New York
3 January 1778

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant Colonel St Leger to Lieutenant General Burgoyne, brought through the woods by an Indian, dated before Fort Stanwix August 11, 1777.

After combating the natural difficulties of the River St Lawrence, and the artificial one the enemy threw into my way at Wood Creek, I invested Fort Stanwix the 3rd Instant. On the 5th, I learnt from discovering parties on the Mohawk River, that a body of one thousand militia were on their march to raise the siege. On confirmation of this news, I moved a large body of Indians, with some troops, the same night, to lay in ambuscade for them on their march. They fell into it. The completest victory was obtained; above 400 lay dead on the field, amongst the number of whom, were almost all the principal movers of rebellion in that country. There are six or seven hundred men in the fort.

The militia will never rally. All that I am to apprehend, therefore, is a reinforcement of what they call their regular troops, by way of Half-Moon, on the Mohawk River. A diversion, therefore, from your army by that quarter will greatly expedite my junction with either of the grand armies.

New York. The Royal Gazette, 3 January 1778.

EXTRACT: CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE, ADJUTANT GENERAL,
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
22 January 1778

The account of expenditures made by Major Butler for the Indian Department, His Excellency has seen. He has not the least thought but what every charge therein contained is right; but he disapproves of his name not being mentioned, as he looks on Major Butler to be the chief of that department in those parts, other people having absented themselves from their duty. He therefore thinks Major Butler is the best judge of what things are necessary to be purchased, and his integrity can at all times show the rectitude of his disbursements.

His Excellency is desirous to give some mark of approbation to Sergeant Turney for his good conduct, and as he seems inclined to be in Major Butler's Rangers, the General has recourse to you both to point out in what station he may be most useful to the Service and advantageous to himself.

I send by the Sergeant three commissions for the 8th Regiment and likewise three for Major Butler's Corps. These last are left blank and the General desires me you will fill them up agreeable to Major Butler's recommendations as soon as the Company is nearly completed.

Major John Butler to Captain Francis Le Maistre, Adjutant General

Niagara
28 January 1778

In my last to His Excellency, I acquainted him with the firm, friendly disposition of the Indians of the Six Nations, since which there is not the smallest room to doubt their sincerity.

At present, the Seneca and Cayuga Nations are alarmed at the threats of the rebels to pay them a visit from Wyoming, although the report is not absolutely certain. Yet they express their determined resolution to give them a warm reception should they attempt it. They have their spies out upon the Susquehanna and the frontiers of Pennsylvania, carefully watching the motions of the rebels. A few days, I hope, will ascertain the truth or falsity of the report.

Joseph Brant, Aaron and all the Mohawks here, about 30 in number, are preparing to go to the frontier villages of the Indians upon the alarm, and should it prove true I shall march with all the Rangers I have to their assistance, and also with as many of the Mississaguaras as I can collect.

By accounts from the Susquehanna River, I am well informed of the rebels having taken prisoners thirty of the Rangers who went from Oneida Lake by leave of Colonel St Leger. They were to have returned to this place with as many beef cattle as they could drive off. The rebels, as is supposed, got notice of their design and with a party of 200 men surprised and took them with three Indians.

Yesterday, an Indian came in and brought me a letter from a Loyalist at Poughskeepie, about 60 miles below Albany. He confirms the defeat of the rebels under General Washington by Sir William Howe, and assures me the King's troops are in full possession of the Jerseys and Pennsylvania. Mr Washington having with the wreck of his army retreated towards Virginia. He also informs me that General Clinton keeps possession of Fort Montgomery at the Upper of the Highlands and that Mr Putman occupies a post within six miles of him, higher up the river.

By intelligence from Fort Stanwix by an Indian I had sent there as a spy, I am informed that the garrison of that place is reinforced (as the rebels say) with 600 men, but from what the Indian could remark he does not think it could be true. This much he assures me: that the principal part of Mr Gates, his army, are cantonned upon the frontiers to repel any attempt the Indians of the Six Nations might make during the winter. He also says that the Commanding Officer of Fort Stanwix told him so soon as the Council has ended here, the Oneidas and themselves intended to call a meeting of the Six Nations in which they were to solicit them to relinquish the cause of Government and remain neutral and that this would be the last meeting they should ever have on that subject.

All accounts from the westward agree that the Indians in that quarter have carried fire and desolation into the enemy's country and reduced the extensive frontier upon the Ohio to be a heap of ashes.

The whole of the Six Nations have frequently in Council renewed to Colonel Bolton and myself the requests their Chiefs made to His Excellency at Quebec, namely that of taking possession of the important post of Ontario, as it not only secures to the King's Troops an easy entrance into their country, but to themselves a safe retreat in case they should be attacked by a body of the rebels too superior for them to oppose.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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I wrote a few lines to Your Excellency by an Onondaga Indian who went to Canada by the south side of the lake and therefore it is possible he may fall into the hands of the rebels. I only mentioned that from the reports of the savages, I believed it would be necessary to send a strong detachment as early as it could be attempted in the spring either to Deer Island or Oswego, and at the same time a large quantity of provisions for the Upper Posts.

My reason for troubling Your Excellency now is that from the reports of the Onondagas and other Indians, the rebels intend marching a considerable number of men into their country with a view to take hostages in order to oblige the Six Nations to observe a neutrality. By all accounts this may be done, however, from the good temper of the savages are in I am convinced had they any hope of assistance from Canada, the Six Nations, amounting to the number of twelve hundred men, would readily join to meet them and I believe give a very good account of their expedition.

I am also of opinion (as well as Colonel Butler), that unless a considerable force takes post at Deer Island in the spring, they will certainly attempt to cut off our supplies from La Chine, which I am convinced by no means to be a difficult matter but of the worst consequence to Niagara as the Indians, in case of an attack, would of course send off their women and children here. At one time two thousand seven hundred of them assembled at this post and all the beef, &c, which I received from Detroit was consumed in six or seven days. The enclosed return will show Your Excellency what provisions we have in store for the present garrison. I shall therefore in order to guard against accidents try to procure a small supply once more from Detroit until that arrives from La Chine, but from the number of savages that (I have been informed) were assembled there at different times this winter it is probable I may be disappointed. I was also obliged to buy up all the cattle the Indians had to spare and to give out an order that the soldiers should be paid at the rate of one shilling NY Cy per pound until provisions arrive for all pork saved, which is an extraordinary price but at the same time much less than we can buy it at Detroit as Mr Macomb's will show, which I enclosed to the Adjutant General in my last letter. In short, Sir, I have taken every method to prevent the garrison being distressed and at the same time have done everything in my power to keep the savages in good temper agreeable to your commands.

I have already informed Your Excellency that I did not expect such a number would meet and hope my conduct will meet your approbation having nothing in view but the good of His Majesty's Service.

I have also acquainted the Adjutant General the state of this fort and have employed since the men off duty in cutting pickets, planks for platforms, several of which are rotten and also in making fascines and gabions and a few carriages for guns which are absolutely necessary.

The only we have lately is that the western Indians have drove the rebels from all their settlements for hundreds of miles and that Schuyler had invited the Six Nations to a council, but Sungerachta, their chief, had refused and returned the belt, saying that the wounds of his warriors killed at Fort Stanwix were still bleeding. This may possibly induce him to take post at Oswego, even if his threats of sending an army against them should not take place. Colonel Butler writes by this opportunity and will give a more particular account in regard to Indian Affairs.

Two days ago we received a letter from Ploughkeepsie which confirms Washington's defeat by Sir William Howe, the former retreating with the remains of his army to Virginia. General Clinton in New York had left a strong garrison in Fort Montgomery, within six miles of which Putman was.

Captain Burnet is constantly employed in repairing the Haldimand and I shall endeavour to arm and man all the vessels in the spring as far as it is in my power, but sailors are much wanted and if it had not been for the assistance of Mr Burnet with the few seamen belonging to the Caldwell that I ordered on board the Seneca when Captain La Force and most of his men were sick, great part of the goods must have been left on Deer Island; and from the reports of some gentlemen, if it had not been for his alertness in a gale of wind, in all probability she would have been lost. Since my arrival I have found him a sober, active and careful officer and fully answers the character Captain Lernoult gave me of him.
PS: I must in justice to the King's Regiment beg leave to observe to Your Excellency that His Majesty's Service is carried on with the greatest propriety not only at Detroit, but every other post.

British Library, Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
2 February 1778

In my last to Your Excellency of the 14th ulto, I did myself the honour of acquainting you with the favourable event of our conference with the Indians, the particulars of which I transmit to you.

Your Excellency will perceive from their own sentiments the reasons they have for not alarming the rebels this winter on the frontiers of the Province of New York, which by certain accounts they have from their spies are too well guarded by the prudent measures of Mr Gates in cantoning a considerable part of his army in those parts most exposed to be attacked with any prospect of success, particularly at a season when they could not retreat without a certainty of being pursued by a force too great for them to contend with.

This cautious measure, they hope, will deceive the rebels and divert their attention in the spring from that quarter, when they intend to make a very formidable irruption with their whole collected force into the frontiers of New York, and glut that revenge they so impatiently wish for, for the loss of so many of their men near Fort Stanwix.

Since the conclusion of the Council, I have the strongest assurances of the fidelity of the Senecas and Cayugas, who are the leading people of the Six Nations. Upon the first report of an intended incursion into their country by the rebels from the Susquehanna, they have unanimously resolved to defend themselves with that spirit and obstinacy for which they are remarkable; and also to retaliate as soon as the season of the year will permit. To strengthen their resolution they have recourse to some superstitious rites which has often produced great effects upon a fierce and barbarous people.

But what gives me more satisfaction is the pleasure I have to inform Your Excellency that upon receiving a belt of invitation from Schuyler to attend a Council with the rebels and Indians still adhering to them at Johnstown the 17th Instant, the Chief of the Senecas rejected the invitation and sent back the belt, telling the messengers, who were an Oneida and a Tuscarora, that they had no ears to hear any messages from them; neither would they nor any of their people attend their calls, adding that the blood of their people was still reeking, which he was the occasion of spilling; however, to know the result of this Council they are determined to have spies among them. When it is ended I shall faithfully transmit to Your Excellency all the particulars.

The request made to Your Excellency by the Indian Chiefs in Quebec, they have frequently renewed in Council to Colonel Bolton and myself, namely the establishing a post at Ontario. The reasons they give are many; by so doing, they say, the King's Troops have an easy entrance into the country of the Six Nations which, if not done, they think the rebels may seize upon it themselves, as they apprehend the meeting at Johnstown is called to sound the disposition of the Indians upon that head; that Ontario being in possession of the King's Troops would effectually prevent the rebels from building vessels on the lake and at the same time put a stop to any designs they may have formed against that post; that it would afford a safe refuge for their women and children in case their attachment to the King should bring the enemy into their country in such numbers as they (if unassisted) would be too weak to oppose. They also observe that the fidelity of the Onondagas and Tuscaroras, who, from their vicinity to the rebels, are most exposed, and therefore not so firm as if their situation was more secure, would by that means be effectually secured. For these reasons and others,
the principal men of the Senecas and Cayugas have warmly requested the possession of that post. My duty led me to make Colonel Bolton fully acquainted with their urgent requests and at the same time transmit them to Your Excellency.

Mr Joseph Brant, with about thirty Mohawks, have a few days ago set out for the Indian Country with a view of being near in the case the enemy should put their threats of entering into the Indian Country in execution. The Indians have their spies out all along their frontiers to discover if the rebels are assembling. I have wrote and sent messages to the Chiefs to know if my assistance, with as many Rangers as I have, be wanted before the return of their people whom they have sent out, not thinking it prudent to make any motion toward the inhabitants till spring unless the Indians should be in danger of being attacked for those reasons given by Sangerachta in the name of the whole nations in his last answer.

I hope and wish Mr Brant's attempt may not bring upon them those consequences they seem to be aware of.

Mr Brant, who is, I believe, known to Your Excellency, and very deserving of the character of an active and intelligent man and very willing to do everything in his power for the public good, having represented that he had been employed for two years past without any allowance and out of hopes of receiving any reward for his past services from Colonel Guy Johnson, has desired me to lay his situation before Your Excellency, praying that you will allow him some certain pay for his future support. I hope Your Excellency would be pleased to attend to his request as he is very deserving of your favour.

The Indians of the Six Nations and those from the westward have exerted themselves in laying waste the country most exposed to them. From the east branch of the Susquehanna to the Kiskinitas Creek upon the Ohio and from thence down to Kanhawa River, an extent of many hundred miles, is now nothing but a heap of ashes. Such of those miserable people as having escaped have taken refuge in small forts.

Affairs appear now to be growing desperate about Fort Pitt; a number of those people having sent a deputation to the Six Nations requesting a passage through their country, received for answer that their country was always free and open to the King's good subjects, being only shut against rebels and that they might pass when they pleased. They are said to be about two hundred in number and may be expected here or at Detroit early in the spring.

I have now given Your Excellency a full detail of everything relative to His Majesty's interest among the Indian allies and have the greatest hopes it may be attended with the desired success.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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RETURN OF A CORPS OF RANGERS TO SERVE WITH THE INDIANS,  
COMMANDED BY MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Niagara  
3 February 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Rank and File</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commissioned</td>
<td>Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maj</td>
<td>Capt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Coy</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Coy</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Coy</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1</td>
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NB: Captain Butler prisoner with the Rebels  
Lt Frey on Command

John Butler  
Major

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN FOY

Niagara  
3 February 1778

Corps of Rangers to Serve with the Indians, Commanded by Major John Butler

On Command:  
Bernard Frey, 1st Lieutenant  
Peter Hare, 2nd Lieutenant

Sergeants:  
Frederick Docksteder  
Daniel Young  
I loss Petrie

Corporals:  
Benjamin McKay, entered 15 August  
Benjamin Davis, Rec’d from Captain  
Butler's Company
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Privates:</th>
<th>Henry Simmons</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>James Wilson, entered 18 December</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Abraiam Bowman</td>
<td>) Enter 25 June</td>
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<tr>
<td>Issac Volkenburgh</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Hover</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Hover</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacob Bowman</td>
<td>)) Absent by</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stephen Farrington</td>
<td>)) Brig St Leger's</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roddreck Shaatt</td>
<td>)) Leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Kentner</td>
<td>))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Reynolds</td>
<td>) Absent by Major Butler's leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Buck</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Hicks</td>
<td>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Hicks</td>
<td>) Enter 25 July, Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred'k Vanderlip</td>
<td>) by Brig St Leger's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fred'k Frank</td>
<td>) leave</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teak Smith</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jacob Hunsinger</td>
<td>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Topp</td>
<td>Ent 24 July</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Carlock</td>
<td>Ent 10 Aug</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Baker</td>
<td>Ent 12 Aug</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Teal</td>
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<td>John Clous</td>
<td>)</td>
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<td>Geo House</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>John House</td>
<td>) Entertained 20 August</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wm Quack</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>John McDonell</td>
<td>)</td>
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<td>John Moss</td>
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<td>McDonell</td>
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<td>Jacob Spareback</td>
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<td>John Stephens</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Bush</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Dawson</td>
<td>Entertained 20 Octr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Parkes</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Brass</td>
<td>ditto, On command</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abraham Crisler</td>
<td>ditto ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Holland</td>
<td>do 2nd do do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos Brooks</td>
<td>do 7th do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Boss</td>
<td>do do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Empson</td>
<td>do 22nd do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Campbell</td>
<td>do 23rd do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Brown</td>
<td>do 23 Novr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Yarns</td>
<td>do 11 Decr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abner Spencer</td>
<td>do 18th do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thos McCormmick</td>
<td>do do</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Seagar</td>
<td>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard McGinnis</td>
<td>) Entertained 31 Decr</td>
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<tr>
<td>James Crowder</td>
<td>)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Issac Crowder</td>
<td>)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Mustered in the Corps of Rangers to serve with the Indians, Commanded by Major John Butler, and in the second company the 2nd Lieutenant, three Sergeants, three Corporals and thirty effective Private men, allowing the first Lieutenant that are absent [?] being certified effective on the back of this roll.

Mason Bolton, Lieutenant Colonel, King's (or 8th) Regiment

NB: Those absent by Brigadier St Leger's leave had his permission to go home for their families and to bring off some cattle. This permission was granted at the Oneida Lake, 24 August past.

*Comment:* This is William Caldwell's company. When this document is compared with the previous abstract, it is difficult to reconcile some of the numbers. In the abstract, the total all rank strength is 58, while the nominal roll lists 62. While Walter Butler is listed as a prisoner, Ten Broeck is not. Caldwell's commission as a Captain was not forwarded until April. But so that the correct number of Captains would be two. It is odd that in the abstract Frey is listed as "on command," a term which meant he was away on an expedition, but that David Brass, even in numerical form, is not although the nominal roll reflects this absence. Both documents are dated the same day, and one would think that some care would have been made to reconcile them.

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**RETURN OF PROVISIONS ISSUED AT NIAGARA**

Niagara
8 February 1779

Return of Provisions Issued out of the King's Store at Niagara between the 25th December 1778 and the 24th January 1779

Companies
- **General Armstrongs** ................................................................. 62
- Lieutenant Colonel Bolton .......................................................... 1,966
- Major De Peyster ........................................................................ 1,581
- Grenadiers ................................................................................. 62

Captains
- Lernoult.......................................................................................... 1,649
- Parker ......................................................................................... 1,736
- Mompressn ................................................................................ 1,742
- Le Maistre .................................................................................. 62
- Mathews Light Company ............................................................ 1,860
- Walter ......................................................................................... 26

King's (or 8th) Regiment ................................................................. 10,746
47th Regiment ............................................................................ 744
Royal Artillery and Conductor .................................................... 496
Indians and Rangers .................................................................. 57,341
Navy and Artificiers .................................................................. 5,067
I am really surprised at the number of rations issued to the Indians in the above return, Mason Bolton, Lieutenant Colonel.

*Comment:* The totals here raise some questions. The total number of days inclusive is 31, and assuming that one ration was one day's issue to one man, totals like 1,966 would suggest that Bolton's company of the 8th Foot had 63 or 64 officers and men. Additionally, assuming that Indians received the same allocation, the military and civilians garrison at Niagara would have totalled about 576, plus the Rangers of 125 all ranks. That would mean the Indian population (men, women and children) totalled about 221, not really surprising as Bolton indicates. Throughout his correspondence, one gets the impression that Bolton did not really agree with the expenditures to maintain the Indians in the King's cause.

[Need date origin]

There are now some memorandums which Major Butler gave on the part of Major Butler that remain unanswered.

That relating to the levelling of the pay and the business of his Corps, I must defer until the departure of the fleet will afford me time to consider and determine finally upon. All which shall be concluded before the opening of the ensuing campaign.

In respect of the proposed exchange of prisoners for Major Butler's family, I am concerned that I cannot, under the circumstances I find myself at present, treat with the rebels. Every means have been used without effect by Sir Henry Clinton to effect a cartel for the exchange of General Burgoyne's army whom the rebels now consider not as having submitted by Convention, but as prisoners and a total stop seems put to all exchanges of that kind.

I therefore find it necessary to adhere to that part of my predecessor's order prohibiting any exchange of prisoners until I hear what may be further done to the southward, and should an exchange again take place, you may assure Major Butler that I shall immediately avail myself of it to effect his wishes which I have much at heart. In the meantime, in order to save provisions I should be glad that the principal families received from the Indians for that purpose were sent down to Montreal where the best care shall be taken of them.

EXTRACT: COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

New York
12 March 1778

I have now the pleasure to inform Your Lordship that notwithstanding the event of the last campaign to the northward,
the Indians are as firm as ever, and are eager for service; a courier having just arrived here with messages to me and a billet to the General signed by Lieutenant Colonel Bolton commanding at Niagara, and by my Deputy, Mr Butler, of which the enclosed is a copy, which briefly shows their zeal, readiness and abilities. On this subject I have by direction of Sir Henry Clinton, wrote at large to Sir William Howe, whose commands I hope shortly to receive, that I may send back such messages as he approves, or such as will prepare them to meet me, agreeable to the proposal I submitted to Your Lordship and to him, at such time and place to the Northward, as should be approved of, for the purpose of keeping the Indians out of the reach of rebel emissaries and of employing them in the way most serviceable to Government.

In

EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR HENRY HAMILTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Detroit
29 March 1778

John Turney arrived from Quebec. He brought a belt sent by Colonel Butler addressed to the Lake Indians and all the Western Nations, from the Six Nations, by which they declare their resolution to support Government and revenge themselves, desiring all the Nations of the Confederacy to act as one man. Thanking them at the same time for the zeal and spirit with which they acted last year.

EXTRACTS: INTELLIGENCE FROM THE ALBANY COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

Albany
1 April 1778

A few days ago the Committee received information that two persons had passed this city, and that one of them had lately come out of New York. Upon this information, they dispatched a couple of persons in pursuit of them who were fortunate enough to apprehend them, but in the night the principal one, Gilead Bettiss, made his escape. The other, Daniel Bass, who says he lives in Fredericksburg in Dutchess County, they secured and delivered to the Committee, and upon examination nothing could be extorted from him but that Bettiss had lately come out of New York, offered to enlist three persons in his presence and had informed him that the enemy would come up the river in about three weeks time. After a long examination, he was put in irons and confined. Some time after his confinement, James Hart, a prisoner requested to be brought before the Committee, who upon his appearance gave the information of which No 1 enclosed is a copy.

No 1

James Hart being examined says: that seeing a person brought in goal in irons induced him to ask where he came from, and what his name; that he was answered his name was Daniel Bass, that he lived near Croten's and had come up with
one Gilead Bettiss, who was lately come out of New York; that after some conversation Bass told the examinant that said Bettiss was sent out by General Clinton and Governor Tryon to warn the Tories and especially those of the Manor of Livingston; that he was also to enquire how deep the snow was up the Mohawk River and whether the Indians would come out; and that Bettiss had also told him that the Tories were to rise on the 14th of April next and disarm as many of the Whigs as they could; that the row galleys and gun boats were to come up at the same time as far as the Manor, where they were to stop to receive the Tories on board, and then to come up to Albany; and if the snow was yet too deep on the 14th they were to postpone their operations till the 24th as they did not choose to venture till such time as Butler might have an opportunity to co-operate with them with the Indians.

That Butler was to take his route through Schoharie; that the said Bass farther informed the examinant that Bettiss was to go to Schoharie and the German Flatts, after which he was to return to New York to give an account of his proceedings and that Bettiss had a Captain's commission and had offered to enlist people as he came up.


LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
8 April 1778

I received the honour of Your Excellency's favour dated November the 8th and am happy to find that my conduct has been such as to meet your approbation. It is possible and probable I may err; however, I will venture to assure you, Sir, that no man can have the King's Service more at heart than I have. If a mistake should happen, I hope being a stranger to these Upper Posts and the complicated command I have will in some measure excuse an error in judgement on my side. So far I have been fortunate and no accident has happened.

The savages, if I can credit reports, are determined to assist us and from my own observations I have no reason to doubt them. They are now calling all their people most exposed to the rebels and assembling their fighting men in each village who will be ready to oppose Schuyler whenever he attempts to put his threat in execution against them or this post.

Major Butler intends leaving this post in a few days with his Corps in order to consult with Sayenenqueraghta (Chief Warrior of the Senecas), who has now an almost unlimited command over the Sir Nations by what Joseph informs me. Therefore, when Your Excellency will favour me with your orders, I have no doubt but the Major will put them in execution; however, it is not improbable the savages may think it necessary to commence hostilities sooner. In that case, I believe he must acquiesce. At the same time I believe he will do his utmost to prevent any attempt the rebels may have in view against this post as far as it lies in his power.

The Seneca and Caldwell are completely armed and I have ordered a Lieutenant and twenty four men, with non-commissioned officers in proportion, on board the former and a sergeant's party on board the latter, as they are by no means well manned, particularly the Seneca. They are ordered to cruise off Oswego for some days and afterwards to sail for Deer Island where I hope provisions will be arrived.

The Haldimand is not as yet repaired for want of the carpenters I wrote for. But in a short time I hope she will be ready to sail.

I have received the following intelligence by Indians employed to watch Schuyler's motions, viz:- that the rebels seem by their preparations not to have any intention to move towards Oswego, but have added considerably to the strength of Fort Stanwix, to which they have sent large quantities of provisions with cannon and ammunition; and that the garrison at this time amounts to 700 or 800 men; few troops in or about Albany, but a considerable number sent towards Lake George some time ago, with many things necessary for an expedition; they report that this body of troops are not to attack the Isle aux Noix or St John, but to surprise Montreal; they say the Northern Army is commanded by a French
Marquis, one De la Fayette.

A great deal of this news I give very little credit to as Your Excellency has now a much stronger force in Canada than when they first invaded that Province. All accounts confirm Washington's being killed and his army defeated in December last and that Gates was sent for to take the command.

The reports brought here by a soldier of the Seventh Regiment I have informed Captain Le Maistre of, and I shall send him by this opportunity to Montreal.

The enclosed I have this day received from the masters of the armed vessels in consequence of a note to Mr Pollard by the Commissary General. I must own, Sir, that particularly at this time I should be glad the rations were served out as usual, being well convinced the seamen on these lakes have much more to do than those on board a Man of War. All the winter they have constantly employed at hard work without having the advantage of catching fish as the soldiers do. Besides the pay of the Seneca's crew is extremely small and many of them wanted much to return home last year, which was one reason I would not suffer her to winter at Oswegatchie where they might have the opportunity to desert. I can assure Your Excellency that if I was not convinced that this alteration would hurt the service, I would by no means make this application in their favour and I will venture to say there never was an officer here who wished more to lessen the expense of this post to Government than I have done.

When our difficulties are over, it will perhaps become necessary to make many regulations in regard to the Upper Posts, not only in this particular. As yet no orders have been sent to me concerning the matter, therefore embrace the first opportunity of acquainting Your Excellency with it.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO
CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE, ADJUTANT GENERAL

Niagara
8 April 1778

I received your favour dated January 22nd and am happy to find His Excellency has given such orders to the Commissary General. The provisions will be forwarded as early as possible in the spring for the Upper Posts.

I have wrote to Captain Thompson and informed him. It is expected he will bring a general state of the naval department to enable His Excellency to form a judgement for a proper establishment.

I have also acquainted Major Butler that his own name is to be mentioned in the accounts for expenditures for the Indian Department which will be observed in the future.

The Major, I believe, intends appointing Sergeant Turney a second lieutenant in the Corps of Rangers. He left this place two days after his arrival with the express from Detroit. The commissions for the King's Regiment I have received and also those for the Rangers, which shall be filled up agreeable to orders.

Captain Foy's letter dated the 20th October I received the 10th March in which he informs me that the additional companies of the 29th, 31st and 34th Regiments were ordered to be turned over to the other companies of their regiments and the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of those regiments will establish a relation to the commissioned officers that every one may have their turn of duty at home and abroad; that if there be time to send officers this year. The same order is to be observed by the King's Regiment. I therefore request to know, as this letter
comes too late for me to obey, His Excellency's commands, whether it is to be observed this year or not. In the present situation of affairs, three officers will be more than I can well spare.

A soldier of the 7th Regiment, who was taken prisoner by the rebels, made his escape some time ago and came in here. The accounts he gives is that 9,000 men under Lord Percy had defeated 13,000 rebels at Bear Hills the 20th of December last under Washington who was killed; that 7,000 volunteers from Ireland had joined General Howe's army and also a large body of Prussians were expected early in the spring. But as you certainly must know him, I have ordered him down to Montreal to answer for himself, not that I doubt what a Royal Fusilier says.

I request that you will inform Colonel Caldwell that the soldier he wrote to me for is not at this post, but as soon as I can find out where he is I shall answer his favour.

Enclosed you have a copy of an account which I received from Colonel Claus, which Major Butler believes to be very just, having seen most of the articles delivered to the savages. I should therefore be glad to know if I may settle that affair.

I have wrote to His Excellency concerning a letter received by Mr Pollard from the Commissary General in regard to the rations issued to the seamen and at this time hope that no alteration will be made, as the service, I am afraid, would suffer by it.

By this opportunity you will receive the monthly returns, &c.

Mr Pollard, from his bad state of health, intends quitting business as Merchant and Mr Robinson, I believe, will supply this garrison from May next, provided His Excellency has no objection.

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**RETURN OF MAJOR JOHN BUTLER'S CORPS OF RANGERS**

Niagara
8 April 1778

One major, one captain, one lieutenant, four sergeants, forty-two recruits present fit for duty; four sick in quarters; sixteen on command; twenty-one on furlough; twenty-three prisoners with the rebels.

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*Comment:* Some of these totals are lesser than those in the abstract return of 3 February 1778.

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**MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO SIR GUY CARLETON**

Niagara
10 April 1778

As the season of the year is now hastening on for action, the Indians of the Six Nations are busied in bringing off such
of their people and friends as are nearest to the rebels to places of more security. When they have done this, they are more than ever determined to strike that stroke they resolved upon last fall in Council, the minutes of which I did myself the honour of sending Your Excellency in my last.

I am in daily expectation of a message from them to acquaint me that they are ready, and as I am convinced my being with them may be of use to accelerate their departure and direct their motions, I intend to march with what Rangers I have with me to act with them, when I hope to be considerably reinforced by those Rangers I have ordered in from the Susquehanna as well as by a number of Loyalists from the back settlements; near one hundred men being already engaged to serve as Rangers by an officer I sent out for that purpose.

Although the Indians of the Six Nations have not acted with their collective force this last winter for reasons which they gave in Council, yet I can with great truth assure Your Excellency that they have not been idle. I have frequently sent out parties to the Susquehanna from whence after having destroyed their upper settlements they have brought in some prisoners and about 70 scalps. Some parties are yet out whose success I have not heard.

A few days ago, an Indian arrived whom I had sent down to attend Schuyler's meeting. He tells me that Schuyler recommended in the strongest terms to the Indians a neutrality in the present troubles, not through fear (he said) of them, but purely for their own safety and to prevent their losing so many of their people as they did last summer. He also observed that as he saw to his sorrow but very few of the Six Nations there, that he did not look upon them as a Council; he therefore advised them that upon their return home they should call a general Council of their Nations at the Onondaga and consider well what he had told them; which when they had done and had agreed to the proposed neutrality, he declared his intention of coming to Oswego, observing that as they had not hindered the King’s Troops from coming through their country last year he hoped, as friends and brethren, they would not hinder him, adding that if they did not agree to what he had proposed, that he should for the future treat them as enemies wherever he met them. He finished by telling them that it was his intention of coming through their country was only to remove those people who had given them bad advice and occasioned the loss of so many of their principal warriors.

I have the peculiar satisfaction arising from the fidelity of the Six Nations to assure Your Excellency that the majority of them are inclined to pay little regard to his advice as they are now busily employed in preparing to act quite opposite to it and have also refused to hold the meeting at Onondaga.

The last accounts I have from Albany contradict the reports of the rebels building boats and making preparations for coming to Oswego. They also say that there are 700 men at Fort Stanwix and that considerable fortifications have been added to it as well as large quantities of provisions and stores deposited there; that large numbers of the rebels had gone off for Canada, as if for a winter expedition. Great quantities of hand sleighs and creepers have been provided and that they intended to pass Isle aux Noix and St Johns and surprise Montreal, and that the Marquis de la Fayette commands the Northern Army in place of Mr Gates.

A few days ago, I received a letter from Mrs Butler acquainting me with the ill state of health of my son Walter, occasioned by his long and severe confinement in goal at Albany. I would, therefore, beg leave of Your Excellency to request (if not improper) the favour of having him exchanged, and hope Your Excellency will be pleased to take this request into you consideration. His treatment has, I believe, been the more severe for no other reason than that of being my son.

By this opportunity I transmit a pay list of the Officers and Rangers of the Indian Department not yet incorporated, from the 24th of June to the 24th of December 1777, amounting to £1020.10.9 3/8; also an account current for the pay of the two companies of Rangers for the same time, in which there remains a balance in my favour of £1331.18.2 ½ Halifax. These accounts with the proper drafts will be presented by Mr Phynn and will, I hope, meet with Your Excellency's approbation.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE,  
ADJUTANT GENERAL  

Niagara  
10 April 1778  

Your favour of the 22nd January I have received, as also the commissions from Colonel Bolton with whose approbation they are filled up as follows: Walter Butler, Captain; Thomas Butler, another son of mine whom I expect daily here, First Lieutenant; and Philip Frey, Second Lieutenant. My son Walter has the honour to be known to His Excellency; the other gentlemen are such I have the greatest hopes will deserve these appointments.

I have ordered Lieutenant Philip Frey to act as adjutant from the 24th December last till His Excellency's pleasure shall be known, and I shall be happy if His Excellency thought proper to confirm Mr Frey in that post as I look upon him as an active, deserving young man.

On the third of February last, I addressed to Captain Foy a muster roll of the Second Company of Rangers. The officers intended for that company are: Wm Caldwell, Captain; Barent Frey, Lieutenant; Peter Hare, Second Lieutenant, who will receive their commissions when you shall please to forward them to me.

Agreeable to His Excellency's intentions, I have promised, with the approbation of Colonel Bolton, Sergeant Turney a Lieutenancy in the Third Company of Rangers now raising. This company, I expect, will soon be complete as I have assurance of a number of Loyalists to join me early in the spring, an officer I had sent out for that purpose having recruited nearly an hundred men. Should His Excellency be pleased to give any other mark of his approbation to Mr Turney, it would give me the highest satisfaction to be the means of conveying it.

Since I closed the general's letters, I have received accounts of several large parties of Senecas are gone out to the southward and I expect to follow them in a few days.

* Comment: This letter would seem to indicate that Thomas Butler was already in Niagara. In fact, he is listed on the prisoner exchange which took place at the end of March 1779, and his commission as 1st Lieutenant is dated 13 October 1782, although his record of service states in June 1784 he had served 3 years 7 months.

EXTRACT: JR D'WITT TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON  

Peenpeck Mamacotten Precinct  
19 April 1778  

Josiah Parks, being duly sworn, deposeth and saith:

That about the middle of February last past, Captain John, so called - a Tuscarora Indian, was coming through the woods to go to one Robert Land at Cashitthtown, and being overtaken with fear turned about from said Land's to
Shohauken, and employed one John Harris to go to said Land's with an express of letters for said Land to go to York with, and soon after said Land went off and is not yet appeared home or been seen here since; and that the Tories say the said Land is gone to New York and they are afraid he is taken.

The said deponeth further saith that by the best information he can get of one David Vaneveran of Shohaukan is that the Indians and Tories mean to strike first on the Susquehanna about Wyoming and take that place first with the number of four thousand men, and then come through to the North River.

The same deponeth further saith that Francis Elswert told him not to tell the damned rebels at Cashithown about the plot for fear they would move off. Said Elsert sells provisions to the Indians and takes orders on the King's quartermaster for pay.

The said deponeth further saith that Francis Elsert, Nathan Parks, Garton De Will and Hank Bush are gone to the Indians.

The evidence of Joseph Gordens is as follows: he says he heard Francis Elswert and Joseph Gooding, both of Shohawken, say they would come about five weeks hence with the Indians and Tories to take all the Whigs at Cashithtown, namely Bezaleel Tyler, John Lashly, in short all the Whigs. And the persons which would not be hurt were King's men, viz:-- Joseph Ross, Nath'l Michel, Brian Cain, one Allan, Robert Land, Daniel Skinner, Jonas Wood, Haggai Skinner.

They seem to be of one mind and opinion and agree very well.


* Comment: Is this a warning of the proposed raid on Wyoming? It would appear that the final destination of the expedition was made until a Council in the Indian Country in the last week of May or first week of June (see 4 June 1778). Cashithton is now Cochecton, Sullivan County, New York.

**************************************************************
RETURN OF PROVISIONS AND RUM FORWARDED FROM LACHINE AND THE CEDARS
TO THE UPPER POSTS FROM APRIL 20TH TO JUNE 22, 1778 BY 125 BATEAU IN 11 DIVISIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Flour</th>
<th>Pork</th>
<th>Butter</th>
<th>Oat-meal</th>
<th>Peas</th>
<th>No of men to be victualed</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Michilimackinac</td>
<td>82848</td>
<td>46700</td>
<td>4288</td>
<td>5745</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>21543</td>
<td>12480</td>
<td>1216</td>
<td>1726</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>113327</td>
<td>64896</td>
<td>6604</td>
<td>11679</td>
<td>584</td>
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<td>Niagara</td>
<td>64032</td>
<td>39520</td>
<td>2688</td>
<td>4793</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oswegatchie</td>
<td>22678</td>
<td>13726</td>
<td>1088</td>
<td>3094</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>304428</strong></td>
<td><strong>177322</strong></td>
<td><strong>14784</strong></td>
<td><strong>27037</strong></td>
<td><strong>1698</strong></td>
<td><strong>2122</strong></td>
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Held at Niagara, 24 April 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flour</th>
<th>Pork</th>
<th>Butter</th>
<th>Oat-meal</th>
<th>Peas</th>
<th>No of men to be victualed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39450</td>
<td>8104</td>
<td>11828</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>785</td>
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ESTIMATE OF WOOD FOR A REGIMENT ON THE PRESENT ESTABLISHMENT

Niagara
April 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number of Persons</th>
<th>Number of Rooms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subalterns</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank and File, Sergeants and Drummers</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>12 to a room</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cords</th>
<th>Feet</th>
<th>Inches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Rooms</td>
<td>902</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per Room per year</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3044</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21850, Papers Relating to the Barrack Master General 1777-1785; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-768.

***************
EXTRACT: ABRAHAM YATES, JUNIOR, TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
21 April 1778

News we have none, except a disagreeable tale about the escape of Mr Butler who went off, I think, a Saturday night. Could he be got again, it would be a lucky circumstance. But I am afraid it will not be the case.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 3, pp 203-204

* Comment: 21 April 1778 was a Tuesday, so "a Saturday night" would have been the 18th of April. Walter Butler was in the Seneca Country by 15 May, at Niagara on 17 May, and at Quebec City on 4 June 1778.

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EXTRACT: FROM RICHARD CARTWRIGHT SENIOR'S CLAIM FOR WAR LOSSES

[April 1778]

That your memorialist saved the life of Captain Butler, who fell in the service, by effecting his escape from his own home in Albany when under the sentence of death, at the risque of his life.


***************

EXTRACT: BARRACK MASTER'S REPORT

Quebec
30 April 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Status</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niagara</td>
<td>These barracks are in tolerable repair. 4 Companies are now lodged in them and they will contain more.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detroit</td>
<td>These barracks are also in tolerable repair and will contain about 5 companies with officers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Richard Murray

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21850, Papers Relating to the Department of the Barrack Master General, 1777-1778; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-768.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
1 May 1778

Before I set off for the Indian country upon the excursion of the Indians had meditated last fall for the execution of
which they are now ready, I must do myself the honour of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's last favour of the 14th March which gives me the satisfaction of finding Your Excellency pleased with my poor, though unwearied, endeavours among those people for His Majesty's interest. To which let me add that I have the greatest hopes of their being attended with the desired success.

It is with satisfaction that I find the Indians not only actuated by their fidelity to the King and beyond measure stimulated by an eager thirst of revenge for the loss of so many of their principal men last year from which I am led to form a happy presage.

This day a party of Indians brought in two prisoners and as many scalps. The prisoners have been taken some time and bring no intelligence. There are now out between two and three hundred Senecas against the Southern Provinces.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756 Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE,
ADJUTANT GENERAL

Niagara
1 May 1778

Tomorrow I have fixed upon in concert with the chiefs of the Senecas, &c, for my departure from hence.

I have just now certified an account of Mr Pollard for sundries furnished for the use of the Indians in which is included £4,688.11 York Currency for provisions purchased for the use of the Indian Department at this place.

I must beg leave to remark that much of the greatest part of the beef and pork was bought at Detroit of Mr Stedman at the Carrying Place, who weighed with the carcasses the heads and entrails and the feet, delivering the whole at the rate of one shilling York Currency per pound.

The greater part of the carcasses were kept by order of Colonel Bolton and issued to the garrison, Naval Department, &c, to replace the quantities of salt provisions consumed during the holding of the Council with the Indians at this place, the Indians having very little of the fresh meat issued to them except such as was too poor to be issued to the garrison besides the heads, offal and feet. The same rule was observed with those cattle I had brought in from the Indian country, from circumstances which I am led to remark to you. You will be pleased to observe that much of the greater part of the fresh meat charged in Mr Pollard's account to the Indian Department was in reality expended for the support of the garrison and its dependencies.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756 Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
4 May 1778
In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 10th of April, I am likewise to inform you the one addressed to His Excellency is also come to hand.

The General feels for the long confinement and severe treatment of your son at Albany and directs me to say he will not loose view of getting him exchanged.

The General having declared in orders that the Staff Commissions of Adjutants and Quartermasters in case of vacancies should be reserved for non-commissioned officers whose good conduct and long services entitle them to this mark of approbation and meaning at the same time by placing this prospect before them to cause emulation among that set of men, cannot for these reason acquiesce in your appointment of Lieutenant Frey to the Adjutancy of your Corps.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682..

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NTF: commission of Peter Ten Broeck in 21745 dated 4 May 1778

EXTRACTS: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE

Niagara
10 May 1778

Your favour of the 10th March I have received with the commissions for Major Butler's Corps, which are filled up agreeable to His Excellency's commands.

The detachment of a Captain, Subaltern and forty men are landed before this time at Deer Island to which place Captain Potts sent a subaltern and twenty men some days ago.

The Caldwell returned to the garrison with provisions the 29th of last month and the Seneca arrived this day with three bateau loads.

Mr Day (Commissary General) informed some time ago that sixty puncheons of rum were ordered for the Upper Posts, twenty for Detroit and the same for Michilimackinac. I really think that Niagara should have had more, for by the accounts you'll find that Major Butler has already given two thousand gallons to the savages.

I have drawn a bill for £14,760.9.5 on account of sundries furnished the Indians by order of Major Butler and also another on account of the Naval Department at Detroit for £4,709.18.9. Believe me, I am heartily sick of bills, and if the other posts are as expensive to Government as this has been, I think Old England had done much better by letting the savages take possession of them than to put herself to half the enormous sums she has been out in keeping them.

Major Butler has left me the names of three officers who are to be appointed to the next Company of Rangers.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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CONSUMPTION OF RUM AT NIAGARA

[Niagara
10 May 1778]

Expenditure of rum at Niagara from the 11th May 1777 to 10 May 1778

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gal</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To the Garrison</td>
<td>757</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Navy</td>
<td>2025</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Indians out of</td>
<td>3736</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the King's Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For ditto from Mr Edward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollard</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7142</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
12 May 1778

I have drawn a Bill for £14,769.9.5 in favour of Mr Pollard for sundries furnished the savages, which Major Butler thought absolutely necessary, notwithstanding all the presents that were sent to this post last year. Two thousand seven hundred Indians being assembled at a time when I little expected such a number, obliged me to send to Detroit for a supply of provisions, otherwise this garrison must have been distressed or the savages offended and, I suppose, would have joined the rebels. Even after all that was done for them, they scarce seemed satisfied.

Major Butler left this some time ago with the chiefs of the Six Nations and I have reason to expect that something will be done for this enormous expense government has been at as they promised to strike a blow of consequence.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON

Seneca Country
15 May 1778

Having an opportunity by Captain Butler (who has been so fortunate as to make his escape from the rebels, being under sentence of death with them), I thought it my duty to acquaint Your Excellency of my arrival here with a body of Rangers.
I have had a meeting with several of the principal chiefs of the Seneca Nation who express the greatest desire to join me in an attack on the frontiers of the rebellious colonies. I am to have a general meeting of all the chiefs and warriors of the Seneca Nation in a few days in order to their proceeding with me to the Unadilla on the Susquehanna River, which I have fixed as a place of rendezvous for the warriors of the Five Nations as being near the inhabitants and where I can supply myself with provisions from the Provinces of New York, Jersey or Pennsylvania, and likewise where a number of friends to Government are to join me, of whom twenty five have come to me since my leaving Niagara.

There is just now a party of Senecas come in who have had an action with a number of the rebels' forces on the Ohio in which the Indians prevailed, drove the rebels into their stockaded fort, took two prisoners and thirteen scalps. The Indians lost one man killed and four wounded.

There is still one hundred and fifty warriors out on the back of Jersey and Pennsylvanian Government whose return I expect daily. There is none gone on the frontiers of New York except Lieutenant Frey of the Rangers, in company with Joseph Brant whom I have sent to make an attempt to bring off the Mohawks in the rebels' country.

I have the greatest prospect of completing the body of Rangers Your Excellency was please to empower me to raise on the arrival on the back settlements of the colonies.

I must refer Your Excellency to Captain Butler for the intelligence in this quarter, as I have communicated to him every particular that has come to my knowledge.

Permit me to assure Your Excellency, I shall not have anything undone in my power to favour His Majesty's Service and to join the Southern Army.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
21 May 1778

Captain Butler, having escaped from Albany after a severe confinement, arrived here the 17th Instant, and takes this opportunity of going to Quebec. He will inform you of all the news we have here.


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EXTRACTS: SAMUEL KIRKLAND TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Fort Schuyler
23 May 1778

I have now the unhappiness to acquaint Your Honour that things have taken a very different turn from what they promised when I did myself the honour to write you last.
I left the Oneidas yesterday. Your agent, Mr Deane, requested me to inform you that the reason of his not writing was the uncertainty which attended the results of the meeting at Onondaga. However, in his opinion from what he could collect there contained very little prospects of a reconciliation with the Senecas; that the Oneidas would soon stand in need of your protection; that the German Flatts, Stone Arabia, and Cherry Valley would be attacked by the Indians in scouting parties some time next month.

Mr Butler is on his way down through the Six Nations -- was left at Kanadaugea, the first Seneca village west of Cayuga, six days ago, when by the way he was met by his son Ensign Butler and a number of Tories.

When the Oneida Sachems left Onondaga, they could not determine what effect their declarations and advice would have upon the minds of the Seneca warriors there convened. Whether they would return from thence to meet Mr Butler or proceed with their prisoners down to Albany. Mr Butler had strictly enjoined them to go no further than Onondaga or Oneida at the furthest, and there by the hands of the Oneidas demand General Schuyler their prisoner Atskearax to be delivered up at one of those places for an exchange, but this the Oneidas peremptorily refused.

PS: Mr Butler has said, as related by the Indians, that Sir John Johnson is repairing to Oswego to take post there and Mr Butler is collecting the Indians for a conference at that place.

LECT: FROM MINUTES OF A COUNCIL OF APPOINTMENT

Ploughkeepsie
28 May 1778

William Tygert, Esquire, a Justice of the Peace of Tryon County is charged with declaring his own resolution and advising other subjects of this State when Butler and Ten Broeck, persons in the enemy's service, came as emissaries into Tryon County to seduce the subjects of this State from their allegiance and to take part with the enemy, to get relief by applying to Butler.

Thereupon Resolved that a copy of the said charges and of this Resolution be transmitted by the Clerk of this Council to George Nellice and Moses Younglove.

EXTRACT: JOHN BARCLAY, MAYOR OF ALBANY
AND BRIGADIER GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
31 May 1778

We enclose Your Excellency a copy of a letter received from Schoharie. Alarming as the accounts from that quarter are, we apprehend farther danger not only from the Indians collecting at Kanasedego under Mr Butler, an account whereof General Schuyler informs us he has transmitted Your Excellency, but from the numerous Tories which we are informed have within this fortnight past gone off to join either the enemy that have destroyed the settlements of Cobus Kill or those collecting at Kanasedego, and at other places for hostile purposes.
Many of our Militia, Sir, are employed in the public service as carpenters, blacksmiths, bateaumen or waggoners, and it is to be lamented that we still have too many Tories, and as it is probable that the affair of Cobus Kill will oblige all the inhabitants on the Mohawk River to be in arms, the utmost distress must inevitably take place from so many hands being taken from the necessary husbandry. We have, therefore, most earnestly to entreat Your Excellency to use your influence to procure a body of Continental Troops to be sent up to our relief. Many other reasons might be urged to enforce the necessity, thereof, but we humbly apprehend what we have observed to be fully sufficient.

Not a single field piece is left us, nor any artillery men, nor any fixed ammunition.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 3, pp 380-381

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COLONEL JACOB KLOCK TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK

Canajoharie
31 May 1778

I have received three expresses from Cherry Valley half an hour's time, and I marched with our brigade within four miles of Cherry Valley and I received another express from Colonel Ballinger, and he informs me that he had two Indians out as a scout, and they brought in news that they expected that the Flatts will be run off every minute; and he wrote to me for three hundred men to his assistance.

Likewise, we have certain intelligence that Cobus Kill is run off; likewise they have sent out a scout consisting of twenty five men and they were all killed to three men, and one of them received three wounds.

Sir, the enemy strikes in so many places that we are not able to stand them, and I would be very much obliged to you if you would send me assistance immediately on my receipt. Your delay may cause the loss of the river and likewise of the lives of several hundred of men, women and children.


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MEMORANDUM FROM MAJOR JOHN BUTLER
TO GENERAL SIR GUY CARLETON

Quebec
4 June 1778

Captain Butler is directed by Major Butler, Commandant of the Rangers and Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to communicate to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, &c, &c, that after meeting with the warriors of the Five Nations at Canadawago, he intends to proceed with them to the banks of the Susquehanna River to a place called Unadilla, where he will be near the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Jerseys and have it in his power to supply his Corps and the Indians with provisions from the enemy. From whence it is his intent to fall on the enemy with the whole body of his Corps and the warriors of the Five Nations on such a part of New York Province as he finds the most likely he will be able to effect joining Sir Henry Clinton, KB, &c, &c, and that in the meantime he will break up the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Jersey and other parts of the Province of New York in order as well to distress the enemy as to draw their attention from his main purpose.

Major Butler is so happy as to find the body of the Five Nations, and the Senecas in particular, well affected to His
Majesty's Government, and desirous to contribute every assistance in their power to support his arms in America. They declare their wounds are as fresh as when acquired at Fort Stanwix the last campaign and that they are determined to act with spirit in the present.

The expenses in the Indian Department from the time of Major Butler's joining Lieutenant Colonel St Leger and meeting Colonel Claus at Oswego in the summer of 1776 till their return to the said place, were not included in any accounts of Major Butler or drawn for by him, but on Colonel Claus.

As to any money drawn for by Captain Tice, Major Butler is quite ignorant of the extent for which it was drawn or the men to which it was applied, excepting about £100 value given by Captain Tice to Indians at Niagara on his arrival through the country from New York in 1776. The Indians to whom given, Major Butler had rewarded sufficiently in his opinion for any service they had done and had Captain Tice thought proper to have pointed out any other their deserts, Major Butler with the consent of the Commanding Officer should have paid them proper attention.

Captain Tice declared to Colonel Butler that Sir William Howe had given him the rank of Captain in his army with the pay of 10/ per day and that he did not consider himself belonging to the part of the Department with him, and expected no pay from Major Butler as Deputy Superintendent; therefore he was not returned in Major Butler's list of Indian Officers to His Excellency and not considered as an Officer under his part of the Indian Department.

A company of Rangers filled with Canadians, Major Butler is of opinion, would in some measure remove from the minds of the Indians any suspicion they may entertain of the French.

The Rangers, when they join the Corps, are nearly destitute of clothing and necessaries, and having no bounty allowed them confirmed by the General, their being obliged to pay for their arms brings them greatly in debt and subjects Major Butler to many losses, either by their being killed or by natural death.

The expenses the Officers of the Rangers are obliged to be at in their present rank in buying horses, &c, to carry every necessary through the [?] country they may want, renders Bateau and forage money necessary.

The Officers in the Indian Department having no commissions, or in fact anything to show they act by authority, will, if taken by the enemy, be considered no other or in better light than as public murderers and highwaymen, and treated as such.

A small brass gun would be of great service to Major Butler to dislodge the enemy from any houses they may get into.

The Corps of Rangers are much in want of an Adjutant and Quartermaster.

The above is what I can at present recollect was mentioned by Major Butler to me to communicate to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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**EXTRACTS; LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON**

TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE

Niagara
5 June 1778

I received your letter of the 4th May and shall certainly pay proper attention to the order for the Officers to be sent on
the recruiting service, whenever my situation and the service will admit of it. At this time I have not a Captain with the
six companies at Niagara.

How I shall be able to settle the accounts of Colonel Claus (a copy of which I enclose you) or those of Captain Tice as
Major Butler is now absent (the only person who could give me information) is a difficulty that I scarce hope to
surmount having not the least connection with those gentlemen since my arrival at this post.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers
Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
microfilm reel number A-679.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO SIR GUY CARLETON

Niagara
5 June 1778

I have received the honour of Your Excellency's letter dated the 4th and beg leave to acquaint you that I shall take the
first favourable moment to bring back the rations of the seamen to the established rate of the Province, and in
consequence of your order shall give the Commissary instructions for that purpose.

Upon inquiry, I find the augmentation of the ration took place the 24th July 1776 by order of the late Lieutenant
Colonel Caldwell and owing, I am informed, to some regulations settled at Detroit on account of the rebellion in
America. But as Captain Grant has waited on Your Excellency before this time, I make no doubt he has given you
every information in regard to the Naval Department much more satisfactorily than it is possible for me to do.

I hope, Sir, when your successor arrives to be favoured with his commands as soon as possible. My situation now being
rather difficult as Major Butler is absent and parties of savages with scalps and prisoners are daily coming in, some with
and some without his orders to be clothed, notwithstanding they have in general received presents more than once since
I have been here, which must soon amount to a very considerable sum. A refusal at this time, may, perhaps, be attended
with disagreeable consequences.

By this opportunity I shall answer Captain Le Maistre's letter concerning some matters relative to the Indian
Department.

It gives me real concern to find we are to lose our present Commander-in-Chief, nor can I finish this letter without
returning Your Excellency my unfeigned thanks for the many favours conferred on me since I have had the honour of
being under your command. Accept also, Sir, my best wishes for your health, prosperity and safe return to Europe.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers
Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
microfilm reel number A-679.

EXTRACT: COLONEL JACOB KLOCK TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Canajoharie
22 June 1778
Tryon County has once more experienced the cruelty of a restless enemy.

Springfield, Andrewtown and the settlements on Lake Otsego were at once attacked and destroyed last Saturday, the 18th of this Instant. Houses, barns, even waggons, ploughs and the hay cocks in the meadows were laid in ashes. Fourteen men are carried away prisoners and eight killed. All the provision taken on horses and carried off. Two hundred creatures (horses and chiefly cattle) were drove down the Susquehanna. Last Sunday morning the enemy set off with this booty from the house of one Tunnicliff. All this has been done that the garrison at Cherry Valley did not know anything about an enemy, though Springfield is not above four miles distant from the said place.

As soon as the new came, I ordered immediately the Militia to march to stop the progress of the enemy. The same instant, I received a letter from Colonel Peter Bellinger of the German Flatts that the enemy was burning houses within four miles of the Flatts, praying for assistance. I did order up five companies of the Palatine and Canajoharie battalion. The rest I marched straight to Andrewtown, ordering Colonel Bellinger to join me in order to intercept if possible the enemy. But on my march thither I learnt that the enemy was gone and nothing was left; as to scour the woods, as I got information that still a strong party of the enemy was left to do mischief.

As soon as the Flatts Militia was on their march in the woods, the enemy fell out at the Flatts, took two prisoners and killed one man. Several people who have been prisoners and did escape affirm that Brant was the commander and that his party consists of about five hundred.

So much is certain that his number increases daily; many very lately did run off, moved by disaffection; others join him moved by fear; and several are forced to take up arms against us, or to swear allegiance to the King of Great Britain.

We are informed Brant boasted openly that he will be joined at Unadilla by Butler, and that within eight days he will return and lay the whole country waste.

The dreadful sight of Springfield and Andrewtown heightened with these reports puts the people of the country into the greatest consternation; they speak of nothing but flying off. Harvest time is at hand and no prospect of a speedy assistance; the officers and the principal inhabitants meet with the greatest difficulties to persuade the people to stand out only but a few days until it should be in the power of government to send us relief.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 3, pp 475-476

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EXTRACT: MARY BRANT TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Niagara
23 June 1778

We have a report of Joseph having had a brush with the rebels, but do not know at what place. A Cayuga Chief said to be wounded, one Schoharie Indian (Jacob) killed and one missing. Since then it is reported that Colonel Butler and Joseph have joined. Every hour we look for a confirmation of this news.

National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1, Vol 2.

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EXTRACT: COLONEL PETER BELLINGER
TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK

German Flatts
Statement of Barnabus Kelly

Barney Kelley, who lived at Brook's at the Butternuts, who is come here with the scout, and is now here with us...duly sworn...

That he, the said Kelly, was at the Butternuts; about 40 white men and two Indians who desired the said Kelly to go with them, who told them that if he was to go, he would not go in their company upon which they told him, that if he did not go, then he would be obliged to go as well as the rest at the Butternuts the next time they came.

They bought about 17 head of horned cattle of Brooks, Garret, Johnson and Napp, and about seven hundred weight of cheese for which they gave them notes upon Butler and of Captain Servos, Sir John Johnson's uncle. They got about 40 or 50 scipple of flour and he says Captain Servos sent to them that they should come and fetch it; and he says that one Carr who lives at Major Edmeston's sent them word that he had 40 scipple of corn for them, but whether that they got it or not he did not learn. That at Pougataukan Pocpacken and Cashistan on the Delaware they got about 70 head of cattle and some horses, and that about 60 or 70 of the inhabitants of those places joined the enemy at Ocquagoe.

And he further states that one John Snow told said Kelly at the Butternuts that one McGinnes who lived on the Mohawk River was sent by Butler to Ocquagoe and John Young to Tuenadella to provide provisions for Butler's army, against he came, and further he heard that Joseph Brant had been with Butler at Chemung about two day's journey from Ocquagoe, since the battle at Cobus Kill, to see what kept Butler so long behind, and it was supposed to be occasioned by the country's being alarmed.

And he further declareth that he heard John Young at the Butternuts read a proclamation from Butler desiring all the friends to Government to join him and to bring in all their cattle together with their wives and families, and they should be kindly received by the said Butler.

And as far as said Kelly could learn, it was Brant's intention only to gather provisions, and to get people for Butler's army and to get the Indians from Fort Hunter, and not fight or make any alarm if possible to avoid it. But on the Indians driving the cattle from Cobus Kill, and the Militia following them, they was obliged to fight, and further he heard that the Indians had taken five prisoners. Whether they choose to be separated among the Indian families or sent to Niagara to wait an exchange, but they told Brant they would go to Niagara and wait for an exchange, as they knew the Continental Troops had three prisoners for one; and said Kelly further declareth that he heard say that when Butler joins Brant their army will be about 1,000 strong and that as far as he could learn they intend to fall in upon some part of the Mohawk River.


* Comment: This letter is quoted in Francis Halsey's "The Old New York Frontier" [pp 212-213], but and sourced as the Clinton Papers, but there are a number of differences in the wording.

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EXTRACT: SIR JOHN JOHNSON
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Quebec
29 June 1778

Young Butler attends at Headquarters constantly, though I cannot perceive that there is any great notice taken of him. He says he waits for orders before he can proceed up the country.
I should be sorry his flight should occasion the death of any of our poor friends.

National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1, Vol 2.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

[1778]

The principal of the Six Nation Chiefs and a number of others came to Niagara early in the season, who, after receiving very liberal presents, marched from thence on the 1st of May with Major Butler and the Rangers, having the fertile settlement of Wyoming, a frontier of Pennsylvania, for the object of their expedition.

That tardiness which usually attends all their operations kept them inactive for more than a month; a great part of this time was spent in deliberations, in which some adherents of the rebels frequently occasioned much perplexity, and it cost Major Butler some pains to prevent the other Indians from being diverted by them from their purpose.

They, however, at length determined to proceed, and on the 1st of July entered the settlement, the party consisting in the whole of 464 Indians and 110 Rangers. That day and the next, two small forts, in which were a number of women and children and a few men, surrendered on condition of having their lives spared and being allowed to retire into the country.

The Indians at first, seeing the inhabitants shut up in forts, and in some measure secured from their fury, thought of nothing but of scattering through the settlement to vent it upon the cattle and buildings, and at the same time to collect as much plunder as they could. Major Butler, however, by his earnest entreaty, prevailed upon them to keep in a body till he tried what effect a flag of truce would have, and finding it attended with such unexpected success in the two first instances, they were desirous of getting possession of all the rest of the forts by the same method, and a flag was accordingly sent to the principal fort on the 3rd, but was insulted, and soon after the greatest part of that garrison, and some small ones below it, in all about 450 men, commanded by a Colonel Butler, came out to attack them, on which a very warm engagement ensued, and lasted for about fifteen minutes, when the rebels retreated with precipitation, and were hotly pursued by the Indians, who took 226 scalps and three prisoners, and several were besides drowned in attempting to pass the river.

Major Butler's loss was only seven wounded, two of whom died of their wounds. This victory made them entire masters of all the settlement, as it occasioned such a panic that all the forts were either abandoned or surrendered, on the same conditions as the first, before the 7th Instant. Most of the houses were burnt except such as belonged to people under the name of Loyalists; a very large number of cattle were driven off; and effects to a great amount were brought away in plunder by the Indians.

All this was said to be done without any acts of cruelty being committed by the savages; for the deliberate murder of prisoners after they are brought into their camp is not, it seems, reckoned among acts of cruelty by these barbarous wretches.

On the 10th, Major Butler arrived at Tioga, and on the 14th set out for Niagara with a party of the Rangers and several families of Loyalists, having previously detached Captain Caldwell with part of the Rangers, and also some of the Indian officers to Aughquaga to assist Captain Brant, and at the same time engage recruits for the corps of Rangers from the people who were at that time flocking in from different parts of the frontiers to avoid serving in the militia.

Captain Brant had gone from Niagara in April, destroyed the settlement of Cobus Kill, in the upper part of Tryon County, and some other settlements in its neighbourhood, and was keeping that part of the country in a constant alarm, when hearing that the rebels intended to send a force into the Indian Country, he retired to Aughquaga where Captain
Caldwell joined him, and they continued some time under continual apprehensions of being attacked. He had requested the Senecas to come to his assistance and join in his operations; but through some jealousies and animosities which now began to break out, they refused.

About this time Captain Tice, with a party of Mohawks, arrived at Niagara and proceeded to Aughtugua.

Rev CE Cartwright, Ed. Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright (Toronto, 1876) pp 29-32

* Comment: The two Rangers who died of their wounds were Frank Wilson and John Carlock (see the nominal roll after the document dated 18 Feb 1779.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[May - July 1778]

In the expedition to Wyoming on the Susquehanna, they made me a Sergeant.

May 2. We set out for Wyoming with about 70 white volunteers and about 300 Indians of different tribes, chiefly Senecas and Delawares. With these Nations Colonel Butler held frequent councils, the purport of them was chiefly to deter them from murdering the women and innocent. In that consequence of which they agreed not to do it on any pretence whatever. I must say for my part, they did not commit any thing of the kind to my certain knowledge.

In our way through the savage country, we many a time had very hungry times. I was under the necessity of giving a hard dollar for 4 small Indian cakes, and sometimes could not get it at all. Many a time I have gone into a wigwam and waited for the Hommany Kettle with the greatest impatience to get a trifle and was as often disappointed.

When we came to Tioga, there was some families on their way to Niagara that had left their places. I remember I gave a woman an excellent white shirt for 4 quarts of rye meal and glad to get it. In one word let it suffice to say I went through every species of distress to serve my King and Country in the best manner I possibly could.

From the banks of Tioga we proceeded to the Standing Stone on the Susquehanna and from thence to Wyalusing. This place was formerly inhabited by the Moravian people. We stayed one night. Next day being the 28 of June 1778 we came to a mill belonging to the rebels and the savages burnt the mill and took 3 prisoners, two white men and a negro whom they afterward murdered in their own camp.

About this time we were much distressed for provisions, having nothing to subsist on except a little parched corn stamped at the mill above mentioned. The savages found 5 barrels of flour, but little good it was to us. I know I was very glad to scrape the moulded husks from the barrels and secure it for a rainy day, which happened the day after.

But in the midst of our distress, kind providence was indeed very, very favourable to us. June 30th, at night, two men, Wintermutes by name, hearing of our approach and distress for provisions came to our relief with 14 head of fat cattle. The blessed moment they arrived we set to work and butchered and divided severally amongst us.

The men above mentioned had a fort at Wyoming of their own name, which immediately surrendered to the arms of His Majesty our Gracious Sovereign under the command of Colonel John Butler.

Upon this success a flag was sent to 40 Fort and another to Jenkins to surrender. Jenkins Fort complied immediately, but forty thought proper to sit it out, for a Mr Stewart told the flag, to wit Mr Turney, a Lieutenant of Rangers, and John Phillips, fifer of the same, that he never would give it over to Tories and savages, but stand it out to the last and defend it to the last extremity. Upon which the flag told him that he was very sorry and was setting off to deliver his answer to
Colonel John Butler. Stewart, however, invited the flag to take some spirits as he looked on him to be a good fellow and which he refused. He then told him, to wit the flag, that as he had refused the offer he, or they then in possession of 40 Fort, would give them spirits enough before night.

Mr Turney and Phillips returning and delivering their message to Colonel Butler ordered a number of Indians to watch their most and to hold ourselves in constant readiness.

July 3, 1778, 5 o'clock PM they left their strong holds and proceeded up to give us battle. The fort called Winternute's, above mentioned, we set on fire to decoy the enemy. They thinking by this that we were fled, but they soon found it a mistake to their sorrow, for we immediately tree'd ourselves and secured every spot that was any way advantageous to our designs.

When the enemy came within sight of us, they fell a blackguarding of us, calling out aloud "Come out ye villainous Tories! Come out if ye dare and show your heads, if ye durst, to the brave Continental Sons of Liberty." Remark, I call them Sons of Sedition, Schism and Rebellion. But we came out to their confusion indeed - for the Indians on the right under the command of Colonel Butler and their King Quirxhta entirely surrounded the enemy, and the white men under the command of Quiskkal [ ] on the left drove and defeated the enemy on every quarter. They fled to the river and many of them even there were pursued by the savages and shared the same fate as those on ye land.

The prisoners that we took told us there were 450 men in the battle and after we went to the 40 Fort [ ] to destroy it they protested not above 45 returned.

The loss on our side was one Indian killed and two white men wounded. One of the white men, Willson by name, died of his wound, it having mortified. The other recovered.

Thus did Loyalty and Good Order that day triumph over Confusion and Treason; the goodness of our cause aided and assisted by the blessing of divine providence in some measure help to restore the ancient Constitution of our Mother Country, governed by the best of Kings. This I must say, every man behaved with uncommon bravery; they vied each other for glory to see who should do the most in supporting the injured cause of our excellent Constitution.

With the defeat of the rebels followed a total confiscation of all their property such as oxen, cows, horses, hogs, sheep and every other thing of that kind.

Thus did rebellion get a severe shock; the rebels begged of us to restore them something back, but no, we replied, remember how you served the peaceable subjects of His Majesty at Tankennick; remember how you took their property and converted it to rebel purposes; and the persons fell in your hands you immediately sent them off to prison clean into Connecticut, and left their numerous families in the utmost distress. Be contented, rebels, that your lives are still spared and that you have not shared the same fate with your seditious brethren. This was the argument we made use of to the surviving rebels of Wyoming. But on the whole my heart was affected for the women and children who came after us crying and beseeching us that we would leave them a few cows and we told them it was against the orders of Colonel Butler, however, privately we let them have 4 or 5 cows.

There is one circumstance that I must mention here. An old seditious rebel having followed us about 2 miles, said that Colonel Butler gave him verbal orders to us to let him have his cattle back. Upon this, I told him if he produced a note from the Colonel he should have his cattle. He told me he had no order to show. I then ordered him off immediately or I should take him along with us to keep company with his cattle. The old fellow thought proper to pike off with himself in heaviness of heart.

This day being the 6th of July, 1778, we came to Tioga with our booty, having with us about 900 head of horned cattle besides a considerable number of horses. After remaining there two nights, we set off for Oughquaga, and arrived there the 9th of July.

We left our Colonel at Tioga as he intended to proceed to Niagara, being very unwell, worn out with fatigue. He left the command with Captain Caldwell of the volunteers or Rangers.
While we were at Tioga, there was two men who had wives and children there that had lived somewhere down the river, the name of the place I don't remember. Their sir names were Hotsinger and the other Simmons. These two men was good subjects and had been at the Orisque battle with Colonel Butler and Captain Brant and behaved with honour to themselves. These men told me more than once that Colonel Butler had gave themselves leave to stay and go and gather in their harvest for the use of their families to support them on the road to Niagara. But on the whole Captain Caldwell would not let them go at any rate. Upon this these men, to wit Hotsinger and Simmons, took leave and went off by stealth.

Captain Caldwell immediately sent off Lieutenant Turney with a party to Tioga. When they came to Tioga they were informed by the people going to Niagara they had not seen them. When on the way back they met those unhappy men and Turney immediately gave orders to shoot them, which was executed accordingly. Their scalps were taken likewise and brought to Oughquaga and hung up at Captain Caldwell's tent.

In my judgement this was not well done, as they might have made prisoners of them.

After resting at Oughquaga, I went up to see my father and brother who were glad to see me once more.


* Comment: McGinnis never appears on any nominal roll of the Rangers as a Sergeant.

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ORGANIZATION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE 24TH CONNECTICUT REGIMENT

1 July 1778

Regimental Headquarters  Forty Fort
1st Company  Fort Wilkes-Barre
2nd Company  Forty Fort
3rd Company  Forty Fort
4th Company  Pittston Fort
5th Company  Fort Wilkes-Barre
6th Company  Fort Wilkes-Barre
7th Company  Fort Wintermute and Jenkins Fort
8th Company  Lackaway Settlement
9th Company  Up River, disorganized
10th Company  9:00 PM marching to Fort Fort
Captain Spalding's Independent Coy  En Route from Lancaster
Captain Hewitt's Independent Coy  Forty Fort


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EXTRACT FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE
Quebec  
2 July 1778

On Friday last His Majesty's frigate, the Montreal, Stair Douglas, Esq, Commander, arrived here having on board His Excellency General Haldimand and his suite, and on Saturday noon His Excellency landed.

On this occasion the streets from the landing place to the Chateau were lined by the British and Canadian militia and the troops of the garrison. On leaving the frigate the General was saluted by the ships in the river, and on his landing by the garrison.

On his arrival at the Chateau he was met by the members of the Legislative Council and by them conducted to the council chamber where his Commission was read and the usual oaths administered to him.

Quebec Gazette. 2 July 1778.

* Comment: "Friday last" was 26 June 1778. General Sir Frederick Haldimand was born in Switzerland in 1718 and entered the Prussian Army in 1740, and by 1750 had transferred to the Dutch Army. In 1755 he was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the 62nd Foot. He saw considerable service in North America during the Seven Years' War. He participated in Abercromby's attack against Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) in 1758, and may even have first met John Butler there. Certainly he must have made Butler's acquaintance in 1759, as he remained behind at Oswego while Prideaux and Johnson moved forward to capture Fort Niagara. He was also on Amherst's expedition to Montreal where there would have been a number of opportunities to meet Butler. He served in Florida from 1767 to 1773. He was promoted to Major General in 1772, and after a short tour at Boston he returned to England. He reached Quebec in June of 1778 and assumed the post of Commander-in-Chief. After the war he left for England on leave. He received his knighthood in 1785, and lived in retirement until his death in Switzerland in 1791.

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ORDERS ISSUED BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL ZEBULON BUTLER

Wyoming  
3 July 1778

Men, yonder is the enemy. The fate of Hardings tells us what we have to expect if defeated. We come out to fight, not only for liberty, but for life itself; and, what is dearer, to preserve our homes from conflagration, our women and children from the tomahawk. Stand firm at the first shock, and the Indians will give way. Every man to his duty.


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ACCOUNT OF CAPTAIN JOHN FRANKLIN, 24TH CONNECTICUT REGIMENT

[Wyoming
3 July 1778]

Numbers were killed in the river in attempting to cross, and numbers surrendered on the promise of good quarter. In one particular case, about twenty got into the river in company, where they were fired upon by the Indians and Tories, and several were killed, when they (the Indians and Tories) proposed to the survivors that if they would come to the
shore and surrender themselves, they should not be injured -- that their lives would be spared. Trusting to these promises, sixteen in number returned back to shore and surrendered themselves prisoners. They were led off some distance to the road, where they were set down in a ring, facing each other, with an Indian to the back of each one to hold them down, when the old squaw "Queen Ester" followed round the ring to the right with a death-maul with which she broke their skulls. Among these prisoners was William Buck, a lad about fifteen years old, a son of Lieutenant Asahel Buck. He was not held, and, seeing the old squaw killing the prisoners with her death-maul, started and ran off crying.

He was pursued by an Indian who took him and flattered him that, as he was a white-headed boy, he would not be hurt. But while he was leading him back to the ring, another Indian came up behind and struck a tomahawk into the boy's head and put an end to his life.

Lebbeus Hammond, being a stout man, a large Indian stood behind him with his hands on his shoulder to prevent his rising. Seeing but one man on his left to receive the fatal blow before his turn should come, he concluded that he could but die, and that he might as well make an attempt to save his life as to sit still and receive the fatal blow from the death-maul of the old queen. He gave a sudden spring, arose from the ground, knocked down the Indian that was holding him, and ran into the woods. He was pursued by two Indians but escaped with his life. The other fourteen (prisoners) were killed, stripped, and scalped, and left lying in the ring with their feet towards each other.

Henry Pencil of our regiment had escaped to Monocanock Island when he was found by his brother, John Pencil, Jnr, a Tory who killed and scalped him in a most revolting manner.

At four o'clock of Saturday afternoon the articles of capitulation were signed and the most unhappy episode in the history of our regiment was ended. Of the 375 men we had in the battle, we lost about 200. Of the 700 men of the British force, they lost about 80.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT ELISHA SCOVELL

Westmoreland
5 July 1778

This doth hereby certify that Lieutenant Elisha Scovell has surrendered his garrison with all his people to Government and to remain as neutral during this present contest with Great Britain and America, on consideration of which Colonel John Butler, Superintendent of the Six Nations, their allies, &c, with Kayingwaurto, the Chief of the Seneca Nation and the other chief warriors of the Six Nations do promise that they shall live in quiet possession of their places with their families and shall daily be protected from insult as far as lies in their power and provided they should be taken it is our desire that they may forthwith be released.

[seal]John Butler
Kayingwaurto

A list of the cattle taken from the Company under the command of Lieutenant Elisha Scovell:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Ingersall</td>
<td>1 valuable mare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Smith</td>
<td>1 horse, 1 pair of oxen &amp; 9 sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Gorduce</td>
<td>1 cow &amp; 4 horses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Baker</td>
<td>1 horse &amp; 14 hogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Waindemuth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*********
Christopher Waindemuth 2 draft horses, 2 mares, 2 colts, 3 cows & 7 hogs
John Waindemuth 2 cows, 4 young creatures, 3 large hogs & 4 lesser hogs
Jesse Lee 2 horses, 1 young colt & 1 cow
Peter Harres 1 yoke of oxen, 1 horse
Mr Anker 4 creatures
Lieut Elisha Scovell 6 large horses, 8 oxen & 5 cows

Westmoreland, 5th July 1778
Lieut Elisha Scovell

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 3, pp 520-521

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FROM THE ANNALS OF NIAGARA

Major David Secord related to the writer the following incident:

[Wyoming
3 July 1778]

Three Americans that belonged to a party of rebels had attacked a Mohawk village and had cruelly outraged and killed the young wife of a chief, Oneida Joseph. These men were taken prisoners at Wyoming and placed under a guard commanded by Sergeant Secord. Oneida Joseph learned that the outrages of his wife were prisoners and in a transport of rage and revenge he ran with a spear to the place where they were confined and demanded to go in to them and kill them.

Sergeant Secord opposed his entrance, and the chief cried out, "I kill them or kill you." He attempted to kill Secord and thrust his spear viciously at him. It passed through his coat, when the guard ran up, seized and carried off the furious chief.

The prisoners were of course saved from harm and from death, which they richly deserved, but the incident showed clearly that no massacre took place, else these wretches would not have been spared against the revenge of the Mohawk.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF ADAM CRYSLER

[July 1778]

In May 1778 I received Colonel Butler's orders to come to Canatasago and accordingly I did and brought nineteen men with me, which are with Colonel Butler's Rangers at present, at which time he made me a Lieutenant.

And from there I went under the command of Colonel Butler to Wyoming where we had an engagement and killed about 460 of the enemy and from there went to Aughguagy.

CITIZENS OF GOSHEN TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Goshen
5 July 1778

A few minutes past, Captain Little arrived here from Minisink with the disagreeable news of Wyoming on the River Susquehanna being in the possession of most inveterate enemy. His information is by a person sent express from Lackawaneey, about twelve or fifteen miles from Susquehanna, who says that two expresses arrived at Lackawanah with information that Butler and Brant, with a large body of troops, arrived at Wyoming and summoned two small forts, who refused to surrender, but imprudently turned out and gave battle to the enemy, who soon reduced them to the necessity of surrendering themselves with the whole settlement prisoners of war.

These accounts together with the late intelligence from Coghethton, gives the people of Minisink so much uneasiness that many families are moving off and we have the greatest reason to believe that unless something be done more effectually to repel the progress of the enemy, our frontiers will soon be reduced to the greatest distress.

Many of the Militia who are now placed as guards to the frontiers have neither guns nor ammunition, and have it not in their power to purchase, because neither guns or lead are to be had, and a few are not able to buy. It is, therefore, submitted to Your Excellency whether it would not be best to deliver a quantity out of the State magazine for supplying the deficiency, as well as some general direction for the more consistent movements of our Militia.


EXTRACT: STATEMENT OF JAMES ARMITAGE

Albany
6 July 1778

Personally appeared before me, Abraham Ten Broeck, Esqr, one of the Justices of the Peace for the city and county of Albany, James Armitage, of Acra in said county, coach and chair maker, who being duly sworn deponeth and saith...

The person told the deponent that the two men who were at his house some time before told him the deponent was a friend to Government, and that he had heard from said two men, a great deal of weeks, that he was a strong rebel; he then pulled out of his pocket a letter signed by John Butler and directed to Lord Howe, dated 7th June, to the following purpose: "My Lord, these are to let you know I am now in readiness with 15,000 Indians and Government men, and hoping Your Lordship will forward the army and fleet on the 15th of July, I shall begin my ruptures and hopes to join you at Catskill"

He then pulled out another letter and told the deponent he was direct from Butler...this letter was directed to all the friends of Government, signed John Butler, "desiring that they would come off immediately and join him; that if they did not, they must share the same fate as the rebels as this was the last time of asking."

That a party is back of Cherry Valley, a party back of Schoharie and the main body with Butler. The deponent has frequently seen armed men travelling towards Batavia, and has reason to believe that many have gone off.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Lacawanack
8 July 1778

On the 30th June I arrived with about 500 Rangers and Indians at Wyoming and encamped on an eminence which over looks the greatest part of the settlement, from whence I sent parties to discover the situation and strength of the enemy, who brought in eight prisoners and scalps.

Two Loyalists who came into my camp informed me that the rebels could muster about 800 men who were all assembled in their forts.

July 1st I marched to the distance of half a mile of Wintermoot's Fort and sent in Lieutenant Turney with a Flag to demand immediate possession of it, which was soon agreed to. A Flag was next sent to Jenkin's Fort which surrendered on nearly the same conditions as Wintermoot's, both of which are enclosed. I next summoned Forty Fort, the Commandant of which refused the conditions I sent him.

July 3. Parties were sent out to collect cattle, who informed me that the rebels were preparing to attack me. This pleased the Indians highly, who observed they should be upon an equal footing with them in the woods. At two o'clock we discovered the rebels upon their march in number about four or five hundred. Between 4 and 5 o'clock they were advanced within a mile of us.

Finding them determined, I ordered the forts to be set on fire, which deceived the enemy into an opinion that we had retreated. We then posted ourselves in a fine open wood and for our greater safety lay flat upon the ground, waiting their approach.

When they were within 200 yards of us they began firing. We still continued upon the ground without returning their fire till they had fired three volleys. By this time they had advanced within 100 yards of us, and being quite near enough, Saingerachta ordered his Indians, who were upon the right, to begin the attack upon our part, which was immediately well seconded by the Rangers on the left. Our fire was so close and well directed that the affair was soon over, not lasting above half an hour from the time they gave us the first fire till their flight.

In the action were taken 227 scalps and only five prisoners. The Indians were so exasperated with their loss last year near Fort Stanwix that it was with the greatest difficulty I could save the lives of these few.

Colonel Denniston, who came in the next day with a Minister and four others to treat for the remainder of the settlement of Westmoreland, assures me that they have lost one Colonel, two Majors, seven Captains, thirteen Lieutenants, eleven Ensigns, and two hundred and sixty eight privates. On our side are killed one Indian; two Rangers and eight Indians wounded.

In this incursion we have taken and destroyed eight pallisaded forts and burned about 1000 dwelling homes, all their mills, &c. We have also killed and drove off about 1000 head of horned cattle and sheep and swine in great numbers.

But what gives me the greatest satisfaction is that I can, with great truth, assure you that in the destruction of this settlement not a single person has been hurt of the inhabitants but such as were in arms. To those, indeed, the Indians gave no quarter.

I have also the pleasure to inform you that the Officers and Rangers behaved during this action highly to my satisfaction, and have always supported themselves through hunger and fatigue with great cheerfulness.

I have this day sent a party of men to the Delaware to destroy a small settlement there and bring off prisoners. In two or three days I shall send out other parties for the same purpose. If I can supply myself with provisions. I shall harass the
adjacent country and prevent them from getting in the harvest.

The settlement of Schoharie or the Minisink will be my next objects, both of which abound in corn and cattle, the destruction of which cannot fail of greatly distressing the rebels

I have not yet been able to hear anything of the express I sent to the Generals Howe and Clinton, but as I sent them by ten different routes, I am in hopes that some of them will be able to make their way to them and return.

In a few days I do myself the honour of writing to you more fully and send you a journal of my proceedings since I left Niagara.

Copy of Articles of Capitulation for Wintermoot's Fort

July 1st

Article 1st. That Lieutenant Elisha Scowell surrender the Fort with all the stores, arms and ammunition that are in said fort, as well public as private to Major John Butler.

Article 2nd. That the garrison shall not bear arms during the present contest, and Major Butler promises that the men, women and children shall not be hurt either by the Indians or the Rangers.

Fort Jenkin's Fort, July 1st, 1778, between Major John Butler on behalf of His Majesty King George the Third and John Jenkins:-

Article 1st. That the fort with all the stores, arms and ammunition be delivered up immediately.

Article 2nd. That Major John Butler shall preserve them entire the lives of the men, women and children.

Articles of Capitulation for Three Forts at Lacawanack, 4th July 1778.

Article 1st. That the different Commanders of the said Forts do immediately deliver them up with all the arms, ammunition and stores in the said forts.

Article 2nd. Major Butler promises that the lives of the men, women and children be preserved entire.

Westmoreland, July 4th, 1778. Capitulation made and completed between Major John Butler on behalf of His Majesty King George the Third and Colonel Nathaniel Denniston of the United States of America.

Article 1st. That the inhabitants of the settlement lay down their arms and their garrisons be demolished.

Article 2nd. That the inhabitants are to occupy their farms peaceably and the lives of the inhabitants preserved entire and unharmed.

Article 3rd. That the Continentals be delivered up.

Article 4th. That Major Butler will use his utmost influence that the private property of the inhabitants shall be preserved to them.

Article 5th. That the prisoners in Forty Fort be delivered up and that Samuel Finch in Major
Butler's possession be delivered up.

Article 6th. That the properties taken from the people called "Tories" up the river be made good, and they to remain in peaceable possession of their farms, and unmolested in a free trade in and throughout this state as far as is in my power.

Article 7th. That the inhabitants that Colonel Denniston now capitulates for, together with himself, do not take up arms during the present conflict.

Signed: Nathan Denniston
John Butler.

Witness: Zarah Beech, Samuel Gustin, John Johnson, William Caldwell


* Comment: There is a similar copy of this in Massachusetts Historical Society. Proceedings of (Boston, 1886), Vol 2, Second Series, p 342. It varies in minor wording. It gives the correct spelling of Denison, for the American Colonel.

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EXTRACT: BENJAMIN TUSTEN AND OTHERS
TO GENERAL GEORGE CLINTON

Minisink
10 July 1778

The frequent confirmation of the intelligences which we gave you in our last, as well as the unbounded disaffection and plottings lately discovered here, made it absolutely necessary for us to repair to this place with the Militia of Colonel McClaghry's and Allison's Regiments; and on our arrival found things in the greatest confusion. Some few men with women and children by hundreds are flocking from Wyoming, where by the concurrent testimony of numbers the most horrid scenes of savage barbarity has been exhibited; and sundry families are moving from hence to the eastward, which was not in our poser to prevent, till last evening by the arrival of Captain Cuddeback from Coshethton, where he had been with a small scouting party, whose report as herein inclosed, quieted in some measure the apprehension of immediate danger.

You have also enclosed an examination of Robert Jones, who says he left Brant last Tuesday at Achquago, and although we have some reason to suppose Jones to be a rascal and have confined him, yet his information we have good reason to believe in sundry particulars, and perhaps some other parts of it ought to be attended to.

Robert Jones's Statement

Says that he left Albany the 8th day of May last, went from thence to Johnstown, stayed there 3 nights, went from thence to Canajoharie, stayed there one night, then went to the Butternuts or Old England District and stayed there 10 or 11 days, at which time Joseph Brant came there with six Indians and 2 or 3 green coat soldiers; stayed two days; he ordered the examinent with nine families who lived at that place to go with him, if friends to Government, if not to take their own risk. Himself and 4 families with said Brant went to Unadilla, the other five soon followed. Brant did not insist on their going, but would take their cattle, neither would protect them, unless they went with him.

After that the examinent and one John Faalkner went with said Brant to Anaqquago. Being there some time an express came from Butler to Brant ordering him to march immediately to Tioga, which orders Brant immediately obeyed, and
stayed eight or nine days, informing when returned that he had been at a treaty; that the Indians refused to join in an expedition to the northward unless they first were assisted to cut off the inhabitants of Susquehanna; at which treaty it was agreed that Butler should go to Wyoming and that Brant should stay at Anahquago; and that Brant in the meantime was to collect all the provisions he could against the time Butler was to be at Anahquago. For that purpose Brant called all the old Indians who left the matter to him as to provisions, &c.

Brant then formed an expedition against Lakawak for the purpose of collecting provisions and went one day on his march, when an express was sent after him requiring him to return immediately, on account that a party from the northward was expected to attack Unadilla.

Brant immediately returned and dispatched all the white men he could to the assistance of Unadilla, and 2 days after, being last Sunday, said Brant followed after, with all the Indians at that place.

The same day five Indians arrived at Aghquago and gave information of a large number of Senecas on their march to the same place to join Brant. On Tuesday a small number collected, who, under the command of Captain Jacobs (an Indian), followed after Brant. They left the examinent at Anahquago. He made his escape the same day, who on his march says he met about 20 Indians and white men with a number of prisoners which they told him they got at Lakawak.

The examinent also says that Butler is not to come down to Minisink (as he understood from Brant) but was to go from Wyoming on an expedition against Cherry Valley and to be joined by Brant, thinking it a favourable time for the purpose as he understood the times of the Militia who guarded it is to expire next Friday, and he intends to attack it the Sunday following.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM CALDWELL

Tioga
12 July 1778

You will, on receipt of this, proceed with all convenient speed to Ochquage, a taking under your command all the officers and Rangers. On your arrival there, you will call a meeting of the Indians of that and the neighbouring villages and acquaint them that I have sent you to join them either in the defence of their settlements or in any other offensive measures you and they may think practicable. And that I expect that they will use their utmost to supply you and party with provisions during your stay there.

I would have you send an officer and a few men with every party that goes out to annoy the country, which I strongly recommend to them, as by that means they may supply themselves and your party with provisions and prevent the enemy from getting in their grain.

I would have you give orders to each party you may send out to burn and destroy everything they possibly can, and I imagine our Brothers can never be more service to Government than at the present juncture. If we can prevent the enemy from getting in their grain, their Grand Army (who are already much distressed) must disperse and their country, of course, become an easy prey to the King, their Father.

You will without loss of time transmit to me every intelligence you may be able to collect on the designs and movements of the enemy, and if possible get intelligence of our army on the Hudson's River.

I would recommend to you to keep a good understanding between the Rangers and our Brothers, the Indians; and to consult with them on all occasions. Mr Joseph Brant will no doubt give you every assistance in his power.
All the Rangers that you meet with you are immediately to put themselves under your command so that you may have the greater number to assist our Brothers; taking down their names and the time they joined any of my officers on service there.

You will enlist as many able bodied as can be well recommended for their loyalty into my Corps of Rangers.

You will acquaint my Brothers, the Ochquagas, that I shall remain at Canadesego until I shall be able to get a party ready to attack some parts of the rebel frontiers about the time their harvest is ripe. I have parties out on the Delaware, one of which I expect hourly; several others to the southward. The Five Nations are determined to give them no rest.

Your own judgement and good sense must direct you in many things, which no doubt will arise, but at present cannot be foreseen. My best respects to Mr Brant, the Chiefs and Warriors.

I wish you a good journey and all the success heaven can bestow and I am with truth your real well wishes and very humble servant.


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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE

Niagara
14 July 1778

I have the pleasure of acquainting you with the signal success of the Rangers and Indians with Colonel Butler over the rebels at Wyoming, where they had not less than ten stockaded forts and were defeated.

I send you particulars which I request you will lay before His Excellency. I received them this moment by Lieutenant Hare of the Rangers.

The Caldwell being ready to sail, I have only time to assure that I am, with esteem, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant.

PS: I request that you'll inform Captain Butler of the Colonel's success.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Quebec
16 July 1778

The General frequently expresses great apprehension of the rebels gaining over the Indians, to prevent which he often wishes you would go and reside in the midst of them, without interfering with Butler, as he does not wish to counteract
anything General Carleton has done, especially while he is on the spot, being upon a very friendly footing with him.

I have given him a very plain and honest account of Butler and his son, not concealing a single circumstance of his whole conduct that has come to my knowledge, and I think I can plainly discover that a change in his opinion of this great man's merit and services will soon take place, if not already the case.

He asked me yesterday what he would be about all this time, that he thought he would have struck a blow 'ere now. I told him I thought I might venture to assure him that was not his intention, and that I believed he would remain where he was, or thereabouts, till he could join the army from York with safety, or till it would be too late to do anything.

He told me the other day that young Butler was a pretty genteel man. I took the opportunity to give my opinion of him very freely, since which he has asked what he was doing here. I told him he was waiting his orders and perhaps to accomplish something more for himself and his father. He only shrugged up his shoulders. From all I can judge, I think you may carry out any point in reason, but I think it best to be entirely silent upon the subject until Sir Guy's departure which will be next week, I believe.

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National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1, Vol 2.

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JOSEPH BRANT TO PERCEFER CARR

[July 1778]

I understand by the Indians that was at your home last week that one Smith lives near you, has little more corn to spare. I should be much obliged to you if you would be so kind as to try to get as much corn as Smith can spare. He has sent five skipples already, of which I am much obliged to him, and will see him paid and would be very glad if you could spare us one or two of your own men to join us, especially Elias. I would be glad to see him and I wish you could send me as many guns as you have, as I know you have no use for them, if you have any, as I mean now to fight the cruel rebels as well as I can.

Whatever you will be able to send me you must send by the bearer.

PS: I have heard that Cherry Valley people is very bold and intended to make nothing of us. They called us wild geese, but I know the contrary.


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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON

Montreal
20 July 1778

I am much obliged to you for the contents of yours by last post, and thereby perceive (as I had expected) that Mr Butler's Patron, before leaving Canada, has endeavoured to influence his successor as much as in his power in favour of his Minton; but I apprehend the latter will prove no great credit to his recommendations, and perhaps ere long make him regret of his having countenanced him at all.
As to my residing empty handed or properly fixed and established in the Six Nation's country would appear mean and despicable in the eyes of the Indians and do more hurt than good, besides acknowledging Butler my superior in every respect. As long as we are able to maintain the command of the lakes and Upper Posts there is no fear of losing the interests of the 6 Nations and surrounding Indians, and Joseph and Mary Brant will out do fifty Butlers in managing and keeping them firm with proper directions from a Governor or Superintendent under the influence of the Commanding Officer at Niagara, and a vast deal of money and provisions thereby saved to the Crown for all the needless sums have hitherto expended by Butler upon the Indians, have rather injured the King's interest by giving the Indians a precedent of asking and expecting presents without doing any service for them which will make any Superintendent hereafter odious to them unless he follows Mr Butler's steps in this respect.

EXTRACTS: FROM THE NEW YORK JOURNAL, 20 JULY 1778

During the past week many of the distressed refugees from the Wyoming settlement on the Susquehanna who escaped the general massacre of the inhabitants have passed through Poughkeepsie, in New York. From them we have collected the following account, viz:-

The settlement had lately supplied the Continental Army with three thousand bushels of grain, and the ground was loaded with the most promising crops of every kind. The settlement included upwards of a thousand families, which had furnished our army with a thousand soldiers, besides the garrisons of four forts, in the townships of Lackawanna, Exeter, Kingston, and Wilkesbarre. One of these forts was garrisoned by upwards of four hundred soldiers, chiefly of the militia, the principal officers of which were Colonels Dennison and Zebulon Butler.

The Tories and Indians had given some disturbance to these settlements last year, before General Herkimer's battle at Oneida Creek, near Fort Stanwix, and our skirmishes soon after with parties of the enemy at and near Schoharie, when they were dispersed, and the Tories concealed themselves among our different settlements; the people here remained undisturbed during the rest of the year.

About this time, the inhabitants having discovered that many of these villainous Tories who had stirred up the Indians, and been with them in fighting against us, were within the settlements, twenty-seven of them were, in January last, taken up and secured. Of these, eighteen were sent to Connecticut, the rest after being detained some time and examined were, for want of sufficient evidence, set at liberty; they immediately joined the enemy and became active in raising the Indians in a spirit of hostility against us. This disposition soon began to appear in the behaviour of the Tories and Indians, which gave the people apprehensions of danger, and occasioned some preparations for defence.

On the first Instant (July) the whole of enemy, consisting, it is supposed, of near sixteen hundred (about three hundred of whom were thought to be Indians, under their own chiefs, the rest, Tories, painted like them, except their officers who were dressed like Regulars), the whole under the command of Colonel John Butler (a Connecticut Tory, and cousin to Colonel Zebulon Butler) came down near the upper fort, but concealed the greatest part of their number; here they had a skirmish with the inhabitants, who took and killed two Indians, and lost ten of their own men, three of whom they afterwards found killed, scalped, and mangled in the most inhuman manner.

Thursday, July 2 -- The enemy appeared on the mountains back of Kingston, when the women and children then fled into the fort. Most of the garrison of Exeter fort were Tories, who treacherously gave it up to the enemy. The same night, after a little resistance, they took Lackawanna fort, killed Squire Jenkins and his family, with several others, in a barbarous manner, and made prisoners of most of the women and children; a small number only escaped.

Friday, July 3 -- This morning Colonel Zebulon Butler, leaving behind a small number to guard the fort (Wilkesbarre), crossed the river with about four hundred men and marched into Kingston fort. The enemy sent in a flag, demanding a
surrender of the fort in two hours. Colonel Butler answered that he should not surrender, but was ready to meet them. They sent in a second flag, demanding an immediate surrender, otherwise that the fort should be stormed, plundered and burnt with all its contents in a few hours, and said that they had with them three hundred men. Colonel Butler proposed a parley, which, being agreed to, a place in Kingston was appointed for the meeting, to which Colonel Z Butler repaired with four hundred men well armed, but finding nobody there, he proceeded to the foot of the mountain, where at a distance he saw a flag, which, as he advanced, retired, as if afraid, twenty or thirty rods. He following was led into an ambush, and partly surrounded by the enemy, who suddenly rose and fired upon them.

Notwithstanding the great disproportion of sixteen hundred to four hundred, he and his men bravely stood and returned the fire for three-quarters of an hour, with such briskness and resolution that the enemy began to give way, and were upon the point of retiring when one of Colonel Z Butler's men, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out that the Colonel had ordered a retreat. This caused a cessation of their fire, and threw them into confusion, and a total rout ensued. The greatest part fled to the river, which they endeavoured to pass, to Fort Wilkesbarre; the enemy pursued them with the fury of devils; many were lost or killed in the river, and no more than seventy, some of whom were wounded, escaped to Wilkesbarre.

Saturday morning, July 4 -- The enemy sent one hundred and ninety-six scalps into Fort Kingston, which they invested on the land side, and kept up a continual fire upon it.

This evening, Colonel Z Butler, with his family, quitted the fort, and went down the river.

Colonel Nathan Dennison went with a flag to Exeter fort, to know of Colonel John Butler what terms he would grant on a surrender. Butler answered, "the Hatchet." Colonel Dennison returned to Fort Kingston, which he defended till Sunday morning, when his men being nearly all killed or wounded, he could hold no longer, and was obliged to surrender at discretion.

The enemy took away some of the unhappy prisoners, and shutting up the rest in the houses, set fire to them, and they were all consumed together. These infernals then crossed to Fort Wilkesbarre, which in a few minutes surrendered at discretion. About seventy of the men, who had listed in the Continental Service to defend the frontiers, they inhumanly butchered, with every circumstance of horrid cruelty; and then shutting up the rest, with the women and children in the houses, they set fire to them, and they all perished together in the flames.

After burning all the buildings in the fort, they proceeded to the destruction of every building and improvement (except what belonged to some Tories) that came into their reach, on all the flourishing settlements, which they had rendered a scene of desolation and horror, almost beyond description, parallel, or credibility; and were not the facts attested by numbers of the unhappy sufferers, from different quarters of the settlement, and unconnected with each other, it would be impossible to believe that human nature could be capable of such prodigious enormity.

When these miscreants had destroyed the other improvements, they proceeded to destroy the crops on the ground, letting in the cattle and horses to the corn, and cutting up as much as they could of what was left. Great numbers of the cattle they shot and destroyed, and cutting out the tongues of many others, left them to perish in misery.

The course of these truly diabolical proceedings was marked by many particular acts of distinguished enormity, among which were the following, viz:-

The Captains James Bedlock, Robert Duryee, and Samuel Ransom, being made prisoners by the enemy, they stripped Captain Bedlock, tied him to a tree, and struck him full of sharp splinters of pine knots, then piling a heap of pine knots round him, they set all on fire, put Duryee and Ransom into the fire, and held them down with pitchforks.

Thomas Hill (whose father was killed by the Indians last Indian war) with his own hands killed his own mother, his father-in-law, his sisters and their families.

Partial Terry, the son of a man who bore a very respectable character, had several times sent his father word that he hoped to wash his hands in his heart's blood. Agreeable to such a horrid destruction, the monster, with his own hand,
murdered his father, mother, brother and sisters, stripped off their scalps, and cut off his father's head.

Colonel Dennison was seen surrounded by the enemy and was doubtless murdered. Colonel Zebulon Butler is supposed to be the only officer who escaped.

New York Journal, 20 July 1778; also carried on the front page of the Boston Gazette, 3 August 1778.

* Comment: This fabrication of some of the events in all probability is the origin of all the massacre stories about Wyoming. Interestingly, the parents of Partial Terry, so brutally murdered in this account, actually lived with him near Fort Erie after the war and died in Bertie Township,

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**EXTRACTS: FROM RIVINGTON'S GAZETTE**

[22 July 1778]

Extract of a Letter from Satan Island:

"The rebels have got a genteel trimming at Wyoming. Colonel Butler has entirely broke up that Settlement and killed 374 out of 400 of the militia that went against him. This I saw in a rebel paper of the 22nd Instant."

New York
29 July 1778

The accounts of the success of Colonel Butler, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs under Colonel Guy Johnson, against the settlement of Wyoming are amply confirmed from all quarters. And we are informed that General Winds, on being apprized of this severe blow, marched to Sussex Court House where he could not prevail upon more than three companies of the brigade there to march towards Wyoming, which should they ever arrive, will be found in desolation.


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**EXTRACT: COLONEL PETER BELLINGER AND OTHERS**

**TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

German Flatts
22 July 1778

Our case on these Frontiers is truly deplorable, as we lay open to the continual ravages and cruelties of the savages. It is with grief, we can assure Your Excellency, that on Saturday last, the 18th Instant, Andrews Town and Spring Field were burned and destroyed by the enemy, and since that time they are continually alarming us with scalping parties, who sometimes kill and scalp one, and take another prisoner.

By two old men, who the enemy took prisoners at Andrews Town, and have since sent back, we learn that Joseph Brant, who commanded the party of Indians at the burning of the above places, told the said men that in about eight days' time he should join Butler, and then they intended to fall in on the German Flatts, and burn and destroy all that came before them. They likewise told the men that fight they would, for they came on purpose to fight. They drove off a number of cattle from Andrews Town, and have left several dead on the spot.
EXTRACT: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Headquarters
White Plains
22 July 1778

I am in great measure a stranger to the expedition against Detroit, and entirely so, to that against the Senecas. Agreeable to the direction of Congress, I sent General McIntosh and two regiments to Fort Pitt, but whether an expedition is immediately intended against Detroit, or whether those troops are to remain as a defence for the western frontier, I do not know.

The parties of Indians and others under Butler and Brant have already done considerable mischief on the north east corner of Pennsylvania, having cut off the inhabitants and destroyed the settlement of Wyoming. Upon a representation from Governor Clinton, I have sent up Lieutenant Colonel Butler with the 4th Pennsylvania Regiment and Captain Posey with a detachment of Morgan's Rifle Corps, to assist the militia of New Jersey and New York in repelling their further incursions.


COMMISSION OF ROBERT GUTHRIE

Quebec
24 July 1778

Frederick Haldimand, Captain General and Governor in Chief of the Province of Quebec and territories depending thereon, &c, &c, &c, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province and the territories thereof, &c, &c, &c

To ROBERT GUTHRIE, Gentleman

GREETING:-

I do hereby constitute you to be Surgeon to the Corps of Rangers (raised to serve with the Indians during the rebellion), whereof John Butler, Esqr, is Major Commandant.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of Surgeon by doing and performing all and all manner of things belonging.

And you are to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from me, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in said Province for the time being, your Major Commandant, or any other your superior Officers, according to the rules and discipline of War.

In pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you, given under my hand and Seal at Arms at the Castle of St Louis at Quebec this 24th day of July 1778 and in the eighteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, by
EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Quebec
25 July 1778

The want of intelligence for a long continuance of time, principally from Europe and the scene of the war, might prove highly disadvantageous to the King's Service in this part of the world. Till the arrival of our Fleet, there has been no account from Great Britain for nine or ten months, but what were conveyed in rebel newspapers, or those brought in by straggling vessels, dropping in from foreign ports, or the West Indies.

I am assured that the intelligence brought in by scouting parties, Royalists, or deserters, that hitherto in general proved far wide of the truth, and no wonder, considering the number of lies...circulated through every part of America.

CHARLES SMITH TO CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER

Harpers Field
27 July 1778

I take this opportunity to inform you I have been as diligent as I can possible in getting of men, but harvest being at hand the men could not leave here until they had got their grain cut. But know as most of them is got their grain in and taken care of, I expect many to come with me. But there is one thing that hinders, they are afraid that the rebels will ruin them before we come to their assistance and are afraid to leave home. But I give them the greatest encouragement as I think it my duty to do so.

But them men that come from Unadilla has discouraged the people and said we suffered for want of provisions and that the Indians took away the plunder and for that reason hindered many from coming to join us. I told, as it was my duty, that it was false, as was my duty, and no truth in it. But that we had the best of usage and great plenty of provisions, and what we wanted was that the friends of Government cold come and show themselves and that might not suffer with the rebels.

I was coming to see you, but met Archibald Thompson and returned back to bring out my men and join as soon as possible and bring them from Bostick, from the Beaver Dam, from Healborak and them parts. But I am obliged to say more than the truth to encourage them to come out. I shall make you understand they expect you to go to Schoharie and make all the preparations they can, but the country s in great confusion and but few men to be had for that are struck with terror, they expecting the shipping up the river soon.

The northern army, I understand, have give them a sad stroke. They sent word to Albany for more men or they must soon surrender.
I shall see you soon and hope I shall march in front of my men painted and some of my men painted, so please to give notice to my brethren.


* Comment: Charles Smith may have been destined to be a Captain in the Rangers, as he is listed on a casualty return in February 1779 next to Peter Ten Broeck, and his name is annotated "vacant company."

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CHARLES SMITH TO JOSEPH BRANT

[27 July 1778]

I was coming for orders, but met with Archibald Thompson and finding the time short, I have made bold to write to the friends of Government in your name. I beg you will not be offended with me for it.

I have sent you a little tobacco by the Beaver. I should be glad to receive a letter from you as I come, to be left at Mr Servos's with orders what to do.


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COLONEL NATHAN DENISON TO JONATHAN TRUMBELL, GOVERNOR OF CONNECTICUT

Lower Smithfield Township
State of Pennsylvania
28 July 1778

As my circumstances have been such that it rendered almost impracticable for me to give Your Excellency an account of the unhappy affair that happened at Westmoreland on the 3d of this Instant, shall now endeavour to represent the affair.

On the last of June we got intelligence of a party of the enemy being up the river about 30 miles distant from us; the party supposed not to be great. The next day, after another scout returned and gave an account that they had discovered about fifty canoe loads of the enemy with considerable parties of them on each side of the river coming down. Which intelligence alarmed the inhabitants so that some were for securing their families in our forts, others for moving out of the settlement.

In this situation we collected to the number of four hundred of our men and marched up the river in order to meet the enemy, but not meeting them saving a small scout which were killed by our people. The day before this happened, the enemy fell on a small party of our men that were at work, killed four of them, the other made their escape.

The next day after the body of the enemy came to a small fort and demanded i, which was instantly given up, where they made their headquarters during the time they was in the settlement. Their parties were destroying our cattle, horses, &c. The day that we had the battle with them we had between three and four hundred men collected at Kingstown fort, about three miles distant from the enemy. In this situation it was concluded best to march out and attack the enemy, upon which there was a little over three hundred that marched out and attacked them.
The enemy got no advantage of us in the first fire, but we were overpowered by numbers. Our people were obliged to retreat. The number killed on our side can not be certainly known, but I believe not far from two hundred. Of the enemy killed, not far from eighty.

The next morning, John Butler the Commander of the enemy [document frayed away] sent a flag to demand the fort. I let him know that I would see him at one O'clock afternoon, after which I went to the lower part of the settlement to find the situation of the people and found numbers of women and children thin in the roads, some pushing out of the settlement, some one way and some the other, in the utmost distress and anxiety, endeavouring to make their escape from the savages.

At my return to the fort, found that it was the minds of the greater part of the people then present to capitualte with the enemy. I went to their camp and was put to the disagreeable necessity of signing the enclosed paper, after which no person was hurt by the enemy until after I left that place.

The next day after I come here from there. There was five persons murdered by the enemy on the road as they were coming from there and as the articles of capitulation are broke on the part of the enemy, I do not look upon myself holden on my part by them, and expect soon to return to Westmoreland to see if some trifles can be saved that the savages have left.

The number of enemy that came against us did not exceed seven or eight hundred at most by the best information I can get.

NB: I find that there is numbers of people in this state design to take the advantage of our distressed situation to get possession of our settlement, which I think cannot be allowed of, but the greatest part of them have been very kind to our scattered inhabitants.


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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN CANTINE
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Napenagh
30 July 1778

Lieutenant Wesbrook having received intelligence that John Snow, a noted villain, was at Packatackan, on which he immediately proceeded to that place and has taken him prisoner. This Snow was down with that party which lately committed the mischief at Laghawack has also been employed by Butler as an armourer. He had with him a mare of the Widow Cole of Lackawack, which Mr Westbrook has also brought down with him.

I would farther inform you that this Snow is a daring villain, and will stick at nothing to make his escape. He vellies himself at villainy and has contrivance more than common, so that I fear that if he is not taken particular care of he will find means to get off.

The information that Mr Westbrook could get there of the enemy was that Butler was lately at Aughsquago and intended for Schoharie or Fort Schuyler. He has sent Ben, ye Indian, to Papaton and Packatackan to desire the tories to come to him at that place some time last week, but could not learn that any of them were gone.


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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
31 July 1778

Your letter enclosing Major Butler's account of his success over the rebels has been received and I cannot but express my satisfaction thereat, as well as my approbation of Major Butler's zeal for the King's Service.

Captain Mathews of the King's Regiment, having acquainted me that he is qualified to act as an Engineer and signified his desire to be employed in that branch occasionally, I send him up to you and in his way to take the directions of Mr Twiss respecting that Department and as your garrison will be reinforced in the autumn he may be employed in erecting such additional log houses as may be necessary for their lodging.

Captain Butler is returning to join his Corps and he takes with him a Mr Guthrie, whom I have appointed at the insistence of Major Butler having represented that another Company is now completed for that Corps. I send you blank commissions for the officers thereof to be filled up when you shall have their names reported to you.

Lieutenant McDonell of Lieutenant Colonel MacLean's Corps, an officer who is well spoken of for his gallantry and activity, has desired leave to serve with the Rangers, which I have granted him and intend, provided Major Butler approves of and recommends Mr McDonell, to place him in that Corps as seems to be his wish.

* Comment: Brigadier Allan Maclean was born in Scotland in 1725. He joined the Jacobite Army in 1745 and was present at the Battle of Culloden, after which he fled to Holland and joined the Dutch Army. Following the amnesty offered by George II, Maclean returned to Britain in 1750. He was commissioned as a Lieutenant in the 62nd Foot in 1756 and was present at the assault on Ticonderoga and at the capture of Fort Niagara; he may have met John Butler on either expedition. He was present at the capture of Quebec. He returned to Britain in 1761. On 12 June 1775, he was issued authority to raise a Corps of two battalions, which took the name The Royal Highland Emigrants. The first battalion was recruited in Canada and New York, while the second battalion drew its men from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, as well as in the Montreal area.

Maclean was appointed a Brigadier General in May 1776 and appointed military governor of Montreal. His regiment was taken on the regular order of battle as the 84th Foot in 1779. He commanded at Fort Niagara for a short period.

After the war he returned to Great Britain and died in London in February of 1798.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL ORDERS

Quebec
1 August 1778

The Commander-in-Chief has been pleased to make the following promotions:-

Robert Guthrie, Surgeon's Mate of the Hospital
is appointed Surgeon to the Corps of Rangers
By a person of integrity from Northampton County in Pennsylvania, we have received a confirmation of the settlement of Wyoming being destroyed. Colonel Butler, with about 2,000 men, consisting of 200 regulars, a number of Tories, the rest Indians, came from Detroit to Wyoming, summoned the settlement to take the oath of allegiance and submit to the Crown. A Mr Butler, who commanded there, on the part of the rebels, requested time to consider the proposal, which was granted. Colonel Butler withdrew a few miles, waiting for his determination; but instead of ingeniously sending an answer, Mr Butler marched out with 400 militia to give battle to the Royal Party.

Colonel Butler, apprized of their approach, surprised and killed every one of the rebels, except thirty, who escaped by their amazing celerity.

The fortification where he is now posted, fell into the hands of the conqueror; who, after the battle, ordered a detachment to pursue the Connecticut settlers as far as the river Delaware, and drove them from a post at Shiholi. Several of Colonel Butler's parties have come down within twenty miles of Easton; others have penetrated as far as Sundbury. All of the rebel settlements on the forks of the Susquehanna, and above Sundbury, are deserted. Such of the Tories as stay at home are protected. The rebel militia intended to make a stand at Sundbury, but finding it impossible, they retreated to Carlisle.

Another party of the regulars, Indians and Tories are also come down on the western frontiers above and below Fort Pitt, said to amount to the same number as Colonel Butler's. The estern frontiers too are evacuated, the people flying into the interior parts with nothing but their clothing.

After the battle of Wyoming, upwards of one thousand women and children were met going from thence to Connecticut, without any men, as all the men had been cut off.

Thirty of the stragglers from the British Army on their march through New Jersey were lately met in one body going to join Colonel Butler, and most of the forty three Indians who had been in Mr Washington's camp are likewise gone to the same active and fortunate partisan.

I have thought it proper to transmit to Your Lordship the particulars, herewith enclosed just forwarded to me from
Niagara, of the proceedings of the Five Nations with the Corps of Rangers raised by Sir Guy Carleton for serving with the savages under Major Butler, who commanded this expedition undertaken by them against several parties of the rebels strongly posted upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York at whose vicinity the Indians were extremely jealous and uneasy which their success on this occasion promises entirely to remove.

No opportunity offering at this time immediately for England, I send my dispatch by the way of Halifax.

General Frederick Haldimand

TO SIR HENRY CLINTON

Quebec
4 August 1778

I take the opportunity of a vessel which I dispatched to Halifax for intelligence to acquaint my being appointed to the Command of this Province and the troops therein. I need not inform you that the object of my military powers can extend, for the present campaign, only to defensive operations, the small number of troops in Canada sufficiently pointing that out to your observation. I am, however, obliged, in order to conform to the disposition of the savages whose ardour it might be impolitical to check too much, to permit some excursions of these people towards the rebel countries on our frontiers.

The Five Nations under Major Butler, who has a Corps of Rangers raised for serving with the Indians, have met with some success at Wyoming, the particulars I herewith enclose you.

John Taylor

TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
9 August 1778

One Thompson with three other tories were taken by a party of riflemen back of Schoharie and a certain Servos, a noted and zealous defender of the King's bad cause, was killed. Two letters were found with these fellows; a copy of one directed to Joseph Brant I enclose, the other to Butler of the same purport.

A party of Pennsylvanians and riflemen were dispatched in search of Smith and his party. They were met near Schoharie Creek when Captain Long of the riflemen fired and shot Smith through the head. General Stark received his scalp last night.

One prisoner was taken. The rest of the party, twenty four in number, escaped owing to Schoharie Creek being between them and our men.
EXTRACT: COLONEL WILLIAM BUTLER TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Schoharie
13 August 1778

On my arrival here I found three forts erected by the Inhabitants for their protection within four miles of each other. I took post at one I thought most liable to be attacked and immediately sent out a subaltern with a small scout to reconnoitre the country and to make what discoveries he could of the enemy.

He proceeded about 25 miles to one Servos's, a noted villain who had constantly supplied the enemy with necessaries. Servos luckily was home, and upon his refusing to surrender and making some resistance, one of the party shot him. They also brought in four prisoners.

Before the return of the scout, I received intelligence from General Stark of one Smith, who had raised a number of tories and was marching to join the enemy. I immediately detached Captain Long of the Rifle Corps, with a party to intercept their march. Captain Long fell in with them, killed Smith and brought in his scalp, brought in one prisoner and it is thought wounded a number. Only one of Captain Long's party was wounded. A creek unluckily being between the parties when the engaged prevented Captain Long from advancing and gave the rest the opportunity to escape.

With the prisoners taken by the first party, there was some letters from Smith to Butler and Brant informing them that he would meet them at Servo's on Sunday following with a number of tories whom he had engaged.

I also had intelligence that the intention of the enemy was to march in a body to Servos's and there divide one party to attack Cherry Valley and the other this place. In consequence of this intelligence, I detached Major Church with 120 men to a canoe place about 5 miles beyond Servos's (which they must attempt landing at) to lay an ambuscade and prevent their landing. But I imagine their supplies of provisions being cut off by their loss of Servos and their reinforcement by the defeat of Smith prevented their coming.


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EXTRACT: SIR JOHN JOHNSON
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Quebec
17 August 1778

I did everything in my power consistent with the knowledge I have of Butler and his proceedings to place him in a proper light with the General. What weight it may have been received with, you may be able to judge of by this time, having had an opportunity of conversing with the General upon those affairs.

National Archives of Canada. MG 19 F1, Claus Papers, Vol 2.

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EXTRACT; FROM THE DEPOSITION OF SERGEANT RICHARDS

Camp Middle Fort
Schoharie
18 August 1778
The Deposition of Sergeant Richards, 4th Pennsylvania Regiment:

On the 2nd day of May...he went to Albany, to the house of Jennet Clemming; that he went into her store to buy some articles. She asked him whence he came from; he told her from the White Plains. She asked where the Troops were going; he told against Butler. She asked him when they were going to march; he said he could not tell. She said she would give anything to know, for she had a great many friends and acquaintances with Butler and wanted to send them word.


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EXTRACTS: COLONEL JOHN CANTINE TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Rochester
19 August 1778

And was at that time sending orders to the different posts to send scouts to the Delaware, who are returned with intelligence that the inhabitants there are desired to trash their grain by some of Butler's party, they standing in great need of it.

They have destroyed the crop of John Burch who has gone, the day before the guard arrived, to the enemy. Middagh and Hendrick Bush, Jnr, were also gone. I shall wait your direction with respect to the grain at Delaware.


* Comment: Burch was John Burch who would join Butler's Rangers as sutler.

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EXTRACT: FROM RIVINGTON'S GAZETTE

New York
22 August 1778

The public has been informed of the success of Colonel Butler in taking three forts, and destroying the Whig settlements at Wyoming, consisting of 6,000 inhabitants, we now hear that that gentleman, having formed a strong lodgement and a large magazine of provisions on the upper part of Susquehanna, has come down again, taken the county town of Northumberland, lying in the Forks of that river, and the town of Sundbury on the east side opposite to Northumberland; drove before him all the disaffected out of that country and advanced within eleven miles of Harris's ferry. His mode of proceeding is wise and prudent and promises a continuance of success. He give every encouragement to the Loyalists. To such as choose to stay on their farms and submit to the Crown he give protection, and secures their property from the plunder of the Indians who are governed by him in all respects. And those who are willing to join him in arms he embodies into his corps and strengthens his party. His exact numbers we have not yet learnt, but it is certain that many of the well affected to government daily join and 'tis said he is in considerable force.

From those movements, the interior parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia are crowded with the unhappy families of the disaffected from the frontiers, who having left all their property behind, are now subsisting on the charity of others. We also hear from the northward that the settlements of Cherry Valley, Springfield, Popatunck, Misink, Sundbury, and Andrewstown have met with the same fate by other parties of Loyalists and Indians. Those parties have
hitherto carried victory where ever they trode, and we are informed that notwithstanding the endeavours of the new states to raise the militia against them, they have been attended with very little effect.

Colonel Butler, whose progress has been so very successful, was an Indian Officer under the late Sir William Johnson during the late war, and was afterwards one of his interpreters, being out of the Indian Department for some time before Sir William Johnson's death, which happened in 1774, he was again appointed by Sir William's successor in office, Colonel Guy Johnson, whom he attended to Canada in 1775. In the consequence of Colonel Johnson's orders from the then Commander in Chief, to proceed with his corps to co-operate with Sir Guy Carleton, after which Mr Butler was, by Colonel Johnson, appointed to act as Assistant Agent or Deputy at Niagara, whither he was ordered in October of that year.

The last campaign Colonel Claus, an old officer of much experience in the department, being by his Majesty's orders appointed to the command of the Indians in Brigadier-General St Leger's expedition, Mr Butler brought a body of Whites and Indians to join them agreeable to his orders, which Indians, with the other tribes, assembled for that purpose, attended only by a small detachment under Sir John Johnson's command, totally routed the rebels reinforcement sent to Fort Stanwix, killing the General and near 500 of his men.

Mr Butler's son, a young Gentleman of much merit, appointed an officer in the Department of Indian Affairs by Colonel Johnson, and now in the 8th Regiment, having been sent on duty to the German Flatts, was there made prisoner, and suffered very cruel treatment, but has now happily got out of the hands of his oppressors.

New York. The Royal Gazette, 22 August 1778.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF FREDERICK MACKENZIE

25 August 1778

The accounts from New York are that Washington has divided his army and marched from his camp at White Plains; that Sir Henry Clinton has also divided the Royal Army, part of which have passed into the Jerseys, and the rest have advanced by way of Kingsbridge. The object of these movements is uncertain, but 'tis imagined the progress which Colonel Butler and his Indian confederates are making in the back parts of Jersey is the principal cause. Some of his parties have penetrated as far as Marbletown, near Esopus, and have struck a panic through the country.

'Tis surprising what an effect the burning houses, and destroying their property, has had upon the rebels. 'Tis now become evident that this way of carrying on the war is the only effectual method of bringing them to a sense of their duty. Had it been pursued after their rejecting the offers made by the first commissioners, the rebellion would have been at an end before this; but the mistaken lenity of government has prolonged the war, and brought the nation into the present dangerous crisis.

Frederick Mackenzie. Diary of (Harvard University), Vol 2, p 398.

EXTRACT: DEPOSITION OF JOHN MCKENZIE

[Schoharie]
29 Aug 1778

John McKenzie being duly sworn says that on the 17th Instant he set out for Unadilla and arrived there the 19th, where he continued until the 24th. While he was there he discovered with a number of his acquaintances who had joined the enemy, who told him that their numbers at Achquago and Unadilla is about 4 or 500 white men and there was different
accounts concerning the number of Indians at those places, some thought 500, other 600 and others fewer.

The Deponent was also told that Butler is at Chemung with 1100 Indians.

That Brant commands at Achquaga and that their intentions is not to attack the frontiers unless British Troops make an excursion out of York. Bread very scarce.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 3, pp 711-712

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
29 August 1778

I received this day the honour of Your Excellency's favour, dated July 31st, by Captain Mathews, who has seen Lieutenant Twiss at Deer Island and received his directions concerning the additional log houses that may be necessary for the reinforcement expected in the autumn.

I have filled up the blank commissions sent by Captain Butler, agreeable to the Major's desire, and Mr McDonell has received his commission as Captain in the Rangers.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: CAPTAIN THOMAS AUBREY
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Carleton Island
2 September 1778

The enclosed is a return of eight prisoners who were sent here from Niagara by Colonel Bolton and I have sent one prisoner from hence. He was taken by Mr Adams (the Indian Interpreter) and some Indians whom I sent from hence upon a scouting party to Fort Stanwix. They have brought in two prisoners who were taken by them near the fort. I should have sent the other prisoner to Montreal, but the Indians have refused at present to give him up, as, they say, they should keep one that the rest of the Indians of the Nation they belong to may see they have taken a prisoner.

I am informed by Mr Adams that the rebels are strongly fortifying Fort Stanwix. The prisoners say that there is five hundred and forty men in the fort, and that they have sent from thence for five thousand men to go against Colonel Butler.


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EXTRACT FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE

New York
3 September 1778

By a gentleman from West Jersey we learn that so great is the panic which the incursion of the brave and fortunate Colonel Butler and his Indian allies has struck on the frontier settlers that they have universally abandoned their habitations and crowded into that province in such numbers as to raise the rent of land and houses upwards of fifty percent since the month of June last.

The Quebec Gazette, 5 November 1778

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EXTRACT FROM GENERAL ORDERS

Quebec
4 September 1778

The Commander-in-Chief has the King's orders to signify to the Provincial troops that His Majesty is anxious to reward their faithful and spirited conduct upon several occasions and has been pleased to confer upon them the following marks of Royal favour:

All officers of the Provincial Corps that are or shall be raised in America shall, when on service with the Regular troops, take rank as juniors of the rank to which they belong.

Such officers as may be wounded in action so as to lose a limb or be maimed shall be entitled to receive the same gratuity of one year's advanced pay as officers of the Established Army in that predicament are entitled to receive.

And it is further His Majesty's gracious intention to make provision for all such non-commissioned officers and privates as shall be disabled from wounds received in His service.

In order to distinguish the zeal of officers of such regiments as shall be completed to ten companies of fifty-six rank and file, of each company inclusive (including contingent men per company), His Majesty will upon recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, make the rank of those officers permanent in America, and will allow them half pay upon the reduction of their regiments, in the same manner as the officers of British reduced regiments are paid, and to facilitate these services, His Majesty is further pleased to order that the sum of twenty two shillings and six pence, Stlg, be given a bounty to each able bodied man.


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EXTRACTS: COLONEL JOHN CANTINE TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Marbletown
4 September 1778

The scout I had to Papakton is returned. They have brought one Commans, who is a comrade of Burch whom they say they have wounded. Hendrick Bush they happened to see on ye opposite side of the river; they endeavoured to make him stand, but he stepping forward behind a tree, seven of them fired and lodged seven balls in the tree he stood behind. The river there being too deep to wade, he made his escape, leaving his hat behind him.
EXTRACT: SIR HENRY CLINTON TO MAJOR GENERAL MASSEY
OR OFFICER COMMANDING HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES AT HALIFAX

Headquarters
New York
8 September 1778

Colonel Butler, with a body of Indians and others assembled under his command, has destroyed a number of settlements upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania, and repulsed what force the rebels had collected to oppose him.

EXTRACTS: COLONEL JOHN CANTINE TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Marbletown
9 September 1778

The enclosed is a copy of the Orders I gave to Captains Nichols and Vankeuren when they went to Delaware. When they returned, they told me they had brought off the effects of Burch, who was gone to the enemy, and of several others.

EXTRACT FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE

9 September 1778

The following detail of the proceedings of Colonel Butler is received from a Gentleman well informed and of great veracity:-

A respectable person just returned from the Susquehanna informs us that Colonel Butler, after defeating the rebels at Wyoming, sent all the cattle to some Indian settlements near Niagara and left a detachment of his army at Wyoming to take care of the harvest; that a skirmish had happened between the said detachment and some rebels that were sent to drive them off; forty or fifty of the latter were killed, the remainder returned, and collected a large force to make a stand at Shamokin. On September the first, Colonel Butler attacked them and killed upwards of 200, the rest retreated with their usual agility to the interior parts of the country.
Our informant was on the day of the last engagement within 20 miles of the place of action and had his intelligence directly from thence. He further says that the rebels are in the greatest consternation at the approach of Colonel Butler and the brave Loyalists and Indians under his command; that he treats the women and children with the utmost humanity and sends them down the country to their rebel friends; that Colonel Butler and his army are going down the Susquehanna.

Another large body, consisting chiefly of Indians under the command of an Indian officer named Colonel Brant, had burnt Coshashcon and are proceeding down to the Minisinks on the Delaware.

The rebels near the frontiers of New Jersey are in great fear of being visited by those whom they have injured and persecuted. There is a guard of 300 rebel militia at Sussex Court House, which is crowded with the friends of government; the guards patrol the distance of 13 or 14 miles each way from the Court House in order to discover any Indians or Tories that may be coming to attack them.

Seven Indians lately made their appearance at the mouth of Pagress in order, it is thought, to take off one Robert Hooper, a noted rebel, who had prudently withdrawn himself at their coming; that a great number of Loyalists were in Morristown goal, who were closely confined on account of their numbers, and it is said to be high treason for any person to give a meal of victuals to a Tory, knowing him to be such.

He farther adds that wheat sells from 5 to 8 dollars a bushel and that he was informed an order of Congress was issued to purchase up all the wheat at 3s per bushel. The Loyalists are suffering every kind of indignity that can be devised by these lawless usurpers; that the hourly expect co-operation from the exertions of the rebel army.

The Quebec Gazette, 29 October 1778

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EXTRACTS: COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

New York
10 September 1778

Your Lordship will have heard before this can reach you of the successful incursions of the Indians and Loyalists from the northward. In conformity to the instructions I conveyed to my officers, they assembled their force early in May, and one division under one of my deputies (Mr Butler) proceeded with great success down the Susquehanna, destroying the posts and settlements at Wyoming, augmenting their number with many Loyalists, and alarming all the country; whilst another division under Mr Brant, the Indian Chief, cut of 294 men near Schoharie and destroyed the adjacent settlements with several magazines from whence the rebels had derived great resources, thereby affording encouragement and opportunity to many friends of government to join them.


* Comment: Johnson seems to be trying to take credit for plans formulated at Quebec and Niagara. His description of Butler's "great success' seems at odds with the comments made of Butler in personal correspondence between Guy Johnson, Sir John Johnson and Daniel Claus.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[14 September 1778]
I took sick with the intermitting fever; I had it very bad which hindered me from going to the German Flatts as I proposed.

As soon as I got better we got everything in readiness to proceed for Niagara. We buried the principal part of our effects and intended to go with the army when they returned from the Flatts, but this was not to be the case. We were all the while suspicious of the rebel or Oneida Indians. It appears that Captain Brant on his way to the German Flatts had met 3 or 4 of these rebel Indian devils and had sat a guard over them, but I believe we were sold by these savages, for as soon as they found that Captain Brant with his party were off, they fell upon us.

They took my brother, John, in the field as he was going to catch the horses. They immediately bound him; they then proceeded to our house. Father, being near the house, called to me to come and see who they were. I came out. I told him they were rebel Indians. One of them, Fowles by name, told me to stop. I told him I would not. He then levelled his piece at me and shot me through the ear. His gun was loaded with buckshot.

Having got in the house we were determined to give them battle, expecting no mercy from the hands of merciless savages. We passed several shot at one another; at last they told us if we would not surrender, they would murder John. Upon this we were of the necessity of giving ourselves over to the mercy of these rebel savages.

After I had surrendered myself to the savages, I begged of them they would leave my father behind. Father likewise plead for himself. It was granted by them. When they returned to plunder the house again, my father had left the house, which was happy for him, for they came back of purpose to take him along with us. But he took refuge in the woods. He after this went to Esopus, to my sisters, where the rebels made him a prisoner.

It is the greatest presumption to trust on the veracity of any savage whatsoever; for they will undoubtedly deceive you as they did us. And I have the greatest reason to believe that Brant knew that these savages were on their way, when he met them, to destroy our settlement, as he never sent us any word, which he could easily have done to put us on our guard to have escaped to the woods. And therefore when he and his party returned from the destruction of ye German Flatts back again to our place, what the rebel Indians had not time to destroy, Brant and his party destroyed for us.

Brant's Mohawks went in our house, ripped up the feather bed and took the Tick with them. Every hog they took. My father's horse and he was obliged to go to the Indians and beg for his horses with tears in his eyes and much pleading he got two of them back. I was informed Brant took the other, and all living creatures they took clean off. His Indian savages took my father's horses and Brant himself went with my father to get his horses from them. By much entreaties he got them. I was informed on my coming to Canada that Brant himself carried off my father's mare, the best of the three horses. Kind of the information I received from Richard Dingman who lived then in our settlement.

At this time there was one Tygert, a prisoner at our house whom Captain Brant took at the Mohawk River. He was left in the care of brother John. The Indians therefore knowing him, immediately released him.

After they had carried us off some distance, they returned a second time to plunder the house, and Tygert with them. These villains then broke open the chest and took from thence my brother John's watch. Tygert got the watch and a watch belonging to my father; there was some silver money, buckskins and many other articles. By our being taken prisoner ended a total destruction of the settlement.

We was taken the 19th day of September. As soon as the savages had bound us they took us to a thick hemlock swamp on the Unadilla Creek where we were pinioned to small saplings sitting in about 4 inches of water. They now talked of killing us and we expected nothing else as they held the tomahawks over our heads, but thanks be to God, our lives were spared for we was not hurt in the least.


* Comment: Halsey lists the men prisoner with the McGinnis's: John Harrison, Michael Stopplopen, Barry Laughlin,
EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF FREDERICK MACKENZIE

14 September 1778

The operations of the army appears to be entirely suspended at present. It is therefore probable that Sir H Clinton waits for instructions from home how he is to proceed. If something is not done soon, we have wasted a campaign to very little purpose.

The expedition of Colonel Butler and his Indian allies, who are advancing through the back parts of Pennsylvania and Jersey, with great success and spreading terror and dismay through that country, promises much, and if properly assisted may prove of singular advantage in favour of government.

Frederick Mackenzie. Diary of (Harvard University), Vol 2, p 399.

EXTRACT: COLONEL BELLINGER TO COLONEL JACOB KLOCK

Palentine
16 September 1778

This evening came John Helmer, one of the nine men of the rangers which we sent out on Monday last. They was attacked at Major Edmerson's place and only one escaped, they said; what is become of the rest he cannot tell.

The enemy, after he made his escape, passed him by in the bush. About two o'clock this afternoon, about nine miles from the German Flatts, he laid behind a tree and counted about 200 men, but he thinks he did not count above half. And as we expect them this night, or at farthest tomorrow morning, now is the time for you to assist us. Therefore, I humbly beg for God sake to assist us all that lays in your power and let your people travel all night for our assistance.


MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
17 September 1778

I think it my duty to acquaint Your Excellency with the present situation of affairs in the Department of Colonel Guy Johnson.

Early last spring, Colonel Bolton and myself recommended to the Six Nations, as well as to the Delawares living upon the Susquehanna, to declare openly and ingenuously what part they intended to act the ensuing season. At this meeting, which was very full, part of every one of the Six Nations were present as well as their allies. We received for answer that the whole of the different nations agreed to leave it to the Senecas who had been the greatest sufferers and that whatever part they acted they were determined to do the same. The Senecas then declared that their intentions to a man were to have satisfaction for their loss at Fort Stanwix and that as soon as they got to their several homes would prepare
and when ready would acquaint us, hoping by that time General Carleton would have taken possession of Oswego that their wives and children might be in safety while their warriors were gone to war. They also hoped to hear from the King's army at New York which we had often told them would come up the river to Albany, by which they might be able to judge what part of the country would be most proper for them to strike so as to be of the most effectual service to General Clinton in case he was advancing up the river as they expected.

The latter end of April, Sungerachta, the Seneca Chief, came here and acquainted Colonel Bolton and me that the Indians were ready except the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and the greatest part of the Onondagas, who had declared a neutrality. He also requested to know what orders we had received from General Carleton and when he would take possession of Oswego. We replied that we had not heard from the General, but that we daily expected to hear from him and that I would accompany him with my Rangers in order to join any alliance.

Accordingly, on the second of May, I left this post upon my route and found almost all the Indian villages in distressed conditions for want of victuals. As the young men were already either out at war or ready to go with me, they had nothing to subsist upon but the remains of last year, which was near expended, their hunting being neglected. Most of them too were very bare of clothes. However, upon my promising them clothing this fall, they were satisfied. I have agreed with Captain Robinson for a sufficient quantity of goods in order to fulfil Colonel Bolton's and my engagements with them, which I hope Your Excellency will approve of. The conditions I enclose to you. Should His Majesty think it expedient to prosecute this rebellion with unremitting vigour, I think I can with safety promise Your Excellency the most effectual assistance of the greatest part of the Six Nations to effect so good a purpose.

I have detached Captain Butler to Aughquaga to take the command of the Rangers and Indians assembled there in order to cut off the German Flatts. There seems to be the greatest probability of success as I do not hear of any of the enemy's troops being in that quarter except the garrison of Fort Stanwix and Dayton. The party Captain Butler will have with him may amount to five or six hundred whites and Indians assembled there. Earliest notice of their success I shall with pleasure transmit to Your Excellency.

After this incursion, as the season of the year begins to grow late, I apprehend the Indians will return to this place to receive those presents Colonel Bolton and myself promised them at the beginning of the season. To fulfil this promise and to spare the consumption of provisions which such a number will unavoidably make, I beg to request of Your Excellency such assistance as Mr Robinson will stand in want of for forwarding the goods intended for presents to the Indians to this place, the greater part of which (if not all) are at Carleton Island.

Many of the Rangers who are daily joining in the Indian country being in want of arms, I would humbly submit to Your Excellency's consideration whether light arms such as carbines with bayonets and boxes (of which I have heard that there are a number lying in the magazine at Quebec) would not be the most proper for those people. Should Your Excellency approve of this measure, I would request that you would be pleased to give the necessary orders for forwarding them if possible this season. The number of arms requisite for this purpose will be about four hundred to make them all uniform, for which I will be answerable to Your Excellency, either by paying for them or returning, whichever you may think most expedient.

Before I left the Indian country to which I was forced by a severe attack of rheumatism in my head and other parts of the body attended by an obstinate ague and fever, I took the proper measures for stationing the Rangers as to form a chain of scouting parties from the German Flatts to the Susquehanna and the Ohio, with particular orders to Captain Caldwell, who commanded them, to act in concert with our faithful friends, the Chiefs of the Senecas, &c, whenever they should require it. This, I have the satisfaction to assure Your Excellency, Mr Caldwell punctually attended to.

Mr Joseph Brant, whose activity during the course of this summer is really deserving of praise, stayed at Aughquaga with Captain Caldwell, where he has been not only very attentive and vigilant, but at the same time from his perfect knowledge of the country particularly serviceable in deciding the routes of those parties who are constantly hovering about and alarming the enemy's frontiers.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
Niagara
18 September 1778

I have received the honour of Your Excellency's favour dated August the 27th with a copy of a letter wrote to Governor
Hamilton and also of an order sent to Captain Aubrey. The precautions concerning the ammunition and arms have
always been observed at this post nor do I think it probable that any of them can fall into the hands of the rebels.

I have consulted Major Butler concerning the Delawares and Chawanoes and other Indians to try if it is possible to
engage them to act in concert with those employed by Mr Hamilton, but he informs me the Shawnee seldom or ever
come here and that all the Indians he can assemble will not amount to more than a number sufficient to repulse the
rebels who are preparing in several places to attack the Senecas and other Indians our allies but as to any other
assistance I can possibly afford our friends at Detroit.

I believe the contractor has done more this season than ever was accomplished in so short a time for many years past,
therefore it is impossible there could be any cause for those complaints Your Excellency has been informed of and at
this time he has not only sent into the Indian country to buy cattle, but he has also bought several here in order to carry
over the merchant goods with the utmost expedition; but let him exert himself ever so much I am afraid it will not
prevent murmurs on the subject. People do not consider the great quantity of provisions now forwarding to Detroit and
Michilimackinac.

The enclosed morning return will inform Your Excellency how the men of this garrison are employed since the
detachment left this post. I hope it will appear to you that it is not in my power to send more men to Fort Schlosser or
the landing without neglecting everything necessary to put this fort in some state of defence which, I suppose, must be
the first considered. The rebels may as well expect to storm this place without my knowledge as to surprise the
detachment at the landing as long as the Six Nations are our friends.

We have scouts out from Fort Stanwix round to Fort Pitt besides a considerable party at Auchquage watching the
motions of a number of the rebels assembling in that neighbourhood.

Last winter this place was quite lumbered with merchandise, even the officers' barracks was filled with goods as I
would not suffer any to remain at the landing during the winter but ordered the soldiers to bring down twenty six bateau
loads. Your Excellency very justly observes that the eagerness of the merchants in forwarding such immense quantities
of merchandise may tempt the rebels to draw near this post. I am astonished that last year when there were goods to the
amount of fifty thousand pounds sterling on Deer Island no attempt was made to destroy them. Where they intend to
lodge the goods this winter, I do not know, for it will be absolutely impossible to get the half of them over this year on
account of the provisions ordered for the Upper Posts.

This fort measures about 1100 yards in circumference; there are five bastions and two block houses to be defended and
many other parts necessary to be manned, which according to the most moderate calculations that have been made on
those occasions would require a garrison of a thousand men, the present strength amounting to no more that 294,
including 15 men of the Royal Artillery and sick, number barely sufficient to defend the outworks (if they were in a
state of defence) and relieve the necessary sentries should the place be invested by a considerable force. However, Sir,
you may be assured I shall do everything in my power to secure this post against any insult and with the handful of men
under my command will defend it in every exigency as long as it is possible.

I could have wished Lieutenant Twiss had paid us a visit in order to lay before you an exact state of this fort. With a
garrison of five hundred or a less number it is impregnable against all the savages in America, but if a strong body of
troops should move this way, I believe no Engineer who has ever seen these works will say it can hold out any
considerable time. But notwithstanding our situation, you may depend the King's Regiment will do everything that can
possibly be expected from them.

I never knew of any goods being sent to Sandusky; if there has been some carried there it must be from Detroit. Captain
Lernoult, a very old officer and deserving of every favour Your Excellency can show him, commands there and I am
convinced will pay close attention to that place agreeable to your commands.

PS: Captain Mathews is preparing a state of the garrison for Lieutenant Twiss and Major Butler will inform you by this
opportunity of our Indian affairs.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

[Niagara
18 September 1778]

Return of the disposition of the Rangers now employed on the frontiers of the Indian country.

Captain Caldwell of the Rangers, Captain Powell of the Indian Department and Mr Joseph Brant:- at the Aughquaga
employed in scouting from thence to the Delaware River as low as the Minisink to Schoharie as well to annoy the
enemy as to gain intelligence.

Mr Pawling:- also detached from Aughquaga with 30 Rangers and a number of Indians to Wyalusing upon the
Susquehanna with directions to scout as low as Wyoming and watch the motions of the rebels said to be re-assembling
there.

Mr John Young:- detached from Aughquaga with 30 Rangers and Indians constantly towards the German Flatts and
Cherry Valley.

Captain Johnston:- from the Seneca Country keeps constant parties of Indians out from thence to the West Branch of
the Susquehanna and to the Juniata.

Mr Adams of the Indian Department:- at Carleton Island (under the command of Captain Aubrey) employed in scouting
from thence towards Fort Stanwix. The Chiefs of the Upper Senecas have an attentive eye to Fort Pitt and the country
around about it.

The body of the Rangers under the command of Captain Butler at Aughquaga and that neighbourhood are ready when
joined by the Indians for an incursion into the enemy's frontiers or to assist in defending the Indian country in case of
any attempts of the rebels.
EXTRACT: COLONEL BELLINGER TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

German Flatts
19 September 1778

On Thursday, the 17th Instant, about six in the morning, the enemy attacked Fort Dayton, on the north side of the German Flatts and burned and destroyed all the houses, barns, and grain, and drove a great number of horses and horned cattle away with them. The church, fort, together with two houses, is all that is left on that side, and they had two men killed and one wounded. The enemy tried to take Fort Dayton but they kept them off. On the south side of the river, they began about six miles above Fort Herkimer and burned all the houses, barns, and grain, quite down to the church. At Fort Herkimer they tried to set fire to the barn, but we sallied out with what men we could spare and kept them from destroying any more houses.

We have built in our district four garrisons and having none but my regiment to guard them and a few rangers. I sent out a scout of the rangers, nine men, three days before this happened. They met with the enemy at Major Edmonston's place, at the head branch of Tunadella River. The enemy attacked them and drove them into the river. They have killed two of the rangers and scattered the rest. One of them came in, the night before the Flatts was attacked. And I immediately wrote per express to Colonel Klock, and another to be signed by him to be sent to the nearest place for assistance, as the enemy was within 9 miles of us when the rangers saw them last. In my letter to Colonel Klock, I begged him for God's sake to assist us with men, and if he had marched his men on directly he might have been at the Flatts before we were attacked; and if he had sent 200 men we might in all probability save a great many houses and a great deal of grain and creatures. But alas, we could get no assistance.

Several times this summer we have intelligence that they intended to destroy this place, and I have wrote to General Starks in Albany for assistance, but could get none, and once I wrote to Your Excellency, but I imagine you did not receive it.

I here send Your Excellency an account of the damage done by the enemy on both sides of the river. They burned sixty three dwelling houses, fifty seven barns, with grain and fodder, three grist mills, one saw mill, and they have taken away with them two hundred thirty five horses, two hundred twenty nine horned cattle, two hundred sixty nine sheep, and they killed and destroyed a great number of hogs and they have burned a great many out houses.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900) Vol IV, pp 47-49.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[Unadilla Creek
20 September 1778]

Next day they started by the time it was light, being 20 of September. They then untied us and made us carry heavy packs of that they had plundered from us. There were six men prisoners besides us, and now they led on at a terrible rate. They made us travel as hard as we could lay our legs to the ground for fear of being overtaken by Captain Brant, however we were not.


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EXTRACT: COLONEL ABRAHAM WEMPLE TO GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK

Caughnewaga
20 September 1778

The Loss at German Flatts

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<tr>
<td>Barns</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horned Cattle</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>269</td>
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The above buildings at the Geman Flatts are burned and the cattle taken off by the enemy the 17th day of September 1778.

Two white and a negro man inhabitants killed. A man, a son of Mrs Magin who has for some time been deprived of his senses, was burned in a house.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol 4, pp 82-83.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM CALDWELL TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Unadilla
21 September 1778

We returned to this place yesterday morning after destroying all the buildings and grain at the German Flatts, from Wm Tygert's to Fort Herkimer on the south side of the river, and from Adam Staring's to Edick's beyond Canada Creek on the north side except the church and Fort Dayton and drove off a great number of cows and oxen and a great many horses and mares. The oxen were all large New England cattle kept at the Flatts for the use of the garrison of Fort Stanwix and we took them out of the enclosure at Fort Dayton within pistol shot of the fort.

In our way to the Flatts, we came up with a scout at Major Edmonston's, three of which we killed but the others made their escape notwithstanding we took every obvious method to prevent them. But prior to that we took five Oneida prisoners, but the Indians could not be prevailed upon to keep them, but left them where they were with three other Indians to watch them on their promising to stay at that place until we should return, which promise they broke and in our absence came to Unadilla and robbed the people there of everything they had of any value and carried as many of the men as they could find away as prisoners, amongst whom were two of our sick Rangers.

We would in all probability have killed most of the inhabitants at the German Flatts had they not been apprised of our coming by one of the scouts getting in and warning them of our approach and perhaps got their forts.

We were also very unhappy in the weather as it rained incessantly all the night before we attacked the place the following day.

We talked to none of the inhabitants, Mr Shoemaker's family excepted, who could or would not give us any account of the armies at New York, North River, &c.

Mr Wall enquired particularly about your family but could learn nothing but that Mrs Butler had been seen about three
months ago at Schenectady.

Some people created a false report that we were surrounded and taken, the better to excuse their own flying, which I am afraid will reach you before this. I refer you to particulars of this and everything else with us to Lieutenant Frey.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

*Comment:* Edward Wall was married to Mary Butler, John Butler's sister. She was held prisoner with Catherine Butler and family.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
22 September 1778

I have this day drawn a bill upon Your Excellency for the sum of 2,706.14.4 New York Currency at sixty days sight on account of the Indian Department, being expenses incurred on the expedition under Major Butler.

The bill and copy of the account are enclosed and another copy sent to Mr Dunn. The original with the Major's certificate are in my possession, the only voucher I have received.

I believe on looking over the account, Your Excellency will see it was scarce possible for him in the situation he was in to obtain vouchers for all the different sums paid, as many of his people are now employed upon service with the Indians and the order I received for that purpose arrived here for some time after his return to this post.

PS: I wrote to Captain Aubrey at Carleton Island to know what number of his men he could spare in case I should be obliged to call upon him for assistance, in answer to which he acquainted me he will not have a single man to spare.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[Oneida Castle
22 September 1778]

After 3 days smart travel we came to the Oneida Castle, being the 22 of September at even. As soon as we came into their town, several Indians came and stripped off our coats, jackets, hats. This was the first stripping. We soon underwent another, for as soon as we came into their houses, the squaws immediately drewed our shirts over our heads and we were left entirely destitute of anything to cover our nakedness. However, in this miserable situation, an old Indian brought each of us an old ragged blanket coat. Our coming into town was attended with shouting -- bellowing very common among the savages when they bring in prisoners.

After holding a council over us, they concluded to send us to Fort Stanwix, now Fort Schuyler, but it coming to rain about this time, being the 24th of September, we were obliged to stay until it was clear. After two days we set off for
this fort above recited. While in the hands of the savages, they gave us plenty of the fare such as corn, &c.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
24 September 1778

Since my last to Your Excellency, I have received advice from the Indian country informing me that the Rangers under Captain Caldwell had marched with about 160 Indians to cut off the settlement of the German Flatts. Captain Butler, who sent me from Canadasaga this intelligence, was assembling a very large party of the Senecas and hoped to be able to join Captain Caldwell and render the blow more severe as well as more extensive. A very few days will, I hope, put it in my power to give Your Excellency notice of their success.

Captain Butler also adds that it is certain His Majesty's Troops are very near, if not in possession of, Albany; that a very heavy fire of cannon, &c, was heard by the persons who brought him the accounts, who, having ventured into Albany, saw the most evident marks of confusion among the inhabitants, who were busy removing their most valuable effects into places of security and that all the Militia were drawn together to oppose the King's Troops. Fear of being suspected and seized prevented them from being so particular as to the place and circumstances of the engagement as could have been wished.

I have this morning obtained from Colonel Bolton a Bill upon Your Excellency for any expenses incurred for the subsistence of a body of Rangers and Indians employed against His Majesty's enemies, which I hope may meet with Your Excellency's approbation and acceptance.

The party of Rangers whom I left at Auchquaga, as well as Mr Brant's party, having occasion to buy provisions for their subsistence, for which they gave certificates upon me, which are coming in daily for payment, I humbly request of Your Excellency to advance me about four hundred pounds York Currency on account, to answer those certificates till I can render Your Excellency a proper state of such expenses at the close of the season. If Your Excellency approves of this request, please to pay into the hands of Messrs Ellice and Company.

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EXTRACT: GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON TO GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

Poukeepsie
24 September 1778

From the first appearance of danger in that quarter, the Commanding Officers of the Militia of Albany and Tryon Counties have had my most positive orders to keep out one fourth part of their commands on the frontiers. Though I am sensible my orders have not been fully complied with, yet from the returns made me it appears that a considerable force has been constantly out on that service, and I entertained hopes that with the assistance of Weston's Regiment they would have been able to have afforded some security to the frontier inhabitants.
But the extensive country to be guarded, and the want of judgement in not fixing on the most advantageous station, with some other causes, has rendered the measures hitherto pursued ineffectual and I fear will end in the total loss of the many valuable settlements on the River. Should this be the case, besides the distresses which will be experienced by individuals, we will find it extremely difficult to get the necessary supplies to Fort Schuyler and, of course, that important post very insecure.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol 4, pp 78-79.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Headquarters
Fredericksburg
25 September 1778

I have been honoured with yours of the 20th and 24th Instant; the latter by Mr Herkimer who gives a melancholy account of the distresses of the inhabitants at the German Flatts.

To defend an extensive frontier against the incursions of Indians and the Banditti under Butler and Brant is next to impossible; but if you think the addition of another regiment, ill as I can spare it, or a change of position in the troops that are already upon the frontier will answer any good purpose, I will cheerfully comply.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[Fort Schuyler
26 September 1778]

We came within sight of Fort Schuyler upon which they saluted the savages with 13 pieces of cannon in honour of the rebel states for bringing in 8 honest hearted subjects of His Majesty. On this they sent out a strong guard to convey us into their strong holds with drums a beating, colours flying, &c. As we passed in, the rebel soldiers and whores upbraided us, "Ah Tories, Ah what do you think of yourselves?" &c. We made no answer. They hove us into a guard house about 9 feet long and four wide. They gave us some hay to lay on.

In the evening they examined us, everyone by himself, and gave us a little bread and meat, just enough to live on. In examining brother John, they called him an old offender, and that infamous old villain, their commissary Hanson, told me I should be hanged and to prepare for death. In fact, I expected nothing else. The Tygert above mentioned that took my brother's watch, here offered her for sale and sold her accordingly to one Ensign Spoor for 70 Continental Dollars and three hard ones. However Spoor had generosity enough to let my brother have his watch, provided he give him the money he had advanced for it when in his power, which he readily agreed to.


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AN AFFIDAVIT OF ROBERT MCGINNIS

Marbletown
27 September 1778

Robert McGinnis, of sixty nine years of age, being duly sworn saith that he lived at the Unadilla; that on Saturday, being the 19th Instant, he was taken prisoner with his two sons, one Tygert and three other men, by a number of Oneida Indians.

The Deponent saith that said Tygert had been taken prisoner some time before, by Brant's party, on the Mohawk River and brought to the deponent's house and there left. After the deponent had bee the prisoner some short time he was set at liberty on account of his great age; his sons with Tygert and the other three were carried off by said Indians. The next day, being Sunday, Captain Joseph Brant with his party came to the settlement, his party consisting, the deponent thinks, of about two hundred men, Indians and Tories. The deponent says they came from German Flatts, and were on their way down to Onoughquawaga. The deponent further saith that he was stripped of every thing he had, meaning all his goods, excepting what he had previously concealed.

The deponent further adds that Brant had a very large number of cattle with him; he likewise understood by some of the party that they intend to make their next stroke somewhere back of Espous, but he the deponent conjectures, from what he could learn, that it was some part of Rochester they intended and further saith not.


EXTRACT: SUNDRY PERSONS TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Canajoharie
28 September 1778

We beg leave to represent to Your Excellency the most deplorable situation of the country. The enemy have from time to time desolated and destroyed the settlements of Springfield, Andrewstown and the German Flatts, by which at least one hundred and fifty families are reduced to misery and distress. People who before were in flourishing circumstances are thus by our wanton act brought to poverty.

From the information we are able to collect from prisoners and otherwise, we learn that the enemy when at the German Flatts were 500 or upwards strong commanded by a Captain Caldwell. That they intended soon to make another incursion, and that a reinforcement of 5 or 600 were on its march from the western Nations of Indians to join the enemy. Indians being frequently seen and our people fired upon, seems in our opinion to indicate a speedy return of the enemy.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol IV, pp 117-118.

EXTRACT FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE

Halifax
29 September 1778

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of consideration at New York:-
"Colonel Butler with the Indians is making sad ravages upon the back settlements. So many join him that was our army at this time in Pennsylvania, it is here supposed by those who know the country best, that this season would finish the rebellion and give us peace upon the terms we wish. Perhaps a British army may soon appear again in that quarter, when least expected."

The Quebec Gazette, 12 November 1778

CAPTAIN JOHN JOHNSON TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Connutasagoe
30 September 1778

I send you a letter I received from Captain Butler, wherein you will see his situation and his desiring my assistance as soon as possible with the warriors, all which I am using my endeavours to accomplish.

The Little Beard is now here in this village with his party of 32 warriors and has been a waiting to hear this two or three days for those who are behind to come up to join us of this village to set off immediately to assist Captain Butler.

Last night arrived two runners who inform that two deserters have arrived in from a rebel party coming from Wyoming up the Susquehanna and another by way of the Big Island, and a third by the way of the Conistio in order to demolish as much as they can of the Six Nations country. The warriors who were a lying at Tioga immediately went to meet them a small distance from Tioga, it being a large advance party of them, on which a hot engagement ensued, which they say lasted from about 10 o'clock until about 2 in the afternoon, the rebels being defeated and most of them cut to pieces, numbers likewise drowned in the river, &c.

The main party of that body being behind a bringing up the provisions, I am exerting and doing my best to set off immediately with as many as possible to meet the rest of the rebels who are their way. Runners are dispatched to all parts to apprize them of their danger and desiring of them immediate assistance. As soon as I can get them from this, I shall go night and day until I come up with our party or the enemy. Tomorrow morning, Kayingwaranto and I, with about 50 warriors, set out from this and let the rest follow us as soon as they can. They have, as far as I can learn, knocked all in the head of the rebels.

Mr Frey has been disappointed greatly since he has been here for a horse as they would neither lend for money nor sell any of them, although I tried everyone in the Castle.

To conclude, hoping in my next to give you a satisfactory account of our enemy and Kayingwaranto desires to be remembered to you and Colonel Bolton, acquainting you that tomorrow he and I set off.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF ADAM CRYSLER

[September 1778]
In the month of September I went with a party of Rangers and Indians to Mr Junecliff's and returned again to Aughguagy, thence I went under the command of Captain Caldwell to the Cook House and then returned to Aughguagy again and I went under the command of Captain Caldwell to the German Flatts and destroyed the whole settlement and then returned until we came to Captain Butler near Shemung. And the whole of the Rangers went and encamped at Shemung under the command of Colonel Butler.


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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO LORD BARRINGTON

Sorel
1 October 1778

The bearer, Captain Watts of the 8th Regiment, returns to England for the benefit of the hot baths to recover the flexibility of the joint of his knee to enable him to use an artificial leg. The Regiment being to send home an officer for their additional company in the room of those who came to Canada last year, I have proposed to Your Lordship in my public dispatch of the 27th Ultimo that he should serve in that company for the Captain, which will prevent the Regiment from being obliged to send another also.

Captain Watts served in Sir John Johnson's Corps at the action last summer on the Mohawk River where the rebels were defeated with so great a slaughter by the Five Nations and a part of that Corps commanded by Sir John Johnson in person.

Captain Watts received three dangerous wounds and lay some days in the woods without assistance, was discovered only by accident, and has recovered after a tedious and painful confinement with the loss of a leg cut off below the knee, which he is not yet able to support himself upon.

Sir Guy Carleton, in consideration of Captain Watts being of a family in New York which has suffered much in these troubles, and brother-in-law of Sir John Johnson whose merits must be known to Your Lordship, but principally on account of his gallantry at the action above mentioned, and his fortitude in the suffering he underwent, allowed him at his earnest instance to purchase a company which was to be sold in the 8th Regiment, which circumstances I thought merited to be made known to Your Lordship.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21722, Register of Letters to Various Persons, 1778; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-663.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
4 October 1778

Since I had the honour of writing to Your Excellency of the 24th Ulto, I have received a letter from Captain Caldwell which I enclose to Your Excellency, likewise I have received an account of a stroke struck by an Indian party in a letter from Captain Johnson of the Indian Department, which I also enclose to Your Excellency, by which Your Excellency will see that the rebels are actually coming into the Indian country.

What the consequences will be, I cannot tell, but a few days will enable me to inform Your Excellency more fully as
Captain Butler has received the Rangers and Indians and I expect hourly to hear from him.

CAPTAIN JOHN JOHNSTON TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Connutasgao
6 October 1778

The enclosed letter of Captain Butler, as likewise another of the rebel commander, I received last night. I therefore immediately dispatched them by the bearer (a Mohawk) to you and to Colonel Bolton. Yesterday afternoon arrived the warriors from the Upper Villages which makes our present strength to be 196 fit for action and when joined by the Cayugas will be upwards of 300.

I have requested of Captain Butler that the cattle may be sent to a place of more security than where they are.

Sayangurathton and others wishes to have more powder and lead sent for fear they should fall short of ammunition and also that a reinforcement may be sent them (if possible with all speed), for by what intelligence I have got, the rebels are about 14 or 15 hundred strong. They therefore expect that all the assistance in your power will be given them.

Understanding that there are a number of helpless friends to Government on the road for Niagara, I must therefore recommend it to you to use some means for their relief before they can possibly arrive at said place, as you are sensible that hardly any provisions can be purchased for money or goods, much less when they have neither. I should think that if a party could be sent with provisions to Irondequoit from Niagara and horses sent from this place, that it would be a means to relieve these distressed families.

The frequent passing of white people to Niagara is much taken notice of by the Indians who say they are running away and that they have begun the quarrel and leave them to defend it. Let the event be as it will, I have nothing further to add but hope in my next to inform you of giving the rebels an eternal thrashing.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD MCGINNIS

[Fort Schuyler
3 October - 8 October 1778]

After 9 day's confinement in this place [Fort Stanwix] they shackled us with irons and put us in Bateau to convey us to Albany. Coming down the Mohawk River under a strong guard we came to Fort Dayton where the rebels would not let us sleep under their roof. We therefore lay out all night under the canopy of heavens.

The sergeant of the guard, one Wilkinson, however provided wood for a fire to keep us warm during the night.

October 5th we came to Fort Herkimer and had it not been for the guard the rebels would certainly have bayoneted us,
for we were most shockingly upbraided by these most villainous, ignorant rebels. I was very glad when we went on board the bateau out of their reach.

October 7th we came to Schenectady. We laid there all night. Next morning being the 8th of October we had our irons knocked off and proceeded to Albany on foot. As soon as we came in sight of the town the Yankee troops that laid there came out to convey us in with drum and fife. As soon as we got in the fort, Colonel Gansevroot enquired which was the one that was with Butler. The officer of the party pointed to me, saying "There he is, Sir." He then turned to me and said, "Very well my lad, what is your name?" I replied, "My name is McGinnis." "Was you with Butler?" Answer, "I was." "Ah, ah. You are a pretty fellow, indeed!" He then ordered Mr Dawson to take us into custody and lock us up in his strongest room.

We came into this pretty place the 8 day of October; the first three days they gave us nothing to eat, all we had was a little water. As soon as our friends heard we were there, we did well enough, but no thanks to the rebels for this, for I am confident if we starved to death they would not have cared about it.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Sorel
9 October 1778

I have received your letters of the 17th and 20th September, as also a letter from Colonel Bolton advising me of a Bill drawn upon me for your expenses which have been accepted, and a paper containing the disposition of the Rangers upon the frontiers which seems to me were calculated for covering them and sustaining the Indians upon them.

Your own knowledge of the importance of Niagara will naturally suggest the necessity of your Corps and the people having a constant eye to watch the designs of the rebels upon it and in case of need of throwing yourselves into that place to join in its defence.

It is not yet possible to determine whether it will be advisable to take possession of Oswego as you say is desired by the Indians, but they may observe, and I hope you will make them sensible, from what has been lately done at the entrance of Lake Ontario that it is the object of Government to give them every possible assistance. In the meantime, while the re-establishing of the Post of Oswego is deferred, I should be glad you would consult the Indians and transmit your joint opinion whether a small post might not be taken at Irondequoit which would be useful to the savages as a place affording an easy communication with them and where we could approach them with our ships and send them whatever they want which can be procured in Canada.

With respect to arms, the great deficiency of that article at present in this province for any extraordinary emergency renders it impossible to supply you with any until we shall be furnished from England, and Colonel Bolton will provide you with the money you desire me to advance you in like manner as he has paid your expenses on other occasions.

The great expense and difficulty attending the transporting of provisions to Niagara makes it much to be wished that your Indian excursions could be rendered useful to the place in that respect, as I apprehend that cattle often fall into the hands of the Indians and some steps might be taken upon such occasions to have them drown or any other articles of provisions sent to Colonel Bolton who would pay a reasonable price for them to the captors.

I have just received your letter of 6th October enclosing letters to you from Captains Johnson and Caldwell and I await with impatience for the result of the operations mentioned in them.
EXTRACTS FROM RIVINGTON'S GAZETTEER

New York
10 October 1778

By the latest accounts from the Northward we learn that Colonel Butler, after being joined by the party under Captain Joseph Brant, had begun his march for Canada, taking with him many horses and a great number of cattle. The rebels being apprized of his movement, in order to harass him on his march, sent Peter Gansevoort (formerly a small beer brewer in Albany, but now a colonel in the service of congress) with a strong party, who had three hundred head of fine cattle for provision.

But Colonel Butler, getting intelligence of this circumstance, detached a party which by a successful manoeuvre deprived them of their live stock and returned with it to the main army, which continued its march unmolested, leaving the rebels no other resource than to prey upon the unfortunate farmers for subsistance.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
12 October 1778

I have drawn a Bill this day on Your Excellency for the sum of £4,409.19.11 on account of the Indian Department for expenses incurred at this post from the 5th of June to the 8th October. The Bill and copy of the account are enclosed and copies of the vouchers are sent to Mr Dunn.

Colonel Butler delivered me the enclosed letters and will acquaint Your Excellency with the state of our Indian Affairs as soon as he receives a letter from his son, who is now with Sungerachta endaevouring to collect a sufficient force to attack a body of 1400 rebels who have lately advanced from Wyoming into the Indian country as far as Tioga. I am therefore in hopes of receiving some favourable account every day, for should the Indians be defeated I should not be surprised if they compelled the Six Nations in a short time to observe a neutrality. This, you may depend, Sir, I shall do everything in my power to prevent, convinced the Indians will not long remain inactive should a considerable force move this way.

They have also been informed that a fleet from France is arrived at Boston with several regiments on board to join General Washington's army and the King's army would soon be obliged to leave New York. If this should happen, I have not the least doubt but they will readily accept of the terms offered them by the rebels.

I have ordered all the Rangers here to march with the utmost expedition to Captain Butler's assistance and have also sent as many volunteers from the King's Regiment as I could possibly spare considering the weak state of the garrison under my command. This I thought absolutely necessary as Sungerachta and the Chiefs have earnestly requested a reinforcement and I believe Your Excellency will agree with me that whenever the Six Nations are forced into a neutrality these posts must be in danger notwithstanding everything a handful of men can do to defend them. Last year,
when we had an army in Philadelphia and another in New York, I am convinced the enemy would have sent a strong body of troops here if it had not been for the determined resolution of the Indians to oppose them, of which I acquainted Sir Guy Carleton.

We are extremely distressed for bateau here, which I mentioned in my letter dated September 4th, and without an order from Your Excellency to the commandant at Carleton Island, I find we are not likely to receive any which will greatly prevent our getting the logs home in time for the new barracks, &c.

Mr Maclean writes that he is ordered to detain provisions for 300 men at Carleton Island out of the demand I made for this post. At the same time I must inform you that near 3,000 Indians will in all probability assemble here and will all expect to be clothed as they were last year to the number of 2,700.

Captain Parke, who is now at Montreal, is well acquainted with all our transactions here, has a thorough knowledge of these posts and is very capable of informing Your Excellency of any particulars you may desire to know.

PS: I find Mr Taylor has continued to bring up goods here which I am informed were not even landed at Carleton Island in preference to the King's provisions for this garrison as well as the goods of the merchants that have been there a long time. As this is directly contrary to Your Excellency's orders to me, and doing injustice to the other traders, I have taken the opportunity of informing you of it. Mr Taylor I know nothing of, nor has he ever been of the least service to me since I have commanded here. On the contrary, I find he was much disliked by the late Colonel Caldwell and the officers of this garrison.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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**EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS**

**TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

Montreal
13 October 1778

Before my leaving La Chine with the Indians, an officer, sergeant and some privates of the 8th Regiment had arrived there from Niagara, which place they left the 5th Instant. The officer, I saw not, but the others informed me upon asking what news they had from Niagara, that a Ranging officer, Barnet Frey, cme in an hour before they left that place, giving an account that Joseph Brant had cut off and destroyed Burnet's Field, or German Flatts, with his party only, which I communicated to the Indians who were greatly pleased with the news, and hurried them on the move on their exploit.

When I got home last night, I was told that Sir John Johnson had returned from Sorel in the afternoon, and giving an account of the affair at Burnet's Field, said that there was no mention of Brant in Colonel Butler's letter to Your Excellency.

I take the liberty, as Your Excellency desired me to communicate my thoughts to you on anything relative to the Service, to be humbly of opinion that, if Brant has been there at all, I am confident he was the primium mobile of the affair with regard to the Indians there present, who entirely consisted of his party that stuck to him since the rebellion began, many being his relations, and many white men his intimate friends who acted under him since spring.

For Captains Butler and McDonell had not then come up with their party, and should Brant be unnoticed and slighted for his past services, as he has it not perhaps in his power to give presents and promise Ranger's high wages, he may become disgusted and as dis-serviceable as he was otherwise hitherto. For Indians, let their disputes be ever so great among themselves, will in the end stick together. And Brant has understanding ambitions and education sufficient to
paint his ill usage from the white people in a striking light to Indians.

Besides, I don't think it so great a merit for officers under Government to vie with Savages in the glory of such petite guerriers as burning and destroying, &c, and would look much better in the eye of the public such feats to come rather from Savages than whites, in particular when it may be told with truth and justice. It would, likewise, silence sooner the clamour of the opposition in England that Government employed officers to encourage the Indians to murder and scalp the rebels when they could be assured that the Indians acted on their own accord and cause against them.

Your Excellency will pardon me this freedom and believe me with great respect.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21774, Correspondence with Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Claus, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-685.

* Comment: Another example of the pettiness of Claus. John Butler did mention Joseph Brant, "whose activity during the summer is really deserving of praise."

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS TO REVEREND VARDILL

Montreal
15 October 1778

On my arrival with Sir Guy Carleton, once his having received the letter you saw from Lord George by orders of His Majesty in my behalf, I was received but coolly, as I told you I expected, and the King's directions with regards to me were scarcely complied with, and so far only as it was unavoidable without disobeying them, for out of an old pique and jealously he had against the late Sir William Johnson of having the whole Superintendency by order of Government over the Canada Indians and my acting under him in your District, he did not rest until he had me superseded without reason after 15 years faithful services, and even carried his spleen so far as to set up an illiterate interpreter against Colonel Johnson at Niagara for the 6 Nations and supported him after my being sent out by orders of the King to act in Colonel Johnson's place, by which faithful acts he served the public so far as to get the Canada Indians in general discontented besides loading Government with a wanton and indiscreet expense of, I dare say, £20,000 per annum instead of £500 which I never exceeded, though I had a two or three year's Indian war to carry on after the first year we got possession of Canada.

And Sir Guy passed accounts (for this pretended favourite of his at Niagara) which in less than two years amounted to more than the late Sir William Johnson's Indian expense during the whole course of the late war.

Here is a set of new Indian officers of Government merely to satisfy one man's private resentment and pique.

General Haldimand, after his arrival and interview with Sir Guy, seems to have had his lesson so smooth and cleverly given him as to continue his measures with regards to Indians and which in the present critical period may be prudent enough.

I applied when in England for Major's rank in the army, thinking myself entitled thereto, after having been a Captain in ye army since 1761 and ever since employed in the King's Service, when I was directed to apply to Sir George Clinton, which was saying nothing at all, for Sir George referred me back to England, though less than 4 months after he gave a Majority to a man that was never an Ensign in the army and was bred to the trade of a saddler in New England, and my successor in the Indian Office in Canada obtained Lieutenant Colonel's rank, though out of the army, and but a few months senior in rank to me.
And had Sir Guy not been so positively biased in favour of Mr Butler as so to reject fresh and good intelligence by way of New York of the formidable situation of Fort Stanwix when Mr Butler's accounts of the place were false and stale and of an old standing, and ordered the expedition against that place to be accordingly equipped, it is allowed on all sides that fort must have been taken and General Burgoyne thereby saved.


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NTF: commission of Benjamin Pawling in 21745 dated 21 Oct 1778

**EXTRACT: JOHN ADAMS, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF PRISONERS TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Peekskill
22 October 1778

Having received orders to send into New York all the British Officers prisoners of war, as well as the officers belonging to the new levies now in our possession, for which purport have taken the liberty of enclosing a return of five now residing at Albany. Should there be more in your parts, either British or new levies, to have them collected, adding their names to the return and the Corps they belong to.

A Parole I have enclosed for them to sign, which please get them to do, with the rank they hold and regiment. It will be necessary that they discharge their board and what ever other debts they may have contracted, and that in hard specie, before you send them off. When accomplished let them be ordered off immediately to Fish Kill under the care of a proper person to whom you'll give your letter to be forwarded to headquarters. On his arrival there, direct it for Colonel Beatty, Commissary General of Prisoners, Headquarters, or to myself, as I shall then know what route they will be ordered in.

NB: Their Paroles and return don't omit enclosing. I set out today for Headquarters at Fredericksburg and shall endeavour to be, if possible, at Fish Kill by the time I expect them down.

A Return of Five Officers in the British Service Belonging to the New Levies Taken Summer 1777 Up the Mohawk River and at Saratoga, and now Residing at Albany:

Peter Ten Broeck, Captain; William Bowen, Lieutenant; Sir John Johnson's Corps.

William Schermerhorn, Captain, Colonel Jessup's Corps, Loyal Americans.

Peter Drummond, Captain; William McCrea; McAlpine's Corps.

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* Comment: Peter Ten Broeck and William Bowen may be listed as part of Sir John Johnson's corps because they were taken after the siege of Oriskany. Butler's Rangers had yet to be formed, and both were officers in the Indian Department. Ten Broeck was taken with Walter Butler at Shoemaker's tavern, and Bowen may have been there also.

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**EXTRACT: LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR HENRY CLINTON**
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
26 October 1778

I hereby transmit to Your Excellency a return of five companies and part of the sixth of Rangers and take the liberty of drawing on Your Excellency for their subsistence and bounty. Colonel Bolton will draw for the Indian Department.

The Rangers being now on the frontiers of the Provinces of New York, Jersey, and Pennsylvania under the command of Captain Butler puts it out of my power to transmit the muster rolls and their receipt at this time, but I shall transmit them as soon as possible to Your Excellency. I also draw on Your Excellency for , 100 New York Currency for medicines to be purchased for the use of the Rangers in favour of Mr Alexander Ellice & Company.

I take the liberty of transmitting to Your Excellency a list of officers who have been appointed by Colonel Guy Johnson, the late Colonel Caldwell and myself in the Indian Department, and as I have found them very useful, beg leave to recommend them to Your Excellency for commissions.

As a number of the frontier inhabitants are daily joining my Corps, I expect a little time to have it complete. I must, therefore, beg leave to trouble Your Excellency for commission for the officers still wanting to complete the eight companies, viz:- three Captains and eight Lieutenants, which Your Excellency will please to send to Colonel Bolton to be filled. A list of the officers of the Indian Department I beg to enclose to Your Excellency.

I hourly expect to hear from my son and such accounts as I receive shall faithfully transmit to Your Excellency.
Some Indians, who lately came in, give an account that Aughquaga is burnt by the rebels.

*Comment: The list of officers is dated 9 Nov 1778.

CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON

Quebec
1 November 1778

His Excellency being much employed, directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter bearing the date 29th Ultimo. The representation you made of Captain Butler's conduct in detaining persons raised for your Corps, the
General, when more at leisure, will examine into and give such orders as will effect recovery of your men, and prevent in the future Captain Butler, or other persons, interfering in matters which in no way concern them.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21740, Register of Letters from the Adjutant General's Office at Quebec, 1778-1779; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-671.

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ALBANY COMMISSION OF SAFETY TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
2 November 1778

We yesterday received a letter from Mr Adam, Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, enclosing a return of five officers of the New Levies confined in goal and in and about this city; a copy of the letter and return Your Excellency will find enclosed.

As the persons mentioned in the return are in a peculiar situation, we think it our duty, before we send them down, to state their situation to Your Excellency and to wait your directions on this subject.

Peter Ten Broeck is an inhabitant of Tryon County and did go over and join the enemy after the Declaration of Independence.

William Bowen, the same.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol IV, pp 220-221.

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EXTRACT: LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO SIR HENRY CLINTON

Whitehall
4 November 1778

The success of Lieutenant Colonel Butler is distinguished for the few lives that have been lost among the Rangers and Indians he commanded, and for his humanity in making those only his objects who were in arms. And it is much to the credit of the officers of the Rangers of his detachment that they seem to partake in the spirit and perseverance which is common to all the British officers and soldiers.

Great Britain. American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute of Great Britain (British Headquarters Papers), Document 1520.

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FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE, 5 NOVEMBER 1778

New York
3 September 1778

So great is the panic which the incursion of the brave and fortunate Colonel Butler and his Indian allies has struck on
the frontier settlers that they have universally abandoned their habitations and crowded into that province in such
numbers as to raise the rent of land and houses upwards of fifty percent since the month of June last.

Quebec Gazette, 5 November 1778

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LIEUTENANT PHILIP R FREY
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canatasaga
7 November 1778

By a man who lately arrived at Shimong from Fishing Creek, about 30 miles below Wyoming, we are informed that the
whole Province of Virginia laid down their arms and submitted to His Majesty's Troops. How true it is I cannot tell, but
some people who know him well tell us that he bears a very good character where he came from. He further says that
he came through Wyoming where the rebels, amounting to one hundred and twenty men, were building a fort.

The Montours with the Delawares, Nanticokes, &c, amounting to about one hundred and sixty men were gone to
dislodge them. They have taken the man with them in order, I suppose, to massacre him if his accounts should prove
false.

This evening one of Colonel Butler's Rangers (who had been taken prisoner by one of the Oneidas) arrived here but
brings no news. One of the Onondagas, by the advice of a Mohawk (David), promised him his freedom for twenty
dollars. He is now on his way to Niagara to receive his money.

We have not as yet heard one word from Captain Butler, but expect a runner if a few days.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21760, Letters from Officers Commanding at Niagara,
1777-1780; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-680.

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LIST OF MEN FOR WHOM MAJOR JOHN BUTLER
REQUESTED COMMISSIONS AS INDIAN OFFICERS

Niagara
9 November 1778

List of the Indian Officers for whom I request to have commissions:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Johnston</td>
<td>Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Powell</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Johnston</td>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Maginn</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Lotteridge</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William R Bowen</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Young</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Clement</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Johnston, Jnr</td>
<td>do</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21760, Letters from Officers Commanding at Niagara,
LIEUTENANT MASON BOLTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
11 November 1778

I received Your Excellency's favour of the 7th of October informing me that two officers and twenty men are to join this garrison from Carleton Island at the close of navigation. I am concerned to find there has been any disagreement amongst the officers at that post, particularly at this time. The favourable reports you have heard of the King's Regiment, the officers and men are justly entitled to and I am persuaded it will require very little strictness to prevent those gentlemen from having any evil influence upon that of the 8th.

I have consulted every person here who can give me any information in regard to supplying this post with bread and from all accounts it is impossible for the contractor with all the assistance this weak garrison can give him to do more than cultivate as much land as will supply his own cattle, &c, during the present trouble. Perhaps, hereafter in more peaceable times it may be accomplished agreeable to Your Excellency's plan, but even then it will require at least seven years to do it. At this time we must be a little cautious how we cultivate or encroach upon the lands of the Six Nations, a subject we have often talked over at our Councils and informed them that the Great King had never deprived them of a single acre since the 1759, at which time he drove the French out of this country. This they readily acknowledged, observing at the same time that the rebels had acted in a very different manner for which they should severely repent.

The Indians, from my observations, are naturally suspicious and although easily encouraged with anything that promises them advantage, are still inclined to believe evil reports of designs against themselves, even the meanest authority. But this Your Excellency must know much better than I am able to inform you from your long experience and knowledge of this country.

I beg leave to observe also that the Indians not only make free with the corn gardens, &c, but often with the cattle belonging to Mr Stedman, and some even with those under the cannon of this fort. From the requests made to me by Major Butler, they are in great want of provisions in their own villages owing to their expedition against the enemy this year. I have already bought up above fifty head of cattle from the people who lately came in here, which will come more reasonable from Government than fast provisions, but all this is a trifling supply to two or three thousand Indians who will certainly assemble here in order to receive clothing, &c.

I have wrote to Captain Lernoult desiring he would inform me if the inhabitants at Detroit will undertake to supply this post with bread and if possible also that of Michilimackinac. I shall make further inquiries in order to give Your Excellency every information in regard to so essential an article.

From letters received from Captain Butler, the rebels have thought proper to retire from Tioga, leaving a garrison of 500 men at Wyoming, what they call Regulars.

On the news of their invading the Indian Country, the Senecas turned out to the number of 400 fighting men, leaving only women and children in their villages, which may account for their precipitate flight. Captain Butler's little army of Rangers and Indians amount to 800, and from his last letter intends to attack Cherry Valley where the enemy have a number of cattle and a large quantity of corn.

Joseph, I have not heard from for a considerable time. It is supposed he is gone down towards Minisink.

Captain Lernoult informs me everything goes well with Governor Hamilton's expedition; he is now at the Great Miamis Town.
Major Butler is building barracks for the Rangers on the opposite side of the river, and Captain Mathews is employed in erecting a strong log house (which will contain 40 or 50 men) at the Upper Landing, and we are also at work with the additional log houses for this garrison agreeable to Your Excellency's orders.

I have sent down to Montreal a considerable number of families who have suffered a great deal of distress on account of their attachment to Government. Many of them have not only been driven from their lands, but plundered of everything they had in the world and came in here in a ragged, starving condition. I have ordered some blankets, &c, to be bought for sufficient to serve them to Canada and thought it best to remove them from this post where provisions are of so much consequence.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM MCKENDRY

Cherry Valley
11 November 1778

Alarm 11 O'clock AM. Mr Hammell coming from the Beaver Dam was fired upon by ye Indians and was wounded; he being on horse rode off and got clear, it being half a mile from the fort; he rode to Colonel Alden's quarters and informed him of the matter.

Immediately came on 442 Indians from the Five Nations, 200 Tories under the command of Colonel Butler and Captain Brant, attacked headquarters; killed Colonel Allen, took Colonel Stacey prisoner; attacked Fort Alden, after three hours retreated without sucess of taking the fort.

Killed 14 men - Names (Viz.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Icabod Alden</td>
<td>Thomas Holden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Henderson</td>
<td>Daniel Dudley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Sheldon</td>
<td>Enos Blakeley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon Day</td>
<td>Thomas Noles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Worsley</td>
<td>Oliver Deball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Adams</td>
<td>Simeon Hopkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Mires</td>
<td>Robert Bray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Killed of ye Inhabitants 30 persons
Took of Ditto 34 Ditto
Wounded 2 Ditto, one of the Regiment
Burnt - 20 houses, 25 Barns, 2 Mills

NB: A rainy day.


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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Cherry Valley
12 November 1778

I am induced by humanity to allow the persons, whose names I send herewith, to remain least the inclemency of the season and their naked and helpless situation should prove fatal to them, and expect that you will release an equal number of our people in your hands, amongst whom I expect you will permit Mrs Butler and family to go to Canada. But if you insist upon it, I do engage to send an equal number of prisoners of yours taken either by the Rangers or Indians and will leave it to you to name the persons.

I have done everything in my power to restrain the fury of the Indians from hurting women or children or killing the prisoners who fell into our hands, and would have more effectually prevented them. But they were so much incensed by the late destruction of their village of Aughquaga by your people and shall always continue to act in that manner, as I look upon it beneath the character of a soldier to wage war with women and children.

I am sure you are conscious that Colonel Butler or myself have no desire that your women or children should be hurt. But be assured, Sir, that if you persevere in detaining my father's family that we shall no longer take the same pains to restrain the Indians from killing prisoners, women and children that we have heretofore done.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM MCKENDRY

Cherry Valley
12 November 1778

Sent out and fetched in Colonel Alden and buried him under arms, with firing three vollies over his grave.

Brant came with 100 Indians, 8 O'clock AM to attack ye fort second time, but receiving two or three shots from the cannon, gave back. Left ye fort 3 O'clock PM. Brought in a number of the dead bodies.


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EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARY OF CAPTAIN BENJAMIN WARREN

[Cherry Valley
12-16 November 1778]

The enemy pushed vigourously for the fort, but our soldiers behaved with great spirit and alertness. Defended the fort and repulsed them after three hour's and a half smart engagement. Twelve of the regiment beside the Colonel killed, and two wounded.

Nov 12. The Indians came on again, and gave a shout for rushing on, but our cannon played them back. They soon
gave way. They then went round the settlement, burnt all the buildings, mostly the first day, and collected all the inhabitants, a few that hid in the woods excepted, who have since got into the fort.

Nov 13. In the afternoon and morning of the 13th, we sent out parties after the enemy withdrew. Brought in the dead. Such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity. To see the husband mourning over his dead wife, with four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalped, and some of the heads, some of the legs and arms cut off, some the flesh torn off their bones by the dogs. Twelve of one family all killed and four of them burnt in his house.

Saturday 14th. The enemy seem to be gone. We sent out to collect what was left of cattle or anything. Found some more dead and buried them.

Sunday 15th. This day some provisions arrived, being the first supply after the first attack, when we had not a pound of bread for men in garrison for four or five days, but a trifle of meat.

In the afternoon a scout we thought had been taken by them, a sergeant and eight arrived in safe. But some they took prisoners they let go again. Informed they had a number of wounded, and we saw a number of them fall, so that we have reason to think killed more of them than they killed of our regiment, though they butchered about 40 women and children, that have been found.

It came on to storm before the engagement began, first with rain, but for the day past it has been a thick snowstorm.

Monday 16th. The snow continued falling and is almost knee deep on a level.

Though there were 300 men between this and the (Mohawk) river, most of them together before we were attacked, yet they came within four miles and laid there until they were assured the enemy was gone off.

Colonel [William] Butler, though nearly forty miles off, marched and got near and would have been the first to our assistance had we not sent him word they were gone off.

We are here in a shocking situation. Scarcely an officer has anything left but what they have on their backs.


* Comment: Warren's diary is in the Spark's Collection of Manuscripts at Harvard University.

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF ADAM CRYSLER

[Cherry Valley
1 November 1778]

In the month of November I went with Captain Butler and under his command to Cherry Valley and destroyed the settlement.


EXTRACT FROM RIVINGTON'S GAZETTE
New York
7 November 1778

The newspapers having published pompous and tedious narratives of some late proceedings on the Susquehanna, we are enabled by an authentic account from the back country to give our readers a true detail of the boasted advantage obtained by the rebel Colonel Heartly in his latest expedition to that country.

"On the 26th or 27th September a Seneca chief with 12 warriors, being on a scouting party near Tioga, wee discovered by a party of Heartley's men who had the first fire, when the chief was killed. The warriors returned the fire and say they saw several of the enemy fall. They then retreated to young Mr Butler's party, who supposing the enemy very strong, retreated to Chemung, leaving about fifty cattle which fell into the enemy's hands, who burnt what Mr Heartley calls Queen Ester's Palace or Town, which consisted of only three indifferent cabins covered with bark, inhabited by that ancient squaw and two other very feeble Indian women.

"Mr Butler, having called in his out scouts, attacked the rebels on the 29th and 30th, when the enemy had forty men killed and near that number taken, without the loss of one loyal subject or Indian killed, and only three wounded. All the cattle were retaken. Mr Heartley retreated with haste to Sundbury, leaving part of his men in the fort at Wyoming. On the 2d of October, a party of Senecas killed three and took as many prisoners; on the 3rd Mr Butler invested the fort, that night a party of 35, who were marching to reinforce the garrison were taken without a gun being fired, and there is no doubt but those in the fort have shared the same fate."

New York. The Royal Gazette, 7 November 1778.

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EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
13 November 1778

While the General [Edward Hand] was at Cherry Valley, Colonel Alden received an express from Colonel Gansevoort acquainting him that he had received information from two Oneida Indians that at a council held by the enemy at Tioga it was determined to fall upon Cherry Valley.

Yesterday General Hand was informed by a letter from Colonel Klock that the enemy had attacked Colonel Alden at Cherry Valley. The General immediately marched. I have not as yet heard how the attack was terminated, or what devastations have been done by the enemy, save that Mr Willis's house and barn which stood near the fort was burned. I expect momentarily to hear.

At General Hand's request, I ordered the Regiments of Colonels Lansing, Schuyler and Quackenbush to Schoharie to reinforce that post.


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MAJOR DANIEL WHITING TO BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND

Fort Alden
Cherry Valley
13 November 1778

I embrace the earliest opportunity the present situation of our affairs would admit of, to inform you of the state of the garrison.

On the 11th Inst, the enemy, notwithstanding all our endeavours to the contrary, surprised us, having taken a scout of a sergeant and 8 of ours and took one and compelled him to pilot them to the officers' quarters. They pushed vigorously for the fort and had it not been for a great activity and alertness of the troops, they had rushed within the lines. The Colonel fell in attempting to get to the fort; the Lieutenant Colonel Stacey was made a prisoner, together with one Lieutenant, one Ensign, the Surgeon's Mate and a few privates.

The enemy was very numerous; burnt all the buildings in the settlement, killed a great number of the inhabitants, men, women and children; carried off many prisoners. Some few that hid in the woods have got into the fort. They collected all the cattle, horses and sheep they could get and drove off; they paid us a second visit yesterday, but nothing of them has been discovered this day.

Notwithstanding the earliest and repeated dispatches to the river have had no reinforcement from there.

When we were first attacked, we had not a pound of bread per man in garrison. Had it not been for a barrel of powder and half a box of cartridges belonging to the town, our ammunition would have failed us.

One scout, a sergeant and 8 men that went by the Butternuts has not been heard of yet.

PS: We have a soldier with his leg broken, that's necessary to be amputated. The surgeon has no instruments; request a case to be sent if possible.


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LIEUTENANT COLONEL JAMES GORDON
TO COLONEL GOOSE VAN SHAICK

Fort Plank
14 November 1778

Colonel Clyde is this moment arrived from Cherry Valley and brings the melancholy news that the fort at that place was taken by storm this day about 12 o'clock.

He was out with a party burying the dead and collecting the few effects the Indians had left, when he heard three cannon fire at the fort. He immediately ran towards it and did not see any one in the outside, but heard dreadful yells of Indians and cries of murder in the inside.

You will, therefore, no doubt think it necessary to march your Regiment up as quick as possible, and get them in his side of the river, to be ready to assist us in case they should come towards the river this morning.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol 4, pp 287.

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JELLES FONDA TO COLONEL GOOSE VAN SHAICK
14 November 1778
11 o'clock at night

Just now John Ryckman, Junior, came to my house who was sent from Anthony V Egten, Esquire, by Colonel Frederick Bellinger and says that Fort Plank is attacked and that Colonel Bellinger heard the cannon fire as also did the bearer express. Pray come on with all speed with your Regiment. He will inform you further about it.


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EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Schenectady
15 November 1778

Upon information that the enemy on the evening of the 12th Inst had left Cherry Valley after having destroyed the village and put a number of inhabitants, together with Colonel Alden and some of the garrison, to the sword, the number of which cannot as yet be particularly ascertained, I recommended it to Colonel Klock, who had collected about three hundred of the Militia to pursue them, if he found it practicable; but a want of a sufficient supply of provisions and ammunition added to a persuasion that the enemy had gone too far to be overtaken induced the Colonel to lay aside all thoughts of a pursuit and disband his Regiment.

I, therefore, left Cocknawaga yesterday and arrived last evening at this place, when I had not been many hours before I was surprised with the disagreeable intelligence of the enemy having returned yesterday morning and at 12 o'clock took the garrison of Fort Alden by storm. Colonel Van Shaik's Regiment was advanced as far as Fort Johnson this morning, and pushing forward with all possible dispatch for Fort Plank, which you will see by the enclosed letters, is reported to be likewise attacked.

I shall leave this immediately for aforesaid place and use every means in my power to check the further approaches of these savages. Time will not admit of my writing to His Excellency General Washington; shall therefore be much obliged to you, Sir, to forward him the intelligence.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), pp 284-289

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TAYLOR & FORSYTH TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Niagara
15 November 1778
Afternoon

About half an hour ago our Mr Taylor came from Mr Edward Pollard's; he was there as one of the late Edward Smyth's executors on business.

Just as Mr Taylor was coming away, an Indian delivered Mr Pollard a letter which he opened and said it was from Mr Joseph Brant, so read to the following purpose:

That with about 80 white people and but a few Indians, he marched to Pick Pen, a very pretty small settlement whence the rebels had three forts, one of which he took and demolished and all the houses in the settlement. He took six
prisoners (two of them are officers) and killed six. He summoned the other two forts to surrender, but they would neither do that nor come out and give him battle. His ammunition being near spent, he was obliged to come away and to leave all the cattle of the settlement the river being high and rough, he proposed joining the Rangers under Captain Butler's command in order to see the last service of this season, that they would retard him too much on his march.

He complains much of Captain Butler's use of him since he joined him, says him and the Rangers hath used him extensive ill, and that he being so provoked at the treatment that he had received he had thoughts of quitting him and them and go off straight to Canada or to Niagara; but that the Indians would not hear of it. They asked him, did he not know Captain Butler had no other than that of his Rangers, and he might have satisfaction from Captain Butler's superior, and insisted on his going forth with them as one of themselves.

As His Majesty's Service is dear to him and his inclinations are strong to see the last piece of service that is to be done this season he hath cheerfully complied and joined the Rangers to set out with them to attack Cherry Valley, and with full resolution to bring to everything for the Good of the Service.

__National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1.__

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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Unadilla
17 November 1778

After a tedious and fatiguing march our party, composed of the Rangers and 321 Indian warriors, encamped on the evening of the 10th Inst, within six miles of the settlement, having the day before taken a rebel scout consisting of a Sergeant and 8 privates from whom we learned that a Colonel Alden with 300 Continental troops occupied a picketed fort erected for the defence of the settlement; and that the Militia of the place were computed at 150; that the enemy had notice of our approach two days before by means of an Oneida Indian and also that the Colonel with his principal officers usually lodged at a house about 400 yards from the fort.

I here convened the Indian Chiefs and proposed to them that as in all probability the enemy, though informed of our coming, were not apprised of our being so near them; we should, as soon as the moon rose, march directly into the settlement and with a party surround the houses and take the officers while the main body of Rangers and Indians endeavoured to surprise the fort. To this they unanimously agreed. But in the meantime a heavy rain falling and continuing all night so much discouraged the Indians that I could not get them to move until daylight when it was resolved that Captain McDonell, with two subalterns and fifty chosen Rangers, should march with the body of the Indians; and with one part surround the houses and cut off communication between the fort and inhabitants, while the other began the attack upon the fort which I was to support with the main body of Rangers. We came unperceived till within about a mile of the fort when the Indians made a halt and two of them, unknown to the rest, advanced and fired upon two men cutting wood, one of whom, though wounded, made his escape and alarmed the officers at the house of whom the Major and a few others had time to get safe into the fort. Many more, attempting to do the same, were killed and the rest taken prisoners at the house by the Indians who had immediately rushed forward on the report of the guns.

The persons killed were the Colonel, 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, one Ensign and 20 Privates; the prisoners, a Lieutenant Colonel, a Lieutenant, an Ensign, the Surgeon's Mate and 10 Privates.

The colours of the Regiment were burnt in the house.

Although our design of surprising the fort was thus frustrated, we nevertheless made an attempt, firing upon it for the space of ten minutes at about 70 yards' distance, which was briskly returned both by the musketry and cannons. When finding it inaccessible on this part, I moved with the Rangers to explore the other side, destroying in our way a block house which the rebels had abandoned on our approach. But perceiving the Indians dispersed over the settlement,
killing and taking prisoners the inhabitants, plundering and destroying the buildings, &c, I found it absolutely necessary to move again with the whole of the Rangers and take possession of an eminence which commanded the fort on the side we first attacked.

In order to prevent a sally while the Indians were scattered as aforesaid, we remained in this position till late in the evening, though it rained incessantly. We retired about a mile further and there passed the night.

The greatest part of the houses, barns, &c, in the settlement, together with the Continental store, being burned and a great number of cattle killed and driven off by the Indians.

The next morning, I sent Captain McDonell with 60 Rangers, accompanied by Mr Brant with 50 Indians, to complete the destruction of the place, while the other Indians with the weakest of the Rangers went off with the cattle. I remained myself with the rest of the Rangers to support Captain McDonell in case of a sally, having men continually going to and from the fort to give me notice of all the enemy's motions until Captain McDonell returned after entirely desolating the settlement and adding a large drove of horses and cattle to those already taken. The garrison all the while cooped within their breastworks remained spectators to our depravations which they made no attempt to interrupt.

After having in vain endeavoured to draw them out of the fort and finding it not practical with our force to take it, we thought proper to retire and leave it, the only remaining building amid the ruins of the place.

I have much to lament that notwithstanding my utmost precaution and endeavours to save the women and children, I could not prevent some of them falling unhappy victims to the fury of the savages. They have carried off many of the inhabitants prisoners and killed more. Among the latter is Colin Cloyd, a very violent rebel.

I could not prevail with the Indians to leave the women and children behind, though the second morning of our march, Captain Johnson (to whose knowledge and address in managing I am much indebted) and I got them to permit twelve, who were Loyalists and whom I had concealed the first day with the humane assistance of Mr Joseph Brant and Captain Jacobs of Oquaga, to return.

The death of the women and children upon this occasion may, I believe, be truly ascribed to the rebels having falsely accused the Indians of cruelty at Wyoming. This has much exasperated them, and they were still more incensed at finding the Colonel and those men who had then laid down their arms soon after marching into their country intending to destroy their villages, and they declared they would no more be falsely accused, or fight the enemy twice, meaning that they would not in future give quarter.

I am informed by the Lieutenant Colonel, prisoner, and the enclosed letter, that the British troops were about to leave New York, the Provincials in government pay remaining to guard that place, and to go to Boston. I am also told by one Anderson, who had been at Albany, and only three days from that place, that they had accounts there that the troops who had left New York were landed below Boston and that there were large reinforcements commanded by the Generals Howe and Burgoyne landed at New York; that an English fleet had burned Egg Harbour and all the rebel shipping at that place, and that the rebels at Albany were making preparations for a secret expedition, said by the friends of government there to be intended against Carleton Island in the winter. I am likewise informed by him and several of the prisoners that the rebels intend to invade the Indian Country in the spring with an army of 3,000 men.

How far these reports may be relied on, I cannot say, but it were to be wished that in order to keep the Indians in spirits and attach them more firmly to our interest, a fort were erected and supported at Oswego. Indeed, the Indians expect it will be done.

It gives me pleasure that I can mention with truth the alertness of the officers in general and Captain McDonell in particular, whose activity and spirit on every occasion does him much honour and to whose conduct I am much indebted.

The men are in better health and spirits than could be expected from the fatigues and hardships they have undergone.
I shall march without delay to quarters and hope you will send provisions and other necessities to meet us. We are happy in not having lost a man; our fifer-major, one private and three Indians only, wounded.

PS: In justice to the detachment of the 8th Regiment, I must inform you that they were particularly alert in every point of duty.

I forgot to mention among other things that it was currently reported at Albany, about 15 days ago, that Lord Cornwallis had been in the Jerseys with about 9,000 men and destroyed a rebel magazine containing amongst other stores, 2,000 barrels of flour. I am also told by the Lieutenant Colonel (and from other circumstances, think it true) that there are 5,000 French troops landed.

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**EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH**

[Boston]
24 November 1778

In this month, Colonel Alden, of one of the Massachusetts regiments, with his clerk, were surprised and killed by the Tories and Indians at Cherry Valley, in the State of New York. The regiment defended the place and repulsed the enemy.

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**EXTRACT: COLONEL SAMUEL CAMPBELL AND OTHERS TO BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND**

Schenectady
26 November 1778

A genuine account of the slain, and prisoners taken in the action (of the inhabitants of Cherry Valley) November 11, 1778

Viz:- 31 killed and barbarously massacred; 33 prisoners carried off; 38 made prisoners and permitted to return.

Prisoners that is carried off: Colonel Campbell's wife and four children and a negro boy; James Moore's wife and three daughters; James Campbell, Junior; James Ramsay, two sons and two daughters; William McClellan and two children; Hugh Mitchell's two children; James Richey's servant boy and negro man; Robert Wells's servant girl and negro man; Matthew Cannan and two servant boys; John Scott and two negroes; Reverend Mr Dunlap's negro wrench; William Henderson; a son of James Leshman.

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**EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL ABRAHAM TEN BROECK TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**
Albany
28 November 1778

I have with me Colonel Campbell and Mr John Moore, both from Cherry Valley; their buildings and effects destroyed. The wife of the former with four children and a negro taken prisoners.

They have preferred a petition to General Clinton for relief; many of those inhabitants who have saved their lives have lost everything else, and now are moved in and about Schenectady in want of clothing and subsistence. The General has given them an order for a week's provision, that by that time they may petition you for further relief. They cannot get a petition signed, I suppose, not this ten days; and if they do, I don't remember you are vested with any power to relieve them -- but if any there be, or you be able to contrive a method for their relief, I dare say the Legislature will confirm it.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
30 November 1778

Captain Hare of the Rangers arrived here last night with a letter from Captain Butler, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose to Your Excellency.

It will inform you of his conduct and success. The Rangers and Indians are now at Conestasiga and are expected here in a few days to receive clothing, &c.

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Montreal
30 November 1778

Last evening I had the following letter from Mr Joseph Brant to one Mr Pollard at Niagara dated 29 October, the place not mentioned, "that with about 80 white men and some Indians he marched to Pick Pen, a pretty settlement where the rebels had three forts, one of which he took and demolished with all the houses of the settlement. He took six prisoners, two of them officers, and killed six. He summoned the other two forts to surrender, but they would neither do that nor come out to engage him. His ammunition being almost spent, he was obliged to come away and leave the cattle behind on account of the river being high and would retard him joining the party going against Cherry Valley which he wanted very much as probably it would be the last exploit this season."

He complained much of Captain Butler's usage of him since joining and says he was so ill used by him and the officers under him that he almost determined of quitting the service for good and come away was it not for the consideration of the Sovereign he served and the persuasion of the Indians in general then assembled who told him he must be sensible
that Captain Butler had no farther command there than what regarded the Rangers, and that he, Brant, might hereafter be redressed for ill usage by the Captain's superiors. When Brant acquiesced and resolved rather to give way for a while to Mr Butler's insult and provocation than let the service suffer by a division of the party.

He further says that the prisoners he took a Pick Pen informed him that our troops were very formidable on the sea side and beat the rebels in several engagements; and that some of our ships of war had engaged the French fleet and worsted them; that the Oneida Indians owned to him that most all the Stockbridge Indians were killed and taken near New York and that the rebels had got quite low spirits.

Now with regard to Captain Butler's falling out with Brant, I dare say it is a piece of the usage of Mr Garnet of Sir John Corps received of him, of which I understand Your Excellency has been informed by Sir John, besides there has a grudge and jealousy subsisted between the Butler's and Brant since his coming from England and rousing the Indians from their lethargy and indifference in the present dispute or rebellion by his good example and zeal in the King's cause, which occasions many to join him and others to act for emulation's sake; for nothing done before that time and the rebels gained fast upon the 6 Nations, having always emissaries among them, which Brant soon put a stop to by travelling back and forward in their country.

The Rangers likewise that have attached themselves to Brant on account of his activity and cleverness and ability are an eyesore to Mr Butler in preferring rather to serve under him without any present prospect of pay than be under the command of a youngster whom many of them know of not being in any respect superior to them and having just before the rebellion come out of his apprenticeship to an Albany lawyer, and now puffed up and domineering over every one on account of his sudden and unexpected promotion, which I apprehend may prove soon rather of more fruit than good to himself and the public. And I am persuaded there are not 25 Rangers in Colonel Butler's Corps that engaged voluntarily, being drove to it by the necessity and the higher wages. There are not one fourth of them have the capacity required in Sir Guy Carleton's beating order in order to enable them to such wages -- men engaged under such circumstances can be of very little service to the public, and of Brant's men must submit one the same account they will only serve with disgust and reluctance.

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**Comment:** the first part of this letter is very similar to that sent Claus by Taylor and Duffin on 15 November 1778.

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**EXTRACT: THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, NOVEMBER 1778**

By letter from New York, August 31, there is an account that Colonel Butler, with a detachment of the 8th Regiment, some friends to the government and a number of Indians, assembled at Unadilla in Tryon County, from whence they proceeded to the settlements of Cherry Valley, Springfield, Anderstown and the back settlements of Schoharie, where they destroyed about 300 houses, killed upwards of 170 rebels found in arms, drove off a great number of cattle, seized a sufficient quantity of provisions to subsist the party, gave an opportunity to many loyalists to join them, and then retired to the place of rendezvous. From thence they proceeded down the Susquehanna to Wyoming, in the province of Pennsylvania, attacked that settlement, killed upwards of 400, being all who were found in arms, but spared the women and children, desiring them to retire to their rebel friends. Upwards of 5,000 persons fled in the utmost distress and consternation.

The friends to government take arms and join Colonel Butler's party, which increases fast, and continues to spread terror on the western frontiers of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

These proceedings greatly alarm the leaders of the rebellion in the province of New York, who have lately passed an act to force the loyalists to abjure the British government, in consequence a detestable oath is tendered to those
notoriously attached to government, but they reject it with disdain, and will, unless soon relieved, be obliged to abandon their families and property, and attempt to escape within the British lines.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
1 December 1778

The last time I had the honour of writing to Your Excellency, I mentioned that I expected news from Captain Butler. I am now happy to inform Your Excellency of his having entirely destroyed the settlement of Cherry Valley on the frontiers of the rebellious provinces. It has hitherto not been possible for me to know their thoughts on that subject, as soon, however, as they come in I shall consult them thereupon and faithfully acquaint Your Excellency with the result.

With regard to what Your Excellency was pleased to mention about having cattle driven into this place, I must inform you that as they have no other way of subsisting when out on their excursions, the Rangers and Indians consume themselves the greatest part of what they take. Your Excellency may, however, depend upon my utmost endeavours to have as many as possible driven hither. Upwards of one hundred heads have been brought in this fall.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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TAYLOR AND DUFFIN TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Niagara
1 December 1778

Since the arrival of Lieutenant Hare from Captain Butler, who is on his way here, the Commanding Officer has concluded to send down the sloop Caldwell to winter there. The news which Lieutenant Hare brings is that though the rebels in the fort at Cherry Valley were apprised of Captain Butler's being with the Rangers and Indians hovering about the frontiers with a design to make a descent on some places but which or where they did not know, that they therefore sent out three different scouts.

Captain Butler came upon the tracks of one of them, sent a party after them, surprised them and took them all (nine in number).

He got quite near the fort undiscovered and rushed up to it with design to storm it, but owing to a misunderstanding did not. The Rangers thought the Indians meant to go forward and the Indians waited for the Rangers.

The rebels at this time were most of them out of the fort without the least suspicion of there being any danger; most of their officers were lodged out of it into houses almost joining it.

Captain Butler's people were soon discovered from it and were fired upon. At this time there was not above fifty men and a Major and two inferior officers in it, but the people on being alarmed made to the fort and as many got in a short time as made it about three hundred strong.

The Rangers and Indians fell to and destroyed all the houses outside the fort immediately and all the cattle and every
thing else beside which was in their way.

Next day, Captain Butler sent Lieutenant Turney with a flag to the fort, but he was fired upon from it.

Captain Butler not being able to do anything more concluded to come away with all his Rangers and the Indians, the former have one man wounded and the latter two, but none of them dangerously, which was all the loss they sustained.

The killed about 50 rebels and have about 30 prisoners, amongst whom is a Lieutenant Colonel. However, we should not have called all those which were killed rebels, as Captain Hare says many of them were good friends to Government. Neither many of the Rangers nor any of the Indians know one from the other.

Major Wells and family, thirteen in number, were all killed; however, it is thought he was a very good friend to Government.

The rebel officers had chose this hour to hold their Mess, at it was there too that a number were surprised and killed. One of them was a full Colonel.

Mr Joseph Brant, not being at all satisfied with what had been done at Cherry Valley, after having come part of the way in here with Captain Butler, he went back with seven Indians to burn Henickle Herkimer's house and to bring off a prisoner. Notwithstanding, we expect he will be as soon in here as Captain Butler, for he hath said himself he expected he would.

National Archives of Canada. Claus Papers, MG 19, F1, Vol 25.

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**EXTRACT; COLONEL WILLIAM HARPER**

**TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

Mohawk District
Tryon County
2 December 1778

I send you enclosed a letter from Walter Butler which he sent in by one of the prisoners that he sent back. I see it with 1 other to Mrs Wall. I thought Major Whiting had forwarded them till this instant they the enclosed came to hand; the other I understand is in the hand of the man that brought it. I shall send for it as soon as possible, and forward it to you, as I conceive the exchange of inhabitants is more properly your provence than General Schuyler's, but Your Excellency is the best judge of that matter, and I am sure you will do every thing in your power to relieve our distressed friends from worse than devils.

Sir, you will see by the return the number and quality of the prisoners, Butler expects a number equal to those he has sent back, but I must inform you that a considerable part of them are Tories, or strongly suspected, and such as ought to be sent back to him again.

But, Sir, as we have sent away considerable numbers of their women and children already, and several of note amongst them, perhaps they ought to be considered as exchanged, but if that should not be thought proper, we have yet enough to exchange for more than I hope will ever fall in their barbarious hands.

Sir, Mrs Moore is my sister, and duty and nature binds me to interest her exchange and her three daughters, who are all women grown, for whom my heart trembles, least they worse than brutes should treat them with worse than death.

Likewise, Mr Cannen and his daughter, Colonel Campbell's wife and her four small children.
I was informed by several of the prisoners that Butler said he would keep Mrs Campbell and Mrs Moore and their children till Mrs Butler, Mrs Wall, her niece and his other friends are exchanged for them.

I would, therefore, pray that Mrs Butler, Mrs Wall, Mrs Strachan, Mrs Clement, Mrs Herkimer, and as many of their families as will be equal to Mrs Moore and her 3 children and Mrs Campbell and her 4 children may be exchanged for them. And there is an old Scotch man at Johnstown, McDonell, father to Colagie, who might be exchanged for Mr Cannen, and there is Ephram Marsh and Hector Sutherland and a number of other Tories in Albany gaol who might be exchanged for the other men, as the Ramseyes and Henderson; and for the Mrs Ramseyes and the other women their is Mrs McGrear, Mrs Crafort, 4 Mrs McDonell, Mrs Picken with their families and Mrs Hufee and a great number more if need be.

And, Sir, as we are informed Brant and Butler are yet in our neighbourhood at Scenaveses, which doth not exceed 25 miles from Cherry Valley, if Your Excellency should think proper to treat with them on an exchange, I think the letters may be conveyed without any great difficulty. And if it were soon done, I do not doubt but it might prevent the prisoners being sent to Niagara as I am fully of opinion that they are yet at Chenangoo and Chughnut and the other Indian town on the Susquehanna.

Since the settlement called Coile was destroyed, which happened a few days after Cherry Valley, the people on the upper parts of the Mohawk River are moving off very fast and the report of Brant and Butler lying so near at hand has struck the people with such terror that in a short time if there is not a very considerable body of troops sent. I doubt if there is left a smoking house above Schenectady.


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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS

Quebec
3 December 1778

I have received your letter of the 30th November, the contents of which concern me in as much as I should be extremely sorry to find that Joseph Brant had any just cause of complaint; and I hope an opportunity will offer for my writing to Niagara about this matter in order to its being settled to the satisfaction of Joseph.

The matter you mention in the conclusion of your letter, being a regimental concern, it belongs to the Commanding Officer to regulate.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21722, Register of Letters to Various Persons, 1778; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-663.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
25 December 1778

The impossibility of sending to your post during the interval of the seasons, has occasioned my having several of your letters unanswered.
Your second letter is dated the 28th of October advising your having drawn for £5,839.5.8 3/4 for the Indian Department. I received at the same time a letter from Major Butler, copy of which I enclose to you, acquainting me of his intention to draw upon me for the subsistence of the Rangers and he mentions, as you will see, Bounty for them, which I beg he may be informed I cannot learn was intended by Sir Guy Carleton as it ought not to be allowed for a Corps put upon so much more advantageous footing than any other, and therefore he must omit that charge in his accounts, all of which as the service he is upon is connected so intimately with your post can be examined properly only there, and must pass through your hands as well as those for subsistence for his Corps as for another purpose, and you will draw for these in like manner as for other expenses conformable to this Major Butler when he wants anything as in the case of medicines, he mentions in his letter, or any other matter must make his application to you for it, who upon the spot or so near him as you are must be the only judge whether it be fit to be allowed.

Being on the subject of this Corps which it appears Sir Guy Carleton intended should be raised under your inspection, I hope some means will without fail be fallen upon to muster and review the several companies that the exact state of them and whether they have been composed agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the beating order (which I understand has been transmitted to you) may be reported in order not to omit every testimony which is necessary to lay before His Majesty's Ministers of the faithful disbursements of the public money. The expense of this corps exceeding so much that attending others of like numbers requiring very minute explanation as well as vouchers to justify it.

GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
25 December 1778

I take the opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 28th October enclosing lists of Indian Officers and Pay Lists of the Rangers, the accounts of which and of all matters relating to your Corps I find necessary to place under the direction of Colonel Bolton, in like manner as other Contingencies of the post under his command, and to whom I must refer you for more particular instruction on this head to which I must beg you to conform.

I have also received your letters of the 1st of December enclosing Captain Butler's relation of his operations at Cherry Valley, the success of which would have afforded great satisfaction if his endeavours to prevent the exceed to which the Indians in their fury are so apt to run had proved effectual. It is, however, very much to his credit that he gave proof of his own disapprobation of such proceedings and I hope that you and every officer serving with the savages will never cease your exhortations to them until you shall at length convince them that such indiscriminate vengeance taken even upon the treacherous and cruel enemy they are engaged against is as useless and disreputable to themselves as it is contrary to the dispositions and maxims of their King in whose cause they are fighting.

EXTRACT FROM THE DIARY OF MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH

[Boston]
28 December 1778

A more particular account of Cherry Valley stated that there were 32 persons killed, beside Colonel Alden, and 10 rank and file belonging to the Continental Army, and about 30 other persons taken prisoner; 32 houses, 31 barns, one grist-mill, fulling-mill, and blacksmith's shop burnt. The enemy consisted of 200 refugees and 443 Indians, commanded by Joseph Brant, Walter Butler, and the Seneca Chief.

Rufus Rockwell Wilson, Ed. Heath's Memoirs of the American War (Freeport, 1904), p 211.

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FROM THE NEW JERSEY GAZETTE, 31 DECEMBER 1778

November 11. This day a party of Tories, Indians and regulars, under the command of Colonel Butler made a descent on Cherry Valley. An officer who was in the fort gives the following account of the affair.

On Saturday night, 7th of November, an express arrived from Fort Stanwix informing that an Oneida Indian had acquainted them that he had sat in council in the Seneca Country with the Six Nations and other tribes and that they had concluded to attack Fort Alden at Cherry Valley.

On Sunday morning, a sergeant and twelve men were sent on the road to Beaver Dam towards the enemy to continue for five days; another scout with a non-commissioned officer and five men were sent on the road to Springfield to continue four days; these two roads being the only avenues from the enemy's country to this place except an old Indian path that had been neglected by us. At the same time we sent by the same roads scouts in the morning which returned at night.

On Wednesday the 11th it rained very hard. The enemy came by the above mentioned path, passed by two houses and lodged themselves in the swamp, a short distance back of Mr Wells's house, headquarters. At half past eleven Mr Hamlin came by and discovered two Indians who fired upon him and shot him through the arm. He rode to Mr Wells's and acquainted the Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major and Adjutant being present. The two last, (the house at this time being surrounded by Indians) got to the fort through their fire. The Colonel was shot near the fort.

The enemy, 800 in number, consisting of 500 Indians, commanded by Brant, 50 regulars under Captain Caldwell and another captain, with some of Johnson's rangers and above 200 Tories, the whole under Colonel Butler's command, immediately surrounded the fort, excluding several officers who were quartered out of the garrison and had gone to dinner.

They commenced a very heavy fire upon the fort which held three and a half hours and was as briskly returned. They were so near as to call to the fort and bid the "damned rebels" surrender which was answered with three cheers and a discharge of cannon and musketry. At 4PM the enemy withdrew.

Captain Ballard sallied out with a party which the endeavoured to cut off, but were prevented by a reinforcement.

The next day they made it their whole business to collect horses, cattle and sheep which they effected and at sunset left the place.

The enemy killed, scalped, and most barbarously murdered thirty two inhabitants, chiefly women and children; also Colonel Alden and the following soldiers of his regiment: Robert Henderson, Gideon Day, Thomas Sheridan, Peletiah Adams, Simeon Hopkins, Benjamin Worceley, Thomas Holden, Daniel Dudley, Thomas Knowles, and Oliver Deball. The following officers were taken prisoners, viz:- Lieutenant Colonel Stacey, Lieutenant Aaron Holden, Ensign Garrett, Surgeon's Mate Francis Souza de Bierve and thirteen privates; burnt twenty four houses with all the grain, &c; took above sixty of the inhabitants prisoners, part of whom they released on going off. They committed the most inhuman barbarities on most of the dead. Robert Henderson's head was cut off, his skull bone was cut out with the scalp. Mr
Willis's sister was ripped up, a child of Mr Willis's, two months old, scalped and arm cut off, the clergyman's wife's leg and arm cut off and many others as cruelly treated.

Many of the inhabitants and soldiers shut out of the fort lay all night in the rain with the children who suffered very much.

The cattle that were not easy to drive they shot. We are informed by the prisoners they sent back that the Lieutenant Colonel, all the officers and continental soldiers, were stripped and drove naked before them.

The fort was commanded by the brave Major Whiting of Dedham in Massachusetts and the two cannon under the direction of the brave Captain Hickling of Boston who was chief engineer in building the fort and whose assistance contributed to saving it.

The New Jersey Gazette, 31 December 1778

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BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
TO CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER

Albany
2 January 1779

A letter, dated the 12th November last, signed by you and directed to General Schuyler and which
was delivered to John Campbell, is come to hand. As its contents related to persons who were
citizens of the States with which the military don't interfere, the letter was not delivered to Brigadier
General Hand, who then commanded in this department, but transmitted to His Excellency Governor
Clinton, that his pleasure might be known on the contents. He has authorized me to make the
exchange you request.

I am at a loss to know not only where to direct to you, but also to what part of the country the
unhappy prisoners taken from this state have been carried.

I therefore send the bearers, Colonel Campbell, Jacob Newkirk and Lawrence Class, with a Flag to
carry this letter to any place where they may learn you are, or any other officer who can accomplish
the exchange in your absence.

Should the prisoners be in any of the Indian villages and in condition to be moved, you will be
pleased to send them to the nearest of our settlements, or if you do not choose to do that, I will send
proper persons to treat and receive them at any point you may appoint.

I am not informed if Mrs Butler and her family and such others as will be given in exchange for those
you have in captivity and those you have suffered to return as you mentioned in your letter, would
choose to move in this inclement weather. If they do, they shall be sent; if not, they may remain until
spring, and then they may either go to Oswego or Canada at their option.

Should the prisoners taken at Cherry Valley, or any others belonging to the State of New York, be at
Niagara, it will be impossible for them to return until spring. And then I request that they may be sent
to Oswego or Fort Schuyler, and that you will send notice of your determination, that provisions may
be made accordingly.

Don't flatter yourself, Sir, that your father's family were detained on account of any consequence they
were supposed to be of, or that it is determined they should be exchanged in consideration of the
threat contained in your letter.

I should hope for the sake of human nature and the honour of civilized nations that the British
officers had exerted themselves in restraining the barbarity of the savages; but it is difficult even for
the most disinterested mind to believe it, as numerous instances of barbarities have been perpetuated
when the savages were not present have occurred, or if they were, the British force was sufficient to
have restrained them had there been a real desire so to do.

The enormous murders committed at Wyoming and Cherry Valley would clearly have justified a
retaliation and that your mother has not fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the survivors of those
families who were barbarously massacred is owing to the humane principles of which the conduct of
their enemies induces a belief that they were utter strangers to.

The Flag will carry their arms with them that they may furnish themselves with provisions should
what they set off with be expended before they reach any place where they can be supplied.

As Captain Butler may be absent, I enclose a copy of this letter to General Schuyler.

_________________________
RETURN OF INDIANS AT NIAGARA

[ Niagara
26 January 1779]

Return of the Indians at Niagara from the 30th December 1778 to 26th January 1779, inclusive, with the arrivals and departures of the several parties of different Nations at that time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Nation</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Gone</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohawks</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senecas</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>532</td>
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<tr>
<td>Onondagas</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ohios</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oneidas</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
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<td>78</td>
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</tr>
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<td>---</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connasarugas</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genesees</td>
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<td>36</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook-house Indians</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tuscaroras</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
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<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>2623</td>
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</table>

The Mohawks and Auhqwagas will remain at this post as the enemy have destroyed their villages.

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EXTRACT: MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
29 January 1779

At a meeting here this day with the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, and Delawares, after explaining to them the different messages from the General, I addressed them in behalf of Colonel Bolton and myself, recommending unanimity to them in the strongest terms, and assuring them of every sustenance that could possible be given them.


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EXTRACT: BRIGADIER JAMES CLINTON TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Albany
31 January 1779

In consequence of the instructions contained in Your Excellency's letter of the 23rd ultimo, relative to the exchange proposed by Captain Butler, General Schuyler and myself concluded to dispatch Colonel John Campbell and a certain Jacob Newkirk as a Flag with a letter to Niagara, or other place where they might hear Butler was. A copy of which letter, together with the report made by Colonel Campbell on his return I enclose for Your Excellency's information.

Report of Colonel John Campbell of Cherry Valley on his return from Connesaraga.

With the dispatches I received from Generals Schuyler and Clinton, I proceeded in company with Jacob Newkirk to the Oneida Castle. After requesting a guide to pilot me to Niagara, the chiefs called a council in which it was determined that it was impossible for us to proceed, as there was a council then sitting at Cayuga who were unacquainted with the nature of a Flag, and therefore might treat us as enemies.

Nevertheless, being deeply concerned in the business I was on, I ventured to proceed as far as Connesaraga. After making the same demand there, the chiefs called a council and determined as the Oneidas had done, alleging that they could not be answerable to the American chiefs for any misfortune that might befall us, that they would very justly incur the displeasure of their brothers, the Americans, if they permitted us to proceed when they knew the consequences that would ensue. They therefore insisted on us to return, promising that they would forward the letters to Captain Butler, with more expedition and safety than if we went ourselves.

In consequence of which, I thought it best to return.


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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
8 February 1779
You have already received an account of what the freights came to last year on this lake; by what I hear on Lake Erie will be more and for the last two years amounts to a considerable sum. Therefore if Your Excellency favours me with your orders I shall forward them to Captain Lernoult and desire the accounts to be settled and immediately sent to me. Otherwise Government will lose it. At the same time it's absolutely necessary to do one's utmost to lessen the expenses of these posts, for Major Butler informs me the next bill will be for many thousands.

The meeting of the Indians in December 1777 cost Government £14,000 besides presents sent by Sir Guy Carleton to the amount, as I am informed, of £20,000 more, New York Currency, rum and rations not included. The Major assures me at the same time that he does everything in his power to make the goods go as far as possible. Believe me, Sir, my situation is extremely disagreeable to be obliged to draw for such immense accounts. Even if I was in health and able to pay more attention to them; instead of which I have been confined to my room about two months with the rheumatism in my hand and stomach, and violent cramps in my legs.

I am really of opinion that to keep the Indians in a good temper (as it is called) has cost old England much more than all the posts are worth and as to their scalping women, children and prisoners, I find it not possible to prevent them. Such cruelties must make an expedition very disagreeable to the King's Troops when ordered on service with them.

The enclosed return will show you, Sir, the number of rations drawn from the 25th December to the 24th January, as well as the number of Indians still remaining here. Many more than I could possibly expect, as Major Butler some time ago informed me he had sent the Indian officers to prevail on them to keep their women and children at home; that presents should be sent to them. But all this, I find, has not lessened their numbers here and they have remained much longer than usual, notwithstanding all I can do or say.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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NTF: commission of Peter Hare, John Turney and Joseph Ferris in 21745 dated 8 Feb 1779

**EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

**TO COLONEL GUY JOHNSON**

Quebec
10 February 1779

I shall this week dispatch a Flag for the purpose of negotiating the exchange of Mrs Butler and family for that of Mrs Campbell and the Moores. I do not mean that a general exchange should take place of the prisoners taken by the Indians as proposed by Mr Schuyler. I abhor the intercourse, but as Major Butler seems so anxious, I wish to make him easy -- the result will be made known to Colonel Bolton, which you will act on in consequence.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: COLONEL GUY JOHNSON
TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Halifax
11 February 1779

Mr Butler, my Deputy (to whom, as formerly mentioned I had transmitted instructions), continued when we heard last from New York, to make a very useful diversion on the frontiers with a good party of Loyalists and Indians; and Joseph, the Indian, has with a large body of Indians struck some capital strokes, which obliged the rebels to detach a large body of their force that way, and has greatly disconcerted them; and by those who carried the dispatches to General Haldimand, I sent instructions for meeting the Indians soon after the waters become open, hoping to leave this place so as to arrive at Quebec about the second week in May.


* Comment: Johnson seems to be taking credit for Butler's raid on Wyoming, but in fact he had nothing to do with either the planning or execution of the raid.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
12 February 1779

Major Butler's corps having extreme bad arms, I have lent him one hundred firelocks out of the Garrison Store, for which number he had given me a receipt to be accountable to Government.

Mr Brant (the bearer of this), with his Indians, from Captain Butler's account, as well as every other report made to me, behaved with great humanity to all those who fell into his hands at Cherry Valley. This, I am convinced, will recommend him to Your Excellency's notice much more than anything I could say in his favour.

The Indians are all in good temper and I should be not a little astonished if they were otherwise.

PS: Major Butler assures me that if the presents for the Indians were sent from England to this post it would save Government half the expense.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EDWARD POLLARD TO NATHANIEL DAY,
COMMISSARY GENERAL
Niagara
12 February 1779

This conveyance being brought through the Indian Country, prevents me sending the returns, &c. But you'll please to receive a state of the stores to the last 24th inclusive; also a list of people drawing provisions weekly, from which you'll please to observe (notwithstanding the great supply forwarded last year).

Colonel Bolton is as disagreeably situated as he was last winter.

Between the 25th Dec and 24th January the issues to Rangers, Indians and Indian Department amounted to 57,341 rations; in that month we issued here 15,200 rations. At this date, Colonel Bolton has provisions only to the 6th March -- this determined the Colonel to secure a sufficiency for 820 men (the effectives of the garrison, Rangers and Navy) to the 10th June.

A few days ago we took a state of the private stocks in store, of which appeared there was about 40,000 rations, a good part of which the Colonel will be able to purchase should he want it. We have also of the provisions forwarded last fall by Mr McLean, sent back in the Seneca (for a supply for the garrison of Carleton Island, should theirs not arrive of which there was some doubt) 42,000 lbs flour, 23,088 lbs pork, 128 lbs butter, 3170 lbs meal and 3382 peas.

Colonel Butler hath now sent most of the Indians off, but I am fearful the great demands will commence with the month of April. No doubt Colonel Bolton will order all that can be spared from the posts of Oswegatchie and Carleton Island. I take the liberty, Sir, to beg you will order Mr McKay to have ready all that can be sent by the earliest conveyance in the spring.

| Number of People Drawing Provisions at Niagara Weekly |
|-----------------------------------------|------|
| King's Regiment                        | 351  |
| 47th Regiment                          | 24   |
| Royal Artillery                        | 16   |
| Teamsters                              | 24   |
| Commissary Department                  | 2    |
| Rangers                                | 308  |
| Indian Department                      | 40   |
| Navy                                   | 72   |
| Distressed Families                    | 64   |
| Mohawks and Oghguagas                  | 445  |
| Total                                  | 1346 |

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21851, Correspondence with Nathaniel Day, Commissary General, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-768.
*Comment:* The monthly return placed after 18 Feb 1779 reflects a total strength of 327. If the 19 prisoners of war are deducted, the total reflects 308, agrees with this return. Why Pollard would be feeding those on furlough is a question, unless they did not leave Niagara. Those on command would have drawn their rations.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE, ADJUTANT GENERAL

Niagara
12 February 1779

There are two parties ordered out from the Ohio towards Fort Pitt and the places adjacent, to observe the motions of the enemy; and Lieutenants Dockstader and Johnston are sent to reside among the Indians in that quarter in order to have scouts constantly out and to send the earliest intelligence to this place.

Mr Secord is sent to Chemung for the purpose of keeping a constant watch upon the rebels towards Wyoming, from whence I daily expect intelligence as parties have been out that way for some time. Captain Johnston is stationed with the Senecas with orders to use his utmost influence to gain every intelligence of the enemy's designs and to transmit by express any accounts of material import as well to Captain Aubrey at Carleton Island as to the Commanding Officer of this garrison.

Several parties are out towards Fort Stanwix and De Quoin's son has undertaken, with a party, to watch the road between Fort Stanwix and the German Flatts, and to intercept, if possible, some express of the rebels.

And an Indian went from this some time ago whom I have engaged to attempt to make his way to Albany to observe what preparations are going forward at that place.

And a party has been dispatched towards the Minisinks to observe the situation of the enemy in that quarter.

And the Seneca chief, Skiangaraghta, has promised to have some of his young men constantly out and to forward us an account of what discoveries they may make so that it will be almost impossible for the rebels to make the smallest movement in any part but what we must have immediate notice of it.

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EXTRACT: GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON TO BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON

Pokeepsie
15 February 1779

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.
I don't see we can do anything further with Butler relative to the exchange until we receive his answer or the situation of things render it practicable to pass with safety the place where he is stationed.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1900), Vol 4, p 568.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
16 February 1779

Agreeable to Your Excellency's desire communicated to me in a letter of the 9th October last, I have consulted with the Indians on the expediency of taking post at Irondequoit. They think that establishing a post there would be of no material service in protecting their villages from the enemy and that Oswego is the only proper place to take possession of in order effectually to prevent their coming into their country. How desirous they are of having this done, Your Excellency will see by their speech addressed to you, a copy of which I send you enclosed, as also a copy of their message to the Western Nations; a great disadvantage too with regard to Irondequoit is that it has no road or harbour where vessels can lay secure.

The Indians in general have given the strongest assurances that they are determined to the last to persevere in the part they have taken, and never to come to terms with the rebels.

The greatest part of the Oneidas on the other hand seem resolved to adhere to the enemy, who, I am informed, have sent about fifty men to build a small fort for the security of their village. A garrison at Oswego would probably shake their resolution and still more confirm our friends in their attachment to Government. They seem apprehensive that the rebels meditate an expedition into their country this winter, but such precautions have been used to send out scouts in every quarter that it is scarcely possible but that we must have the earliest notice of all their motions on the frontiers, and I have ordered a large party of the Rangers to be ready immediately to march to their assistance should anything be attempted against them.

Your Excellency will perceive by the enclosed speech that the Indians are not well satisfied at the hatchet that was sent to them from Canada. Might I advise I should think it best that no messages were sent immediately from thence (as the distance is so great that it is impossible to be acquainted with many circumstances that perhaps might render them unseasonable), but that rather they should be sent through Colonel Bolton.

Most of the Indians have been in to receive their clothing and presents and are returned to their villages, to all appearances very well satisfied. A number of the Mohawks, Onondagas and Ouchquagoes are to remain here, having now no home to go to, the Ouchquago village being burnt by the rebels and the villages of the Mohawks situated in the middle of the enemy.

I shall defer sending Your Excellency the returns and others relative to the Corps of Rangers until Captain Butler goes down, which will be in a few days.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
OF THE CONTINENTAL FORCES

Niagara
18 February 1779

I have received a letter dated the 2nd January last signed by you in answer to mine of the 12th November. Its contents I communicated to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton, the Commanding Officer of this garrison, &c, by whom I am directed to acquaint you that he has no objection an exchange of prisoners, as mentioned in your letter, should take place, but not being fully empowered by His Excellency, General Haldimand, to order the same immediately to be put into execution, has thought proper I should go down to the Commander in Chief for his direction in the matter.

In the meantime, Colonel Butler (as he has done on every occasion) will make every effort in his power to have all the prisoners, as well those belonging to your troops as the women and children in captivity among the different Indian Nations, collected and sent to this post to be forwarded to Crown Point should the exchange take place by way of Canada, or to Oswego, if settled there. In either case, Colonel Bolton desires me to inform you that the prisoners shall receive from him what assistance their wants may require -- which prisoners have at all times received at this post.

The disagreeable situation of your people in the Indian villages, as well as our among you, will induce me to make all the exertion in my power to Canada in order that the exchange may be settled as soon as possible for the good of both.

I make no doubt His Excellency, General Haldimand, will acquiesce in the proposed exchange. The season of the year renders it impossible to take place before the 10th or 15th of May next; however, I will write you by the way of Crown Point, General Haldimand's determination and when and where the exchange would be most agreeable to him to be made.

I could wish Mrs Butler and family, including Mrs Sheehan and son and Mrs Wall, were permitted to go to Canada in the spring, even should the exchange be fixed at Ontario.

It's not our present business, Sir, to enter into an altercation or to reflect on the conduct of either the British or Continental Forces, or on that of each other; but since you have charged (on report, I must suppose) the British officers in general with inhumanity, and Colonel Butler and myself in particular, in justice to them and in vindication of his and my own honour and character, I am under the disagreeable necessity to declare the charge unjust and void of truth, and which can only tend to deceive the world, though a favourite cry of the Congress on every occasion, whether founded on truth or no.

We deny any Cruelties to have been committed at Wyoming, either by whites or Indians. So far to the contrary, that not a man, woman or child was hurt after the capitulation, or a woman or child before it, or taken into captivity. Though should you call it inhumanity the killing of men in arms in the field, we in that case can plead guilty.

The inhabitants killed at Cherry Valley does not lay at my door, my conscience acquits me.

If any are guilty (as accessories), it's yourselves, at least the conduct of some of your officers. First Colonel Hartley of your Forces sent to the Indians the enclosed, being a copy of his letter, charging them with crimes they never committed and threatening them and their villages with fire and sword and no quarter. The burning of their villages then inhabited only by a few families your friends, who imagined they might remain in peace and friendship with you, till assured a few hours before the
arrival of your troops that they should not even receive quarter, took to the woods; and to complete
the matter, Colonel Denniston and his people again appearing in arms with Colonel Hartley after a
solemn engagement not to bear arms during the war.

And Colonel Denniston not performing his promise to release a number of soldiers belonging to
Colonel Butler's Corps of Rangers then prisoners among you, were the reasons assigned by the
Indians to me, after the destruction of Cherry Valley for their not acting in the same manner as at
Wyoming. They added that being charged by the enemies with what they never had done and
threatened by them, they had determined to convince you it was not fear that prevented them from
committing the one, and that they did not want spirit to put your threats against them in force against
yourselves.

The prisoners sent back by me, or any now in our or the Indians' hands, but must declare I did
everything in my power to prevent the Indians killing the prisoners, or taking women and children
captive or in any wise injuring them.

Colonel Stacey and several other officers of yours will acquit me and must further declare they have
received every assistance before and since their arrival at this post that could be got to relieve their
wants.

I must, however, beg leave, by the by, to observe that I experienced no humanity or even common
justice during my imprisonment with you.

I enclose you a list of officers and privates whom I should be glad were exchanged likewise.

The list of the families we expect for those as well sent back as others in our hands, you have
likewise enclosed.

Colonel Stacey and several other officers, and others, your people, are at this post and have leave to
write.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Haldimand Collection, Add MSS 21765,
Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand
Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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MONTHLY RETURN OF BUTLER'S RANGERS

[Niagara
No Date]


Officers Present

Commissioned

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Lieutenants</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Lieutenants</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Staff

  Adjudant
  Quartermaster 1
  Surgeon 1
  Mate

Sergeants Present 5
Drummers Present 12

Effective Rank and File

  Present and Fit for Duty 237
  Sick in Barracks 9
  Sick in Hospital 8
  On Command 3
  Recruiting 2
  On Furlough 16
  Prisoners with the Rebels 19
  Total 294

Wanting to Complete to Eight Companies

  Captain 3
  First Lieutenant 3
  Second Lieutenant 3
  Adjudant 1
  Surgeon's Mate 1
  Sergeants 9
  Drummers 4
  Rank and File 130

Total Rank and File 424

NB:

  Captain Ten Broeck prisoner with the rebels
  Charles Smith, Senior, Vacant Company. Killed at Cobus Kill June 1778
  Peter Simmons, do, do at Tioga, 18 Aug 1778
  Jacob Hutsinger, do, do, do
  Frank Willson, do, wounded at Wyoming 5 July and died of his wounds 15 Aug 1778
  John Carlock, do, do, do, 26 August 1778
  Martin Bogart, deserted 24 October 1778
  William Halbert, do 25 October 1778
  William West, do, 2 November 1778
  Adam Brown, do, 9 November 1778
  Andrew Shanklin, do, 24 November 1778
  Thomas Staats, drowned at Tonnadelle, 24 November 1778
  John Secord, Jnr, John Secord, Snr and Peter discharged 7 October
  Samuel Jackson, deceased, 20 January 1779
  Ludwick Towsick, do, 2 February 1779

Niagara
4 March 1779

I beg leave to inform Your Excellency that an Indian arrived here some days ago with letters to
Captain Butler which had been opened and read in every village through which he passed, by desire
of the chiefs. He acquaints they were brought to Conesaego by a Colonel Campbell in the Provincial
service, who told him he came with a Flag, but his interpreter being lame prevented him from going
to Niagara, and that he would remain there until an answer arrived.

As I understand, they wish to get back some of their prisoners taken at Cherry Valley and have
offered to exchange Mrs Butler and family. I consented (at the Major's earnest request) to Captain
Butler's going to Canada to lay before Your Excellency the letters sent here from Brigadier Clinton.

The Major also assures the chiefs will not suffer any letter or papers whatever to pass through their
villages without first knowing their contents.

It appears to me that they have got some prisoners that the enemy has much greater esteem for than
any of those formerly taken. Otherwise, they would not have offered to grant exchange with Mrs
Butler and family.

As the officer who brought the Flag intended to remain at Conesaego until he received an answer, I
agreed to Captain Butler writing Brigadier Clinton, as I wish to remove Mr Campbell as soon as
possible out of the Indian country and have sent those we can depend on to find out if he did not
come upon some other business as well as an exchange of prisoners, which I hope Your Excellency
will have no objection to, and that it will take place by way of Canada.

For further particulars, I beg leave to refer you to Captain Butler, who has assured me he would not
make any unnecessary delay, and I have no reason to doubt it, for on all occasions he seems
extremely anxious to be employed and has taken great pains with the Rangers during the winter to
prepare them for service early in the spring.

Major Butler also assures me that the Indians will be ready at that time and therefore hopes that you
will honour him with your further orders and directions as soon as possible.

PS: We have not at this time a single good musket flint in the garrison.

Another inconsiderable party with David (the Mohawk) is gone by water to observe General McIntosh's motions.

Captain Butler takes down with him the muster rolls of the Corps of Rangers and also accounts of
what the new barracks and log houses amount to.

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*Comment:* This return is undated, but it had to predate November 1779 as it reflects only 294 all
ranks. As Towsick is listed as deceased 2 February 1779, it must have been completed after that date.
It's place here is arbitrary. The strengths reflect 5 companies complete.
Niagara  
4 March 1779

The gentlemen I have consulted on the plan of agriculture Your Excellency was pleased to mention to me some time ago (in raising corn, &c, to assist in supplying this post with provisions) are of opinion that such an undertaking would be attended for which no advantage for some years could result to this garrison, nor can they think it would be advisable at this time as such a scheme might bring displeasure to our allies the Six Nations.

By the definitive treaty with them in 1764, they ceded to His Majesty in full right the lands four miles east of the river, or to the Petit Morass, which they suppose to be Johnson's Landing, running southerly 17 miles to a creek above Little Niagara, taking in the portage.

They promised not to obstruct the passage at the Landing Place, or any use of the tract granted, but if they recollect this article right, which they think is the 3rd, the Six Nations mention only such improvements as may be necessary for supporting the stock sufficient for carrying on the business at the portage.

They recollect about eleven years ago, the Indians expressed an uneasiness at Mr Stedman's making too great improvements and intimated that although it might have been necessary they should have been first consulted on it.

In the year 1767, Sir William Johnson acquainted the Lords of Plantations that the Six Nations would not suffer any grant to be given of their lands on the portage or any more improvements except by their permission.

They have been rather particular on this passage to point out the necessity of first obtaining the Indians' permission before such a plan would be put into execution. They further wish to observe that after this grant which might be secured, it would probably lay a foundation for disputes which after the great expense of government has been at bringing about this alliance with the Six Nations ought to be avoided.

It is also their opinion that the savages would commit frequent depredations on the grain and stock which might introduce differences between the garrison and the Indians.

They also think, both from the soil and situation, the west side of the river (the country belonging to the Mississagas and in the Government of Canada) by far preferable to the east and where none of those difficulties or differences can arise and are of opinion that an opportunity now offers to make a beginning by encouraging some of the distressed Loyalists lately arrived at this post for His Majesty's protection.

With the little stock they have brought, the second year they may possibly support themselves and families; the third they might be useful to this post. From that period the increase would be considerable so that in six or seven years such a plan would be serviceable to Government and individuals that may be induced to undertake it.
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
8 March 1779

You will perceive by the papers enclosed that the rebels have their emissaries at work in every
quarter and are using every art to intimidate the Indians and draw them over to their side. Part of the
Onondagas are already in their interests, who wish to bring the rest to be so too; and their sending for
those home who are now here is only that they may the more easily work upon them for that purpose.
It is my opinion, that if they should go, we will lose so many friends.

Your Excellency will see I have made the absence of some of their chiefs, who are gone to
Conawagaras with an answer to Mr Clinton's letter, a pretext for not giving them a positive answer. I
am now the less resolved to let the Onondagas go from hence, or the Belt be sent to the Ohio, and if
what I have already said be not sufficient to stop them, I shall use such other means as circumstances
may point out to be most proper. I have also given an evasive reply to their request of stopping the
scout, at the same time am determined it shall not be stopped.

As Your Excellency has every particular of this meeting enclosed, it will be giving Your Excellency
trouble to say anything further.

I have sent off a party a few days ago by way of Lake Erie to endeavour to bring in a prisoner from
the rebels at the Tuscaroras and gain some intelligence of their designs. Another party is gone
towards Fort Stanwix. I was yesterday told that a party of the Delawares, whom I had sent to
Wyoming, have had a skirmish with some of the rebels at that place and have taken three prisoners
and seven scalps and lost one of their chiefs. It seems that the rebels have two forts there, on each
side of the river. This is reported by an Indian who says that he spoke with a messenger from the
Delawares, who is not yet arrived.

Captain Butler carries with him the muster rolls and pay lists of the Corps of Rangers and will be
able to give Your Excellency every information relative thereto.

As Colonel Bolton thinks it proper that I should settle for the expenses incurred by building of
barracks for the Rangers and distressed families, I have taken the liberty to draw a Bill upon Your
Excellency for $2,527.19.2, the amount of said expenses. Your Excellency will learn from Captain
Butler the necessity there was for this work and the propriety there was of it being built on the
opposite side of the river. He will also be able to give any explanation that may be required in regard
to the accounts.

In looking over the copies of the pay lists for the Indian Department, I find there have been some
mistakes made; one of the officers has been omitted for the whole time of his serving in Canada, and
two others, who were employed from April 1777 have been set down as not commencing till the year
following and on the contrary. Another by mistaking the date of the lists, is entered from August to
December twice over. I thought proper to acquaint Your Excellency of this error which I shall rectify
in the next list.
Niagara
8 March 1779

Three o'clock in the afternoon. Set off for Canada in a bateau. The weather calm, the season very forward, and more than common fine. No appearance of snow, ice or frost. Rowed to the 12 Mile Pond. Encamped. Saw this evening a large flock of pigeons in trees and number of geese and ducks in the pond.

12 Mile Pond, March 9th. At Six put off, the wind and swell high and ahead, but the hands being good oarsmen kept the lake till the 20 Mile Pond, or river, when the wind increasing and no harbour nearer than 40 Mile Creek, made for the creek and was near striking on the bar, but the force of the waves on the stern and working briskly of the oars into the Mississagua river. An Indian cabin on the bank inhabited by Mississaguas. The 20 Mile Creek is a fine steam, though shallow at the entrance, and narrow at the mouth, but is very wide a little way up; the lands in general level, though higher on the east side. Timber, oak, pine and few chestnut trees; the place appears as the head of the lake, though it runs for forty miles westerly beyond this, before the lake turns to the north eastward. This creek heads near Point Abino, 18 miles above Fort Erie, on Lake Erie. Likewise the 12 and 16 Mile Creeks rise out of the swamps near Lake Erie. Boats can go up this creek about 15 miles. Saw a number of black birds.

3 o'clock put off, the wind falling, rowed till four. Hoisted sail and continued till six, rowed till seven o'clock, put ashore and encamped on a low sandy beach, five miles from the creek in this bay forming the head of the lake, hauled the boat up, the distance from said creek to Niagara, 60 miles.

10th of March. Put off at daylight. Every appearance of a fair wind, rowed an hour, the wind came ahead, increased with a high swell, was obliged to put into the river at the head of the lake, shipped water twice before we made the river, the wind at east.

From the west side the 20 Mile Creek the land lowers, till you come twelve miles off this, where it forms a fine sandy beach with a few trees near the shore, which continues a mile beyond this river, where the shore turns and runs about north east, from whence it's a broken shore, with a bank of seven or eight feet and no landing with boats for ten miles.

In windy weather a boat may go up this river ten or thirteen miles, from whence there is a carrying place of thirteen miles to the River Tranch, which falls into the Lake of St Clair. After you enter this river about 400 yards it forms a lake or pond of 4 miles over and six miles long. Between it and the lake is a narrow neck of land of 400 yards wide covered with a few trees and reedy grass. On this the Indians hut in the fishing season. This pond in the season has a great number of all sorts of water fowl. Round this lake or pond a quantity of hay might be made. This morning about 7, the weather being clear and little or no wind, we saw the spray or mist of the fall of Niagara bearing from this about south east.

A canoe with Mississaguas came to us, gave me ducks, in return gave them powder and shot and
bread, they being out of ammunition. I learned from them that Joseph Brant had left his boat and took two canoes eleven days ago.

Head of the Lake 11th of March. Got up at daylight, wind still ahead and too hard to put out. Amused ourselves shooting ducks and black birds. Set in raining at ten this morning. An hour before sunset a thunderburst with lightning and a heavy rain, a thick fog and calm.

Though still a high swell, set off a little before sunset, half an hour out fog cleared with a hard north west wind. Very squally, could not sail, rowed till eight o'clock, the swell and wind too high to go any further this night. Put into the twelve mile creek. With much difficulty got into the creek, obliged to drag up the boat, water sufficient but a fall in the mouth of the creek.

10 o'clock at night before we could kindle a fire; the ground and wood wet. Encamped on a bare point. The wind blew down our tent. Up this creek a sawmill might be erected having fine rapids and good timber for boards. This creek in the fall is filled with salmon, as all other the large runs of water are in the fall season. From Niagara to this lake in general shallow near shore, though good anchoring ground off in the lake.

12th of March. Set off at seven o'clock this morning, the wind at N-W too much off land to sail. Rowed till 11 o'clock. Put into the river called du Credit, 17 miles from our last station. The shore in general good for boats to land. The sand low and a good beach, except the points which are bluff. Two Mississaguis came to me and informed me a number of them lived up this river. Gave them bread. Put off at 12 and rowed to the bottom of the bay above Toronto.

Hoisted sail, found the wind too high to go round Long Point forming the basin or bay below Toronto. Continuing sailing down the bay to the Carrying Place, unloaded the boat, hauled her over and loaded again in an hour and a half. Rowed from this to the beginning of the high lands. Encamped on the beach and secured the boat.

Toronto was built on a level spot of ground nearly opposite a long narrow neck or point of land running 7 or 8 miles into the lake which forms a nobel bay of nine miles deep, two or three miles from the bottom of which, on the N side, ships can ride in safety. It's strange the French built the fort where they did, and not where their shipping were wont to lay, which was a few miles below the fort down the bay.

The bay of Toronto was filled with all sorts of wild fowl. Saw on the north side of the bay several wigwams and canoes turned up on the shore. The land about Toronto appears very good for cultivation from Toronto to River du Credit. It's twelve miles across the bay, but better than twenty along shore, which is the way boats must take, except the weather is very calm or a light breeze in your favour. From Toronto to the beginning of the high lands is about nine or ten miles down the basin, but nearly double round the point.

13th of March. Got off at daylight, the wind from the land. Could not sail. Rowed till twelve. Passed the high lands and a small bay. Put into Pine Wood Creek. Here one Duffin, a trader, resided formerly. Since which a Frenchman has wintered here. He was off a little before we came. Two houses a little up the creek, the one entire, the other stripped. This creek famous with the Indians for great quantities of fish. The distance from this place to the other end of the high lands is about 20 miles, 15 of which is few, or no places where a boat could be saved in case of a storm off the lake. The bank very high and steep, being a mixture of clay and chalk. Nearly as hard as free stone, it forms a romantic wild view. In many places appearing like towers in ruin, the remains of houses and relics of chimneys &c. From the lake you would take it for a large town built of stone, partly demolished.

Put off at one o'clock. Rowed till three. The wind fair, sailed till four, rowed till dark. No wind. Put in
shore in a deep bay where we found a fine creek, its water as clear as crystal. Encamped a little up the creek. In this bay, I believe vessels might ride with safety from the NE and NW winds, but not from the SE or SW. The distance from this to the Pine Wood Creek is about 30 miles, the lake all along forming small bays in which you have a good beach where boats may be secure in case of a storm.

14th March. Set off at daylight, rowed till twelve, the swell increasing with the wind ahead at East. Put into a creek called by the Indians Pamitiescotiyan (the Fat Fire). The distance from our encampment 15 miles. At this creek and two others nearly of the same name, the Indians in the fishing season reside. All those creeks head near a lake of about 30 miles long, distant from this 50 miles, where the Mississaguas have two villages and where the Canadians in winter send traders. Express in winter pass this lake on their way to Canada.

Set off at one o'clock, the wind off shore, rowed till two, sailed till night. Put into a deep bay. Found a creek but could not get in, the stream running very rapid. Rowed further in the bay and encamped on the beach. Secured the boat. From the Fat Fire Creek to this about 30 miles, the shore and particularly in the bays level and good beaches for boats to land. And the points bluff. The lake shoals near the shore.

15 March. Put off as soon as day appeared and rowed till ten. Passed a long point which forms two deep bays, one on either side. Of ten miles to the bottom. In the bay to the west falls one of the creeks before mentioned. In those two bays vessels might lay secure from storms on the lake in the West Bay sheltered from the south, east and NE winds, in the east from the west and NW winds. The point runs direct into the lake for five miles at least. You can't see the bottom of the east bay in passing across from the end of the point to the main. This bay has a fine river falling into it to the east, which forms a basin and a narrow entrance into it, occasioned by a narrow neck or sandy beach between the lake and river.

At 11 o'clock hoisted sail, the wind off shore. 1 o'clock passed two islands, the one called St Nicholas, the other never knew a name for, nor did know there was one off St Nicholas. St Nicholas's is about 2 a mile in circumference, the other about half that size. St Nicholas's is about 1 mile from shore, the other much smaller and about 2 miles beyond it, directly off into the lake -- either of which would be a safe retreat for vessels in a storm. Those islands about twelve miles east of the aforementioned point forming the two bays. When the wind is high the boats go within two miles of the two bays and drag the boats over a point of land about 200 yards wide.

The distance from our encampment to the point is about 12 miles, from the point to St Nicholas's Island ten miles.

Continued sailing till night; put in shore and encamped on a low point where we found a fine creek and good harbour -- in a pond, from our boats saw this morning a great number of wild fowl, from the island to this 25 miles. The shore much the same as yesterday only the points not so bluff.

March 16th. Put off our boat very early, much ice which had formed last night. The wind ahead and partly from the shore which drove the ice in the lake. Rowed till nine o'clock; came up to the two Duck Islands and saw the two Islands called the False Ducks, about south from the real Ducks. The distance I take to be better than twelve miles between the real and False Ducks, as they appear from here. The vessels, if I remember well, made the distance more. Those islands afford a safe retreat for vessels in case of a storm. The islands are much alike, about a mile round and nearly circular, distant from the main four miles and from each other.

The weather calm. Rowed across a very deep bay of twenty miles down and about ten directly over. This bay is much larger. If it is taken from the point of a large island to the east and the Ducks the
west, part of the main and the large island on the east side the bay, from the Ducks appears like a number of small islands and in many places a single tree is only seen. Many persons not acquainted with the passage have taken down the bay, supposing it to be the entrance of the river and in coming from the river have imagined the main to the west to be islands from its appearance and gone down likewise down this bay.

Traders go in two days to the before mentioned small lake inhabited by the Mississaguas.

Continued rowing till the mouth of Cataraqui Bay, the wind coming fair sailed into Cataraqui harbour. The distance from our encampment to Cataraqui about thirty two miles. The land in general all along very low and swampy back. The point rocky and shallow for some way out. There is so much of a sameness in the appearance of the land from the highlands to the river that a few miles off in the lake there's no knowing one place from the other.

Nothing but the walls of the barracks and houses remain of the fort. It appears never to have been a place of strength. Neither do I think its situation will admit its being made so. The land very stony and ground back to command it. It has a fine, safe harbour for shipping. The little island opposite the fort, improved in the French time, is now covered with small trees.

I am told vessels can't sail out of Cataraqui to the lake but with a north or north-east wind. An east or south-east and south wind are fair winds for ships once clear of the river, to Niagara.

The above are all the observations I made on the north shore of Ontario, which would have been more perfect but for the severity of the weather which prevented my taking notice of many parts of the shore. Neither did I think those remarks would have been seen, or would have been more particular.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Montreal
17 March 1779

I take the freedom to acquaint Your Excellency that Captain Joseph Brant arrived here this morning from Niagara after a tedious voyage by the west side of Lake Ontario in a bateau. He was near a month by the way, says that Colonel Bolton did not think proper he should come away sooner which he intended.

I find Captain Butler is to follow Brant shortly in order, he thinks, to vindicate himself of his rash behaviour to Brant last fall before the affair at Cherry Valley which occasioned 90 of Captain Brant's white men to leave him and return towards the frontier to conceal themselves as well as they can till spring as they were threatened by Captain Butler that if they did not join him they should have no provisions and [ ] at rebels, which was the means of the Cherry Valley affair not being more decisive.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21774, Correspondence with Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Claus, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
microfilm reel number A-685.

NTF Letter in Washington's correspondence dated 28 March 1779 from William Maxwell re attempts to intercept dispatches sent to JB

EXTRACT FROM THE QUEBEC GAZETTE

Cork, England
18 March 1779

Colonel Butler has desolated the back settlements and killed the greatest part of a militia regiment which opposed him.

The Quebec Gazette, 29 July 1779

EXTRACT: JELLES FONDA TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

26 March 1779

We have upwards of 300 disaffected families back of us, mostly tenants of Sir John Johnson and Colonel Butler's where the enemy frequently come to from Canada and other places.

George Clinton, Public Papers of (Albany, 1914), Vol 4, p 670.

MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER

Quebec
31 March 1779

The disproportion of the pay of the Privates of the four and two shilling companies of the Corps of Rangers creates much uneasiness between the men. Major Butler, therefore, wishes the pay might be levelled, and after duly considering the hardships the men are subject to, the very great expense they must be at for extraordinary clothing in a service of this kind, the high price of every article in the quarter they serve and the losses they must meet with on service with Indians, proposes for His Excellency General Haldimand's approbation, the reducing the Corps to seven companies and lowering the Corporals' pay to four shillings, the Drummers' to three, the four shilling companies to three, and raising the two shilling companies to three shillings.

This will be of less expense than the Corps completed to eight companies and not much more than seven companies in the present footing, and nearly equal at six companies, as by the following will appear.

A State of the Corps Complete to 8 Companies on the Present Footing:
24 Sergeants at 5/  £6. 0.0  
24 Corporals at 24/6   5. 8.0  
16 Drummers at 4/6    2.12.0  
100 Privates at 4/   20. 0.0  
300 Privates at 2/   30. 0.0  
£65. 0.0  

The Corps Complete to Seven Companies on the Present Footing:

21 Sergeants at 5/   £5. 5.0  
21 Corporals at 4/6  4.14.6  
14 Drummers at 4/6  3. 3.0  
100 Privates at 4/   20. 0.0  
250 Privates at 2/   25. 0.0  
£58. 2.6  

State of the Pay of the Corps at Six Companies on the Present Footing:

18 Sergeants at 5/   £4.10.0  
18 Corporals at 4/6  4. 1.0  
12 Drummers at 4/6  2.14.0  
100 Privates at 4/   20. 0.0  
200 Privates at 2/   20. 0.0  
£51.5.0  

The Pay of Seven Companies on the Footing Proposed:

21 Sergeants at 5/   £5. 5.0  
21 Corporals at 4/   4. 4.0  
14 Drummers at 3/   2. 2.0  
350 Privates at 3/   52.10.0  
£64.1.0  

The Pay of Six Companies on the Proposed Establishment:

18 Sergeants at 5/   £4.10.0  
18 Corporals at 4    3.12.0  
12 Drummers at 3/   1.16.0  
300 Privates at 3/   45. 0.0  
£54.18.0  


###################

EXTRACT: RETURN OF ISSUES TO INDIANS AT NIAGARA

[Niagara  
March 1779]  

Return of Indians who received clothing, arms and ammunition at Niagara from November 1778 to March 1779.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>2400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6489</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An account of a Suit that has usually been given:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To an Indian</th>
<th>To a Woman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A blanket</td>
<td>A blanket</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breechclout</td>
<td>Shift</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>Petticoat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leggings</td>
<td>Gartering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuzee</td>
<td>Leggings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammunition</td>
<td>Small axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knife</td>
<td>Beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermilion</td>
<td>Sussars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass wire</td>
<td>Needle and thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awls</td>
<td>Rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun worm</td>
<td>Clasp knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire steels</td>
<td>Awls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flints</td>
<td>Kettle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking glass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobacco and pipe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Children clothed in proportion to their age.

The Chiefs and Principal Warriors:

- A 3 point or scarlet blanket
- Coat and waistcoat
- Hat and feathers
- Fine ruffled shirt
- Scarlet leggings and ribbons
- Black silk handkerchief
- Silver work

Each War Chief has received ammunition, vermilion, knives, tomahawks to supply his party at home in case of an enemy attack.

John Burch
Indian Storekeeper


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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
Agreeable to my letter directed to you of the 18th of February last, I were to acquaint you of His Excellency, General Haldimand's determination in the proposed exchange of prisoners. I am so happy as to have His Excellency's directions to inform you of his assent thereto, and that the same may take place by the way of Crown Point on the [ ] day of May next. Likewise Lieutenant Colonel Stacy and others, your officers and soldiers in our hands, will be given in exchange for an equal number of ours with you. Among which the officers and Rangers mentioned in the list enclosed you in my last are to be included.

The Commander-in-Chief has ordered all the prisoners, as well those belonging to your troops as inhabitants, families, &c at Niagara or elsewhere, immediately to Canada for the above purpose.

I have by this opportunity wrote Mrs Butler and transmitted her some money to enable her and family to come to Canada, which please permit to be delivered to her if the season will admit.

It will oblige me and particularly the younger part of the family their being allowed to come immediately to Canada as the children are to go to England in the first ship.

List of Prisoners in the Hands of Congress belonging to the Corps of Rangers, Royalists and their Families:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Privates</th>
<th>Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter Ten Broeck, Esq, Captain of Corps of Rangers</td>
<td>Colonel Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Bowen</td>
<td>Mrs Butler, Mrs Sheehan, Walter B Sheehan, Thomas, Andrew and Deborah Butler and Mrs Wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wm McLemons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philip Buck</td>
<td>Mrs McLemons and 3 small children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redmond Berry</td>
<td>John Jost Harkimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odwick Smith</td>
<td>Mrs Harkimer, Jane, Caty, Lowrance, Mary, Jacob and Nicholas Harkimer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Hicks</td>
<td>R Lottridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Hover</td>
<td>Mrs Lotridge, four small children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Hover</td>
<td>Henry Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John S Young</td>
<td>Mrs Hare, Ally, John, Faulky, William, Peter, Barent and Catey Hare, Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Bowman, Jnr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh Lord</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Jones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
John Young  Mrs Young and four small children and his mother, wife to Adam Young

Wm Newberry  Mrs Newberry and four small children

Louis Clement  Mrs Clement, John, Jemima, Jacobus and Hannah Clement

Captain John Johnson  Mrs Johnson and Miss Elizabeth Powell

Robert Picken  Mrs Picken, Robert, Easter, and Edward Picken

Henry Winter  Nicholas Winter, son of Henry Winter, Ranger

N Hylard  Mrs Hylard and John Hylard

George House  Mrs House and children

Mohawks  Such persons, men, women and children as choose to be included in the exchange. It is expected that they will be sent and exchanged but this is to be left to themselves.

A List of Persons sent back the 12 November 1778 to General Schuyler, taken prisoner at Cherry Valley. For them an equal number of families is expected.

3 John Campbell  Wife and grandchild

5 Mrs Bangal  And four children

6 Wm Shankland  His wife and 4 children

2 Eleanor Maris  And child

3 Three children of Captain Scott

2 Rev Mr Dunlap  And daughter

2 Archd Mccellop  And wife

8 Jeremiah Bacon  His wife and six children

1 A boy  Sent back in care of Bacon

4 John Lashman  Wife (name forgot) and three children

4 Edward McColm  Four children, 3 girls and 2 boys
5 Barnabus Lackland His wife and child
6 E Marsh His wife and four children

A List of Prisoners at Present at Niagara

Lieutenant Colonel Stacy, Congress Standing Forces
Lieutenant Holden do
Ensign do

Mathew Canen from Cherry Valley
Miss Abigail Moore do
James Campbell, son of Colonel Campbell, do, with the Mohawks

William Henderson from Cherry Valley

Silas Cook and Ealenor, his wife, from the West Branch of the Susquehanna
Sarah King )
Rachel Smith ) Girls from the north branch of the Susquehanna
Levy King )

Petty Jones with the Mohawks, from the back parts of Virginia

Chester Kingsley from the north branch of the Susquehanna
Barbara Cunningham )
Robert Campbell ) from Ligonier on the frontiers of Pennsylvania
Isabella Campbell )

Abraham Webster ) Boys from the west branch of the Susquehanna
William Donnelly )

Mary Hoff ) Girls from the Delaware
--- Hoff )

Barent Eden, girl

Endorsed: List of Prisoners. Copy of this enclosed to General Clinton of the Continental Forces.

* Comment: Mrs Sheehan was Anne Butler, sister to Colonel John Butler; Thomas, Andrew and Deborah were Colonel Butler's children, aged 22, 17 and 15, and Mrs Wall was Mary Butler, sister to Colonel Butler. But why is William Johnson Butler, aged 19, not listed?
NTF letter in Washington's correspondence dated 1 April 1779 from James Dean to Maj Gen Philip John Schuyler re Indians waiting JB's instructions.

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EXTRACT: SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

New York
2 April 1779

From the best information I can get, it would appear that General Scott is to command the expedition, but cannot ascertain the number of men it is to consist of, as I believe it will be chiefly composed of militia from the frontiers of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland, with some Continental Troops. At the same time, I learned from the best information I could get, that a feint would be made upon the Susquehanna to draw the attention of Colonel Butler and the Six Nations from going to Detroit. But this they endeavour to keep a profound secret.

The above intelligence I have received and I think deserves attention.

I have endeavoured to communicate the substance to Colonel Butler and Brant. If it is true that they have established themselves at Tuscaroras, 'tis probably with a further intent of proceeding against Detroit.


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EXTRACTS: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Niagara
8 April 1779

I have accepted your two Bills on me dated 15th February last, one for £37.1.6 and the other for £866.14.3¼ New York Currency, both payable to Mr Thomas Robinson.

I am very sorry I cannot accept the one drawn on me by Major Butler for £2527.19.2 for building barracks for his Rangers, &c, from the great irregularity with which that business appears to have been conducted.

In the first place, the Bill itself is not dated. The workman's pay Bill amounting £1090.4.3 is neither dated nor certified and several errors appear in casting out their pay. Mr Robinson's account for sundries furnished by him amounting to £1113.4.2 is neither certified to be a just account or discharged. Timothy Murphy's account charged £86.18.11 should be only £83.7.5 and should also be certified and discharged. Taylor and Duffin's account amounting to £137.1.10 has been mislaid, therefore another will be wanted. Mr Stedman's account charged £80.5.0 has not been sent. James Clarke's Bill charged £10.5 should be £10.15 and must likewise be certified and discharged. £10 is charged for waggon, and to support that charge, David Brass says £10 is the value of a small waggon he made for Mr Stedman.

I must, therefore, trouble you to direct Major Butler to have the accounts properly made out and
discharged, and that he may then draw for the amount and his Bill will be paid. But I cannot accept any Bills drawn on me for His Majesty's Service, unless the vouchers are delivered me with the Bill agreeable to the orders I gave on that head, and indeed agreeable to the tenor of the Bill by which it would appear vouchers for its amounts were delivered to me when in fact I received none.

I cannot help expressing my surprise at a charge of £1150.13.9 in Mr Robinson's account for rum for the Rangers and workmen employed in building the Barracks, which I desire may be fully explained.

I have returned to Captain Butler all the accounts he brought me from his father, also a copy of this letter for his guidance in making out the accounts properly.

PS: Since closing the above, the account of Messrs Taylor and Duffin has been found.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACT: FROM A SUBSISTENCE RETURN OF BUTLER'S RANGERS

Quebec
8 April 1779

Subsistence wanting for the Corps of Rangers commanded by John Butler, Esq, Major Commandant from the 25th October 1778 to the 24th May following, both days included, being 212 days.

1 Major  
4 Captains  
10 Lieutenants  
1 Quartermaster  
1 Surgeon - from 24 July 1778  
15 Sergeants  
15 Corporals  
12 Fifes and Drums  
100 Privates at 3/  
156 Privates at 2/ including 3 contingent men per company

Casualties not included in the above number:

William West, from the 25th October to 2nd November  
Adam Brown, do to the 9th November  
Thomas Stants, do to the 20th January  
Lutwick Towsick, do to the 2nd February  
Michael Showers, do to the 8th February  
William Crowder, do to the 8th February  
Henry Winter, do to the do  
Morris Turner, from 1st November to 8th February

Paid Mr P Frey as acting Adjutant from the 21st April

National Archives of Canada. MG 12, B45, Great Britain, War Office 28, Vol 4
* Comment: This return is for a total of five companies complete. The total all ranks is fourteen short from the February return. The "casualties" would seem to be absent from duty, perhaps as prisoners or sick.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
8 April 1779

Your letters of the 14th February and 8th March, with their enclosures, I have received by which you inform me how very industrious and attentive the rebels are in endeavouring to debauch the savages and how far they have already succeeded with the Onondagas. I am fully persuaded that they derive this success through the means of the Oneidas who are much attached to their interest.

I send you a payroll, a copy of which is here annexed for you to communicate to the Five Nations, to whom you will likewise deliver my answer to those you transmitted to me on their past after showing them to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton.

Joseph Brant's good character and faithful disposition has induced me to engage him to return to Niagara in company with Captain Brehm, my aide-de-camp, who is charged with my orders to which I beg you will conform yourself, persuaded nothing on your part will be neglected to maintain the savages firm in the interest; and that you will use every endeavour to spare the provisions as much as possible, being well acquainted that difficulties attend the transport of them to such a distance. This alone prevented me taking possession of Oswego last fall, but hope to effect it at all events this year.

Nothing will contribute so much to the supplying this post with provisions necessary for the garrison as the persuading the savages to cultivate near their habitations as much as possible. However difficult it may be to persuade them to it, it is a thing to be endeavoured at and to make them sensible they will in time, from their labours, reap great advantages as their produce would be purchased by the Government at the current price.

I derived great pleasure in seeing Captain Butler who has given me a very satisfactory detail of his expedition last summer.

The prospect you have of recovering the liberty of your family is a sufficient motive for me to acquiesce in the exchange you propose and have in consequence wrote to Niagara for all the prisoners to be sent down to Montreal where they will remain until the exchange takes place.

Having had the accounts of the barracks examined, it has not been possible for me to pass them. I write to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton on the subject, who will communicate my letter to you.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
8 April 1779

Your letters to the 5th March have been received and as Captain Brehm, my Aide-de-Camp, whom I think proper to send to Niagara and Detroit, is charged with my orders, I shall only here enter into a few particulars and observations which strike me very forcibly respecting the Upper Posts.

The distress which the garrison has nearly experienced by the scarcity of provisions, notwithstanding the greatest efforts used to send up a sufficiency, evidently demonstrates the absolute necessity of the greatest economy in the distribution of them, and if Major Butler cannot fall upon some method to diminish the consumption made by the savages, it will not be possible, notwithstanding every exertion, to get up a sufficient supply. This difficulty alone prevented my taking possession of Oswego last fall. I must, however, absolutely do it this year, not only to satisfy the Indians, but for our own security.

I have wrote to London for the Indian presents to be sent out as early as possible. On their arrival here no delay shall happen to have them forwarded to you. In the meantime, Lieutenant Colonel Campbell has received my orders to send some up to Michilimackinac by the River Ottawa as soon as the navigation is practicable. Rum will likewise be sent.

Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, having solicited that Mr McComb should supply him with what merchandise he may want and representing that the good of the Service is therein concerned, I beg you will give him the preference.

The expenses of the Upper Posts are immense to Government and far exceed any benefit which they have ever derived from them, but commerce must be protected, everything must give way to this general cry.

Your having directed the vessels to be put in proper repair and the orders you have given to ensure their safety cannot but meet with my approbation. Too much care and attention cannot be given to matters of this import in your situation, and this more especially having to do with an enemy full of enterprise, deceit and treachery. I have my apprehensions of their attempting to surprise some of the vessels which nothing can prevent them doing but the vigilance and good conduct of those to whose charge their safety is committed.

I am extremely pleased to hear of the good disposition Captain Lernoult has made at Detroit for the defence of his post. The rebels will have much difficulty to penetrate either to Niagara or Detroit with a sufficient force to attack with success if the savages and Rangers are vigorous in the execution of their duty, which if they are put to the trial, I have no doubt they will do, actuated by the justice of the cause they pursue.

I send by this opportunity to Major Butler my answers to the Indians of the Five Nations. Major De Peyster will likewise receive my answer respecting the portage. The latter is left open for the purpose of your information.

I beg you will cause an estimate to be made of the freight of the vessels upon Lake Erie and transmit it down to me. Some light bateau are ordered to be left at La Chine and Carleton Island to serve the purpose of expresses.

In consideration of Major Butler, I shall allow the exchange of the prisoners to take place, as by this act he is in expectation to recover the liberty of his family. You will therefore order all the prisoners down, observing directions Captain Brehm shall point out for this journey.
Should there be any useless people about your post who only serve to eat the King's provisions, you will order them down likewise, that none but those whose services are required and cannot be disposed with may be supplied from your stores.

As many of the arms, &c, belonging to the artillery are deemed in their present state unfit for service, it is my intention to send up armourers and other artificers to put everything in the best order they can.

I cannot conclude this letter without acquainting you how thankful Joseph Brant has been of the marks of protection you have shown him, without which he says he would not have been able to go through what he did. As I think he is well deserving of it, beg you will continue them as well as to his sister, Molly, and her family.

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**EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON**

**TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

Niagara
9 April 1779

Major Butler has requested I would acquaint Your Excellency that the officers of the Indian Department hope Your Excellency will honour them with Commissions, otherwise they are certain of being treated with cruelty if ever they fall into the hands of the enemy.

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**GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON**

**TO THE NEW YORK DELEGATES IN CONGRESS**

Poughkeepsie
11 April 1779

Soon after the desolation of the Settlement of Cherry Valley by the savages under the command of Brant and Butler, some of the inhabitants who were captured by the enemy at that place were released and permitted to return home on parole. They brought with them written proposals made by young Butler and directed to General Schuyler for an exchange of the inhabitants of this State who were prisoners with the savages, for Butler's mother and other disaffected persons in our possession. In consequence of which, I requested Brigadier General Clinton, then commanding at Albany, to confer with General Schuyler on the subject and to pursue the most proper measures to effect so desirable an object.
I now enclose you a copy of a letter from Butler in answer to one addressed to him by General Clinton on that subject with the papers referred to in it. You will please to observe that the proposals now made are more extensive than those first stated, and as the exchange now offered, Continental Officers and Soldiers and inhabitants of other States are comprehended.

I am not authorized to agree to the present proposals. An insolent expression in Butler's letter prevents my laying it (officially) before Congress. But the releasements of the unhappy subjects of this State who experience the most distressing captivity with the savages is a matter I have much at heart. I have taken the liberty of addressing you on this occasion in hopes you may be able to fall upon some mode of obtaining such general directions from Congress on this subject as will enable us to accomplish this business without taking any public notice of Butler's impertinent epistle.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
11 April 1779

Colonel Bolton has drawn upon Your Excellency for the amount of the Indian account, which I flatter myself you will not think extravagant as it includes expenses in the Indian Country, cattle purchased for the use of the garrison and indeed every contingent expense, besides a quantity of goods purchased for the use of the Indians, of which there is still some left in store. All possible care has been taken to make the expenses as small as possible.

The two people I mentioned in my last to Your Excellency are since come in, and also a messenger from New York, of all of which Colonel Bolton will doubtless give you an account.

_________________________
British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Whitehall
16 April 1779

Sir Henry Clinton has acquainted me that he has transmitted to you the information he has collected of their designs. Their building bateau at Stillwater indicates, perhaps, attempting at Niagara or Detroit if they are able to force their way to them. But I confess I am not apprehensive of their being able to effect anything material on that side whilst the Six Nations continue faithful, and the judicious measures you have taken to succour them in case of attack and the supplies you will be enabled to send them will, I hope, prevent them being frightened into a neutrality.

The great importance of Niagara and Detroit and of the navigation of the lakes which depends upon them must always render them objects of particular attention, and I was very happy to find you had reinforced the garrisons and given orders for strengthening their defences, as well as repairing the
armed vessels and augmenting their crews.

The astonishing activity and success of Joseph Brant's enterprises and the important consequences with which they have been attended give him a claim to every mark of our regard and which you will be please to him.

What has occurred to me as most likely to gratify him has been done, and enclosed herewith you will receive a commission signed by His Majesty appointing him a Colonel of Indians, and on board the Three Brothers storeship is a box with prints taken from Lord Warwick's picture of him which he was particularly pleased with, some of which you will send into his Nation and dispose of the others in such a manner as you shall think most honourable for him as a memorial of his services.

Major Butler and his son appear also to have done good service and you will acquaint them that their care to prevent the Indians from molesting the unarmed inhabitants is much approved by the King.


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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
18 April 1779

I have received your letters of the 24th March and 2nd April with their several enclosures, in particular an account of the unfortunate affair at Post St Vincent. What with the different movements of the rebels towards Sandusky and Presqu'Isle and the ravages by the weather at your fort as well as that of Erie are truly alarming in regard of the consequences they may be of the King's Service and will require the attention and powerful exertion of every officer to guard against.

Before this reaches you, Captain Brehm, my Aide-de-Camp, charge d with orders from me to the Upper Posts, will, I hope, be with you. He is sensible, intelligent, resided for some years in the Upper Country and will be able to give you good advice for the management of the King's affairs in those posts at this critical and very serious juncture.

Provisions and reinforcements when a sufficiency of the formers has got up and the latter can be spared shall be forwarded with the utmost diligence. In the meantime write to Captain Lernoul and try yourself to save everything in your power upon the article of provisions. Every practical resource within yourselves must be resorted to for that purpose.

Till such time as you are reinforced from below, I do not see anything can be done with respect to the rebels upon the coasts between Lake Erie and Detroit than to harass them with small and multiplied parties of Rangers and Indians to intercept their supplies of necessaries and provisions, cut off and surprise their parties and keep them in perpetual alarms. Some scouts for the purpose of discovery only ought to be kept on the Mohawk River to watch the motions of the rebels that way to ascertain whether they are moving in force towards Oswego and what their schemes may be for the ensuing campaign.

Such are the only dispositions I can think of to be made for the present. Every endeavour must be used, every nerve exerted for the preservation of the Upper Posts. They are of such essential service
to the King's of such utility to the trading interest of this Country, that no measure ought to be neglected that can possibly be taken for their protection and security.

I have ordered Captain Butler to return immediately to your post. His former conduct gives me great hopes that he will exert himself in everything in his power to forward and promote the King's Service, particularly in such critical junctures as we are in. I have given him a Warrant for the pay of the Corps of Rangers to the 24th June next, and write on the subject to Major Butler, copy of the letter I herewith enclose for your information.

Ten blank commissions are also enclosed, viz:- one for a Captain, four for First Lieutenants, and five for Second Lieutenants, which you will please to fill up with the officers' names and day of the month. The memorandum which Major Butler sent me applying for them accompanies this.

Captain Shanks, the Commissioner of the Lakes, is just arrived here from Sorel. He will set out for the Upper Posts in a few days and will take with him some boats and naval stores to put your navy on as good a footing as possible.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
18 April 1779

I have received your letter of the 2nd Instant, and from the accounts received of Governor Hamilton's disaster, I cannot but feel great concern and anxiety lest it should cause a change in the disposition of some tribes of Indians whose capricious tempers are easily warped by the appearance of success and immediate advantage. The hitherto constant and approved good conduct of the Five Nations gives reason to expect a continuation of their firmness and a vigourous exertion on their part to render void every attempt of the rebels. Their example will greatly influence the other nations to act with concert with them in opposing and repulsing the invaders of their property.

I am confident that no pains or trouble will be spared on your part to keep the different tribes in the humour of acting for the service of the Crown and that every argument will be made use of by you to convince them how severely they would feel a contrary behaviour.

You will observe by my letter of the 8th Instant the reasons which prevented my taking post at Oswego last year. The same reasons still subsist notwithstanding every effort to get up provisions sufficient before the navigation was obstructed last fall. These difficulties I wish much to be removed and every means shall be attempted to favour my design of establishing a post there and sending a proper force to secure that communication.

I have ordered your son to join you without delay. His former good conduct gives me reason to expect that he will exert himself much to the advantage of the service and to his own credit and honour by harassing the rebels and thwarting as much as possible their plan of operations.

I hope before this reaches you, my aide-de-camp, Capt Brehm, has passed by Niagara and that you have consulted with him on the matters he was charged to communicate.
**EXTRACT FROM THE WARRANT BOOKS OF THE PAYMASTER GENERAL**

Quebec
18 April 1779

Temporary Warrant to Major John Butler being on account of a Corps of Rangers under his command to the 24 January 1779, which with a draft drawn by him on the Commander-in-Chief in favour of Alexander Ellice and Company and paid by Thomas Dunn, Esqr, for £11,936.3.8 New York Currency on account of the same service will make the sum of £15,112.15.6 Sterling to be accounted for by the said Major Butler.

**EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

TO JOHN POWELL, DEPUTY PAYMASTER GENERAL

Quebec
18 April 1779

You are hereby directed and required, out of such monies as are or shall be, come to your hands for the Contingent or Extraordinary Expenses of His Majesty's Forces under my command, to pay or cause to be paid unto Major John Butler, or to his assigns, without deduction, the sum of eight thousand one hundred and fifty pounds, Sterling, in dollars at four shillings and eight pence each, being an account of subsistence of the Corps of Rangers under his command to the 24th June 1779 inclusive, which with the sum of six thousand nine hundred and sixty two pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence, Sterling, he received on the same account by his draft on me, payable to Alexander Ellice and Company, for eleven thousand and nine hundred thirty six pounds, three shillings and eight pence New York Currency bearing date 28 October 1778, will make the sum of fifteen thousand and one hundred twelve pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence, Sterling, to be accounted for by the said Major John Butler, and when an account of the expenditures thereof be made out and laid before me, a regular Warrant shall be granted for the same, and this taken up and cancelled in the meantime, this with the acquittance of the said Major John Butler or his assigns shall be your sufficient Warrant and discharge.

**EXTRACT: THOMAS DUNN TO CAPTAIN EDWARD FOY**
Quebec
18 April 1779

Account of Bills drawn for His Majesty's Service by the Commanding Officers and the Lieutenant Governor in the Upper Country and paid by Thomas Dunn, Esqr, by order of His Excellency General Haldimand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Bill</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By Whom Drawn</td>
<td>Mason Bolton, Lieutenant Colonel of the King's (or 8th) Commanding at Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>His Excellency General Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Payable</td>
<td>John Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For What Account Drawn</td>
<td>Indian Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York Currency</td>
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<td>By Whom Drawn</td>
<td>Mason Bolton, Lieutenant Colonel of the King's (or 8th) Commanding at Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>His Excellency General Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Payable</td>
<td>John Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For What Account Drawn</td>
<td>Indian Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Currency</td>
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<tr>
<td>By Whom Drawn</td>
<td>Major John Butler, Commanding at Niagara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>His Excellency General Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Payable</td>
<td>Alexander Ellice and Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For What Account Drawn</td>
<td>For the Pay of the Officers and Rangers of his Corps</td>
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<tr>
<td>New York Currency</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Date of Bill</td>
<td>21 March 1779</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By Whom Drawn</td>
<td>John Butler, Major and Superintendent of Indian Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>His Excellency General Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Payable</td>
<td>Alexander Ellice and Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For What Account Drawn</td>
<td>For Building of Barracks for Rangers and Loyalists</td>
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<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>Mason Bolton</td>
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<tr>
<td>To Whom Directed</td>
<td>His Excellency General Haldimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Whom Payable</td>
<td>Major John Butler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For What Account Drawn</td>
<td>For Supporting Indians and Rangers in the Indian Country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Currency</td>
<td>£2,989.13.5</td>
</tr>
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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO MESSRS ELLICE AND COMPANY

Montreal
20 April 1779

Gentlemen:-

Please pay Henry Simmons twelve pounds NYC for balance of pay due his son, Peter Simmons.
Received of Captain Butler twelve pounds two shillings NYC on account of Peter Simmons, late a Ranger in Major Butler's Corps, being the balance due him for his pay as a Ranger which I promise to deliver to his wife. 28 April 1779. Henry Simmons. Witness: Benjamin Davis.

Please to pay Henry Simmons thirty pounds NYC being the balance due him on settlement.

Received of Captain Walter Butler thirty pounds NYC in full for the balance due me for my pay as a Ranger on being discharged this 28th day of April 1779. Henry Simmons. Witness: Benjamin Davis.

Please pay Adam Wartman six pounds two shillings NYC being the balance due his son Adam Wartman for his pay as a Ranger.

Received of Captain Walter Butler six pounds two shillings NYC in full for the balance of pay due my son Adam Wartman. 28 April 1779. Adam + (his mark) Wartman. Witness: Benjamin Davis.

Please pay Levina Hardinger twelve pounds NYC being her late husband Jacob Hardinger, deceased.

Received of Captain Walter Butler twelve pounds NYC in full for the balance due my late husband, Jacob Hardinger, Ranger in Major Butler's Corps. 28 April 1779. Levina + (her mark) Hardinger


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LIEUTENANT JOHN JOHNSON TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Connutasaga
21 April 1779

Last night arrived 4 strings of wampum from Onondaga sent by the chiefs of Cayuga to the Senecas acquainting them that all the Oneidas were arrived at Onondaga and that they, the Cayugas, was truly informed that 700 men belonging to the rebels were at Gonawarahara and what the fort did not contain were encamped without, and intend immediately to punish the Six Nations (a strong body likewise by water, perhaps with provisions).

The express was sent off privately and in confirmation of which it is expected that a belt will be here this day or tomorrow, which Aaron and Tekanquandan left here to be sent forward to the Cayugas that provided the fact the rebels were on the march. The belt was to pass through the Six Nations and so to Niagara as a certainty of their approach. This morning at the break of day two runners were dispatched, one to Stop the warriors who passed this three days ago, who are not far of consisting of 19 in the party, and the other to Gennasee.

The warriors therefore desire you accept this as a token of that it is not more than probable they are intended this way, being enraged at the repeated blows they received from the Senecas, they therefore request that you would give them, with Colonel Bolton, all the assistance promised them, both with provisions and ammunition, and it is their desire that you would head the party and without delay send a message for the warriors to return who have gone to the place called Nunganykee on the Ohio, as hear it seems the blow is intended.

The belt, when it comes, shall be immediately dispatched to you as declaring the truth of their
approach. Thomas Hill went from this place yesterday morning, and I have given him all the assistance laid in my power as well as my advice on the matter to act with the greatest care and diligence may lay in his power. I have likewise given him a letter to Secord at Shimongo, desiring him to furnish him with two or three, if required, young Indians to accompany him over the most difficult part of the country, as he is most afraid of, and then return, for which I have promised they should be amply rewarded.

Montour is arrived and gone to war again, as likewise his brother John, and sends for what cattle was left here, and desires me to mention to you that he cannot spare his cattle, being too poor and of his being engaged otherwise against the rebels. I hear he has killed and taken five.

Julius, the bearer, with one other has returned from a scout I sent him on to Oswego to make what discovery he could, and acquaints that while there a canoe passed with Tehandondana's son and some others, who informed him that there was a body of troops at Carleton Island and would soon take post at Oswego. I refer him to your examination. He is always ready when called upon, therefore I have promised I would mention him to you as worthy of being taken notice of and shown marks of kindness by you in every particular.

Pray to be so good as to send off immediately your answer to this for further encouragement of the small remnant of the warriors left behind. I should be glad you would send Mr Clement to reside here a small matter of time, being young and spry that on emergency I might have an officer ready as I am entirely alone at this post; or otherwise Mr Young who I look upon being very active.

There is another runner gone through to Shimonga sent by the Cayugas to acquaint them of the approach of the rebels. This sudden alteration of news, howsoever unlikely it may seem to be, is good to be always prepared or never unprepared.

I conclude with my compliments to Colonel Bolton and the rest of the Gentlemen.

NB: I believe I have about 60 lbs of powder and near upon 400 ball.

Montour desires me to acquaint you he was in great distress for provisions. Mr Lottridge has not arrived. The warriors beg that when on your march you will not delay, but make all the hurry possible to their assistance, as everything depends thereon and beg that they may not come short of ammunition.

Annotated: Rec'd 19th May.


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LIEUTENANT JOHN JOHNSON TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Cunnutasage
21 April 1779

Aadondanoyte, the Onondaga, desires to be remembered to you and says you may rely on his fidelity and trust him as a faithful friend as his is resolved to die in the cause and defence of His Majesty if called in two days time. He says he sets out for Onondaga and will deliver his opinion openly and then immediately return, when he hopes to meet your answer to my letter.
The warriors wish that all the commanders of the troops now designed for their assistance were made immediately acquainted with their situation. He desires me to inform you that at the instant he believes Schuyler's calling the meeting in to bring the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Onondagas together and by fair promises or threats to see how many he has in his interest or not. And then to proceed against those who refuse to adhere to him and his with the Senecas as he declares. Compliments of Aadondanoya to Colonel Bolton and Colonel Butler.

PS: Aadonaroya begs you would send him 4 bags of paint for the warriors whom he will bring in our Service. In other particulars, send him as much as you can spare. It is true it is an article the warriors want for encouragement.


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EXTRACT: SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

New York
21 April 1779

I have reason to imagine that the rebels mean to make an attack upon Detroit this spring, and I am informed they intend to make a feint on the Susquehanna in order to draw the attention of Colonel Butler and the Indians from the other quarter.


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LIEUTENANT JOHN JOHNSTON TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Cununtasaga
23 April 1779

This morning arrived William of Oneida, who informs that the rebels are on their march and on this side of Onondaga and secured a number of women in the cornfield and made them prisoners. The person who brought the news from Onondaga says that he see one wounded Cayuga in the woods.

Dear Sir, with the utmost dispatch is humbly requested you will give us all the aid and assistance you can and if possible the warriors desire you would head the party. They hope you and Colonel Bolton will now at this juncture fulfil your promises.

PS: No matter for the belt, depend I shall meet them tomorrow with 50 men. They are likewise coming by water up the river.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add 21760, Letters from Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1777-1780; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number
EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
1 May 1779

Every intelligence I have received from Stillwater and Albany confirms General Clinton's information relative to the building of bateau in that neighbourhood, but says that the construction of large vessels is entirely laid aside. And that the number of bateau is far more considerable, it even mentions about 400 being furnished and materials collected for double that number. I have made minute enquiry as to the size of their bateau, and am credibly informed so large that they cannot navigate on the Mohawk River and Wood Creek.

This intelligence you will naturally keep entirely to yourself in order to avoid as much as possible giving any alarm to the Indians. It will be proper constantly to keep out small scouts towards the Mohawk River and Oswego that by procuring various intelligence from different quarters we may judge exactly of the enemy's real intentions.


EXTRACT FROM GENERAL ORDERS

Headquarters
New York
2 May 1779

All officers of Provincial Corps that are or may be raised in America shall, when on service with the regular troops, take rank as juniors of the rank to which they belong. Officers of such regiments as shall be completed to 10 companies of 56 rank and file each company (including three contingent men per company), His Majesty will ...make the rank of those officers permanent in America, and will allow half-pay upon the reduction of their regiments, in the same manner as the officers of British reduced regiments are paid.

Such officers as may be wounded in action so as to lose a limb or be maimed shall be entitled to the same quantity of one year's advanced pay as officers of the Established Army.

Quebec. The Quebec Gazette, 23 September 1779

EXTRACT: FROM RIVINGTON'S GAZETTE
New York
8 May 1779

By authentic accounts from Albany, we are informed that a party of Indians lately took and carried off to Colonel Butler, the notorious rebel Colonel John Harpur, out of the house of Colonel Guy Johnson, at Mayfield, near Johnson Hall. They killed a certain Justice Collins and his son, also a Mr Palmer, commissioner of sequestration, at Stillwater, with one of his neighbours, both of them violent persecutors of the Tories.

The rebels in that quarter are impressed with such apprehensions of the approaching danger from and great increase of the Loyalists whom they have long persecuted, that they are fearful of staying in their own houses; and such is the disgust and desertion of the rebel troops that seventeen Loyalists, confined in Albany goal, were aided in their escape by the guard, who went off with them.

New York. The Royal Gazette, 8 May 1779.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
8 May 1779

Captain Brehm has arrived here the 6th Instant and has acquainted me with Your Excellency's orders. You may depend, Sir, I shall give him all the assistance and every information in my power relative to the Upper Posts.

The 28th and 29th of last month we received several expresses from the Chiefs of the Senecas giving an account that a strong body of the enemy were on their march to Onondaga and that another party were advancing towards Wyoming. The enclosed letters will inform Your Excellency how much the Indians were alarmed. I therefore ordered Major Butler to march to their assistance with all the Rangers and Indians at this post, amounting to 400 fighting men. Since that time, we have received accounts that they took 35 prisoners and destroyed the Onondaga village and another party were advancing towards Wyoming.

Your Excellency sending a detachment to take post at Oswego will entirely secure the Indians in our interest, and Major Butler assures me he can assemble 1,000 warriors to make a diversion in favour of any body of troops General Clinton may send up the North River.

We have not received the least intelligence from Detroit since I wrote to Your Excellency. However, I am in great hopes of receiving some favourable accounts soon.

Finding that the rebels have retired, I have sent orders to Major Butler to remain at Connetesaga and to keep a good lookout towards Fort Pitt and Wyoming, for it is more than probable that the party sent to Onondaga was only meant to draw the Six Nations that way. I am informed the prisoners they took were in general in their interest.

In my last letter to Captain Lernoult, I desired he would send one of the small vessels to Fort Erie in case General McIntosh should move towards Detroit, as I was determined to send Major Butler and a strong party of Indians to escort the General's baggage.

I have wrote to the Major concerning the provisions and to try if he can fall upon supplying the post
Your Excellency intends to establish at Oswego with fresh beef.

Enclosed you have an account of pay for the officers, &c, of the Indian Department which I have drawn a bill for. A copy is sent to Mr Dunn.

PS: I have enclosed a copy of the note and speech by Hill to General Clinton.

British Library, Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac and Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: CAPTAIN DIDRICK BREHM
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
8 May 1779

Colonel Bolton just now acquainted me with the most earnest desires of Major Butler to have two light three-pounder cannon, commonly called grasshoppers, with their portable carriages and fixed ammunition, with round shot or ball. He assures Colonel Bolton that by their means he could take or make surrender all the rebels' stockaded forts which they have built along the frontiers. NB: the saddles must be sent along. And if two more could be sent for the operations of the Indians about Sandusky it might prove of very great service. Spare 3 pound balls might be sent along so as to make up occasionally more fixed ammunition.

I hope Your Excellency would please to order them to be forwarded with all speed.


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ACCOUNT OF RUM SOLD AT NIAGARA

Niagara
[10 May 1779]

An Account of Rum Sold Government by Thomas Robinson, Merchant at Niagara, from the 11th May 1778 to 10th May 1779.

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<td>To the Artificers under</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr Coleman, Master Builder</td>
<td>................................................................. 28 2 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>To the Indians</td>
<td>................................................................. 533 6 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To the Rangers Employed Building Barracks</td>
<td>................................................................. 650 52</td>
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</table>
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Genesee
13 May 1779

Last night I received a letter from Captain Johnston informing me that a body of rebels were on their way from Albany to make another attempt against the Indians, and that Cayuga is their object. This news was brought him by a runner from Cayuga, whither the account came by an Indian immediately from Albany. This intelligence has been but five days by the way. The Indians are much alarmed at it. I shall march this morning with the party for Canadasaga and have sent orders for Captain McDonell to join me there.

Yesterday afternoon, a prisoner was brought in who lived somewhere about Fort Pitt. He says he saw a circular letter from the Congress to the inhabitants of the frontiers to encourage them not to forsake their settlements. They promised that General Hand shall be sent with three thousand men up the Susquehanna and General Wane, with two regular regiments and a large body of militia, up the Allegheny River for their protection. He says they were preparing boats upon the Allegheny and tells me that the troops at Beaver Creek and the Tuskarawas were intended only to keep possession of those places and not to proceed any further.

It seems to be the intention of the rebels to erect a chain of forts all along their frontier. But whatever may be their intention, I think we can safely make considerable deductions from the accounts of their numbers.

Canadasaga
19 May 1779

I have just arrived here and met Captain McDonell and party. Some of the provisions are still behind but will be up in a day or two.

There came here just before me two men, George Harden and John Ward, who have been seventeen days from New York and bring the enclosed note from General Clinton. They say that very particular enquires have been made of every part of the roads between New York and Albany, and that to all appearances an expedition is intended up the North River, but this was not told them by the General. They further say that Colonel Campbell has prosecuted his successes in Georgia and has possession of part of the Carolinas and that the people in those provinces have joined him in great numbers.
Nothing material has happened between the two Grand Armies. Desertion prevails much among the rebels and they confirm the account of the French Fleet being blocked up in Brest and all the other news formerly arrived.

These men are much fatigued, I therefore send this by express and shall detain them till he returns. You will be kind enough to send by him every intelligence that may be useful at New York. I shall write the General the spirit and disposition of the Indians.

I received your letters, &c, per Lieutenant Hare yesterday evening and return you thanks for the news.

I wrote a few days ago to Niagara to have Bank Accounts properly adjusted. When this is done as I cannot draw for the amount till I return to Niagara. I would be much obliged to you if you could it be done, if you would draw for it.

I scarcely think I will be able to provide even myself with beef in this country. At any rate, the supplying Oswego with fresh beef will be too precarious to place dependence upon.

With regard to my remaining at Canadasaga, I shall comply with your desire as far as possible. Nothing else worth notice has happened since my last. My compliments to the gentlemen of the garrison.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasaga
19 May 1779

By two Indians who are just going to Niagara, I take this opportunity to inform you that we are still here employed in getting the provisions, &c, from Irontequot, which we expect to have all over in a day or two.

The Indians in this part of the country are so ill off for provisions that many of them have nothing to subsist upon but roots and greens which they gather in the woods, so that little assistance is to be expected from them in this way. The little stock we have will not last us long and Montour, on whom is our chief dependence for cattle, says he can let me have but twenty head, so that I fear we shall find it a very difficult matter to support ourselves in the country.

Lieutenant Crysler's brother arrived here the 17th Instant from Schoharie, which he left about three weeks ago. He informs me that about six hundred Continental Troops who said they were ordered to march to Fort Stanwix in consequence of a report that troops were coming from Canada to attack it. A Cayuga, who was about five days ago at the Oneida Village, says that there was a greater number of people at the fort than usual, and that a large body were on their way from Albany and had come up as far as Cachawago, about half way to Fort Stanwix. Every account confirms the intelligence that the rebels are making preparations on the Susquehanna.

Skeangerachta and the chiefs are to meet me here tomorrow. The Indians seem to be alarmed at the movement of the rebels, and as I am amongst them, I must in a great measure do as they please.
I shall send off a party tomorrow to endeavour to get a prisoner from Fort Stanwix.

PS: Montour has a great number of cattle, but wants, I suppose, a high price for them.

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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
20 May 17779

The detachment of the 47th Regiment arrived here the 17th Instant under the command of Captain Aubrey, but as Detroit is in so precarious a situation I have ordered him to Fort Erie to embark with his men as soon as the Angelica arrives.

At this time, I think it absolutely necessary to lay before Your Excellency a state of the garrison in hopes a reinforcement may soon be sent to enable me to carry on the works and to give our Indian allies some assistance, as part of Major Butler's Rangers are now with Captain Lernoult. Besides, it is not an easy matter to discover which way the enemy may advance.

Between two and three hundred Indians have been constantly employed about Fort Pitt and have defeated several parties of the rebels. Lieutenant Docksteder of the Indian Department, with 106 warriors, fell in with a strong body of the enemy lately, killed 21 and took 9 prisoners, with the loss of only one Indian killed and three wounded. The Lieutenant has also received three wounds, but am in hopes he will recover. Small parties, I am informed, will never answer between Fort Pitt and Tuscarawas.

Captain Brehm is now at Fort Erie and intends, I believe, going in a bateau to Detroit as it will take up some days to get the baggage, &c, of the detachment aboard.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasaga
21 May 1799

I yesterday evening received yours of the 13th Instant by Mr Johnston. I believe it will be impossible
at present to get the Ensign released. I shall try, however, when I come among the Cayugas to whom he belongs.

I believe I can get as many horses from the Indians as will be wanted, but as for oxen, I cannot promise.

Two of Joseph's friends, an Oneida and a Cayuga who are just returned from Oneida Village, inform me that the rebels who were on the march towards Fort Stanwix were recalled and all the troops upon the Mohawk River immediately ordered down to Albany. They say the Oneidas are much discontented at the behaviour of the rebels towards the Onondagas who had promised to join them and threatened to act with the rest of their brethren against them if they do not release those they have taken prisoner.

A small scout of Oneidas set out for Oswegatchie fifteen days ago and another for Carleton Island six days ago.

There are no further accounts since my last. The party are in general well and in spirits and we march today for Canandasag. I shall then consult with the chiefs and if they find there is no danger from this quarter, hope to prevail upon them to send large parties to harass the rebels about Fort Pitt and the other posts in that part of the country.

If Captain Butler is still at Niagara, there will be no necessity of his hurrying himself to join me.


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NTF letter in Washington's correspondence dated 21 May 1779 from Maj General Philip John Schuyler re movements of JB

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EXTRACT: COLONEL GOOSE VAN SCHAICK
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Fort Schuyler
22 May 1779

The scout I sent to Oswego returned yesterday. Their provisions having got damaged by a heavy rain obliged them to come off some days sooner than was intended. The officer informs me that he had been on the ground at Oswego seven days without making the least discovery of an enemy at or near that place.

The five Oneidas whom I sent with one of my officers to Buck Island have returned yesterday. They brought in three soldiers belonging to Sir John Johnson's Regiment whom they took on the island. By them, I have been informed that no reinforcement of men had arrived at Buck Island this spring, but that the remainder of Sir John's regiment, being seven companies, was daily expected.

When the soldiers were taken, which was the 15th Instant, there was then on the island about six hundred men, and about three hundred Indians and that a body of troops were coming up the River St
Lawrence this spring. Besides the four vessels on Lake Ontario, two large vessels on the stocks at Buck Island would be launched in a few days.

Butler and Brandt left Buck Island before the soldiers were taken, in order to collect the foreign Indians.


* Comment: Buck Island was another name for Carleton Island. Fort Schuyler was the American name for Fort Stanwix.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
23 May 1779

I have received your letter of the 8th May and am much pleased with the precautions you take about securing the Indians and at the same time harassing the enemy.

I have forwarded, with the Naval stores, four grasshoppers and two Royals with all their apparatus, and a proper proportion of ammunition. I hope they will prove useful, but great caution must be used to prevent the possibility of their falling into the enemy's hands.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

* Comment: Grasshoppers were light field pieces, which could easily be dismantled and carried by horses or mules.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
24 May 1779

Instead of ten, I got eighteen cattle by means of some half-joes I was obliged to borrow; and have discovered the reason which has made it [difficult] for me to get any cattle from the Indians. Some persons at Niagara, either out of jealousy or from some other motives, have endeavoured to persuade the Indians that they were imposed upon, that they were paid too small a price for their cattle, that for the future they ought to demand twelve pounds a head and that in ready money which they could always get for them at Niagara, and have succeeded so well that scarce the smallest article is to be got without immediate payment, which obliges me to send Lieutenant William Johnson to Niagara to fetch me a quantity of cash, as well to pay what I have borrowed as to enable me to purchase more cattle.

I have this morning sent off Lieutenant Thompson with about forty men to some place on the
Susquehanna where, I am informed, the rebels have a number of cattle which he is to endeavour to drive off, and get what intelligence he shall find opportunity for. Captain Rowland Montour, with about fifty or sixty Delawares, are to join him. I hope also, in a day or two, to be able to send off Captain McDonell and sixty men with a number of Indians to the Mohawk River upon the same design.

I am induced to do this as there seems no further accounts of the enemy coming into the country, and by the best intelligence there is the highest probability of their success and a great likelihood of their being able to bring off a number of cattle. At the same time these detachments will so diminish the number of the party that such as remain will be more easily supplied.

Though I have not ordered the party to Irondequoit as I thought I should be obliged to do it, it will nevertheless be absolutely necessary to send the provisions I wrote for and about 500 cwt of powder and 200 cwt of Ball. Please to acquaint me when you send it off that I may judge what time it may be at Irondequoit. Perhaps I may be under the necessity of going hither after I have dispatched Captain McDonell's party.

A runner came in yesterday informing me as of the success of the party under Aaron and young Mr Johnston. They have taken eighteen prisoners from somewhere about Schoharie. I expect them here within two days. The Mississaugas have behaved well on the occasion except in insisting in bringing away with them three women. There were a great many taken, but all sent back again unhurt, but these three. Some of Aaron's prisoners say that the Continental Troops from Schoharie and the German Flatts were all gone up to Fort Edward. The Mississaugas desire that their families may be acquainted that they are all well.

I daily expect to hear from Lieutenant Henry Hare who is gone down to Fort Hunter, and also from a party of Cayugas lately gone to the Big Island, a place upon the Susquehanna.

PS: I now send you the names of the people, which I forgot in my last.

Four casks of powder that was sent was entirely spoiled and could not be made use of. I would be glad if you would order the powder you send me to be inspected, as the expense of getting it to this place is considerable and this is only thrown away on bad powder, besides the disappointment it is.

27th. I yesterday received your favour of the 22nd that come by the boats. One of them returns immediately with all the hand that came in both. The other I shall send in a few days. I have wrote to you by the Sergeant of the party.

The Oneidas have sent to the Senecas and Cayugas requesting their advice in what manner to act, and the majority of them even declare they will even come off if the rest of the Indians think it best for them, but say it is necessary to keep their intentions private for fear of being treated as the Onondagas were. The Indians are now in Council about the matter and by the next opportunity I shall send you a particular account of it.

I think it shows the affairs of the rebels are in a very unpromising situation, or the Oneidas would not think of deserting them.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasaga
28 May 1779

Captain Butler informs me that it is your wish to have some of the chiefs of the Six Nations sent with a belt and speech to their western brethren to rouse and encourage them against the rebels. I shall propose it to Skiangarachta and the great men and endeavour to have it done as soon as possible.

I have got the families of the Onondagas that have escaped to settle in the different villages of the Senecas, to plant their corn, &c, but have been obliged to promise them that I would desire you to let them have a little provision to help to support themselves in the meantime. I have given them papers expressing the number of each family, though I know the importance of the article of provisions and how ill it can be spared. I could not avoid doing this as they have not been able to bring off a single thing with them and we cannot let them starve.

Captain McDonell has received a letter from the Major of his regiment signifying that unless he joins it soon he will probably be superseded. His leaving this at present will really be a detriment to the Service and it cannot be expected that he will sacrifice his rank in the Army. I would, therefore, beg of you to mention it to the General that he may be permitted to remain here this summer without it interfering with his other views. I have myself wrote to the General on the subject, and if my request be backed by you, I make no doubt but he will agree to it. The Indians are very fond of Captain McDonell and upon being told he was going down the country, have particularly requested that His Excellency would allow him to stay.

29th

Enclosed is the speech which the Indians here have agreed upon to send to their brethren to the westwards. As some of these people are now at Niagara and Joseph is going to Detroit, they think it will answer the same purpose to have it sent by them as though they sent any of their chiefs with it immediately from thence. You will receive the belt that is to accompany it along with this.

This evening came in an Indian who left Oneida four days ago. Just before he left it, he says there came in some Indians who had been at Albany to endeavour to get the Onondagas released. They brought accounts that fifty bateau were come to Fort Stanwix with spades, pickaxes, &c, and that there were great numbers of troops at Albany and Schenectady and that it was given out that they intended an expedition against Niagara, and that at the same time a body of men from the Susquehanna were to march into the Indian Country. Though there is no great confidence to be put in many reports that the Indians bring in, I think it necessary to make you acquainted with them and in the meantime shall take such precautions that it will be next impossible for any body of men to advance beyond Fort Stanwix or to make any movement upon the Susquehanna without my being acquainted with it almost immediately. I have made no mention of this news to the General as my letter to him was closed before the account came in.

Mr Ferris has this day joined me with ten more recruits. He informs me that Mr Wood, whom I had sent out likewise recruiting, has been across the North River and has raised about seventy men and that I may expect them here in a few days.

The people are very bare of clothing and necessaries which is the principal reason of my sending to Niagara for these things.

I shall send up as quick as possible to Carleton Island to let the Commanding Officer know this account from the rebels.
PS: The rebels have refused to release the Onondagas.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Headquarters
Middle Brook
28 May 1779

By the latest intelligence, it appears that the Cayugas intend to persist in their hostilities and to retire to the Seneca castles, but that the Onondagas retain their inclination for peace and have even offered to do something in evidence of its reality.

If they could find means by stratagem or force to bring off Brant or Butler or both, it would be doing us a most important service. I have hinted this to General Clinton through whom I have the intelligence of their offer. It was made under an injunction of secrecy.

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EXTRACT: CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO CAPTAIN FRANCIS LE MAISTRE

Niagara
28 May 1779

On my arrival here, I found that Major Butler had moved with the Corps towards the frontiers, they being fearful of the rebels making an attempt on the Indian Country, at least their taking Oswego before us. He is at present at Canadasaga, attending the enemy's movements. He has orders to remain there and not advance farther, but as he is to act with the Indians and in their Country, he must be governed by the Old Smoky Heads or chiefs.

I expect soon to move to Detroit or Fort Pitt. Whatever way it is, my endeavours shall not be wanting to forward the Service and do whatever in me lays to preserve the Indians in our interest. This kind of service is far from agreeable to me, but I shall not quit it unless I can with honour.

I have wrote to Colonel Butler to send the horse I intended for you and shall forward him down immediately on coming.

I am plagued much with the families of Royalists who are ordered down. I pray the General will do something for those distress people.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Headquarters
Middle Brook
28 May 1779

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If they could find means by stratagem or force to bring off Brant or Butler or both, it would be doing us a most important service. I have hinted this to General Clinton through whom I have the intelligence of their offer. It was made under an injunction of secrecy.

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.
CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
30 May 1779

It's some time since my arrival at this post before which Major Butler with the Corps had moved towards the frontiers, the enemy having made movements which alarmed the Five Nations and from several accounts expected they would invade their country, both by Fort Stanwix and the River Susquehanna. He is at present at Canadasago, a Seneca town on the lower part of Seneca Lake and the present Council Fire of the Five Nations, watching the enemy's motions and taking such measures as will best secure the Indian Country and tend to protect the posts and support the Indians in their alliance with the Crown. The particulars from him, Colonel Bolton will inform Your Excellency of, having yesterday received an express from the Major.

Colonel Bolton has thought it proper I should, in a few days, set off for Detroit with twenty five Rangers and as many Indians as I can collect on the ground in order to join the western Indians and endeavour to rouse them and try, if no method can be adopted, to get them to take an active part. Could this be effected, I rest assured that in the course of a few months there will not be a rebel in arms in any part of the Indian Country. This much I think I can certainly say that my endeavours shall not be wanting.

Could I prevail on Joseph Brant to accompany me with but a few of the Five Nations, I flatter myself much might be done. I have mentioned the matter to him. He seems willing and I have no reason to doubt that after Colonel Bolton has shown him the utility of his service there that he will cheerfully join.

The muster rolls of the Corps of Rangers are altered agreeable to Captain Mathews' observations made at the time of the muster, who is so obliging as to take them down and will deliver them to you.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
31 May 1779

I had no time to answer Your Excellency's favour dated May 1st as the Seneca was ready to sail and provisions being arrived at Carleton Island, I was determined not a moment's time should be lost to bring that very necessary and essential article here.

Captain Brehm sailed from Fort Erie the first fair wind that offered after the arrival of the Angelica with a detachment of the 47th and must have had a fair passage to Detroit. I am really happy that Your Excellency sent that gentleman to visit these posts, and you may be assured I shall give him every assistance and information in my power to enable him to lay before you an exact account of all
our transactions here.

It affords me great satisfaction to find Your Excellency is making every exertion to forward supplies and that you are determined to reinforce this post, as I am extremely anxious to get these works which cannot be accomplished for a considerable time with the small garrison under my command.

From the accounts I receive, it is very difficult to find out the enemy's real intentions. However, I have ordered Major Butler to remain at Canadasaga and to keep a watchful eye towards Fort Pitt, for the rebels have suffered so much lately that they always send out strong detachments which makes it necessary to send large parties of Indians that way. I have also desired him to keep frequent scouts out towards Oswego, the Mohawk River and Wyoming, and Joseph employs scouts constantly between this and Irondequoit as it is not impossible that the Oneidas will attempt to carry off a prisoner from this post. They tried last year but were disappointed.

I really wish it was in my power to reinforce Fort Erie and Fort Schlosser on account of the great quantity of merchandise at these places. In a short time, I hope to have a considerable quantity of provisions up as Mr Stedman has his waggons constantly employed.

If the vessels had not arrived so soon with provisions, I was determined to put the garrison to short allowance, however, by issuing less than usual to the Indians and distressed families, buying up some flour and pork (private property) which I can replace by agreement if Your Excellency approves, I have made a shift to carry on matters tolerably well.

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the orders you have given to the commanding officer at Carleton Island and also to Captain Shanks and shall think myself happy if my conduct merits your approbation. I have the King's Service too much at heart to start any difficulties at this time and you already have been too often troubled with the complicated affairs of these posts. All I request is that matters may remain as they are at present until Captain Brehm's return to Quebec, who, I am convinced, will make a faithful report to you of all our transactions here.

I also have heard from an Indian that the construction of large vessels have been laid aside at Stillwater, and that many more bateau are finished between. The Six Nations are still firm and determined to die to the last man by the last accounts I have received. Another speech shall be sent to the Hurons to spirit them up to act with vigour and I hope soon to inform Your Excellency more particularly concerning the motions of the enemy about Albany.

I have already acquainted you what little dependence Captain Lernoult has on the Canadians who seemed not only rejoiced at the loss of Post Vincent, but are now exerting themselves in debauching the minds of the Indians. I wish those of other parts may prove themselves good subjects. The first note I sent you from General Clinton was not much in their favour. Captain La Motte's company, I am informed, laid down their arms, notwithstanding all the Governor and their Captain could do, who with the rest of the officers, behaved remarkably well. Such are the accounts we have received from two men of the King's Regiment who are taken prisoner but are allowed to return here by Colonel Clark.

I wish we had more English seamen on this lake, not but I have a favourable opinion of Captain Bouchette and his Lieutenant, but you know, Sir, what sort of a man the Boatswain was. I sent you his petition and the crew of the Seneca, you informed me, applied at the same time to the Bishop in hopes of being discharged from our Service and this at the report of war with France.

Captain Shank, I hear, is now at Carleton Island and I suppose has brought up the naval stores which were much wanted. By this opportunity, I send you a plan of Detroit and also copies of letters I received from Captain Lernoult and Major Butler, with answers to the remarks on the naval accounts and a return of the merchandise transported over the lakes.
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Canadasago
31 May 1779

I send enclosed to Your Excellency the Barrack Account, and vouchers, which I have endeavoured to have properly adjusted; and also a bill in favour of Messrs Ellice and Company for two thousand four hundred and forty seven pounds two shillings and three pence, New York Currency, the amount of said Account, as it is now stated, which I hope Your Excellency will find right.

As I did not know that Colonel Bolton would not draw for the expenses of building the Barracks till the day before Captain Butler's departure for Canada, the hurry in which the accounts were made up was the occasion of the former mistake.

I have as yet received no further certain accounts of the enemy's movements upon the frontiers, but daily expect intelligence from the scouts which I have out in different quarters.

June 2nd

Early this morning arrived a runner with the news that a body of the enemy were advancing and it is thought will be before night at Cayuga.

I am preparing with all dispatch to go and meet them, and hope to be able to give a good account of them. Notwithstanding the scouts I have sent out, the Oneidas have found means to bring them by such a route that they were not discovered till they were within little more than a day's march of Cayuga.

EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
1 June 1779

All reports mention that the rebels are assembling a body of troops at Albany and sending strong detachments to Wyoming. In a few days, Captain Butler and Joseph intends to reconnoitre the environs of Fort Pitt with a considerable party of Indians, &c. Scouts are out as usual.
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasaga
5 June 1779

The alarm we had here the 1st Instant, which gave us the trouble of going to Cayuga, proved to be without foundation. The report of the enemy's advancing was occasioned by some tracks that had been observed by some of the Indians who took it for granted that they were those of an enemy and set the whole country in motion.

I have sent Aaron and David with two parties down to the Mohawk River. They are to go very low down and bring off a prisoner that will be able to give us some certain intelligence of what the rebels are doing. The Mississaugas are gone with them. Lieutenant H Hare is with one party and young Mr Johnston with the other with a few of the Rangers.

I sent off the two messengers from General Clinton last Thursday with the following note:

Indian Country
June 3rd, 1779

Your note of 21st of April came safe. Reinforcements have been sent to Detroit, which 'tis hoped will be sufficient to baffle the designs of the enemy against that place. The messengers have been detained since the 15th Ultimo, the reasons of which they will acquaint you with, also the spirit and temper of the Indians in this quarter and their message to Your Excellency.

JB &c

To General Clinton

The Indians desired them to acquaint General Clinton that they were still firm friends and meant to continue so; that from the accounts they had of his numbers being much increased they were in hopes that he would this summer assist them in opening the ancient road and communication between them and their Father, the King; that they had their spies upon the mountains and as soon as the noise of his guns was heard would endeavour to cut their way to him.

The provisions I have been able to collect in the country is almost expended and we have not more at present than will last a day or two at the most. I have sent out Mr Pawling in quest of cattle but it is uncertain whether he will get any. At any rate, he will not be able to get many, so that it will be neither possible for us to go further on, nor yet to remain here much longer unless I can get more cattle than I have any prospect of at present.

When the scouts return I shall send you a particular account of what intelligence they bring, from which perhaps you will be able to judge whether it will be necessary for the Rangers to remain longer in this country or not.
Captain Butler's going out towards Presqu'Isle and Vanango may probably be of service, as I make no doubt but he will be joined by many Indians from the Ohio. But it will be necessary for him to have provisions and ammunition as well as for the Indians who join him, which 'tis likely will be a hundred or more, as well as for those who go with him from Niagara. The Indians here would immediately send parties that way if they were certain the enemy were not making preparations to attack them, and have sent to encourage their brethren in that quarter to be vigilant and active.

Nine of the people brought in by Mr Ferris are Germans, belonging to some of the Regiments that were taken with General Burgoyne. I would be glad to know in what manner to act in regard to them and whether you think it will be necessary for them to be sent in that they may go to Canada.

I shall be obliged soon to send for more ammunition as we have not enough to supply all the Indians, who from the scarcity of provisions consume more of it than ordinarily by firing at every little bird they see.

PS: The Indians from Canada leave this to-morrow to return home. They have asked for some clothing and a pair of shoes for each of them, as they have worn out what they brought with them. They also ask for four gallons of rum to take with them on board the vessel, which I think it will be proper to give them. The Oneidas have refused to meet them as they desired and they are now returning with the sentiments of the Five Nations to communicate them to their own people.


* Comment: General Clinton is Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief at New York.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
7 June 1779

I have received your letter of the 20th May with enclosures from Detroit and the disagreeable accounts transmitted to you by Captain Lernoult of the wavering disposition of the Indians in his neighbourhood. I trust that the appearance of reinforcements in so quick a succession will have a good effect in reclaiming and serve to awe the dissatisfied inhabitants into good behaviour.

I am greatly concerned that Captain Lernoult is left so destitute of assistance to conduct Indian affairs. The more so, as it is not in my power to furnish him with any. But my reliance on him, from the accounts I have had of his zeal and abilities, makes me as easy for the safety of his post as the situation of affairs there can admit of. You may inform him that from the very favourable report made to me by Governor Hamilton and Monsieur Monforton, I am much disposed to serve him and shall be glad of an opportunity to do it. In the meantime, I wish Captain Lernoult to do all in his power to engage a continuance of his attachment and services.

I cannot but approve of your having forwarded Captain Aubrey's detachment to Detroit, and the sooner you send down those men belonging to it that you mention to be unfit for service from a confirmed state of bad health the better. And here I must repeat to you my anxiety for having every
useless mouth removed from Niagara for the reason I have mentioned to you which is still as urgent as ever. All prisoners and idle people from the frontiers, I hope you have already sent.

If you can find among the distressed families three or four who are desirous to settle upon the opposite side of the river who are good husbandmen, and who discover inclinations for improvement of land only, exclusive of every other view or pursuit, I would have you establish them there, affording them whatever assistance you may think necessary, whether by a little provision or a few labourers, for which indulgence they are to understand that their labour is to be calculated for and to tend as much to the supplying of the garrison as to their private advantage.

With regard to Major De Peyster, I have to observe to you that I cannot risk the consequence of removing from a post of such importance at so critical a period an officer of his approved knowledge of the management of the Indians of that quarter, whose influence with them is so great and whose government of them has been so urgently requested by themselves.

I have given orders to have the ammunition you required forwarded to you.

In order to facilitate the transport of provisions, to forward the works at Carleton Island, and to strengthen your communications, I have thought fit to send Major Nairn with a detachment of 50 men (until such time as I have a sufficient quantity of provisions for a greater number) to Carleton Island. His rank will in course give him the command, and you will direct whatever orders you may have occasion to send to that post to him. The enclosed letter will explain to you the reason that Captain MacDougal is suspended in the command.

Captain Mathews has delivered to me your sentiments upon the subject of sending Miss Molly and family to Montreal; Colonel Claus will write to Joseph Brant upon it. He likewise informed me of your desire to have wine, sugar and other articles forwarded for the use of your garrison. You must be the best judge of what is most wanted. Please to send me a list of the more speedy furtherance of them, and in order to save time let the Sutler give his correspondent the necessary orders to forward them. I hope he supplies you at the cheapest rates his situation will admit of, otherwise he must not expect indulgence granted at present to no other trader.

I wait impatiently for the return of Captain Brehm, when I shall be better able to write you more fully upon many subjects.

In the meantime, I must request that you will use every possible means to forward and complete those works judged necessary to the security of Niagara and Fort Erie, as I shall (as soon as the arrival of the provisions will admit me to take post at Oswego) to draw from your garrison a considerable number of men to forward that operation which the want of provisions alone has hitherto prevented.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
8 June 1779

Mr Pawling returned and brought but two cattle. Nothing material has happened since my last.
The same accounts still prevail that the rebels intend coming into the Indian Country.


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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Canadasago
8 June 1779

The Indians from Canada left this three days ago to return home without having a meeting with the Oneidas, as the latter refused to meet them except in their own village, where they did not think fit to go. On their coming to my camp, a messenger was immediately sent off at their request with a belt desiring the Oneidas to come and hold a Council with them. As Onondaga, the place they desired to call them to was destroyed, upon this two of the Oneidas came up to them at Cayuga and invited the deputation of the Seven Nations of Canada to Canawarashay. They refused and again repeated their request jointly with the Five Nations that the Oneidas should come to Cayuga. This they positively refused and have sent a belt after the Canadian Indians with their reasons for refusing to meet them.

They say they were informed by three Cachnawago Indians who left Canada immediately after the others that Your Excellency and the Seven Nations had desired the Deputies to light the fire at Oneida, but on their coming to me I had altered this and made them insist upon the Oneidas coming to Cayuga from some design of my own. They said they had been made acquainted with the business they came upon by the three Cachnawagos, who had been sent by the Indians of Canada to them with the same belts and speeches the others were charged with, and were at the same time told by them that the Indians who came this way did not speak the sentiments of the Nations of Canada and those to westward, whom they pretended to represent; but that those matters were determined to assist the rebels as they had last year agreed; that therefore as the messengers from Canada would not meet them at the proper and appointed place, and they were already fully acquainted with the errand they came upon, they could not at this time take them by the hand.

The Five Nations think that either the Indians of Canada act a double part, or are divided among themselves, as the messages they send to them and to the Oneidas are so opposite and contradictory. They therefore request Your Excellency would enquire into the matters and that the Indians of Canada will at once declare themselves and have sent the bearer with a belt of wampum which will be delivered to Your Excellency in order thereto. It is chiefly at their request and to satisfy them that I trouble Your Excellency with so particular account of this matter.

The late alarm of the rebels coming into the Indian Country proved to be without foundation. On our coming to Cayuga we found some of their scouts returned without having discovered an enemy, though they had been further than where the rebels were said to be, and that the report had been raised by some Indians, who having observed tracks in the woods, took them for those of an enemy and alarmed the whole country.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel A -682.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
18 June 1779

I am now expecting ten small cattle, and shall not be able to get any more. I have sent to every part of the Indian Country and have made the use of the few that were to be had by any means at any place. The party under my command is near three hundred strong, exclusive of the Indians, and I find myself under the necessity of ordering them to Irodequoit tomorrow in order that they may be supplied with provisions from Niagara. Otherwise we cannot subsist, as every resource in this country is exhausted and the Indians themselves starving.

I shall, myself, await your further orders at this place, and beg that in the meantime you will send a supply of provisions to Irodequoit as soon as possible. I have made every effort to support myself as long as I could without troubling you for provisions, as I know how precious an article they are, but I can no longer avoid it, and unless you can send us some speedily, we cannot support ourselves in the Country, or even get enough to carry us out of it.

David, the little Mohawk chief, returned the evening of the 16th with a few prisoners which he took at the upper end of the German Flatts. One of them informs me that four days before he was taken (which is now seven days ago), there were accounts that the British Troops were advancing up the North River and had got as far as the Highlands, about 50 miles from New York, where the rebels have several forts; that two thousand men from Canada had taken possession of Ticonderoga; that the people in general throughout the country were very much dispirited and would willingly submit if they had it in their power. David, on his way down and again on his return, passed through one of the Oneida villages; they were very friendly to him, said they did not mean to quarrel with the Indians and that it was merely for their own safety that they acted in favour of the rebels.

It is still reported that the rebels are assembled in different places in order to attack the Indians. I hourly expect to hear from Aaron and his party.

The above mentioned prisoner further informed me that there is but one regiment at Fort Stanwix and one hundred men at the German Flatts. He likewise says that there was a thousand men draughted from Albany and Tryon Counties, but whether they were to go down the river or up to Fort Edward, he does not know.

A number of people have escaped to me since my last, among whom are several belonging to regiments that were taken with General Burgoyne. Enclosed you have their names, with the names of the regiment each belongs to; also the names of the Germans. The two belonging to the 9th and 24th, I have engaged in my Corps as their regiments are not in Canada, and would be glad to know from you what would be most proper to be done with the others. The men say they have seen a Proclamation from the Commander-in-Chief which says that every person that could make his escape from the rebels should be allowed to engage in any Corps he thought proper, and if they are permitted to enter among the Rangers they will be very serviceable in disciplining the rest of the Corps.

I have procured the release of Mrs Campbell and have sent her with Mr Secord to Niagara. She is much in want of clothes and other necessaries. If there is not a more convenient place, I have told her she might stay at my house. I expect in a few days to get Mrs Moore and family released likewise. The Indians have given me seven prisoners which they have brought in at different times. I shall send them to Niagara at the first opportunity.
The Indians seem in some doubt whether Sir John Johnson is really coming to Oswego as he delays so long. Skiangerachta threatens you hard with a visit in order to know the truth of it, and I believe to ask of you a small supply for some of his people who are starving.

A party of Indians from Canada have taken ten prisoners and seven scalps at Fort Stanwix.


LIST OF RECRUITS TO BUTLER'S RANGERS

Niagara
[1779]

List of Men's Names that have Joined Colonel Butler, Summer 1779

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Regiment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Withey</td>
<td>9th Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Oldin</td>
<td>24th Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wallace</td>
<td>31st Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gold</td>
<td>31st Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Candeler</td>
<td>33rd Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Hone</td>
<td>34th Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Mitchell</td>
<td>Sailor on Lake Champlain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward William Writsel</td>
<td>Sailor on Lake Champlain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Belonging to German Regiments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Regiment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Cook</td>
<td>Thomas Harts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Prosser</td>
<td>Henry Herbert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Miller</td>
<td>John Mybower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conrad Boderbruner</td>
<td>Nicholas Vitsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Barkinstock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Comment: There is no date on this document, but in all probability it was the attachment referred to in Butler letter to Bolton, given above. This is a good example of the difficulty in working with the Haldimand Papers, these two documents were some 1700 pages apart.

BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
TO GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON

Camp Canajoharie Creek
19 June 1779

Colonel V Schaik waited on me this morning on his way from the fort to take command in Albany during my absence. He informs me that a party of Onondaga Indians had returned from Buck Island with two prisoners, one of them is an artilleryman and very intelligent, who informs that no troops are arrived there, neither do they expect any, as the whole force of that place amounts only to two thousand eight hundred men. Thus Butler was gone to Niagara and Brant to the Seneca Country. At the same time an Oneida scout arrived from Oswegatchie with one prisoner.

United States. Papers of the Continental Congress, Microfilm Group M247, Roll 183:289

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EXTRACT FROM CAPTAIN ANDREW PORTER'S JOURNAL

Canajoharie
20 June 1779

At a General Court Martial held Camp Canajohara June 20th 1779 by order of Brigadier General James Clinton, Whereof Colonel Peter Gansevoort was President

Thomas DeWitt
Isaiah Wool
Captain Lieutenant James McLure
Captains
  Aaron Aorson
  George Sytes
  Cornels Janson

Lieutenants
  Thomas Mackin
  Robert Parker
  Elisha Harvey
  Ezra Patterson

Member and Captain: Andrew Porter, Judge Advocate

Mr Henry Hair appeared before the Court, charged with being taken lurking about the camp as a spy.

The Court being duly sworn proceeded to the trial. The charge was read to the prisoner. Pleads not guilty.

Major John Newkirk being sworn. Says he was informed that the prisoner Henry Hair was at home with his family at nights & on Friday the 18th Instant. He collected a party of men & had them placed near the house of the prisoner; and on Saturday morning, the 19th Instant, the said party took him returning to his home.

The prisoner being asked if had taken the oath of Neutrality to the United States, answered that he did take the oath about the beginning of the year 1776, but that he had been taken prisoner by us a day or two before, and that in May 1776 he went with Sir John Johnson to the enemy and ever since that time has borne arms against the United States of America; & about a fortnight past in company with 19 Indians he left Canodaseago in the Seneca country and parted with said Indians at Thompsons about 10 miles above the German Flatts & four miles from the Mohawk River, from thence he proceeded round the Flatts and through the woods and passed through some part of the woods and arrived at his own house near Fort Hunter last Sabbath. That on Wednesday last he set off
in company with William Newberry to join Colonel John Butler's Regiment in the Seneca country, but Newberry getting lame about ten miles on their way, left him near Schoharie Creek & was returning home with an intent to wait until Newberry would be able to march & on his return near his own door was taken by a party of our men, he also says before he was taken that he was informed that there was an Army of the Americans going back against the Americans.

Questioned by the Court:

Did you join the enemy voluntarily? Answer: Voluntarily.

Do your hold a Commission under Colonel John Butler with the enemy? Answer: I hold a First Lieutenancy but left my commission at Niagara.

Is this the first time you ventured home to your family since you joined the enemy? Answer: This is the third time; the first time when returning I was discovered & fired on by a guard of the American Army near the Little Falls of the Mohawk River but got off clear; immediately when they fired at me I hid several letters that was sent with me by women in the neighbourhood where my family lived to their husbands who were with the enemy.

The prisoner being informed the court was ready to hear his defence says he has no defence to make but throws himself on the mercy of the court.

It appears by the prisoner's own confession that he was within three quarters of a mile of the encampment of the 3rd New York Regiment on Sunday last.

The court having considered the evidence and the prisoners own confession are unanimously of the opinion that the said Henry Hair is guilty of the charge and sentence him to be hanged by the neck until he is dead.

The court adjourned after the examination of other prisoners until 9:00 AM on the 21st. They met and adjourned the next morning at the same time.

June 22, the court met agreeable to adjournment. The following members are appointed viz Captain John Hamtranck, Lieutenant Gerit Staats and Ensign Isiah Bagley in place of Captain Janson Teabout and Mahikin.

William Newberry appeared before the court, said to be a Sergeant in British service and confined for lurking about the country and on suspicion of his being a spy.

The prisoner pleads not guilty.

Questions by the court to the prisoner:

1st. Where were you taken? Answer: By Schoharie Creek.

2nd. Did you ever take the Oath of Neutrality to the States? Answer: I took the oath about two years past to be true to the State of New York.

3rd. How long after you took the oath did you join the enemy? Answer: the August following.

4th. Have you bore arms against the United States of America ever since you joined the enemy? Answer: I have.

5th. In what Character did you act with the enemy? Answer: As a Sergeant in Colonel Butler's
Regiment.

6th. What time did you leave the enemy? Answer: The 6th of this month.

7th. Where did you leave the enemy? Answer: I left the main body of the army at Canodaseago in the Seneca country.

8th. Who came in company with you? Answer: Henry Hair and 19 Indians. We parted with the Indians on this side of the Orisquo Creek from which place they were to proceed to the Mohawk River towards the American boats.

9th. What route did you take after parting with the Indians? Answer: Henry Hair and myself came down by Thompsons and thence through the settlements till we arrived at Henry Hair's house near Fort Hunter. In the daytime we lay in the woods and at night proceeded on our way.

10th. What time did you arrive at Henry's house? Answer: Last Sunday week, just before day and remained there four days and then set off to join the enemy, but I getting lame about six or seven miles on our way, Henry Hair returned again to see his family and intended to wait until I would be able to march with him.

11th. During your stay in the neighbourhood, did you discover any boats or troops marching up? Answer: I heard the drums beat and was informed that a party was gone down to bring a number more boats from Schenectady.

12th. Who were the persons that give you the intelligence of our movements? Answer: Thomas Plato, William Rombauch and Henry Hair's wife. Said Hair's wife went backwards and forwards every day to gain intelligence for us.

13th. When you left your home to join the enemy the first time, what party went with you? Answer: Fifty six men and when we arrived at Young's Lake we halted and chose our officers at which time I was chosen their Captain. We then proceeded and joined the British Army under the command of General St Leger who at that time was besieging Fort Stanwix.

14th. Is this the first time you came down to see your family since you joined the army? Answer: I came down once before and delivered myself up to Samuel Clyde and Samuel Campbell, Committee men. They permitted me to go to my house and wait until the committee would. But some of my neighbours gave the committee information that I kept myself secreted, upon which the committee sent for me and ordered to be carried to Esopus with an officer and nine men as a guard, but being apprehensive that I should be hanged from what I was told, I made my escape and went back and joined the enemy afterwards.

Major John Fry sworn says I was made a prisoner in General Herkimer's battle with the enemy and saw the prisoner come in with a party of men sometime after at Oneida Lake.

The prisoner being requested to make his defence says he is very sorry for what he has done and was induced to do it by the persuasions of men who he thought knew more than himself; that Philip Koch brought a parcel of papers out of New York from Lord Howe and told him the King was very strong and America would be conquered in less than two months and everyone who did not go and join them would be hung up, or sent to the West Indies as slaves; and after that he went to Christian Tillabauch for advice who showed him some more papers and said the papers mentioned that whoever did not go off and join the enemy would be made slaves and sent out of America. Koch and Tillabauch both told him that they would go off and join the enemy if they had not got the protection from Howe; they also told him they had received writings from Sir John and Colonel Butler importing that the enemy determined to come down on the frontiers and show no mercy to all those
who would not join them. He also says his intentions in coming down this present time was only to see his family and should have given himself up to the mercy of his country if he had thought he could obtain pardon, but Henry Hair and wife, and Thomas Plato, told him there was no mercy shown any of those who had joined the enemy and was from these arguments afraid to deliver himself up; he prays the court to have mercy on him and spare his life.

The court are of the opinion the Prisoner is guilty of the Charge and sentence him to be hanged by the neck until he is dead.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT ROBERT PARKER

Canajoharie
21 June 1779

This day was executed a spy called Henry Hare, who said he was a private in Colonel John Butler's regiment. He was taken up by a party of militia at some distance from here, found guilty and hanged. Several others are in confinement.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF WILLIAM MCKENRY

21 June 1779

June 21st. This day a man was hanged at the Mohawk River taken up for a spy that was viewing the stores as they passed up the river. He informed General Clinton that he was a Lieutenant in Butler's service which is now with the Indians; also informs that another Tory and 9 Indians came off with him.

Ditto. 28th. One man hanged at Mohawk River taken up for a spy from Butler's camp that's with the Indians.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF HENRY DEARBORN

[Susquehanna Valley]
27 June 1779

The 2nd and 3rd New Hampshire Regiments crossed the river and moved 3 miles up to a place called Forty Fort on Abraham's plains and encamped here in the remains of a stockaded fort.
About 3 miles above this fort, the battle was fought between the two Butlers, viz:- Colonel Butler of Wyoming and the more than savage Butler that commanded the Indians and Tories, in which 250 men were killed and scalped on our side and about 40 or 50 men on the enemy's side. The next day after the battle, the enemy contrary to their engagements at the capitulation of Fort (in which was about 500 women and children) burnt and destroyed the whole settlement.

2 July. I went with General Poor and several other gentlemen today to view the field of action where the Battle between the two Butlers was fought. We found a great number of bones at and near the field of battle, among a number of skull bones that were found none was without the mark of the tomahawk. I saw one grave where 73 of our men were buried, and was shown a place where 17 of our men, after being taken, were made to sit down in a ring, 16 of whom they immediately tomahawked, the other leaped over the ring and made his escape.

3rd. This is the anniversary of the Battle of the two Butlers.


MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
3 July 1779

It now seems beyond doubt that the rebels are coming up the Susquehanna. A deserter came in this morning, who left Wyoming eleven days ago. He says that a General Hand was already there with six thousand men and two small pieces of cannon, and that the Generals Sullivan and Maxwell were daily expected with nine regiments and as many pieces of cannon. He says it was talked of amongst them that another army was to come from the northward and a third across from Fort Pitt or Fort George, and that their design is to cut off the Indians as they come along and then join their forces to attack Niagara. He says they have already go six hundred pack horses together and are to have five hundred more, and that they had a great number of boats laying in the river, and that part of the troops were encamped about five miles above Wyoming.

This intelligence has stopped Lieutenant Thompson. Runners are now going off to the different villages to collect the Indians. I shall, therefore, be in absolute want of a further supply, both of provisions and ammunition, and must beg of you to send off Mr Secord with what horses can be got at Niagara with a quantity of this latter article as soon as possible. The provisions you will, I suppose, send to Irondequoit.

A scout of Indians that are going a few days to Wyoming are returned and say they saw a number of people encamped at a place about forty miles higher up the river than Wyoming.

The Indians upon the Susquehanna are entirely out of ammunition. Mr Thompson has been obliged to give them part of what the Rangers, who are with him, had.

PS: Please to send with the ammunition about two gross of knives and 50 lbs paint.

EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON TO MRS JAMES CLINTON

Camp at the South End of Otsego Lake
6 July 1779

I have nothing further to acquaint you of, except that we apprehended a certain Lieutenant Henry Hare and a Sergeant Newberry, both of Colonel Butler's regiment, who confessed that they left the Seneca Country with sixty three Indians and two white men, which divided themselves in three parties; one party was to attack Schoharie, another party Cherry Valley and the Mohawk River, part of the Mohawk River to take prisoners and scalps.

I had them tried by a General Court Martial for spies, who sentenced them both to be hanged, which was done accordingly at Canajoharie, to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants of that place that were friends to their country, as they were known to be very active in almost all the murders that were committed on these frontiers.

They were inhabitants of Tryon County, and each had a wife and several children who came to see them and beg their lives.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1901), Vol 5, p 122

EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD CARTWRIGHT

[6 July 1779]

6th. This evening came in a Cachnawagoe Indian who has been long at Oneida. He pretends to have quitted the enemy and promises to be our friend for the future. Major Butler has some suspicion of his being a spy and would send him under guard to Niagara, but for fear of disobliging the Indians who are always inclined to put implied confidence in any professions made by one of their own kind.

By what this man says, Lieutenant Henry Hare and Sergeant Newberry, who set off for Fort Hunter the 4th, will have had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy and hanged as spies. We have lost in Mr Hare a very active enterprising officer and the manner of his death is shocking.


EXTRACT FROM THE WRITINGS OF DEWITT CLINTON

[Fort Plain
7 July 1779]

An occurrence took place, near here, during the war, which excited much sensation among the superstitious. A Tory, from Canada, was apprehended and executed as a spy, in the army commanded by General James Clinton. His friends were gratified with his body for internment; and when the
company were assembling in a cellar-kitchen, a large black snake darted through the window, and ran under the coffin, and could not be found.

This affair made a great noise, and the superstitious Germans interpreted it as an omen favourable to the Whig cause, considering the black snake as a devil, anxious to receive his victim, and anticipating a delightful sacrifice.

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**EXTRACT: PETITION OF GARRET NEWKIRK**

[July 1779]

And this deponent further says that he was ordered out and went with Captain Snook and a number of others to take one Henry Hare, a British spy, who was then ascertained to be in a house in the town of Florida; and the Company surrounded the house in the night under the orders of Captain Snook; and they took Hare who was afterwards hung as a spy at Canajoharie.

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**EXTRACT: PETITION OF WILLIAM J NEWKIRK**

[July 1779]

This deponent also volunteered and actually went to take one Henry Hare, a British spy, whose family resided at Florida, while he had been engaged in travelling back and forth to and from Canada as a spy; that Captain William Snook commanded the Company in taking Hare; that they surrounded the house at the night and made him a prisoner and he was hung as a spy at Canajoharie as he was informed and believes; that this deponent went from Florida to Canajoharie to assist in taking Hare to that place but did not see him executed.

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**EXTRACT: PETITION OF HENRY SNOOK**

[July 1779]

And this deponent further says that he volunteered with a number of Whigs to go and take one William Newbury and William Rombo who were called British spies, and who were connected with one Harry Hare, a British spy; that the deponent and his company found Newberry and Rombo in the woods on the east side of Schoharie Creek in the town of Florida, and took them prisoners and surrendered them to Captain [William] Snook and Major [John] Newkirk. And the deponent then
understood and believes that they were publicly executed at Canajoharie as British spies, and Hare, their companion, who had also been taken by Captain Snook and some men under his command was also executed as a spy.


*Comment:* Rombo may have been William Rambaugh of the King's Royal Regiment of New York.

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**MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON**

Canadasago
7 July 1779

Yesterday evening came in a Cochnawaga Indian who has been long at Oneida. He pretends to have left the rebels; says he is sorry he suffered himself to be so long deluded by them and promises to act a very different part for the future. Along with him came one who was sent from here to the Oneidas. He brings a message from them to the Senecas, importing that there are about forty warriors who now mean to follow their advice and come off with their families, and in order to disguise their real design from the rebels will pretend they are going to the head of Lake Oneida to fish. These are Tuscaroras, the Onondagas and some of the Oneidas declare they will do the same as soon as their chiefs return who are gone to Albany to try one more to procure the Onondagas their liberty who are prisoners there. I will not pretend to say whether the Oneidas and the others who are among them are really in earnest, or only mean to gain time till they see what turn of affairs are likely to take before they finally declare themselves. But the Indians seem not to doubt their sincerity in the least.

The Cochnawaga confirms the account that the rebels are at Crochan's Lake and building a fort there, says they have four pieces of cannon, but does not know their numbers. I am daily expecting Brant Johnson whom I sent hither with some Cayugas. By him probably I may get some particular information.

This man says it was talked of among the rebels that the people at Crochan's Lake were to march across the country and join at Tioga (a place on the Susquehanna, twelve miles below Shimong). Another large body that was to come from Wyoming, that they in conjunction were to trample under foot the Six Nations and then reduce Niagara. Such is their talk.

The Indians, however, seem determined to dispute that matter with them a little. He also says that the rebels have had people out at different times to see if they cannot discover some easy communication by water to Oswegatchie.

The Cachnawagos who were at Oneida, to the number of thirty, are all returned to Canada, except three or four. The one that was here says he was desired to come this way and request that the General might be informed that they were happy in having an opportunity given them to return and promise to behave better for the future. Eleven of the Oneidas are to come with the rebels upon their expedition.

One piece of intelligence I am much distressed at. By what these Indians say, Lieutenant Henry Hare and Sergeant Newberry have had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the rebels and were executed along with some other man who was taken with them. They left this the 4th of last month to go to Fort Hunter. I hope the account may not be true.
I am in hourly expectation of hearing from the enemy on the Susquehanna. I have recommended it in the strongest terms to the Indians in that quarter to use the utmost diligence and watchfulness and give me the earliest notice of the rebel movements. The scarcity of provisions prevents the Indians from assembling at present, but the moment they hear of the enemy advancing, they mean to march all together and attack them in a body.

PS: 8th. I received a letter from Mr Thompson this evening. He writes that by the accounts he has from a loyalist who has come to him from the Delaware, the rebels were yet all assembled at Wyoming but were on their way to it. He means to proceed in a day or two if he hears nothing further from the enemy.

DEPOSITION OF HENRICK JAGO

Detroit
21 July 1779

Henrick Jago, recruit in Captain Caldwell's company of Rangers, is willing to depose upon oath that he being servant to James Cassidy, farmer at Grose Point, has often heard the said Cassidy together with one Wm Bostick speak in a very rebellious manner against Government, and particularizes:-

That when he, Henry Jago, wanted to purchase a farm, the said James Cassidy advised him against it, saying that he was very certain the Virginians would be at Detroit in a short time and that on their arrival he would get him a farm for nothing.

Likewise, that the said James Cassidy and Wm Bostick used often to make mention of a quantity of leather which they said they were tanning for the use of the Virginians, and that on their arrival they would make a great deal of money by it.

Henry Jago further saith that the above James Cassidy declared that the Commanding Officer dare not send any person whatsoever down the country, that it was too late as the Americans were so near, and that some time before the deponent left James Cassidy's house, whenever the said James Cassidy and Wm Bostick began to converse in a rebellious manner, they sent the deponent out of the room, telling him he could not keep his tongue silent.

Sworn before me this 21st day of July 1779
WB Lernoult, Commanding
Witness: Andrew Caske, Captain, King's Regiment

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
Canadasago
21 July 1779

A Coenawaga Indian who came from Oneida here some time ago gives me some intelligence which I think necessary to lay before Your Excellency. He says that eight of the principal Indians of the Cochnawaga Indians are much in the interest of the rebels and that correspondence is carried on between them and Mr Schuyler by means of a negro who is continually going backwards and forwards from thence to Oneida with letters and intelligence, not only from the Indians but also from some French and other white people in the rebel interest.

He also mentioned that there is a party of rebels laying in somewhere near the upper end of Lake Champlain on the east side with a design to draw off as many Canadians as they can. These may possibly be some people sent by Mr Hayson, or some of the Livingstones, who are well acquainted in Canada and left it along with the rebels on a scheme to prevail upon some of the Canadians to go off and join them.

This Indian was at first very active in our service but through the persuasion of some of his relations afterwards took part with the rebels. He has been long at the Oneida village, was much thought of and trusted by them, which has given him an opportunity of being pretty well acquainted with what was going forward, and he seems very intelligible. His name is Iwa, re, sa. He mentions one Cawso, a Frenchman who, he says, lives in a large stone house in the Recollects Street, Montreal, as concerned in carrying this correspondence with the rebels, and the names of two of the Cochnawaga: Con, na, ha, re, goa and Quan, te, te. He says that the rest of the Cochnawagos who were among the Oneidas are returned home and as well as himself are sorry that they have suffered themselves to be so long imposed upon and intend earnestly to advise every one of their people to break off all connection with the rebels and listen no more to their falsehoods. He is going to Canada, and promises to acquaint Your Excellency with every particular he knows. He has twice before all the Indians here declared that he was sorry for his past conduct, would for the future most heartily join them and endeavour to open the eyes of the Seven Nations of Canada to the insidious designs of the rebels and have reason to believe him sincere. I shall write by him that Your Excellency may know when he arrives.

Your Excellency has been made acquainted with the occasion of our coming into the Indian Country and everything material that has happened since. As there were constant reports that the enemy were preparing to come against the Indians, both by the way of Lake Otsego and the Susquehanna, I remained here at the desire of the Indians, as it is the readiest place to march from against the enemy should they appear from either of those places.

Want of provisions has at length obliged me to send off Captain Butler with the Rangers on the 19th Instant to encamp near the Falls of the Genesee River, five or six miles from Irondequoit. It was impossible to keep them here any longer. The little provision that was to be procured by any means in any part of the Indian Country has all been expended, as well as a supply received from Niagara, though the greatest economy has been used to make it go as far as possible, and the men only allowed as much as was barely sufficient to keep them alive, which has brought actual sickness upon some and endangered the health of the whole.

Although there was, last fall, a considerable quantity of cattle in the Indian Country, these have been chiefly consumed by the Indians themselves. It is well known that they never raise more corn, pulse and things of that kind, which compose the principal part of the food, than will just suffice for their own subsistence. But they were so employed on various excursions the last summer, that they did not cultivate the usual quantity and a great part of what they did cultivate was destroyed by some women or other before it came to perfection and the number of people who passed through their country from the frontiers still contribute to lessen what was left.
Many families in this village and the villages below it, as Mechquago, Shimong, Cayuga, &c, have not had an ear of corn the whole winter and were obliged to live such as had them upon cattle such as had no cattle upon roots. This by the time we came into the country made beef exceedingly scarce and dear. What there was we have made use of and so entirely has the country been drained that at Shimong where cattle were by far the most plenty, there is not a creature to be go, and Lieutenant Thompson, who was sent thither at the express desire of the Indians with about 40 men, writes that he will be under the necessity of returning immediately, as he must starve if he stays.

To add to all this, there is not the same opportunity of driving off cattle from the enemy's frontiers there was the preceding summer. Many of their settlements were then broken up and such as remain are secured by a chain of forts which the enemy maintain at small distances all along their frontiers. Had I a prospect of being able to take away any of them I could not march out against them with a sufficient body for the want of provisions.

For these reasons I have sent off the Rangers from this place and have made a choice of the Genesee Falls for them to remain at as besides it being a very convenient place for boats, it abounds in fish which will save salt provisions and make a much less quantity serve there than in any other place. Neither will they have so many Indians about them to eat up their provisions as it is impossible to avoid giving it to them when they are with you.

Be we where we will, we must depend upon the provisions sent us from Niagara and the importance of the article would of itself almost make that the most eligible place at which the smallest quantity will be necessary but the place I have ordered the Rangers to is in other respects so situated that their laying there besides saving provisions and the great expense of transporting them to this place, will answer every purpose of our being here.

It would seem as if the enemy were principally intent upon establishing and maintaining a chain of forts for the protection of their own country; but should they march against the Indians the Rangers can come from the Genesee Falls to this place in two days with the greatest ease, a much shorter time than any body of Indians sufficient to oppose the enemy could possibly assemble in. And to prevent being imposed upon by idle rumours and false alarms that might otherwise be the means of harassing the men unnecessarily, I shall station two officers, one at Shimong and the other at Cayuga, the only ways by which the enemy can approach, and give them instructions that upon any report of the enemy approaching, they themselves shall go with a small scout to where they were said to be. If they find it true, to acquaint me of it immediately; if false, to endeavour to set before the Indians the folly of being alarmed at every trifling thing they hear. Not that I mean they should be secure and inattentive to the enemy's motions. On the contrary, it is my intention to have scouts, both of Rangers and Indians, constantly out at every quarter, but only not to be alarmed when there is no enemy near them or any signs of one.

Should we be wanted at Oswego, it will be the most convenient place for us to move from to it. Should our services be required towards Detroit, Fort Pitt or Vanango, there is no place we can be at so central for either of those places.

In justice to myself, I am obliged to be thus particular in pointing out the reasonableness and propriety of taking this step and in justice to the people under my command I could no longer delay it, as they were suffering everything that hunger and disease could inflict and had they remained in this situation much longer, would have been entirely unfit for service. I shall stay here myself as my presence will be necessary with the Indians in case anything should happen.

The Indians in general continue to be very well disposed and a number of the Oneidas sent word to the Senecas some time ago that they would come away with their families and live among them and act in conjunction with them for the future. This was in consequence of Your Excellency's speech to
them, but they seem not to be in earnest and only mean to gain time till they see what turn things are likely to take before they finally declare themselves.

Your Excellency may depend upon my taking every opportunity to improve and confirm the good disposition of the Indians.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL CAMPBELL

Canadasaga
22 July 1779

The bearer hereof, Iwa-re-sa-a, a Cognawga Indian, has given me some information of a correspondence carried on between the rebels and some persons in Canada. He promises to give a very particular account of it to the General. I have wrote to His Excellency on the subject and now acquaint you therewith that you may inform him of the Indian's arrival.

He was, at the beginning of these commotions, an active person in favour of Government, but has since taken part with the rebels. He has been for some time past amongst the Oneidas, was much thought of and trusted by the rebels which gave him an opportunity of being pretty well acquainted with what was going forward. He seems intelligent and I hope will be a means of bringing to light those hidden traitors who have hitherto carried their intrigues with but too much success. He has twice declared here before all the Indians in public council that he was sorry for his past conduct and would hereafter act most heartily in conjunction with them and do his endeavours to open the eyes of the Indians in Canada to the insidious designs of the rebels and I have reason to think him sincere.

The rebels threaten hard to destroy the Six Nations, for particulars I refer you to the bearer.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
23 July 1779

John Rimp, a trusty and intelligent Indian whom I sent out some time ago, is returned this afternoon. He brings some rebel newspapers which I enclose you. You will find by them that General Clinton is certainly advancing up the North River. He says that he himself from the top of the Blue Mountains, which lie near the river, heard the firing and saw the smoke of two armies engaged at Fish Kill, eighteen days ago, and it was afterwards told that General Washington had been defeated and was pursued twenty miles. Fish Kill is at the upper end of the Highlands towards Albany.

He also says that on his return he met, a little beyond Schoharie, fourteen days ago, a man who had
come from the rebel army and was told by him that two days before that, the time the man came away, the British Forces were taking up the chain that the rebels had fixed across the river at the Highlands. Had we but provisions, we might probably at this juncture be of most essential service.

Brant Johnson has just come and has brought a prisoner from the German Flatts whom he took six days ago. This man says that there were two thousand men at Lake Otsego, and that near two hundred bateau had been carried over to the lake and a great quantity of provisions; and that they were to march from thence to join another body that was to come up the Susquehanna. Rimp mentions almost the same thing. The many concurring reports we have had of this matter make it evident that such was originally their intention, but Johnson says that coming through the Oneida village he was informed that eight of the Oneidas who were to have gone on this expedition were returned, as it was found impossible to go down the creek with boats and that the rebels were besides short of provisions.

The prisoner informs that there are between five and six hundred men in Fort Stanwix and that the small forts at the German Flatts were garrisoned by the Militia and that the families chiefly live within these forts.

He confirms the account of the fate of Mr Hare and Sergeant Newberry and says they were hanged after being kept prisoner a few days.

I sent this Rimp along with Mr Ferris to the frontiers some time ago to fetch off some people that were desirous of coming. He has seen and spoken to Captain Ten Broeck of my Corps who is kept prisoner near Esopus and allowed to live with his brother, who is bound for him under the severest penalties that he shall not attempt to make his escape. From him he also heard that General Clinton had taken the forts in the Highlands. I expect Mr Ferris himself in a little time with further intelligence and some men.

I have been under the necessity of giving several orders for flour, some to squaws, whose husbands being out at war, had no means of providing themselves, and some to Indians whose families are really starving.

I forgot to mention that Rimp further informs me that he was told by a person living at the Blue Mountains that a body of the rebels under the command of General Gates was defeated some time ago by a detachment of the British troops about 60 miles to the eastwards of New York, having been drawn into an ambuscade by a feigned retreat. This man had been forced into the service, was present at the engagement, and made his escape.

Yesterday Mr Clement, with a few of the chief warriors, set out in order to way-lay the road from Fort Stanwix to Crochan's Lake and bring off a prisoner. And the day before a small party passed through the village who mean to strike near the same place.

I intend to send Lieutenant Lottridge in two or three days with a large party to Canajoharie to cut off some of the Oneidas who live there.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
Quebec
23 July 1779

I have received your letters of the 27th June and 1st Instant with the several enclosures from Major Butler and Captain Lernoult. Your bill for £3219.4.4 shall be answered.

The general distress for provisions in the Upper Country is a subject of infinite concern to me, as well upon account of the local evil as the disappointment it is to my other views particularly that of taking post at Oswego this summer which, with all the efforts I can make and every diligence that can be used, will I can foresee be totally impossible to effect. I have taken all imaginable pains to forward the transport of provisions and shall continue to do so while the season will permit for this purpose. I have omitted sending many stores much wanted at the different posts. The late arrival of the victuallers has occasioned this distress. Eastwardly winds are at an end and I am obliged to order down bateau from Sorel to carry provisions from the different craft between this and Montreal as they cannot make their way up the river, but with all in my power to do, if a sufficient quantity of provisions for the subsistence of the troops already at the posts, excluding the heavy demand for Indians, can be conveyed to them it is as much as can be expected. Thus situated to send troops to Oswego to starve or to be under the necessity of abandoning it for want of provisions would certainly have a much worse effect, both in the eyes of the rebels and Indians, than my not undertaking it at all. A deputy of Indians from the Six Nations are here. I propose detaining them until the fleet arrives, the appearance of which and the arguments I shall make use of, will, I have no doubt, satisfy them that their nations will remain for this year in perfect security without having a garrison at Oswego.

The quantity of provisions that will arrive this year in the Province will effectually prevent my being retarded next spring in any operations I may think necessary to undertake, and the transport to the Upper Country will be greatly facilitated by a scheme I have in view which is build houses at the Cedars and in the course of the winter to have provisions laid to that place where it will be ready for bateau the moment the river is navigable.

I observe with great concern the difficulties Major Butler finds in subsisting his Rangers and Indians. You will represent to him the pains that have been taken here to forward provisions and the utter impossibility of being more successful. The Indians should understand that all our distress on that account proceeds from the amazing quantity of provisions they consume.

You will likewise represent to Major Butler the necessity there is for his falling upon means to procure subsistence in the country, either at Schoharie or upon the Mohawk River.

You will continue to furnish him with such supplies as he may stand in absolute need of and I recommend it to you to learn well the state of your stores, and if you should find it necessary to reduce the allowance time enough to prevent evil consequences, for I have no idea you can suffer from any attempt of the enemy.

Major Butler penetrating into the country will answer another good end, that of alarming and drawing in the settlers and favouring any operations that may be carrying on upon the North River. It is impossible the rebels can be in such force as has been represented by the deserters to Major Butler upon the Susquehanna. He would do well to send out intelligent white men to be satisfied of the truth of those reports. If anything is really intended against the Upper Country, I am convinced that Detroit is the object and that they show themselves and spread reports of an expedition in your neighbourhood merely to divert the Rangers and Indians from their main purpose. Major Butler should be aware of this but at the same time be cautious of leaving the Indian Country exposed.

If you should think it necessary still to reinforce Detroit, do it in time to the utmost of your ability. You can occasionally reinforce yourself from Carleton Island should there be a necessity for it.
Those English and German soldiers that are coming in to Major Butler may, for the present, continue with him, but are by no means to be considered in his Corps. It would be a very bad precedent and might even encourage desertion from other Corps on account of the high pay.

If those men can be of service to him it is well, but in regard to high discipline nothing of the kind is expected, the business of a Ranger being to march well, to endure fatigue and to be a good marksman. Any time they have to spare ought to be employed in these exercises. The little minutiae and forms of parade are totally out of their province, nor can their situation admit of a possibility of their acquiring them.

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1778-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

West Point
23 July 1779

If it is agreeable to His Excellency Governor Clinton, yourself and the other commissioners to make the exchanges proposed by Butler, it will be perfectly so to me. You will know better than me the consequence of the Indian personages in question, and the probable political advantages or disadvantages that they will produce.

I had seen Governor Haldimand's speech before. It does not appear to be a very brilliant one; however I have heard that it has had some influence upon our Oneida friends.

I return you Butler's letter.


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CAPTAIN JOHN MCDONELL TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Camp 20 Miles from Fort Wallace
24 July 1779

I was met here by Samuel Harris's party of twenty warriors. They went off from Shimong two days before my arrival and have taken two prisoners and three scalps, a little below Fort Wallace.

That the enemy mean to attack the Indian Country from Wyoming remains no longer a doubt. All the accounts I have been able to gather relative to their strength from prisoners taken at different places and periods seem to corroborate. I have reason to apprehend from the information I have just received that they are about this time in motion.

The prisoners say that Generals Sullivan and Maxwell were arrived with the last division of the
troops, a long train of artillery and a brigade of provision boats. This division said to contain 5,000 men composed of Continental or standing forces. They have 1,000 pack horses and 170 boats. The whole is said to consist of 8,000 men, though I cannot allow them above the half, nor do I believe they have that.

I sent off a scout from Shishiquin to Wyoming to watch the motions of the rebels till our return. Should they discover them on their route, a runner is to strike across the woods to me, the rest to return and spread the alarm, in which case I shall, after doing them all the injury I can in this quarter, send off a sufficient guard with the cattle I'll be able to collect towards the mountains to the Nanticoke Town and hang upon the rear of the enemy and harass them as much as possible on their march with a few of the most active of the Rangers and about 100 of the Indians.

You may depend upon it I shall be very cautious to do anything that may have a tendency to dishearten the Indians. I know too well their capricious humours.

I shall collect all the cattle of every kind I can as I am sensible that provisions will be an object of the utmost consequence when all the Indians are embodied.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACT FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES

[27 July 1779]

Articles of Capitulation entered into between Captain John McDonell on His Majesty's part and John Little on that of Congress:

Article 1st: The men in garrison to march out and ground their arms in the Green in front of the fort which is to be taken in possession of by His Majesty's troops.

Agreed to.

2ndly: All men bearing arms are to surrender themselves prisoners of war and to be sent to Niagara.

3rd: The women and children not to be stripped of their clothing nor molested by the Indians and to be at liberty to move down the country where they please.

John McDonell, Captain of Rangers
John Little.


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EXTRACT FROM A LETTER BY COLONEL SAMUEL HUNTER

Sundbury
28 July 1779

This day, about twelve o'clock, an express arrived from Captain Boon's mill, informing us that Freeland's Fort was surrounded by a party of Indians, and immediately after that another express came, informing that it was burned and all the garrison either killed or taken prisoners; the party that went from Boon's saw a number of Indians and some Red Coats walking round the fort (or where it had been), after that there was a firing heard off towards Chilisquake, which makes us believe that the Savages are numerous, and parties are going off from this town and Northumb'd to ye relief of the garrison at Boon's, as there is a number of women and children; there was at Freeland Fort fifty women and children, and about thirty men and God knows what has become of them. By this you may know our distressed situation at this present time.


 FRANCIS ALLISON TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA

Sundbury
28 July 1779

At the particular request of Colonel Hunter, I inform you that Freeland's Fort, the most advanced post on the frontiers of the west branch, had on Wednesday last three of the garrison killed and scalped (one only shot) within sixty yards of the fort, and two made prisoners; the number of Indians appeared to be upwards of thirty in the open view of the garrison.

Relief was sent immediately from Boon's Fort and the two towns, and additional force was left behind to ye assistance, notwithstanding which they attacked them in the morning, and by intelligence received from persons of credit, sent out as spies, they had surrounded the fort, were walking carelessly around it and the gates were thrown open. This account received from Major Smith at twelve o'clock, since when Mr Trigg, sent by Captain Nelson, informs that other spies had seen the forts and barns in ashes, the mill still standing, and that the Indians appeared very numerous, among whom were some Red Coats, supposed to be Regulars; that thirty-four men had turned out from Boon's Fort to relieve Freeland's Fort, of whom there is not the least intelligence.

The garrison of Freeland's Fort consisted of thirty-two men, fourteen of whom were nine month's men, and had in it upward of forty women and children. The situation of this county is truly alarming.


 EXTRACT: COLONEL MATHEW SMITH
 TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA

Sunbury
29 July 1779

I enclose a copy of the capitulation at Fort Freeland. The Captain McDonell of the Rangers is formerly a sergeant in Colonel Montgomery's Regiment of Highlanders. His humanity has appeared in this one instance, perhaps the first in this war. Fifty-two women and children came safe to this
place, being the number taken, four old men also was admitted to come back, the enemy supposed them not fit to march to Niagara.


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EXTRACT FROM RETURNS OF LOYALISTS

[Montreal
July 1779]

Mrs Buck, 2 male children under 10, 1 girl over 10, and 2 under 10
William McClelland, wife and three children
Mrs Pencil, a very old woman
Mrs Frederick Segar, and son
Mrs Turney, wife, one boy, two girls
Jacob Anguish, wife and two girls

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21825, Correspondence with the Inspector of Loyalists, 1781-1784; Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-751.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS

Canadasago
2 August 1779

As I am informed the General grants no passes for goods to the Upper Posts, I must trouble you to suggest to His Excellency that a considerable quantity of clothing, shirts, shoes, liquors, tea, sugar and other necessaries will be wanted for my Corps when they return to quarters; which, I hope, Mr Robinson will be allowed a pass to bring up. It would be a sad disappointment and a very great hardship if, after all the fatigues of a campaign in the woods and deserts where the men are starving and suffering for the want of everything, they should not be able, when they come to quarters, to procure things comfortable and necessary.

It will be absolutely necessary for Mr Robinson to bring up a large quantity of goods as presents for the Indians unless they are provided by the General himself of Colonel Johnson. Mr Robinson will be the best judge what quantity will serve.

By most authentic intelligence I have been able to procure, General Clinton and his army is in the North River and has taken the forts in the Highlands. This, I believe, may be depended upon.

It is now evident that the rebels mean to invade the Indian Country in this quarter, both from Wyoming and Lake Otsego. Their numbers must be considerable as there are three Generals at the former place: Maxwell, Sullivan and Hand. A General Clinton is to command their forces from the other quarter.

These two bodies intend to make a junction at Tioga on the Susquehanna.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
3 August 1779

I received a letter from Captain McDonell the 1st Instant, which I sent to Captain Butler, desiring him to forward a copy of it immediately to you as I had at that time no horse that I could send an express with it.

It appears now that the rebels are firmly bent on coming against the Six Nations with a large body of men, and have made all the necessary preparations. Captain McDonell's letter will inform you of the reports concerning the enemy's strength, &c, at Wyoming. And I am told by a prisoner brought in last Sunday, taken seven days before that at the German Flatts, that the rebels at Lake Otsego have been damming up the lake and endeavouring by every method to raise the water sufficiently in the creek that leads into the Susquehanna to float their boats.

Captain Butler writes me the 29th Instant that a runner came to him from Canawgaras informing that a party of Indians have been lately at or near Fort Pitt and found (as they say), at a place called Otego by them, by us Pine Creek, about 25 miles from Fort Pitt, a large body of the rebels. They heard cannon and believe they are fixing a post and then mean to con on. The enemy must, I should imagine, have laid aside their designs against Detroit if they really mean to come into the Indian Country in this quarter, and that they will, I think, is beyond a doubt, should General Clinton's success be such as to prevent them. In this case, if Captain McDonell is not able to drive off a great quantity of cattle and we cannot be largely supplied with provisions from Niagara, I do not know what may be the consequences, as it will be impossible without this to maintain any number of people together.

The situation this country is in, with regard to provisions, I have already fully stated to you.

I dispatched Mr Lottridge the 27th Ultimo agreeably to what I mentioned in my last. He has a few Rangers with him and 18 Indians. I gave him directions to touch at Carleton Island and endeavour to get some Mississaugas to join him. He has my instructions also if he succeeds in bringing off any of the Oneidas to return to the Island and await there for further directions from either you or myself. If he should take any of them, I think it would be proper to have them sent prisoners to Canada. This will lay them under the same restraint the rebels have upon the Onondagas, or else produce an open rupture between them and the Six Nations, which may end in the destruction of that mischievous nest which has given us so much trouble.

Mr Clement returned yesterday. The three Indians who were with him spoke to an Onondaga who informed them that he was lately told at Albany that a messenger from General Clinton had been taken with a letter from him to the Six Nations acquainting them that an expedition was forming against them by the rebels and advising them to be upon their guard. If this be true, it serves further to confirm what I mentioned above.

Mr Servos set off today with a large party for the German Flatts.
EXTRACT: LORD GEORGE GERMAIN TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Whitehall
3 August 1779

The success of Major Carleton's expedition upon Lake Champlain and Captain Butler's at Cherry Valley must be very distressing to the rebels; and by disabling them from subsisting any troops in those parts add considerably to the security of Canada; and I hope you will find opportunity in the course of the campaign of making further expeditions upon the frontiers.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER

Canattasago
4 August 1779

A couple of Indians came in this evening from Joseph. He has been down to Minisink and I believe has met with a disappointment. He found the inhabitants mostly secured in forts. After taking some scalps he was attacked on his return. He has lost three of his men killed and ten wounded. His party have thirty six scalps and prisoners; only five of the latter. No Cattle.

The Indians say they took a Loyalist, a very respectable man who informed them that General Clinton had certainly taken the forts in the Highlands and was following Washington up towards Albany, and says he mentioned that they delayed their operations from Wyoming on that account least their assistance should be wanted on the North River.

an officer they have prisoner says the same thing.

Joseph is gone on a scout towards Unondella.

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CAPTAIN JOHN MCDONELL TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Tioga
5 August 1779

NTF: commission of Jacob Ball in 21745 dated 4 Aug 1779
I have the pleasure to inform you of the success of the Indians and the detachment I had the honour to command against the West Branch.

After a very tedious, fatiguing march over mountains and through woods almost impenetrable, we came in upon the settlement the 27th in the evening, continued our march all night and invested a small place called Fort Freeland early in the morning, the then frontier post occupied upon the river. At ten o'clock the fort surrendered by capitulation, a copy of the terms I have sent herewith.

The garrison consisted of one Sergeant and 12 Privates of the Continental Troops and 20 of the Militia, commanded by one of the Commissioners of the County. They had two men killed before the place surrendered. John Montour received a wound in the small of the back while scalping a man under the pickets of the fort, but is in a fair way to do well.

About two hours after we got possession of the place, we were attacked by a party of rebels that came up to reinforce the fort of 70 or 80 men, having heard our fire. We had no intimation of their approach till they were close upon us, the scouts of Indians that were sent out having fell in with some horses which they pursued, neglecting the charge they were trusted with.

The Indians, upon the first appearance of the rebels, retired a little but soon recovered from their surprise and came in upon their left flank with great fury, while the detachment of the 8th Regiment and Rangers attacked them in front, and put them immediately to the rout with the loss of three Captains (two of which belonged to the Continental Troops) and between thirty and forty men killed. Few of them would have escaped had they not been favoured with a very close copse where they concealed themselves. We had only one Indian killed and one wounded upon this occasion.

I did everything in my power to prevail upon the Indians to pursue their success, but they were so glutted with plunder, prisoners and scalps that my utmost efforts could not persuade them from retreating to Fort Wallace that night. Next day I returned with about 100 Indians and Rangers. We burned and destroyed five forts and about 30 miles of a close settled country. They had abandoned their forts the evening before and fled with great precipitation, leaving behind a large quantity of goods and most of their cattle.

We were within eight miles of Shamokin. I am confident that there is not a rebel on this side of it.

The prisoners corroborate the accounts I gave you in my letter of the 21st Ultimo and I have no further news.

The Commissioner, who is a very intelligent man, asserts for certain that the armies from Wyoming and Cherry Valley are destined for Niagara. They were to set off from Wyoming the 26th Ultimo. A General Clinton commands the army at Cherry Valley.

Out of the 116 cattle we drove past Wallace's fort, we have only 62 remaining. Some we lost, the greatest part were stolen from us by the Indians. The Tuscaroras have a separate drove containing, I believe, 40 or 50.

For further particulars, I must refer you to Lieutenant Thompson whom I beg leave to recommend to you as a very active, spirited officer.

PS: Please to send me word as soon as possible what I am to do with the prisoners and cattle.

**EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF ADAM CRYSLER**

[August 1779]

In the Spring I went to Canatasago under the command of Colonel Butler, and in the month of July I went to the west branch of the Susquehanna under the command of Captain McDonell with Rangers and Indians and took 30 prisoners and 40 killed and destroyed that whole settlement and then we returned to Colonel Butler at Canatasago.


**CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO CAPTAIN BREHM**

Genesee River
8 August 1779

The following particulars relative to the building of the Ranger Barracks at Niagara, and the expenses attending the same, were made by the desire of Captain Brehm, Aide-de-Camp to His Excellency General Haldimand, Commander-Chief of the Northern Department.

On Captain Butler's arrival from Canada the latter end of August 1778 (Major Butler having arrived but a few days before from the Indian Country in a very ill state of health), he found a barrack in building and the frame nearly ready to be put up, which Colonel Bolton told him was to be a barracks for the Rangers. On finding the place very ill situated for quarters, either for Officers or men, and out of the fort, in the bottom, where in fall and spring there is half a leg deep of water and mud, and no more ground than to erect one barrack which was not sufficient quarters for the Officers; and even were there ground sufficient, such a situation no Officer could be answerable for his men in justice to the Service, from the place being open to Indians day and night, and they constantly drinking and after being troublesome when an unhappy consequence might arrive from such a number of men mixed with them, for those reasons Captain Butler waited on Major Butler, and though he was very sick, represented those matters to him. He desired Captain Butler to mention the same to Colonel Bolton. He accordingly immediately took the first opportunity to lay those things before Colonel Bolton and made free to give it as his opinion that the fort was the proper place for the Ranger barracks to be built, and that it would have a very good effect, the Rangers doing duty with the garrison as they would thereby sooner be brought to order and discipline and tend in that respect to the good of the Service.

Colonel Bolton made answer there was not sufficient room in the fort. Captain Butler said that in his humble opinion he had conceived there might still be barracks built for fifteen hundred men, but Colonel Bolton was best judge, and added as the barracks was not to be put in the fort, the place they were then going to be put would by no means answer, for the reasons before mentioned. He therefore conceived the Navy Hall side was a much better situation than the bottom, and where the men could be kept to order.

On this, the ground was viewed and the place fixed. The workmen ordered to take the timbers over the water by Captain Butler in consequence of Colonel Bolton's approbation and leave.
This was the only order given by Captain Butler relative to the building the barracks, except after the 8th December, when he came in from the Indian Country, and then, only in such matters as related to the men on fatigue, who were not allowed a shilling.

Captain Butler, in two or three days after the ground was viewed, left Niagara and did not return till winter.

Colonel Bolton told Captain Brehm that the barracks for the Officers of the Rangers was built by him, and the expenses attending the same not included in the barracks account transmitted to the General, but paid by him. In this Captain Butler must humbly beg leave to differ, and to assure Captain Brehm that not only the expenses in building the barracks were included in the General Barrack Bill, but the tools made use of by the artificers in building the Ranger Barracks and log houses were purchased by Mr Bennett and charged in the same account, likewise the tents the Rangers were quartered in from the 8th of December to the 18th or 20th January following. A number of oil cloths, part for above purposes, not a sufficient number of tents to be purchased, and part to cover barracks for Indian Officers on Niagara side, not having boards for upper floors, and if Captain Butler is not greatly mistaken, the artificers employed in repairing said barracks and putting in repair the log houses in the bottom for several Indian families, were paid in the Ranger Barracks Accounts.

The tents, on the Rangers going into the barracks, were given to a number of the Indians who came in to the succour of His Majesty's bounty, to cover them from the weather, and never have been returned. Some of the oil cloths were converted into powder bags this spring, the rest to the fort, one at the Ranger barracks, the rest at the Indian Officer's quarters. Some of the artificers were not in the Service. Such as were, belonged to the King's Regiment or Rangers and what allowance was made them will appear by the pay bills to have been as much to the former as the latter.

Whether carpenters or masons, Mr Bennett, the Master Carpenter, and Mr Campbell having the extraordinary pay, can clear up who fixed the artificer's and mason's pay much better than Captain Butler, as he knew not anything of the matters till the evening before he left Niagara for Canada in March last, when Colonel Bolton made Colonel Butler acquainted of, who declared he did not ever before that moment consider himself to have anything to do with it. Captain Butler can declare with a safe conscience that he exerted himself in giving every assistance to the artificers and masons by turning out sometimes 150 men for fatigues and seldom less than 50 men, from the time of his coming to quarters till the barracks were habitable, and that not one of those men were paid anything, only to be allowed a gill of rum, which in so cold a season of the year, the men not half clothed, having just came in, and laying in the tents, the carrying stone from out the river on their backs (the river having rose by the great fall of rain) and others employed getting timber, making mortar and attending the workmen, &c, tendered absolutely necessary.

Captain Caldwell could have well informed Captain Lernoult of the untruth of his saying Colonel or Captain Butler, allowing the Rangers 4/ per day when put to work and which was unreasonable demand they would never have presumed to have made had either of them been there. Captain Butler gave Colonel Bolton, in writing, that the artificers employed by him repairing the barracks were not to have more than was allowed other soldiers in the garrison so employed. He had added a gill of rum each, to six only, to make them exert themselves. Every other Ranger on fatigues were ordered by him to do it as their tour of duty, and to receive neither rum nor pay. He mentioned verbally to Colonel Bolton that if Captain Brehm did not approve of the allowance of rum, he would stop it in future and pay what was given out of his own pocket.

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British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682

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CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO CAPTAIN BREHM

Genesee River
8 August 1779

Captain Walter Butler requests that Captain Brehm will lay before His Excellency, General Haldimand, the fate every officer and soldier serving on the frontiers in those parts are to expect in case they should be so unfortunate as to fall into the enemy's hands, which will fully appear by the fate of Mr Henry Hare, an officer in the Indian Department and Sergeant Newberry of the Rangers met with, taken on a scout to Otsego Lake. They were no sooner taken, but immediately executed. Likewise, a gentleman sent by Sir Henry Clinton to Colonel Butler with dispatches was taken on his return from Colonel Butler and immediately executed.

The conduct of every officer, both of the Rangers and Indian Department, in exerting themselves on every occasion to preserve the lives of prisoners taken, and also to treat them well, particularly at Wyoming and Cherry Valley last campaign, and this by Captain McDonell should set the rebels an example if there were men possessed of humanity and common justice to do the like. As these instances have had the contrary effect, some method should be taken to restrain the rebels from such acts of barbarism, or they will be under the necessity of doing themselves justice.

Mr Hare has left a helpless wife and a number of small children. He had their brother killed in His Majesty's Service, a Captain in the Indian Department at Fort Stanwix in '77, who likewise left a wife and five small children. He has a brother living, a Captain in the Corps of Rangers, and a nephew, a Lieutenant in the said Corps, both men of merit. The Sergeant left a wife and children.

Captain Brehm will likewise mention to the General that had the Rangers and Indians would be embodied sufficient provisions to take them to the frontiers, they would be able to render Sir Henry Clinton most important service in his expedition up the North River.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara and Papers, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
9 August 1779

In an extract of a letter from Major Butler to you, I observe the following paragraph, viz:- "I have discovered the reason which has made it so difficult for me to get cattle from the Indians. Some persons at Niagara, either out of jealousy or some other motive, have endeavoured to persuade the Indians that they were imposed upon, and that they were paid too small a price for their cattle; that in future they ought to demand twelve pounds a head and that in ready money which they could always get for them at Niagara and have succeeded so well that scarce the smallest article is to be got without immediate payment, which obliges me to send Lieutenant William Johnson to Niagara to fetch me a quantity of cash as well to pay what I have borrowed as to enable me to purchase more cattle."
I must desire that you will make every possible research into this affair in order to discover the authors of so pernicious a doctrine to the Indians who should be taught to expect every benefit immediately from the hand of Government, and to place their sole dependence on it. Let me know your success and the discoveries you may make such as you think you can depend on. I shall immediately order the delinquents down to this place and, if traders, their goods likewise.

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**EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

**TO BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY WATSON POWELL**

Quebec
9 August 1779

It is currently reported that the rebels have executed a Lieutenant Henry Hare of the Indian Department at, or in the neighbourhood of Albany. I must request that you will endeavour to inform yourself of the truth of the report, and if it should appear to you to be authentic, that you will send the rebel officers down under a strong guard, giving them to understand that since their people persist in violating the laws of humanity, not only by cruel usage of their prisoners, but even putting them to death, those of them who fall into our hands must, as long as their enormities are committed by them, expect a similar treatment.

I should be obliged it was so managed that Mr Sherwood may be of the guard to conduct the prisoners to this place, as I am acquainted that he has reason to think he could procure some useful information if he had an opportunity of being much with them.

Any severity that may appear more than common, in the manner of sending down these prisoners, I would have attributed to the cause above mentioned, but in all events it will be necessary to send a strong guard with them, as they will, if possible, make their escape.

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**MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON**

Canadasagoe
10 August 1779

I wrote to you a few days ago the information I received that the rebels were establishing a post at Otago, or Pine Creek.

Yesterday came a runner with a confirmation of this news. He says they have completed their fort and were further advancing into their country.

This afternoon came in a runner with intelligence that the enemy from Wyoming were on their
march, and had been seen upon the plains six miles below Tioga yesterday at 2 o'clock PM. This will not admit a doubt, and their numbers from the many accounts we have had must be very considerable. Montour is gone down to reconnoitre them, and I expect tomorrow to know how many there are.

It is the desire of the chiefs and myself that every Indian about Niagara may immediately set off for this place, Mississaugas as well as rest, and march night and day till they join me; and that such as do not come may not be allowed provisions, nor anything else, nor be looked upon as friends. And this we desire you will tell them.

I would also desire that you would send as many people as you can spare from about your garrison.

We mean to make this our place of rendezvous and collect together as many as we can, and give the enemy battle at all events.

Captain McDonell is here. From what he has heard of the prisoners, the enemy mean to establish a strong post at Tioga. This must take them some time, so that we shall probably have sufficient time to assemble a considerable body before they advance any further. This, however, is uncertain, as they may perhaps come on immediately.

As ammunition will be much wanted, I must request of you to send off as many horses as can be got with that article, and to give those people that come from Niagara as much provisions as they can carry with them.

If any dressed leather or ready made moccasins can be got they will be much wanted.


EXTRACT: CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FRASER
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Oswegatchie
10 August 1779

A party of Mohawks and Cayuga Indians and Rangers consisting of fourteen men conducted by a Mohawk Chief named Little David and an Indian Officer of the Five Nations Department are arrived at Carleton Island in their way to attack the Oneida Indians. They have taken this route to get a few of the Mississaugas and other Indians of Canada to join them, that the measure may seem the general.

There are no Senecas with the party, but it is sent by advice of the Great Chief of that Nation, who promises to support the attack.

Colonel Butler seems by a letter of his to be much interested in the success of this enterprise, and recommends strongly to get the party strengthened in this country. I have accordingly sent for some Abenakis from St Regis without disclosing the design till the Chief does it himself. I imagine I can get a very few Iroquois here, but as it is recommended to keep their destination a profound secret, I durst not propose to any of the Iroquois of St Regis to go, as their present custom is to insist upon knowing their route and business before they quit this village, and there is no doubt but they would dispatch runners to put the Oneidas on their guard.

Unluckily, all the Mississaugas, except one man, have been at Montreal these three weeks, and no
word of their return. There are expresses sent to their hunting ground to endeavour to pick out some
from there.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21789, Correspondence with Officers
Commanding at Oswegatchie, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
microfilm reel number A-686.

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EXTRACT: MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER

Canadasagoe
11 August 1779

Captain McDonell is here, and his party will be in today. By the accounts he has from the prisoners,
the rebels were to leave Wyoming on the 26th Ultimo. They mean to build small forts at every 20 to
30 miles as they come along and establish a very strong post at Tioga. They have two companies of
artillery men and 20 pieces of cannon, and by the Commissary's return which one of the prisoners
had seen, there were up to seven thousand rations issued at a time at Wyoming.

I think it beyond a doubt that they are very strong and seriously bent upon this expedition.

I shall send forward the prisoners as soon as they arrive. I think if it should be necessary for you to
march, it would be best to send off all the sick with the prisoners to Niagara, as we shall not be able
to spare men to keep post at the River.

12 August 1779

A runner is just arrived. The rebels are certainly at Tioga and have begun their fort there. I must,
therefore, desire that you will march immediately upon the receipt of this with every man you have
fit for duty and use all convenient speed until you reach this place. Bring with you all the provisions
you possible can. If it cannot be brought, leave some of the people who are least able to march to
take charge of it.

I must desire you to write to the Colonel and request of him to send four or five boats to Genesee
River for our use and some provisions.

I expect the Indians will be all assembled here in three day's time, and would be glad if you could
have the Rangers here about the same time.

Let the men bring up what provisions they can upon their backs.

National Archives of Canada, "Q" Series, 16-2.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
16 August 1779
I enclose you copies of letters received from Major Butler, which will inform Your Excellency of the enemy's arrival at Tioga and the disagreeable situation the Six Nations are in. That the rebels are determined to oblige them to observe a neutrality, I have scarce a doubt of, and they appear to me in general extremely dissatisfied that the troops Your Excellency promised them have not taken post at Oswego.

Several chiefs came in lately, and in council desired to know the reason why the Great King, their father, did not assist them in the time of their distress after the many promises made by the General and the Commanding Officers here; that they could not resist the force the rebels were now bringing against them, and were even at a loss which way to go as the enemy were advancing from all quarters. They desired I would send a part of the garrison to their relief, otherwise their villages would be cut off and they could no longer fight the King's battles. They even, in council, said I had not kept my word, and that I talked nothing but provisions, while they were well convinced there was a great quantity at Quebec, therefore I could have no excuse for not assisting them.

I informed them of all Major Butler had wrote, and notwithstanding I attended their councils three days and gave them everything they wanted in clothing, provisions, &c, I could not prevail on 44 to set off, out of 200 warriors.

Kayashuta desired that 100 soldiers might be sent with him to attack 600 rebels and 100 Delawares who have taken post in his neighbourhood, 15 miles this side of Vanango. In short, to answer all their demands I must have given them every soldier of this garrison.

Their behaviour all together was very different from what I had ever seen before, and if Major Butler should be defeated, I am convinced they would follow the example of their brethren at Detroit.

Your Excellency will see the necessity of either taking post Oswego or of sending reinforcements to the Upper Posts as soon as possible. For if a neutrality should take place, I need not inform you what will be the consequences. 500 men sent up in time will in all probability secure the Six Nations in our interest and save Detroit.

You will pardon me, Sir, for encroaching on your time so long on this subject, but I think it a very necessary part of my duty to give you every information concerning these posts when it appears to me they are in danger.

I have wrote to Major Nairn, Commanding at Carleton Island, to inform me what number of men he can spare in case I should be obliged to call upon him. By the last return, he had only 155 men fit for duty. Every man here is employed upon the works which I am anxious to complete as soon as possible. This prevents me from giving any assistance at this time to the Indians, the garrison being reduced to a handful by the detachments I have sent to Detroit.


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EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY WATSON POWELL
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Fort St John
18 August 1779

A soldier of Sir John Johnson's Corps brought down the account of Lieutenant Hare's being hanged at Albany. I sent to know from what authority he had it, and was informed it was from a rebel
CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FRASER
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Carleton Island
22 August 1779

I thought necessary to come to this place for a few days to forward the departure of the scout against the Oneidas, and I found the utmost difficulty in persuading the Mississaugas to join in the attempt, notwithstanding the strong message sent them by the Five Nations. After using successively entreaty, persuasion, presents, reproachments and threats, they have been at length prevailed on to send twenty of their warriors with Little David.

The principal chief of the Iroquois of St Regis goes with two of his people and two of the Abenakis of that village. The latter of these were conducted this length by their principal chief, and both he and the Iroquois chief, not only promised to support this blow with vigour, but showed much zeal for Government by their conduct in encouraging the Mississaugas.

I cannot sufficiently do justice to the Chief, Little David, for his good behaviour and anxiety for this party taking effect. He is one of the most distinguished men among the Six Nations, is perfectly sober, and enthusiastic in his loyalty. I took the liberty to offer to mention to Your Excellency any favour he wished to ask, and he begged I would ask a laced coat in place of one which had been taken from him when his house was plundered by the rebels. He said that coat was given him by General Gage and he had preserved it in his family as a distinguished mark of the Commander-in-Chief's attention and goodness; that he meant to keep Your Excellency's gift the same way to encourage, by the sight of it, his children to be as faithful subjects as himself.

It is not his intention to kill any of the Oneidas without they oblige them to it by resistance, and that they are not to be brought to the Six Nations, but delivered here to be detained by Your Excellency as hostages to secure their good behaviour in future. I imagine Your Excellency's instructions will be necessary to point out to the Commanding Officer here how they are to be treated and disposed of in case any of them be brought in.

Just as the above scout was setting off, letters arrived here from Colonel Butler informing of the approach of the enemy to the Six Nations country, and requesting assistance of Indians from all quarters. Major Nairn and myself thought proper to communicate our intelligence to David, and he answered that his numbers would be but a trifling reinforcement as he was sure the Mississaugas would go along with him until they saw troops coming from below so that he would proceed to the execution of his project. He said he had letters from Canadasago himself to the same purpose and begged I would write the enclosed message from him and the Six Nations to Your Excellency which I took instantly from his lips.

It is said that Mr Johnson has quit the St Regis village in consequence of threats of the Indians on account of the death of an Oneida Indian. If this is true, I imagine it will be proper to order him back immediately for his fears are ill grounded and improper to behave on this occasion.
The principal chief of St Regis (Francis) and David dictating the enclosed message affirmed that almost every Indian in Canada wanted but permission from Your Excellency to go instantly to the assistance of their brothers. If Your Excellency shall think proper to send any of them there, I would be much flattered to go along with them in what station Your Excellency pleases.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21780, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Oswegatchie, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-686.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Chuknut
26 August 1779

I was favoured with your of the 15th Instant yesterday, and have also received the ammunition sent by the horses.

We are now encamped within 14 miles of the enemy, who, from the best intelligence I have been able to get, are at least 3,000 in number.

Soon after they came to Tioga, a large body of them marched up to Shimong, a village three miles below this, which they burnt and destroyed the corn and were advancing further when they were attacked by Captain Rowland Montour with about 20 Delawares, who after a few fires were obliged to retire with the loss of one man killed. They say they killed several of the enemy as they were very near and saw them fall. They were determined to have attacked them again had they advanced any further, but after remaining for a little time near where they had the skirmish, the rebels returned to Tioga. They have since divided, and one half of them are gone to Otsego, either to fortify there as those are doing who are at Tioga, or to facilitate a junction with the army from Otsego Lake, or both.

The Indians have driven off several of their horses and taken two or three scalps, but I have not been able to get a prisoner though there are scouts constantly at their camp.

You certainly must be informed in regard of those people, for all accounts of every prisoner that has been taken, they are some of the best Continental Troops, commanded by the most active of the rebel Generals and not a regiment of Militia among the whole.

The chiefs desire that you would send of your men to their assistance, as the enemy are numerous, and as it is likely Sir John is at Oswego they request that you would write to him to come with a quantity of provisions to the head of the Cayuga Lake, as they mean there to make their last effort should they be obliged to retreat.

As to the two grasshoppers, beside the great difficulty there would be to carry them along with suitable ammunition, I believe they would be of no material use in the woods. None of the Indians from Niagara have arrived.

A scout is just come in with intelligence that the rebel camp is much larger than usual, so that they must either be re-informed or the party must be returned from Otsego.

EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
26 August 1779

The impossibility of my taking post at Oswego this season, I have already acquainted you of; the
same reason must prevent my sending reinforcements to the posts, which, after the company I now
send arrives at Detroit, will, I hope, be unnecessary. The improbability of the rebels penetrating so far
into the country as Detroit or Niagara with a force that must prove fatal to the safety of either in their
present state is, I think, very obvious. They are, by all accounts, in force upon the Susquehanna, but
from the variety of difficulties in their way to Niagara, and the attention they must necessarily pay to
Sir Henry Clinton's operations, it appears to me that they have nothing more in view than to awe the
Six Nations and prevent incursions upon their settlements.

The necessity of affording the Rangers and Indians all the relief you can with safety to your post, in
the article of provisions to enable them to keep the field as long as possible, will strike you.

I have, at the same time, my fears that notwithstanding every effort in my power to make in
forwarding provisions to you, the frequent and great drains made from your store my subject you to
distress. I would, therefore, recommend to you, both for your post and Detroit, that if you find
towards the conclusion of the campaign you have nothing to apprehend from the enemy that you
send down to Canada as many of the most unserviceable of your people as can spare to prevent your
being in want of provisions in the spring, before it may be in my power to forward it to you.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers
Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection,
microfilm reel number A-682.

GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
27 August 1779

Mr Johnson, Colonel of the Six Nations and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, having upon his
arrival at this place desired leave to repair immediately to the Indian country for the purpose of
executing the duties of his office, I have consented to it and have wrote to him a letter of instructions,
a copy of which I send to you.

You will observe by it that he is entirely confined to the direction of his own department, everything
in the military line resting with the Commanding Officer of the Garrison. I am apprehensive that
some little misunderstanding may arise between Colonel Johnson and Major Butler relative to the
Rangers. I must depend upon your prudence and zeal for the service to prevent or accommodate
anything of the kind that may happen by interposing with orders or advice, as you may see occasion,
in order to prevent anything happening from Colonel Johnson conceiving that he had a power to
command the Rangers.
I have particularly specified in my instructions to him that they are immediately under the command of Major Butler, subject to your orders to whom application must be made for any detachment that may be necessary while they remain at Niagara. At the same time, you will point out to Major Butler the necessity for supporting Colonel Johnson's consequence with the Indians, and recommend to him to effect it by any little consequence which his desire to promote the public service will naturally point out to him.

And if during the great resort of Indians at Niagara he may require a sentry, or any little compliment, if you think it will effect the above purpose, I wish he were gratified.

CAPTAIN WALTER BUTLER TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Ranger Barracks
Niagara
27 August 1779

Honoured Sir:-

Herewith you have a state of Captain Ten Broeck's conduct and the opinion of the Officers of the Corps thereon.

This behaviour of Captain Ten Broeck answers to his conduct when I came off. He was then confined in the same room with me, and in a better state of health than I ever knew him, at least much better than myself. He told me he did not think we could succeed in making our escape, and as he was not under sentence of Death like myself, he would therefore wait and see whether he would not get exchanged.

I told him in our situation I could not give him advice, but for my own part I was determined to make the attempt as my case was more desperate. I at the same time told him that he was much more capable than myself to undertake the journey and added that as his brothers and General Ten Broeck had declared that he should never have leave to join the Royal Army again, he had very little prospect of having an exchange. Therefore this was the only opportunity he in all probability ever would have again to expect an escape; still as matters stood, he must judge for himself.

Those matters I made you acquainted with on meeting you in the Indian Country last spring, and in consequence thereof you empowered men to request Colonel Bolton would not fill up the then vacant company in favour of Captain Ten Broeck, but on my arrival at Niagara I found the company fill up in his favour, and as having no desire to injure him or any other man living, after having done my duty have never moved the matter since.

*Comment:* This letter is dated at Niagara, but Walter Butler was in the Indian Country at the time.
GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON TO GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Pokeepsie
27 August 1779

On the 22nd ultimo, an action happened between a detachment of our Militia and a party of Tories and Indians under Brant near Minisink after their having destroyed that place.

Forty four of the Militia are missing, amongst whom are Colonel Tusten and several other valuable officers. There are reasons to believe that upward of 30 of them are prisoners, and their families are exceedingly anxious to know their fate.

I have taken the liberty to write to you that having the direction of the Indian Affairs you may possibly have it in your power to obtain for them some satisfactory information.

Any trouble you may take upon this occasion will be gratefully acknowledged by the friends of the people missing.


EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT JOHN L HARDENBERGH

[Chemung]
29 August 1779

At 8 o'clock in the morning the signal for march was given. We marched about 4 miles when our light corps fell in with the enemy on the opposite side of a defile with some slight works thrown up in their front. The light troops exchanged some shots with them and amused them whilst Generals Clinton's and Poor's Brigades with the right flank were ordered to file off by the right and gain the enemy's rear, which to effect we had to ascend a very steep hill which the enemy had possessed themselves of. Whilst we were gaining the rear, Colonel Proctor with the artillery kept up a brisk fire on their works. On our ascending the hill they began to attack us. Our men undauntedly pushed on and gained the hill. The enemy went off in confusion, left their dead on the ground.

About sunset we encamped on the enemy's ground. We had one major, one captain and one Lieutenant wounded. The captain and lieutenant died of their wounds. Also a few men were wounded.


EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL JAMES CLINTON
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON
New Town
5 Miles above Chemung
30 August 1779

Dear Brother:

I have just time to inform you that the army under General Sullivan arrived on this ground yesterday evening in perfect health and spirits.

On Thursday last, the 26th, we left Tioga, but being incumbered with a train of artillery and waggons and the roads being very bad, owing to a heavy rain the preceding day, together with other circumstances attending the first day's movements, we did not march more than three miles and encamped.

Friday we proceeded on our march about eight o'clock in the morning, but my brigade, which formed the rear or second line of the army, had not marched from their ground more than two miles before the infantry in front halted at a narrow defile formed by the jutting out the mountain to the river. This defile which was near half a mile in length and would at first sight have been judged impassable, particularly to artillery, &c, detained the army so long, that it was near ten o'clock at night before the rear of the main body, consisting of Poor's and Maxwell's brigades had passed.

As it was then dark, and as the cattle had not yet passed, I judged it most proper not to attempt it that night, but marched back about a mile and encamped tolerable good ground.

Saturday, I decamped and joined the army at Chemung about twelve o'clock. This town which is about twelve miles from Tioga had been destroyed by General Sullivan immediately on his arrival at Tioga, together with a large quantity of corn, bean, &c, preserving only one field consisting of about fifty acres for the use of the army on their arrival, and which they effectually consumed and destroyed.

Although we had every reason to expect the enemy would have attempted to prevent our progress and retard our march amazing advantages nature had liberally furnished them with, yet they never gave us the least opposition, or ever made their appearance, except a small part who fired upon and killed and wounded a few of General Hand's advanced guard on the former attempt to destroy the settlement.

Sunday the army was put in motion about nine o'clock with the greatest circumspect and caution. Our scouts had brought intelligence the preceding evening that the enemy were discovered at about five miles distance, supposed to be at or near New Town, and from the magnitude of their fires, appeared to be in considerable force; that the sound of their axes were heard distinctly which induced us to believe they intended either to throw up works or obstruct the march of the army, until they could form a plan to attack our flanks or rear.

This in fact appeared to be their intention, and if we had proceeded as they expected, in all probability we should have been very severely handled. About ten o'clock a scattering fire commenced between some of their scouts and a few of our riflemen and volunteers when the former gave way and the latter proceeded until they plainly discovered their works which were very extensive, though not impregnable.

As our design was not to drive them, but to surround or bring them to a fair open action, the army halted, and a council being called, it was concluded that the artillery supported by General Hand with the infantry and rifle corps should commence the action, previously allowing sufficient time for Poor's and my brigade to gain their right flank, while Maxwell's and the covering party under Colonel Ogden might gain their left.
About one o'clock, Colonel Proctor commenced a very warm cannonade upon their works, which continued near two hours in which time we attempted to complete our march upon their flanks, but from the very thick swamps and rough country through which we were to pass we were in some measure prevented. The enemy finding their situation in their lines rather uncomfortable and finding we did not intend to storm them, abandoned them some time before the infantry discovered it, and immediately proceeded to join the remaining half of their force who were posted on a hill, attack our right flank as we expected.

General Poor who was near a quarter of a mile on the left of my front had ascended a considerable mountain about half way, which was very steep, when he discovered them and received their fire accompanied by the war whoop. But though his troops were considerably fatigued with ascending the mountain under their heavy packs, yet they pushed up in the face of their fire, driving them from tree to tree until they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their pack and blankets behind them, &c, in order to take off their dead and wounded, which must be very considerable, as they left nine Indians on the field whom they could not carry off. My Brigade, which had just reached the foot of the hill when the firing commenced, pushed up with such ardour that many of them almost fainted and fell down with excessive heat and fatigue, for the ground was so steep that no person could ride up.

During the action, which lasted from the first to the last near six hours, we had three privates killed and forty wounded, among whom were three officers, Major Titcomb, Captain Clause and Lieutenant McCauly, who is since dead of his wounds. There are a few of the wounded dangerous.

The enemy's loss must be considerable. Nine of them were found dead on the field and many of them must have been wounded, as they were tracked some three miles by the blood, while others were seen sent off in canoes.

After the action we descended the hill and encamped on a most beautiful plain, where we refreshed ourselves after the fatigue of the day which were neither few nor small.

Monday this day, eight hundred men have been employed in destroying all the corn, &c, &c, about the town, which is by far the finest I ever saw in my life. Upwards of six thousand bushels have been cut down and piled up, the more effectively to destroy it, and such is the spirit of the troops that they have requested the General to put them upon half allowance of bread and beef as long as they can supply themselves with corn and beans, in order that they may lengthen out the campaign and the more effectually to complete this business they were sent upon, so that we have the strongest assurances to hope that under the smiles of heaven we shall be able to work out a lasting blessing to our country.

I had almost forgot to tell you that we took two prisoners, a negro and a Tory, one Hoghtailer from the Helder Barrack, who informs us that the enemy's force consisted of about two hundred and fifty white men commanded by Colonel and Captain Butler, and about five hundred Indians commanded by Brant; that they had eat nothing but corn for eight days past, except a small proportion of cattle; that before the corn was fit to roast they fed upon herbs and roots which they found in the woods.

We shall send our wounded down to Tioga in boats brought up with provisions, but we have not five sick men in the whole army.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1901), Volume 5, pp 224-228.

* Comment: Eckert, in his "Wilderness War" gives the names of the prisoners as Charles Hoghtailer and Private Colly Morse (a negro) of the Rangers, although he does not cite the source.
MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Scechquago
31 August 1779

My last informed you that we were encamped within 14 miles of the enemy. On the 27th Instant, one of our scouts came in and informed us that they were upon their march towards us in great force, the detachment that had joined to Otsego having joined the main body at Tioga.

Finding that with our numbers, which did not exceed 600 men, we could not engage the enemy with a probability of success and aware of the bad consequences of a defeat, I endeavoured to persuade the Indians to retreat to a more advantageous situation and at the same time have strong parties out along the heights to harass the enemy upon their march and keep them in perpetual alarms. In this, I was strongly seconded by Joseph Brant who saw the propriety and laboured to make the Indians also sensible of it, but to no purpose, for the Delawares had pointed out a place where they said the enemy might be opposed and the Senecas and others in consequence of this were obstinately determined to meet them in a body, and of course I was obliged to comply.

I, therefore, sent off what little baggage we had under the care of a few sick men, and marched down with the Rangers and Indians to take possession of the ground they had chosen, which lay about a mile from our encampment. It was a ridge of about half a mile in length to the right of which lay a large plain extending to the river and terminating in a narrow pass near our encampment, so that having possession of the heights we would have greatly the advantage should the enemy direct their march that way. On our left was a steep mountain, and a large creek in our front at a little distance.

We threw up some logs, one upon the other by way of a breast work which we endeavoured to conceal with bushes, that the enemy might not perceive it on their approach, and extended our line to left across the creek at the foot of the mountain where a great part of the Indians were posted.

Captain McDonell with 60 Rangers and Joseph Brant with about 30 white men and Indians lay to the right and the rest of the Indians and Rangers, with the detachment of the 8th, occupied the centre where I placed myself.

As my attention was entirely taken up with the Indians, I left the command of the Rangers to Captain Butler.

We remained here from noon to sunset, and then returned to our camp as we found by our scouts that the enemy had encamped below Chemung. The next morning again moved out to our lines where we continued till it was dark when we recovered to our camp, as we found that the rebels had advanced no further than Chemung. All this while the officers and men were without even a blanket to cover them, as everything had been sent off on the first alarm and had scarcely time to dress a few ears of corn which was almost the whole of our food since our coming to Cucknut.

The 29th, at daybreak, we again took possession of our lines, which some officious fellow among the Indians took upon him to alter without being opposed by the chiefs and turned our left along the mountain, quite the contrary way from its original situation, which was in a great measure the cause of our being obliged to give way to the enemy as it afforded them room for flanking us on that side without opposition.

After remaining here exposed to the heat of the sun without refreshment of any kind until 2 o'clock...
PM, a few of the enemy made their appearance at the skirt of the wood in our front and amused us with some scattering shots from their rifles while under the cover of the wood they were planting their artillery and fetching a compass round the mountain to our left in order to surround us and gain the passes by which we must retreat.

I suspected their design and endeavoured to prevail upon the Indians to retire and gain the mountain. Joseph Brant also, and the Cayuga chief, came up from our right to point out the necessity of the step, as it was evident that the enemy had discovered us and knew our situation, but the Indians were obstinately bent upon staying in the lines.

After a little while they began to play their artillery, consisting of six pieces of cannon and cohorns, against our breastwork, discharging shells, round and grapeshot, iron spikes, &c, incessantly, which soon obliged us to leave it. I retreated with the Rangers and a number of the Indians to the hill, which I found the enemy had gained before us as I foresaw they intended.

The shells bursting beyond us made the Indians imagine the enemy had got their artillery all round us and so startled and confused them that a great part of them ran off. We then proceeded along the hill, skirmishing with the rebel for above a mile till they had nearly surrounded us and we were obliged then to make the best of our way, some along the hill and others across the river, to prevent being cut to pieces, which the greatest part of must inevitably have been had the rebels acted with spirit.

Many of the Indians made no halt, but proceeded immediately to their respective villages. The different parties the rest and the Rangers rendezvoused in the evening at a village called the Nanticoke Town, about five miles from the place of the action. From thence we proceeded with baggage a few miles and encamped for the night.

Our loss in men, considering everything, is much less than could be expected. Of the Rangers, we had five killed or taken three wounded, and of the Indians five killed and nine wounded. The enemy's loss must have been considerable as they received several volleys from a party of our men at a short distance at a time when they were in much disorder, and nothing but their superior numbers prevented them from being put to the rout in that quarter.

Both officers and men behaved with much spirit, but the efforts of such a handful were of little avail against the force they had to oppose.

Joseph Brant's conduct throughout the whole of this affair does him much honour. He, with Kiangerachta and several other chiefs and Indians, remained with us to the last.

The Delawares, who promised to collect above 200 men, had not 30 in the action, and the Rangers, from the poorness of their living, were so unfit that three of the officers and several of the men had the ague upon them at the very time we were attacked.

The enemy had been reinforced from Lake Otsego and also from the Delaware, and have some Indians with them, one of whom was killed. They move with the greatest caution and regularity and are more formidable than you seem to apprehend.

We have not been able to get a prisoner, though our scouts have constantly been about their camp. The morning before we had the engagement, one of our Indians, in attempting to bring off a man whom he had met with near their camp, was wounded and obliged to leave him.

The consequences of this affair will, I fear, be of the most serious nature and unless there is speedily a large reinforcement sent into the country at any rate those families whose villages and corn have been destroyed will be flocking into Niagara to be supported, and you know the quantity of provisions they will consume.
I am now here with a number of Senecas and Cayugas and sending off the sick and wounded to Canadasagoe. The families are all moving off from this place and the Indians have not yet determined what steps to take.

PS:

Camp, Long House 12 miles from Schechquago
2 September 1779.

The rebels are advancing very rapidly and above one half of my men are sick and unfit for service.


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EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF ADAM CRYSLER

[August 1779]

We went to Shemung where we faced the whole army of rebels and were forced to retreat to Oyenyanye where we attacked them again, and from there we retreated to Niagara.


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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
August 1779

I have received your letters of the 28th and 31st May and of the 6th of June accompanying the accounts and bill for building your barracks which shall be honoured.

Extracts of your letters to Colonel Bolton will be answered through him. I have, for the present, only to regret in general terms the distresses you experienced in want of provisions and to point out to you the necessity of striking some stroke to procure subsistence for your Rangers and Indians until provisions can be forwarded to the posts. The late arrival of the victualling ships renders it almost impossible now to send up a sufficient quantity for the year's supply, notwithstanding my most vigorous efforts for that purpose. Colonel Bolton will from time to time furnish you with what supplies the weak state of his stores will permit in order to enable you to keep the field, which must in all events be done as long as there is any prospect of the rebels advancing into the Indian Country.

Upon comparing all accounts I have received, it appears to me that Detroit must be the object of the rebels' attention if they really mean to attempt any of our posts. It will, therefore, be highly necessary that you procure the most authentic accounts of their movements, not trusting to the reports of the Indians or deserters, particularly from the Susquehanna, where a feint appears to me to be intended merely for the purpose of calling your attention from the Ohio, for it is impossible they can have nine regiments, the cannon, &c, reported in that quarter. You will, therefore, do well to send a trusty white man into the heart of the country with no other view than to procure a true state of the situation.
I am happy to find that the Oneidas are at length coming to their senses. It will save the execution of a disagreeable piece of business I had determined upon. You are too well acquainted with the perfidy of that nation not to be upon your guard and you will at the same time naturally cultivate their advances to a reconciliation.

Captain McDonell, upon your representation, has my permission to remain with you for the campaign upon which subject I shall write to Major Nairn.

I cannot conclude without signifying to you the uneasiness occasioned to me by the most enormous expense incurred in the Indian Department at the Upper Posts, nor will you wonder my being alarmed upon that account when I assure you that the expense of the Upper Country to Government (of which the Indian Department is the principal) far exceeds all the ordinary and extraordinary expenses in this Province, including the Army, Navy, Engineer and all departments. I must recommend to your most serious attention the strictest economy whenever there is a possibility of observing it. The credit of every person at the head of departments being concerned and what is still of greater import, the public good.

Some time ago, Captain Butler informed me that he had advanced a sum of money to Captain Tice upon account of subsistence. Please to see that he is reimbursed out of the first that you may have occasion to pay to that gentleman upon his own account.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH BRANT TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

August 1779

I take the opportunity to acquaint you that I arrived here five days ago from the Mohawk River, and brought in two prisoners who inform me that five regiments are quartered near Otsego Lake (not far from Cherry Valley), and have everything ready for an expedition, such as boats, provisions, &c, but are very sickly; nor is it certain when they intend to advance into ye Indian country from all the intelligence I could possibly find out.

After I took the two prisoners, the militia followed me and in time came up, when I received a wound in my foot by a buckshot, but of no consequence and am now almost as well as ever. However, I took care to bring off my prisoners.

The rebels at Wyoming sent off a detachment to Tioga three days before me, and have encamped there, and a part of their army was at the lower end of Shimong Town the same day I arrived there. Forty of the Indians attacked them in the narrow passage and stood for some time until they were almost surrounded. Their loss was only one Indian killed, but the enemy lost several men, beside many wounded. This put a stop to their advancing; however, they destroyed some corn.

The Indians returned and gave another fire during the time they were employed upon which they returned to Tioga after burning some houses and destroying a few fields of corn.

We suppose, as near as we can judge, there are at least 3,000 men at the camp at Tioga.
Yesterday, our scouts came in and informed me they had sent off part of their army up the Susquehanna River, and took some cattle with them. They are gone to join the army at Otsego Lake or to destroy villages near Cayuga whilst men from those places are here. However, our scouts have gone after them and we expect them this evening.

The chiefs preventing the Cayugas to come here may hurt us as we have but a small number to watch the enemy's motions and it is impossible we can be everywhere.

I am a little afraid we shall have hard work to drive the enemy back for our friends are too slow in joining us; however, most of the chief warriors are in high spirits and not discouraged. They think we shall beat the enemy provided they all assemble here in time. I suppose in two or three days we shall certainly come to an engagement.

We are 300 strong, but Colonel Butler and Siangerachts are not yet arrived but expected tomorrow at the head of the Rangers and Senecas.

If we beat the rebels, they will never invade our country again.

I request you will drive all the Indians from Niagara and not suffer a man of them to go to Canada.

I hope His Excellency will be pleased to send frequent parties of Canadian Indians towards Fort Stanwix and the Mohawk River which will be of great service to us.

-Lieutenant John Docksteder
Cataeagaras
1 September 1779

A runner is just arrived at this place from the Ohio, who informs me that 30 of our Indians were attacked by a large body of the rebels about four miles below Canawago. From what I can learn we have had three Senecas killed, but the number of Delawares are not yet known.

It is expected that the rebels have destroyed, 'ere this time, the Delaware Town and Oanackadago.

I am going with about forty warriors to meet the enemy, but the chiefs beg that you would send them some assistance, and that soon, as their distressed condition requires it.

-Extract: General Frederick Haldimand
Quebec
2 September 1779
I have received your letter of the 22nd past, and with it letters from Lieutenant Colonel Bolton and Major Butler giving certain intelligence of the rebels having advanced into the Indian Country as far as Tioga, and requesting on the part of the Five Nations, in the most pressing terms, every assistance that can be collected, and in particular that of their brethren, the 7 Nations of Canada. I have desired Colonel Campbell to collect as many of them as can be done with expedition and to join the Mohawks who will lose no time in proceeding to the Seneca Country.

As you are desirous to conduct them, I am unwilling to prevent you, although your service may be wanted here. You will, therefore, take the direction of them upon you under the command of Sir John Johnson, with whom I shall send a strong detachment, of which 100 men from the 34th Regiment will be a part, with whom you may act as occasion shall require.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21780, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Oswegatchie, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-686.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM WYOMING

Wyoming
2 September 1779

At two this morning, Doctor Kendall arrived at this place from Chemung, and brings the following intelligence:- On Sunday morning last, our army discovered a large breastwork in a narrow passage, about four miles above Chemung, where Messrs Butler, Brant and McDonell had collected all their force. General Sullivan attacked them, the enemy returned their fire, and the engagement lasted near two hours, when the savages gave way and were completely routed. Twenty-five of them were left dead on the field, some prisoners were taken. Our loss was one Lieutenant and four privates killed, and one Major, one Captain, and thirty-three privates wounded. Mr Butler's commission, and the commission of another officer were taken with several orderly books.

The Virginia Gazette, 25 September 1779.

GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
3 September 1779

Yesterday, I received your letter of the 16th August, enclosing copies of Major Butler's letters reporting the progress of the rebels into the Indian Country and the sense of the Five Nations thereon, from which I have determined, though attended with great inconvenience and at a risk that may be fatal to the King's interest, to push up a reinforcement to join the Rangers and Indians under the command of Sir John Johnson. I have likewise desired Colonel Campbell to collect a large body of Indians of Canada to accompany the Mohawks from hence under the direction of Captain Fraser.

Sir John's command will consist of one Captain, 2 Subalters, 6 Sergeants, 6 Corporals, 2 Drummers and 100 Private men of the 34th Regiment; one Subalterm and about 26 Privates of the 47th; about
150 of Sir John's Corps and a complete company of German Jagers. The whole amounting to about 180 [sic] rank and file, exclusive of Indians, and of the Light Company of the 34th, which I hope is already gone to their assistance. If this reinforcement arrives in time, it cannot fail of producing a happy effect, but I dread the shift they may be put to for provisions before it can be in my power to forward any next spring. However, much must be risked to preserve the friendship of the Indians, who have hitherto behaved well.

The enclosed letter to Sir John Johnson will show you I have taken the precaution to send with the detachment as much provisions as they can carry. This will necessarily retard them, but there is no alternative.

I have forwarded this to you by a birch canoe, as the vessels, if there are any at Carleton Island, must be detained there to carry the troops and provisions across the lake. If the vessels should be at Niagara, you will upon the receipt of this dispatch them for that purpose.

You will give Sir John every possible intelligence of Major Butler's situation in order to accelerate his passage to him and keep up a constant communication with him, giving me information by express of whatever may be necessary for me to be acquainted with.

Every effort will be exerted to forward to you a supply equivalent to the immense drain this detachment must prove to you, and if the season should be favourable, I hope it will be effected.

The result of this expedition will be known very soon after the junction with the Six Nations. If it should prove as favourable, as I have reason to expect it will, and from an exact inspection and calculation of your provisions you should find that you have not enough to supply your necessary demands, you must in that case send down as many men as will leave the rest a sufficiency, provided this detachment winter with you, you will be at a loss for barracks. It will therefore be necessary to make some provision of that kind by building rough log houses and distributing the troops at Fort Erie, Little Niagara, and the Landing. The provision store at Fort Erie, I am told, will hold a number of men. Log houses may be conveniently built at the Landing and at Little Niagara, and some may be erected in the Fort.

I am sensible your strength will not admit of this work being rapidly carried out, but as I hope you may have by this time completed the repairs intended to make the place defensible, all your men may be employed in it and if the materials are provided by the time the troops leave the field, the houses will soon be erected.

I have prepared another letter, intended to fall into the enemy's hands. Should the messenger be taken, he will have orders to destroy this.

The necessity of the Indians applying themselves to their hunting and providing cattle to support themselves must be strongly recommend to them. To gratify their earnest request and to protect them from the ravages of the enemy, troops have been sent up at a risk of perishing for want. In return they must do all in their power to prevent that evil.

An officer and 30 men of the Royal Artillery will immediately proceed to Niagara to relieve those at the different posts, as you have been already informed. But should circumstances absolutely require your being further strengthened, you will for the time detain them at Niagara.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel A-682.
GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
3 September 1779

I have received a copy of your letter to Colonel Bolton, giving him notice of the rebels advancing to Tioga, and expressing the urgent necessity of sending assistance to the Five Nations, and their conduct hitherto has deserved all in my power to do for them. And it is very unfortunate I cannot manifest my inclination to protect them without running a risk of letting the troops sent up for that purpose perish for want of provisions. I have, however, to send up a detachment, consisting of about 380 picked men under the command of Sir John Johnson, who has orders to join you by the shortest route, of which Colonel Bolton will send advice to Sir John Johnson, who will be at Carleton Island before it can reach him. I send orders to Colonel Bolton for that purpose by the messenger who will drop this for you at Irondequoit or Genesee River.

I hope the Indians will now be convinced of my inclination in their favour by the risk I run to serve them; and they must in return have consideration enough for the troops to make demands for provisions as seldom and as moderate as their wants will admit of. And, indeed, I must expect much from your knowledge of Colonel Bolton's situation with regard to provisions, and your influence with the Indians in this most essential business. For after the troops have been sent, to have them starve or abandon the purpose of their enterprise for want of provisions would be followed by much more fatal consequences than if they had never undertaken it.

The zeal which you have already manifested for the King's service will, I cannot doubt, continue to prompt you to advance it by a cordial assistance and mutual acquiescence with Sir John Johnson in every operation that may tend to promote it.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21767, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel A-682.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canadasago
3 September 1779

I must request you to send four large boats to Genesee River to carry off the sick, who are many as you will see by the enclosed return, and also several families who are now at the river.

The rebels have been seen on this side of Schecquago. If they advance, as it is very likely they will, I shall endeavour to harass them on their march with the Indians and the remainder of the Rangers, and stop them if possible before they reach this place. The Indians are much alarmed at their numbers and I believe it will be but a small body of them that I shall be able to keep together.

A Delaware Indian is just come in and tells me that a deserter from the rebels is with Rowland Montour, who is coming round the lake with his family. This man says they are 6,000 strong, 3,000 of them are coming this way, 3,000 of them are gone with boats up the Tioga River.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO MAJOR NAIRN,
COMMANDING AT CARLETON ISLAND

Niagara
6 September 1779

I have this moment received a letter from Major Butler, in which he informs me that after repeated engagements with the rebels he has been obliged to retreat to Canadasago. The enemy, by all accounts, amount to some thousands, and have six pieces of cannon besides cohorns.

I must, therefore, request that you will immediately order the Light Infantry Company of the 34th Regiment to join this garrison as soon as possible, and if you can spare fifty men more from your post, I shall take it as a particular favour.

In my letter to His Excellency, I informed him that these posts were certainly in danger, and must be reinforced without delay. I have, therefore, no doubt that you will soon have a considerable force at Carleton Island.

PS: You will be pleased to inform His Excellency as soon as possible that I am under the necessity of calling upon you for assistance.


LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
7 September 1779

I wish it were in my power to enclose Your Excellency more favourable accounts of the Rangers and Indians with Major Butler, but the difficulties he met with in assembling the Indians and in procuring provisions were much greater than I could possibly expect.

The superior numbers of the enemy, with artillery and cohorns, gives now very little hopes that he will be able to drive the rebels out of this country. The Indians are so extremely alarmed that all he and the chiefs could do, they could not prevail upon more than 300 warriors to join them, and in the last engagement, by every account I am informed, they did by no means show that spirit which they have done upon former occasions. At this time, I am convinced he has not 150 of them with him at Canadasaga, and over 100 of the Rangers are ill of the fever and ague. They are now waiting for bateau at Irondequoit to return to this place.

I have ordered the Light Company of the King's Regiment, with a few Rangers, to embark in bateau for Irondequoit in order to join the Major as soon as possible, and have also sent the Grasshoppers with ammunition and provisions in hopes to rouse the Indians to act with more vigour. And when the Light Company of the 34th Regiment arrives with the men that Major Nairn can spare from his garrison, I shall send him another reinforcement. I have also wrote to Captain Lernoult that if his post
is not in danger, I shall call upon him for the detachment sent to Detroit under the command of Captain Parke, who is just arrived here.

From this officer's account, as well as Captain Lernoult's last letter, I have the greatest reason to suppose the rebels have laid aside all thoughts of an expedition this year against that post. Their whole force is certainly intended against the Six Nations and possibly Niagara.

The Indians do not scruple to say that what the rebels often told them will prove true, and that we only meant to deceive them and leave them in the lurch, for that we had not a sufficient force in this country to assist them.

The Mohawks and Senecas, I still have hopes, will not accept of any terms the rebels may offer and are sending their families here, but as to the rest, I am almost as certain they will accept of terms and probably join the enemy. Several villages and corn fields have been destroyed and of course their families will come here. This will make it necessary for me to request a further supply of provisions.

I have now only to assure Your Excellency that I have the highest opinion of the few brave men under my command and that I am determined to defend this post to the last extremity. But you, Sir, know well the number of men necessary to defend works of 1100 yards in circumference when there are five bastions, two block houses and many other places to man.

PS: 8 September. I have this moment received a letter from Lieutenant Docksteder of the Indian Department, which informs me that a party of 300 rebels from Venango have destroyed the Delaware and Canawonga villages and are building forts in their neighbourhood at Venango and Le Beouff.

10th September. This day I received another letter from Major Butler which will inform Your Excellency that the rebel army has taken possession of Canadasago and by all accounts are determined to pay me a visit. I have, therefore, wrote to Captain Lernoult to send me all the men they can spare. By letters from him this day, Detroit is not yet in the least danger.

The rebel army is commanded by Sullivan and Maxwell.

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MAJOR JOHN NAIRNE
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Carleton Island
8 September 1779

I shall enclose here for Your Excellency's perusal a copy of a letter which I have just now received from Colonel Bolton, and according to his desire I have sent to Niagara the Light Infantry Company of the 34th Regiment, and likewise Lieutenant Smith with one sergeant and twenty five of rank and file of the Royal Emigrants, which is all the men we can spare from hence at present to afford only one relief of the guards, which is necessary for this place. At the same time the work here will be retarded.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Canawagaras
8 September 1779

I endeavoured, but to no purpose, to prevail upon the Indians to make a stand at Canadasago. The rebels took possession of that village the 7th instant, in the evening.

Joseph Brant, who stayed to reconnoitre them and was in the place when they entered it, says that to all appearances they cannot be less than 3,000 men. The chiefs are now determined to collect all the force they can and meet them before they reach this, and I send in Captain Powell to bring off with him such Indians as may be about Niagara, in which I must beg you to give him all the assistance you can, and also to send out with him every body you can spare.

The 7th Instant, in the evening, a runner came in from the Ohio, informing that the rebels were come up the Allegheny and penetrated as far as Canawaga (the village at which Mr Docksteder was stationed last winter), and another runner, who came in this morning, says they have destroyed a village called Nasadaga, a day's journey on this side of Canawago. But he says they returned from thence at a place the Indians call Ningarackarie, and I believe is the same as Le Boeuf. The Indians seem in better spirits and more determined than I have seen them in since they left Chuckmnet, and if they get any succour from Niagara, I am in hopes I shall be able to persuade them to attack the rebels on their march. At any rate, I shall do my endeavours to get them to make a stand.

Joseph and the chiefs think that a few troops from Niagara would be of the greatest service at this juncture, as they would encourage and give them spirit. And they imagine this cannot be of very bad consequence to your post, as you can always be reinforced through Carleton Island.

General George Washington
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Headquarters
West Point
8 September 1779

I have the pleasure to inform you that the junction between Generals Sullivan and Clinton having been formed at Tioga, the whole army moved the 26th August. On the 29th the advanced party of Riflemen announced the enemy at a place called the Newtown, and that they were advantageously posted and entrenched. General Sullivan, having reconnoitred them, made his dispositions and attacked them in front and flank at the same time. Their lines (which he says were more judiciously constructed than could have been expected) were quickly carried, and the enemy fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving eleven warriors dead upon the field, a number of arms, packs, blankets and all their baggage.

A negro and a white were taken prisoners, from them General Sullivan learned that the force of the enemy had consisted of five companies of whites and the warriors from seven Indian Nations under the command of the two Butlers, Brant and McDonell, and that they had been eight days waiting at


GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON
TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Headquarters
West Point
8 September 1779

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that place.

The fields of corn, beans and vegetables were very extensive and were all destroyed.

Our loss was 3 killed and 39 wounded, among the latter, Major Titcomb, Captain Clayes, and Mr McAulay of General Poor's brigade. Mr McAulay since dead. I imagine the enclosed which came with my dispatches will give Your Excellency an account of the above affair.


LIST OF ARTICLES REQUIRED FOR THE RANGERS

Niagara
9 September 1799

A List of Sundry Articles Wanted for the Use of Major Butler's Corps of Rangers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>pieces fine green cloth for officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>do white do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>middling green for Sergeants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Buttons and trimmings suitable for the above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>suits of clothing for men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>blanket coats or blankets in proportion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>pieces of binding for ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>pairs men strong shoes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1500</td>
<td>shirts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1440</td>
<td>pairs stockings</td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>dozen handess</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>do hatts</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>pieces of russia sheeting for trousers</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>do shoe buckles</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>do knee do</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>do sleeve do</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>thread different colours</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>needles assorted</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>boxes soap</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>do candles</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>do chocolates</td>
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<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>lbs coffee</td>
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<tr>
<td>700</td>
<td>lbs bohia tea</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>lbs green tea</td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>barrels brown sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>3000</td>
<td>lbs loaf sugar</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>dozen buckle brushes</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>do blacking balls</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>do ivory combs</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>dozen horn combs</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>do pomatum</td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>lbs hair powder</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>lbs pepper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Item Description</td>
<td>Quantity</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>30 dozen clasp knives</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 camp kettles</td>
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<tr>
<td>60 frying pans</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>15 dozen scissors</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 pieces russia drilling for knapsacks</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Cwt whitening</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Cwt Starch</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Cwt blue</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3000 lbs cheese</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3600 lbs tobacco</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 dozen tobacco boxes</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30 lbs shoemakers thread</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 dozen shoemakers awls</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>360 tin canteens</td>
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<tr>
<td>90 lbs mustard</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 dozen orderly books</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 reams writing paper</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>400 quills</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100 gallons vinegar</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12 barrels molasses</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10 boxes essence spruce</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

There will also be rum wanted, if a greater quantity should not be sent up than has already been done.

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**Comment:** The one article of special interest is that of the difference in colour between the cloth for officers and sergeants.

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**MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON**

Canawagaras  
10 September 1779

I received your of the 6th Instant yesterday, soon after I had dispatched Captain Powell to Niagara. Its contents please the Indians much, who I don't doubt will now assemble with the greater alacrity for the reinforcement you have sent. Many of the Rangers who were ill of the ague and sent to Genesee River have since recovered so as to be able to do duty again.

Kiangarachta is gone this morning to meet the chiefs at Genesee. All the Delawares are there and are now more determined to act; and from every appearance I have hopes that the Indians will exert themselves with spirit and resolution.

Captain Brant is gone with Kiangarachta. There is a very good understanding between them, and they concur with each other on every occasion.

As all the orders in my account were drawn on Mr Robinson, I have since thought it best to endorse the Bills to him. I send them enclosed herein.
Captain Butler with Rowland Montour and some other Indians is out about Canadaragoe and Canadasagoe watching the motions of the enemy. I expect some account from them today.

I hope to be able with what horses I can get from the Indians to have the grasshoppers, ammunition, &c, all brought up from the lake by tomorrow night, should the boats be arrived.

I forgot to mention in my last that the report of a deserter having come to Montour was false.

It is true that the Senecas can muster 500 men, but you must consider that near one half of this number live on the Ohio, and are employed in defending their country, and can therefore give us no assistance in this quarter. And in regard to the rest of the Five Nations, you know the Oneidas and many of the Tuscaroras and Onondagas are in the rebel interest.

Captain Butler is come in this evening. The rebels left Canadasagoe yesterday and will be at Canadaragoe tonight. If they advance we shall meet them in all probability the day after tomorrow.

Of the 150 Indians you mention to have fitted out, not more than fifty have joined me and a great part of these I met at Canadasagoe.

PS: 11th. The rebels came last night to Canadaragoe. I have sent horses, &c, to the lake but have as yet got no accounts of the arrival of the boats. I wish the party may be able to reach this before the enemy approach.

12th. In the morning. The enemy came last night to a village called Snow-town on the road to Genesee, about a day's march from it. No news yet of the boats or reinforcement. We are just setting, as the Indians intend to attack them before they reach Genesee.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER FRASER
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Oswegatchie
10 September 1779

Little David is returned from his scout against the Oneidas without the wished for success. The Mississaugas declared to a man they would not act against the Oneidas upon his informing them of his design.

He then went with them to Fort Stanwix, but the garrison there kept so close they could not get at none of them. He then proposed to the Mississaugas to go down the Mohawk River till he could meet with some of the enemy. Only three consented to accompany him. The rest deserted to Carleton Island. He, with those, took an Oneida Indian and a negro. The former they suffered to go about his business declaring they knew him to be a neutral Indian.

They then attacked a working party of nine rebels at one Thompson's house, killed four and think all the others are wounded, but it was so dark they could only find one of them, whom out of compasion for his being wounded would not tie him and he has escaped.
Several Indians have past this post this day, much alarmed with the accounts of Colonel Butler's defeat by the rebels. I hope measures will be taken in the villages to prevent their despondency. I have wrote to Ensign Johnson on this subject and also to Colonel Campell.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21780, Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Oswegatchie, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-686.

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MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON

Saratoga
11 September 1779

Your Excellency's favour of the 27th Ultimo, I did not receive until last night.

Exclusive of the pleasure I experience in complying with any request from you, the duties of humanity would be a sufficient motive to induce my best exertions to procure the information you desire.

I shall, therefore, immediately give directions for dispatching some trusty Oneidas to Colonel Butler with a letter from me to that officer on the subject of the question, to which I shall add a proposal to exchange such of our prisoners as may be in the hands of the Indians, and do myself the pleasure to transmit his answer as soon as I receive it.

A party of Tories and Indians has lately been fourteen miles below this. They took a Tory whom they suffered to return next day; he confesses they came for a Major Taylor who is an active and zealous Whig. The party was victualled by some of the Tories on the frontiers. I sincerely wish measures were adopted to move those vermin either to the interior part of the country, or to the enemy. They would do to exchange such of the inhabitants of this state which are in Canada.

The bearer of this is Major Graham, whose sister's husband is with the enemy; he wishes she should be sent there. She and her children might do to recover Colonel Campbell's wife and children who were taken at Cherry Valley.

George Clinton. Public Papers of (Albany, 1901), Vol 5, pp 273-274.

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MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN BUTLER

Albany
13 September 1779

The Commissioners of Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, acting under the authority of the Congress of the United States of America, are authorized by that body to negotiate an exchange of such citizens of the said States as may be prisoner with the Indians, or at Niagara and its vicinity, for such other citizens who are desirous to go to Canada, or to any other parts in possession of the British troops. I therefore dispatch this by a Flag to be informed if you as Superintendent of the Indians on the part of Great Britain, or as Commanding the Indians in the service of that power, are authorized
to negotiate such an exchange. If so, we wish immediately to enter on the business and therefore entreat your answer by the bearer of this.

Should you be authorized to negotiate the exchange, we would propose for the benefit of both parties, and that they might respectively return to their friends before winter, that such citizens of the United States which are prisoners with the Indians or at Niagara or its vicinity, should be sent to Fort Schuyler without delay, and that those to be sent in exchange should either go to that place or Canada, at their or your option.

In the latter end of July last, Colonel Thurston of the Militia and a number of others were supposed to be taken prisoner near Minisink, as their friends and relations are exceedingly anxious to learn their fate, they have applied to me to procure what intelligence I could concerning them. I therefore entreat you to furnish me with the names of those were captivated at that place, and if possible to inform me where they are, and how many. If any remain in the hands of the Indian, as the duties of humanity can never interfere with those of office, I doubt not but you will afford me all the information in your power on this head.

I have advised Mrs Butler of this dispatch going to you, that she may have an opportunity of writing.


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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Quebec
13 September 1779

My letters will inform Your Lordship of their [the rebel's] progress and how far we have to depend upon the Indians (some for want of inclination and other of abilities) to stop it.

I have received His Majesty's commission for Joseph Brant, and Your Lordship very justly observes his conduct merits every mark of attention and regard. But Joseph's situation amongst the Six Nations is very different from the idea those who are not acquainted with it must from his superior talents conceive it. To speak in the Indian style, Joseph has been but very lately known upon the war path. He is now distinguishing himself in that line, but it will be some time before he is acknowledged by them even upon a footing with many of (as they conceive) more experienced and greater warriors.

Besides the notice that has been taken of him by the English in consequence of his connection with Sir William Johnson, his being civilized and more particularly for his services, has from a jealousy predominant in Indians, procured him as many enemies amongst them as friends with us. Of this number, Schenderachta, King of the Senecas, and by many degrees the man of the most influence in the whole Six Nations, by whose interest and intrigues, Major Butler has been able to carry through many essential points. He is brave, prudent and perfectly attached to Government, more strongly so since the alliance with the French, to whom he has a most unconquerable aversion.

Were so distinguished a Mark of Favour as is proposed for Joseph Brant to pass him, it might, and I am certain, it would be productive of very dangerous consequences, for which reason I must take it upon me to suppress the commission until I learn His Majesty's pleasure, and likewise defer sending the prints of him into the Indian Country.
I hope this affair has not been so pubickly talked of at home as to have it reach Joseph's knowledge, which from the part I find necessary to adopt, would equally prejudice the service. Joseph's sister, who lived many years with Sir William Johnson, by whom he had many children and in whom he had the utmost confidence, having by her influence materially assisted him in his success in the management of the Indians, was with her family driven from home two years ago, and took refuge at Niagara. Her accommodations there not being so comfortable as could be wished, she accepted of an offer I made of settling her at or near Montreal, and accordingly brought her family down. But upon the late alarming accounts from the Indian Country, she immediately set off for Niagara, thinking it may be in her power to be useful in keeping up the spirits of the Indians and preventing them from coming to terms with the rebels. The charge of this family may turn out a little expensive, but it is really due to the memory of Sir William, to the women's zeal and services, and it is a handsome mark of attention to Joseph.

I shall signify His Majesty's approbation of the conduct of Major and Captain Butler to them.


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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
13 September 1779

Having from yours and the representations of Lieutenant Colonel Bolton thought proper to send a strong detachment to the assistance of the Six Nations, I have made choice of Sir John Johnson to command it, and to conduct whatever operations may be thought needful against the rebels in that quarter.

You will, therefore, upon his arrival, join him with your Corps of Rangers, giving him every information and every assistance in your power, and from the great influence Sir John must naturally have with the Indians, the regard they express for him, and strong desire that he should join them together with your knowledge of each other's zeal for the Service, your manifested attachment and the active parts you have both taken in the cause of Government, I have every reason to hope and expect that your mutual endeavours will be crowned with success.

His Majesty has been made acquainted with your services. He has approved of them, and hopes the event of this campaign will recommend you still more to His Royal favour.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
14 September 1779

I have this moment received your letter of the 27th past, with the several enclosures and likewise
from Major Nairn with your requisition for a reinforcement in consequence of your intelligence from Major Butler, and as it had left Carleton Island the 8th Instant, I hope it will arrive seasonably and encourage the Indians to be firm until the arrival of Sir John Johnson, whose detachment is composed of picked men, and will, I make no doubt, effect the purpose of their expedition. I shall answer your letter fully soon being much occupied in business.

Every possible information relative to the enemy's situation, not only from you but from Major Butler, should be forwarded immediately to Carleton Island for the direction of Sir John Johnson's route and operations.

Since the rebels have visited the Indian Country, I am glad they are advancing so far, they can never reach Niagara, and in proportion as they advance their difficulties and danger of retreating must increase.

You will not fail forwarding by express every intelligence interesting as you must know my anxiety.

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FROM THE NOVA SCOTIA GAZETTE, 30 NOVEMBER 1779

Oswegatchie
15 September 1779

The last accounts we had from Colonel Butler was about six days ago, he was then at Contasogo, where he was forced back after very obstinate resistance by a great superiority of the rebels, but he has since received a reinforcement.

Sir John Johnson is coming up with near a thousand troops and all the Canada Indians to reinforce Colonel Butler, which it is to be hoped will prove fatal to the rebels.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Camp, Buffalo Creek
15 September 1779

We left Canawagoras the 12 Instant, in the afternoon, and took possession of the ground where we meant to surprise the enemy early next morning.

The Rangers, by the desires of the Indians, were intermixed amongst them. We lay for a few hours undiscovered near the enemy, who were busily employed making a bridge over a swamp which lay in our front, and it was our intention to let part of them pass over the swamp, and then to have attacked them in such a manner as to make it difficult for the others to support them.

While we were waiting with impatience 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 the place where the firing was. Upon coming up, I found
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 and Indians in that quarter. A lieutenant, 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 the 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), a 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 design 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 anything against so numerous an enemy. We found our by our scouts that they had followed us closely, and had encamped on the opposite side of the river, about two miles from the village. At daybreak 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 and 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.


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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
16 September 1779

Hearing that the rebels have erected stockades in different situations in the Indian Country which Sir John Johnson may find necessary to reduce, I have ordered that he shall take from Carleton Island two brass field pieces with necessary ammunition and should he find necessary for further assistance of that nature you will please to furnish it from Niagara.

Two cohorns must be very serviceable against those picketed forts where they have no had time to make bomb proofs.

An artillery officer will be necessary for the management of those guns. I have desired Lieutenant Colonel Macbean either to order Lieutenant Terret to remain with John or Lieutenant Colleton to join him from Niagara with a proper number of men.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACTS: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
16 September 1779

The enclosed copies of letters from Major Butler, will inform you of 4,000 rebels being encamped at Genesee within 70 or 80 miles of this post. Maxwell, I am informed, commands 1500 or 2000 men at Venango, and has sent strong detachments up the Allegheny and to Le Boeuf.

The Haldimand, I have ordered to the Landing to bring down 418 bateau of merchant's goods, and I have sent orders to the Officers Commanding at Fort Erie and Schlosser to hold themselves in readiness to join this garrison at a moment's warning. I expect daily the detachments from Detroit, and hope the next vessels will bring a reinforcement from Carleton Island.

The rebels have destroyed most of the Indian villages and corn fields, therefore I wish soon to see their families come in, otherwise I shall give over all hopes of their assistance any longer.

Our works are almost finished, and I have no doubt will be defended with spirit, notwithstanding our weak garrison. By the last accounts the Rangers have not more than 150 men fit for duty, and we have 40 sick in this garrison.

September 17th. Joseph Brant (who upon all occasions deserves everything I can say in his favour) is just arrived and informs me that a considerable number of Indians with their families are coming in tomorrow. Scungerachta is with them, and has behaved extremely well. I could wish some handsome presents was made to him as he has great weight with the Six Nations.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
20 September 1779

I am sorry to inform you that the reinforcement Your Excellency is sending up are too late to save the country of the Five Nations from being destroyed. This had been very rapidly effected by the rebels whose superior strength and numbers made all our efforts to stop their progress of small avail.

Your Excellency has been informed through Colonel Bolton of everything that has happened, and the intelligence received of the numbers and 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 our 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 and destroyed the corn, and are making a hasty retreat. Whether they mean to return the same way they came, or by way of Fort Stanwix, I am not informed, but expect to soon know. Two parties of Rangers and Indians leave tomorrow, the one is to go along the lake, taking with them a gunboat to reconnoitre as far as Oswego, and we hope soon to be fully assured whether the rebels have any immediate designs against this post or not.

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 their attachment to His Majesty's cause, and declare, as soon as they have placed their women and children in security, they will go and take revenge of the enemy.


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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO MAJOR NAIRN

Niagara
22 September 1779

I received your favour of the 20th Instant and am much obliged to you for the second reinforcement you have sent which was more than I expected from the number of men in your garrison.

Yesterday I received a note from Joseph Brant informing me that the army under General Sullivan, after destroying the Genesee as well as all the other villages and cornfields, were now on their march back to Tioga, which by all accounts is near three hundred miles from this, of which you will acquaint Sir John Johnson as soon as he arrives.

To follow them is too late to be of any great consequence and would be attended with many difficulties, for with the few horses I have here I cannot conceive it possible for him to carry the quantity of provisions necessary to support the troops under his command with the Canadian Indians and those of the Six Nations that would certainly join him. Besides, it's now rather late in the season. However, His Excellency may think it necessary something should be done to return the visit they paid the Six Nations.

At any rate, to reinforce the Upper Posts, I am convinced will be absolutely necessary for I have not the least doubt but that in the spring they will make an attempt to take some of them before His Excellency can possibly send us any assistance. Niagara, I think, most likely to be attacked as they have now a road to the Genesee.

I should be happy to see Sir John Johnson here, and by that time may have it in my power to give him a more certain account of the enemy's movements.

The Indians bear this misfortune with more patience than I could possibly expect and seem determined to take revenge when an opportunity offers. But the loss of their corn, &c, and the scarcity of provisions here to supply the number I shall have at this post makes it impracticable at present.


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EXTRACT: CAPTAIN RICHARD B LERNOULT
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
Detroit
25 September 1779

I hope the Rangers, Captain Parke's detachment and the warriors from this place have reached you in time to be useful, as I have lost no time in sending them as soon as I learnt the situation you were in.


EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN

Quebec
25 September 1779

The views of the rebels now seem entirely directed against Niagara (from the advances made to Venango and Le Boeuf within 15 miles of Lake Erie and 85 of Niagara), leaving Detroit to fall of course, and from the caution in which they advance and the force they have it would appear that their object is more extensive than merely to awe the Indians.

Every assistance in my power to give, Sir John Johnson carries with him, and that at a risk of being reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions in the course of the winter, which Your Lordship will perceive must every day increase from the number of Indian families driven from their villages, and no resources can be expected this year from Detroit, their crop entirely failed and the inhabitants are now applying for passes to transport provisions from hence for the winter consumption. No effort in my power will be neglected to prevent the calamity I so much dread for provisions shall be pushed up while there is a possibility of navigating the river or lake, although it should subject me to the disagreeable necessity of seizing upon provisions for the subsistence of the troops in this part of the province.

Canadasago, where the rebels were when Major Butler last wrote, is about 140 miles from Niagara and unless Sir John Johnson should arrive time enough to effect something considerable, the Oswego River will be freed from every obstacle to the progress of the enemy's artillery, stores, &c, necessary for the reduction of Niagara. It is to be hoped that the late season and the certain inevitable destruction that must attend a miscarriage will prevent their attempting it this fall, but there cannot be doubt that it will be the first object of their most vigourous operations early in the spring. And should fortunate events preserve to us the important post of Niagara until that time, such provision must be made for its future safety as will effectively secure the interest of the Indians, and by that means keep the enemy out of their country.

To this end, it will be absolutely necessary that a strong post be established at Oswego, as it is the key of the country, and without forcing it a single canoe cannot pass from the rebel country to Niagara. Artillery such as is necessary to reduce that place cannot be conveyed by land. The obvious necessity for this measure has ever been before me since my arrival in this province, but from my unfortunate situation in regard to provisions, I have never been able to effect it.

I might add likewise a want of troops, but even that should not have prevented me.
I beg likewise to represent to Your Lordship that if it is intended to preserve the Upper Country and fur trade, one thousand to fifteen hundred men, with a necessary supply of provisions distinctly for that service alone must be employed as early in the spring as the river becomes navigable.

The present state of provisions in this province and my pressing letters on that interesting subject point out to Your Lordship the impossibility of undertaking any operations of that kind, although the salvation of the province were to depend upon it (which I think it in a great measure does) without very early supplies from home of both troops and provisions.

I have many years regretted that measures were not adopted such as to prevent the safety of the Upper Posts from depending upon supplies from home, so very distant, the transport so extremely precarious and attended with such a heavy expense to Government, all which might be obviated, the troops infinitely better provided and the different posts be in perfect security by raising grain and all kinds of stock at Detroit, which from its centrical situation could very well supply both Niagara and Michilimackinac. The same plan is very practicable at Niagara and there is nothing wanting but a beginning. It will be necessarily be attended with some expense the first two or three years, but would even in as many more amply repay it.

In these times nothing of the kind can be vigorously undertaken, but should this unfortunate war have a speedy termination, it should be immediately carried into execution. And in such case I should be glad to receive Your Lordship's approbation and commands to undertake what I am convinced would produce the most satisfactory effects for His Majesty's interests in that country.

Captains Walter Butler, William Caldwell, John McDonell and Peter Hare to Major John Butler

Ranger Barracks
Niagara
28 September 1779

According to the Beating Orders for raising the Corps of Rangers, there is to be eight companies, commanded by a Major Commandant and each company is to have a Captain. From the nature of our Service, we hold it absolutely necessary, this (in compliance with the orders for raising the Corps) should be the case.

As Captains commanding companies are often sent on service in different quarters, and as there is now six companies that have been mustered, and a seventh half completed, and only five Captains (including Captain Ten Boeck), and whereby only four of us left to do Captain's duty in the Corps, we therefore hope you will see the propriety of each company being completed with the number of officers allowed them.
SIR JOHN JOHNSON TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Fort Haldimand
29 September 1779

I arrived at this place the 26th Instant, with the troops under my command, since which the Indians have also arrived, except the Coghnawagas, who are near at hand.

Finding by all the intelligence I have been able to collect here that the enemy have retired to Tioga with an intention of establishing a post there, I consulted with the chiefs of all the Nations here, which would be the nearest and best place for our rendezvous, in order to march from hence to endeavour to dislodge the enemy from any works they may have begun to erect, and it is determined to go to Asurotus, and I am now only waiting for a fair wind.

A detachment of the 34th Regiment and my own consisting of one hundred and forty men, together with all the Indians, are to go in Bateau and canoes round by Oswego, in order, after all is over, to convey us to such place as the Service may require without detaining the vessels from the transport of provisions.

I may, however, have occasion for the Mohawk if the Service will admit of it.

In hopes that the Six Nations will approve of our plan, and join us immediately together with the Rangers under the command of Major Butler agreeably to the General's orders to me, I have ordered six week's provisions for fifteen hundred men to be landed at the place of rendezvous to save the transport of that article from Niagara.

I take with me from hence two brass six-pounders, and the General writes me that you will provide me with any further assistance I may stand in need of. Therefore if you have no intelligence of the enemy's having abandoned their posts in the Indian Country, I would be glad you would send me two cohorns, or rather one cohorn and one howitzer with every thing necessary for them, and an officer and a proper number of men to work the artillery. And as I could not be provided with a proper proportion of ammunition, &c, for the six-pounder here, I enclose a return of the deficiency which, I beg you will send to me by return of the vessels that will bring the Rangers and Indians to join us.

The greatest difficulty, I imagine, will be in our march to Canadasega, which, with the assistance of as many horses as you can send us, may be soon got over.

Should the enemy have abandoned the Indian Country, you will please to let me know it immediately, and what number of men you will be able to provide with provisions and lodging during the course of the winter, as I am ordered to send the remainder back to Canada.


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EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
Joseph Brant (who went from this some time ago with a party to observe the enemy's motions) arrived this day and informs me that General Sullivan had detached 600 men from Canadasago towards Fort Stanwix and has since returned to Tioga with the main body, where they erected a strong fort.

The loss of the enemy by Major Butler's account amounts to above 60 killed; the number of wounded he would think must be considerable. He assures me that if 500 men had joined the Rangers in time, there is no doubt that instead of 300 at least a thousand warriors would have turned out and with this force he is convinced Mr Sullivan would have had some reason to repent of his expedition. But the Indians not being supported as they expected, thought of nothing more than carrying off their families.

We had at this post the 20th of last month 5,036 to supply with provisions and notwithstanding a number of parties have been sent out since, we have still on the ground 3,678 to maintain. I am convinced Your Excellency will not be surprised if I am extremely alarmed, for to support such a multitude I think will be absolutely impossible. I have requested of Major Butler to try his utmost to prevail on the Indians whose villages have been destroyed to go down to Montreal for the winter, where I have assured him they would be well taken care of and to inform the rest who have not suffered by the enemy that they must return home and take care of their corn, &c. He has promised me he will do everything in his power and I have no doubt of it.

EXTRACT: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO SIR JOHN JOHNSON

I have received your favour of the 29th of August and beg leave to acquaint you that Joseph Brant (who went with a party some time ago to observe the enemy's motions) arrived here yesterday and informs me that General Sullivan had detached six hundred men from Canadasago towards Fort Stanwix and had returned with the main body to Tioga, where a strong fort was erected, and that a sufficient force would be left to defend it with cannon, &c. Such are the accounts I have received lately.

The distance from Tioga, I believe, may be near three hundred miles, and I am afraid with all the horses we can collect you will find many difficulties in transporting the cannon and provisions from Ascarotus to Canadasago, which is scarce half way. However, Sir, you may depend I shall give all the assistance in my power.

I have consulted Major Butler and every person here who can give me the least information, but they all seem to think the season is too far advanced to attempt to dislodge the enemy from a post at so great a distance.

As soon as the Haldimand and Seneca arrive, I shall send the Rangers and Indians down to the place of rendezvous with the cohorns and artillery stores you have desired, and should you have
occasion for one of the small vessels, the Caldwell will best answer that purpose. She draws less water than the Mohawk and Captain Baker is well acquainted with the south side of the lake.

Many of the Rangers are ill with the fever and ague; however, you shall have the Light Company of the 34th Regiment with every man of Major Butler's Corps able to march. Lieutenant Colleton with the artillery shall also embark with the troops.

As you wish to know the number of men we can provide lodgings for, I think in a little time I shall be able to finish barracks for 300 men more than the present garrison consists of, but with the number of Indians assembled here I believe we have provisions for four months. However, I have wrote fully to His Excellency on the subject and have not a doubt but we shall be supplied with a sufficient quantity to answer every purpose.

It will not admit of a doubt but the Upper Posts must be reinforced, particularly Niagara and Detroit. Carleton Island, by Major Nairn's return, is also in want of men.

Tomorrow we shall assemble the chiefs, and as soon as the meeting is over I shall request Major Butler to acquaint you with their sentiments.

General Frederick Haldimand
To Lieutenant Colonel Mason Bolton

Quebec
6 October 1779

I have received your letter of the 17th September covering letters from Major Butler, and account of the expense incurred on his expedition on one of the Naval Department to the 10th May 79, and likewise the Commissary's letters to Captain Lernoult concerning the deficiency of rum.

From the enemy's force and the great caution they observed upon their march into the Indian Country, I am not surprised at their penetrating so far as Genesee, there being no force great enough to oppose them. But I hope the arrival of Sir John Johnson will reassemble the Indians and confirm them in the sentiments I am glad to hear they still retain notwithstanding the loss of the villages and corn.

I would by no means have you encourage the Six Nations to settle upon the banks of the Genesee where they can so easily receive assistance from Niagara by the lake. In the meantime, unless you succeed in persuading them to send down to this Province the greatest part of their women and children, they will not only bring distress upon the garrison, but reduce themselves to great misery. They cannot be so unreasonable as to suppose it possible that a sufficiency of provisions to maintain them all can be transported to Niagara. After having made an exact and certain calculation of your wants, no time must be lost in sending to Detroit and this part of the Province whatever numbers of the detachment under Sir John Johnson as may be necessary. I shall write to you and Sir John particular letters upon this subject. I propose leaving a strong detachment at Carleton Island, the particulars of which I shall likewise inform you of.

In the course of the winter, I do not apprehend that any attack can be made upon your post, nor
will it be possible for Sir John Johnson to effect anything against the enemy.

This consideration, and the scarcity of provisions and the want of barracks, will make it necessary to recall the greatest part of his detachment to Carleton Island, and from whence it can proceed upon any enterprise that may be needful in the spring. It will be necessary to complete your garrison at Michilimackinac to two companies. It will this year be too late, but the number of men for that purpose will assist in garrisoning Detroit until they can be conveniently forwarded, at which time a Captain must be sent to command at Michilimackinac.

The happy understanding subsisting between Joseph and Schenderachta gives me great pleasure. It is proof of the attachment to their King, as well as of their understanding. I shall endeavour to find a present os some sort for each of them. I shall write to England for something from them next spring. I think Sayana's pension will be very well bestowed to Schenderachta. I shall write to Colonel Johnson to let him have it as a reward for his services and a continuance of his friendship.

The barrack bedding is before now, I hope, arrived at Niagara to complete for 800 men, and permission shall be given to Mr Robinson to forward the stores agreeably to the list you sent.

Enclosed is a commission for Mr Ball, which you will date about the time Captain Brehm left you.

I was aware of the difficulty you hint and took infinite plans to prevent any that might arise from the cause I suspected, and Colonel Johnson has given me such strong assurances of his disposing himself upon all occasions to accord with Major Butler, that I am persuaded that if he should not be very unreasonable indeed matters will go on very well. At all events, you must not permit Major Butler to leave Niagara. You may tell him that in the present situation of affairs you cannot take it upon yourself to answer for the consequences.

I enclose you a distribution of quarters for the Upper Posts, which when I have fully determined upon, orders will be sent accordingly. A sufficient supply of blankets, &c, will be sent up in consequence of it.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACTS: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON

Quebec
6 October 1779

Enclosed is a Commission for Mr Ball which you will date about the time Captain Brehm left you.

I was aware of the difficulty you hint, and took infinite pains to prevent any that might arise from the cause I suspected, and Colonel Johnson has given me such strong assurances of his disposing himself upon all occasions to accord with Major Butler that I am persuaded that if he should not be very unreasonable indeed matters will go on very well. At all events, you must not permit Major Butler to leave Niagara. You may tell him that in the present situation of affairs you cannot take it upon yourself to answer to the consequences.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Officers
EXTRACT: CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS
TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN

Quebec
7 October 1779

I communicated to the General your request to send a beating order to the Officer Commanding your detachment in the Indian Country and have His Excellency's command to acquaint you that he thinks it could have no effect, as neither Sir John Johnson nor Major Butler's corps are yet complete, who undoubtedly engross the whole interest of the people upon that frontier, and likewise because it is most probable that detachment will be recalled in the winter.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND
TO LIEUTENANT MASON BOLTON

Quebec
16 October 1779

The application for a commission in Major Butler's Corps of Rangers for Mr Jacob Ball was accompanied by one for Mr Guthrie. The former was transmitted to you in my last letter, not concluding that the latter was intended for Mr Guthrie, Surgeon of that Corps, I have deferred from sending it, it being contrary to His Majesty's orders and very improper that a Surgeon should hold any other commission.

There are some memorandums which Captain Butler gave on the part of Major Butler that remain unanswered.

That relating to the levelling the pay and the business of his Corps, I must defer until the departure of the fleet will afford me time to consider and determine finally upon. All which shall be concluded before the opening of the ensuing campaign.

In respect of the proposed exchange of prisoners for Major Butler's family, I am concerned that I cannot, under the circumstances I find myself at present, treat with the rebels. Every means has been used without effect by Sir Henry Clinton to effect a cartel for the exchange of General Burgoyne's army whom the rebels now consider not as having submitted by convention but as prisoners and a total stop seems put to all exchanges of that kind.

I, therefore, find it necessary to adhere to that part of my predecessor's order prohibiting any exchange of prisoners until I hear what may be further done to the southward. Should an exchange
again take place, you may assure Major Butler that I shall immediately avail myself of it to effect his wishes which I have much heart.

In the meantime, in order to save provisions, I should be glad that the principal families received from the Indians for that purpose were sent down to Montreal where the best care shall be taken of them.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21764, Letters to Offices Commanding at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO MAJOR BUTLER

Quebec
17 October 1779

I have received your letter of the 20th September reporting the necessity of your return to Niagara and the distress of the Five Nations have sustained from the invasion of their country, the difficulties from a want of provisions experienced by the small numbers of men under your command, and which I much fear will be severely felt in the course of the winter at Niagara, is a proof of the fatal consequence that must have attended sending any considerable body of men into the Indian Country without a possibility of furnishing them with provisions.

I derive great pleasure from the assurances you give me of the unshaken fidelity testified by the Five Nations to His Majesty's interest, notwithstanding the losses they have sustained in support of them. I have the most favourable opinion of their conduct and they may depend upon my affording them every assistance in my power.

I am extremely sensible of the zeal and attention you have shown in forwarding the King's Service while you have conducted the Department to which you belong. I cannot doubt that notwithstanding Colonel Johnson's return to his duty, the same inclinations will prompt you to give him every advice and aid which your longer and more intimate knowledge of their affairs enable you to afford for the advancement of the public good and common cause in which His Majesty's faithful subjects are embarked.

Colonel Bolton will inform you of my intention of considering and determining upon regulating the pay of your Corps before they take the field next year, and likewise of my concern at not being able for reasons I have given to forward the exchange of your family in the present situation of affairs.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

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EXTRACT: GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND TO COLONEL GUY JOHNSON

Quebec
18 October 1779
I am at a loss to know what you mean by that part of your letter where you say that you enter upon your duty under many restrictions, which you hope will longer exist, and that, at a very unfavourable period.

Whatever I recommended to you for your conduct, I judged expedient for the King's Service. Why you did not enter upon your duty at an earlier period, I have not to account for. I am far from thinking this an unfavourable one, for the Five Nations, notwithstanding that they have been driven from their villages, with the loss of some of them, remain unshaken in their fidelity to Government, and are ready to undertake whatever may be proposed in support of it. I must here to take occasion to observe that during your absence, while Major Butler has had the sole discretion of your department, under the inspection of the Commanding Officer at Niagara, that service has been carried on without any difficulty and to the best of advantage.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21767, Correspondence with Colonel Guy Johnson, 1778-1781; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-683.

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LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
21 October 1779

I enclose Your Excellency some letters and papers which I have lately received from Captain Lernoult. They will inform you of the disagreeable situation that Governor Hamilton and his friends are in at Williamsburg. However, I still hope that the enemy will not carry matters so far as to put their threats into execution.

The 11th Instant, Sir John Johnson with the troops he brought here, the Light Company of the 34th Regiment, Rangers and the principal Indian chiefs, embarked on board the Haldimand, Seneca and Caldwell and sailed in the evening for Oswego. Joseph Brant with a number of the Six Nations went by land to the Three Rivers, the place of rendezvous. I believe they are determined to cut off the Oneida Village and attempt some thing more if a favourable opportunity offered, but as the season is so far advanced, I think it will be scarce possible.

Sir John Johnson is an Officer of so worthy a character, and has the King's Service so much at heart, that I am almost certain we shall never have any difference about rank that can in the least injure the Service, and am only concerned that it was not in my power to pay him all the attention he is so justly entitled to. Before he left this post, I proposed to send the detachment of the 47th to Detroit, the three companies of the 34th to remain here during the winter, and his own Corps with the Rangers to reinforce the garrison at Carleton Island. But the enclosed distribution will inform you of what we had settled, until Your Excellency's pleasure was known.

The baggage of the three companies of the 34th is here and part of their wood cut. That of the Germans is at Carleton Island.

I intend to send down every lame and useless person belonging to the King's Regiment and Rangers, and request they may be taken proper care of. I also hope to prevail on some of the Indians to go down to Montreal and Carleton Island, where I have promised they shall receive more provisions and as good clothing as those who remain here.
The distribution of provisions for the Upper Posts, I have not as yet received, therefore wish it may be sent up as soon as possible, having forwarded a great quantity to Detroit where it is impossible they can run the same risk of being distressed as we do here.

I forgot to mention that Lieutenant Colleton with the detachment of Royal and German Artillery with two six pounders, two grasshoppers and two cohorns, joined the troops under the command of Sir John Johnson. Lieutenant Terrot remains here with one bombardier, two gunners and two matrosses, but as we have eight guns mounted more than we had formerly had, it will be necessary to detain some of the detachment at Detroit until others are sent up, which I hope Colonel MacBean will approve of.

I shall do everything in my power to prevail upon the Six Nations to settle on the banks of the Genesee and Joseph has promised to assist me.

On Sir John Johnson's arrival here, I recommended Navy Hall as a proper place for his troops to encamp at. Captain Andrews also made him an offer of his house and the seaman's barracks for his people to cook in, which he readily accepted of, nor did I interfere with his command more than to give him all the assistance in my power. I make no doubt you have received letters from him before this time.

Your Excellency's letters of the 22nd and 26th of September and 6th of October, I have received by the Seneca, and the Haldimand is in sight with the detachment of the 47th on board. When the troops arrive for this post, I shall send them to Detroit.

It is impossible that a General Court Martial can assemble this year. I have, therefore, given Lieutenant Glennie leave to return to Montreal, as he has business of the utmost consequence to settle there, which I hope will meet with your approbation.

By the last letters from Captain Caldwell, I have reason to suspect that the Cayugas and some of the Delawares will make peace with the rebels. They lay the whole blame of their villages being destroyed to Major Butler's account, and even threaten him should he advance into their Country, but if the rest of the Nations remain firm, we have little to fear from their menaces.

I should be glad to be informed what vessels are to winter here and at Carleton Island, as we have not received (as far as I can learn) any orders or instructions whatever concerning these matters.

I have received nine bateau out of the twelve Your Excellency ordered for this post, the half of which are useless for want of a carpenter. I am therefore obliged to send Mr Coleman an order in writing for one to be sent here as soon as possible, as Major Nairn's was not thought sufficient. It is strange that this post should be so entirely deprived of all assistance in the Naval Department, for if a vessel should be in distress or any accident should happen to one of them, it is not in my power to give the least assistance.

I have not the least doubt from reports made to me by prisoners but there is a correspondence carried on with the rebels by some persons in Canada, for there is not a single man or gun in the Upper Posts or anything done in Quebec or Montreal that the enemy are not informed of. That there are Indians often clothed at this post in their interests, I am certain of, nor is it impossible to prevent it. The rebels knew of troops coming up from Canada, for which reason I sent the Light Company of the 34th and a detachment of Royal Emigrants. I ordered them to march by land to join Major Butler. This, with the reports I spread of a number of troops being on the way from Carleton Island in order to land at the Genesee and cut off their retreat, I believe in some measure prevented Mr Sullivan's advancing further, as well as doing all the mischief he intended, for several of the cornfields even in sight of the road they cut are safe and not in the least damaged.
The only scout of a Lieutenant and thirty men they sent out are entirely cut off after which they marched with the utmost caution. Believe me, Sir, if these Upper Posts are not reinforced and plenty of provisions forwarded, you will in all probability lose them in the spring, unless something extraordinary happens in our favour, which I have little hopes of from the reports made to me. However, Your Excellency may rest assured the King's Regiment will do their duty, and I hope in such a manner as to merit your approbation.

PS: I am just now informed that Miss Molly is arrived here, her company was for many reasons by no means wished for, but as I shall not interfere with Colonel Guy Johnson's department, of course, shall have a few visits from her. I must not here omit returning Your Excellency's my best thanks for relieving me of the trouble of Indian accounts and naval accounts at Detroit, which have often given me more anxiety that I have words to express.

Distribution of Troops in the Upper Country, Niagara and Small Forts Depending

| Rank and File |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| King's Regiment, 5 companies complete | 280 |
| Yagers | 100 |
| Major Butler's Rangers | 300 680 |
| ___ | ___ |

| Rank and File |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Detroit         |                 |
| King's Regiment, 3 companies complete | 168 |
| Part of do, to be sent in the spring to complete two companies at Michilimackinac | |
| 47th Regiment | 125 |
| Major Butler's Rangers | 50 393 |
| ___ | ___ |

| Rank and File |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Michilimackinac |                 |
| King's Regiment, 2 companies complete | 62 |
| ___ | ___ |

| Rank and File |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Carleton Island |                 |
| 34th Regiment | 162 |
| Sir John Johnson's | 200 362 |
| ___ | ___ |

| Rank and File |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Sir John Johnson's Detachment | Rank and File |
| 34th Regiment | 162 |
| 84th | 51 |
| Sir John Johnson's Corps | 200 |
| Yagers | 100 513 |
| ___ | ___ |
microfilm reel number A-680.

* Comment: Not all totals are correct.

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EXTRACT: COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Oswego
22 October 1779

Major Butler, who arrived the 20th with the rest of the Indians that were to come by water, having just before my arrival at Niagara, settled accounts with the officers, &c, of the Department, wishes to be reimbursed thereto.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21766, Register of Correspondence of General Haldimand and Colonel Johnson, 1779-1783; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-683.

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EXTRACT FROM A RECORD OF AN INDIAN COUNCIL

Niagara
31 October 1779

Proceedings with the Indians at Niagara, Sunday October 31st, 1779. This day a meeting was held at Colonel Johnson's house.

Present:-

Colonel Guy Johnson, Superintendant
Lieutenant Colonel Bolton
John Dease, Esqr, Deputy Agent
Major Butler, Deputy Agent
John Powell, Captain
Nathaniel Hillyer, Lieutenant
Robert Lottridge, Lieutenant
Brant Johnson, Lieutenant
Richard Cartwright, Secretary
Nicholas Stevens, Interpreter

and the Chiefs and others of the different Nations.

After the usual ceremonies, Colonel Johnson opened the meeting by explaining part of the General's letters to himself and Colonel Bolton, to the Indians, wherein he expressed his desire that part of the Indians and their families might be sent to Carleton Island and Canada and that he in this only consulted their conveniency, as from their present numbers it would be impossible to maintain them all at this post, the season being so far advanced that the vessels could not bring a sufficient quantity of provisions across the lake.
EXTRACT: BRIGADIER GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN
TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Montreal
4 November 1779

I beg leave to inform Your Excellency that a very disagreeable affair happened here yesterday morning.

One Michael MacCabe, a soldier belonging to the 28th Regiment who has served in Colonel Butler's Corps for twelve months, arrived here on the 2nd Instant from Niagara. He produced a very honorable certificate from Colonel Bolton of his good behaviour and services, declaring him at the same time unfit for serve by a wound he received in the hand against the rebels last July. His arm was in a sling. He was billeted in the Quebec suburbs only yesterday morning, and before he had been two hours in the house, the landlord being from home, he violated the woman of the house. Her cries brought in the neighbours who [caught?] the man in the fact.

I have secured the man in the Provost, in irons, until I have Your Excellency's orders concerning him. I cannot suppose his hand to be so ill as represented, since the woman, being strong and struggling hard, it's impossible he could force her with one hand. I do not know that the woman will prosecute. Be that as it may, I am convinced Your Excellency will think that MacCabe deserves to be severely punished.

MONTHLY RETURN OF BUTLER'S RANGERS

Niagara
5 November 1779

Major John Butler's Company

Officers Present

Commissioned

Major 1
Captain
1st Lieutenant 1
2nd Lieutenant 1

Staff
Chaplain
Adjunat
Quartermaster  1
Surgeon  1
Mate

Sergeants Present  3
Drummers & Fifers Present  2

Effective Rank and File

Present & Fit for duty  37
Sick in quarters  9
Sick in hospital
On Command
On Furlough
Prisoners with the rebels  2

Total  48

Captain Butler's Company

Officers Present

Commissioned

Major
Captain  1
1st Lieutenant  1
2nd Lieutenant  1

Staff

Chaplain
Adjutant
Quartermaster
Surgeon
Mate

Sergeants Present  3
Drummers & Fifers Present  2

Effective Rank and File

Present & Fit for duty  37
Sick in quarters  3
Sick in hospital  4
On Command  1
On Furlough  2
Prisoners with the rebels  1

Total  48
### Captain Caldwell's Company

**Officers Present**

**Commissioned**

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**Staff**

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**Effective Rank and File**

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<tr>
<td>Prisoners with the rebels</td>
<td>4</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Present</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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</table>

### Captain McDonell's Company

**Officers Present**

**Commissioned**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjutant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartermaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Drummers & Fifers Present 2

Effective Rank and File

Present & Fit for duty 44
Sick in quarters 6
Sick in hospital
On Command
On Furlough
Prisoners with the rebels 5

Total 49

Captain Ten Broeck's Company

Officers Present

Commissioned

Major
Captain 1
1st Lieutenant 1
2nd Lieutenant 1

Staff

Chaplain
Adjutant
Quartermaster
Surgeon
Mate

Sergeants Present 3
Drummers & Fifers Present 2

Effective Rank and File

Present & Fit for duty 30
Sick in quarters 12
Sick in hospital
On Command
On Furlough 2
Prisoners with the rebels 5

Total 49

Captain Hare's Company

Officers Present

Commissioned

Major
Captain 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank and Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Staff</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjutant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartermaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants Present</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummers &amp; Fifers Present</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effective Rank and File</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present &amp; Fit for duty</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick in quarters</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Command</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Furlough</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prisoners with the rebels</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vacant Company**

**Officers Present**

**Commissioned**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank and Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Lieutenant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Staff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank and Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjutant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quartermaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surgeon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeants Present</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummers &amp; Fifers Present</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Effective Rank and File**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank and Title</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present &amp; Fit for duty</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick in quarters</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick in hospital</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Command</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On Furlough</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prisoners with the rebels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Rank and File</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


*Comment:* Captain Peter Ten Broeck had not returned from captivity at this time, yet a Captain is listed as commanding his company.

Total all ranks: 355.

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MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
11 November 1779

In a letter to Captain Mathews from Oswego, I promised to give Your Excellency some account of Indian Affairs on my arrival here.

Everything has been said to the Indians that could be to prevail upon part of them to go to Carleton Island and others to Canada, but this they do not at all incline to, and allege many things to excuse themselves. They say it is impossible to tell how soon they may be again attacked by the rebels, and if any of them should remove it would be out of the power of such to assist their brethren when perhaps they would want assistance most. Besides, that it would reflect much disgrace upon them to have entirely abandoned their country and make the rebels imagine it was through fear of them. They also say that belts and messages have been sent in the name of the whole confederacy to the western and southern Nations requesting their assistance. It would be likely improper for any part of them to remove till they had received an answer.

In regard of the difficulty respecting the articles of provisions which was fully represented to them, they replied they would submit to any inconvenience rather than separate, and would endeavour to help themselves by hunting, &c, and if they must suffer they would cheerfully submit to it; that as they had espoused the cause of the Government, they were determined to persevere in it under any extremity, and in this I really think them sincere. However, 54 Mohigans and some Cayugas went off to the Island in the last vessel, and I believe some Onondagas and Delawares will also go, though the latter have received an invitation from their brethren on the Ohio to go and live with them.

I suppose Your Excellency has been informed before now that the rebels have abandoned their posts at Tioga with evident signs of precipitation.

As I have now nearly completed my Corps and would ‘ere this had the eight companies full had I not given men to fill up the casualties that had happened in every company previous to their being mustered, I beg leave to mention to Your Excellency a promise made by Sir Guy Carleton signifying that from my long and approved services, joined to his good opinion of Captain Butler, he would give me the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, Commandant, and him that of Major, whenever there was a sufficient number of companies raised to admit of his doing so with propriety. This, I am given to understand, was approved of by Your Excellency, and I hope will now be taken into
consideration.

I would also beg Your Excellency's permission for Captain Butler to go to England this fall, if an opportunity offers, as well as to procure proper arms, clothing, &c, for the Corps as well to settle some family concerns.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS TO MAJOR JOHN BUTLER

Quebec
11 November 1779

I have to acknowledge the favour of your letter of the 20th past, and had the honour to lay it before His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, agreeable to your desire. I am commanded by him to acquaint you that in consequence of your recommendation, commissions as Captains are by this opportunity transmitted to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton for Mr Dame and Mr Thompson, and that Mr Ten Broeck is to be struck off for the reasons represented by you.

His Excellency is sensible that your Rangers must have suffered much in the course of this campaign, each man will receive an equipment, if not in this fall, early in the spring. There is no fund from which losses in the field can be indemnified, nor can a precedent be made of the kind as the instances of the men you mention have been peculiarly unfortunate. His Excellency will endeavour by some means that those who suffered most may receive a gratuity, and has wrote to Colonel Bolton on this subject.

Not long ago, a Flag of True was sent with some women and children belonging to Loyalists who have taken refuge in this province, desiring that Mrs Campbell and family might be sent in return for them. His Excellency means to take this opportunity to require that Mrs Butler and family may have safe conduct, either to Niagara or to this province, upon which Mrs Campbell and the family of the Moores will be restored, but not otherwise, and His Excellency hopes the proposal will succeed.

His Excellency desires I would acquaint you that the readiness you express to render every assistance in you Department to Colonel Johnson, and your having at a risk of your health gone on the late expedition, is a confirmation of the zeal you have hitherto shown for the Service, of which it always gives him pleasure to express his approbation.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21765, Correspondence with Officers at Niagara, 1777-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-682.

NTF: commission of George Dame in 21745 dated 11 November 1779

COLONEL GUY JOHNSON TO LORD GEORGE GERMAIN
Niagara
11 November 1779

Previous to my departure from Montreal the beginning of last September, I had the honour to inform Your Lordship of my destination at that time, a duplicate which accompanies this dispatch.

A few days after I went up the River St Lawrence with about one hundred and thirty whites and Indians, who were augmented to two hundred and twenty at my arrival at Carleton Island where accounts were just received that the rebels had hastily retreated out of the Indian Country after destroying almost all the villages and cornfields of the Six Nations, and that Major Butler, my Deputy, with a considerable body of the Indians had retired to Niagara.

As this in a great measure defeated the object the General had in view in ordering up Sir John Johnson with about five hundred men to their support, the next consideration was whether any thing further could be undertaken with those troops assisted by Indians, on which subject Sir John and I conferred, and it was proposed to rendezvous at Aserotus [probably Sodus Bay] about thirty five miles west of Oswego, to call some Indians from Niagara to that place and thence proceed according to the circumstances and information.

To that end, a detachment was sent in boats along the south side of the lake, accompanied by Captain Fraser and the Canadian Indians, who were to send a large party to the neighbourhood of Fort Stanwix to bring off cattle and provisions, while Sir John and myself, with the rest proceeded directly to Aserotus in the vessels, but were forced by a hard gale of wind to go to Niagara where, without loss of time, we proceeded to collect the Indians and return to Aserotus. But this (notwithstanding the zeal and readiness I found in the greatest part of the Indians) was a work of some days, and from the accounts received from Niagara there appeared little prospect of effecting any thing beyond the harassing the frontiers with detached parties.

However, Sir John's zeal for the service induced him to make every effort, and accordingly we left this place the tenth of October and proceeded for Oswego, where it was thought best from accounts received to collect the whole, and where we were joined by the Indians, &c, from Aserote, but a considerable body of the Indians were obliged to march from this place for want of craft to transport them under the care of Captain Brant and other of my officers, for whom we waited a considerable time, during which it was found that the Canada Indians were, notwithstanding all the pains taken by Captain Fraser, very little attached, that they had declined going towards Fort Stanwix and that they opposed any measures against the Oneidas, the only object then in consideration.

At the same time, the General's dispatches arrived with the distribution for winter quarters and orders to Sir John Johnson to return, accompanied by his approbation of the measures that had been pursued, and a letter tome for the dividing the Indians between Niagara, Carleton Island, &c, on account of provisions.

About this time, an officer of my department with five Indians who were advanced a few miles in front of a body of the Rangers captured three Oneida rebels who had been reconnoitring, and another party took a rebel sergeant from whom we learned that the rebels had reinforced the environs of Fort Stanwix with six hundred men and had notice of our motions, mentioning particularly my own.

Sir John Johnson, in consequence of his orders, as well as that party by land had not been able to come up, accordingly decamped, and I returned to this place on the 28th Ultimo.

MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
13 November 1779

The Pay Bills for the subsistence of the Corps of Rangers under my command from the 25th December 1778 to the 25th December 1779 are now made out according to my Beating Order, and the muster rolls which will be delivered to Your Excellency by Captain Butler, and I hope they may be found right and that Your Excellency will see fit to direct a regulation Warrant to be granted for the same.

I have charged for the contingent men agreeable to the custom of the Army, and for expenses and bounty money for the enlistment of effective men. The latter has been allowed me for former enlistments by Sir Guy Carleton and for that purpose delivered me on receiving his orders for raising the Corps a sum of money for which I have accounted with him for the former.

I humbly conceive my Corps entitled to agreeable to the usage and custom of the Army, particularly as I was told on raising the Corps, both by the General and his secretary, that the Rangers would be entitled to every allowance made other troops in His Majesty's Service, not otherwise directed in the Beating Order, and when it is considered that the Officers of Chasseurs or Rangers in other countries (and in this those belonging to the foreign troops) are paid as cavalry, it will not be thought unreasonable.

The commission for Mr Jesse Pawling, Quartermaster, I have not yet received, which Your Excellency will please to deliver to Captain Butler.

I am much in want of a good adjutant, the appointment of a deserving sergeant as such to the Corps of Rangers would be of much use to them particularly, and tend to the benefit of the service in general.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21756, Register of Correspondence with Officers Commanding at Michilimackinac, 1777-1782; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-679.

EXTRACTS: LIEUTENANT COLONEL MASON BOLTON TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND

Niagara
15 November 1779

The probability of being besieged in the spring is certainly a very strong motive for the women and children to be sent down from this post. I have also, with Major Butler's assistance, sent several families of the Rangers to Montreal, and am well convinced he will do every thing in his power to serve the garrison.

Many of the Rangers are sick, and the Corps in general are in great distress for want of clothing (owing to their repeated losses in the Indian expedition). This is disagreeable circumstances and
Your Excellency's final orders in regard to the distribution of the troops not being arrived has induced me to postpone sending fifty of them to Detroit until the spring when that number shall be ready to embark on board the first vessel that arrives.

**Distribution of the Troops in the Upper Country**

Niagara and the Small Forts Depending:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank and File</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King's Regiment, 5 Companies complete</td>
<td>280</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yagers</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Butler's Rangers</td>
<td>300 680</td>
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Detroit

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King's Regiment, 3 Companies complete</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(part of to be sent in the Spring to complete two companies at Michilimakinac)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47th Regiment</td>
<td>125</td>
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<tr>
<td>Major Butler's Rangers</td>
<td>50 393</td>
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Michilimackinac

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King's Regiment, 2 Companies complete</td>
<td>62 62</td>
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Carleton Island

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34th Regiment</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir John Johnson's</td>
<td>200 362</td>
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Sir John Johnson's Detachment

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>34th Regiment</td>
<td>162</td>
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<tr>
<td>84th Regiment</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir John Johnson's Corps</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yagers</td>
<td>100 513</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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*Comment: Totals are not correct.*

**MAJOR JOHN BUTLER TO GENERAL FREDERICK HALDIMAND**

Niagara
20 November 1779
I am honoured with Your Excellency's of the 17th of October, and assure you I shall give Colonel Johnson every assistance in my power. There never was any misunderstanding between us, but even were there, it should not interrupt my endeavours to promote His Majesty's Service.

I wrote by Captain Butler and must refer Your Excellency for particulars to him.

I am sorry it has not been in your power to procure the liberty of my family, but hope it may be done now from the late proposals of Schuyler.

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**EXTRACT: GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON TO PHILIP PELL, COMMISSARY OF STATE PRISONERS**

[Albany]
November 1779

Zadock Wright, a Major in Colonel Peter's Corps, and Captain Peter Ten Broeck and Lieutenant William Bowen of Butler's Rangers, taken by the Militia, are now prisoner under the direction of the Commissioners of Conspiracies at Albany. These I would have you to report to Colonel Beatty, Commissary General of Prisoners, with my consent to their being exchanged; the first for Major Logan, the second for Captain Baldwin (if he has not already been exchanged for Captain Montgomerie or some other person) who was taken to the northward in 1777, for Captain Humphrey taken at Fort Montgomerie, and the last for Lieutenants Brewster or Hunter of the Militia, taken at Fort Montgomerie.

---

**ROBERT BENSON TO ALLEN MCDONELL AND HUGH FRASER**

Poughkeepsie
6 December 1779

I am directed by His Excellency, Governor Clinton, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th Ultimo, and to repeat to you his determination not to suffer your Ladies and the wife of Colonel Butler to leave the country until the proposal made by Mr Butler and acceded to on the part of the Governor, for exchanging Mrs Campbell and the other unfortunate women who fell into his hands at Cherry Valley and now his prisoners are accomplished.

And His Excellency is persuaded that when you compare the different situations of those women who, when made prisoners, were treated with more than savage barbarity and for upwards of a year passed have experienced the most disagreeable captivity, with that of your ladies who continue to live unmolested at their usual habitations, and that the detention of the latter is to release the former, you will be convinced not only by common justice and duty he owes to the public, but by the principles of humanity.
And I am authorized to assure you, that as soon as Mrs Campbell and the other women are liberated and proper assurances given that his barbarous and unmanly system of warfare will no longer be practised, not only you Ladies by such others as may have husbands within the British lines will most readily be permitted to go to them.


************************************************

EXTRACT: COLONEL GUY JOHNSON
TO MAJOR GENERAL PHILIP SCHUYLER

Niagara
7 December 1779

PS: Major Butler, who took pains on the occasion, has informed me that an old Militia Captain, whose name he thinks was Hoghtelling or Wood, was taken and sent to Canada. Mrs Campbell and family are in health and I understand in readiness to be exchanged for Mrs Butler and family.


************************************************

BRIGADIER GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN
TO CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS

Montreal
20 December 1779

I am favoured with your letter of the 16th by order of His Excellency, enclosing a memorial of Captain John McDonell of Colonel Butler's Rangers. That memorial contains such a variety of matter and has such a number of heavy charges and accusations against me of the many injuries done to Captain McDonell, and the post (owing to the bad weather) not arriving till yesterday, that I shall not be able to answer it this post.

Charges and accusations may be made in a few sentences, but the answering and clearing of those accusations requires a great deal of writing. The memorial before me is not only very long, but it goes back for four years and a half back; it obliges me to vindicate my own conduct since that time, which I am sorry to say, will force me to subject the Commander-in-Chief to the disagreeable fatigue of reading three or four sheets of paper, with which it was very unnecessary to trouble him as the sequel will clearly prove.

You will, however, aprise His Excellency that I do flatter myself that I shall not only be able to vindicate my own conduct from the many injurious and gross assertions in the memorial against me to the satisfaction of His Excellency, but also in a manner that can reflect no great honour on Mr McDonell. I never attack any man's character but when I am attacked I must justify myself. Let the consequences be what may. Mr McDonell, if not properly informed, should have endeavoured to make himself master of both sides of that question before he brought charges against me, for one half of which I should merit to be brook with disgrace were they true. I have the consolation to know they are all false.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21789, Letters from Commanding
EXTRACT FROM THE WARRANT BOOKS OF THE PAYMASTER GENERAL

Quebec
23 December 1779

Temporary Warrant to Captain Walter Butler on account of subsistence for a Corps of Rangers under the command of Major John Butler

£6,000

Record of Expenses by Captain Walter Butler

Niagara
24 December 1779

Paid To Mr Cartwright for boarding, &c while a prisoner at Albany

£76 10 0

Paid To cash for hay for horses hauling timber for log houses in the spring of 1779 by Lieutenant Colonel Butler and for the purchase of boards to complete a hospital for the Rangers

£20 0 0

CAPTAIN ROBERT MATHEWS
TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ALLAN MACLEAN

Quebec
27 December 1779
I am commanded by His Excellency, General Haldimand, to acquaint you that he has given orders to Captain Butler to discontinue enlisting men at Montreal for a Corps of Rangers commanded by Major Butler, whose beating order restricted him to the frontiers of this province for that service.

British Library. Sloane and Additional Manuscripts, Add MSS 21791, Copies of Letters to Officers Commanding at Montreal, 1778-1784; National Archives of Canada, Haldimand Collection, microfilm reel number A-690.
## Extract from the British Army List for 1779

The Eighth (or King's) Regiment of Foot
America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank in The Regiment</th>
<th>Army</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colonel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bigoe Armstrong</td>
<td>20 October 1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Colonel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason Bolton</td>
<td>11 November 1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arent S de Peyster</td>
<td>6 May 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richard B Lernoult</td>
<td>15 July 1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Potts</td>
<td>27 May 1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Parke</td>
<td>22 November 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Mompesson</td>
<td>16 March 1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Clements</td>
<td>29 March 1776</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Le Maistre</td>
<td>5 November 1776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Willoe</td>
<td>6 May 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Mathews</td>
<td>7 May 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Watts</td>
<td>8 March 1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Bird</td>
<td>11 May 1778</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
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<td>Lieutenants</td>
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<td>21 April 1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Bennet</td>
<td>1 August 1778</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Highmore</td>
<td>12 October 1771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Coote</td>
<td>15 August 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Delgarno</td>
<td>22 November 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lt Leighton Kinnersly</td>
<td>23 November 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Clowes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Mercer</td>
<td>29 March 1776</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel Showrd</td>
<td>6 May 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Bounds Book</td>
<td>8 May 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Caldwell</td>
<td>25 December 1777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Pepyat</td>
<td>11 May 1778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Armstrong</td>
<td>1 March 1779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ensigns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Butler</td>
<td>22 November 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Brock</td>
<td>24 November 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durell Saumarez</td>
<td>6 April 1776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Joseph Wilmot 12 April 1776
Robert McDougal 6 May 1777
Robert Pollard 8 May 1777
Philip Fry 11 May 1778
Archibald Armstrong 6 November 1778
Anthony Kynnersley 15 February 1779
Chaplain Philip Rosenhagen 18 November 1767
Adjutant Robert Mathews 10 April 1775
Quartermaster William Potts 18 April 1768
Surgeon Robert McCausland 18 August 1775

Great Britain. War Office, A List of All the Officers of the Army (London, 1779), p 72

* **Comment:** Note that Walter Butler is still carried as an officer in the 8th Foot, yet he was serving in the Rangers at this time. Their rank in the Regiment need not reflect their actual enlistment in the army.

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