

New Jersey Continental Line In The Indian Campaign Of 1779

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The Last half of the year 1778 was an eventful period in the history of the fight for freedom in America. The plains of Monmouth, in New Jersey had just been the scene of a fierce conflict on a hot Sabbath day, between the Continentals and the British Line and the Royal army hand disappeared by a midnight flight. The weary patriots were celebrating of there boastful but unsecured independence when the young nation was startled by the news of a horrid massacre among the hills and valleys of beautiful Wyoming. The Indian knife and tomahawk sharpened by the hatred and fierce brutality of the white Tory, filled this lovely section of the country with scenes of merciless cruelty. The soldiery in the field, the statesmen in the legislative halls, the old men on the farms, the women as they performed work of there domestic duties, were alarmed, and some shudder with distressed and fear as they listened to the tales of this horrid butchery. The hot blood of the red man thus aroused did not cool again before a bloody stroke had been given at Andoustown , at the settlement of German Flats and the savages dashed thought old Tryon County, and closed the season with the awful slaughter at Cherry Valley.

Early in the following year, the Continental Congress in Philadelphia investigated the stories of sorrow, distress, and death which came to them form the upper reaches of the Susquehanna, and on the 25th day of February, they sent to General

Washington, then at his headquarters at Middle-brook, now Bound Brook, New Jersey, a report of all these acts of rapine, cruelty and murder, and explicitly ordered him " to take effectual measures for the protection of the inhabitants and the chastisement of the savages." Without a moment's delay, he planned the early and severe punishment of the brutal foe.

On the 4th of March, Washington wrote to Governor George Clinton, of New York, informing him secretly of an expedition which he proposed to send into the Indian country, and asking what number of frontiersmen and rangers he could furnish for the contingent of troops required. Two days afterward, he wrote to Major-General Horatio Gates, and offered him the command of the force he intended to detail for this enterprise. Unmindful of the cool treatment he had received from this haughty soldier on the west bank of the Delaware during the dreadful winter of 1770, forgetful that he had been a party to the miserable Conway cabal, and remembering only in his pure and patriotic soul that Gates had won some glory at Burgoyne's surrender, he allured him the supreme command of this important expedition. This forgiving act did not merit the rough refusal which he received.

The Commander-in-chief then selected Major-General John Sullivan to command the division of troops for the Indian campaign. This officer, then in his thirty-ninth year, had left a law practice at his home in New Hampshire, had been a member of the first Continental Congress, entered the army as a Brigadier-General, and was made a Major-General in 1776. He fought General Greens division at the battle of Long Island, was taken prisoner, and soon after his release assumed command of General Charles Lee's troops when that officer was captured, distinguished himself in the rapid march of his column on the river road to Trenton and the sharp fight on the streets of that village, and fought bravely at Brandywine and at Germantown. He was considered very skillful

and reliable as a soldier, and thoroughly true to the cause of independence. The instructions given by General Washington to General Sullivan properly show the design of the expedition. "The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements. * * * It will be essential to ruin their crops now it's the ground, and prevent them planting more." To General Gates he had already written, "The object will be effectually to chastise and intimidate the hostile nations; to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do them every other mischief which time and circumstance; will permit." Washington said also to Sullivan, "The country must not merely be overrun, but destroyed * * * You will listen to no overture of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected." This language is in no way equivocal. Its clear meaning was fully understood by General Sullivan, and he determined vigorously and effectually to carry out these severe but necessary orders.

He desired that he might have some choice in the number and quality of the troops intended for this duty, and his wish was cheerfully granted. He made his selection from the Continental battalions of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. They were some of the very best soldiers of the army, and had seen much active service.

It is proper here to note the name and locality of the confederacy of the Six Nations, which had thus espoused the cause of 'Great Britain on American soil. The Iroquois nation, consisting of the tribes called Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Tuscaroras, claimed Pennsylvania, part of New Jersey, and as far southward as the Carolinas, as their, and they warred constantly to keep at least any friendly Indians to the south and southwest from what they considered their own rightful province. Some of the Oneidas alone, of all the tribes, manifested any friendliness to the white man and to the civilization which he brought with him

The strength of the fighting men in these tribes at the time was about twelve hundred warriors. Associated with them were two companies of "Royal Greens" of the British army, quite a detachment of armed refugees and a small party of Tory militia, some of them painted as Indians, who had all joined the dusky savages in their warfare on the frontier settlements.

Chief among the leaders of these cruel bands was Joseph Brant, whose Indian name was Thayendanegea. He was of the best blood of the Mohawks, and was always placed foremost in every difficult enterprise. His personal courage was undoubted, his movements in the field were governed with the greatest skill and energy, and devastation and death followed in his bloody trail. Colonel John Butler was also one of the active military chieftains, and he and his son, Wallace N. Butler, were the chief actors in all the pillage and slaughter which took place in Tryon county and at Wyoming. Their names are execrated in history and in the traditions of the old families of that region. Sir John Johnson, a Colonel under the Crown, commanded the organized troops of Britain which cooperated with the savages in these predatory outrages. These are the men who gave their best efforts, as allies of King George, to the crushing out of their more patriotic neighbors.

As soon as General Sullivan signified his acceptance of the command of the expedition against the hostile Indians, a plan of operations was arranged which, it was thought, would accomplish the design of Congress, and would compel the foe to move back from what were now the frontier white settlements. A division of troops was organized, under Colonel Daniel Brodhead, of the Eighth Pennsylvania Continental Regiment, who was commander of the Western Department, at Pittsburg, and while this was in-

tended to operate against the Munsy Tribe and a part of the Senecas, on the upper waters of the Allegheny river, it was also expected to make somewhat of a diversion from the column under Sullivan.

Another body of troops, consisting of five regiments and one battalion of six companies, in all about seventeen hundred men, was ordered, under command of Brigadier-General (nines Clinton, to proceed from their rendezvous at Canajoharie, a village on the Mohawk river in New York, by way of the Oswego Lake, and join the main army under Sullivan. They left their station June 17th, and it was more than two months before they reached him at Tioga.

The principal division of the army organized at Wyoming, under Sullivan's immediate direction, contained about 3500 men. A list of the organizations in this division has been given by many writers, and must be repeated here.

Brigadier-General Enoch Poor's brigade consisted of:

First New Hampshire Regiment, Colonel Joseph Cilley.

Second New Hampshire Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel George Reid.

Third New Hampshire Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dearborn.

Second New York Regiment, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt.

Brigadier-General Edward Hand's brigade consisted of:

Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley.

German Regiment, Major Daniel Berkhart. Two companies of militia from Wyoming, Captain Simon

Spalding and Captain John Franklin.

Independent Light Infantry Company, Pennsylvania Continental Line, Captain Anthony Selin.

Brigadier-General William Maxwell's brigade consisted of:

First New Jersey Regiment, Colonel Matthias Ogden.

Second New Jersey Regiment, Colonel Israel Shreve.

Third New Jersey Regiment, Colonel Elias Dayton.

*Spencer's New Jersey Regiment, Colonel Oliver Spencer.

The artillery of the division was commanded by Colonel Thomas Procter, of Pennsylvania.

My purpose in this paper is to sketch the history of this brigade of New Jersey Continentals under Maxwell, its strength, its *personnel*, its labors, its marching and the result of its military service in this campaign. To do this I must allude constantly to the column of which this brigade was a part, incidentally to the conduct of other brigades and their respective officers, and, in brief, the history of the Jersey Brigade can hardly fail to be, to some extent, a *resume* of the entire expedition. This sketch is compiled from material obtained from thirty printed and five unpublished journals of the march, among the best of which are the diaries of Surgeon Ebenezer Elmer and Lieutenant William Barton, printed in the proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society in 1846; from the diary of Surgeon Jaber. Campfield, printed in the proceedings of 1873, and from excellent manuscript journal of Lieutenant Samuel M. Shute, afterward the celebrated physician, Dr. Shute, of Burlington county, New Jersey.

The American army under General Washington was quartered in the counties of Somerset and Essex, New Jersey, during the winter of 1778 and 1779. Seven brigades of troops were stationed at Middlebrook, the headquarters, and in the immediate vicinity. The New Jersey Brigade at this time held the advanced post of the army at Elizabeth Town. On the 25th day of February, 1779, the British made an attempt to capture William Livingston, New Jersey's war Governor, but it failed through the ability displayed by men of this organization.

During the latter part of the winter of 1778 and the following spring, the soldiers of the American army suffered greatly in their own persons and on account of the pressing wants of their families, because of the depreciation of the value of the Continental currency in which they were paid. All the officers of the New Jersey Brigade petitioned the Legislature of the State for relief, on the 17th day of April. They stated that four months' pay of an enlisted man would not buy his family a bushel of wheat--that the pay of a Colonel would not purchase oats for his horse Pennsylvania had made provision for her men, Maryland had satisfied her soldiers, but Jerseymen were yet unprovided with pay barely enough to afford a scanty subsistence. A few days after this petition was sent, General Maxwell wrote a very able and pathetic appeal to the Legislature to act promptly on the memorial of his soldiers, and to grant them relief immediately. The pecuniary distress of his men excited his pity, and he demanded that their grievances should be fully inquired into and mitigated. On the 6th day of May, when marching orders had been received for the expedition against the Indians, the officers of the brigade again addressed the Legislature, remonstrating against the long delay in doing them justice, and General Maxwell called the attention of General Washington to the fact that they had contracted heavy debts, which they were entirely unable to satisfy. He told him that they proposed to obey any orders and to perform any duty required, but that they must have some relief in their distress. The Commander-in-chief replied in an appreciative letter, begging them, however, to air the reputation they had already won, to do nothing to tarnish their glory as soldiers. This was the state of the Jersey Brigade when they were called to endure the hardships of military life in fighting cruel savages. Fretting under bad treatment, charged by some with disaffection, they nevertheless placed their several commands in proper shape for immediate marching

into a hostile country, and then the relief came. Two hundred pounds were given to each officer, and forty pounds to each enlisted man, and in this way the men of this brigade were relieved from pressing debt, and cheerfully took up the march to Easton, Pennsylvania.

The strength of the New Jersey Brigade at this time, as shown by the official returns, was :

First Regiment, 27 officers and 324 enlisted men.

Second Regiment, 25 officers, and 356 enlisted men.

Third Regiment, 27 officers and 331 enlisted men.

Spencer's Regiment, 32 officers and 140 enlisted men, with detachments of Colonel David Forman's Regiment, consisting of 68 enlisted men, and Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Regiment of Light Dragoons, consisting of 75 enlisted men, both of which were soon after assigned to Spencer's Regiment.

The state of the brigade was therefore, at this time, a total of 1294 officers and men. To this sketch I have added a complete list of the officers and men who started on the expedition, taken from the files of the war records of New Jersey.

A few words in reference to the more prominent officers of this brigade will not be amiss.

General William Maxwell was a sturdy and brave man, of Irish parentage, who entered the service in the first call for troops, and was in the northern campaign before Quebec. He took a prominent part at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, and was very active in the attack on Clinton at Monmouth Court House. Washington spoke of him as "an honest man and a warm friend to his country"—an encomium which any soldier might have envied.

Colonel Matthias Ogden, the commander of the First Regiment, was also in Arnold's expedition, and he was wounded at the storming of the heights of Quebec. He was at that time but twenty-one years of age. He held an active command during the entire war.

Colonel Israel Shreve, of the Second Regiment, was a fine and reliable soldier, and in this campaign it will be seen he was greatly trusted. He, too, fought through the war until the liberties of the country were secured, and then, with his axe and his rifle, he emigrated to the then far west, to begin his life as a citizen among the wild scenes he witnessed in this expedition.

Colonel Elias Dayton was one of the most gallant officers of the line. He had seen some service in the old French War, and he brought to his duties as Colonel of the Third Regiment much military experience. He fought through the whole war, receiving, near its close, the commission of a general officer. He always distinguished himself in battle, and ever enjoyed the confidence of his superiors in command.

Colonel Oliver Spencer commanded a regiment largely made up of Jerseymen, organized independent of State aid, under the special care of Congress. He, too, was only discharged when peace was declared.

Lieutenant-Colonel David Brearley was a soldier, a law counselor, and a judge of eminently legal mind and high personal character. He was called, as will hereafter be seen, even from his campaign, to take upon him the duties of Chief Justice of the State. His diary, still extant, is a curious mingling, for months, of drilling his regiment to-day, brisk skirmish with the red-coats the next day, and the third day opening some Court of Oyer and Terminer.

Lieutenant-Colonel William De Hart was a lawyer of Elizabeth Town, and he, with two other patriotic brothers, joined the American army. He was considered a brave officer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber was a teacher at Elizabeth Town when the war broke out, but he stepped forth as a soldier at the beginning of the contest and was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Regiment. He fought well at Brandywine, German-

town and Monmouth, where he received a severe wound. On this campaign he was detailed as the Adjutant-General on General Sullivan's staff. It was the sad fate of this intelligent and beloved soldier to be killed by a falling tree, at New Windsor, New York, February 17th, 1783.

Captain Aaron Ogden, of the First Regiment, was detailed from his company as an Aide-de-camp to General Maxwell. He was a brother of Colonel Ogden, was a very gallant officer, and in after years became a tried and true statesman. He served in many staff positions during the war, with Generals Lord Stirling and Maxwell, received great commendation for services at the siege of Yorktown, where he commanded a light infantry company in Lafayette's Corps, and was, after the war, a United States Senator, and then Governor of New Jersey.

In these Jersey organizations we find the names of Forman, Cumming, Rhea, Bishop, Shute, Reading, Doughty, Elmer, Bar-net, Gordon, Mott, Gifford, Anderson, Norcross, Van Cleve, Kinney, Patterson, Dickerson, Phillips, Seeley, Hollinshead, Halsey, the descendants of whom still live in New Jersey. The best blood of the State was represented in these brave Continentals, and proud is the Commonwealth of the worthy deeds and heroic service of her Jersey Blues.

On the 19th day of May, the First New Jersey Regiment broke camp at Elizabeth Town and marched across the State to Easton. They reported to General Sullivan on his arrival there on the morning of May 19th. Colonel Thomas Procter, with his artillery battalion, consisting of two six-pounders, four three-pounders, two howitzers and one cohorn mortar, joined them the next day. In the diaries of Jerseymen in this campaign, it is evident that the men of Procter's Artillery and of Maxwell's Brigade were always together at their camp-fires and at the bivouac. The Third New Jersey Regiment arrived in Easton May 26th. Colonel Spencer's

Regiment, in the meantime, had gone into camp at Tunkhanna, when" Colonel Van Cortlandt, of the Second New York Regiment, was in command. On the 20th of May, General Sullivan rode to the village to inspect these two regiments, returning to Easton the next day, having ordered Colonel Spencer's men to Locust Hill.

On May 29th , the Second New Jersey Regiment left Elizabeth Town about noon, escorted out of the village; by many of the leading citizens of that place and of Newark. During the previous winter, they had spent much of their time in Newark, and on their leaving for the western expedition an elegant entertainment was spread for the officers, and an address presented to Colonel Shreve by Dr. William Bur net, Jr., on behalf of the citizens of the place. Colonel Shreve replied in a very handsome letter. The diary of Lieutenant Samuel M. Shule, gives an interesting list of the ladies and gentlemen who thus honored the organization as they passed away on their perilous campaign. The regiment marched by the forks of the Raritan, to Pittstown and Masquene-cunk, reaching Easton on June 5th .

On the 1st of the month, Colonel Ogden marched his men to the rendezvous at Wyoming, which place he reached on Friday, June 4th , one company only of his regiment having been left at Easton in charge of tire horses and baggage of the command.

On the morning of June 8th, General Maxwell reviewed the Second and Third Regiments, and their appearance, their drill and discipline, met his strong approbation.

Colonel Spencer's Jersey Regiment, during this time, had been doing good service with tin; Second New York Regiment and the-First New Hampshire Regiment, in cutting a wide road to Wyoming and in improving the bridges. (In the last day of May, General Sullivan returned his thanks in general orders to these regiments for their " unparalleled exertions in clearing and repairing lire road to Wyoming." On the 7th day of June, they left Locust

Hill camp and passed on to a valley called the Shades of Death ; on the j 2th instant, to Bullox' farm, and reached Wyoming on June 14th).

Captain Giles Mead's Company of the First Regiment, with the horses and baggage of the brigade, and the convalescent sick under charge of Surgeon's Mate Jacob Harris, left Easton at noon of June 9th, and reached Wyoming June 12th. They found their regiment snugly camped in huts made of bushes, on the banks of the Susquehanna river. The Second and Third Regiments were still at Easton. On June 14th, they had the pleasure of seeing Lady Washington arrive in the town, and the next morning Generals Sullivan and Maxwell accompanied her on horseback some nine miles, as far as Bethlehem.

At three o'clock on the morning of June 18th , (he gun fired, and within an hour the whole army which had gathered at Easton started for Wyoming, marching the first day twelve miles to Hilliard's tavern. The next day they marched through Wind Gap, in the Blue Mountains, and on Monday, June 21st, after a day of much toil over muddy roads, with many broken wagons and exhausted horses, they halted at what they called " Fatigue Camp." On the 23d of June, about twelve o'clock M., General Sullivan with his army, after a six days' march of sixty miles from the Delaware river, descended the last hill and camped in the valley of Wyoming.

This settlement, before the massacre, had been a most charming spot. It consisted, it is said, of several distinct villages containing over twelve hundred houses, some of them beautiful in their structure, and the homes of intelligent men. All this had been ruined by the hand of the merciless savage, and deep and loud was the cry for revenge when the soldiers saw the ruins of this paradise in the wilderness.

On the 24th of June, Colonel Ogden's Regiment was ordered to march down the river thirty miles, to Fort Jenkins, to guard the boats with provisions there and convoy them to Wyoming. They marched to Shawnee Flats, a ruined town, that night, and the next evening encamped on the river bank in sight of a stockade fort, built on high ground. This fort was garrisoned by one hundred men under Captain Abraham G. Claypool, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. The only armament of the fort was a cochorn mortar. At eight o'clock on Saturday, June 26th, the regiment left Fort Jenkins in charge of sixty provision boats for the army. They had great difficulty in getting them over the Nescopeck Falls, being detained all day in drawing them up one by one with ropes. On Monday they got them over Nantecoke Falls, and rested on Shawnee Flats that night, only four miles from Wyoming. In the early part of the next morning, the First Regiment completed this tour of duty, and found the commissary depot at Wyoming with scarcely a day's ration in store. General Maxwell ordered all the fire-locks of his brigade to be thoroughly cleaned June 30th. The next afternoon the whole army witnessed the execution of Michael Roseburgh, of Phillipsburg, New Jersey, who had been condemned by a court-martial at Easton, over which General Maxwell presided, for enticing soldiers to desert to the enemy.

On July 2nd, Colonel Charles Armand's Independent Corps, which had been stationed at Wyoming for some time, was ordered to report to General Washington at New Windsor, New York and Lieutenant-Colonel David Brearley, of the First Regiment, having been chosen Chief Justice of New Jersey, June 10th, accompanied them. He opened court in Freehold, New Jersey, July 27th.

A complete muster of General Maxwell's Brigade took place July 3rd. In the evening of that day, the officers all met at the tents of their respective regimental commanders and drank toasts to the health of their sweet hearts and their wives.

On Sunday, Independence Day, the Rev. Andrew Hunter, Chaplain of the New Jersey Brigade, preached to the troops—Thirty boats were also sent down the river for provisions. On Monday evening parade, the promotion of Captain John Hollinshead, of the Second Regiment, to be Major of the Third Regiment, was announced to the brigade.

On the next Friday, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley's Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment arrived with forty-three boat-loads of stores. But even this was insufficient, and a party was made up from the Second New Jersey Regiment, with Captain John N. Cumming in command, and First Lieutenant Luther Halsey and Second Lieutenant John Peck accompanying him, to go down the river one hundred and twenty miles, and bring up another lot of provision boats. On the 13th instant, Lieutenant-Colonel John Conway, of the Third New Jersey Regiment, started out some few miles from Wyoming to endeavor to bring to battle some Indians who had been annoying the camp for several days.

On the 17th day of July, General Sullivan received the New Jersey officers at his tent, and they partook of his hospitality. On July 20th, Captain Nathaniel Bowman, of the First Regiment, brought to camp two hundred and seventy head of cattle, and three hundred boats came up with provisions from Sunbury. This very day the stealthy Indian was devastating the lovely village of Minisink, in Orange county, New York, and in the fight which followed was carrying death among the best families of that beautiful region.

On July 21st, eight hundred cattle, five hundred horses and a large number of wagons arrived, and all the stores for the Jersey troops reached their camp, Captain Aaron Ogden, Aide-de-camp to General Sullivan, being in charge. Clothing was still but poorly supplied, and Sullivan, in one of his letters this day, said that more than one-third of his men had no shirts. The next day

the Second Jersey Regiment made its second visit to Shawnee Flats, to bring up more of the boats which were now overdue. They arrived on Saturday, one hundred and twelve in number, under the guard of Captain Cumming's party. Thirty guns were fired on their arrival at camp.

On the morning of July 20th, the remains of Captain Joseph Davis, of the new Eleventh Pennsylvania Continental Regiment, and Second Lieutenant William Jones, of Captain Alien McLane's Partisan Company, Delaware Line, (then assigned to duty with the new Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment,) who had been killed by the Indians on the 23rd of April, were again properly interred with masonic ceremonies. The recital of the brutal murder of these men by the prowling savages greatly affected the army.

They had now arrived at the end of their long six weeks' delay in gathering clothing, stores, horses, cattle and ammunition for their perilous march into an unknown and hostile country. Two hundred and fourteen boats had been retained, four hundred and fifty boatmen had been enrolled, and two hundred and fifty soldiers detailed to attend particularly to keeping up the supplies for the army. The full strength of the army, of every rank and grade, is now estimated to have been two thousand five hundred and thirty nine men.

It appears that the authorities of the Board of War thought Sullivan asked for more supplies than were necessary, but the cattle he received were poor, the meats, packed in barrels of green timber, were some of them spoiled, and he thought it all-important to carry with him such commissary supplies as would serve the men to the last extremity. Even now he felt in issuing marching orders that he was doing a hazardous thing.

This delay, although seemingly annoying, brought the corn to such a condition that its destruction just before harvest made it more severely felt. It also allowed Colonel Brodhead to start up the Allegheny river, so as to create a diversion in favor of Sulli-

van's column. May not this delay have been part of the very plan of Washington ? These weeks at Wyoming were certainly well improved by General Sullivan, for by daily drills he was enabled to embody a compact and well-disciplined force, which proved itself efficient from the very hour of its advance.

The last day of July arrived, and the order to march had been announced, and soon after noon the guns at the fort fired thirteen times. Colonel Procter's guns on the fleet of boats responded, and the army started out on its mission of destruction into the country of the Senecas and Cayugas. Colonel Zebulon Butler, with eight officers and one hundred men, was left at Wyoming as a guard, and instructed to gather and forward supplies.

General Hand with his troops, equipped in light marching order, took the advance of nearly a mile. About twelve hundred horses were behind him, laden with flour and provisions, then seven hundred cattle followed. On the right flank were General Maxwell's Jerseymen, and on the left Poor's Brigade. A regiment of the New Jersey Brigade was the rear guard, relieved, from time to time, by a regiment of the New Hampshire Continentals. Captain William Gifford, of the Third New Jersey Regiment, took his company up the west side of the river, to prevent the surprise of the army from that direction, and he was accompanied on the river by four boats to rescue him if attacked by too large a party, he was not molested.

The column advanced that day ten miles, and camped on the upper bank of the Lackawanna river in the midst of a severe rain storm. It was not until three o'clock in the afternoon of the next day that the army started, and although fine camping-ground was found by the advance at Quailutimack, soon after sunset, the entire force did not reach there until the morning of August 2nd. The passage over a mountainous country during the night caused much annoyance and the loss of considerable flour, which fell from the

loaded horses. The boats, too, had great trouble in ascending the numerous falls, so that it was not until Tuesday, August 3d, that they marched another twelve miles to Tunkhanna. On Wednesday the soldiers had a fatiguing march through Walnut Bottom, over Indian Hill, and suffering greatly with the heat, until they reached Van der Lippe's farm. The next day they had a march of like character, all day, through tangled groves of enormous button wood and black walnut, six to nine feet in diameter, until they arrived at the beautiful Moravian village of sixty houses called Wyalusing. This is now in Bradford county. It was situated on a perfectly flat tract of land of twelve hundred acres, very rich and covered with tall blue grass. After this day's toil, Sergeant Martin Johnson of Captain John Hollinshead's Company, Second New Jersey Regiment, died very suddenly in camp. It rained that night fearfully, and General Sullivan, overcome with anxiety and labor, was taken very ill.

The next morning, because of Sullivan's sickness, General Maxwell issued his orders assuming temporary command of the expedition, and this position he retained about a week. Colonel Ellias Dayton, of the Third Regiment, the ranking officer, took charge of the Jersey Continentals. On Sunday, August 18th, the army moved at five o'clock A. M., General Sullivan being carried by boat to Standing Stone, ten miles. General Hand's Brigade went to Wysox creek, three miles beyond. Next day, the column passed through a narrow foot path over Break Neck Hill, losing many pack-horses and cattle. The First New Jersey Regiment reached Queen Esther's Flats at four o'clock P.M., a few miles only from Tioga, being without provisions, and the men suffering greatly with hunger and with the discomfort caused by continual rains. The main army marched to Sheshequin, Colonel Spencer's men guarding the rear column. Colonel Procter, by direct command of General Maxwell, here lit the first avenging torch, and burned a small abandoned Indian town called Newtychanning.

On Tuesday, the Third New Jersey Regiment was pushed forward to Tioga, and the First Regiment went out about noon on a *reconnaissance*. The whole army then, with the greatest difficulty, forded the Susquehanna river, which was very rapid and somewhat deep at this place. The Second New Jersey Regiment and the Second New York Regiment covered the passage of the army in the stream, as the men marched all linked together, to keep each other from drowning. They then passed over Tioga Plain, near the spot where stood what was called Queen Esther's palace, destroyed by Colonel Hartley the previous year. This infamous woman figured in the dreadful massacres of 1778. Her acts of inhuman butchery, as fully described in the history of those events, brand her name with eternal infamy. At seven o'clock P. M., Captain John N. Gunning, Second New Jersey Regiment, Captain John Franklin, of the Wyoming Militia Company, and Lieutenant John Jenkins, of Captain Spalding's Wyoming Company, the guide to the expedition, with five soldiers, set out to *reconnoiter* the village of Chemung, where some armed opposition was expected. The army camped that night on a point of land between the Seneca and Tioga branches.

Captain Gunning and his party reported, about three o'clock in the afternoon of August 12th, that the Indians were in great confusion in and about Chemung, and evidently preparing to move off. It was determined by General Sullivan, who now was able to assume command, to march immediately with the army, and this was done, about sunset. The same order of march was preserved of Hand's Light Corps on the advance, Poor's Brigade on the right, Maxwell's Jerseymen on the left of the column. All the sick men were left behind at Tioga, and some of Colonel Ogden's New Jersey Regiment remained to protect them and to build two blockhouses with picket protections, according to the instructions given by General Washington in his letter of May 31st, 1779. All the

tents of the army were left standing, with all the baggage of the expedition. It appears that, the different brigades, during the intensely dark night that followed, were somewhat scattered, and General Hand's party got off on the wrong route. The Jersey Brigade entered Old Chemung at sunrise the next day, but found it deserted and they destroyed it. General Hand's men pressed on in the Indian path, and started up a party of forty savages in ambuscade and charged them with the bayonet. They soon fled, but they killed six of Hand's soldiers and wounded nine others, among whom were Captain Andrew Walker, Captain Henry Carbery, and Lieutenant and Adjutant William Huston, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment.

The village of New Chemung, consisting of fifty huts, was the next town burned, and the Second New Jersey Regiment, crossing the Tioga river, although fired upon, destroyed four large cornfields with more than one thousand bushels of corn. This being completed, the army returned, very weary, to their Tioga camp, after forty miles digression and twenty-four hours constant duty. On Sunday afternoon, August 15th, the Second New Jersey Regiment, under Colonel Shreve, was sent out to stir up a party of Indians who were hovering around the camp and doing some damage, but they fled on the near approach of the troops. On Monday morning nine hundred men of General Poor's and General Hand's Brigades left the camp to meet General Clinton's command, which had been expected for more than a week, and it was feared had met with some mishap from the savages. Lieutenant-Colonel Hubley now assumed command of the advance corps of the main army. On Wednesday, August 18th, Poor's detachment heard Clinton's evening gun, fired regardless of the prowling Indians. The next morning the party joined them, and they all reported to General Sullivan, at Tioga,

about ten o'clock, August 22d, with bands playing and a salute from the artillery. This made an additional force to the grand army of sixteen hundred men, with a quantity of stores and two hundred and ten boats.

Brigadier-General James Clinton's brigade consisted of:

Third New York Regiment, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Jr.

Fourth New York Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Baron Frederick Von Weissenfels.

Fifth New York Regiment, Colonel Lewis Dubois.

Sixth Massachusetts Bay Regiment, Major Daniel Whiting.

Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler.

Battalion of six companies of Morgan's Riflemen, Major James Parr.

An independent command of volunteers, Colonel John Harper, of New York.

A new arrangement of the army was now made. Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment was now assigned to General Clinton's brigade; Colonel Ichabod Alden's Sixth Massachusetts Bay Regiment, Major Whiting in command, was transferred to General Poor's brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler's Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and Major James Parr's Riflemen to General Hand's Light Corps. Two hundred picked men, under the command of Colonel Matthias Ogden, of the First New Jersey, were selected as the left flanking party.

An unfortunate accident with a loaded gun caused the death just at this time of a splendid officer of the First New Hampshire Regiment, Captain Benjamin Kimball, Paymaster of the Regiment. The next day, under the orders of General Sullivan, Colonel Israel Shreve, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, took command of the fort which had been erected at Tioga, called Fort Sullivan. Two hundred and fifty men were left with him

to protect the invalids in hospital, the baggage and (lie stoics. lie had two six-pounders in the four blockhouses which constituted the fort. General Sullivan selected one of his most reliable officers for this important post, when he entrusted its safety to the brave and sturdy Colonel Shreve.

For nearly a week the army had been annoyed with heavy and unceasing rain, and it was not until two o'clock in the afternoon of August 26th that the column marched away from Tioga. Three Oneida Indians now went with them as guides. They made but four miles the first day, and camped at Tioga flats on the border of Cayuga creek. The next day they marched only six miles. The path was full of difficult passes, where cannon and wagons could be taken through only with the greatest labor. The army here lost a large quantity of commissary supplies. The Jersey brigade, instead of going over the mountains, forded the river twice, and closed the day with burning one hundred acres of corn. On Saturday, August 28th, the army went through the same experience, climbing mountains, fording streams, losing stores, horses being drowned, ammunition wagons destroyed. That night they discovered that the Indians were near them, and they kept a very watchful guard.

About eleven o'clock on Sunday, August 29th1, while the army was on the march, Major James Parr, of the Rifle Battalion, discovered the Indian force in ambush in his front, on a bend of the Chemung river. He was fired upon and immediately began to feel for the position of the foe. He soon found that they had erected a breastwork of logs, concealed by small saplings, and about half a mile in extent, from the mountain to what is now called Baldwin's creek. The whole army immediately halted and General Sullivan called a council of war. A plan of attack was soon decided on. General Poor was directed to march his brigade secretly about three miles around the mountain and get in on the

left flank and rear of the enemy. General Clinton's brigade was then directed in the same quiet way to follow, and if necessary to support the advance of Poor's troops. General Hand's brigade was pushed tip to the front to sustain the artillery. General Maxwell's men were held in reserve to support Hand's light corps. Colonel Matthias Ogden took his Jersey party of picked men to the extreme left of Sullivan's line. The artillery opened slowly, firing with shell and round shot on the breastwork, so as to divert the attention of the Indians and the Tories from the more important movement of Poor then being executed. The firing of the howitzers annoyed the foe terribly, for it was an arm they had not been accustomed to. Sullivan called it an "elegant cannonade," and it certainly produced a panic. Several times General Hand's men received the fierce sallies of the savages and as often drove them back to their ambush with a galling fire. But it was not long before the hostile Indians discovered the New Hampshire soldiers on their flank, and on their attempting to ascend the mountain they were greeted with a severe fire and hideous yells. The mountain seemed full of savages, but Poor's men did not heed them, and they dashed up under a raking fire. The Indians, as soon as they discovered that their plans had surely failed, fled rapidly, leaving a large quantity of blankets, packs, tomahawks, and much plunder. General Hand's troops followed them, rapidly, some two miles. Twelve Indians were left dead on the field; their wounded had all been carried away. The Continental Army had five killed and thirty-two wounded, among the latter being Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber, of New Jersey, Adjutant-General of General Sullivan, Major Benjamin Titcomb and Captain Elijah Hayes, both of the Second New Hampshire Regiment, and Lieutenant Nathaniel McCauley, of the First New Hampshire Regiment. The Captain and Lieutenant died next day. The hostile force, it appears, consisted of about four hundred Tories

under Sir John Johnson, Colonel John Butler and his son, Captain Walter N. Butler, with about one thousand Indians under Joseph Brant. This engagement is recorded in history as the battle of Newtown, and it took place on what is now the site of the city of Elmira, New York. On the evening of the fight, four towns in the vicinity of the battle-field were destroyed.

On Monday, the 30th inst., all the wounded men, with (our of the heavy guns, were sent in boats to Tioga, and the army buried its dead. Sullivan's army had now, with the advance column, four brass three-pounders and a small howitzer. The commander of the expedition, in orders read at the head of each regiment, returned thanks to his soldiers for the signal victory which they had gained in the fight. He also suggested to the men that hereafter there be issued but a half ration of beef and of flour and of spirits, instead of the full ration to which they were entitled. No opposition from a single officer or soldier was made to this action,-and it was adopted as the rule of the commissary department for twenty-five days thereafter. General Sullivan promised that if they would thus eke out their rations, the commutation value thereof should be paid them. The First Jersey Regiment was sent out to look for the dead Indians of the fight, and for live Indians skulking near the crimp. The rest of the army begun a total destruction of the corn-fields, the beans, potatoes, turnips and other vegetables with which this section of the country abounded.

On Tuesday the army broke camp and advanced ten miles up the Chemung river, over a mountainous district. Two towns, called Middletown and Kanawlohalla, were then burned. Colonel Dayton, with the Third New Jersey Regiment and a detachment of riflemen, were sent forward to follow up an Indian trail. They followed it several miles, but failed to strike the enemy. Colonel Dayton could only add to the number of the burning towns and burning fields. He destroyed Runonvea, near Big Flats.

The next morning, September 1st, Colonel Dayton and his party returned to camp, and at nine o'clock A. M. the army marched to Sheoquaga, or Catharine's Town, about thirteen miles.

This day's march was a terrible one to the men. High mountains had to be ascended, thick underbrush had to be passed through, deep swamps, with mud and mire to the knees, had to be waded across. Six miles of this swamp-land was strewn at night with the provisions and the baggage of an army. Indeed, the pack-horses were plunging through this swamp the most of the night, and Clinton's brigade, in charge of them, did not report until the next morning. Strange, indeed, that the Indians did not take advantage of this terrible march to punish the Continentals. The men were weary with that day's march, and they were glad enough to get to old Catharine's Town, the first village of the Seneca nation, and only abandoned the previous day. It took all the following day to collect the horses scattered on the weary march and the stores which had fallen by the wayside.

A march of twelve miles, from nine in the morning until five o'clock in the afternoon, was made on Friday, September 31st and a camp was formed in the woods on the north side of Seneca Lake. Lieutenant-Colonel William S. Smith, of Spencer's Regiment, was detailed with a party to reconnoiter the vicinity for the foe before the nightfall. Although they had certainly been in the neighborhood a few hours previous, none were now discovered. It was nearly noon the next day when the army commenced the march of thirteen miles northward, through two narrow defiles, to Condawhaw, a small Indian town. It was destroyed.

On Sunday, September 51)1, they camped in Kendaia, or Apple-town, a village of thirty well-built houses on the east side of the lake. This was a very old and substantial town, and built on high ground. The army was this evening ordered to discharge their firelocks and to reload. The fusilade occasioned by this order had a very singular effect, accompanied as it was with the burning of the town.

On Monday, Major John Hollinshead, of the Third New Jersey Regiment, and Lieutenant William Barton, of the First Regiment, set out with a party to collect the horses and cattle, which had strayed away in the woods during the night. The pea-vines which covered the country attracted the animals, and they had wandered off for food. A three-mile march to what is known as Indian Hollow was all that could be made that day by the troops.

On Tuesday, September 7th, Sullivan's men marched twelve miles to Kandaseaga, near the present city of Geneva. This place was also called Seneca Castle, being one of the principal settlements of the tribe, and containing the capitol-house of the Six Nations. There were sixty good houses here, the remains of a blockhouse built in 1756 by Sir William Johnson during the French War, and with some thirty houses in the immediate vicinity, surrounded with large orchards of the peach and apple, with gardens well supplied with ripe vegetables, with abundance of corn and melons and beans and potatoes. No defense of this beautiful village was made, and it was burned. It was useless, the Indians thought, to resist the determined pressure of the Continental soldiery into the very heart of their country.

Three detachments were sent out to destroy towns the next day. Colonel John Harper commanded one, and he marched ten miles and burned Scawyc, eighteen buildings, now called Waterloo, at that time an important settlement of the Cayuga tribe. Another party Lieutenant Colonel William S. Smith, of Spencer's Regiment, commanded, and he burned a village on the west side of the lake. Major James Parr and his riflemen burned Gothseungquean, village its twenty huts, located on the side of Keishong creek. Meanwhile the rest of the army was quiet in camp.

The early morning of September 9th witnessed the torch applied to the Castle town and the reduction of the place to blackened ruins. This accomplished, the day's march of eight miles com-

menced, leading through a black-ash swamp, damaging again to the horses and to the artillery and the stores. Before, however, the swamp was entered, Captain John Reed, of Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, with fifty men, was detailed to return to Kanawlohalla with the invalids and all the horses unable to carry their packs. The army, except General Clinton's Brigade, crossed Flint creek that evening and encamped on high ground.

On Friday, September 10th, after passing through another swamp, they crossed the outlet of Genesee Lake to Kanandaigua, a neat village of thirty huts, which before dark was totally destroyed. The Jersey Brigade left there at five o'clock in the morning of the next day, the main army about two hours afterward, and, taking a westerly course, they marched fourteen miles to Hanneyaye. A fine soldier, named Hugh McCabe, of Captain Gifford's Company, of the Third New Jersey Regiment, died here September 11th, from fever and exhaustion. Here a garrison of fifty effective men, under Captain John N. Dimming, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, was left. They gave him in charge, as one journal says, of "the lame and the lazy," in all about three hundred men, with all the supernumerary baggage, some provisions, horses and cattle, and one field-piece. It was now General Sullivan's purpose to lighten his troops and make a final quick dash into the enemy's country. Captain Gunning was the right man to leave at such an important post. He was an officer of great personal bravery, soldierly in appearance, self-reliant, quick and fertile in expedients, and thoroughly true to the American cause. He was a patriot soldier from the first hour of the war to its very close.

The army marched at a late hour on Sunday, September 12th, delayed by a storm, with severe thunder and lightning. They marched twelve miles and camped in the woods two miles from the abandoned village of Kanaghsaws.

About midnight a party, consisting of First Lieutenant Thomas Boyd, of First Pennsylvania Regiment, now on duty with Forth Pennsylvania Regiment, with Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, and Hanyerry, an Oneida Indian, as guides, and a party of soldiers, in all twenty-six men, started out to reconnoiter some neighboring Indian villages, especially Gathsegwarohare, a town of twenty-five huts on Cana-sernga creek and seven miles from Sullivan's camp. Lieutenant Boyd the next day discovered some Indians. He gave chase, was lured into the enemy's lines, and found himself surrounded by Butler's Tory army. The fight which ensued was a stubborn contest, in which three Indians were killed and Boyd lost his Oneida guide and fourteen of his riflemen. The Lieutenant and Corporal Michael Parker were made prisoners. They were taken to Little Beardstown and tortured and slain. The rest of the party escaped, including Jehoiakim, the Stockbridge Indian, and they told the sad tale of the fate of their comrades.

On the Tuesday following, the bodies of Boyd and Parker were found, showing that they had been tied and whipped, their nails torn out, tongues and noses cut off, eyes plucked out, part of their bodies , skinned, pierced with darts and beheaded. They were interred with full military honors.

On Monday, September 14th , the light troops had marched quickly to what they hoped was the relief of Lieutenant Boyd and his men, but the enemy had gone in a hasty manner, leaving seventy of their packs. The army camped that night at Adjutoa. They found much plunder in this town. Captain Benjamin Lodge, the surveyor of the army, was here engaged in rebuilding a bridge over a creek, which the hostiles had destroyed. The Indians fired on him in the act. At noon the whole army were in marching order, and after crossing a small creek they entered a magnificent plain of some fifteen thousand acres on Genesee river, and at night reached Genesee Castle, capital of the Seneca nation. This was a

beautiful town of about one hundred and thirty-five houses. The centre of the wigwams was the grand council-house, built of dressed logs, two stories in height, and the ends of the building colored a brilliant red. A party of two thousand men was here detailed, at sunset, to destroy corn in the fields along the river. They worked at it until midnight.

The next day the whole army, except the guards, took up the torch, and between the burning and throwing into the river it was estimated that over twenty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed. The town was burned at three o'clock in the afternoon.

General Sullivan then issued his orders to his brave and resolute army, informing them that the immediate objects of the expedition had been accomplished, that many Indian settlements had been ruined, and crops destroyed—crops which were intended for the support of the inhuman barbarians and those who were desolating the frontiers of America—and that this day the army should commence its return march to Tioga.

Just as the army was about-to start, John Du Croy, a fine soldier of Captain Cumming's Company in the Second New jersey Regiment, died from the effect of fatigue and the illness which resulted. Reports readied the camp here that the Indians were in great confusion and many eager for pence. The army, not having the supplies necessary to penetrate lo the post at Niagara, then faced about, recrossed the Genesee river, and camped on the Genesee flats, they marched the next day in the old tracks to Kanaghsaws, detachments continually going out from the main column in search of corn-fields fit for destruction.

On the 17th, Friday, starting at sunrise, the army reached Hanneyaye, and the full ration of flour, of beef and of spirits, of which they had so long been deprived, was again served. Captain Cumming and his party were found all safe in a complete blockhouse which the little garrison had erected and had named Fort

Cumming. On Saturday the troops marched In Kanandaigua, meeting three friendly Oneida Indians, who were greatly rejoiced over the defeat of the Senecas. Sunday's inarch was to Kandaseaga, the present site of Geneva.

On Monday, September 20th, a detachment of five hundred men, including Major James Parr's Rifle Battalion, was sent out under command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Butler, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, to move up on the east side of Cayuga Lake and destroy the settlements of the Cayugas. Colonel Peter Gansevoort of Third New York Regiment, was also detached with one hundred men to Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk river. Another party, under Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dearborn, of Third New Hampshire, with about two hundred men, were ordered to move up on the west side of Cayuga Lake. Lieutenant-Colonel William S. Smith, of Spencer's New Jersey Regiment, with two hundred men, was sent about ten miles to burn towns on the west side of Seneca Lake.

A march of thirteen miles was made by the main army on Tuesday, September 21st to a camp on the east side of Seneca lake. On Wednesday thirteen miles were passed over, and on Thursday at noon the army rested in the valley a few miles from French Catharine's. At this place one hundred horses died, and this fact gave a name to the place, "The Valley of Horseheads."

An advance party started out at sunrise the next day to repair a road through the big swamp, and when it was finished the army marched on to Kanawlohalla, where a garrison had been left, and where Fort Reed had been built by them. A salute of thirteen guns and welcome cheers greeted the approach of the fatigued troops. They found a quantity of provisions had been brought up in boats from Tioga, twenty-three miles below. This food was greatly needed and much relished.

Just before sunrise Saturday, September 25th, the army was all

supplied with blank cartridge, and when they were paraded, a *feu de joie*, with thirteen-cannon accompaniment, was fired. Cheers were given for Congress, for the United States, for the King of Spain, who had just declared war on Britain. An ox was killed, twenty-five gallons of rum issued to the officers, and the feast, with toasts and dancing, lasted all the night. The detachment of Lieutenant-Colonel Dearborn came in quite late on Sunday, reporting that they had destroyed five towns and a fine plantation belonging to Hendrick Markle, a Tory.

Two detachments for destruction started on Monday—one under Lieutenant-Colonel William D'Hart, of the Second New Jersey Regiment, on the south side of the Cayuga river, and the other under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, Second New York Regiment, on the north side. They returned in the evening with much ripe corn and vegetables, after doing all the damage in their power. On Tuesday, Colonel Elias Dayton, with a part of the Jersey Brigade, went on the west side of the Tioga river to burn three hundred acres of corn. Lieutenant-Colonel Butler returned from Cayuga Lake with his detachment, reporting five towns and a large quantity of food destroyed. Lieutenant-Colonel Dearborn reported that he had burned six Indian villages.

The army left Fort Reed Wednesday, September 29th, and camped that night three miles below Chemung, where they were joined by Colonel Dayton's command at nine o'clock in the evening, he having made a successful tour of duty.

On Thursday a forward movement was made at nine o'clock, and at five o'clock they heard the cannon sounding from Fort Sullivan at Tioga. The army camped that night on the old ground. General Sullivan wrote a report of the expedition to Congress, from Tioga, dating it September 30th, and showing how carefully and exactly he had carried out the orders of General Washington. Colonel Israel Shreve, the Jersey commander of the

post at Tioga, gave the general and field officers of the army an elegant dinner that evening. Colonel Procter's band playing without the marquee. The account of the jollification that night, as given in the journals, is very amusing. The soldiers' uniforms, torn by constant traveling through tangled bushes, their heads powdered with flour and faces daubed with paint, made a scene of hilarity which never was forgotten by its participants.

On Saturday night General Sullivan returned Colonel Shreve's courtesy. The officers dined with him, and a masquerade dance, led by a young Oneida sachem, followed. On Sunday Colonel Shreve assumed command of his old regiment, the garrison of Fort Sullivan returned to their respective organizations, and the fort was destroyed.

At nine o'clock on Monday, October 4th, the army set out for Wyoming, recrossing Tioga branch and the Susquehanna river. The following day they were ordered to enter the boats, and so go down the river. A party commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel William D'Hart, and with him Major John Hollinshead, Captain John N. Cumming, Captain Richard Cox, Captain Jeremiah Bellard, Lieutenant John Blair and Lieutenant Samuel M. Shute, all of the New Jersey Brigade, took charge of the marching men, with the horses and cattle. The boats with the soldiers reached Wyoming on October 7th, at ten A. M., and the Jersey officers and men at three in the afternoon. The New Jersey troops and Procter's men, who seem during the whole campaign to have been constant associates and friends, had a great feast that evening. Colonel Zebulon Butler also entertained them, on the evening of October 8th, in a most sumptuous manner.

On Sunday, October 10th, the army left Wyoming at sunrise, Clinton's and Poor's brigades on the advance, and Maxwell's Brigade with Hand's riflemen guarding the wagons moving slowly in the rear. The several days' journeys thereafter were to Shades

of Death, White Oak Run, Brinker's Mills, Milliard's Tavern, arriving at Easton on Friday, October 15th.

The next morning the New Jersey Brigade, through a committee, sent the following letter to the commander of the expedition :

EASTON, October 16th, 1779.

Sir :

We, the general and field officers of the Jersey Brigade (in their behalf), beg leave to offer your Honour the just tribute of our grateful applause for your polite attention to your officers and your unwearied and indefatigable endeavors to serve your country and your army during your command on the Western Expedition.

We are filled with the most agreeable sensations when we reflect on the important success of this part of the American Army, and the harmony and universal satisfaction that subsisted in it, which, we are convinced, was owing in a great degree to your impartiality and superior abilities. We have the pleasure to assure your Honour that not only the officers, but the soldiers, *unanimously* approve of your conduct during your present command, and they trust it will be the same in future, whenever they shall have that honour.

We are, with the greatest respect and esteem,

Sir, Your most obedient servants,

WM. MAXWELL, B. Gen.

I. Shreve, Col.

OLIVER SPENCER, Col.

WM. S. SMITH, Lt. Col.

WM. D'HART, Lt. Col.

JOHN CONWAY, Lt. Col.

DANIEL PIATT, Major.

JOHN ROSS, Major.

The Honorable John Sullivan, Esq., Major-General and Com-mander-in-Chief of the Western Army.

To this letter the General made this reply :

Gentlemen:

Your very affectionate and pleasing address demands my most sincere and cordial acknowledgments. My constant study has been to show that equal attention to my officers and that impartial care to the soldiers of the Western Army which the situation of our affairs would admit. Your testimony of my having been happy enough to convince not only yourselves, but the soldiers whom you command, of the rectitude of my intentions, cannot fail to afford me the most pleasing sensation.

The harmony which subsisted in the Western Army, amidst the innumerable difficulties it had to encounter, afforded me the highest pleasure; and though I cannot reproach myself with any neglect in cultivating it, That am in justice bound to acknowledge that it was more owing to that steady and persevering virtue which animated both officers and soldiers, than to any efforts I was able to make.

Should I be honoured with the command of your brigade, after my arrival at headquarters, permit me to assure you that there are no officers to whom I feel a greater attachment, or soldiers in whom I can place greater confidence.

Gentlemen, I am, with the greatest regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

On the 17th inst., on Sunday morning, the New Jersey Brigade was mustered, as we find by the official reports. A copy this muster I have added to this paper.

It is quite amusing, and in strong contrast to its present well-known hospitality, to note the fact that the inhabitants of Easton, when they heard of the approach of the Western Army, and were assured, from rumor, that these half starved and ragged men would be ready to pay the highest prices for clothing, for food and for drink, marked up their price-list, and the Jersey Brigade, with

solemn resolve, determined not to buy a single article in the town. On October 21st , General Clinton's Brigade crossed the Delaware river into New Jersey, and General Poor's Brigade on the 23^d inst. General Maxwell's Brigade, with General Hand's riflemen, crossed on October 26th . The Jersey Brigade camped at Oxford the next evening, and marched thence to Sussex Court-House, to Warrick, Pompton, Morristown, Springfield, Scotch Plains, where they arrived on Friday, November 5th. General Washington was at this time at his headquarters at West Point, but within two weeks thereafter he determined to place the main body of his army in the neighborhood of Scotch Plains, New Jersey, and on December 7th we find him at Morristown. The terrible winter of 1779 -80 followed, and the Jersey troops ended the year of toil and distress from heat in the wilds of Pennsylvania, with intense suffering from the cold of that fearful winter.

The Continental Congress passed a vote of thanks, October 14th , 1779, "to Major-General Sullivan and the brave officers and soldiers under his command, for effectually executing an important expedition against such of the Indian nations as, encouraged by the councils and conducted by the officers of his Britannic Majesty, had perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against the United States." They also recommended the several States to appoint Thursday, December 9th , to be a day of public and solemn thanksgiving.

General Washington, in general orders from West Point, October 17th , congratulated the army on Sullivan's success, and said that the "whole of the soldiery engaged in the expedition merit and have the Commander-in-Chief's warmest acknowledgment for their important services upon this occasion."

The object of the expedition, as has been said, was to break the great power of the confederacy of the Six Nations and to weaken

their alliance to the British Crown. They now felt the power of the white man ; they saw his coinage and determination ; they knew what his gunnery meant ; they knew that his impetuous march at any time through their country brought desolation and death. Forty of their towns had been burned, and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn had been destroyed. Colonel Butler, the Tory, compared the expedition to "the driving of a wedge into a stick of wood--nothing stopped or disturbed its motion."

It may be noted that the expedition had cost the total loss of but forty-two men killed and died, but of the fourteen hundred horses taken on the campaign, but three hundred returned.

It is also to be stated that Major-General Sullivan, soon after his return from this expedition, his health injured and his family in some financial distress fretting, too, because of the want of action in Congress in not more fully complying with his requests and his promises—resigned his commission and returned to his home. We find him, however, soon after, active in the councils of the Continental Congress, and a true patriot, ever, in all his official and private life.

Although the following year the Indians attempted to do some damage to the white man, no such severe massacres as Wyoming or Cherry Valley occurred. As Chief Justice Marshall says, "Although not fully subdued, they were intimidated. They became less terrible; their incursions less formidable, as well as less frequent." The inhuman acts of the savages had been repaid by a stern revenge—a revenge which, while regretted, was still a dire necessity. The military power had swept with (he besom of destruction their fertile fields, their ripening orchards and their homes. From that hour the bitter antagonism began, the red savage was crowded westward, and the civilization which the white man brought was seen in the productive regions of the Susquehanna,

along the valleys of the Genesee, and around the beautiful lakes of central New York. In the century since these stirring times, the conflict has existed between these opposing races—the contest between the dark deeds of barbarism and the increasing glory of civilization—but may we not hope that in the near future the light of education, of true liberty and Christianity, dissipating all that is cruel and murderous in the heart of the Indian, may bring him up to the high standard of a pure, true, noble manhood.