In the minds of the pioneer settlers of western and central New York, the history of their land began with Sullivan's Campaign against the Six Nations in 1779. John Sullivan, American Revolutionary general, led the campaign with General James Clinton to destroy the Indians' ability to support the British. In a time before there were any books of local history, people knew about the invasion of the Indian country from oral tradition embroidered with legend. In Tompkins County they thought it had occurred in 1776 and told of a battle near Cayuga Lake that never happened (no. 15). People in Steuben County said that a highway opened up in 1793 by land promoter Charles Williamson had been cut through by Sullivan's men, who never came that way at all (Farmer's Advocate, Bath, June 5, 1871). In Livingston County they told a spine-tingling tale of how some of the Continental soldiers discovered Indians cooking breakfast in present-day Letchworth Park, charged the camp with fixed bayonets, and drove the redskins over the cliff into the Genesee gorge. Old Indian scout Moses Van Campen took pains in his reminiscences, published in 1841, to deny the story (no. 24).

It took several decades, starting in the 1830's, for the basic facts to emerge. A number of historians included accounts of the Sullivan Campaign in their books about frontier warfare during the Revolution. William W. Campbell (no. 4) and Jeptha R. Simms (nos. 35,36) were primarily storytellers, though they interviewed survivors and consulted documents not available to the modern researcher. William Leete Stone, a Federalist newspaper editor of Albany and New York City, was a far more capable researcher and writer than the other two. His account of the campaign (nos. 37,38) contains finely drawn descriptions of the descent of the Susquehanna River by Clinton's troops, of the advance through the garden land of the Finger Lakes and Genesee Valley, and of the Boyd-Parker massacre. These stories were carried over into many later works by other authors and became an indelible part of the popular memory of Sullivan's Campaign.

Also from the early nineteenth century come the interesting reminiscences of Mary Jemison and Moses Van Campen (nos. 24,34). Both books seem to have been heavily "ghost-written," but they offer perspectives on the campaign from white persons closely acquainted with or assimilated into Indian culture. Both of them have become enduring regional folk heroes, testifying to our fascination with and our deep ambivalence about the native Americans whom we have displaced.

None of the authors of these books were aware of how many private journals kept during the campaign still existed. Only a few soldiers' journals were printed in newspapers and magazines in the early nineteenth century; one of them was quoted extensively by Campbell. As the centennial of the American Revolution approached, more and more were published, culminating in a massive compendium edited by George S. Conover, a Geneva antiquarian, in 1887 (no. 62). His name is missing on the title page; Frederick Cook's is there instead, because as Secretary of State he authorized publication of the book. The editing of the journals is good, and the volume remains a convenient source book. It permits easy comparison of the perceptions of different observers of an event, always a fascinating historical exercise.

A recent reprint of Conover unfortunately omits the centennial orations and poems included in the original volume. These reveal very well how people in the nineteenth century tried to interpret the American past in a mythical way, employing the pious and heroic modes of discourse to make individuals and events seem greater than they really were. This perspective was very slow in giving way to a more realistic understanding. In 1929, the New York State Historian orchestrated a commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of the Sullivan Campaign which did not differ markedly from that sponsored by local committees in 1879. Boulders and bronze plaques were erected to mark Sullivan's and Clinton's routes from Canajoharie and Wyoming to Tioga Point and the Genesee River. Speeches and pageants marked the occasion, and they were compiled and published for the edification of future students of regional history (nos. 88,90,97,98).

Publication of documents dealing with the Sullivan Campaign has continued to the present, though with changing emphases. In 1929, the State Historian published a book containing extracts from documents, aiming to present a balanced view of the campaign from both the British and the American standpoints (no. 50). In the past 50 years just two previously unknown soldiers' journals have been edited, and this rich source of material seems to have been exhausted at last. A zoology professor at Cornell University, Albert H. Wright, investigated other sources of information about the campaign. Wright published contemporary newspaper notices of the Tory and Indian raids and of the campaign itself, and also rosters of the regiments involved (nos. 53,54,55). Some historian might use these to advantage in exploring public reaction to the Indian menace and the moot question of how many soldiers who took part in the campaign actually did settle in the Indian country they traversed. In the present bicentennial year of the campaign, New York History is publishing documents relating to the logistical problems of supplying the expedition (no. 47).

The happiest recent development in the historiography of the Sullivan Campaign has been the appearance of works which do justice to the predicament and the tragedy of the Iroquois in the era of the American Revolution. Books by Barbara Graymont and Anthony F. C. Wallace (nos. 12,43) and an article by Donald R. McAdams (no. 25) point out that the campaign was militarily ineffective in that it failed to halt the Tory and Indian attacks on the frontier. The Iroquois suffered more casualties than the Americans, but their main fighting force remained intact. The years 1780 to 1782 saw, if anything, increased destruction of white settlements in the Mohawk Valley. During the campaign the American army had only two significant engagements, the battle of Newtown and a skirmish near Conesus Lake. The Continentals spent most of their time burning empty villages, dumping shelled corn into the rivers, and chopping down orchards. Graymont calls it a "warfare against vegetables." Wallace contrasts the "ragged conquerors," the later white settlers in the neighborhood of the Allegany Reservation, with the prosperous Indian towns and fields in the Finger Lakes region in 1779. Yet, it is only fair to note that the nineteenth-century historians of the campaign, and the soldiers themselves, were also impressed by the progress in material culture which the Iroquois exhibited.

At the end of the Revolutionary War virtually every settlement, American or Indian, between Schenectady and the Genesee River lay in ashes. Both sides had successfully carried out a "scorched-earth" policy. Yet, despite the devastation of the New York frontier, the whites retained the clear advantage because of their huge reserves of people and wealth, and because of the diplomatic leverage acquired from the peace treaty with Great Britain. They quickly recovered...
the momentum of expansion and shortly overwhelmed the Iroquois. The Sullivan Campaign was only one factor in a complex of irresistible pressures bearing against the Six Nations. The campaign is prominent in historical writing about western and central New York more because of our liking for dramatic muskets-and-tomahawks history than because it had a decisive role in the doom of the Iroquois.

Below is a list of published primary and secondary materials bearing on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. It does not pretend to be "exhaustive," for that would only be "exhausting" for both compiler and user while adding little research value. The list is divided into sections. "General Works" include classic accounts, modern syntheses, scholarly articles, and a number of works of little originality but of interest for their expression of popular views of the campaign. "Printed Sources" might be expanded by the inclusion of the published papers of General George Washington and Governor George Clinton, who followed closely the course of frontier warfare. "Soldiers' Journals" are the same two dozen diaries kept during the campaign and later preserved and published. They testify both to the participants' awareness of the campaign's importance and to the relatively easy conditions of the march which allowed the keeping of journals. "Anniversary Observances; Boyd-Parker Ambush" is the title given to the various compilations of speeches, newspaper articles, pageants, and other effusions of patriotic piety which anniversaries of the campaign have prompted. The Boyd-Parker massacre has always been considered especially memorable because of its gruesomeness, though the torture and executions were no different from what the Senecas often inflicted on captured enemies of their own race. "Bibliography" gives previous lists or discussions of the literature on the campaign.

All the items listed have been found and used either in the Department of Rare Books, Manuscripts and Archives, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, or in Olin Library, Cornell University. I wish to thank these libraries for access to their materials.

The research for this article was done largely while the compiler was employed as a research assistant for the Rochester / Genesee Valley History Project from 1976 to 1978. The project was supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities (grant no. EH-25702-76-1183) and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (grant no. G00760393).


30. Norton, A. Tiffany. History of Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois; Being a Full Account of that Epoch of the Revolution. Lima: Published by the author, 1879. 200 pp. (Consulted documents, journals, and maps in a successful effort to dispel myths and ignorance about the expedition)


33. Russell, Eber L. "The Lost Story of the Brodhead Expedition." Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association11 (1930), 252-63. (Brodhead pushed up the Allegheny River from Fort Pitt, but never joined the main force. Russell makes more effective use of Seneca traditions than does Parker, above.)


35. Simms, Jeptha R. History of Schuylkill County, and Border Wars of New York. Albany: Munsell & Tanner, 1845. 672 pp. (Chap. 11 has a few pieces of oral testimony from surviving witnesses.)


43. Wallace, Anthony F. C. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. 384 pp. (Main emphasis is on religious response to demoralization following loss of lands after the war.)


PRINTED SOURCES


5. N.Y. State Historian. The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779: Chronology and Selected Documents. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1929. 216 pp. (Excerpts from documents and diaries are well chosen to give an overall picture of the campaign. Included is previously unpublished material from Canadian archives and the journal of James Fairlie, Aug. 26-Sept. 8, only.)


10. _______. New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; The Losses. ("Studies in History," no. 33) Ithaca: Published by the author, nd. 29 pp. (Discusses various estimates of casualties)

SOLDIERS' JOURNALS


book sponsored by the Finger Lakes Association; no original material)
15. ________ . *One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign; Historical Programs and Dedication of Markers along Route of March*. Albany: University of the State of New York, n.d. 64 pp. (Gives scripts of the elaborate pageants held at Leicester, Geneva, and Elmira in 1929)
17. Patchett, Anna E. *Two Parks-Small in Size, Big in History; With a Brief Account of Major-General John Sullivan and the Expedition of 1779*. Geneseo: Livingston County Historical Society, 1976. 24 pp. (Brief accounts of the Boyd-Parker Memorial at Cuylerlerville, and the Groveland Ambuscade Monument at Groveland)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

2. Ingalsbee, Grenville M. "A Bibliography of Sullivan's Indian Expedition." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 37-70. (Most comprehensive listing of the nineteenth-century material, including minor items not included in present listing)
This usually has a heading: references but may be bibliography or works cited depending on the conventions of the system you use. The object of your writing is for you to say something for yourself using the ideas of the subject, for you to present ideas you have learned in your own way. The emphasis should be on working with other people’s ideas, rather than reproducing their words. The ideas and people that you refer to need to be made explicit by a system of referencing. Therefore, at the end of your assignment you need a list of the materials you have used - a bibliography or a reference list. There are many ways of writing a list of references - check with your department for specific information. The most common system is called the Harvard system. This bibliography includes texts of international, national, and regional significance, but does not seek to be fully comprehensive at a global level and generally excludes highly localized guides or product documents. It is organized as a subject bibliography and is structured so that users can easily expand upon it as needed to include specific local references or additional subject categories (such as twentieth-century landscape architecture design). This bibliography is focused on English-language literature pertaining to the conservation of twentieth-century buildings and structures.