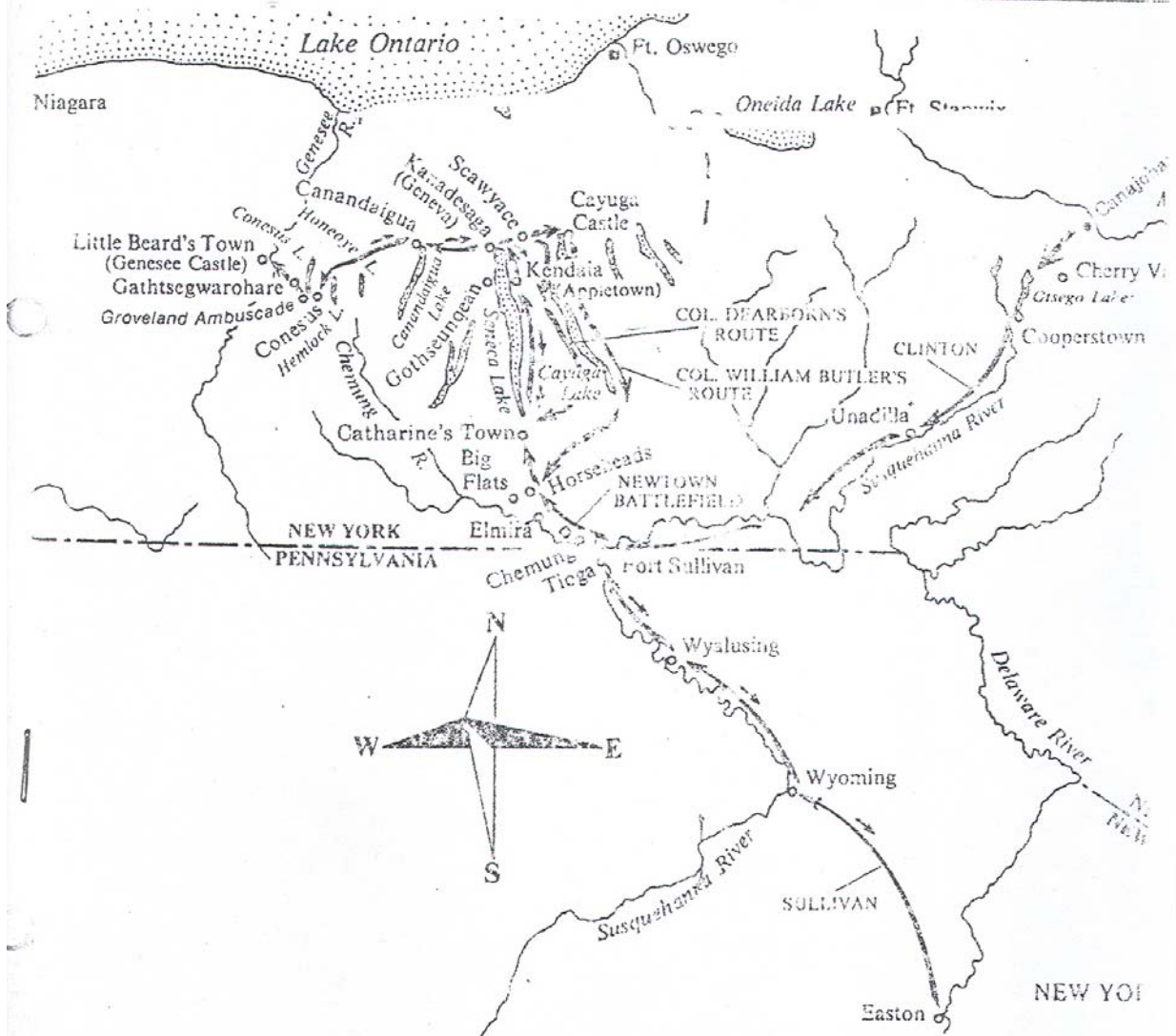


GENESEE COUNTY HISTORY

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John Sullivan: Lawyer-Soldier

MAJ. GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN (1740-1795) commanded the 1779 expedition against the hostile Indians and Tories in southcentral New York. Born in New Hampshire, he was a lawyer. In 1772 he was designated a major of the New Hampshire militia. In 1774, he was a delegate to the first Continental Congress and served again in 1775. Promoted to brigadier general, he served in Washington's army through the siege of Boston. Sullivan was captured by the British during the battle of Long Island; later he was exchanged for a captured British general. He rejoined the army in Westchester County and took part in various campaigns. He came under criticism when an August drive on Staten Island was stalled. Gen. Sullivan was at Valley Forge the winter of 1778-79. He suffered a reverse at Newport but was ordered in 1779 to command the campaign into the Indian-Tory domain. He returned from the expedition with health impaired, resigning Nov. 30, 1779. He returned to Congress, in 1782-84 was attorney general of New Hampshire



and in 1788 was elected president (governor) of New Hampshire. He was twice re-elected and was a U.S. district judge when he died in 1795. General Sullivan was described as brave, hot-headed, oversensitive, a born political organizer, generous to a fault, usually out of money.

THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN

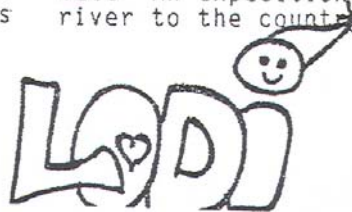
The plan to invade the lands of the Indian Nations was formulated early in 1778 by General George Washington. Beginning in January 1778, raids upon the settlers in the outlying towns of Pennsylvania and New York were initiated and within a few months more than 100 families, living along the river above the Lackawanna, were homeless. Many more had been killed and taken prisoner.

By the end of summer, a number of frontier towns had been annihilated: in rapid succession, the Indians and British had wiped out Wyoming, Andrustown, German Flats and other frontier settlements. As the tales of horror reached

Washington, he realized that something would have to be done to stop the Indians. Their knowledge of the wilderness prevented sending out large numbers of soldiers to fight them. The Indians could disappear into the woods, only to return and strike in another area.

Washington approached Congress on financing an expedition into the land of the Iroquois Nation. His plan was not to kill the Indians. He realized this type of warfare would be futile. His plan was to destroy their towns and their crops for without food, they and their families would be helpless.

On June 11, 1778, Congress authorized "An expedition from the Mohawk river to the country of the Senecas



to chastise that insolent and revengeful nation and to dispossess the enemy from Oswego.

Congress appropriated about \$600,000 toward the expedition. The Board of War had estimated it would cost over \$900,000. On August 22, Congress approved an additional \$300,000, but did not pass the recommendation after the Board of War ordered that, "the expedition against the Seneca and other hostile tribes be laid aside for the present." On September 3, Congress approved the recommendation of the Board of War and directed General Washington to defend the frontiers the best way he could.

As the winter of 1778 approached, Governor George Clinton and Gens. Phillip Schuyler and Edward Hand, tried to persuade Washington on the necessity of getting the expedition underway.

On November 11 and 12, about 700 Indians and British under Joseph Brant and Walter N. Butler attacked Cherry Valley. The report given to Governor Clinton by William Harper said that about 30 residents and 14 soldiers were killed and 34 residents and 19 soldiers were captured or missing. A number of these were later returned. A total of 32 houses, a number of barns, two mills were burned. All the livestock and food supplies were confiscated.

Finally on Dwy. 15, 1779, Congress authorized Gen. Washington to plan and execute the expedition. Washington now had to decide who would be the right man to be in charge. He briefly considered Gen. Phillip Schuyler but remembered that Schuyler had recently spoken of retiring. Gen. Israel Putnam was next in

line but Washington passed over this selection and wrote a letter to Gen. Horatio Gates.

Understanding the personality of Gates, Washington did not think that Gates would want to accept this challenge, but knew it had to be offered because Gates was the senior officer. Washington gave him the opportunity to refuse gracefully by including a letter to Gen. John Sullivan, asking him to accept the position of commander-in-chief. Gates was to send the letter to Sullivan on condition he did not want the assignment.

Sullivan accepted and immediately took command. He gave all his attention to the campaign. General Washington continued to seek information from the other generals on what they knew about the Indian country. He ordered Gen. James Clinton to plan the mobilization of regiments at Canajoharie, which would be the starting place for the New York regiments.

A preliminary expedition was carried out on April 19, 1779 when a force of 556 men including officers, all under the command of Col. Goose Van Schaick, marched from Fort Stanwix to the land of the Onondaga Nation. Most of the men who took part in this endeavor were from the Mohawk Valley, whose families, homes and towns had been destroyed by the Indians and British in the past two years. Among the men were also, Hanyarry, the principal chief of the Oneida Nation and 60 of his best warriors.

One of the officers who participated in this expedition was Capt. Thomas Machin, of Col. John Lamb's Second Regiment of the New York Artillery. He wrote a journal of his experiences.

FAYETTE

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"Marched from Fort Schuyler, early April 19th, 1779 with a detachment of troops, consisting of 558 men, and after moving eight days provision into bateaus, which had been conveyed over a carrying place in the night, the troops traveled 22 miles by land but much more by water. Arrived at Onondaga at 8 a.m. April 20, waited for the boats then continued to the Onondaga Landing, opposite the old fort and arrived there at 3 p.m.

"After leaving the boats with proper guard we marched eight or nine miles on our way to the Onondaga Settlement. We lay on our arms all night, cold and dark, not being able to continue our marching.

"Entered their first settlement in a most secret manner, quite undiscovered by them, and they soon received the alarm through the whole and fled to the woods, but without being able to carry off anything with them. We took 33 Indians and one white prisoner and killed 12 Indians. The whole of their settlement consisted of about 50 houses with a quantity of corn. All stock was killed. Found about 100 guns, some were rifles and after the men were loaded with all they could carry, the rest was destroyed.

"We were interrupted only once in our return by a small party of Indians who fired at us from the opposite side of the creek. They were soon beat off with the loss of one killed on the part of the enemy and none of our own."

"April 24. We arrived at the fort at 12 o'clock, having been out five days and a half, the whole distance of going out and returning being 180 miles. not having lost a single man"

The destruction of the Onondaga settlement was a great shock to the Indians. They began to realize what could happen in an all out campaign. Perhaps their greatest sorrow was the knowledge that their "brothers", the Oneidas had taken an active part in this destruction. Within days, the British marched into the Indian country to try to reassure the natives that together, they would be able to stop the Americans in their push.

On May 7, 1779, Gen. John Sullivan arrived at Easton, Pa., which had been chosen as the starting point for the expedition. The original plan to enter the Indian country by way of the Mohawk Valley had been changed. With Gen. John Sullivan as commander-in-Chief, the following regiments would participate in the trek. First New Jersey, under Col. Matthias Ogden; Second New Jersey under Col. Israel Shreve; Third New Jersey under Col. Elias Dayton and the New Jersey regiment under Col. Oliver Spencer. Many New York men were part of this regiment.

From New Hampshire, there was the First Regiment under Col. Joseph Cilley; Second under Lt. Col. George Reid; Third under Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn with the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment under Major Daniel Whiting.

From Pennsylvania came the Fourth Regiment under Lt. Col. William Butler, the Eleventh under Lt. Col. Adam Hubley; the German Battalion with Major Daniel Burchardt and an Artillery Regiment under Col. Thomas Proctor. Major James Parr was in charge of Morgan's Riflemen. There

was also an Independent Rifle Company under Capt. Anthony Selin, a group of Wyoming Militia, under Capt. John Franklin and an Independent Wyoming Company under Capt. Simon Spalding. Although these last few groups were a minority, the expedition was a personal commitment for them because so many of their people had been killed and taken prisoner by the Indians.

Brig. Gen. William Maxwell was top officer of the First Brigade, comprised of the New Jersey Regiments; Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor, was in charge of the Second Brigade, the New England men and Brig. Gen. Edward Hand lead the Third Brigade of Pennsylvanians.

The New York Regiments were in the Fourth Brigade under Brig. Gen. James Clinton. Col. Philip Van Cortlandt was head of the Second Regiment; Col. Peter Gansevoort, the Third; Lt. Col. Frederick Weissenfels, the Fourth Col. Lewis Dubois, the Fifth and Capt. Isaiah Wool and Thomas Machin in charge of the artillery detachment of Col. John Lamb's regiment.

The roster indicates that there were 392 officers in the expedition. No positive list of soldiers remains, various historic records have from a minimum of about 5,000 to a maximum of 6,600.

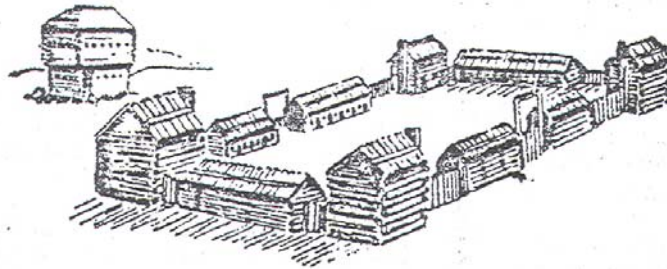
The New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New England regiments began to collect at Easton, while the New York Regiments and possibly others met at Canajoharie.

From early May until the middle of June, General Sullivan prepared for the campaign, assembling troops and arranging for supplies. That part of the army finally left Easton on June 18. In addition to the men, pack horse, cattle and supplies, they carried six cannon and two howitzers. During the first day they covered 28 miles.

The army crossed the Pocono Mountains on June 20, along a newly cut road. Rev. Samuel Kirkland, the missionary, joined the army that day. They reached Wyoming, 58 miles from Easton on June 23, with exhausted horses and broken wagons. Several of the regiment were already there, waiting.

Promises made by Congress had not been met and General Sullivan found there were not enough supplies for the men, not enough shoes and clothing, the meat was spoiled and some of the cattle were too undernourished to walk.

Sullivan expected to find about 700 rangers from Pennsylvania waiting, but they did not show up. Supposed to have been recruited from the Philadelphia area, local, officials, many of them Quakers, did



Headquarters of the Army at Wyoming, Pa.

JINTERLAKEN

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not believe the threat of the Indians was as dangerous as described. They thought it was more important to keep the rangers there to protect the people of that area.

Sullivan started again, trying to get together enough supplies, a job which took about six weeks. There was a great deal of criticism directed toward General Sullivan and the campaign in general. The sight of the ruins of Wyoming made the soldiers more eager to get under way.

A few days later, 34 boats arrived from Sunbury, Pa., with flour, beef and military supplies. Many more boats arrived throughout the following weeks.

While the soldiers and lesser officers worked to prepare for the trip, some of the top officials attended dinners and drank toasts to everything and everyone that was suggested. One of the records noted that on July 15, the officers played Shinney, whatever that might have been.

James Clinton: Illustrious General

BRIG. GEN. JAMES CLINTON (1733-1812) was born in Ulster (now Orange) County, New York, the sixth child in the family. His brother, George, was seven times the Governor of New York, a brigadier general of militia, and Vice President of the United States from 1805 until his death in 1812. James Clinton was a militia captain in the French and Indian War. He was commissioned colonel in command of the 3rd New York Regiment Oct. 25, 1775, and participated in the disastrous attack on Quebec. By the next year he was a brigadier general in the Continental Army. He survived the British attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery, although he was wounded by bayonet during the assault. In 1778 he was stationed in Albany to oppose the Indian and Tory forces. He joined Maj. Gen. John Sullivan in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign that opened interior New York to the U.S. Later in the war, in the siege of Yorktown, Clinton's brigade received the surrendered British colors (1781).



General Clinton was the father of DeWitt Clinton (1769-1828), twice governor of New York and promoter of the building of the Erie Canal.



Clinton's men building dam across outlet of Lake Otsego. Dam was broken Aug. 8.

Meanwhile, the New York Regiments at Canajoharie were also very busy. Starting early in June, the men, under orders of Gen. James Clinton began transporting the boats and supplies to Otsego Lake. Then came a time of waiting for orders from Sullivan to join the rest of the army.

General Clinton was concerned about the lack of water in the lake to float the boats down river. He put a number of men to work building a dam across the outlet of the lake. Many questioned the purpose of such a job but when word came to proceed, the engineering background of Clinton proved to be a great advantage. The boats were lined up near the dam and on Clinton's order, the dam was opened and the boats went through the opening and down the river without any major problems.

FINALLY UNDERWAY

At 1 p.m. July 31, the army left Wyoming for Tioga. Col. Zebulon Butler and 123 officers and men were left in charge of the garrison at Wyoming. Col. Thomas Proctor commanded the fleet of 214 boats. About 1,200 pack horses and 800 beef cattle were part of the procession and the march was at least two miles long.

The army reached Tioga on August 31, the same day that Walter Butler Sr. was at Kanadasaga (Geneva), meeting with the Indian chiefs. Many meetings were held at this important Indian village during the push of the campaign, right up to the day before the American Army arrived there in September. Butler encouraged the warriors living around Niagara to come to the Kanadasaga and Genesee areas.

When the army reached Tioga, General Sullivan had the men build a fort and four blockhouses for the security of the stores.



Fort Sullivan at Tioga

The work of destroying villages and crops was started in earnest. The first was Chemung on August 13, when up to 30 buildings were burned. On this day, one soldier was killed and five wounded. Many more Indians including officers were killed in the skirmish. This was possibly the first American soldier who was killed in action. A number had died during the trip but these died from sickness or in an accident.

The New York Regiments were exhausted and General Clinton stopped to give the men a chance to rest. When they did not arrive, fearing for their safety, Poor and Hand went with 900 of their men in search of Clinton's regiments. To celebrate the return of Clinton, Poor and Hand the band played and there was a salute of 13 cannons. The Indians town of Owego was burned August 19.

On August 23, Sullivan announced that 250 men under Col. Israel Shreve and the boatmen would remain at Fort Sullivan. He said it would then be easier to move. In all about 1,200 men, women and children were left at the fort.

Capt. Benjamin Kimball of the New Hampshire regiments was

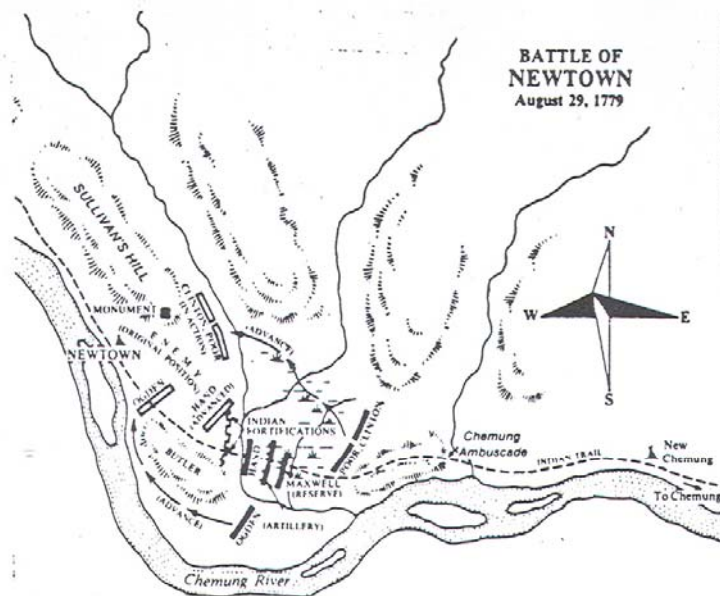
accidentally killed. Major Jeremiah Fogg, said in his journal, "One man was killed and several wounded but it is uncertain whether by the enemy or our own men as the fire was very irregular." One source noted that Kimball was killed when a soldier discharged his gun while cleaning it.

Much has been written about the Battle of Newtown on August 29. It was the major battle of the campaign. The number killed vary according to the different reports. General Sullivan's official report did not list the number. One noted that three were killed and 36 wounded. Among the Indians, 12 were found slain, two taken prisoners. Other Indians killed and wounded were unknown for these were carried away when they fled. They probably would have taken the others but did not have the time.

One document lists more than three Americans, possibly the additional ones were men who were wounded and later died. These included: Capt. John Combs of Spencer's regiment; Capt. Elijah Claves, Second New Hampshire, Lt. Nathaniel McCauley, First New Hampshire, who died after his left leg was amputated; Ensign Thomas Callis, Sgt. Oliver Thurston, Corp. Adam Hunter, Pri. Joshua Mitchell, Pri. Sylvester Wilkins, Pri. Abner Dearborn and two un-named privates. In Henry Dearborn's journal, he noted the death of his nephew, Abner.

The first Indian to be killed was Gucinge, war chief of the Senecas. others were: Rozinaghyata of the Onondaga Nation, Kayingwaurto of the Senecas, chief at Kanadasaga; Capt. John of the Mohawks and Queen Esther, a Seneca woman.





The Indian Trail is the approximate route of present U.S. 17

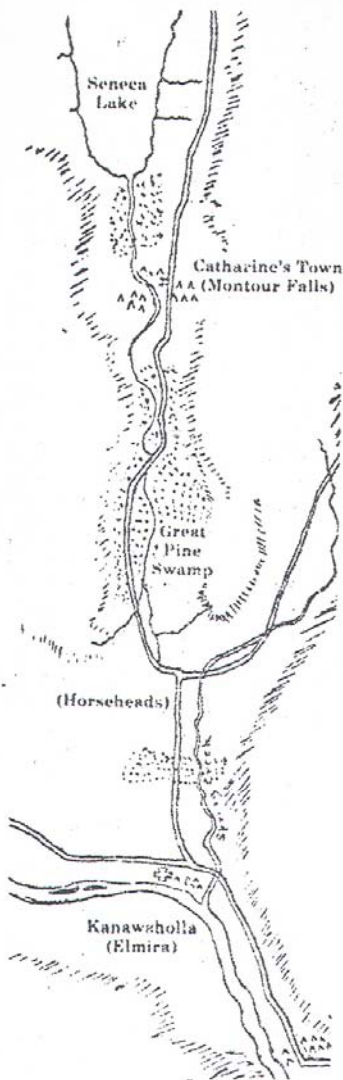
Before the end of the day the Indians and British had fled and the battle was over. An effort was made by some of the regiments to continue the fight but the enemy disappeared in the woods.

Sullivan remained at the encampment for a day, taking time to bury the dead and send the sick and wounded back to Tioga in some of the boats. He also sent back four heavy guns and some of the ammunition wagons, knowing it would be extremely difficult to transport such items the rest of the way. Tents were ripped apart and bags made to carry flour and other provisions.

The general congratulated the officers and men for their recent success. He praised them for their dedication to the cause and then asked them to accept a little more in the line of hardships. Supplies were

already in short supply and allowing for the loss of cattle and other provisions such as flour, he asked that the men agree to get along on half rations for the remainder of the journey. With the abundance of corn, vegetables and fruit they could supplement their diets with these items. With three cheers, the men unanimously agreed to the request.

The next morning, the men continued on their march, burning any buildings they found and destroying the crops. Col. Elias Dayton was sent up river with his men to search for Indians while the main army turned northward. On September 1, they neared French Catharine's town, the present site of Montour Falls. They had to make their way through a 12-mile swamp and General Clinton's brigade which brought up the rear of the march, had to spend the night in the swamp without food or shelter.



Catharine's town was deserted except for a very old woman who had been left behind because she was too feeble to go with the others. Through an interpreter she told Sullivan that the Indians had held a council of war there just the day before and had then gone on to Kanadasaga intending to make a stand there.

Several of the men, mostly officers compiled journals of their adventures and as the army approached the area that is today Seneca County, perhaps it would be more interesting to let them tell of their experiences.

Lt. Col. Adam Hublely of the 11th Pennsylvania regiment wrote, "The old squaw said the women and children had gone off in the morning to take shelter in some mountains until the army had passed. Colonel Butler promised he would send back warriors who would conduct them to some place of safety.

"She further stated that previous to the squaws going off there was a great contention with them and the warriors about their going off. They were determined to stay and submit to the generosity of the soldiers. Men opposed it and informed them that by such a stand, the Americans would be able to bring them to any terms they pleased. If they went off, they would have it in their power to come to more favourable terms should a treaty of any kind be offered."

ENTERING SENECA COUNTY

As the army neared the southeast corner of Seneca Lake, General Sullivan found a message cut into a tree. Through an Oneida guide he learned the message was from Joseph Brant, who noted, "In the battle of Newcon, 12 Indians were killed and five of these were chiefs. Others were wounded and taken to safety. Despite this you will not conquer us and your numbers do not make you safe in this country." He promised, "More Americans will die if they continue to come farther into the country where they do not belong."

REMNANTS

Lt. William Barton of the first New Jersey regiment wrote, when they reached the place called Appletown, "We had a prospect of the lake from this point, the most beautiful I have ever seen."

It was Barton who wrote a few days earlier. "At the request of Major Daniel Piatt, a small party went to look for dead Indians, returned because they did not find any. They later went back and found some. They skinned two of them from the hips down for boot legs, one pair for Major Piatt, the other for me."

Historians when writing about Sullivan's Campaign usually refer to Appletown and Kendaia as being the same place under a different name. According to Lt. Barton and others, the army reached Appletown on September 4, and got to Kendaia, the next day.

Lt. Erkuries Beatty, paymaster of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment had an excellent description of Kendaia. He wrote, "The town don't lay quite on the banks of the lake but about one half mile from it on a very pretty plain. Had about 20 houses with a small brook running through it.

"We found a burying ground, some of the graves were very curious. One in particular, which I believe was for some chief or great man. The body laid on the surface of the earth in a shroud, then a large case-ment, made very near, something larger than the body as it lay on the earth. The outside and top was painted very curious with a great many colors. In each end of the case-ment was a small hole where the friends

of the deceased might see the corpse when they pleased. Then over all was built a large shed of bark as to prevent the rain from coming on the vault."

According to one source, Appletown was called Appletree and was at Valois Point. Kendaia was named for Chief Kendaia of the Senecas who had fought at the siege of Fort Niagara in 1759.

It was here that Sullivan found Luke Swetland, who had been a settler of the Nanticoke area, downstream from Wyoming. He had been captured on Aug. 24, 1778, brought to Kendaia and adopted by a squaw to replace her son who had been killed. He was the one who told Sullivan that one of the chiefs who had been killed at Newton was Kayingwaurto of Kanadasaga.

The same day that the army was at Kendaia, many of the Indians had gathered at Kanadasaga at a council. It was considered the most important one ever held there.

The chiefs took turns talking to the people. Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket) youngest of all the Seneca chiefs spoke strongly against any further support of the British. He urged for an absolute neutrality for the Seneca and any others of the Iroquois League that would join them.

He said, "We can no longer call ourselves the Six Nations since the Oneida and their friends, the Tuscaroras have deflected. Could we not be the Four Nations, pull back as a league, farther to the west, in the area from Niagara to Presque Isle, unallied to either the British or the Americans?"

When Joseph Brant stood up to speak he took a completely opposite view. He said, "East of this great village of Kanadasaga is the place

COVERT



JOSEPH BRANT

you all know as probably the best for an ambush in this whole country. We can stop the Sullivan Army there. We Must! I will you to take this last chance to be men again."

General Haldimand at Quebec had promised to rush over 800 specially picked troops, rangers and Indians under Sir John Johnson to help the Six Nations, but no one had come and now it was too late.

The principal chief of the Senecas, Grahta, sorrowed, "The council fire of the league has gone out. One day, those of our league who caused this to happen will be called to account for their actions. Because it has happened we are driven back until we can retreat no farther. Our hatchets are broken, our bows are

snapped and our fires are nearly extinguished. A little longer and the white man will cease to persecute us for we shall have ceased to exist."

In Lt. Beatty's journal one learns what Brant meant when he said the Indians should take one last stand. On September 7, Beatty wrote. "Marched at 7 this morning through a very fine level country, nine miles. Came near the foot of the lake and outlet. Here we halted as we expected the enemy to attack us. We had to file off from our left and keep close to the bank of the lake, occasioned by a bad marsh which was on our right. likewise to cross the fording of the outlet which was about 20 yards wide, but middling deep and rapid.

"After we crossed we kept near west corner along the beach for near a mile. Soon finding a marsh, had again to file off from our left and march along on the beach. Crossed another marsh until we came to Butler's building which is two or three houses on the bank of the lake in a very beautiful situation."

After they passed the last marsh, the soldiers again formed columns and marched through a cornfield with orders to pick some corn as they marched through.

Major Jeremiah Fogg of the Second New Hampshire regiment described the march through the cornfield in a humorous but sarcastic vein. He noted, "Some of the men went left, some right. They either had poor guides or else had mistaken a field of pompions (pumpkins) for the town. The whole party from the monkey to the rat armed themselves with every specie of vegetable creation. Each man had three pompions on his bayonet and was staggering under the weight of a bosom filled with corn and beans."

When the commander saw the men he broke out, "You damned un-military set of rascals. Are you going to storm a town with pompion?" Fogg said, "The men quickly dropped the vegetables which started to roll down a hill like hail stones in a tempest."

Kanadasaga was laid out in a circle almost a third of a mile in diameter, made up of about 60 very good houses, plus another 40 log houses, quonsets and wigwams. In the center of the village was a park and still visible were the remains of a stockaded fort and blockhouses built in 1756 by Sir William Johnson. All around the town were gardens of peas, onions, squash, beans, carrots, parsnips, cabbage, cucumbers, watermelons and pumpkins. Farther out from town were many fields of corn; also fruit trees.

Fogg then mentioned the finding of the little white boy who had been left behind by the Indians. He was about six, could only speak the Indian language but could understand some English. It was Capt. Thomas Machin who took over the care of the boy. He fed and clothed him. He later took him back home, tried unsuccessfully to find his parents and adopted him. The boy died a few years later of small pox.

In describing the land which is now Seneca County, Major Fogg wrote, "The land between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes appears, good, level and well timbered, affording a sufficiency for 20 elegant townships. In process of time these will doubtless add to the importance of America. The communication of the Seneca with Cayuga is passable with boats and is about 20 miles."

It was not to be expected that there would be any good feelings between the men of the army and the Indians, but Fogg in his journal demonstrated his dislike in an arrogant manner. He wrote "Counting on their friendship is not only a disagreeable task but impracticable. And if obtained it is of no longer duration than while we are in prosperity, and the impending rod threatened their destruction. I should not think it an affront to the Divine Will to lay som effectual plan, either to civilize or totally extirpate the race. To starve them is equally impractical for they feed on air and drink the norming dew."

Apparantly his opinion of some of the soldiers was not much better. He referred to them as "pimps and tale bearers who were brought from every brigade to ascertain the minds of the general officers." He noted, "Some attempted to argue the officers into the propriety of an immediate return. How incompetent are men of inferior stations. To judge in matters of such a nature, especially when they are not availed of any of the principles on which to form their judgement."

On September 9, Sullivan ordered that all men remain at Kanadasaga for the day and they were to clean their pieces. It also gave them the opportunity to wash their clothes. Sullivan said the sick and the lame were to return to Tioga and a number of officers were asked to accompany them.

At about 10 in the morning, John Parker and a group of volunteers headed east to where they were told they would find another village. At Skoiyase (Waterloo) they found a number of good houses and surprisingly, a weir stocked with eel and small fish.

WATERLOO

At the same time, Lt. James Parr of Morgan's Riflemen took a group of men from the rifle corps and went up the lake to Kashong with the intention of destroying it. Lt. Beatty was one of the men who went along to do the work. He wrote "It was about eight miles from camp. It was the town we had seen from the other side of the lake. It had about 15 houses. Found five horses, much corn, vegetables, fruit and fowls. There was too much work for the men so Major Parr sent for re-enforcements. We went to sleep under a bark hutt and during the night there was a storm but it cleared by morning.

"Re-enforcements arrived about 6 a.m. , about 200 men, informed us the army was going to march that morning. We set out for camp leaving Major Parr and the others to cut the corn."

On Sept. 10, as the army prepared to march, each brigade was ordered to leave a small detachment behind to bring in the stragglers horses and cattle. Beatty wrote, "Came to a small lake, Kanadaqua (Canandaigua), then to the town. Enemy had just left as the fire was yet burning. Halted about an hour and burnt about 25 houses. Very compact and neatly built but no good water near the village."

On Sept. 12, the army reached Honeoye and stopped there long enough to build a small fort. Sullivan knew they had no more than 30 miles to go to reach Genesee Castle and the fort would be used to store provisions, horses and ammunition, not needed for the remainder of the trip. Capt. John N. Cummings of the Second New Jersey regi-

ment and 50 men were left to guard the fort.

Lt. Thomas Boyd was sent out with a few men to check out the area, west. He persuaded some of the other soldiers to go along and a total of 26 riflemen became part of the detachment.

When they were within sight of an Indian town, four of the men, including Sgt. Timothy Murphy went into the town. They found it abandoned but came upon a few Indians. Murphy killed and scalped one of them. They then returned to the other men. Lt. Boyd sent four men ahead to report to Sullivan.

As Boyd and the soldiers followed, they heard Indians in the woods. The Indians then performed the act which they had successfully carried out a number of times before, in other areas of the state. A few of them would get near to the soldiers and then run for cover when they were pursued. The soldiers would follow and the Indians would repeat the act until within minutes, Boyd and his men were surrounded by a large force of Indians and Tories.

Boyd and Sgt. Michael Parker were captured, most of the others were killed in the ambush.

The army reached the Genesee river, September 14 and found the Indian village of Genesee was on the west side of the river, about six miles away. The men spent the morning destroying corn then crossed the river and entered the Genesee Castle. Its 130 houses were all deserted and this is where they found the mutilated bodies of Lt. Boyd and Sgt. Parker.

Some of the men went searching for the other soldiers who had been with Boyd and in a grove found 15 men who had been killed and scalped. Nine of these men have been identified

They were: Privates, William Faughey, William Harvey, John Conrey, James McElroy, John Miller and St. Nicholas Hungerman all of the Pennsylvania Brigade; John Putnam of Fort Hunter, brother of Garrett who escaped; Benjamin Custard or Custin of Schuylkill and Oneida Chief Harvey.

Much has been written about this tragedy, but always by a third party. Recently, among the thousands of pension applications at the National Archives, a version of this tragic event was found, told by one of the men who managed to escape.

David Freemoyer, born in Albany County on Feb. 28, 1761, had enlisted in the New York State Militia when he was 17. It was during his third term of service that he took part in the Sullivan Campaign. He was assigned to Major James Parr of the Continental troops who commanded a company of rangers. They joined Gen. James Clinton at Otsego Lake and later went down the river to Tioga Point to meet with Gen. John Sullivan.

At Conesus Lake he joined with a detachment under Lt. Boyd and some 18 or 20 men, including two friendly Indians who went as pilots. In his deposition he said, "They went in the night across the river to see if the enemy was lying in ambush, in a large swamp. They crossed over on rafts made of cedar poles tied together with leatherwood bark.

After they had thoroughly inspected the swamp, Lt. Boyd said they should now return to the main army. The men objected to going back in daylight.

Freemoyer noted, "But all in vain. The ill-fated lieutenant

declared that there were no Indians there and having determined to return that morning, an entreaty availed to shake him from his purpose. So about eight o'clock the lieutenant started with the detachment to the swamp, where they commenced marching by a single file, this affiant and one Timothy Murphy in front, Lt. Boyd in the rear."

The Indians, lying in ambush, commenced firing from their rear, and instantaneously thereafter fired all along the two lines they had formed on each of the path extending beyond Freemoyer and Murphy, at the same time closing the ends of the two lines. The whole detachment was surrounded and hemmed in.

Freemoyer continued, "Affiant and Murphy, upon the first fire of the enemy in front, dropped and lay flat on the ground to avoid the effects of their fire and so continued to lay until the firing had nearly ceased. They sprang to their feet and fortunately for affiant and Murphy, the morning foggy and amidst the fog and smoke occasioned by the firing of the enemy in front, affiant and Murphy were enabled to escape through the line of the enemy unhurt, running against and knocking over several Indians as they broke through their lines.

"Affiant and Murphy kept together and holding a consultation as they ran, agreed to run around the lake although it was a distance of about 92 miles, to reach General Sullivan again."

Murphy said and Freemoyer agreed that it would be out of the question to attempt to escape by recrossing the river as the enemy would certainly be upon them before they could leave the shore.

The two men had gone about four or five miles when they were over-

taken by five large dogs the Indians had sent after them. Two of the dogs ran up to Murphy, seized and bit him quite severely before he could kill them with his tomahawk. A third dog went after Freemoyer. The other two remained back, barking viciously but not joining in the affray.

Freemoyer was not as well prepared for he had lost his tomahawk when he fell down to avoid the fire of the Indians in the swamp. The men did not dare shoot the dogs for this would warn the Indians where they were and they would be upon them before they had a chance to reload. Freemoyer had no weapon except a small, damaged knife to defend himself from the dog.

The dog seized him by the fleshy part of the thigh in front and he struck at him with his knife and fist but did not hurt the dog materially. He eventually succeeded in breaking the dog's hold on his thigh but not until he had torn it severely.

The dog then seized him by the side of the leg and sunk his teeth deep into his leg. Freemoyer wrote, "I was finally able to free my arm and although thoroughly exhausted, managed to get out my knife and rip the dog open across his backbone and let out his entrails. Notwithstanding, the dog made another spring at my neck but from exhaustion and the wound he had just received, only sprang high enough to reach my breast upon which he inflicted a wound of some three or four inches in length, when he fell down and died.

"Just at this instant, Murphy, having finished the two that had attacked him, came to my assistance. Looking up we saw Captain Yoke, a friendly Indian of the Stockbridge tribe (Capt. Jehoiakim) standing nearby. About the same time Murphy discovered about 40 naked Indians within fifty yard of us, all with tomahawks in their hand but no rifles. They had probably left them behind expecting to find us with empty guns or badly wounded because of the dogs.

"The Indians would have paid dearly for their temerity in leaving their guns behind, but as we were severely wounded by the dog and fatigued, we decided to seek safety in flight. We took off at top speed and ran on, followed by the last two dogs and the Indians."

After they had gone about 15 miles, believing they had left the Indians far behind, they stopped long enough to shoot the two dogs. After that they saw no more of the Indians. They kept going until it was dark then pulled off to the side, to rest and watch if any Indians followed. Sometime later they discovered Capt. Jehoiakim passing by. They had lost sight of him when they ran from the Indians. They hailed him and from that time, the three of them went on together. They reached General Sullivan at eight the next morning.

Freemoyer wrote, "We arrived at the time when the army was burying the scouts that had been killed and trying to put together the bodies of Lieutenant Boyd and Sergeant Parker.

"We had our wounds dressed for the first time. The wound on the side



of my leg gave me so much pain in traveling that I was obliged to kill a striped squirrel and put the brains of the squirrel on the wound and fasten them with the skin. My wounds were so bad that I was placed on a packhorse and rode for six days. "

He continued with the army back to Easton, Pa. where he and such of the rangers as were yet living were discharged and ordered to return to Fort Clinton, where they arrived about the last of October. He served on the tour for four months.

Freemoyer continued to serve in the war, serving in at least three more tours, many as exciting as his trip with Sullivan. He moved to Washington Co. Ohio in 1810 and applied for his pension in 1834.

Shortly before the army completed its work at Genesee, they found a white woman and her infant. She told Sullivan that two days before, Joseph Brant and Walter Butler had left for Niagara to prepare a defense. She was Mrs. Sarah Lester, one of those who had been taken prisoner at Wyoming. Her baby died some time later and Mrs. Lester eventually married Capt. Roswell Franklin who was the pioneer settler of Cayuga County, settling at Aurora.

The army arrived at Kanadasaga for the return trip on September 19. After a day of rest, Sullivan ordered Col. Peter Gansvoort to take 100 men and proceed to Albany by way of the Mohawk Castle and return baggage that would not be needed by the army.

Col. William Butler, at the same time left with 500 to 600 men. They were to go up the east side of Cayuga Lake and destroy

any Indian villages they found. Col. William S. Smith, with a force of 200 men returned to Kashong to complete the work started when the army first arrived at Kanadasaga.

All the lame and sick were gathered together and with a number of officers in charge, were sent directly to Tioga.

On Sept. 21, Col. Henry Dearborn with 200 Soldiers, crossed over what is now Seneca County and marched up the west side of Cayuga Lake, to search out and destroy any village. Butler and Dearborn were to rejoin the main army at Fort Reed (Elmira). The main army also left Kanadasaga and traveled 12 miles along Seneca Lake before they encamped.

According to an historical address by the Rev. David Craft, Gen. John S. Clark of Auburn, identified the locations of the Indian village that Dearborn's detachment destroyed in Seneca County. Both of these men were reknowned historians of the Sullivan Campaign.

The locations of the villages were: 1. near the southeast corner of lot 15 in the town of Fayette, probably on Sucker brook, on what was later the Thomas Shankwiler farm; 2. on the west bank of Cayuga Lake at the northeast corner of the town of Fayette, about a mile and a half from the present hamlet of Canoga; 3. about 40 rods from the shore of the lake, on the south bank of Canoga creek and about half a mile northeast of Canoga. This was believed to have been the birth place of Red Jacket.

3. on the west bank of Cayuga Lake, a mile south of Canoga, directly opposite the village of Union Springs on what was later the Disinger farm. 4. in the northeast corner of the town of Romulus, on the north bank of what was called Sinclair Hollow creek, near the shore of the lake and opposite the site of the present Aurora; also one

or two village in what is now Tompkins County.

At the fourth village, Dearborn found three squaws and a young crippled Indian, hiding in a wigwam. He left the oldest squaw and the young man and took the two younger women with him.

When the main army reached Catharine's town they found the old Indian woman was still there. The body of a young Indian woman was found lying in a mud hole. She had come back to take care of the old squaw and had been sho by some of the soldiers when the army passed through on its way to Genesee.

Before they left on September 23, Sullivan ordered that a keg of pork, biscuits and other provisions be left for the old lady. Lt. William Barton was somewhat displeased about this. He wrote in his journal, "It was so scarce an article that no officer under the rank of a field officer had tasted any since leaving Tioga. We had a very scant allowance of half a pound of poor beef and a like quantity of flour."

Apparantly he soon got over his displeasure for on September 25, he wrote, "Remained at Fort Reed waiting for those detachments sent out, to return. In the forenoon, the army all discharged their muskets with orders to parade at five in the afternoon, each man furnished with one blank cartridge.

"According to orders the whole paraded in a line, when 13 rounds of cannon were fired. Then began

a running fire of muskets from the right, through the whole. This not being performed to the General's liking, he ordered the whole to again charge. After this was done he ordered the whole to be put in readiness and not a man to fire until he should come opposite him.

"All 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. Then there were cheers for the Congress, for the United States and finally for the King of Spain, our new ally. Day ended with joy the officers of each brigade being furnished with one of the best bullocks there was - extra."

* * * * *

THE MEN OF THE CAMPAIGN

Who were these men who took part in the Sullivan Campaign? One can learn about most of the officers through biographies that have been published. It would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to trace the personal biography of the soldiers who participated. One can learn a little about some through muster rolls, orderly books, DAR records and family genealogies.

Here are just a few of these personal bits of information collected through such sources.

LAWRENCE VAN CLEEF - The most familiar of all these men, at least in the Seneca County area. He was born in New Jersey, April 15, 1754 and was first in the First New York



regiment under Col. Goose Van Schaick and during the campaign served in the Third regiment under Col. Peter Gansevoort. He received a lot in Cincinnatus for his services but settle instead, in 1789 in what later became Seneca Falls. More on him in a later issue.

PATRICK SINNOT: Originally from Long Island, he was one of the refugees who went to Connecticut after New York City and Long Island was taken over by the British. He was sergeant major in the Second Regiment and was promoted to that office at the start of the campaign. He received lot 75 in Fabius and settled on his lot. He died in Onondaga County, March 24, 1813 at 51.

JOHN/JOSEPH RHOADES: John Rhoades of Marlborough, Ulster Co. enlisted Jan. 25, 1776. He was also in the Second Regiment. He received lot 63 in Ovid and the original deed carries an interesting anecdote about this man or men. The deed states John Rhoades of New Marlborough joined the service and served two years, then his brother Joseph took his place and served to the end of the war. So it was probably Joseph who went with Sullivan.

SGT. JAMES HUMPHREY. He was born in New Windsor in 1755. Taken prisoner at Fort Montgomery in 1777 he was confined on the prison ship, Good Intent for one year. For part of his service he was with James Stewart and also appeared on the muster roll of the Henry DuBois Company, but for his greatest length of service he was a waiter and servant for Gen. James Clinton. He received lot 97 in Cicero but after the war settled in Ontario County and died there

in 1834.

JAMES KNAPP. Born in Danbury, Conn. he enlisted at Oblong, Feb. 25, 1777 as a drummer when he was 15. Another source said he was born in Dutchess Co. He was in the Second Regiment, received lot 8 in Lysander and died in Yates County in 1831.

MOSES GRAHAM. He was in Samuel Pell's company in the Second Regiment. Although he was scheduled to take part in the campaign, he did not make it for he died just as it was getting underway on June 19, 1779.

MICHAEL OR MELCHER HAVELISH. Born in Germany, he was 36, a hostler when he enlisted at Peekskill, April 15, 1778, in the Second Regiment. On Oct. 12, 1778, he was tried at a court martial for being repeatedly drunk, disturbing the camp and attempting to escape from the guard. Found guilty he was sentenced to receive 100 lashes, well laid on. He often served as a wagoner in the service.

EBENEZER BAILEY, Born in Nine Partners and was a farmer, when he enlisted at Peekskill in 1777. He joined Benjamin Pelton's company at Lowden's Ferry in the Mohawk river. He fought at Bemis Heights and Saratoga. He was at Valley Forge where he came down with small pox. During the Sullivan Expedition he was with Capt. Jacob Wright. He was 59 years old when he applied for his pension at Easton, Essex Co.

MICHAEL TROUT, Born in Haverstraw, he was 14 when he enlisted as a musician, a fifer in the Barent Ten Eyck Company. In 1779 he was also with Jacob Wright.

JAMES STEEL. Shortly after he enlisted in 1777, he served aboard a boat. Like so many other men, he re-enlisted for the duration of the war just before the Sullivan Campaign. On Oct. 2, 1780, he was court martial



at Orangetown for trying to persuade men of the regiment to go with him and steal rum. He was also arrested for stealing rum from a local resident. He received 30 lashes for the first offense but was acquitted for the second. He was twice a prisoner of war, the first time in 1778 at Fort Montgomery, and again on New Year's Eve, 1780. Steel received lot 2 in Ovid but sold it for 25 pounds.

THOMAS RUSSELL. In 1778 he was appointed fifer in the John Hamtramck Company. In February 1778, he re-enlisted for the duration of the war but died in service on Feb. 1, 1782. He received lot 23 in Romulus. His brother Cornelius Russell of New Jersey sold the lot in 1792 for 16 pounds. Apparently this sale was not allowed for in later sales, the property was divided and sold in fifths by other members of his family. His daughter and son-in-law bought the shares from the other heirs and settled on the lot. They were Mr. and Mrs. John Rumsey, the parents of the founders of the Rumsey Pump Co. of Seneca Falls.

SALTER PULLMAN. Born in Rhode Island, he was a farmer and 21, when he enlisted in 1777 at Oblong. He died in 1828, probably in Rensselaer. He received lot 37 in Scipio, but did not settle on his lot. His grandson Willard Pullman, was a highly respected resident of Waterloo for many years.

JONATHAN PHILLIPS enlisted in May 1779 in the Frederick Weissenfels company. The Sullivan campaign was his only tour for he died on Dec. 14, 1779, at

Morristown shortly after completing the tour.

JOHN OAKLEY, Born on Staten Island, he was 34 and a weaver when he enlisted at Fishkill in 1778. He was among the soldiers who had to spend a winter at Valley Forge.

THOMAS MASON. Born In England, he was 26 and a stocking weaver when he enlisted at Haverstraw. He was also at Valley Forge. He died Oct. 7, 1781 while in the Jacob Wright company.

NICHOLAS HUDSELL/HUDGALL, was born in Germany. He was 54 and a tinker when he enlisted at Canajoharie in 1778. He received lot 4 in Ovid.

JOHN HOWE: Born in Massachusetts, he was 37, five foot nine inches tall and had a dark complexion. He enlisted in 1775 and first served in the John Hulbert Company at Ticonderoga. The muster rollists him as having deserted in the summer of 1778, but like so many others he probably went home to take care of his family for he was back in during the campaign. On Dec. 24, 1780, then a corporal, he was tried for kicking Sgt. Timothy Bennett and for calling Capt. Nathaniel Norton a damned rascal. Found guilty, he was reduced to the ranks and received 50 lashes.

JOHN HOLMES. was 22, a laborer, five feet seven inches tall, had light hair and light eyes when he enlisted in Westchester Co., in 1775/ In November 1779 he was charged with stealing a pair of stockings from the regiment store. He plead not guilty. After examining the evidence, the court found him guilty and he received 100 lashes on his bare back. On Dec. 3, 1780 with Ephraim Whjte of the Fourth regiment were accused of stealing from the public stores at Fort Schuyler. The

two men were locked in a bomb proof for six hours as punishment. Holmes received lot 58 in Camillus but he sold it. Ephraim White received lot 37 in Ovid and as heir of his brother, Stephen White, also received lot 32 in Junius. Stephen White died in service. He sold both lots to Silas Halsey. He also settled in Seneca County, first in Ovid and later in Ulysses. Quite possibly he was the man who came with Silas Halsey in 1793, when Halsey first came to the area to look over his property.

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THE VALIENT

CHARLES M. FLYNN, of Seneca Falls, 64, died 2/27/1986. Born in Seneca Falls, the son of Thomas and Molly O'Rourke Flynn. He was a veteran of WWII, serving with the US Air Force and was a retired sergeant of the Seneca Falls Police Department.

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CARL ASTRACHAN, 66, of Waterloo, died 3/2/1986. He was a veteran of the US Army, serving during WWII in Ireland and England. He was wounded in France. He was past commander of the Warner Van Riper American Legion Post 435 and county commander for AL in Seneca County.

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ROBERT C. HOOVER, of York, Pa., formerly Seneca Falls, 61, died 3/12/1986 in Pennsylvania. He was born in Passaic, N.J. 8/22/1924, and was a veteran of WWII serving with the US Airforce.

JOHN J. DECKER, 57, of Seneca Fall died 3/15/1986. He served with the US Airforce from 1946 through 1949.

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LE ROY B. YATES, 70, of Florida, formerly Seneca Falls, died 3/18/1986. He was a WWII Navy veteran.

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LLEWELLYN B. EGAN, of Interlaken died 4/9/1986. He was born 7/25/1917 in Ovid, son of Bert and Mary Egan. He was a member of the American Legion of Interlaken

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MARVIN A. ARNDT, 55, of Waterloo, died 4/18/1986. He was born in Syracuse, 8/22/1930, son of Daniel and Edna Hauf Arndt. He was aveteran of the Korean War.

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GARY E. IRLAND, 38, of Seneca Falls, died 4/23/1986. He was born in Seneca Falls, 9/29/1947, son of Emerson I. and Bessie Campbell Irland. He served with the US Airforce in Vietnam.

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RAY GAUGER, 89, of Macedon, formerly Waterloo died 4/28/1986. He was born in Fayette, 11/16/1896, son of Lewis and Pearley Youngs Gauger. He served with the US Marine Corps during WWI.

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BERNIE ENNIS, 92, of Interlaken, died 4/30/1986. He was born in Cayuta, son of Don and Adelia Payne Ennis. He was a veteran of WWI.

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REGINALD C. BATTY, 90, of Seneca Falls, died 5/5/1986. He was born in Utica and was a veteran of WWI.