated.

Brant, along with Little Beard and the rest of the troops lay under cover by Connessius Lake and waited for the Rebel Army to arrive on September 13. As they were under concealment, Sullivan’s reconnoitering party, stumbled upon the ambush. A fight quickly ensued, and the Iroquois and Tories, greatly outnumbering the twenty-six Rebels, killed all but seven. Three were taken prisoner, and four escaped. Having ruined their chances for a surprise, the Rangers and Iroquois abandoned their position and were to take the three prisoners back to the Genesee Castle.

Before they returned with the prisoners to the Castle, one of the Oneida, who was fighting with the British, noticed that one of the three prisoners was his younger brother. At the onset of the war, the elder tried to convince his younger brother to fight with him against the Colonials. The younger Oneida had a Seneca scalp on his belt and this enraged his brother even further. The elder began to yell at his brother:

129 Jemison, p.163.
130 Graymont, p. 216.
131 Ibid., p.217.
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 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 houses, 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?

A pause but of a moment ensued. The bright hatchet of Little Beard, the sachem of the village, flashed in the air like lightning, and the young Oneida chief was dead at his feet.\textsuperscript{132} The two other prisoners were taken to the Genesee Castle to be brought before Butler.

One of the prisoners was a Lieutenant Boyd of the Continental Army. Upon capture, he immediately requested a meeting with Brant which was granted. Brant escorted Boyd and the other prisoner to Little Beard’s Castle to meet Butler. While in the presence of Brant, the prisoners remained unmolested, but he was needed elsewhere, and now the prisoners were at the mercy of Butler. Butler began to question Boyd about the “situations, numbers, and positions”

\textsuperscript{132} Stone, p.28.
of the Rebel troops.\textsuperscript{133} Boyd was reluctant at first, but after being threatened to be turned over to the Iroquois, he told Butler that the Colonials numbered between 4000 and 5000 troops and that they had no intentions of pursuing any farther than the Genesee Castle.\textsuperscript{134} Having received that information, Butler made arrangements for a full retreat back to Niagara. The two prisoners were tortured in the most heinous manner imaginable and then murdered before the troops evacuated the Castle.\textsuperscript{135}

After the killing of the prisoners, “our Indians again held a short council on the expediency of giving Sullivan battle, and finally came to the conclusion that they were not strong enough to drive him, nor to prevent his taking possession of their fields: but that if it was possible they would escape with their own lives, preserve their families, and leave their possessions to be overrun by the invading army.”\textsuperscript{136} The Iroquois left their land in order to seek refuge at Niagara for the winter. Their land lay behind them in ashes, all their homes burnt to the ground and crops destroyed. The Seneca watched as Sullivan and the Colonial Army turned to the east, leaving Little Beard’s town, their home, in flames.

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\textsuperscript{133} Stone, p.31.
\textsuperscript{134} Draper MSS, “Cartwright”, p.42.
\textsuperscript{135} Each source has a different account of the event. Graymont writes that Butler interviewed Boyd on the battlefield and then sent him to Genesee Castle, but does not mention what information he received; Kelsay mentions that Butler found Boyd very intelligent and confirms the information stated above, but says that Butler was forced to turn Boyd over to the Iroquois; Stone’s report states that Boyd was escorted to Butler by the protection of Brant to Genesee where Butler threatened to turn Boyd over to the Iroquois if he does not talk, and Boyd remained resolute in his silence; Cartwright, in the Draper MSS mentions that Boyd and Butler had the talk on the battlefield, also confirming the numbers given above, but Butler just leaves him to the Iroquois without any mention; Jemison gives a detailed account on the torture and killing of the prisoners, but there is no mention of Butler being at the Castle when the prisoners are brought in; and Eckert does not mention any interaction between Butler and Boyd, only that the Iroquois take out their aggression on the prisoners.
\textsuperscript{136} Jemison, p.165.
Part II:

The Sullivan Campaign from the Patriots’ Perspective
The Battle of Newtown

The bodies lay bloody on the field, twelve in number, scalped by General Poor’s men. It was unlike the savages to leave their dead on the battlefield, so it was general consensus that their numbers of killed and wounded were in fact far greater than this; however, actual numbers of the casualties were impossible to ascertain. It was assumed that their total troops were 800 to 1500 (Indians, Tories, and British Regulars), all under the general command of the British Colonel John Butler, with the Indians under the command of the Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant. Gun shots had been heard in the distance from a small rifle party from General Hand’s brigade who were in pursuit of the retreating enemy. The light brigade made chase for about two miles before returning, taking one Negro prisoner on the way. The Negro was the second prisoner taken during this engagement, the first was a white Tory found stripped of his clothes on the battlefield, playing dead. One of the officers, noticing that the man had no wounds, gave him a stroke with his rifle and demanded him to rise, which he did most hastily begging for mercy. From the two accounts of the prisoners, the estimated numbers of the enemy troops were ascertained, being 200 to 300 British rangers and 400 to 600 Indians; however, General Sullivan and others are confident that the actual numbers were far greater. Had there been more time for General Poor’s brigade to reach the rear of the enemy’s army, it was generally agreed that not one of the enemies would have escaped this day and the victory would have been great.

137 These numbers greatly differ due to the inconsistencies in the journal reports. Lieut. Barton notes 200 British and 500 Iroquois; Lieut. Beatty notes 300 British and 400 Iroquois, and Major Burrows notes 400 enemy troops in total. Major Fogg notes that the two prisoners gave different counts, the Tory claiming 600 Iroquois and 200 British while the black prisoner claiming 400 Iroquois and Lieut. Col. Dearborn notes 200 British and a total close to 1000 enemy troops, whereas General Sullivan notes the number of troops close to 1500.
138 This account is taken from the journal of Lieut. William Barton, p.8.
139 Lieut. Erkuries Beatty, p.27.
This day of battle began at nine o’clock in the morning on August 29. The day before was spent reconnoitering just outside of Newtown, an Indian village, where it was discovered that the enemy’s size might be very formidable and ready for battle. Major Poor led the march with orders to reconnoiter all defiles previous to the arrival of the main army in order to avoid any ambuscade or surprises. General Hand had General Poor’s rear, with a light brigade consisting of six columns, Lieut. Col. Humbley commanded the left and Colonel Butler commanded the right. In the morning, knowing of the reports from the night before, the troops proceeded with much caution. They arrived at the same ridge where the army, just sixteen days prior, had found themselves in a serious skirmish with the savages.

That day was August 13 and the troops marched out of camp around the same time and in the same fashion as they did on the 29th. It is to be assumed that the enemy had scouted the troops’ movements the night before the thirteenth and had their positions ready for an ambuscade. The savages had apparently abandoned their village in a most hasteful manner, having left behind a number of deer skins, some blankets and fires still burning. After proceeding a mile beyond the village, General Hand’s brigade fell into severe fire from the savages who lay concealed on a ridge to the troop’s right, killing six of their men. General Hand’s troops immediately charged the enemy with a ferocity that sent the savages retreating, carrying their dead with them so as not to allow for the knowledge of their casualties. After General Hand’s brigade took the summit and evacuated the enemy, the brigade rejoined the main army at the village, which Sullivan ordered to be burnt. As General Poor’s brigade attended to

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140 Many of the journal entries record the movement of the troops ranging between 8 AM and 10 AM, except for one account who records the time of breaking camp at 6 AM. I choose to use the most consistent time of departure.
141 This account is taken from the journal of Lieut. Col. Adam Hubley, p.154.
142 Ibid., 151.
the destruction of the corn and beans on the other side of the river, a group of savages and Tories fired on them, killing one more before they ran off.

Fearing a possible repeat of the thirteenth of August, General Poor moved with greater caution on this day. He ordered one of his men to climb a high tree to see if he could gain any information about the whereabouts of the enemy’s troops. After a number of minutes in the tree, the soldier spotted movement of a group of Indians, very conspicuously painted, situated behind an extensive breastwork which extended at least a half mile in between a river to their right and a high mountain ridge to their left. From the position of the enemy’s troops and the construction of the breastwork, it was clear that they were in preparation for another ambush. They had set up their breastwork across a defile which the troops had to pass. Their works were artfully concealed with green shrubs, imitating a line of bushes which blended in so well, that had it not been for the caution and luck of General Poor’s brigade, the army would have walked directly into the trap. The grounds near where the enemy set up their position for attack were a perfect spot for an ambush. The road from Elmira to Newtown was arduous and precarious; it followed along a steep mountainous ridge which rose about 600 feet above a river, in a southeasterly direction for several miles. The battle took place at the point where the road leveled out onto the plains. To the north and east runs another ridge which also levels out into the plain. Between the two ridges lay a sizable stream running parallel with the river. The river sweeps around, encircling several hundred acres of extraordinarily fertile land, where the Indians had exquisitely beautiful corn fields. Rising perpendicular from the river across the plain to the creek, was another ridge known as the Hog Back.

\[144\] This statement and the following descriptions of the battlefield and road to it are from the notes done by General John S. Clark in the journal of Lieut. John L. Hardenbergh due to the extremely detailed record of the Battle of Newtown. It will be cited when I take other journals accounts into interpretation.
At the top of this ridge was the main body of the enemy’s army, situated behind log breastworks and entrenchments running about one third of a mile to the east end of the ridge, then turned north connecting the Hog Back with the ridge of the creek. The passage for the troops to get through was a narrow bottleneck with the enemy entrenched, ready to attack both the front and the rear flanks. It seemed to have been the hope of the enemy to lie undetected behind their camouflaged breastwork, allowing the patriots to pass, thus leaving them trapped with no way to retreat except for either pushing head into the enemy force, going over the mountain ridge, or down into the river. Had the ambuscade proved successful, the losses would have been disastrous, not only in terms of troops but also in terms of many of the pack horses and all the provisions they were carrying; however, thanks to the diligence and patience of General Poor,
the enemy was unable to accomplish their goal and with the arrival of General Sullivan and the main army, it was time for the men to take to the offensive.

After being informed of the situation and the positioning of the enemy’s breastworks, General Sullivan needed to make a tough decision as to which mode of attack he would pursue. A direct frontal attack on the enemy could prove very disadvantageous, due to the positioning of the enemy’s lines and the rough terrain the troops occupied. The troops would be forced to fight in narrow lines, with minimal room for retreat if needed. In addition, the enemy had formed two lines of defense for a frontal attack, with a smaller, but still sizeable army (around 400 riflemen), behind a line of breastworks with a clear line of retreat to their main body atop the Hog Back. The only other option would be to have the whole army undertake a flanking movement over the ridge, leaving them exposed to an attack by the enemy, who would easily gain the interior line of the divided army. General Sullivan decided on a frontal attack, since they now had the element of surprise and might dislodge the enemy from their works.

Sullivan ordered General Hand to advance the light corps to within 300 yards of the enemy’s works and form in a line of battle while also ordering him to send the rifle corps under cover and lay under the creek’s banks within 100 yards of the enemy. In the meantime, Sullivan ordered Colonel Ogden’s division to post on the left flank of General Hand’s light corps and ordered General Maxwell’s brigade to hold the rear as reserves. Colonel Proctor was ordered to set the artillery front and center, immediately opposite the enemy’s breastworks.145

The battle quickly ensued between the enemy and the light corps, but it was to little avail on either side. During the skirmish, General Sullivan sent out a reconnoitering squad to discover if there was any way of sending troops around to the rear of the enemy, in an attempt to surround

145 The description of the orders and placement of the troops are from the journal of Lieut. Col. Hubley, p.155.
them and cut off their route of retreat. After three hours of light firing, Sullivan divided the army and ordered General Poor and General Clinton to take their brigades over the ridge in order to implement his second option for attack. The hope was to maneuver the troops quickly enough to come around the rear of the enemy. It was an arduous endeavor for the troops. They needed to ascend the mountain ridge and make a run of about two miles across unknown terrain in order to attack the left flank and rear of the enemy, while cutting off their escape route by the creek. To do all this, Sullivan allotted them one hour before he would order the artillery to begin pounding away at the enemy’s front, followed by the charge of General Hand’s troops, forcing them to retreat directly into General Poor’s and General Clinton’s brigades. Sullivan posted the artillery on the rising ground where General Hand set up his initial line of battle, 300 yards away from the enemy’s first lines. General Hand was to support the artillery and the left-flanking division, while General Maxwell remained in reserves.

With a one-hour window, General Poor moved first with a brigade of four regiments, the right flanking division and three companies of riflemen. Poor was followed by General Clinton’s brigade, also of four regiments, as a second line of defense. Immediately after their departure, the troops found themselves traversing a nearly impenetrable terrain of underbrush which was followed by a thick swamp for nearly a mile. Once out of the swamp, the troops then crossed the creek that was in front of the enemy’s works and continued their march through the center of their village consisting of a large number of newly built houses.

While Poor and Clinton advanced, General Hand’s brigade and the rifle corps entertained the enemy’s front line with light fire to divert their attention away from the movements of Generals Poor and Clinton to give them time to move into position. The enemy gave a push

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146 The order of Poor’s and Clinton’s brigades is form the journal of Lieut. Hardenbergh, p.127.
forward, but it was quickly subdued by the rifle corps. The time had come for Sullivan to give the order for the artillery to begin its assault; all he could hope for was that Poor and Clinton were in position. Sullivan gave the order and Colonel Proctor began the cannonade on the enemy’s lines causing them to erratically fall back to their second line. As the enemy was retreating, Poor and Clinton’s movements were noticed. They were almost in position at the start of the cannonade, but failed to ascend the Hog Back and secure the rear of the enemy.

The woods echoed with the deafening sound of the Indians’ war cry as the flanking brigades found themselves covered in a hail of bullets. Poor and Clinton immediately ordered their men to form the lines of battle. In Poor’s brigade, Lieut. Col. Reid held the left, Lieut. Col. Dearborn the middle and Col. Cilley the right. Clinton set up a line of battle following the rear of Poor’s brigade. With bayonets fixed and drawn, General Poor’s brigade charged the enemy line, not firing a single shot until they reached the summit of the hill. It was a grueling half mile climb to the top of the Hog Back, and the savages were persistent with their war cries and assault on the ascending troops, but the fortitude of the Colonial troops prevailed and the summit was reached. A heated battle ensued on the hill. Upon reaching the summit, the troops gave the savages such a volley, that their valiant war cry quickly turned into a horrid cry for retreat. Hand was advancing from the front as Poor and Clinton were gaining the rear. The army was assaulting the enemy with gun fire from all sides. Reid’s brigade found themselves surrounded by the enemy, being that they had the left flank which was the main avenue of retreat. Reid was unable to advance as far as the rest of the army and the savages attempted to take advantage of this situation. Dearborn, having Reid’s right, quickly ordered his troops to turn and concentrate their fire on the advancing enemy troops that were flanking Reid’s right. At

147 The description of the lines of battle, order and placement of the troops is from the journal of Lieut. Hardenbergh, p.128.
almost the same instant, Clinton’s brigade turned and came to support the rear of Reid, further threatening the enemy. The timing of Dearborn was impeccable, saving Reid’s regiment and scattering the enemy into a disorganized retreat. Poor and Clinton continued the advance towards the enemy’s defile, while at the same time, Hand had been advancing in front and Col. Ogden had advanced along the river, almost completely encircling the enemy. Hand and the light brigade made chase for about two miles before returning to the field with that negro prisoner.

The battle was short but intense; it forced the enemy to leave many dead on the field. Lt. Class of Dearborn’s regiment killed an Indian with the Indian’s own tomahawk before scalping him. Twelve lay slain on the field and those twelve were scalped. The first prisoner taken by Sullivan’s army that day, the same one who was found stripped and trying to pass a dead, begged for mercy which was granted. Of the Colonial army, the total killed was three and wounded 35.148

The troops made out well this day and collected plenty of the Indians’ wares. The Indians left behind many packs, blankets, tomahawks, spears, brass kettles, &c., which were all collected. The fighting ended around six o’clock that evening, at which time the order to burn Newtown was given and executed by Clinton’s brigade. At sunset, the army made camp on the battlefield.

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148 These numbers are conflicted between the journal entries; I choose to record these numbers because they are the average between the accounts.
The next day, rain fell as the troops combed the battlefield to view the slain. All the dead had been scalped the day before by General Poor’s men, and some corpses were skinned down for “boot legs”; the soldiers would skin the Indians from their hips down to obtain human hides which resembled pants. The legs were given to two of the officers for war souvenirs. It was the day after the Battle of Newtown, and a general sentiment was shared among the troops that, “although the enemy galled us, killing three and wounding forty; yet we convinced them that they may in vain attempt to withstand an army like ours.”

Lt. McCally died in the morning from the wounds inflicted on him during his bravery in battle; his leg had been amputated the night before with the hopes it would save his life. The army buried their dead with the honors of war which they deserved.

The troops spent the day employed in destroying the village, consisting of around forty houses and all the crops. The Indians helplessly looked down from atop the ridge. Around 150 acres of the best corn that had ever been seen was destroyed that day. At the same time, the soldiers exalted the fertility of the land: “The land exceeds any that I have ever seen. Some corn stalks measured eighteen feet, and a cob one and a half foot long. Beans, cucumbers, watermelons, muskmelons, cimblens are in great plenty.” All the land thus far had been exceptional; flat beautiful plains, bounded with wild grass and deep rich fertile soil, interwoven with deep flowing creeks and rivers, untouched by cultivation outside the Indian settlements.

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149 The ambush took place on September 13, 1779.
150 The skins were given to Lieut. William Barton and Major Piatt, p.8.
151 Major Jeremiah Fogg, p.95.
153 Major John Burrowes, p.45.
Large forested mountains encircle those rich valleys with an abundance of timber, so numerous in variety; black walnut, button wood trees, eight to ten feet through, hickory, white pine, pitch pine, several oaks, much ash, bass wood, maple, elm, shag nut, and chestnut. Hunting, too, was exquisite. There were troves of “deer, bears, turkeys, several of which were taken by the troops without firing a single gun.”154 Each day the land far exceeded the troops’ expectations. They saw that the area would prosper very well under the settlement of the Colonials and it will be used to its full potential.

After the dead Colonial soldiers were buried and the town lay in ashes, the wounded were sent down river to Tioga, along with the heavy artillery and all the wagons. This allowed for the troops to move with much more agility and speed. General Sullivan was wary about the amount of rations the troops had left when thinking about what lay ahead. At the request of Sullivan, the following address was issued to the army by the commanding officers to their respected corps:

The commander-in-chief informs the troops that he used every effort to procure proper supplies for the army, and to obtain a sufficient number of horses to transport them, but owing to the inattention of those whose business it was to make the necessary provision, he failed of obtaining such ample supply as he wished, and greatly fears that the supplies on hand will not, without the greatest prudence, enable him to complete the business of the expedition. He therefore requests the several brigades and officers commanding the corps to take the mind of the troops under their respective commands, whether they will, whilst in this country, which abounds with corn and vegetables of every kind, be

154 Barton, p.5.
content to draw one half of flour, one half of meat, and salt a day. And he desires the troops to give their opinions with freedom and as soon as possible. Should they generally fall in with the proposal, he promises they shall be paid that part of the rations which is held back at the full value in money.

He flatters himself that the troops who have discovered so much bravery and firmness will readily consent to fall in with a measure so essentially necessary to accomplish the important purpose of the expedition, to enable them to add to the laurels they have already gained.

The enemy have subsisted for a number of days on corn only, without either salt, meat, or flour, and the general cannot persuade himself that troops, who so far surpass them in bravery and true valor, will suffer themselves to be outdone in that fortitude and perseverance, which not only distinguishes, but defines the soldier. He does not mean to continue this through the campaign, but only wishes it to be adopted in those places where vegetables may supply the place of a part of the common ration of meat and flour, which will be much better than without any.

The troops will please to consider the matter, and give their opinion as soon as possible.\(^{155}\)

In short, he thought it best that they help themselves to the Indians’ food before burning it. Consistent with the tremendous bravery and fortitude of the Colonial army, “it was so generally and cheerfully entered into without a single dissenting voice;”\(^{156}\) “so great and noble was their

\(^{155}\) This excerpt is taken from the journal of Hubley, p.157.

\(^{156}\) Ibid., p.157.
spirit; while manifesting their consent with a universal hurrah!"\textsuperscript{157} The resolve of the army did not falter even though the enemy made their escape: “No army can have higher spirits than ours resulting from victory and a consciousness of superiority, while our enemy are fleeing from their country.”\textsuperscript{158}

The army broke camp and marched out of Newtown ten o’clock in the morning on August 31. The day was cool and clear, and with all the wounded, heavy artillery, and wagons gone, the troops moved with greater ease. It had been a long and arduous road since leaving Easton; traveling through marsh and mountains, plains and forests. The encounters with the enemy had been slight thus far, with the exception of Newtown, which sent the savages in such a flight that their towns, upon arrival, were all deserted in such haste that even pots were left on burning fires. The army marched about 9 miles when they came upon a town so recently deserted that some of the enemy were seen traveling up river in boats by the advanced guard. General Poor made chase for a few miles, but was unable to overtake them and returned. The town was called Kannawahalla.\textsuperscript{159} It was quaintly situated, as most of the villages were, near the banks of the river, and had clearly been abandoned that morning. In the houses were large numbers of feather beds which the troops cut open and emptied. The troops also found several chests buried in the floors containing various household wares. The army rested there for about an hour, burned it to the ground, and set off again following the river north for another five miles or so and encamped for the night.

A morning frost was found over the camp as the troops marched out. The road took an undesirable turn after passing a narrow defile between a high mountain and a deep marsh; it

\textsuperscript{157} Fogg, p.95.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{159} Fellows, p.89.
entered into “what is called the 9 mile swamp and a most horrid road.” The army was forced to split up; General Hand took troops and forded over the mountains, while the rest trudged through the swamp. Hand and the advanced guard reached a town called French Catherine. As the army approached, dogs began to howl and they were accompanied by a great deal of noise. With bayonets fixed, the troops immediately formed a line of battle and awaited orders from Hand. A small group of riflemen were sent to reconnoiter and the rest were ordered not to fire, but to charge if the enemy were to make a stand. The riflemen returned and found that the enemy must have just evacuated, seeing pots of broth over burning fires.

By dark, the remainder of the main army had found themselves just two miles from French Catherine, dug into “the most horrid thick mirey swamp” ever conceived. The rest of the troops did not reach French Catherine until ten o’clock pm, and General Clinton’s brigade, with the cattle, did not arrive until the next day. The burning of the town was left until the morning. There had been hard days of marching before this, but the troops “never had so bad a days since we set off, but what will not men go through who are determined to be free.”

The troops arose in the morning and the order was given that they were to rest there that day in order to recuperate from the journey the day before. In exploration of the town, the troops had “found in a bark hut an awful object and upon examination it appeared to be Madam Sacho, one of the Tuscarora tribe, whose silver locks, wrinkled face, dim eyes, and curvitude of body denoted her to be a full blooded antediluvian hag!” She seemed to be over 100 years of age,

160 Fellows, p.89.
161 Hubley, p.157.
162 Fogg, p.95.
163 Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, p.73.
164 Burrowes, p.45.
165 Actual spelling is antediluvian; at this time, the meaning would most likely be, as defined by the Oxford English Dictionary: One who lived before the Flood; fig. one who attains to a very great age, or, belonging or proper to long past ages; very antiquated, primitive. (In a disparaging sense.)
which is most likely the reason she was left behind. The translator was having a hard time deciphering her ramblings; however, it had been ascertained that the army had just missed the enemy troops the night before. She informed Sullivan that the enemy was delayed due to the protests of the women and children who wanted to appeal for a truce with the Americans. This debate was not very well received by the men, and the women were threatened by Butler and the savage warriors, that if they were to remain in camp, then they would scalp them themselves. The warriors said that submitting to the army too soon would give the Americans the power to lay any terms they wanted towards the Iroquois, whereas if they were to flee, they might still be able to hold onto some of the power to bargain for better terms, if it should be offered.

Sullivan ordered that the old squaw be put on horseback and told her to ride off to meet up with her companions with a letter, which she was unable to do, being far too old and feeble. She informed Sullivan that the enemy had not gone too far off and were expecting the troops not to employ too long at that place and were expecting to return. The General, upon hearing that, ordered a brigade of 200 men to search the woods for the enemy. The remainders of the troops were to stay in camp to rest after the drudging day prior.

Thebrigade sent out in search of the enemy traveled about three and one half miles where they reached a marshy flat near Seneca Lake, and preceded for a while through the mire; they found themselves on the wrong path and had to double back. After finding the correct path, they traveled for another hour through more swamp. Finding no sign of the enemy, the troops decided to return to camp, less Capt. Boman with 50 men, who went to the lake. The rest of

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166 Fogg, p.96.
167 Burrowes is the only one who mentions that it was the warriors who threaten to scalp the women, p.45.
168 Hubley, p.157.
169 Barton, p.9.
170 Ibid.
the troops traversed the mountain in order to circumvent the swamp. The men who went to the lake discovered that Butler and the enemy army were eight miles off on the other side of the lake.  

After all the troops returned to camp, the order was given to raze the entire village and all the crops. The old squaw was removed from the village and a hut was erected for her in the woods near a stream. Sullivan ordered that she be left with a sufficient supply of flour and meat that should sustain her well which she was very thankful for, and he directed that the troops did not kill or misuse her. Before leaving the troops collected a large amount of plunder from this town, consisting of many blankets and furs, cows, horses, pigs, which came as some ease after losing a number of pack horses and cows to the swamp the night before. They left nothing that was useful behind.

The army marched out the next day at eight o’clock in the morning towards Genesee Castle, the main encampment of the savages. The troops marched for nine days and covered nearly 90 miles on their way to Genesee, burning and reaping the harvest of every village and settlement they came across. The land continued to amaze the troops. Its fertility never seemed to diminish; the timber remained as diverse as it did abundant. Large orchards of amazing fruit trees, apples, peaches, plums, were all cut down. The lakes teemed with all kinds of fish, salmon, trout, and rock, which resembled perch. The weather held up for the most part, but there were instances where the rain made marshes very hard to pass.

The troops arose at six o’clock on the morning of August 13. It was a very cold morning and the grass was covered with heavy dew. They marched for about an hour before reaching a

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171 The only account of this found in all the journals is documented by Captain Daniel Livermore, p.186.
172 Barton, p.9.
small town called Canesaah. The town was situated on a considerable creek and the order was given to erect a bridge across it. Meanwhile, the rest of the troops were ordered to burn the huts and crops. Lt. Boyd had been ordered to take a small party of riflemen to reconnoiter the area and see if they could gain any information about the enemy at Genesee. Boyd enlisted 26 men to partake in the reconnoitering. They set out for a small town outside Genesee, about six miles from where the troops were resting. They came into contact with an Indian who was immediately killed and scalped. Boyd decided to send two of his men back to the camp to inform the troops about what had happened. The two men had only gone about two miles before they came upon five Indians. They immediately ran back to Boyd to tell him about the Indians, at which point Boyd and the party went after the savages with great haste. The Boyd party found that the Indians were retreating upon their arrival and were only able to kill one of them. A fight ensued between the soldiers as to who should be able to take the scalp of the Indian corpse.

Around ten o’clock in the morning, the troops heard gun shots in the distance and were ordered to form lines. General Poor took a brigade of men and marched over the inlet of the lake, through marshy wetlands, and over a large hill to find on the opposite side a line of Indians who had just fired on the surveyor, Lieutenant Benjamin Lodge, and his party, mortally wounding one of them. At the sight of the Colonial troops rushing up the hill, the Indians took flight, leaving behind over 100 of their packs, along with a number of blankets, hats, tomahawks, kettles, &c., which were all collected. One of the men from the surveyor’s party informed the Poor about the situation with Boyd.

While Boyd’s men were fighting over who would keep the Indian’s scalp, the enemy arose from their ambuscade and had the troops completely surrounded and outnumbered. Over

174 The following description comes mostly from the journal of Lieut. Beatty; however, the stories hold fairly consistent throughout the other journals as well.
200 or 300\textsuperscript{175} savages and Tories encircled the 26 of Boyd and his men. The troops found themselves in a very disadvantageous position and, after an attempt at battle, decided to flee. About six of Boyd’s men made their escape but the rest were caught up and forced to make their stand. The men fought with the utmost bravery, as to be expected, but not one survived, except for Boyd and a rifleman named Parker, who were wounded and taken prisoner. The men who escaped were pursued by a number of Indians. The Indians who were chasing the survivors of Boyd’s brigade were the ones who fired upon the surveyor’s party, and who fled at the sight of Poor and his men.

While Poor and his men were relieving the surveyor’s party, and Boyd and his men were being cut down, the bridge was finished, and the whole army marched towards Genesee. Along the way, the troops encountered another group of five Indians who ran off at the sight of the army. A small group of riflemen made chase resulting in the slaying of three Indians, while the other two escaped. The troops arrived at a town called Casawavalatetah\textsuperscript{176}, just outside Genesee Castle, and just before their arrival, Sullivan received information that the enemy was awaiting them and were prepared for battle. It was getting dark, and becoming a very disagreeable time for a fight;\textsuperscript{177} nevertheless, hoping to attack, the troops took proper precautions upon entering the town, “but we were once more agreeably disappointed. Here appeared the heathenish custom of offering sacrifices. Two dogs were found suspended on a pole, which signified that evil spirit was to be pacified by their skins, which would serve to make him a tobacco pouch and waist

\textsuperscript{175} The numbers are again unclear, some accounts say 200, some say 500, and some say 600, but most stay within the realm of 200 to 300.
\textsuperscript{177} Burrows, p.48.
coat."¹⁷⁸ The town was deserted, just like all the others the troops came across. Just after dark, Sullivan ordered the three pieces of artillery to fire simultaneously with grape-shot to purge the immediately surrounding woods of any concealed heathens,¹⁷⁹ and the General had taken the necessary cautions to ensure the safety of the troops through the night. Casawavalatetah was situated on a branch of the Genesee River with very fertile land and consisted of about 25 houses very well built and almost new. The troops encamped in the village for the night, pulling down many of the houses for fire wood.¹⁸⁰

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¹⁷⁸ Fogg, p.99.
¹⁷⁹ Beatty, p.32.
¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.32.
The Genesee Castle

At the sound of gunfire, the army arose and set into formation before sunrise with the expectation of an attack.\textsuperscript{181} They remained that way until six o’clock in the morning, when the order was given for about 200 soldiers to raze the town and destroy the crops, which was executed in part by throwing them into the river, and in part by burning them. As with all of the Indians’ fields, here was a great abundance of corn, beans, and other forms of subsistence that the Indians grew. The whole endeavor was finished around noon, at which time the troops set out for the Genesee Castle.\textsuperscript{182}

It was part of Sullivan’s expectations that the troops were only one to two miles away from the Great Indian Capital and on the same side of the Genesee River; however, after the return of a reconnoitering party, it was discovered that they were more like six miles away, and on the other side of the river.\textsuperscript{183} The troops began their march around noon and needed to cross a creek, which proved to be much more difficult in reality than it appeared it would be. The creek was by no means deep or rapid, but what it lacked in those attributes it made up for in mire.\textsuperscript{184} The troops were forced to traverse the creek via fallen trees, which detained them for nearly two hours.\textsuperscript{185} Once the whole army was on the other side of the creek, the march continued “on to a

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{181} Nukerck, p.218.
\footnote{182} It is also referred to as the Capital of the Chennesee (by Lieut. Nukerck p.217), Chennesee Town (by Lieut. Col. Dearborn p.75), Chenisee (by Lieut. Barton p.11), Chenese (by Major Burrowes p.48), Chinisee (by Lieut. Hardenbergh p.133), Chinesee, the Capital of Indian Country (by Sergeant Major Grant p.112), Chenese (by Sergeant Fellows p.91), Chenassee (by Thomas Grant p.142), Ginnacee (by Lieut. McKendry p.206), Cheniasira (by Lieut. Samuel M. Shute p.271), Junisie (by Lieut. Rudolphus Van Hovenburgh p.281), and Jeneise/Jenise (by Lieut. Col. Hubley p.161).
\footnote{183} Dearborn, p.75.
\footnote{184} Dr. Campfield, p.59.
\footnote{185} Burrowes, p.48.
\end{footnotes}
plain, through a swamp of large trees, Black walnutt, & white, maple, popular, ash, Bass &c.”

The men eyed the lumber with interest, thinking of the future. The plain spanned about two miles in width, by two miles in length, lying east to west, where, on the western side, the plain slightly rose in elevation to a small hill. As the troops continued in a westerly direction, they came towards the rise and were amazed to find that the plain then opened up and spanned as far as the eye could see. This place is still known as the Genesee Flats. It was upwards of 15,000 pristine acres, with the Genesee River winding through, disappearing into the horizon. All along the river’s course, it received many other branches of the Genesee adding to the fertility of the land. To add to the considerable potential wealth of this land, the Genesee emptied into Lake Ontario, about 30 miles away, and seemed to be navigable by a small boat; this could create an easy route to the Saint Laurence, and on into Montreal. The party was forced to ford the river in order to stay on direct course to the Genesee Castle. Heavy rains swelled the river, causing the current to be considerably strong, so the troops separated into small platoons, locked arms, and trudged across the river, which was four to five rods in width, and came up to their waist.

After crossing the river, the troops ascended the hill and were in view of the sheer vastness of the plain. Not a tree was in sight, nor did the plain rise more than ten feet anywhere. It was a known fact that “when a person has been describing good grass and good pasture that it was knee high, and pasture up to the horses eyes, but here it is higher than a mans head when on his horse.” Those on horseback could barely see the tops of the marching soldiers’ bayonets above the grass. The ground, too, was incomparable; there was “not less than six thousand acres

\[186\] Campfield, p. 59.
\[187\] Ibid., p.59.
\[188\] It is a measure of length, equal to \(\frac{3}{5}\) yards or \(\frac{3}{16}\) feet. Oxford English Dictionary online.
\[189\] Burrowes, p.48.
of the richest soil that can be conceived.”<sup>190</sup> Because of the Genesee River’s access to Lake Ontario, and the amazing fertility and the great expanse of the plains, the place atop the rise which overlooked the plain would be “best calculated for a county seat, town or city, as to situation, of any place in America.”<sup>191</sup> All the land continued to surpass itself in abundance and “from French Catherine’s to this place, 95 miles at least, is undoubtedly the best land, and capable of the greatest improvement, of any part of the possession’s of the U. States.”<sup>192</sup>

The troops arrived at Genesee Castle just before sunset. Just like all the other settlements, the troops found this place deserted, with evidence that the Indians left in great haste and confusion. Many of their wares were left behind, along with corn hanging to dry and piles of it on the floor, some husked and others not. The town was situated on the west bank of the Genesee and was the largest of the Indian towns the troops came across. It consisted of over 100 houses, finely built and tightly packed, made mostly of small logs and covered in bark. The houses “might have been very comfortable, had they made any convenience for the smoke to be conveyed out, only a hole in the middle of the top of the roof of the house. The Indians are exceedingly dirty, the rubage of one of their houses, is enough to stink a whole country.”<sup>193</sup> Genesee Town sat on a beautiful plain, slightly higher than the flats, covered with corn.

On closer inspection of the town, the troops came upon one of the Indian houses which was still smoldering. Inside the house were a number of bodies, most likely the slain Indians carried off after the Groveland Ambush, was “burning with them is frequently a substitute for interment.”<sup>194</sup> However, some fresh graves were also found and opened by some soldiers,

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<sup>190</sup> Hubley, p.162.  
<sup>191</sup> Fogg, p.99.  
<sup>192</sup> Campfield, p.60.  
<sup>193</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>194</sup> Fogg, p.99.
against direct orders, and discovered that the bodies of the Indians were shot, proving Boyd and his men had made a valiant stand in the face of great opposition.\textsuperscript{195} Near to the burning house, the troops discovered the fate of Boyd and Parker. It seems that the heathens had vented their hellish spite and reeked “their vengeance on a few unfortunate men, they never would have dared to meet on equal terms.”\textsuperscript{196} They were both stripped naked and their bodies bore the markings as if they were bound to a tree and severely whipped with some kind of prickly lash. They were stabbed innumerable times all over their bodies and deep gashes were cut into their flesh. All their nails were torn from the roots of their finger tips and toes. A great portion of their bodies were flayed, leaving their ribs bare and their private parts hanging down. They were treated in the “most barbarous and cruel manner that savages were master of,”\textsuperscript{197} and with “every species of barbarity committed, that the united malice of all the infernal devils could dictate.”\textsuperscript{198} Their flesh was torn from their shoulders by the Indians dogs and a knife was sticking out of Boyd’s back, and “after they vented their hellish spite and rage cut off their heads and left them.”\textsuperscript{199} Only Boyd’s head was found, which proved difficult in determining whether it was his. His entire head was skinned, both his eyes gouged out, ears sliced off, and his tongue cut from his mouth. This was clearly the “most horrid spectacle to behold and from which we are taught the necessity of fighting those more than devils to the last moment rather than fall into their hands alive.”\textsuperscript{200} It was hard to see such good men molested in such a horrid manner: “Mr. Boyd’s former good character, as a brave soldier, and an honest man, and his behavior in the skirmish of yesterday (several of the Indians being found dead, and some seen carried off,) must endear him

\textsuperscript{195} Thomas Grant, p.142.  
\textsuperscript{196} Campfield, p.60.  
\textsuperscript{197} Jenkins, p.175.  
\textsuperscript{198} Fogg, p.99.  
\textsuperscript{199} Dearborn, p.75, Fellows, p.89, and Norris, p.235, all have the same account, word for word.  
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid.
to all friends of mankind. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his.”  

The bodies of Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Parker were immediately buried with all the honors of war, and “in as decent a manner as our situation would admit of.”  

The trek had been hard on the troops, and had it not been for the corn, beans, and other Indian crops found from place to place to sustain on, the army would have:

dropped the prosecution of this expedition long ago. Since the first of Sept. we had only 23 days’ provisions, a great quantity of which, must inevitably be lost, from the nature of the portage. Since we left Tioga we lost 140 cattle, most of which we hear, have since returned to that place.

Much of our flour is carried in bags & often falling off, and striking against trees, sometimes falling into mud, & sometimes into ye water, as we pass many streems of water. & 5 horses are committed to the management of one clumsy driver.

This instance of virtue of this army must exceed any yet exhibited. It has undertaken and performed this tedious march in the bare allowance of ½ lb. Flower & ½ lb. Beef a day and 5 gils of salt to 100 lb. of Beef – without any spirit [liquor], for, whatever might have been at Tioga in store, we could find no way to bring, but very little on with us.  

Nevertheless, this night, the whole army encamped at this place and “we live sumptuously on beefsteak and potatoes,” for the troops were “now in high Spirits at this our last stage.”

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201 Hubley, p.162.
202 Jenkins, p.175.
203 Campfield, p.60.
204 Burrowes, p.48.
205 Grant, p.112.
The Road Home

The next morning began in the similar fashion of destroying the town; however, the mood of the troops was much improved. Word had spread that the troops would begin the return home so “the whole of the army this morning with the greatest cheerfulness went about destroying the Corn, Beans, &c.”\textsuperscript{206} The endeavor began around six o’clock in the morning, and took until the afternoon, being that here was the largest quantity of corn than at any other place prior. It is estimated that the troops destroyed upwards of “15,000 Bushels of Corn, Besides Beans, Squashes, Potatoes in abundance, a great Part of this Corn was Planted By the tories under Butler and Intend’s for a magazine to aid them to Carry in their war against our Fronteers as we are informed By Some Prisoners.”\textsuperscript{207} Vast numbers of fruit trees were destroyed by skirting and burning, along with immense quantities of the corn, which was collected and placed into the houses, placing wood and bark in top of the piles of corn and burning it, destroying both crop and home.

While the troops were destroying the town, “a captive woman and child at her breast came in from the woods having escaped from the savages. Can any greater transition happen to a human being except a parson from the gallows?”\textsuperscript{208} Her name was Mrs. Lester\textsuperscript{209} and her child seemed to be around seven or eight months old.\textsuperscript{210} She had informed the troops that she had been abducted from Wyoming, Pennsylvania by the Indians sometime last year, when, on that dreadful day of her abduction, her husband and one of her sons were murdered and scalped in

\textsuperscript{206} Grant, p.112.
\textsuperscript{207} Fellows, p.91.
\textsuperscript{208} Fogg, p.99.
\textsuperscript{209} Jenkins, p.175.
\textsuperscript{210} Grant, p.112.
front of her eyes. She and her child looked almost starved and in great need for food. Mrs. Lester informed Sullivan that the Indians have been in a divide with the British and have had a short supply of food since last spring, that they had only “subsisted on green corn this summer – that their squaws were fretting prodigiously, and continually teasing their warriors to make peace – that by promises from Butler and his minions; they are fed up with great things that should be done for them – that they seem considerably cast down and frightened; and, in short, she says distress and trouble seem painted on their countenances.”

According to her, Butler would not hear the squaws’ pleadings for peace; instead, he had ordered the entire enemy army to Niagara on the thirteenth, just two days prior, which is 80 miles from Genesee, and with full expectation of the Colonial Army’s arrival there. Butler and Colonel Guy Johnson, nephew of Sir William, would try to appease the dissenting Indians with promises of more provisions, which they seemed to be lacking. The contention among some of the Indians became so heated, that one of them had cocked his gun in an attempt to assassinate Johnson, but was prevented.

Furthermore, Mrs. Lester told Sulllivan that the Indians offered Boyd and Parker to the English as prisoners, but Butler “gave them over to the Indians for Satisfaction for the damages we had done to them.”

Upon the return of the troops from the fields, the order was given that the army would now march home, having accomplished their mission:

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

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211 Hubley, p.163.
212 Barton, p.11.
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.214

It was to the greatest satisfaction and joy of the troops to receive that news. The grandest of the Indian towns had been destroyed, the mission was accomplished, and the orders were given to return home, “which we did leaving the town in flames.”215

The army set out for home and backtracked along the same grueling path. They went along destroying whatever fields of corn and houses they might have missed on their ascending journey. The nights became colder and the mornings were covered with frost. Immense fatigue set in with the troops having gone so long on half rations and eagerness to return home was immense. The army came upon the field of battle where just three days prior, Lieutenant Boyd and his men had met their unfortunate fate. Seventeen bodies were found on the field, which were all buried with the honors of war.

On September 17, the troops reached the town of Anyaye216, where, on the eleventh of September, Sullivan had ordered Captain Cummings and a brigade of the 50 weakest men to erect a fort and remain there with a number of supplies for when the main army returned. It was

214 This is orders given by Sullivan to the troops on the 15th of September, recorded by Hubley, p.163.
215 Beatty, p.32.
216 Dearborn, p.76
to the troops’ great enjoyment and surprise to find them intact and unharmed, having expected that the “sick, lame and lazy”\textsuperscript{217} men would have been overtaken by enemy scouts, which would have proved a fatal affair to the army.\textsuperscript{218} The troops were granted their full ration of flour from the remainder of the expedition, which greatly raised their spirits even though meat was still lacking. The trek home was full of joyous news. Three soldiers en route from Tioga came to inform the General that liquor and “a plentiful supply of stores for us” were waiting for them Newtown.\textsuperscript{219} In addition, an Oneida Indian retuned to Sullivan with news from his people congratulating “our chief on the success of his arms in this quarter, and begged the Cayuga settlement might be spared for the sake of the few righteous among them.”\textsuperscript{220} The Oneida also had word that the Marquis de LaFayette had arrived, and New York, laid in ashes, had been returned to the control of the United States. The next day the army met with letters from General Washington informing Sullivan that the Catholic King of Spain had declared war on England and the “grand fleet of France and Spain, have formed a junction at Sea.”\textsuperscript{221} Disturbingly, upon the entrance of several towns destroyed by the army, sacrifices of dogs were found done in the similar nature as the ones found outside the town Casawavalatetah, on the thirteenth of September. These sacrifices were said to be given to the Indians imaginary gods when they are not prevailing at war. It was reported to the troops that the sacrifices were done immediately after the battle of Newtown.

On September 20, Sullivan ordered the army to detach separate brigades to finalize the destruction of the Indians’ lands. Col. Smith was sent with a small brigade a few miles up the

\textsuperscript{217} Barton, p.12.
\textsuperscript{218} Fellows, p.91.
\textsuperscript{219} Barton, p.12.
\textsuperscript{220} Fogg, p.99.
\textsuperscript{221} Norris, p.236 & Dearborn, p.76 verbatim.
river to destroy a few fields of corn that had been overlooked, and Col. Gansevort was directed with troops from York’s brigade to go to Albany to bring the baggage of the officers to the main continental army, and to lay siege to the Mohawk Castle along the way, and 500 to 600 troops were dispatched under the command of Col. Butler to Cayuga Lake with the orders to destroy their country. 222 The next day Lieut. Col. Dearborn was ordered to Cayuga to destroy whatever settlements Col. Butler might have missed. The rest of the army continued their march towards Newtown in the same efficient manner.

As Sullivan’s troops continued their march, they reentered French Catherine town and found the old squaw they had left there on September 2. The hut which was built for her seemed much improved and she still obtained the paper given to her by the General promising her protection. The corpse of a young Indian woman was found in a mud hole near the hut, shot a number of times, three or four days prior. The young squaw must have returned to come to the aid of the elder after the troops had left. It was unclear who killed her and left her body, but it was assumed that she met with her fate at the hands of the three patriot soldiers sent from Tioga bearing the great news of victory, “such is the enmity of our soldiery against the savages, that they would readily have murdered this helpless impotent wench. But the common dictates of humanity, a veneration for old age and a regard for the female world of any age or denomination induced our General to spare her [the old woman].” 223 Whatever might have been said about the nature of the savages or the motivations of the soldiers, “what made the crime still more heinous was, because a manifesto was left with the old squaw positively forbidding any violence or injury should be committed on the woman or children of the savages, by virtue of which [it] appears this young squaw came to this place, which absolutely comes under the virtue of a

222 Beatty, p.33.
223 Fogg, p.99.
breach of faith, and the offender ought to be severely punished.”224 The elder squaw was once again given the choice to either come with the army or remain where she was; she chose the latter. Sullivan ordered that what should be left was “a keg of pork and some biscuits, &c. for the old creature to subsist on, although it was so scarce an article that no officer under the rank of a field officer had tasted any since Tioga, and a very scant allowance of half a pound of beef and a like quantity of flour.”225 Her gratitude was easily recognized, for “with tears in her savage eyes, she expressed a great deal of thanks.”226

Rain impeded the movement of Sullivan’s troops out of Catherine Town due to having to traverse the Great Swamp again. To add to the difficulty, over the past few days, a large number of pack horses had become lame and needed to be killed; approximately 100 were either killed or left, depending on the severity of their condition. Many of the packs would have been left with the horses had not the officers, who had intended to ride, given up their mounts in order to carry the packs; among the resolute officers was General Sullivan himself.227

The garrison saluted the troops with a volley of thirteen pieces of cannon upon their arrival. Sullivan ordered the same to be returned to honor the joyful occasion. Two hundred men were sent up from Tioga with six days of provisions for the army. The troops from Tioga had erected a small fort at an Indian town four miles from Newtown which they had renamed Fort Reid, after the commanding officer there, in order to store the provisions and artillery for protection. Reid had brought with his men 100 cattle, plenty of flour, and a half a pint of whiskey per man, “after a fatigue of near one Month without a drop, likewise we drew full

224 This sentiment was only expressed by Hubley, p.164.
225 Barton, p.12.
226 Hubley, p.164.
227 Nukerck, p.217.
allowance of Beef for the first time.” 228 Here, the troops received further confirmation of Spain’s declaration of war against Britain and the news that Col. Clark had taken Detroit.

The next day was full of celebration. Due to the joining of His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, to the American alliance, and the “generous proceedings of the present Congress in augmenting the subsistence of the officers and men of the army,” Sullivan ordered one fat ox and five gallons of spirits to each brigade, “thereby giving them an opportunity of testifying to their joy on this occasion.” 229 By the orders of the General, at five o’clock in the afternoon, the army was ordered to parade in line to fire a feu de joie to honor the occasion on the commencement of thirteen rounds of artillery fire. Each man was given a blank cartridge as they formed a single line with the artillery to their left. When the thirteen cannons fired, the troops began their running fire, starting on the right and moving down the line, intermixed with artillery fire. The show did not fulfill the splendor of the General’s expectations, so he ordered the troops to “be put in the readiness and not a man to fire until he should come opposite him. All being in readiness, he put his horse off at full speed and rode from right to left with whip and spur, men all firing according to orders, which made it very grand and caused the General to say it went like a hallelujah.” 230 After this grand display, three cheers were given for the resolution of Congress of raising the subsistence of Officers and soldiers, three cheers for the great King of Spain’s declaration of war on Britain, and three cheers for the United States.

The festivities continued into the night, when, at sun down, the troops split up into their respected brigades to dine on the fat ox and partake of the spirits. General Hand had erected a large enclosure encircled by thirteen pine fires for the officers to dine in. They all sat around on

228 Beatty, p.34.
229 Hubley, p.165.
230 Barton, p.13.
the ground with Gen. Hand at the head and Col. Proctor at the foot, all with plate, bread, and knife before them. As the officers dined, the troops dined in a similar style, very heartily, and then took to drinking the spirits. General Hand, being in good humor, proceeded to give thirteen toasts to:

- The thirteen states and their sponsors.
- The honourable, the American Congress.
- General Washington and the American army.
- The commander-in-chief of the western expedition.
- The American navy.
- Our faithful allies, the united houses of Bourbon.
- May the American Congress, and all her legislative representatives, be endowed with virtue and wisdom, and may her independence be as firmly established as the pillars of time.
- May the citizens of America, and her soldiers, be ever unanimous in the reciprocal support of each other.
- May altercations, discord, and every degree of fraud, be totally banished from the peaceful shores of America.
- May the memory of the brave Lieutenant Boyd, and the soldier under his command, who were horribly massacred by the inhuman savages, or by their more barbarous and detestable allies, the British and Tories, on the 13th inst., be ever dear to his country.
- An honorable peace with America, or perpetual war with her enemies.
- May the kingdom of Ireland merit a stripe in the American standard.
May the enemies of America be metamorphosed into pack horses, and sent on a western expedition against the Indians.\textsuperscript{231} 

The night was ended by Indian dances led by Gen. Hand in mock “Indian battle” style as entertainment for the troops as they drank. Retiring in good spirits, the officers went to their tents for the night, falling asleep to the joyful sounds of flutes playing.

The next few days were employed with the troops cleaning themselves and destroying any fields of corn they could find within the vicinity of Fort Reid. On the 27\textsuperscript{th} of this month, a detachment was ordered to destroy a village along the Cayuga, there they destroyed “a considerable quantity of corn, beans, and other vegetables, sixteen boat loads of which they brought with them for the use of the army” that evening.\textsuperscript{232} An incredible stroke of good fortune was given to two soldiers, Coleman and Caldwell, under Lieut. Col. Hubley’s command, who had become separated from the main army on the eighteenth of September, wandering alone in the wilderness for days, happened to find Fort Reid and their salvation. The two men “subsisted on the hearts and livers of two horses they found on the path along which the army had marched.”\textsuperscript{233} 

Meanwhile, Dearborn, with the two hundred troops that departed from the main army on September 21, set out to destroy whatever settlements they could find on the west side of Cayuga Lake. Consequently, Dearborn and his troops destroyed a total of nine settlements with an upwards of 80 houses and large quantities of corn, beans, squash, and watermelon. One of the plantations they destroyed had belonged to “Hendrick Markle, a Tory, who fled from the frontier

\textsuperscript{231} Hubley, p.165.  
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
town and settled among the Indians rather than live a honest life among a people he called rebels.”

They came upon three squaws and a lame Indian boy and had decided to take captive the younger of the two females, who seemed to be 40 or 50 years old, and left the old squaw and boy in a hut. It was said that Dearborn “left one house standing for them to stay in, and would not suffer them hurt, but some of the soldiers taking an opportunity when not observed set the house on fire, after securing and making the door fast. The house was consumed together with the savages.” They rejoined the army on the 26th of that month at Fort Reid.

Col. Butler’s party arrived to Fort Reid on September 28 and found that the troops were still encamped. On their expedition they destroyed nearly 100 houses and over 1500 apple and peach trees, roughly 200 acres of corn, and “Potatoes, Turnips, Onions, Pumpkins, Squashes, and Vegetables of Various kinds in Great Plenty.” The crops were so abundant that it took multiple days to destroy a single settlement. Several cattle were killed, which afforded each of the troops three days of beef. The land around the Cayuga Lake was as delightful as all the land in the area. It almost exceeded perfection, except for a scarcity of water in some parts. The land around Cayuga Lake was covered with fine timber and fertile land. At its head was a great salt spring where the Indians attained their salt; it was said that for every twelve quarts of water, one could yield a quart of clear salt. Discovered in one of the towns destroyed by Col. Butler’s brigade were several rifles, baring the seal of the United States, along with some Regimental coats, which were blue, and faced with white. Even though Butler and his men remained unmolested by the enemy, the trek was not easy. The troops marched nearly 100 miles through

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234 Jenkins, p.176.
235 Barton, p.13.
236 Grant, p.143.
237 Barton, p.12.
238 Grant, p.113.
much of the same land that had proved to be a deterrent all along; over 30 of the miles was forded through swamp. They came across a town which had recently been destroyed by Dearborn’s brigade, finalizing the destruction of the Indian country. Before returning to the main army, one man from this party died suddenly.

With the army now reunited, less Col. Gansevort’s brigade, which was sent to Albany to execute the destruction of the Mohawk Castle, the order was given on September 29 to destroy Fort Reid and continue the march to Tioga, destroying whatever field or settlement might be passed along the way. The day before, all of the sick were ordered down to Tioga by boat, and the lame were to ride down on the worst horses with the intention of lightening the burden of the main army making for a swift return. The road back to Tioga proved just as difficult as it was leaving there. Many more horses that became lame were killed along the way. No unburned Indian settlements were found along the way, and, at about two o’clock in the afternoon on September 30, the troops were honored with a thirteen cannon salute upon their arrival at Tioga. Sullivan ordered the return of the same, and great cheer was expressed throughout the army: “Joy appearing in every face at our so happy return, having marched three hundred miles into the Indian country with so very inconsiderable loss, having completed all that was intended us at the first formation of the expedition, and much more than was expected when we set out.” The troops marched into Tioga, which had been renamed Fort Sullivan, with colors flying high and music playing. Col. Shreve had prepared an elegant dinner for the commanding officers accompanied by a half pint of rum, and a hearty drink of grog. They all ate as Col. Proctor’s

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239 Beatty, p.34.
241 Beatty, p.35.
“band, and drums, and fifes played in concert the whole time.”

Full rations were still enjoyed by the troops and to satisfy their desires, a half pint of whiskey was given to all.

With word that the campaign had ended, the general sentiment was that of joy throughout the camp. The troops were finally at ease. Although the army was “120 miles from peaceful inhabitants, yet we consider ourselves at home, and the expedition ended; having fulfilled the expectations of our country, by beating the enemies and penetrating and destroying their whole country.”

The following day was spent in relaxation and cleansing. The horses of the officers were sent ahead to Wyoming in preparation for the imminent departure. A milk cow, “which we had along with us the whole expedition, and to whom we are under infinite obligations for the great quantity of milk she afforded us, which rendered our situation very comfortable, and was no small addition to our half allowance,” was also forwarded along with the horses. That afternoon Sullivan sent his secretary, Col. Brewer, with a dispatch to Congress officially declaring the campaign complete and a success.

Orders were given that on October 3, Fort Sullivan would be demolished and the army would be dispatched for Easton. The whole day of October 2 was spent “in wishing each other joy for our safe return and convert the evening to celebrate as usual wives and sweethearts, which we do in plenty of grog.”

To conclude the mirthful day, an Indian dance was performed, with some of the officers who joined in wearing masks. A young sachem from the Oneida tribe led the dance, “who was next followed by several other Indians, then the whole led off, and, after the Indian custom, danced to the music, which was a rattle, a knife, a pipe, which

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242 Hubley, p.166.  
244 Hubley, p.166.  
245 Burrowes, p.50.
the sachem continued clashing together and singing Indian the whole time. At the end of each, the Indian whoop was set up by the whole.”

The destruction of the fort and the other fortifications nearby took place in the morning followed by a service by Reverend Dr. Evans. The boats to bring the officers to Wyoming Valley were also prepared in the like. Those who received the opportunity to go by boat reached Wyoming with great ease, which was “a most fortunate affair as our horses are worn down and our men naked.” Among the soldiers who were granted water passage were “the sick, the lame and men without shoes.” Those who were ordered to march experienced as much discomfort as there could have been. The nights became blustery. Rain and some snow impeded progress, and cattle and horses were lost down some precipices, tumbling into the river and dashed on rocks. The Oneida Indian guides left the camp that day and returned to their villages.

The whole army prepared to disembark at six o’clock on the morning of October 4. The artillery and supplies were loaded onto the boats the day before. Those who left by boat did so at the time expected, while the rest of the army marched out of the camp at eight o’clock in the morning. The troops by boat reached Wyoming in two days, while the others made an amazing trek of 150 miles in eight days in spite of the difficulties.

The expedition in total covered 561 miles in 69 days. It was to be said that “the glorious achievements we have exhibited in extending our conquests so far, and, at the same time, render them so very complete, will make no inconsiderable balance even in the present

246 Hubley, p.166.
248 Burrowes, p.50.
249 Dearborn, p.79.
250 Nukerck, p.220.
politics of America.”251 It is also worthy of not that “’The battle is not too the strong,’ is a proverb fully verified in this expedition; the special hand and smiles of Providence being do apparently manifested, that he who views the scene, with indifference, is worse than an infidel. The dimmest eye must observe through the whole succession of most fortunate events. Not a single gun was fired for eighty miles, on our march out or an Indian seen on our return.”252 The campaign led to the destruction of 40 Indian towns and a vast number of scattered houses, “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 Allegana, about 50 miles from Chinesee [Genesee] there is not a single town left in the country of the Five nation.”253

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251 Hubley, p.167.
The Conclusion

I do realize that I have spent many more pages, on the perspective of the Native American than on the Colonials. I have delved much deeper into the causes for their involvement in the American Revolution, and the history of their development than I have with the Colonials. The reason for this, is, that I believe the Native American perspective has been left out of the discourse of the American Revolution. The Patriots’ side has clearly been told and has long been debated. It is not my intention to dispute any of causes for the Revolution; rather, it is my intention to place those causes in the same context as the Sullivan Campaign against the Six Nations of Iroquois. History, as written by the victors, has generally taken the conquerors’ ethnocentric view when dealing with the “natives” of the conquered countries. This is no different in the United States. The general view in the United States of the American Indian is one of two extremes: godless heathens or peaceful environmentalists. Interpretations of the Native American image are changing and there is more emphasis on looking at the variety of factors which creates these images and myths. By examining the Journals of General John Sullivan, one will get a deeper understanding behind the psyche of the “new American soldier” and, in turn, a reflection of the overall social outlook on the Native Americans by these revolutionaries fighting for their own political freedom. Are these the types of accounts that have shaped the image of the Native American as well as the myth of the American Patriot? The journals offer the Colonial officers’ accounts of the military expedition against the Six Nations Confederation. Upon close examination of the accounts of those officers and those by John Sullivan, I have attempted to gain a clearer understanding of the stereotypically honorable and patriotic soldier and the easily subjugated Native American.
As I mentioned above, I have not placed much emphasis on the Patriots’ perspective during the Revolution. I wanted to allow the narrative of the Colonials’ perspective of the expedition to stand in comparison to the American Indians’ perspective. For that reason, I had chosen to place the colonials’ account after the Native American account. The colonial account (of the Revolution in general, not the Sullivan expedition) is one that has been taught in the United States in great detail, from the earliest of grades of elementary school to the end of High School. With that, I believe that the background I supplied with regards to the Iroquois formation and dilemmas of alliance, allowed the reader to see another side to the background of the war. I chose certain events that were more relevant to the Iroquois. In brief, I mentioned the series of taxation acts implemented on the colonies as a cause for dissent; however, I placed more importance on the land treaties that threatened Native American land holdings. The local Loyalists, Sir William Johnson specifically, were for the most part connected to English aristocracy, and the tax implementation did not affect them directly. They were too busy attempting to control the fur trade and keep civil trade relations between the Native Americans in their region. Furthermore, when it came to land disputes which threatened the hunting territory, this is when they used their influence and got involved. Likewise, the Native Americans could not care less about the price of tea, or whether or not the Quartering Act was ethical. For that reason, I focused on the Proclamation Line and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix as two key events which affected both the Colonials’ insatiable quest for territorial expansion and the Native Americans’ anxiety over losing their homes.

Colonials and Patriot leaders, like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, were openly against both the Proclamation Line and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, because they closed the West to the opportunity for expanding the colonies. It would seem logical, within the
colonials’ own, obviously skewed logic, to wonder when and under whose authority it was proper to claim land. Why was the Crown the only authority when it came to land grabbing? By the orders of the Crown, William Penn was given the entire area now known as Pennsylvania. Penn himself offered to pay the Native Americans who lived on this vast territory for the land even though the Crown had declared it his. In addition, Plymouth settlers in the early 17th century completely decimated the Pequot nation, of the Hudson River Valley near modern day Connecticut, to near extinction. This act of genocide was in the name of land and control of trade. With such a bloody history of land grabbing by the English, why should the Colonials be prohibited from claiming land of their own? Taking this into context, one could look at the Sullivan expedition as a significant attempt to open the way for westward expansion.

The question now arises asking how the want of land expansion fits into the context of the Sullivan expedition shaping the character of the American Patriot. I argue that it directly reflects the motives of the expedition, and in turn, contradicts the assumptions that the Colonials’ were defending their rights to “Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.” What might seem more plausible, taking the expedition as evidence, was that the Colonials wanted to free themselves from the oppressive government in order to pursue their quest for free land. This might not seem like fair judgment; however, having the luxury of looking back on events in history, the plausibility seems more likely than not. My reasoning is that in just a little under 100 years after the expedition, the United States government implemented both the Preemption Act of 1841 and the Homestead Act of 1862. Both acts granted land to settlers at either a very low cost (as with the Preemption Act) or for free (that being the Homestead Act). When one takes a closer look at the Sullivan’s expedition, the men’s emphasis on the land is extraordinary.
Nearly every entry in every journal mentions the land at least once. The soldiers consistently commented that the land was “Most Extraordinary Good and most beautiful.”

Throughout all the journals, the land, crops and wildlife were always highlighted. They would mention that “this place very remarkable for deer, bears, turkeys, several of which were taken by the troops without firing a single shot;” “our Brigade Destroyed about 150 Acres of the best corn that Ever I saw;” “the Jenise [Genesee] river moved through a considerable swamp, and formed on a plain the other side, the most extensive I ever saw, containing no less than six thousand acres of the richest soil that can be conceived.” Entries like this continue throughout all the journals. Dispatched with Sullivan was Lieutenant Benjamin Lodge, a surveyor for the Continental Army. It is well known that Washington was himself a land surveyor and map maker, and being a strong voice against the Stanwix Treaty, the motivation to survey the prospective land fits in with the motivation for the invasion and clearing of the Iroquois settlements. The initial instruction given to Sullivan by Washington on May 31, 1779, was that Sullivan’s “immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of [the six nations of Indian’s] settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible.”

Washington’s intentions are clear; he wanted to drive the Iroquois off their land and destroy their settlements and crops so that returning would be futile. After receiving word from Sullivan about his success at Newtown on August 30, Washington sent this reply, September 15, 1779:

254 Hovenburgh, p.277.
255 Barton, p.5.
256 Beatty, p.27
257 Hubley, p.162.
258 The Writings of George Washington, vol.15, “Instructions to Major General John Sullivan,” p.189. In addition, a footnote appears at the end of this comment stating that “the following has been crossed off: ‘It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.’”
The advantages we have already gained over the Indians in the destruction [sic] of so many of their settlements is very flattering to the expedition. But to make it as conclusive as the state of your provision and the safety of your army will countenance, I would mention two points which I may not have sufficiently expressed in my general instructions, or if I have, which I wish to repeat. The one is, the necessity of punishing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance, from their own settlements, and our frontiers; to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy. The other is, the making the destruction of their settlements so final and complete, as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succor from them, in case they should even attempt to return this season. 259

Washington states that Sullivan should make “the destruction of their settlements so final and complete” that if they should try to return “this season,” there would be nothing left to sustain them. The winter was fast approaching. There were reports by some of Sullivan’s officers of frost in the camps at the end of August and early September. In the short term, Washington knew that with the approaching winter, the burden on the British to supply their displaced allies would be great and almost impossible. I believe that it was Washington’s hope that because the British were so starved from their want of supplies that they would not be able to provide for their American Indian allies, and the Iroquois would be forced to attempt a return to their towns at the beginning of the winter, only to find nothing left. This would cause the already starving Iroquois to either decide to stay at their destroyed town and hunt for whatever provisions they could find with the hope of surviving the winter, or be forced to return to the British and place an

enormous strain on them. However, I do feel that it was Washington’s long term aim to displace the Iroquois and complete total destruction on their land justifying the Colonial right to the claim.

Washington had plans for the land of the Iroquois, and as reflected in the journals, the officers of Sullivan’s expedition understood and shared those same plans. Some of the officers were even planning for the future: “the land between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes appears good, level and well timbered; affording a sufficiency for twenty elegant townships, which in process of time will doubtless add to the importance of America.” The motivations for the expedition seem to be shrouded in the ideas of expansion. Major Fogg and Dr. Campfield both foresaw great plans for the territory as well. They observed that the land would be “best calculated for a county seat, town or city, as to situation, of any place in America,” and that “from French Catherine’s to this place, 95 miles at least, is undoubtedly the best land, and capable of the greatest improvement, of any part if the possession’s of the U. States.” Excitement over the prospect of the new territory is inscribed all throughout the journals.

To add to the excitement of the troops over the territory, one only needs to look at some of the journal entries after finding Boyd and Parkers bodies at Genesee. The journal of Major Burrowes states that “their bodies speared all over and Lieut. Boyd partly skinned. Such is the barbarity of these savage villains. This town is the largest of any we have seen. It consists of one hundred houses and most of them good. This night we live sumptuously on beefsteak and potatoes.” Dearborn writes: “This was the most horrid spectacle to behold & from which we are taught the necessity of fighting those more than devils to the last moment rather then fall into

260 Fogg, p.97.
261 Ibid., p.99.
262 Campfield, p.60.
263 Burrowes, p.48.
their hands alive. This is much the largest Town we have met with it consists of more than 100 houses is situated on an excellent piece of land.”

Though I should refrain from belaboring this point, I must add one more account. Lieut.-Col. Hubley eloquently honors the death of Boyd while glorifying the land:

Mr. Boyd’s former good character, as a brave soldier, and an honest man, and his behavior in the skirmish of yesterday (several of the Indinas being found dead, and some carried off,) must endear him to all friends of mankind. May his fate await those who have been the cause of his. Oh! Britain, behold and blush. Jenise [Genesee] town, the capital of the Seneca nation, is pleasantly situated on a rich and extensive flat, the soil remarkably rich, and great parts well improved with fields of corn, beans, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables.

Perhaps, not being a soldier myself, I am unaware of the need to occupy one’s thoughts with another subject as a way to deal with tragedy, or the desensitization of feelings during a time of war. This could be true for me, but it strikes me as odd to mention in great description the horrifying state of the mutilated soldiers in one breath, and then immediately follow with an exciting description of fertile soil. I did not manipulate the quotes in any way; they are as they appear in the journals. It seems to me that the motivation of the officers was for much more than resisting an oppressive King.

As highlighted in the narration portion of this paper, the entire expedition consisted of two battles. The one “major” confrontation where Sullivan’s full army faced an estimated 1,500

264 Dearborn, p.75.
265 Hubley, p.163.
Tory and Indian troops was at the battle of Newtown, or Chuknut. When looking to the wide array of sources, one can see the multitude of differences between the actual numbers of the Tory and American Indian forces. In the Draper Manuscripts, there is a published account by the Continental Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. In his account he writes that, after the war, Brant and himself had met and discussed the battle at Newtown, where Brant informed him that he was personally in charge of 1,800 Iroquois and taken with the number of refugees and Butler’s men, that made the opposing force totaling about 2,200 Tories, Rangers, and Iroquois. When we look at the accounts of the Colonial officers, as stated in their journals, we see another wide range of statistics. The officers’ accounts vary from 800 to 1,500 total enemy troops, while the prisoners they captured reported to them 600 to 900 troops. There Sullivan praised the enemy’s position and fortification; however, after gaining a victory in that battle he stated in his official report that, “I cannot help saying, that the disposition of the enemy’s troops, and the construction of their works, would have done honor to much greater officer than the unprincipled wretches who commanded them.” Sullivan gave no honor to his enemy. Were his opponents really that incompetent and easily overtaken? Had the Continental army faced a much smaller number of troops than Sullivan assumed? Or were Sullivan’s troops really that well trained and formidable? By taking Sullivan’s account as truth it is easy to conclude that the Continental army was facing cowardly opponents lead by bush-league officers who upon close confrontation “abandoned their works, in the utmost confusion.” One could also take the side that Sullivan was discrediting the enemy as a way to inflate the military prowess of his troops.

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267 See the opening of the chapter, “The Battle of Newtown” in this paper.
268 Sullivan, p.341.
269 Ibid., p.476.
Furthermore, when one takes into account the perspective of the Native American during the expedition, other motivations for their reason for flight comes into the discussion. For decades, the Native Americans have been arduously defending their lives and lands from the invading Europeans. The events of this expedition were all too familiar to them; although, now the “invaders” were born on the continent, and had an equal stake on the land of their home country. These Patriots, for the most part, were not immigrants, they were Americans, born and raised, and felt that they had a birthright to the land. That might give some insight to the motivation of the Colonials for the desire for expansion, but it does not give any reason for the flight of the American Indians from their lands. The years of fighting to defend their territory left the Iroquois in a desperate situation. For too long they had trusted the words of the British, and too many times had those words proved false. The relationships that had been established over time had greatly influenced their alliances. It is unfortunate that the Iroquois were divided due to misrepresentations and false alliances. Had Sir William Johnson not urged the Oneida to give up portions of their sacred land to the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and so clearly favor the Mohawk, they might have sided with the rest of the Six Nations and England and turned the tides of war. The divided Iroquois certainly put a lot of pressure on the individual Nations. Decades of intermarriages and trade relations had been destroyed and alliances that had been made through blood, had soon been broken. The fate of the survival of the Iroquois depended solely on the new alliances they had made. Lack of provisions and the disillusionment of continuously losing their land added to the reason for such a quick flight from the advancing Colonial force. Where Sullivan had assumed that cowardice was the result of the retreating enemy, it could be seen as a last chance for survival.
The second battle was more of a slaughter by the Native American troops. According to Sullivan, against his orders, a reconnoitering troop of 26 Colonials, led by Lieutenant Boyd, went out to scout the major Iroquois settlement of the Seneca called the Genesee Castle. Sullivan had ordered Boyd to take “three of four riflemen, one of our guides and an Oneida chief to reconnoiter the [Genesee] town, that we might, if possible, surprise it. Lieutenant Boid was the officer entrusted with this service, who took with him twenty-three men, and a few from Col. Butler’s regiment, making twenty-six in all.”

Due to the lack of proper guides who seemed to not be acquainted with the territory, the troop ended up in Squatchegas territory. Boyd and his men came across a few American Indians. The troop killed and scalped two of them and the rest ran away. Boyd sent two of his men back to Sullivan to inform him that they were in pursuit of some warriors and to send more troops. The two messengers set off for Sullivan while the remaining troops advanced on the fleeing Native Americans. Boyd split his troops to cover his back while he and 14 men advanced only to be surrounded by, what accounts claim, 400 Rangers and Iroquois. The men who were sent to guard his flanks escaped, however, Boyd and his troops were all killed by the time Sullivan’s reinforcements arrived. Despite the outrageous outnumbering of 14 to 400, Sullivan gives a “Spartan-like” account of the observed aftermath which he stated:

The firing was so close, before this brave party were destroyed, that the powder of the enemy’s muskets was driven into their flesh. In this conflict the enemy must have suffered greatly, as they had no cover, and our men were possessed of a very advantageous one. This advantage of ground the obstinate bravery of the party,

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270 Sullivan, p.475.
with some other circumstances, induced me to believe their loss must have been very considerable.\textsuperscript{271}

Even grossly outnumbered, Sullivan remains true to his affections for his troops and shows his unwavering confidence in their military prowess. In the same account he also points out the barbarism of the natives by describing the degree of horrid torture that befell on Boyd and one of his officers. Sullivan attributes the level of brutality done by the American Indians on Boyd and Parker as a reflection of frustration due to the degree of casualties caused by the Continentals against them. Sullivan mentions the scalping of the dead warriors in idle passing; however, he goes into gross detail by which the American Indians tortured Boyd and his man to further emphasize the savage nature of the enemy. By linking the Tories with the Native Americans was also a great propaganda technique, whether it is true or not. Anti-British sentiment was obviously very high during the Revolutionary War, and the Tory Loyalists were looked at as even more vile then the British themselves, true traders and now “savages” like the American Indians.

Even the officers glaze over the brutality of their own men. The taking of the boot-legs and scalps of the dead Native Americans, was, discussed in such an idle tone, that it seemed to be an obvious thing to do when one comes across a slain body. It was as if they came upon a fruit tree and did not pick one to eat. Reading the journals carefully, the Colonials never took the scalps, or mutilated the bodies of the Tory soldiers. The respect for the dead white men alludes to the notion that the Colonials did not see the Native Americans as worthy of the same humanity. The desecration of the American Indian graves was also met with jokes and laughter

\textsuperscript{271} Sullivan, p.301.
at the content within them. It was funny to the Patriots to see the bodies buried along with personal items such as a tomahawk or a pipe. Was it really that strange for a person to be buried with some of their belongings? It is a tradition held by almost all cultures for someone to be buried with a specific item that was dear to them, but for the Colonials, it was preposterous for the Native American to be so human.

The Native Americans were not only depicted as barbarous, they were also cowardly and confused in battle, or threat thereof. Going back to the first and only major battle of the expedition at the battle of Newtown, Sullivan observed that the “unexpected fire from General Poor on the enemy’s left, occasioned [the Indians] instantly to abandon their works, in the utmost confusion. They fled in the greatest disorder, leaving eleven of their Indian warriors and one female, dead on the ground.” Sullivan also stated that the fleeing troops left behind jewelry of “considerable value.” Assuming that this was a true battle ground, then why were the American Indians traveling with jewelry. It seems to be very odd that warriors of any class would travel into battle with valuables especially when it seems that they were waiting and prepared for a fight. In addition, it was reported that the Tory and American Indian troops sent much of their belongings up the Chemung River in preparation for the battle. The Native Americans and Tories had underestimated the artillery that Sullivan was carrying. When Sullivan ordered Procter to unleash the cannonade, the last thing the American Indians and Tories were expecting was explosive rounds shredding their wooden breastworks. They had found it unbelievable that the Colonials traveled so far into their territory, let alone carry with them such massive weapons of destruction. The cannons blasted the enemy’s front lines with grape shot, round shot, and iron.

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272 Sullivan, p.475.
spikes which destroyed their breastworks and made a frontal attack impossible.\textsuperscript{273} They would have been torn to pieces had they not withdrawn to the higher ground. What Sullivan leaves out of his report is the fact that at the top of the ridge, Brant and his men attempted another stand, but they were out flanked. Sullivan had the advantage and mostly capitalized on it.

Sullivan also assumed that many of their dead were either carried off or hidden because the army found many blood covered supplies and no bodies. He stated that “in short, every appearance, not only of havoc, but of fright and confusion, was left behind. The main army pursued them about a mile, and the light corps about three; but fear had given them too great speed to be overtaken.”\textsuperscript{274} I have a difficult time understanding how it is possible for the Continental army not to have captured more than two men and counted more than twelve dead. They were supposedly facing a large army comprised of “five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations,”\textsuperscript{275} whom, by Sullivan’s account, held a strategically better position. Had the enemy troops decided to leave their supplies and carry their dead and wounded away from the advancing Colonial Army, would it not have been easy pickings for the superior Continental soldiers to take down a great number of fleeing American Indians who were burdened with carrying their dead and wounded? Was Sullivan attempting to inflate the perception of the number of troops they faced in order to justify the need for honor? Sullivan stated that he was unable “to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown, but from the best accounts I have been able to collect, I suppose them to have been 1500, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the number at

\textsuperscript{273} Graymont, p.212.  
\textsuperscript{274} Sullivan, p.475.  
\textsuperscript{275} Ibid., p.298.
any post but their own, estimate them only at eight hundred.” 276 I am not sure what to make of Sullivan’s insistence of facing a larger army other than that this battle, being the only major confrontation, needed to be a great victory for the campaign if it was to be recognized as a success.

It is very important for an officer to go down in history as a hero, or at least not a failure, and the success of one’s troops is a direct reflection of one’s ability to lead. Sullivan had been under attack for his inability to accomplish a decisive victory, worthy of note, during his entire command throughout the Revolutionary War. He was in need of a good showing, and this expedition was proving to be his defining moment. As I stated earlier, Sullivan attributed his victory in the expedition to the prowess of his troops and also to the incompetence of his enemy’s officers. He stated very humbly in his report that “I feel myself 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.” 277 The potential for danger and difficulties was always a potential for Sullivan and his men, however, this expedition, despite the two battles, was nothing more than a slash and burn raid on the Indian frontier. Most of the report by Sullivan, and all of the officers, were of the number of “beautiful” deserted Iroquois settlements burned to the ground, acres of “extensive fields of corn, and every kind of vegetables that can be conceived” 278 rooted and burned, and destroying fruit trees “of which there was great abundance. Many of the trees appeared to be of great age.” 279 No wonder such emphasis was put on acknowledging the Battle of Newtown as a military

276 Sullivan, p.298.
277 Ibid., p.304.
278 Ibid., p.301.
279 Ibid., p.299.
success, all the soldiers did was set fire and destroy the livelihoods of an entire civilization at the onset of winter.

This is how I have interpreted the events; Sullivan wrote them off as just another day at work all the while praising the Continental army on their valor and dedication to the cause of Independence, “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 resolution of the army, for which, I know not whether the public stand more indebted to the persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers.”

280 Total destruction was achieved by the Patriot’s flames. Sullivan proudly listed his tally of destruction:

The number of towns destroyed by this army amounted to 40 besides scattering houses. 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 and well persuaded that, except one town situated near the Allegana, about 50 miles from Chinesee [Genesee] there is not a single town left in the country of the Five nations.

281 The destruction wreaked by Sullivan’s campaign should be recognized as one of the worst atrocities committed by humankind, yet Sullivan himself failed to see how inhumane his actions were, so the representation of his actions followed suit.

280 Sullivan, p.297.
281 Ibid., p.303.
Sullivan was unable to see the hypocrisy in his actions. He justified them by viewing what the troops had done as retaliation to the “hostile Indians” who started the aggression. Conflicts between settlers and indigenous people have endured an unending chicken-or-the-egg debate. Who drew first blood, and who is justified. Anglo-centric views are always on the side of indigenous aggression being the catalyst for non-cohesive relations. Sullivan wrote, “I directed [Colonel Gansevoort] to destroy the lower Mohawk castle in his routes, and capture the inhabitants, who were constantly employed in giving intelligence to the enemy, and in supporting their scouting parties when making incursions on our frontiers. When Mohawk joined the enemy, those few families were undoubtedly left to answer such a purpose and to keep possession of their land.”

Had the settlers worked with the indigenous population, one might argue that a civilized living arrangement could have been reached; however, by that time too much blood had been spilled and too much time had passed to be able to set aside the egos of the Revolutionaries’ minds in order to rectify the past.

Still, the image of the resolute and strong soldier remained an important factor in Sullivan’s report as well as the “cowardly Indian.” He praised his army’s conduct, their eagerness for battle, their strength, and even their influence over the Natives acquiring their submission, “[the Indians] declared they would not throw away their lives in vain attempt to oppose such an army.” Such an image of the Continental Army would make any one proud to be called a Patriot. Having only engaged in one major battle, their strength was so impressive that it forced the enemy into a total retreat even with the threat of advancing troops. Sullivan chose to include such accounts in his report for the mere purpose of showing the strength of his army and to provide the cowardly and easily subdued image of the American Indian. He further

282 Sullivan, p.302.
283 Ibid., p.299.
states in his report that, “I forgot to mention that the Oneida Sachem requested me to grant his people liberty to hunt in the country of the Five Nations, as they would never think of settling again in a country once subdued, and where their settlements must ever be in our power.”

This statement would inflate the ego of any power hungry person. How proud must have Washington and the other forefathers felt when hearing that the Oneida were asking permission from the newly forming United States to utilize the land they had lived on for generations.

The images of the American Patriot that were created during the Revolutionary War have been well preserved and greatly perpetuated throughout the teaching and study of the historical narratives we call facts. I suggest that it is the ideals the American Patriots fought for should make anyone proud and worthy of note. Had the United States lived up to the moral code which it was basing its rebellion on, this discourse would not be necessary, but history has shown that the foundations on which this country was built were not as clean as is shown through the general discussion of our nation’s history. We should not ignore the mistakes our country has made in the past, by remembering them we can see how far we have come over such a short period of time. I fear that by ignoring, removing, and manipulating those mistakes for the sake of our national character, will create an even worse hypocritical image of our nation. We need to continue this historical discussion, in order to remember to continue the fight for “Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness,” and this time for all.

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284 Sullivan, p.304.
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