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## The Sullivan Campaign: A Bibliography

--JAMES D. FOLTS, JR.

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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 Jephtha 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 some 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.

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## GENERAL WORKS

1. Adams, Warren D. "Sullivan's Expedition and the Cayugas." *Collections of the Cayuga County Historical Society*, no. 7 (1889), 169-94. (One of the "mopping-up" movements in the campaign)
2. Adler, Simon L. "Sullivan's Campaign." *Rochester Historical Society, Publication Fund Series 3* (1924), 93-109. First pub. as *Sullivan's Campaign in Western New York, 1779*. Rochester: 1898. 8 pp.
3. Amory, Thomas C. *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan of the American Revolutionary Army*. Boston: Wiggin and Lunt; Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868. 320 pp. Repr. 1968 by Kennikat Press, Port Washington, N.Y. (Thorough work with many long excerpts from original documents)
4. Campbell, William W. *Annals of Tryon County; or, The Border Warfare of New-York during the Revolution*. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1531. 269 pp. Repub. 1849 by Baker & Scribner, New York. 396 pp. (A rather cut and dried account, less interesting than Stone, below)
5. Craft, David. *The Sullivan Expedition. An Address Delivered at the Seneca County Centennial Celebration at Waterloo, September 3rd, 1879*. Waterloo: Observer Book and Job Printing House, 1880. 71 pp. Also in Willers, below. (Competent account of the action by a diligent antiquarian)
6. Cruikshank, Ernest. *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara Welland, Ont.*: Tribune Printing House, 1893. 114 pp.
7. Eastman, Edward R. *The Destroyers, a Historical Novel* Ithaca: American Agriculturist, 1946. 250 pp.
8. Edson, Obed. "Brodhead's Expedition against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny, 1779." *Magazine of American History* 3 (1879), 649-75. (Has a list of manuscript and published soldiers' journals for the whole campaign)
9. Flick, Alexander C. "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 10 (1929), 185-224, 265-317. (Reprints many documents, including Washington's inquiries about the best route from Tioga Point to Niagara; emphasizes strategic purpose of the campaign which, in fact, it may not have had)
10. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 15 (1930), 64-72.
11. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779." *History of the State of New York*, vol. 4: The New State, 185-216. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.
12. Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972. 359 pp. (The best work on the subject, placing the campaign firmly into its larger historical context; has an excellent bibliographical essay)
13. Griffis, William E. "New Hampshire's Part in Sullivan's Expedition of 1779." *New England Magazine*, N.S., 23 (1900), 355-73.
14. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Pathfinders of the Revolution: A Story of the Great March into the Wilderness and Lake Region of New York in 1779* Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1900. 316 pp. (Fiction)
15. \_\_\_\_\_. "The History and Mythology of Sullivan's Expedition. An Address Delivered before the Wyoming Commemorative Association... ." *Report of the Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association, on the Occasion of the 125th Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, July 3rd, 1903* Wilkes-Barre: 1903. 38 pp. (Exposes some minor myths about the campaign in the Ithaca area)
16. \_\_\_\_\_. "Sullivan's Great March into the Indian Country." *Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries* 2 (1905), 295-310, 365-78; 3 (1906), 1-10.
17. Grinde, Donald A. *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977. 175 pp.
18. Hagan, William T. *Longhouse Diplomacy and Frontier Warfare: The Iroquois Confederacy in the American Revolution*. Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, [1976]. 58 pp. (Good brief survey)
19. Halsey, Francis W. *The Old New York Frontier: Its Wars with Indians and Tories, Its Missionary Schools, Pioneers and Land Titles, 1614-1800*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. 432 pp. (Rather perfunctory account of the campaign, especially beyond Tioga Point)
20. Harding, Garrick M. *The Sullivan Road; A Paper Read by Garrick M. Harding before the Wyoming Valley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution* Wilkes-Barre: 1899. 21 pp.
21. Harris, George H. "The Life of Horatio Jones." *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 6 (1903), 381-526. (A few references to the expedition)
22. Heilig, M. R. *With Sullivan in Seventeen Seventy-nine; A Tale of the War for Independence, Being the Diary of a Forest Runner* Stroudsburg, Pa.: Stroudsburg Printing Co., 1907. 89 pp. (Fiction)
23. Hinman, Marjory Barnum. *Onaquaga: Hub of the Border Wars of the American Revolution in New York State*. np.: 1975. 113 pp. (History of a frontier way station for raiding parties in both directions)
24. Hubbard, John N. *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen, a Surviving Soldier of the Revolution* Bath: R. L. Underhill & Co., 1841. 310 pp. Revised ed., Fillmore: Published by John S. Minard, 1893. 337 pp. (Van Campen served as a scout during the campaign, and his grandson wrote his stories down.)
25. McAdams, Donald R. "The Sullivan Expedition: Success or Failure." *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 54 (1970), 53-81. Repr. in *Narratives of the Revolution in New York: A Collection of Articles from The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (Collections of the New-York Historical Society, Vol. 85) New York: 1975. (The best recent discussion of the campaign itself, pointing out that the aim was to destroy Indian villages and take prisoners, not to capture Fort Niagara)

26. McKone, Frank E. *General Sullivan: New Hampshire Patriot*. New York: Vantage Press, 1977. 434 pp. (This is called "Vol. 1," and carries the general's life to 1776. Does not rival Whittemore, below, as a general biography.)
27. Merrill, Arch. *Land of the Senecas*. New York: American Book-Stratford Press, nd. 147 pp. (Popular account)
28. Miner, Charles. *History of Wyoming*. Philadelphia: J. Crissy, 1845. 488 + 104 pp. (For the Sullivan Expedition, see pp. 259-77.)
29. Mulligan, Robert. "The Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and Some Problems of Supply." MA. thesis, State University of New York College at Oneonta, 1972.
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)
31. Parker, Arthur C. "The Indian Interpretation of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign." *Rochester Historical Society, Publication Fund Series 8* (1929), 45-59. (Draws on a few Seneca traditions, but mostly another summary of the action)
32. Rising, Oscar E. *A New Hampshire Lawyer in General Washington's Army: A Biographical Sketch of the Hon. John Sullivan, LL.D., Major General in the Continental Army; and an Account of the Expedition under His Command against the Six Indian Nations in 1779*. Geneva: Press of W. F. Humphrey, 1915. 120 pp. (Superficial and poorly written)
33. Russell, Eber L. "The Lost Story of the Brodhead Expedition." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 11 (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.)
34. Seaver, James E. *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison. The White Woman of the Genesee*. New York: American Scenic & Historic Preservation Society, 1918. 453 pp. (The most available version of a minor classic of its kind, first published in 1824. For a discussion of the many editions, see Strecker, below.)
35. Simms, Jephtha R. *History of Schoharie 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.)
36. \_\_\_\_\_. *The Frontiersmen of New York, Showing Customs of the Indians, Vicissitudes of the Pioneer White Settlers, and Border Strife in Two Wars; with a Great Variety of Romantic and Thrilling Stories Never Before Published* Albany: George C. Riggs, 1882. 2 vols., 712 + 759 pp. (Lively stories, careless of detail at times)
37. Stone, William L. *Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea: Including the Border Wars of the American Revolution*. . . New York: George Dearborn and Co., 1838. 2 vols., 425 + 537 pp. (Vol. 2, chap. 1, is an account of the campaign, making much use of original documents.)
38. \_\_\_\_\_. *Border Wars of the American Revolution* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843 and later eds. 2 vols., 384 + 381 pp.
39. Stryker, William S. *General Maxwell's Brigade of the New Jersey Continental Line in the Expedition against the Indians, in the Year 1779* Trenton: W. S. Sharp Printing Company, 1885. 66 pp. (Narrative of the campaign with an emphasis on New Jersey units)
40. Sturtevant, William C., general ed. *Hand Book of North American Indians* Vol. 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978 924 pp. (Has articles on general Iroquois history and culture by the best authorities, but little specifically on the Sullivan Expedition)
41. Swiggett, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 309 pp. Repr. 1963 by Ira J. Friedman, Inc., Port Washington, N.Y. (Aims to improve the reputation of Walter Butler; superseded by Graymont, above)
42. Wait, William. "Sullivan's Campaign." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 80-86.
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.)
44. Whittemore, Charles. *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. 317 pp. (The best biography, with an extensive bibliography of general sources for the Revolutionary War)
45. Williams, Sherman. "The Organization of Sullivan's Expedition." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 29-36.

## PRINTED SOURCES

1. Bleeker, Leonard. *The Order Book of Captain Leonard Bleeker, Major of Brigade in the Early Part of the Expedition under General James Clinton, against the Indian Settlements of Western New York*. New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865. 138 pp. (Ends with the joining of the two armies at Tioga Point)
2. Brophy, Marion, and Tripp, Wendell, eds. "Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779." *New York History* 60 (1979), 245-82. (First of two articles)
3. Murray, Louise Welles, ed. *Order Book of Fort Sullivan and Extracts from Journals of Soldiers in Gen. Sullivan's Army Relating to Fort Sullivan at Tioga Point, Pennsylvania, 1779*. . . Compiled from MSS. in the Craft Collection, Tioga Point Historical Society. Athens, Pa.: 1903. 55 pp. (Order book kept by Thomas E. Gee covers the period Aug. 27-Oct. 26, 1779.)
4. \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Notes from Craft Collection in Tioga Point Museum on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and Its Centennial Celebration of 1879, Including Order Book of General Sullivan Never before Published; Original Manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society*. Athens, Pa.: 1929. 33 + 100 pp. (Introduction discusses the antiquarian researches of Craft; second part includes the order book of Lieut.-Col. Francis Barber.)
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.)
6. Sullivan, John. *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army*. Edited by Otis G. Hammond. (Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vols. 13-15) Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930-39. 3 vols. (Contains many letters and documents relating to the campaign)
7. Van Campen, Moses. "The Van Campen Letters." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 11th Annual Meeting, 1877, 4-5. (Letters concerning the Sullivan Campaign, written in 1841)
8. Wright, Albert Hazen. *New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; Contemporary Newspaper Comments and Letters* Part I: Preliminary Correspondence and Raids. Part II: Indian Participants, Brodhead's Expedition, Battle of Chemung. Part III: Battle of Newtown, Genesee, Return. Part IV: The Conclusion and Bibliography. ("Studies in History," nos. 5-8) Ithaca: Published by the author, 1943. 53, 50, 34, 9 pp. (Meticulous compilation of newspaper references to the Sullivan Campaign, complementing the journals listed below)
9. \_\_\_\_\_. *New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; The Regimental Rosters of Men*. ("Studies in History," no. 34) Ithaca: Published by the author, 1965. 145 pp. (Lists 5,865 men known to have served in the campaign)
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

1. Barton, William. "Journal of Lieutenant William Barton of Maxwell's Brigade. Kept during General Sullivan's Expedition. . . ." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 2 (1846), 22-42. Repr. in Conover, below.
2. Beatty, Erkuries. "Journal of Lieut. Erkuries Beatty in the Expedition against the Six Nations under Gen. Sullivan." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 219-53. First pub. in Conover.
3. Beekman, Tjerck. "Journal of Lieutenant Tjerck Beekman, 1779. . . ." *Magazine of American History* 20 (1888), 128-36. See also "A Mess Account Kept at Valley Forge and during Genl. Sullivan's Indian Expedition, from 1778 to 1780, by Tjerck Beekman, Lieutenant in the Second New York Continental Regiment." Edited by James R. Gibson, Jr. *New York Genealogical & Biographical Record* 19 (1888), 126-31, 173-74. Not in Conover.
4. [Blake, Thomas.] Frederic Kidder. *History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution*. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868. 184 pp. Also in

- Conover. (Journal of Lieut. Blake is found on pp. 47-54.)
5. Burrowes, John. "Major Burrowes' Journal of the Sullivan Expedition." Edited by Arch Merrill. *Genesee Country Scrapbook* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1953), 18-23. First pub. in Conover.
6. Campfield, Jabez. "Diary of Dr. Jabez Campfield, Surgeon in Spencer's Regiment." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 3 (1872-74), 117-36. Repr. in Conover.
7. [Conover, George S., comp.] *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*. Auburn: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887. 579 pp. Journals only repr. 1970 by Benchmark Publishing Co., Glendale, N.Y. (Important collection of 26 soldiers' diaries, accompanied by speeches and poems from the commemorative exercises held in 1879)
8. Davis, Nathan. "History of the Expedition against the Five Nations, Commanded by General Sullivan in 1779." *Historical Magazine*, Ser. 2, 3 (1568), 198-205. (These later reminiscences add interesting details not found in the contemporary journals. Not in Conover.)
9. Dearborn, Henry. *Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783*. Edited by Lloyd A. Brown and Howard H. Peckharn. Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1939. First pub. in Conover. (Journal IV, pp. 155-94, covers the Sullivan Campaign.)
10. Elmer, Ebenezer, "Extracts from a Journal Kept by Doctor Ebenezer Elmer. . . ." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 2 (1846), 43-56. Repr. in Conover. Also pub. as "Journal of Ebenezer Elmer." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 35 (1911), 103-107.
11. Fogg, Jeremiah. *Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, during the Expedition of Gen Sullivan in 1779, against the Western Indians*. . . Exeter, N.H.: The Newsletter Press, 1879. 24 pp. Repr. in Conover.
12. Gookin, Daniel. "Revolutionary Journal of Daniel Gookin-1779." *New England Historic and Genealogical Register* 16 (1862), 27-33. Repr. in Conover.
13. Gore, Obadiah. "Diary of Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr., in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779." Edited by R. W. G. Vail *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 33 (1929), 711-42. Also pub. in *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society* 19 (1926), 219-35, and in part in no. 47, above.
14. Grant, George. "March of Sullivan's Army in 1779." *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania* 14 (1834), 72-76. Repr. in Conover.
15. Grant, Thomas. "Gen. Sullivan's Expedition to the Genesee Country, 1779: A Journal of Janaral Sullivan's Army, after They Left Wyoming." *Historical Magazine* 6 (1862), 233-37. Repr. in Conover.
16. Hardenbergh, John L. "The Journal of Lieutenant John L. Hardenbergh of the Second New York Continental Regiment..., in General Sullivan's Campaign against the Western Indians Edited by John S. Clark. *Collections of Cayuga County Historical Society*, no. 1 (1879), 7-59. Repr. in Conover.
17. Hubley, Adam. "Adam Hubley, Jr., Lt Colo. Comdt 11th Penna. Regt, His Journal, Commencing at Wyoming, July 30th, 1779." Edited by John W. Jordan. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 33 (1909), 129-46, 279-302, 409-22. Also pub. separately, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909. 57 pp. Also pub. in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 11 (Harrisburg: 1890), 12-48, and in Conover. (The 1909 edition is the best, including Hubley's maps.)
18. Livermore, Daniel. "Journal of the March of General Poor's Brigade, from Soldier's Fortune, on the Western Expedition, May 17, 1779." *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* 6 (1850), 309-35. Repr. in part in Conover.
19. McKendry, William. "Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of New York, 1779. . . Journal of William McKendry." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 2 (1886), 436-78. Also pub. separately, Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, 1886. 45 pp. Repr. in part in Conover.
20. McNeill, Samuel. "Journal of Samuel McNeill, B.Q.M., 'His Orderly Book,' 1779." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 753-59.
21. Norris, James. "Major Norris' Journal of Sullivan's Expedition. June to October, 1779. From an Original Manuscript in Possession of the Society." *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 1 (1879), 217-52. Repr. in Conover.
22. Ogden, Aaron. "Autobiography of Col. Aaron Ogden of Elizabethtown." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 12 (1892-93), 15-27.
23. Parker, Robert. "Journal of Lieutenant Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 27 (1903), 404-20; 28 (1904), 12-25. Repr. in part in no. 47.
24. Rogers, William, Rev. "The Journal of a Brigade Chaplain in the Campaign of 1779 against the Six Nations. . . ." *Rhode Island Historical Tracts*, Ser. 1, no. 7 (Providence: 1879), 136 pp. Also pub. in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 255-88. Repr. in Conover, in part. (Journal ends with Sept. 5 entry; very detailed.)
25. Shreve, John. "Personal Narrative of the Services of Lieut. John Shreve of the New Jersey Line of the Continental Army." *Magazine of American History* 3 (1879), 564-79.
26. Sproule, Moses. "The Western Campaign of 1779: The Diary of Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule Edited by R. W. G. Vail." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (1957), 35-69.
27. Tallmadge, Samuel; also John Barr. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, the Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, by Samuel Tallmadge and Others, with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782, and John Barr, 1779-1782*. Edited by Almon W. Lauber. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1932. Repr. 1958 by Lost Cause Press, Louisville, Ky. 933 pp. (Meticulously edited, even to the point of following the confusions of the original manuscripts. Both regiments served in the Sullivan Campaign.)
28. Webb, Nathaniel. "Continuation of Nathaniel Webb's Journal, as Published in the Elmira Republican of Sept. 11th and 12th, 1855." Edited by William Wait. *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 80-93. Earlier portion of the journal pub. in Conover.

#### ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCES; BOYD-PARKER AMBUSH

1. Bartlett, Charles E. *The Boyd-Parker Story*. Castile: The Castile Historical Society, 1956. 12 pp.
2. Boyd, William P. "The Life and Parentage of Lieut. Thomas Boyd, Who Was Massacred Near Cuylerville, Sept. 13, 1779." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 13th Annual Meeting, 1889, 5-13.
3. \_\_\_\_\_. "The Indian Settlement at the Head of Conesus Lake and Scenes Connected with Its Destruction, Sept. 13, 1779." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 14th Annual Meeting, 1890, 6-9. (Town of Conesus)
4. Byrne, Thomas E., ed. *A Bicentennial Remembrance of the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, 1779, in Pennsylvania and New York*. Elmira: Sullivan-Clinton '79; New York State Bicentennial Commission; Chemung County Historical Society; 1979. 32 pp. (A brief history and chronology of the campaign, with biographical sketches of prominent participants and photographs of many of the monuments erected along the route)
5. *Canajoharie and the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, 1779-1929*. Canajoharie: 1929. 127 pp. (Newspaper articles, addresses, etc.)
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