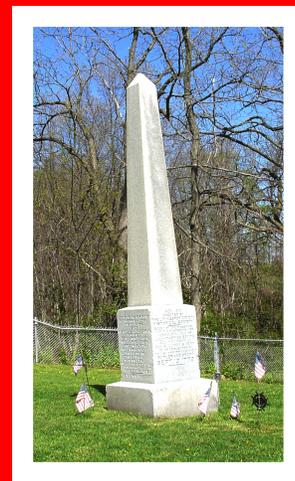


# THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR



The Impact on Livingston County, New York

# THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR



## The Impact on Livingston County, New York 1779—2004



Compiled and Edited by Amie Alden, Livingston County Historian  
with  
William & Barbara Koschara  
Thomas Roffe, Michael Tunison & Lawrence Turner

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Above: Musket demonstration at Ambuscade Park, September 12, 2004. Photo courtesy of markbrownphotography.net

THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY WAR  
The Impact on Livingston County, New York  
1779– 2004



This publication was created in honor of the  
225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign of the Revolution in Livingston County.  
Commemorative ceremonies took place in the towns of  
Conesus, Groveland and Leicester, September 11th and 12th, 2004.



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**Cover**

*Left* - Monument at Foote's Corners, Conesus  
*Top* - "The Torture Tree" at Boyd and Parker Park in Cuylerville, Town of Leicester  
*Right* - Ambuscade Monument, Groveland. Photos by of Barbara Koschara.  
*Bottom* - Thirteen star flag. Photo by William Koschara.

Book design and layout by Amie Alden  
Cover design concept by William Koschara

# DEDICATION

This book is dedicated to all who lost their lives in the  
War for American Independence  
on the ground that is now Livingston County.  
May they always be remembered and  
forever rest in peace.



Flags flying at the Ambuscade Park in Groveland in commemoration of the  
225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign, September 11 & 12, 2004.

*Photo by Larry Turner*





### Citation

**Whereas**, the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American Revolution provides our great Nation and our great State with an occasion to celebrate the courage and determination of those who fought America's War of Independence; moreover, commemorating this milestone provides a source of inspiration and pride, as our country's military forces once again engage in activities to defend freedom-loving peoples, at home and around the world; and

**Whereas**, the nine-year period from 2000 through 2009 marks the passage of two and a quarter centuries since the duration of the American Revolution; this era in history represents one during which the earliest citizens of our country acted to protect their fledgling and dearly-won liberty, and the land they claimed not only as their own, but more importantly, as self governing and sovereign of any other; and

**Whereas**, sparked by a dynamic, new democratic ideology, the Revolutionary War burst out from the flames of patriotic fervor and the willingness of brave men and women to sacrifice their lives in the name of freedom; the Revolution, in turn, gave birth to the United States, and forged the fundamental hopes and values held by the American people today; our noblest ideals and aspirations – our commitment to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to justice and equality, to law and order and constitutionalism – all that makes America the great Nation it is; and

**Whereas**, the Empire State's role as a major battleground for much of the War is well-recognized and well-documented; New York Harbor and the Hudson River/Lake Champlain Corridor were strategic prizes to be won and held; from the occupation of Manhattan by the British, through the defenses of the Hudson Highlands and Battle of Saratoga, to General Washington's moving farewell in Manhattan at the War's end, New York was the stage for some of the most decisive and climactic moments of the Revolution; and

**Whereas**, Western New York's significance in the Revolutionary conflict was critical in that it was the scene of a campaign known as "General Sullivan's March," which pushed the British back to the Niagara Frontier and removed the threat of the Iroquois raids upon the Western settlements; in the ultimate accomplishment of this necessity, the unfortunate ambush of General Sullivan's scouting party, under the command of Lt. Thomas Boyd resulted in murder, capture and torture, at the sites known as the *Ambuscade* and the *Boyd and Parker Torture Tree*, in the current Towns of Groveland and Leicester; and

**Whereas**, many of the locations hallowed in memory by their association with these remarkable events in New York have been preserved and opened to the public, and help encourage an understanding of our Nation's valorous origins, while fostering conservation of cultural, scenic and natural resources and promotion of the region's heritage; this occasion provides an opportunity to look back upon the history of the people of the United States and to visit historic landmarks that were the sites of pivotal events during the Revolutionary years, and remembered to be among the most defining moments in the birth of this State and Nation;

**Now, Therefore**, I, George E. Pataki, Governor of New York, do hereby designate, by special Citation, the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, and 14<sup>th</sup> days of September as a time for statewide commemoration

### IN SOLEMN REMEMBRANCE OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S BRAVE SCOUTING PARTY

and encourage all to join in appropriate observances that inform and inspire us, concerning the dramatic events which took place during this rich period in American history.



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'G. E. Pataki'.

Governor  
September 10, 2004

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This book is geared to a general audience with the goal of providing in an objective manner an overview of the historic events that took place in present day Livingston County during the course of the Sullivan Campaign in 1779, including summaries of subsequent commemorations and events.

# INTRODUCTION

Over the course of organizing the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Revolutionary War in Livingston County last fall, it became widely apparent that many county residents and visitors alike did not have a clear concept of the events that transpired in our area during the Sullivan Campaign. Throughout the commemoration observances I was asked repeatedly; “*What really happened here?*” and “*Why was Sullivan’s Campaign significant?*” These questions were perfectly understandable in light of the fact this perilous expedition into the Genesee Country received little overall attention in the history of the Revolutionary War. To further frustrate matters, essential primary source documents of the expedition are often contradictory. Secondary sources when available, frequently combine fact and folklore with bias, prejudice and exaggeration.

What is indisputable though based on the information available was Livingston County’s pivotal role in the war of American Independence. The majority of publications on the Revolutionary War in New York recount the battles that occurred primarily in the eastern part of the state. The mere mention of Sullivan’s journey to the Genesee Valley often results in a quizzical look even by so-called experts. This response has not deterred local historians, who by nature continually seek knowledge and clarification. More than two centuries later, research and interest has not stagnated. To the contrary, local historians are the impetus behind the momentum to bring about awareness and honor to the brave and heroic soldiers who fought in the western-most battle of the Revolution in New York State.

The purpose of this publication is to present for the general public a brief historical overview of the Sullivan Campaign and a detailed account of the remarkable events that occurred over the course of a few intense days in September of 1779, in an easy-to-follow format. Included are vintage photographs, newspaper accounts and memorabilia from the numerous observances of this notable event over the years. Brief biographies of several of the American, British and Iroquois individuals involved along with information on related events are also included.

What started out to be simply another commemorative pamphlet for the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Revolutionary War in Livingston County quickly evolved into a compilation of scattered miscellany that comprises what is arguably the most significant event in the history of Livingston County. For this reason I hope the reader will find this publication a valuable tool to spark fresh interest and to perpetuate tradition in the history of our beautiful valley.

*Amie Alden, Livingston County Historian  
June 2005*

## CHAPTER ONE

# The Sullivan Campaign of the Revolution

*The Historic Overview*

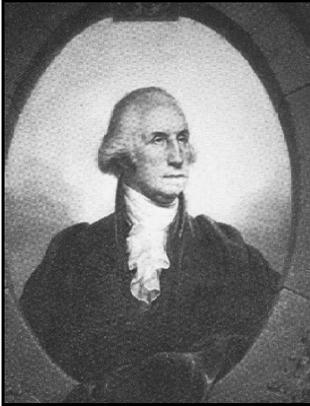


Brian Plyter and Steve Collward from Captain Selin's Independent Company of the Continental Line.  
Photo taken at Fall Brook in Geneseo, September 2004. Courtesy of David Fancher.

# Biographical Sketches

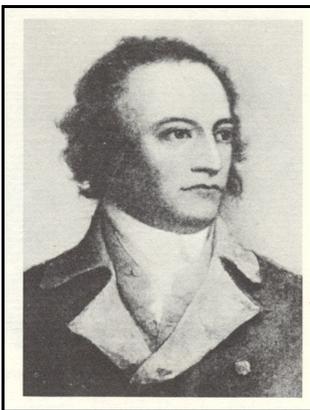
## *Important leaders involved in the Sullivan Campaign*

### **General George Washington (1732-1799)**



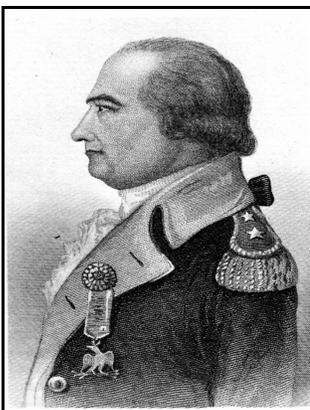
was born in Virginia and attended local schools. He engaged in land surveying and was appointed adjutant general of a military district in Virginia with the rank of major in 1752. By 1754 Washington was promoted to the rank of lieutenant colonel and served in the French and Indian war, and subsequently appointed as commander in chief of Virginia forces in 1755. He resigned his commission in December 1758 and returned to the management of his estate at Mount Vernon while also serving as a justice of the peace and as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses. In 1774 Washington was a delegate to the Williamsburg convention and served as a member of the First and Second Continental Congresses in 1774 and 1775 when he was unanimously chosen as commander in chief of all the forces raised or to be raised. Commander of the Continental armies throughout the Revolutionary War, at the end of the struggle for American independence in 1783, Washington resigned his commission and returned to private life at Mount Vernon. Unanimously elected as the first President of the United States, he was inaugurated April 30, 1789, in New York City. Washington was reelected in 1792 and served until March of 1797, when he declined a re-nomination. Appointed as lieutenant general and commander of the United States Army July 3, 1798, he served until his death on December 14, 1799, in Mount Vernon, VA., where his body is interred.\*

### **Major General John Sullivan (1740-1795)**



was appointed by General Washington in 1779 to command the expedition against the Iroquois Indians and Tories through central and western New York. Prior to the war Sullivan practiced law in his native state of New Hampshire where in 1772 he was designated a major of the state militia. In 1774–1775 Sullivan served as a delegate to the first Continental Congress. 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. General Sullivan was at Valley Forge the winter of 1778-79. Although Sullivan was highly criticized at times for some of his actions, his courage, bravery and skill were unquestioned. At the conclusion of the campaign to the Genesee Country Sullivan retired from the army in November, 1779. Subsequently he went on to hold many political positions in New Hampshire. In 1788, Sullivan became Speaker of the House of Representatives and President of the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States. In 1789, he was Presidential Elector and voted for General Washington for President of the United States. Sullivan served as President (Governor) of the state of New Hampshire for three terms before he was appointed Judge of the US District Court of New Hampshire, which office he held until his death January 23, 1795, at the age of fifty-five.\*\*

### **Brigadier General James Clinton (1736-1812)**



was a military captain in the French and Indian War and distinguished himself at the capture of Fort Frontenac. He was commissioned colonel in command of the 3rd New York Regiment in October of 1775 and participated in the attack on Quebec. The following year Clinton became 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. Clinton joined Major General John Sullivan in the campaign against the Iroquois in 1779. His occupation was that of an engineer and surveyor which enabled him to render valuable service in the passage of his army down the Susquehanna, made navigable by the erection of a dam across the outlet of Otsego Lake. Clinton was present at the siege of Yorktown in 1781, where his brigade received the surrendered British colors from the defeated Cornwallis. After the war he held several important civil positions, including service in the New York State Legislature, and as a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1801 and was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. Clinton died at Little Britain, Orange County, greatly beloved and honored, December 22, 1812. He was the brother of New York State Governor and Vice President George Clinton and father of New York State Governor DeWitt Clinton.\*\*

\*The White House, <<http://www.whitehouse.gov/history/presidents/gw1.html>>

\*\* *Sullivan Clinton Campaign 1779-1979; A Bicentennial Commemorative*. Chemung County Historical Society, Inc., Elmira, NY. pub. 1979.

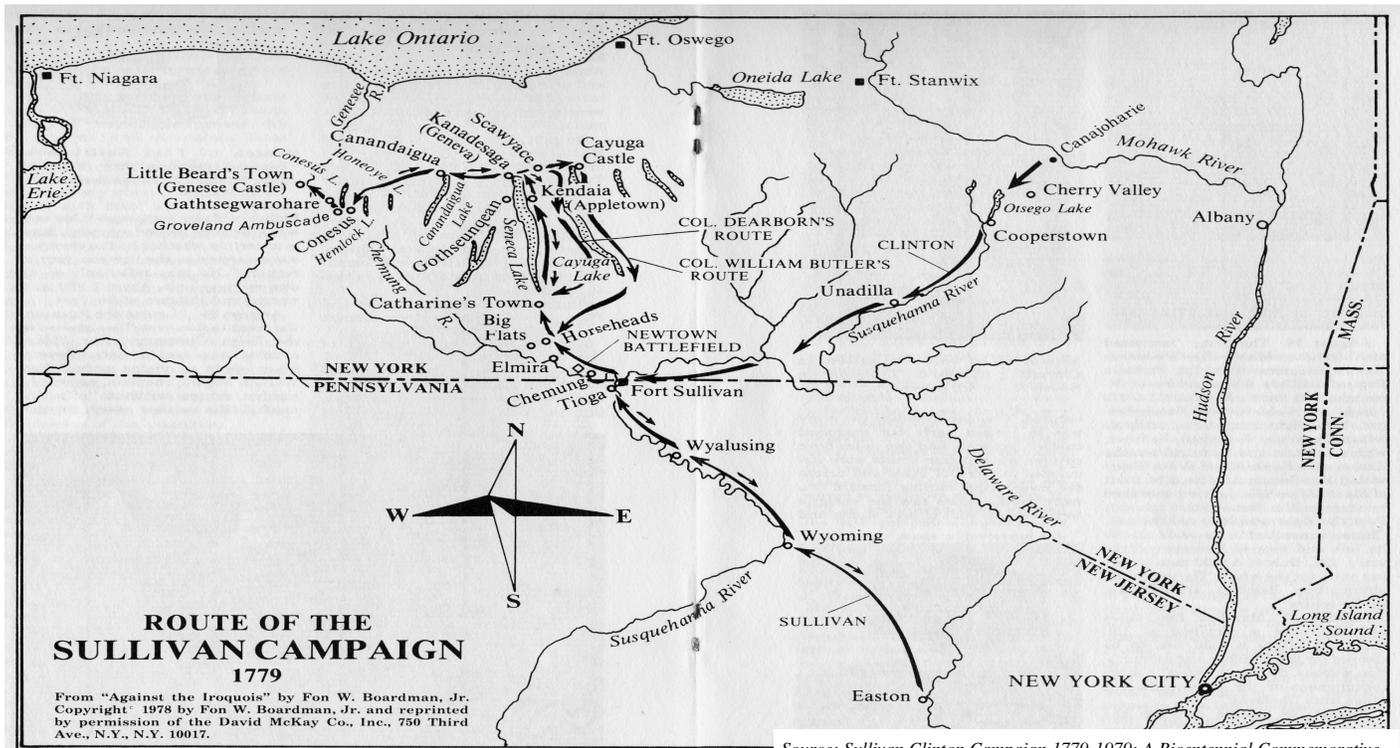
**Colonel John Butler (1728-1796)** was commander of Butler's Rangers, the famous Loyalist (Tory) battalion. Butler was born in New London, Connecticut the son of an officer in the British Army. During the French and Indian War, Butler fought for the British at the battles of Ticonderoga, Lake George, Frontenac, Niagara and Montreal. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was stationed at Fort Niagara as deputy Indian Commissioner. Butler joined St. Leger in his unsuccessful march down the Mohawk Valley. After the battle of Oriskany he recruited his battalion of Rangers to serve with Indian warriors then mounted the 1778 invasion of Wyoming Valley, PA. He was later absolved of atrocities at Wyoming. In 1779 he and Joseph Brant opposed the Sullivan expedition. In 1780 Butler was made a lieutenant colonel and joined Sir John Johnson in raids on the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys. At the end of the Revolution, Butler once again turned to farming, and became the "de facto" leader of the settlement in the Niagara Peninsula in Canada. He served as Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Department at Niagara, a Justice of the Peace, a member of the Land Board of Niagara, Lieutenant of the County of Lincoln, Commanding Officer of the Nassau and Lincoln militia, leader of the Church of England in the community, and a prominent member of the Masonic Order. Butler died at Niagara on May 12, 1796 after a long illness.\*



**Joseph Brant (1742-1807)** was born in the Ohio Valley and well known as the war chief of the Iroquois Confederacy and powerful ally of the British during the American Revolution. His Mohawk name was Thayendanegea ("he who places two bets"). In 1755 at the youthful age of 13 he accompanied Sir William Johnson's drive against the French. Brant received a formal education in Connecticut and in 1774 became secretary to Guy Johnson, the secretary of Indian Affairs. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Brant was commissioned a captain and sent to England to be presented at court as a Native American ally of the Crown. He used his influence to persuade the Iroquois to join the British side. Upon his return Brant fought as commander of a Native American contingent at the Battle of Long Island in 1776 and was with St. Leger's expedition at the Battle of Oriskany in 1777. Between 1778 and 1780 Brant led his Indian troops on raids in the Mohawk Valley, western New York, and northern Pennsylvania, warning his followers that an American victory would mean destruction for all Native Americans. Brant's later years were spent translating the New Testament and other religious documents into Mohawk and promoting Native American acceptance of the white man's ways. He died November 24, 1807 at the Grand River Reservation in Ontario, Canada.\*



\*Sullivan Clinton Campaign 1779-1799; A Bicentennial Commemorative. Chemung County Historical Society, Inc., Elmira, NY. pub. 1979.



Source: Sullivan Clinton Campaign 1779-1799; A Bicentennial Commemorative. Courtesy of Chemung County Historical Society, Inc., Elmira, NY. pub. 1979.

# THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTION

## The Historic Overview

By Michael L. Tunison

During the 1770s, a substantial part of America's population lived on the frontier, which stretched from Maine to Georgia. At the time of the Revolution, there was a constant war with the Indians along much of this frontier because most of them sided with the British. Americans fighting for freedom were forced to fight a war on two fronts: British coordinated attacks from the sea and coastal areas, and British-Tory-Indian attacks on the western frontier. The war to control New York's western frontier was important to the American revolutionary cause and a significant part of the state's history.

The Seneca Nation of Indians, once the most numerous and powerful of the Six Nations of the Iroquois, were called the "Keepers of the Western Door"<sup>1</sup> because they guarded the western boundaries of the Iroquois territory, which included the lands around Seneca Lake, west to Lake Erie. Many of their principle towns were in the fertile Genesee Valley. Little Beard's Town, or Genesee Castle, located near present-day Cuylerville, in the Town of Leicester, was one of the largest.

In the years following 1776, the Americans asked the Senecas to remain neutral in the colonists' cause for independence. But it was the British who claimed their allegiance with promises of food, shelter, spirits, weapons and clothing. Thus the Senecas joined their brothers, the Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, and fought on the side of the British and Tories. The Tuscaroras and Oneidas initially remained neutral, but later sided with the American Patriots, in part due to the influence of Samuel Kirkland, a much respected and loved missionary, who worked among them.<sup>2</sup>

In 1777, Britain attempted to divide and conquer her rebellious colonies by taking control of New York State from British held Canada. The British-Tory-Indian invasions led by General John Burgoyne and Colonel Barry St. Leger were defeated at Saratoga and driven back at Fort Stanwix,<sup>3</sup> but the British continued to maintain forts on Lake Ontario at Niagara and Oswego. The great fruit orchards and farms of the Iroquois supplied corn, dried vegetables and fruits to the British and Tories, who used these forts as storehouses and bases for continuing military attacks on Patriot settlements. Out of these British forts the Tories and their Indian allies, chiefly Senecas, spread death and terror throughout the frontier regions of New York and Pennsylvania in 1778 and 1779. Success in these raids increased the threat of attacks on the Hudson Valley region and the probability of a renewed attempt to split the colonies. British Fort Niagara on Lake Ontario was the headquarters for the Tory and Indian forces led by Colonel Guy Johnson and Colonel John Butler. Colonel Guy Johnson's brother-in-law, Sir John Johnson, along with Colonel John Butler's son, Captain Walter Butler, and Iroquois Chief Joseph Brant led many of these attacks.

**Fort Niagara** is situated at Youngstown, New York, at the mouth of the Niagara River. This vital location during colonial times controlled access to the Great Lakes, the strategic westward route into the North American heartland. In 1679 the French established a short-lived post there called Fort Conti. Its successor was Fort Denonville, existing between 1687-88. The French built the first permanent fortification at the site called French Castle in 1726. Britain took control of the fort during the French and Indian War following a nineteen-day siege and renamed it Fort Niagara. Throughout the American Revolution the British held the fort, but were forced to yield it to the United States by treaty in 1796. Fort Niagara was recaptured by the British in 1813. It was ceded to the United States a second time in 1815 at the end of the War of 1812. This was the last time Fort Niagara saw armed conflict. The fort was used as a barracks and training station for American soldiers during WW I and WW II, with the last army units withdrawn in 1963. Today the U.S. Coast Guard still maintains a presence at Fort Niagara and the area serves as a peaceful border post between the United States and Canada.

### The Six Nations of the Iroquois

In the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the six Iroquois tribes populations totaled approximately 15,000. From east to west the tribes were: The **Mohawks** (*people of the flint*) inhabited the south bank of the Mohawk River. The **Oneidas** (*people of the standing stone*) lived on the shores of Oneida Lake. The **Onondagas** (*people on the mountain*) lived along the Onondaga River. The **Cayugas** (*people on the landing*) lived around Cayuga Lake. The **Senecas** (*people of the great hill*) were centered near the Genesee River and in the lands from Seneca Lake to Lake Erie. The **Tuscaroras** (*people of the Indian hemp*) were interspersed among the Oneidas and Onondagas. They were refugees from North Carolina accepted into the Iroquois Nation in the early 1720s.

The most infamous attack took place in the Wyoming Valley of northeastern Pennsylvania in July of 1778. An attack force of 464 Indians, mainly eastern Senecas and 110 Rangers under Colonel John Butler swept into the valley and wiped out the defending Americans, mostly Connecticut militia. By Butler's account 376 Americans were killed and 227 scalps were taken.<sup>4</sup> Only one Indian and one Ranger were killed. After the battle the Tories and Indians destroyed eight villages. One thousand homes were burned, and all of the food sources were confiscated or destroyed. One hundred women and children attempting to escape from the devastation perished of fatigue and starvation trying to cross a desolate region that has since been known as the "Shades of Death."<sup>5</sup> This attack is known as the Wyoming Valley Massacre, and has been called "the surpassing horror of the Revolution."<sup>6</sup>

Another well-known attack took place at Cherry Valley, about fifty miles west of Albany, New York, in November of 1778. An overwhelming force under Captain Walter Butler and Chief Joseph Brant trapped the defending men in the fort that surrounded the town church, and then set about to plunder and destroy the entire community. In all, sixteen Continental soldiers and thirty-two civilian inhabitants were killed, mostly women and children. In the aftermath of the slaughter, both American and Tory officers recorded their horror at the brutal cruelty and barbarity of the killings. Even Captain Butler lamented that he could not save the women and children from "falling unhappy victims to the fury of the savages."<sup>7</sup>

These and numerous raids in the Mohawk Valley and other frontier areas prompted General George Washington to state, "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war."<sup>8</sup> Patriot families living on the frontier were in daily fear of losing their lives, and many were forced to flee their homes and farms. During the Revolution, 12,000 farms in Tryon County on New York's frontier were abandoned.<sup>9</sup> Patriots supporting American Independence owned most of these farms, and when they fell under Tory-Indian control, the Continental Army was deprived of badly needed food and fodder sources. Congress was finally stirred into action, and on February 25, 1778, ordered General Washington to take effectual action for the protection of the frontiers and the "chastisement of the savages."<sup>10</sup> An expedition against the hostile Indians was considered absolutely essential to the success of the Revolution. On June 11, 1778, the Board of War estimated that the Indian expedition would cost \$932,743. Six days later, Congress approved \$600,000 for the expedition and considered authorizing an additional \$332,743 in August.<sup>11</sup>



Tom Faith of Brant's Volunteers as John Butler at the Ambuscade in Groveland. September 11, 2004. Courtesy of markbrownphotography.net

In March of 1779 General John Sullivan of New Hampshire accepted General Washington's offer to lead the main force of an expedition into the heart of Seneca territory. Washington's instructions to Sullivan emphasized "the necessity of pushing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance from their own settlements and our frontiers, (and) to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy."<sup>12</sup> He also instructed Sullivan to make "the destruction of their settlements so final and complete as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succor from them in case they should ever attempt to return this season."<sup>13</sup>

As implemented, Washington's plan for the Indian campaign\* consisted of four parts:

1. To prevent the easterly tribes of the Iroquois from attacking the right flank of Sullivan's main force, Colonel Goose Van Schaick led a preliminary expedition of 558 men from the Mohawk River region against the Onondagas in April 1779.<sup>14</sup>
2. To keep the more westerly tribes from joining an attack on Sullivan's main force, Colonel Daniel Broadhead led an expedition of 605 men up the Allegheny River from Fort Pitt in western Pennsylvania in August and September 1779.<sup>15</sup>
3. General James Clinton's army of about 1600 men left Canajoharie, New York, about 20 miles west of present-day Amsterdam, on July 1, 1779, and followed the upper Susquehanna River down to Tioga, Pennsylvania.<sup>16</sup>
4. The main force of about 3500 men led by General John Sullivan started from Easton, PA. and met up with Clinton's army at Tioga.<sup>17</sup> The four armies destroyed Indian villages and food supplies all along their routes.

\*see map page 3

The overall campaign against the Indians was one of the largest American offensive movements in the entire Revolution. Under the pressing circumstances, Washington devoted nearly one third of the Continental Army to the Indian Campaign. The decision to divert such a large percentage of his soldiers to the wilderness areas of New York and Pennsylvania was extremely risky. It left the Hudson Valley, and key American fortifications such as West Point, highly vulnerable to attacks from British General Henry Clinton's army in New York City. To minimize this risk, Washington created a plan of deception to keep the British confused about Sullivan's real objective until it was too late for them to take advantage.

Sullivan's men were carefully selected to ensure the success of the expedition. Soldiers skilled in Indian warfare, frontiersmen, men from Morgan's Riflemen, and seasoned veterans from several states, were chosen. On May 7<sup>th</sup>, Sullivan established headquarters at Easton, Pennsylvania, where he developed plans and marshaled supplies until June 18, 1779, when he began his march toward the land of the Senecas. Sullivan's army reached Wyoming, Pennsylvania on June 23<sup>rd</sup>, but the expected supplies, boats, and additional men had not arrived, forcing a delay of several weeks.

During this interval, news reached Brant and Butler that Sullivan was massing troops and preparing to invade Indian Territory. Realizing they didn't have enough power for a direct confrontation with Sullivan's main army, they attempted to distract his attention and cause him to divide his army. Brant led a force of Indians and Tories in an attack on Minisink, a village only seventy miles from New York City, located along the Delaware River, near present-day Port Jervis, New York. Houses, barns, a church and two mills were burned; captives, livestock, and looted property were taken. A force of 120-150 militia and volunteers soon followed the raiders in an attempt to ambush Brant, but were badly beaten in the Battle of Minisink Ford, where nearly fifty Patriots were killed.<sup>18</sup> Other Indian-Tory attacks were also conducted, however under orders from Washington to avoid weakening the invasion force, Sullivan refused to split up his army to respond to these diversions.

Sullivan's army left Wyoming on July 31, 1779 and followed the Susquehanna River to Tioga, Pennsylvania, near the New York border. The expedition was well supplied and included artillery, 1200 packhorses and 700 beef cattle.<sup>19</sup> The army formed a line approximately two miles long as it made its way along the Indian trails through Pennsylvania. The army reached Tioga on August 11<sup>th</sup> but Clinton's force had not arrived. The next day, Sullivan ordered the construction of a fort and four blockhouses to secure their supplies.

Two or three days later, Sullivan's army faced the first resistance when the army attacked the Indian village of Chemung, located about 12 miles from the Tioga encampment. The Indians had recently fled, pursued by General Edward Hand with Colonel Adam Hubley's regiment and two companies of Wyoming militia. After a mile or two of pursuit, concealed Indians fired from behind an ambush, killing six or seven of Hubley's men before the Indians were routed. After this skirmish, Sullivan's army destroyed the village and forty acres of corn before returning to Tioga.<sup>20</sup> On August 22<sup>nd</sup>, Sullivan's army was joined at Tioga by General James Clinton's army coming from Canajoharie, New York, for a combined force approaching five thousand men. From there, the major thrust into the Seneca country was launched.



**Morgan's Riflemen:** Daniel Morgan's Riflemen recruited from the frontiers of Virginia were hardy, rugged men able to endure hardships and exposure. They amazed New Englanders in 1775 with exhibitions of trick shooting and marksmanship, and distinguished themselves at the Battle of Saratoga. Sullivan's army contained several companies of Morgan's Riflemen who were given the official name of *Rangers* and selected specifically to strengthen the army's ability to deliver well-aimed, long-range fire. The most common weapon used during the Revolution was the musket with an effective range of only 100 yards. The frontier regions of Pennsylvania and southern colonies developed the rifle using a barrel with spiral grooves causing the ball to spin, increasing the weapon's accuracy to a range of 250 yards or more. The rifles which took longer to load, were not equipped to mount a bayonet, so they were not suitable for close formation infantry assaults or defense. With the long-range accuracy, these rifles were ideal for fighting against dispersed, concealed Indians in the woods.

Photo: Bruce Hill of Little Beard Club. Courtesy of Larry Turner.

Sullivan's army successfully avoided an ambush on August 29<sup>th</sup>, in the vicinity of the Indian village of Newtown, near present day Elmira, New York. An advanced corps of Sullivan's men detected a partially concealed breastwork of logs strategically erected along the trail. Behind this fortification, were 1000 warriors commanded by Joseph Brant, 250 Tory forces under Colonel John Butler, and fifteen British Regulars.<sup>21</sup> With the ambush discovered, Sullivan positioned his forces and began an artillery assault using several three and six pound cannons and howitzers. Furious hand-to-hand combat followed where the Indians were forced to battle against experienced Continental soldiers using muskets with mounted bayonets.<sup>22</sup>

The Battle of Newtown lasted six to seven hours and ended in the retreat of the British-Tory-Indian forces. Casualty figures vary considerably depending on the source. About seven Americans were killed including four wounded who died within two weeks of the action. Over thirty were wounded. Butler reported five Tory Rangers killed or taken and three wounded, and five Indians killed and nine wounded.<sup>23</sup> Americans found around twenty Tory and Indian bodies on the battlefield. Following this defeat, Brant and Butler had great difficulty convincing the Indians to make another stand. The warriors had been accustomed to making attacks against farms and poorly defended civilian settlements, which were sometimes protected by militia or small groups of regulars. Fear of "thunder trees" (cannons) and an equipped army was so great the Indians chose to abandon their villages and lands rather than fight. Due to this continuous retreat, Sullivan was never able to force a final, decisive battle with the Iroquois.

From Newtown, Sullivan's army proceeded into the Finger Lakes region, burning Indian villages, destroying crops and orchards all along the way. The main route was through what is now Horseheads, Montour Falls, along the eastern shore of Seneca Lake to Geneva, west to Canandaigua, Honeoye, and into the present-day Livingston County where fatalities occurred when the army encountered the only other organized resistance of the campaign. As the army set up camp in the town of Conesus, Sullivan sent a scouting party out, most of whom never returned. When Sullivan's army reached Cuylerville, site of the large Indian settlement at Genesee Castle on September 14, 1779, the tortured and mutilated bodies of Lt. Thomas Boyd, the scouting party leader and sergeant Michael Parker were discovered. The army destroyed the recently abandoned village and burned the surrounding fields of ripened crops.

The Genesee Valley was the western limit of the expedition. On September 16, 1779, Sullivan began the return journey along the same route. The bodies of the rest of the ambushed scouting party were found on a hill overlooking Conesus Lake in what is now Groveland and buried with military honors. The army continued its trek arriving at Tioga by the end of the month and reached Easton, Pennsylvania on October 15<sup>th</sup>, having destroyed forty Indian towns and vast quantities of Indian food supplies.

[General Washington to General Sullivan, September 15, 1779. Letter signed .]\*

*Head Quarters West Point 15th Sept. 1779*

*Dr. Sir. I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 30th of August, and congratulate you sincerely on the success of the engagement at Newtown. I immediately transmitted your account to Congress.*

*The advantages we have already gained over the Indians in the destruction of so many of their settlements is very flattering to the expedition.—But to make it as conclusive as the state of your provisions and the safety of your army will countenance—I would mention two points which I may not have sufficiently expressed in my general instructions, or if I have, which I wish to repeat.— The one is, the necessity of pushing the Indians to the greatest practicable distance, from their own settlements, and our frontiers; to the throwing them wholly on the British enemy.—The other is, the making the destruction of their settlements so final and complete, as to put it out of their power to derive the smallest succor from them, in case they should attempt to return this season.*

\*Otis G. Hammond ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army, Vol. III, 1779-1795* (New Hampshire Historical Society, 1939), 121.

Sullivan's Campaign, from the American point of view, was a great success. The expedition significantly weakened Iroquois influence and helped prevent British-Tory-Indian attacks from the west on the Hudson Valley. The British and their allies were prevented from taking over the rich farming areas that supplied food and fodder to the Continental army. Food supplies from the Iroquois upon which the British and Tory forces depended were no longer available, and thousands of Iroquois refugees, who had retreated to Fort Niagara, were now dependent on British resources for their survival. The British forts on Lake Ontario were forced to rely on supplies from British-held Montreal and Quebec, which added a further drain on Britain's war chest.

### The Treaty of Paris 1783

American diplomats Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay negotiated peace with Britain. They ignored instructions from Congress to be guided by the French in this work, and relied on their own devices instead, working directly with Lord Shelburne's new British Ministry. The final peace treaty was signed in Paris in 1783, bringing about the official end of the war. The provisions included:

1. American Independence was recognized.
2. Britain ceded to the U. S. all territories between the Great Lakes and Florida west to the Mississippi River.
3. Each country had the right to navigate the Mississippi River.
4. Americans retained the right to fish the banks of Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
5. All private debts, incurred before or after 1775, were still binding and must be paid.
6. The United States Congress agreed to recommend to the state legislatures that Tories should be allowed to reclaim their property.

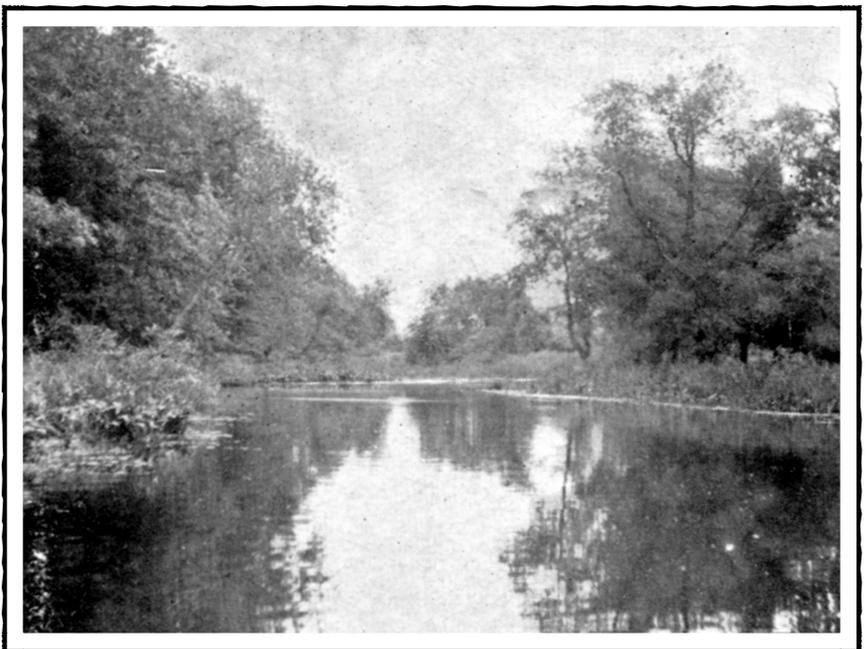
The expedition brought American power into western New York and helped establish a firm basis for territorial claims during later negotiations with the defeated British at the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Sullivan's conquest in New York along with the seizure of British forts in Illinois and Indiana by George Rodgers Clark, helped lead the British to concede all of the lands located between the Great Lakes, the northern border of Spanish Florida and west to the Mississippi River.<sup>24</sup>

However, Sullivan's Campaign was devastating for the Iroquois. The Indians who fled to Fort Niagara did not fare well. Although the winter before had been remarkably mild and moderate, the winter of 1779-1780 was the worst of the entire war, with tremendous snowstorms and piercing, petrifying cold. During this winter, the British were unable to fulfill their promises of food and shelter. Many Indians, recently routed from their lands by Sullivan's army, died of cold, hunger and disease.

Although Indian attacks on the New York frontier continued until the end of the war, the Iroquois Confederacy of Six Nations had been greatly weakened by Sullivan's expedition. The Iroquois never again posed a

large organized threat. Joseph Brant launched a war of vengeance on the Tuscaroras and the Oneidas, who had shown adhesion to the American cause. Brant's attacks in 1780 utterly devastated the Oneida villages and forced their inhabitants to seek sanctuary with Americans near Schenectady, where they ultimately suffered the same cold and hunger as the other Iroquois at Fort Niagara, who had been displaced by Sullivan's army.<sup>25</sup>

Once the Americans had finally defeated the British and their Tory and Indian allies, settlers were able to penetrate the "Western Door" to the vast territory beyond. Many of Sullivan's soldiers had spread the fame of this fertile region far and wide—the groves of giant trees, abundant orchards, and grasses six to eight feet high. A large number of settlers came to the Finger Lakes region from New England, New Jersey, and eastern Pennsylvania, some of them Sullivan's own men. This migration of pioneers provided a great impetus to the development of western New York, and the Genesee Valley became an important breadbasket for the young nation.



*Right: Head of Conesus Lake near where Sullivan's army crossed. Postcard collection, Livingston County Historian.*

Congress Thanks Gen. Washington and Gen. Sullivan, Oct. 14, 1779.\*  
[Journal of the Continental Congress, vol. 15, p.1169.]

*A letter, of 9th, from General Washington, was read, enclosing a letter of 28th September, from Major General Sullivan, at Chemung, giving an account of his successful expedition against the hostile Indians; Whereupon,*

**Resolved That** the thanks of Congress be given to his Excellency General Washington, for directing, 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 these United States, laid waste many of their defenseless towns, and with savage barbarity slaughtered the inhabitants thereof.

\*Otis G. Hammond ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army, Vol. III, 1779-1795* (New Hampshire Historical Society, 1939), 148.

#### NOTES:

1. New York State Bicentennial Commission, Livingston County Sullivan Expedition Bicentennial Committee, eds. *Bicentennial Sullivan Expedition Into the Genesee Valley, 1779-1979* (1979), 5.
2. Max M. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois* (New York and London: New York University Press, 1999), 10. John Fiske, *The American Revolution*. Vol I. (Boston and New York: The Riverside Press, 1891), 335.
3. Bart McDowell, "1777: 'Times That Try Men's Souls'". *The Revolutionary War* (The National Geographic Society, 1967), 114-122.
4. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 61.
5. Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, Vol I (New York: Harper and Brothers, Franklin Square, 1859), 359-361.
6. Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, eds. *The Spirit of 'Seventy-Six, the Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1958), 1005.
7. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 73.
8. NYS Bicentennial Commission, *Bicentennial Sullivan Expedition Into the Genesee Valley*, 5.
9. Ian Barnes, *The Historical Atlas of the American Revolution* (New York, 2000), 143.
10. Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, Volume II, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1952), 638.
11. Division of Archives and History, ed. *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779, Chronology and Selected Documents*, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1929), 17-19.
12. *Ibid.*, 151.
13. *Ibid.*, 151.
14. *Ibid.*, 13
15. *Ibid.*, 14.
16. *Ibid.*, 13.
17. *Ibid.*, 15. Joseph R. Fischer, *A Well Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign Against the Iroquois, July-September 1779*, (The Pennsylvania State University, 1993), 247.
18. Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, Volume II (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952), 637.
19. *Ibid.*, 641.
20. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 107-108.
21. Division of Archives and History, *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779*, 39.
22. Fischer, *A Well Executed Failure*, 116-120.
23. Division of Archives and History, *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779*, 135-138.
24. *Ibid.*, 10.
25. Barnes, *The Historical Atlas of the American Revolution*, 147.

*The Story of*  
☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆  
**General John Sullivan's Expedition  
in Livingston County, September 1779**  
By Reverend David Craft\*



Excerpted from the "Centennial Address of 1879"

Minor changes have been made and notes added in parenthesis for clarification purposes only.

The address was excerpted from the *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*. Prepared pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York, of 1885 by Frederick Cook, Secretary of State.

Published by Knapp, Peck & Thomson Printers, 1887, pp. 366 - 371.

(Various journal entries of Sullivan's officers have been excerpted from this publication also.)

\*Reverend David Craft was pastor of the Presbyterian church at Wyalusing, PA. He resided in a hamlet half way between Wyoming and Tioga, on the Susquehanna, near the site of General Sullivan's encampment in August of 1779. He devoted many years to the collection of data and journals of the Sullivan Expedition.



## **SULLIVAN'S ARMY ARRIVES IN CONESUS**

**B**efore daylight on the morning of Saturday, September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1779, General Sullivan's troops were again in motion. A march of fourteen miles brought them to the Indian town of Han-ne-ya-ye, which contained about twenty houses, and was near the site of present Honeoye (*Ontario County*) at the foot of Honeoye lake, on the east side of its outlet.

The General now estimated his distance from the principal Genesee town at about twenty-five miles and that he might not be burdened with unnecessary baggage and stores, all except about four days half ration, the baggage, cattle and horses except a few of the strongest, were left here in charge of Captain Cummings and fifty men, together with the "sick, the lame and the lazy" which amounted to three hundred men all told. The Captain took possession of the strongest block-house, cut port holes through the sides, protected it with abates made from the limbs of the apple trees, placed the two three-pounders left with him in proper position, strengthened the walls with the kegs and bags of flour, so that altogether it was capable of offering a formidable defense against any force that could be brought against it. Thus lightened, the army proceeded with its work with increased celerity.

Sunday morning, September 12<sup>th</sup>, was rainy, with thunder and lightning, so that it was noon before the army broke camp, after which it marched eleven miles and encamped in the woods, nearly two miles from Kanagsaws (*located about one mile northwest of present day Conesus Center*) which place General Sullivan would have reached that day but for the rain. He arrived there early the next morning (*Monday, September 13th*). This town which is also called Adjuton, and several other names, in the journals, consisted of eighteen houses on the east of the inlet to Conesus lake, a short distance southeast of the road that passes through the McMillan Farm (*in 1879*). Between the town and the lake, on what were afterwards known as Henderson's Flats, were the cornfields.

The main army encamped nearly two miles north, on the flats southwest of Foot's Corners...a fine stream of water ran through the town, and an enterprising Negro called Captain Sunfish, who had acquired considerable wealth and influence, resided here. It was also the home of the well-known Seneca chieftain, Big Tree, of whom Mr. Doty says\* that he was a useful friend of the American cause in the Revolution, and a leading advisor in all treaties and councils of the Senecas. In the summer of 1778, he was sent by Washington to the towns along the Genesee, in the hope that his personal influence, and eloquence might win the Senecas to the cause of the States. He found his countrymen disposed to listen until they learned from a spy that the Americans were about to invade their country, when all flew to arms. Big Tree put himself at their head, as he said, "to chastise an enemy that would dare to encroach upon his people's territory".\* This last sentence cannot be accepted as correct. Colonel Dearborn says that Big Tree "made great pretensions of friendship towards us; has been in Philadelphia and at General Washington's head-quarters since the war commenced. He received a number of presents from Washington and Congress, yet we presume he is again with Butler."\*\*\* The facts seem to be these: though a real friend to the Americans, yet on coming to his own country he found the feeling of enmity so strong and so universal among the Senecas, that he was overborne by it, and obliged to submit.

\* Lockwood L. Doty, *History of Livingston County, New York*. (Genesee: Edward E. Doty, 1876) p. 113.

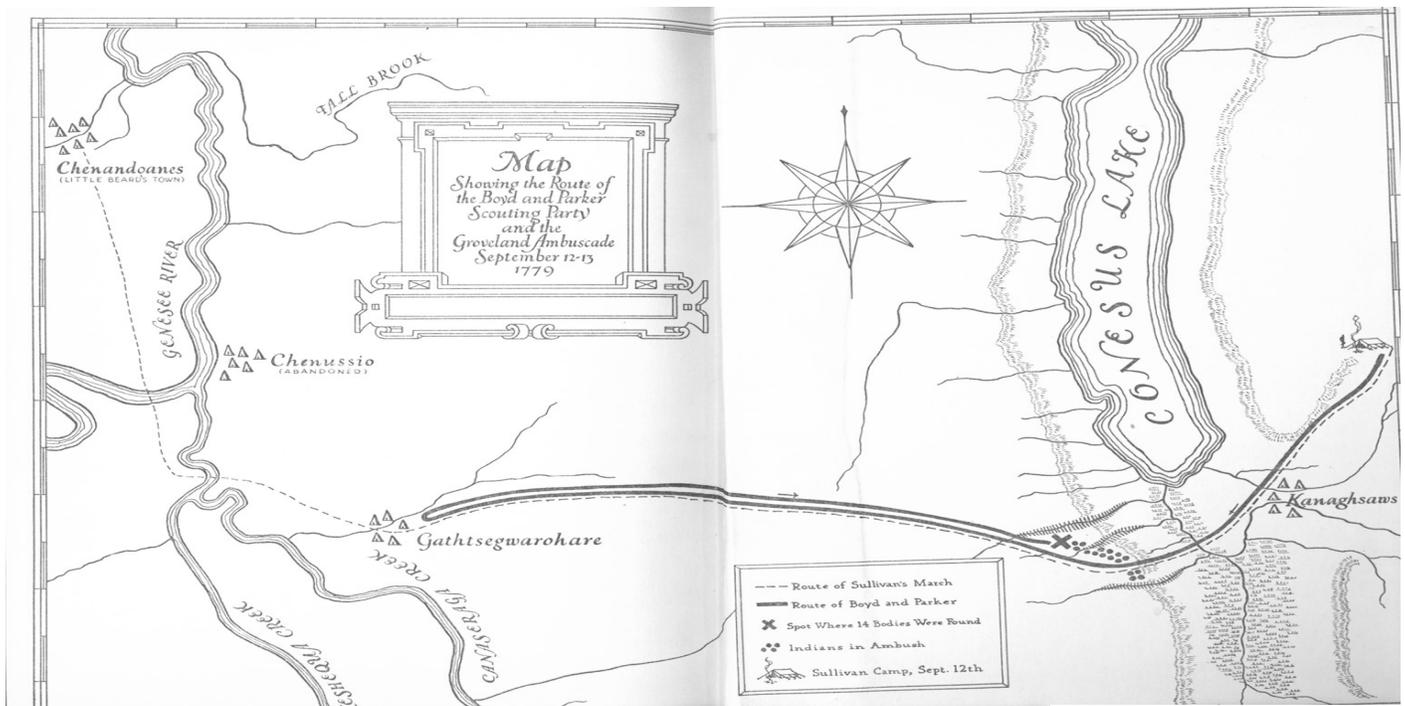
\*\*See page 24 for more of Col. Henry Dearborn's journal entries

All day the Indian scouts had been so near (*Sullivan's army*) that their tracks were fresh on the path, and the water was roiled through which they passed. Immediately after the battle of Newtown, the forces of Butler and Brant had retired to Canawaugus, near the site of present Avon, but having received considerable reinforcements, they determined to make another attempt to arrest the further progress of the army.

At the head of Conesus Lake was a soft, miry bottom, along the south side of which ran the Indian path to the Genesee towns, nearly on the site of the present highway (*Sliker Hill*), crossing the sluggish inlet by a bridge, which Butler had destroyed on his retreat, probably a few feet south of the present one. On the west of the lake and running parallel with it, is a steep bluff of considerable height, which reaches the water's edge, at that time covered with trees, and then as now, deeply gashed by several ravines which come straight down its face. The path led up to the crest of the hill between two of these ravines, but with a southerly trend, following nearly or exactly the line of the present road (*Gamble Road*). This was the place selected by the enemy to surprise the army, and, if possible, to destroy it.

Learning from his scouts that General Sullivan was approaching this difficult place, early on the morning of the 12<sup>th</sup>, Butler left Canawaugus, and in the afternoon had his forces posted on the crest of the ridge and in the ravines, overlooking the south end of the lake, and flanking the path to the Genesee Towns. Here, though himself perfectly concealed, he was in full view of General Sullivan's army and within musket shot of the inlet crossing.

As late as 1770, the principal Genesee town, called Chenussio (*later Williamsburg*) was located near the confluence of the Canaseraga creek with the Genesee River, and here it was marked on the most recent maps to which General Sullivan had access.\* He was not aware of the fact that its location had been changed to the west side of the river, and seems to have known nothing of another town two miles south on the Canaseraga creek. When, therefore, General Sullivan reached his encampment on the evening of September 12<sup>th</sup>, he supposed that he was near the great Genesee Castle (*shown as Chenandoanes on the map below or most commonly referred to as Little Beard's town in Cuylerville*) of which he had heard so much, and which was the objective point of his expedition.



\*General Sullivan frequently complained of the inaccuracies of his maps, then accessible, and that he was sometimes misled by them. At best, they were mere estimates as to distance and direction. —Craft

Map from *Boyd and Parker Heroes of the American Revolution*. Lockwood R. Doty, ed. published by the Livingston County Historical Society, 1928. Used with permission.

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## **SULLIVAN SENDS OUT A SCOUTING PARTY**

**I**n order to secure more accurate information, Sullivan ordered Lieutenant Thomas Boyd of the Riflemen, to take five or six men with him (*This was the number given in General Sullivan's report. Major Adam Hoops, who was on General Sullivan's staff, in a letter written by him says, "I was in the General's tent when he gave the instructions to Boyd, which were verbal, of course, but very particular." He directed him to take three or four riflemen.*) He took, however, twelve riflemen, six musket men of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and eight volunteers, making, with himself and Hanyerry, an Oneida Indian guide, and Captain Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, twenty nine men in all.\*

The party left camp north of Kanaghsaws (*Conesus*) at eleven o'clock in the evening (Sunday, September 12<sup>th</sup>) and set out on the trail leading to the Great Town. Owing to his misinformation, General Sullivan's directions had been confusing and misleading. It was found that the principally traveled trail took a direction different from what was expected. Boyd did not lose his way, but instead of taking the unused path that led to the abandoned Chenussio, he took the one which brought him to an important town (*known as Garhtsagwarohare, located on the west side of Rt. 63 and the intersection of Adamson Road in Groveland*) two miles farther up (*south on*) the Canaseraga Creek. The only town between the army and the Genesee River. In the darkness, Boyd passed Butler's right flank, without either party having discovered the other.

Boyd reached the town which the enemy had abandoned, early in the morning without having encountered any difficulty. Halting his force at the outskirts of the village, with one of his men he carefully reconnoitered the place, then rejoining the rest of the party they concealed themselves in the woods near the town. He sent back four of his men (including Captain Jehoiakim) to report the discoveries he had made, and awaited the light of the day, whose morning was just breaking. Soon four Indians on horseback were seen entering the town, and Lt. Boyd sent a party to take or kill them. One Indian was killed and another wounded. The wounded man and the two others escaped. Boyd then set out (*back to the army*) camp.



Jerry Fulmer of Little Beard Club as *Chief Little Beard*.  
Photo courtesy of markbrownphotography.net

Having gone four or five miles, and thinking the army must be on its march toward him, Boyd sat down to rest. After a short halt he dispatched two of his men to inform General Sullivan where he was, and of his intention to await the coming of the army. In a short time these men returned, with the information that they had discovered five Indians on the path. Boyd again resumed his march and had gone but a short distance, when he discovered the same party and fired on them. They ran, and Boyd, against the advice of his guide, Hanyerry, pursued them.

\*These numbers are conflicting.





*Re-enactment of the ambush in Groveland, September 2004. Photo courtesy of markbrownphotography.net*

It has been currently reported, that after his capture, Boyd approached Brant under the sign of a Free Mason, of which ancient fraternity both were members, that the chieftain recognized the bond of brotherhood and promised him protection, but having been unexpectedly called away, the captives were placed in charge of Butler, probably Walter\* who, becoming exasperated with Boyd's persistent refusal to disclose any information in regard to the army, handed them over to the Indians to be put to death. The whole story however, is extremely doubtful, and it is now difficult to ascertain how much of it, if any, should be received as true. The most that can be said with certainty is, that the next day the bodies of the unfortunate men were found by our troops, horribly mangled, and bearing marks of having suffered unspeakable torture.

\*Refers to Walter Butler, son of Col. John Butler.

### **Masonic History**



The origins of Masonry are lost in antiquity, confounded by theories ranging from pre-biblical times to the Middle Ages. However, 1717 is the one fixed point universally accepted, when four London Lodges met and constituted the Grand Lodge of England marking organized Freemasonry. By the early 1700s non-operative masons were being admitted to the fraternity, referred to as Accepted Masons. Thus the title of Free and Accepted Masons was established with the emphasis focused on betterment of the members. Fundamental tenets included: Brotherly Love, Charity and Truth. Men of widely differing beliefs organized to promote the four cardinal virtues of Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence, and Justice and qualities of Virtue, Honor and Mercy. Political and religious sectarianism was discouraged, and belief in the existence of a supreme being was promoted. Masonry is not a secret society but a fraternity with secret passwords and handshakes allowing strangers to recognize members as brothers. The organization is still thriving today. Philadelphia and Boston had lodges as early as 1730. Prominent leaders of the Revolution were active Masons on both sides including; George Washington, John Sullivan, Thomas Boyd and Joseph Brant. After the war, the Masons were instrumental in furthering the consolidation of this new nation as well as initiating the opening of the unexplored territories.

*Information supplied by Robert Fisher, Avon Springs Masonic Lodge.*



## **SULLIVAN'S ARMY ADVANCES**

**FROM CONESUS OVER GROVELAND HILL  
ACROSS THE GENESEE VALLEY 'FLATS' TO LEICESTER**

**G**eneral Sullivan had established a line of sentries along the base of the hill next to the morass, to guard the army against surprise while repairing the bridge. Benjamin Lodge, who was the surveyor for the expedition, and with chain and compass had measured the entire route from Easton, Pennsylvania, a few minutes after the skirmish with Boyd on the hill, had gone a short distance beyond the picket line, when he was set upon by a party of Indians, who were pursuing the fugitives of the scouting party.

Thomas Grant, who was one of the surveying party, thus tells the story:

*“Myself and four chain carriers, who were about one and a half miles advanced of the troops, were fired on by several Indians, who lay in ambush; a Corporal by the name of Calhawn who came voluntarily with me was mortally wounded and died next day. The Indians pursued us a fourth of a mile, but without success, - we being unarmed, were obliged to run.” \**

Lieut. Lodge was compelled to leave his compass and ran toward the nearest sentinel, who shot the Indian chasing him with uplifted tomahawk, and Lieut. Lodge escaped. General Sullivan ordered General Hand's Brigade to cross the morass, push up the hill and dislodge the enemy. Butler on returning to his forces on the crest of the hill found them in confusion, and, seeing the preparations made to attack them, they beat a hasty retreat, leaving their hats, packs, etc., behind them. Butler being thus thwarted in his plans to surprise the army, withdrew his forces to Gathsegwarohare then to Canawaugus (*near Avon*).

\*For more journal entries of Thomas Grant see page 25.



John McCullum, Gary Cottle and Jerry Fulmer of Little Beard Club re-enact the ambush at Groveland, September 11, 2004.  
Photo Courtesy of markbrownphotography.net.



## THE TORIES AND INDIANS RETREATED

Having destroyed Kanaghsaws (*near the army's camp Conesus*) and completed the bridge across the creek (*Conesus Lake inlet*), General Sullivan pushed forward on the trail (*over Groveland Hill*) taken by Boyd the night before, a distance of seven miles to Gathsegwarohare. This was an Indian town of twenty-five houses, mostly new, on the east side of Canaseraga creek, about two miles above (*south of*) the confluence with the Genesee. This site is now (*in the year 1879*) occupied by the house and surrounding grounds of the "hermitage," the ancestral home of the Carroll's.\*

As the advance of the army approached the town about dusk of September 13<sup>th</sup>, they found themselves confronted by a strong force of Indians and rangers, drawn up in battle array to dispute their further progress. The General at once pushed forward the flanking divisions to cut off their retreat, but the enemy, seeing the troops come into position, fled without firing a gun, and the army encamped in the town without opposition. There were extensive cornfields adjacent to the town, which it took two thousand men, six hours, the next day, to destroy. This being accomplished, about noon of September 14<sup>th</sup>, they set out for the great Genesee town, reaching it about sunset.

The route was down the Genesee valley then in its autumnal glory, covered with grass from six to ten feet high. Soon after leaving the encampment, the army crossed the Genesee river, about twenty yards in width, but with such rapid current, the men were obliged to cross in platoons with locked arms to resist the force of the stream. Ascending the high land on the west side of the river, the scene was one of indescribable beauty. For miles not a hill nor bush could be seen, only here and there a clump of trees broke the monotony of the landscape. The army also presented a grand appearance, marching in the same accurate order of that laid down by the General on paper. So deeply were many of the soldiers impressed with the wonderful resources of this valley, that as soon as it was open for occupation, they became the pioneers in its settlement.

The location of this great Seneca Castle, was on the west side of the Genesee river, on the flat immediately in front of Cuylerville, in the town of Leicester, on the opposite side of the valley from Genesee. It appears on Evans' map as Chenandoanes; in 1776 it was called Chenondanah; Morgan called it De-o-nun-da-ga-a, as a more modern Seneca name, signifying "*where the hill is near*," but is more often called Little Beard's town, from the noted Seneca chieftain who resided there in 1779.

The castle consisted of one hundred and twenty-eight houses, of which the most were large and elegant, and was surrounded by about two hundred acres of cornfields and gardens, filled with all kinds of vegetables. It was the western door of the Long House to which the Iroquois were accustomed to liken their confederacy. Near this town were found the bodies of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd and Sergeant Michael Parker.

\*See map page 12. Refers to Charles H. Carroll.

### Chief Little Beard's Death

Little has been written about the life of Little Beard yet the demise of the great chief of the Seneca's was vividly recalled by Mary Jemison in her biography by James Seaver .

*"About the first of June, 1806, Little Beard died and was buried after the manner of burying chiefs. In his lifetime he had been quite arbitrary, and had made some enemies whom he hated, probably, and was not loved by them. The grave, however, deprives enmity of its malignity, and revenge of its keenness.*

*Little Beard had been dead but a few days when the great eclipse of the sun took place, on the 16th of June, which excited the Indians a great depress of astonishment; for as they were ignorant of astronomy, they were totally unqualified to account for so extraordinary a phenomenon. The crisis was alarming, and something effectual must be done without delay, to remove, if possible, such coldness and darkness, which it was expected would increase. They accordingly ran together in the three towns near the Genesee River, and after a long consultation agreed that Little Beard, on the account of some old grudge which he yet cherished toward them, had placed himself between them and the sun, in order that their corn might not grow, and so reduce them to a state of starvation.*

*Having thus found the cause, the next thing was to remove it, which could only be done by the use of a powder and ball. Upon this, every gun and rifle was loaded, and a firing commenced, that continued without cessation till the old fellow left his seat, and the obscurity was entirely removed, to the great joy of the ingenious and fortunate Indians."*

For more on the life of Indian captive Mary Jemison see page 31



# **THE GRISLY DISCOVERY OF TORTURED COMRADES AND THE SURPRISE APPEARANCE OF A MOTHER AND CHILD**

**T**he bodies were horribly mutilated by the tortures to which they had been subjected. They were buried that evening with the honors of war, near the spot where they were found. Mr. Paul Sanborn, a soldier on the extreme right wing of Clinton's Brigade, discovered the headless bodies, and the rifle company of Captain Michael Simpson, of which Boyd had been Lieutenant, performed the melancholy duty of burying the mutilated remains of their comrades, which was done under a wild plum tree, standing near the forks of two streams, which have been named, respectively, Boyd's creek and Parker's creek.

*Most of the soldier's journal entries described a horrific scene when the bodies of Boyd and Parker were discovered. While descriptions varied, overall, the army appeared shocked by the mutilation of the men. Here is an excerpt from Lt. Erkuries Beatty's journal depicting the gross magnitude of the situation:*

"Tuesday 14<sup>th</sup>. ...on entering the town we found the body of Lt. Boyd and another Rifle Man in a most terrible mangled condition they was both stripped and naked and their heads Cut off and the flesh of Lt. Boyds head was intirely taken of and his eyes punched out. the other mans hed was not there. they was stabled I supose in 40 Diferent places in the Body with a spear and great gashes cut in their flesh with knives....They was imediately buried with the honour of war"

For more of Lt. Beatty's journal entries see page 22.

At six o'clock in the morning of the 15<sup>th</sup> of September, the whole army was turned out to destroy the crops, orchards, houses and gardens of the place. The corn was piled up in the houses and burned with them, or consumed on log heaps. It was estimated that from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand bushels were destroyed at this place. It was the largest corn the troops had ever seen, some of the ears being twenty-two inches in length. It was about two o'clock P. M., when, the fields having been over-run, the abundant harvest destroyed, the trees hewn down, and naught of the great town remaining but smoking ruins and blackened logs, there came the joyful order to about face and return.

While the army remained at this town, Mrs. Lester, with a child in her arms, came to our troops. The autumn previous, (November 7<sup>th</sup> 1778) her husband with others was captured near Nanticoke, Pennsylvania, by the Indians, he was slain, but his wife was carried into captivity. In their haste to escape our army, her captors left her behind and she escaped to our lines. Her child died a few days after. She subsequently became the wife of Captain Roswell Franklin, who was in the first party that settled Aurora, on Cayuga Lake.

Having over-run and destroyed, as it was supposed, all the villages of the Senecas, about three o'clock P. M., the army set out on its return by the same route it had advanced, and on the evening of September 19<sup>th</sup> reached Kanadesaga (*Geneva*) without any occurrence worthy of note, except that scattered dwellings and fields of corn which had been overlooked, or purposely spared, were completely destroyed, and a number of packhorses, being unable to travel further, were shot.

### NOTES ON MRS. LESTER MAY SHED LIGHT ON EVENTS AT LITTLE BEARD'S TOWN PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF SULLIVAN'S ARMY.

From Lt. Adam Hubley's journal: Wed. Sept. 15th:

" Previous to our leaving Jenise (*Little Beard's Town*) a woman with a child came to us, who had been taken with her bantling, was almost starved for want of food; she informs us that the Indians have been in great want all last spring—that they subsisted entirely on green corn this summer—that their squaws were fretting prodigiously, and continually teasing their warriors to make peace—that by promises by Butler and his minions, they are fed up with great things that should be done for them—that they seem considerable cast down and frightened; and, in short she says distress and trouble seem painted on their countenances"

(Cook Journals 163)



## **SULLIVAN EXPEDITION: MISSION ACCOMPLISHED**

### **THE CONCLUSION OF A HISTORIC JOURNEY**

**F**rom August 30<sup>th</sup> until the 26<sup>th</sup> of September, a period of twenty-seven days, the army voluntarily subsisted on a half ration of flour and meat, the most of which they carried on their backs, supplementing their wants with the green corn and vegetables found in the fields they devastated. This diet together with the exposure and early autumn weather occasioned considerable sickness, especially in the latter part of the campaign. Notwithstanding the severity of their marches and the dangers to which they were exposed, the entire loss since leaving Wyoming, Pennsylvania, was only forty-one men, of whom four died from sickness, one was accidentally drowned and one accidentally shot in camp, or one percent of his entire force.



**Sullivan's official report to John Jay, President of the Continental Congress dated September 30, 1779 upon his return to Tioga. In this excerpt, Sullivan expressed his frustration at the lack of adequate maps and his regret for not continuing on to Niagara, but sincere gratitude for the actions of his officers, soldiers and guides.**

*"...Besides the difficulties which naturally attend marching through an enemy's country, abounding in woods, creeks, rivers, mountains, morasses and defiles, we found no small inconvenience from the want of proper guides and the maps of the country are so exceedingly erroneous that they serve not to enlighten but to perplex. We had not a person who was sufficiently acquainted with the country to conduct a party out of the Indian path by day, or scarcely in it by night; though they were the best I could possibly procure. Their ignorance, doubtless arose from the Indians having ever taken the best measures in their power to prevent their country's being explored. We had much labor in clearing out the roads for the artillery, notwithstanding which, the army moved from twelve to sixteen miles every day when not detained by rains, or employed in destroying settlements.*

*I feel myself much indebted to the officers of every rank for their unparalleled exertions, and to the soldiers for their unshaken firmness with which they endured the toils and difficulties attending the expedition. Though I had it not in command I should have ventured to have paid Niagara a visit, had I been supplied with fifteen days provisions in addition to what I had, which I am persuaded from the bravery and ardor of our troops would have fallen into our hands.*

*...I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara....*

*I have the honor to be, with the most exalted elements of esteem and respect, your Excellency's most obedient and ever humble servant,"*

JOHN SULLIVAN

(Cook Journals 303-305)



## **WHO WERE LT. THOMAS BOYD AND MICHAEL PARKER?**

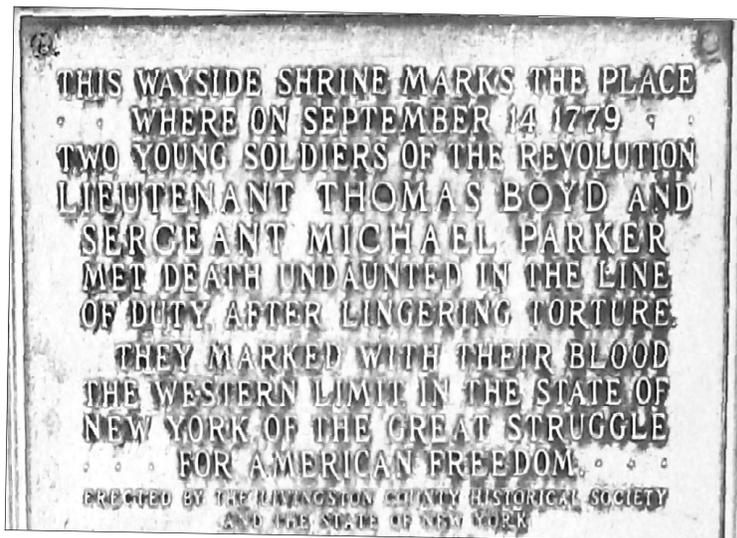
Thomas Boyd, a native of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, was born in 1757 the youngest of three sons. Boyd's military service began in 1775 when he marched with Benedict Arnold and 1100 other soldiers through the treacherous terrain of Maine and participated in an active assault upon the British. Here Boyd was wounded, taken prisoner but soon afterwards released. He headed back to Pennsylvania where within a few months Boyd enlisted as a Sergeant in Captain Stephen Bayard's Company, then transferred to Captain Matthew Smith's Company. Boyd was at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, made Lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania Regiment and participated at the battle of Monmouth in New Jersey in 1778, before joining Sullivan's Campaign.

He went to Schoharie in the autumn of 1778, under Major Posey, whose command consisted of three companies of Morgan's celebrated rifle corps, under Captains Long, Pear and Simpson. Boyd belonged to the later company. He was described by Rev. Craft as "Of fine physique, engaging manners, brave almost to recklessness", and "endowed with the qualities which would command attention, without the cool judgment or firmness which would fit him for a leader". Lockwood R. Doty described Lt. Boyd as "of ordinary height strongly built, fine looking and very sociable and agreeable in his manners, qualities which gained him many friends in Schoharie". He was only 22 years of age at his death.

Boyd's father and only sister died before the Revolution. His mother sent her three sons into the field, with the parting injunction, says Major Van Campen, "never to disgrace their swords by an act of cowardice, or by a moment's fear of reluctance when called to the defense of home and freedom." His older brother Lt. William Boyd, the second son, died at Brandywine in 1777.

As for Michael Parker, all that can be ascertained from the history books is that he was a corporal in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, from which he was promoted to Sergeant in Captain Simpson's company. His life prior to this event remains a mystery.

Details were taken from Rev. Craft's research; the *History of Livingston County*, Lockwood R. Doty, ed. (F.A. Own, Dansville 1905), 173; and an address by W. P. Boyd on the life of Lt. Thomas Boyd. to the Livingston County Historical Society's 13th Annual meeting, (January 1889), 5-13.



Wayside Shrine at Boyd & Parker Park, Rt. 20A, Cuylerville, Town of Leicester.



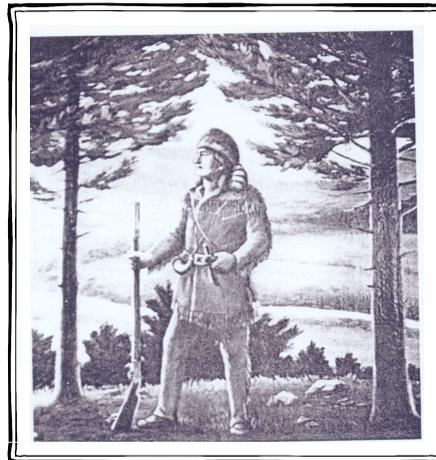
## **TIMOTHY MURPHY**

### **THE SOLDIER WITH THE**

### **“LARGER-THAN-LIFE” REPUTATION**

Timothy Murphy’s adventures and daring feats are part of Genesee Valley folklore. His heroic escape from the Indians and Tories during the ambush of Boyd’s scouting party has enthralled readers and historians alike for over two hundred years. At this point it is impossible to determine what is true or exaggerated, yet the tales passed down through the generations, clearly portray traits many young and fearless frontier soldiers of the Revolution most likely possessed. The Schoharie Valley, however, is where this man is memorialized as a true American hero. According to Lockwood R. Doty, “...it would be difficult to magnify his astonishing skill with the rifle, or his courage...”<sup>\*</sup> Although tall tales of this valiant young soldier abound, his reputation as a skilled rifleman and his unparalleled gallantry became his lasting legacy.

Murphy enlisted in General Morgan’s Rifle Corp in 1776, distinguishing himself in the Battle of Saratoga, where monuments on the battlefield include one in honor of British General Simon Fraser who was killed in the battle and one to Timothy Murphy, the man who purportedly shot him. Murphy also played pivotal roles in the Battle of Monmouth, the Sullivan Campaign, and various expeditions in the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. Another impressive monument to the memory of Timothy Murphy in the Middleburgh Cemetery was unveiled in 1910 to commemorate the 130th anniversary of his heroic deeds in repelling the attack of the British and Indians on the Middle Fort in Schoharie County, New York.



#### **“SEEING DOUBLE”**

“He always carried a favorite double rifle, an object of the greatest terror to the Indians, who for a long while were awe-struck at its two successive discharges. In the hands of so skillful a marksman, the greatest execution always followed its unerring aim. He had been several times surprised by small Indian parties; but with remarkable good fortune had as often escaped. When the [Indians] had learned the mystery of his double rifle knowing that he must reload after the second discharge, they were careful not to expose themselves until he had twice fired. Once when separated from his troops he was surrounded by a large party of [Indians]. Instantly he struck down the nearest foe and fled at his utmost speed. Being hard pushed by one runner, whom alone he had not outstripped in the flight, he suddenly turned and shot him on the spot. Stopping to strip the fallen pursuer, he saw another close upon him. [Murphy] sized the rifle of the dead Indian and brought down his victim. The [Indians] supposing all danger now passed, rushed heedlessly on with yells of frantic rage. When nearly exhausted, he again turned, and with the undischarged barrel, fired and the third pursuer fell. With savage wonder the other Indians were riveted to the spot; and exclaiming that ‘he could fire all day without reloading,’ gave over the pursuit. From that hour, Murphy was regarded by the [Indians] as possessing a charmed life...”<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>Lockwood R. Doty, ed., *History of Livingston County* (pub. 1905) 169,170

**EXCERPTS FROM JOURNALS OF SULLIVAN'S OFFICERS\***

Many journal entries kept during this time period are conflicting, especially as to the exact number of Lt. Boyd's scouting party and those killed or injured. Because of the size of the beleaguered army as a whole, some of the individuals may have been prone to exaggeration, while others perhaps inadvertently misconstrued the events. Nevertheless, these journals provide the most accurate account of the intense drama that unfolded.

Also included are vivid descriptions of breathtaking views and fertility of the area. The following is a small sampling of some of the officer's experiences in their own words (spelled phonetically), grammar and punctuation have been left uncorrected. Minor notes (*in italics*) have been added for clarity purposes.

**Lt. Erkuries Beatty of the 4th Penn. Line:**

Sunday, September 12<sup>th</sup>.

Thunder last Night and Rain and this morning it Rained till 10 oclock when it cleared up and the Army marched at 11 leaving all the heavy Baggage & Pack horses excepting a few of the strongest which was took on to Carry spare Ammunition and some Provision & tents what was left was stored in the Indian houses & a Capt. & 50 Men left with it; the Army on leaving the town crossed the outlet of the lake which was not very large and then formed their line of March and proceeded on very good land ... -To day I heard there was an other town & Corn destroyed on Kanandaqua lake nearly as big as Kandaqua and 2 or 3 Miles from it; on this days march a party of the Enemy kept just a head of us as we could Discover their tracks very fresh and the water muddy where they had crossed.

Monday, September 13<sup>th</sup>.

March this morning 6 oClock and a very heavy dew on the grass and the morning very Cold, in about one Miles marching came to Adjustse (*Conesus*) town lying near a small Lake a little to the Northward consisting of 10 or 15 Houses; here we halted made fires & drew 3 Days beef. after a little time fatigue parties was sent out to Collect the Corn in houses to burn; about 10 oClock we heard a few Guns firing in front, the troops was Imediately formed and marched over the Inlett of the Lake a very bad morass & Creek and a large hill on the opposite side where we found the Indians who was formed on this hill had fired on the Surveyor & his party & had Mortally wounded one of his men; the Rifle Men Rushed up the hill & the Enemy made their Escape soon as Possible leaving behind their Packs hatts &c which the Rifle men Got, our Brigade marched up to the top of the hill and formed the line of battle where we halted till the Army would get over. Here one of our Men came in wounded who informed us the Lt. Boyd with his party 18 Riflemen & 8 Musquet men of our Regt. who was sent last night to reconoiter the next town was intirely cut to pieces.

a little time after (*Timothy*) Murphy came in who told us a very strait story about it in this manner. Lt. Boyd with his party went on without any Interuption till he got to the town about Day break when he found it Evacuated. he then sent 2 Runners back to inform the Genl. and he retired a little in the woods in sight of the town concealed to try if he could not catch a prisoner. he soon after saw 4 Indians came in to the town on horseback, he sent 5 or 6 Men to take them or kill them the men fired on the Indians killd & Sculped one and wounded another and took a horse saddle & bridle, he then sent of two more Runners to the Army but they soon Returned to him & informed him they had seen 5 Indians on the road, he then thout proper to return with his party to the Army which he expected to meet very soon, he had not gone far before he fell in with the same Indians which he fired on, they run before him and he pursued them Slowly & every on c e in a while he would come in sight of them and fire on them & so they kept on till he came to this hill in front of an camp about 3/4 of a Mile where the Indians fired on the Surveyor when he heard our Drums and thought himself intirely safe but to his great disappointment found a large party of Indians found them behind trees. he Imediately formed his men for Action and began a very heavy fire which lasted some time but the Indians whose number was so far superior to him surrounded him and made prisoners or killed the whole expecting a few which came in, we found 4 or 5 of our men on the ground Dead & Sculped and it is supposed that Lt. Boyd as made prisoner. The enemy had a number killd as the men that was hid in the bushes saw the Indians carry a number of in blankets—After the Army had got over the Creek we marched on...

\*(Cook , Journals 31-2)



## **EXCERPTS FROM JOURNALS OF SULLIVAN'S OFFICERS\***

**Dr. James Campfield, Surgeon in Spencer's Fifth New Jersey Regiment:**

Monday, September 13<sup>th</sup>.

...All the land we passed this day is good and the swamps and inter vales surpass any I have seen before. Black Walnuts are very large and well shaped. The Quantity of Corn in the towns is far beyond what any body has imagined. I fear the methods taken will be ineffectual for its destruction.

Tuesday, September 14<sup>th</sup>.

After the army had destroyed the corn, which was at this place; it marched for Genessee [5 miles.] ...The grass on this extensive plain is good, the wild horses are very fond of it, and it grows as high as a man's head in many places. Here we had a charming view of our army, which is the first, all moving in our original order of march. The army here crossed the river and ascended the hill-it continued its progress to Genessee, over several sudden hills and swamps, which were general miery, if not three rods across, at which place it arrived about sunset. This is much the largest Indian Town I have yet seen - having about 80 houses, it is built mostly of small logs and covered with bark. The town is situate on a very fine plane, higher than the other large plane, which has generally obtained the name of flat, or botton. The Indian houses might have been very comfortable, had they made any convenience for the smoke to be conveyed out, only a hole in the middle of the top of the roof of the house. The Indians are exceedingly dirty, the rubage of one of their houses, is enough to stink a whole country.

At this place we found the mangled bodies of two of the men we lost day before yesterday, one known to be Lt. Boyd's which were immediately entered with the usual honnours of war. These dead bodies had evident signs, of their having suffered the extreemest tortures from the virtuous and faithfull allies of Great Britain headed by a Butler and Brandt, these dastardly reches not having bravery to fight us, wreek their vengeance on a few unfortunate men, they never would have dared to meet on equal terms.

This is not an old place, many of their houses being new, and the inhabitants had deserted it only the day before we arrived, here they left more of their furniture than at any other place. A very pretty brook of good water runs through this town. The Indians observe no kind of order in their building, and most of their houses have a small additional place, built at one end, from which, they have a dore into ye large house—they build two tier of births one above the other, on both sides and have fire in ye centre.

The army must have dropped the prosecution of this expedition long ago, had not the corn, beens, &c., which it found from place, subsisted it. The first of Sept. we had only 23 days' provisions, a great quantity of which, must inevitably be lost, from the nature of the portage. Since we left Tioga we lost 140 cattle, most of which we hear, have since returned to that place. Much of our flower is carried in bags & often falling of, and striking against trees, sometimes faling into mud, & sometimes into ye water, as we pass many streems of water & 5 horses are committed to the management of one clumsy driver.

This instance of virtue of this army must exceed any yet exhibited. It has undertaken and performing this tedious march on the bare allowance of 1/2 lb. flower & 1/2 lb. Beef a day and 5 gils of salt to 100 lb. of Beef—without any spirit, for, whatever might have been at Tioga in store, we could find no way to bring, but very little on with us. From French Catherin's to this place, 95 miles at least, is undoubtedly the best land, and capable of the greatest improvement, of any part of the possession's of the U. States.

Wednesday, September 15<sup>th</sup>

...I think the Genessee flatt, what I have seen of it, may be about 6 miles in length, and half that in bredth Beside this, there are large Swamps, covered with fine timber, almost all round the flatt. the soil of which is as rich as can be.

Thursday, September 16<sup>th</sup>

This morning the army were detached early to destroy all the corn in the neighborhood of this place, it being very considerable, which being effected, the whole army crossed the creek, and pursued their old route, inverted, to the place where Lieut. Boyd and his party had been surrounded by the Indians; here were found ded and scalped so many, as when added to those formerly mentioned, make the number 17 including one Indian. This little party, it is said sustained the action for some minutes after they were completely surrounded, and 14 of them were found dead on one spot.



## **EXCERPTS FROM JOURNALS OF SULLIVAN'S OFFICERS\***

**Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, Commander of the Third New Hampshire (Scammel's) Regiment:**

Monday, September 13<sup>th</sup>

March'd at 7 o'clock Proceeded 1 1/2 miles to a town call'd Kanegsas or Quicksea consisting of 18 houses situate on an excellent Intervale near a small lake we found a learge quantity of corn, beans, Squashes potatoes water Mellons cucumbers &c &c in & about this town...

A party of Riflemen & some others 26 in the whole under the command of Lt. Boyd of the Rifle corps was sent last night to a town 7 miles from here to make what discoveries he could & return at day brake. Four of his men went into the town found it abandoned but found 3 or 4 scattering Indians one of which they kill'd and skelp'd and then returned to Lt. Boyd after sunrise who lay at some distance from the town He (*Boyd*) soon found himself nearly surrounded & attckt by two or three hundred savages and tories he after fighting them some time attempt to retreat but found it impracticable 6 or 7 of his men did make their escape the remainder finding themselves completely surrounded were deter min'd to sell themselves as deer as possible & bravely fought until every man was killed but two which ware Taken one of which was Lt. Boyd Some of the men that made their escape came to camp & inform'd the Genl of the matter upon which Genl Hand with the light troops was order'd to march to the place of action but too late they left all their pacts hats baggage & c where the action began which Genl Hand found. After we had finish'd the bridge (*across the Conesus Lake inlet*) the army march'd on proceeded 7 miles...and incamp'd This town consists of 22 houses situate on a small river which falls into the Chenesse river about 2 miles below here is call'd Gagchegwalahale.

Tuesday, September 14<sup>th</sup>

...at 12 Marched after fording the small river that the town stood on and passing thro a small grove we enter'd on what is called the great Chenesee flats which is a vast body of clear Intervale extending 12 or 14 miles up & down the river & several miles back from the river cover'd with grass from 5 to 8 feet high & so thick that a man can git thro it but very slowly. Our army appeered there to very great advantage mooving in the exact order of March laid down in the plan but very often we that ware on horse back could see nothing but the mens guns above the grass After marching about 2 miles on this flat we came to the Chenesee River which we forded passed over a body of flats on the other side & assended on to oak land proceeded 3 miles & ariv'd at the town which we found deserted Here we found the bodies of Lt. Boyd & one other man Mangled in a most horred manner From appeerances it seems they ware tyed to two trees near which they lay & first severly whipp'd them their tongues were cut out their finger nails plucked off their eyes plucked out then speer'd & cut in many places & after they had vented their hellish spite & rage cut off their heads and left them. This was a most horrid specticle to behold & from which we are taught the necessity of fighting those devels to the last moment rather than fall into their hands alive

This is much the leargest Town we have met with it consists of more than 100 houses is situate on an excellent piece of land in a learge bow of the river. It appears the savages left this place in a great hurry & confusion as they left learge quantities of corn husk'd & some in heaps not husk'd & many other signs of confusion

Wednesday, September 15<sup>th</sup>

At six o'clock the whole Army ware turn'd out to destroy the corn in & about this town which we found in great abundance we ware from 6 o'clock to 2 pm in destroying the corn and houses It is generally thought we have destroy'd 15,000 bushels of corn at this place the meathod we took to destroy it was to make large fires with parts of houses & other wood & then piling the corn on to the fire ading wood as we piled on the corn which Effectually destroyed the whole of it a woman with her child came to us to day who was taken at Wyoming when that place was cut off Her husband and one child Kill'd & Skelp'd in her sight when she was taken She inform'd us that Butler & Brant with the tories & Indians left this place in a great hurry the 13 inst (*of the present month*) & are gone to Niagara which is 80 miles from hence where they expect we are going She says the Indians are very uneasy with Butler and their other leaders & are in great distress We have now got to the end of our route & are turning our face homeward At 3 o'clock we fac'd to the right about & march'd in high spirits recrosse'd the Chenesee river & incamp'd on the Chenesee flats ....

Thursday, September 16<sup>th</sup>

...14 of Lt Boyd's party ware found this afternoon together skelp'd Honyose an Onyda Indian (*guide*) of considerable note that was with Lt. Boyds party was among the dead.

\*(Cook, Journals 74-76)



## **EXCERPTS FROM JOURNALS OF SULLIVAN'S OFFICERS\***

**Thomas Grant, a member of the surveying party under Lt. Benjamin Lodge, who accompanied the army with chain and compass, surveying the entire route to the Genesee River:**

### Sunday, September 12<sup>th</sup>

Reany Weathey last nite and this morning. Marched this day 11 Miles and Emcamped About Sun Set ½ miles From Ajulsa Town (*Conesus*) : the Land we passed This Day Eequal to any we have yet seen : the Timber Walnut, Hickry, Locust, White-oak, &c. Six miles from Haunyauya Town we Passed a long lake which Runs parallel To the Oather by the name of Aionyedice, (*Hemlock*) otherwise Longnarrow Lake : the genl Corse this Day S. W.

### Monday, September 13<sup>th</sup>

This Morning the Genl Beat at day lite; the army marched 1 1/2 miles to Agusta Town, where the army lay by To kill provisions, viz Cattle, and Issue to the Troops. Last Eavening a party of men Commanded by Lieut Boyd, in number 25, were sent To Reconniter the Jenessee Town, who did not Return till the next day; on there Return were met by 150 or two hundred Indians; After a Considerable Action the Offasir and 2/3 of his Party were Either Killed or maid prisoners; the men who Escaped informs that the party ware sarounded. but fought and Retretd & Killed several, they think as many as ware Lost on our side.

About half an hour afterwards Myself and fore Chane Caryers (*chain carriers*) who ware about one and a half Miles Advanced of the troops ware fired on by Several Indians who Lay in Ambush; a Corporal of the name of Calhoun, who came Vollenteerly with me, was mortally wounded and Died the next day; the Indians pirsued us 1/4 of a Mile, but without success; we being Unarmed was obleeged to Run; marched this Day 8 Miles to an Indian Town by the Name Gessaualoughin, half a mile from the chief indian Town; an Indian was scalped by a Rifleman; the Genl Corse his day West.

### Tuesday, September 14<sup>th</sup>

This day the troops Did not March till 12 o'clock, on account of there Being employed in destroying Corn; Marched this day 5 1/2 Miles to the Chief Chenasee Town Calld, the Chenassee Castle 2 1/4 Miles; Crossed the chenassee River Like wise, the most Delitefull bottom I ever saw, supposed to contain 10,000 acres, chiefly cleared fit for excellent Meadow, These flats and the land Adjacent is allowed to exceed any thing in America.

The Chenassee Castle, or the town of that name, contained about 125 Note Indians Housis which ware burnd, the next Day; Likewise about 150 or 200 acres of fine Corn was pulled of the stalks and Burnt; at this Town we found the dead Boadis of two of our men who ware takin the day Before and Inhumanly Murdred by the Savages; one supposed to be the Boady of Lt. Boyd, and the oather a sajt (*sargeant*), there heads were Cut off and skinned, there Toe Nails pulled off, in short it was the most shocking site my Eys Ever saw.

### Wednesday, September 15<sup>th</sup>

This day, after destroying the Town and Corn, we Returned a Bout 5 miles and Encamped in the Chenessee flatts.

### Thursday, September 16<sup>th</sup>

This Morning the troops ware employed till 10 oclock destroying Corn we then Marched 7 Miles to Ajutsa where the Army Encamped for the Night. Parties ware sent in search of the Dead Boadis who ware with Lt. Boyd; 16 of them were found, being all that ware missing except two:

from Circumstance it appeared they had Defended themselves very Bravelly till they ware all Kild and it is thought Kild a number of the Enemy, as many fresh Indian Graves were found at Chenassee, which I omitted Entring in my Remarks of the 14; some ware opanid (*opened*) by the soldiers Contrary to orders, and the Boadies of Indians found that ware shot; we Destroyed the Remainder of the Corn at this town this eavening.

\*(Cook, Journals 141-142)

# THE TORY POINT OF VIEW



## CORRESPONDENCE OF COLONEL BUTLER

### REPORT OF THE AMBUSCADE OF GROVELAND TO COLONEL BOLTON AT FORT NIAGARA\*

*Buffaloe Creek 14th September 1779*

*We left Canawagoras on the 12th instant in the afternoon, and took Possession of the ground where we meant to Surprise the Enemy early the next morning. The Rangers by desire of the Indians were intermixt amongst them. We lay for a few hours undiscovered near the Enemy, who were busily employed in making a Bridge over a Swamp which lay in their Front, and it was our Intention to have let part of them pass the Swamp, and then to have attacked them in such a manner as to make it difficult for the Enemy to begin to pass their Bridge, we were alarmed by a firing above us to the Right, which Continuing for some time, the Indians called out that we were surrounded, and we immediately pushed for a Place where the firing was.*

*Upon coming up I found that a Scout of the Rebels, 30 in number had fallen in with the Right of our Line, and 22 of them been killed by the Rangers & Indians in that Quarter. A Lieut. who commanded the Party and a Private were taken. The Officer who is a very intelligent Person Says, their Army consists of near 5000 Continental Troops—1500 of which are Rifle Men, commanded by General Sullivan and Brigadiers Hand, Poor and Clinton. They have but a month's Provisions, and intend, according to his account, to come no further than Genesee—They have four Pieces of Cannon (the largest a Six Pounder) and Cohorn and a Howitzer— They are building a strong fort at Tioga and mean to keep a large Garrison there.*

*This affair having discovered us to the Enemy, and by that means frustrated our Designs of surprising them, the Indians insisted upon retreating to Genesee, to which I agreed as we were but 400, and could not expect to effect any thing against so numerous an enemy—We found by our Scouts that they had followed us closely, and had encamped on the opposite side of the Genesee River about two miles from the Village. At Day Break this morning, as the Enemy were in motion, and all the Indians, except about 60, moved off, I found myself under the necessity of leaving the Place, which the Rebels took Possession of, in less than two hours after.*

*I am now on my march to Niagara, and all the Indians with their Families are moving in, as their Villages & Corn are Destroyed, and they have nothing left to support themselves upon. The Indians say, that after they have moved their Families to a Place of Safety, they will then go and take Revenge of the Enemy.*

*John Butler*

\*Division of Archives and History, ed. *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779, Chronology and Selected Documents*, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1929), 148-9.

# THE TORY POINT OF VIEW



## COLONEL JOHN BUTLER INFORMS GENERAL HALDIMAND THAT IT IS TOO LATE TO SAVE THE INDIAN COUNTRY\*

Niagara September 20th, 1779

Sir/

*I am sorry to inform you that the Reinforcements Your Excellency is sending up are too late to save the Country of the Five Nations from being destroyed: this has been very rapidly effected by the Rebels whose superior strength & numbers made all our efforts to stop their progress of small avail. Your Excellency has been informed thro' Col. Bolton of everything that has happened, and the Intelligence received of the numbers & Designs of the Enemy. The Rebels taking possession of Genesee obliged me to retreat to this Place for the want of Provisions, which it was impossible to have conveyed to us in sufficient quantity, as all communication with the Lake was by that means cut off. By the Scouts left to watch the motions of the Enemy I am informed that they have burnt the Genesee Village & destroyed the Corn and are making a hasty Retreat... and we hope soon to be fully assured whether the Rebels have any immediate Designs against this Post or not.*

*In Your Excellency's Letter of the 26th of July you complain of the great expense of the Indian Department at the Upper Posts: I can only answer for the accounts of that under my immediate Direction that all the Economy possible has been used, but Your Excellency will observe if you consult the Indian accounts from this Post, that they are generally much swelled by Charges which the Indian Department has nothing at all to do with, such as Cattle purchased for the use of the Garrison, Necessaries for Distrest Families & Prisoners & many other things in which Indians are not at all concerned. I must acquaint Your Excellency that I do not think it will be in my Power to lessen this expense but fear it will be much increased by the distrest situation to which the Indians under my charge are now reduced in being driven from their Country and having everything destroyed; at the same time as strict Economy shall be used as is possible. In regard of Provisions it must be obvious to Your Excellency that they will now want more than ever.*

*I have communicated to Sir John Johnson, every material Information and shall always cheerfully concur with him or any other Person in every thing that may Promote the Good of His Majesty's service. Notwithstanding the losses the Indians have suffered by the Destruction of their Corn and Villages I am happy to acquaint Your Excellency that they seem still unshaken in the attachment to His Majesty's cause, & declare as soon as they have placed their women & Children in security they will go and take Revenge of the Enemy.*

John Butler



Old Fort Niagara. Livingston County Historian's collection.

\*Division of Archives and History, ed. *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign In 1779, Chronology and Selected Documents*, (Albany: The University of the State of New York, Albany, 1929), 156-7.

# ***The Seneca Flee, Their Power Wanes and Dissatisfaction Grows\****



**by Dr. Arthur C. Parker**

In the end the Seneca fled where they might, most of them westward over the Niagara trail and to the protecting gates on Fort Niagara. This was an unexpected drain upon the resources of the British stronghold, and one upon which they had not counted. It was now difficult to obtain supplies from Canada and the Indians were fed on scanty rations\*\* until spring, when they were induced to move to secure places along the Cattaraugus, Tonawanda, and Alleghany. Numbers returned to the Genesee country to prowl for a while among the ashes of their old homes and then to build anew in other spots.

Had Sullivan's successful army pushed on to Niagara, there is little doubt that he would have captured the fort and have justly punished those who better deserved chastisement than the misguided Indians.

Sullivan's punitive expedition has been described many times, and varying estimates of its value given. It proved the power of American arms over the Iroquois Confederacy, it warned the British that the "provincials" were able to cope with and it put an end to border depredations by the Seneca. It was more than this; it was an outstanding achievement of the Revolutionary War.

Sullivan's expedition opened the Genesee Country to the white man and revealed it a paradise of fertility and productiveness. It opened up a domain of highly desirable soil, and Sullivan's men never forgot it, but, when the war was over, clamored to return that they might build homes and rear mills and towns in the Eden of the New World.

...The Seneca, however, though scattered and humbled, did not admit defeat, and the trees with twisted tops which they left along the line of their retreat, symbolized that "the power of the whirlwind may be great but the tree still stands, though its branches are twisted and broken". It was their promise to return and reclaim their land.

The year 1780 was one of a home-return for the Seneca and they went back to Big Tree, Canawagus, and the scattered places along the upper waters of the Genesee, as at Canadea and Squakie Hill\*\*\*. Others pushed further westward, many of the Beardstown people settling along the Tonawanda, others going down the Alleghany, and still others pushing westward into Ohio into the mixed settlements on the Sandusky. The bitterness of defeat still rankled, and those who had revenge to nurse sought bloody comfort in the service of Brant and the Tory raiders south of the Mohawk.



DR. ARTHUR C. PARKER (1881 - 1955) was an internationally known scientist, a descendent of the Seneca Indians and acknowledged as the leading authority on aboriginal peoples of New York State.

He was also an archaeologist at the New York State Museum and served as the director of Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences. His public services roles included; NYS Indian Commissioner; National Council of Boy Scouts of America; and consultant on Indian Affairs, under Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Coolidge. Locally, Parker served as a member of the Council of the Livingston County Historical Society in the 1920s when the *History of the Seneca Indians* was published.

A lecturer and a prolific writer of over 350 books, Parker died in 1955 at his home in Naples, NY where he moved after his retirement, to enjoy the view of Canandaigua Lake and the site of Nunda-wah-oh, the place in which his Indian ancestors had lived.

Information compiled from various sources in the Livingston County Historian's collection.

\*Excerpted from: Arthur C. Parker, *An Analytical History of the Seneca Indians: Researches and Transactions of The New York State Archeological Association*. (Lewis H. Morgan Chapter, Rochester, NY, 1926), pp. 127-132.

\*\*Parker contended that certain British officers may have poisoned Indian refugees to reduce the drain upon rations.

\*\*\*For map of Seneca Reservations see page 35.

By 1781, the Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga refugees, from their rendezvous at Niagara began to settle on Buffalo creek, the first to establish himself being none other than Old King Sayenqueraghta. Buffalo was thus largely settled by the eastern Seneca, that is, those of the purest Seneca descent.

In the Treaty of Peace which closed the Revolutionary contest, Great Britain forgot her Iroquois allies, and no stipulations whatsoever were made for their protection. This placed them in a most hazardous situation, for the citizens of the new United States still remembered the horrors of border warfare. That the Indians should go was the general will. George Washington and Philip Schuyler were inclined to be more lenient and sought to devise means for conciliating the Six Nations.

...To define what they still should hold, and to consummate the terms of peace, the [second] Treaty of Fort Stanwix was devised and signed in 1784\*. It was the first treaty with any Indian tribe made by the United States of America. Though it took from them large portions of their western lands and fixed a western boundary, the Seneca, and their allies, reluctantly signed the document. Success in this effort came largely through the importunities of Cornplanter\*\*, who saw that peace on ample acres was far more to be desired than war upon a wider range of territory that could not be defended. Red Jacket\*\* argued the might and supremacy of the Six Nations, and railed against the provisions of the treaty, but in the end, though the Indians were deeply stirred by his eloquence, Cornplanter's wisdom prevailed. The treaty was signed by a few chiefs, but not by a majority. It was accepted however, by the Six Nations, though the Seneca could not be reconciled to the losses they had sustained. To this day (1926) they have scarcely recovered from their feeling that injustice was done.

The United States believed that the provisions were liberal considering the relations of and differences between the contracting parties, and the Commissioners were careful to convey the idea to the Indians that the land was given back to them through mercy and fatherly consideration alone, and not because it was necessary or a matter of compulsion. The Commissioners took a haughty position, for were they not representatives of a conquering nation? By this attitude they hoped to impress the Indians with their advantageous position and to make them feel the weakness of the Indian cause. The Iroquois stalwartly insisted that they were yet an independent people, but the Commissioners denied this, and asserted the supreme sovereignty of the State and Nation. The failure of the Indians to agree upon this, caused complications.

As the years went on the Treaty of Fort Stanwix became a source of great irritation to the Seneca and their allied tribesmen. Defeat, starvation and homelessness were bad enough, but this treaty was humiliation indeed. Said Cornplanter later: "You told us that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing, and you demanded from us a great country as the price of that peace you had offered us, as if our want of strength has destroyed our rights. Our chiefs had felt your power and were unable to contend against you, and they therefore gave up that country. What they agreed to has bound our nation, but your anger against us must this time be cooled, and though our strength has not increased nor your power become less, we ask you to consider calmly, were the terms dictated to us by your Commissioners reasonable and just?"

\*Under the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Iroquois surrendered to the U.S. all their traditional claims to land west of Buffalo Creek. In addition, the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas agreed to cede to NYS other large tracts of land. This cession was the first of a series negotiated between 1784 and 1790 in which the various tribes of the Six Nations signed away most of their lands east of the Genesee River. With the signing of the Big Tree Treaty in 1797, the once powerful Iroquois Confederacy had retreated to a few reservations west of the Genesee River and to Canada. For more on the Big Tree Treaty see page 34.

\*\*See biographical sketches of Cornplanter and Red Jacket on page 30.

# Biographical Sketches

## Seneca Leaders

### **Cornplanter (c.1740-1836) - *Seneca war chief and statesman***

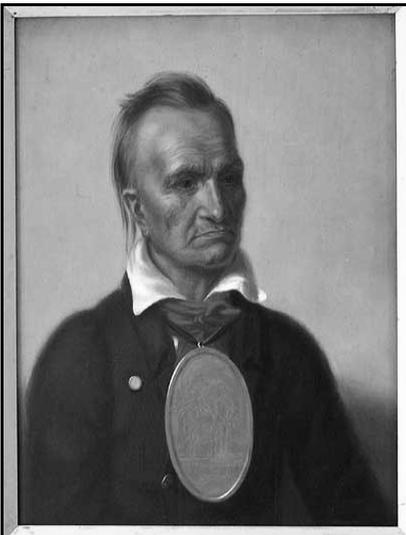


Cornplanter was born at Canawagus near Avon on the Genesee River, known to the British as John O'Bail or Captain O'Bail. His half brother Handsome Lake was an Iroquois Confederacy chief. During the American Revolution, Cornplanter was chosen to lead the Iroquois in support of the British. Cornplanter had at first vigorously opposed Iroquois participation in the war on either side. He was second in command of the Indian fighters at the Battle of Wyoming in 1778 and in 1780 together with Joseph Brant, chief Old Smoke, and the Cayuga war chief Fish Carrier led about four hundred Indians and Tories on a campaign in the Mohawk Valley. Among the houses burned was that of John Abeel, who was captured and then recognized as Cornplanter's father. Cornplanter offered to take his father home to the Seneca country or send him back to his white family. John Abeel chose the latter. In October of 1780, Cornplanter was also among the leaders in a series of attacks in the Schoharie Valley. This action was said to be in response to the Sullivan Campaign of the previous year. Cornplanter was present at all the principal treaties made by the Seneca Nation, including the Big Tree Treaty. Corn-

planter became a faithful ally of the United States and in 1791 received a grant of one square mile of land from the State of Pennsylvania for his efforts in dissuading the Iroquois Confederacy from joining the Shawnees in the fighting in Ohio. Cornplanter died in 1836. In 1964 the plot on the "Cornplanter Grant" where he was buried was moved to higher ground to make way for the Kinzua Dam.

Information gathered from a book by Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972); and online at the Encyclopedia of North American Indians, [http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/naind/html/na\\_008700\\_cornplanter.htm](http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/naind/html/na_008700_cornplanter.htm)

### **Red Jacket (c.1750-1830) - *Seneca orator and political leader***



Red Jacket was born into the Wolf clan in a Seneca village near present-day Geneva. During the Revolutionary war, he was a messenger for British officers, received his namesake coat as a reward. His talents lay in diplomacy and oratory, a skill long prized in Iroquois political culture. In the 1780s Red Jacket assumed the role of council orator and with it the name Segoyewatha, traditionally translated as "He Keeps Them Awake". His oratory marked nearly every major treaty council between whites and Senecas from the 1780s to the 1820s, usually articulating a diplomatic middle course between two competing factions; the followers of Cornplanter, who pursued accommodation with U.S. and the supporters of the Mohawk Joseph Brant, who allied with the British. Red Jacket's positions were consistent: the Iroquois Confederacy should remain neutral in disputes between the United States and British Canada; broker an honest peace between the new republic and the Shawnees, Miamis, and other western Indians with whom it remained at war; resist Christian proselytization; and maintain a land base within the boundaries claimed by the state of New York. Despite his vigorous opposition during and after

treaty councils, Red Jacket signed the Big Tree Treaty. He became a celebrity among white audiences captivated by stereotypes of the "Vanishing Indian." Red Jacket died at his home and was buried on the Buffalo Creek reservation in 1830. Against his dying wishes, Red Jacket was re-interred, at Forest Lawn cemetery in Buffalo.

Information gathered from a book by Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970); and online at the Encyclopedia of North American Indians:[http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/naind/html/na\\_032200\\_redjacket.htm](http://college.hmco.com/history/readerscomp/naind/html/na_032200_redjacket.htm)

## Biographical Sketches *"The White Woman of the Genesee"*

### **Mary Jemison (1743-1833)**

Born in 1743 aboard the ship as her parents were immigrating to America, Mary Jemison grew up on a farm near the site of present-day Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. A raiding party of French soldiers and Shawnee warriors captured Mary and her family in 1755; two of her brothers were able to escape. The rest of the Jemison family were killed and scalped. Mary was later turned over to a party of Senecas who gave her the name "Deh-he-wa-mis" meaning "Two Falling Voices". A few years later she came to the Genesee Valley and settled at Little Beard's town in Cuylerville. Mary soon adapted to the way of life of the Seneca and lived peacefully among them, but the pain of losing her family stayed with her always. When Sullivan's army was en route to destroy Little Beard's town, the chiefs sent the women and children west into the woods temporarily for safety. Some left the area permanently, but Mary returned and tried to salvage what she could to feed her children.

When Mary was interviewed in 1823 by James Seaver for a narrative on her life in captivity\*, she vividly described the impact the devastation of the Genesee Valley area by Sullivan's army on the lives of the Seneca nation. Some of her recollections conflicted with soldier's journals, yet the memoirs provide invaluable insight into the way of life of the Indians during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century in this area. The story of her captivity led to national recognition that has increased over time. After the death of her first husband, Mary married another Seneca and had several more children. Despite repeated opportunities to leave the Seneca way of life, Mary choose to remain where she considered her home, farming the Gardeau flats\*\*.



Statue of Mary Jemison at Letchworth State Park erected by William Letchworth in 1910. Photo from the Livingston County Historian's collection.

Nearly twenty years after Sullivan's Campaign, Mary was present at yet another pivotal moment in the history of Livingston County. In 1797 negotiations between white developers and the Senecas for the sale of more than three million acres of land west of the Genesee River, resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Big Tree at Geneseo. Mary was able to secure title to nearly 18,000 acres of excellent quality land. In the 1820s she sold most of the tract and was still actively tilling the soil and raising crops on a two-acre parcel at nearly ninety years old. She finally decided it was time to sell the remainder of the reservation in 1831 and move to the Buffalo Creek Reservation\*\*. Two years afterwards, Mary Jemison died.

Forty-one years later the "White Woman of the Genesee" returned to her Valley. The Buffalo Creek Reservation had been sold, and the old burying ground was threatened. Her grandchildren approached William Letchworth\*\*\*, who had purchased most of the original Gardeau tract. In March of 1874, the remains of "Deh-he-wa-mis" were removed back to her former home by train. In ceremonies held in the ancient Council House that blended both the Seneca and Christian ways, she was re-interred on the bluff above the Middle Falls in Letchworth Park, where a monument still stands today.

\*James E. Seaver's, *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* was originally published in 1824, more than 30 editions have been published since that time.

\*\* For location of the Gardeau and Buffalo Creek Reservations see map page 35.

\*\*\*For more information on the life of William Pryor Letchworth see page 63.

## CHAPTER TWO

# Pioneer Settlement

*The Indian Treaties & The Early Development of Livingston County*



Reprinted from  
*Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York*  
by O. Turner, published 1850.

# ***The Genesee Valley Opens For Development***

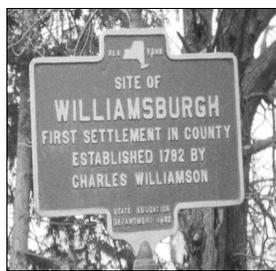
*“Taking a view of this country altogether,  
I do not know an extent of ground so good.”\**

**W**ithin five years after the end of the Revolutionary War, colonists began branching out from well-established settlements in New England, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland with visions of reaping the boundless benefits this fair, vast wilderness land had to offer. The complex extinguishments of the Indian title to the land and the resolution of conflicting claims of the state of Massachusetts with the state of New York, did not deter land speculators. The soldiers of Sullivan’s Expedition upon returning home after the war generated enthusiasm that prompted rapid development of the Genesee Valley. The beauty and fertility, particularly the area that now comprises Livingston County spread as far as Western Europe. A traveler describing the country between Albany and Niagara in 1792, wrote this passage with great eloquence:

*“The famous Genesee flats lie on the borders of the Genesee river; they are about twenty miles in length, and about four miles wide; the soil is remarkably rich, quite clear of trees, and producing grass near ten feet high. I estimate these flats to be well worth 200,000 pounds as they now lie. They are mostly the property of the Indians. Taking a view of this country altogether, I do not know an extent of ground so good. Cultivation is easy, and the land is grateful. The progress of settlement is so rapid, that you and myself may very probably see the day when we can apply these lines to the Genesee Country: ‘Here happy millions their own lands possess, No tyrant awes them, nor no lords oppress.’”\**

## ***Some soldiers return to the area to settle***

Among the most prominent and distinguished of the early settlers in western New York, and Livingston County in particular, were the brothers James and William Wadsworth. The extensive history of this family, their influence over many generations, together with the contributions of so many others is unquestionable and covered comprehensively in countless resources. However, most of the veterans of the Sullivan Campaign who returned to settle in this area were not as illustrious yet still played important roles within the fledgling society. A small handful of veteran soldiers provided first-hand accounts and some indispensable clarity to the events that occurred in 1779 on the same soil where they chose to dwell. For Moses Van Campen, John Salmon and Paul Sanborn (see pages 36-37 for biographical sketches of these men), all of whom were present at the discovery and burial of Boyd and Parker, returning to the Genesee Valley may have been especially difficult. Perhaps memories of the awe-inspiring splendor of the area drew them back despite the horrors of war previously witnessed.



The first permanent white settlement in the Genesee Valley was a small village called Williamsburgh in the present day town of Groveland, formerly a Seneca village by the name of Chenussio (see map page 12). The new settlement was aptly named after Sir William Pulteney, the eminent Scottish lawyer, and Member of Parliament, who invested heavily in lands in western New York. Captain Charles Williamson, the agent of the Pulteney estates, began a project in 1792, to construct a roadway to open up a route from Pennsylvania eventually meeting the Canaseraga Creek. While Williamson dreamt of a thriving city in the wilderness, the settlement only grew to the size of a village, flourishing until about 1806. From this pioneer settlement, however, derived a series of ‘firsts’ in the county including; a school, a grist-mill, and in 1793, the first fair and horse races in the Genesee Country. The latter became an annual event widely advertised across the state. It is said that sporting men came from New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.\*\* All that remains today is the one-acre cemetery where such notables as Charles Carroll, William Fitzhugh and James Birney are buried. The cemetery is located just off State Rt. 63 on Abel Road and was recently listed on the National and State Register of Historic Places.

\*James H. Smith, *The History of Livingston County, New York* (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1881), 93.

\*\*Ibid., 352.

# ***Treaties with the Six Nations***

## *A Series of Delicate and Complex Negotiations*

**T**he destruction of the villages and agricultural basis which supported the Indian population before the Sullivan Campaign greatly impoverished the Senecas but did not deprive them of the title to their land. The national and state government's recognition of the fact that the Indians still held title to the land in western New York led to the creation of numerous treaties. These treaties all directly affected land in present-day Livingston County and formed the foundation of legal title for white settlement.

The first treaty was negotiated between the Senecas and Messrs. Phelps and Gorham in July 1788. After the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolutionary War, Phelps and Gorham purchased from the state of Massachusetts the rights to the land west of the old pre-emption Line on the condition they obtain title from the Indians. The Phelps and Gorham Treaty extinguished the Indian claims west to the meridian that passes through the confluence of the Canaseraga Creek and the Genesee River with certain deviations north of the confluence. Approximately two-thirds of Livingston County was covered by this treaty.

The 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua\* spelled out more fully the lands to be recognized as being native lands and the rights of the natives. As the pressure of westward development increased, the third treaty, the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797\* was negotiated. This treaty included the western one-third of Livingston County and extinguished Indian title to most of the lands to the Niagara frontier excepting a handful of sovereign reservations (*see map next page*).

Note: The Seneca people's belief that the Treaty of Canandaigua in 1794 expressed the true and valid relationship between the Indian nations and the United States is more fully explored in the book, *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794*, edited by G. Peter Jemison and Anna M. Schein (Clear Light Publishers, Santa Fe 2000). The information above was provided by William Koschura.  
\*For the complete text of the Treaty of Canandaigua and the Treaty of Big Tree see the reference section of this book.

**Phelps and Gorham Treaty 1788** -The land ceded, became known as the Phelps and Gorham Purchase. Briefly described: Bounded on the east by the Massachusetts pre-emption line; on the west by a line beginning in the north line of Pennsylvania, due south of the corner of the confluence of the Genesee River and the Canaseraga Creek; running northerly along the water of the Genesee River to a point two miles north of Canawagus (near Avon), then west twelve miles, then northerly so as to be twelve miles distant from the western bounds of the river to the shores of Lake Ontario. Within these boundaries contained approximately 2,600,000 acres. In 1790, due to severe financial difficulties, Phelps and Gorham sold more than 1,000,000 acres to Robert Morris. One year later Morris through his London agent sold the land to a company of English capitalists, with Sir William Pulteney obtaining the majority of the interest in the land. Charles Williamson as agent for Pulteney took an absolute conveyance of the 'Genesee Tract'.

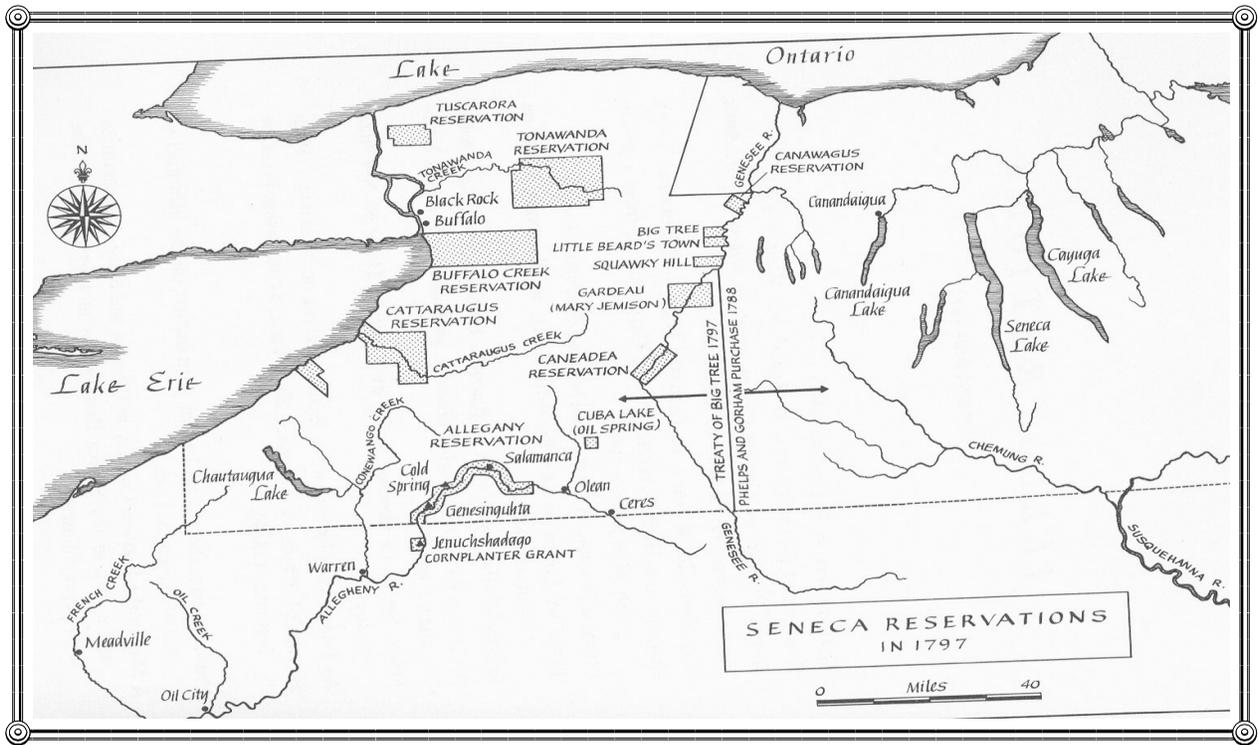
Information gathered from various resources including *The History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase* by O. Turner (Rochester, 1851)

**The Treaty of Big Tree 1797** - The Treaty of Big Tree signed September 16, 1797 in Geneseo, opened up millions of acres west of the Genesee River for development and set aside several Indian reservations. The reservations along the Genesee River, within what is now Livingston County included:

- 1) *Canawagus Reservation* - Two miles square, west of Avon in the town of Caledonia.
- 2) *Big Tree Reservation* - Two miles square, opposite Geneseo, in the town of Leicester.
- 3) *Little Beard's Reservation* - Two miles square, in Cuylerville, in the town of Leicester.
- 4) *Squakie Hill Reservation* -Two miles square, near Mt. Morris, in the town of Leicester.
- 5) *Gardeau Reservation* - Twenty eight square miles, on both sides of the Genesee River, now within Letchworth State Park. This reservation was specifically given to Mary Jemison and originally thought to be only about 150 acres. When the land was actually surveyed it was shown to be nearly 18,000 acres.



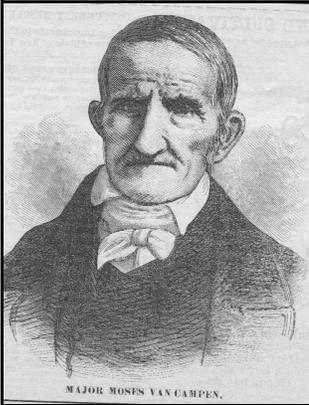
Above: Map of Western New York, showing Phelps & Gorham Purchase (including Mill Yard Tract), Holland Land Co. Purchase, and Morris Reserve (including Triangle Tract). [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phelps\\_and\\_Gorham\\_Purchase](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phelps_and_Gorham_Purchase) GNU Free Documentation License.



# Biographical Sketches

*Soldiers with Sullivan's army who took up residence in Livingston County after the war.*

## Moses Van Campen (1757-1849) - A Brave and Fearless Patriot



Moses Van Campen was born in New Jersey in 1757 and soon afterwards, his father moved the family to land on the Delaware River in Northampton County, Pennsylvania. Moses was the oldest of ten children. When the family later moved to land on the Susquehanna, Moses became an avid hunter and his excursions often included parties of Indians who came from the waters of the Genesee to hunt for weeks in this region. He visited their camps and became acquainted with Indian character and customs. In 1776 a regiment was raised in Northumberland County, in which Van Campen eagerly enrolled and was appointed ensign. Instead of joining General Washington, he was persuaded to remain on the frontier where it was thought he could be useful in coping with the Indians. Van Campen became attached to the regiment of Col. John Kelly and in 1778 appointed lieutenant of a company, raised to protect the frontier. The service was suited to his tastes as he was familiar with the area. In 1779, he was made quartermaster for Sullivan's Expedition and spent two or three months collecting military supplies before the army left Pennsylvania. Van Campen organized a fleet of 120 boats from Wyoming to Tioga Point up the Susquehanna River and attended to the distribution of provisions to the various companies. General Sullivan selected Van Campen to take charge of several important and dangerous scouting movements during the campaign into the Genesee Valley. After the Sullivan Campaign, Van Campen returned home to Fishing Creek, Pennsylvania to recover from illness. It was here in 1780 that Indians took Moses Van Campen captive and killed many of his family members including his father. Moses managed to communicate with other prisoners and planned his escape. Eventually after a struggle, he managed a harrowing escape. By 1782, Van Campen returned to Northumberland and was again captured by the Indians and forced to run the gauntlet at Caneadea in Allegany County. Moses amused the crowd with his strength and endurance. It was here he encountered another well-known Indian captive, Horatio Jones, who purportedly convinced the Indians to spare Van Campen's life. Moses was taken to Canada, eventually freed in a prisoner exchange and the young soldier was given the title of Major. In 1795 he again returned to the Genesee Valley, took up residence in Allegany County, and was employed by Charles Williamson as a surveyor. Van Campen served as judge and county treasurer before moving to Dansville, Livingston County in 1831 where he resided on Ossian Street for eight years. In 1841, Moses Van Campen, now 84 years old, was an honored guest in attendance at a ceremony when the bones of his fellow soldiers were removed from Groveland and Leicester and taken to Mt. Hope Cemetery in Rochester for re-interment. Van Campen later returned to Angelica where he died in 1849 at the age of ninety-two. \*

\* Information compiled from a biography written by Moses Van Campen's grandson, John N. Hubbard, *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen*, (Bath, N.Y., Underhill & Co. 1842)

## Paul Sanborn (1760-1846) - Soldier and Pioneer Settler of Conesus



Very little is known about the life of Paul Sanborn, the private on the right of Clinton's Brigade who discovered the mutilated bodies of Boyd & Parker at Cuylerville. Despite the brutality he witnessed during Sullivan's Campaign, Sanborn returned to the area and was among the first white settlers of Conesus. According to the *History of Conesus*\*, Sanborn built a log cabin in 1816 or 1817 on Lot No. 71 of the William Pulteney lot containing 146 acres. Sixty two years after the brutal ambush of Boyd's scouting party, Paul Sanborn stood together with Moses Van Campen, and watched the grand ceremony as the bones of fallen soldiers were sent in flotillas down the Genesee Canal to be re-interred in Mt. Hope Cemetery. In an oration given during the ceremony on August 20, 1841\*\*, Samuel Treat acknowledged Sanborn's gallantry;

“Sixty-two years ago you joined in the solemn duty  
of committing their remains to the silent grave;  
and now you have met with us to lament their untimely fall,  
and to do honor to their memories.”

*Left:* An impressive monument marks the spot where Sanborn, his wife and other family members are buried at Union Cemetery on Rt. 256 in Conesus. The original grave marker of Paul Sanborn is leaning against the base of the monument. Photo by William Koschara.

\*William P. Boyd, *History of the town of Conesus*, Livingston County, NY (Conesus 1887), 55.

\*\*For more on the ceremony in 1841 see Chapter Three.

## Biographical Sketches

### **John Salmon, Esq. (1760-1837) - *Rifleman became respectable citizen of Groveland***

John Salmon a native of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania was among the soldiers of Sullivan's Campaign that felt compelled to return to this area after the war. Salmon was part of the elite Morgan's Riflemen corps and participated in the battle of Monmouth in 1778 and also expeditions into the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys. As the Orderly Sergeant attached to the same company as Lt. Boyd, John Salmon directed the burial of the bodies of Boyd and Parker. "The grave was dug under a clump of wild plum trees, at the junction of two small streams which form Beard's creek." (Cook, Journals 560).

Salmon gave a statement in 1824 that helped to shed additional light on Sullivan's Campaign, however, like many of the officers journals, he occasionally stated as fact events that he did not actually witness. His account provides interesting reading and helped to verify the actual location of the ambush in Groveland. Salmon's statement also included an elaborate description which is perhaps the origin of the folklore related to the Masonic fraternity which Boyd and his captor, Iroquois leader Joseph Brant were members.\*

Like his counterpart Paul Sanborn a few miles away in Conesus, John Salmon appeared to live a relatively quiet life in Groveland. He was referred to as "an old gentlemen of respectability and good standing in society...and now in the decline of life, sits under his own well earned vine and fig-tree, near the grave of his unfortunate countrymen..."\*\* He purchased property near the site of the Ambuscade in Groveland and served as a trustee of the First Methodist Episcopal Church at Hunt's Corners in East Groveland in the early 1820s. Salmon died in November of 1837 at the age of 77 years. He is buried at Lakeview Cemetery on David Gray Road, a few hundred feet from the Ambuscade monument.



*In September of 2005, a fragment of the grave stone of John Salmon was discovered by Amie Alden, County Historian, a few inches underground at Lakeview Cemetery near the Ambuscade Park in Groveland. A 1945 survey of marked graves in the Livingston County Historian's Office helped to pinpoint the exact burial place of this distinguished soldier. Plans are in the works to dedicate a new marker. Photo by William Koschara.*

\*For more on the Masons see page 15.

\*\*James Seaver, *The Life of Mary Jemison* (New York: The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1975) Appendix 150-6.

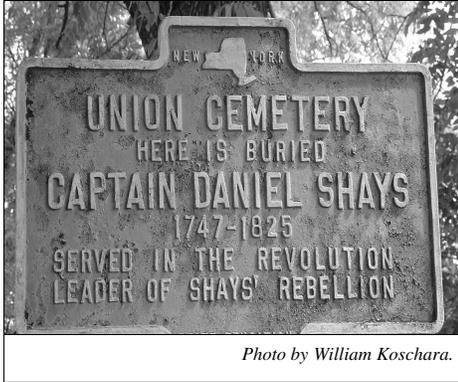
## Biographical Sketches

After the Revolutionary War, word of the fertile Genesee Valley spread far and wide attracting some veterans of Sullivan's army to return and settle.

The area also drew hundreds of other former soldiers to put down roots in the area.

Among these early settlers was a patriot and infamous rebel who led one of the most renowned uprisings in American history.

### **Daniel Shays (1747-1825) - *Leader of Shays' Rebellion***



*Photo by William Koschara.*

Daniel Shays, a native of Massachusetts, was commissioned as a captain in the 5th Massachusetts regiment in 1777 and participated in the battles of Bunker Hill, Ticonderoga, Saratoga and Stony Point. His service record was notable, and he was awarded a ceremonial sword by the Marquis de Lafayette at the end of the war for distinguished service. After retiring from the army in 1780 Shays settled in Pelham, Massachusetts, where he served in several local government positions.

Economic conditions in the country after the Revolutionary War, especially in Western Massachusetts, were strained due to heavy war debt, shattered industries and an unsettled population. Small farmers, many former soldiers, were especially hard hit and began to organize their efforts against the government to protect their land from seizure in lieu of unpaid debt. Peaceful efforts by farmers were ignored and soon replaced by militant action. In 1786 Daniel Shays became the leader of several hundred rebel farmers known as Regulators and organized an insurgence forever dubbed "Shays' Rebellion". The private militia attempted to prevent the state supreme court from convening and stormed the courthouse at Springfield and the Federal arsenal. A quick response from the state militia quelled the uprising and after a few skirmishes, Shays and the Regulators fled in defeat to Vermont. Condemned to death in absentia on a charge of treason, Shays petitioned for amnesty in February 1788, and the petition was granted by the newly elected Governor, John Hancock. Shays soon afterwards relocated to New York.

The uprising struck a cord on the national level in the summer of 1787 when the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia convened and struggled to create a stronger central government that would "establish justice and insure domestic tranquility." Shays' Rebellion was fresh on the minds of the delegates and is considered a highly influential factor in the formation of the United States Constitution. Proponents of constitutional reform at the national level cited the rebellion as justification for revision or replacement of the Articles of Confederation, and Shays' Rebellion figured prominently in the debates over the framing and ratification of the Constitution.

Daniel Shays arrived in the town of Sparta around 1816 and settled near the head of Conesus Lake in the hamlet of Scottsburg in the town of Sparta. Not long afterwards he married a young widow by the name of Rhoda Havens. He was considered a local celebrity and often found visitors at his door eager to hear tales of the old gentleman's daring exploits. Shays appears to have lived a rather quiet life for a few short years in Livingston County before he died in 1825. He was buried without ceremony in Union Cemetery in Conesus. For many years the brave soldier and rebel had only a rustic stone marker signifying his final resting place. More than a century passed before a more dignified granite marker was placed in his honor. During the Bicentennial of the Constitution in 1987, Daniel Shays a man once charged with treason, received the notoriety he so aptly deserved.

*(The above information was compiled from various sources in the Livingston County Historian's Office. )*



## Shays' Rebellion Week and Day, 1987

*By the President of the United States of America*

### A Proclamation

This year, Americans celebrate the bicentennial of many events relating to the drafting of our Constitution. One of those events was Shays' Rebellion.

After the War of Independence, Americans continued to live under the Articles of Confederation. Problems of economic recovery and sluggish international trade clouded the horizon. In this climate of economic difficulties and the recent memory of a bitter struggle for freedom, Shays' Rebellion took place.

Unlike many other States, Massachusetts had not passed debt relief laws. In the fall of 1786, some Massachusetts debtors tried to stop court-ordered confiscation of land and property by using force to prevent the courts from sitting. Governor Bowdoin responded by calling out the State militia and asking other States for help.

Although the Continental Congress lacked the power and resources to assist, the uprising eventually was suppressed. On January 25, 1787, Daniel Shays, a captain during the Revolution, led a group of debtors who sought to stop the State Supreme Court from meeting. They attacked the courthouse at Springfield and the Federal arsenal. The State militia repelled this assault, and soon the uprising was over. A new State legislature granted some of the insurgents' demands and pardoned or gave lenient sentences to their leaders. This judicious policy and the return of prosperity soon restored harmony in Massachusetts.

Thomas Jefferson believed that the rebels' activities were motivated by "ignorance, not wickedness." He pointed out that the majority of the people of Massachusetts had sided with the government, and he concluded that "the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army." Although many Americans were satisfied with the Articles of Confederation and were wary of a strong central government, Shays' Rebellion did give impetus to the Federalists' call for the establishment of what George Washington termed "a more efficient general government."

At the Annapolis Convention of 1786, Federalists had publicized commercial disputes among the States. Now they cited the insurgency to bolster their claim that a Federal charter was needed in place of the Articles of Confederation. On February 21, 1787, the Continental Congress called for a Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in May to amend the Articles. Fresh in the minds of the assembled delegates, Shays' Rebellion was to have a profound and lasting effect on the framing of our Constitution and on our subsequent history.

To recognize the influence of Shays' Rebellion on the movement for our Federal Constitution, the Congress, by Public Law 99-629, has designated the week beginning January 19, 1987, as "Shays' Rebellion Week" and Sunday, January 25, 1987, the two hundredth anniversary of the defense of Springfield, as "Shays' Rebellion Day" and authorized and requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of this event.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning January 19, 1987, as Shays' Rebellion Week and Sunday, January 25, 1987, as Shays' Rebellion Day. I call upon all Americans to observe these occasions with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

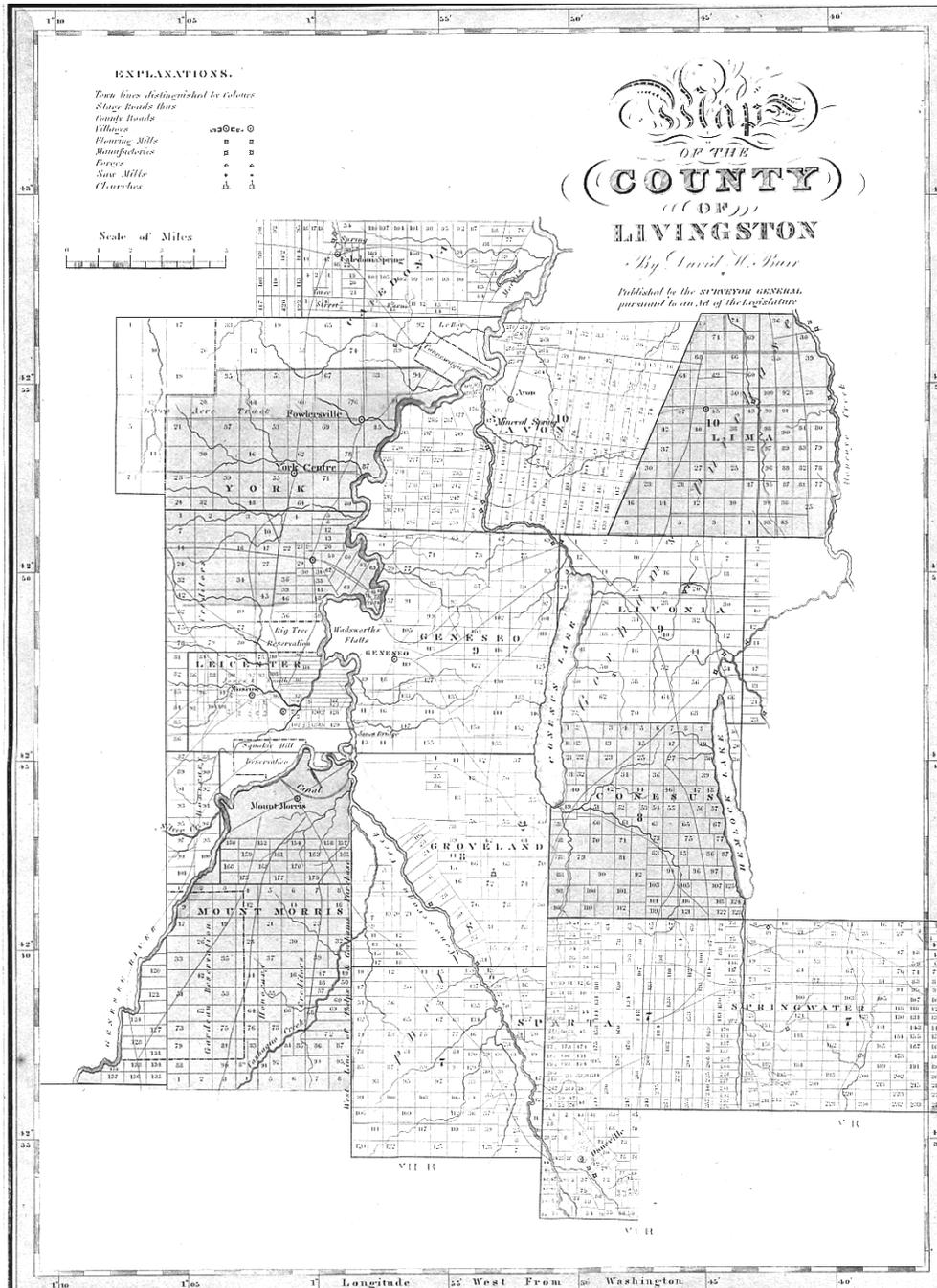
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and eleventh.

*Ronald Reagan*

# Livingston County was Formed in 1821



On February 23, 1821, Livingston County, New York was formed from Ontario and Genesee Counties. The county was named in honor of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston (*portrait on right*), who among other things, helped to draft the Declaration of Independence and negotiate the Louisiana Purchase. The twelve original towns were: Avon, Caledonia, Conesus, Genesee (county seat), Groveland, Leicester, Lima, Livonia, Mount Morris, Sparta, Springwater and York. The area that now includes part of the town of North Dansville was annexed from Steuben County in 1822 and formed as a separate town when Sparta was divided in 1846. At the same time, the town of West Sparta was also formed from Sparta. Nunda and Portage were annexed from Allegany County in 1846 as well as Ossian in 1857.



# The Genesee Valley Canal

*A remarkably engineered,  
extravagantly expensive, short-lived project*

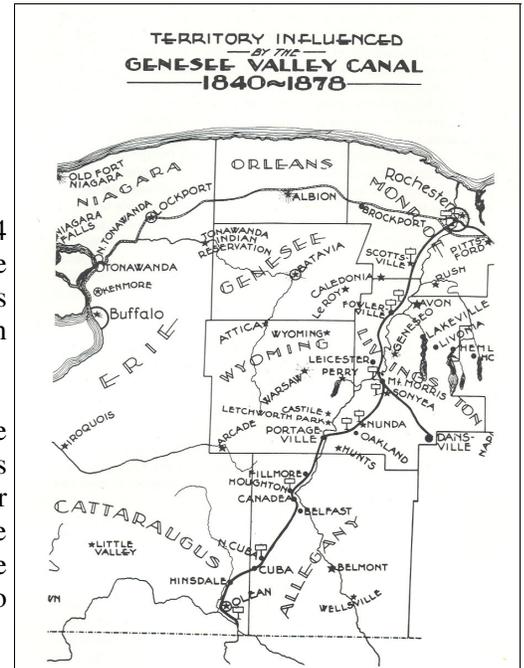
By today's standards, a venture taking twenty-four years, stretching 124 miles and costing more than six million dollars would almost certainly be considered extreme. Yet despite enormous obstacles such a project was accomplished between 1837-1862, cutting through the core of Livingston County, connecting the Genesee Valley to markets across the country.

The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 brought prosperity across the state and the realization of the benefits of internal navigation. Locally, citizens sought a manmade waterway for the rapid and reliable delivery of their goods. The extensive tract of the Genesee Valley of fertile and productive land, especially rich in lumber and wheat crops, lacked access to the markets of the country other than the Genesee River which was often too dangerous to navigate.

Planners came up with an elaborate solution; build a canal that would unite the Atlantic Ocean (by way of the Erie Canal) with the Allegheny River thereby connecting with the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers allowing freight and passengers to be transported all the way to New Orleans! However, the proposed path would take the canal through the Genesee Gorge area, known as the "Grand Canyon of the East." Dozens of locks would have to be constructed to lift the canal boats into the foothills of the Allegheny Mountains. Issues of how to supply water to feed into the canal's long length also needed to be addressed but through intensive lobbying, a plan was approved. The digging started in 1837 in Rochester and proceeded slowly southward to Livingston County reaching Mt. Morris by September 1840. In the fall of 1841, the canal was opened from Mt. Morris to a junction at Sonyea; a branch was then extended to Dansville, completing 52 miles. The portion from Dansville to the Genesee River was supplied with water from the Canaseraga and Mill Creeks.

Extending the canal through to Nunda and Portage proved a far greater challenge. Workers continually battled brutal weather, laboring with picks and shovels to complete a valley 73' deep by 238' wide. Next the canal had to climb over the area's most rugged terrain running along the gorge at Portage. A tunnel was needed to route the canal through the mountain of rock. After extensive excavations the project ground to a halt as fiscal and political problems prompted the State Legislature in 1842 to pass a "Stop Law" ordering the suspension of all expenditures on public works projects. It took six years before funding became available from Albany giving new hope to Livingston County and the Southern Tier that the canal would finally be completed. Between Nunda and Portageville (Wyoming County), 17 locks had to be built providing the greatest lift of any canal in the US. With the engineering difficulties encountered this was the most costly section and plagued with serious injuries and fatalities. The first canal boat finally sailed through Nunda in 1851. It then took eleven more years before the final segment of the Genesee Valley Canal was completed to the Allegheny River.

On September 30, 1878 the Genesee Valley Canal was officially closed. The rise of railroad transportation replaced the slower canal boats. In its heyday the canal boosted the growth of industry and agriculture in the Genesee Valley. Thriving ports developed along the route and small communities blossomed. Although the life of the canal was short-lived, the lasting effect enriched the quality of life for residents and appreciation for the rich resources of this area.



**The newly opened Genesee Valley Canal was used in 1841  
to transport the remains of Thomas Boyd, Michael Parker  
and the others who lost their lives in the ambushade.  
See Chapter Three for details.**

Information was compiled from various sources in the Livingston County Historian's Office, including a book by Nobel E. Whitford, *History of the Canal System of the State of New York* (pub. 1905) and *The Genesee Valley Canal* by Mildred L. H. Anderson, pub. 1978.

## Relics and Remains Found by Early Settlers

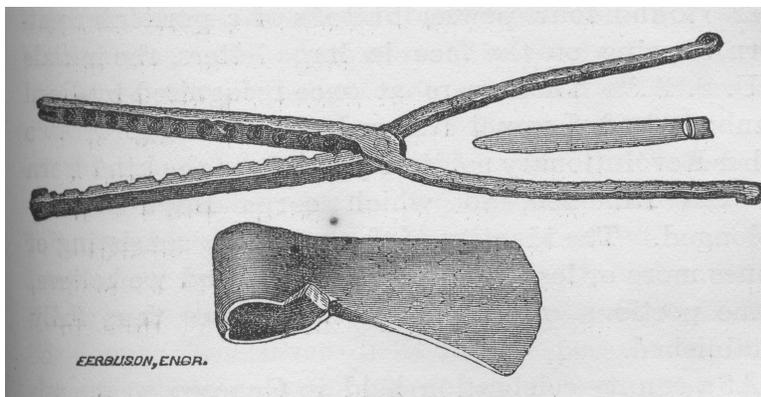
*Many of the pioneer settlers in Livingston County were former soldiers of the Revolution and with their help, the sites of the ambush and the torture of Boyd and Parker were conclusively identified. Fallen soldier's remains surfaced along with military relics as farmers began to work the land.*

From Lockwood L. Doty's *History of Livingston County, New York*\*

*"The fallen soldiers were buried in two graves near together, the larger of which was located between three huge oaks...Captain Salmon who now sleeps in the grave-yard close at hand, lived for many years but a mile distant and frequently visited the spot in company with men yet living. He never was weary of pointing out the place of conflict, nor of identifying with soldierly reverence the burial place. The earth over the grave, while yet the virgin soil thereabouts lay undisturbed, had settled two feet, and bushes had been thrown into the depression. Thus it remained for some years until the brush was removed by a tenant, who plowed over the spot and gradually leveled it up even with the surrounding surface.*

*While the country was yet new and farmers allowed their cattle and horses to roam at large, John Harrison, of Groveland, one morning in crossing Deacon Carpenter's farm, just north of the site of this ambush, in search of his stock, stumbled upon a human skull which lay beside a decaying log. This doubtless belonged to one who had been wounded in the fight and had crawled off in that direction to die. A scalping knife also, possibly the property of the Indian killed by Murphy while effecting his escape was found a little way eastward of the graves. A number of other relics have been picked up from time to time, though few are preserved. For it was the practice of Groveland boys, on their way to the lake for fishing, when their route lay by this spot, to seek among the soldier bones, then quite freely scattered over the surface, for such pieces as they best liked for cane tops. Military buttons, too, were now and then picked up and applied to the same fanciful purpose until the hand of the curious and the corrosion of time together had removed the more open evidences of the burial place, so that when in 1841, the general exhumation occurred\*\* it was only after digging over a considerable space that the exact location of the two graves was ascertained.*

*Mingled with the bones and dust thrown up on that occasion were found four pewter buttons of a particular pattern, bearing on the face in large letters, the initials "U.S.A." These were at once recognized by Paul Sanborn and Lemuel Richardson, and one or two other Revolutionary soldiers present, as the kind worn by the Riflemen, to which the corps Boyd's party belonged. The identity of the remains, consisting of bones more or less decayed, of teeth, and we believe, some portions of military clothing, was thus fully established."*



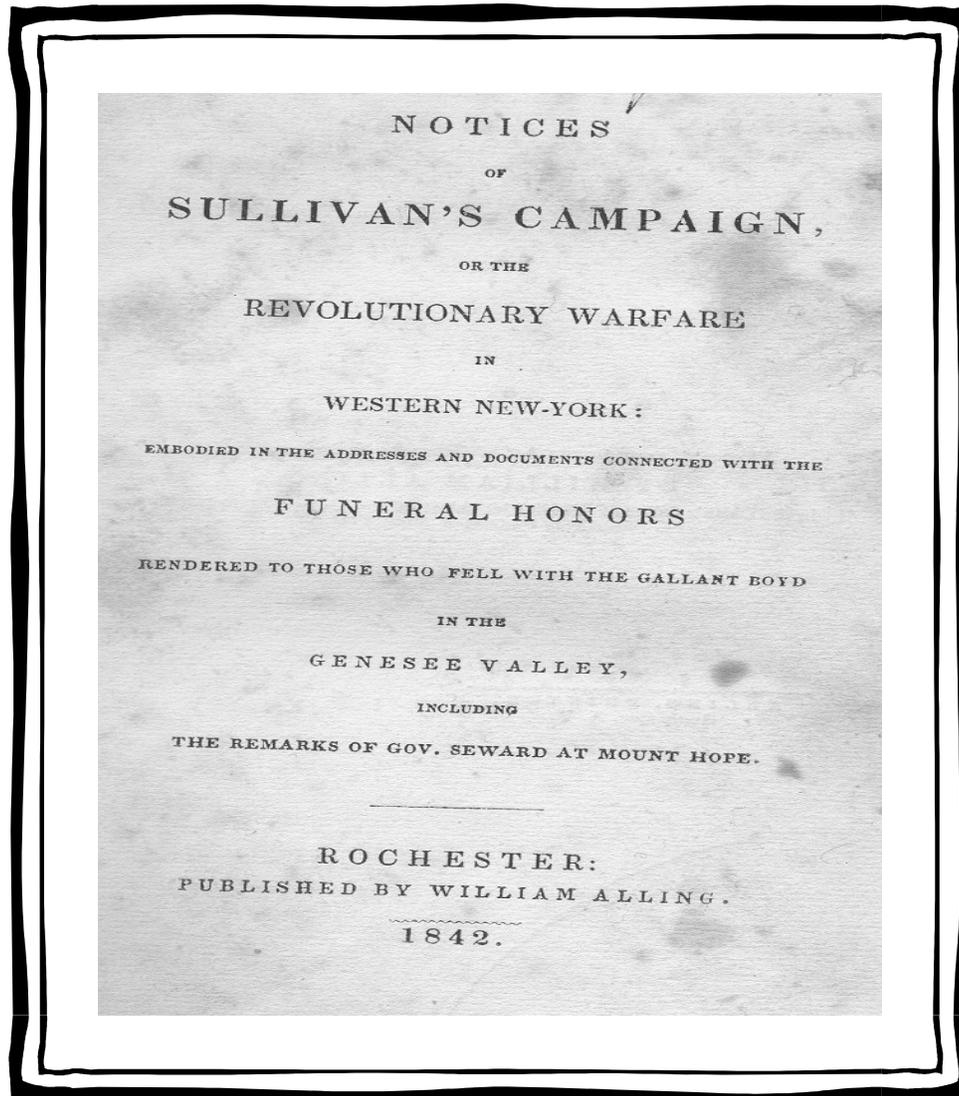
Engraving showing a scalping-knife, axe and bullet mould found near the inlet at Conesus Lake. From *History of Livingston County* by L. L. Doty, p.419.

\* (Doty 1876, 418-420).

\*\* See Chapter Three for events of 1841.

## CHAPTER THREE

# Removal of the Soldier's Remains in 1841



Reprinted from the title page of  
*Notices of Sullivan's Campaign of the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York.*  
From the library of the Livingston County Historian.

## **62 YEARS LATER....**

### ***Funeral Honors for the Heroic Dead***

*Dignitaries from Rochester made an excursion to Livingston County in 1841 to remove the “moldering remains from their lonely grave”\* to the new Mount Hope Cemetery*



*Entrance to Mt. Hope Cemetery. From Livingston County Historian's postcard collection.*

**P**roposals to raise monuments over the graves of General Sullivan's soldiers buried in Groveland and Leicester were made over the years; however, formal plans for a memorial did not come to fruition until 1841. Livingston County was provoked into action when Henry O'Reilly,\*\* a newspaper editor from Rochester, began a public campaign to have the soldier's remains removed from remote rural areas to what was considered a more appropriate location, worthy of their heroism. Patriot's Hill at the recently opened Mount Hope Cemetery in Rochester, New York, was set aside purposely as a resting place for Revolutionary War soldiers of the Genesee Valley.

Shortly after Independence Day 1841, military companies of Rochester and civic organizations passed resolutions and formed committees to participate in the removal of the remains of Lt. Boyd and his comrades. Wide spread enthusiasm was generated and a complex event was quickly arranged. The city of Rochester delegated three Aldermen as representatives and invitations were sent to the Governor, Senate, former soldiers and other important people. The following is a transcript of the proceedings of one of the companies:\*\*\*

ARMORY OF WILLIAMS' LIGHT INFANTRY  
*Rochester, July 2, 1841.*

At a special meeting of this corps, on Friday evening, at their armory, the subject of disinterring the remains of the brave Lieut. Boyd, which now lie buried in the Valley of the Genesee, between Geneseo and Moscow (*Leicester*) and removing them to such place on Mount Hope as shall hereafter be designated, the following resolutions were adopted:

*Resolved*, That we cordially approve of the recommendations which have been made for the removal to some selected spot, of the remains of the brave and generous Boyd, who, in 1779, fell a victim to the savage barbarity and treachery of the infamous Col. Butler, while, with a detachment of Gen. Sullivan's command, he was endeavoring to drive the savage enemy from the Valley of the Genesee.

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to cooperate with other committees that may hereafter be appointed for the purpose of effecting such removal.

Whereupon the President named as such committee, James Miller, Robert A. Hall and Henry Shears, Jr.

JOSEPH PUTNAM, *President.*

F. F. PARKER, *Secretary.*

\*Notices of Sullivan's Campaign or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York: Embodied in the Addresses and Documents Connected with the Funeral Honors Rendered to those who fell with the gallant Boyd in the Genesee Valley including The Remarks of Gov. Seward at Mount Hope (William Alling, Rochester 1842) , 10.

\*\*O'Reilly, a well-known figure, had a direct connection to Livingston County. He married Marcia Brooks, daughter of General Micah Brooks, and the couple lived for a period of time during the 1830s in Brooksgrove, a hamlet of Mt. Morris named in the General's honor. For more information on the life and contributions of Henry O'Reilly, see *Rochester History*, January 1945 at [http://www.rochester.lib.ny.us/~rochhist/v7\\_1945/v7i1.pdf](http://www.rochester.lib.ny.us/~rochhist/v7_1945/v7i1.pdf)

\*\*\*Notices of Sullivan Campaign 11-12.

# ***The People of Livingston County Made a Major Decision***

A county convention assembled at the Livingston County Courthouse in Geneseo at 2 o'clock on Saturday, August 12, 1841, to decide whether to concur or disagree with the proposed ceremonies. While there was skepticism expressed by some, the majority of the assembly decided it would be cordial and patriotic to allow the remains to be moved to a more suitable place for interment. Plans for arrangements were laid out with several prominent individuals appointed as committee members who issued the following\*:

LIVINGSTON COUNTY COURTHOUSE

*Geneseo, August 14, 1841*

**...Your committee having entertained the subject matter committed to them, do most cordially respond to the patriotic feeling evinced by the citizens of Rochester, to do honor to all who participated in the eventful struggle of the Revolution; and sincerely recommend to the citizens of Livingston County to unite in the exercises contemplated on the 20th and 21st inst., in the removal of the remains of Lieut. Boyd and his immediate associates, who fell in 1779, in the cause of freedom, while contending with their savage enemies, within the territory now embraced in this county....**

**Resolved, That we duly appreciate the praiseworthy and patriotic exertions of the citizens of Rochester, in establishing, in the cemetery at Mount Hope, a suitable place for the public internment in Western New York of such of the Revolutionary patriots as helped to fight the battles of our country.**

**D. A. MILLER, *Chairman.* Samuel W. Smith & O. M. Willey } *Secretaries.***

\*\*\*\*\*

## ***Exhumation of the Soldier's Remains***

The following is an excerpt from the Cuylerville committee report in regard to their findings on August 7, 1841\*\*:

**Excavations, made during several days, resulted on the 7th of August, in the discovery of some remains at the junction of the streams where historical and traditionary accounts state that the bodies of Boyd and Parker were buried...These streams unite at Cuylerville, near the site of the Indian settlement formerly known as Little Beard's town...They were found partly overgrown by the roots of decayed plum-trees, within a few feet of the edge of the bank of the united streams. They were disinterred in the presence of between twenty and thirty persons...The relics, as disinterred, were examined particularly by Dr. Garlock, formerly of Canandaigua, and now of this place; who recognized most of them as parts of two skeletons, which, from the position in which they were found, left not a doubt on the minds of any one present, as to their being the remains of the ill-fated Boyd and Parker...**

**SEYMOUR L. PHELPS, EDWARD MUNSEL, A. H. NIVEN, W. T. CUYLER**

Below is a letter to Henry O'Reilly, the chairman of the Rochester Committee from the secretary of the Livingston County committee\*\*\*:

*Geneseo, August 16, 1841*

Dear Sir,

**...Today a delegation from our Committee have been to Groveland and after a vigorous search, succeeded in finding a portion of the remains interred there. After digging over a small space of ground, they were eminently successful in their search, having found quite a number of bones, some in a tolerable state of preservation, and others more decayed—many teeth perfectly sound, & c. From information derived from some of the oldest settlers, but little doubt existed as to the identity of the remains with those they sought. Before leaving the ground, however, all doubt was removed by the discovery of four lead or pewter buttons in excellent preservation, and distinctly marked "U. S. A." These, with the remains, have been brought to our village; and tomorrow we propose to prosecute the search still farther. Our committee learned from some old settlers who were present, that the ground had been explored some thirty-four years ago; and at that time many bones were discovered, which were either removed at the time, or left exposed to the action of the atmosphere, and consequently soon decomposed. Many relics were also carried off at that time, such as buttons, parts of military dresses, &c. I will communicate the result of our farther search...I am, dear Sir, in behalf of the Committee, with great respect,**

**Your obedient servant, E. R. HAMMATT, *Secretary.***

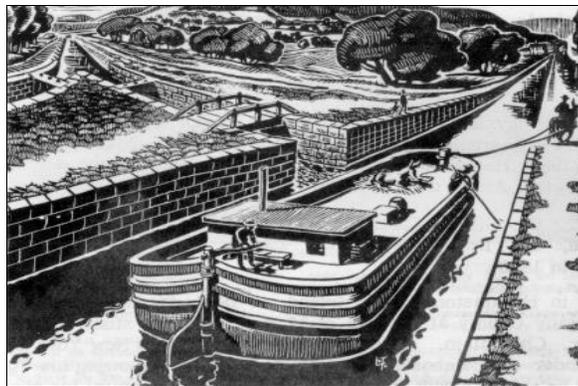
\*Notices of Sullivan's Campaign or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York: Embodied in the Addresses and Documents Connected with the Funeral Honors Rendered to those who fell with the gallant Boyd in the Genesee Valley including The Remarks of Gov. Seward at Mount Hope (William Alling, Rochester 1842) , 25 -30.

\*\*Notices of Sullivan Campaign 34-36.

\*\*\*Notices of Sullivan Campaign 32-34.

## Memorial Ceremony August 20th, 1841

A flotilla of five boats left Rochester on Friday, August 19<sup>th</sup>, navigating up the Genesee Valley Canal to Leicester with five military companies, and several guests including reporters for the newspaper and representatives from the United States Army. Other dignitaries traveled by carriage. The movements were choreographed with military precision. The editor of the Rochester Democrat described the scene in his journal.\*



Depiction of a canal boat by Louise Trenkle . Courtesy of Cuba Historical Society.

“...As we progressed up the Genesee Valley Canal, we saw evident tokens of laudable public feeling, in the bonfires which were kindled at the principal villages and the countless groups assembled to bear testimony to their reverence for the heroes of the revolution, as well as approbation of the patriotism which had prompted this enterprise. At Scottsville, Captain Elnathan Perry, of West Rush, one of Sullivan’s men, in the 81st year of his age, joined our party, and bore his proportion of the fatigues of the next day, apparently with as little inconvenience as any of us. In the morning passing through Cuylerville, which was already alive with spectators, we went to Mount Morris to breakfast. Here everything was in readiness, prepared by the liberality of its citizens; and after the repast, and a march by the troops through the several streets, we returned to Cuylerville, where we found such masses of people as seldom congregate on any occasion; proving satisfactorily that the people of Livingston County did not consider the attempt to commemorate the heroism and virtues of those who achieved our liberties, an unmeaning ceremony, or unworthy of their countenance and cooperation.

The military companies and many of the citizens dined under a bower, while the committees, the survivors of the Revolution, the Mayor and Common Council, Major General Stevens and staff and other guests were very hospitably entertained by Colonel Cuyler at his beautiful residence in the grove on the hill. The procession was then formed and proceeded to the mound, some three-quarters of a mile east of the canal. The bones had been deposited in an urn, and after a dirge played with much effect by the band, on the very spot where, sixty-two years ago, the savage yells of Little Beard and his blood-thirsty rangers had been the only requiem of the two dying patriots [Boyd and Parker] they were slowly borne away, with the sarcophagus containing the ashes of their comrades, followed by the thousand who had there collected from Genesee and the eastern extremes of the county. (The citizens from Genesee, &c., had brought with them to that spot the relics of Boyd’s soldiers who fell in Groveland—which were thus united with the ashes of their gallant officer in the honors paid to their heroism by the people of another age, who are enjoying the blessings of that freedom for which those soldiers fell bravely fighting.)

On reaching the large grove of stately oaks near Col. Cuyler’s house, where a platform and seats had been erected, the vast concourse, (estimated at five thousand people) was called to order, a dirge was played by the band, and the Throne of Grace addressed by the Rev. Mr. Gillett of Moscow. Major Moses Van Campen, aged 85 and Mr. [Paul] Sanborn, aged 79, sat on the platform by the side of Capt. Perry, all of whom had been actively employed in Sullivan’s Expedition...There were also several other time-honored soldiers of the Revolution present. After another dirge, Mr. Samuel Treat, principal of the Seminary at Genesee, addressed the audience in a strain of eloquence and manly feeling, highly honorable to him as a historian and scholar...

Soldiers! yours is a proud duty this day. You have been selected as worthy recipients of these precious relics of an age of glory, to perform the last solemn honors to their memories. For more than a half century they have lain on the very spot where they fell; and nought but the sacred purpose for which we now commit them to your charge, could induce us to suffer their removal. You know the story of their heroism and of their sufferings. You have learned the perils they generously braved; and how, at the call of duty, their blood was poured forth freely in their country’s cause. We feel assured you do, as we would have you at this hour, regard this as no idle pageant. As you bear these honored relics to their final resting place, remember their high virtue and cherish their undying fame. You are now to receive from the hands of their only surviving comrades, all that remains of as noble a band as the annals of history can boast... Soldiers! one of the few surviving officers Major Moses Van Campen, our presiding officer, and the old schoolmate and companion in arms of the gallant Boyd, is now standing before you, to perform, in behalf of himself and of his venerable comrades, and in the name of Livingston County, the sacred duty of committing to you these honored relics...”

\*Notices of Sullivan’s Campaign or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New York: Embodied in the Addresses and Documents Connected with the Funeral Honors Rendered to those who fell with the gallant Boyd in the Genesee Valley including The Remarks of Gov. Seward at Mount Hope (William Alling, Rochester 1842) , 39-45.

# **Memorial Ceremony August 20th, 1841**

## *Solemn Honors*

As President of the Day, Moses Van Campen gave a rousing speech  
at the site where sixty-two years earlier  
the body of his tortured companion in arms,  
Thomas Boyd was discovered

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

*“Aye! my noble Boyd! could your immortal spirit  
witness the scenes of this day...”Moses Van Campen*

The following is an excerpt from Van Campen’s speech at the Memorial Ceremonies, August 20, 1841:

“Fellow Citizens ... I must say that I little expected to live to see the time when the remains of some of my companions in youth, and eleven of them my companions in arms, whose blood was shed in the glorious struggle for the liberty and independence of our country, and shed on the soil of Livingston County; and whose patriotic remains for sixty-two years have been moldering in her dust—should here, this day be presented to the view of this great assembly.

How different do they appear to me now...when I saw them in the vigor of life and in the bloom of youth! Aye! my noble Boyd! could your immortal spirit witness the scenes of this day, methinks it would rejoice to see your old friend and companion making a surrender of your mortal remains and those of your brave men who fell a sacrifice to the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage—surrendering you to the honorable committee and associations from Rochester, who have prepared for you a resting place till you are called from the slumbering dust by the voice of your God. ...

Gentlemen! I now, with these my worthy companions, and the only two surviving members present of the army of General Sullivan, and in the Name of the committee of the County of Livingston, surrender to you these sacred relics for an honorable interment at Mount Hope, where you will pay to them the highest tribute of respect. Gentlemen, they are yours.”\*

\*The surviving members present referred to by Van Campen were Paul Sanborn of Conesus, the first to discover the bodies of Boyd and Parker and Elnathan Perry of West Rush. Other Revolutionary soldiers were present at the ceremony but not connected to Sullivan’s army. (Excerpted from Van Campen’s speech in *Notices of Sullivan’s Campaign*, 45-48).

### **Resolved**

At the ceremonies of August 20th, 1841  
a resolution offered by Henry O’Reilly was unanimously adopted,  
by the thousands present, naming the streams at whose junction  
the mangled bodies of Boyd and Parker were buried  
shall thereafter be named in honor of those fallen soldiers.  
Boyd’s Creek and Parker’s Creek and the mound shall  
“commemorate the names and services of those martyrs through all time,  
while grass grows and water runs.”\*\*

\*\*Notices of Sullivan’s Campaign, 50.

## The Flotilla Departed an Hour Before Sunset

**T**he mayor of Rochester responded to the sentiments expressed and formally accepted the remains on behalf of the citizens of his city. The flotilla departed from Cuylerville, an hour before sunset and arrived at its destination at sunrise the next day. The party was announced by the firing of a national salute. At 10 o'clock A. M., the procession included the participants from the Livingston County committee, the Governor, the Revolutionary soldiers, all the military companies, and pallbearers. The line was formed on West Main Street facing the Erie Canal. The parade marched solemnly to the beat of a mournful dirge.

“When the cavalcade got in motion,” a reporter wrote, “it presented a scene highly interesting and imposing. The procession extended as far as the eye could reach—consisting of double and treble rows of carriages, besides large numbers on horseback. Thousands of spectators lined the sides of the streets, or appeared at the windows, in the numerous balconies, and on the tops of houses. Every eminence and elevated place was crowded with people. Along the whole line of march, the roadsides were thronged with foot passengers, wending their way to the scene of final ceremonies. Upon arriving at Mount Hope, the military companies formed a line around the hill, designated as the burial place of Revolutionary patriots, where the wooden receptacles, containing the remains, were deposited in their final resting place.”

An Episcopal funeral service was read and in turn the Governor William H. Seward addressed the vast crowd converged at the cemetery; “We see in this event, a brief record of what our fathers suffered in the achievement of our Independence: their sufferings in the wilderness, death in battle and death by torture. The bones before us are the remains of some of those who thus suffered... we simply know that they fell in defense of their country; and knowing this, we see here the proud spectacle of a whole people—a free people— assembled to do honor to these dry bones, gathered from among the clods of the valley...” \*

\*Information for this section was found in : Frederick Cook, Secretary of State, ed. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*. Prepared pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York, of 1885 ( Knapp, Peck & Thomson Printers, Auburn, NY,1887) p.562-563.

### From Patriot's Hill to Potter's Field

After all the elaborate planning, pomp and parade, the remains of the soldiers did not rest in peace for eternity. Despite the enthusiasm of O'Reilly, all the support of the Livingston County committee, and thousands of participants, they could not control the future fate of the soldier's remains. A sudden rainstorm appeared to have abruptly ended the funeral service at Mt. Hope Cemetery on August 21, 1841. The urn and sarcophagus apparently were left above ground exposed to the elements. Subsequently, years passed and no marble monument was placed on the hill as planned, only a few veterans were interred and no deed for Patriot's hill was ever obtained. As decades elapsed, the wooden urn disintegrated and stories proliferated of bones being scattered by children, dragged off by animals or tossed into Potter's Field. By the 1860s the city of Rochester needed additional burial sites and the hill, so revered in 1841, was leveled. Marked graves on the site were moved, however, the rest of the remains were lost or unidentified, including those of Boyd and his comrades.



Lithograph by E. B. & E. C. Kellogg of the proposed burial site for soldiers of the Revolution. Patriot's Hill at Mt. Hope, Rochester, where the remains of Boyd and his comrades were to be laid to rest. From flyleaf of *Notices of Sullivan Campaign, etc.* pub. 1842.

### Post Script

In 1903, after another 62 years had passed, what was assumed to be the remains of the soldiers were again uprooted. Through the dedicated efforts initiated by the Irondequoit Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) and the Rochester Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR), the US Government agreed to supply proper headstones and the cemetery arranged to relocate the remains and provide perpetual care. On October 31, 1903, one hundred and twenty four years after they were ambushed and tortured to death, the soldiers received a patriotic salute. An engraved plaque was dedicated at the site on May 31, 1907, attended by a large crowd of members of the DAR, SAR and the Grand Army of the Republic. The Irondequoit DAR Chapter continues to decorate the patriot graves at Mt. Hope Cemetery.\*\*

\*\*Information compiled from several sources including; *Notices of Sullivan Campaign*, 52-70; an article written by former Monroe County Historian, Shirley Cox Husted entitled *Forgotten Heroes* and an article written by Richard O. Reisem entitled *The Gristly Tale of Boyd and Parker*. Information about the DAR provided by Barbara Koschura.

## CHAPTER FOUR

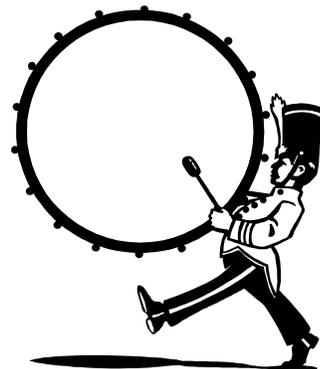
# The Centennial Celebration of 1879



Held at Geneseo, New York  
September 16, 1879

*Above: Evergreen arch constructed by the Hook and Ladder Co. #1 for the celebration, on the north end of Main Street, Geneseo. Note the several men posing on top of the arch. From the Livingston County Historian's photograph collection.*

# The Centennial of the Sullivan Campaign 1879



## ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER...

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

*In stark contrast to the Memorial Ceremony of 1841  
the centennial activities were more festive.*

**T**he 100th anniversary of the birth of the republic was perhaps still fresh on the minds of the planning committee and local residents as details were drawn up to organize another important event to commemorate Sullivan's march through Livingston County. A committee comprised of members of the Livingston County Historical Society and the Pioneer Society was formed to take charge of arrangements. After much discussion, Geneseo was chosen as the sight of the festivities held Tuesday, September 16, 1879. On this occasion the number of participants and spectators was upwards of 15,000, dwarfing the solemn 1841 Memorial Ceremony. In stark contrast however, the mood was celebratory and gay, the streets were lined with colorful decorations and bands played patriotic tunes rather than dirges. The firemen joined forces and used the most elaborate means available to build gigantic evergreen arches over Main and Wadsworth Streets. Invitations went to various government and military officials and local organizations. Enormous quantities of food were gathered for an elaborate luncheon.

Less than fifteen years had passed since the end of the Civil War that took the lives of hundreds of local men and left hundreds more permanently scarred. Reconstruction of the South had just ended. Thomas Edison had just perfected the incandescent light bulb and patented the phonograph. New technology and industry greatly impacted the local economy and railroads rapidly crisscrossed the county replacing the outmoded stages and the Genesee Valley Canal. During this centennial year public celebrations followed Sullivan's Campaign successively throughout the Genesee Country beginning on August 29th in Elmira, then September 3rd in Waterloo, to Geneseo on September 16th, culminating at Aurora on September 24, 1879. All the events sparked ardent enthusiasm and patriotism amongst local citizens. This seemed the ideal time to emphasize progress and unity, to celebrate peacetime with pomp and parade.

### EVERGREEN ARCHES DISPLAYED FOR THE 1879 CENTENNIAL IN GENESEO.



Left: Main & Center Street (before the installation of the fountain). Right: In front of 'Old Main' (now the site of Wadsworth Auditorium) at the college.  
From the Livingston County Historian's photograph collection.

# ***The Sullivan Centennial Fifteen Thousand People Present Splendid Decorations and Processions\****

Livingston Republican, September 18, 1879.

“The Sullivan Centennial has just been honored by the largest assemblage ever before seen in Livingston County. The morning of the 16th, looked unpropitious, but as the day advanced, the clouds lifted and the weather proved just right for comfort. The previous rain had laid the dust, and the great throng which poured in, had as enjoyable a day as could be desired. The trains brought the military and band from Rochester, the firemen and several bands from Dansville, Mt. Morris, Nunda, Avon, Lima and Cuylerville, while by nine o’clock, every road leading hither, was full of people in carriages, and on horseback. In fact, a large share of the adult population of the county, seemed to have turned out, to do honor to the occasion. A large delegation of pioneers and other distinguished gentlemen came from Wyoming County...

The village of Geneseo, never before looked so gay and attractive. Almost every residence and place of business, along the line of march, was decorated, some of them in a profuse and elaborate manner. Large flags were strung across the streets at various points. The Hook and Ladder Company, erected at the upper end of Main Street, an arch of which the component parts were ladders. It was very tastefully made and trimmed throughout with evergreens. In the open spaces were hung axes, and ropes and other paraphernalia, and in the upper triangle was the name of the company. Coming southward, the next arch was the one erected by the Wadsworth Hose, a large square structure with openings each way. This was more massive in its build than the other, was covered profusely with evergreens and like the other, adorned with flags. The only other large arch was the one built in front of the Normal school (*now SUNY Geneseo*) this also was solidly built, and well trimmed with evergreen. The top of the structure was an arch, on each side of which was a motto, “Ignorance, the Parent of Crime.”

While mentioning the mottoes displayed, we must take note of that of the sheriff. The gate posts at the entrance to the Court House grounds, were covered with evergreens, and surmounted by an arch on which was the motto, “Civilization overcomes Barbarism.” All the county buildings were tastefully and profusely decorated. On Park Street, Mr. O’Grady displayed on a canvas extending the whole width of the street, the old Irish welcome “Cead Mille Fealthe” meaning “a hundred thousand welcomes.” There was no part of the village to which the enthusiasm did not extend. Center and Second and Elm, and even to North and Court and Elizabeth, where almost every resident made a creditable attempt to decoration.

In front of the residence of Dr. Lauderdale, from the spacious veranda in front, were hung a part of the large and precious collection made by Dr. John V. Lauderdale, consisting of Indian blankets, robes of buckskin, bows and arrows, and other Indian belongings collected in Arizona, New Mexico, California, and the other frontier posts, to which this young surgeon of the United States army has been attached. This last display attracted much attention, and was viewed and commented on all through the day.

Where everyone was anxious to do honor to the day, and make the exercises a credit and a success, we could not particularize even if space allowed, but must make an exception in favor of the Chief Marshal’s headquarters, where the portrait of General Grant and President Lincoln were hung out, and in front of Jay Schuyler’s, where a large and splendid portrait of Washington, and a large likeness of General Sullivan, were exposed to view. On every side was plainly evident the utmost desire to contribute in every way to the success of the celebration, and the honor of the day. A fine large portrait of Washington, was also displayed before the residence of Mr. Geo. Mercer, on Second Street.

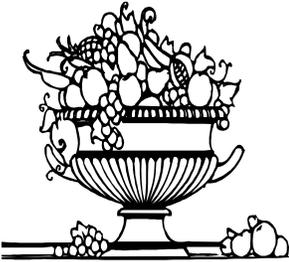
(article continued next page)

\*The following three pages were excerpted from an article in the *Livingston Republican*, Geneseo, New York, Thursday, September 18, 1879.

# The Sullivan Centennial

***“Meats and fowls and bread and pastry and the choicest of preserves and pickles, were spread out in profusion for all the guests, who honored the Sullivan Centennial of Livingston County with their presence.”***

Livingston Republican, September 18, 1879.



“The unavoidable delays of such an occasion compelled the Marshall to cut short the line of march, greatly to his own regret and that of hundreds of people who had taken positions for seeing the procession. At Agricultural Hall on the Fair Grounds (*now Kelsey Field area, on Avon Road*) the most ample arrangements had been made for satisfying the wants of the invited guests, officers, military, firemen, bands, etc. Substantial tables enclosed the entire building, and from each side and ends a host of waiters, including many ladies, came out with baskets of everything to satisfy hunger. At the hour for lunch, the tables were surrounded, and such were the facilities, that no time was lost in satisfying everyone who came. And when all were served, there was enough left of meats, bread, coffee, pies, cake, etc., to feed twice as many more. The contribution for this purpose from the people of the village and town, was most profuse and generous...throughout the preparations and arrangements by Col. John Rorbach and W. A. Brodie, Esq. were really as perfect and satisfactory as it was possible to make them. They devoted themselves to the work, with a zeal and success which are beyond praise. Everybody who was present owes them a debt of gratitude.

Our fire departments were early on the alert and at 7 o'clock had assembled and (*nearly 100 men*) marched down to the depot (*formerly located on lower Court Street*) to receive the guests...coming from Dansville were the Union Hose...and the Active Hose Company of Mt. Morris...all of which were escorted to the village and entertained in the most liberal manner by the Wadsworth Hose Co...while the cannon thundered forth its greetings, the next train came in bringing six companies of the 54th Regiment, National Guard... There were 300 men in line who made a fine appearance... The splendid band of the 54th, led the regiment, and their music was greatly admired. At the same time a delegation came from Avon consisting of the Avon Hook and Ladder Co...Later in the day, the Nunda Hose Co., came in...the distinguished guests were cordially received and well entertained....



Erie Railroad Station, Geneseo, NY. Postcard dated 1914. Courtesy of Tom Roffe.

Lunch being concluded, the officers, speakers and invited guests repaired to the grand stand, which was already surrounded by thousands of people. The seats on the east side of the trotting course were full and the judges' stand was reserved for representatives of the press. Norman Seymour, Esq., called the crowd to order and addressed his fellow citizens;

...Citizens of Livingston County, as today we have met by thousands, to commemorate the bravery, and lofty patriotism of General Sullivan and his army...In this valley, there should be erected monuments, that for all time shall mark the spot where occurred the crowning results of Sullivan's Expedition, where the bloody trail of Iroquois found its death, and where the Senecas, who, for centuries had guarded the western door to the Long House, for the last time in the Gennishee, covered up their council fires, and with sullen tread, marched to their homes in the west.

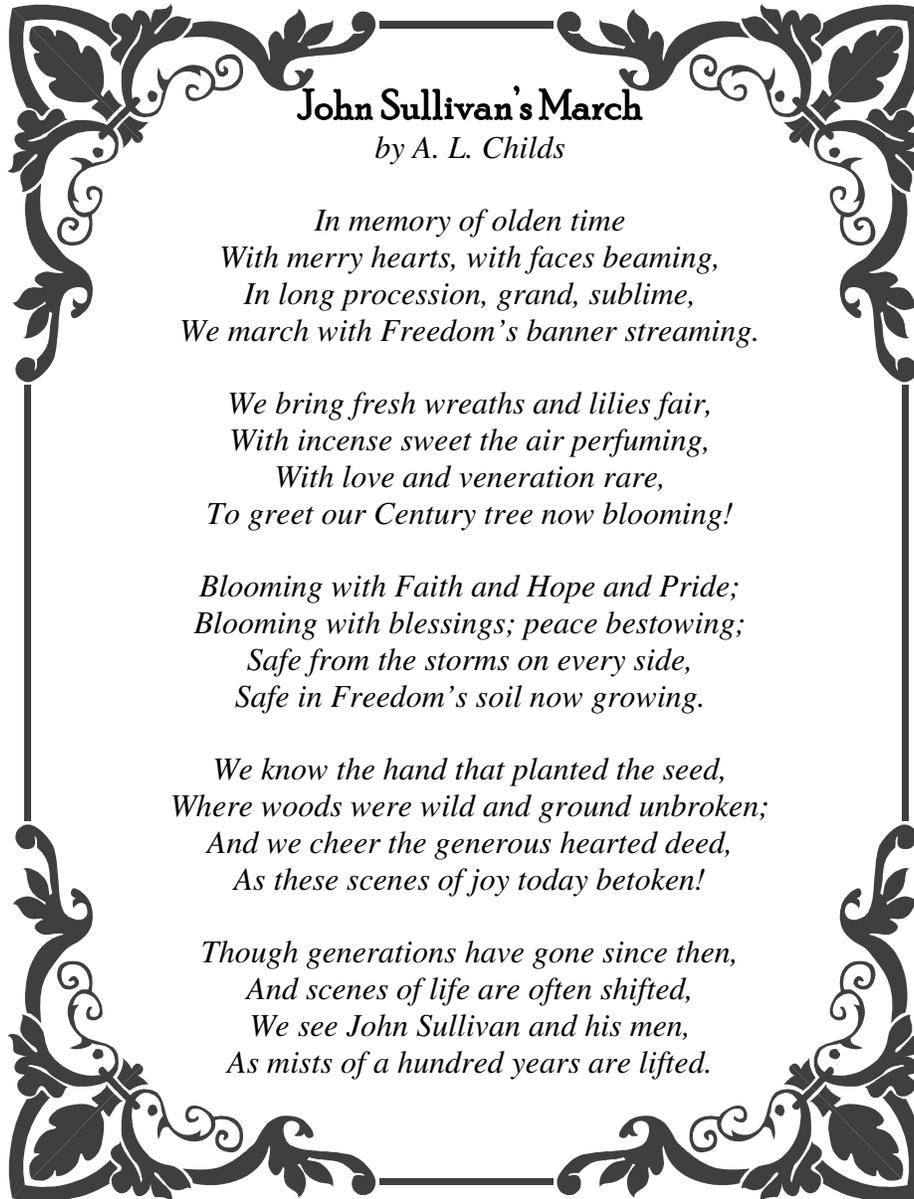
(article continued next page)

# The Sullivan Centennial

***“Though generations have gone since then, and scenes of life are often shifted,  
We see John Sullivan and his men, as mists of a hundred years are lifted.”*** A. L. Childs

...Prayer was then offered by Rev. L. Parsons, of Mt. Morris. The Glee Club then rendered the words, ‘My Country, ‘tis of Thee,’ to the tune of America, with fine effect. Hon. A. L. Childs of Waterloo, the Poet of the occasion, then read the poem. It was greatly admired and Mr. Childs was the recipient of many compliments.”

(The poem by A. L. Childs was very long, below are the first five stanzas\*)



\* The complete poem and all of the centennial activities are found in : Frederick Cook, Secretary of State, ed., *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*. Prepared pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York, of 1885. (Knapp, Peck & Thomson Printers, 1887), 543-56.

# ***The Sullivan Centennial***

**The afternoon was filled with several speakers who addressed the huge crowd. Remarks ranged from strong attitudes toward Native Americans; to a comprehensive history of Sullivan's Campaign; to appreciation for peacetime and cause to rejoice in 1879.**

## **THE REMARKS OF W. H. BOGART, ESQ. OF CAYUGA COUNTY (*excerpted*)\***

*"I recognize in General John Sullivan and his soldiers, the proper men for the time. God bless the heroes of '79. Men were patriots and heroes in those days. I recognize no decline of patriotic fire today...*

*Let us give full credit to the Indian, consider the circumstances under which he was placed, but at the same time we must prefer the village, and the sweets of a civilized home, to his barbaric wig-wam. I prefer the churches, whose numerous spires pierce the clouds, in this valley, and the school yards that echo with the gleeful shouts of children, to the Indian war cry, "Death to the white man."*

*For one, I waste no tears, no sympathy, and squander no grief on the red man. The events of a century pass, in grand parade, before us, in memory, today, but I can recall nothing, in all that grand history, pregnant with events of greater moment, to civilization than the march of General Sullivan and his men, not even when Franklin drew electricity from the clouds, and fired the train that gives intelligence to the world..."*

## **THE HISTORICAL ADDRESS**

**BY**

**REVEREND DAVID CRAFT OF WYALUSING, PENNSYLVANIA**

***"THE HISTORIAN OF THE DAY"***

Reverend Craft collected information from officer's journals covering Sullivan's Campaign and spoke at all four centennial celebrations in 1879. The addresses were combined in one paper, carefully revised and comprises what many scholars believe to be among the most accurate portrayals of the overall campaign. See Chapter One of this publication for an excerpt of the address that pertains to events that took place in Livingston County.

## **THE REMARKS OF GENERAL A. S. DIVAN OF ELMIRA (*excerpted*)\***

*"...There is cause for rejoicing on this day, in which I can unite with you in gratitude, mingled with regrets. It is not in that a battle was fought one hundred years ago, but that a hundred years have passed without a battle...Let us not, then, so much rejoice that a hundred years ago, the note of war resounded through this valley, as that for a hundred years, war's havoc has never disturbed our peaceful habitations.*

*Thank heaven we have but one campaign to celebrate, and that was a hundred years ago, and pray that we may have no other for centuries to come, until men shall learn war no more, until swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks; until peace on earth and good will to men, shall prevail throughout the world."*

\*(Cook Journals, 552-554)

# The Sullivan Centennial

**As the celebration ended an honored former resident,  
in one of his last public appearances,  
made a passionate plea to the Ladies of Groveland  
to erect a monument.**

## REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE W. PATTERSON OF CHAUTAUQUA COUNTY *(excerpted)\**

*"...I recollect that sixty-one years ago, I stood upon the spot where the battle... fought over in Groveland. I not only stood there, but I went to the graves of those who were slain in that battle. I don't know whether the people of Livingston County have erected any monument to the memory of those, who were slain there or not, but this I do say, if the people of Livingston County do not, within the next year, erect a monument on the spot, where those men were buried, do it yourselves.*

*When I was there, sixty-one years ago, some of those brave men were uncovered, that is to say, that the ground had fallen away, and had mixed with the bones, a portion of which were then uncovered. Whether it remains so to this day, or not, I don't know, but I beg of you, ladies of Groveland, if the gentlemen do not do it, see to it, that there is a monument erected there.*

*...Now my friends, I want you, one and all, to recollect that you live in the valley of the Genesee, and I want you to recollect, that you can never go from here and find another country as good as this."*

Note: George W. Patterson died one month later on October 15, 1879 at the age of 79. George came to Groveland in 1818 from New Hampshire and opened and operated a small shop, manufacturing fanning mills - machinery for winnowing the fine wheat raised in the area. Later he became involved in local politics and was elected eight times to the NYS Assembly between 1830 - 1840. After moving to Chautauqua County, Patterson was elected Lt. Governor twice in 1849 and 1850 and was elected to U.S. Congress in 1876. He often returned to Livingston County and frequently declared that "there was no spot equal to the Valley of the Genesee." Reference: Fourth Annual Meeting of the Livingston County Historical Society, January 13, 1880, 7-9.



### Conclusion of Celebration



Hon. B. F. Angel moved a vote of thanks to the speakers and poet which was adopted.

After another song by the glee club, the 54th band led the multitude in singing the doxology, to the tune of old hundred, and the throng dispersed.

No accident of a serious nature occurred, and at an early hour, the vast crowds had dispersed and gone to their homes.

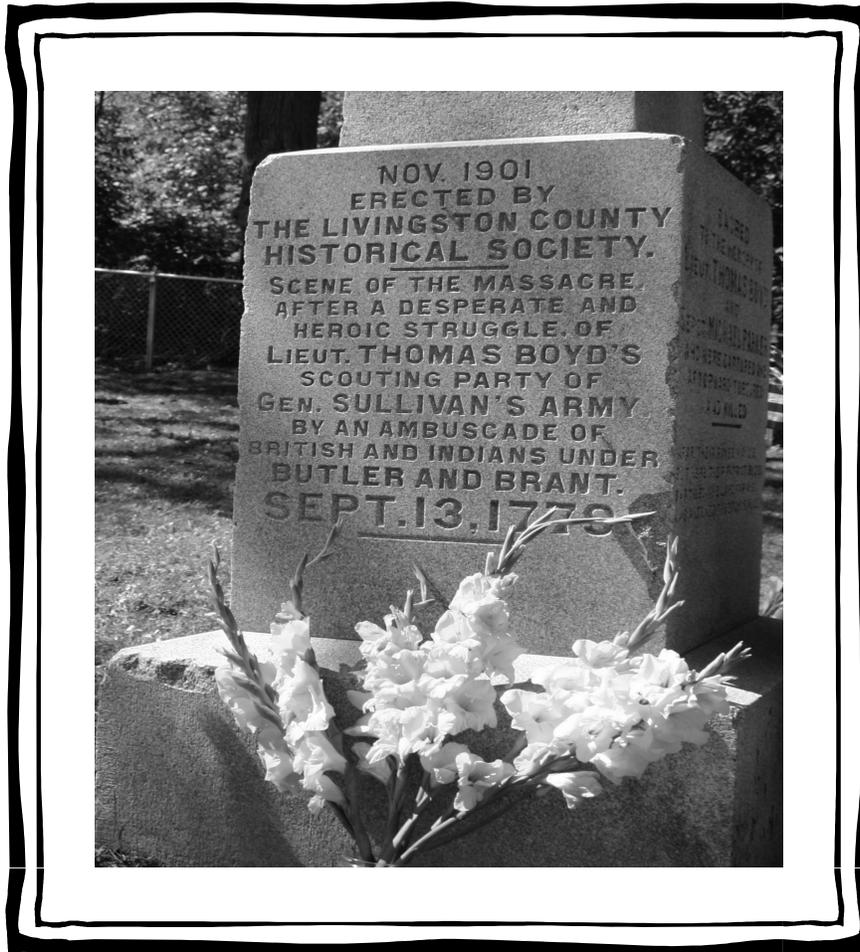


\*(Cook Journals, 555-556).

## CHAPTER FIVE

# The 20th Century

The Era of Monuments, Markers, Parks,  
A Spectacular Pageant & More



*“Let us raise a fitting memorial to mark the spot of which must forever be dear to us and to our posterity, that whosoever in all coming time shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished.”*

*Lockwood L. Doty (1827-1873)\**

Above photo: The Ambuscade Monument, Groveland. September 11, 2004 by Douglas Morgan

\*Lockwood L. Doty, *History of Livingston County* (Geneseo, 1876) p.424.

# ***The Ambuscade Monument and Park***

*High on a peaceful knoll in the countryside  
stands a simple but impressive monument*

**I**t took one hundred and twenty-two years for the people of Livingston County to finally dedicate a monument in honor of the men who lost their lives during the ambush of Sullivan's scouting party on Groveland Hill and at Little Beard's Town. Located on a peaceful knoll a simple granite monument stands fourteen feet high overlooking Conesus Lake. In 1899 through the dedicated and philanthropic contributions of William P. Letchworth\*, Herbert Wadsworth and others, a deed was obtained for the plot of land where the battle occurred and the property was donated to the Livingston County Historical Society. Two years later the organization erected the Ambuscade Monument without fanfare.

By 1930 care of the remote and inaccessible park had become a burden for the Livingston County Historical Society and the land was deeded to the State of New York Park Commission. The park received few visitors and little attention until 1956 when a large crowd gathered with state and local officials to formally dedicate a new road leading to the Ambuscade. The following year the park saw further improvement with the addition of a picnic area and pavilion with a fireplace. Due to budget restraints at the state level, the Parks Commission closed the park in 1970. Under the leadership of Town Supervisor Andrew Macauley, the town of Groveland became the new owner of the park in 1971. Great strides have been taken over the last several decades to preserve and improve this historic ground for residents and visitors.

## **APPROACH DEDICATED TO GROVELAND PARK**

*Mount Morris Enterprise, September 19, 1956*

Impressive ceremonies marked the opening of the new approach to Groveland Ambuscade Park Saturday afternoon. Officials in charge of planning are shown: Left to right, James Stewart, member of Groveland Town Board; Mrs. Francis Thom, Geneseo Grange Lecturer; Mrs. Marie Preston, Geneseo, Livingston County Historian; Mrs. Marion Underwood\*\*, Groveland Town Historian; Mrs. Mary Teall, Geneseo; Mrs. Elmer Vienna, Geneseo, sponsor of the Junior Historians Club of Livingston County and Nancy Saunders and Sally Micker, Geneseo, club members. Supervisor Floyd M. VanBuskirk, Groveland, honorary chairman, was present and cut the ribbon to open the ceremony. Photo by Stephen Rumfola.

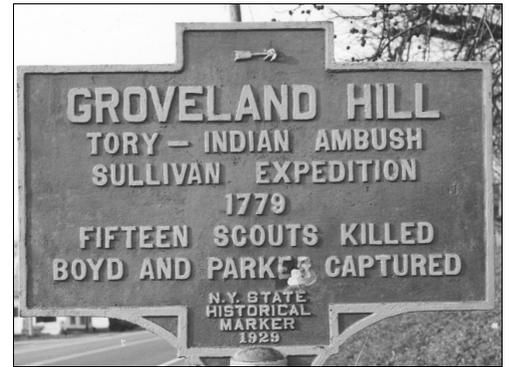
\*See page 63 for a biographical sketch of William P. Letchworth.

\*\*The day after the elaborate ceremonies, the community was shocked and saddened to hear of the sudden death of Mrs. Marion Underwood the Groveland Town Historian who chaired the dedication event. Mrs. Underwood, age 63, became ill after the ceremony. Her obituary appeared in the same paper as the article above.



# ***The Ambuscade Monument and Park***

*A quiet memorial that still draws attention  
more than two centuries  
after the ambush*

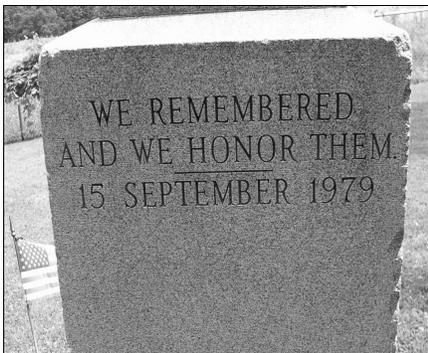


**C**eremonies at the Ambuscade marked the bicentennial of the country in 1976 and the bicentennial of the Sullivan Campaign in 1979. County Historian M. Patricia Schaap was chairperson of the observances in 1979 and organized a series of speakers and events at Groveland and Leicester. An additional inscription was engraved on the west side of the monument in honor of the occasion.\*

A significant event occurred in 1996 when the name of yet another fallen soldier was inscribed. After extensive research it was determined that Benjamin Wheeler of Northumberland, Pennsylvania, was among those killed on the site in 1779. This fascinating discovery after two hundred and seventeen years called for a solemn ceremony complete with color guard, a gun salute and speeches to pay tribute to this man.

Groveland Town Historian Larry Turner has been a strong advocate for the park for many years and has appealed to town, county and state representatives for increased recognition for this historic site. The officials have taken notice and have invested a great deal of time and energy in many recent improvements.

\* See pages 71-74 for more on the Bicentennial of the Sullivan Campaign.



Inscription added in honor of the bicentennial of Sullivan's Campaign. Livingston County Historian's Collection.



The name of Benjamin Wheeler was added to the monument in 1996. Livingston County Historian's Collection.



A stairway leading to the monument was built with a grant award in 2004 from NYS Senator Dale M. Volker. Additional funds for park improvements were obtained from NYS Assemblyman Daniel J. Burling. Photo by Doug Morgan.

## **Boyd and Parker Park in Cuylerville**

*This pocket-sized park has  
an immense history*

**O**

ver the Genesee River in the hamlet of Cuylerville, in the town of Leicester, a small park has been witness to some of the most spectacular events in Livingston County. After the remains of Thomas Boyd and Michael Parker were removed during the elaborate 1841 Memorial Ceremony, the area remained under private ownership until 1927 when the Livingston County Historical Society obtained title to the property. "Rescuing from oblivion the celebrated Torture Tree and the burial mound of Scouts Boyd and Parker near Cuylerville in preparation for the sesquicentennial of the Sullivan Expedition in 1929," was a primary objective of the society.\* The goal became a reality when the land was donated to the Society by the Honorable James W. Gerard, the former Ambassador to Germany.\*\*



A bronze tablet was unveiled in September, 1927 in memory of Boyd and Parker by Mr. William Boyd (center), a relative of Thomas Boyd. From Livingston County Historian's collection.

The timing of the acquisition was fortuitous. The University of the State of New York had allocated sizable resources and appointed a committee to organize events across the state to commemorate the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the American Revolution. Funds were provided to place a boulder and bronze tablet at the burial mound of Boyd and Parker. On September 17, 1927 the monument to honor the soldiers was dedicated and a lavish historical parade coincided with the unveiling ceremony. Yet another local record was set - this time the memorial event drew upwards of 20,000 spectators with the automobile as the preferred mode of transportation.

\*Lockwood R. Doty, ed., "Report of the President", *Boyd and Parker, Heroes of the American Revolution*. (Livingston County Historical Society, 1928), 11.

\*\* See page 63 for biographical sketch of James W. Gerard.

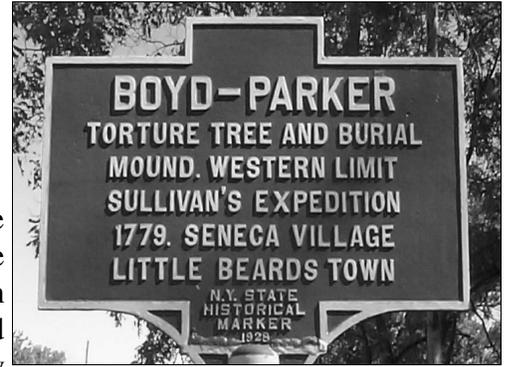


A parade of historic proportions, a mile and a half in length, took almost an hour to wind its way through Cuylerville. Dozens of floats, bands and organizations from all over Livingston County and Rochester participated. Newspaper accounts said, "the weather was perfect, a cloudless sky and temperature of 80 degrees...along the highways came countless automobiles; overhead were three airplanes in sight of the crowd almost all day..."\* Speakers included Dr. Arthur C. Parker and the Hon. James W. Wadsworth, Jr. (pictured left). Photos from the Livingston County Historian's collection.

## **Boyd and Parker Park** *The Wayside Shrine Grows*

**T**

he year 1929 was perhaps one of the busiest years in the history of Leicester as preparations for the 150th anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign dominated the lives of most residents. In addition to a massive historical pageant\*, a relatively quiet ceremony occurred the morning of September 14th. Another memorial was permanently installed and dedicated by the Livingston County Historical Society. After an extensive search, a ten ton granite boulder from a farm in Perry, New York was selected as a suitable monument. The logistics of pulling the enormous rock out of a tributary proved to be quite a challenge. After breaking several heavy chains and then transporting it more than seven miles, the boulder finally came to rest at Boyd and Parker Park.



The park was also enlarged that same year when Mr. Richard Wheelock, an avid collector of Indian artifacts and one of the oldest residents of Cuylerville, donated a small tract of land adjoining the property. In gratitude he was made a life member of the society, unfortunately however, Wheelock passed away the following spring. After the Historical Society made substantial improvements, the park (along with Ambuscade Park) was deeded to the New York State Park Commission in 1930 to maintain as a historic site. By the early 1970s the State closed the park due to severe cuts in appropriations sparking community residents to circulate petitions demanding the shrine be reopened. Fortunately the town of Leicester was able to secure title to this hallowed spot. When the 200th anniversary ceremonies took place in 1979 the crowds were smaller but strong patriotic fervor was still readily apparent.\*\*

\*See pages 64-67 for more on the 150th Anniversary event. \*\* See pages 71-74 for more on the 200th Anniversary event.



*Above left:* Hon. Barber Conable and Judge Robert Houston were among the notable speakers at the 200th commemoration ceremony in September of 1979. Both men were actively involved in preserving and sharing the history of the Sullivan Campaign in Livingston County. The Bicentennial event drew a sizable crowd for solemn observances in Cuylerville following a ceremony at the Groveland Ambuscade. *Above right:* Veterans and many others participated in a parade to the park and flowers were laid in front of the boulder originally dedicated in 1929. From the Livingston County Historian's photograph collection.

# **Boyd and Parker Park**

## *The Legend of the Torture Tree*



**T**he centerpiece of Boyd and Parker Park is an ancient bur oak, standing over 70 feet high and 24 feet in circumference and estimated to be at least 250 years old. Known far and wide as the Torture Tree, local folklore comprised of nightmarish and grotesque tales involving the death of Thomas Boyd and Michael Parker have surrounded this tree for more than two centuries. A popular account perpetuated since the early 19th century tells of the captured soldiers bound to the tree, tied with their own intestines while they were brutally tortured and then “burned at the stake.” No primary sources of the time period have collaborated this particular version of the story,\* however journals kept by Sullivan’s officers did describe the discovery of the beheaded and mutilated bodies as horrific.

The noble giant is now a revered local landmark and has garnered recognition for historic significance from outside of the area. During a bicentennial observance in 1976 the age of the tree was officially substantiated by the International Society of Arboriculture and the National Arborist Association. In 1990 the Torture Tree was honored again as being among only eleven trees in the state placed on the New York State Registry of Trees.

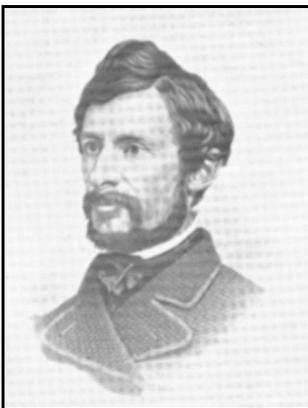
Despite all odds, the Torture Tree has continued to flourish, providing the community with an enduring vision and a strong connection to Livingston County’s cultural heritage.

\*The most likely origin of the story is contained in *The Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* by James E. Seaver, originally published in 1824.

## Biographical Sketches

### *A Son Followed in his Father's Footsteps*

#### **Lockwood L. Doty (1827-1873) ~ Author of the first published history of Livingston County**



The life of Lockwood Lyon Doty and his contributions are worthy of inclusion in any history of Livingston County. Born on a farm in Groveland, Lockwood was a studious and highly motivated child. In 1847 he entered the law office of John Young of Geneseo, launching a lifetime of public service. John Young became Governor of New York that same year and called upon Doty to accept an appointment in the Office of Canal Appraiser. His efficiency and integrity were widely recognized and in the years that followed Doty was offered numerous positions at the state level. For his distinguished service he gained the honorary title of Colonel but eventually chose to return to the area and make Geneseo his permanent home. Doty purchased the *Livingston Republican* newspaper in 1869 and played a prominent role in the establishment of the State Normal School at Geneseo (now SUNY Geneseo). Locally, Lockwood L. Doty's most important contribution was the research which resulted in the publication of the first comprehensive history of Livingston County. However, Doty did not live to see the final result of his years of research. For years he suffered from ill health and in 1873 died at the young age of forty-six. A. Tiffany Norton of Lima finished the research and three years later the first *History of Livingston County* was published, a lasting memorial to the tireless patience and devotion of the revered author.\*

#### **Lockwood R. Doty (1858-1937) ~ County Judge, Historian and Author**



Lockwood Richard Doty followed in his father's footsteps as a person keenly interested in history, particularly of the Genesee Country. His devotion to civic involvement was clear in the long list of local organizations which he served, most often honored with positions of trust and responsibility. Lockwood R. was admitted to the bar in 1880 having studied law under Colonel John R. Strang and later became a partner in the firm of Strang & Doty. He was a member of the New York State Constitutional Convention in 1894, elected County Judge in 1914 serving two terms before retiring in 1928. During World War I, Doty served as chairman of the Livingston County Home Defense committee and afterwards coordinated the documentation of the local veteran's military service. Lockwood R. Doty was intimately involved in the Livingston County Historical Society's acquisition of the Ambuscade Park, the Boyd and Parker Park and was instrumental in planning all the major events of the 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign held between 1927 and 1930. In 1933 Judge Doty became the first officially appointed Livingston County Historian. Among his most important published works were: the updated version of his father's history of Livingston County; a four-volume compilation entitled *The History of the Genesee Country*; and *Boyd and Parker, Heroes of the American Revolution*. At the age of 79, Lockwood R. Doty was heading a staff of WPA workers who were compiling research on the history of Livingston County's part in WW I when he passed away suddenly after an operation in December of 1937. He was an excellent example of a dedicated public servant.\*

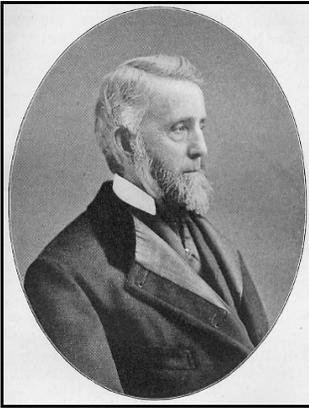
Note: See the reference section for the bibliography of the books mentioned above.

\*Information on Lockwood L. Doty and Lockwood R. Doty was compiled from various sources in the Livingston County Historian's Office including the following articles: "Death of Col. Lockwood L. Doty" *The Livingston Republican*, Geneseo, NY Jan. 23, 1873. page 2 and "Judge Lockwood R. Doty, Former County Judge, Historian and Author, Dies Suddenly in Rochester", *The Livingston Republican*, December 23, 1937. page 1.

## Biographical Sketches

### *Two Philanthropists - Two Parks*

#### **William Pryor Letchworth (1823 - 1910) - *Philanthropist, Statesman and Humanitarian***



William P. Letchworth was born in Brownville, near Watertown, New York. His parents were Quakers whose ancestry reached back to Herfordshire, England. Letchworth entered the mercantile business as a young man and in 1848 moved to Buffalo taking a position as managing partner in a wholesale business of importing and manufacturing saddlery hardware. Eventually his ambition led to the establishment of Buffalo Iron Works, which became one of the largest of its kind in the country. As Letchworth's successful business enterprises grew in leaps and bounds the arduous and protracted labor affected his health. Seeking rest and a change of lifestyle brought him to the Genesee Valley where he nurtured his interests in fine arts, nature and philanthropic work. In 1873 Letchworth accepted the appointment on the State Board of Charities. His attention was soon directed to the condition of children in poor houses and later he played an integral role in the establishment of Craig Colony for

Epileptics at Sonyea. The altruistic gifts and dynamic influence of this man enhanced the quality of life for countless individuals in all walks of life. His legacy lives on most visibly at Letchworth State Park where his deep curiosity about the land he purchased, which became the Glen Iris Estate, led to his passion for preserving the history of the Genesee Valley. For many years Mr. Letchworth was an honorary member of the Livingston County Historical Society. His financial aid was indispensable in obtaining the Ambuscade Park and the erection of the monument. During a long life devoted to the service of humanity many honors were bestowed upon this man. The Senecas gave him the fitting name of "Hia wa ye is otah, the man who always does the right thing." William Pryor Letchworth died December 1, 1910 at the Glen Iris less than three months after his last public appearance at the dedication of the bronze statue of Mary Jemison, the White Woman of the Genesee, on the Indian council grounds near his home.\*

#### **James W. Gerard (1867-1951) - *Noted Lawyer and Ambassador to Germany before WWI***



James W. Gerard had a distinct connection to the Genesee Valley. He was the grandson of Horatio Jones, the famous Indian scout and interpreter. Gerard was born in Geneseo on August 25, 1867 at the Main Street home of his Grandfather, the Hon. Benjamin Angel. Although his father was a New York City lawyer, Gerard spent many summers during his youth in Geneseo. In 1892 he was admitted to the bar and during the Spanish-American War he saw service at Santiago, Cuba. Entirely without diplomatic experience, Gerard was appointed U. S. Ambassador to Germany in 1913 and served in that position until the American entry into WW I in 1917. He proved himself well suited for this position and became known for his bluntness, intelligence and philanthropic work on the home front and abroad. Back in the U. S. after WW I, Gerard was in great demand as a speaker and continued to be involved in national politics until his death at the age of 84 at his Long Island home. Livingston County

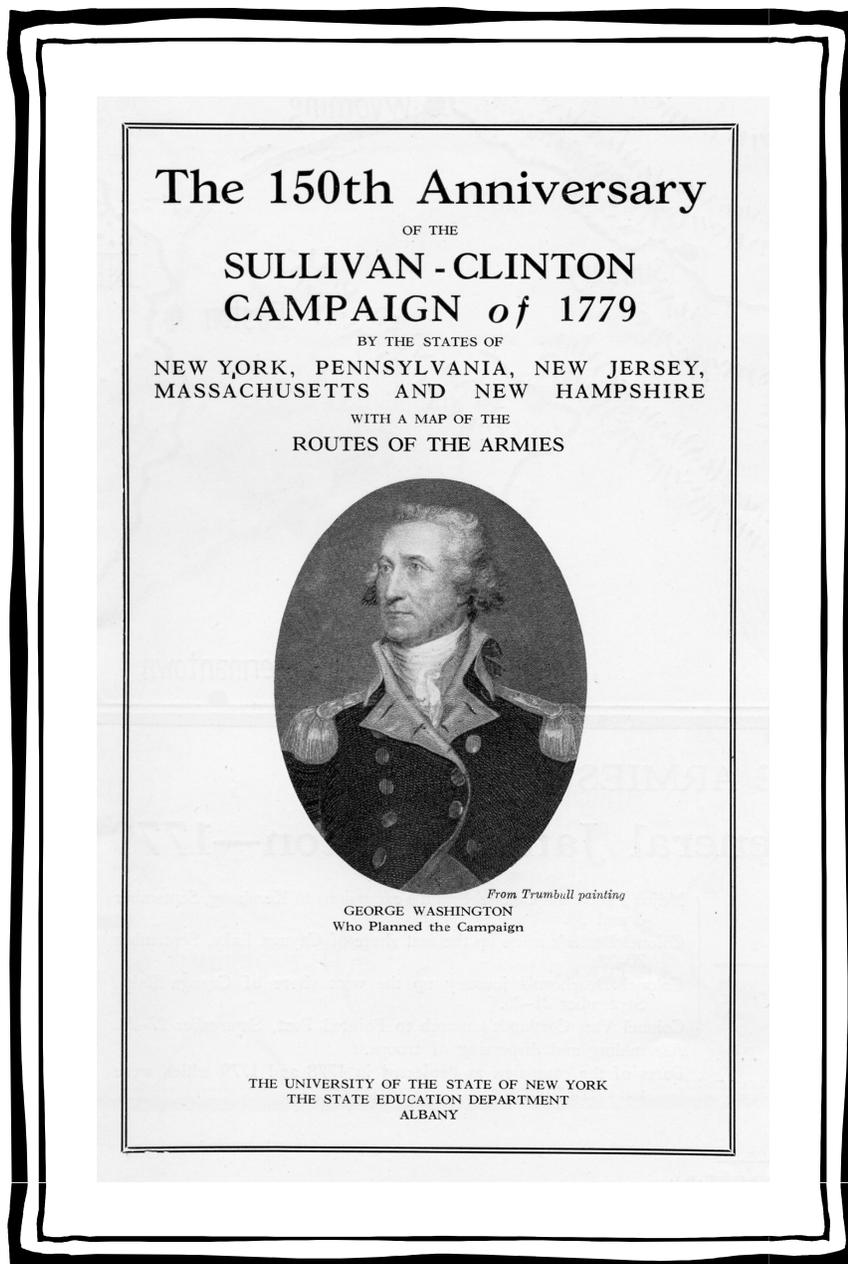
greatly benefited from the generous gesture made by Mr. Gerard. He was able to obtain the land containing the burial site of Boyd and Parker and graciously donated the plot to the Livingston County Historical Society.\*\*

\*Information on William P. Letchworth was gathered from various resources in the Livingston County Historian's Office and from a biography by J. N. Larned, *The Life and Work of William Pryor Letchworth* (Houghton Mifflin, Boston 1912)

\*\*Information on James W. Gerard was gathered from a newspaper article "James W. Gerard, 84, Dies; Envoy to Germany 1913-1917", *New York Times*, September 7, 1951, p.1; and James W. Gerard's autobiography entitled *My First Eighty -Three Years in America* (Doubleday & Company, Inc. Garden City, NY 1951).

# The 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

The Largest Commemorative Event To Date



The publication above included information on events sponsored by the NYS Education Department and an Advisory Committee appointed by the Governor. Many events were held throughout New York State during the summer of 1929. Leicester was selected to host the first of the three "dignified and educational observances."

# The 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

## Leicester shines in the spotlight in 1929



Once again, a local commemorative event honoring the Sullivan Campaign set an unprecedented attendance and participation record. On September 14, 1929, the town of Leicester hosted upwards of 50,000 spectators who came to witness the “Pageant of Decision: Why the Republic Westward Grew,” an outdoor theatrical production of epic proportions. This was the first of three successive pageants sponsored by the New York State Sesquicentennial Commission along Sullivan’s route, the others being in Geneva and Elmira. More than 2000 actors (in addition to dozens of animals!) from Livingston and surrounding counties took part in the lavish historical drama. A vast stage was constructed 1800 feet long by 350 feet wide on about 30 acres of land dubbed the “Leicester Bowl” between Route 20A and Jones Bridge Road. According to newspaper reports of the period, the event was nothing short of spectacular!

Top of page: Commemorative stamp issued in conjunction with Sullivan Sesquicentennial in 1929.

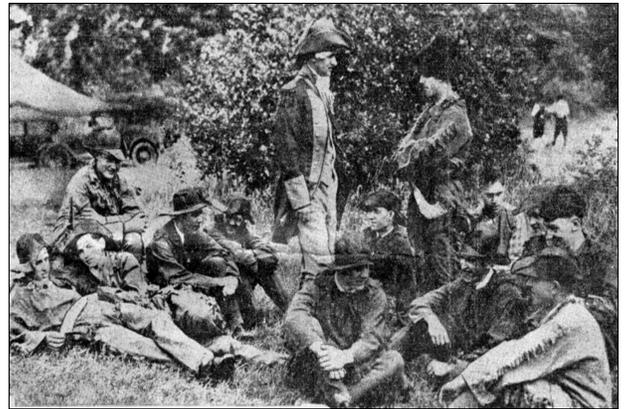
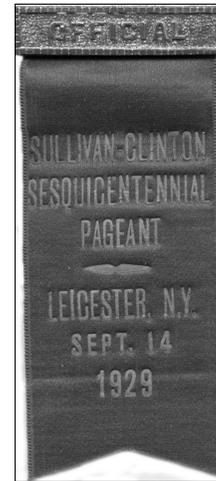
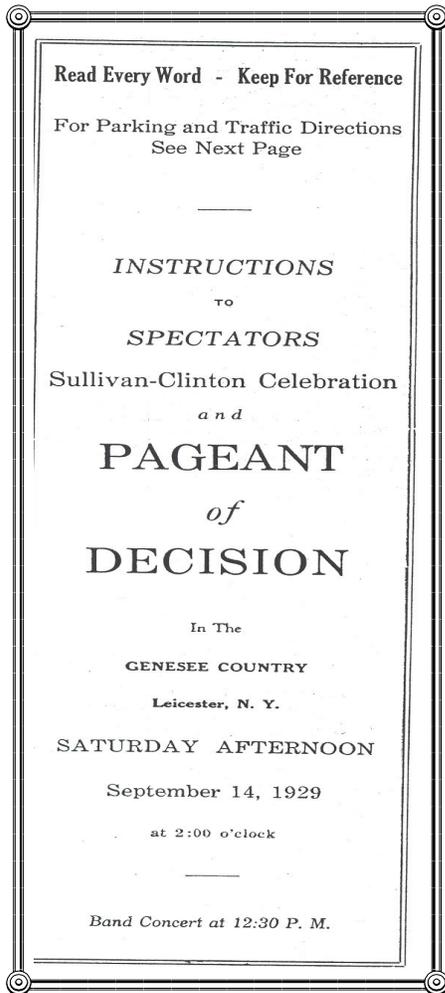
### Moderns Become Historic Figures as Sesqui Cast Rehearses



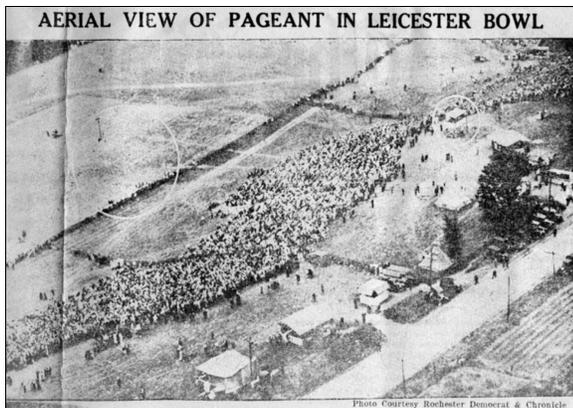
TOP LEFT—A few of the participants in the Continental Congress scene, snapped at a rehearsal yesterday at Leicester where the Genesee Country’s Sullivan Sesquicentennial Pageant will be presented on Sept. 14. They are: J. J. Birmingham, Joseph Gentner, August Gentner, S. W. Brown, Charles A. McCumber and A. W. Bogue, all of Batavia. TOP RIGHT—Edgar S. Barnes of Genesee, executive secretary of the Genesee Country Sesqui Pageant Committee; John T. Featherston, president of the Livingston County Historical Society; Dr. A. C. Flick, state historian; former Livingston County Judge Lockwood R. Doty, chairman of the pageant executive committee; Guy Comfort, president of the Genesee Country Association, and his son, Dale. LOWER LEFT—Few of the members of a group representing the Cherry Valley delegation. LOWER RIGHT—Mary L. Leonard and Suzanne Rice of Genesee, to take part in the Albany Minuet in which 144 persons dance in colorful costumes.

# The 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

"The Pageant of Decision"- Scenes and Souvenirs



Above: The official program for the pageant. From Livingston County Historian's collection.



Above and lower right: Clippings from the *Rochester Journal*, Rochester, NY, September 14, 1929.



# The 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

"The Pageant of Decision"- Scenes and Souvenirs



Actors in costume ready to rehearse a scene for the pageant. Left to right: Emma Metzger Dodd, William Jay Slack and William Scott Dodd. From Livingston County Historian's Photo Collection.

## Pennsylvania

**RAILROAD**

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### LOW FARES

TO

# CUYLERVILLE

N. Y.

Account the  
**Sullivan Celebration**  
 and Historical  
**Pageant**  
 of the  
**Genessee Valley**

**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1929**

Excursion Tickets will be sold from the following stations at fares shown:

<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <th style="text-align: left;">Round Trip</th> <th style="text-align: left;">Excursion Train Standard Time</th> </tr> <tr> <td>\$1.00 from Rochester</td> <td>8:20 AM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>.75 " Scottsville</td> <td>8:46 AM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>.35 " Cuylerville</td> <td>9:05 AM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Arrive Cuylerville</td> <td>9:25 AM</td> </tr> </table>	Round Trip	Excursion Train Standard Time	\$1.00 from Rochester	8:20 AM	.75 " Scottsville	8:46 AM	.35 " Cuylerville	9:05 AM	Arrive Cuylerville	9:25 AM	<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <th colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">RETURNING</th> </tr> <tr> <td>Leave Cuylerville</td> <td>6:36 PM</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">C-Eng Stop.</td> </tr> </table>	RETURNING		Leave Cuylerville	6:36 PM	C-Eng Stop.	
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Round Trip	Excursion Train Standard Time
1.50 " Olean	7:30 AM
1.25 " Cuba	7:55 AM
1.00 " Belfast	8:20 AM
1.00 " Canadota	8:30 AM
.90 " Houghton	8:37 AM
.80 " Fillmore	8:45 AM
.75 " Rossburg	8:54 AM
.75 " Portageville	9:07 AM
.62 " Nunda	9:36 AM
.26 " Sonyea	10:00 AM
Arrive Cuylerville	10:15 AM

RETURNING

Leave Cuylerville 5:48 PM

Tickets on sale in advance. No baggage checked.

**CHILDREN 5 YEARS OF AGE AND UNDER 12, HALF FARE.**

For additional information apply to Ticket Agents, or address S. E. NEWTON, Division Passenger Agent, Room 608, Erie-Bank Building, Buffalo, N. Y.

C. I. LEIPER, General Manager. R. M. FLOCKER, Pass. Traffic Manager. W. A. PHILLIPS, Gen'l. Pass. Agent.

2,000-9-4-29

## ARRIVE EARLY TO SEE 2,500 ACT WAR EPIC

**Rochesterians Take Leading Roles in Sullivan Date Observance; Dedicate Stone**

By STAFF CORRESPONDENT  
**LEICESTER, Sept. 14.**—Thirty thousand visitors defied dismal skies and a last-minute shower to behold the mighty pageant which turned back the pages of history 150 years to set forth the bravery of the Genesee Country's early settlers in the Sullivan-Clinton Sesquicentennial celebration here this afternoon.

Preparations had been made for 50,000 persons and early indications were that this expectation would not have been too high, had not the rain began to fall. Before the presentation was over, the crowd had dwindled to less than 20,000.

Early in the day the endless procession of automobiles and horse drawn vehicles began to stream along the roads leading to this little hamlet, located forty-five miles southwest of Rochester.

### EARLY ARRIVALS

At 10 a. m. more than 25,000 persons had found places in the natural amphitheater of eighteen acres overlooking the stage of five acres where the 2,500 participants were to recall the scenes of 1779.

The pageant was not scheduled to start until 2 p. m. The visitors made themselves as comfortable as possible, opened up lunches, and prepared to wait.

Exercises at 10 a. m. dedicated a ten ton boulder near the Wayside Memorial Shrine on the Leicester highway, although but a few hundred of the visitors attended the services.

The dedicatory program was in charge of John T. Fetherston, president of the Livingston County Historical Society. Rochester's 121st Cavalry Band played. Speakers were Dr. Alex C. Flick, state historian, and Edward R. Foreman, city historian of Rochester.

### RAIN OUSTS SOME

The afternoon program started promptly. The clouds, which had gathered, frightened some into leaving, but it seemed as though new arrivals replaced their numbers.

Shortly after the drama started, a few scattering drops drove more to the shelter of their cars, parked for distances in all directions.

### Scenes were presented in the following order:

Indian Village and Cherry Valley scenes by Dansville participants; Washington's Headquarters and the Continental Congress by Batavia; the Albany Minuet scene by 150 dancers from Batavia, Perry and Genesee.

The Eastern Market Day scene by Genesee groups; the assembling of Clinton's army at Canajoharie and the meeting of Sullivan and Clinton at Tioga Point by the 108th Infantry and the 121st Cavalry; the Indian Council and War Dance by Genesee.

The Battle of Newtown by the three combined military units; the Sweetland scene by Genesee, the Groveland Ambuscade by Dansville.

Mary Jemison episode by Perry; the final Fort Reed scene by the three military units and a grand finale of Colonial soldiers and Indians.

### FROM 5 COUNTIES

The participants came from the five counties of Livingston, Genesee, Monroe, Wyoming and Allegany, Rochester contributing a number of principal characters, including Capt. Edward Harris of the 121st Cavalry, who played the part of General Sullivan.

More than 200 naval militiamen under Capt. William J. Graham, 125 members of the 121st Cavalry under Col. Kenneth Townson and 150 members of the 108th Infantry, Second Battalion, in command of Maj. Arthur T. Smith, portrayed the military scenes.

Lieutenant Charles B. Forsyth of Rochester had the role of General Clinton, second in importance to that of General Sullivan. The part of General Maxwell was taken by Lieutenant Earl Mooney and that of General Hand by Capt. John P. Kelly.

Leading characters in addition to those mentioned were District Attorney Benn Kenyon of Auburn in the role of George Washington; John J. Coon of Batavia as John Jay and G. G. Williams of Dalton as Joseph Brant.

### OTHER CHARACTERS

Aside from these prominent characters were played by the following:

"Mary Jemison, the Whit Woman of the Genesee," Mrs. Roy Spellacy of Perry; "Little Beard," Forrest G. Reed of Perry; "Red Jacket," Howard Haggstrom of Angelica; "Kickapoo, the medicine man," Roy Thompson; "Big Whiskers," Lawrence O. Taylor; "Cornplanter, Harold Slocum; "Copperhead," William Lapp; "Lone Star, last of the Canadota tribe," Hugh Chamberlain of Canadota; "Canawaugus," Raube Ryan of Perry.

The same pageant with different casts will be given next Saturday in Geneva and the following Saturday in Elmira.

County Judge Lockwood R. Doty of Genesee is chairman and E. S. Barnes of Genesee, secretary of the Executive Committee in charge of committees which made preparations for the Genesee Country pageant.

From the *Rochester Sunday American*, Rochester, N.Y. September 15, 1929.

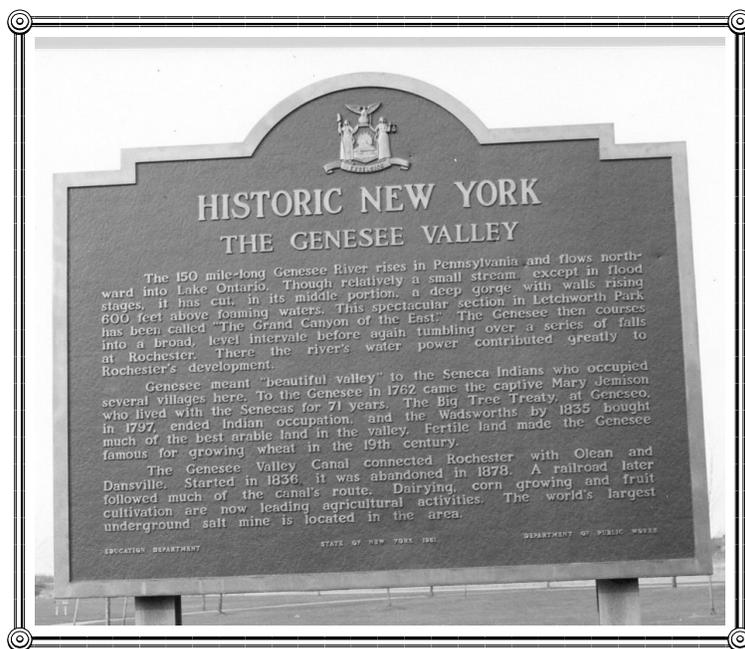
## ***New York State Historic Marker Project***

*The familiar blue and gold signs mark important spots along the highway.*

**R**esidents of New York State are generally familiar with the ubiquitous blue and gold historic marker signs that dot the main highways. Most of these signs were erected between 1926 and 1936 by the State Education Department as a way to commemorate historic sites during the 150th Anniversary of the American Revolution. This was also an age when the first tourists were venturing out into unfamiliar territory and were curious about the history of places they had never seen before. Although state funding ran out about 1939, the overall program was a huge success in raising long-term awareness of local history. During this period, over 2,800 historic sites were identified along with the significance of each location.

State law enacted in 1960 began a new era in identifying historic sites for educational purposes. The legislature authorized the Education Department to erect markers or signs identifying and describing historic sites of the state. This empowered the Education Department to erect huge over-size markers on state lands, highways, rest areas, camp sites, etc. This legislation was not intended to replace the traditional small roadside historic markers, many of which had begun to deteriorate. In fact no plan for maintenance of these signs was ever put in place thus leaving the responsibility for maintenance or replacement of these markers in the hands of local communities and organizations.

The State funded several markers throughout Livingston County. The majority have been well maintained, but unfortunately over the course of time, several have been stolen, vandalized, disappeared due to automobile accidents, lost or put in storage when highways were widened. If a marker is noticed to be missing or damaged, the local law enforcement agency should be contacted immediately. Public awareness is key to maintaining these important symbols of local history and to recovering missing signs. Despite lack of funding through a regular state appropriation, the historic marker program has remained one of the most visible representations of New York State's commitment to promoting local history and cultural education.



Above: This large marker is an example of the historic markers placed around the state in 1961. The sign was originally on Rt. 63 and is now located at the rest stop near exit 7 on Interstate 390. Photo from Livingston County Historian's collection. For more information on the history of the historic marker program contact the New York State Museum in Albany <[www.nysm.nysed.gov/services/srvmarker.html](http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/services/srvmarker.html)>

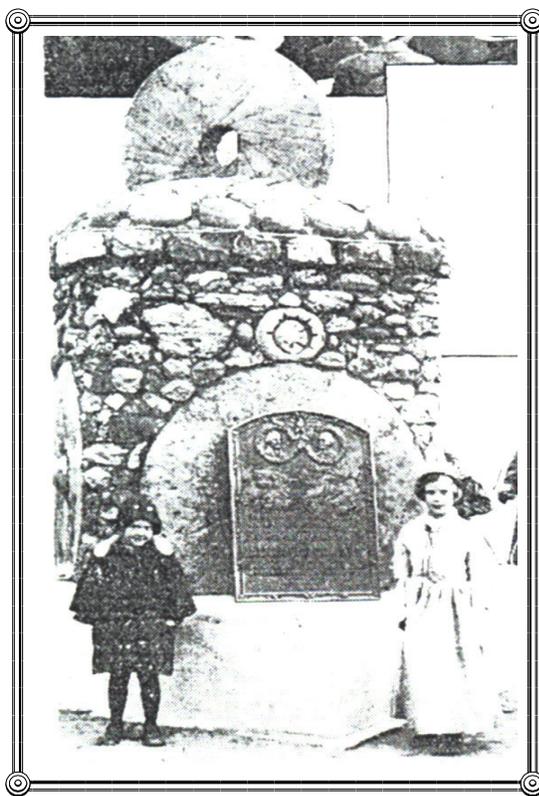
## ***Hemlock Lake Park in Livonia***

*Monument Dedication of 1929*

**A**t the foot of Hemlock Lake next to the entrance of the park owned by the City of Rochester, stands a distinctive memorial in honor of the 150th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign. The army passed directly through this scenic area en route to Conesus in 1779. The monument stands nearly fourteen feet high and is capped with an old millstone. A large bronze plaque showing the trail of the Sullivan Campaign through Western New York was imbedded into the center of the structure and is identical to plaques installed at Boyd and Parker Park, Foote's Corners and at various other locations along the military trail outside of Livingston County. State Historian Alexander C. Flick was duly impressed enough to characterize this particular tribute at Hemlock Lake Park as "unique among the monuments of the State of New York."\*

The monument was constructed of local stone gathered from old gristmills. According to residents, Indian relics such as tomahawks and arrowheads found in the area were also used in the structure. Behind the plaque a copper box was inserted containing among other items; the architect's plans, signatures of people responsible for contributing to the monument, a copy of the program, and copies of the *Livonia Gazette* newspaper.

An afternoon program took place on Saturday, November 9, 1929 with several hundred people in attendance who braved the rawness of a cold west wind. The frigid weather did not impede plans for a parade that included floats containing wagon loads of women and children clad in colonial period costumes with spirited music provided by local fiddlers.



\*As quoted in an article "Unique Monument Unveiled at Hemlock Lake Park Saturday", *Livonia Gazette*, November 15, 1929, page 1. Above photo clipping from same newspaper article.

## **Foot's Corners in Conesus** *Historic Marker Dedication of 1930*

**O**n July 4th, 1930 a seven foot high granite boulder fronted with a bronze plate, was dedicated at Foot's Corners amid appropriate ceremonies to mark the area near the camp site of Sullivan's army in 1779. The event was coordinated by the Livingston County Historical Society with the chief address given by former U. S. Senator the Hon. James W. Wadsworth, Jr. and Peter Nelson, Assistant State Historian. This was another in the series of major events commemorating the 150th anniversary of the American Revolution in Livingston County. Approximately five hundred people were present to witness the unveiling of the monument by George T. Penning and Herman K. Penning, great grandsons of Paul Sanborn, the soldier who discovered the bodies of Boyd and Parker. Paul and Victor Boyd, distant cousins of Thomas Boyd were also present.



Unveiling Ceremony, July 4th, 1930, Foot's Corners, Conesus. Front left to right: Peter Nelson, Rev. T. J. Harrington, Herman K. Penning, James W. Wadsworth, Jr. Back row: Paul Boyd and George G. Penning. *Livonia Gazette*, July 11, 1930. From the Livingston County Historian's collection.

### **Foot's or Foote's ?**

Both derivations of the spelling of Foot appear to have been used over time, however Foot without the 'e' was the way the pioneer settler spelled his name according to the *History of Conesus* written by William P. Boyd in 1887. An 'e' was added at a later date and used as the contemporary spelling of the area.

Located at what is now the intersection of State Rt. 15 and Foote's Corners Road about two miles north of Conesus Center, the junction was originally called "May's Corners" after the early settler Harvey May who built the first log house here in 1806. The designation was changed when the firm of Joseph Wells, Foster Foot & Son (Franklin Foot) built a three-story frame store on the lot in 1834. The corners became a center for other small businesses and many Foot family members took up residence near by.

*"Foot's Corners at an early day, was a noted place for amusements. Here the early settlers held their horse races, shooting matches, trainings and other amusements...Shooting matches was all of the toast, which consisted of shooting at a mark for a deer, or some other kind of game. At night the sound of music was heard in the ball-room of the hotel, where the merry couple were tripping a waltz, schottishche or quadrille, until the dawn of morning."*\*

\*William P. Boyd, *History of Conesus* (Conesus 1887) p. 80.



The monument sits on a small boulevard at the intersection of Rt. 15 and Foote's Corners Road in the town of Conesus. The plaque is identical to one installed at Boyd and Parker Park and at Hemlock Lake Park. Photo courtesy of Tom Roffe.

**The 200th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign  
Bicentennial Commemoration of 1979**

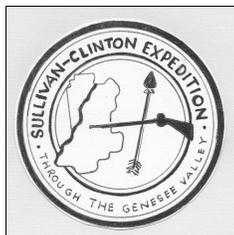


**September 15, 1979  
Observances at  
Groveland and Leicester**

Above : Bugler Joseph Kornbau of Livonia played *Taps* at ceremonies in Groveland and Leicester. From the Livingston County Historian's photograph collection.

# The 200th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

## Bicentennial Commemoration of 1979



# W

ith abundant flags waving in parade, rifle salutes and speeches, Livingston County reflected once again upon its heritage. The 200th anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign was held on September 15, 1979 at the Ambuscade and Boyd and Parker Parks. The programs were the result of months of planning headed by Livingston County Historian, M. Patricia Schaap and Kenneth Blakely, president of the Livingston County Historical Society. A beautiful autumn day brought out several hundred people to both sites. This era in time was markedly different than fifty years prior. A memorandum issued by the State History Office strongly suggested that the observances be dignified and “not offend modern sensibilities...that the Indian and Tory viewpoints be featured along with American.” On that premise, the events were much more subdued and regional than in the past, centering on the promotion of the anniversary as an educational and cultural opportunity for students and the local residents.

Activities included a county-wide school essay and logo contest,\* a Chamber of Commerce window display, a slide program on the Sullivan Campaign prepared for area schools, and publication of a brief commemorative booklet containing details of the ceremonies at both parks and speeches of Mr. Robert Mulligan, Associate Curator of History at the New York State Museum and of the Honorable Barber B. Conable, Jr.\*\*

\*The winning logo (pictured at the top of this page) was designed by Julie Amrhein, a student at Keshequa Central School.

\*\*Conable was elected to the House of Representatives in 1964 and for 20 years represented the district that included the counties of Genesee, Livingston, Orleans and Wyoming, and parts of Monroe. He also was the seventh president of the World Bank from 1986 - 1991. Conable was always in demand as a public speaker on local history. He died on Nov. 30, 2003, at age 81.



Left to right: Tom Cook, Velma Mahoney, Lillian Perkins, Louis Thomson.

**From The Planning  
Committee Photo Album**  
All photos on this page are from the  
Livingston County Historian's  
collection.



Left to right: Walter Magee, Alice Pavlove, Jean Meekin, Norine Meagher.



M. Patricia Schaap and Glayds Smith.



Above Kenneth Blakely, President  
Livingston County Historical Society  
M. Patricia Schaap,  
Livingston County Historian.



Left to right: Art Dodd, Major Barry, Maurice Sweeney,  
Leona Dodd.

# **The 200th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign** *Bicentennial Commemoration of 1979* at **Ambuscade Park**



*“We Remember Them and Honor Them”*

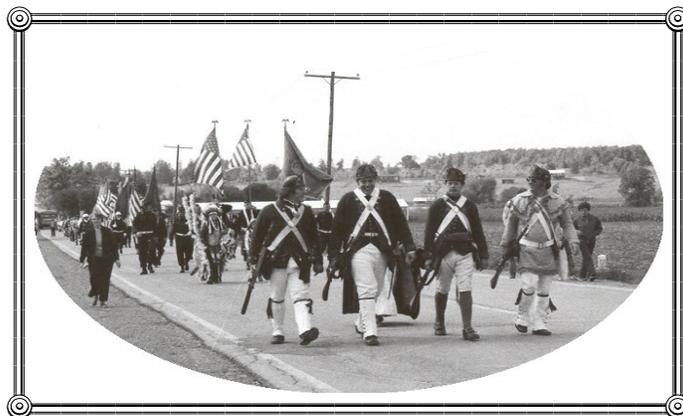


Top of page: Conlon-Mulvaney American Legion Post No. 1779, Conesus leading the participants up the hill to the Ambuscade monument.

Above left: Robert E. Mulligan of NYS Museum addresses the gathering before the monument was unveiled with a new inscription in honor of the occasion., “We Remember Them and Honor Them, 15 September 1979”

Above right: Mrs. Marion Nichols, and Ladies of the DAR, Lima Ska-hase-ga-o Chapter.  
 Lower right: (Left to right) Alice Pavlove, Art Dodd and Tom Simms.

**The 200th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign**  
*Bicentennial Commemoration of 1779*  
 at  
**Boyd and Parker Memorial Park**



*“History informs just as tradition motivates.”* -Barber Conable



*Top:* Members of Butler’s Rangers reenactment group in parade to the ceremonies. *Middle left:* Boy Scouts from Mt. Morris. *Middle Right:* Native American representatives from the Tuscarora, Sioux, Pueblo-Navaho and Seneca Nations. *Bottom:* Barber Conable gave the keynote historic address on the platform with various dignitaries and Carolton R. Boies American Legion Post No. 1007, Leicester. From the Livingston County Historian’s photo collection.

## CHAPTER SIX

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

*The Tradition Continues*



September 11 ~ 12, 2004  
Observances and Events in the Towns of  
Conesus, Groveland and Leicester

Above: Procession to the Ambuscade Monument on Saturday, September 11, 2004. Photo by Doug Morgan.

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

## The Tradition Continues



**T**

here was a chill in the air on the morning of September 11, 2004 as a dense fog lifted off Conesus Lake. Many planning committee members, re-enactors, and spectators remarked the stunning sight was by chance very similar to what Sullivan's army may have witnessed two hundred and twenty-five years earlier.

By mid-morning the sun shone brightly, temperatures warmed up into the 70s and the weekend of coordinated events in three towns along Sullivan's military route through Livingston County took place virtually as planned. Over one hundred people from near and far gathered early in the day in Conesus for an open house at the log cabin in Ricky Greene Park. Historical displays and refreshments were provided by the Ga-na-a-sos History Keepers. Alice Denneville coordinated the event in Conesus which began officially at 10:00A.M. with an invocation by Reverend Hotchkiss at the Foote's Corners monument. A brief and moving ceremony took place replete with music led by Barbara Stewart. Members of the Conlon-Mulvaney American Legion Post 1779 led the color guard. Several re-enactors were also present.



Log cabin at Ricky Greene Park in Conesus. September 11, 2004. From the Livingston County Historian's collection.

A caravan of cars then journeyed a few miles to Groveland where several hundred people had already assembled at the Ambuscade Park. Members of Little Beard Club, a local historic re-enactment group and others from various clubs around the state had set up camp at the park the previous evening. Promptly at 12:00 noon a procession began up the hill to the monument where another poignant observance took place. Groveland Town Historian, Larry Turner welcomed the audience before the invocation by Kirk Dudek and remarks by Groveland Supervisor James Merrick. A proclamation from Governor Pataki was then read by his Regional Representative, Kelly O'Connor\* and William Magee read a letter from NYS Senator Dale M. Volker in honor of the occasion. Remarks were also made by Assemblyman Daniel Burling and a state representative of the Masons, James E. Sullivan.



New sign at the Ambuscade Park designed by Larry Turner. September 11, 2004. Left to right: Kelly O'Connor, Regional Rep. for Gov. Pataki; Larry Turner, Groveland Town Historian; William Magee, Groveland Town Board; and Stephan P. Clarke, Pres. Rochester Chapter, ESSAR. From the Livingston County Historian's collection.

The spectators then listened intently to featured speaker Stephan P. Clarke, President Rochester Chapter, ESSAR\*\* as he retraced the events leading up to the fateful ambush of Lt. Thomas Boyd's scouting party on the same site in 1779. Tradition continued as a ceremonial wreath was laid at the base of the monument by Assemblyman Daniel Burling and Constance Williams, of the Daughters of the American Revolution in honor of the sacrifices made by the soldiers. The woods then came alive and the ambush was recreated with actors dressed in authentic garb. The sound of war cries and musket fire echoed all around giving the viewers a brief inkling of how quickly events may have transpired for the greatly outnumbered scouting party.

Top of page: Commemorative button designed for the 225th anniversary by Tom Roffe. \*The proclamation is printed in its entirety at the beginning of this publication. \*\* Mr. Clarke's official title is: President Rochester Chapter, Empire State Society, National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.

# ***The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign***

## ***The Tradition Continues***



**L**eicester hosted the concluding commemorative ceremonies at 3:00 in the afternoon. A sizable crowd mingled throughout Boyd and Parker Park enjoying the living history demonstrations conducted by Little Beard Club. The event officiated by Leicester Town Historian Tom Roffe, included several speakers. Despite the absence of the featured speaker, Dr. J. Mohawk of the University of Buffalo who was unable to attend, the program was interesting and informative. A local representative of the Masons, Robert Fisher spoke in depth on the history of the Masonic Brotherhood and the various individuals on both sides of the Revolutionary War who were members of this fraternity. Town Supervisor Gary Moore called attention to the significance of the role between the town of Leicester and the historic park. Assemblyman Daniel Burling remarked on the importance of honoring the sacrifices of veterans not only of the Sullivan Campaign but of all wars. Closing prayers were given by Constance Williams, New York State Chaplain, NSDAR.



Leicester Town Supervisor Gary Moore. September 11, 2004. Photo courtesy of Mark Occhioni.

Informal activities continued on Sunday, September 12<sup>th</sup> at the Ambuscade and Boyd and Parker Park. At Groveland, the history of the Ambuscade monument was presented by David W. Parish, President of the Livingston County Historical Society. Afterwards the reenactment groups gave musket demonstrations and participated in a skirmish between 'Crown and Continental Forces'. Meanwhile at Leicester, 18th and 19th century life skills demonstrations entertained as well as educated many spectators.

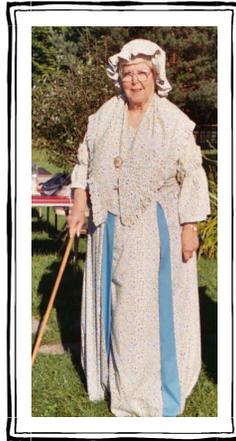


Honor Guard and Flag Salute behind the original 1927 monument at Boyd and Parker Park . September 11, 2004. The Carlton R. Boies American Legion Post, Leicester and Boyd-Parker American Legion Post, Mt. Morris. Photo courtesy of Mark Occhioni.

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign at Foote's Corners in Conesus



Color Guard: Conlon - Mulvaney American Legion Post #1779. From Livingston County Historian's collection.



Alice Denneville, coordinator of the Conesus observance. From Livingston County Historian's collection.



Conesus History Keepers. Left to right: Laura Kraft, Jack Coe and Donna Avery. From Livingston County Historian's collection.



Members of the DAR. Left to Right (back row): Julie Goldstein, Mary Cole, Carol Fisher, Louise Wood. Front row: Ronna Jordan, Barbara Koschara, Pamela Shutt and Rita Kress. Photo courtesy of William Koschara.



Several members of the Masons took part in the 225th ceremonies. Left to right: Bill Mower, Dennis Breheny, Ron Baylor (re-enactor), and James E. Sullivan, Senior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York, who spoke at the Groveland ceremony. Photo courtesy of Fred Koschara.

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign at Ambuscade Park in Groveland



Above: Assemblyman Dan Burling and Constance Williams, NYSDAR lay a ceremonial wreath. Right: Groveland Town Supervisor, James Merrick listened as Kelly O'Connor, read a proclamation issued by Gov. Pataki. Photos by Doug Morgan.



The Color Guard included members of the Frederick Totten VFW Post #5005 and the J. Livingston Wadsworth American Legion Post #271. Photo by Bill Alden .



Groveland Town Historian Larry Turner welcomed the crowd to the Ambuscade. Photo by Bill Alden. From the Livingston County Historian's collection.

# ***The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign***

*The rural atmosphere at the Ambuscade helped members of Little Beard Club and friends to easily get into the mind-set of those involved in the battle on Groveland Hill, and provided the public with a very realistic experience.*



Top left: John McCullen of Little Beard Club as Joseph Brant. Top right: Joe Bucolo and Eric Michaelson of Brant's Volunteers, Justin Sherry of King's Eighth. Middle left: Justin Sherry. Middle right: Jim Cromwell of Little Beard Club as "Hanyerry". Bottom : C. T. Oakes of Little Beard Club, coordinator of the military camp and the re-enactment at Ambuscade Park, captured the attention of a group of young boys. Photos courtesy of [markbrownphotography.net](http://markbrownphotography.net)

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign

More of Little Beard Club and Friends



Top of page: Little Beard Club and friends camped at the Ambuscade in Groveland. September 10-12, 2004. Photo by Larry Turner. Left: Ladies from the Chemung Valley Living History Association. (L to R) Joyce Bucci, Ruth Walker, Pres. and Pam Newton. Photo by Doug Morgan. Middle top: John Della Penna and Jerry Fulmer of Little Beard Club. Right: Paul Rahn of Brant's Volunteers. Middle bottom: (L to R) Seth Rainey and Justin Sherry of Brant's Volunteers; Bob Smith of Little Beard Club. Photos courtesy of markbrownphotography.net.

# The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign at Boyd and Parker Park



Musket salute by Little Beard Club. Photo by William Koschara.



Above left: William Scura related his memories as a participant in the 1929 pageant. Above right: Leicester Town Historian Tom Roffe greeted the crowd. Photos by Mark Occhioni.



Above and next page: Members of Little Beard Club, a local reenactment group, demonstrated life skills and Revolutionary War era weaponry throughout the weekend. Photos by Mark Occhioni.

# ***The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign***

*The Little Beard Club also organized the civilian camp at Boyd and Parker Park and brought history to life with a wide variety of demonstrations.*



Top left: Mike Coward, Rich Hise, Karen Hise and Rick Losey. Top right: Stephen Gates (in background). Middle: Camp tents. Lower left: Sue Bardo and Lin Hoefler. Lower right: Jane Oakes coordinated the civilian camp and activities at Boyd & Parker Park. Photos courtesy of Mark Occhioni.

# CONCLUSION



## The Next Generation of Caretakers

“Good citizens cannot be made suddenly.  
They must grow...” *Harriett Lothrop\**

**Preservation of the historic sites  
along the Sullivan trail in Livingston County  
requires dedicated local stewardship.  
Thoughtful planning, commitment and awareness  
will safeguard our rich cultural heritage  
and help to sustain the Ambuscade and Boyd & Parker Park,  
along with the markers and monuments in the area,  
for future generations.**

**These actions will hopefully instill a sense  
of pride and responsibility in the next generation of caretakers  
thus enabling the proud tradition of respectfully  
honoring those who participated  
in the Sullivan Campaign of the Revolutionary War  
to endure and grow stronger.**



Above: Timothy Raimy and Travis Koschara represented the Children of the American Revolution (C.A.R.)  
at Ambuscade Park, September 11, 2004. Photo by William Koschara.

\*Harriett Lothrop, a prominent citizen and 19th century children's author of Concord, MA, presented the idea for a children's organization to the Daughters of the American Revolution Continental Congress in 1895; it was then chartered by the United States Congress.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



## The 225th Anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign Planning Committee

As with any event of this magnitude there were people behind the scenes who donated many hours and boundless energy to ensure that all important details were addressed. A group of local historians met for several months and planned all these events in Sarah Turner's cozy country kitchen in Groveland. Ideas flowed freely, some came to fruition, and others were discarded. One thing was certain from the very beginning; that it was important to commemorate this historic event in an appropriate unbiased manner as others have done in the past and to share it with as much of the general public as possible. We hope that all who attended and participated in the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Revolutionary War in Livingston County found it enlightening and will remember and honor the lives that were lost in this battle for independence.

### 225th Anniversary Planning Committee Members

Chairman: Lawrence R. Turner, Groveland Town Historian  
Doris Whitney, Secretary  
Thomas A. Roffe, Leicester Town Historian  
Joy Perovich, Conesus Town Historian  
Alice Denneville, Conesus History Keepers  
Alberta Dunn, Livingston County Historical Society  
& Livingston County Chamber of Commerce  
Stephan Clarke and Michael Tunison, Sons of American Revolution  
William Koschara, Senior Officer, Children of the American Revolution  
Barbara Koschara, Daughters of The American Revolution  
Jane Oakes, Little Beard Club  
Havilah Toland, Town of Springwater Historian  
William Magee, Groveland Town Board  
Amie Alden, Livingston County Historian  
J. Neil Thompson

### More 225th Anniversary Acknowledgements

Town Board of Groveland and Supervisor James Merrick;  
the Groveland Highway Department; Sandy Bean, Groveland Town Clerk;  
Groveland Correctional Facility; Livingston County Sheriff's Department and the work crew inmates;  
Town Board of Leicester and Supervisor Gary Moore;  
Town Board of Conesus and Supervisor Christine Rumble;  
The Sons, Daughters, and Children of the American Revolution Societies; Kathy Knapp;  
the Color Guards of the local American Legion Posts and VFW Posts who participated.  
Wegmans Food Market, Tired Iron Tractor Museum,  
A-ON-DO-WA-NUH Sportsman Club and Boy Scout Troop 70.  
The Re-enactors of the Little Beard Club, Captain Selin's Independent Company,  
The Light Infantry Company of the Eighth or King's Regiment of Foot, and Brant's Volunteers.  
Governor Pataki, Kelly O'Connor, Senator Dale Volker and Assemblyman Dan Burling.  
And to all the volunteers and participants for contributions large and small.

\*\*\*\*\*

### Limited edition souvenir stamp cancellation and buttons

A 'special day' postal cancellation, designed by Havilah Toland, Springwater Town Historian, was available for sale September 11-12, 2004 at the Log Cabin in Ricky Greene Park, Conesus; the Groveland Ambuscade and Boyd & Parker Park. Individual envelopes with 'cachets' sold for \$3.00 each and a limited number of 'portfolios' with an envelope from each town, a commemorative program and a beautiful 'panel' with special postmarks from Conesus, Groveland and Leicester post offices on one sheet sold for \$15.00. Souvenir buttons designed by Tom Roffe, Leicester Town Historian and shown at the top of several pages in this section, were also sold for \$1.00 each during the 225th Commemorative events. A portion of the proceeds from the sale of these items was used to help fund this publication and for care of the Ambuscade and Boyd & Parker Park.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS



## **The Sullivan Campaign of the Revolutionary War: The Impact on Livingston County, New York 1779-2004**

Sincere thanks to the following who donated their time,  
creativity and financial support to make this publication possible:

The Livingston County Board of Supervisors  
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The Livingston County Historical Society  
The Conesus Historical Society Ga-ne-a-nos History Keepers  
The Rochester Chapter and the Empire State Society  
of the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution  
also

Deborah MacIntyre of The Photo Farm, Linwood, NY  
Mark Brown of Mark Brown Photography  
Fred Koschara, Douglas Morgan, Mark Occhioni,  
Bill Alden and Sally Schmoltd.

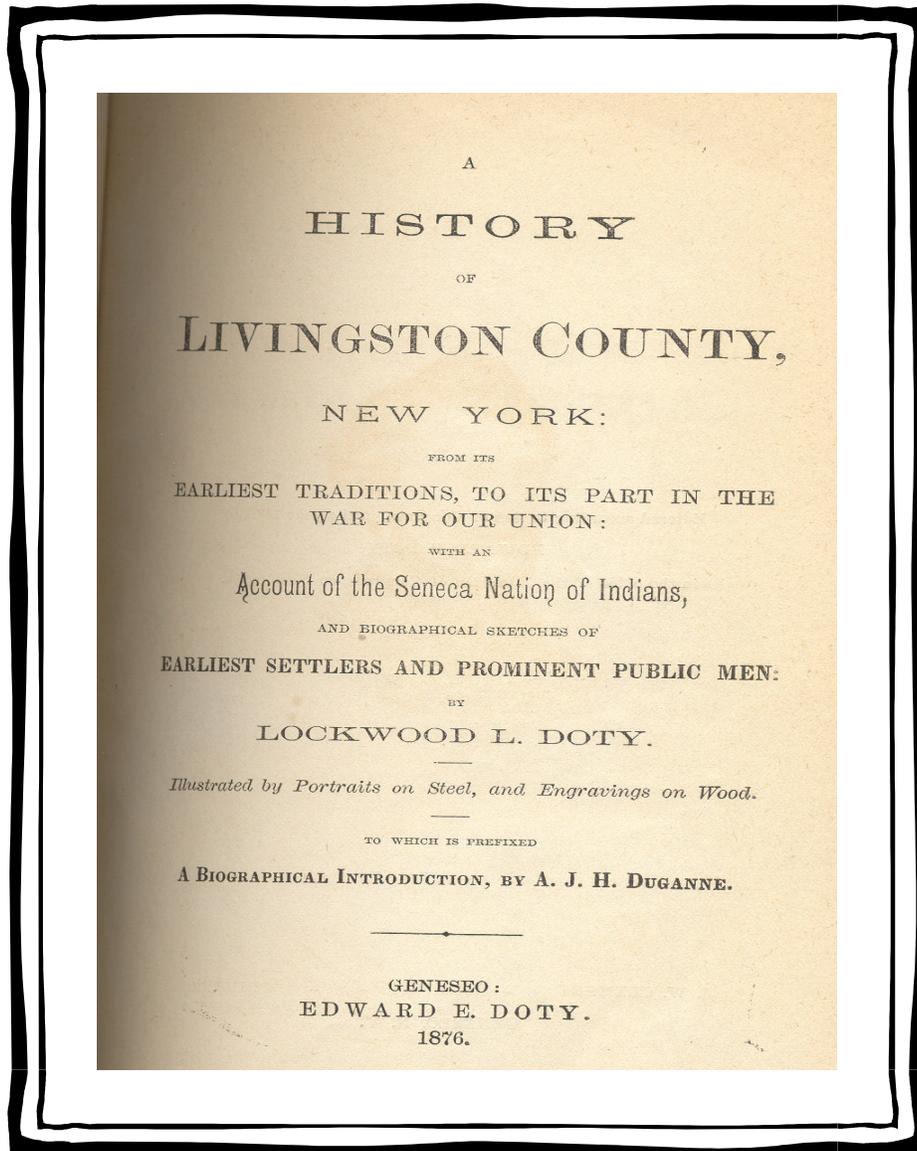


### **Book Committee**

Front Row: Barbara Koschara, Amie Alden, and Lawrence Turner.  
Back Row: (left to right) Michael L. Tunison, William Koschara, Thomas Roffe  
Photo taken at Ambuscade Park by Linda Dodd.

## REFERENCE SECTION

*Books Cited, Suggested Reading List,  
Six Nations of the Iroquois Map, Treaties with the Indians,  
Contemporary Map and Aerial Photos*



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# **TREATY OF CANANDAIGUA - 1794**

## **Treaty between the United States of America, and the Tribes of Indians called the Six Nations.**

The President of the United States having determined to hold a conference with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purpose of removing from their minds all causes of complaint, and establishing a firm and permanent friendship with them; and Timothy Pickering being appointed sole agent for that purpose; and the agent having met and conferred with the Sachems, Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations in a general council. Now, in order to accomplish the good design of this conference, the parties have agreed on the following articles; which, when ratified by the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the Six Nations.

**ARTICLE 1.** Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established, and shall be perpetual, between the United States and the Six Nations.

**ARTICLE 2.** The United States acknowledges the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga Nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb them or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

**ARTICLE 3.** The land of the Seneca nation is bounded as follows: Beginning on Lake Ontario, at the northwest corner of the land they sold to Oliver Phelps, the line runs westerly along the lake, as far as O-yong-wong-yeh Creek, at Johnson's Landing-place, about four miles eastward from the Fort of Niagara; then southerly up that creek to its main fork, then straight to the main fork of Stedman's creek, which empties into the river Niagara, above Fort Schlosser, and then onward, from that fork, continuing the same straight course, to that river; (this line, from the mouth of O-yong-wong-yeh Creek to the river Niagara, above fort Schlosser, being the eastern boundary of a strip of land, extending from the same line to Niagara river, which the Seneca nation ceded to the King of Great-Britain, at a treaty held about thirty years ago, with Sir William Johnson) then the line runs along the river Niagara to Lake Erie; then along Lake Erie to the north-east corner of a triangular piece of land which the United States conveyed to the state of Pennsylvania, as by the President's patent, dated the third day of March, 1792; then due south to the northern boundary of that state; then due east to the south-west corner of the land sold by the Seneca nation to Oliver Phelps; and then north and northerly, along Phelps line, to the place of beginning on Lake Ontario. Now, the United States acknowledge all the land within the aforementioned boundaries, to be the property of the Seneca nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca nation, nor any of the Six Nations, or of their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but it shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase.

**ARTICLE 4.** The United States having thus described and acknowledged what lands belong to the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas, and engaged never to claim the same, nor to disturb them, or any of the Six Nations, or their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: Now, the Six Nations, and each of them, hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States; nor ever disturb the people of the United States in the free use and enjoyment thereof.

**ARTICLE 5.** The Seneca Nation, all others of the Six Nations concurring, cede to the United States the right of making a wagon road from Fort Schlosser to Lake Erie, as far south as Buffalo Creek; and the people of the United States shall have the free and undisturbed use of this road, for the purposes of traveling and transportation. And the Six Nations, and each of them, will forever allow to the people of the United States, a free passage through their lands, and the free use of the harbors and rivers adjoining and within their respective tracts of land, for the passing and securing of vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes where necessary for their safety.

**ARTICLE 6.** In consideration of the peace and friendship hereby established, and of the engagements entered into by the Six Nations; and because the United States desire, with humility and kindness, to contribute to their comfortable support; and to render the peace and friendship hereby established, strong and perpetual; the United States now deliver to the Six Nations, and the Indians of the other nations residing among and united with them, a quantity of goods of the value of \$10,000.00. And for the same considerations, and with a view to promote the future welfare of the Six Nations and of their Indian friends aforesaid, the United States will add the sum of \$3,000.00 to the \$1,500.00, heretofore allowed them by an article ratified by the President, on the twenty third day of April, 1792; making in the whole, \$4,500.00; which shall be expended yearly forever, in purchasing clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificer who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit. The immediate application of the whole annual allowance now stipulated, to be made by the superintendent appointed by the President for the affairs of the Six Nations, and their Indian friends aforesaid.

**ARTICLE 7.** Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and Six Nations agree, that for injuries done by individuals on either side no private revenge or retaliation shall take place; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured, to the other. By the Six Nations or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the Superintendent by him appointed: and by the Superintendent, or other person appointed by the President, to the principal chiefs of the Six Nations, or of the nation to which the offender belongs: and such prudent measures shall then be pursued as shall be necessary to preserve our peace and friendship unbroken; until the legislature (or great council) of the United States shall make other equitable provision for the purpose.

**NOTE.** It is clearly understood by the parties to this treaty, that the annuity stipulated in the sixth article, is to be applied to the benefit of such of the Six Nations and of their Indian friends united with them as aforesaid, as do or shall reside within the boundaries of the United States: For the United States do not interfere with nations, tribes or families, of Indians elsewhere resident.

**In witness wherefore, the said Timothy Pickering, and the sachems and War Chiefs of the Six Nations, have hereto set their hands and seals. Done at Konondaigua, in the State of New York, the eleventh day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.**

Timothy Pickering.....Ooduitsait, his x mark (Oneida)      Konoohqung, his x mark (Oneida)      Tossonggaolulus, his x mark (Oneida)

John Skenendoa, his x mark (Oneida)      Kussauwatau, his x mark (Oneida)

# **TREATY OF BIG TREE—1797**

## THE TEXT OF THE TREATY

Contract entered into under the sanction of the United States of America, between Robert Morris and the Seneka nation of Indians.

This indenture, made the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, between the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the Seneka nation of Indians, of the first part, and Robert Morris, of the city of Philadelphia, esquire, of the second part.

Whereas, the commonwealth of Massachusetts have granted, bargained, and sold unto the said Robert Morris, his heirs and assigns forever, the pre-emptive right, and all other the right, title, and interest, which the said commonwealth had to all that tract of land hereinafter particularly mentioned, being part of a tract of land lying within the state of New York, the right of pre-emption of the soil whereof, from the native Indians, were ceded and granted by the said state of New York, to the said commonwealth; and whereas, at a treaty held under the authority of the United States, with the said Seneka nation of Indians, at Genesee, in the county of Ontario, and state of New York, on the day of the date of these presents, and on sundry days immediately prior thereto; by the Hon. Jeremiah Wadsworth, esquire, a commissioner appointed by the President of the United States to hold the same, in pursuance of the constitution, and of the act of the congress of the United States, in such case made and provided, it was agreed in the presence and with the approbation of the said commissioner, by the sachems, chiefs and warriors of the said nation of Indians, for themselves and in behalf of their nation, to sell to the said Robert Morris, and to his heirs and assigns forever, all their right to all that tract of land above recited, and hereinafter particularly specified, for the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be by the said Robert Morris vested in the stock of the Bank of the United States and held in the name of the President of the United States, for the use and behoof of the said nation of Indians, the said agreement and sale being also made in the presence and with the pursuance of a resolve of the general court of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed the eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one; now this indenture witnesseth, that the said parties of the first part, for and in consideration of the premises above recited, and for divers other good and valuable considerations them thereunto moving, have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, released, and confirmed; and by the presents do grant, bargain, sell, alien, release, and confirm, unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, forever, all that certain tract of land, except as hereinafter excepted, lying within the county of Ontario, and the State of New York, being part of a tract of land, the right of pre-emption whereof was ceded by the state of New York to the commonwealth of Massachusetts, by deed of cession executed at Hartford, on the sixteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, being all such part thereof as is not included in the Indian purchase made by Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, and bounded as follows to wit: easterly, by the land confirmed to Oliver Phelps and Nathaniel Gorham, by the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, by an act passed the twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight; southerly, by the north boundary line of the state of Pennsylvania; westerly by a tract of land, part of the land ceded by the state of Massachusetts to the United States and by them sold to Pennsylvania, being a right angled triangle, whose hypothenuse is in or along the shore of the lake Erie; partly by lake Erie, from the northern point of great triangle to the southern bounds of a tract of land one mile in width, lying on and along the east side of the strait of Niagara, and partly lying on and along the east side of the strait of Niagara, and partly by the said tract to lake Ontario; and on the north by the boundary line between the United States and the King of Great Britain; excepting nevertheless, and always reserving out of this grant and conveyance, all such pieces or parcels of the aforesaid tract, and such privileges thereunto belonging, as are next hereinafter particularly mentioned, which said pieces or parcels of land so excepted, are, by the parties to these presents, clearly and fully understood to remain the property of the said parties of the first part, in as full and ample manner as if there presents had not been executed; that is to say, excepting and reserving to them, the said parties of the first part, and their nation, one piece or parcel of the aforesaid tract, at Canawagus, of two square miles, to be laid out in such manner as to include the village, extending in breadth one mile along the river; one other piece or parcel at Big Tree of two square miles, to be laid out in such manner as to include the village, extending in breadth along the river one mile; one other piece or parcel of two square miles at Little Beard's town, extending one mile along the river, to be laid off in such manner as to include the village; one other tract of two square miles at Squawky Hill, to be laid off as follows, to wit: one square mile to be laid off along the river, in such manner as to include the village, the other directly west thereof and continuous thereto; one other piece or parcel at Gardeau, beginning at the mouth of Steep Hill creek, thence due east, until it strikes the old path, thence south until a due west line will intersect with certain steep rocks on the west side of the Genesee river, then extending due west, due north, and due east, until it strikes the first mentioned bound, enclosing as much land on the west side as on the east side of the river. One other piece or parcel at Kaounadeau, extending in length eight miles along the river and two miles in breadth. One other piece or parcel at Cataraugos, beginning at the mouth of the Eighteen mile or Koghquangu creek, thence a line or lines to be drawn parallel to lake Erie, at the distance of one mile from the lake, to the mouth of Cataraugos creek, thence a line or lines extending twelve mile up the north side, of said creek at the distance of one mile therefrom, thence a direct line to the said creek, thence down the said creek to lake Erie, thence along the lake to the first mentioned creek, and thence to the place of beginning. Also one other piece at Cataraugos, beginning at the shore of lake Erie, on the south side of (Cataraugos) creek, at the distance of one mile from the mouth of thereof, thence running one mile from the lake, thence on a line parallel thereto to a point within one mile from the Connondauweya creek, thence up the said creek one mile, on a line parallel thereto, thence on a direct line to the said creek thence down the same to lake Erie, thence parcel of forty-two square miles at or near the Allegheny river. Also, two hundred square miles, to be laid off partly at the Buffalo and partly at the Tannawanta creeks. Also excepting and reserving them, the said parties of the first part and their heirs, the privilege of fishing and hunting on the said tract of land here by intended to be conveyed. And it is hereby understood by and between the parties to these presents, that all such pieces or parcels of land as are hereby reserved, and are not particularly described as to the manner in which the same are to be laid off, shall be laid off in such manner as shall be determined by the sachems and chiefs residing at or near the respective villages where such reservations are made, a particular note of whereof to be endorsed on the back of this deed, and recorded therewith, together with all and singular the rights, privileges, hereditaments, and appurtenances thereunto belonging, or in anywise appertaining. And all the estate, right, title, and interest, whatsoever of them the said parties of the first part and their nation, of, in, and to the said tract of land above described, except as is above accepted, to have and to hold all and singular the said granted premises, with the appurtenances, to the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, to his and their proper use, benefit, and behold forever.

In witness whereof, the parties to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hand and seals, the day and year first above written.

Robert Morris, by his attorney, Thomas Morris, (L.S.)  
Koyengquahtah, alias Young King, (L.S.)  
Soonookshewan, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Konutaico, alias Handsome Lake, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Sattakanguyase, alias Two Skies of a Length, his mark, (L.S.)  
Onayawos, or Farmer's Brother, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Soogooyawautau, alias Red Jacket, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Gishkaka, alias Little Billy, his mark, (L.S.)  
Kaoundoownan, alias Pollard, his mark (L.S.)  
Ouneshataikau, or Tall Chief, by his agent Stevenson, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Onnonggaihko, alias Infant, his (X) mark X, (L.S.)  
Teahdowaingqua, alias Thomas Jemison, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Tekonnondee, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Oneghtaugooau, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Connawaudeau, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taoostaiefi, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Kooentwahka, or Cornplanter, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Oosaukaunendaucke, alias To Destroy a Town, his (X) mark X, (L.S.)  
Soeoowa, alias Parrot Nose, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Toonahookahwa, his mark (L.S.)  
Howwennounew, his mark (L.S.)  
Kounahtaetone, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Woundougoohkta, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Sonaukquaukau, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Tquannauiyana, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Shequinedaughque, or Little Beard, his X mark, (L.S.)

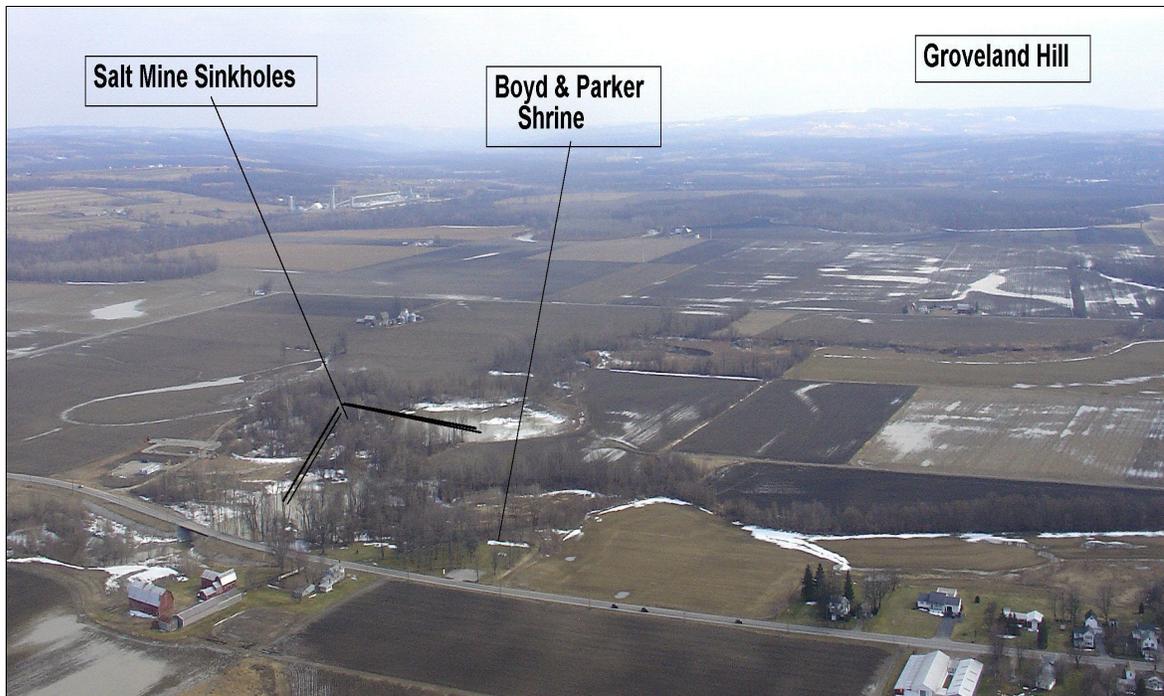
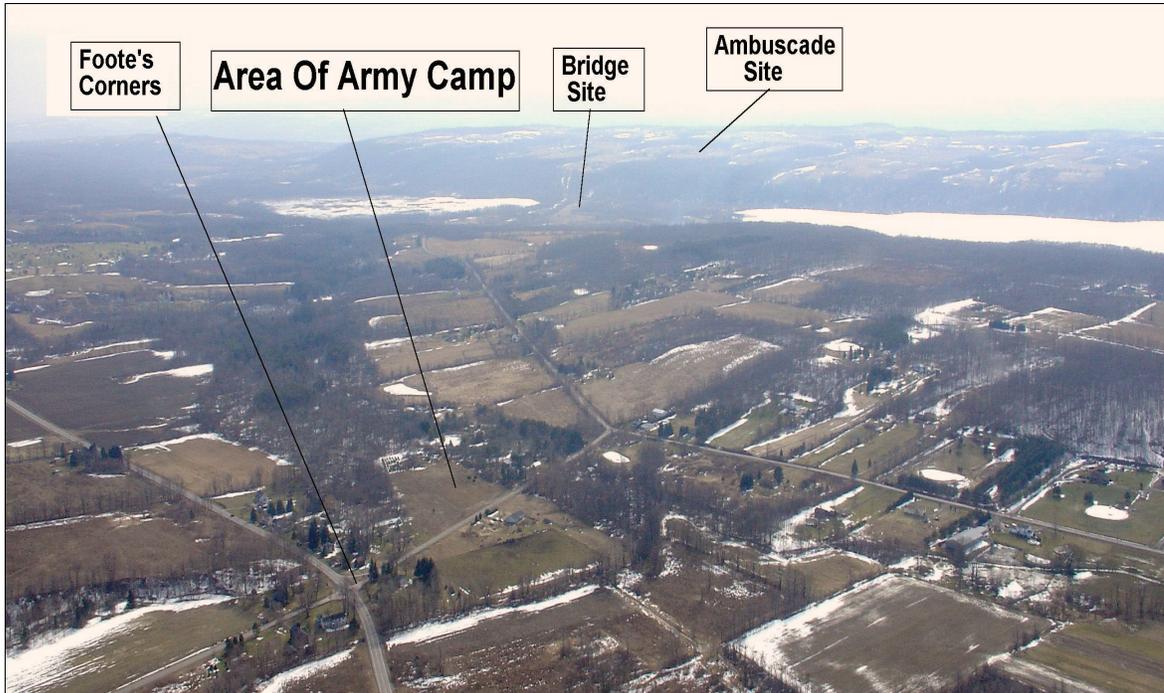
Jowaa, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Saunajie, his X mark (L.S.)  
Tauoiyuquatakausea, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taoundaudish, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Tooauquinda, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Ahtaou, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taukooshoondakoo, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Kauneskanggo, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Sooanjuwan, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Tonowauiya, or Capt. Bullet, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Jaahkaeeyas, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taughihshauta, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Sukkenjoonau, his mark, (L.S.)  
Ahquatieya, or Hot Bread, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Suggonundan, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Tawnowaintooh, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Konnonjoowauna, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Soogooyandestak, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Hautwanauekkau, by Young King, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Sauweguwan, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Kaunoohshauwen, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taukonodaugekta, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Kaouyanoughque, or John Jemison, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Hoiegush, his X mark, (L.S.)  
Taknaahquan, his X mark, (L.S.)

Sealed and delivered in presence of Nat. W. Howell, James Rees,  
Joseph Ellicott, Henry Aaron Hills, Israel Chapin, Henry Abeel,  
Jasper Parrish – Interpreter, Horatio Jones – Interpreter.

Done at full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, held at Genesee in the county of Ontario, and State of New York, on the fifteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, under the authority of the United States.  
In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the day and year aforesaid. JERE. WADSWORTH, (L.S.)

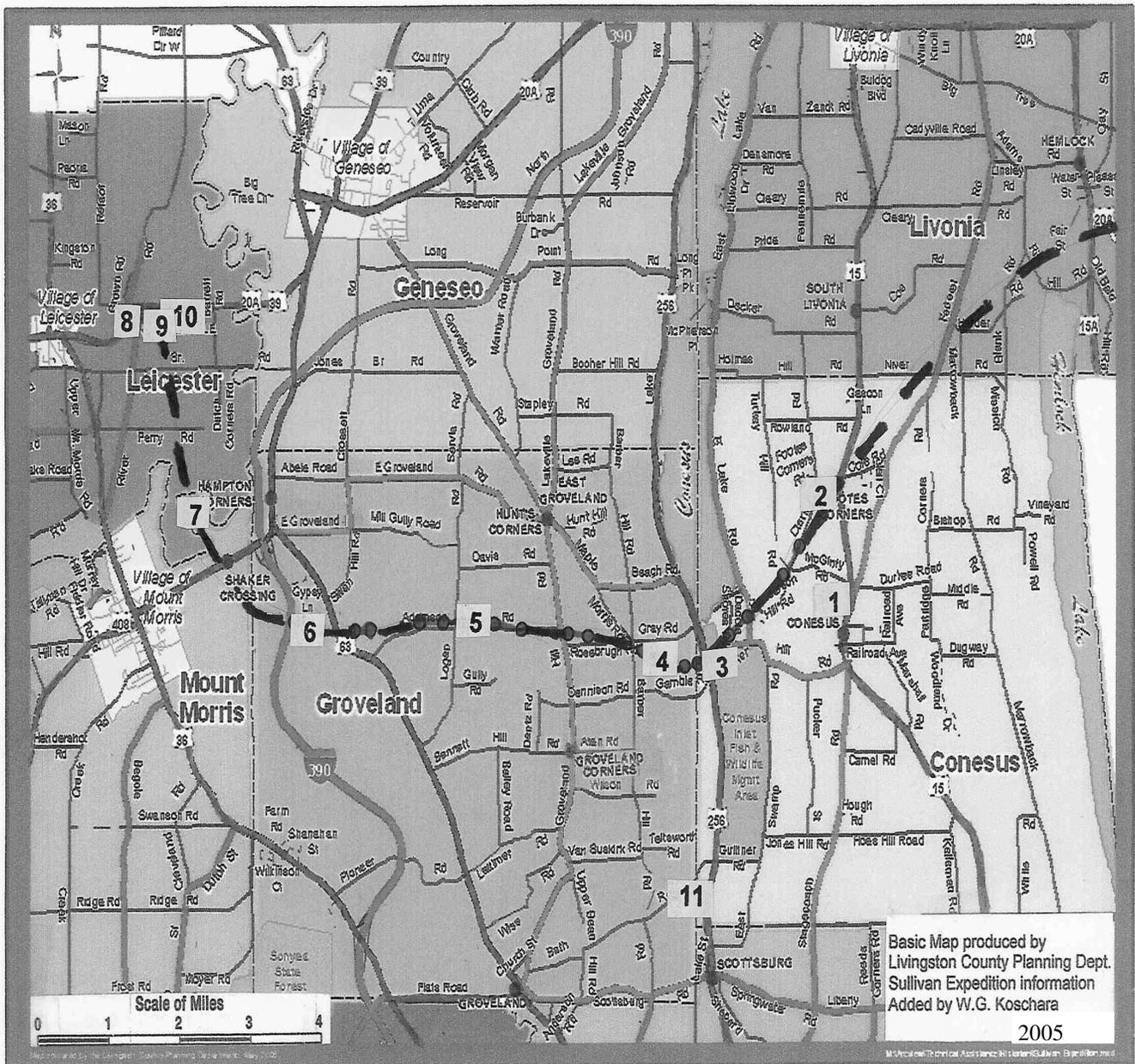
Pursuant to a resolution of the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, passed the eleventh day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one., I have attended a full and general treaty of the Seneca nation of Indians, at Genesee, in the county of Ontario, when the within instrument was duly executed in my presence by the sachems, chiefs, and warriors of the said nation, being fairly and properly understood and transacted by all the parties of Indians concerned, and declared to be done to their universal satisfaction: I therefore certify and approve of the same. WILLIAM SHEPARD  
Subscribed in presence of NAT. W. HOWELL

***Aerial Views Show the Diverse Topography  
Along the Sullivan Trail from Conesus to the top of Groveland Hill  
and across the 'flats' to Leicester***



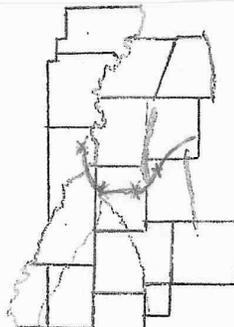
Top: View over the town of Conesus facing southwest with Conesus Lake in the upper right corner. Sullivan's army encountered a formidable mount of over 200 feet from the bridge across the inlet to the top of Groveland Hill.  
Bottom: View over the hamlet of Cuylerville facing southeast shows the rich, fertile Genesee Valley 'flats'. Rt. 20A is in the foreground. These photos were taken in March of 2005 from Bill Koschara's private plane by Barbara Koschara.

# Contemporary map of the Sullivan Campaign Trail through Livingston County



## Map Showing Approximate Locations

- 1 Ricky Greene Memorial Park
- 2 Footes Corners (Sullivan Camp)
- 3 Conesus Inlet Bridge
- 4 Ambuscade (Sept. 13, 1779) Park & Monument
- 5 Boyd's Scouting Party Route
- 6 Gathsegwarohare (Boyd's Party spent night)
- 7 Sullivan-Clinton Army Route
- 8 National Hotel
- 9 Boyd & Parker Shrine
- 10 Little Beard's Town
- 11 Union Cemetery

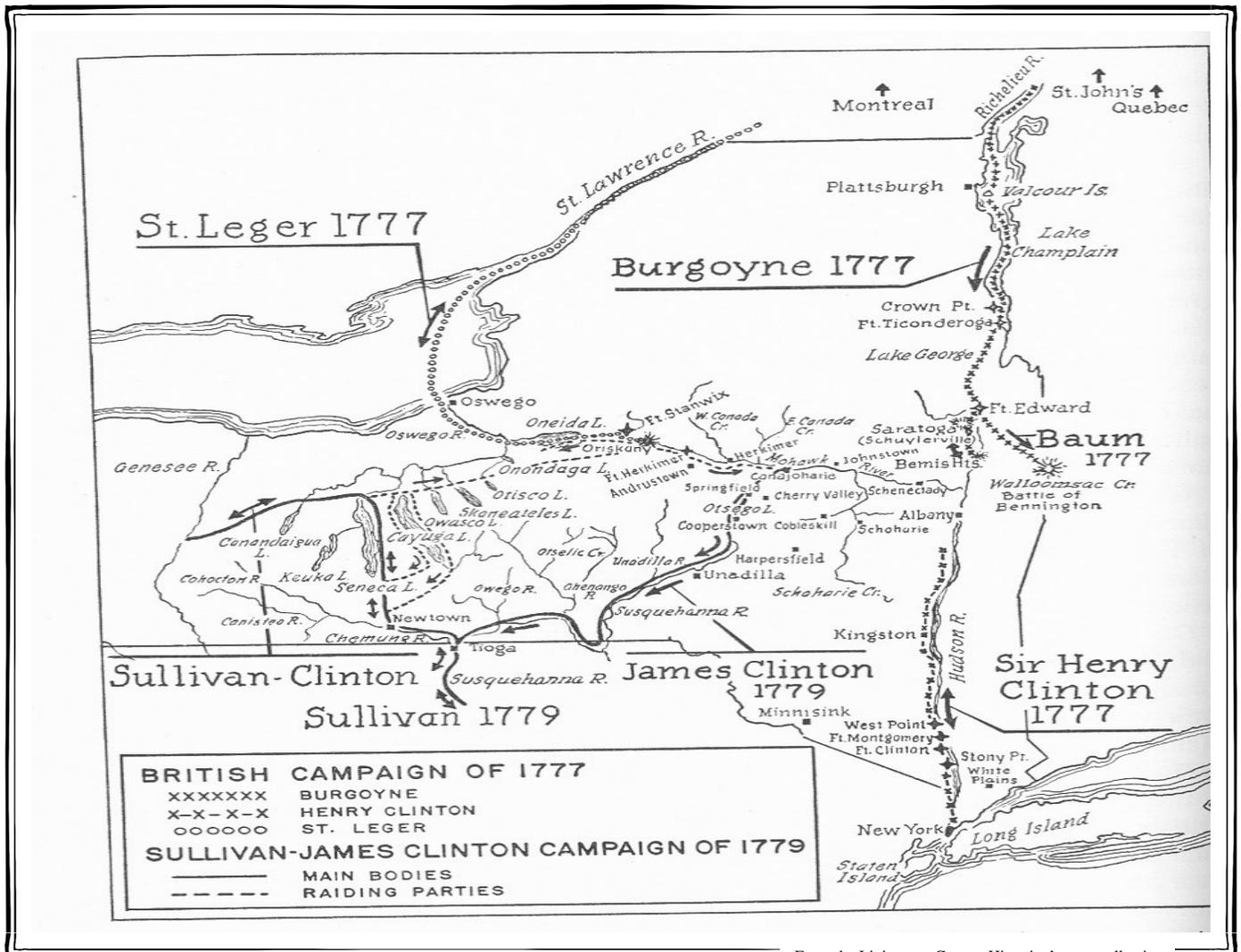


The mutilated bodies of Thomas Boyd and Michael Parker were discovered at Little Beards Town by two of Sullivan's soldiers, Paul Sanborn and Moses VanCampen. Sanborn returned and settled in the area of Scottsburg and is buried in Union Cemetery (#11). Daniel Shays of Shay's Rebellion is also buried there. Moses VanCampen returned and settled in Allegany County. He is buried in Until The Day Dawn Cemetery in Angelica, NY.

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From the Livingston County Historian's map collection.

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# ADDENDUM

## THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

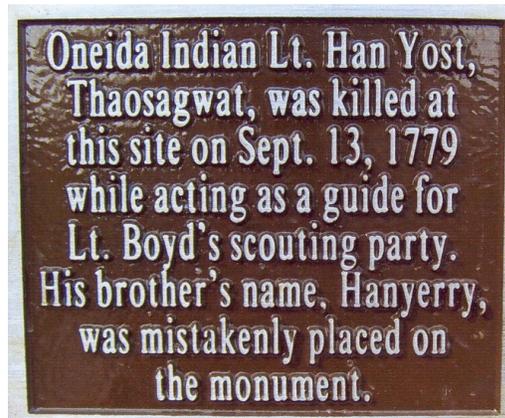
The Impact on Livingston County, New York 1779 -2004



Compiled and Edited by  
Amie Alden, Livingston County Historian  
with  
William & Barbara Koschara  
Thomas Roffe, Michael Tunison & Lawrence Turner

## HISTORICAL UPDATE

In 2007 the Ambuscade Park and Boyd & Parker Park were both listed on the *New York State Register of Historic Places* and received National Register designation in 2009. In addition, both parks were added to the *New York Revolutionary War Heritage Trail* that links significant historic sites to reveal New York's decisive role in America's fight for independence.



*Above: A remembrance and rededication took place on Saturday, September 8th, 2007, when a new plaque was unveiled on the Groveland Ambuscade Monument. Photo courtesy of Larry Turner.*

*Left: The Towpath Volunteers Fife & Drum Band led the procession to the Ambuscade monument for the rededication ceremony. Photo courtesy of Doug Morgan.*

