

A Place Called Home: Dispossession and Remembrance of a Central NY Landscape

By

L. Dean Bruno

Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

History

August 31, 2018

Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:

Daniel H. Usner, Jr., Ph.D.

Jane G. Landers, Ph.D.

Michael Bess, Ph.D.

Matthew Morse Booker, Ph.D.

COPYRIGHT © 2018 by L. Dean Bruno
All Rights Reserved

Dedication

To my parents, Louis and Donna Bruno, for encouraging me to lean into the wind and trod my own path. To my loving wife, Liz, with whom I gratefully share the journey.

And to the people of Kendaia – past, present, and future.

Acknowledgement

With gratitude to my committee members, Michael Bess, Matthew Booker, Jane Landers, and especially to my advisor, Daniel Usner, Jr., for their guidance, questions, and encouragement.

My deepest appreciation to Phyllis Button, Kenneth Dean, Aletha Hicks and Ed Montford, for sharing their thoughts and memories, and to Walt Gable, Seneca County Historian, for his generosity and support.

My thanks to Vanderbilt University for research support from the Herbert and Blanche Henry Weaver Summer Research Fellowship, and the William Campbell Binkley Graduate Education Research Award. This dissertation greatly benefited from the opportunity to interact with faculty and fellow graduate students at the Newberry Library Consortium in American Indian Studies, Graduate Workshop: Cartography and Spatial Analysis in American Indian Studies, and the Newberry Library Consortium in American Indian Studies, Summer Institute: Territory, Commemoration, and Monument - Indigenous & Settler Histories of Place and Power.

Finally, a salute to the professional staff members and volunteers that patiently answered my countless queries and were invaluable in locating archival records at the following institutions: Tioga County Historical Society and Museum, Chemung Valley History Museum (especially Rachel Dworkin), Romulus Historical Society (especially Yvonne Greule), Seneca Falls Historical Society, Ontario County Historical Society, Geneva Historical Society, Brown University Library, New York State Historical Association and Research Library, The History Center in Tompkins County, Cornell University Library - Rare and Manuscript Collections, Jean and Alexander Heard Libraries at Vanderbilt University, and the D.H. Hill Library at North Carolina State University.

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
List of Figures	v
Introduction.....	1
Chapter One: “That the Country May Not Be Merely Overrun, But Destroyed”	16
Chapter Two: “Came to Kendaia, Destroyed It”	37
Chapter Three: “Barbarians in 1779, Civilization in 1879”	78
Chapter Four: “They Have Treated Us Like a Lot of Okies”	118
Epilogue: White Deer and the Contested Landscape of the Former Depot	152
Bibliography:	163

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Map of Seneca Army Depot	2
Figure 2.	Haudenosaunee homelands	5
Figure 3.	Seneca Army Depot, Base Entrance.....	8
Figure 4.	Seneca Army Depot, Aerial Photograph of Munitions Bunkers	10
Figure 5.	White Deer at the Seneca Army Depot	11
Figure 6.	Sign along Route 96, near the Seneca Army Depot	12
Figure 7.	Major General John Sullivan.....	25
Figure 8.	Sullivan Campaign Trail.....	37
Figure 9.	Areas of Fruit Production in New York	45
Figure 10.	Indian Apple Tree Still Standing Near Geneva, NY, in 1904	47
Figure 11.	The Military Tract Map by Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor General.....	65
Figure 12.	The 28 Townships of the New Military Tract	66
Figure 13.	New York First Regiment Bounty List	67
Figure 14.	Township of Romulus Lot List.....	69
Figure 15.	Township of Romulus Map (Township #11	71
Figure 16.	On The Way To The (Newtown) Battle-Field	78
Figure 17.	American Progress, John Gast, 1872.....	82
Figure 18.	Men Standing on Pile of Buffalo Skulls, Michigan Carbon Works	84
Figure 19.	Battle of Newtown Monument	93
Figure 20.	Lower Yellowstone Falls, Hayden Expedition to Yellowstone	98
Figure 21.	Elmira Prison Camp	103
Figure 22.	Sullivan Centennial Grand Stand	104
Figure 23.	“Tom Torlino, Navajo, before and after”	111

Figure 24.	“The Road Ahead”	121
Figure 25.	John Taber	123
Figure 26.	Letter to Ed Montford from the War Department	131
Figure 27.	Home of the Montford family, summer 1941	132
Figure 28.	Workers at the Seneca Army Depot construction site.....	134
Figure 29.	Map of Romulus and Varick townships prior to the Seneca Army Depot	135
Figure 30.	Map of Romulus and Varick townships after the Seneca Army Depot	136
Figure 31.	“Folks at Kendaia see their home taken for the Seneca Army Depot”	139
Figure 32.	Kendaia Baptist Church.....	140
Figure 33.	Model T Ford and other cars parked outside the Kendaia Church.....	142
Figure 34.	Residents enter the Kendaia Church as Seneca Depot Police look on	143
Figure 35.	Reverend Wagner preparing for the final service.....	143
Figure 36.	Kendaia Baptist Church final service	144
Figure 37.	Munitions Igloo Construction at the Seneca Army Depot.....	147
Figure 38.	Kendaia Historic Marker along NYS Route 96A.....	150
Figure 39.	White Does at Seneca Army Depot.....	152
Figure 40.	Seneca Army Depot, unofficial logo	155
Figure 41.	At Home, Seneca Army Depot.....	161

Introduction

D. W. Meinig, the noted historical geographer, wrote “Life must be lived amidst that which has been made before. Every landscape is an accumulation. The past endures.”¹ However, whoever controls the land not only determines how it is used, but also influences how its past is remembered or forgotten. Utilizing the grounds of the former Seneca Army Depot (Figure 1) in upstate New York as a lens, this dissertation investigates the diverse claims on this historic landscape, transformed by cycles of dispossession, and considers the significance of these conflicting accounts for those who once called this region home. In making claims of belonging, inhabitants constructed narratives about this physical place and cultural space that recounted how the land was gained, used, and remembered. These stories, which contained gaps and silences, were often more about how the people wanted to see themselves, than the actual terrain.

As the ancestral territory of the Seneca and Cayuga people of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (People of the Longhouse, Iroquois), this former colonial borderland, Revolutionary War battleground, farming community, World War II munitions depot, and Cold War nuclear weapons storage facility, is a militarized landscape that contains a dense accumulation of entangled histories. Forged by violence and dispossession, the region continues to be influenced by echoes of military and political conflict. This study examines the production of both local and official histories for this region and will traverse the multiple layers of memory and meaning imbued in these documents. Along with the written records, I will also analyze the

¹ D.W. Meinig, ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscape: Geographical Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) 44.

public memorials and commemorations that situated the land, and the people who claimed the land, within the broader narrative of national expansion and empire.

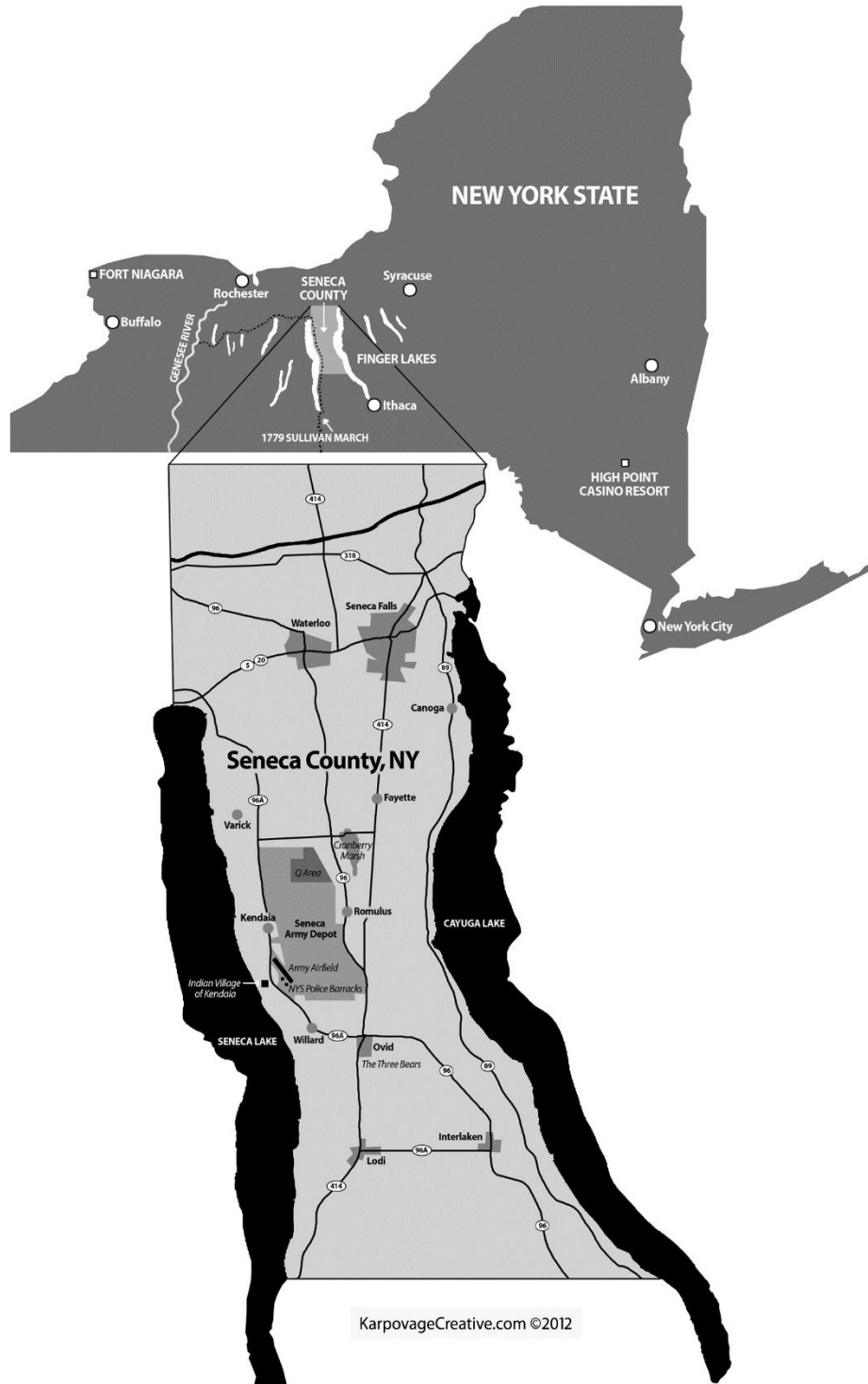


Figure 1: Map of the Seneca Army Depot, created by Michael Karpovage.

The limited geographical terrain of this study does not restrict its historical horizons. As Karen Halttunen argued, “Historians of America should be open to those times and places when local attachments, vernacular knowledge, and a powerful sense of place proved important to our subjects’ experiences.”² Accordingly, this analysis is more than local history or place-writing. During the past few years, scholars, including environmental historians, have increasingly recognized the role that military conflict and militarization often played in rural, isolated landscapes.³ In assessing cause, consequence, and change over time, this study will connect the micro of this particular locality to the macro scale of the larger historical stage. By recovering and reconstructing the past, works of microhistory focused on place can produce an “analytic narrative in which actual people as well as abstract forces shape events.”⁴

If, as the anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot contended, “any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences,” the embattled landscape of the former depot lends itself to provocative questions.⁵ What silences permeate the stories told about this landscape? How is its past remembered, individually and collectively? How do memories of the past shape perceptions of the present? Who owns the past? What conflicts persist between official representations of the past in public monuments and commemorations and those recounted in oral history and personal narratives? Why is it that we should remember painful pasts about the land? There is utility in what is told and not told. Memory is an act of creation and erasure. The significance of

² Karen Halttunen, “Grounded Histories: Land and Landscape in Early America,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (October 2011) 532.

³ For more on the militarization of rural landscapes see, Ryan Edginton, *Range Wars: The Environmental Contest for White Sands Missile Range* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014); John Westerlund, *Arizona’s War Town: Flagstaff Ordnance Depot and World War II* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); Gretchen Heefner, *The Missile Next Door: The Minuteman in the American Heartland* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Valerie L. Kuletz, *The Tainted Desert: Environmental and Social Ruin in the American West* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Edwin Martini, ed., *Proving Grounds: Militarized Landscapes, Weapons Testing, and the Environmental Impact of U.S. Bases* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2015), and Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

⁴ Richard Brown, “Microhistory and the Post-Modern Challenge,” *Journal of the Early American Republic*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 2003) 18.

⁵ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and Production in History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995) 27.

this contested terrain, and the role it played in the establishment and expansion of American empire, from the time of the American Revolution through the end of the Cold War, remains largely unexplored and untold.

Scholars of the Revolutionary War have extensively researched and analyzed the social, cultural, economic, and political transformation of settlers and colonists, but only recently have historians produced more inclusive narratives that consider the impact and consequences of the Revolutionary War on native peoples. Events along the early American frontiers are now being explored in a broader light, with a greater appreciation for the permeable nature of both personal and geographic boundaries. Historians, like Francis Jennings, Alan Taylor, Colin Calloway, Dan Richter, and James Merrell described the northeast borderlands as sites of both cooperation and conflict among settlers and Native Americans.⁶ Throughout the colonial period, the Haudenosaunee acted as allies or adversaries of the Dutch, French, British and Americans, and relationships were further complicated by internal conflicts and factions that often challenged the unity of the People of the Longhouse. During the American Revolutionary War, the Seneca and Cayuga people (western Haudenosaunee) sided with the British, while significant numbers of the Oneida and some Tuscarora (eastern Haudenosaunee) supported the American colonists.⁷ The desire to maintain control of local homelands, and the assessment of which of the two main

⁶ For more on northeast borderlands see, Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 2006); Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984); Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), and James Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiations on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999).

⁷ For more on the difficult geo-political choices the Haudenosaunee faced in the American Revolutionary War see, James Glatthaar and James Kirby Martin, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Karim Tiro, *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution through the Era of Removal* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); Timothy Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008); Laurence Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), and Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Knopf, 1970).

combatants in the war might further this goal, was a central factor for the internal division of the confederacy (Figure 2).

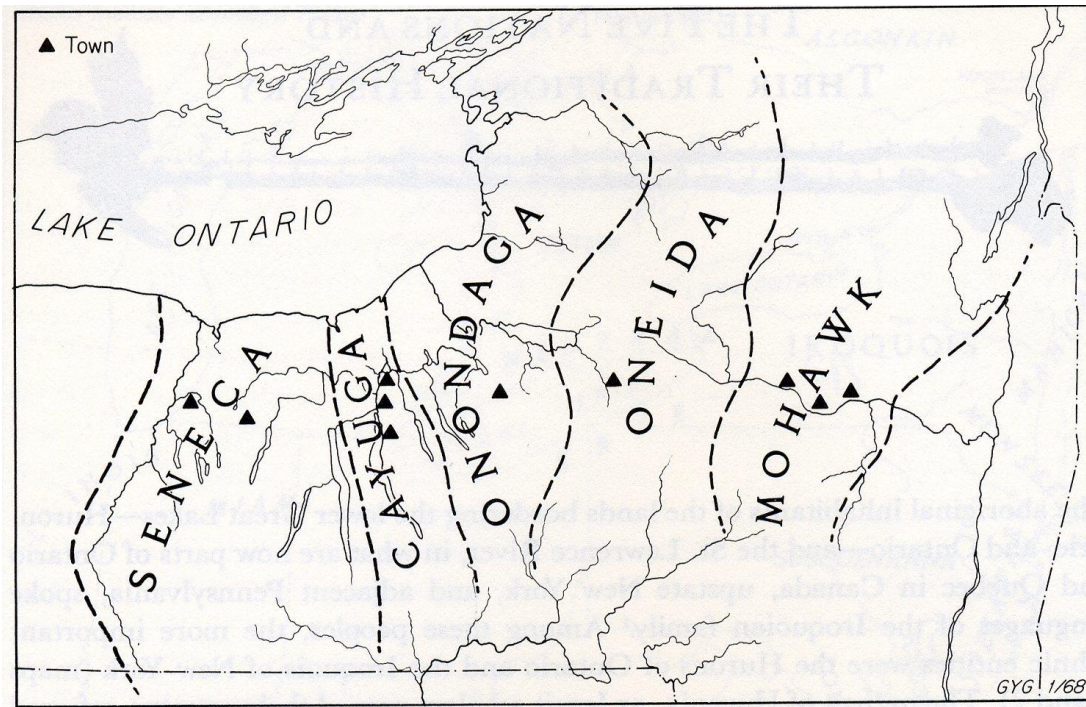


Figure 2: Haudenosaunee homelands. William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 4.

Chapter One will focus on the events during the late summer of 1779, when General George Washington ordered the U.S. Army’s first official expedition against native forces. Major General John Sullivan led a contingent of nearly 5000 Continental soldiers from staging points in Pennsylvania, into the homelands of the Seneca and Cayuga people. Acting under explicit orders from Washington, Sullivan torched Haudenosaunee villages and destroyed food supplies. Utilizing journals and correspondence from those who organized and served on the expedition, this chapter will investigate why Washington sent a significant portion of the Continental Army into unknown lands in pursuit of an elusive foe, and will also assess the challenges of logistics and supply for Sullivan’s forces. In addition, this section will describe

attempts by colonial officials to obtain rudimentary maps of Haudenosaunee territory and identify scouts capable of guiding the expedition. This initiative involved a clandestine struggle between British and colonial spy rings and information networks. The Sullivan Campaign, a little-known part of the American Revolution, was also a journey of exploration and discovery that transformed a once imagined place into a region envisioned by Euro-Americans as lands of opportunity and empire.

Chapter Two will examine how Continental soldiers reacted when they encountered the Seneca village of Kendaia (Appletown). Expecting to find natives living in squalor, the soldiers were dismayed to find a community with buildings and abundant apples orchards that the Seneca had planted and tended for decades. Kendaia challenged Euro-American preconceptions and claims of superiority. At the same time as Sullivan's cartographers painstakingly recorded knowledge of the territory, soldiers attempted to erase the community of Kendaia with fire and ax. This section will also include the story of how, after the Revolutionary War, Continental veterans were encouraged to settle in townships created in the Military Tract of upstate New York through a process known as the Ballot Box system. Beyond colonizing Haudenosaunee territory, the Military Tract was also an attempt to order and shape the landscape in a manner designed to promote republican values of service and sacrifice.

In 1879, the state of New York organized an official series of events in honor of the centennial of the Sullivan Campaign. Chapter Three will analyze how the expedition was celebrated, what stories were told, how official memory was created, and what silences permeated the proceedings. The tactical gains of the Sullivan Campaign were modest, but generations of settlers to the region (including veterans of the expedition) remembered and honored the expedition as having an influential role in the expansion of the state of New York

and the early American republic. During the summer and fall of 1879, the expedition was honored in ceremonies at the Newtown Battlefield (near Elmira), the site of the Sullivan Campaign's major conflict, and other upstate locations. More than 50,000 people attended the events.

The celebrations were intended to commemorate Sullivan's victory over the Iroquois, but the centennial also offered greater utility for a nation still coming to terms with the aftermath of the American Civil War. William Tecumseh Sherman, Commanding General of the US Army, delivered a highly anticipated keynote address at the Newtown dedication. As the architect of the infamous March to the Sea, which broke the back of the Confederacy, Sherman was no stranger to the tactics employed by Sullivan and his forces. Sherman was also a leading strategist and a vocal proponent of the Indian Wars of the American West. A close textual analysis of Sherman's speech reveals intriguing parallels and connections between the American Revolutionary War, American Civil War, and the ongoing wars against natives in the West during the latter half of the 19th century. By instilling his speech with the power and promise of Manifest Destiny, Sherman connected to potent themes of exceptionalism and the triumph of national progress over barbarism.

Nearly 150 years after the dispossession of the Haudenosaunee, in the summer of 1941, the federal government forced families from their farms and homesteads, to make way for the Seneca Army Depot – a facility the government claimed was desperately needed to prepare for a potential war in Europe (Figure 3). Chapter Four will assess this erasure of place and space in detail. Local residents, including many from the reclaimed and repopulated community of Kendaia, often had only a few days to collect their belongings and relocate. Homes, schools, churches and grange halls were commandeered, removed, or destroyed. For both the Seneca

people in 1779 and the Euro-Americans residents of Kendaia in 1941, lifetimes of human toil and bonds of community were erased from the landscape by powerful external parties who re-shaped the land to conform to their vision of the future. Using local newspaper accounts, photographs, and oral histories, this chapter will reveal the tension in this story of local loss and dispossession that challenged broader narratives of national progress.

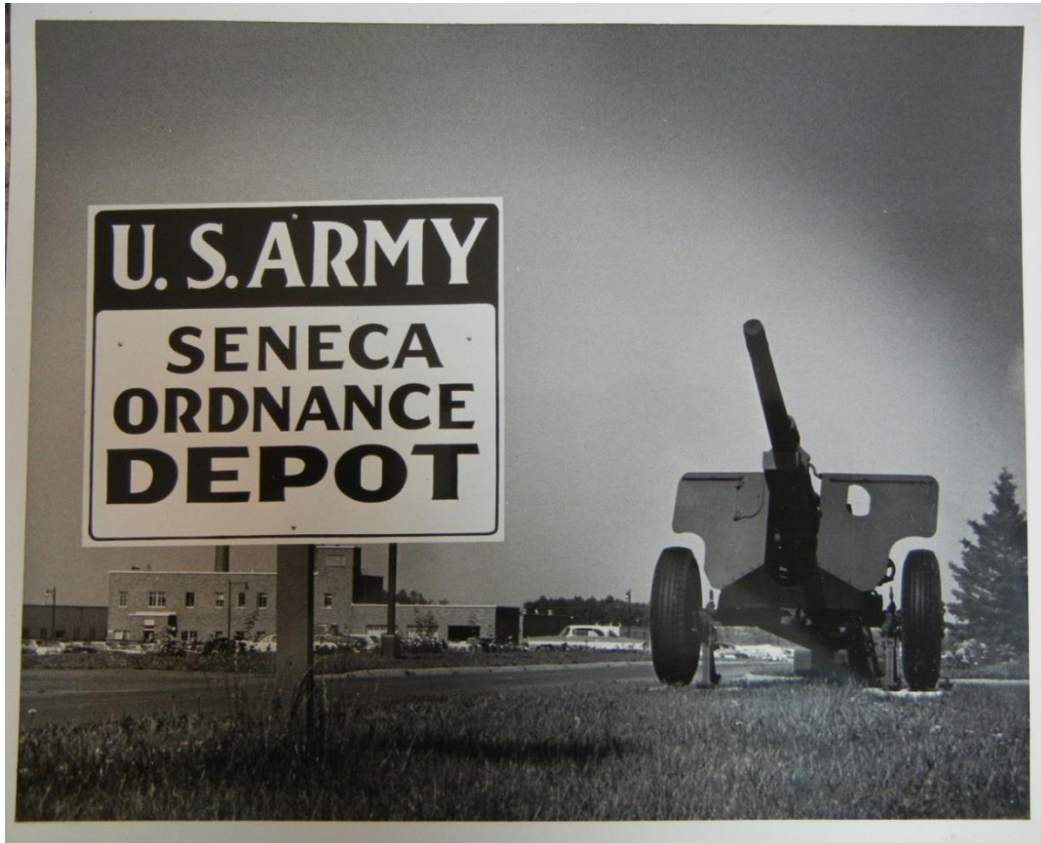


Figure 3: Seneca Army Depot, Base Entrance, Romulus Historical Society.

During the Cold War, the Seneca Army Depot became one of the nation's largest munitions facilities. The depot contained both conventional and nuclear weapons. The depot was also a storage site for some of the nuclear material and waste produced during the Manhattan Project. Citing documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, the Center for Defense Information (CDI) reported in 1982 that the facility was the main munitions depot for

Lance missiles and atomic warheads for 8-inch artillery pieces. CDI concluded the depot was probably the largest storage site for nuclear weapons in the United States.⁸ At its peak, during the 1980s, the depot was Seneca County's largest employer with a workforce of more than 1500 civilian and military personnel. The depot also generated substantial economic benefit for the local housing market and area businesses.⁹

The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 signified the symbolic end of the Cold War, but the demise of Cold War facilities, like the Seneca Army Depot, has been more drawn out. As U.S. political leaders basked in the glow of perceived victory over the Soviet Union, they initiated plans to identify and allocate the "peace dividend" that could be achieved by reductions in military expenditures. Under the guidance of Congress, a special committee conducted an extensive review of military facilities with the aim to increase efficiency and realize cost savings.

In 1995, as part of the Base Realignment and Closure Act (BRAC) process, the depot was placed on the decommission list, and over the next few years the once vibrant workforce was reduced to a handful of caretakers.¹⁰ By 2003, the military transferred ownership of nearly 10,000 acres of Depot lands to the Seneca County Industrial Development Authority - a public benefit corporation created by the New York Legislature in 1973 to facilitate private sector commercial and industrial development. Sections of the depot were listed on the Department of Environmental Protection's Superfund list, and the military retained temporary control of approximately 1000 acres for hazardous waste remediation.¹¹

⁸ "Reports of Nuclear Cache Unsettle Upstate Village," New York Times Feb. 8, 1982, B2.

⁹ "Communities Fear the Pain Base Closings Will Cause," New York Times March 1, 1995; "New Jobs Expected For Seneca County," New York Times May 14, 1999.

¹⁰ "Final Proposals on Military Closings," New York Times June, 25 1995.

¹¹ "Getting the Lead out of the Depot," Finger Lakes Times Nov. 26, 2007; EPA Superfund Final Record of Decision for Sites Requiring Institutional Controls in the Planned Industrial/Office Development or Warehousing Areas at the Seneca Army Depot Activity (SEDA), Sept. 28, 2004.

Beyond an assessment of people and events, nature itself will be at the forefront of this dissertation. In the Epilogue, this study will consider the relationship between humans and the environment by exploring both the changes in the people who claimed this land, and the changes in the natural landscape. Formerly a region that produced bountiful harvests for native peoples and Euro-American settlers, the construction of the Seneca Army Depot altered the landscape into an imposing tract of munitions bunkers, warehouses and security outposts (Figure 4). Despite this radical transformation, nature continues to thrive within the 24-square mile fenced perimeter of the shuttered facility.



Figure 4: Seneca Army Depot, Aerial Photograph of Munitions Bunkers,
<http://warrior481.blogspot.com/2014/11/seneca-lake-exploration.html>

Environmentalists see these lands as an opportunity to preserve flora and fauna, while local politicians and members of the business community envision the former depot as the site of new jobs and revenue. Of particular interest is the fate of a rare herd of white-tailed deer that live within the sheltered confines of the base. The construction of the depot's perimeter fence

had the unintentional consequence of isolating a number of white-tailed deer that once freely roamed the rural landscape. As the captive deer intermingled and bred, a recessive gene for white coloring flourished within the artificial environment of the base (Figure 5).



Figure 5: White Deer at the Seneca Army Depot. Photograph by Lee Brun.

The herd (once estimated at 300 white-coated deer) is the largest of its kind in the world.¹² Much of the current debate over the ownership and use of the depot lands revolves around the fate of these unusual deer that have captured the interest and imagination of locals and visitors to the area.

As the Haudenosaunee pursue legal means to reclaim ancestral lands throughout upstate New York, some local residents remain unwilling to recognize the layers of contested memory and meaning that run above and beneath the surface of this landscape. To deny the history of native people is to also reject competing claims of ownership. Lost in the current struggle for possession of the depot landscape is a frank acknowledgement of to whom the land once belonged. On the surface, this is not a conflict over who would be the best steward of the land

¹² “Nurtured at Army Depot, Rare Deer Herd is Suggested as a Key to Tract’s Future,” *New York Times* March 21, 2004; “Green vs. Green,” *The Citizen* March 19, 2007.

and environment, but, rather, to whom the financial benefits of the land should flow. Similar to the plight of the white deer, in the ongoing conflict over the ownership of the landscape, the land itself has been reduced to its barest essence as a commodity. For some of the current residents, its “highest and best use” is measured in purely financial terms. However, for others, there is a deeper claim for sovereignty and possession. To the Haudenosaunee, the fire and ax of Sullivan’s Campaign has been replaced by a skirmish of words and legal documents (Figure 6).



Figure 6: Sign along Route 96, near the Seneca Army Depot. Photograph by author.

In *Survival City: Adventures Among the Ruins of Atomic America*, Tom Vanderbilt surveyed the vast archaeological footprint of Cold War facilities on the American landscape and considered how these relics continue to influence the people that live near them and the stories we tell (or do not tell) about these militarized places. The Cold War, Vanderbilt described:

was – and is – everywhere in America, if one knows where to look for it. Underground, behind closed doors, classified, off the map, already crumbling beyond recognition, or right in plain view, it has left an imprint as widespread yet discreet as the tracings of radioactive particles that blew out of the Nevada Test Site in the 1950s.¹³

The thousands of square miles of military bases, storage depots, testing facilities and underground missile silos that began to cover the landscape during the Cold War all contributed to the militarization of once open spaces. The number of acres under military jurisdiction increased from three million acres in 1937, to thirty million by the height of the Cold War.¹⁴ To put this number into perspective, thirty million acres is larger than Tennessee and nearly the size of New York or North Carolina.¹⁵ The impact of military sprawl, though significant, was difficult for the public to assess and proved to be confounding. Americans could not trust the illusory emptiness of vast military spaces. The land itself became a paradox. While it was long rumored that the Seneca Army Depot contained nuclear weapons, the federal government never publicly confirmed their presence. Unbeknownst to the residents of Seneca County, their homes and farms were at the top of the target list for Russian strategic bombers. Unlike in the past, where the national frontiers were expanded in the name of Manifest Destiny, the artifacts of the Cold War subtly hemmed in the country.

The uncommon grounds of the former Seneca Army Depot are replete with stories of loss and gain – some remembered more than others. We often measure the past in a linear manner, but the history of this landscape reveals a cyclical story of dispossession, transformation, and forgetting. The Seneca people of Kendaia in the Revolutionary War era and the Kendaia farm families of 1941 have become part of the sediment of the landscape; distant memories, hidden

¹³ Tom Vanderbilt, *Survival City: Adventures Among the Ruins of Atomic America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002) 19.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁵ United States General Accounting Office, Report to Congressional Requesters, “Land Ownership: Information on the Acreage, Management, and Use of Federal and Other Lands,” GAO/RCED-96-40 (March, 1996) 21.

and mostly forgotten, and sometimes actively suppressed. The geographical focus for much of the historiography on militarization has been in the American West, but the grounds of the Seneca Army Depot provide an opportunity to investigate the transformation of landscapes and communities not previously considered east of the Mississippi River. In addition to geographical difference, this study moves beyond focused studies of disruption to consider the deeper and longer cycles of historical process and transformation.¹⁶ An examination of the *longue durée* of this landscape reveals what Fernand Braudel described as, “that other, submerged history, almost silent and always discreet, virtually unsuspected either by its observers or its participants.”¹⁷

¹⁶ For more on the *longue durée* framework of Fernand Braudel, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, and other historians of the Annales school see, Richard Lee, *Fernand Braudel, the Longue Durée, and World-Systems Analysis* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012), and Fernand Braudel, “History and the Social Sciences: The Long Duration,” *American Behavioral Scientist* Vol 3. Iss.6 (Feb. 1, 1960) 3-13.

¹⁷ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, vol. 1. (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) 16.

Chapter One:

“That the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed.”

With a flash of light and a roar like rolling thunder the cannon salvo from Fort Wyoming, Pennsylvania, echoed far and wide along the Susquehanna River. Tendrils of smoke from the armament’s black powder charges curled on the light breeze drifting through the valley. Seconds later a smaller but vigorous response rumbled from the fleet of bateaux passing below. Spirited cheers rose from the deck of the bateaux flagship “Adventure,” and from an army of some 3500 soldiers in formation along the river bank. A steady rain dampened the men’s packs, but not their enthusiasm. Part military custom and courtesy, the salvo from the fort signaled the start of their northward march and wished the soldiers much success on their expedition. On July 31, 1779, Major General John Sullivan led the gathered forces, representing a significant portion of the main Continental Army, from their staging grounds near Fort Wyoming on a campaign headed deep into the heart of Iroquoia – the Haudenosaunee homelands.¹⁸ The festive atmosphere belied the dire urgency of the expedition.

The salvo was also a bold statement that Continental forces sought to extinguish the destructive fires and staunch the flow of blood that marred the borderlands – the cultural spaces and physical places that featured competing claims on the land and its resources among and

¹⁸ The start of the march from Fort Wyoming is described in a number of journals maintained by officers and soldiers who participated in the Sullivan Campaign. Twenty-six of the journals are available in Frederick Cook, ed., *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 With Records of Centennial Celebrations* (Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887; reprint, Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2000). For specifics on the events of July 31, 1779, see Journal of Lieut. William Barton, Journal of Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn, Journal of Rev. William Rogers, and “Historical Address of Rev. David Craft,” 5, 68, 255, 347-348. Inspiration for the description of the opening march from Max M. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 103-104.

between native peoples, the British Empire, and colonial subjects.¹⁹ During this protracted war of torches, homes, barns, out-buildings, fields, and livestock became targets of opportunity.²⁰ The Haudenosaunee defended their homelands, settlements, and culture from unrelenting intrusion by unwanted Euro-American settlers, while the British conducted raids to harass and harry the nascent colonial political and military leadership. For colonial settlers, the Haudenosaunee and British attacks threatened recently built homesteads, fragile communities, and plans for an expanded presence into the interior. As each side in the conflict defended what they considered to be hearth and home, family and kinship connections, or their geo-political interests, the violence throughout the borderlands escalated.

A year prior, during the raiding season of 1778, the intensity of the internecine conflicts reached new levels of havoc. Lines between combatants and inhabitants became blurred. Continental Army and militia attacks on native settlements at Wyalusing, Unadilla, and Onaquaga left Haudenosaunee communities in ashes - women and children numbering among the casualties. Haudenosaunee and British raids on the settlements at Wyoming and German Flatts were equally brutal, driving desperate colonial settlers to seek aid. In April a committee of citizens at Cherry Valley, a bitterly divided community sixty miles west of Albany, sent a series of letters and petitions to New York Governor George Clinton requesting troops and arms because they lived “in dread every Night of being Attacked by the Enemy.” Families had

¹⁹ For a broader analysis of the northern and western borderlands conflicts see the classic by Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), chapters 4-7; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 2006); Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), chapters 1-5; William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), chapters 5-8; Michael Witgen, *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early America* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 2011); and Eugene R. Fingerhut and Joseph S. Tiedemann, eds., *The Other New York: The American Revolution Beyond New York City, 1763-1787* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), chapters 8-9.

²⁰ The phrase “war of torches” to describe the borderlands conflict, from Joseph R. Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign Against the Iroquois, July-September 1779* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), 30.

already left the area, and many more planned to abandon their homes “without some Assistance is sent us speedily that may enable us to make a stand and hope by the Blessing of God to preserve our Settlement from the merciless Ravages of a Savage Enemy.”²¹ The “Savage Enemy” included not only natives, but local Loyalists who rallied in the name of the King. Similar fears resonated across the colonial borderlands. Clinton warned Washington that local militias had reached a breaking point and that they “consider themselves as deserted & and already moving in, and leaving the most fertile Parts of the Country uninhabited.”²²

Settlers’ demands for protection and calls for retribution eventually led to a response from Washington. With British forces firmly entrenched in and around New York City, Washington hoped to secure the western frontier’s exposed flank. He requested funds from the Continental Congress to support an “Indian expedition” against hostile native forces and their British allies. In early June of 1778, the Board of War allocated the significant sum of \$932,743^{1/3} to support a large-scale offensive into the western borderlands, including the lands of the Seneca and Cayuga of the Iroquois Confederacy. The expedition would culminate with a decisive strike against the British strongholds in Detroit.²³ The Board’s plan looked ambitious on paper but lacked logistical teeth. Without sufficient men and materiel, and fearing the potential maneuvers of the British Army, Washington refused to venture into unknown enemy territory. Later that fall, events at Cherry Valley forced Washington’s hand.

Shortly after daybreak on November 11, 1778, more than six hundred Haudenosaunee, allied warriors, and British Rangers attacked Cherry Valley. The native leaders included Joseph

²¹ Cherry Valley Committee to Gen. Lafayette, March 31, 1778, Cherry Valley Committee to Clinton, April 4, 1778, Cherry Valley Committee to Clinton, April 6, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton: First Governor of New York*, Hugh Hastings and J.A. Holden, eds., 10 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1968-70), 3: 104-105, 126-127, 142.

²² George Clinton to George Washington, April 22, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 3: 205-206.

²³ Worthington C. Ford, ed. et al., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, (Washington, D.C., 1904-37) 11:587-590.

Brant, Cornplanter, Little Beard, Farmer's Brother, and Blacksnake. Colonel John Butler, who usually led the Rangers, remained near Fort Niagara, placing his son, Captain Walter Butler, in command for the engagement. Native scouts reconnoitering the path into the village encountered two woodcutters, immediately cutting one down by musket fire, and wounding the other who managed to escape and sound the alarm. Losing the element of surprise, the native and British forces moved quickly to isolate Continental and militia units manning the nearby fort from the rest of the settlement. Cannon fire prevented the capture of the fort, but the settlement was undefended. Without immediate threat of assistance from other Continental forces, some residents fled their homes and sought shelter in the neighboring forest as the raiders systematically razed the village, corralled livestock for the return journey, and killed or captured their neighbors.

For all the brutality experienced along the borderlands, Cherry Valley's destruction proved particularly heinous to the colonial settlers. In the aftermath, a Continental officer stationed at the fort wrote in his journal, "such a shocking sight my eyes never beheld before of savage and brutal barbarity; to see the husband mourning over his dead wife and four dead children lying by her side, mangled, scalpt, and some their heads, some their legs and arms cut off, some torn and the flesh off their bones by their dogs."²⁴ The death toll included more than thirty civilians, mostly women and children, and eleven soldiers. The raiders took seventy-nine inhabitants captive, although they later released some determined to be Loyalist sympathizers. Not a building remained standing: the Haudenosaunee had effectively erased Cherry Valley.²⁵

²⁴ "Diary of Captain Benjamin Warren at Massacre of Cherry Valley," entry for November 13, 1778, trans. David E. Alexander, *Journal of American History*, 3 (1909), 377-384.

²⁵ Summary of the events at Cherry Valley from Glenn F. Williams, *Year of the Hangman: George Washington's Campaign Against the Iroquois* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2005), chapter 9, Barbara Alice Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005), 22-26, and Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 182-191.

Reports detailed the extent of the losses and the urgent need for aid and supplies for the refugees. Major Daniel Whiting described how when first attacked, “we had not a pound of bread per man in the garrison” and that the raiders had “killed a great number of inhabitants, men women & children.”²⁶ General Edward Hand informed Governor Clinton that the enemy “had left Cherry Valley after having destroyed the Village and put a Number of the Inhabitants together with Colo. Alden and some of the Garrison to the Sword.”²⁷ The first use of “massacre” to describe the events at Cherry Valley appeared in a November 17 report from Abraham Ten Broeck, Brigadier General of the Tryon and Albany Counties of Militia: “The most wanton destruction and horrid murders have been committed by the Enemy. The Settlement of Cherry Valley is entirely destroyed and about thirty men women and Children massacred.”²⁸ Much of the blame for the bloodshed fell on Captain Walter Butler’s inexperience and perceived inability to control his forces during the raid. Critics charged that native warriors, and perhaps even Butler’s own Rangers, had run amok and committed brutal atrocities.

Some of the native leaders expressed little sympathy. In a sharply worded letter four Haudenosaunee war chiefs connected the fate of Cherry Valley directly to the previous attacks on native settlements. Angered, particularly over the recent Continental Army raid on the native village of Onaquaga, the captains warned: “Let our brothers live in peace, least you be worst delt with, then your Nighbour the Cheryvalle [Cherry Valley] People was.”²⁹ Other native leaders,

²⁶ Major Daniel Whiting to General Edward Hand, November 13, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 4:286-287.

²⁷ General Hand to Governor Clinton, November, 15, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 4:284.

²⁸ Brig. General Ten Broeck to Governor Clinton, November 17, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 4:292.

²⁹ Captain William Johnson, Mohawk Captain (and three other war chiefs) to Col. John Cantine, December 13, 1778, *Public Papers of George Clinton*, 4:364, Graymont, p.190, and Williams, p.182-183. The letter to Cantine was transmitted through Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, but it is unclear if Brant was agreeing with its contents or just provided delivery of the message to Cantine. Graymont makes no mention of Brant’s role in the letter, while Williams directly attributes the letter, and its words, to Brant and omits the four captains. For more on the actions of Brant and the perceptions of his conduct during the war see Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984).

like Seneca warrior Blacksnake, denied any role in the killing of woman and children “because he thought it bad enough to kill men and destroy their villages.”³⁰ The deeds and responsibility for what happened at Cherry Valley on November 11-12, 1778, remain obscured. What clearly rose from the smoldering ruins of the settlement was a renewed call for action.

That attack on Cherry Valley was not a singular event, but clearly part of a long and turbulent history of borderlands violence. Governor Clinton, in a report to John Jay and the Continental Congress, outlined both the devastation and the strategic importance of controlling the region. Cherry Valley had become the “7th valuable settlement in the state which this season has been destroyed.” Clinton linked the plight of the inhabitants to the logistical needs of the Continental Army. Cherry Valley and other borderland settlements served as the principal granaries – the bread basket - for the military. Without these vital supplies, the fight could not continue: “If the Enemy are suffered to continue their Depredations much longer the Consequence may be fatal, as this state will be disabled from furnishing any supplies to the army & hitherto they have depended upon it for Bread.” It was time, Clinton argued, for “Offensive Operations, thereby carrying the War into the Enemy’s Country.”³¹ As winter snows blanketed the borderlands, the raiding season ended.

Plans to strike deep into the Haudenosaunee homelands, however, began anew. Determining that a winter campaign was infeasible, Washington sent a flurry of letters to quartermasters and senior officers inquiring into the state of supplies and requesting detailed information about the northern stretches of the Susquehanna River and the terrain north of the

³⁰ As cited in Graymont, *Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 188.

³¹ George Clinton to John Jay, November 17, 1778, *Public Letters of George Clinton*, 4:289-290.

Wyoming Valley toward Tioga.³² Absent accurate maps and knowledge of the region, any attack into the borderlands would likely end in failure. Washington developed an extensive questionnaire to guide his officers in obtaining vital details: What were the seasonal depths of the Susquehanna? What were the approximate distances between native settlements and Continental staging areas? Did they know of any major trails or paths? What information could they provide on key terrain and geographic features? To what extent could a shallow-bottom boat navigate north along the Susquehanna River and other waterways towards Haudenosaunee settlements?³³ Eager to obtain first-hand knowledge from those who knew the region and could serve as scouts for the army, Washington personally interviewed Lt. John Jenkins, a Continental officer who had been captured by native and British forces in November of 1777 while surveying the flow of the northern Susquehanna and the terrain of the immediate area.³⁴ Jenkins had managed to escape his captors and survived a harrowing journey back to Wyoming Valley in June 1778. To bolster Washington's scouting forces, Col. Thomas Hartley of the 11th Pennsylvania Regiment recommended two men who were capable backwoodsmen and "acquainted with the Country to Tioga."³⁵

Subterfuge and intelligence gathering played an important role in the planning stages. Early in 1779, Washington sent Gershom Hicks, a member of the Pennsylvania militia and former Indian captive, to reconnoiter the pathways into western Haudenosaunee lands. At Fort

³² George Washington to Jeremiah Wadsworth, December 15, 1778, George Washington to Major General Philip Schuyler, December 18, 1778, George Washington to Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, January 31, 1779, and George Washington to Major General Nathanael Greene, Feb. 24, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, Philander D. Chass, ed., et al. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987-), 18:420, 456-458, 19:114-117.

³³ A.C. Flick, "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779," *New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal*, Vol 10. No. 3 (July, 1929), 195-210.

³⁴ Journal of Lieut. John Jenkins, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 168-169; Fischer, *Well-Executed Failure*, 47. The interview with Washington occurred on April 6, 1779.

³⁵ Thomas Hartley to Edward Hand, June 3, 1779, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Ayer 364, Newberry Library.

Wyoming, Col. Zebulon Butler received orders cautioning his forces to not mistake Hicks for the enemy since Hicks “may appear painted, and in a canoe.”³⁶ Other agents operated clandestinely throughout the region. On March 1, Washington issued additional orders to Butler stipulating that persons presenting themselves at the post with signed passports “are to be suffered to pass and repass without interruption and without search of their Canoes or baggage – they are farther to be supplied with five days provision on their applying for it – and you will afford them any other assistance their circumstance may require.”³⁷

Washington’s questionnaire generated invaluable information, but his efforts also attracted the unwanted attention of the British chief intelligence officer, Major John André. In order to ascertain Continental plans, André deployed agents, including British operative Samuel Wallis, to western Pennsylvania. As a wealthy Philadelphia merchant and land speculator, Wallis enjoyed key connections in the region and soon learned of Washington’s interest in a map of the borderlands. Wallis devised a plan to provide a deliberately inaccurate map to Washington that would steer the Continental Army clear of Haudenosaunee main settlements. Historians have not located the false map in Washington’s papers, and it is unclear if André’s network actually produced the document, but the plan reveals how knowledge of the borderlands geography was at a premium.³⁸ Assisted by Major Benedict Arnold of the Continental Army (who had yet to be revealed as a traitor) André also gained key insight into Washington’s preparations for the expedition, including possible invasion routes, timetables, troop levels, and designated units.³⁹

³⁶ John Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors & Heroes: Espionage in the American Revolution* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1959), 296-298.

³⁷ George Washington to Zebulon Butler, March 1, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 19:292; Bakeless, 298.

³⁸ Bakeless, *Turncoats, Traitors & Heroes*, 299-300.

³⁹ Roger Kaplan, “The Hidden War: British Intelligence Operations During the American Revolution,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 47, No. 1, (Jan., 1990), 126.

After several months of gathering information and assessing options, Washington finalized his plans for the march into the borderlands. Attacking the stronghold of the British military operations in Detroit was out of the question, but a quick strike into western Iroquoia with the possibility of reaching the British at Fort Niagara was quite viable. The commander-in-chief designated Easton, Pennsylvania, as the main staging area for men and supplies; forty miles farther north, Fort Wyoming served as the launch point for the expedition. Washington's plan detailed that Continental forces would continue northward to Tioga and then into main Haudenosaunee territory.

With the route and target defined, Washington turned to the selection of the campaign's commanding officer. Privately, Washington confided that Major General Philip Schuyler of New York was his preferred choice, but Schuyler's health prevented the appointment.⁴⁰ On March 6, 1779, Washington offered command of "an Expedition of an extensive nature against the hostile tribes of the Indians of the six Nations" to Major General Horatio Gates, the hero of the Battle of Saratoga. Historians have argued that Washington's offer to Gates resulted more from protocol and political machinations than sincerity. Gates was one of the few senior officers in the Continental Army without a pressing command; he was in line for a new assignment and had influential friends, like Dr. Benjamin Rush, in the Continental Congress. Washington also disfavored Gates due to the intrigue of the "Conway Cabal." Only one year earlier, Brigadier General Thomas Conway, and others, disparaged Washington's leadership in private letters and suggested that Gates should command the Continental Army. After their correspondence found the light of day, Conway offered his resignation to the Board of War, and Gates issued an apology to the commander-in-chief. According to Washington scholars, the term "Conway

⁴⁰ George Washington to John Jay, April 14, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20:61.

Cabal” overstates the organization of Conway and his like-minded correspondents, but the frosty relationship between Washington and Gates was genuine.⁴¹

Citing his advanced age, Gates abruptly declined the command of the Indian expedition: “The Man who undertakes the Indian Service, should enjoy Youth, & Strength; requisites I do not possess, it Therefore Grieves me your Excellency should Offer me The only Command to which I am intirely unequal.”⁴² Given his contentious relationship with Washington, Gates likely considered the offer to lead an army into the borderlands to be a snub and unworthy of his abilities. There was little glory to be found chasing Indians along the frontier. While somewhat relieved by Gates’ decision, Washington expressed displeasure in the wording of the reply. He asserted that his offer of command “merited a different answer from the one given to it.”⁴³ As stipulated in Washington’s original letter, Gates passed the orders packet to Major General John Sullivan (Figure 7).⁴⁴

⁴¹ For more on the politics of the command and the role of the “Conway Cabal” see John Ferling, *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tenn. Press, 1988), 225-230; Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life* (New York: Penguin Press, 2010) 320-321; Gloria E. Brenneman, “The Conway Cabal: Myth or Reality,” *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 40., No.2, (April 1973) 168-177; and Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 86.

⁴² Horatio Gates to George Washington, March 16, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 19:501.

⁴³ George Washington to John Jay, April 14, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20:61; Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 86; Williams, *Year of the Hangman*, 201.

⁴⁴ George Washington to John Sullivan via Horatio Gates, March 6, 1779, *Letters and Papers of Major General John Sullivan, Continental Army*, ed. Otis G. Hammond (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930), 2:530-531.



Figure 7: Major General John Sullivan. Painting from Library of Congress.

Washington based his selection on Sullivan's rank and his own assessment of the junior officer's skills as a detailed planner. Given the requirement to venture far from Continental lines, logistics would be critical to a successful outcome for the operation. A former New Hampshire lawyer and delegate to the First Continental Congress, Sullivan enjoyed the favor of political allies. His accomplishments on the battlefield, however, left room for doubt. During the Battle of Long Island in August 1776, Hessian mercenaries captured Sullivan as his forces faltered and collapsed. Released in a prisoner exchange, Sullivan earned praise for his actions at

Trenton (December 1776) and Princeton (January 1777), but he was badly outflanked at the Battle of Brandywine in September 1777 and forced to retreat.⁴⁵

In early 1778, while leading the joint Continental-French assault on British fortifications at Newport, Rhode Island, Sullivan sparked an embarrassing incident when he accused French Admiral Charles Hector (Count D’Estaing) of abandoning the ground forces. Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette worked diligently to calm the waters between the two allies, with Washington encouraging Lafayette and the French to “take no exception” at Sullivan’s “unmeaning expressions, uttered perhaps without Consideration, & in the first transport of disappointed hope.”⁴⁶ Thin-skinned and sensitive to slights, Sullivan seldom missed an opportunity to enter the fray with his detractors, and he produced a stream of complaints in correspondence with Washington. The expedition into the lands of the Six Nations, therefore, offered Sullivan an opportunity for glory and redemption, and provided Washington an opportunity to remove Sullivan from the demands of international diplomacy and tact. After taking a week to consider Washington’s offer, Sullivan accepted.

In his initial correspondence with Sullivan, Washington outlined how “the objects of this expedition will be effectually to chastise and intimidate the hostile nations, to countenance & encourage the friendly ones, and to relieve our frontiers from the depredations to which they would otherwise be exposed.” In order to thwart another Cherry Valley and put an end to the strife along the borderlands, Sullivan’s forces would “carry the war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy next year’s crops, and do them every other

⁴⁵ For more on the life and letters of John Sullivan see, Charles Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Thomas Amory, *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan* (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1868); Oscar Rising, *A New Hampshire lawyer in General Washington’s Continental Army* (Geneva, NY: W.F. Humphrey, 1915) and *Letters and Papers of Major General John Sullivan, Continental Army*, ed. Otis G. Hammond (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930).

⁴⁶ Washington to Major General Lafayette, Sept. 1, 1778, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 16:461.

mischievous, which time and circumstance would permit.”⁴⁷ As men and materiel for the campaign slowly gathered at key staging points near Easton, Washington’s final marching orders, issued on May 31, were stark and unequivocal:

The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground and prevent their planting more.

Sullivan should direct his Continental forces to “lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed.”⁴⁸ A simple military defeat of the Iroquois was not sufficient; Washington directed Sullivan to wage a form of total war. What territory Sullivan’s men could not use or hold would be despoiled: “total destruction and devastation” was demanded. As leverage against any Haudenosaunee attempts to return to their settlements or to retaliate, Washington also directed Sullivan to take prisoners.

As part of “total destruction and devastation,” Washington specifically targeted the Haudenosaunee crops and fields. Washington recognized that if the Haudenosaunee could not be militarily defeated, the destruction of their homes and lands would at least impose a burden on the British supply chain – a chain that stretched from England across the Atlantic to Fort Niagara. After France entered the war on the side of the Patriots, and the conflict became more global, this extended supply line became even more tenuous. The Continental supply system fared little better. The debacle at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778, when nearly 2500 soldiers died from disease, exposure to the harsh weather, and starvation still weighed heavily on

⁴⁷ Washington to Gates and Sullivan, March 6, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 19:377.

⁴⁸ Washington to Sullivan, May 31, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20:716-717.

the Continental Army.⁴⁹ Cherry Valley represented a particularly ugly moment during the Revolutionary War, but the scale and intent of the offensive into western Iroquoia was staggering. In the struggle to claim dominion over the borderlands, Washington defined both the Haudenosaunee and their ancestral homelands as the enemy. To wage war over claims on the land, the Sullivan Campaign would wage war upon the land.

The commander-in-chief also issued specific orders regarding the offensive posture of the Continental forces, urging Sullivan to “make rather than receive attacks, attended with as much impetuosity, shouting and noise as possible.”⁵⁰ The expedition into the borderlands was more than a physical invasion; it was also a sonic conquest. “It should be previously impressed upon the minds of the men” explained Washington “wherever they have an opportunity, to rush on with the war whoop and fixed bayonet – Nothing will disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this.”⁵¹ Historian Sarah Keyes has argued that “the aural is inextricably intertwined with struggles for dominion and power,” and that “sounds of ritualized speech, whoops, shouts, and drum beats became crucial in the battles” between Euro-Americans and Native peoples.⁵² The field of battle was a soundscape, and sounds were charged with meaning and power.

Washington’s call for noise during the expedition served not only to strike terror in the hearts’ of the Haudenosaunee, but also to embolden the martial spirits of the Continental soldiers venturing into a perceived wilderness where they were exposed and vulnerable. In these liminal spaces, lands that were “betwixt and between,” the production of sound “possessed the power to comfort

⁴⁹ For more on the breakdown of the supply system at Valley Forge see Wayne Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War* (University Park, PA: Penn. State University Press, 2005).

⁵⁰ Washington to Sullivan, May 31, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20: 717.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 717.

⁵² Sarah Keyes, “‘Like a Roaring Lion’: The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 96, Iss. 1, (June, 2009), 21. For more on the link between sound, speech, and power, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 38-40, 69-73; Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003), 145-172. For an example of the burgeoning field of sensory history see Mark M. Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2007).

and distress, to unite and divide Native and Euro-Americans, and to assert and defend territorial claims.”⁵³ Recognizing that the violence of war was both physical and imagined, Washington ordered Sullivan’s forces to wield sound as a potent weapon in the struggle to gain dominion over the western borderlands.

Washington’s letter made it clear to Sullivan that peace was not an option – at least until the army “have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements.” A decisive victory was needed. “Our future security,” Washington stated “will be in their inability to injure us [the] distance to which they are driven and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they will receive will inspire (them). Peace without this would be fallacious and temporary.”⁵⁴ While not authorized by the Continental Congress to pursue peace, Washington offered that after Sullivan completely razed the landscape, the Haudenosaunee could demonstrate their sincerity to end hostilities by delivering some of the principal agents of mayhem throughout the borderlands, including Col. Butler of the British Rangers and Mohawk leader Joseph Brandt. Furthermore, to ensure the compliance of the hostile natives, Washington warned that “Hostages are the only kind of security to be depended upon.”⁵⁵

The logistical preparations for Sullivan’s expedition proved formidable. In her classic study, *The Iroquois and the American Revolution*, Barbara Graymont, described the Continental trek into the borderlands as “one of the most carefully planned campaigns of the entire war.”⁵⁶ It was also one of the most frustrating. Despite Washington’s call for haste to launch the attack in May, during the height of planting season, Sullivan spent the late spring and early summer of 1779 at his main staging area in Easton, PA, entangled in a series of logistical challenges and

⁵³ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁴ Washington to Sullivan, May 31, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20:718.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 718. It is unclear if Washington meant Colonel John Butler or Captain Walter Butler (for his part at Cherry Valley) - or both.

⁵⁶ Graymont, *Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 193.

disputes with military quartermasters. Soldiers assigned to Sullivan's army lacked shoes, clothing, blankets, weapons, and other basic equipment. The supply system was over-taxed and under-manned throughout the Continental Army, and the transportation network bedeviled by a lack of wagons, horses, cattle, forage, teamsters, and coopers.⁵⁷ Unable to obtain the necessary supplies in Easton, Sullivan had little hope of his forces proceeding in a timely manner to the campaign launch point at Fort Wyoming.

Efforts to obtain the vast stocks of beef, flour, and spirits needed for the campaign were hampered by insufficient funds issued from the Continental Congress. When monies were available, farmers were unwilling to rent their teams of horses and wagons to the Army in order to transport the goods to staging depots. The farmers needed teams to work their own homesteads, and the Army drivers were hard on the wagons and harder on the animals. Due to the number of injured horses, Sullivan was forced to issue a directive that "officers are desired to endeavor to prevent any further abuse of the kind by immediately punishing or confining every offender."⁵⁸ Shipments of beef and flour barrels that did enter the supply chain were often opened and found spoiled and contaminated. Commissary officers and quartermasters exchanged worrisome letters detailing the conditions of the supplies and their concerns about being blamed.⁵⁹

In a letter to Colonel Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues for the Continental Army, the quartermaster directly assigned to Sullivan reported that in a recent shipment "there

⁵⁷ For a detailed assessment of the logistics challenges for the Sullivan Campaign see Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure*, Chapter 5. Fischer's analysis serves as a model for scholars studying other military operations.

⁵⁸ Order Book of Lt. Col. Francis Barber, in *Notes from the Collections of Tioga Point Museum and Its Centennial Celebrations of 1879*, ed. Louise Welles Murray (Athens, PA: Tioga Point Historical Society, 1929) 2; Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure*, 111.

⁵⁹ Eli Parson to Charles Stewart, May 26, 1779, Alexander Patterson to Charles Stewart, June 6, 1779, Charles Stewart to Ephraim Blaine, July 7, 1779, "Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779," Marion Brophy and Wendell Tripp, eds., *New York History*, 60:3 (July, 1979), 264, 277-278. The Stewart papers were published over three editions of the journal.

are 20 Barrels [of meat] out of one hundred not fit for use,” and that “there are Smoak [Smoke] houses getting ready for each Brigade to try if there is any possibility of saving meat tainted with the Brine; As to the hard bread you can have no Idea of the Carelessness there must have been in the baking.”⁶⁰ The idea of smoking the contamination from the meat proved futile. On July 21, Ensign Daniel Gookin recorded in his journal that the smoking “takes out some of the ugly smell but the juice of the grape continues in it yet. Owing to the badness of the Provision some of our officers and men are sick.”⁶¹ Military historian Joseph Fischer argued that the spoilage was most likely due to the wood used by the coopers to make the storage barrels. Barrels were normally crafted from wood cut and dried over the winter, but the high demand for supplies and the late start of the campaign necessitated the use of green wood that contained heavy concentrations of tree sap. Goods placed into and transported in these barrels would absorb the sap and become spoiled. This also explains the unappealing “juice of the grape” taste reported by Gookin.⁶²

Adding to the supply obstacles were the realities of trying to manage an extensive and complicated system via letters and reports that were often delayed and erroneous. Supply officers saw the immediate challenges before them, but few, if any, grasped the totality of the situation. In some instances, Sullivan’s army actually enjoyed an over-abundance of salt and fresh meat, and continued to demand additional supplies of these goods. Meanwhile, the stores of flour ran dry. Completely vexed with the chaotic situation, commissary agent, Jeremiah Wadsworth, wrote to his superior “There is something so Misterious in the affair of Provisions for General Sullivans Army that I can not see through it. Somebody ought to be burnt with

⁶⁰ Alexander Steele to Charles Stewart, July, 1779, 1779 “Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779,” 274.

⁶¹ Journal of Ensign Daniel Gookin, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General Sullivan*, 104.

⁶² Fischer, *A Well Executed Failure*, 117.

unquenchable fire. The Board of War will I hope make a thorough enquiry into the matter.”⁶³

While human trials and tribulations contributed to the supply failures, so, too, did environmental factors.

Having decided upon the Susquehanna as the major path of travel to western Haudenosaunee lands, Washington ordered the construction of a fleet of bateaux, shallow-bottom boats, to serve as part of Sullivan’s transportation system. In an effort to alleviate the short supply of wagons and packhorses, supply officers began sending goods upriver via available bateaux. With the passing spring, however, the seasonal surge in the depth of the water receded, making it difficult to move the required tonnage of supplies. The needs outweighed the capacity of the river transport system. While some packhorses and wagons could make the journey along the narrow walking trail from Easton to Wyoming, that ran over the Pocono Mountains, through dense forest, thick underbrush, and meandering streams - a wider and more stable path was needed to supply an army. In mid-April 1779, Washington assigned three regiments of Sullivan’s men to carve out a road suitable for large numbers of soldiers, horses, wagons, and the transportation of artillery. The engineering challenges were daunting, particularly for a stretch that needed to cross a great swamp known as “the Shades of Death.”⁶⁴ The soldiers struggled for months with the intense heat, swarming bugs, and taxing physical labor, to finish the 40 mile road. Sullivan reported to Washington that the cut road passed “through a Country the most Difficult I Ever Saw - it is not possible for a Country to be Thicker with wood among which the Laurels are so thick that a man cannot get through them but on his

⁶³ Wadsworth to Charles Stewart, July 18, 1779, “Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779,” Marion Brophy and Wendell Tripp, eds., *New York History* 60:4 (October, 1979), 469.

⁶⁴ Philip Cortlandt to George Clinton, May 26, 1779, *Public Letters of George Clinton*, 4:851.

hands & Knees.”⁶⁵ Before even embarking upon their journey into western Haudenosaunee lands, Sullivan’s men were pushed to their limits by the natural landscape.

With the road in place, the flow of supplies to the Easton staging area and the gathering of forces at Ft. Wyoming began in earnest, but delays continued as Sullivan requested more men and materiel. Sullivan had been selected for the command, in part, due to his planning acumen, but with the raiding season quickly passing Washington’s patience wore thin. Exasperated by his fellow officer’s foot-dragging, Major General Nathanael Greene, Quartermaster-General of the Continental Army, reminded Sullivan of the importance of the mission to the Patriot cause. “The expedition you have the honor to direct will fix the Eyes of the whole Continent upon you.” Much was at stake with this operation and Sullivan, personally, had much to gain. “Peoples hopes and expectations being very high,” Greene admonished, “a disappointment will be more disagreeable. Great preparations and great exertions have been made to pave the way for your successes. I hope therefore the little obstacles that may arise in execution will not retard the progress of the operations and waste precious moments.”⁶⁶ Greene was less politic in correspondence with a fellow officer where he referred to Sullivan as the “Duke de Sully,” and “a child of disappointment.”⁶⁷ Sullivan remained in place and continued gathering supplies.

On Sunday, July 4, the army refrained from any special celebrations, but the anniversary of American independence was noted through a special sermon by Reverend William Rogers, chaplain for a brigade from Pennsylvania. Rogers invoked the lesson of Psalm 32:10 to remind his flock of soldiers that the wicked have many sorrows, “But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy

⁶⁵ Sullivan to Washington, May 31, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 20:721; Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure*, 112.

⁶⁶ Greene to Sullivan, June 21, 1779, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, ed. Richard K. Showman, 13 vols. (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1976-), 4:175-176; Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence*, 257.

⁶⁷ Greene to Col. Charles Pettit, July 29th, 1779, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 4:284, and Whittemore, 131.

shall encompass him about.” Calling upon divine favor for the Indian Expedition, Rogers declared that “God had hitherto blessed our arms and smiled on our infant rising states,” and he called for the men to “Remember Jehovah, who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses.”⁶⁸ The conflict throughout the borderlands involved layers of competing claims and meanings. According to the chaplain, soldiers on the campaign were not only fighting for their homes and families, but for something far greater than themselves – they were fighting for the kingdom of the Lord. Christ Jesus, Rogers stated, “came to give Freedom to the world;” the Lord’s blessings, however, had to be earned. It was the obligation of the soldiers to do their part by taking the righteous battle to the Haudenosaunee, gain freedom for the borderlands, and ensure independence for the colonies.⁶⁹

Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn, of the New Hampshire brigade, noted in his journal that the sobering message of the sermon was followed the next day with a more celebratory gathering of gentlemen to dine and offer toasts to independence and the success of the expedition. Led by Brigadier General Enoch Poor, the men raised glasses thirteen times in honor of the thirteen colonies in various tributes, including to General Washington, the King and Queen of France, and to the memory of the fallen. Another toast called for “Civilization or death to all American Savages.”⁷⁰ The expedition was more than a military operation to secure the borderlands; it was part of a larger cultural struggle to transform and remake the land and its inhabitants. In the eyes of Sullivan’s men, only through the “total destruction and devastation” of the Haudenosaunee

⁶⁸ Journal of Rev. William Rogers, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General Sullivan*, 250.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Journal of Lieut. Col. Henry Dearborn, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General Sullivan*, 64. Dearborn enjoyed much success after the American Revolution. Promoted to Major General; he went on to become Secretary of War under Jefferson. He was also involved in the plans to remove native peoples to the west of the Mississippi. Fort Dearborn, named in his honor, was destroyed in 1812 during a battle between federal troops and Potawatomi warriors. The Battle of Fort Dearborn, or the Fort Dearborn Massacre, remains contested over its causes, meanings, and memory. For more see Ann Durking Keating, *Rising Up From Indian Country: The Battle of Fort Dearborn and the Birth of Chicago* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2012).

settlements could progress be achieved. As ordered by Washington, the immediate concerns of the Sullivan Campaign may have been to end the violence in the region, but its meanings ran deeper than the Revolutionary War.

At the end of July, two months after the planned start of the march, Sullivan was finally ready to embark from Fort Wyoming, Pennsylvania, upon his expedition into the Haudenosaunee homelands. His July 30 dispatch to Washington proclaimed, "I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that I have at length surmounted every obstacle and shall commence my March tomorrow morning."⁷¹ Behind the scenes, Sullivan was less enthusiastic and continued his fracas with the supply system, eventually ordering his quartermaster arrested and threatened with courts martial. In a letter to Charles Stewart, the Commissary General, a subordinate reported that "Genl. Sullivan swears he will put all the Commissys. To Death."⁷² Sullivan's words were bluster, but the commissary agent recognized the precariousness of the situation. "A person Cant well be too watchfull of his words and Actions in an unsuccessful Campaign, not that I would by any means think Genl. Sullivan Capable of Tracking the Misfortune of a Broken Campaign upon an Individual."⁷³ The Sullivan Campaign was off to a questionable start, and already carried the trace of failure.

⁷¹ Sullivan to Washington, July 30, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 21:749.

⁷² Eli Parsons to Charles Stewart, Sept. 6, 1779, "Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779," Part III, Marion Brophy and Wendell Tripp, eds., *New York History*, 61:1 (Jan., 1980), 63.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Chapter Two:

“Came to Kendaia, Destroyed It”

With the roar of cannons and cheers still ringing in their ears, Sullivan’s 3500 men left the relative haven of Ft. Wyoming on July 31, 1779, headed north along the banks of the Susquehanna River to Tioga. The show of power and might was a sight to behold. Accompanying the infantry was a fleet of more than 200 bateaux carrying the army’s artillery, powder, and baggage, manned by soldiers using long poles to advance against the current. Following behind the army, were 1200 packhorses, loaded with flour and other supplies, a herd of 700 beef cattle, and 70 wagons. The train extended for several miles.⁷⁴ The initial enthusiasm of the march was soon tempered by the experience of passing through the Wyoming Valley, an area decimated during the Iroquois and British raids of 1778. The army encountered the scorched remnants of homes and farms, and the unburied skeletal remains of the fallen.

Over the next few weeks, as they traversed through the borderlands, the soldiers carried out the mission to achieve the “total destruction and devastation” of the hastily abandoned native settlements by setting fields, orchards, and shelters aflame. On August 11, the army reached the Haudenosaunee village of Tioga (near the present border of NY and PA) where Sullivan gave orders for a small fort and a series of block houses to be built. Designated as Fort Sullivan, the fortification was garrisoned and served as a staging area for the march deeper into Seneca and Cayuga lands. At Tioga, on August 22, Sullivan’s forces were joined by Brigadier General James Clinton (brother to NY Governor George Clinton) and a brigade of 1500 men who had

⁷⁴ Journal of Lieut. William Barton, Journal of Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn, Journal of Rev. William Rogers, and Historical Address of Rev. David Craft, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 5, 68, 255, 347-348; Mintz, *Seeds of Empire*, 103.

traveled west from the Albany area.⁷⁵ With a combined force of nearly 5000 men, Sullivan's army was formidable (Figure 8).

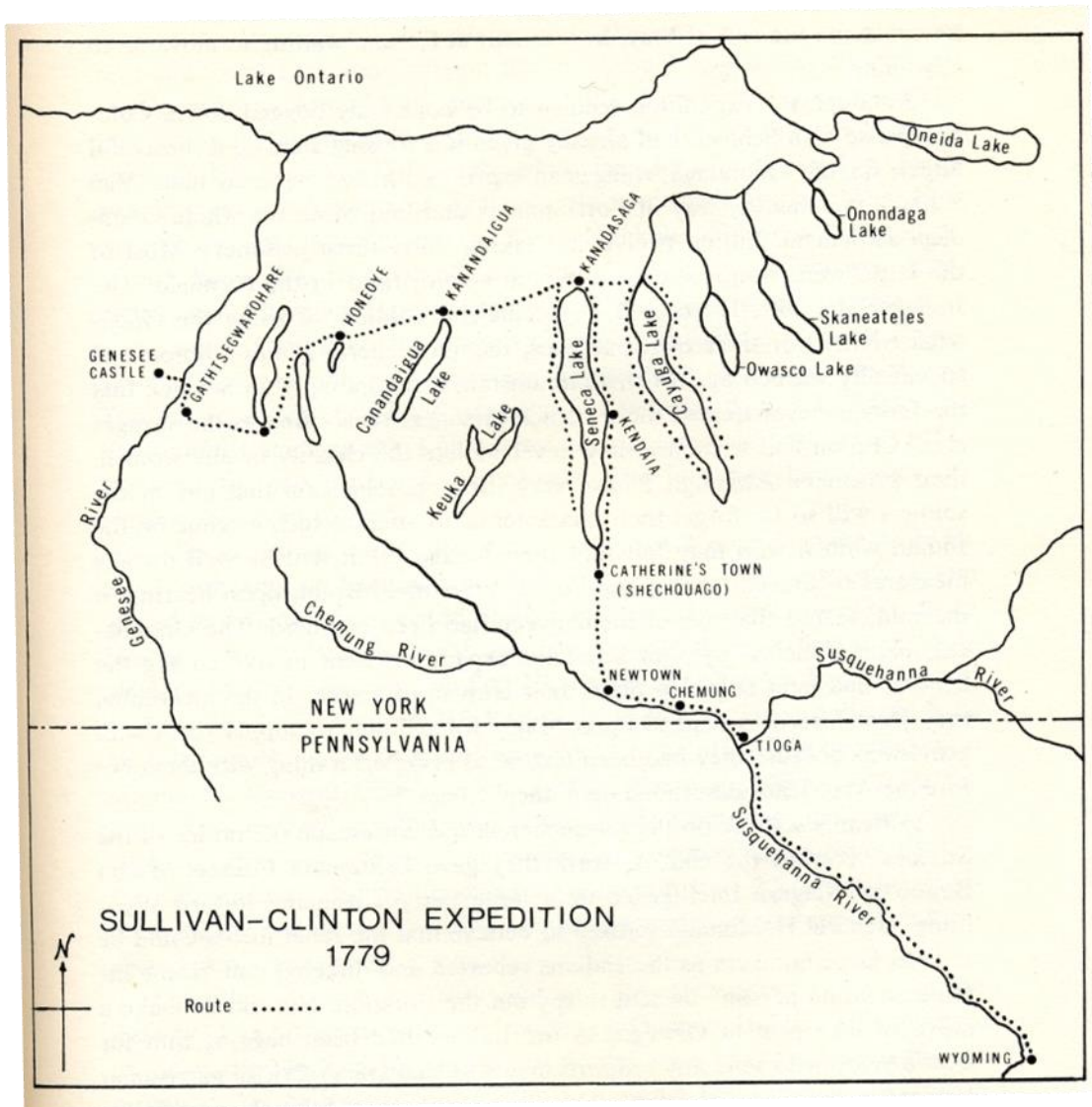


Figure 8: Sullivan Campaign Trail. Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972) 195.

While constructing the fortifications, some of the men also took the opportunity for native grave robbing. Major James Norris noted in his journal that “Whether through principle

⁷⁵ James Clinton’s journey to join Sullivan included building a dam on Otsego Lake to raise the depth of the Susquehanna River to make the waters navigable for bateaux. This feat was later used by James Fenimore Cooper in his 1823 novel, *The Pioneers*, the first of the Leatherstocking series.

of Avarice of Curiosity, our Soldiers dug up several of their graves and found a good many laughable relicts, as a pipe, Tomahawk & Beads, &c--.”⁷⁶ While Norris was unsure of the motivations, the act itself was a form of erasure – of unmaking. One way of connecting with the land and making claims of belonging is through burial customs and rituals. Grave desecration and theft, on some level, is an attempt to delegitimize these claims, and this episode was entangled in the broader context of the campaign. At the break of dawn on August 12, detachments from the main army entered the nearby village of Chemung where, Norris wrote, Sullivan gave orders for the “Town to be illuminated --& accordingly we had a glorious Bonfire of upwards of 30 Buildings at once: a melancholy & desperate Spectacle to the Savages many of whom must have beheld it from a Neighboring hill.”⁷⁷ The use of the word “Spectacle” by Norris suggests that the torching of the village, and incidents like the grave robbing, were performative acts whose power was truly manifest when witnessed. Beyond the physicality of the acts, the expedition was also sending the Haudenosaunee a message.

At least one of the participants on the campaign was unsettled by the actions of his fellows. Dr. Jabez Campfield, of the New Jersey Regiment, lamented “I heartily wish these rusticks may be reduced to reason, by the approach of this army, without their suffering the extreems of war; there is something so cruel, in destroying the habitations of any people, (however mean they may be, being there all) that I might say the prospect hurts my feelings.”⁷⁸ Campfield’s journal entry echoed similar sentiments uttered by the Seneca leader, Blacksnake, after the joint Haudenosaunee-British attack razed Cherry Valley in the previous year. Killing a man was one thing; destroying his home and community was of another order of magnitude.

⁷⁶ Journal of Major James Norris, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 229.

⁷⁷ Journal of Major James Norris, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 229.

⁷⁸ Journal of Dr. Jabez Campfield, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 54.

Were the concerns expressed by Campfield and Blacksnake for those that suffered the losses or were they directed internally – disquieted over the injury they might be causing to themselves?

After spending a few days reconnoitering the area, resting, and distributing supplies, the army proceeded north in two columns from Fort Sullivan towards the native settlement of Newtown, where scouts warned that Haudenosaunee and British forces had rallied to repulse the Continental forces. The din created by the advancing army was augmented by the beat of drums and the reverberation of two conch shells. Absent the standard bugle horns, which were missing from the army's baggage, the shells assisted the advancing columns in maintaining communication.⁷⁹ In keeping with Washington's original orders, the conch shells also served as a form of challenge to the enemy and clarion call for action.⁸⁰ Given the sound and fury of Sullivan's forces, Haudenosaunee scouting parties knew exactly where the army was located and their route of march. The only question left unresolved was where to engage the enemy in battle. Newtown was the line in the land.

On August 29, Sullivan's forces stopped short of Newtown along the south side of the Chemung River. Scouts deployed and quickly surveyed the terrain. Across the river, Haudenosaunee warriors, led by Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, and Col. John Butler's rangers, held the high ground on a 600 foot hill that commanded the approach into the settlement. While they enjoyed a strategic advantage, the Haudenosaunee-British forces were heavily outnumbered, with a combined force of approximately 600-800 men.⁸¹ More importantly, the Continentals had

⁷⁹ Order Book of Lt. Col. Francis Barber, Murray, *Notes from the Collections of Tioga Point Museum and Its Centennial Celebrations of 1879*, 81.

⁸⁰ After the campaign, one of the conch shells was kept as an heirloom by Lt. Obadiah Gore, Connecticut 3rd Regiment, and passed on to his descendants. Gore was from Wyoming, PA, and his family had suffered greatly during the raids of 1778. For more, including a picture of Gore's great-grandson blaring the shell, see "Down the Susquehanna by Canoe," *National Geographic Magazine*, vol. XCVIII, No. 1 (July 1950), 86

⁸¹ Estimates of the Haudenosaunee-British forces vary. For various reports see Graymont, 208; Nester, 262; Williams, 264; and Ernest Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara* (Cranbury: The Scholar's Bookshelf, 2006), 70. First published in 1893.

the benefit of artillery that could fire with impunity far beyond the reach of muskets. After weeks of porting the pieces upriver and over rough terrain, Sullivan was ready to employ their firepower. Forgoing a costly frontal assault, Sullivan ordered his artillery detachment to commence a cannonade upon the hill top positions. Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, reported that his unit “began the attack by opening upon them two 5&1/2 Irish Howitzers & Six three pounders, when a pleasing music ensued. But the Indians I believe did not admire the sound so much, nor could they be prevailed upon to listen to its music”⁸² With the cannon fire demanding the attention of the defenders, and pinning them in place, Sullivan sent part of his forces in a flanking maneuver to the enemies left. As the cannonade continued to create havoc in the British and Iroquois lines, Sullivan deployed two of his brigades to the center with orders to advance. The hill top defenders offered a withering fire into the advancing ranks of Sullivan’s men, but fearing encirclement, Brant and Butler ordered a retreat to escape the trap. Sullivan’s forces swarmed the summit and claimed the field of battle. Despite the intensity of the fight, casualties were relatively light for both sides. The Continentals suffered three dead and thirty-nine wounded, while Butler reported total losses of approximately twenty – a figure that given the number of bodies recovered by Sullivan’s men and the reported blood trails was likely quite low.⁸³

The next morning, Continental troops conducted a reconnaissance of the Newtown area and discovered a cornucopia of nearly ripe vegetables and fruits lying in the village fields and orchards. Due to Sullivan’s interminable delays at Easton, the expedition failed Washington’s original goal of destroying the native villages during the spring planting season, but the army

⁸² “Journal of Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779,” The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 27., No. 4, (1903) 416.

⁸³ Sullivan to Washington, August 30, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 22:304. For estimates on the native and British dead see Graymont, 213; Fischer, 93; Mintz, 128; Williams, 272; and Nester, 263-264.

was now entering the region just as the Haudenosaunee were about to enjoy the bounty of the harvest. Faced with the ever present burden of supplies, Sullivan put the army on half-rations and ordered the men to gather what edibles they carry, and burn the rest. In his report to Washington, Sullivan claimed that Newtown abounded “with extensive Fields of the best Corn and Beans so extensive and numerous as to keep the whole Army this day industriously employed in destroying and the business yet unfinish’d.”⁸⁴ Other men were equally taken by the rich land, including Major John Burrowes who wrote, “The land exceeds any that I have ever seen. Some corn measures eighteen feet, and a cob one foot and a half long. Beans, cucumbers, watermelons, muskmelons, cimblems are in a plenty.”⁸⁵ Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty expressed a similar appreciation for the land:

Our Brigade Destroyed about 150 Acres of the best corn that Ever I saw (some of the Stalks grew 16 feet high) besides great Quantities of Beans, Potatoes, Pumpkins, Cucumbers, Squashes & Watermellons, and the Enemy looking at us from the hills but did not fire on us.⁸⁶

In describing the jarring aftermath of the Newtown battle, historian Barbara Graymont stated “It is the business of a soldier to know how to kill, but the business of this campaign would prove a strange task indeed for men at arms – a warfare against vegetables.”⁸⁷ The task may have been strange, but it also was a continuation of the “war of torches” that had plagued the borderlands for years during the American Revolution. The difference during the Sullivan Campaign was that of scale.

The retreat from Newtown was a bitter defeat for the Haudenosaunee. Dispirited by their losses, and the might of Continental artillery, the outnumbered native warriors retreated deeper into their homelands. As Sullivan continued his march into Seneca and Cayuga territory, the

⁸⁴ Sullivan to Washington, August 30, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 22:304.

⁸⁵ Journal of Major John Burrowes, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 45.

⁸⁶ Journal of Lieut. Erkuries Beatty, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 27.

⁸⁷ Graymont, *Iroquois In the American Revolution*, 213.

Haudenosaunee offered only token resistance. Continental soldiers systematically burned villages and devastated the season's harvest. Fleeing the advance, a wave of Haudenosaunee refugees rippled across the Six Nations creating stress on the supplies and larders of sheltering villages. During the month of September, Sullivan's troops proceeded north along the eastern shores of Seneca Lake. Lt. Robert Parker described the lake as being "about 36 miles long & from 3 to 6 wide – Exceedingly beautiful & affords the most delightful prospect."⁸⁸ Fellow officer, Lt. Rudolphus Van Hovenburgh captured the incongruous nature of the march in his entry for September 4: "Decamp's and Proceeded on our march at Eight in the morning and passd. the Settlement all on fire in sight of Sinnekie [Seneca] Lake as pretty a Lake as ever I beheld and most beautiful Land and it appeared to be very good Land on the other side of the Lake."⁸⁹ The entries by Parker and Van Hovenburgh were typical of the numerous observations recorded in the soldiers' journals in describing both the richness of the Seneca lands and the devastation that the army left behind.

On September 5, the army marched to the village of Kendaia, or "Apple Town," which was likely the birthplace of the Seneca chief, Blacksnake, who disapproved of the ruination caused at Cherry Valley.⁹⁰ Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley recorded that "Canadia [Kendaia] is much the finest village we have yet come to. It is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of an extensive apple and peach orchard, within a half a mile of Seneca lake; it contains about forty well-finished houses, and everything about it seems neat and well improved."⁹¹ The sole remaining inhabitant was a Wyoming Valley settler, named Luke Swetland, who the

⁸⁸ "Journal of Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 28., No. 1, (1904) 12.

⁸⁹ Journal of Lieut. Rudolphus Van Hovenburgh, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 279.

⁹⁰ *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as told to Benjamin Williams*, Thomas S. Abler, ed., (Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1989), vii.

⁹¹ Journal of Lt. Col. Adam Hubley, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 159.

Haudenosaunee had captured during the raids in 1778. Swetland had been given to an older native woman who accepted him as her son, and he earned his keep in the community by collecting salt at a spring at some distance from Kendaia. At first thought to be a British deserter, some of the soldiers from Wyoming recognized Swetland and vouched for his condition. According to Swetland, “the Indians were much alarm’d and dejected at being beat at Newtown,” and had transported many wounded by canoe to other camps and settlements. Some of the warriors wanted to turn and fight the Continentals near Kendaia, but the “others said they had fought enough and did not choose to do any more.”⁹²

Along with Lt. Col. Adam Hubley, fellow soldiers made note of the abundant orchards and the age of Kendaia. Ensign Daniel Gookin estimated the village had “a number of 200 old apple trees and peach trees plenty” and Major Burrowes thought the orchards “had been planted fifty years.”⁹³ Lt. Robert Parker recorded that Kendaia (Appletown) “no doubt it first received this name from the number of apple-trees that grew there – This place appears to be an old settlement.”⁹⁴ The men were surprised by what they encountered in the village: how could Indians, a people so savage and inferior in the estimation of the soldiers, settle and cultivate a place like Kendaia? The journal descriptions of extensive acres of crops and orchards are clear evidence that the Seneca lands encountered by Sullivan’s men were not wild, untamed, and unproductive. These were settled lands with a deep history. The Haudenosaunee actively inhabited the landscape, and shaped it to meet their needs.

⁹² Journals of Lieut. John Jenkins, Major James Norris, Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn, and Lt. William Barton, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 173, 233, 73-74, 10. For more on Swetland see Edward Merrifield, *The story of the captivity and rescue from the Indians of Luke Swetland: an early settler of the Wyoming Valley and a soldier of the American Revolution*, (Scranton, PA: [s.n.], 1915).

⁹³ Journal of Ensign Daniel Gookin, Journal of Major John Burrows, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 106, 46.

⁹⁴ “Journal of Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 27., No. 4, (1903) 420.

The orchards existed because the Seneca and Cayuga were skilled agrarians who had adopted the fruit varieties from Europe that had arrived with early explorers and settlers. In his ground-breaking book, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*, environmental historian Alfred Crosby described this transfer of plants, animals, diseases, technology, and people between the Old and New Worlds.⁹⁵ Just as North American maize, potatoes, and tomatoes were prized by Europeans, fruits, such as the apple, were eagerly sought by native peoples. While the apple was indigenous to North America, the domestic varieties, such as the crabapple and mayapples were tart or sour, and were usually roasted, boiled into a sauce, or marinated in maple syrup before serving.⁹⁶ Apple and peach trees from Europe were generally much larger and sweeter than those found in North America. At some point in the late 17th or early 18th century, the Seneca people adopted and incorporated European varieties of apple, peach, pear, and plum trees into their horticultural practices and planted large orchards throughout their lands.⁹⁷ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a 19th century ethnologist and explorer, referred to the European apple as “the Iroquois banana,” and claimed that the Iroquois “appear to have been captivated by the taste, and they lost no time in transferring it, by sowing the seed, to the sites of their ancient castles.”⁹⁸

Native settlers developed detailed knowledge of soil conditions, sun exposure and other factors needed in the cultivation of fruit trees. Today, apple orchards are found in abundance in upstate New York, particularly along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, but peach trees are especially susceptible to cold weather and can thrive only in specific micro-climates like those

⁹⁵ Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Publishing, 1972).

⁹⁶ William Kerrigan, “Apples on the Border: Orchards and the Contest for the Great Lakes,” *Michigan Historical Review*, 34:1 (Spring 2008), 26, 36.

⁹⁷ *The Apples of New York: Report – New York Agriculture Experiment Station*, Spencer Ambrose Beach, ed., et.al. (State of New York, Department of Agriculture, 1903), 2-6, and Kerrigan, 35.

⁹⁸ Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois, or Contributions to American History, Antiquities, and General Ethnology* (Albany, NY: Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1987) 17, and Kerrigan, 35.

found in a limited number of folds and valleys along the shores of Seneca and Cayuga Lake (Figure 9).⁹⁹ The apple and peach trees encountered by the soldiers in Kendaia were not growing haphazardly on the village outskirts, but were large orchards that, after being carefully planted, took years to bear fruit, and were meticulously maintained for generations prior to the Sullivan Campaign.

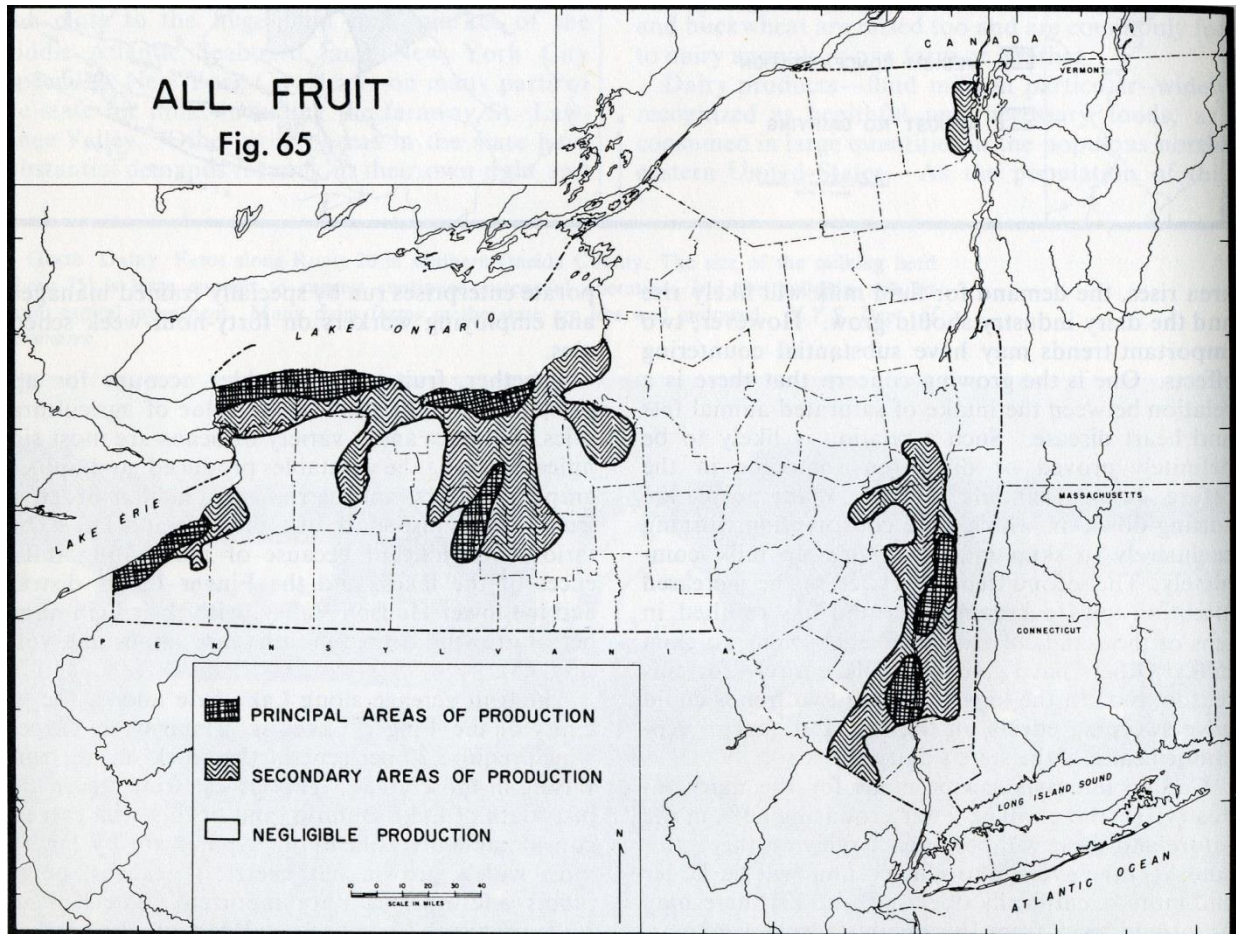


Figure 9: Areas of Fruit Production in New York. John H. Thompson, ed. *Geography of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966) 206.

Other evidence of Kendaia's age was recently studied by archaeologist Kurt Jordan, during a series of digs in the region. Based upon the recorded observations of the orchards by

⁹⁹ *Cornell Guide to Growing Fruit at Home*, Cornell University Cooperative Extension (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Media and Technology Services Resource Center, 2003), 4-5.

Sullivan's soldiers, and examinations of artifacts unearthed at the village, Jordan established the founding date of Kendaia as somewhere between 1704-1720, with a settlement population of approximately 180 individuals.¹⁰⁰ While the village was located on a ridge overlooking Seneca Lake, Jordan noted that the topography in the area was "not particularly well suited for defensive purposes," which was likely a contributing factor in its abandonment in the face of Sullivan's march.¹⁰¹ Kendaia was founded for the area's specific agricultural properties, and not as an outpost to deter encroachment onto Seneca lands.

Despite the readily apparent age and qualities of Kendaia, the village did not escape the depredations of Sullivan's men. Kendaia was put to the torch, its fields destroyed, and its fruit trees girdled or cut down - not only for the land's importance to the Seneca, but for what Kendaia represented to the men on the march. "The expedition," Barbara Graymont contended, "disclosed to the whites, who had always termed the redmen 'savages,' that these Indians were living in a state of civilization equal to, and often better than, that of the frontier whites."¹⁰² Kendaia challenged the 18th century notions of the supposed difference between Euro-Americans and natives, and what it meant to be civilized. The imagination and pre-conceptions of the men on the campaign clashed with the reality of what they experienced on the ground.

In his assessment of the Sullivan Campaign, Wayne Lee, historian of early modern military history, explained that for the Continental soldiers "Indians were not just 'savages,' a word that originally simply implied men living without the trappings of 'civilization' such as clothes, cities, or writing. They became barbarians, bent on cruelty, and indifferent and even

¹⁰⁰ Kurt Jordan, *The Seneca Restoration, 1715-1754: An Iroquois Political Economy* (Gainesville, FL: Univ. Press of Florida, 2008), 166, 181-182, 192-193. Jordan noted that the population figure was based upon current excavations and was likely higher than 180.

¹⁰¹ Jordan, *Seneca Restoration*, 192.

¹⁰² Graymont, *Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 220.

resistant to the attractions of Christianity and a civil life as defined by the English.”¹⁰³ In posing a threat to that narrative, in challenging what it meant to be civilized, the Seneca village drew the ire of the expedition. Kendaia was a transformed native landscape that revealed a sense of permanence and prosperity. Kendaia was also a place where the Seneca people clearly demonstrated a profound attachment to and claims of belonging to the land (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Indian Apple Tree Still Standing Near Geneva, NY, in 1904. *The Apples of New York: Report – New York Agriculture Experiment Station*, Spencer Ambrose Beach, ed., et.al. (State of New York, Department of Agriculture, 1903), 5. Geneva is just a short distance from Kendaia.

Burning the village and crop fields served to deny the Haudenosaunee much needed shelter and larder for the coming winter, but destroying Kendaia’s bountiful fruit orchards was an act of erasure of both a physical place and a cultural space. By unmaking Kendaia, the soldiers also attempted to erase the Haudenosaunee’s history with the land. A people without history were uncivilized and therefore lacked legitimate claims to possess the landscape. If the

¹⁰³ Wayne Lee, *Barbarians & Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011), 226.

soldiers on the expedition had any misgivings about their actions at Kendaia, none were recorded. For his journal entry on September 5, Sergeant William Rogers, Second New York Regiment, concisely depicted the smoldering wake of the Sullivan Campaign: “came to Kendaia, Destroyed it.”¹⁰⁴

After departing Kendaia, Major Jeremiah Fogg, 2nd New Hampshire Regiment, reflected more broadly about the expedition into the rich Haudenosaunee homelands:

Whether the god of nature ever designed that so noble a part of creation should remain uncultivated, in consequence of an unprincipled and brutal part of it, is one of those arcana, yet hidden from human intelligence. However, had I any influence in the councils of America, I should not think it an affront to the Devine will, to lay some effectual plan, either to civilize, or totally extirpate the race.¹⁰⁵

Fogg presented the Haudenosaunee with a binary choice: become civilized or be eradicated. Yet, after having witnessed the settlement of Kendaia, he was unwilling to acknowledge the Seneca village as being “civilized” according to Euro-American standards. What Fogg envisioned was not the transformation of native peoples, but possession of their lands. During the expedition, his journal entries reveal that he studied the landscape as both a soldier and as a potential colonist with an eye for future development and growth. The Haudenosaunee lands, Fogg asserted, were meant for industrious Euro-Americans to settle and make flourish. He branded natives as a people of the past; as obstacles that needed to be removed or erased to make way for a better future. There was no future in peace. “Counting their friendship,” Fogg argued, “is not only a disagreeable task, but impracticable,” and efforts to force natives off their lands by starvation “is equally impracticable for they feed on air and drink the morning dew.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Journal of Sergeant Willam Rogers, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 266.

¹⁰⁵ Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 98. Fogg was a 1768 graduate of Harvard; the Fogg family name adorns the campus art museum.

¹⁰⁶ Journal of Major Jermiah Fogg, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 98.

In his journal entry for September 7, Fogg outlined his particular vision for the Seneca lands: “The land between the Seneca and Cayuga lakes appears good, level and well timbered; affording a sufficiency for twenty elegant townships, which in process of time will doubtless add to the importance of America.”¹⁰⁷ His assessment of the landscape was insightful and would later be of great interest to the political and business leadership of New York state. Lt. Robert Parker joined in Fogg’s aspiration for the future, noting that the Seneca lands were bountiful and “interspersed with purling streams and well calculated for every species of Agriculture & no doubt but it will one day become no inconsiderable part of the western empire.”¹⁰⁸ Given that the Revolutionary War was ongoing, and the outcome far from certain, the confidence expressed by Fogg and Parker is notable. At a time when Washington was struggling to keep his army clothed and fed, these particular journal entries have a jarring air of inevitability. But at least one soldier on the expedition was conflicted about the future. In a letter home, he wrote:

Our mission here is ostensibly to destroy but may it not transpire that we pillagers are carelessly sowing the seeds of Empire? Or varying the figure may we not be laying in these forests the foundation of a Great Commonwealth that shall one day vie with old New England and New York in prosperity and greatness? Verily we are in God’s hands.¹⁰⁹

The soldier recognized that the campaign was leaving an imprint on the land, and its inhabitants, that would last long after the army’s passage. Claims of civilization and visions of expansion, townships, and empire were all intertwined and part of the undercurrent that flowed through the causes and consequences of the Sullivan Campaign.

¹⁰⁷ Journal of Major Jermiah Fogg, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 97.

¹⁰⁸ “Journal of Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 28, No. 4, (1904) 12-13.

¹⁰⁹ “Love Notes of Soldier to His Sweetheart Delivered After His Death,” *The Sunday Telegram* (Elmira, NY), March 10, 1929, 10. Also available as a pamphlet from Tioga Point Museum, Athens, PA. The letters were first published in a local newspaper during the 1879 Sullivan Centennial Celebrations. Historians have not identified the author or his sweetheart. The name of Max Mintz’s book on the Sullivan Campaign, *Seeds of Empire*, is taken from this particular letter.

Over the course of September, detachments from Sullivan's command ranged deeper into the Seneca homelands as they canvassed the territory between Seneca and Cayuga Lakes and the Genesee River. Members of the expedition continued to record details of the land's bounty, while waging war upon the land. The journal entries reveal the underlying tension of the Sullivan campaign: the expedition was both a punitive measure against the Haudenosaunee for the conflict on the borderlands and a journey of exploration and conquest. In one hand, the soldiers wielded a torch; while in the other, the surveyor's notebook. As part of the westward march, at least two cartographers, Benjamin Lodge and Simeon DeWitt, from the newly created Department of the Geographer and Surveyor-General of the Continental Army, participated in the expedition. DeWitt was the nephew of General James Clinton, who had joined the Sullivan Campaign at Tioga. Armed with compass, Jacob's staff and chains, the surveyors carefully measured and recorded the journey from Easton, PA into the Haudenosaunee homelands. In order to claim new lands and sow the seeds of empire, the Continentals first sought to capture the particulars of the landscape through maps. Using the calculations contained in the survey field notes, the department later produced more than forty maps, generally on a scale of two miles to the inch.¹¹⁰ The creation of these maps was a form of history-making on part of the cartographers that changed the entangled relationship between the land, inhabitants, and human activity. In the process of reducing the landscape to lines on a map, questions concerning its possession became central to the lands future. After the Revolution, DeWitt served for more

¹¹⁰ Maps in the DeWitt Collection, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 291-295.

than fifty years as the New York State Surveyor General, and played a major role in the expansion of the Empire State.¹¹¹

Fogg and Parker expressed their vision for the land's future through their journals, but a group of fellow officers on the campaign took it a step further. Brigadier General Edward Hand, Col. Philip Cortland, Col. Nathan Ogden, Lt. Col. Francis Barber, and Major Nicholas Fish, along with surveyor Lt. Benjamin Lodge, joined in a legally binding contract declaring their commitment to:

locate and appropriate to and for our own use, and for our own joint and mutual beneficial advantages, a certain tract or parcel of land lying to the westward of the Susquehanna River between the latitudes of forty two & forty five, which said land is unappropriated.¹¹²

Lodge's part in the contract was to provide details of the survey he completed as the army marched throughout the region. Acknowledging that no state currently held claim to the land, the parties mutually bound themselves "each to the others in the sum of ten thousand dollars of lawful money," for when legal title for the land could be acquired from the appropriate state.

While Fogg and Parker merely envisioned the expansion of empire, Hand and his fellow investors engaged directly in preemptive land speculation for personal gain and benefit.

During the course of the campaign, messengers rode the trail from Tioga's Fort Sullivan to keep the army apprised of developments in the war. On September 25, Sullivan received word that Spain had entered the global conflict on the side of the Patriots. In celebration, he ordered a

¹¹¹ For more on Simeon DeWitt and his role after the American Revolution see, Margaret Mano, "Unmapping the Iroquois," in Laurence M. Hauptman, ed., *The Oneida Indian Journey: from New York to Wisconsin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1999), 171-95; Karim M. Tiro, *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nations from the Revolution through the Era of Removal* (Amherst: Univ. of Mass. Press, 2011), 112, 150-151; Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 8-10, 74-75, 142, and William Heidt with Carol Kammen, ed., *Simeon DeWitt: Founder of Ithaca* (Ithaca, NY: DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, 1968). DeWitt is also considered one of the founders of Ithaca, NY.

¹¹² Articles of Agreement - Land Contract, August 5, 1779, Military Collection, New York State Historical Association and Research Library, Cooperstown, NY; Mintz, 114, and Lee, 230. My thanks to the staff of the NYSHA Research Library for locating and providing me with a copy of this document.

feu de joie (fire of joy), including thirteen discharges of cannon followed by a rolling line of musketry. Each brigade also received an oxen to roast and five gallons of spirits. The officers of General Hand's brigade lit thirteen campfires and thirteen candles to commemorate the occasion, and similar to the celebrations held on July 5, in honor of independence, the officers led the men in offering thirteen toasts. Glasses were raised to Washington, Sullivan, American Liberty, France, and Spain. The final toast exemplified the humor men at arms often share between battles: "May the Enemies of America be Metamorphised into Pack horses and sent on a Western Expedition."¹¹³

As the moon rose, the celebrations continued. Lt. Erkuries Beatty noted in his journal that "there were two or three Indian Dances led down by Genl. Hand and performed by the rest midling well." Lieut. Samuel Shute also made note of the festivities: "Spent the evening with the greatest sociability & mirth Buck & Indian dance throughout the camp."¹¹⁴ Why would soldiers on an Indian Expedition, hundreds of miles from the safety of main lines, perform native dances around their campfires? At a time when the army was actively destroying the Haudenosaunee homelands, what did the performance of native dances mean to the men of the campaign? In *Playing Indian*, native historian Philip Deloria contended that the donning of Indian guise during the colonial period was rooted in the costumed excesses of old European holiday festivals that evoked mirth and misrule. By turning the world upside down, participants challenged social distinctions, differences, and constructions of identity.¹¹⁵ The dances by Sullivan's men were likely done for a number of reasons: partly in jest, and perhaps to mock; partly to demonstrate a lack of fear of the Haudenosaunee people. Deloria suggested, however, that something more

¹¹³ Details of the celebration from, Journal of Lieut. Erkuries Beatty, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 34.

¹¹⁴ Journal of Lieut. Samuel Shute, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 273.

¹¹⁵ Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 14-16.

profound was happening. “The performance of Indian Americanness afforded a powerful foundation for subsequent pursuits of national identity.”¹¹⁶ At a time of violent rebellion against the King, colonists sought to establish new bonds of natural affinity between themselves and with the land. By “playing Indian,” around the campfire, the soldiers were making claims about who they were in this new (to them) land. There was a utility to donning the metaphorical mask of the native. Colonists learned a deep attachment to the land through appropriations of nativeness. Yet, as Deloria noted, “in order to control the landscape they [the colonists] had to destroy the original inhabitants.”¹¹⁷ In this broader historical process, in which the Sullivan Campaign was just one moment in time, the colonists became the new natives, and asserted that they had the most legitimate claims to the land.

As the warmth of the summer season faded and supplies dwindled, the expedition drew to a close. In early October, Sullivan turned his army south and retraced his path along the lakes, past Kendaia, and to Tioga. After covering several hundred miles of difficult terrain during the expedition, many of the packhorses could not continue and the soldiers regretfully euthanized the animals. Major John Burrowes recorded, “we have killed all that gave out, in number about 200 and lost as many more.”¹¹⁸ According to tradition, many of the slain horses were left along the trail and their skulls posed by natives as a warning to stay out of the region. Years later, after the first wave of Euro-American settlers arrived and encountered the skulls, the inhabitants founded the village of Horseheads, which remains today. The packhorses that did make the return journey were joined by a milk cow that had followed in the train of the army since Easton, PA. Lt. Col. Hubley gave praise to the cow noting that the men “were under infinite obligations for

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹¹⁸ Journal of Major John Burrowes, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 50.

the great quantity of milk she afforded us, which rendered our situation very comfortable.”¹¹⁹

While these journal entries may seem inconsequential, they highlight the paradoxical nature of the expedition. The same men that systematically ravaged the Haudenosaunee homelands were disturbed by the mass killing of the packhorses, and took heart at the steadfast service of the milking cow.

While in route to Tioga, Sullivan received a series of letters from Washington regarding the status of the expedition. Sullivan failed to provide a report to his commander-in-chief since the Battle of Newtown at the end of August, and had been out of direct contact for more than a month. Perhaps Sullivan did not want to be pressed to continue his march towards British lines at Niagara. Cantankerousness or even neglect may have also played a role. Whatever the reason for his subordinate’s silence, it earned Washington’s ire and on October 8 he ordered Sullivan to quickly march his forces to West Point, New York, for a possible joint operation with the French Navy against British positions along the coast.¹²⁰ Washington’s response to Sullivan may also have been influenced by the disastrous Penobscot Expedition in August where Continental and militia forces failed to dislodge the British from Maine. More than 450 men and a fleet of 30 vessels were lost in a U.S. naval defeat that would not be surpassed until Pearl Harbor.¹²¹

Upon his return from the Indian expedition, Sullivan anticipated a hero’s welcome, but, instead, the response was muted. Washington tersely congratulated Sullivan for his safe return and “upon the success which has attended the Expedition intrusted to your care.”¹²² The logistical challenges for the expedition were significant, and delayed the march. Sullivan’s

¹¹⁹ Journal of Lt. Col Adam Hubley, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 166.

¹²⁰ Washington to Sullivan, October 3 and 8, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 22:624, 675.

¹²¹ For more on the Penobscot Expedition see, George Buker, *The Penobscot Expedition: Commodore Saltonstall and the Massachusetts Conspiracy of 1779* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002).

¹²² Washington to Sullivan, October 8, 1779, *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 22:624, 675.

heated skirmishes, however, with the commissary agents and quartermasters earned him few friends among his fellow officers or Washington's staff. Throughout the Revolutionary War, Continental forces suffered from chronic supply shortages; Sullivan's expedition was no different. It was expected that senior officers would do the best with the men and materiel at hand to accomplish the mission. According to Sullivan biographer, Charles Whittemore, the general had "carped and criticized too often," and that in his disputes over supplies his "barbed language new no curve."¹²³ Furthermore, while Sullivan successfully razed the Haudenosaunee lands, he did not take any native prisoners, nor did his forces threaten Fort Niagara. An attempt on the British stronghold itself would likely have ended in failure, but Sullivan declined the opportunity to scorch the vast tracts of lands west of the Genesee River leading to Niagara, which were a vital source of supply for Haudenosaunee and British forces in the region.

Stinging from his lukewarm reception, Sullivan crafted a detailed official report which he sent directly to John Jay, President of the Continental Congress. Seeking to win praise for the campaign and enhance his reputation, Sullivan boasted, "The number of towns destroyed by this army amounted to 40 besides scattered houses. The quantity of corn destroyed, at a moderate computation, must amount to 160,000 bushels, with a vast quantity of vegetables of every kind."¹²⁴ In the closing of the report, Sullivan proudly stated, "I flatter myself that the orders with which I was entrusted are fully executed, as we have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations, nor is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of Niagara."¹²⁵ The Sullivan Campaign had, undeniably, left a broad swath of devastation across the land, and his report was well received by some supporters in Congress, but his facile attempts to out-manuever Washington were met with disdain. In Reverend William Gordon's 1788

¹²³ Whittemore, *A General of the Revolution*, 149.

¹²⁴ Sullivan's Official Report, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 296-303.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 305.

history of the independence of the United States, he claimed that Sullivan's "pompous account of his military peregrination, which he sent to congress, made him the laugh of the officers in the army."¹²⁶ In personal correspondence with Jasper Yeates, a prominent lawyer in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, General Hand suggested that Sullivan's report was an attempt to turn the army's "Corn Stalks into Laurels."¹²⁷ Given Hand's desire to gain title to large tracts of Haudenosaunee lands, he may have viewed Sullivan as a rival, and his comment perhaps self-serving. In early November, Washington received a letter from Sullivan offering his resignation from service. Sullivan cited personal health concerns as the motivating factor, but his wounded pride was likely a contributing cause. By an act of Continental Congress, on November 13, the delegates voted 17-5 to accept Sullivan's resignation from the Continental Army.¹²⁸ Major General John Sullivan's military career was over, but the violent struggle over the borderlands and control of the Seneca and Cayuga lands continued. In his final journal entry, Major Fogg captured the essence of the U.S. Army's first Indian expedition: "The nests are destroyed, but the birds are still on the wing."¹²⁹

The Sullivan Campaign overran and destroyed much of the Haudenosaunee homelands, but did not achieve a defining military victory. The Seneca were wounded - not defeated; their lands razed – not erased. The western people of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy retreated into what remained of the sheltering landscape and prepared for the coming winter, one of the most bitter in memory. In her well known narrative of life with the Seneca people, Mary Jemison (Deh-he-wa-mis, meaning "Two Falling Voices") recounted that in the winter of 1779-1780, the

¹²⁶ William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (London: 1788), 3:312.

¹²⁷ As quoted in Whittemore, *General of the Revolution*, 149.

¹²⁸ Sullivan to Washington, Nov. 6, 1779, Action of Congress, Nov. 13, 1779, in Hammond, *Sullivan Papers*, 3:158,162-163. For Sullivan's post-war career as the President of New Hampshire and member of the Continental Congress, see Whittemore, *General of the Revolution*, 154-228. In recognition of his service to the nation, counties in NY, NH, PA, TN, and MO were named in Sullivan's honor.

¹²⁹ Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan*, 101.

snow fell more than five feet deep and remained on the ground well into spring. Almost all the “game upon which the Indians depended for subsistence, perished, and reduced them to starvation,” and “many of our people barely escaped with their lives, and some actually died of hunger and freezing.”¹³⁰ During this difficult time, the Seneca received minimal assistance from the British and their alliance was somewhat challenged. Scholars estimate that prior to the Revolutionary War the total Haudenosaunee population was between 8,000-10,000 men and women, with a majority divided between the western Seneca and Cayuga tribes. In the aftermath of the Sullivan Campaign, anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace claimed that by 1794, as a consequence of invasion, hunger, cold, and disease, no more than 4,000 Iroquois remained in the area of upstate New York and Canada.¹³¹

Despite the hardships endured by the Seneca people, in the spring of 1780 the Haudenosaunee raids in the borderlands began anew. Collectively known as the Burning of the Valleys, Joseph Brant and Col. Butler led their forces on a series of attacks throughout the Mohawk Valley region.¹³² Some British officers believed that Sullivan’s excess on the campaign served only to steel the resolve of the Haudenosaunee. Lt. Col Bolton reported that “had Sullivan acted with more prudence & less severity I am satisfied we should not have had one third of the Six Nations in our interests at this time.”¹³³ In correspondence with Thomas Jefferson, James Madison noted that “The Expedition of Genl. Sullivan against the six nations seems by its effects rather to have exasperated than to have terrified or disabled them. And the

¹³⁰ James E. Seaver, ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison: De-He-Wa-Mis, the White Woman of the Genesee*, 7th ed. (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1910), 54.

¹³¹ For Iroquois population estimates see: Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, (New York: Random House, 1972), 195-196; Max M. Mintz, *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 1; Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 4.

¹³² For more on the post 1779 raids see, Gavin K. Watt, *The Burning of the Valleys: Daring Raids from Canada Against the New York Frontier in the Fall of 1780* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997).

¹³³ Bolton to Haldimand, May 16, 1780, *The Haldimand Papers*, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society (Lansing: Robert Smith and Co. State Printers and Binders, 1892) 19:521; Tiro, *People of the Standing Stone*, 55.

example of those nations will add great weight to the exhortations addressed to the more Southern tribes.¹³⁴ In spite of some of the doubts expressed by those who questioned the merits of the Indian expedition, the framing of the Sullivan Campaign as a success and just punishment for the predations along the borderlands began shortly after the soldiers returned from the expedition.

On October 17, 1779, Israel Evans, chaplain to General Poor's brigade, delivered a celebratory benediction to officers and men at Easton, PA. Conveying themes similar to those offered by Rev. William Rogers on July 4, Evans provided thanks "to our divine Benefactor and powerful Guardian, who has girded us with the strength unto the battle, and made us superior to all unavoidable toils, hardships, and dangers of a wilderness unknown and unexplored, unless by the wild beasts and the savages."¹³⁵ Despite what Evans had witnessed at impressive settlements like Kendaia, he characterized the expedition as a righteous crusade against the untamed and uncivilized. Like Fogg, Parker, and Hand, the reverend envisioned something even grander as a result of the Sullivan Campaign. Peering over the horizon, Evans stated:

Methinks I see the rich lands from the Teaoga [Tioga] River to the banks of the Seneca and Cayuga lakes, and from thence to the most fruitful of lands on the Chenesses [Genesee River] to the great lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, and from these to Mihigan [Michigan] and Superior. Methinks I see all these lands inhabited by the independent Citizens of America. I congratulate posterity on this addition of immense wealth and extensive territory to the United States.¹³⁶

While his fellow officers had limited their gaze to the lands of the Seneca, Evans was picturing a broader canvas. His impassioned speech foreshadowed the calls for Manifest Destiny that became part of the national conversation in the 1840s with the Jacksonian Democrats. Future

¹³⁴ Madison to Jefferson, June 2, 1780, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 18 June 1779–30 September 1780*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) 3:411–412; Whittemore, *General of the Revolution*, 149.

¹³⁵ Reverend Israel Evans, "A Discourse at Easton, on the 17th of October, 1779, to the Officers and Soldiers of the Western Army, After their Return from an Expedition against the Five Nations of Hostile Indians," (Philadelphia: Thomas Bradford, at the Coffee-House, 1779), 17.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, 22.

generations of grateful citizens, Reverend Evans continued, “shall enumerate the many towns you destroyed, and the necessity of destroying unknown quantities of corn and fruits of the land, and of laying the country waste for an extent of two hundred miles.”¹³⁷ In the greater story of progress, devastation had proved a necessity. Not surprisingly, Evans’ speech was well received by his audience. It was later printed and made available in local coffee shops. Reverend Evans may have been the first to shape public memory and the mythology of the Sullivan Campaign, but he would not be the last. For Evans, the Haudenosaunee lands had not just been ravaged by Sullivan’s army, but also claimed and would be remade as part of the brighter future he imagined for the citizens of the United States. Exactly who would benefit from these lands remained an open question.

Just a few short months after the end of the Sullivan Campaign, Governor Clinton of New York received correspondence from Brigadier General Samuel Parsons informing him that “a considerable portion of the officers of the Connec’tt Line [Connecticut Regiment] are desirous of forming Settlements in the western parts of the State of New York at the Close of the present War.” Parsons contended that settlement of the region would be accomplished most quickly and effectively by veterans who would serve as a “Barrier to the interior Settlements, appreciate the Value of the settled part of the Country, and increase their Commerce as the Inhabitants increas’d.”¹³⁸ Parson’s offer had merit, but not for soldiers from Connecticut.

During the Revolutionary War, New York offered land bounties as an incentive for military service. On March 20, 1781, the New York Legislature voted to raise “two regiments for the defence of this state on bounties of unappropriated lands.”¹³⁹ Over the course of the conflict, additional military units were raised with promises of substantial rewards of land. In

¹³⁷ Reverend Israel Evans, “A Discourse at Easton,” 24.

¹³⁸ Parsons to Clinton, February, 1780, *Public Letters of George Clinton*, 5:505-506.

¹³⁹ New York State Laws of Session, Session 1, Chapter 5, March 20, 1781.

order to fulfill its anticipated obligations, on July 25, 1782, the New York Legislature designated nearly two million acres of prime Haudenosaunee lands as the New Military Tract.¹⁴⁰ The area was vast and encompassed much of central upstate from the southern shores of Lake Ontario to Seneca and Cayuga Lake. At the time of the designation of the tract, three years after the scourge of the Sullivan Campaign, New York did not control the region. The upstate lands were sparsely inhabited by Haudenosaunee, and a modest number of settlers who warily ventured into the borderlands. The New York legislature was being rather optimistic when it set aside the tract in anticipation of one day wresting control of the region and distributing the land to military veterans.

Why was this particular tract of land chosen for the land bounty? The laudatory first-hand accounts of the region by soldiers in the Sullivan Campaign were influential in the decision, but other pragmatic and strategic factors likely played a key role. The war had broken the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, and reduced their control of the lands, but dominion by the fledgling United States could only be achieved through secure settlement. Having military veterans in the vanguard would solidify the western expansion of the state. This region also contained favorable topographic features and numerous waterways, which facilitated transportation and communication with the more populated areas of New York City and the eastern seaboard.¹⁴¹ The state legislature optimistically staked its claim on these lands in anticipation of a favorable outcome in the war with Great Britain.

Despite the optimism of Reverend Evans and the New York, the borderlands remained fiercely contested until long after the 1783 Treaty of Paris officially ended the Revolutionary

¹⁴⁰ New York State Laws of Session, Session 6, Chapter 11, July 25, 1782.

¹⁴¹ For more information on these geographical features see Richard Huot Schien, "A Historical Geography of Central New York: Patterns and Processes of Colonization on the Military Tract, 1782-1820," PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1989, 56-60.

War. The carefully worded document had much to say regarding the cessation of hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, but remained silent as to the desires and expectations of native peoples, including the Haudenosaunee. More than a decade later, the dispossession of the Seneca and Cayuga that could not be accomplished by musket and sword was eventually achieved through the might of the pen. On November 11, 1794, fifty Haudenosaunee leaders gathered in the Seneca community of Canandaigua (a village razed by Sullivan) to sign a treaty with Thomas Pickering, the official agent of President Washington and the federal government. In exchange for vast tracts of Seneca lands east of the Genesee River, the Treaty of Canandaigua established perpetual peace and friendship between the Six Nations and the United States. The 1797 Treaty of Big Tree, signed near present day Geneseo, opened the lands west of the Genesee River to Euro-American settler expansion and established the boundaries of several Haudenosaunee reservations. The Seneca reserved the right to inhabit, fish, and hunt on 310 square miles (approximately 200,000 acres), while surrendering millions of acres to the United States. As part of the treaty, Mary Jemison (Deh-he-wa-mis) received her own tract of fertile farmland on the Gardeau flats along the Genesee River.¹⁴²

Ten years after the Sullivan Campaign, and in anticipation of the treaties with the Haudenosaunee, the New York Legislature passed a bill authorizing the Commissioners of the Land Office to direct the New York surveyor-general, Simeon DeWitt (one of the surveyors on the Sullivan Campaign), to lay out as many townships in the Military Tract as needed to satisfy the land bounties due to soldiers. The Legislature decreed:

¹⁴² For more on the Treaty of Canandaigua and Big Tree see, Jack Campisi, "From Stanwix to Canandaigua: National Policy, States' Rights, and Indian Land," in *Iroquois Land Claims*, Christopher Vecsey and William Starna, eds., (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1988); Jack Campisi and William Starna, "On the Road to Canandaigua: The Treaty of 1794," *American Indian Quarterly*, Vol 19., No. 4, (Autumn, 1995), 467-490; Peter Jemison and Anna Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua, 1794: 200 Years of Treaty Relations between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000); Norman Wilkinson, "Robert Morris and the Treaty of Big Tree," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. 40., No.2., (Sept., 1953), 257-278, and Hauptman, *Conspiracy on Interests*, 91-92, 94, 96, 107-108, 171-172.

townships shall respectively contain sixty thousand acres of land, and be laid out as nearly in squares as local circumstances will permit, and be numbered from number one progressively, to the last inclusive; and the commissioners of the land-office shall likewise designate every township by such name as they shall deem proper.¹⁴³

As teams of New York surveyors traveled the region, carefully collecting their field data for maps, they transformed *terra incognita*, into *terra firma* and then *terra nullius* – lands belonging to no one. Map-makers imposed their own vision and order on the landscape. By delegitimizing and erasing native claims to the land, the maps served as blunt instruments of expansion and empire. At the conclusion of the surveying mission, DeWitt’s office carved twenty-eight potential townships in a grid pattern from Haudenosaunee lands (Figure 11). In accordance with the state legislature, townships were subdivided into one hundred lots; each lot contained six hundred acres (60,000 acres per township, nearly 2 million acres in total).

J. B. Jackson, the noted scholar of American landscapes, contended that the post-Revolutionary War era of westward expansion was greatly influenced by the collective desire to impose order on unfamiliar surroundings. “It is after the American Revolution that the vision of the new rational, mathematical order began to inspire the designed environment.” The most obvious examples, Jackson claimed, were found in the east, “above all in the so-called Military Townships of upper New York State.”¹⁴⁴ In this process of knowing, claiming, and mapping the land, the grid pattern played an influential role in early American designs to shape and civilize the landscape.

The broad authority granted to the New York Land Office to name the townships and organize the region in an extensive grid pattern influenced how settlers perceived the landscape. This particular ordering of the physical landscape was also an attempt at social engineering.

¹⁴³ New York State Laws of Session, Session 12, Chapter 44, February 28, 1789.

¹⁴⁴ J. B. Jackson, “The Order of the Landscape” D.W. Meinig, ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) 155-158.

Many of the twenty-eight townships were named after great figures of classical Greece, the Roman republic, iconic intellectuals and authors, and hallowed places (Figure 12). In the years after the establishment of the Military Tract, many scholars thought Simeon DeWitt responsible for the township names, but the weight of evidence indicates that Robert Harpur, Secretary of the Land Board was the most likely candidate.¹⁴⁵ The imprinting of the landscape with these historical names celebrated the ancient western roots of the Euro-American settlers, and provided a sense of familiar civilization to the perceived wilderness of the western frontier. The classical nomenclature used to identify the twenty-eight military townships was also an attempt to imbue the landscape with the ancient republican values of duty, honor, sacrifice, service to community, and self-sufficiency – components of a moral code many thought would be needed in the conquest of what was perceived as an untamed wilderness.¹⁴⁶ In the decades after the townships were established some travelers to the region, particularly from Europe, viewed the names with mirth and derision:

Nothing can be more ridiculous, than the names that have been given to the little insignificant villages in all this part of the country, as Rome, Athens, Sparta, or what is still more absurd, Tully, Pompey, Virgil, Dryden, Milton, &c. Thus bad taste infects to a certain degree the whole of the United States, innumerable little towns being designated by the names of London, Paris, Madrid, Calcutta, Constantinople, &c, as if on purpose to excite laughter and contempt of the traveller.¹⁴⁷

In the estimation of this English gentleman, the townships may have carried lofty names, but the gold of true civilization did not gild the lily of the Military Tract.

¹⁴⁵ Albert Hazen Wright, *Simeon DeWitt and Military Tract Township Names* (Ithaca, NY: DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, 1961).

¹⁴⁶ For more on upstate New York place names see William R. Farrell, *Classical Place Names in New York State* (Jamesville, NY: Pine Grove Press, 2002). For more on the role of vernacular classicism in late 18th century America see, Eran Shalev, *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic*, (Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Virginia Press, 2009).

¹⁴⁷ As quoted in Wright, *Simeon DeWitt and Military Tract Township Names*, 6.

During the summer of 1790, after reviewing DeWitt's survey map and certifying individual claims, the Land Office initiated the allotment process as outlined by the New York Legislature. Eligible veterans received their land bounties in shares of 600 acres (one lot), and total individual shares were determined by respective military rank earned during the Revolutionary War. Non-commissioned officers received one lot of 600 acres, while officers received multiple lots of 600 acres. The allotment process was conducted by way of two ballot boxes to determine the specific township and lot number for the bounty land. Slips for the township box numbered one through twenty-eight, while the second box contained slips numbered one through one hundred for the lots. In order to encourage social and moral values, and promote a sense of community, the New York Legislature also reserved six lots in each township to support churches, schools and literature. By requiring officers to draw multiple times from the boxes it fragmented their holdings across the Military Tract and precluded the possibility of drawing a large contiguous estate. This detailed process underscores the state's desire to order both the physical and cultural landscape in their efforts to civilize the land.

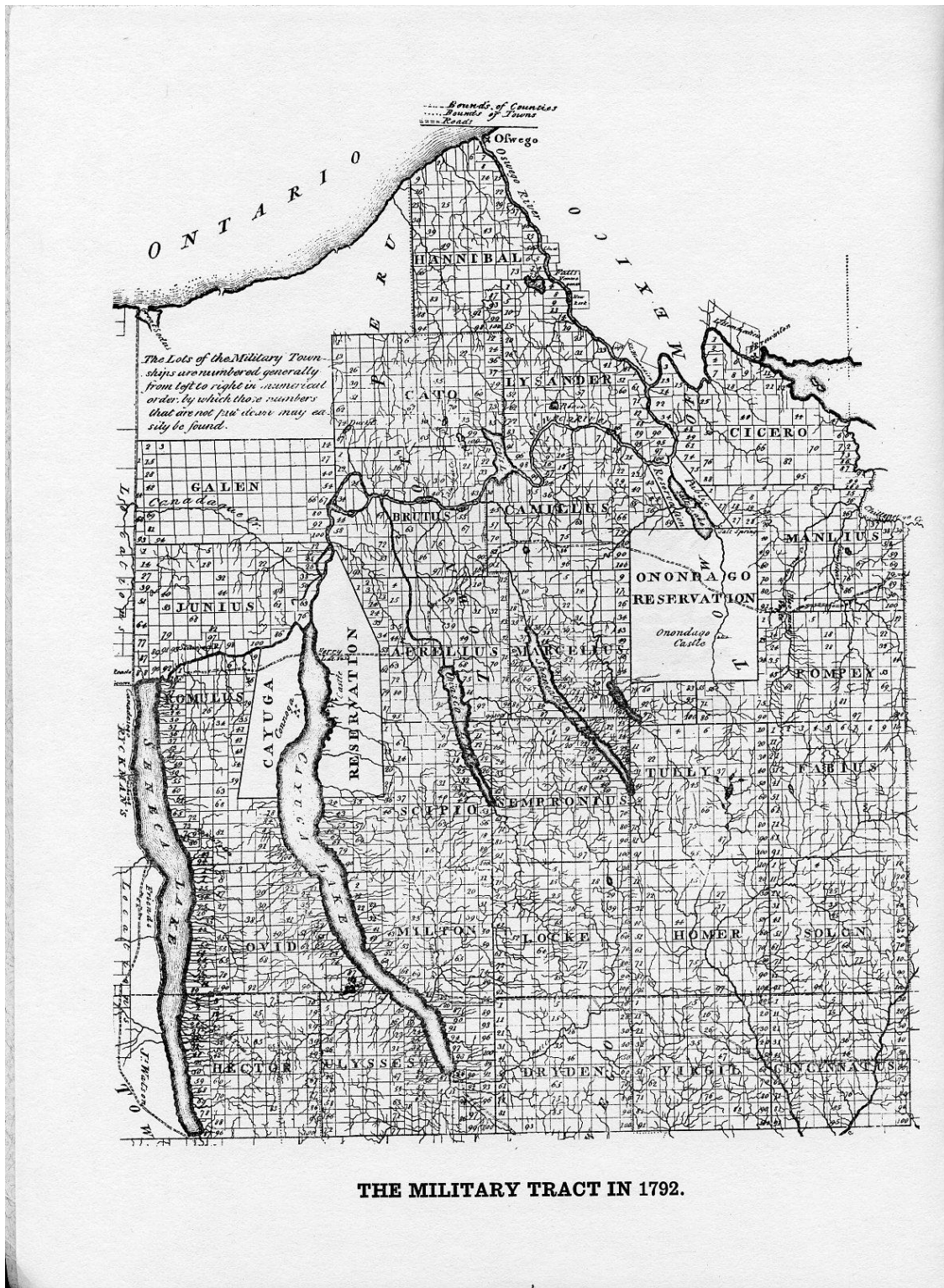


Figure 11: The Military Tract Map by Simeon DeWitt, Surveyor General. *The Balloting Book, and Other Documents Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New York* (Albany: Packard & VanBenthuyzen, 1825). Reprinted by W.E. Morrison & Co., 1983.

TOWNSHIPS
IN THE
MILITARY TRACT.



<i>NUMBER.</i>	<i>NAME.</i>
Township No. 1	Lysander,
2	Hannibal,
3	Cato,
4	Brutus,
5	Camillus,
6	Cicero,
7	Manlius,
8	Aurelius,
9	Marcellus,
10	Pompey,
11	Romulus,
12	Scipio,
13	Sempronius,
14	Tully,
15	Fabius,
16	Ovid,
17	Milton,
18	Locke,
19	Homer,
20	Solon,
21	Hector,
22	Ulysses,
23	Dryden,
24	Virgil,
25	Cincinnatus,
26	Junius,
27	Galen,
28	Sterling.

Figure 12: The 28 Townships of the New Military Tract. *The Balloting Book, and Other Documents Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New York, 114.*

An entry from *The Balloting Book* shows the acreage due to a partial list of officers and non-commissioned personnel who served in the New York First Regiment (Figure 13). In accordance with the balloting procedures, Colonel Van Schaick drew six times to complete his 3600 acre allotment, while Sergeant Robert Wilkinson received a single draw.

CONNOLLY'S ORIGINAL RETURN,
FILED BY LIEUT. CONNOLLY, IN THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE,
THE 5TH DAY OF MAY, 1785.
ROBT. HARPUR, D. Secretary.

RETURN

Of the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates, belonging to the State of New-York, in the service of the United States, which were enlisted for three years and during the war, and served to the end thereof; which entitles them to the several bounties of lands prefixed to their several names.

FIELD AND STAFF—FIRST REGIMENT.

<i>Names and Rank.</i>	<i>Aces.</i>	<i>Names and Rank.</i>	<i>Aces.</i>
Goose Van Schaick, colonel, -	3600	Caleb Sweet, surgeon, - - -	1800
Cornelius Van Dyck, Lt. Col. -	3000	John Elliot, surgeon's mate, -	1200
John Graham, major, - - -	2400	Francis Jackson, Q. M. Serg. -	600
Jacob H. Wendell, Lt. & Adj. -	1200	John Smith, Serg. major, - -	600
Henry Van Vost, Lt. & Q. M. -	1200	William Loudon, D. major, -	600
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Lt. & P.	1200	William Dougherty, F. major, -	600

FIRST COMPANY—FIRST REGIMENT.

<i>Names and Rank.</i>	<i>Aces.</i>	<i>Names and Rank.</i>	<i>Aces.</i>
Aron Aorson, captain, - - -	1800	William Petterson, - - - -	600
Abraham Hardenbaragh, Lieut. -	1200	Alexander Forbush, - - - -	600
Joseph Morrell, Lieut. - - -	1200	John Hudson, - - - -	600
Robert Willkison, sergeant, - -	600	Francis Lampier, - - - -	600
Thomas Jones, - - - -	600	Frederick Moon, - - - -	600
Cornelius Mixwell, - - - -	600	Alexander Munroo, - - - -	600
John Way, - - - -	600	Alexander M'Coy, - - - -	600
Levi Sterling, - - - -	600	John M'Intosh, - - - -	600
Benjamin Waring, corporal, - -	600	Leonard Olundorf, - - - -	600
Thomas Mott, - - - -	600	William Risdell, - - - -	600
Duncan Smith, drummer, - - -	600	Jasper Stage, - - - -	600
John Backer, private, - - - -	600	Hussy Stratton, - - - -	600
Henry Barans, - - - -	600	John Uthest, - - - -	600
Simon Brumly, - - - -	600	Jacob Weeks, - - - -	600
Robert Chase, - - - -	600	Samuel Wright, - - - -	600
John Cooper, - - - -	600	Jacob Willson or Wishover, private,	600
Peter De Valtz, - - - -	600	Willit Carman, - - - -	600

Figure 13: New York First Regiment Bounty List. *The Balloting Book, and Other Documents, Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New-York, 80.*

The balloting process began eleven long years after the Sullivan Campaign, and seven years after the end of the Revolutionary War. During this intervening period, a significant number of veterans sold their anticipated shares for paltry sums, settled far from upstate New York with no intentions of relocating, or died leaving their shares to be claimed by heirs or designees. According to the official list of land bounty records maintained by New York State, of the more than 2000 eligible military veterans who served in state or militia units, fewer than 200 of the original claimants actually received and settled the land received from the military bounty.¹⁴⁸ Most of the lots were eventually sold to speculators and middlemen, who then advertised the land to potential buyers throughout the area of the eastern seaboard.

With few exceptions, the men on the Sullivan Campaign who had grand designs on Haudenosaunee territory were, in fact, not the ones that came to possess the land. This was particularly true for the military townships that eventually became part of Seneca County. According to an analysis by Walter Gable, Seneca County Historian, “only three or possibly four of the soldiers [who served on the Sullivan Campaign] settled on the lot they received, in Seneca County.”¹⁴⁹ One Sullivan Campaign veteran, Sergeant Jacob Hicks, Second New York Regiment, settled Lot 10 in the Township of Romulus (Township #11). Romulus is located on the eastern shore of Seneca Lake and contains some of the same territory described in the journals of soldiers on the Sullivan Campaign, including the picturesque village of Kendaia (Appletown). The claimant list for the Township of Romulus, including Lot 10 received by Sergeant Hicks, is provided below (Figure 14):

¹⁴⁸ *The Balloting Book, and Other Documents, Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New-York.* (Albany: Packard & VanBenthuyzen, 1825) 150-184. Reprinted by W.E. Morrison & Co., 1983.

¹⁴⁹ “The Military Tract” (Archival document compiled by Walter Gable, Seneca County Historian) 7.

ROMULUS, NO. 11.

<i>In Township No. 11 were balloted as follows:—</i>	Lots.	<i>In Township No. 11,</i>	Lots.
To Ebenezer Hutchinson, S. mate,	1	To James Gregg, captain,	51
George Robeson,	2	John Jacob,	52
Peter Dumas,	3	Thomas Owens,	53
<i>Reserved to the State,</i>	4	James Livingston, colonel,	54
To Samuel Potter,	5	<i>Reserved for Gospel, Schools, &c.</i>	55
<i>Reserved for Gospel, Schools, &c.</i>	6	To John P. Boyea,	56
To Thomas Lee,	7	John Stake, cornet,	57
Thomas Gready,	8	Henry Van Deburgh, captain,	58
Abraham Van Amburgh,	9	<i>Reserved for Gospel, Schools, &c.</i>	59
Jacob Hicks,	10	To James Parker,	60
Ezra Weed,	11	Christopher Queen,	61
Robert Hunter, lieutenant,	12	Ephraim Blanchard,	62
Jeremiah Bennet,	13	Alexander M'Dougall, maj. gen.	63
James Clinton, brig. general,	14	Benjamin Goodale,	64
John Degrote,	15	Richard Moore,	65
Alexander M'Dougall, maj. gen.	16	Eleazer Yeamans,	66
John Weaver,	17	Joshua Davis,	67
Minnah Hyatt,	18	Arthur Hurley,	68
Jacob Heyer,	19	Joseph Jones,	69
James Barret,	20	John Green,	70
Jacob Bakehorn,	21	Peter Green,	71
Robert Wilkinson,	22	James Goodall,	72
Thomas Russell,	23	Timothy Green,	73
Isaac Sampson,	24	Jeremiah Smith,	74
James Clinton, brig. general,	25	Jonathan Lawrence Jun. lieut.	75
Jacob Wandall,	26	Peter Tappan, lieutenant,	76
Peter Ferris,	27	Abiel Petty,	77
Jacob Roase,	28	George Stock,	78
Fred. Weissenfels, lt. col. com.	29	Cornelius Van Dyck, lieut. col.	79
John Frymier,	30	Thomas Bryan,	80
Robert Williams,	31	Daniel Dawson,	81
Isaac Morrill,	32	Alexander Munro,	82
William Wuins,	33	Richard Platt, major brigade,	83
James Thompson,	34	Samuel Dodge, ensign,	84
Daniel Riggs,	35	Charles M'Kenny,	85
Samuel Davies or Davis,	36	Abraham Hodge,	86
William Drake,	37	John Stagg Jun. lieutenant,	87
<i>Reserved for Gospel, Schools, &c.</i>	38	Thomas Brooks,	88
To Nehemiah Carpenter,	39	John Williams,	89
Jonathan Kinner,	40	Charles F. Weissenfels, lieut.	90
Elias Van Bunschoten, captain,	41	John Cosgrove,	91
Henry Myers,	42	Benjamin Walker, lieut. colonel,	92
Edmund Kelly,	43	Isaiah Burch,	93
William Jackson,	44	Robert Provoost,	94
<i>Reserved for Gospel, &c.</i>	45	Michael Decker,	95
To Cornelius Van Dyck, lieut. col.	46	James Grace,	96
Abner Prior, surgeon's mate,	47	John Goodcourage,	97
John Armstrong,	48	Levi Burling,	98
Mordecai Hale, surgeon's mate,	49	Florence Marony,	99
<i>Reserved for Gospel, Schools, &c.</i>	50	Thompson Beacan,	100

Figure 14: Township of Romulus Lot List. *The Balloting Book, and Other Documents, Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New-York, 125.*

The boundary of the Romulus Township and its distinct grid pattern are clearly visible in this 1901 copy of the original township survey maps drafted by Simeon DeWitt (Figure 15). The ruins of the Seneca village of Kendaia were located within lot 79 – lands received by Lt. Colonel Cornelius Van Dyck, New York First Regiment, during the balloting process. The First did not participate in the Sullivan Campaign. In accordance with the state legislature, lots 6, 38, 45, 50, 55, and 59 were reserved for churches, schools, and literature (Figure 8). By comparing the list of names recorded in *The Balloting Book* (Figure 8) with the Township of Romulus survey map (Figure 9), scholars can identify and match the ballot holders with their particular lots. For example, Lot 10 for Sergeant Jacob Hicks is located in the northwest quadrant of the township bordering the lake and river.

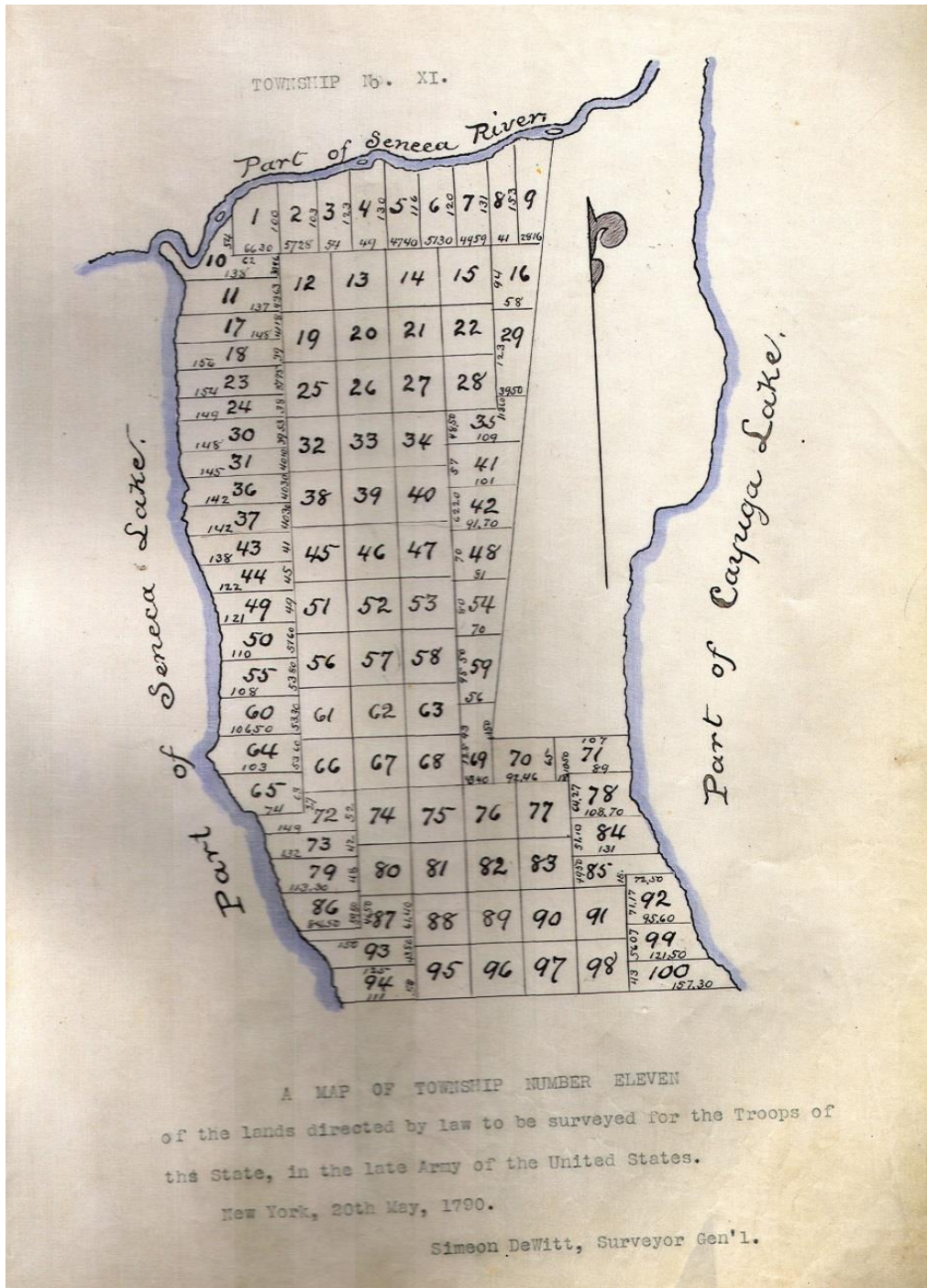


Figure 15: Township of Romulus Map (Township #11). Original 1790 map by Simeon DeWitt, NY Surveyor General - Trace copy by Charles D. Becker (1901). Courtesy of the Office of the Seneca County Clerk.

The Township of Romulus map is an example of the importance of maintaining public records in order to preserve a community's history. By the end of the 19th century, Seneca County's original set of Simeon DeWitt's survey maps for the military townships were rapidly deteriorating. In 1901, Charles Becker hand traced a number of the maps, bound them in leather, and then sold the volume to Seneca County. Becker's map book does not have a formal title or copyright page, but inside the cover is a petition signed by members of the local community requesting that the Seneca County Board of Supervisors purchase the "Map Book" to preserve the important information contained in the original documents. The Charles Becker map book is currently stored in the Office of the County Clerk for Seneca County, and is still used as a frame of reference for property issues.

While the survey maps by DeWitt's office and the traces by Becker depict the contest over the physical landscape of the upstate region, these historical documents also provide evidence of the underlying cultural struggle. As primary source material, maps provide a valuable, but subjective view of the landscape. In her essay, "Unmapping the Iroquois," Jo Margaret Mano argued that "maps are products of their cultural, social and particularly their political context. As such, they cannot be read as neutral testimony for illustrating history."¹⁵⁰ Mapmakers, like historians, rely upon and choose a variety of sources in their efforts to create a visual or written narrative of a place at a particular moment in time. Both mapmaking and the writing of history are the consequences of choices. These maps, Mano noted, also represent "the conflict between two different visions of the land, illustrating the Euro-American belief that it is a possession or commodity rather than a shared resource."¹⁵¹ As evidenced by the date of the

¹⁵⁰ Jo Margaret Mano, "Unmapping the Iroquois: New York State Cartography, 1792-1845," in *The Oneida Indian Journey*, ed. Laurence Hauptman and L. Gordon McLester III (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999) 171.

¹⁵¹ Mano, "Unmapping the Iroquois," 171.

various military bounty acts passed by the New York Legislature, the lands depicted in the DeWitt survey maps were clearly inhabited by the Haudenosaunee. By act of intentional omission, based upon the state's expansionist agenda, natives are absent in the official maps – their presence erased. For New York, habitation was one thing, but the issue of who actually “possessed” the landscape was another matter. For the political leadership of the state, DeWitt's maps were more than pictures - they were claims.

In the years following the mission to survey the New Military Tract and the balloting of bounty lands, Major Fogg's vision of a wilderness tamed and improved by the introduction of “twenty elegant townships” became reality. Thousands of Euro-American settlers flooded into what they imagined as newly found and empty lands in the borderlands of upstate New York. The townships were christened with classical appellations, but the settlers also appropriated and anglicized numerous Haudenosaunee names into their vernacular to define important landmarks, like lakes (Seneca, Cayuga, Skaneateles, etc.). Townships named for Romulus, Cincinnatus, and Brutus served to connect the Military Tract with ancient civilization and republican values, but the appropriation of native names was a subtle form of “playing Indian” that provided a sense of place and ownership to the new natives/settlers to the region. The landscape of the Military Tract was an accumulation of the past, but the actual history of the Haudenosaunee people was mostly cast aside and ignored by the new possessors of the land. For these new settlers, their version of history began when they arrived to claim and improve the wilderness of the frontier. Many of these “pioneers” would plod the same trails, plant the same fields, and tend the same fruit orchards as the Haudenosaunee had before them. What the settlers encountered were not virgin lands, but native homelands with a profound history.

The battles for the territory of the Six Nations were not just to wrest control of the land but, more importantly, to determine whose vision of the past would shape the landscape's future. From the perspective of the Euro-Americans, the Sullivan Campaign created a blank slate. To the Haudenosaunee, their claims of belonging were still etched upon the land. In December of 1790, at the height of the surveying and balloting process, a delegation of Seneca leaders, including Cornplanter, traveled to Philadelphia to deliver a speech to President George Washington. Having fought with Brant and Butler at Cherry Valley and Newtown, Cornplanter was also part of the retreat of native forces that passed through the village of Kendaia. His life experience encapsulated the breadth of the borderlands conflict. During his speech he specifically referenced the Sullivan Campaign declaring to Washington, "When your army entered the country of the Six Nations, we called you town destroyer; and to this day when that name is heard, our women look behind them and turn pale, and our children cling close to the necks of their mothers."¹⁵² Alarmed by the impending loss of homelands and encroachment by Euro-American settlers, he beseeched Washington to act in a wise and just manner. "Look up to God who made us as well as you. We hope he will not permit you to destroy our whole nation."¹⁵³ The Seneca nation was not destroyed by the Revolutionary War and the peace treaties of the 1790s, but their imprint on the land was diminished by the ensuing wave of new settlement. Just as the early Euro-American pioneers and settlers appropriated Haudenosaunee place names, they also appropriated place.

¹⁵² The Speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town, and the Great-Tree, Chiefs and Councillors of the Seneca Nation, to the Great Councillor of the Thirteen Fires. *American State Papers: Indian Affairs* (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1832) Vol. 1. 140. There is some disagreement among historians whether Cornplanter specifically referred Washington as "town destroyer" as a result of the Sullivan Campaign, or for Washington's role during the French and Indian War. See William N. Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1998) 117. Fenton notes that, after Washington, the Iroquois referred to all future presidents as "town destroyer."

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 141.

In 1791, Elkanah Watson, former confidant and courier to George Washington and Benjamin Franklin during the American Revolution, visited the area of Seneca Lake as part of a grand tour across the United States. Watson was an advocate for agricultural development and a key figure in the early planning stages for what would later become the Erie Canal. Upon arriving at Seneca Lake, near the village of Geneva (named after Geneva, Switzerland), Watson touched upon some of the same grand visions expressed during the Sullivan Campaign:

the evening was serene, and my mind involuntarily expanded, in anticipating the period when the borders of this lake will be stripped of nature's livery, and in its place rich enclosures, pleasant villas, numerous flocks, herds, &c., and inhabited by a happy race of people enjoying the rich fruits of their own labors, and the luxury of sweet liberty and independence, approaching to a millennial state.¹⁵⁴

While keen on the gifts of the land, Watson was less enamored with the Military Tract community of Geneva. He described it as a “small, unhealthy village, containing about fifteen houses,” and complained that his sleep had been “troubled the most of the night by gamblers and fleas, two curses to society.” The next day, his party traveled a few miles down the east side of the lake to see Kendaia. In recounting the events of early September 1779, Watson wrote, “Here Sullivan’s conquering army wreaked their principal vengeance.” In the years after Sullivan’s men torched the settlement, the land partially healed. “We pitched our tent at Apple-town, a fine tract of land, formerly the headquarters of the Seneca nation. It contains extensive orchards of scattering old trees, the only fruit trees in the country.” The Seneca people were gone, Watson observed, but the trunks of their trees still carried the memory of the expedition: “many of the trees are girdled, and marks of the destructive axe of the soldiery are yet to be seen in every direction.” Watson’s traveling companions were not the only ones in Kendaia that day. He

¹⁵⁴ *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777-1842, with his Correspondence with Public Men and Reminiscences and Incidents of the Revolution*, Winslow Watson, ed., (New York, NY: Dana and Company Publishers, 1856), 307, and Kerrigan, “Apples on the Border,” 25.

reported that “we were astonished to see one hundred and fifty people collected at a meeting while there. This is a prelude to the assembling of thousands who are destined shortly to possess these fertile regions.”¹⁵⁵ The place, name, and bounties of Kendaia had been claimed – not by its original inhabitants, but by the new possessors of the land. The story of Kendaia would continue.

After the Revolutionary War, and the subsequent peace treaties with the Seneca and other Haudenosaunee people, the population of the Military Tract quickly expanded. As settlers in the region cleared forests for farms and constructed new markets and communities, a spirit of progress and exceptionalism permeated the land. During the late 19th century, a twinge of American romanticism for the “vanishing Indian” and the noble savage challenged the image of the Indian as barbarian. During the summer of 1879, these competing images emerged during the extensive series of official New York State celebrations held in honor of the centennial of the Sullivan Campaign. The tribute for the expedition was an opportunity to create both history and memory of the Revolutionary War and the early American republic, but the centennial events also had utility for a nation still healing from the Civil War and in search of a national identity.

¹⁵⁵ Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 308. Three years after his tour through the area, Watson purchased a number of lots in the Military Tract, including 100 acres in lot 79/Romulus Township. This is lot that contained the Seneca village of Kendaia. See *Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Land Manuscripts Indorsed Land Papers in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York, 1643-1803* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Co. Printers and Publishers, 1864) 940.

Chapter Three:

“Barbarians in 1779, Civilization in 1879”

They came by the thousands, and the tens of thousands. Some braved the hot, dusty roads and arrived by foot - others by horse, wagon, and carriage. Some traveled by rail from distant parts, while others reached their destination by flat-bottom boats drifting along the Chemung River. In the summer of 1879 more than 50,000 celebrants traveled to upstate New York to participate in the state’s official centennial of the Sullivan Campaign. The main ceremonies and speeches were held near the Newtown Battlefield and in the city of Elmira. Sullivan commemorative festivities also occurred in places like Geneva, Waterloo, Geneseo, and Aurora. Visiting dignitaries, fireworks displays, and brass bands entertained the crowds. Prominent attendees included the Governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire. An impressive contingent of senior U.S. military officers led by General of the Army, William Tecumseh Sherman, also participated in the ceremonies. All had served the Union during the American Civil War, including General Henry Warren Slocum, from nearby Onondaga County, NY, who led Sherman’s left wing during the March to the Sea. A number of those in uniform were also veterans of the Indian Wars on the Great Plains. For many of the 50,000 participants it was likely the largest public gathering they ever attended.

The Sullivan Centennial drew both regional and national attention – it played to a broad audience. The Philadelphia Inquirer reported that “The centennial of the battle of Newtown was celebrated here today with extraordinary numbers and enthusiasm.”¹⁵⁶ Newspapers and periodicals in Syracuse, New York City, Baltimore, Boston, and as far away as Chicago, St.

¹⁵⁶ “Battle of Newtown: One Hundredth Anniversary Celebrated,” Philadelphia Inquirer August 30, 1879

Louis, Salt Lake City, and San Francisco all carried reports on the events.¹⁵⁷ The Sullivan Centennial also featured prominently in Harper's Weekly, a national publication, which included an illustration that captured the frenetic energy of the crowds (Figure 16).



Figure 16: “On The Way To The (Newtown) Battle-Field,” Harper's Magazine, September 20, 1879

While the proceedings were intended to celebrate Sullivan’s “victory” over the Haudenosaunee, they were also an opportunity to celebrate a larger story of American expansion and progress - one that resonated with claims of Manifest Destiny. The assertion that the American people were favored by God and had a chosen destiny was first offered to a national

¹⁵⁷ Sample newspaper accounts include, “The Sullivan Centennial,” Oswego Daily Times August 30, 1879; “The Battle of Newtown: Preparing to Celebrate the Centennial Anniversary,” New York Times August 29, 1879; “The Newtown (N.Y.) Centennial,” Baltimore Sun August 30, 1879; “A Revolutionary Centennial – At Which Gen. Sherman Utters Patriotic Sentiments,” Omaha Daily Herald August 30, 1879; “Centennial Anniversary,” Salt Lake Weekly Tribune September 6, 1879.

audience by James O’Sullivan, a newspaper editor and political leader, in his 1839 essay, “The Great Nation of Futurity”:

This is our high destiny, and in nature's eternal, inevitable decree of cause and effect we must accomplish it. All this will be our future history, to establish on earth the moral dignity and salvation of man -- the immutable truth and beneficence of God. For this blessed mission to the nations of the world, which are shut out from the life-giving light of truth, has America been chosen.

“Who, then,” O’Sullivan concluded, “can doubt that our country is destined to be the great nation of futurity?”¹⁵⁸ Six years later, in the summer issue of the United States Magazine and Democratic Review, O’Sullivan popularized the phrase “manifest destiny” in his essay, “Annexation,” in which he made an impassioned plea to the American people and the James K. Polk administration to annex the Republic of Texas into the Union.

The phrase became firmly established in the nation’s geopolitical lexicon and expansionist imagination after the publication of another O’Sullivan article in December of 1845 that argued for the superiority of America’s claims against the British for control and possession of the Oregon Country. The United States, he argued, had dominion over this land “by the right of our manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which Providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government entrusted to us.”¹⁵⁹ While O’Sullivan advocated for a peaceful means of continental expansion, he was unwilling to recognize the deep history of transformation of physical place and cultural space over the thousands of years

¹⁵⁸ John O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” United States Magazine and Democratic Review, Vol. 6, Issue 23 (Nov. 1839), 430.

¹⁵⁹ John O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” United States Magazine and Democratic Review, Vol. 17, Issue 1 (July-August 1845): 5-10; New York Morning News, December 27, 1845.

of native habitation. In erasing and delegitimizing native claims of belonging, O’Sullivan perceived the continental landscape as *terra nullius* – lands belonging to no one.

Therefore, the nation-state was not only justified, but had the divine obligation to expand from sea to shining sea.¹⁶⁰

Just as John O’Sullivan and Manifest Destiny provided a basis to celebrate regional and national expansion during the Sullivan Centennial of 1879, the commemorative events in upstate New York also foreshadowed Frederick Jackson Turner’s “Frontier Thesis” of 1893. In his famous paper, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” delivered during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at the Columbian Exposition, Turner argued that the exceptional American identity and the nation’s democratic institutions were forged in the crucible of the frontier. To Turner, this experience was one of hard-fought and inevitable transformation along the greater path of progress. He claimed that “the frontier is the outer edge of the wave – the meeting point between savagery and civilization,” and that “this frontier stretched along the western border like a cord of union. The Indian was a common danger, demanding united action.”¹⁶¹ Similar to O’Sullivan’s view of Manifest Destiny, the foundation of Turner’s Frontier Thesis rested on a key premise: the availability of free land. Natives may have lived upon the land, but they had not improved the land, utilized its valuable resources, or built a lasting civilization. By delegitimizing native culture and history, Turner

¹⁶⁰ For more on John O’Sullivan, Manifest Destiny, and the dispossession of Native populations, see Robert Sampson, *John L. O’Sullivan and His Times* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003); Sam Hayes and Christopher Morris, eds., *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1997); David Wrobel, *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2013); Robert Miller, *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2006); David Maybury-Lewis, Theodore Macdonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis, eds., *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

¹⁶¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” *Annual Report of the American Historical Society for the year 1893* (Washington, D.C: GPO and American Historical Association, 1894), 199-227.

provided a compelling argument to delegitimize native claims of ownership and belonging. The power of both Manifest Destiny and the Frontier Thesis lie in their utility to erase and dispossess.

While Turner described the frontier in terms of place, primarily along an east-west axis, he also argued that the wave of transformation, from barbarism to domesticity, was an unfolding process. Turner did not create the impulse to justify the process of naming, taming, and claiming – nor did he describe the transformation of physical place and cultural space as being ordained by God. Rather, he provided an argument that compellingly described how, in his view, we became an exceptional people and nation. If O’Sullivan and Manifest Destiny provided the justification for expansion, then Turner and the Frontier Thesis provided the explanation.

In terms of chronology, New York’s Sullivan Centennial of 1879 was situated directly between these two powerful frameworks: American expansion (O’Sullivan) and exceptionalism (Turner). While Turner’s Frontier Thesis would not capture the attention of the American people until the end of the 19th century, Sullivan Centennial organizers and participants understood that these events were not only to celebrate a military expedition into an untamed wilderness, but to valorize the heroic pioneers and settlers who transformed the dark woods into a bountiful and ordered landscape filled with farms, roads, markets, schools, churches, and bustling communities. As such, the Sullivan Centennial was a celebration of both place and process. The participants at these events ignored the long and entangled history of the land and the Haudenosaunee people. The pioneers and settlers they eagerly celebrated often trod the same trails, worked the same fields, and tended the same orchards as the Haudenosaunee had before them. Who were the real settlers of this landscape?

While the Sullivan Centennial predated Turner’s Frontier Thesis by a generation, attendees at the events were already preconditioned to the celebration of national expansion and

exceptionalism through the power of both the written word and images. One of the most iconic images of the time was the 1872 painting, “American Progress, by John Gast (Figure 17).



Figure 17: American Progress, John Gast, 1872, Library of Congress.

Commissioned and designed by George Crofutt, the publisher of a highly popular series of travel guides to promote upper-class tourism on the transcontinental railroad, “American Progress” served as the frontispiece for *Crofutt’s Trans-Continental Tourist’s Guide*. Filled with personal anecdotes and descriptive language that detailed the vast resources and possibilities of the expanding nation, Crofutt also sold a particular story of racial progress. “Since the completion of the Pacific Railroad,” he proclaimed, “it has been occupied by over half a million of the most adventurous, active, honest, and progressive white people that the world can

produce.”¹⁶² While native place names, albeit often appropriated, were mentioned in the travel guides native peoples were noticeably absent.

By the mid-1870s more than two million people a year (a quarter of whom were from Europe) read Crofutt’s travel guides and viewed “American Progress.” Many of those who purchased Crofutt’s publication were arm-chair travelers. They never boarded the trains, but they encountered and absorbed the powerful mythology of the American West via Crofutt and Gast.¹⁶³ The painting found an even larger audience among the American populace when it was reproduced as a lithograph and sold directly to homes and businesses.¹⁶⁴ Both Crofutt’s travel guide and the image of “American Progress” were undoubtedly familiar to a significant number of the Sullivan Centennial attendees.

As an image, “American Progress” presents a series of unsubtle binaries for the viewer to consider. The right (or east side) of the painting is filled with light – the sun is rising on a bustling metropolis and harbor filled with ships, while to the west the wilderness is filled with darkness. Wild animals and native peoples - savage beasts that run on four legs and two legs - flee ever westward before Lady Columbia (or the Spirit of the Frontier), who represents the rise of the American nation-state and civilization. On her forehead Columbia bears what Crofutt referred to as the Star of Empire. Gast’s inclusion of the herd of fleeing bison in the image references the vast slaughter of tens of millions of bison that occurred on the Great Plains at the time he created the painting. The killing was still ongoing during the Sullivan Centennial of

¹⁶² George Crofutt, *Crofutt’s Trans-Continental Tourist’s Guide* (New York: G. W. Carelton & Co., 1876); Jennifer Raab, “Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869-1884,” *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 47, Issue. 2 (May 2013) 499.

¹⁶³ Valerie Fifer, *American Progress: The Growth of Transport, Tourists, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West*, (Chester, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1988), 186.

¹⁶⁴ For more on George Crofutt and his use of the painting by John Gast, see Jennifer Raab, “Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869-1884,” *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 47, Issue. 2 (May 2013) 495-520.

1879.¹⁶⁵ The near extinction of the American Bison is often lamented as a tale of human excess and environmental degradation, but for a number of post-Civil War political and military leaders the roots of the slaughter were grounded in the pursuit and justification of American Indian removal and Manifest Destiny (Figure 18).



Figure 18: Men Standing on Pile of Buffalo Skulls, Michigan Carbon Works, Digital Collection, Detroit Public Library

From 1870 to 1875, Columbus Delano served as the Secretary of the Interior in the Grant administration and was a leading advocate of federal policy to forcibly relocate native people onto reservations. By allowing and promoting the slaughter of the bison, a resource that many native communities heavily depended upon, Delano intended to pacify native resistance and open lands for white settlement. In his *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior* of 1872,

¹⁶⁵ For more on the history of the bison slaughter, see Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000)

Delano noted the administration's policy to confine "the wild tribes to smaller reservations is regarded as of the utmost importance; and carried forward to its full extent, will result in restricting them to an area of sufficient extent to furnish them farms for cultivation, and no more."¹⁶⁶ Native groups, like the Blackfoot, Crow, Sioux, and Cheyenne that followed the vast bison herds across Great Plains threatened Delano's goal of corralling and controlling native populations. To break the will of the native people, the federal government pursued an intentional strategy to wreak havoc upon the bison herds. Delano noted:

The rapid disappearance of game from the former hunting-grounds must operate largely in favor of our efforts to confine the Indians to smaller areas, and compel them to abandon their nomadic customs, and establish themselves in permanent homes. So long as the game existed in abundance there was little disposition manifested to abandon the chase, even though Government bounty was dispensed in great abundance, affording them ample means of support.

"When the game shall have disappeared," Delano concluded, "we shall be well forward in the work at hand."¹⁶⁷ Delano's assertion that a solution to the Indian problem was connected to the bison herds was supported by influential members of Congress and the military.

During a contentious 1876 debate in the 44th Congress over a proposed bill (H.R. 1719) to prevent the "useless slaughter of buffaloes within the Territories of the United States," Congressman Lafayette Fort (Illinois) was critical of the killing grounds of the Great Plains:

Hundreds and thousands of them [bison] are shot down upon the plains, as I am informed, for sport. The Indians are disposed to look upon these creatures as their own herds, their own cattle, and they regard with jealousy the destruction of what they deem to be their property, and believe they should be preserved for them.

¹⁶⁶ Columbus Delano, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1872* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office), 5.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Certainly no good can come from this continued slaughter. These animals are harmless; they injure no one. Civilization has no war with them.¹⁶⁸

Civilization may not have been at war with bison, but the mid-19th century was replete with violent conflict over control of native lands. The eradication of the bison was simply a means to an end. The federal government's plan to eliminate the bison herds and force natives onto reservations was strongly supported by members of Congress representing western portions of the nation. In direct response to Fort's pleas to halt the slaughter, Congressman John Hancock (Texas) stated, "I hope, sir, there is no humanitarian sentimentality that would induce legislation for the protection of the buffalo, and that we shall look at it and treat it as a practical question. The only individuals whose interests seem to be sufficiently provided for and protected by this bill are the Indians." Hancock was adamant that the bison and Indians shared a similar nature and, in turn, shared a similar fate:

One of the greatest difficulties is in restraining the Indian from going on his habitual hunt after buffalo, when he engages in other sports, such as murdering the frontier settlers and robbing them of their property and carrying it off without reference to whether they are friends or foes. They have no appreciation of the moral duties which we recognize as being in every citizen of the country, but pursue the habits of their nature and their custom in taking whatever is within their reach.¹⁶⁹

Hancock claimed that, ultimately, the destruction of the bison was in everyone's best interest:

"The sooner we get rid of the buffalo entirely the better it will be for the Indian and for the white man too."¹⁷⁰ Despite various attempts by Fort to seek support for H.R. 1719, and other proposed legislation aimed at ending the bison slaughter, the measures failed to pass into law.

¹⁶⁸ "Slaughter of the Buffaloes," *Congressional Record, 44th Congress, 1st Session* (Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office), 1237.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1239.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

Environmental historian Andrew Isenberg explained that while the U.S. military did not have a formal policy to actively participate in bison killing, officers in the western territories often turned a blind eye towards Euro-American bison hunters that encroached upon federally recognized native lands. According to Isenberg, Colonel Richard Irving Dodge, a former Aide-De-Camp to General William Tecumseh Sherman, freely allowed hide hunters to enter native lands south of the Arkansas River. In his personal correspondence Dodge proclaimed. “Kill every buffalo you can; every buffalo dead is an Indian gone.”¹⁷¹ In an editorial published in the Daily Ohio Statesman, Former Union General George Morgan declared that in the wake of national progress “the Indians will vanish like the buffalo grass and the antelope berry.” The savages, Morgan declared, were doomed as relics of the past - the future belonged to whites. As the Indians inevitably faded from the land, Morgan envisioned something greater taking their place:

Clover and timothy, the apple and the peach, wheat and corn, the cow and the horse, and all-conquering white man of destiny will take their places, and civilization will rear her temples of religion and science amid the tombs of a people who lived without an object, and died without a history.¹⁷²

Morgan’s words were reminiscent of the notations made in the journals of the soldiers who served on the Sullivan Campaign. After Indian removal the Euro-American settlers and pioneers that followed would then sow the seeds of empire. General Morgan’s view of the future for natives was one of physical erasure and replacement, while Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, advocated for a policy of enforced relocation and cultural erasure. In either case, for leading figures in the government and military, native peoples were not considered as historical actors, but, rather, the acted upon.

¹⁷¹ Dodge quoted in Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000), 155.

¹⁷² Morgan quoted in Miles Powell, *Vanishing America: Species Extinction, Racial Peril, and the Origins of Conservation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 33-34.

Delano claimed that the goal of the administration's native policy was to promote peaceful coexistence by molding native peoples into proper and useful citizens. Time, however, was of the essence and it was imperative for the federal government to relocate Indians upon reservations where "they can be taught, as fast as possible, the arts of agriculture, and such pursuits that are incident to civilization." Once confined to the reservations, Delano stated, "their intellectual, moral, and religious culture can be prosecuted, and thus it is hoped that humanity and kindness may take the place of barbarity and cruelty."¹⁷³ After being dispossessed of their valuable lands, natives then needed to learn useful skills that also served to fix them to their new physical and cultural place in the world. Christian organizations would aid the federal government's native policy, explained Delano, by building schools and churches "whereby these savages might be taught a better way of life than they have heretofore pursued, and be made to understand and appreciate the comforts and benefits of a Christian civilization, and thus be prepared ultimately to assume the duties and privileges of citizenship."¹⁷⁴ While they may have differed on the preferred methods, leading military and political leaders strove to create a particular future in which native people either served the nation-state or were doomed to be consumed by it along the path of progress. The conflict occurring on the Great Plains was distant from the Sullivan Centennial in terms of place, but the events were contemporaneous and fundamentally connected to both the process and story of progress being celebrated in upstate New York in the summer of 1879.

When encountering the painting, "American Progress," the eye is drawn to the central figure drifting high above the Great Plains. As Lady Columbia travels inevitably westward in her right hand she grasps a school book (knowledge), while in her left hand runs a telegraph wire

¹⁷³ Columbus Delano, *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1872* (Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office), iii-iv.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, iv.

(the transmission of knowledge and connectivity). The figures around Columbia represent the process of cultural and technological change upon the land. Leading the way is a Conestoga wagon of early pioneers and settlers. In Columbia's wake are figures that depict frontiersmen, gold miners, farmers, and a Pony Express rider. The red stagecoach bears the seal of the US Mail Service. Following closely behind Columbia are railroad lines symbolizing the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.

Seldom noticed in Gast's painting are the bones near the Conestoga wagon. For Euro-Americans in the late 19th century, this story of improvement and progress was also one of perceived loss. While the remains in the painting are animal in nature, the bones of the fallen oxen suggest to the observer that not all who courageously ventured into the wilderness made it safely to the promised land. As such, "American Progress" is more than a simplistic celebration of change over time; the image presents a story of legitimacy and redemption. Having improved upon and having paid the ultimate price for the lands, Euro-Americans then made claims of belonging to the lands. O'Sullivan, Crofutt, and Turner, made their arguments through the power of the written word; Gast through imagery. "American Progress" depicts both a making and an unmaking of physical place and cultural space. In this process, Euro-American settlers, like those that "settled" the Haudenosaunee homelands, became the new (or true) natives. These acts of erasure, often based upon claims of racial superiority, were also acts of replacement.

Recently, scholars have described this phenomenon as settler colonialism - a distinct type of colonialism "in which settlers drove indigenous populations from the land in order to

construct their own ethnic and religious national communities.”¹⁷⁵ Patrick Wolfe, a leading scholar in the field, explained that settler colonialism was not just historical but an ongoing process: “The colonizers came to stay – invasion is a structure not an event.”¹⁷⁶ Settler colonial states, as defined by proponents of this theoretical methodology, include the United States, Canada, Australia, and South Africa. The Sullivan Campaign of the American Revolutionary War and the Sullivan Centennial of 1879 may have been local in geographic scale, but they connected to a much larger story of contested terrain and memory.

Shortly after celebrating the nation’s centennial in 1876, a committee of local dignitaries from upstate New York planned a series of events in honor of the centennial of the Sullivan Campaign, the U.S. Army’s first Indian expedition. Officially recognized as The Newtown Monument Association, organized pursuant to Chapter 139, Laws of the State of New York, 1879, the committee had the power to raise funds, obtain land, and construct an appropriate monument.¹⁷⁷ For an American populace that understood the promise of Manifest Destiny through the power of the written word and images, the Sullivan Centennial was an opportunity for the organizers and the attendees to celebrate a local and national tale of American progress. The centennial also served as an opportunity to create a potent combination of myth, memory, and official public history.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013), 5-6. For more on the role of settler colonialism and native dispossession, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010); James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009); Cole Harris, “How did colonialism dispossess? Comments from an edge of empire,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol 94, 2004; Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol 8. No. 4, (December, 2006) 387-409, and Tracy Mar and Penelope Edmonds, eds., *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

¹⁷⁶ Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnograph Event* (London: Cassell, 1998), 2.

¹⁷⁷ *Laws of the State of New York passed at the One Hundred Second Session of the Legislature* (Albany: A. Bleeker Banks, 1879); Records and Proceedings of the Centennial Celebrations, in Cook, *Journals*, 391.

On August 29, 1879, many of the 50,000 centennial participants gathered for the dedication of the Newtown Battlefield Monument (Figure 19). Led by Judge Hiram Gray, former U.S. Congressman and member of the New York Supreme Court, the event was a civic ritual that attempted to connect the prosperity of the region with the sacrifice of soldiers and pioneers from a hundred years earlier. Members of a local Masonic lodge sung an ode and a member of the clergy gave prayers of thanks and offered “an earnest invocation for the Divine presence and blessing.”¹⁷⁸ Following the opening ceremonies the organizing committee dedicated an inscribed marble marker to capture the spirit and purpose of the centennial:

It is permitted to a few only, to be actors in great events shaping the destinies of a people; but one of the strong incentives to heroic action in behalf of the welfare of a nation in time of peril, is the consciousness that such action will not be unrecognized or forgotten by subsequent generations, which will be charged with the obligation and duty of perpetuating knowledge of the noble patriots of their country and deeds.¹⁷⁹

The impassioned language on the marker was a celebration of both the past and present, and a charge to all future generations to remember – to remember the sacrifice of those who had gone before and to remember how these lands had been transformed from wilderness to a bountiful garden. Organizers framed the Sullivan Campaign as a heroic struggle against the violent predations of the Iroquois, and not as a war against vegetables. Gray assured the audience that “In coming together to honor the brave men who achieved this victory, we honor ourselves.”¹⁸⁰

Following Gray on the program Ausburn Towner, a local official and historian, recited Verses of Welcome, exhorting the attendees to:

Mark the spot where brave men fell;
None too many monumental shafts, enduring, rise to tell
Their silent stories of those souls, for our sakes, strove so well.
Not for themselves did these pioneers, by cruel outrage stung,

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Records and Proceedings of Centennial Celebrations, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 393-394.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 400.

Lay in waste the savage hives and haunts with fire and axe and gun –
Not for themselves, but the thousands who now hold the lands they won.¹⁸¹

In defeating the savages and laying waste to the sheltering wilderness, Towner described the Sullivan Campaign as a righteous act of vengeance against marauding savages that successfully removed the native scourge from the landscape. In equating the acts of soldiers with those of pioneers, Towner also staked poetic claim to a larger story of progress.

To conclude the opening ceremony, Hon. Guy Humphrey McMaster, a local jurist and writer, read from his poem, “The Commanders.” McMaster presented General John Sullivan as an ever vigilant defender of hearth and home who brought peace and prosperity to the region.

For McMaster this change in the land was both necessary and inevitable:

The blight must fall; the wilderness must wither;
The ancient race must disappear, and hither
New men must come; another tree must root,
And grow and send its stately branches up,
While your great tree lies prostrate at its foot,
A crumbled trunk.

Echoing Towner’s theme of transformation, McMaster claimed that the former Indian trails now “Led to the happy plains where husbandry covered the land with bloom, and where the grace of Christian homes rose sweetly to the sky.”¹⁸² The Iroquois represented the specters of yesterday; the present and future was for those that best deserved the bounty of the land. Civilization had triumphed. For those that gathered for the opening ceremony, the event was an opportunity to celebrate and to also bear witness.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 401.

¹⁸² Guy Humphreys McMaster, “The Commanders,” in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 402.

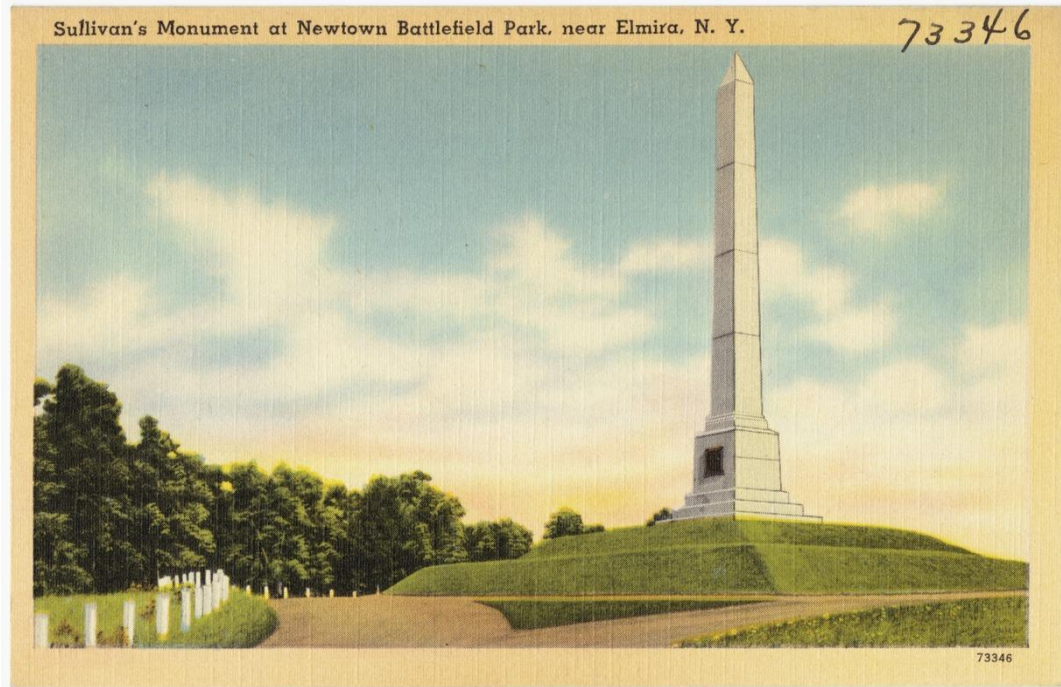


Figure 19: Battle of Newtown Monument, Chemung Valley Historical Association

The highlight of the Sullivan Centennial was the highly anticipated keynote address by William Tecumseh Sherman. As a Union hero and leader of the infamous March to the Sea, Sherman was no stranger to the war upon the land tactics employed by Sullivan and his forces. Despite being named in honor of Tecumseh, the Shawnee leader and advocate for Pan-Indian resistance, Sherman was the leading architect and a vocal proponent of the Indian Wars of the American West.¹⁸³ After the Civil War, President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Sherman head of the Military Division of Missouri, unifying command of all U.S. military forces west of the Mississippi River. Charged with the protection of the railroads and the expansion of white

¹⁸³ For more on Sherman's native policy and actions during this time period, see Robert Ahearn, *William T. Sherman and the Settlement of the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956); Michael Fellman, *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman* (New York: Random House, 1995), Chapter 15; John Marszalek, *Sherman: A Soldier's Passion for Order* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), Chapter 17; and James McDonough, *William Tecumseh Sherman: In the Service of My Country* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016), Chapter 25.

settlements, Sherman made no apologies for the federal government's efforts to defeat what he perceived as a barbarous and recalcitrant people and to remove them from desired lands.

In correspondence with his brother, U.S. Senator John Sherman (Ohio), Sherman referenced the ongoing conflicts on the Great Plains and native resistance to settler encroachment. "We must fight the Indians, and force them to collect in agreed-on limits far away from continental roads. I do think this subject as important as Reconstruction."¹⁸⁴ In the aftermath of a bloody war in which Union forces ostensibly fought to free the slaves and reshape the geopolitical landscape of the South, Sherman was part of a powerful faction of national leaders determined to continue the work of Indian removal and confinement. This inconsistency is jarring. At the same time that citizenship and sovereignty was extended to former slaves, the federal government was determined to forcibly relocate and deny the sovereignty of the land's native inhabitants.

Sherman expressed few misgivings over the nation's adversarial posture towards natives. "The Sioux and Cheyenne are now so circumscribed," Sherman wrote his brother, "that I suppose they must be exterminated, for they cannot and will not settle down, and our people will force us to it."¹⁸⁵ The use of the word "exterminate" was not unique in his correspondence. He viewed the entangled relationship between Euro-Americans and natives in stark Manichean terms: good/bad, civilized/savage, with no room for common ground or cause. In a letter to his wife, Ellen, Sherman wrote that "It is one of those irreconcilable conflicts that will end only in

¹⁸⁴ William Tecumseh Sherman to John Sherman, July 15, 1867, *The Sherman Letters*, 291.

¹⁸⁵ William Tecumseh Sherman to John Sherman, December 30, 1860, *The Sherman Letters: Correspondence Between General and Senator Sherman From 1837 to 1891*, Rachel Sherman Thorndike ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894), 287.

one way, one or the other must be exterminated and as Grant says our tail is the largest and the poor Indians in the end must go under.”¹⁸⁶

In addition to sharing his thoughts in private correspondence, Sherman openly discussed his views on the nation’s Indian policy in public gatherings. The New York Times reported that while attending The Brooklyn-New England Society’s Annual Banquet, Sherman stated that Indians “must conform to the usages of civilization or disappear. This country had no room for wild marauders.” Despite serving as a member of the Indian Peace Commission, established by congress to negotiate land claims and resolve other disputes with the native communities of the Great Plains, Sherman told his fellow banquet guests that “if the control of the Indians was given into the hands of the War Department there would be no more Indian Wars.”¹⁸⁷ Force of arms, he assured his listeners, provided the final solution to the nation’s Indian problem.

The selection of Sherman to serve as the keynote speaker by the Sullivan Centennial organizers was not coincidental. His views on native removal were well known to the American people in the late 19th century. What is of particular note when analyzing his keynote address is how he used the centennial as a stage to weave the times and events into a multi-layered narrative of conflict and progress that connected the American Revolution, the Civil War, and the Indian Wars of the West. In case any in attendance were unsure of Sherman’s message as the keynote speaker, or could not hear him over the murmur of the crowd, a large banner hung above the Grand Stand that read, “Barbarians in 1779, Civilization in 1879.”

As Sherman greeted the audience he welcomed them as an official representative of the Army of the United States and the federal government. He assured the participants that by attending the centennial events they would be “better patriots and better men,” and that they

¹⁸⁶ William Tecumseh Sherman to Ellen Ewing Sherman, August, 30, 1866 as quoted in Michael Fellman, *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman* (New York: Random House, 1995), 264.

¹⁸⁷ New York Times, December 21, 1890, 1.

stood upon a battlefield “where liberty and law was the issue of the fight.”¹⁸⁸ Having framed his comments in terms of freedom and justice, Sherman then quickly made a rhetorical turn to the Indian Wars:

My friends, we are all at war. Ever since the first white man landed upon this continent, there has been a battle. We are at war today – a war between civilization and savages. Our forefathers, when they first landed upon this continent, came to found an empire based upon new principles, and all opposition to it has to pass away, whether it be English or French on the north, or Indians to the West; and no one knew it better than our father, Washington.¹⁸⁹

Sherman’s words resonated with the power and promise of the nation’s destiny. The Pilgrims of Plymouth Rock, Sullivan’s army, and the soldiers and settlers of the West were in the vanguard of progress and prosperity. Conflict with native peoples, according to Sherman, was inevitable. His use of the word empire, instead of nation, is revealing. With the conclusion of the Civil War it was time for the United States to complete the domination of the continent and fix its gaze on the world beyond the recognized borders. But first the nation had to deal with the Indians.

Drawing a direct parallel between the Sullivan Campaign and the ongoing Indian Wars of the late 19th century, Sherman declared “the same battle is raging upon the Yellow Stone. The same men, endowed with the same feelings that General Sullivan’s army had, today are contending with the same causes and the same races, two thousand miles west of here.”¹⁹⁰ Sherman’s address reverberated across a number of historical registers. The Great Indian Wars of the West were part of a longer saga of progress. The Sullivan Campaign of 1779 was connected to Indian Removal in the 1830s, which, in turn, was connected to the wars being waged in the late 1800s against the Comanche, Apache, Ute, Sioux and Nez Perce. For

¹⁸⁸ General Sherman’s First Address, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 439.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

Sherman, the names of the native tribes may have changed, but the battle was the same – a battle for civilization.

Sherman’s mention of the battles raging near Yellowstone was a direct reference to a comprehensive series of federal initiatives and military engagements throughout the Plains during the decade of the 1870s. Prior to taming the Indians, the federal government first had to name and claim the land. More importantly, the government had to know the land. In 1871, Ferdinand Vanderveer Hayden, a geologist, led a team of scientists, cartographers, and political patrons on an expedition into the Yellowstone Valley to collect and document specimens of flora and fauna, identify mineral resources, and to conduct a comprehensive survey of the area. The official reports and maps from the expedition drew the interest of Washington, D.C., but it was the captivating images of Yellowstone produced by the photographer, William Henry Jackson, and the painter, Thomas Moran, that captured the imagination of the eastern elites (Figure 20). The images of tumbling waterfalls, verdant valleys, and spouting geysers offered a sublime experience that both shocked and awed their audience. Almost completely absent from these images were any presence of the humans who inhabited and transformed the Yellowstone region for more than 10,000 years. The images and the glowing personal accounts from those on the expedition proved crucial in the ensuing calls to preserve the region in a park. Proponents of Yellowstone intended to preserve a physical place, but not a cultural space.



Figure 20: Photo of Lower Yellowstone Falls taken during the Hayden Expedition to Yellowstone in 1871 by William Henry Jackson, Library of Congress.

In spring 1872, less than a year after the Hayden expedition, President Ulysses S. Grant signed the cumbersomely named “An Act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park.”¹⁹¹ Thus, Yellowstone became the first U.S. National Park. As a nation we reflexively revere the parks as iconic symbols of national

¹⁹¹ U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 17, Chap. 24, pp. 32-33. "An Act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park." [S. 392], U.S. Congress. 42nd. 2nd Session, (Massachusetts: Boston Little, Brown and Company 1872).

identity, but seldom consider that these were not free lands. What is often lost in the celebration of “pristine” wilderness (physical places) is that these former native homelands contained a multitude of cultural spaces. The creation of Yellowstone and other national parks were also acts of unmaking that resulted in dispossession and erasure.¹⁹²

After legislatively defining these sacred national sites of meaning and memory, the federal government was then obligated to devote considerable resources keeping natives and other undesirables outside of the park boundaries, and criminalizing traditional uses of these former homelands and commons.¹⁹³ Those that once gathered acorns, wild onions, and firewood, hunted for deer, or waded the streams in search of fish became trespassers, poachers, and outlaws. After struggling for more than 40 years with how to control the use of and police the individual parks, the federal government created the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916. The NPS now administers more than 84 million acres of public lands – equal to the combined land mass of Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina. In 2016, more than 330 million tourists, including 5 million to Yellowstone, visited the park system. This wave of visitors in search of wilderness, which the writer and NPS critic Edward Abbey once wryly claimed amounted to little more than “industrial tourism,” created 318,000 jobs and generated nearly 35 billion dollars

¹⁹² For more on the history the US National Parks and native communities, see Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Robert Keller and Michael Turek, *American Indians and National Parks* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); Philip Burnham, *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans And The National Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000); Joel Janetski, *Indians In Yellowstone National Park* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002); and Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

¹⁹³ For more on the history of US National Parks as contested commons, see Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Louis Warren, *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); Kathryn Newfont, *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Sue Eisenfeld, *Shenandoah: A Story of Conservation and Betrayal* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015) and Katrina Powell “Answer at Once”: *Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park, 1934-1938* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2009).

in direct economic output.¹⁹⁴ Native homelands were not only taken and imbued with a new national identity, they were also monetized.

Based upon the success of the Hayden expedition to Yellowstone, and other contemporaneous government sponsored explorations of the claimed Territories of the United States, the 45th Congress established the United States Geological Survey (USGS) on March 3, 1879 – just a few months before Sherman’s address at the Sullivan Centennial. This new bureau in the Department of the Interior was specifically charged with the comprehensive “classification of the public lands, and examination of the geological structure, mineral resources, and products of the national domain.”¹⁹⁵ Similar to the work conducted by the surveyors and cartographers that participated in the Sullivan Campaign of 1779, the work of the USGS was more than an objective scientific exercise. The surveys and maps generated by the USGS defined and legitimized the nation’s borders, often in direct opposition to the claims of sovereign native nations, and played an integral role in the expansion of American empire that Sherman called for in his keynote address.

The Yellowstone region was also the site of more overt violence between the United States and native communities. In the summer of 1876, a combined force of Lakota, Dakota, and other Plains groups annihilated General George Armstrong Custer and units of the 7th Cavalry at the Battle of Greasy Grass (Little Bighorn). In response, the federal government redoubled its efforts to force natives on to reservations. In 1877, the Nez Perce and their allies refused captivity on a federal reservation in Idaho. For more than five months the Nez Perce fought a series of running skirmishes against US Army forces led by General Oliver Otis Howard.

¹⁹⁴ 2016 National Park Visitor Spending Effects Economic Contributions to Local Communities, States, and the Nation, Natural Resource Report, NPS/NRSS/EQD/NRR—2017/1421, i.

¹⁹⁵ Mary Rabbitt, A Brief History of the U.S. Geological Survey (Reston, VA: Dept. of the Interior, Geological Survey, 1979), 3.

Howard was a veteran of the Seminole Wars of the 1850s and commanded the right wing of Sherman's forces during the March to the Sea. After a journey that covered more than 1100 miles, including through Yellowstone National Park, the Nez Perce were surrounded near the Canadian border and forced to surrender. Acting under the direct orders of Sherman, the Army moved the captured Nez Perce by foot and rail to the military prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where they lived in absolute squalor as prisoners of war. A visitor to Leavenworth could only compare the living conditions of the Nez Perce to the notorious Confederate prison camp at Andersonville.¹⁹⁶

For Sherman, the Indian wars may have been hell, but they were necessary. He assured the Sullivan Centennial audience that the violent conflict was “not for the purpose of killing, not for the purpose of shedding blood, not for the purpose of doing wrong at all; but to prepare the way for that civilization which must go along wherever yonder flag floats.”¹⁹⁷ In order to save the Indian people from themselves, the United States first needed to defeat them.

Sherman continued his historical analogy by equating and vociferously defending Sullivan's war upon the land tactics in the Revolutionary War with his own March to the Sea campaign during the Civil War:

I know it is a very common practice, to accuse General Sullivan of having destroyed peach trees and cornfields, and all that nonsense. He had to do it, and he did do it.

In justifying the similar military engagements Sherman deftly side-stepped the human toll of war. Sherman called on his audience to remember the promise and obligation of Manifest

¹⁹⁶ Elliot West, *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 295. For more on the Nez Perce War, see Daniel Sharfstein, *Thunder in the Mountains: Chief Joseph, Oliver Otis Howard, and the Nez Perce War* (New York: W.W. Norton Company, Inc., 2016) and Merrill Beal, *I Will Fight No More Forever: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963).

¹⁹⁷ General Sherman's First Address, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 439.

Destiny. We do these things, not in our name, but in the name of the Lord. “Why does the Almighty strike down the tree with lightning?” Sherman asked:

“Why does He bring the thunder storm? To purify the air, so that the summer time may come, and the harvest and the fruits. And so with war. When all things ought to be peaceful, war comes and purifies the atmosphere. So it was with our Civil War; that purified the atmosphere; we are better for it; you are better for it; we are all better for it.

“Whenever men raise up their hands,” Sherman stated, “to oppose this great advancing tide of civilization, they must be swept aside, peaceably if possible, forcibly if we must.”¹⁹⁸ In Sherman’s view, the Haudenosaunee and the rebels of the Confederate Army shared and deserved their similar fates. Both were obstacles along the path of progress and civilization that were swept aside to ensure a better future. The literal and liberal use of fire in waging war upon the land ensured purification and renewal. Something better would rise from the ashes. The Sullivan Campaign and the March to the Sea were not wars of choice, but of necessity.

Sherman’s defense of the Civil War during the Sullivan celebrations at Elmira, NY, was particularly symbolic given that Elmira was the location of a Union prison camp from 1864-65. While the horrors of Andersonville, the Confederate prison camp that held 45,000 Union soldiers during the war, are part of the nation’s memory, what happened at Elmira is far less known. More than 12,000 Confederate soldiers were crammed into a 30 acre parcel of land surrounded by a 12 foot fence (Figure 21). By the time the camp closed, just one year later, nearly 3,000 prisoners of war died due to malnutrition, exposure to the elements, and disease.¹⁹⁹ The death rate was more than twice that of other Union facilities, and the Confederates referred to the camp

¹⁹⁸ General Sherman’s First Address, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 439-440.

¹⁹⁹ Michael Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and Its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001), 153-154, and Michael Horgan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002) 180.

as “Helmira.”²⁰⁰ Elmira and Andersonville were both death camps, the difference was measured only in scale.



Figure 21: Elmira Prison Camp, Box 85, Chemung County Historical Society

As Sherman addressed the crowd, the 3000 Confederate soldiers who died at the prison camp lie buried in humble graves just a few miles distant at Woodlawn Cemetery. Most of the Sullivan Centennial visitors from outside the region were likely unaware of the role Elmira played in the Civil War, but for locals Sherman’s unapologetic words offered a measure of justification, if not solace. The Confederates, Sherman claimed, had opposed the great advancing tide of civilization and were swept aside to purify the land, preserve the Union, and to

²⁰⁰ Horgan, *Elmira: Death Camp of the North*, 4. For more on the Elmira Prison Camp, see Michael Gray, *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and its Civil War Prison* (Kent: Kent State Univ. Press, 2001); Roger Pickenpaugh, *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union* (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2009); James Gillispie, *Andersonvilles of the North: The Myths and Realities of Northern Treatment of Civil War Confederate Prisoners* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2008), 196-212, and Benjamin Cloyd, *Haunted By Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019).

ensure the destiny of the nation. Just as Sullivan's men had done their part in clearing the land of savages, the people of Elmira had borne their burden during the Civil War.

Later that day as Sherman was attending the Sullivan Centennial events he gratified the demands of the people by offering a second, more impromptu speech, on the Grand Stand (Figure 22). Sherman's first address was an impassioned defense of the past and a celebration of the nation's progress. His second speech was more of a call to action. Much had been achieved, but the hard work of nation-building continued. Destiny beckoned in the West, and it was time for a new generation to follow Lady Columbia as she traversed the Plains.

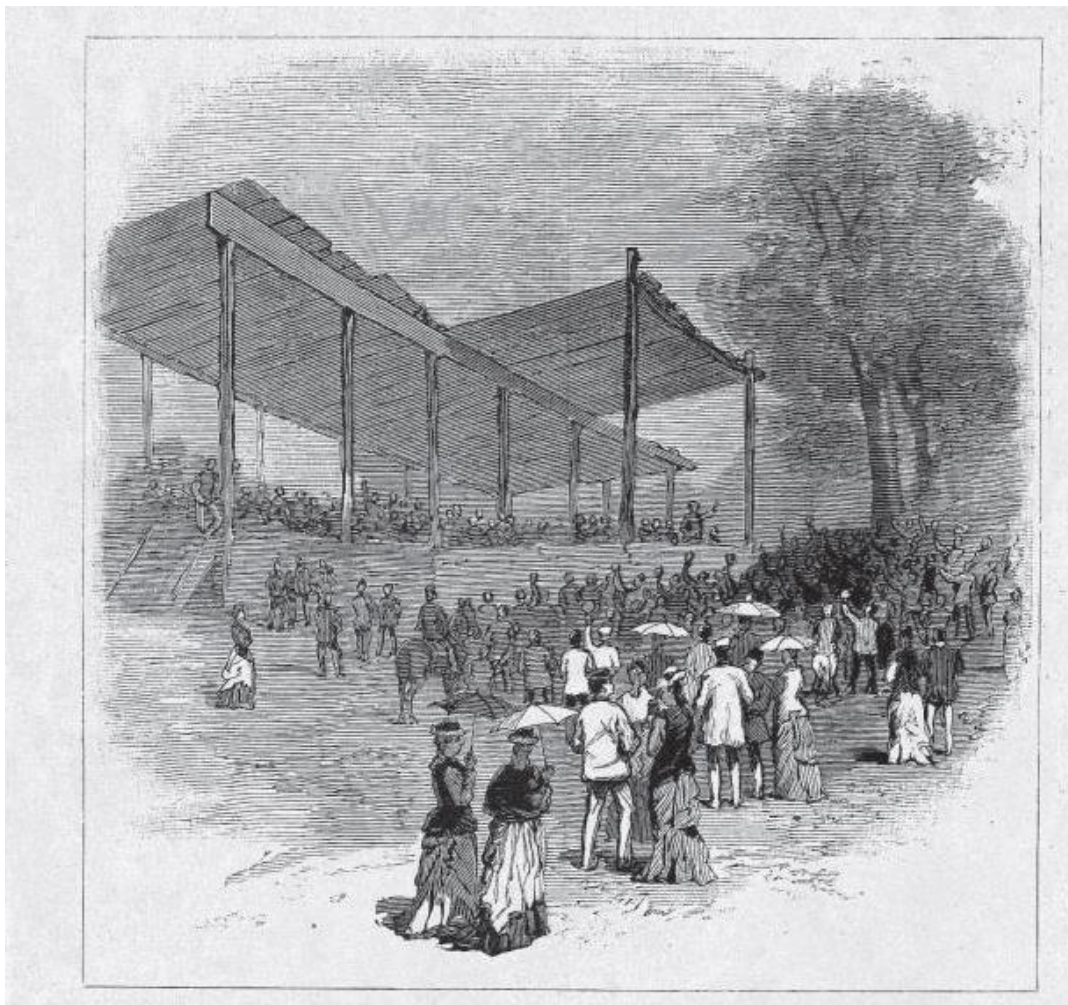


Figure 22: Sullivan Centennial Grand Stand, Harper's Magazine, September 20, 1879

Sherman began his second speech by complementing the people of the upstate region declaring, “I have never, in my whole travels in Europe, Asia, or America, beheld a land towards which I would advise people to turn their steps, as this beautiful country.” “I congratulate you all,” he continued, on inhabiting a land “teeming with everything that makes life desirable.”²⁰¹ Sherman celebrated place, but the story of progress was an ongoing process that demanded action. Echoing Horace Greeley’s famous call to “Go West!,” Sherman exhorted the young men in the crowd to seek out rich lands and opportunity “on the Platte, or on the sources of the Yellowstone, or over on the head waters of the Columbia, to the great advantage of yourselves, and of the great Republic of America.”²⁰² Unlike many Western boosters who overly embellished the promise of the region with effusive descriptions and false testimonials, Sherman was more pragmatic. As the General of the US Army, and architect of Indian removal and replacement, Sherman knew only too well that the story progress was often a contest. He warned his listeners that “You may have to fight a battle, such as General Sullivan fought here.” Success demanded vigilance. “If you are always ready for a fight, the Indians are never ready,” and “if you have a good rifle and a steady aim, then there is no more difficulty in going to the Yellowstone or Milk river or on the Big Horn, than the risks your grandfathers incurred in the valley of the Tioga or Chemung [the Sullivan Campaign].”²⁰³ Sherman presented the West as a crucible, where those who entered (particularly men) were tested by the environment and the nature of Indians.²⁰⁴ Those with enough grit and resolve to endure the crucible earned the bounty of lands.

²⁰¹ General Sherman’s Second Speech, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 440.

²⁰² *Ibid*, 441.

²⁰³ General Sherman’s Second Speech, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 440. For more on the role of Western boosters see, David Wroble, *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002).

²⁰⁴ For more on the role of gender and Manifest Destiny, see Amy Greenburg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge, 2005).

While he did not specifically invoke the phrase, Sherman's rhetoric connected to the commonly held idea that the West offered a "safety valve" for the problems of chronic poverty, unemployment, and the malaise of the urban east.²⁰⁵ The best way to name, tame, and claim these lands was through domestic colonization. The best people to send were those unneeded and unwanted. During the 19th century, a number of leading political and community leaders promoted migration towards the free lands of the setting sun. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 was motivated, in part, by Jefferson's desire to secure lands for yeoman farmers. Jefferson agrarianism was staunchly anti-urban, anti-industrial, and opposed to the system of wage peonage in which the common man was reduced to a unit of labor. In promoting the colonization of western lands, Jefferson's goal was to create a nation-wide class of independent yeoman farmers who tilled the land they owned and were active participants in American democracy.²⁰⁶

During the presidential elections of 1848 and 1852, proponents of westward migration gained political voice through the Free Soil Party.²⁰⁷ The organization advocated for the allocation of public lands held by the federal government to private citizens. Members of the Free Soil Party, mostly Northerners, were opposed to slavery - not necessarily on moral grounds, but due to their desire to keep the lands of the West from becoming a vast plantation system in

²⁰⁵ For more on the safety valve theory, see Ellen von Nardroff, "The American Frontier as a Safety Valve: The Life, Death, Reincarnation, and Justification of a Theory," *Agricultural History*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Jul., 1962), pp. 123-142; Coy Cross, *Go West Young Man! Horace Greeley's Vision for America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), Chapter XX.

²⁰⁶ For more on the Louisiana Purchase and Jeffersonian Agrarianism, see Sanford Levinson and Bartholomew Sparrow, eds., *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion, 1803-1898* (Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005); Peter Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Adam Wesley Dean, *An Agrarian Republic: Farming, Antislavery Politics, and Nature Parks in the Civil War Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), and Joyce Appleby, "Commercial Farming and the Agrarian Myth in the Early American Republic," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 68, No. 4 (Mar., 1982), 833-849.

²⁰⁷ For more on the Free Soil Party, see Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), and Jonathan Earle, *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824-1854* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

which a few elites benefited from the labor of others. The Free Soil Party was also opposed to the creation of the National Parks, which were viewed as a waste of the country's natural resources. While the Free Soil political party waned after the 1852 election, the idea that much of the area west of the Mississippi was free to claim was underscored by the Homestead Act of 1862, in which more than 270 million acres – 10 percent of all the land in the United States - was allocated to settlers willing to inhabit and improve the land.²⁰⁸ The fact that the much of the territory being offered by safety valve proponents, including Sherman during his oration at the Sullivan Centennial, were still native homelands and not free was ignored. Sherman's enthusiasm for westward migration was unbounded, and he made a particularly prescient claim that "There is room in our country for two or three hundred million of people."²⁰⁹ This land was our land, Sherman insisted, but only for those willing to stake and earn their claim.

Beyond offering lands of opportunity, Sherman assured his audience that the Indian territories offered opportunities for national healing:

If our young men in the east, would go out there and lay the foundation for future States and future homes, that would be all the battle, and we would not have growling about Indians or negroes, and other questions that disturb our politicians today.²¹⁰

The West offered not only a safety valve for social, economic, and political pressures, but a place for the citizens of the republic to renew the ties that bind; a place to form a more perfect union.

We would be a country, of which every human being would be proud, with institutions, schools, and churches, the same as you have here, and that is the

²⁰⁸ For more on the Homestead Act of 1862, see Blake Bell, "Homestead National Monument of America and the 150th Anniversary of the Homestead Act," *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 43 (Spring 2012), 73–78; Lawrence Lee, *Kansas and the Homestead Act, 1862-1905* (New York: Arno Press, 1979); George Stephenson, *The Political History of the Public Lands From 1840 to 1862: From Preemption to Homestead* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), and Howard Ottoson, ed., *Land Use Policy and Problems in the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963).

²⁰⁹ General Sherman's Second Speech, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 441.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

destiny of our people; our destiny is not to growl with each other, but to go forth and replenish the earth.²¹¹

From John O'Sullivan's essays to Sherman's speeches the message was consistent and clear: the Lord ordained that the land rightfully belonged to Euro-Americans. Our Manifest Destiny was not to spill each other's blood on the ground, but to mix our sweat and tears with the earth to create a new garden, a new Eden.

Having led his Sullivan Centennial audience on an oratorical journey that spanned thousands of miles, from the bucolic hills of upstate New York to the majesty of the Yellowstone valley, and covered a century of contested terrain, Sherman called for action. "This one hundred years which has passed, since the fight upon the ridge here [Battle of Newtown], is but one day in the history of this nation." The Sullivan Campaign was a moment in time in a larger story of transformation and national expansion. The crucible of the West offered a final frontier in the process of Euro-American settlement. "Another day will pass, and in that day, if we accomplish half as much as our fathers did, we will have done the full share of men." The winning of the West, like the taming of Haudenosaunee lands, was not just an opportunity, but an obligation. In order for the wheel of progress to turn it required that a new generation venture into the wilderness.

In *Letters from an American Farmer*, Hector St. John de Crevecoeur asked the essential question: "What then is the American, this new man?" During his speeches at the Sullivan Centennial, Sherman offered a bold response. He assured the audience that the American was more than a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, this new man sowed the seeds of expansion and empire. Sherman concluded his address with a final challenge: "A hundred years ago, there was no such thing as a railroad, a telegraph, or a photographer, or nothing of that kind,

²¹¹ General Sherman's Second Speech, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, 441.

which we value so much today. Suppose we do as much in the next hundred years, who can say, what a glorious country we will have!” The official historical record of the Sullivan Centennial noted that Sherman’s address was greeted with “Applause” from the crowd.

This particular story of the Sullivan Centennial could end with Sherman walking under the “Barbarians in 1779, Civilization in 1879” banner and exiting the Grand Stand. But the work of Indian removal and replacement, which General Sherman, Secretary of the Interior Columbus Delano, and many other leading figures of the 19th century advocated, came to the forefront just a few weeks after the centennial. On October 15, 1879, Captain Richard Henry Pratt, a veteran of the Civil War and the Plains Indian Wars, founded the nation’s first federal Indian residential school at the former U.S. Army barracks in Carlisle, PA. As superintendent of the Carlisle Indian School, Pratt’s stated mission was to “Kill the Indian, save the man.” Pratt’s message was metaphorical – his intent was not to physically harm natives, but to teach them skills to be productive members of the dominant Euro-American society. In order to kill the Indian, Pratt first needed to culturally erase the young men and women in his care and then make them anew. As depicted in Gast’s “American Progress” the trains ran east to west carrying passengers, freight, and civilization to the new lands of the republic. However, for the tens of thousands of native children who were sent to Carlisle and other Indian schools across the United States, the path of progress took them in the opposite direction. Carlisle was just one of an estimated 500

government supported or church run Indian schools that operated well into the late 20th century.²¹²

The first native children to arrive by train at Carlisle were specifically chosen from tribes regarded by the government as being particularly bellicose: the Lakota, Kiowa, and Cheyenne.²¹³ Education and vocational training also served as a form of pacification. During Carlisle's nearly 40 year history, more than 10,500 enrollees from almost every native nation passed through the gates of the institution, including more than 600 Seneca children.²¹⁴ Much like a soldier's first days at boot camp, children at Carlisle experienced a thorough intake process, which included a mandatory haircut, disposal of civilian clothing, the issuance of an official school uniform, and often a new name (Figure 23). Natives received instructions on the English language, religion, how to appropriately groom and dress, vocational training, etiquette, gender roles, and the importance of adhering to a European standard of time and the Christian calendar.²¹⁵ Instead of eating when they were hungry or following the rhythm of the migration or changing seasons, enrollees were trained to abide by the dictates of a clock and a rigid schedule. Enrollees were

²¹² For more on Carlisle and other American Indian Boarding Schools, see Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016); Margaret Archuleta, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds., *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences* (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000); David Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 1995); Henry Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Cathleen Cahill, *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Jacqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club: School, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Adrea Lawrence, *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902–1907* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011); John Gram, *Education at the Edge of Empire* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2015) and Keith Burich, "No Place to Go: The Thomas Indian School and the 'Forgotten' Indian Children of New York," *Wicazo Sa Review*, Volume 22, Number 2, Fall 2007, 93-110.

²¹³ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 5.

²¹⁴ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 5. For a detailed listing of children from the various native communities, see Linda Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918* (Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1993).

²¹⁵ For more on the indoctrination of time and calendars at Indian Schools, see Cheryl Wells, "'Why, These Children Are Not Really Indians': Race, Time, and Indian Authenticity," *The American Indian Quarterly*, Volume 39, Number 1, Winter 2015, pp. 1-24.

barred from speaking their respective languages or engaging in native religious practices. Failure to adhere to these rules resulted in punishment: loss of food and privileges, extra work duty, isolation, and corporal punishment.



Figure 23: “Tom Torlino, Navajo, before and after,” by J. N. Choate, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library

Some native families wanted their children to attend Carlisle and other schools in the hopes of finding them a place in the changing world, but of the nearly 10,500 young native men and women who enrolled at Carlisle (willingly or not) barely 750 were deemed to have “graduated.”²¹⁶ In a recent study on the lasting influence of Carlisle and the Indian School system on native communities, scholars noted that native children “were caught between worlds, cultures, and languages. Cut off from the nurture of tradition, family, and community, they experienced a rupture in their affiliations, affections, and identities. For many this began a legacy

²¹⁶ Genevieve Bell, “Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998), 402.

of trauma and disenfranchisement that would be passed down the generations.²¹⁷ Indigenous schools were not unique to the United States. Other nations with a history of settler colonialism, including Canada, New Zealand, and Australia also created these institutions in an attempt to erase and replace.²¹⁸ In recent years, most of these nations, including the United States, have offered some form of apology. In addition, Canada and New Zealand have offered reparations.²¹⁹

After Sherman departed the Grand Stand and the 50,000 Sullivan Centennial celebrants began their journey homeward, there were calls to recognize the events in an official publication. During its annual session in 1885, the New York Assembly passed an act directing the Secretary of State to collect and publish the journals and memoirs of soldiers who participated in the Sullivan Campaign. The legislature also stipulated that the Secretary compile and include details of the records and proceedings of the centennial celebrations in the final published volume.²²⁰ In 1887, the Assembly received the *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of the Indians in 1779, with records of Centennial Celebrations*. The final volume contained twenty-six journals, a detailed list of maps, a roster of officers that served on the expedition, and Sullivan's official final report. The comprehensive records of the centennial celebrations included songs, poems, prayers and transcripts of the speeches.

The Assembly earmarked funding for five thousand copies of the centennial publication, and specified its distribution. State senators and members of the Assembly received ten copies,

²¹⁷ Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School*, 6.

²¹⁸ For more on the history of indigenous schools outside the United States, see "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada," (National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, May 31, 2015); J. R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Anna Haebich, *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940* (Nedlands: Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1988), and J. M. Barrington, *Separate But Equal?: Māori Schools and the Crown, 1867-1969* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008).

²¹⁹ For more on the history and politics of formal apologies for the indigenous school programs, see Michael Tager, "Apologies to Indigenous Peoples in Comparative Perspective," *The International Indigenous Policy Journal*, Volume 5, Issue 4, 2014.

²²⁰ Introduction, in Cook, *Journals of the Military Expedition*, xi.

with the remainder provided to both state and out-of-state historical societies and libraries.²²¹

Given the audience defined by the Assembly, the Sullivan Centennial book served as an official state history, imbued with authority and legitimacy. For the legislators, the history of the landscape began with the defeat of the Iroquois and the arrival of the pioneers and settlers – what happened before was not worthy of mention. The possessors of the landscape influenced how its past was remembered. Just as the Sullivan Campaign was an attempt to erase Haudenosaunee claims on the land, the publication of the official state history of the campaign was an act of power that attempted to erase Haudenosaunee claims on the past. The publication was part of the process in which Euro-American settlers and pioneers replaced the Haudenosaunee and became the new natives.²²²

Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan is a weighty tome, chock full of details, but it is also a bundle of silences.²²³ There is not a single reference of any member of the Six Nations being invited to participate, to voice their thoughts on the Sullivan Campaign, to offer words of reconciliation, or even to bear witness. And yet, the Haudenosaunee were present. Counted among the many participants at the centennial were newspaper journalists who provided updates on the festivities to their home papers. Buried in the minutiae of just a few of the many articles was a brief mention that one of the bands that entertained the crowds was the [Chester C.] Lay Silver Cornet Band from the Cattaraugus

²²¹ Ibid., xi-xii. Vanderbilt University and North Carolina State University each have one of these original 5000 copies in their library holdings.

²²² For more on how Euro-Americans used the creation of official publications and histories to erase and replace native peoples see, Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2010).

²²³ The phrase “bundle of silences” is from the classic work by Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 27.

Reservation of the Seneca people.²²⁴ The Independent Statesman, published in Concord, NH, claimed that the Seneca band members were the “descendants of those warriors who fought on that hill [Newtown Battlefield] a hundred years ago.”²²⁵ The Elmira newspaper noted that the band attended at the invitation of the Committee of Arrangements for the Sullivan Centennial, which enthusiastically promoted their appearance as a form of special entertainment. The paper assured the readers that band members “will appear in Indian costume, and will be a novel feature of the occasion.”²²⁶ In addition to their appearance at the centennial events, the committee also made arrangements for the Seneca to play a “game of Indian ball” in “full Indian costume” at the local park. To help defray the Seneca’s transportation costs, the committee set a 25 cent admission charge.²²⁷ While the Sullivan Centennial participants were celebrating the removal and replacement of the Haudenosaunee, the paper was ironically touting the legitimacy and authenticity of the Indians playing a ball game.

After the game the Elmira newspaper reported that the “Indians played the old fashioned game of La Cross in good old fashioned ‘rough and tumble’ style to the great amusement of all, they would roll and tumble in the most approved Indian manner, and all laugh heartily to see their maneuvers.”²²⁸ It is compelling to frame this cultural encounter as another example of how Euro-American’s perceived the unending contest between savagery and civilization, but the presence of the Seneca at the centennial raises provocative questions. Who exactly was

²²⁴ “The Newtown Centennial,” Independent Statesman, September 4, 1879. New Hampshire Governor, Nathaniel Head, and Dr. John Sullivan (the great grandson of General Sullivan) were among the special guests at the centennial and the Independent Statesman assigned a reporter to cover the event.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ “The Sullivan Centennial: An Indian Band and an Indian Game of Ball,” Elmira Daily Advertiser, August 26, 1879. For more on the meaning and utility of natives playing Indian, see Linda Scarangella McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012); Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*, and Keller and Turek, *American Indians and National Parks*.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ “Indian Ball at the Park,” Elmira Daily Advertiser, August 29, 1879.

entertaining whom on that day? Where the Seneca merely “playing Indian” for their own amusement? Why did the band choose to attend? What type of music and songs did they play? What did they think about Sherman’s performance on the Grand Stand? Did the Seneca use the opportunity to create and shape memory about the past and present? What counter-narrative about the land and belonging did they offer to the celebrants?

Perhaps some insight can be gleaned from the participation of natives in the immensely popular Wild West Shows, including the one led by William F. Cody (aka Buffalo Bill), that toured across U.S., Canada, and Europe during the late 1800s and early 20th century.²²⁹ Scholars have argued that the shows were not only acts of Euro-American supremacy, but also arenas of “encounters and negotiations” where native people advanced their own history, identity, and political claims.²³⁰ The Wild West Shows offered natives gainful employment, the means to travel and experience the world, and to engage with other cultures. Most importantly, the shows offered a stage for native people to live their own lives and to tell their own stories – particularly to local journalists in Europe who were fascinated by their presence.²³¹ It is reasonable to conclude that the Seneca had similar motivations as the Chester C. Lay Silver Cornet Band entertained the crowds at the Sullivan Centennial. Their participation can be interpreted not as an act of submission, but as a performance of sovereignty.

The Sullivan Centennial celebrations serve as a potent example of the production of settler myth and memory that directly connected the events of the Revolution and the Early

²²⁹ For more on the history of the Wild West Shows, see Don Russell, *Wild West: A History of the Wild West Shows* (Fort Worth: University of Texas Press, 1970); Louis Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Joy Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Phil Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004) and McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney*.

²³⁰ McNenly, *Native Performers in Wild West Shows*, 11-12.

²³¹ Linda Scarangella McNenly, “For, Friend, or Critic: Native Performers with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show and Discourses of Conquest and Friendship in Newspaper Reports,” *The American Indian Quarterly*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring 2014, pp. 143-176

American Republic, to the post-Civil War era. The last state sponsored celebration of the Sullivan Campaign occurred in 1929 in honor of the sesquicentennial. The crowds were smaller, the stories of progress more modest, but the claims on the land remained firmly in place. However, contemporary memory of the events of 1779 is fleeting; the expedition is rarely mentioned in works on the Revolutionary War, or in the classroom. Yet, the Sullivan Campaign remains visible (if not always recognized) in both the physical and cultural landscape in the form of the official state history, monuments, historical markers, and place names. These objects of material culture serve both as markers of possession and identity, and as relics of empire that continue to make claims on the land and its history.

Sherman called for the wheel of progress to turn and for many it did. The process of removal and replacement continued throughout the country. But what can be made can also be un-made. The sense of disruption and loss experienced by the Seneca and Cayuga in the 18th century resurfaced in the region, in the summer of 1941. This time, however, it was the descendants of Euro-American settlers living in the former Haudenosaunee community of Kendaia who experienced the loss of homelands and history at the hands of a large and powerful invasive force.

Chapter Four:

“They Have Treated Us Like a Lot of Okies”

On a cool summer evening in 1941, residents of Seneca County, New York, including the farming community of Kendaia (Appletown), slowly gathered in the auditorium of the Romulus Central School. As the seats filled, friends and neighbors exchanged hushed greetings and anxious glances. For months, rumors had swirled throughout the area; rumors that, if true, threatened the homes and livelihoods of many in the room. The federal government was coming. Instead of enjoying a school musical, pageant or talent contest put on by local children, the residents attended a command performance. On this evening, the stage belonged to strangers.

Across the seemingly vast barrier of the Atlantic Ocean, on the distant European continent, war raged. The ripples from a conflict that seemed so remote swept across the upstate landscape. In previous times of war, posters depicted Uncle Sam emphatically pointing and demanding “I Want You.” But in the summer of ’41 Uncle Sam was not coming to recruit the people of Seneca County. Instead, the federal government wanted their land. At 7:00pm, L. P. Walker, of the Real Estate Division of the War Department, addressed the audience. He spoke of sacrifice - sacrifice that citizens of this country had made from colonial days in defense of freedom. We are faced with a problem, he said, and must continue to sacrifice. The nation was perched precariously on the brink of war, and it must plan ahead. Acting as the official representative of the War Department, Walker informed the people of Seneca County that the federal government planned to invest \$10 million in a project to create an Army depot on a 12,000 acre tract of grass and farm land within the townships of Romulus and Varick.²³² The

²³² “Seneca County Picked as Site for Munitions Depot,” Geneva Daily Times June 9, 1941, and “Details of Purchase Explained at Romulus Meeting,” Geneva Daily Times June 11, 1941.

government's plans for the extensive munitions storage facility included warehouses, a testing range, a small airport, disposal containment areas, and more than 500 hundred concrete bunkers.²³³ To make way for the depot, the federal government required more than 150 families to leave their homes and farms. Land that was once used to grow corn, wheat, beans and pumpkins was now needed by the government to prepare for war. Much of this landscape had been worked by the same families for generations, including the local community of Kendaia, which Euro-American settlers had claimed for their own following the Sullivan Campaign and dispossession of the Haudenosaunee. However, while the Seneca and Cayuga people lost their lands to an encroaching sovereign power, the Kendaia farmers of 1941 were removed from the landscape by an army of fellow citizens.

Beyond the loss of land was the loss of individual and community identity as cultural landmarks and significant repositories of memory were destroyed, or hidden beyond the base's impenetrable twenty-four mile perimeter fence. The military claimed homes, farms, churches, grange halls and even local cemeteries – all components of a once vibrant community. In seizing their land, government officials assured local residents that the military facility would provide a greater benefit to the region. The construction and operation of the depot created jobs, spurred the local economy, and helped in the development of county infrastructure. Instead of framing the depot as a “taking” the government promoted the depot as part of a larger story of both local and national progress. These gains in local economic and national security, however, were obtained at great personal cost.

Prior to naming Seneca County as the base site, the War Department evaluated more than sixty possible locations throughout the nation.²³⁴ Dispossession threatened many families and

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Geneva Daily Times June 11, 1941.

communities. After extensive due diligence, three recommended locations were forwarded to a special committee of the Army for final consideration. Seneca County was declared the “winner” for a number of key reasons. Two major rail lines bordered the nineteen square mile tract, which enhanced transportation and logistical operations. The lightly populated county provided a remote location, far from any major metropolitan centers, but within range to supply coastal defenses. Seneca County also had an interesting geological feature that captured the attention of the Army. Just a few inches beneath the top soil, a layer of shale covered much of the region. The military valued the shale’s ability to absorb the shock from detonations, which reduced the chances of catastrophic mishap in case a munitions bunker exploded.²³⁵ Compared to other locations on the list, land was cheap in Seneca County - allowing the federal government to reduce project cost. With war looming, the Seneca Army Depot was just one of many new military facilities on the planning docket.²³⁶

The \$10 million federal project in Seneca County was significant to the lives of the local inhabitants, but paled in comparison to the overall amount of domestic military base construction during World War II. From June 1940 to June 1945, the War Department invested more than \$10 billion in public funds in new military facilities. California led the way with more than \$1.5 billion in base construction; New York ranked fifth with nearly \$435 million.²³⁷ The scope of the lands taken for military purposes was equally staggering. In June 1940 the military owned

²³⁵ “Romulus Hears Approval Given Federal Project For Big Munitions Plant,” *Geneva Daily Times* April 29, 1941; “Colonel Paul B. Parker Addresses Business Men on Munitions Project,” *Geneva Daily Times* July 1, 1941.

²³⁶ For more on the development of military facilities and the impact on local communities during the World War II era see, John Westerlund, *Arizona’s War Town: Flagstaff, Navajo Ordnance Depot, and World War II* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2003); Ryan Edginton, *Range Wars: The Environmental Contest for White Sands Missile Range* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), Neil McMillen, ed., *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South* (Jackson: Univ of Mississippi Press, 1997) and John Hutchinson, “Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II.” (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2011).

²³⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *County Data Book: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), 7.

approximately 2 million acres of land, which represented a century and a half of growth and expansion. Planners estimated that the War Department required 8 million more acres to adequately prepare for the looming conflict.²³⁸ Most of the land needed for base construction was transferred from federal government holdings (range lands, national forests, etc.), but 2 million acres were acquired, primarily through eminent domain, from private land owners. Land for munitions depots was particularly in high demand. According to government historians, “the Real Estate Branch of the War Department was under tremendous pressure” to obtain lands needed for construction.²³⁹ The consequences of these dispossessions, and the subsequent militarization of landscapes, still resonate throughout communities.

Beyond the pragmatic reasons for choosing Seneca County as the location for a munitions depot, one was paramount. The people who inhabited the landscape were defined by the federal government as being true patriots. A subtle undercurrent in the assessment of the area’s patriotism was that local residents might not like having to leave their lands, but were both unlikely and unable to raise any significant protests. Compared to the potent forces of the federal government, local residents had little agency to act out or voice their displeasure. Not surprisingly, during the dispossession of the Kendaia famers, not a single organized protest, demonstration or picket line was reported by the local media. Given the government’s campaign for sacrifice and patriotism, anyone who vociferously opposed the dispossession risked having their loyalties questioned. More importantly, the federal government held all the leverage in the “bargaining” process. Local landowners either accepted the compensation offers of agents of the War Department, or had their lands condemned and taken. The federal government came to Seneca County because it could. Payment demanded compliance.

²³⁸ Lenore Fine and Jesse Remington, *The Corps of Engineers: Construction in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 1972).

²³⁹ *Ibid*, 174.

The government's publicity machine was well oiled. The morning after L.P. Walker addressed the audience at the Romulus High School, editors from the local newspaper promoted the area's spirit of sacrifice and patriotism with a cartoon featuring an Uncle Sam figure leading the nation up the daunting but necessary path to victory in war. (Figure 24):

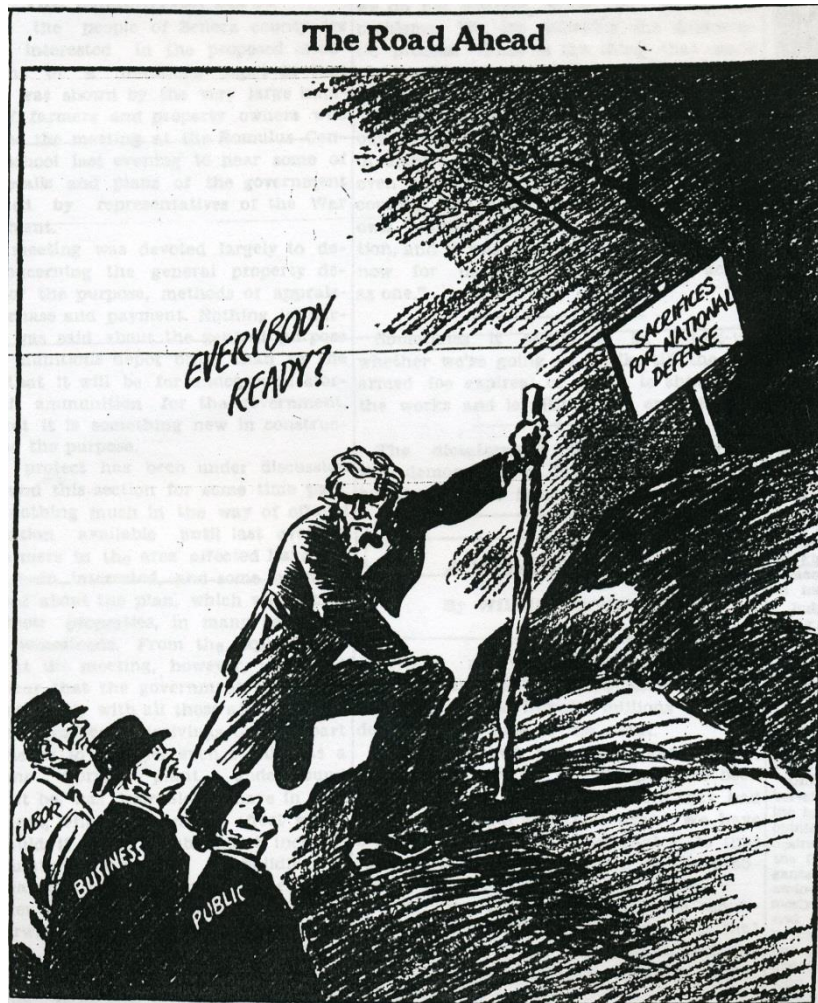


Figure 24: "The Road Ahead." Geneva Daily Times June 11, 1941.

During an interview later that summer in the Geneva Daily Times, Colonel M. E. McFadden, the Zone Constructing Quartermaster for New York, New Jersey and Delaware, emphasized that in determining the location of the depot an "important point that we considered was the type of person living in this region, for with such an important depot in their midst it is

vital that the Army's neighbors are 100 per cent Americans."²⁴⁰ This comment went beyond the typical themes of patriotism and sacrifice. It implied that instead of the depot being considered a burden, the people of Seneca County should be honored that the War Department considered them worthy of having their land taken in support of such a vital facility.

Besides the assets of the landscape, and the assessment of the area's patriotic values, politics likely played an influential role in locating the depot in Seneca County. The facility may have been an offering from the White House to gain the support of a powerful local politician. The residents of Seneca County were represented by Congressman John Taber, a Republican from the nearby city of Auburn (Figure 25). First elected to Congress in 1923, Taber held his seat until his retirement in 1962. During this forty-year period, local politicians offered little challenge to his status as the incumbent. In the early years of his political career, Taber served as a low ranking member of the House Appropriations Committee, but in 1932 the Roosevelt landslide swept senior Republican members out of office, leaving him as the ranking minority member.²⁴¹ Taber twice served as the Appropriations Committee chairman - first during the 80th congress in 1947-49, and again for the 83rd Congress in 1953-54.

During the Roosevelt presidency, Taber was a staunch opponent of New Deal programs and was often critical of the president's budget requests to expand the United States military and engage in Lend-Lease programs with overseas allies. He was adamantly opposed to the growth of presidential executive power, the expansion of federal programs and America's involvement in global affairs. Taber's friends referred to him as the "Watchdog of the Treasury," but political

²⁴⁰ "Praises Citizens of Finger Lakes for Co-operation," *Geneva Daily Times* July 31, 1941.

²⁴¹ Cary Smith Henderson, "Congressman John Taber of Auburn: Politics and Federal Appropriations, 1923-1962," PhD Dissertation (History) Duke University, 1964, iii. Henderson lived in Auburn, NY during the early 1960s and taught at the community college. When Taber retired in 1962, he granted Henderson access to his congressional papers housed at Cornell University. After Taber's death in 1965, his papers were opened to all researchers. However, Henderson's dissertation is the only historical treatise on Taber and his service on the Appropriations Committee. No books have been published on Congressman Taber.

adversaries had a more colorful list of nicknames, including: “Meat-Axe John,” “Cash and Carry,” “Fiscal Vigilante,” and sarcastically, “Generous John.”²⁴² His zealous commitment to trim the Federal budget was known inside the Beltway as “Taberizing,” and his senior ranking on the House Appropriations Committee made him one of the most influential and powerful men in Washington.



Figure 25: John Taber. Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram & Sun Collection, 1946.

In January of 1941, President Roosevelt presented Congress with a budget request of more than \$17 billion dollars, of which nearly \$11 billion marked for defense, including substantial funding for the Lend-Lease program.²⁴³ Taber, like many of his Republican colleagues, opposed the president’s request and decried Roosevelt’s thinly veiled efforts to bring

²⁴² “Ex-Rep. John Taber Dies at 85; ‘Fiscal Vigilante’ Led Committee,” *New York Times* November 23, 1965.

²⁴³ For more on the Lend-Lease Act see Edward Stettinius, *Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory* (New York: Macmillan, 1944) and Walter Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act; Lend-Lease, 1939-1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969).

America into the war. But during the spring of 1941, when the War Department was evaluating sites for a new munitions depot, Congressman Taber changed his position. Instead of vociferously opposing the Lend-Lease appropriations bill, Taber, to the amazement of his political allies, threw his support behind Roosevelt's request. Time Magazine reported that Republican Congressmen burst out of a party caucus as if they had seen a ghost, and blurted to reporters: "My god! John Taber's in there making a speech for Roosevelt."²⁴⁴ A few months later, the War Department named Seneca County as the location for the new depot. Was this a coincidence?

In conducting a detailed analysis of Taber's career on the Appropriations Committee, historian Cary Smith Henderson had access to the congressman's personal papers, but Henderson made no connection between Taber's political turnabout and the location of the depot. In fact, Henderson did not mention the Seneca Army Depot at all. The \$10 million project was, at the time, the largest federal initiative in the history of Seneca County. Why the silence in the record?

Perhaps whatever deal Taber struck with the Roosevelt administration was "off the books." However, Henderson lived in Auburn for three years while working on his dissertation, and certainly would have been aware of the Depot and its importance to the area. It seems unlikely that Henderson would not have inquired into Taber's role with the base. One possible answer is that Congressman Taber quietly facilitated the location of the depot and the federal government's arrival to Seneca County, but chose to keep his level of agency in the decision making process hidden from both public and political scrutiny. As a publicly elected official, he certainly did not wish to have his name associated with the dispossession of more than 150 families from his home district. In correspondence with constituents who implored Taber to block the construction of the depot, Taber acknowledged that the placement of the base was not

²⁴⁴ "Change of Mind," Time Magazine March 31, 1941.

desirable, “but as long as the [War] Department considers it the best site from a national defense standpoint I do not see anything for us to do but to take it on the chin and let them go ahead with it.”²⁴⁵ Considering Taber’s career efforts to minimize the growth of federal power and specifically to oppose Roosevelt’s earlier attempts to expand the military, his position on the depot seems rather incongruous. Given that Taber served in Congress for another twenty years after the dispossession, whatever his involvement was with the Seneca Army Depot had little impact in the voting booth.

In the summer of 1941, Americans were divided over Roosevelt’s preparations for war.²⁴⁶ Despite the federal government’s appeal for sacrifice and patriotism, the dispossession in Seneca County was opposed by some members of the greater upstate community. While the local county newspaper, the Geneva Daily Times, touted the government line, dailies from Syracuse and Buffalo were more critical of the military’s intrusion into local lands.

Just days after the War Department’s June 11 announcement, a front page article in the Syracuse Post-Standard lamented the predation of the federal government and the irrevocable transformation of the Seneca County people and landscape:

The federal government, about July 1, will begin preparing the fruitful flatlands between Seneca and Cayuga lakes to receive a new crop – the sterile seeds of war.

Where for more than 150 years these tabled acres have yielded an abundance of nodding timothy, purpled grapes and blushing clover for man and his silent servants, by fall will be buried the food of battle – bullets, bombs, shells.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Congressman John Taber to Frank Metcalf, President, Chamber of Commerce, Auburn, NY, May 22, 1941. John Taber Papers, 1880-1965, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁴⁶ For more on the debate over war preparations see James Schneider, *Should America Go to War?: The Debate over Foreign Policy in Chicago, 1939-1941* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989); Justus Doenecke, *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939-1941* (Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2000); Charles Beard, *President Roosevelt and the coming of the war, 1941 : a study in appearances and realities* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1948); and Manfred Jonas, *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966).

²⁴⁷ “Federal Munitions Depot Will Occupy 18 Square Miles South of Seneca Falls,” The Post-Standard June 15, 1941 1.

More troubling to the reporter than the loss of the bountiful land was the destruction of an entire community that had developed over generations:

They call this thing an ammunition depot, a giant who will pounce on 18 square miles of the historic townships of Romulus and Varick, in the heart of Seneca county, strip them of their prosperous farms, historic churches and grange halls, and sow them with powder and shot.²⁴⁸

The early settlers had defeated the Indians and tamed the wilderness, but a new enemy stalked the land - a “giant” that could not be dissuaded or reasoned with – the federal government.

“There is something deeper,” the article continued, “that hurts more than the ordeal of moving.

That is the severing of bonds that have tied these farmers to their land for scores of years.”²⁴⁹

The bonds of community shared by neighbors, friends and family were also severed in the taking.

As agents of the War Department urged residents to quickly prepare their deeds and land titles for immediate review, the community took a moment to remember how the territory had been won. An article in the July 17 Geneva Daily Times noted that land which a grateful nation had granted to the soldiers of Sullivan’s Campaign of 1779 was reverting back to the nation again as the government prepared for war. “Grants of land to Sullivan’s soldiers are still being held by the same families in some instances, and in others, ‘newcomers’ point to 150 years and more of continuous residence of their families on the same soil.”²⁵⁰ County clerks assisting residents with title searches often had to reconstruct records of property ownership starting with the results of the Military Tract balloting process in the 1790s.²⁵¹

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ “Many Families Have Been Rooted in Area For Over 150 Years,” Geneva Daily Times July 17, 1941

²⁵¹ “County Offices Busy As Clerks Aid in Search of Records for Land Transfer,” Geneva Daily Times July 11, 1941.

For federal officials, with war raging in Europe and tensions between the United States, Germany, and Japan reaching a critical point, time was of the essence in the construction of the depot. The day after the project's announcement, the Real Estate Division of the War Department initiated paperwork for those targeted for eviction. Between June 12 and July 26, the bureaucrats signed and executed options on 11,000 acres, with August 1 as the deadline for the complete removal of all people, possessions and belongings.²⁵² A July 18 editorial in the Waterloo Observer stated that the depot project "is beginning to change lives, the thoughts, and the plans of hundreds of people in this vicinity. Such speed of operation has not been witnessed here before." The editor concluded, "The question of whether or not it is what 'we want' is unimportant."²⁵³ The base was coming, and the only issue that remained for those families affected was the speed with which they could abandon their homes and farms.

On July 22, 1941, the first of the farm families began the exodus from their lands, and a government contractor hired thirty security guards to protect the area. Besides discouraging looters, the guards ensured that residents left according to the military timetable.²⁵⁴ A timetable that was initially measured in months soon narrowed to weeks – and eventually days. Mr. and Mrs. John B. Lisk received only three days' notice to leave the farm they had worked for 35 years. Their home was more than 100 years old. According to article in the local newspaper, the Lisks were disappointed, but resigned to the move. Mrs. Lisk stated, "I'd rather give my farm to the government now to make America strong than to see another woman give her son's life to the defense of the country when we didn't prepare."²⁵⁵ However, descendants of the Lisks recall a different version of this story. Sally VanRiper Eller, a Lisk granddaughter, noted that

²⁵² "Building the Seneca Army Depot," (Archival document compiled by Walter Gable, Seneca County Historian) 1.

²⁵³ Waterloo Observer July 18, 1941.

²⁵⁴ "Exodus of Farm Families From Kendaia Area Begins," Geneva Daily Times July 22, 1941.

²⁵⁵ "3-Day Notice to Quit Farm Fails to Dampen Patriotism," Post-Standard July 26, 1941.

“throughout my life, I heard stories of the ordeal and grief that were imposed on my parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles in the summer of 1941.” Based upon her family’s oral histories, she went on to describe the seizing of the farms and homes as a “terrible and traumatic event.”²⁵⁶ Perhaps the reporter wrote the story the paper wanted to publish, or perhaps the Lisks told a stranger standing in their front yard a story they thought was most prudent. While the Lisks were described by the local newspaper as “all-American,” others were less accepting of the government’s actions and still remember the events in vivid detail.

As a young boy, Bob Sorenson watched as the military removed his grandmother from her land. Decades after the traumatic events he recalled:

My grandmother had to leave her home, she wasn’t too happy about it. There were cases where adult children had to come in and talk their parents out of their homes and off their land. Then the Army came in. They ran a steel cable through each house, fastened a steel train rail to one end of it, and hooked the other end to a bulldozer. They ripped the steel rail sideways through the house, which leveled it. Then they burned it. They wouldn’t burn a standing house.

Sorenson concluded, “There were a lot of unhappy people around here.”²⁵⁷

Similar stories were shared by four surviving members of the Kendaia community during oral interviews. Phyllis Button was eight years old when the government came to Seneca County. Both her parents and grandparents lost farmland that had been in the family since the late 1800s. Her father built their home in 1932 with his own skill and labor. After the depot announcement, the house was sold at auction for \$75 and moved to Romulus. Her grandparent’s home was a stately manor, and an individual from Ithaca wanted to purchase the ornate columns and the interior staircase. The Army denied the sale stating the home would be used as an office

²⁵⁶ Sally VanRiper Eller, “The Dispossessed Families,” in *The Seneca Army Depot: Fighting Wars from the New York Home Front*, Walter Gable and Carolyn Zogg (Charleston: The History Press, 2012) 27-29.

²⁵⁷ “Debating the Future of the Depot’s Deer,” *Ithaca Times* May 2, 2007.

building. Days later, the ground rumbled as bulldozers approached the property. Mrs. Button said, “My family watched in shock as my grandparent’s home was completely destroyed.”²⁵⁸

Kenneth Dean recounted that his father had just agreed to a sharecropping arrangement with a local farmer, and the Dean family was moving to their tenant farm when the base was announced. He was 11 years old at the time. The Dean family planned to raise corn, hay, wheat and beans on a 100 acre parcel of land. The Army allowed the Deans to gather their belongings. When they arrived at the farm, they found that government workers had shattered the front door and searched the house. Bulldozers were crisscrossing the fields, tearing up crops and outbuildings. Workers had even driven over and destroyed the family’s horse-drawn hay rake. Days later, the house was flattened and the debris set on fire. Smoke drifted throughout the area. “There was no talk of patriotism or sacrifice,” Mr. Dean stated, “just disbelief and disappointment. When the rumor first started to spread that the government might come in, few people thought it would ever happen.”²⁵⁹

Aletha Hicks was a young woman when the Army came for her family’s land. “We had a small farm of 60 acres,” Mrs. Hicks recalled, “and my dad was wiring the barn for electricity in order to put in a dairy herd.” The Hicks family had lived on the property since 1915, and her parents had planned to remain on their modest farm for the rest of their lives. Did her family believe that leaving their land was a necessary sacrifice or part of their patriotic duty? “There was no sense of patriotism; moving was just something we were forced to do by the government,” said Mrs. Hicks. When the depot closed in 2000 a number of former residents had

²⁵⁸ Dean Bruno, “Once a Home, Now a Memory”: Dispossession, Possession and Remembrance of the Landscape of the Former Seneca Army Depot” (Master’s Thesis, North Carolina State University, 2008), 67.

²⁵⁹ Bruno, “Once a Home, Now a Memory,” 68.

the opportunity to tour the facility to see their lands. Mrs. Hicks was not able to return. “A friend was going to take me, but she passed away. I still think of that place as home.”²⁶⁰

Ed Montford was recently married and working the family farm in the summer of 1941. The land had been in his family’s name since 1909. Mr. Montford described the farm as “120 acres of good tile-drained land, with nice buildings.” The story being told in the local newspaper was far different than what he and his wife experienced. “Government agents had no compassion,” Mr. Montford stated, “and told me to accept the cut-rate offer of \$7300 or they would simply condemn the land and take it. The farm was worth at least \$15,000, but we ended up selling for \$7500.”²⁶¹

Like other families caught up in the wave of dispossession, Mr. Montford received conflicting messages from the government regarding the eviction date. The first letter he received granted him three weeks to gather his belongings and conclude affairs on the farm. But just days later, he found another letter in his mailbox – this time the government told him he had only three days to leave (Figure 26).

²⁶⁰ Bruno, “Once a Home, Now a Memory,” 69.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

WAR DEPARTMENT
CONSTRUCTION DIVISION—QUARTERMASTER CORPS
OFFICE OF THE ZONE CONSTRUCTING QUARTERMASTER, ZONE II
120 WALL STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

IN REPLY
REFER TO:

Waterloo, N. Y.
July 22, 1941

Charles E. Montford, plot #81
Varick
New York

Dear Sir:

Conditions have arisen which make it necessary for construction work to commence within the next few days on the property recently optioned by you, and accepted by, the United States of America.

Notice is hereby given that possession of your property will be required within three (3) days.

SENeca ORDNANCE DEPOT
L. P. Walker
H. S. Owens, Sec'y
L. P. Walker
Project Manager
Real Estate Acquisition Div.

Receipt of the above notice is hereby acknowledged.

Dated: _____

SIGNED: _____

Figure 26: Letter to Ed Montford from the War Department.

The letter was signed by L.P. Walker of the War Department, the same individual who first announced the base to the residents in the Romulus School auditorium on June 11, 1941. The Montfords could not move all of their possessions within the 72 hour window, and when they tried to return to their farm for another load, a member of the military police blocked their

path. “I gunned the engine,” Mr. Montford recalled, “and threatened to run him over - he finally stepped to the side.” When the Montfords arrived home they found that their antiques, cherished by the family for generations, had been stolen. “Between the work of the looters and the men on the bulldozers, it was chaos.”

However chaotic events were on the ground for local inhabitants, the military planners engaged in the clearing of land and families in a methodical and systematic manner. Each house was specially marked (number and letter) by the federal government to facilitate the process of removal. The Montford family home was marked as “81A” (see Figure 27).



Figure 27: Home of the Montford family, summer 1941, photo courtesy of William Sebring, Historian for the Town of Romulus.

After the closure of the depot, Mr. Montford had the opportunity to visit his family’s land. A lifetime had passed since the events of 1941, but the memories remained vivid. “A lot had changed in sixty some odd years. A small grove of trees covered the ground where our

house used to be, and some munitions igloos sat atop the site of the old barn. But in my mind's eye, I still see home.”²⁶²

The individuals interviewed often expressed anger and disappointment with how agents of the government and contract workers conducted themselves during the eviction process. The words “heartless,” “cold” and “uncaring” were frequently mentioned. However, in an August 30, 1941 article published in the Geneva Daily Times, depot laborers were extolled for their ingenuity, efficiency and ability to transform the rural landscape. Many of these workers learned their craft constructing the Tri-Borough Bridge, Rockefeller Center and New York City's extensive subway and tunnel system (Figure 28). They came to Seneca County to apply their skills and energies in the name of national defense and progress. The story lauded the workers as:

Men, mentally alert and physically strong, experienced in making nature subservient to men's needs; superintendents and foremen who understand land and water, rock and sand, frost and fire, who have learned by hard knocks how to bend them to their will. They think in terms of cubic yards, tons, cofferdams, caissons, shoring, bulkheads, concrete piles, drainage, and power, the power of machines and the greater power of man's intelligence.

The article continued, “It is all for the defense of a nation whose way of life has brought blessings to its citizens; a way of life held as dear as life itself.”²⁶³ In this valorization of the men and machines that altered the landscape, the displaced families are never mentioned. Unlike previous articles in the local newspapers, this particular story ran with the simple byline of “contributed,” and was likely written and placed by a public affairs officer from the federal government. To those outside of the local community what transpired in Seneca County may have appeared as another step on the path of progress, but to many of the families that bore the brunt of the depot, it was a military facility built upon a foundation of loss and destruction.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ “The Sudden Development of Seneca County to a War Defense Project,” Geneva Daily Times August 30, 1941.



Figure 22: Workers at the Seneca Army Depot construction site, P.B. Oakley Collection, Geneva Historical Society.

The extent of the 1941 dispossession is clearly evident in two maps, originally prepared by the Office of the Constructing Quartermaster for the War Department, that provide a stark before and after representation of the ordered landscape. Interestingly, the War Department maps use the same grid numbers as the original Military Tract survey maps produced in the 1790s after the Sullivan Campaign. The same survey maps that were used to transform the landscape from “wilderness” to civilization were then used as the basis to dispossess those who celebrated the region’s perceived story of progress. The first map shows the preliminary footprint of the base on the townships of Romulus and Varick, including the names of the Kendaia land owners targeted for removal (Figure 29). The second government map depicts the completed Seneca

Army Depot, which included a 24 mile-long perimeter fence, buildings, warehouses, and row after row of 600 munitions bunkers (Figure 30).

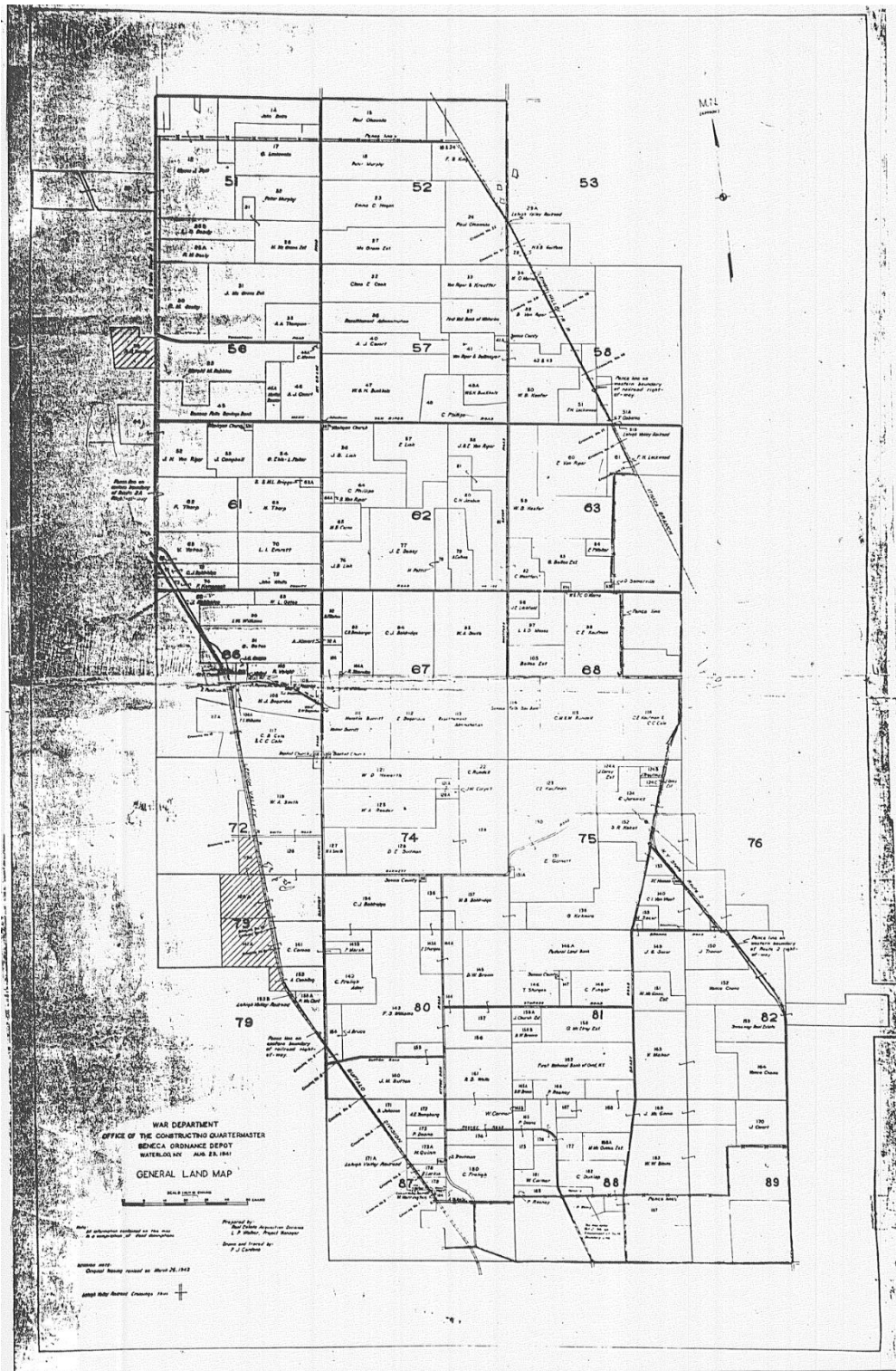


Figure 29: Map of Romulus and Varick townships prior to the Seneca Army Depot.

In erasing much of the community of Kendaia and other inhabitants, the depot project repeated a cycle of creation through destruction. The land was claimed by outsiders and transformed for a new purpose. In keeping unauthorized personnel at bay, the extensive security perimeter also reverted the federal site to the realm of terra incognita. Outside of a relative handful of military personnel and civilian contractors who worked at the depot, the Kendaia landscape existed only as a collection of memories that fragmented and faded over time. For generations raised after the construction of the Seneca Army Depot in 1941 the base emanated a certain sense of permanence. Few questioned what had existed on the land prior to the depot or were concerned about those that maintained claims of belonging.

As government workers used heavy machinery to level homes and other community structures, residents questioned the military's actions. The Buffalo Evening News reported that the War Department had announced buildings were being torn down and burned to prevent enemy aircraft from using the structures to locate the depot. To some people in Seneca County this made little sense. The location of the base was a well-known "secret" to the people of upstate New York, and the military had even appointed public information officers to handle the multitude of requests for articles and photographs. Besides, some asked, wouldn't the barren landscape of the vast tract make it easier to detect from the air?²⁶⁴ The military offered no satisfactory answers to these questions and continued erasing the community of Kendaia from the landscape. The local residents may have been overwhelmed by the power of the federal government, but they did not quietly concede defeat. Speaking for many of her neighbors, Mrs. George Kirkmire angrily declared, "They have treated us rotten. They have treated us like a lot of Okies."²⁶⁵ In referencing the plight of the thousands of families forced from their homes

²⁶⁴ "Seneca County Families Leave Home to Clear Way for Bomb Depot," Buffalo Evening News August 20, 1941.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

during the environmental and economic disaster of the Dust Bowl, Mrs. Kirkmire underscored how some Kendaia landowners thought the government acted with callousness, if not outright contempt, in its interactions with locals.²⁶⁶

After spending several days touring the area a reporter from the Buffalo newspaper claimed, “you feel the age of this region, settled by Revolutionary soldiers when you visit the Kendaia cemetery and see such inscriptions on the tombstones: Born 1776 – Died 1812.”²⁶⁷ As families retreated before the advancing bulldozers, the community became an eerie ghost town (Figure 31). “House after house is vacant and nothing stirs in the barnyards. Bleak, curtainless windows look out at you.”²⁶⁸ The sense of loss was clearly evident during the reporter’s interview with Charles Dunlap, an 83 year-old farmer. Besides the taking of his family’s home, Mr. Dunlap was despondent over the loss of trees that held special memories and meaning to him. “I planted that Norway spruce in the lawn when it was a little bit of a thing. The black walnut came up from some nuts dumped on the ground when my girl here was young. It’s such things as that get you attached to a place.”²⁶⁹

²⁶⁶ For more on the Dust Bowl and the plight of the Okies see, Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979) and Timothy Egan, *The Worst Hard Time: The Untold Story of Those Who Survived the Great American Dust Bowl* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005)

²⁶⁷ “Seneca County Families Leave Home to Clear Way for Bomb Depot,” Buffalo Evening News August 20, 1941.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.



Figure 31: “These folks at Kendaia see their home taken to make room for the Seneca Army Depot,” captioned photo from the P.B. Oakley Collection, Geneva Historical Society.

Of all the buildings removed by the federal government, perhaps the most important to the local residents were the churches, particularly the Kendaia Baptist Church (Figure 32). Established in 1795, the Baptist Church was constructed during the ministry of Reverend John Caton, veteran of the Revolutionary War and friend to General LaFayette.²⁷⁰ The church was a center of community life for nearly 150 years. For generations, young men and women were married in the gracious chapel, and family and friends laid to rest in the well-maintained cemetery.

²⁷⁰ Agnes McGrane, *Varick: A History of Varick, Seneca County, New York* (Waterloo: K-Mar Press, 1975) 88.



Figure 32: Kendaia Baptist Church, Seneca County Historian's office.

An overflow crowd of more than one hundred residents attended the final church service, led by Reverend B.A. Wagner on September 7, 1941. The Geneva Daily Times stated, "Outside, in closely parked rows, Model T Fords sat comfortably beside handsome new automobiles. Inside, elderly couples mingled with the youth of the church, the ties of grief binding them together. Handkerchiefs were often in view as memories went back over the past."²⁷¹ While the final services were a time of sadness, the parishioners made a special effort to remember the pioneering spirit of their ancestors, and also acknowledge the sacrifice that family, friends and neighbors were making in the name of national defense. During the service, attendees listened to a poem especially written for the occasion by local resident Paul Baldrige, entitled "Patriots of

²⁷¹ "Concluding Service at Romulus Baptist Church, Soon to Be Demolished," Geneva Daily Times September 8, 1941.

'41". The final two stanzas celebrated how the people of Seneca County had endured much while taming the perceived wilderness and transforming it into their vision of a land of plenty:

I give you men of forty-one
An uncompelling kind,
A proud unyielding race of folk
With purpose set and mind;
A pioneering, forward breed
Inured to loss or gain,
Too proud to turn from charted course,
From snow or sun or rain

I give you men of sky and sod,
Of furrows straight and long,
Of bulging barns and fatted kine,
Of thankfulness and song;
I give you folk of sacrifice
In name of freedom done
Whose trek afar an epic makes
In nineteen forty-one.²⁷²

The final service allowed the community to commiserate and provided an opportunity for healing, but this special gathering was also an example of agency, albeit limited, on behalf of the local residents. The federal government may have forced these families off their lands, but the people of Kendaia made a determined effort to remember and celebrate their community and history on their own terms. However, this act of remembrance was also selective. For those seated in the pews, the history of the region began at the time of Euro-American settlement.

In attendance for this final service was the family of Kenneth Dean, the tenant farmers whom had planned to make a new life in Kendaia until the base was announced. Included in the Dean family records are photographs taken from that day. These images capture a singular moment in time within a larger cycle of claiming, naming, and transforming both the physical place and the cultural space of this particular landscape. The photographs (Figures 33, 34, 35) are acts of commemoration intended to tell a particular story about the events of the day to a

²⁷² Ibid.

particular audience. For those unaware of the events of 1941, the images might seem almost mundane and commonplace. Yet, for those in attendance on September 7, the elegiac photographs captured the sense of finality for the farming community of Kendaia – “for everything there is a season.”



Figure 33: Model T Ford and other cars parked outside the Kendaia Church.



Figure 34: Residents enter the Kendaia Church as Seneca Depot Police look on.



Figure 35: Reverend Wagner preparing for the final service.

The Dean family records also included several group photos of the men and women from the Kendaia community that attended the final service (Figure 36). Kenneth Dean is the young boy in the first row, far right (with hands clasped around his black pant legs). While other individuals are not identified, this particular image reveals bonds of community, and likely kinship, which were multi-generational.



Figure 36: Kendaia Baptist Church final service.

Days after the final service, the church was dismantled by government workers and the grounds cleared to make way for the depot. The adjoining Kendaia Cemetery was also claimed by the War Department, but over the years that the base was in operation, the military allowed local residents to maintain the cemetery under the watchful gaze of escorts. For only one day of the year, the Sunday of Memorial day weekend, the military opened the Kendaia Cemetery to the

public. The Kendaia Cemetery served both as the resting grounds of loved ones, and also as a sanctified landscape (or a memoryscape) for a former community – a place that encouraged the sharing of stories (oral histories), facilitated memory, and provided visitors with some sense of continuity and connection to the past.²⁷³

One of the most compelling stories from the summer of 1941 was the account of what the Geneva Daily Times called “the house that talked.” In mid-September, shortly after the final service at the Kendaia Baptist Church, government workers were busy demolishing an old farmhouse. As they tore apart the front columns, workers found a slip of writing paper – considerably yellowed, but still legible. It was a letter dated August 13, 1863, written by Jennie Folwell, one of the young daughters of a former landowner.²⁷⁴ The letter in the column was meant as a time capsule of sorts. Jennie wrote, “We are putting in some things for the good of future generations, or for strangers, whichever may tear down the old house. I wish to testify that Thomas Folwell lives here and a pleasanter handsomer family is not to be found easily.”²⁷⁵ Jennie went on to playfully describe the members of her family, including two brothers who were serving in the Union Army. The note concluded:

We are all in the bloom of health and have very happy times together. Were it not for this ‘civil war’ we would all be home together in the ‘old house at home.’ I am wondering who will find this paper. Whoever does must send it to me. Jennie Folwell is my name and will very likely be in all time to come. I am a very good looking girl indeed! I am considered decidedly so. Father is anxious something should be out in the pillar, so here goes.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ For more on conception of sanctified landscapes and memoryscapes see, David Schuyler, *Sanctified Landscape: Writers, Artists, and the Hudson River Valley, 1820–1909* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012) and Toby Butler, “Memoryscape: integrating oral history, memory and landscape on the river Thames,” in Paul Ashton and Hilda Keen, eds., *People and their Pasts: Public History Today* (Chippenham, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) 223-239.

²⁷⁴ “Letter Inside of Pillar of Old Seneca Co. Home Tells of Affairs in 1863,” *Geneva Daily Times* September 19, 1941.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Despite her fears of never getting married, Jennie later wed Professor Thomas Lounsbury, head of the Yale Scientific School of English. After the Civil War, her brother, Will, went on to become the President of the University of Minnesota.²⁷⁷ Eighty years after she placed the letter in the column, Jennie's hopeful missive to the future was answered by bulldozers.

The concrete for the first munitions bunker at the Seneca Army Depot was poured on August 21, 1941 (Figure 37). By the Thanksgiving holiday, the base was 80% complete and the construction quartermaster claimed that two national and world records were set in the process of building the main facilities and 500 concrete bunkers.²⁷⁸ Less than two weeks later, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, and the United States entered the war. However, for the residents of Kendaia, the first shots of the conflict did not land in the Pacific Ocean, but in the fertile fields of Seneca County.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ "Quarter Century - \$47 Million Depot Marking Anniversary," The Geneva Times August 8, 1966.

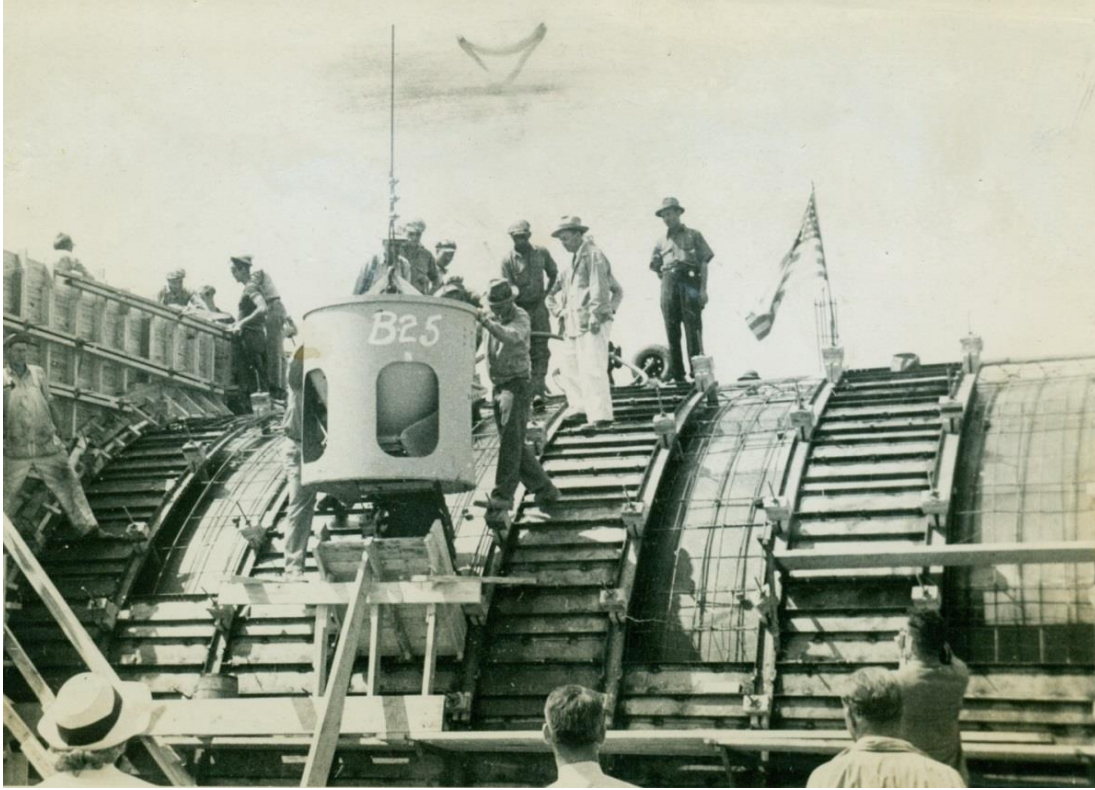


Figure 37: Munitions igloo construction at the Seneca Army Depot, P.B. Oakley collection, Geneva Historical Society.

Other than the dispossessed, few people within Seneca County publicly questioned what was happening during the expedited construction of the base or expressed concern over the type of munitions and weapons the military planned to store just a few miles from their homes. Influenced by the patriotic fervor of the times, most local residents viewed the depot as a symbol of security, economic prosperity and American pride. If the violent Colonial era battles for the lands of upstate New York were, in part, a conflict between civilizations, the dispossession of rural families in 1941 represented a more subdued struggle within a society for control, not just of lands, but of a region's future.

Similar to other WWII and Cold War era facilities, particularly in the America West, the rural New York landscape was a place to conceal things deemed undesirable by more politically

influential urban areas.²⁷⁹ The location of the depot was also a demonstration to the residents of Seneca County of the federal government's extensive powers. While these rural/urban and local/federal tensions did not overtly surface in the community during the construction and operation of the depot, it is an example of how powerful external parties and distant events often transform local lands and people.

Nearly two centuries of history separated the dispossession of the Haudenosaunee with the removal of the rural families in 1941. For both peoples that once called Kendaia home there were similar stories of loss. But there are also marked differences in the dispossessions. Although many claimed they had not received fair market value from the government, the farm families did get a measure of compensation for their lands. Accounts from local newspapers indicate that many of these families resettled in the county or other areas of the upstate region. Their forced removal was traumatic, but no blood was spilled. In addition, the farm families could obtain some measure of peace by choosing to remember the taking of their lands as a sacrifice for the nation – a patriotic duty. The Seneca and Cayuga people of the Six Nations were not as fortunate.

As a consequence of Sullivan's scorched earth campaign and the American Revolution, the Haudenosaunee struggled to establish a degree of stability and security in their lives. The resulting turmoil eventually cost the Haudenosaunee the heart of their homelands, as Euro-Americans claimed the territory by way of treaty and plow. The landscapes of Kendaia and the Seneca Army Depot are, indeed, the stories of two dispossessions, but they are degrees apart.

²⁷⁹ For more on the specific placement of military facilities in rural regions see Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Bruce Hevly and John Findlay, eds., *The Atomic West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Kari Frederickson, *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013); Gretchen Heefner, *The Missile Next Door: The Minuteman in the American Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012) and John Findlay, *Atomic Frontier Days: Hanford and the American West* (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2011).

Although the Haudenosaunee and the farmers once possessed the same lands, they inhabited different histories. If, as geographer D.W. Meinig claimed, the landscape is an accumulation of the past, then Haudenosaunee history formed a sedimentary layer that often remained hidden or ignored by later inhabitants. Ironically, the stories of those dispossessed in the summer of 1941, were also muted, if not silenced.

Those interested in the Sullivan Campaign can follow the route of march via a trail of official historical markers that commemorate the events of the summer and fall of 1779. However, for more than seventy years there was not a single monument in Seneca County to remember the people who surrendered their lands and homes to make way for the Seneca Army Depot. On July 12, 2012 that changed. A committee of local county historians, chaired by Walt Gable, Seneca County historian, organized an event to dedicate an historic marker in honor of the Kendaia families of 1941 (Figure 38). Attendees included individuals dispossessed of their lands, descendants, friends, former depot employees, along with local government, business, and community leaders. Sally VanRiper Eller, granddaughter of the Lisks, succinctly described the dedication as “a bittersweet day for all.”²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Sally VanRiper Eller, in *The Seneca Army Depot: Fighting Wars from the New York Home Front*, 39. I was privileged to serve as the keynote speaker for the dedication of the historical marker.

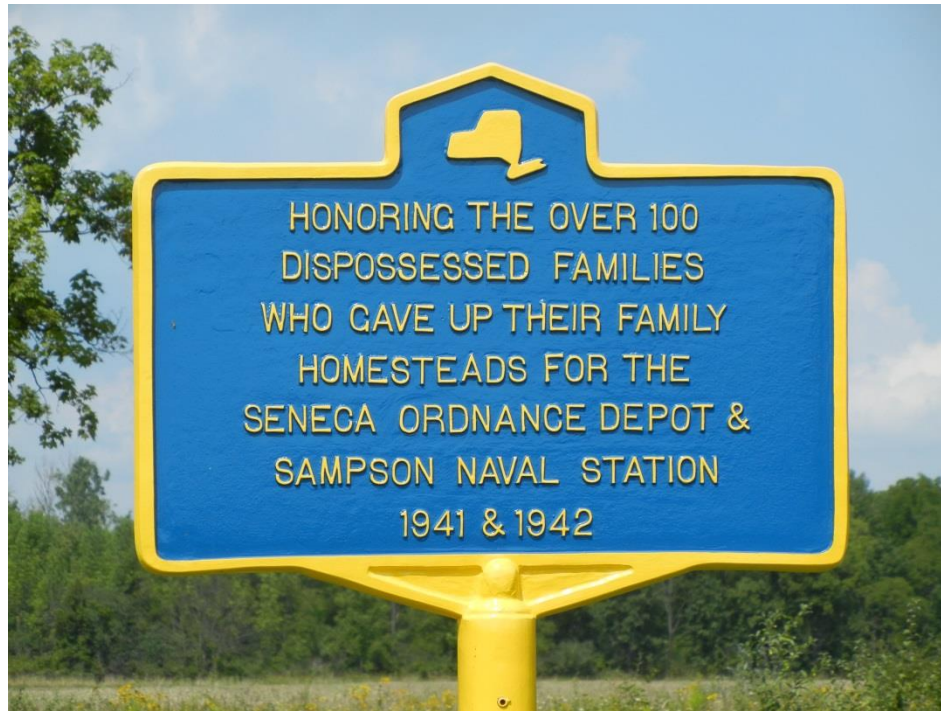


Figure 38: Kendaia Historic Marker along NYS Route 96A. Photo by author.

The historical marker proved to be just part of a groundswell of interest in the story of the Seneca Army Depot. Local historians organized a three-part series of community conversations that drew a sizeable audience: [Seneca Army Depot: Celebrating 70 years of Memories](#). A number of the dispossessed and their descendants participated in an oral history project, and Walt Gable and Carolyn Zogg, authored a book entitled, *The Seneca Army Depot: Fighting Wars from the Home Front*. The history of the depot, or at least part of it, has now been captured for the record. But questions persist about the future of this particular physical place and cultural space. To whom should these lands belong? How should they be used? And what stories should be told about this entangled landscape?

Epilogue:

White Deer and the Contested Landscape of the Former Depot

World War II and the Cold War had many beginnings and endings. For the people of Seneca County, who lived in the shadow of the depot, the story of the facility ended much as it began. Events half a world away again transformed the physical place and cultural space of the region. On November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall fell. The barrier that once served to divide people and nations crumbled under the weight of reunification. The United States changed too. As part of the federal Base Realignment and Closure process of 1995, authorities eventually identified more than 350 military facilities, including the Seneca Army Depot, as obsolete or no longer needed in defense of the nation. Having served its mission for nearly 60 years, the base officially closed on September 30, 2000. While various groups debated future uses of the landscape, one question proved paramount: What about the white deer?

Besides serving as storage site for conventional munitions and weapons of mass destruction, the depot also functioned, inadvertently, as something akin to a Cold War zoo and nature preserve.²⁸¹ Animals that would ordinarily have been actively hunted and numbers reduced outside the confines of the base, found refuge nestled among the labyrinth of bunkers that housed America's arsenal of democracy. The depot provided an enclosed, artificially maintained environment for a number of species including: thriving populations of turkey, grouse, pheasant, eagles, fox, coyote, mice, and beaver. However, it was the white deer that captured the imagination and concern of many in the region (Figure 39).

²⁸¹ For more on the relationship between nature and military facilities see Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1-204; Bruce Hevly and John M. Findlay, ed. *The Atomic West* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Richard White, *Organic Machine* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1995), 81-88; William Cronon, ed. *Uncommon Ground* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995), 27-28 and 58-66.



Figure 39: White Does at Seneca Army Depot, SenecaWhiteDeer.org

During the summer of 1941, the construction of the depot's perimeter fence unintentionally isolated approximately 20-40 white-tailed deer that once freely roamed the rural landscape.²⁸² By 1954, wildlife biologists from the New York State Department of Conservation (DEC) estimated the population of the herd at 1,100 animals. Without natural or human predators to curtail growth, this number grew to more than 2000 deer in 1956.²⁸³ As the captive deer intermingled and bred, a recessive gene for coat coloring flourished within the confines of the depot. In the summer of 1956, base personnel spotted the first white-coated fawns among the

²⁸² William Hesselton, C.W. Severinghaus, and John Tanck, "Population Dynamics of Deer at the Seneca Army Depot," *New York Fish and Game Journal*, Vol. 12, No.1 (January 1964), 18.

²⁸³ William Hesselton, C.W. Severinghaus, and John Tanck "Deer Facts from Seneca Depot: A Further Report on the Lessons to be Learned from the Ups and Downs of the Deer Herd Enclosed Within a 10,000 Acre Army Depot," *The Conservationist* (October-November, 1965), 28.

herd.²⁸⁴ These fawns were not albinos, but leucistic. This abnormal condition is a genetic mutation that inhibits melanin and other pigments from appearing in the hair, coat, skin, and feathers. Unlike with albinism, the pigment cells in the eyes are not affected by this mutation. The white deer sparked curiosity, but a larger problem demanded the attention of the military.

As a consequence of surpassing the nutritional carrying capacity of the enclosed acres, starvation struck the herd in the winter of 1956-57, when DEC biologists estimated that nearly 200 died. Dr. Richard Parker, veterinarian with the United States Public Health Service, accompanied DEC scientists during an inspection trip to the depot. In official correspondence Parker detailed the extreme conditions he observed on the base: “Woody plants such as “popple” [most likely poplar] being chewed back to stubs ½ inch in diameter, juniper being nearly defoliated, evidence of digging up bulbs and tubers which are not normally considered desirable food for deer, and the complete absence of any remaining browse” indicated the deer were in dire straits.²⁸⁵ Concerned that the poor state of the animals could lead to a disease outbreak, Parker recommended thinning the herd as humanely as possible. C. W. Severinghaus, Leader of Deer Management and Research Studies for the DEC, suggested reducing the population “by at least 700 (preferably more) deer by mid-December 1957 either by shooting or by liberation.”²⁸⁶

For Colonel Frank Kemble, Jr., Commanding Officer of the Seneca Army Depot, opening the security fences to release the deer was not a viable option. Working with DEC personnel, Kemble devised a plan to organize a large-scale hunt on the base for military personnel and guests. Word of the hunt quickly spread throughout the upstate region and a number of citizens

²⁸⁴ William Hessleton, Conservation Biologist, DEC, “The Incredible White Deer Herd,” The Conservationist (October-November, 1969), 18.

²⁸⁵ Dr. Richard Parker, Senior Assistant Veterinarian, United States Public Health Service to Dr. E. L. Cheatum, Chief, Bureau of Game, New York State Conservation Department, March 29, 1957. Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

²⁸⁶ C. W. Severinghaus, Leader of Deer Management and Research Studies, “Report on Examination of Dead Deer and Range Conditions in the Seneca Ordnance Depot, Romulus, New York.” Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

sent letters to local newspapers, Congressman John Taber, and Col. Kemble to express their divided opinions and offer suggestions. George Springstead of Syracuse, NY, wrote Taber to demand the complete removal of the security fence, so that the military police would no longer spend “three fourths of their time playing herdsman to the big herd of deer inside the locally called Deer Corral.”²⁸⁷ In his response Taber demurred to the removal of the fence, but assured Springstead that “I have urged the people in charge to get rid of the deer and if I do not get action I will follow it up in Washington.”²⁸⁸

George McDonald of Richford, NY, offered more creative solutions to solve the deer problem. In a letter to Col. Kemble, McDonald recommended using deer hounds to drive the herd towards strategically placed gunners. “1000 deer could be killed in less than a month – There is no country too rough or no brush too thick to stop a hound on a trail.”²⁸⁹ McDonald offered a second idea for Kemble’s consideration, which he acknowledged “may sound a little silly” and “a little cruel.” Instead of deer hounds and gunners, “turn loose a pack of trained dogs, of a large breed such as the Irish Wolfhound, trained to run and kill deer, they would work for you 24 hours a day with no pay.”²⁹⁰ After all, McDonald concluded, this would allow nature to manage itself. Despite the letters, Kemble proceeded with plans to cull the herd through a supervised hunt, but with one restriction: leave the white deer alone.

Over the years, as various commanders assumed oversight of the Seneca Army Depot, the annual hunts continued and proved somewhat successful in reducing the size of the herd, but intermittent seasons of starvation were also a factor. Whatever problems the herd presented to

²⁸⁷ Springstead to Taber, November 11, 1957. John Taber Papers, 1880-1965, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁸⁸ Taber to Springstead, December 26, 1957. John Taber Papers, 1880-1965, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

²⁸⁹ McDonald to Kemble, August 30, 1957. Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

base leadership, affinity for the white deer swelled (both on and off base) and the spirit of Kemble’s “no kill” order remained in place until the late 1960s. The white deer (also known as the ghost deer) were considered exceptional and held particular meaning for many in the region. Their whiteness was interpreted as a symbolic form of purity and the deer represented pristine nature. While never officially approved by the Department of Defense or the Army the white deer featured prominently in a logo often used for various purposes by base personnel (Figure 40).



Figure 40: Seneca Army Depot, unofficial logo, Gable and Zogg, *The Seneca Army Depot*, 91.

Pride in the white deer motivated one of Seneca Army Depot commanders to share their existence with a broader audience. In March 1964, Lt. Col. John Buzard sent a letter to Marlin Perkins, Director of the St. Louis Zoo and host of the nationally popular television show Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom (which aired from 1963 to 1985). Buzard offered that “we find your

television program most interesting and instructive and perhaps you might find our white deer a novel subject for your program.”²⁹¹ Perkins expressed his appreciation and had his producer contact Buzard for more details, but the deer were never featured on the show.²⁹² Local interest, however, continued unabated and residents continued to wrangle over the Army’s management of the deer. In a letter to the editor of the Herald Journal (Syracuse, NY), one impassioned defender of the herd claimed that the depot “operated as a sort of ‘Buchenwald’ for deer.” “I have observed,” she stated, “one of nature’s most superb productions, a pure white (not albino) deer behind the ‘mile high’ fences that surround this government area.”²⁹³ The author of the letter may have exaggerated the height of the fences, but their presence as a barrier that kept people out and the deer contained became a central issue of debate during the deactivation of the depot.

For 16 years after the official closure of the base in 2000, the US Army Corps of Engineers maintained an active presence on portions of the site as it completed various environmental remediation projects. The Corps of Engineers also maintained the security fence. The Seneca County Development Authority, the new owner of the property, was free to sell and rent portions of the land to generate revenue and increase the tax base. Sections of the former base are now home to Hillside Children’s Center, Five Points State Prison, the Seneca County Law Enforcement Center, and other small businesses. In the fall of 2007, a private company leased 64 of the former munitions bunkers and announced plans to renovate them into state-of-

²⁹¹ Lt. Col. Buzard to Marlin Perkins, March 26, 1964. Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

²⁹² Perkins to Buzard, April 6, 1964, and Don Meier to Buzard, April 8, 1964. Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

²⁹³ Helen Whipple Henn to Herald Journal, month/day obscured, 1972. Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records.

the-art electronic data storage sites.²⁹⁴ Once used to store valuable military materiel, the bunkers will now provide a measure of security for something perhaps even more prized – information.

In addition to these new public and private uses, local military veterans and former depot employees actively lobbied to have part of the former base designated as a Cold War museum. To many local residents, the Seneca Army Depot is an important historical icon for the local community and a symbol of security and economic opportunity. As stakeholders debated the future of the base, they were also contesting how the landscape should be remembered. A monument to local patriotism? A reminder of the painful sacrifices deemed necessary to wage the Cold War? Or as a working landscape transformed by cycles of habitation and enterprise? While all of these facilities and uses can fit into the expanse of the former Army Depot, stakeholders and interested parties have often promoted competing visions for the contested terrain of the depot. While some argue over separate pieces of the landscape, few are concerned about the greater whole.

In December of 2007, L.M. Sessler Excavating & Wrecking, Inc. of Waterloo proposed leasing 2300 acres from the Development Authority to build a lodge for “fee hunting.” The Sessler business plan promoted raising revenue by charging hunters for the right to come on to the Depot lands to shoot game animals, including the white deer.²⁹⁵ The company also asked for tax breaks from the Development Authority in order to make the project more economically viable. Opponents were outraged and labeled the proposal as a thinly veiled “canned hunt,” where docile animals would be harvested for private profit. Local residents and groups, like the New York State Humane Association and The American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

²⁹⁴ “New Jobs Expected for Seneca County,” New York Times May 14, 1999; “High-tech use for ‘Q’,” Finger Lakes Times, September 23, 2007.

²⁹⁵ “Wrong for pay-to-hunt plan to target captive white deer,” Rochester Democrat and Chronicle December 19, 2007.

Animals, wrote numerous letters to local papers and elected officials to express their anger with the plan. The Industrial Development Authority board initially expressed some interest in the Sessler proposal, but eventually declined to move forward due to the overwhelming negative press received and tabled the project.

Some local residents and environmentalists argued that a portion of the land be set aside as a wildlife refuge to protect the white deer and other animals. Others pushed for the removal of the fences all together and the animals allowed to pursue their own ends. In the contest between the various stakeholders to determine the utility of the grounds, the white-coated deer presented a particular challenge. In order to preserve the deer, the perimeter fence needed to be maintained and monitored to keep hunters out, and the deer in. While deer are, of course, creatures of nature, their continued enclosure within the relative security of the former depot lands is, in a sense, unnatural. The white deer were originally protected due to the aesthetic value humans placed upon these animals, and not for any unique or integral role these particular animals have in the local ecosystem. To some, regardless of the degree of human artifice present in the herd, preserving the white deer equates to preserving wilderness, while others consider the animals in utilitarian terms as a source of revenue and jobs. The depot herd is a prime example of the conflicts that result from nature being defined and valued by humans in a variety of ways.²⁹⁶ Some of the same advocates for the deer were opposed to or remained silent regarding native claims of belonging. Their goal was to preserve a physical place – not a cultural space.

When the Army Corps of Engineers announced plans to complete environmental remediation work in 2016, the Industrial Development Authority faced a serious dilemma. IDA Executive Director Bob Aronson claimed that “it would cost the IDA or the county about

²⁹⁶ For more on competing meanings and value of nature see Jennifer Price, *Flight Maps: Adventures With Nature in Modern America* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

\$500,000 a year to provide the land management services for the depot that the Army now provides.” “The white deer herd,” Aronson continued, “is an emotional issue that drives a diverse range of opinions. Neither the IDA nor the county can afford to adequately protect the herd as it is now.”²⁹⁷ Given the deadline the IDA was anxious to divest from the remaining 7000 acres of the depot as quickly as possible and put the land up for bid. The announcement was carried by local and national media outlets.²⁹⁸

In June 2016, the IDA announced the winning bid on the property. After considering both the economic impact and environmental considerations of 16 proposals, members of the IDA board voted unanimously to accept the bid from Earl Martin, a local Mennonite businessman. Martin’s \$900,000 bid was actually surpassed by a higher offer. In the estimation of the IDA, however, his plans for economic development, which included a component to save the white deer and promote local eco-tourism, were deemed to have the “best chance in a long time to revitalize the Depot property.”²⁹⁹ At a press conference, Martin announced his intent to move his Seneca Iron Works business, which fabricates and manufactures agricultural equipment, to the site. He explained that he relied on Chinese suppliers for some of his iron products, and the relocation would allow him to become more self-sufficient.³⁰⁰ Martin also shared that he intended to sell land to approximately 20 Mennonite and Amish families to establish homes and small farms.³⁰¹

²⁹⁷ “Army to Remove Depot Presence by 2016.” Finger Lakes Times, December 24, 2014.

²⁹⁸ “Fate of the White Deer Hangs in Balance: former Army depot put up for sale,” The Boston Globe, November 16, 2016; “For rare white deer on an old Army depot in N.Y., the future rests on a fence,” Los Angeles Times, November 16, 2015; “How a fence created an ecological marvel: White deer herd that flourished now at risk,” Toledo Blade, January 17, 2016; “Future of Seneca white deer, ex-depot land at stake,” Rochester Democrat & Chronicle, October 15, 2015, and “Finger Lakes unique white deer herd faces uncertain future,” Albany Times Union, December 24, 2015.

²⁹⁹ “Seneca Army Depot buyer announced,” Rochester Democrat & Chronicle, June 16, 2016.

³⁰⁰ “Hi, My Name is Earl: IDA introduces man whose bid for depot land was accepted,” Finger Lakes Times, June 17, 2016.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

Most importantly, for supporters of the white deer, Martin agreed to lease a minimum of 1,500 acres at the north end of the depot to Seneca White Deer, Inc. (SWD), a non-profit organization, to create Deer Haven Park. He granted SWD exclusive rights to conduct tours of the property in support of their mission to preserve the unique wildlife and military history of the former Seneca Army Depot through conservation, ecotourism, and economic development. As part of his vision for the area, Martin planned to build a tourism visitor center within an existing munitions bunker and invest in an eco-tourism marketing plan, with the goal to create 10-15 jobs within the first five years of operation.³⁰² Official tours of Deer Haven Park began on November 16, 2017. In the first five months of operations more than 2300 paying eco-tourists experienced a narrated trip behind the fences of this Cold War relic.

In his essay, “The Beholding Eye,” D. W. Meinig noted, “We gather together and look in the same direction at the same instant, we will not – we cannot – see the same landscape.”³⁰³ The uncommon grounds of the former Seneca Army Depot are replete with stories of loss and gain – some remembered more than others. For a landscape shaped by war and conflict, the past is prologue. The arrival of an iron works, Mennonite and Amish farmers, and Deer Haven Park, adds a new layer to the contested and entangled terrain of this physical place and cultural space. Future inhabitants will claim and come to know Kendaia. In turn, they will develop their own relationship with the land and will create their own memories. Their stories will become part of the deeper and cyclical history of dispossession and transformation of a place called home (Figure 41).

³⁰² Ibid. For information on Seneca White Deer, Inc. see, <https://www.senecawhitedeer.org/> (last accessed July 4, 2018).

³⁰³ D. W. Meinig, “The Beholding Eye, Ten Versions of the same Scene.” In D. W. Meinig, ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary landscapes: geographical essays*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979, p.34.



Figure 41: At Home, Seneca Army Depot, SenecaWhiteDeer.org

Bibliography

Books, Newspaper Articles and Archival Documents

2016 National Park Visitor Spending Effects Economic Contributions to Local Communities, States, and the Nation, Natural Resource Report, NPS/NRSS/EQD/NRR—2017/1421.

“3-Day Notice to Quit Farm Fails to Dampen Patriotism,” Post-Standard July 26, 1941.

Abler, Thomas S. ed., *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as told to Benjamin Williams*. Lincoln, Nebraska: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Adams, David. *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928*. Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 1995.

Ahearn, Robert. *William T. Sherman and the Settlement of the West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1956.

American State Papers: Indian Affairs. Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832. Vol. 4.

Amory, Thomas. *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan*. Boston: Wiggins & Lunt, 1868.

Appleby, Joyce. “Commercial Farming and the Agrarian Myth in the Early American Republic,” Journal of American History. Vol. 68, No. 4 March 1982.

Archuleta, Margaret, Brenda J. Child, and K. Tsianina Lomawaima, eds., *Away from Home: American Indian Boarding School Experiences*. Phoenix: Heard Museum, 2000.

“Army to Remove Depot Presence by 2016.” Finger Lakes Times. December 24, 2014.

Articles of Agreement - Land Contract, August 5, 1779, Military Collection, New York State Historical Association and Research Library, Cooperstown, NY.

Bakeless, John. *Turncoats, Traitors & Heroes: Espionage in the American Revolution*. New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1959.

Barrington, J. M. *Separate But Equal?: Māori Schools and the Crown, 1867-1969*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2008.

“Battle of Newtown: One Hundredth Anniversary Celebrated,” Philadelphia Inquirer August 30, 1879.

Beach, Spencer Ambrose ed., et.al. *The Apples of New York: Report – New York Agriculture Experiment Station*. State of New York, Department of Agriculture, 1903.

- Beal, Merrill. *I Will Fight No More Forever: Chief Joseph and the Nez Perce War*. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1963.
- Beard, Charles. *President Roosevelt and the coming of the war, 1941 : a study in appearances and realities*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1948.
- Becker, Charles D. Seneca County Maps. Publisher unknown, circa 1901.
- Belich, James. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld, 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009.
- Bell, Blake. "Homestead National Monument of America and the 150th Anniversary of the Homestead Act," Western Historical Quarterly Vol. 43. Spring 2012.
- Bodle, Wayne. *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*. University Park, PA: Penn. State University Press, 2005.
- Bowden, Henry. *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Boyd, Julian P. ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 18 June 1779–30 September 1780*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- Brenneman, Gloria E. "The Conway Cabal: Myth or Reality," Pennsylvania History Vol. 40., No.2, April 1973.
- Brophy, Marion and Wendell Tripp, eds., "Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779," New York History, 60:3 July, 1979.
- Brown, Richard "Microhistory and the Post-Modern Challenge," Journal of the Early American Republic. Vol. 23, No. 1 (Spring 2003).
- Buker, George. *The Penobscot Expedition: Commodore Saltonstall and the Massachusetts Conspiracy of 1779*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002.
- Burich, Keith. "No Place to Go: The Thomas Indian School and the 'Forgotten' Indian Children of New York," Wicazo Sa Review, Volume 22, Number 2, Fall 2007.
- Burnham, Philip. *Indian Country, God's Country: Native Americans And the National Parks*. Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2000.
- Butler, Toby. "Memoryscape: integrating oral history, memory and landscape on the river Thames," in Paul Ashton and Hilda Keen, eds., *People and their Pasts: Public History Today*. Chippenham, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Cahill, Cathleen. *Federal Fathers and Mothers: A Social History of the United States Indian Service, 1869–1933*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Land Manuscripts Indorsed Land Papers in the Office of the Secretary of State of New York, 1643-1803. Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Co. Printers and Publishers, 1864.

Calloway, Colin. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Campisi, Jack. "From Stanwix to Canandaigua: National Policy, States' Rights, and Indian Land," in *Iroquois Land Claims*, Christopher Vecsey and William Starna, eds., Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1988.

Campisi, Jack and William Starna, "On the Road to Canandaigua: The Treaty of 1794," American Indian Quarterly, Vol 19., No. 4, Autumn, 1995.

"Cayugas Suing to Regain 100 Square Miles in State," New York Times Nov. 23, 1980.

"Change of Mind," Time Magazine March 31, 1941.

Chass, Philander D. ed., et al. *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1987-.

Chernow, Ron. *Washington: A Life*. New York: Penguin Press, 2010.

Cloyd, Benjamin. *Haunted By Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2019.

"Colonel Paul B. Parker Addresses Business Men on Munitions Project," Geneva Daily Times July 1, 1941.

"Communities Fear the Pain Base Closings Will Cause," New York Times March 1, 1995.

"Concluding Service at Romulus Baptist Church, Soon to Be Demolished," Geneva Daily Times September 8, 1941.

Cook, Frederick. ed. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations in 1779, with records of the Centennial Celebrations*. Auburn: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887.

Cornell Guide to Growing Fruit at Home, Cornell University Cooperative Extension Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Media and Technology Services Resource Center, 2003.

"County Offices Busy As Clerks Aid in Search of Records for Land Transfer," Geneva Daily Times July 11, 1941.

Croft, George. *Croft's Trans-Continental Tourist's Guide*. New York: G. W. Carelton & Co., 1876.

Cronon, William., ed. *Uncommon Ground*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995.

Crosby, Alfred. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Publishing, 1972.

Cross, Coy. *Go West Young Man! Horace Greeley's Vision for America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Cruikshank, Ernest. *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. Cranbury: The Scholar's Bookshelf, 2006. First published in 1893.

Dean, Adam Wesley. *An Agrarian Republic: Farming, Antislavery Politics, and Nature Parks in the Civil War Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.

"Debating the Future of the Depot's Deer," The Ithaca Times May 2, 2007.

Delano, Columbus. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1872*. Washington, D.C: Government Printing Office.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

_____. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004.

"Details of Purchase Explained at Romulus Meeting," Geneva Daily Times June 11, 1941.

"Diary of Captain Benjamin Warren at Massacre of Cherry Valley," entry for November 13, 1778, trans. David E. Alexander, Journal of American History, 3, 1909.

Doenecke, Justus. *Storm on the Horizon: The Challenge to American Intervention, 1939-1941*. Lanham: Rowan and Littlefield, 2000.

"Down the Susquehanna by Canoe," National Geographic Magazine vol. XCVIII, No. 1. July 1950.

Earle, Jonathan. *Jacksonian Antislavery and the Politics of Free Soil, 1824-1854*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Edginton, Ryan. *Range Wars: The Environmental Contest for White Sands Missile Range*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014.

"Editorial," Waterloo Observer July 18, 1941.

Egan, Timothy. *The Worst Hard Time: The Untold Story of Those Who Survived the Great American Dust Bowl*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2005.

Eisenfeld, Sue. *Shenandoah: A Story of Conservation and Betrayal*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Evans, Israel. "A Discourse at Easton, on the 17th of October, 1779, to the Officers and Soldiers of the Western Army, After their Return from an Expedition against the Five Nations of Hostile Indians." Philadelphia: Thomas Bradford, at the Coffee-House, 1779.

"Ex-Rep. John Taber Dies at 85; 'Fiscal Vigilante' Led Committee," New York Times November 23, 1965.

"Exodus of Farm Families From Kendaia Area Begins," Geneva Daily Times July 22, 1941.

Farrell, William R. *Classical Place Names in New York State*. Jamesville, NY: Pine Grove Press, 2002.

"Fate of the White Deer Hangs in Balance: former Army depot put up for sale," The Boston Globe, November 16, 2016.

Fear-Segal, Jacqueline and Susan Rose, eds., *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.

Fear-Segal, Jacqueline. *White Man's Club: School, Race, and the Struggle of Indian Acculturation*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

"Federal Munitions Depot Will Occupy 18 Square Miles South of Seneca Falls," The Post-Standard June 15, 1941.

Fellman, Michael. *Citizen Sherman: A Life of William Tecumseh Sherman*. New York: Random House, 1995.

Fenton, William N. *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.

Ferling, John. *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington*. Knoxville: Univ. of Tenn. Press, 1988.

Fifer, Valerie. *American Progress: The Growth of Transport, Tourists, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West*. Chester, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1988.

"Final Proposals on Military Closings," New York Times June, 25 1995.

Findlay, John. *Atomic Frontier Days: Hanford and the American West*. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2011)

Fine, Lenore and Jesse Remington. *The Corps of Engineers: Construction in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center for Military History, 1972.

Fingerhut, Eugene R. and Joseph S. Tiedemann, eds., *The Other New York: The American Revolution Beyond New York City, 1763-1787*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2005.

“Finger Lakes unique white deer herd faces uncertain future,” Albany Times Union, December 24, 2015.

Fischer, Joseph. *A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign Against the Iroquois, July-September 1779*. Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1997.

Flick, A.C. ed., *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779: Chronology and Selected Documents*. Albany: The State University of New York, 1929.

Foner, Eric. *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

“For rare white deer on an old Army depot in N.Y., the future rests on a fence,” Los Angeles Times, November 16, 2015.

Ford, Worthington C., ed. et al, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. Washington, D.C., 1904-37, 11:589.

Frederickson, Kari. *Cold War Dixie: Militarization and Modernization in the American South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013.

“Future of Seneca white deer, ex-depot land at stake,” Rochester Democrat & Chronicle, October 15, 2015.

Gable, Walter. “Building the Seneca Army Depot.” Seneca County Historian, Archival Document.

_____ “The Sullivan Campaign of 1779.” Seneca County Historian, Archival Document.

Gable, Walter and Carolyn Zogg. *The Seneca Army Depot: Fighting Wars from the New York Home Front*. Charleston: History Press, 2012.

“Game hunters indebted to Seneca Army Depot,” Geneva Times December 16, 1969.

“Getting the Lead out of the Depot,” Finger Lakes Times Nov. 26, 2007.

Gillispie, James. *Andersonvilles of the North: The Myths and Realities of Northern Treatment of Civil War Confederate Prisoners*. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2008.

- Glatthaar, Joseph and James Kirby Martin. *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006.
- Gordon, William. *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America*. London: 1788.
- Gram, John. *Education at the Edge of Empire*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2015.
- Gray, Michael. *The Business of Captivity: Elmira and Its Civil War Prison*. Kent: Kent State University Press, 2001.
- Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972.
- “Green vs. Green,” The Citizen March 19, 2007.
- Greenburg, Amy. *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*. New York: Cambridge, 2005.
- Griffin, Patrick. *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.
- Haebich, Anna. *For Their Own Good: Aborigines and Government in the Southwest of Western Australia, 1900-1940*. Nedlands: Western Australia: University of Western Australia Press, 1988.
- Halsey, Francis Whiting. *The Old New York Frontier: Its Wars with Indians and Tories, Its Missionary Schools, Pioneers and Land Titles 1614-1800*. Port Washington, Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1963. First published in 1901.
- Halttunen, Karen “Grounded Histories: Land and Landscape in Early America,” William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 68, No. 4 (October 2011)
- Hammond, Otis G. ed. *Letters and Papers of Major General John Sullivan, Continental Army*. Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930.
- Harris, Cole. “How did colonialism dispossess? Comments from an edge of empire,” Annals of the Association of American Geographers Vol 94, 2004.
- Hessleton, William “The Incredible White Deer Herd,” The Conservationist. October-November, 1969.
- Hesselton, William, C.W. Severinghaus, and John Tanck, “Population Dynamics of Deer at the Seneca Army Depot,” New York Fish and Game Journal, Vol. 12, No.1. January 1964.

Hesselton, William, C.W. Severinghaus, and John Tanck “Deer Facts from Seneca Depot: A Further Report on the Lessons to be Learned from the Ups and Downs of the Deer Herd Enclosed Within a 10,000 Acre Army Depot,” The Conservationist. October-November, 1965.

Hastings, Hugh and J.A. Holden, eds., *Public Papers of George Clinton: First Governor of New York*. 10 vols. New York: AMS Press, 1968-70.

Hauptman, Laurence. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999.

_____. *The Oneida Indian Journey: from New York to Wisconsin*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1999.

Hayes, Sam and Christopher Morris, eds., *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1997.

Heefner, Gretchen. *The Missile Next Door: The Minuteman in the American Heartland*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Heidt, William with Carol Kammen, ed., *Simeon DeWitt: Founder of Ithaca*. Ithaca, NY: DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, 1968.

Hevly, Bruce and John M. Findlay, ed. *The Atomic West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998.

“Hi, My Name is Earl: IDA introduces man whose bid for depot land was accepted,” Finger Lakes Times, June 17, 2016.

“High-tech use for ‘Q’,” Finger Lakes Times September 23, 2007.

Hixson, Walter. *American Settler Colonialism: A History*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013.

“Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,” National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, May 31, 2015.

Horgan, Michael. *Elmira: Death Camp of the North*. Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2002.

“How a fence created an ecological marvel: White deer herd that flourished now at risk,” Toledo Blade, January 17, 2016.

Isenberg, Andrew. *The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.

“Indian Ball at the Park,” Elmira Daily Advertiser, August 29, 1879

Jacoby, Karl. *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

Janetski, Joel. *Indians In Yellowstone National Park*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002.

Jemison, Peter and Anna Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua, 1794: 200 Years of Treaty Relations between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000.

Jennings, Francis. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1984.

John Taber Papers, 1880-1965, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

Jonas, Manfred. *Isolationism in America, 1935-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966.

Jordan, Kurt. *The Seneca Restoration, 1715-1754: An Iroquois Political Economy*. Gainesville, FL: Univ. Press of Florida, 2008.

“Journal of Lt. Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779,” The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Vol. 27., No. 4, 1903.

Kaplan, Roger. “The Hidden War: British Intelligence Operations During the American Revolution.” The William and Mary Quarterly. Third Series, Vol. 47, No. 1, Jan., 1990.

Kasson, Joy. *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2000.

Kastor, Peter. *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Keating, Ann Durking. *Rising Up From Indian Country: The Battle of Fort Dearborn and the Birth of Chicago*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2012.

Keller, Robert and Michael Turek. *American Indians and National Parks*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.

Kelsay, Isabel Thompson. *Joseph Brant 1743-1807: Man of Two Worlds*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984.

Kerrigan, William “Apples on the Border: Orchards and the Contest for the Great Lakes,” Michigan Historical Review 34:1 Spring 2008.

Keyes, Sarah. “‘Like a Roaring Lion’: The Overland Trail as a Sonic Conquest,” The Journal of American History Vol. 96, Iss. 1, June, 2009.

Kimball, Walter. *The Most Unsordid Act; Lend –Lease, 1939-1941*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969.

Kuletz, Valerie. *The Tainted Desert: Environmental and Social Ruin in the American West*. New York: Routledge, 1998.

Lawrence, Adrea. *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902–1907*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2011.

Laws of the State of New-York, comprising the Constitution, and the acts of the legislature since the Revolution, from the first to the twelfth session, inclusive. 1786.

Laws of the State of New York passed at the One Hundred Second Session of the Legislature Albany: A. Bleeker Banks, 1879.

Lee, Lawrence. *Kansas and the Homestead Act, 1862-1905*. New York: Arno Press, 1979.

Lee, Wayne. *Barbarians & Brothers: Anglo-American Warfare, 1500-1865*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2011.

“Letter Inside of Pillar of Old Seneca Co. Home Tells of Affairs in 1863,” Geneva Daily Times September 19, 1941.

Levinson, Sanford and Bartholomew Sparrow, eds., *The Louisiana Purchase and American Expansion, 1803-1898*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

“Love Notes of Soldier to His Sweetheart Delivered After His Death,” The Sunday Telegram (Elmira, NY), March 10, 1929.

Mann, Barbara Alice. *George Washington’s War on Native America*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005.

Mano, Jo Margaret. “Unmapping the Iroquois.” In *The Oneida Indian Journey*, ed. Laurence Hauptman and Gordon McLester III. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

“Many Families Have Been Rooted in Area For Over 150 Years,” Geneva Daily Times July 17, 1941.

Mar, Tracy and Penelope Edmonds, eds., *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Marszalek, John. *Sherman: A Soldier’s Passion for Order*. New York: The Free Press, 1993.

Martini, Edwin ed., *Proving Grounds: Militarized Landscapes, Weapons Testing, and the Environmental Impact of U.S. Bases*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2015.

Maybury-Lewis, David, Theodore Macdonald, and Biorn Maybury-Lewis, eds., *Manifest Destinies and Indigenous Peoples*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

McDonough, James. *William Tecumseh Sherman: In the Service of My Country*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016.

McGrane, Agnes. *A History of Varick, Seneca County, New York*. Waterloo: K-MAR Press, Inc, 1975).

McMillen, Neil ed., *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War II on the American South*. Jackson: Univ of Mississippi Press, 1997.

McNenly, Linda Scarangella. *Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.

_____. "For, Friend, or Critic: Native Performers with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Discourses of Conquest and Friendship in Newspaper Reports," *The American Indian Quarterly*, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring 2014.

Meinig, D.W. ed. *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Merrell, James. *Into the American Woods: Negotiations on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: Norton, 1999.

Merrifield, Edward. *The story of the captivity and rescue from the Indians of Luke Swetland: an early settler of the Wyoming Valley and a soldier of the American Revolution*. Scranton, PA: [s.n.], 1915.

Miller, J. R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.

Miller, Robert. *Native America, Discovered and Donquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2006.

Mintz, Max. *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois*. New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Murray, Louise Welles ed. *Order Book of Lt. Col. Francis Barber, in Notes from the Collections of Tioga Point Museum and Its Centennial Celebrations of 1879*. Athens, PA: Tioga Point Historical Society, 1929.

- Nabokov, Peter and Lawrence Loendorf. *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.
- Nester, William R. *The Frontier War for American Independence*. Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004.
- “New Jobs Expected for Seneca County,” New York Times May 14, 1999.
- Newfont, Kathryn. *Blue Ridge Commons: Environmental Activism and Forest History in Western North Carolina*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012.
- “Nurtured at Army Depot, Rare Deer Herd is Suggested as a Key to Tract’s Future,” New York Times March 21, 2004.
- O’Brien, Jean. *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.
- “On The Way To The (Newtown) Battle-Field,” Harper's Magazine September 20, 1879.
- O’Sullivan, John “The Great Nation of Futurity,” United States Magazine and Democratic Review Vol. 6, Issue 23. Nov. 1839.
- _____ “Annexation,” United States Magazine and Democratic Review Vol. 17, Issue 1. July-August 1845.
- Ottoson, Howard ed., *Land Use Policy and Problems in the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963.
- Palmer, Stanley H. Palmer and Dennis Reinhartz, eds., *Essays on the History of North American Discovery and Exploration*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1988.
- Patterson, Maurice L., ed. *Between the Lakes: The Settlement and Growth of South Seneca County, Town of Colvert, the Village of Interlaken*. Interlaken: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1976.
- Pickenpugh, Roger. *Captives in Gray: The Civil War Prisons of the Union*. Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 2009.
- Powell, Katrina. “Answer at Once”: *Letters of Mountain Families in Shenandoah National Park, 1934-1938*. Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2009.
- Powell, Miles. *Vanishing America: Species Extinction, Racial Peril, and the Origins of Conservation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- “Praises Citizens of Finger Lakes for Co-operation,” Geneva Daily Times July 31, 1941.

Price, Jennifer. *Flight Maps: Adventures With Nature in Modern America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999.

“Quarter Century - \$47 Million Depot Marking Anniversary,” The Geneva Times August 8, 1966.

Raab, Jennifer “Panoramic Vision, Telegraphic Language: Selling the American West, 1869-1884,” Journal of American Studies Vol. 47, Issue. 2. May 2013.

Rabbitt, Mary. *A Brief History of the U.S. Geological Survey*. Reston, VA: Dept. of the Interior, Geological Survey, 1979.

“Rare White Deer Versus Ethanol: Conservationists at Odds in Seneca,” New York Times March 13, 2007.

Rath, Richard Cullen. *How Early America Sounded*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2003.

“Reports of Nuclear Cache Unsettle Upstate Village,” New York Times Feb. 8, 1982.

Richter, Daniel K. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Rising, Oscar. *A New Hampshire lawyer in General Washington's Continental Army*. Geneva, NY: W.F. Humphrey, 1915.

“Romulus Hears Approval Given Federal Project For Big Munitions Plant,” Geneva Daily Times April 29, 1941.

Romulus Historical Society, Seneca Army Depot Records, Romulus, New York.

Russell, Don. *Wild West: A History of the Wild West Shows*. Fort Worth: University of Texas Press, 1970.

Sampson, Robert. *John L. O'Sullivan and His Times*. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2003.

Schneider, James. *Should America Go to War?: The Debate over Foreign Policy in Chicago, 1939-1941*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Seaver, James E. ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison: De-He-Wa-Mis, the White Woman of the Genesee, 7th ed.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910.

“Seneca Army Depot buyer announced,” Rochester Democrat & Chronicle, June 16, 2016.

Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe. *Notes on the Iroquois, or Contributions to American History, Antiquities, and General Ethnology*. Albany, NY: Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1987.

Schuyler, David. *Sanctified Landscape: Writers, Artists, and the Hudson River Valley, 1820–1909*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995.

“Seneca County Families Leave Home to Clear Way for Bomb Depot,” Buffalo Evening News August 20, 1941.

“Seneca County Picked as Site for Munitions Depot,” Geneva Daily Times June 9, 1941.

Shalev, Eran. *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic*. Charlottesville, VA: Univ. Virginia Press, 2009.

Shannon, Timothy. *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*. New York: Penguin Books, 2008.

Sharfstein, Daniel. *Thunder in the Mountains: Chief Joseph, Oliver Otis Howard, and the Nez Perce War*. New York: W.W. Norton Company, Inc., 2016.

Showman, Richard K. ed. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene, 13 vols.* Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1976-.

“Slaughter of the Buffaloes,” *Congressional Record, 44th Congress, 1st Session*. Washington, D.C. Government Printing Office.

Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Smith, Mark M. *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, and Touching in History*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2007.

Solnit, Rebecca. *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Landscape Wars of the American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Sparks, Jared., ed. *The Writings of George Washington; correspondence, addresses, messages, and other papers, official and private, selected and published from the original manuscripts; with a life of the author, notes and illustrations* (Boston: American Stationers' Company, 1834).

Spence, Mark David. *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Stephenson, George. *The Political History of the Public Lands From 1840 to 1862: From Preemption to Homestead*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.

Stettinius, Edward. *Lend-Lease, Weapon for Victory*. New York: Macmillan, 1944.

Tager, Michael. "Apologies to Indigenous Peoples in Comparative Perspective," The International Indigenous Policy Journal, Volume 5, Issue 4, 2014.

Taylor, Alan. *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books, 2006.

The Balloting Book, and Other Documents Relating to Military Bounty Lands, in the State of New-York. Ovid: W. E. Morrison & Co., 1983. First published in 1825.

The Haldimand Papers, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Lansing: Robert Smith and Co. State Printers and Binders, 1892.

"The Newtown Centennial," Independent Statesman, September 4, 1879.

"The Plight of the White Deer," Life in the Finger Lakes. Fall 2007.

"The Sudden Development of Seneca County to a War Defense Project," Geneva Daily Times August 30, 1941.

"The Sullivan Centennial: An Indian Band and an Indian Game of Ball," Elmira Daily Advertiser, August 26, 1879

The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779. Prepared by the Division of Archives and History in Connection with the Sesquicentennial of the American Revolution. Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1929.

Thompson, John H., ed. *Geography of New York State*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1966.

Thomas Hartley to Edward Hand, June 3, 1779, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Ayer 364, Newberry Library.

Thorndike, Rachel Sherman ed. *The Sherman Letters: Correspondence Between General and Senator Sherman From 1837 to 1891*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894.

Tiro, Karim. *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution through the Era of Removal*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

"Tom Torlino, Navajo, before and after," by J. N. Choate, Richard Henry Pratt Papers, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and Production in History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Annual Report of the American Historical Society for the year 1893, Washington, D.C: GPO and American Historical Association, 1894.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, County Data Book: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947.

United States Department of Environmental Protection. EPA Superfund Final Record of Decision for Sites Requiring Institutional Controls in the Planned Industrial/Office Development or Warehousing Areas at the Seneca Army Depot Activity (SEDA), Sept. 28, 2004.

United States General Accounting Office. Report to Congressional Requesters, "Land Ownership: Information on the Acreage, Management, and Use of Federal and Other Lands," GAO/RCED-96-40, March, 1996.

U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 17, Chap. 24, pp. 32-33. "An Act to set apart a certain Tract of Land lying near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a public Park." [S. 392], U.S. Congress. 42nd. 2nd Session, Massachusetts: Boston Little, Brown and Company 1872.

Vanderbilt, Tom. *Survival City: Adventures Among the Ruins of Atomic America*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2002.

Veracini, Lorenzo. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010.

von Nardroff, Ellen. "The American Frontier as a Safety Valve: The Life, Death, Reincarnation, and Justification of a Theory," Agricultural History, Vol. 36, No. 3 July 1962.

Wallace, Anthony F.C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. New York: Vintage Books, 1972.

Warren, Louis. *The Hunter's Game: Poachers and Conservationists in Twentieth-Century America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

_____. *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005.

Watson, Winslow ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, including Journals of Travels in Europe and America, from 1777-1842*. New York, NY: Dana and Company Publishers, 1856.

Watt, Gavin K. *The Burning of the Valleys: Daring Raids from Canada Against the New York Frontier in the Fall of 1780*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997.

Wells, Cheryl. "'Why, These Children Are Not Really Indians:' Race, Time, and Indian Authenticity," The American Indian Quarterly. Volume 39, Number 1, Winter 2015.

West, Elliot. *The Last Indian War: The Nez Perce Story*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Westerlund, John. *Arizona's War Town: Flagstaff Ordnance Depot and World War II*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

_____. *Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.

Whittemore, Charles. *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Wilkinson, Norman. "Robert Morris and the Treaty of Big Tree," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. 40., No.2., Sept., 1953.

Williams, Glenn. *Year of the Hangman: George Washington's Campaign Against the Iroquois*. Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2005.

Witgen, Michael. *An Infinity of Nations: How the Native New World Shaped Early America*. Philadelphia: Univ. of Penn. Press, 2011.

Witmer, Linda. *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879-1918*. Carlisle: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1993.

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," Journal of Genocide Research, Vol 8. No. 4, (December, 2006).

_____. *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnograph Event*. London: Cassell, 1998.

Worster, Donald. *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Wright, Albert Hazen. *Simeon DeWitt and Military Tract Township Names*. Ithaca, NY: DeWitt Historical Society of Tompkins County, 1961.

Wrobel, David. *Global West, American Frontier: Travel, Empire, and Exceptionalism from Manifest Destiny to the Great Depression*. Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 2013.

_____. *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002).

"Wrong for pay-to-hunt plan to target captive white deer," Rochester Democrat and Chronicle December 19, 2007.

Unpublished Manuscripts

Bell, Genevieve. "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918" PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998.

Bruno, L. Dean. "Once a Home, Now a Memory": Dispossession, Possession and Remembrance of the Landscape of the Former Seneca Army Depot." MA Thesis, North Carolina State University, 2008.

Henderson, Cary Smith. "Congressman John Taber of Auburn: Politics and Federal Appropriations, 1923-1962." PhD diss., (History) Duke University, 1964.

Hutchinson, John. "Sites of Contention: Military Bases and the Transformation of the American South During World War II." PhD diss., Florida State University, 2011.

Rose, Robert S. "The Military Tract of Central New York." MA Thesis (History) Syracuse University, 1935.

Schein, Richard Hout. "A Historical Geography of Central New York: Patterns and Processes of Colonization on the New Military Tract, 1782-1820." PhD diss., (Geography) Syracuse University, 1989.