

## CHIEF JESSE LYONS



ONONDAGA INDIAN STANDING BESIDE  
MONUMENT ON MINISINK BATTLEFIELD  
FOLLOWING UNVEILING OF TABLET  
JULY 22, 1929

THE SESQUICENTENNIAL  
OF THE  
BATTLE OF MINISINK

*A Story of the Commemoration Held  
on the battlefield at Minisink Ford,  
Sullivan County, N. Y., July 22, 1929*

*Compiled by*  
MARK V. RICHARDS

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TO THE MEMORY OF THE MEN WHO  
DIED ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF MINISINK  
JULY 22, 1779, THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

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## THE HEROIC DEAD

COL. BENJAMIN TUSTEN	JOSEPH NORRIS
CAPTAIN BAZALEEL TYLER	GILBERT T. VAIL
CAPTAIN SAMUEL JONES	ABRAHAM SHEPHERD
CAPTAIN JOHN LITTLE	JOEL DECKER
CAPTAIN JOHN DUNCAN	NATHAN WADE
CAPTAIN BENJAMIN VAIL	SIMON WAIT
LIEUTENANT JOHN WOOD	DANIEL TALMADGE
ADJUTANT NATHANIEL FINCH	JACOB DUNNING
ENS. EPHRAIM MASTIN	JOHN CARPENTER
ENS. EPHRAIM MIDDAUGH	DAVID BARNEY
GABRIEL WISNER	JONATHAN HASKELL
STEPHEN MEAD	ABRAHAM WILLIAMS
MATTHIAS TERWILLIGER	JAMES MOSHER
JOSHUA LOCKWOOD	ISAAC WARD
EPHRAIM FORGERSON	BALTUS NIERPOS
ROGER TOWNSEND	GAMALIEL BAILEY
SAMUEL KNAPP	MOSES THOMAS
JAMES KNAPP	ELEAZER OWENS
BENJAMIN BENNETT	ADAM EMBLER
WILLIAM BARKER	SAMUEL LITTLE
JONATHAN PIERCE	BENJAMIN DUNNING
JAMES LITTLE	DANIEL REED
TIMOTHY BARBER	JOSEPH RIDER

WILLIAM L. CUDDEBACK, M.D.



CHAIRMAN OF GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE COM-  
MEMORATION OF SESQUICENTENNIAL OF BATTLE OF  
MINISINK

## A FOREWORD

IF we would know the future, we must know the past.

If we would consider the development of the future, we should consider the past.

If we would know a people of the future, we must know their record.

If we may estimate the stability of the future of a people, we must know their minds, their thoughts, their experiences, their trials, their troubles, and their cares.

Our Minisink country has soil rich in fertility, covering lands filled to overflowing with the products of Nature's alchemy. It is occupied and possessed by a people, resourceful, inventive, courageous, and enterprising, who have followed closely another people of another race, who guarded jealously their land, their rights, and their patrimony.

If we today will take one look backward and consider where and whither we are going, in my opinion the commemoration will bring us to a realization of our perils and our dangers.

May this record of today re-create Americanism. May this souvenir reinforce the old teachings of honesty, justice, and right, and help eliminate strange and foreign ideas and methods from our land.

WILLIAM L. CUDDEBACK, M.D.

July 22, 1929

# THE SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE BATTLE OF MINISINK

BY MARK V. RICHARDS

THE sesquicentennial of the Battle of Minisink on the battlefield near Minisink Ford, Sullivan County, New York, on July 22, 1929, was one of twenty-eight similar events held in the states of New York and Pennsylvania that year to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the campaigns of General John Sullivan and General James Clinton, in the war of the American Revolution, to break the power of the Indians and Tories in the western sections of those states. The commemorations were planned by an executive committee and an advisory committee appointed by the University of the State of New York and a committee of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

A suitable observance of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Minisink was suggested by Dr. William L. Cuddeback, president of the Minisink Valley Historical Society of Port Jervis, N. Y., at a meeting of the executive committee of the society, December 28, 1927. The president was authorized to send letters to the Board of Supervisors of Orange County and to the Board of Supervisors of Sullivan County, requesting the appointment of committees to coöperate with the historical societies of Orange, Sullivan, and Ulster counties in plans for the celebration.

Following the annual meeting of the Minisink Valley Historical Society at Hotel Minisink, Port Jervis, February 22, 1928, a permanent organization was effected, consisting of members of the Minisink Valley Historical Society, the Historical Society of Middletown and Wallkill Precinct, Inc., the Goshen Library and Historical Society, the Historical Society of the town of Warwick, the Historical

Society of Newburg and Highlands, the Sullivan County Historical Society, and the Ulster County Historical Society. At a meeting of these societies, May 12, 1928, an invitation was extended to the chapters of the Daughters of the Revolution and Daughters of the American Revolution in the three counties and to the Newburgh Chapter Sons of the American Revolution to assist in planning for the celebration. Dr. Cuddeback was authorized to appoint a general committee to be known as "The Minisink Battle Sesquicentennial Committee."

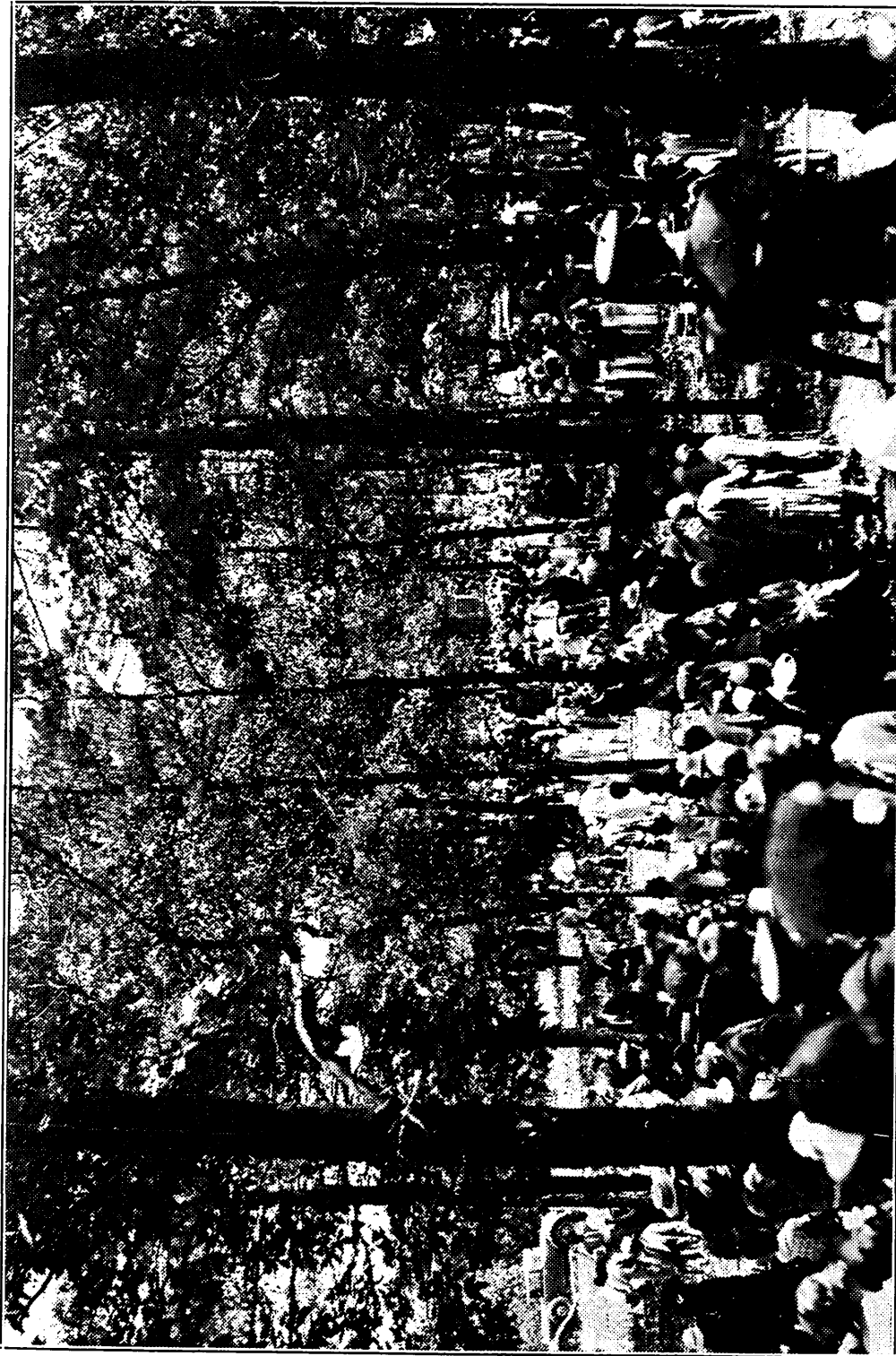
At the first meeting of the General Committee on July 21, 1928, Dr. Cuddeback of Port Jervis was elected general chairman; Mrs. John P. Roosa of Monticello, treasurer; Edward P. Jones of Port Jervis, secretary. County Judge George L. Cooke of Monticello, Hon. William T. Doty of Circleville, Justice A. H. F. Seeger of Newburg, Justice G. D. B. Hasbrouck of Kingston, Horace E. Twichell of Port Jervis, Supervisor Edward Bisland of Glen Spey, and Supervisor William R. Wallace of Circleville were elected vice-chairmen.

The following subcommittees were appointed:

Executive: Justice George H. Smith of Monticello; Judge Joseph W. Gott of Goshen; Justice A. H. F. Seeger and Raphael A. Weed of Newburgh; County Judge Russell Wiggins of Middletown; Edward P. Jones, Peter E. Gumaer, Mrs. Emma Van Inwegen, Samuel M. Cuddeback of Port Jervis; William T. Doty of Circleville; Adelbert M. Scriber and Mrs. John P. Roosa of Monticello; Miss A. H. Neaffie and Mrs. Henry Bacon of Goshen; Mrs. George R. Van Duzer of Warwick, Benjamin C. Swartwout of Huguenot. Following the death of Justice Smith, March 8, 1929, Adelbert M. Scriber was appointed chairman.

Roads and Site: Edson D. Knapp of Bloomingburg; Arthur C. Toasperm of Barryville; Edward Bisland of Glen Spey; Daniel Patterson of Rio; George L. Cooke, Alonzo





PART OF THE ASSEMBLAGE OF FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE AT THE UNVEILING OF THE  
TABLET ON THE MONUMENT AT THE MINISINK BATTLEFIELD, JULY 22, 1929

A. Calkin, and Van Hornbeck of Monticello; John Z. Twichell of Barryville.

Entertainment: Arthur H. Naylor and Charles H. Turner of Port Jervis; Mrs. Emma C. Chase, Alonzo A. Calkin, and Van Hornbeck of Monticello; Samuel Stewart of Newburg.

Publicity: Mark V. Richards and Adelbert M. Scriber of Monticello; Lawrence A. Toepp of Middletown, and George F. Gregg of Goshen.

Financial Secretary: Henry Geber of Monticello.

Other members of the general committee were Michael T. Clark of Narrowsburg; Edward McRae, Hon. John D. Stivers, Dr. D. B. Hardenberg, E. T. Hanford, John Slawson of Middletown; Walter C. Anthony, Dr. John Howell, William T. Snider, Miss L. C. Eastbrook, Senator Caleb H. Baumes, William J. McGiffert, Dr. Charles Townsend, Arthur E. Brundage, L. W. Bellett, and Mrs. Samuel F. Brown of Newburg; Surrogate Elwood C. Smith of Monroe; Frank Patterson and Henry A. Van Fredenberg of Sparrowbush; Arthur C. Kyle, Miss Agnes Fairchild, David S. Avery, Mrs. Adelbert M. Scriber, John D. Lyons of Monticello; Gabriel Curry, Byron Grant, Harold Schue, Chester Young of Liberty; Frederick J. Lewis, Elias A. Sheen, and James K. Gardner of Barryville; Rev. Frank Fowler of Otisville; Charles G. Curtis, James H. Curtis, Hon. Guernsey T. Cross of Callicoon; Miss Caroline M. Cuddeback, Joseph Merritt, A. V. D. Wallace, and Mrs. Henry Bacon of Goshen; Charac Van Inwegen, Huguenot; Rev. J. Scott King of Little Brittain; William P. Grace, Dr. H. B. Swartwout, James E. Cole, Mrs. Alice Bennet Wendell Phillips, James Gillinder, Fred D. Fowler, Dr. Edgar G. Cuddeback, Peter C. Rutan, W. LeRoy Brown, Alfred Marvin, D. Nelson Raynor, of Port Jervis; Walter D. Tusten of New York; Mercein Skinner of Wurtsboro; George F. Ketchum, Miss Anna Buckbee of Warwick; Philip Elting of Kingston; Frank O. Roe of Chester;

George Ackerley of Crystal Run; Clarence Clark of Westtown; Millard Davis and O. H. Blackmer of Kerhonkson; Frederick Davis of Stone Ridge; Alfred Markle of Rochester, Ulster County; Edward Palen of Rockland.

During the following months, the general committee and the subcommittees completed their plans; county and town roads in Highland were improved by resolution of the Board of Supervisors of Sullivan County and the Town Board of the Town of Highland, and a road was built in the bed of the abandoned canal with money raised by private subscription. The day of the celebration dawned bright and fair and five thousand people motored to the battlefield.

From early forenoon, the roads leading to Barryville from Monticello and Port Jervis were filled with cars, many of which were decorated with the American colors and along the route the Stars and Stripes were displayed at many homes in honor of the event. From Barryville the route led over a town road, thence along the towpath of the abandoned Delaware & Hudson Canal and in the canal bed itself. This had been made passable and the town roads improved under direction of Walter Toaspern, superintendent of highways of the town of Highland.

At Minisink Ford, the route turned sharply to the right and up a quarter of a mile of twenty per cent grade, which required most cars to run in second gear and some in low. The course ended about a mile from the river, but so large was the crowd that the parking place on the Twichell farm was quickly filled and cars were parked wherever a place could be found in the brush. The traffic jam up the hill was similar to that which occurs in the congested areas of cities, but six state troopers, commanded by Corporal John Barry, handled the problem without an accident.

The acre plot of ground where the Goshen and Warwick militia were hemmed in by the Indians and Tories under command of Joseph Brant, the Indian chief, was the scene

of the celebration. On a knoll, a short distance from Hospital Rock, where Colonel Tusten treated fifteen wounded patriots until they were all tomahawked, a platform was erected, in back and front of which seats were built. At one side a refreshment stand was erected but the crowd was so much larger than expected that Henry Asendorf had to send for more refreshments, and even then there was not enough to satisfy the demand.

The morning program began with the singing of *America*, led by a chorus from Monticello under the direction of Roy Holmes. A flag raising by the Boy Scouts of Orange and Sullivan counties and the camp of Ten Mile River followed, but the flag was lowered at half mast until noon in memory of those who died one hundred and fifty years ago. A volley was fired in their honor by members of the American Legion, commanded by Spencer Horton of Goshen. Those in the firing squad were Roy Taynton, Peter Dunwald, Stephen Zeh, Willis Millspaugh, Wilbur Gordon, and Dr. Kane. The Boy Scouts, commanded by Fred Dearmin of Newburg, assistant scout executive of Orange County, saluted the flag and repeated the Scout oath.

Five Indians, descendants of the Iroquois tribes, arrayed against the Americans one hundred and fifty years ago, gave two war dances and sang a "good-by farewell" song. They were Chief Jesse Lyons, an Onondaga Indian; Percy Smoke, a Cayuga; Alec Clute, a Seneca; Emerson Waterman, an Oneida; and John White, an Onondaga. Lyons delivered a brief address in which he asked white people to refrain from calling every Indian they meet chief, and pleaded for Boy Scout work for the boys of his race.

Prayer by the Rev. E. Frank Fowler of Otisville concluded the morning program.

The afternoon program began with the unveiling of a bronze tablet placed on the monument erected fifty years ago by the State of New York. The cord was drawn by Miss Elizabeth de Crissey Van Duzer of Warwick, a great-

great-granddaughter of Juliana Tusten, a sister of Col. Benjamin Tusten. Juliana married Captain Christopher Van Duzer. As Miss Van Duzer unveiled the tablet, she held a sword owned by Col. Benjamin Tusten in the French and Indian War and by his son, Colonel Benjamin Tusten, who lost his life in the Battle of Minisink. The sword is now owned by Tusten Van Duzer of Warwick.

On the tablet is the following inscription:

“Dedicated to the memory of the patriots of the Minisink region, who died here July 22, 1779, in the defense of American liberty. Erected by the historical societies of the Minisink country and of the state on the sesquicentennial of the battle, 1929.”

The crowd moved back to the platform where the remainder of the program was conducted by Dr. W. L. Cuddeback, chairman of the general committee in charge of the celebration. On the platform with those who participated were a great-great-grandson and a great-great-granddaughter of Colonel Tusten, who was killed only a hundred feet away. They were Walter D. Tusten of New York and Eliza Tusten Garry of Abbeville, S. C., wife of Eugene B. Garry, chief justice of the Supreme Court of South Carolina.

William T. Doty of Circleville, Horace E. Twichell of Port Jervis, and John J. Kickock of Hazelton, Pa., members of the committee in charge of the celebration fifty years ago, also were present. Supreme Court Justice Daniel McNamee of Hudson was on the platform. In the course of the program, Dr. Cuddeback paid a tribute to the late Justice George H. Smith of Monticello.

Girl Scouts from the camp of the Central Jewish Institute sang two songs after which Miss Julia Cuddeback, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Edgar G. Cuddeback of Port Jervis and granddaughter of the general chairman, recited *Our Flag, Your Flag and My Flag*.

Dr. Cuddeback read a paper on conditions in the Minisink region at the time of the battle. Dr. Alexander C. Flick,

state historian, told of the strategic position of New York in the Revolution and of the importance of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign. Judge Joseph W. Gott of Goshen discussed "The Men of Goshen at Minisink."

County Judge George L. Cooke of Monticello related details of the life of General John Sullivan. Justice Gilbert D. Hasbrouck of Kingston delivered a brief address in which he appealed for the development of a high sense of moral right among the American people and urged severe punishment for those committing crime.

Mr. Doty spoke of the Battle of Minisink and of a supposed Minisink village, emphasizing the belief that while there was a Minisink region, there was never a Minisink village.

George F. Ketchum of Warwick described the contribution of Warwick to the battle, and Horace E. Twichell related incidents of the struggle. Part of a poem written by Henry A. Van Fredenberg of Sparrowbush was read by Charles H. Turner, secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of Port Jervis.

This program as well as the morning exercises was interspersed with selections by the Monticello band and singing.

A feature of the afternoon was the reading of a copy of a letter written by Joseph Brant, commander of the Indians and the Tories at Minisink, seven days after the battle when he had arrived at Oquaga. It was found by Albert H. Wright of the Cornell University Library and read by Edward P. Jones, secretary of the committee. Brant's own story of the battle, written July 29, 1779, is as follows:

"I arrived here last night from Minisink and I was a good deal disappointed. I could not get into that place a little before day as I wished to do. I did not arrive till noon, when all the cattle were in the woods, so we could get very few of them. We have burnt all the settlement called Minisink except one fort, which we lay before an hour, and had one man killed and one wounded. We destroyed several small stockades and forts, and took four scalps and three

prisoners but did not in the least injure the women and children. The reasons we could not take any more of them was owing to the many forts about the place into which they were always ready to run like ground-hogs.

“I left this place about eight o'clock next day and marched fifteen miles. There are two roads, one through the woods, the other along the river. We were coming up this way the next morning, and I sent two men to examine the other road, the only way the rebels could come to attack us. These men discovered the enemy's path not far from our camp and discovered they had got before us to lay in ambush. There they saw the path, and did not return to inform us, so that the rebels had fair play at us.

“They fired at the front of our people when crossing the river. I was then about four hundred yards in the rear. As soon as the firing began, I immediately marched up the hill in their rear with forty men, and came round on their backs. The rest of my men were all scattered on the other side, however, the rebels soon retreated, and I pursued them until they stopped on a rocky hill, on which we were employed and were very busy for nearly four hours before we could drive them out. We have taken forty odd scalps, and one prisoner, a captain. I suppose the enemy have lost near half of their men and most of their officers. They all belonged to a militia and were about 150 in number.”

PENNSYLVANIA

ALONG THE DELAWARE

NEW YORK



ALONG THIS ROUTE ON THE NEW YORK SIDE OF THE RIVER, THE COLONISTS PURSUED THE INDIANS TO THE BATTLEFIELD. SCENE SHOWS THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL BUILT FIFTY YEARS AFTER THE BATTLE, ON THE NEW YORK SIDE, AND THE ERIE RAILROAD BUILT IN 1848 ON THE PENNSYLVANIA SIDE



# PRAYER AT SESQUICENTENNIAL OF BATTLE OF MINISINK

BY REV. E. FRANK FOWLER, D.D.

“O God our help in ages past, our hope for years to come. It is with hearts full of gratitude that we gather on this occasion.

“We recall today the great sacrifices which were made by those who laid down their lives on this sacred and hallowed spot in order that we might enjoy the blessings of liberty and independence. And after a century and a half has passed since that memorable day, we come to pay our tribute to the heroes to whom this monument was erected.

“We thank thee for their undaunted courage, their unwavering loyalty, their true patriotic spirit, their love of home and country, which has given them a place in the history of their country for which they died.

“We thank thee for their lives and pray that the same spirit which inspired them may guide us in our devotion to our country. May we love it sincerely and all its institutions which make for its advancement and uplift. May we ever seek to lift our fellows up to those high ideals which make for better citizenship.

“We pray for forgiveness for the many mistakes we have made, and grant that in the future we may follow more closely thy guiding hand. And the praise shall be thine.

“AMEN.”

JULIA DENTON CUDDEBACK



GIRL SCOUT OF DEERPARK REFORMED CHURCH  
TROOP, PORT JERVIS, N. Y., WHO RECITED "OUR  
FLAG, YOUR FLAG AND MY FLAG"

## OUR FLAG, YOUR FLAG AND MY FLAG

ON a stand near the famous "Hospital Rock," this immortal poem was recited by Julia Denton Cuddeback, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Edgar G. Cuddeback. Miss Cuddeback is a Girl Scout, and when she recited the poem she was surrounded by Indians, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and other Americans. The words of the poem are:

"That grand old flag is  
Your flag and my flag, and how it flies today  
In your land and my land and half a world away;  
Rose red and blood red  
Its stripes forever gleamed  
Snow-white and soul-white  
The good forefathers dreamed.

"Sky blue and true blue  
With stars to gleam aright  
A glorious guardian of the day,  
A shelter through the night.  
It's your flag and my flag  
And oh! how much it holds  
Of your land and my land  
Secure beneath its folds.

"Your heart and my heart  
Beat quicker at the sight  
Sunkissed and wind-tossed  
The blue and red and white.  
The one flag, the great flag,  
The flag for me and you  
Glorifies all else beside,  
The red, the white, the blue."

# THE MINISINK REGION AT THE TIME OF THE BATTLE

BY WILLIAM L. CUDDEBACK, M.D.

*Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Americans:*

One hundred and fifty years ago, on this very spot, Americans fought and fell. Of one hundred and forty-nine men who engaged in the pursuit of ravaging Indians, only thirty returned to their homes. We note the patriotism, the courage, and the hardihood of these men. We honor their efforts, their acts, and their services. We revere their memory and commemorate their valor. Long may these hills resound to the acclaim, and witness to future generations the deeds and the sacrifices of these soldier patriots of 1779.

The second Continental Congress in Philadelphia in May, 1775, considered the Six Nations of Indians and their relations to the Revolution. They had been the buffers between the French and the English in their Canadian-American wars. At their council fire in Albany, a treaty favorable to the English had been made. An Oneida chief called the Revolution a family quarrel between new and old England.

In July, 1775, Brandt conferred with Colonel Johnson and Colonel Butler and confirmed the arrangements made in Canada by General Carleton for Indian assistance to the English. Brandt was invited to England where he was fêted and flattered, entertained at Court and otherwise. He was convinced that the English were invincible and all-powerful. In 1776, he returned to America imbued with England's greatness and power.

By 1779, the entire country south of the Great Lakes from the Hudson to the Niagara was theirs, where Tory, English soldiers, and Indians possessed the land with privilege of foraging as they might.

In 1779, Washington's directions to General Sullivan were to destroy the Indian power in central New York.

By that time their numbers had so developed that on or near the Mohawk, General James Clinton faced an enemy of four thousand to five thousand Tories, English, and Indians; while at a later date at Newtown, General Sullivan fought and conquered an army exceeding that number, as these sesquicentennial celebrations will demonstrate.

During this year, 1929, New York State will portray the events of one hundred and fifty years ago. The incidents of the expedition of General John Sullivan as he followed the instructions of General Washington, "to destroy the Indian power in central New York," are to be depicted by tongue, pen, and pageant.

A series of commemorative exhibits are to be prepared and will be shown to the people along the entire route traveled by General Sullivan and his troops, on their sesquicentennial dates. These commemorations will occur at points of special interest. They begin in our own territory, in this our own Minisink region. It may have been our own historians' neglect, but it is a fact that more battles of the Revolution, unrecorded in histories, were fought on the soil of New York State than on that of any other state. New York fought and endured the great fighting and battles of the Revolution. It is certainly true that the New York battle at Saratoga was the great defeat of the English of the year 1778. It is also true that in New York the great battles of General Sullivan produced the next greatest defeat of the English in 1779.

As to our sesquicentennial of this year, 1929, of the Battle of Minisink, and the activities of the combined historical societies of this region, I would report that in conjunction with near-by historical societies, efforts have been made to fully portray local history and to teach patriotism and Americanism.

At the suggestion of the Middletown Society, about three years ago, a meeting was held at Goshen for the purpose of forming a central organization of Orange County. Such an organization was then formed with Hon. J. W. Gott of Goshen as chairman. Many meetings of this committee of Orange County historical societies were held. Many open-air meetings have been held at historical points. They have been very largely attended and great interest has been shown. The forts on the Hudson and in the Highlands have been visited. Commemorative exercises have been held at many points. During the last year the Sullivan County Historical Society has joined with the Historical Societies of Orange and Ulster counties in the effort to commemorate the Battle of Minisink. A large committee of nearly one hundred members was organized and is now functioning.

As the people who suffered from the Indian depredations lived in the Minisink Valley, as the location of the Minisink battle was in Sullivan County, as the people who fought the battle and suffered most were of the militia of Goshen and Warwick of Orange County, a divided interest exists. There is, however, a determination, united and unanimous, existing far beyond the counties mentioned, that we commemorate this tragedy, that we honor those brave Americans of a century and a half ago, that we bring before our citizens the hardship, the sacrifice, the privation, and the danger of those early days in America.

We find, however, that now in our state government and control, differences develop, ideals and methods become antagonistic. Parks may be parks. They may be historical parks, they may be recreational parks, or for special purposes. While the Conservation Commission has general charge of them and determines many questions concerning them, besides their forests and their game, this many-sided control produces many-sided rulings and differing regulations, as official rivalries may indicate.

Our Minisink Valley Historical Society with the assist-

ance of other historical associations now holds the title to six acres of mountaintop, the battle site. Our society has voted to deed this battleground to the state for park purposes. The state encouraged our efforts. They include our commemoration as a part of the state exhibit. Others, of apparently equal authority, ignore this and refuse to recognize our efforts. I quote from a letter of October 29th, 1928, from the Conservation Department: "The decision of the council was that the area is not suitable for State Park purposes, and we therefore do not consider it an area which should be accepted by the State. Very truly yours. By W. G. Goward, Supt. of Lands and Forests. Alexander MacDonald, Commissioner."

Possibly these petty official rulings may benefit some one. It is hard to realize that such a ruling on such an occasion could be possible, here in our own New York State. Before this four successive letters to as many state officials defer and refer to other officials before getting a reply to inquiry.

Boulders of another kind also menace our paths and our prospects. Can you imagine that the prospects and probabilities of our beloved and lamented Route 3 A along the Delaware menaces our efforts and the access to the battle site? Shall we be permitted to reach it by automobile trail over the elevated tablelands, or over the steep declivity leading to a level roadway on the canal? This may be a question of mental preference or possibly of topographical geography. It is a fact, however, that southern Sullivan County along the Delaware, west of Yulan and in the town of Tusten, presents a landscape described by Sullivan County's own historian (Quinlan) as "a table-land with the leaves turned down, and that their flats stand on their ends."

The mountaintop plateau, the battleground, is now denuded of its brush and undergrowth. The Hospital Rock of Dr. Tusten is exposed to view, and the monument erected fifty years ago by the efforts of Messrs. Johnson and Stage

and others is plainly visible. The lower branches of the trees have been cut.

Hard roads exist today from Port Jervis via Sparrowbush, Forestburg, Glen Spey, Eldred, and Yulan on an irregular route with a long horseshoe curve on elevated tableland from which the state roads of Sullivan County may be reached. From the Roosevelt Highway in Pennsylvania hard roads branch to Barryville and Lackawaxen. The roads from these three villages to the battleground is a problem. Already Sullivan County has appropriated funds to make a new wide road, steep but safe, from Minisink Ford to the battleground. Also the town of Highland proposes an improvement of an old road (Dry Dock Road) of the battle days, towards Barryville, which has hard road connections to Yulan. These two routes will make a one-way road to and across the battle site.

We may perhaps report:

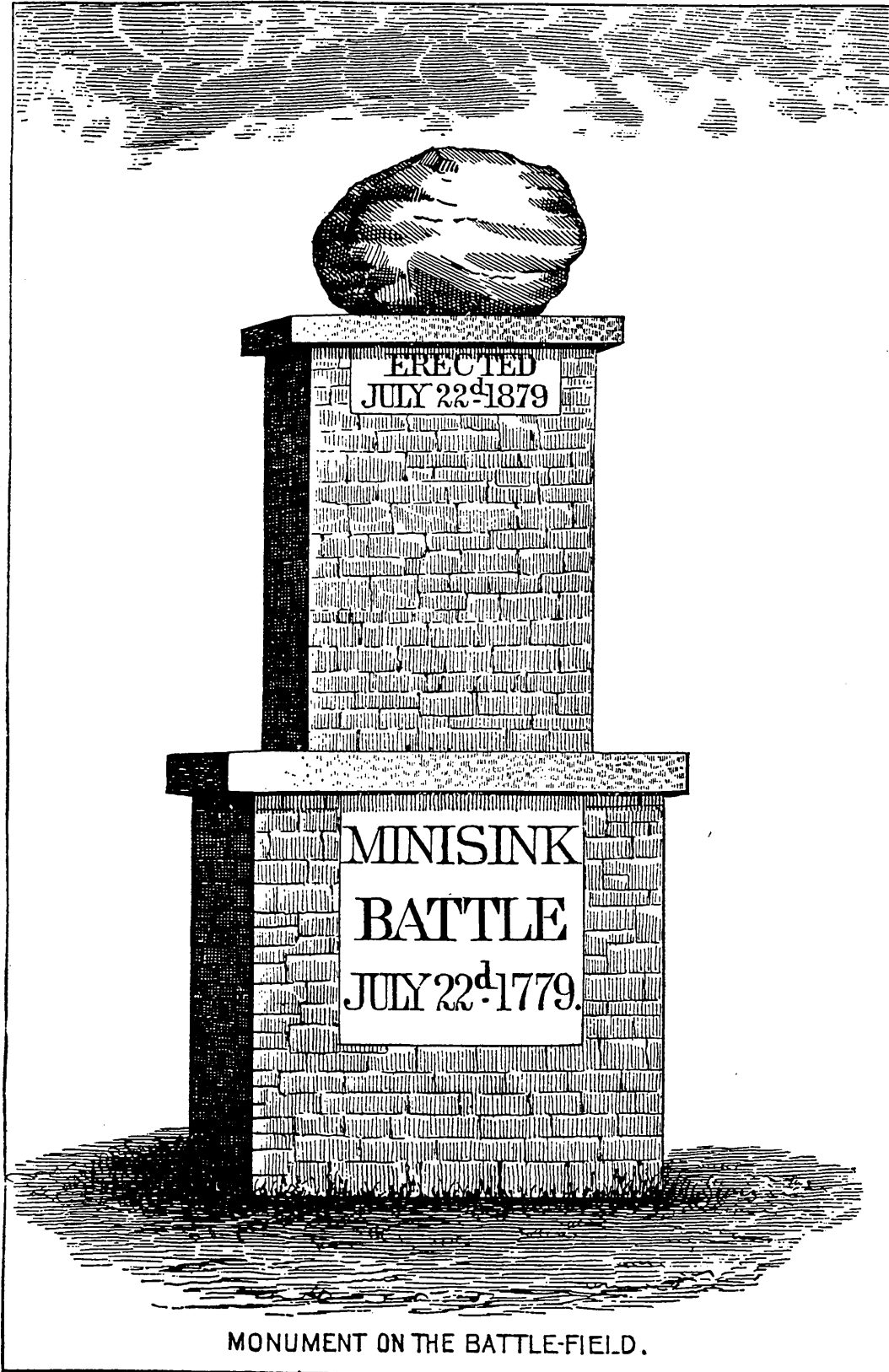
That Dr. Benjamin Tusten, a physician, on July 22d, 1779, remained at his post with the Hospital Rock on the mountaintop as an operating table while the enemy's bullets whizzed about him. He continued to dress the wounds and minister to the injured until he himself was stricken.

That on July 4th, 1820, Dr. David Arnell, a physician, in an address to the doctors of Orange County, recounted to them the life, the service, the death, and the valor shown by Dr. Tusten and the militia. He so impressed his hearers that, by an overwhelming vote, they resolved to collect the remains of the patriot dead, to transport them forty-six miles to Goshen, to reinter them in their home town, and to mark their final resting place with an enduring monument.

That on July 22d, 1822, a concourse of fifteen thousand people witnessed their permanent burial, and their aged commander, General Hawthorne, then and there laid the cornerstone of their monument.

That in 1860, Dr. Merritt H. Cash, another physician, provided funds for another monument to their memory,





MONUMENT ON THE BATTLE-FIELD.

MONUMENT ON SITE OF BATTLE OF MINISINK ON WHICH TABLET WAS UNVEILED JULY 22, 1929

which you may see today in Goshen near their old historic church.

That on July 22d, 1862, orators from two states commemorated their services and their valor.

That on July 22d, 1879, citizens of three states gathered to do them honor and this present monument was erected.

We, today, honor them and commemorate their valor and their sacrifices. We will attempt to justify our existence as historical organizations, and teach history, patriotism, and Americanism to a new generation of Americans.

Since January first, this year, a new thought seems to pervade the State Department at Albany. New life has appeared in state road construction. The efforts of Sullivan County are bearing fruit and surveyors are now perfecting new road plans.

Possibly the state may assume title and care of our "Minisink State Park" and our efforts may receive their just reward. I may state that the Minisink Valley Historical Society did purchase these six acres of mountain, at which time its president, Cornelius E. Cuddeback of Port Jervis, devoted time and thought to its purchase. Blue stone quarry men were then a menace to its preservation. Other patriotic societies materially assisted in its purchase. Minisink Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Goshen, ably seconded the effort, Meckheckameck Chapter Daughters of the Revolution of Port Jervis also assisted, while many individuals gave cash donations.

The Minisi Indians lived at the headwaters of the Delaware, occupied and possessed the mountains and valleys. The great valley, north of the gap in the Blue Mountains, became their homeland, while the contiguous country was their reservation and their hunting ground. This land was named the Minisink or Menessings, by the later white discoverers. It extended for more than sixty miles along the rivers and nearly as far laterally into the wilderness.

Today, old Indian names indicate its distinctive locali-

ties—Peenpack, Sokopack, Shawnee, Mamakating, Papakating, Walpack (formerly Wohlpack), Shepekonk. These were possible Indian centers, Indian neighborhoods, as “Bashas” lands.

By reason of discovery, colonists claimed the region. In this valley possession was disputed by the French, the Dutch, and the English.

As the trails of the Indians became the tracks of the discoverers and later the mountain paths of the colonists, convenience, safety, and comfort suggested grouping of homes. Hamlets grew, neighborhoods developed, and communication between these was by means of signals.

The old mine road of the Minisink, of nearly one hundred miles, extended from the mine holes of Sandyston in New Jersey to Esopus on the Hudson, of origin a mystery, of development a tradition, and with a history interwoven with the lives of six generations of stable, earnest, honest people. It is now still, in a large part, in existence. It was early developed as a “King’s Highway.” During the Revolution, its route was developed as a part of an inland line of communication from Philadelphia to Kingston on the Hudson. Today it promises to be considered as an integral part of the Black Bear Trail, an automobile route from Miami to Montreal, a north and south gateway from Florida to Canada.

In the eighteenth century, we find other additional neighborhoods. Gumaer mentions the upper and lower neighborhoods of Deerpark, the latter of which included land on which is now Port Jervis; in Pennsylvania, Milford, Bushkill, Egypt Mills, and Dingman’s Choice, indicating the choice of Andrew Dingman, of a school rather than a county seat on his lands. In Westfall, we now have the remnant of “Ball’s Folly.” In Deerpark we find Cuddebackville, Oakland, Hartwood, Paradise, Port Clinton, Fort Dewitt, Fort Decker, Fort Van Auken, and Fort Gumaer.

In the colonization period, America was the mecca, the

promised land, for the restless, the dissatisfied, the disappointed, of all nations, especially those of religion, civic, or governmental grievance.

The early colonists of common ties of religion, temperament, nationality, and experience would join together, would congregate for protection and for betterment. In each center, leaders would develop who were particularly imbued with the thought, the duties, the aspiration, and the desires of their coworkers and companions. Such neighborhoods dotted the entire country of the Atlantic seaboard. Their spheres of influence joined. Their common determination for freedom of thought, of action, and of religion was ever present.

Largely from north Europe they brought with them European ideas, methods, and customs. At times, in these neighborhoods, there came extreme developments of their civic and religious thought. Witchcraft and its allied practices developed in New England. Fanatical delusions and relentless cruelty prevailed. Medieval European practices may have been revived. Racial antagonisms and competitions may have occurred.

The provincialism and sectionalism of New England with its Puritanism and allied cults; the Calvinists and Lutherans of New York; the Germans, the Dutch, with the Scotch Presbyterians of Pennsylvania; with the Swedes on the Delaware; the English, the Irish Catholics of Maryland, the English of the established church of Virginia, while in Georgia among the Scotch Highlanders the Presbyterians flourished, all by the alchemy of cohesion and the adherence to their freedom of thought, of action, and of religion, these combined neighborhoods disregarded all other differences and united in the common cause against foreign domination.

Each neighborhood was a law unto itself. Each member of each governing body was governed by his own sense of right and justice. Each board was a "committee of government and correspondence" with its neighbor.

During the period of the Revolution full coöperation between neighboring committees was established. Free knowledge with exchange of thought and action was continued, as they united in the common cause of freedom.

The meetings of these committees were at uncertain times and places without date. The minutes were not known to exist. Their authority was complete and without accountability. Their judgment and recollection of the members were the law. Among their duties and requirements were:

The local management of Indian relations.

The maintenance of order, civil and law, with proper regard to the deportment of the people.

The establishment of night watches.

The supervision of election of members, also the election of men to the legislative bodies, and to the provincial congress.

The assumption of authority over ordinances, and power of officers and fire regulations.

The collection of the excise.

The regulation and encouragement of trade manufacture and the inspection of products.

The handling of appeals, the control of housing difficulties, fixing wages and preventing hoarding, the regulation of prices and the issuance of paper money.

The rationing of foods, particularly wheat, and the preventing of its distillation.

The quarantining for smallpox and contagion.

With the development of the Revolution other emergencies arose and other duties were performed:

The raising, drafting, equipping, disciplining, training, officering, and the payment of the troops.

The exemption from military duty of those in essential industries.

The supervising of the construction of hospitals, barracks, forts, and the care of prisons.

The detection, imprisonment, and exile of the disaffected.

The suppression of organized revolt within the country and the prosecution of those guilty adversely of the patriotic cause.

The support of those made poor by the war, the burial of the dead, and the helping of the refugees.

A large part of the duties was the oversight of the Tories, prisoners, deserters, murderers, passers, rangers, the protection of the loyal from robbers, the sequestration of Tory property, the detective work of disclosing conspiracies.

The following are illustrations of their activities. I quote:

“Voted to recommend to all tavern keepers and others to sell liquor to the Indians sparingly.

“Voted to order all persons to take the oath of office as members of the committee of safety.

“Voted to pass on complaint of overcharging for merchandise.

“Voted that all persons who are guilty of the following crimes be kept in confinement: committing robberies or assisting therein, enlisting people in the service of the enemy or persuading them to join or take benefit of the oath of allegiance.

They voted that English soldiers be allowed to remain here on their taking the oath of allegiance, that inflicting corporal punishment, or depriving any person of his property without authority is an infringement and direct violation of law and justice. That certain persons, on giving a bond of security, be liberated from confinement.

They voted that any person in this country, who shall dispose of arms or ammunition to any person inimical to the liberties of America shall be held as an enemy of the coun-

try. Also that all persons who were returned by members of this board by the different districts, and have not as yet taken their seats, be ordered to attend at the next general meeting of this committee, and, in case of their non-compliance, that their seats be vacated and that the secretary serve the committee with a copy of this resolve. That no person be permitted to move into or settle within this country or city, unless they bring a certificate from the committee of the town in which they reside; that they had, prior to the date of this resolve, signed the association recommended by congress or a similar one adopted by this committee.

They voted, "That William Livingston, of Livingston Manor, on the affidavit of Benjamin Buffington, be a dangerous enemy to the liberties of America and that he be apprehended and put in custody, where he now remains, and that a copy of this be transmitted there, with a request for a quick reply."

They voted that because of an intercepted letter to his Sister, ———— be sent for and examined.

Also that ————, a prisoner in the gaol, being willing to enter continental service, be liberated.

Also that ————, now a prisoner in the gaol, be put immediately in close confinement.

That ———— have voluntarily taken the oath of allegiance, be discharged and permitted to return home.

They voted that ————, having stated they cannot take the oath of allegiance, it is ordered that they be sent to the fleet prison at Kingston.

We learn that this neighborhood government, as thus conducted by the people, was most effective, and that this great composite human dynamo extended from New Hampshire to Georgia. It created and determined unity of thought and action among the colonists, against which the efforts of the English were futile.

During the summer of 1778, as the third year of the Revolution opened, England made most strenuous efforts.

She landed thousands of soldiers upon southern soil, and intended to capture Georgia and its cities and to invade the Carolinas; also, through Indian allies from Canada, to repossess northern New York and the Great Lakes region.

Governor Clinton, at or near Poughkeepsie, distributed and rearranged the New York militia for the defense of the northern border. For protection in the Mohawk Valley, he sent there the militia of southeastern New York, that region being near the Highlands and the Hudson where General Washington was operating with other militia and with continental troops. General James Clinton was in central New York.

In April, 1778, Governor Clinton requested the Secretary of State to fill out commissions of militia, filling vacancies and rearranging officers. Governor Clinton, on April 22, reported the danger on the northern boundary from wandering Indians, disgruntled and homeless. General Schuyler wrote Governor Clinton remonstrating against his (Schuyler) being forced to take his seat in Congress.

Congress by act of April 15th appointed General Gates to the command of the entire northern department and authorized him to call upon the militia of New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut for his forces. Congress also by resolution suggested that General John Stark be ordered to Albany, where General Gates suggested that he be placed in command.

General Gates suggested a possible invasion of New Hampshire and Vermont in the border controversy. The Tories were most active and Indian bands were devastating certain parts of the country. John Barclay of the Albany committee of correspondence complained to Governor Clinton of the freedom of the forty Tory prisoners then released, that Warren's regiment was not sufficiently disciplined, that the northern border needed defenders, that other regiments were disaffected. A general gaol delivery of those politically disaffected was suggested.



This interference of Congress, these acts of Congress, this submission to the influence of partisans and favorites, denuded the southern counties of defenders, encouraged the bands of Indians, and gave the Tories their inning, while the patriot cause languished.

On April 9, 1778, Colonel Johannus Hardenberg at New Hurley wrote Governor Clinton "that by a law of this state he was informed that New York State regiments in continental service were to be replenished by draft from the state militia as they were enlisted and enrolled, that such drafting of the militia would be very detrimental to the safety of the people of Ulster and adjacent counties, their militia already being largely in service, and had just seen service in the Highlands."

A letter to Governor Clinton dated April 18, 1778, from Peenpack Mamakating precinct, signed by J. R. Dewitt, Philip Swartwout, and Benjamin DePuy, stated their great anxiety and danger because of their savage neighbors, and that three hundred men would not be enough to defend them.

In June, 1778, General Tenbrock reports that in Tryon County the militia was very slow in coming in and reporting. In Ulster County, Colonel Snyder and Colonel Cantyne reported many disaffected.

On June 5, citizens of Goshen, greatly alarmed, reported to Governor Clinton that many families from Minisink were there and that many of the militia had neither guns nor ammunition, and that there were none to be had.

On June 5, Governor Clinton ordered Colonel Newkirk to strengthen the guard and to consult with Colonel Tusten as it might be convenient for his regiment to furnish reinforcements. To send the militia to the frontier might weaken the defense on the river.

On July 7, 1778, Governor Clinton, still anxiously awaiting action by Congress, wrote to Congress and laid before the New York delegates in Congress the differences between

New York and Vermont's claims as to their border and predicted that unless Congress took action and intervened a civil war would develop.

On July 8, Governor Clinton called General Gage's attention to the weakened condition of Fort Schuyler and the defenselessness of Albany.

As the news from Wyoming became known, the disaffection and the plotting along the border developed and increased. Benjamin Tusten, Jr., Jacob Newkirk, and Henry Wisner wrote Governor Clinton that Captain Cuddeback and a party of scouts penetrated the county as far as Casheighton and had learned that two hundred and fifty Indians and Tories were there, and had formed an expedition against Peenpack and Minisink, that they had marched as far as Mongope River and there divided into small parties for foraging and pillaging of the country.

On July 20, 1778, Governor Clinton requested General Washington to censure General Stark for his course towards Vermont's political prisoners. Washington declined to interfere and reported for decision to Congress. He then ordered the prisoners released to an easy confinement.

On August 14, 1778, Colonel Newkirk reports from Peenpack that coming down from Casheighton as a scout on the Delaware, they had met a company, Colonel Stroud with Pennsylvania and New Jersey militia of about two hundred and fifty men. They had met several parties of Indians and Tories and learned of Indian attacks on individuals.

On September 7, Colonel Hathorn reported his exempts and his forces. In September, 1778, Colonel Cantyne at Marbletown wrote Governor Clinton remonstrating at the withdrawal of the militia from there and stated that Thomas Kyte of Peenpack had reported that he had been notified that Brandt was on the warpath.

On September 16, 1778, Colonel Hardenberg at New Hurley appealed to Governor Clinton that he had received

an express from Colonel Newkirk at Peenpack that that place had been attacked that morning and other attacks were expected before night.

Washington sent Count Pulaski with his horsemen, spearsmen, to Peenpack. Pulaski was a Lithuanian political refugee, who had seen service at Philadelphia with Washington. Imagine, if you will, Count Pulaski in winter quarters with his regiment encamped on the Huguenot flat lands trained in expert horsemanship of medieval times. It is said that one of their tests of horsemanship was throwing in the air and catching by hand a javelin while their horse was running at full speed.

In July, 1778, correspondence with Governor Clinton through Colonel Cantine from Benjamin Tusten, Jr., and Henry Wisner, messages are recorded giving conditions on the frontier; another from Captain Abram Cuddeback then stationed at Cosheighton (Cochecton).

On December 2 and 8, Colonel Jesse Woodhull of Orange County complained to Governor Clinton of the behavior of some of the militia. Under date of December 4, 1778, the Governor replied: "I heartily approve your resolution to bring your regiment to a proper sense of their duty, in which you will always meet with my utmost assistance. General Hand, or in his absence, Count Pulaski, commands at Minisink, and it would be well to consult with either of them before the militia march to Minisink."

On March 8, 1779, General Schuyler at Albany wrote, "The Indians now with me are apprehensive of attack; the Tories and Indians will very soon attack the frontiers."

On March 11, 1779, John Woods wrote to Governor Clinton, "The exempts at Goshen will march to repel or suppress insurrection in like manner as enrolled militia."

On March 18, 1779, Clinton wrote to General Washington, "The legislature before they adjourned empowered me to embody one thousand men for the defense of the northwestern frontier or such other service as I should judge to

employ them in. Since the rising of the legislature I have received the resolve of Congress for filling up the continental battalions, and this will put me under the necessity of taking at least one half of levies for that purpose. I do not imagine we shall be able to derive any considerable force from the inhabitants whose settlements have been destroyed. Their young men are already engaged in the continental battalions."

On March 20, 1779, Governor Clinton wrote to Judge Pawling, "You will be pleased to obtain from Laghewack and Peenpack exact rations of the persons distressed by the incursions of the enemy and incapable of gaining a livelihood."

April 11, 1779, Governor Clinton at Pokeepsee urges legislation to aid in supporting themselves of persons distressed by depredations of the savages.

April 1, 1779, among the list of persons distressed by the enemy and who must be supported, as his distressed neighbors, by Jacob Rutsen Dewitt:

John Wallace with family of 4  
 Matthew Terwilliger with family of 6  
 Bazaleel Tyler with family of 5  
 Petrus Gumaer in family 5  
 Sara Cuddeback in family 5  
 John Williams in family 3

On April 21, 1779, at Minisink, William Malcom remonstrated to Governor Clinton, "Tomorrow all troops leave this place for Easton, so the frontiers are unprotected and the inhabitants are in great distress."

April 28, 1779, General Washington orders Colonel Cortland immediately to the Minisinks and to proceed with General Hand then in Wyomen.

April 29, Governor Clinton ordered one quarter part of Colonel Cantine's and of Colonel Snyder's regiments to

supply substitute troops for Colonel Cortland on the frontier.

April 29, Governor Clinton instructs Sheriff Nichols of Orange County to operate with General McDougall.

May 4, 1779, Colonel Cortland reports to Governor Clinton the Indian raid at Fantinekill.

May 5, Governor Clinton at Newburgh orders one quarter of Colonel Hardenbergh's and Colonel McClaughry's regiments to join Colonel Cantine, and orders Colonel Cantine to use them as best he can.

The general warfare continued. The English forces reinforced by thousands continued to occupy New York and dominate the lower Hudson.

General Washington, after the camp and winter hardships of 1777 and 1778, had rehabilitated his army. Baron Stueben, a former tutor and tactician in the German Army, trained under Frederick the Great, and experienced in the Seven Years' War, came to America in 1777. From New Hampshire he applied to Congress and to Washington for military employment. He became an American citizen and fought for liberty. He volunteered and his services were most acceptable. He became an inspector general under Washington, and formed a bodyguard of one hundred and twenty picked men for Washington. As drillmaster at Valley Forge he converted the half-clad, shoeless, undisciplined troops, with guns rusted and without bayonets, into a compact, disciplined, fighting machine. He reorganized, molded and administered the army.

In June, 1778, Washington and his army marched from Valley Forge. In July, he witnessed at Brunswick the court-martial of his own General Lincoln after the battles about Monmouth, for attempting to traitorously encircle Washington by English troops.

During July, from his headquarters at Brunswick, Paramus, Haverstraw, and White Plains, consecutively, Wash-

ington was with and guided his army. He was watching the English in New York City and on the lower Hudson.

During August and September at White Plains, Fort Clinton, and West Point, he directed the army of General Putnam near the Hudson as it opposed General Howe's soldiers and sailors.

In October and November, at Fishkill and Fredericksburgh, through Generals Gates and Sullivan, he opposed the English in New England while he advised Generals Hand and Schuyler in northern New York.

In December and later, Washington at Middlebrook, N. J., from a two-room house as headquarters, conferred with Governor Clinton and General Schuyler, and advised Congress, while defending himself from competing generals and politicians.

In June, 1779, Washington removed to New Windsor, where he remained near the Highlands and the lower Hudson until July 15. Here with General Wayne he planned the attack at Stony Point, and remained there until after its capture. On July 21, Washington removed his headquarters to West Point.

A present-day reminder of these encounters is Doodletown on the Hudson, in the little narrow valley just between Bear Mountain and the Dunderberg Mountains, just south of them. A company of the English marched in the dark night through this settlement to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*, and passed through and beyond before their identity became known, hence the name which still continues.

During these periods, the army board, at long distance, was most active hearing and directing disgruntled officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, politicians with and without grievances. Acrimonious discussions and directions were given and reversed.

In June, 1779, Governor Clinton was especially concerned with the northern boundary disputes, and with the suppression of the Indian and Tory raids of the north. Dur-

ing these periods preparations for the defense of the South demanded the time, thought, and attention of Washington. Men, supplies, and ammunition must go there and the alarmed people appeased. The Continental reinforcements must go South.

More irritating, though of less importance, were the English devastations and foraging by determined Tory marauders and their Indian scouts of the Highlands in their attacks upon the people and their property. Among these and the most conspicuous were Claudius Smith, the Tory cowboy of the Ramapo, who was later executed at Goshen.

For three years, neighborhood government had withstood the efforts of the English. The minute men of New England had gathered at its call. The hardy New Netherlanders had combined forces with others, as threadbare and shoeless as themselves. The nationals of competing races had joined hands in resisting and refusing foreign domination. The Pennsylvania farmer and the Long Island Dutchman united in a common cause.

For a time, at this period, jealousy and retaliation were in power. Other thoughts than patriotism were in the saddle. The green-eyed monster was abroad in the land and reached up to and into the Continental Congress. The lowest traits of the human character were in the ascendancy.

The fate of the young nation was in the balance as General Lincoln endeavored at Monmouth to encircle and capture General Washington with English soldiers; when General Gates refused to perform the duties to which he was assigned, and when effort was made to land General Lafayette in Canada without a supporting army. Along with these treacheries came the events of the third year of the Revolution, some of which events have been referred to in excerpts herewith presented and which caused the battle whose sesquicentennial we will commemorate during this present year.

After this, neighborhood government reasserted itself,

the common sense of the people, as transmitted between their communities, again triumphed, even though our forefathers suffered and paid the price in their efforts.

Criticisms; half truths which distorted facts; adverse propaganda, personal, official, political, discrediting commanding officers and government officials, became prevalent and interfered with the government in action, the soldiers in the field, and the neighborhood government in the country.

Owing to pretensions, propaganda, and ambitions in and out of Congress, in and out of the army, the rift between factions increased. A divided house existed. Disaffection of troops with laxity of discipline developed. Raids and atrocities by the Indians followed. The patriot colonists suffered and paid the price with their blood as their homes were pilaged and destroyed. The massacre at Minisink followed.

General Sullivan, along with General Washington, was criticized and maligned. The hostile propaganda was carried to such an extent that, after his successful campaign against the Iroquois, General Sullivan emphasized his disgust by resigning from the army.

May I add one other thought for your consideration? It is also true that the battle of Minisink on this very spot on which we are now, itself the tragedy of July 22, 1779, incited and aroused the people who determined and sustained the movement that prevented the English, Indians and Canadians from occupation of the fertile Finger Lake region of central New York,—the granary of America of those days. This prevented the separation of the state of New York from the Union and forced back to and north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence the Canadians and English with their hungry claimants and colonists.



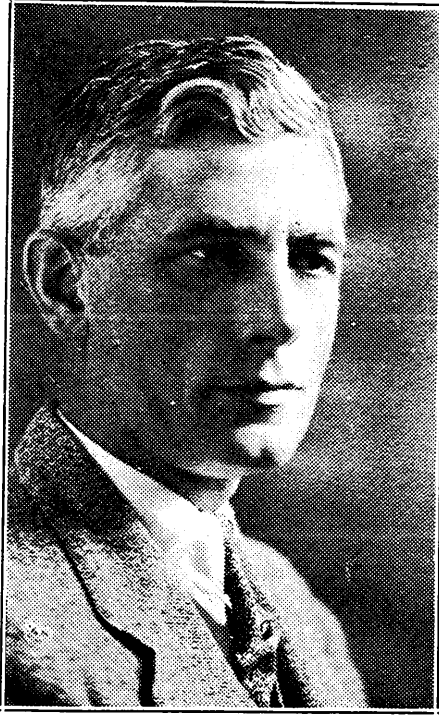


INDIANS AND COLONIALS IN BATTLE



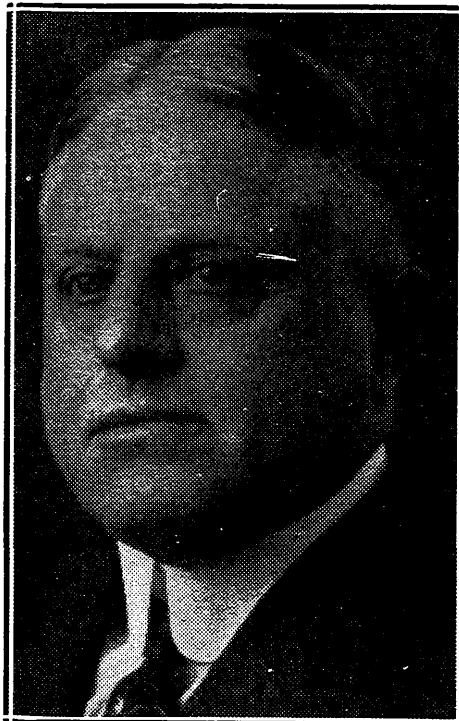
INDIAN METHODS OF WARFARE

## CHAIRMEN OF SUBCOMMITTEES

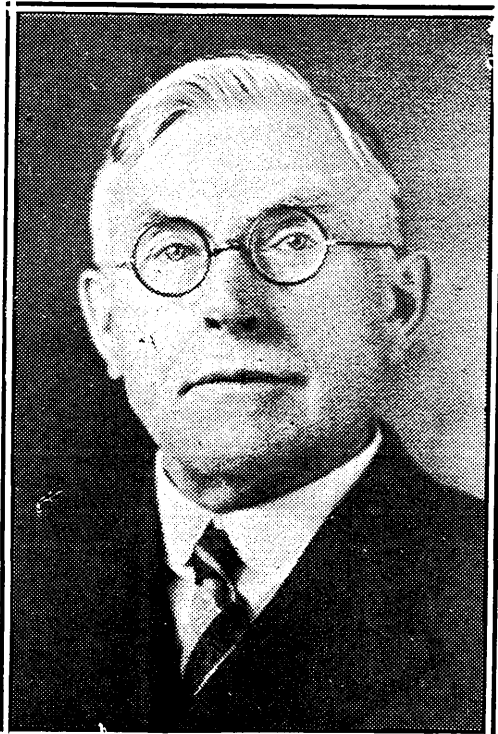


EDWARD P. JONES, SECRETARY

MEN WHO HELPED THE  
GENERAL CHAIRMAN TO  
MAKE THE SESQUICEN-  
TENNIAL CELEBRATION A  
SUCCESS



JUSTICE GEORGE H. SMITH,  
CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE UNTIL HIS  
DEATH, MARCH 8, 1929



ADELBERT M. SCRIBER,  
CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE FOLLOWING  
DEATH OF JUSTICE SMITH

# THE BATTLE OF MINISINK AND THE SULLIVAN-CLINTON EXPEDITION SESQUICENTENNIAL

BY A. C. FLICK, STATE HISTORIAN

THE Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779 against the hostile Iroquois Indians and the British fortresses at Oswego and Niagara was the result of frontier conditions in New York and Pennsylvania which had been growing more and more acute during the years 1777 and 1778. The warriors of the Six Nations, who had formed an alliance with the English and the Loyalists, terrorized the frontier settlements. As a result there was a persistent demand for adequate protection from the exposed communities. Consequently the appeals of the menaced patriots to Governor George Clinton, to the New York Legislature, to Washington, and to Congress for protection became piteously insistent.

The attacks on Wyoming July 3d, and on Cherry Valley on November 11-12, 1778, opened the eyes of the civil and military authorities to the necessity of organizing a drive into the Indian country which would crush the power of the red men. Governor George Clinton promised that he would do everything within his power for "the protection and the comfort" of the frontiersmen. With General Philip Schuyler and General Edward Hand he advised a winter attack on the Indian strongholds. Although that suggestion did not materialize, the correspondence of Washington shows that he devoted a great deal of attention to the "Indian expedition" during the winter and spring of 1778-79. On March 13, 1779, the Legislature of New York ordered one thousand men to be recruited to defend the frontier, and forts to be erected. The "spirited exertions" of New York were commended by Congress.

Meanwhile, Washington's plan for the "Indian expedition" was completed and laid before Congress, and that body on February 25, 1779, authorized it, and a few months earlier had voted nearly a million dollars for its execution. Owing to his rank, the leadership of the campaign was offered by Washington to General Gates. When he curtly refused the honor, General John Sullivan was appointed. He was well qualified by age, temperament, and military experience to carry out the hazardous undertaking. General James Clinton, the brother of Governor George Clinton, was regarded as second in command, and was given direct charge of the army which was assembled in New York and which was to march from the Mohawk Valley southward to form a juncture with General Sullivan at Tioga Point in northern Pennsylvania. General Clinton was also authorized to open the campaign with a preliminary drive from the Mohawk into the country of the Onondagas.

The Sullivan-Clinton Expedition is commonly regarded as a punitive movement against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations. It was that, to be sure, and much more. The immediate purpose was to give protection to the defenseless frontier settlements. This was to be accomplished by destroying the Indian villages and sources of food supply, and by driving the Indians westward and northward. A second object was to cut off the food supply of corn and dried vegetables which had been going from the Indians to the Loyalists and British for waging the war. A third part of the plan was to capture the strong forts at Oswego and Niagara which were storehouses of the enemy and bases for military operations. But the most important objective has been entirely overlooked by most historians. By 1779 it was pretty clearly seen that the war was deadlocked—and that was virtually a triumph for the American cause. Burgoyne had surrendered the army. France was an active ally. Other European nations were friendly. Talk of peace was not far off, and, indeed, was openly talked in the British

Parliament. Washington and other leaders saw that independence with a mere fringe of land along the seacoast would scarcely be worth the cost of the struggle if the rest of the continent to the westward and northward remained in the hands of the motherland. Washington knew by actual experience the potential wealth of the fertile regions of the interior of the continent. He realized that when the time came to discuss terms of peace, that rich area could be secured for the young nation only if it was in possession of the Americans. The conquest of western New York, the capture of Oswego and Niagara, and the seizure of posts farther west would assure American possession at the end of the war. Hence in the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition an inland empire was the stakes for which Washington was playing—and not merely the punishment of dusky foes on our border.

The plan of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign, as organized by Washington, consisted of four parts:

1—The campaign was to be opened in the spring of 1779 by General Clinton with an expedition from the upper Mohawk River and Fort Schuyler into the Onondaga country. The purpose of this movement was to free the main line of attack from the possibility of menace by the more easterly tribes of the Six Nations, and thus permit the leaders of the expedition to devote all their attention to the Cayugas and Senecas.

2—After this preliminary drive General Clinton was to mobilize an army at Canajoharie on the Mohawk and then proceed across New York State southwestward, destroying Indian villages and cornfields as he followed the upper Susquehanna River, down to Tioga Point, where he was to form a union with the army of General Sullivan.

3—Meanwhile, Colonel Daniel Brodhead from Fort Pitt in western Pennsylvania was to ascend the Allegheny River to its headwaters, subduing the Indians and burning their homes as he penetrated their country. He was instructed to

keep in touch with General Sullivan and to cross western New York to join him somewhere in the Seneca region.

4—The main artery of the expedition under General Sullivan was to start from Easton, Pa., with the major force, proceed across Pennsylvania to Tioga Point, and, after a juncture with General Clinton's army, move up into the Cayuga and Seneca territory. After the power of the Cayugas and Senecas had been broken, the British and Loyalists with them had been defeated, and Colonel Brodhead's reinforcements had arrived, it was hoped that the forts at Oswego and Niagara might be captured.

Thus it will be seen that the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign was one of the largest offensive movements in the whole War of Independence. It directly involved the two states of New York and Pennsylvania. Upon its success depended the future of the American Nation. Officers and soldiers from at least six states—New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut—participated. Experienced Continentals and not militia were employed to carry it out. A list of the higher officers will show the importance attached to the expedition by Washington—Generals Sullivan, Clinton, Hand, Poor and Maxwell; and Colonels Brodhead, Van Schaick, Butler, Cilly, Dayton, Dearborn, Proctor, Gansevoort, Van Cortlandt, Willett, Ogden, Shreeve, Spencer, Reid, Hubley, Weissenfels, Dubois and Antis. An appropriation by Congress of nearly a million dollars for equipment and supplies reveals the significance attached by that body to the enterprise.

The Sullivan-Clinton Expedition against the Six Nations and their British and Loyalist leaders captured the imagination of the Americans. It awakened tremendous interest and was the theme of conversation all along the Atlantic seaboard. The newspapers of the day discussed it at great length. The novelty and uniqueness of this campaign against the red men in the wilderness, with the strange sights and new experiences, produced one result which did not char-

acterize any other movement in the Revolution to so great a degree. Officers and chaplains and privates kept diaries and journals of the happenings. More than thirty of these personal observations have survived and most of them have been printed. Although few letters written by men on the expedition have survived—it may be that owing to conditions few were written—yet these diaries and journals give us today a remarkable picture of the occurrences.

A brief survey of each one of the four parts of the campaign mentioned above will enable one to visualize what took place and to see how successfully, for the most part, the expedition was carried out.

1—For the preliminary drive against the Onondagas in the early spring of 1779, General Clinton ordered troops from the Schoharie and Mohawk Valleys to proceed to Fort Schuyler, where Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment and a company of artillery were stationed. There groups of Oneidas and Tuscarawas came to the fort and asked to be permitted to join the expedition. On April 18th the Indians accompanied by American officers—Lieutenant McClellan and Ensign Hardenburg with two sergeants—set off on an independent movement. The next day, April 19th, Colonel Van Schaick, Lieutenant Colonel Willett, and Major Cochran with five hundred and fifty-eight men and officers, set out down Wood Creek and across Lake Oneida. The army then marched across land to Onondaga Lake and up Onondaga Creek, where the Onondaga Indian villages were located. One account states that between thirty and forty houses were burned; fifteen Indians killed; thirty-four captured; one white man taken; the cows, horses, and hogs which could not be taken away killed; provisions destroyed; "two stands of colors," one hundred guns, a swivel, and ammunition taken or destroyed; and a large quantity of pillage obtained. Without a single man killed or wounded, the army with the prisoners and as much plunder as could be carried was back at the boats on Lake Oneida on April

22d. Two days later they were at Fort Schuyler. A difficult incursion had been made with extraordinary expedition and with great success. Congress publicly thanked Colonel Van Schaick, his officers, and men for "their activity and good conduct." This enterprise made excellent publicity for strengthening the morale for the other parts of the expedition.

2—General Clinton's movement from the Mohawk to Tioga Point with about one thousand six hundred men was quite as successful. From Albany he gave orders for the various military units to rendezvous at Canajoharie. About two hundred and fifty flat-bottomed boats were built at Schenectady and taken up the river to the same place. Provisions were collected in boxes and barrels not only for his own army but for that of General Sullivan as well. During the latter part of June and early July the boats and provisions were carried over the hills by wagons from Canajoharie to the head of Lake Otsego and then taken by water to the foot of the lake where the troops assembled. The lake was dammed so as to raise the water sufficiently to float the boats down to Tioga Point. After a delay of more than a month at the foot of Lake Otsego, General Clinton with the Third, Fourth, and Fifth New York Regiments, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, and four companies of Morgan's Rifles received orders from General Sullivan to start south. Hence on August 9, 1779, the dam was cut, the boats with their heavy loads of supplies were floated on the Susquehanna, and the impatient army started for Tioga. Contrary to expectations, few Indians were encountered on the journey. A number of deserted Indian towns were destroyed together with their gardens and cornfields. On August 19th, General Clinton met General Poor, who had been sent forward to meet him, and on August 22d, General Clinton's army was welcomed at Tioga Point with cheers and salvos of artil-



lery. The movement had been executed quickly and without serious mishap.

3—Meanwhile, Colonel Daniel Brodhead, following instructions, had left Fort Pitt on August 11th with six hundred and five “rank and file” to invade the Seneca country and to form a juncture with General Sullivan and General Clinton at some point in the Genesee region. He took one month’s provision, which was forwarded by boat up the Allegheny River. With live stock and pack horses, and accompanied by Delaware Indians as spies and scouts, Colonel Brodhead took his army over a shorter route northward by land. No fighting occurred on the route except a skirmish with a band of thirty or forty Indian warriors. The Indian villages on the upper Allegheny River were deserted by the inhabitants just before the arrival of American troops. A large amount of plunder was secured and then the houses were burned and about five hundred acres of corn and vegetables destroyed. From the indefinite records it is difficult to determine the farthest point reached by Colonel Brodhead’s expedition, but it seems very probable that the present border line between New York and Pennsylvania was crossed. Both General Sullivan and Colonel Brodhead sent messengers to the other, but apparently they did not get through in time to be of service in effecting a union. Brodhead’s scouts sent to Sullivan did not return until Brodhead had returned to Fort Pitt. In this state of uncertainty, and many of his men being “barefooted and naked,” Colonel Brodhead returned over a different route, destroying more Indian villages as he proceeded, and reached Fort Pitt on September 14th without loss of either “man or beast.”

4—The major force of the expedition was mobilized at Easton, Pa. To that point marched troops from New England, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania. After his appointment as head of the expedition early in March,

1779, General Sullivan devoted his time to making preparations for the enterprise. Food supplies had to be assembled to supplement those of General Clinton. The exact route had to be determined. Cattle and horses had to be collected. Boats had to be obtained or built. A road had to be cut over the mountain to Wyoming. On May 7th General Sullivan reached Easton, where he assembled about three thousand five hundred men in three brigades under General Maxwell, General Hand, and General Poor. On June 18th General Sullivan moved toward Wyoming, which was reached on June 23d. He had expected to be met there by a fleet of boats laden with supplies but was deeply disappointed. Hence he was delayed at Wyoming for over five weeks while boats and supplies were with much difficulty obtained. It was not until July 31st that the expedition was ready to proceed, and Tioga was reached August 11th. After the juncture with General Clinton's army on August 22d, no time was lost in proceeding forward along the main line of attack.

After rearranging the brigades so as to place regiments under their customary commanders as nearly as could be done, and transferring the supplies from the boats to the twelve hundred pack horses, the army, delayed one day by rain, started from Tioga on August 26th. The Battle of Newtown occurred near the present city of Elmira on August 29th. It was dramatic but the fatalities on both sides were not large. The Indians and Loyalists were driven from the field and pursued for some distance. The red men were frightened by the cannon which they called "thunder trees." This victory practically settled the fighting of the whole campaign, for the Indians never made another stand.

From Newtown the army hurried forward through what is now Horseheads and Montour Falls, along the eastern shore of Seneca Lake to Geneva, and thence through Canandaigua and Honeoye to old Genesee Castle, the western

extremity of the expedition, which was reached on September 14th, less than three weeks after leaving Tioga. The ambush of Boyd and Parker and their companions was the only engagement after Newtown resembling a skirmish. On September 17th, feeling that his orders had been executed, General Sullivan began his return journey over the same route. On the way back parties were sent down two sides of Cayuga Lake, and Colonel Gansevoort with a body of troops cut across to Fort Stanwix. On September 30th the expedition reached Tioga.

With the exception of the capture of the forts at Oswego and Niagara the objectives of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign were all realized. The hostile Senecas and Cayugas were terribly punished. Their homes were burned, their vast cornfields and gardens were all destroyed, and their orchards were cut down or killed. Food supplies upon which the British depended were now unavailable. The frontier settlements of New York and Pennsylvania felt secure. But the most important result was that now when peace was signed the Americans would have a pretext for holding these western lands into which within a few years thousands of settlers were to find new homes.

Now how was the Battle of Minisink connected with the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign? To answer this question it is necessary to remember that this military enterprise was an American offensive movement. The Indians, Loyalists, and British acted on the defensive. Two incursions, which were exceptions, were projected—one under John McDonnell into Pennsylvania; the other into southeastern New York by Joseph Brant. Brant took the initiative and made a drive into the territory of the patriots of Minisink Valley. His purpose was primarily to frighten the leaders of the campaign and thus delay its execution. A secondary object was to obtain cattle for food and perhaps horses as well. It was also hoped that prisoners would be taken who might give valuable information about the military movements.

In a letter of Colonel John Butler to his son Walter, dated August 4th, he stated that the raid was a "disappointment" to Brant. Although his party took thirty-six scalps, only five prisoners were obtained. Of his own men three were killed and ten wounded. No cattle were obtained. Brant's own account dated July 29, 1779, stated that he "burnt all the settlement called Minisink"; "destroyed several small stockaded forts"; "took four scalps and three prisoners"; captured only a few cattle; and did "not in the least injure women or children." On leaving Minisink, Brant discovered that American troops were planning an ambush for him. He then sought to gain the rear of the patriots and the famous Battle of Minisink was the result. The outcome is vividly told in the assertion: "We have taken forty-odd scalps and one prisoner." Brant believed the Americans had "lost near half of their men and most of their officers," who totalled about one hundred and fifty. He also reported that Sullivan's army was at Wyoming. Brant hurried his warriors off to Chemung while he went on a scouting trip to the Mohawk.

General Sullivan was appealed to for help, but he regarded the attack on Minisink as of small importance and refused to be diverted from his more important objective. In that conclusion Governor Clinton agreed. Nathan Ker, on July 29th, wrote Governor Clinton that Brant with eighty-five Indians and Tories had burned eleven houses, eleven barns, and the Dutch church, and took off "some prisoners, cattle, horses, sheep, and considerable plunder," after killing "sundry persons." The frontiers were in the "utmost consternation." Governor Clinton stated that "upwards of thirty" were taken prisoners and sought to learn what became of them.

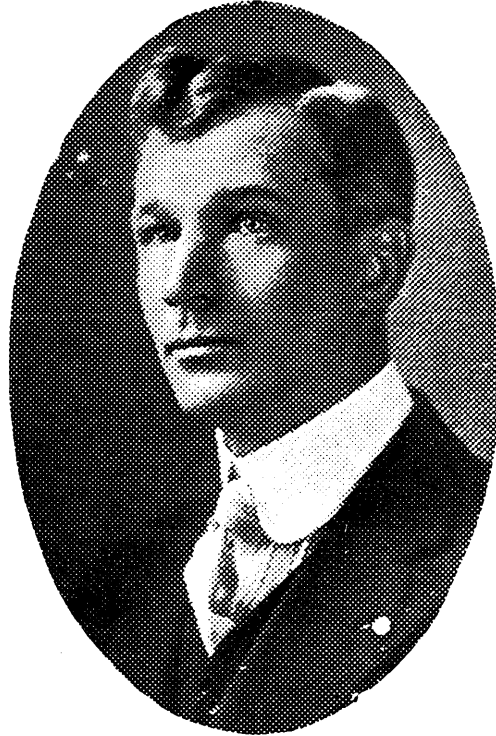
Thus it will be seen that the Battle of Minisink, the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of which we commemorate today, was a part of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign from

the Indian-Tory standpoint. Consequently it is quite appropriate for the state of New York to present to the Minisink Valley Historical Society this bronze memorial. As State Historian it gives me much pleasure to turn the tablet over to the safekeeping of the organization which has done so much to preserve this battlefield as an historic park.

## CHAIRMEN OF SUBCOMMITTEES



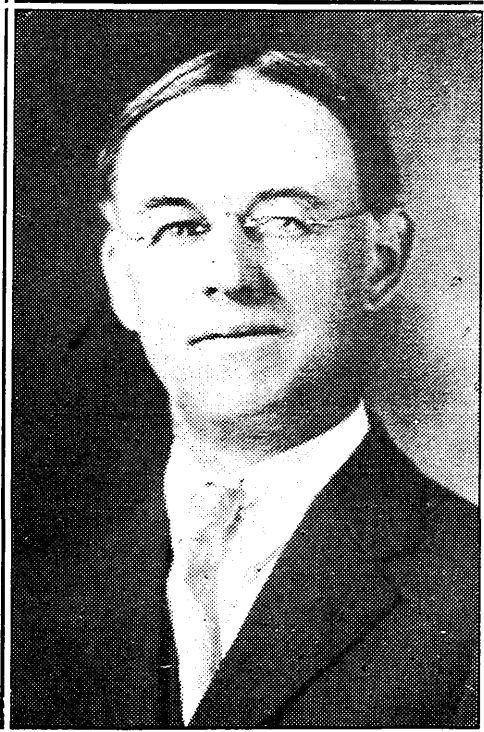
ARTHUR H. NAYLOR,  
CHAIRMAN OF ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE



EDSON D. KNAPP, CHAIRMAN  
OF ROADS AND SITE COMMITTEE



HENRY GEBER  
SECRETARY OF FINANCE



MARK V. RICHARDS  
CHAIRMAN OF PUBLICITY  
COMMITTEE

## “ULSTER COUNTY’S PART IN THE BATTLE OF MINISINK”

BY JUSTICE G. B. D. HASBROUCK

MR. CHAIRMAN and Fellow Citizens: I bring the greetings of Ulster County to those fine citizens of Orange and Sullivan Counties who have made such patriotic effort to make this anniversary of the tragedy of Minisink the historic landmark in our nation’s genesis to which it is entitled. We of Ulster County share your patriotic pride and sentiment.

The battle of Minisink took place before Ulster’s fair daughter Sullivan came into existence. The blood of the citizens of Orange and of Ulster ran red here. If we of Ulster could separate ourselves from the glory which emanated from this ground we could never be so happy as in conferring it all upon Sullivan County.

Now we content ourselves with yielding to her the rich inheritance which came from the separation of Sullivan from Ulster by the legislature in the year 1809. With the hands of Orange, Sullivan, and Ulster Counties joined in rose ring, with the heritage of the Hudson River Valley and all its traditions in our hearts, and the great Empire State behind us, let us acclaim the day.

The men who made the line on that great day were largely Orange County men. There were a few from Ulster, now Sullivan County, and a few from New Jersey.

The condition of the settlement along the Delaware at Minisink was the concern of the revolutionists from General Washington to the last man in the ranks of the local militia. The disaster of Minisink arose from the fact that the guard that had been maintained there under Count Pulaski and other officers had been withdrawn in order to assist the army under Washington in offensive operations,

the particular one being what is known as the Sullivan Expedition. First and foremost was the responsibility of George Clinton, Governor of the State, resident of and accredited to Ulster County. Colonels Louis Dubois, John L. Hardenburg, and Cantine, and Major Newkirk of Ulster in the Sullivan command, had proceeded with their commands into Pennsylvania and to Wyoming, which was located on the Susquehanna River just west of Toby's creek. Colonel Albert Pawling was in command of other forces at Wawarsing. The people of Minisink and vicinity were left unprotected. It was the famous Joseph Brant accompanied by a few white men and one hundred and fifty Indians who knew of the Sullivan Expedition and of unguarded Minisink who undertook to reprovision his warriors at the Minisink. It was undisciplined, unconditioned, inexperienced troops that were led by Colonels Hathorn and Tusten in the punitive expedition against Brant for stealing cattle and army supplies.

Joseph Brant was a great man. He was the protégé of another great man, Sir William Johnson, who played the part of husband to Brant's sister. Brant had some literary education at the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock's School at Lebanon, Conn., known as Morr's Indian Charity School, out of which grew Dartmouth College. His mind was early given a religious cast. He gave his soul to England. He participated in the French and Indian War and learned there the art of war. He accompanied St. Leger and fought beside him against General Herkimer at Oriskany and is credited by historians in exercising profound military skill in that battle. He was, therefore, on July 22, 1779, the great genius of border warfare. Over such warfare in the Revolution towered the one great cruel sinister figure of Joseph Brant. The education he received, the religious intolerance he had imbibed, the worship of England he had practiced, made his spirit typical of the great nation whose battles he fought with all the ruthlessness of his cruel nature in the great



stake for the dominion of North America. It was against such a commander with such resources that Colonels Hathorn and Tusten led the then enthusiastic and courageous following to disaster. More lives were lost in this conflict between England and her Indians on the one side and the Minisink patriots on the other than in the great Sullivan Expedition in which according to General Sherman but four of the colonist soldiers' lives were lost. The loss of Minisink was part of the immense contribution New York State made to the cause of the Revolution. The Hudson River Valley then constituted practically the state. The control of that river was the project of imperialist Downing Street. In importance, therefore, Minisink ranges beside Oriskany, Saratoga, Stony Point, and that battle fought under Generals George and James Clinton for the passes of the Hudson at Forts Montgomery and Clinton.

When Abraham Lincoln went to Gettysburg to deliver his soul in speech to his country, it was not the generals, the army organization, the rank and file that he held aloft before the eyes of the nation; it was the purpose for which the men of the North found their wounds and deaths. Thus we are met today after a war that terminated nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, not to celebrate the victories won by the colonists but rather to celebrate the mettle, the courage, and the fine civic sense of responsibility that animated the very fabric of Colonial life in the fight for liberty. There is nothing like the life of the pioneer to develop men. The soldiers at Minisink were pioneers. They were clearing lands to cultivate them, and to rear for coming generations of men the social structure that hangs alone upon producing lands. Their hands, hearts, and lives were given to the setting up of government that in its puissance and grandeur makes the possibility of human life nobler and freer in the farthest of earth's lands. The character of the structure lay in such hearts and lives, in their hopes, aspirations, and faith. Where in all the history of civilization have purer

ideals and grander philanthropy won a victory for the progress and enlightenment of man? No field of battle, not Runnymede, not Marathon, not Philippi, not Waterloo, not Alexander's subjugation of the world, nor Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, can speak the final word of the triumph of power like that exerted for the exaltation of righteousness, like that exerted on the obscure battlefield on the Delaware, like that of these patriots claiming our thought today who knew their duty and were willing to die to do it. When we celebrate their bravery and spirit in the cause of freedom we pay homage to that dynamic host of patriots, the thirteen colonies, who introduced a new era in the world—the currents of whose existence ranged all the fibers of the progress of the present world. The resistance to Brant on the Delaware by Colonels Hathorn and Tusten and their neighbors, foreran the abolition of slavery in the United States, the terms of the Armistice in 1918, the World War Peace League at Versailles, and the reparations finalities just reached at Paris. That resistance foreran too the exaltation of peace and the abolition of war.

Whatever comes with it peace will come as surely as the triumph of the air has come. The Malthusian theory, the theories of Nietzsche and General Von Bernhardt that war has in it the foundation of progress and mental and spiritual exaltation cannot live in the face of present international relationships. The world has no fear that the humanity of the future cannot be maintained of its 25,000 miles of rotundity. It means to try the experiment of peace. Permanent peace cannot be far away. Germany has had all the war she thirsted for. She is ready to join Great Britain, France, and the United States in the effort for assured peace. The prospect is better now than ever before. The union of those four countries in a program for peace means world control. War is not a demonstration of enlightenment. It is a proof of ignorance. Peace as we regard it will not be sadly interrupted if the ignorance of Soviet Russia

and China fight over the control of the railroad to Vladivostok. The causes of war do not lie ordinarily in racial antipathies. They lie rather in trade rivalries. The undercurrent in the social structure of the world seeks a juster division of world pleasures, comforts, and livings. The current, of course, can never be satisfied. Nations are like men. There can be realized no equal division of property among men. Men are unequal. They may have equal rights but still they are unequal. To the man of strength comes more than to the man of weakness; to the man of genius comes more than to one without such talent; to the man of brains comes according to his ability. It is impossible by law to maintain equality where nature has denied it. What is true of men is true of nations. Some will ever be strong, logical, powerful, others so in varying degrees. Nations are and will ever remain unequal in power. The natural consequence follows that the strong can take from the weak. While nations stand apart the spoliation of the weak by the strong will occur. The great purpose of peace pacts such as that of limitation of naval power in the Washington Treaty, that of Versailles embodying the world court, and that of Locarno, is to set up the means by which the temptation of the strong to use the tyranny of strength shall be regulated and controlled. The capacity of nations to excel one another in the field of trade must be recognized in any search for peace. Because the craftsmen of Belgium are more skillful than those of England and Germany; because the financiers of Holland are more sagacious than those of France and Spain; such little nations should not be subject to the spoliation of stronger nations. Against that right to excel in trade no gun should be allowed to be fired. Germany excels in chemistry and psychology; England in manufacturing; the United States in general productions of mines, factory, and farm. Each has to be guaranteed the right to the use of the open markets of the world. England should not monopolize the trade of China because she may have the naval or

military power to compel China to favor her. To establish the principle involved will come hard to a nation now sustaining a million and a half of the unemployed. But England is the same old England of the Magna Charta and the Writ of Habeas Corpus. The old question still haunts the hearts of her freeman, "If England die shall freedom live?" So much of England died in the World War that she is ready to die no more and knows that for her to live, for the white race to survive, there must be peace between the white races. Therefore, she will subordinate her naval and military fighting forces to the necessities of peace and trade in the hope that trade and stability once more attained at home shall remain undisturbed by war. The clamor of nations for a place in the sun must be made to the League of Nations, must be heard by wise men and not determined by the army swashbucklers. The Germans must quit singing *Ein Feste Burg Ist Unser Gott* and should supplicate for the place desired in the sun instead of ravaging the world with the sword to obtain it.

The United States may be relied upon to make the concessions necessary to abolish war, even if it should mean curtailing of foreign markets. The United States and Great Britain, no matter what their rivalries in trade, must compose them without war, having regard to the excellence of productive powers.

If Great Britain holds primacy among the nations of the world, it is because she has the United States at her back. If the United States holds the primacy among the nations of the world, it is because she has Great Britain at her back. Any citizen of the United States who seeks to sow the seeds of discord between these two nations is ignorant of the aspiration of the soul of his country. Great Britain and the United States are not bound together by white blood, by commercial or offensive or defensive treaties. They are bound together by finer, surer ties. They are bound together by the Magna Charta, the Writ of Habeas Corpus, the Bill

of Rights, and the freedom of the common law. They are bound together by grand common ideals of liberty and righteousness.

I have said that the abolition of war is about to be accomplished. Perhaps not this year; perhaps not by Germany's great foreign minister, Stresemann; not by France's great statesman, Briand; not by Ramsay MacDonald, Great Britain's premier; not by President Hoover. Will these great men fail to achieve that end which President Wilson refused because of the Senate's reservations? I think not. These four men are the great apostles of peace. It would be an offense to civilization if they should fail. "Woe be unto him by whom the offense cometh." If these men lay the foundation of permanent peace in the world their names will run for ages full of glory down the grooves of time.

What good will peace do the world, do our country? Of what use is it to preserve these lives of ours and those of our descendants from war? It has been said by the Romans, "gloria est pro patria movetur."

Whether in war or in peace we must die for our country. To live for it is to die for it. I fear more for my country the rising tide of general prosperity, wealth, and luxury than the destruction and penalties of war. More men die in war 'tis said of disease than of wounds. In peace the very fabric of society crumbles under the sapping and mining influences of vice and crime.

The proposition that wealthy nations whose people flock the ways of pleasure and luxury and vice fall into decay is firmly established in history. How stands our country today? Is there a crime wave? What is the cause of the vast increase in crime? President Hoover has recently appointed a national commission to seek its causes and to provide more thoroughly for its repression and punishment. It is the humiliation of our nation that such a large percentage of perpetrators of crime go unwhipped of justice. It is strange that more murders are committed in each of the

cities of New York and Chicago than in England and Wales together. Must we confess that the criminal laws of England are more thoroughly enforced than those of this country? There is a lesson in this circumstance. There is no such agency in repressing of crime as the certainty that it will be punished.

There is no such mollycoddling of criminals in England as we practice here. Justice there is surer and swifter. It is not because we are a democracy and Great Britain not. It boasts a democracy as potential as our own. Our aim should be to see to it that the criminal pays the penalty of his crime inexorably. Organized effort to shield the criminal from the law should not be tolerated. We could make a great contribution to the effective administration of the law by refusing to intercede with the police, prosecuting officers, and judges for offenders. The work of trying to get them out of the clutches of the law by political pull or business or other influence is totally demoralizing to the administration of the criminal law.

It seems to me that a law should be enacted making it a crime for any person, out of court, to use any influence with any police officer, prosecuting attorney, magistrate, or judge tending to defeat the ends of justice.

Let the offender be convicted—mercy, the remedying depraved tendencies, the rehabilitation of character, should be left to judges, to psychiatrists, moralists, trade schools and other agencies when the criminal has lost his liberty to the state.

We shall have made this celebration indeed patriotic if we make here a greater dedication of ourselves to the progress and preservation of our nation. He is no patriot who encourages the violation of law. We cannot be true to those who fought here, to those whose bones bleached for years in the sun on this battlefield if we fail in support of the constitution and laws. Let us have no disregard for law. There is no deterrent of crime like punishment. There is no incen-

tive to crime like money. We must get away from the worship of money. We observe that the homage of society is paid to the wealthy. It belongs to brains. Besides securing the certain punishment of crime, we must change the ideals of society. Let us set examples of homely living, of saving, of thrift, of temperance, frugality and a religious life. Let us seek a renaissance of the Puritanism of our fathers, some of whom died upon this field of battle.

This is the education needed to diminish the incentive of crime. Let us fight the decay of men bemoaned by the poet Goldsmith. Let us pull down the graven images and worships in their stead truth, virtue, righteousness, and the Gods of our faiths. Then our nation will find in the world a wider sphere of usefulness and a greater rôle of splendor.

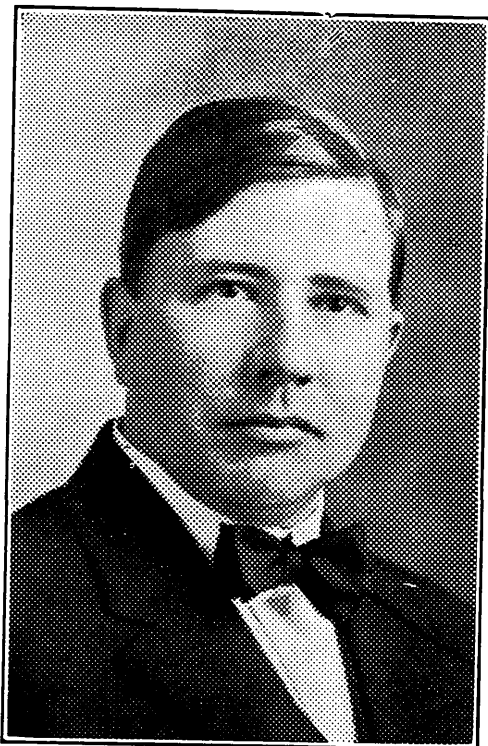
## ORATORS OF THE DAY



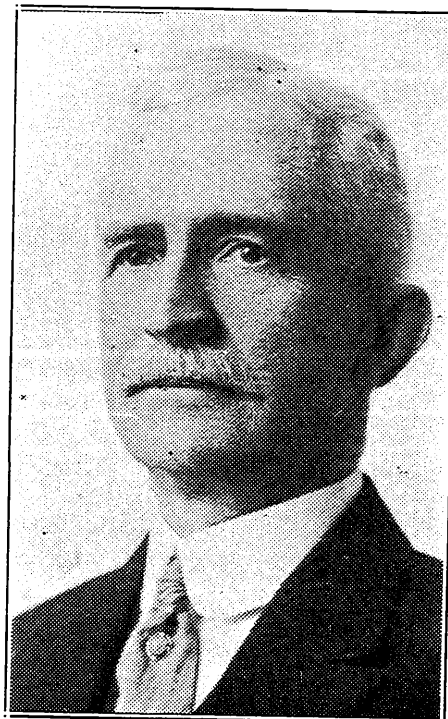
A. C. FLICK



GEORGE B. D. HASBROUCK



GEORGE L. COOKE



JOSEPH W. GOTT



# GEN. JOHN SULLIVAN—A BUILDER

BY JUDGE GEORGE L. COOKE

An old man, going a lone highway,  
Came at the evening, cold and gray,  
To a chasm, vast and deep and wide.  
The old man crossed in the twilight dim,  
The sullen stream had no fear for him;  
But he turned when safe on the other side  
And built a bridge to span the tide.

“Old man,” said a fellow-pilgrim near,  
“You are wasting your strength with building here;  
Your journey will end with the ending day,  
You never again will pass this way.  
You’ve crossed the chasm, deep and wide,  
Why build you this bridge at evening tide?”

The builder lifted his old gray head—  
“Good friend, in the path I have come,” he said,  
“There followeth after me today  
A youth whose feet must pass this way.  
This chasm that has been as naught to me,  
To that fair-haired youth may a pitfall be;  
He, too, must cross in the twilight dim—  
Good friend, I am building this bridge for him.”

AND so, today, in loving memory, we turn to the great builders of the past. To the men and women whose perseverance, industry, sacrifice, and wisdom built the countless bridges over which we pass, we, humbly and gratefully, acknowledge the priceless heritage they left.

Sullivan County was organized by an act of the Legislature March 27th, 1809. In determining the name of this new territory it was deemed fitting and proper to select that of some prominent Revolutionary soldier whose work had

been in some way associated with this county. This section was named Sullivan in honor of General John Sullivan, one of the great builders of his time. It is claimed by historians that a portion of his army crossed our county when it went into western New York to punish the Indians for their raids upon the white settlers.

A study of Sullivan County in those days would reveal a rough and rugged, yet beautiful, country, about forty miles across in either direction. On its hillsides grew the virgin timber, and in its valleys ran the sparkling, winding streams. A little land along the river flats was ready for cultivation, but nearly all the residents of that period established their habitation in the middle of a forest, cut down the stately trees by the hundreds, piled them together to burn, and by the hardest kind of toil made ready their fields. Here and there through this sparsely settled region could be seen the curling smoke from the little log cabins in the clearing. Resolute, determined, and hardy men and women resided within the confines of this section which was christened Sullivan County. They wrestled with problems and hardships which yielded only a bare existence, and which would have discouraged many of the stout-hearted among us today.

In Quinlan's history we find the following concerning General Sullivan:

"John Sullivan was of Irish descent, and was born in Berwick, Maine, on the 17th of February, 1740. His youth was spent chiefly in farm-labor. At maturity he studied law, and established himself in its practice in Durham, New Hampshire, where he soon rose to considerable distinction as an advocate and politician. He was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress in 1774, and soon after his return from Philadelphia he was engaged, with John Langdon and others, in seizing Fort William and Mary, at Portsmouth. When the following year the Continental Army was organized, he was appointed one of the eight Brigadiers first commissioned by Congress; and early in 1776, he was promoted to Major-General. Early

in the spring of that year he superseded Arnold in command of the Continental troops in Canada; and later in the season he joined Washington at New York. General Greene commanded the chief forces at Brooklyn, designed to repel the invaders then on Staten Island; but he was taken sick, and the leadership of his division was assigned to Sullivan. In the disastrous battle that soon followed, he was made prisoner, but was soon afterwards exchanged, and took command of Lee's division, in New Jersey, after that officer's capture later in the season. In the autumn of 1777, General Sullivan was in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown; and in the succeeding winter he was stationed in Rhode Island, preparatory to an attempted expulsion of the British therefrom. He besieged Newport in August, 1778, but was unsuccessful, because the French Admiral d'Estaing would not coöperate with him, according to promise and agreement. General Sullivan's military career closed after his memorable campaign against the Indians, in western New York, early in the autumn of 1779. He resigned his commission because he felt aggrieved at some action of the Board of War, and was afterwards elected to a seat in Congress. From 1786 to 1789, he was president or governor of New Hampshire, when, under the provision of the new Federal Constitution, he was appointed District Judge. That office he held until his death, which occurred on the 23rd of January, 1795, when he was in the fifty-fifth year of his age."

In July, 1779, the battle of Minisink occurred on the New York shore of the Delaware River not far from Lackawaxen upon land which was later to be a part of Sullivan County, and upon which battlefield we are today.

Border warfare was very alarming in New York State at this time. Some of the influential men in the Mohawk Valley were opposed to the Revolution and under their leaders they formed what was known as the Loyalist soldiers. Joseph Brant, noted Indian chief, led the red men. "With firebrand, scalping knife, and tomahawk they hung 'like the scythe of death' on the frontier settlements." Men worked in their fields in constant dread and fear of the sly and sneaking enemy and the women were afraid to stay

alone in their cabins. Accounts were frequent of the killing or taking as captives of the white settlers by the Indians.

So many reports came to headquarters of the inhuman attacks upon the frontiersmen and their families that Washington determined to thoroughly punish them and to teach them that it was better to live at peace with the Americans than at war. In May, 1778, the small settlement of Cobleskill, then containing about twenty families, was burned and destroyed. Some of the residents were murdered. Springfield, Andrustown, German Flats, Unadilla, and other small settlements shared the same fate. A reign of terror existed. Thirty-two persons were killed in the Massacre of Cherry Valley. Those living in the outlying sections were so worried that they appealed repeatedly for help and assistance. In 1779, a raid was organized against the red men. General Sullivan was to raise five thousand men for this purpose. Colonel Van Schaick of Albany with about six hundred men attacked the Onondagas. Some of the Indians were killed, some were taken prisoners, and their villages burned. This it is claimed greatly provoked them and caused the raid near Minisink.

In August of that year, General Clinton and General Sullivan united their forces under Sullivan and moved westward to attack the Senecas and Cayugas. Other similar expeditions had failed. It was a most difficult undertaking. It meant long marches through the wilderness with the Indians fighting from ambush. They and their Tory friends gathered all the strength possible and the contending forces met near where Elmira now stands. The redskins had erected hidden breastworks along the route they believed the Americans would travel. Sullivan had detected them and bombarded their strongholds with cannon. The Indians fled. Sullivan then marched through the lake country and down the Genesee River, laying to waste everything in his path. He destroyed the Indian villages and broke the Iroquois nation. The remaining savages fled to Fort Niagara, the

main British fort of the west. Thus did Sullivan and his men destroy the great and powerful Six Nations and we may well place him among the builders of the past.

We, grateful for the many blessings of Providence, meet today to renew our unalloyed allegiance to our great country and to recount some of the outstanding work which had its influence upon the development of this section. We also feel it our duty to do what we can among the builders of our time, to the end that the future may have in store for those who enjoy it still greater advantages than those we have; that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" may mean even more, if possible, to the generations yet to come than they have to us; that civilization will be able to produce even greater men and women than before.

We are as trustees into whose keeping have been placed the many responsibilities of carrying on the great work of our country to higher and better things, to nobler and grander achievements.

Among the laudable constructive work of recent years, we may place the boy and girl scout movement which will surely make its impress on the coming generation.

On this public occasion, it seems not improper to suggest that it is the hope of many of the great builders of our time that on some not too distant day, the great powers of the world will find a way by which international disputes may be submitted to some body or tribunal for adjustment and that wars will be no more. We realize that this course is fraught with many problems and difficulties, but in the march of civilization it seems to be the natural sequence to one of the most munificent undertakings ever begun for the benefit of mankind and which will undoubtedly come to pass in due time.

"Not enjoyment and not sorrow,  
Is our destined end or way;  
But to act that each tomorrow  
Find us farther than today."

## ORATORS OF THE DAY



WILLIAM T. DOTY



GEORGE F. KETCHUM



REV. E. FRANK FOWLER,  
D.D.



HORACE E. TWICHELL

# “WAS THERE A MINISINK VILLAGE? AND WHY WERE THE BONES OF BATTLE VICTIMS SO LONG UN- CARED FOR?”

BY HON. WILLIAM T. DOTY

“Why were the bones of the victims of the so-called Battle of Minisink of July 22d, 1779, allowed to remain on the battleground forty-three years before being given proper burial by their relatives, descendants, and friends?”

“Where was the alleged village of Minisink located, so frequently referred to by writers of local history in connection with the Indian raids of one hundred and fifty years ago?”

These two questions have often been asked, and are still being asked by many who have taken the trouble to read up, investigate casually, and in some instances extensively, the incidents connected with the final raid of the Mohawk Indian chief, Joseph Brant, and his band of Indians and Tories on that memorable month in 1779. These questions have been emphasized and given added interest and force by Judge Joseph W. Gott, Esq., of Goshen, in recent conversations and addresses by him before historical societies.

It would seem that there ought to be some way of satisfactorily answering these inquiries and settling the matter. But it is more than likely that they never can be answered definitely, positively, and satisfactorily since those who knew all the facts long since have passed away, and at this date we can only conjecture, theorize, and draw inferences and unsatisfactory conclusions.

It seems to me, from the reading I have been able to make, that there was no real Minisink Village; that the word “village” grew up out of deductions by later histo-

rians from legendary references to the "Minisink Settlements" which were the objects of the Indian raiders; and that subsequent writers have perpetuated this conclusion from readings they have made of some early writer's conception of the facts, and without investigating the matter, one writer following the other with alleged facts, and taking it for granted that all that was written was correct.

For instance, it has been frequently stated that the particular "Minisink Village" was so located "about eight miles west of Goshen." The nearest locality thus referred to might be at South Centerville, Smith's Corners, or the present village of Greenville, now known by the United States Post Office Department as Minisink.

Another writer says, "The Minisink Village was located about eight miles below Machachemeck, now Port Jervis." In fact, the alleged "village" seemed to be located anywhere between Peenpack, now Huguenot; in brief, anywhere between CEsopus on the Hudson River, at Pahaquay in New Jersey. I do not find that any of the historical writers of old definitely located the "village," nor did our oldest, most reliable and painstaking historian, Charles E. Stickney, of Sussex, N. J. Dr. W. L. Cuddeback and Horace E. Twichell do not attempt to locate that particular settlement.

Briefly, therefore, I suspect there was no such village, only the Minisink settlement referring solely to a region, a precinct, a large indefinite section, of the counties of Ulster, Orange, and Sullivan in New York and Sussex in New Jersey, and even a bit of Pike County in Pennsylvania.

The Minisink Ford at Lackawaxen seems a probable excuse for the battle of the Lackawaxen Heights in Sullivan County, in the town of Highland, being referred to as the "Battle of Minisink." What other reason could there be for such a misnomer, except to concede that the "Minisink" territory covered the ground and location where the battle was fought?



So much for the mythical village of Minisink. Now, then, why were the bones of the victims of the "Battle of Minisink" allowed to remain forty-three years on the ground where they had fallen before being given civilized burial?

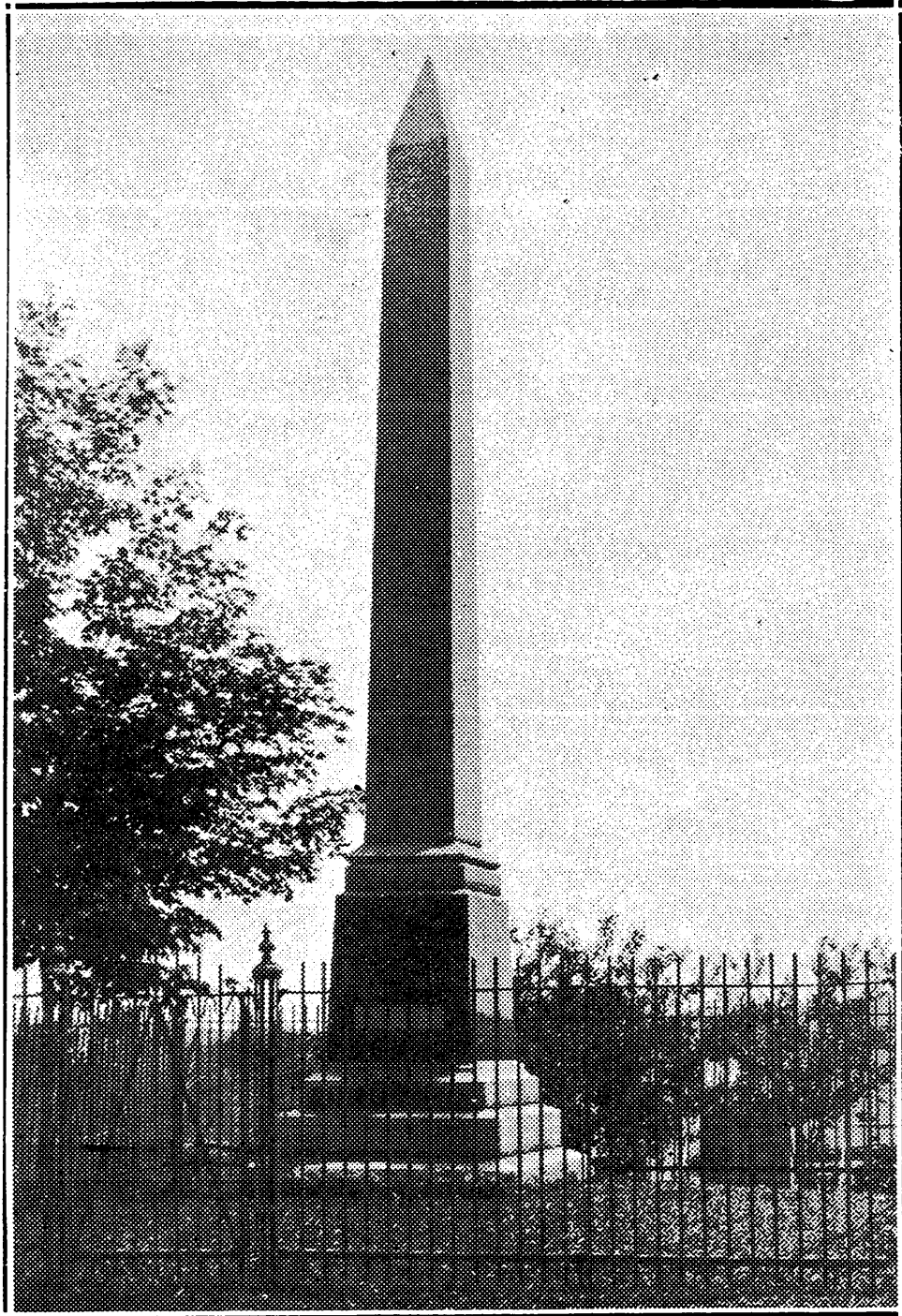
Briefly, let me say that the reason probably was because there was no roadway, no path, no avenue of approach to the battleground, between the settlement in Orange County and the wooded, rocky highlands where the bones were bleaching.

Indeed, an attempt was made years before they were removed to secure the remains. Stickney, in his valuable work *A History of the Minisink Region*, printed in 1867, records the fact that such an attempt was made and abandoned because of the fact that there was no access to the grounds by which vehicles could be used to transfer the remains. I quote a part of what Dr. Stickney wrote:

"The first attempt to recover the remains was made by the widows of the killed of whom there were thirty-three in the Presbyterian congregation at Goshen. They undertook to proceed to the battlefield on horseback, but had not gone far before they were forced to give up the task."

It seems probable that the completion of the Newburgh and Cohecton Turnpike led to the construction of lateral roadways that resulted in another effort in 1820 to secure the remains, which led to their interment at Goshen on the 22d of July, 1822, when Colonel Hathorn, then eighty years of age, laid the cornerstone of the monument, in the presence of fifteen thousand people on which was recorded the names of the victims, etc., and which monument was replaced, in 1862, by the present structure through the liberality of Dr. Merritt H. Cash of Waywanda, who bequeathed four thousand dollars to Orange County for that purpose, as stated by Stickney in his *History of the Minisink Region*.

## MINISINK MONUMENT



UNDER THIS SHAFT AT GOSHEN WERE BURIED THE BONES OF PATRIOTS SLAIN IN THE BATTLE OF MINISINK. REMOVED FROM THE FIELD OF COMBAT FORTY-THREE YEARS AFTER THE BATTLE

# THE GOSHEN COMPANY AT MINISINK

BY JOSEPH W. GOTT

WE have assembled here today to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Minisink. We are standing on the very spot where the fighting was the bloodiest and where the battle was probably finished. There under Hospital Rock for over forty years lay the bones of Colonel Tusten and at least sixteen of the little band that successfully defended this spot until their ammunition was exhausted and they died under the attack of a superior force of Indians and Tories.

Later history records the unsuccessful efforts of their families and friends to find their remains in the vast wilderness that then comprised and surrounded the ill-fated battlefield. In 1822, their tardy descendants were able to gather together all that remained of over forty of the slain and inter them under a monument in old Goshen from which most of them had come. It was a sad and pitiful homecoming after nearly a half century of absence. But they were laid at rest almost under the shadow of the old Presbyterian Church, where thirty-three widows are said to have assembled weekly to mourn their loss and seek the consolation that religion alone can give. There were other brave men at Minisink besides the men of Goshen, and all honor to the memory of each and every one of them.

But history records that a majority of the men who fought and died there were from the old Goshen Regiment. That regiment had already passed through the ordeal of a bloody battle at Fort Montgomery where the patriots were outnumbered at least three to one. There they had lost their Colonel Allison and many of their officers and privates. Their dead in that battle lay long unburied amid

the rocks of Bear Mountain or the swamps at its base. Their colonel and many others of their number lay in British Prison Ships pining for freedom and home.

And then came the descent upon the Minisink country of Colonel Joseph Brant, an Indian and a commissioned officer in the British service, with his little army of Indians and Tories.

The Minisink country was a somewhat indefinite name given to the whole region along the Delaware and Neversink rivers and extending probably from the Lackawaxen ford down the Delaware River Valley and far into New Jersey.

It was in the midst of the Revolutionary War and the Minisink country was on the borderland between the settlements of the American colonists and the lands that the Indians had possessed for centuries and which they believed belonged to them.

Colonel Brant and his force entered this region and attacked the little settlement, then called Minisink, and burned many of its buildings and killed several of its inhabitants and drove off their cattle. Some historians locate the destroyed settlement at Cuddebackville, some at Port Jervis, some farther down the river, and some east of the Neversink. It seems to be now impossible to attempt to locate it precisely. It is sufficient to know that the settlement was in the Minisink country and was partly destroyed by Colonel Brant's force.

One historian states that two young people of the Cuddeback family and a negro boy hurried on foot to Goshen by way of Finchville, Denton, and Phillipsburgh, and brought the news of the destruction of Minisink Village by Brant.

If this is correct, these children were the Paul Reveres of Minisink. A poet might well be inspired to use his genius to picture the hurried journey of these children to seek help for the border settlement where they lived.

Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Tusten was the ranking

officer of the Goshen Regiment (Colonel Allison being still in captivity so far as I can find out). He was a young doctor about thirty-six years of age and successfully practicing his profession at Goshen. There came the news of Brant's raid and the sudden call from Minisink, for help. Colonel Tusten hastily gathered together what he could of the remnants of the Goshen Regiment to go to the rescue of their Minisink neighbors. It must be kept in mind that these men were not professional soldiers but militia men taken from many peaceful occupations, probably in the main from the farms and village places of business.

In spite of the terrible fate of many of this regiment at Fort Montgomery, the survivors of that battle responded to the call of Colonel Tusten and assembled near their beloved church. Their patriotic pastor, Dr. Ker, exhorted them to go forth and fight for the freedom of their country. The scanty records and traditions seem to show that they started hurriedly at midnight and with a supply of ammunition that proved utterly insufficient for the fierce work ahead of them. Perhaps the ammunition they took was all that was available in the neighborhood. Powder and ball were scarce articles at that time.

Tradition also says that the first part of their journey was on horseback, and that each rider had a boy with him who brought back his horse later on.

The Tusten party was afterwards joined by Colonel Hathorn of the Warwick Regiment, and some men from Warwick; Hathorn then becoming the commanding officer. By the time that they arrived in the Minisink country, Brant had gone up the river and was trying to reach the ford near Lackawaxen and cross the river with his plunder.

The colonists were then joined by some of the brave men of the Minisink country who did their part in the pursuit and the battle. All of the colonists who actually hazarded their lives in this adventure were *brave*, but some were

*rash* and unfortunately the counsels of the rash prevailed, as they often do.

Looking back after the passage of a century and a half since the Minisink fight, we can now see clearly that the pursuit of Brant was rash. He and his Indians and Tories had retreated and gone far away and the Minisink country was safe at least for such time as would allow the colonists to get reinforcements and sufficient ammunition for a battle if there must be one. The colonists evidently did not know the strength of the enemy and the enemy was rapidly retreating through a country that Indians knew how to utilize for fighting purposes better than our militia could know.

But the natural desire of revenge for destroyed settlements and the fire of battle prevailed. They must already have been tired out with the long and hurried march from Goshen. And yet on the next day they started on another march of probably more than twenty miles, plunging through a wilderness of woods and mountains in pursuit of a band of Indians and Tories who were led by perhaps the ablest Indian of his day, and one who knew how to use the woods and mountains in warfare much better than the colonists.

I have read, I think, most of the printed accounts of the Battle of Minisink. They do not agree in many particulars, and I have not the time nor the inclination to attempt to reconcile them. I gather that Brant saw the colonists coming and flanked them by a hasty detour through the woods and struck them somewhere near the middle of their line as they marched along. I also gather that when Brant struck the middle of the colonial line and so cut it in two, the rear part of the colonial force probably took no further part in the fight, and the front part was left to fight it out alone with the enemy. The rest of the colonists made their stand *on this spot* and fought for hours until their powder was exhausted and they probably died here almost to the last man.

After reading many different accounts of the battle, I would judge that the number on each side was approximately one hundred or less if the colonists could all have got into action, but Brant's generalship was too much for them.

We could not come here today to celebrate a victory, nor do we mourn the death in a brave fight of men who would have had to die in the course of nature a century ago if they had not been in this battle, men of Goshen and the others, but we are assembled to pay tribute to the memory of those who died near the Lackawaxen ford for the defense of their neighbors and the freedom of their country.

In 1859, when old John Brown rashly tried to free the slaves and paid the penalty of his rashness on the scaffold, he hastened the abolition of slavery.

I remember in my boyhood how the whole North sang "John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave, but his soul goes marching on." The bodies of the men who died at Minisink have laid moldering in their graves for more than a century, but their souls have gone marching on in the triumphal procession of patriotic spirits who led the way to the independence and prosperity of our great nation.

I am proud that my own grandfather carried a musket in the Revolution and that I have Tusten blood in my veins.

I do not love war, but the Revolutionary War was unavoidable and its result is its justification.

As I look back over the facts, I feel that the old Goshen Regiment suffered at Fort Montgomery and Minisink perhaps as severely as any militia regiment in service anywhere.

The men of Minisink and Fort Montgomery died that the United States of America might become a reality.

In closing let me paraphrase two lines of Julia Ward Howe's immortal *Battle Hymn of the Republic*:

As Christ died to make men Holy;  
So they died to make men Free.

ELIZABETH DE CRISSEY VAN DUZER



DAUGHTER OF MR. AND MRS. GEORGE R. VAN DUZER,  
OF WARWICK, N. Y., WHO UNVEILED THE TABLET ON  
THE BATTLEFIELD MONUMENT AT THE COMMEMORA-  
TION OF THE SESQUICENTENNIAL OF THE BATTLE OF  
MINISINK, JULY 22, 1929



## WARWICK MEN AT MINISINK

BY HON. GEORGE F. KETCHUM

I THINK they were few, and with good reason. Warwick militiamen had various duties in the war. Some were detailed to help hold Fort Montgomery and were serving around Newburgh and in the highlands above Stony Point. While there are pension records showing service of Warwick militiamen in the trenches of the Ramapo pass, there seems to be no record of Orange County men with General Wayne at Stony Point, where picked men of the regular line were selected, as Washington had a natural dislike to use militiamen when southern riflemen were available because of the short enlistments and the independence of the militia. Warwick men also helped guard the region about the Sterling Iron Works, that being in Warwick territory.

On July 21st, just as a rider came in with news of Indian raids and massacres at Minisink, Colonel Hathorn received a peremptory order from Washington to send one hundred men to guard British prisoners on their way to Easton.

Dividing his forces to meet each emergency, he tried to rally three companies for the relief of Minisink, but the men not being available, he met Colonel Tusten of Goshen and Major Meeker of New Jersey, on the banks of the Delaware with only a few Warwick men. That is the record. The total force of Colonials when Hathorn took command was one hundred and twenty, including officers.

Hathorn joined with Tusten in counseling delay, thinking it would be rash and foolhardy to chase the Indians into the forest and give battle on ground of their own choosing. He was for delay, better organization, more men, and a better chance to win. But yielding to Major Meeker and some of his rash followers, the Colonials advanced and fell into a forest trap, were flanked and divided by a superior

force and by Brant's superior woodcraft fighting. Had Washington been in charge he might not have listened to the counsels of the foolhardy. He would probably have protected the Minisink country from further devastation and taken his time to punish Brant and his Indian marauders; for Washington's strategy at times,—opportune times,—included the application of the old military saw—"He who fights and runs away, may live to fight another day," and win.

But Hathorn's forces were not completely routed as has been written. He recovered some of the stolen cattle and returned them to their owners at Minisink. If ammunition had not run short, he might have won the Battle of Minisink.

I do not see the justice of criticisms leveled against that portion of Rathorn's command which, cut off from the main body, did not rally and try to retrieve the situation. Perhaps they did try. Unfortunately, they had no Sheridan, nor a Mad Anthony Wayne, among them to lead demoralized and scattered soldiers to victory. Naturally supposing all was lost, their officers being on the other side of the Indian wedge, they scattered and fled.

The honor roll of the dead on the Minisink monument at Goshen bears no name of any one absolutely certain to be from Warwick. Two names were added one hundred and thirty-six years after the battle at the suggestion and on proof furnished by Mrs. Mary H. Barrell, a genealogical searcher of New York, and of Warwick ancestry,—Timothy Barber, in General Hathorn's regiment; Joseph Rider, in Colonel Allison's regiment. Barber may have been a Warwickian,—some say he came from Edinville, but we are not certain. But Mrs. Barrell suspects he came from the noted Barber family of Newburgh. Joseph Rider was of Rockland, and Riders still live at Valley Cottage there. It is known and recorded that Robert Armstrong of Florida, an aide to Hathorn, was in the Minisink battle and survived.

Colonel Hathorn was Warwick's chief contribution to the Revolutionary cause. Of distinguished ancestry, he came to Warwick from Wilmington, Del., as a surveyor, working on the New York-New Jersey boundary line. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Welling the first, settled there and became the most prominent citizen of Warwick. After the war he was elected to the state assembly eight times; was speaker of the assembly and elected Senator for four terms; member of Congress for two terms. He was commissioned as Captain, Colonel, Brigadier, and Major-General. He was a confidential correspondent of Governor Clinton and President Washington.

But this accomplished man and patriot died poor, so his neighbors affirm. William W. Pelton, son of a neighbor and friend, in a paper written on General Hathorn in 1903, states that Hathorn was a very good business man, but that he was "ruined financially through no fault of his own; and that when Lafayette visited this country and held a reception at Newburgh, General Hathorn was very anxious to meet him, but could not go because of his shabby clothes,—and it was said he wept because of his bitter disappointment. The neighbors said afterward if they had known about it they would gladly have furnished him with clothes and the means to go."

## INDIANS AT THE COMMEMORATION



CHIEF JESSE LYONS, AN ONONDAGA; PERCY SMOKE,  
A CAYUGA; ALEC CLUTE, A SENECA; EMERSON  
WATERMAN, AN ONEIDA

# THE RAID AND BATTLE OF MINISINK

ISSUES OF SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN

BY HORACE E. TWICHELL

ONE Cæsar, wearing a victor's crown, comes down to us through the ages: a thousand Cæsars are stripped of their laurels and die unhonored and unsung.

If Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's diary had not recently been found, we, his posterity, would still be demanding why he did not reinforce General Hathorn in the Battle of Minisink.

The Honorable Wm. J. Groo, standing here fifty years ago today as the orator of the occasion, declared, "If the fifty men, cut off at the beginning of the battle were within supporting distance and made no effort to aid their imperiled brothers, let us hope the earth opened and swallowed them up." But no one who has read of the conflicts between the famous New York Regiment and the Tory guerillas, known as Butler's Rangers, can question Colonel Van Cortlandt's bravery.

When those Tory raiders ravaged and burned Fantine Kill and Woodstock, they would have followed the Old Mine Road and extended their depredations all through the Minisink Valley, if Van Cortlandt and his brave followers had not put them to flight.

One statement from the Colonel's diary furnishes a sequel to his failure to reinforce Hathorn on the battlefield. In speaking of Brant's raid on Minisink and the pursuit to Lackawaxen, he says, "While leaning against a pine tree, waiting for my men to come up, Brant ordered a rifle Indian to kill me; but he overshot me, the ball passing three inches above my head." Here was a commander's life in

jeopardy and his regiment, according to the report of Hathorn, cut off from the main body and retreating into the woods. They evidently became involved in the rescue of the stock at the Ford after they had shot the horse-thief leader, riding a horse stolen from Minisink. This may have been the cause of separation of command and commander. In another part of the report to Governor Clinton, Hathorn states, "The officers who had lost their command naturally drew toward me."

This report of Van Cortlandt to Hathorn was probably the first knowledge the Continental Army had received that the wary Brant had countermarched and was threatening their rear, after intercepting the Second New York Regiment and putting them to flight.

It was surely the same old game the Iroquois chief had learned of Sir William Johnston at the Battle of Niagara, when that Fort was wrested from the French. It was the same stratagem he failed to accomplish at General Sullivan's Battle of Newtown, when he cut off General Reed's Regiment and would have annihilated the entire scout if Colonel Dearborn had not flown to their assistance. General Clinton, too, rushed forward to Gansevoort and DuBois to turn the tide of battle.

The saddest tragedy of Sullivan's campaign in which Lieutenant Boyd and Captain Michael Parker became sacrifices for the vengeance of the Onondaga Nation, was accomplished by the old alluring Iroquois game of charge and retreat. But those two unfortunate officers were not the only sacrifices placed on the altar by the three hundred avengers of the Onondaga Nation.

The torch that was applied at Minisink and the blood that cries from the ground on which we are standing, the charred bodies in the ashes of the burned homes of Fantine Kill and Woodstock and the defenseless prisoners forced into captivity among savages, attest the atrocities of border

warfare in connection with the issues of Sullivan's campaign.

If that campaign were to be ordered at the present time, with our inventions for conveying intelligence and highways for transportation, the results would be very different. The raid and battle of Minisink could have been prevented if Sullivan had not been so long delayed in building bridges along the Lehigh River; for he arrived at Wyoming the very day of this sanguinary conflict, within sixty miles of this battlefield. If his army had arrived a few days sooner at Wyoming, he could have sent a powerful force against Brant over the old original Mail Trail, by way of Wyoming, Little Meadows, Wallenpaupack, Lord's Valley, Blooming Grove, Shohola Falls, and Milford, which Benjamin Franklin established a decade before with a delivery of two mails a month. This was the trail over which the suffering refugees fled after the Wyoming massacre. It was the only way of retreat from the pioneer settlement. It was the trail over which the doner of the Goshen Minisink Monument, Dr. Merrit H. Cash, as a small boy, fled with his mother after his father had fallen a victim to Queen Esther's tomahawk, or some other savage weapon at Wyoming, the year before.

As Colonel Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment was a contingent of Sullivan's Army and carried an order from General Washington to proceed with General Hand, the trained Indian fighter, who joined the expedition at Wyoming, there can be no doubt that he turned the faces of his retreating forces toward Wyoming. It is evident he joined Sullivan's forces, because his regiment marched against Painted Post after the intrenchment near Elmira had been carried.

Goodrich, in his history of Wayne County, tells about a fierce battle fought at Little Meadows this same summer, on his mail trail against the Indians after they had burned the town, but fails to record who the white men were, only

that one Stanton returned to the battlefield in the fall of 1779 and gathered and buried the bones in a trench on the site.

A high mound near the battleground was pointed out to the passerby as the common sepulcher of the dead for nearly a century after the sad affair.

Goodrich's history of Wayne County tells of a seven-mile swamp on this pioneer trail called, "The Shades of Death." This appalling appellation originated on account of a child being lost from the fleeing pioneers after the massacre. In searching this swamp others became lost and perished or were devoured by wild animals. Another incident of suffering by the pioneers of Orange County was when one of Washington's "Minute Men," Henry Reynolds, was attacked by the "Cow Boy Guerilla Band" near Smith's Cove. The first attempt to gain an entrance to the patriot's home was down the chimney of the fireplace, when a featherbed thrown on the fire caused the foe to retreat. A second attempt, however, was successful when the band claimed they were a scout from Washington's Army searching for deserters. Reynolds hastily unbarred the door and in the light of the fireplace was immediately felled to the floor by a blow from the butt of a pistol. They then produced a rope and in the presence of his family hanged him on the trammel-pole of the fireplace; but soon left to search the premises for plunder and his daughter, Phebe, a girl of twelve, cut the rope and resuscitated her father. When the band came back, they not only wounded Reynolds, but Phebe, who tried to shield her father, and who carried two scars to her grave as a witness of her heroism. They then strung their victim up the second time, set fire to the house, and fled as they were informed that a scout of Continentals were pursuing them. Phebe Reynolds proved herself a true heroine of the occasion by cutting the rope a second time and extinguishing the fire, thus saving her father's life, who,



although suffering from many wounds, recovered and lived to see his country freed. The notorious band was pursued into the mountains, and their leader, Benjamin Kelley, was fatally shot. Claudius Smith, his successor, was hanged at Goshen five months from the date of the Minisink Battle and the remainder of the marauding gang was surprised by a detachment from Washington's Army and exterminated a short time afterward.

As in the battle of Waterloo, so in Sullivan's expedition, "some one blundered." General Sullivan was not to blame. Ordering Colonel Van Schaick to burn the Onondaga Indian towns, on the petition of their enemies, the Tuscororas, so long before Sullivan's Army reached the seat of the trouble, proved to be an error in some commander's judgment, for it irritated a treacherous enemy and gave them time and opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the defenseless settlements of which Minisink and other Orange and Ulster towns suffered most. It bereft them of so many eminent citizens, who could not well be spared in that critical period of American history. It was a case of poking the hornets' nest to help "Old Dog Tray" fight hornets. If a guard had been stationed on the frontier, with orders to act on the defensive only, until General Sullivan's forces were ready to storm the Iroquois stronghold, there is no question but the scenes of pillage and bloodshed in the Minisink Valley might have been averted and the Revolutionary history of Orange, Ulster, and Sullivan would portray a brighter aspect to the posterity of a worthy ancestry.

The British Crown took every advantage for the subjection of the colonies, even offering rewards for the capture of the American officers. After a reward of one hundred pounds had been offered for Colonel John Seward, grandfather of Lincoln's war secretary, a spy came galloping into his lane on a cadaverous-looking horse, using an old rope for a halter, dismounted within hailing distance, saluted the

Colonel, and shouted, "I have a message from General Washington to deliver to Colonel John Seward!" The old patriot took in the situation at a glance and flying into a rage answered, "General Washington never sent a messenger on such an old nag as that, to deliver a message to me. Just wait a moment for your answer." When the spy saw the colonel rush in the house after his rifle he, concluding actions speak louder than words, remounted and sought to escape; but before he reached the end of the lane there was a sharp rifle report and a spy had reached the end of his career.

General John Hathorn's capture about the same time was threatened and his friends placed his home under guard while the enemy was in the vicinity.

Every war has its tragedies, which should teach us, as a peace-loving people, to cherish arbitration that has so successfully left its impress on this period of American history. When we place a human soul in the scriptural balance and estimate the value according to the teachings of our Divine Lord, gold and jewels, honor and fame, sink into insignificance; for He taught that the gain of the whole world would not recompense the loss of a soul. Let the advocates of war exchange places for a moment with Lieutenant Boyd and Captain Parker of Sullivan's riflemen, whose tragic deaths by torture are too revolting to appear in print. The savages avenged on these two unfortunate officers not only the burning of their towns, etc., but the deaths of all killed in the battle of Newtown.

Human life at this present day is far below par, when a gunman can be hired for a few dollars and a drink of rum to waylay and slaughter an offending victim. Our laws at the present time are too lenient and our lawmakers too often forget the iron-clad oath to the Constitution.

We need more men in our legislatures today of the stamina of the Revolutionary patriots, who could not be

bribed by gold or honor, who would not barter their American birthright for a mess of pottage.

Many sons of old Orange have made an enviable record in the Revolutionary struggle for liberty. General John Hathorn, who, after winning fame on many battlefields, among them the one on which we stand today, stamped the insignia of his character on many of our laws and added honor to many legislative assemblies. Captain Abraham Cuddeback, the hero of Fort Montgomery, who, even after the Fort was taken, and his command had deserted their post, stood a hero in the midst of the wreckage of the battle guard over the massive river chain. He was personally commended by Washington for bravery. Colonel Benjamin Tusten, whose blood was mingled with the dust beneath our feet, because he chose to die with his wounded rather than betray a trust, deserves our highest tribute of praise. Yonder Hospital Rock, beneath whose shadow he gave his last full measure of devotion, stands a monument to his memory. Major Wood, the only survivor of the prisoners, in his diary describes that last struggle for supremacy. He wrote with a trembling hand and a heart full of anguish, "I had the mortification of seeing several of my countrymen tomahawked, one cruelly dispatched along the way several days after the battle, probably to avenge the death of Brant's chief officer, 'Captain Jack' or 'Tuscorora John.' "

This chief was mortally wounded in battle and died along the Susquehanna River on the way back to Niagara. Wood was driven as a prisoner, stripped of most of his clothing, with two Indians before and three behind him, over the same route General Sullivan's army followed a few days later from Tioga Point. The major was hustled out of Chemung town and made to run several miles under an Indian guard because an alarm was sounded that the American army was approaching.

This same alarm planned the ambush of which Sullivan

lost six men killed and nine wounded, for the Indians surprised Captain Bush's company who was sent to destroy the Indian town of Chemung. They were the first casualties of the campaign. Major Wood, who owed his life to pledges of Masonry, came back to Goshen after the war. He had been a prisoner at St. John's, Canada, and at Fort Niagara. The major, as well as Colonel Stacy of Cherry Valley, had been a prisoner there nearly a year. Both agreed that the only mistake Sullivan and Clinton made was that they did not take their howitzers a few miles farther and knock down the walls of that horrid dungeon, and liberate the poor suffering prisoners there. That prison was the bone of contention between the English and the French until 1759 and for many years after the stronghold of Tory raiders, who, with their savage allies, plundered and murdered and burned at will on the frontier. The captive school children of Minisink who wept beside their murdered teacher, the thirty-three widows in the Goshen congregation and the hungry orphans, who wept for fathers who never returned, experienced the anguish, which is only a matter of history to their posterity. Let us be thankful, then, for this goodly heritage we, as American citizens, possess today, for which our forefathers paid the price in treasure and blood.

Those were dark days for the struggling forefathers of Orange and Ulster, and we, their posterity, are today entered into the fruits of their labors. Let us safeguard the sacred trust, confided to our keeping. There is a fierce conflict today asserting itself through the agencies of the underworld against the strong arm of law, which we as Americans should not only expose and discourage, but use our best officers and influence to accomplish its overthrow.

Let us, as true citizens, stand by our honored President in his efforts to restrain vice and at the same time administer justice impartially. Let us like true soldiers of Joshua's army uphold his hands. Then will the sun stand still in mid-heaven, until this fair land of ours emerge from the

shadowy past with starry brightness into a resplendent future, dedicated to a due respect for law and order and an honest and faithful administration of government.

Citizens and Christians, it remains for you  
To stand by the colors, to the flag be true.  
If we pledge our allegiance to the Red, White and Blue,  
Victory will come at last.

# HENRY A. VAN FREDENBERG



AUTHOR OF POEM, "MINISINK BATTLEFIELD"

# CHARLES H. TURNER



READER OF POEM WRITTEN BY HENRY A. VAN  
FREDENBERG

## “MINISINK BATTLEFIELD”

(WRITTEN BY HENRY A. VAN FREDENBERG AND READ BY  
CHARLES H. TURNER)

IN the days of pioneering,  
When our newly-born Republic  
Struggled in the wildernesses  
With the forces fierce of nature,  
With the fiercer human forces,  
History was in the making  
In these sunny upland places.  
Here the white men clashed and battled  
With the red men of the forests,  
Bows and arrows, ruse and ambush,  
Scalping knives and battle axes,  
Wit and woodlore, flawless courage,  
Set against the white men's weapons,  
Guns and powder belching thunder,  
Set against the white men's courage.  
Steeled through countless generations  
On the wide world's fields of struggle  
With the denizen of the jungles,  
With the nomads of the deserts,  
With the ape men of the forests,  
With the whelming things of nature,  
Cold and heat, thirst and hunger,  
Till they knew not fear or failing.

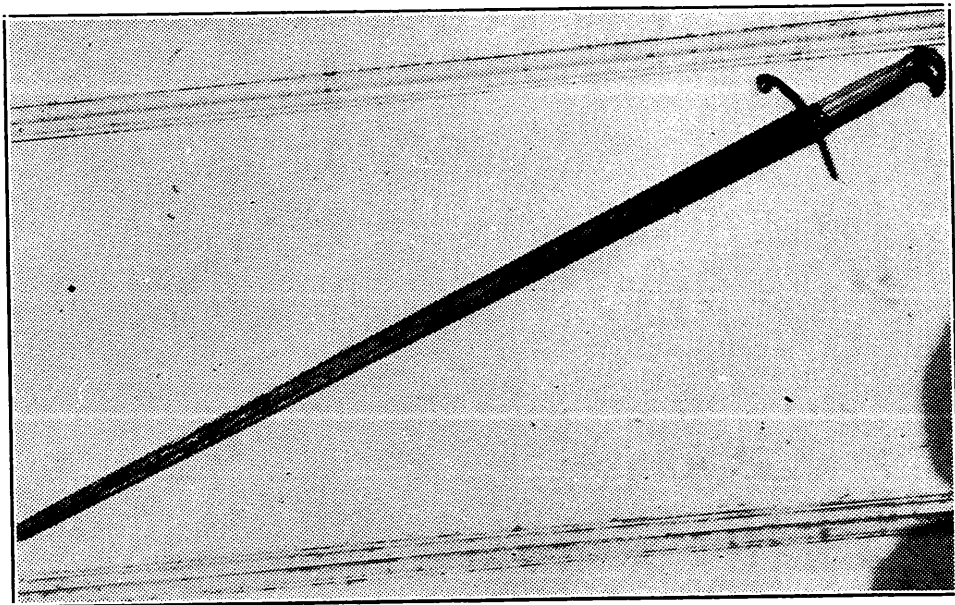
Here the races came to clashing,  
Here were fought ferocious battles,  
And the red men won and lost them,  
And the tyrant hand of Europe  
From two continents was lifted  
Never more to lead the red man

Into strife against the white men  
Who were founding here a People.  
Two great states here, neighbors friendly,  
Two bright streams here, mingle currents,  
Delaware named of the white men,  
Lackawaxen of the red men,  
And the larger, true to nature,  
Here absorbs the fated smaller,  
And the two as one great current  
Flow and babble, sing and chatter,  
Halt and eddy, wind and sparkle,  
To the southward fleetly flowing,  
Ever mirroring the mountains,  
Southward wending to the ocean  
They arise and come as vapor  
Once again to flow as rivers  
Mid their loved and beauteous mountains.

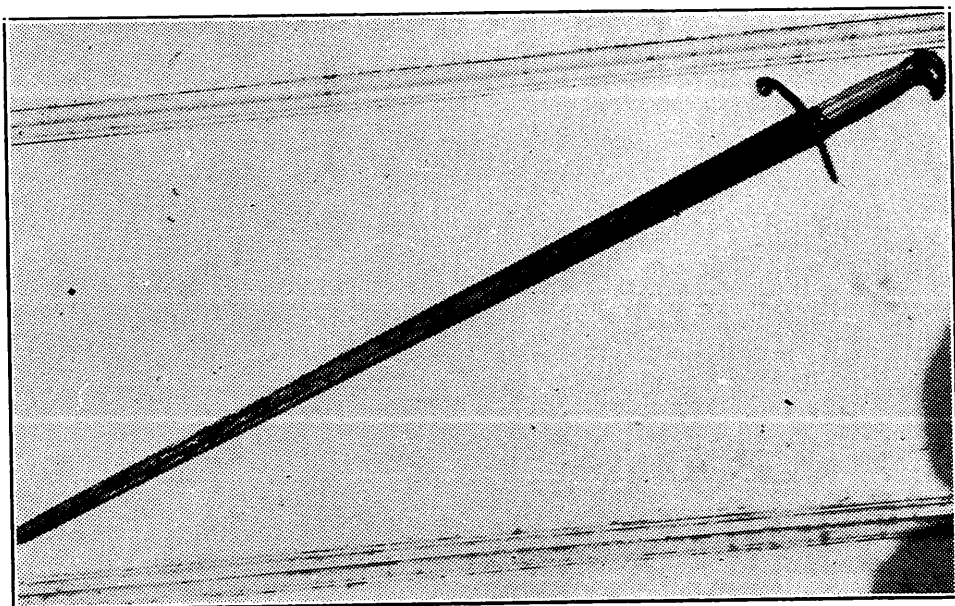
So the two great races human,  
Dauntless red men, hardy white men,  
Met upon these rocky ridges,  
Met and merged as merge the rivers  
Delaware and Lackawaxen;  
Mingled and became one people,  
Journeyed down the stream of ages  
Countless in unmeasured spaces.  
Shall they come again as spirits,  
As the rivers come as vapor,  
Come to see how stand the mountains  
Where they fought their final battle?

Now we scan the Soldier Roster  
Of the bloody days so fateful.  
Valiant shades come, hover o'er us,  
Answer to our loving roll call—  
Trusten, Tyler, Vail and Duncan,

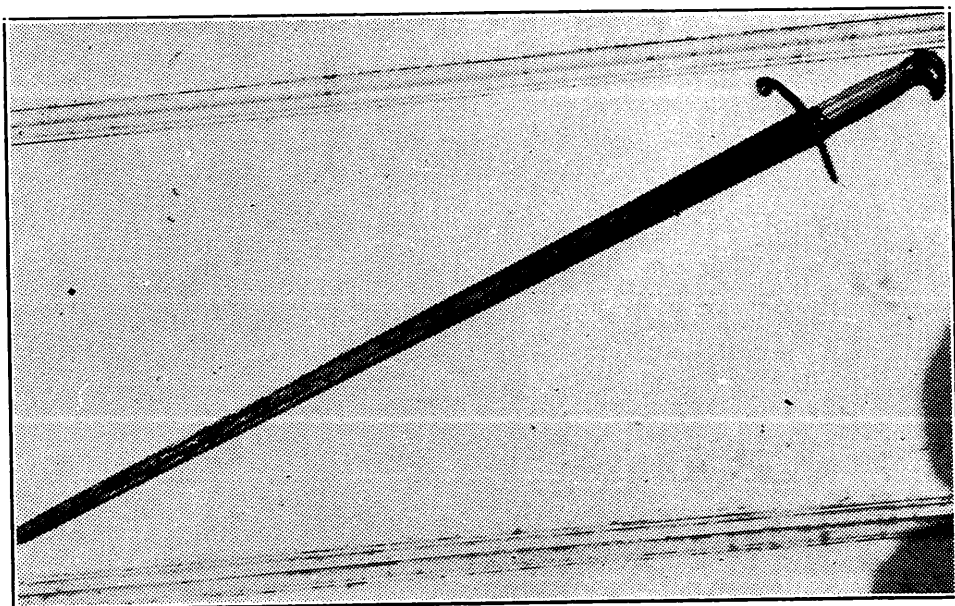




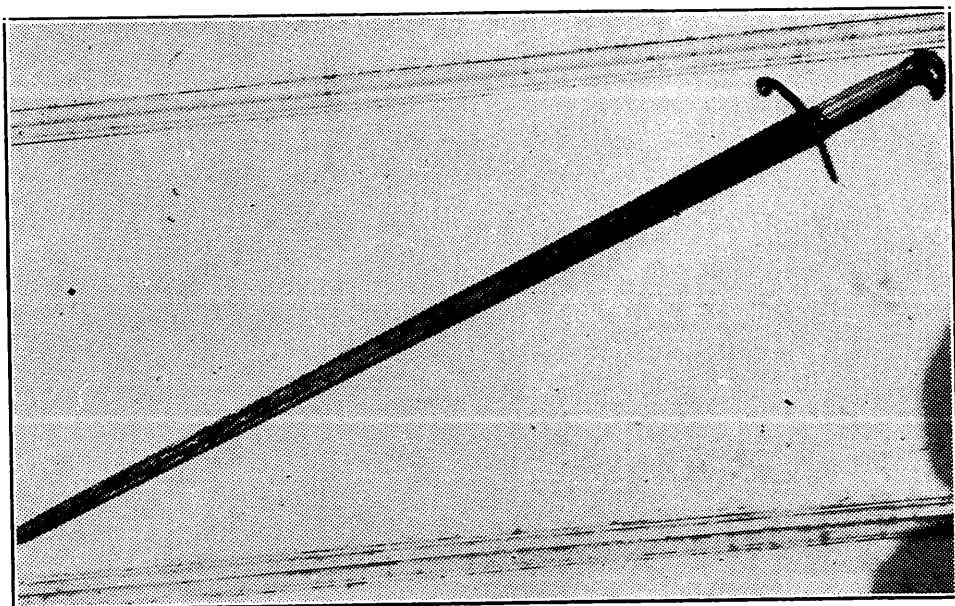
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CRISSEY VAN DUZER AT THE UNVEILING OF THE TAB-  
LET ON THE MONUMENT ON THE MINISINK BATTLE-  
FIELD, JULY 22, 1929



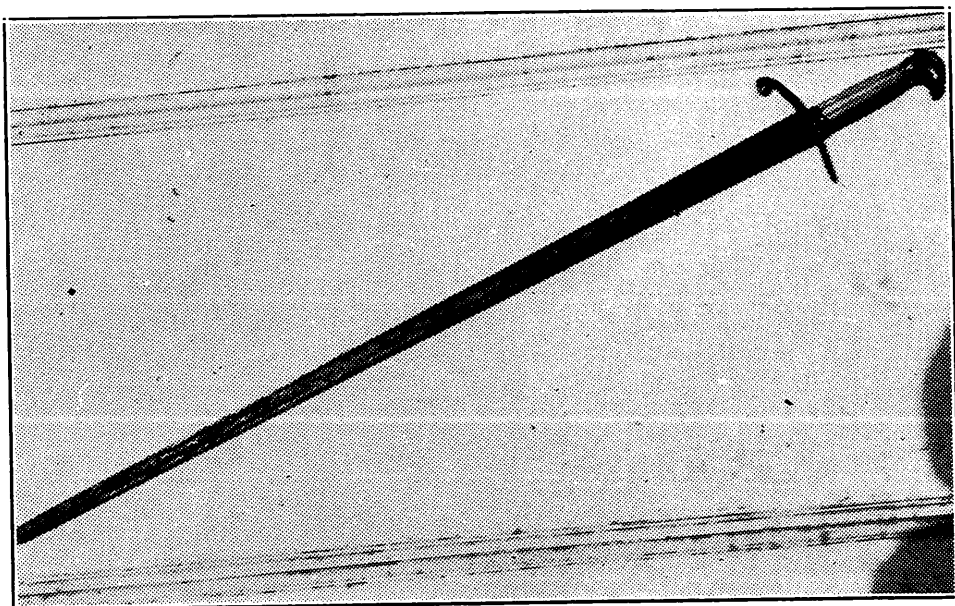
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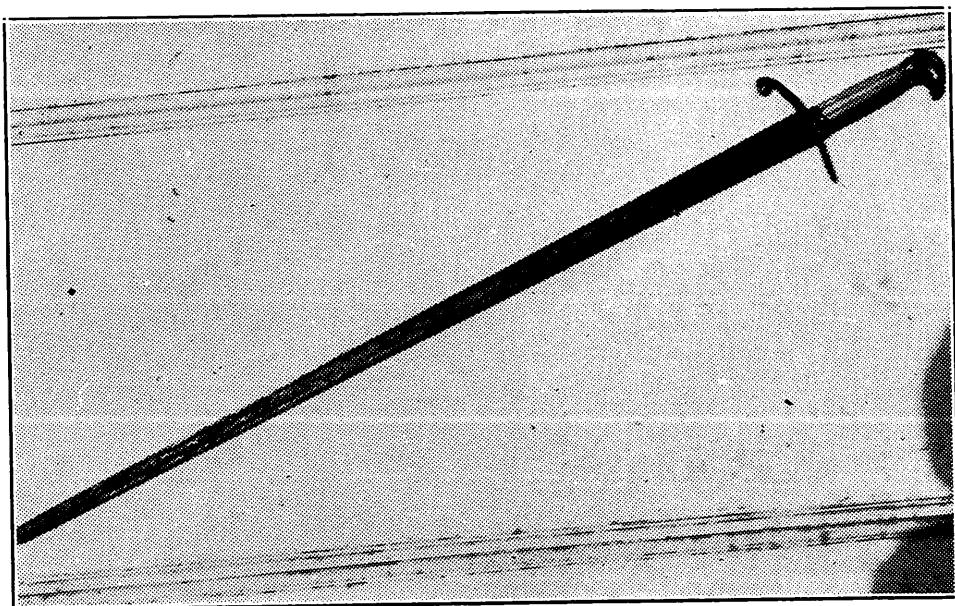
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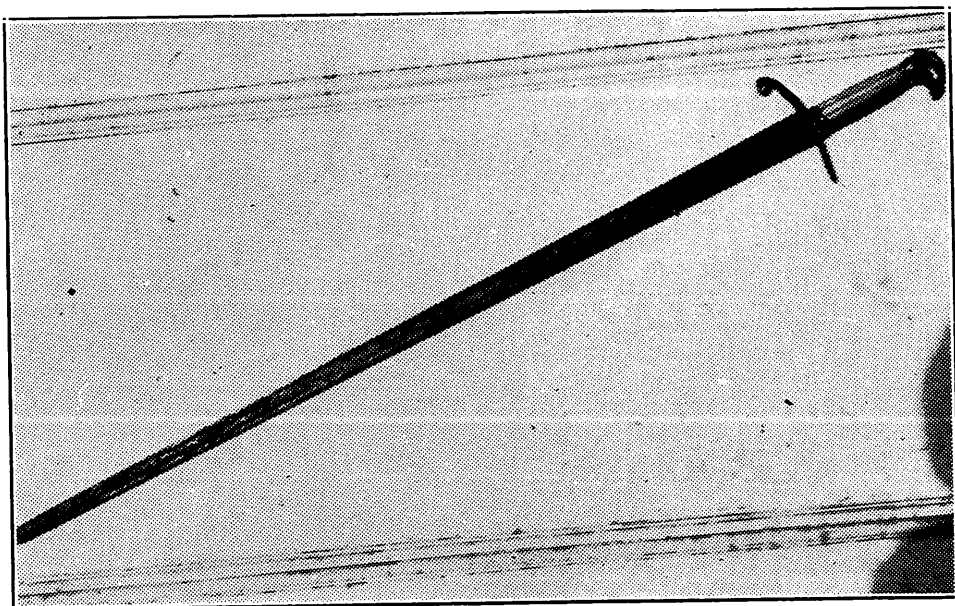
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