

**Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography, Phase II:
The “Western Indians” and the Mississaugas**

Final Report

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Executive Summary

This phase of the Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project was designed to complement the previous phase dealing with the Iroquois, thus assuring that the participation of all Indian groups is documented and the concerns of their descendants relating to park interpretation and management conveyed to the National Park Service.

Archival research indicates that the "Western Indians" at the siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany numbered forty-seven members of the Chippewa, Huron (Wyandot), Ottawa, and Potawatomi nations who were recruited at a council convened by Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton in Detroit in June 1777. All but five Potawatomis (whose fate could not be determined) returned to Detroit by early September. Documentation of Mississauga participation in these events is far less precise. The report of 150 "Mississaugas and Six Nations Indians" with St. Leger gives no indication whether the number represents the Mississaugas alone or the entire party. There are numerous references to Mississauga participation and they are singled out by St. Leger for blame for the failure of the expedition.

Twenty-two communities representing these nations in the U.S. and Canada were contacted by phone, letter, and/or e-mail. None had any oral traditions relating to the battle or siege and most were unaware of their ancestors' participation in these events although they were very aware of their roles in the American Revolution.

No community members had visited Ft. Stanwix or Oriskany although it is likely this will change as a result of this research. There are no contemporary users of resources in the project area.

There are no reported Mississauga losses in either engagement and it is unlikely that the five unaccounted for Potawatomis died in the Mohawk Valley. Nevertheless, all the groups contacted echoed the sentiments of the Iroquois, namely that no burials, regardless of their presumed ethnicity, be disturbed. Several Mississaugas requested that they be informed should any human remains be inadvertently uncovered in order to ensure the performance of the appropriate rituals.

This research demonstrates that the siege and battle involved individuals who resided far from the Mohawk Valley and that an accurate discussion and interpretation of these events needs to take this into account. The previous phase showed that from a regional perspective, the events could be interpreted as a confluence of several civil wars (e.g. among the Iroquois; native born British and colonists of British origin; native born Germans, German mercenaries, and colonists of German descent); this phase supports a much broader interpretation.

Research on the contributions of non-Indians such as the groups mentioned in the previous paragraph, as well as Irish and Scots should be documented in the same way as has been done for the Iroquois, Western Indians, and Mississaugas. Canadiens, militia units, and Continental troops also need documentation, as do the women and African Americans who participated on both sides. Field research among their descendants also needs to be undertaken. It is especially important that the militia be studied as primary sources indicate that very few of the bodies of dead militiamen were removed from the Oriskany Battlefield. Therefore it is important that their

descendants convey their feelings about burials to the National Park Service as any human remains uncovered likely represent members of the Tryon County militia.

Introduction

The Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project began in 1995 as an applied ethnographic study of the relationships between contemporary Native American groups and Fort Stanwix National Monument, Oriskany Battlefield, and their environs in the Mohawk Valley of central New York.

Fort Stanwix, built by the British in 1758 to protect the portage between Wood Creek and the Mohawk River, was the site of numerous councils with Indian nations. The most important of these resulted in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix that set the western boundary between the British colonies and Indian lands. By the time of the American Revolution, the fort had fallen into ruins. At the urging of local Oneida Indians, colonial forces undertook major repairs and Colonel Peter Gansevoort took command of the post in 1777.

Mistakenly believing that revolutionary sentiments were localized in New England, the British developed a military plan to isolate the region. This entailed a three-pronged attack, with one army moving south from Canada via Lake Champlain and the Hudson Valley and another moving north from New York City, eventually joining the first at Albany. A third force was to ascend the St. Lawrence River, move south through Oneida Lake, the Oneida River, and Wood Creek and descend the Mohawk River. The British assumed that Loyalist inhabitants of the Mohawk Valley would join this force as it made its way to Albany. The strategically placed Fort Stanwix lay athwart this route.

In July 1777 the British forces, under the nominal command of Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger, laid siege to the fort. The bulk of his men were Iroquois warriors, primarily Senecas and Mohawks, but including Cayugas and Onondagas. Non-Iroquois with St. Leger included Mississaugas and a group referred to as "Western Indians." Militia from Tryon County, joined by Oneida scouts and warriors, marched to relieve the siege. Learning of the militia's movement, the Indians at Fort Stanwix moved to intercept it and set up an ambush along a wooded ravine near the Oneida village of Oriska. There, in what has been described as the bloodiest battle of the Revolution, current and former residents of the Mohawk Valley fought hand-to-hand in a battle that had no obvious winner. The militia did not reach Fort Stanwix but the siege was finally ended two weeks later when the Iroquois, disgusted with St. Leger's weakness, returned to their homes and he fled back to the St. Lawrence amid rumors of a massive force advancing under Benedict Arnold.

Phase I of the project documented participation by the Six Nations Iroquois (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras) utilizing archival sources and included ethnographic research within contemporary Iroquois communities in the U.S. and Canada. The field component was necessary in order to learn if there were oral histories or other information relevant to Iroquois participation in events in the Mohawk Valley during the eighteenth century. Because the National Park Service wants to manage its resources in a culturally informed manner, it was important to document continuing ties between Indian communities and specific park locations. Such information helps park managers identify sacred resources requiring special treatment, evaluate requests for access to park resources, and assess the potential impacts of projects on culturally significant resources.

Phase I research identified serious Iroquois concerns about the interpretation of the siege and battle contained in the film shown at the Visitors Center at Fort Stanwix National Monument and archival research demonstrated the film to be historically inaccurate as well as culturally insensitive. As a result of recommendations in the final report, Park Superintendent Gary Warshefski withdrew the film, an action that both surprised and pleased the Iroquois and made a significant contribution to good will between the Park Service and Iroquois communities. The primary concern of Iroquois community consultants was the protection of burials of all battle participants although we were unable to learn of any oral histories that might allow a precise location of the original burials or a major secondary reburial that took place in the nineteenth century.

The final report on Phase I, "A Place of Great Sadness: Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography" (Bilharz 1998), included a recommendation for additional research on non-Iroquois participants in the battle and/or siege. Archival research had uncovered numerous references to warriors glossed as "Western Indians," whose tribal affiliation(s) and geographic origins were not indicated, as well as to Mississaugas, an Algonkian speaking people. It became apparent that the number of groups with ties to the Mohawk Valley sites was far greater than initially envisioned. For a replacement film as well as for interpretive purposes, it is important that the Park Service have an accurate record of both the battle and the siege and this required a broader examination of Indian participation. Phase II was therefore designed to identify the non-Iroquois groups whose warriors were present and to locate the communities in which their descendents were likely to be living today. It was also hoped that oral traditions about eighteenth century Mohawk Valley events might still be extant among members of these communities and that it might be possible to identify burial locations. Information as to particular concerns with park management and interpretation were also to be solicited from community consultants.

Archival research in Phase II resulted in a precise definition of the "Western Indians" present at the battle and siege as Chippewas, Hurons, Ottawas, and Potawatomis. Throughout this report, the term will be used to refer exclusively to these four nations. While both primary and secondary sources for the Revolutionary era use the term variously to refer to groups from a particular geographic area or to the Lakes Confederacy, the groups included with the term are inconsistent, *i.e.* the "Western Indians" who went to Montreal were a different group. It is also important to note that, as with the Iroquois, the fact that the warriors were members of different nations does not imply that they were representatives of those nations or that their communities supported the British. The leaders were the leaders of individual war parties who, along with their followers, chose to join a particular expedition for personal reasons that may not be fathomable at this distance.

Methodology

Using notes from the previous phase indicating references to Mississaugas and “western Indians” and Paul Lawrence Stevens’s 1984 Ph.D. dissertation *His Majesty’s “Savage” Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians During the Revolutionary War. The Carleton Years, 1774-1778* as starting points, archival research was conducted at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Finding Aids for manuscript and record groups were consulted in order to identify documents which related to Indian policy, councils with Indians, and military actions that included Indian/Native warriors in the mid to late eighteenth century. Appropriate documents were located in microfilm form and xeroxed, eventually being transcribed into typescripts contained in Appendix 3. These transcriptions represent the researchers’ best reading of the manuscripts and may contain inaccuracies because of the illegibility of some manuscript sections and the difficulties encountered in interpreting handwriting. Readers should refer to the copies for quotation purposes.

The most useful collections were WO/28 (Records of the War Office), MG 19 (Claus Papers; Draper Manuscripts; Records of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs), MG 21 (Haldimand Papers) and RG 10 (Indian Affairs Records). Although several historians and military archivists suggested that RG 8 (British Military and Naval Records) should contain useful data, a review of the Finding Aid indicated nothing of significance for this project. A search of the typed card catalogue made when the original documents were filmed confirmed the absence of relevant materials. There are no maps of the St. Leger campaign in any primary sources.

Research at the Archives of Ontario in Toronto focused on family records cited by Stevens and on those known to be Indian traders but again yielded no useful data. The Toronto Reference Library had a copy of the petition of the sons of Wabakinine for a pension for his family based upon his services with British forces during the Revolution. It also contained secondary sources of which we were previously unaware that helped place events and locations in a clearer geographic context. This was especially important in understanding how the St. Leger expedition was provisioned on the way to and from Fort Stanwix but it did not allow identification of the place(s) where the Mississaugas joined the march. This knowledge would have been important in helping to identify the location of eighteenth century Mississauga settlements that in turn could aid in the identification of the contemporary communities of their descendants. Considerable effort was spent in tracing the post-Revolution settlements of the Mississaugas and petitions for military pensions in the hope that these records would mention participation in particular battles.

The most useful documents for this phase of the project are “Council held at Detroit June 17th By Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton Esq – Superintend etc etc with His Majesty’s Western Indian Allies” (CO 42/37, fol 70-77, pp 139-153) and “Return of Parties of Indians sent from Detroit” (WO 28/10, fol 396). From these records it is possible to document the recruitment process for the “western Indians” and identify the individual major chiefs and warriors present at the council who subsequently joined the St. Leger campaign. This information is detailed in Appendix 1 (Historical Summary).

Although reports suggest there were nearly twice as many Mississaugas than “western Indians” in the St. Leger expedition, the archival records are remarkably silent in this regard. The Mississaugas were recruited by Daniel Claus, son-in-law of the late Sir William Johnson, who was appointed by Lord George Germain to lead the Indians on the St. Leger expedition. They joined the expedition somewhere between Lachine and Buck (aka Carleton) Island. Possible explanations for the dearth of primary data on the Mississaugas are included in Appendix 1.

The David Library of the American Revolution in Washington Crossing, PA contained microfilms of a number of manuscript collections that had already been examined in Canada (e.g. Colonial and War Office Records, etc.) as well as secondary sources that will be useful in preparing the Scopes of Work for the following phases of this project. This information is not included in this report.

In the spring of 2001, Patricia Kennedy of the Economic and Governance Archives section, Canadian Archives Branch, National Archives of Canada, e-mailed us about a large collection of Americana donated to Yale University by Richard Mellon. This included papers of Guy Johnson who succeeded his uncle, Sir William Johnson, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department; among these was a journal kept by John Butler, interpreter and agent of the Indian Department, who was present at both the siege and battle. This collection was reviewed when it was made available at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library and transcriptions were made of the Butler diary and all of the relevant Johnson papers. A letter, apparently unsent or perhaps a draft, contains Guy Johnson’s description of the siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany (see page 78 of Appendix 5). As Guy was in New York City during this time, his information probably came from his cousin Sir John Johnson who was present at both, or from Daniel Claus, his brother-in-law. According to Guy Johnson, the shot that felled General Herkimer was fired by an Indian warrior. Although the documents at Beinecke did not contain any information about the Western Indians and the Mississaugas, the letter from Guy Johnson is important to the overall project.

Contact with U.S. and Canadian communities was initiated by Craig Davis, then Acting Superintendent at Fort Stanwix National Monument, who described the project and its goals in a letter to community heads. Project personnel followed this with their own letters to each community describing the intended research and including what was learned about the participation of that group in the archival portion of the project. Two groups responded immediately and identified individuals who would serve as contact people for the project. Phone calls to the remaining communities had the same result. Contacts tended to be individuals involved in departments of education, cultural and historic preservation, and libraries and/or archives. At least one community is known to have published the letter in its newsletter and asked people with interest or information to contact the researchers. Most contact people were aware of tribal participation in the American Revolution but had more specific information only on frontier campaigns in the Ohio Valley. Some had suspected the participation of their ancestors and were glad to receive confirmation. None of those contacted had any knowledge of ancestral presence or participation in events in the Mohawk Valley.

The initial contacts in each community were asked to identify those individuals who might have a special knowledge of or interest in the events of this period . All references to additional community members were followed up by phone or e-mail but produced no new information, although the conversations were usually wide-ranging and produced insights into the contemporary communities and their concerns. Approximately fifty members of Indian communities were contacted in the U.S. and Canada . About forty percent of the time was devoted to the field component of the project. Although this is less than intended in the Scope of Work, it is explained in the previous discussion. Additional archival research in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University was undertaken to compensate.

Each community was surprised by the depth of National Park Service interest and concern but the flow of information was primarily from the researchers to the communities. Many of those contacted requested references to data sources or copies of transcripts or actual documents. Because the archival research had mostly been completed prior to the field research, it was possible to comply with all requests. These interactions will contribute to the establishment and/or maintenance of good relations between Indian communities and the National Park Service in the mid-west even though they had no tangible results for the goals of this project.

Terminology

A major difficulty in any project dealing with the indigenous populations of the U.S. and Canada is finding appropriate and acceptable terminology. In the U.S. the terms "Indian" and "Native American" are used interchangeably, with the former increasingly preferred by descendants of aboriginal populations and reflected in formal names of tribal/national groups (see Appendix 2) as well as politically activist groups (*e.g.* American Indian Movement). "Native American" is perceived as more politically correct and tends to be used in more formal contexts and by those with fewer face-to-face contacts with Indian people.

Unlike the relatively generic use of "Indian" in the U.S. to refer to anyone with cultural ties to indigenous groups, the term has a very specific legal definition in Canada where it refers to anyone defined as Indian under the Indian Act. The closest parallel in the U.S. would be membership in a federally recognized tribe that is considered less important than cultural affiliation in most contexts. The preferred Canadian terminology is Native or aboriginal for an individual and First Nation for a group. These terms have little meaning for people in the U.S.

This report primarily uses the term Indian because it reflects the language used in the documents and by most of the people interviewed. However, the National Park Service will have to address this issue at some point in its development of a new video presentation as the earlier phase of this project demonstrated continued interest in Fort Stanwix, Oriskany, and the Mohawk Valley by Native peoples in Canada. Written materials could utilize "Indian/Native" as a means of accommodating both countries but this may be awkward in oral presentations. Ideally, specific national affiliations (*e.g.*

Mississauga, Seneca, etc.) should be used wherever possible and these are preferred by Indian people.

But the use of the term native may also be problematic when the National Park Service examines the contributions of other ethnic groups to the battle and siege. For example, among those of German descent present at the battle of Oriskany were Hessian troops fighting with the British, all of whom were presumably born in a German state. People of German descent also fought on the side of the colonists, but some were born in Europe and some were born in the colonies. Distinguishing among these categories will be important and might logically include the use of the term native. A consistent use of the term is desirable but may not be possible.

The term Iroquois has multiple meanings. At its most broad, it refers to speakers of an Iroquoian language and would include groups such as the Huron, Cherokee, Susquehannock, etc. A more restricted and generally accepted use is to refer to members of the Hau-de-nau-sau-nee or Iroquois League. This was initially comprised of five member nations (Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca) who were joined in the early eighteenth century by the Tuscarora, who moved north from the Carolinas. This group was known collectively as the Five (later Six) Nations Confederacy. The Confederacy remained neutral on the conflict between Britain and her colonies, thus freeing member nations to follow their own courses. The constituent members of the Confederacy also did not take formal positions and thus Iroquois warriors were free to act as they saw fit. In general, Mohawks and Senecas tended to favor the British and Oneidas tended to favor the rebels.

The use of the term Iroquois in the Ohio country is problematic as the power and/or influence of the Confederacy varied according to the conditions and the participants. Some Iroquois, mostly Senecas and known in the Ohio valley as Mingoes, acted independently of the Confederacy when it suited their purposes, but were also willing to use threats of Confederacy sanction when that suited their purposes. In the same vein, the Confederacy claimed to speak for these groups when it was beneficial for the League's intentions. British and rebel forces participated in this pragmatic model of expedient, flexible relationships.

Because the terms Confederacy and Six Nations both refer to a political entity that was formally neutral, it would be inaccurate to refer to battle participants as representing the Confederacy. Therefore, the term Iroquois will be used as a collective term to refer to battle and siege participants and their descendants. This more inclusive term provides the greater flexibility to consider the roles of individuals because this was the level at which decisions were made.

Indian names are problematic because the primary sources are rarely consistent in the way they are transcribed, even within the same document by a single author. Among different writers the variation is even greater. This reflects the native language of the writer (native French speakers will hear an Indian name somewhat differently than native English speakers will) as well as his knowledge of Indian languages. Names of chiefs and warriors in are given in this report as they appear in the section(s) of the primary document being cited. While this means there are numerous synonyms

that may not be immediately apparent, it also represents the variation that appears within the primary record and facilitates comparison with other documents.

Key Points

1. Forty-seven Chippewas, Hurons, Ottawas, and Potawatomis comprised the "Western Indians" who were present at the siege of Fort Stanwix and Battle of Oriskany. These chiefs and warriors were recruited at a council held at Detroit in June of 1777.

The Council at Detroit was convened by Henry Hamilton, Lieutenant Governor of the post, on 17 June 1777 with village and/or war chiefs representing the Ottawas, Chippewas, Hurons (Wyandottes), Potawatomis of Detroit and St. Joseph, Miamis, Delawares, and Shawnees. Tourdatting, a Huron chief, explained a large wampum belt sent to the Hurons by the Six Nations to encourage them to join in a firm alliance with the British. The following day, Hamilton produced a red belt signifying war which was taken up by a representative of each group. Hamilton also used this meeting to reduce the distrust between the Ottawas of Ouashtenon and the Chippewas occasioned by the murder of an Ottawa by a Chippewa the previous winter.

Hamilton's primary concern was not the Mohawk Valley but threats coming from the Ohio Valley and the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. Particularly worrisome to him were traders with rebel sympathies at Fort Pitt and the Spanish in New Orleans. Most of those who took up the hatchet at Detroit were involved in raids along the frontier rather than the journey to New York. Neither the minutes of the council nor Hamilton's letters provides any insight as to why certain war and village chiefs were chosen or elected to join the St. Leger expedition. Hamilton's letter to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for America, states that forty-seven chiefs and warriors left for Niagara aboard the *H.M.S. Gage* on 3 July 1777. A return indicates that all but five Potawatomis returned to Detroit on 31 August and 2 September. This document lists the chiefs and the numbers for each nation. Consideration of the numbers only gives a total of forty as it is reasonable assume that the numbers include the seven named chiefs. However, Hamilton's letter indicates that the seven named chiefs (Mettusawgay and Nassiggiath of the Chippewas, Egortshawey of the Ottawas, Dawattong and Orendiacky of the Hurons, and Okia and Windigo of the Potawatomis) are in addition to the unnamed warriors.

There is no doubt that the Indians were at Fort Stanwix because the return so states. The Chippewas returned with five prisoners (who were apparently turned over to Hamilton although there is no further mention of them) and nine scalps. The two Potawatomis returned with two scalps.

2. All of the "Western Indians" except for five Potawatomis returned safely to Detroit. The fate of the Potawatomis could not be determined.

The Return of Parties [WO 28/10, f. 396] reported the return on 31 August of two of the seven Potawatomis who left Detroit 3 July 1777. They may have returned to the post much later and their return was not documented or they may have returned directly to their homes. Attempts to determine the fate of these

warriors led to an examination of Henry Hamilton's letters and diary. These indicated that several of the chiefs who went to Fort Stanwix remained militarily active against rebel forces once they returned, some remaining with Hamilton for several years. Because only Windigo and Okia are named in the Return it is not known if some (or all) of the other five are among those who continued to engage in pro-rebel actions. Had they perished in the siege or battle, some record of their fate would likely have appeared in Hamilton's correspondence.

3. Members of contemporary Chippewa, Huron, Ottawa, and Potawatomi communities have no oral histories or other records relating to their participation in events in the Mohawk Valley during the American Revolution.

The initial phase of this project suggested that those groups whose homeland (past or present) is in the Mohawk Valley would have the most knowledge, interest, and concern about the history of the area and National Park Service management plans and activities. Several community consultants in this phase stated that although they were glad to know of activities by their forefathers in New York, it represented only a very brief interlude by a few individuals who returned to the Detroit area.

4. There are no contemporary Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, or Mississauga users of resources currently under the management of the National Park Service and no issues relating to National Park Service management were raised. These may emerge in the future if members of these groups visit the Mohawk Valley and the sites under study.

The explanation of the previous point is also relevant here. A community consultant stated that it was unlikely that her group would have any concerns different from those of Indian/Native groups previously surveyed. There would be opposition in general to the disturbance of burials but as there is no evidence of the loss of any members of the "Western Indians" contingent, it is unlikely that the five Potawatomis who did not return to the post at Detroit were killed and buried in the area. Nevertheless, as noted in the earlier report, Indian concern with disturbance of burials is broader than concern for group members and includes all bodies regardless of ethnic identity.

Phase I research indicated that the most serious concerns about interpretation focused on the film shown at the Visitors Center. These concerns arose because community members visited Fort Stanwix National Monument and viewed the film. It is likely that community members whose input was solicited in Phase II will also visit the site with the knowledge that their ancestors were present. If no mention of this is made in interpretative displays or talks, they will probably bring this to the attention of park management on either an informal or formal (*i.e.* through their government) basis.

5. The archival records indicate participation in the siege of Fort Stanwix by as many as 150 Mississaugas but their leadership is not recorded. At least one prisoner was taken.

Daniel Claus reported collecting 150 Mississaugas and Six Nations Indians between Lachine (Montreal) and Buck (Carleton) Island. It is impossible to determine whether this number refers exclusively to the Mississaugas or represents the total number from both groups. The documentation of Mississauga participation is remarkably sparse. The warriors most likely came from settlements in the Bay of Quinte and Fort Frontenac areas. Others, from the Toronto/Credit River area, may have joined the expedition from Niagara.

6. Members of contemporary Mississauga communities have no oral histories or other records relating to participation in events in the Mohawk Valley during the American Revolution.

Community consultants in this phase were extremely pleased to learn of National Park Service interest in the history of their people in the American Revolution and were aware of the difficulties in Mississauga historiography.

7. There is an absence of information relating to Mississauga participation in both the siege and battle and only one individual can be identified as likely to have been present.

This is the most frustrating aspect of the current research. Participation by Mississaugas is clearly indicated by the primary documents uncovered in this and the previous research, but there are no records that indicate who the leaders were, where they were recruited, how long they served, etc. Reasons for this are provided in the Historical Summary (Appendix 1) and will be briefly summarized here. British concern was focussed on the Iroquois for political and military reasons. The Confederacy had traditionally held a balance of power among competing European, colonial and other native groups and as a result the British were intent on maintaining close ties with the Iroquois to ensure that they remained neutral or took up the King's hatchet. In addition there were close personal ties between the Johnson family and the Iroquois, especially the Mohawks. The Mississaugas, an Algonkian rather than Iroquoian speaking group, who were hunters and gatherers rather than farmers and who had no large villages, did not pose a threat to British plans. It may also have been that the British felt the Mississaugas were under the influence of the Iroquois and would therefore require no special treatment or mention. The petition for a pension by the Mississauga Wabakinine following the Revolution notes that he fought for the British out of Michilimackinac, Detroit, and Niagara. Whether or not he is atypical is unknown, yet his experiences indicate wide-ranging military exploits in a variety of locations which may well have taken him to Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. No historians

working with Mississauga data are aware of any records that we have not consulted. It should also be noted that the Mississaugas have not been subjected to the intense scrutiny of historians and anthropologists and there may be critical documents in unexpected collections.

8. Mississaugas do not want any burials disturbed and would like to be consulted if human remains are inadvertently uncovered.

Mississauga community consultants were concerned that no burials be disturbed and if any are uncovered would like to be informed as they have developed a reburial protocol. Because none of the groups contacted in either phase of this project favored the disturbance of any burial, it would not be possible to determine the ethnicity or tribal affiliation of any remains accidentally uncovered and there is no support for an examination of the remains to determine if they are Native. As with the Iroquois, the Mississaugas would like to be informed so that the responsible people within their community can be contacted and the appropriate ceremonies undertaken.

There is no legal obligation for the National Park Service to consult with any of the Canadian communities. The protocol referred to in the previous paragraph refers to a standard procedure that is put into place by the Mississaugas whenever human remains which might be Mississauga are uncovered to ensure that the appropriate people are contacted and the necessary rituals performed.

It is important to note that the National Park Service has chosen to include Canadian Natives in the Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project from its inception. It is clear that both the agency and the park have had a strong commitment to understanding the events in the Mohawk Valley from a perspective that was not limited by boundaries imposed after the American Revolution or that of a single Indian community. Having reached out to these communities for input, common courtesy and respect require that they be informed of events in which they may have an interest.

9. John Montour (Delaware/Caughnawaga), a Delaware village chief, was present at the Council of Detroit and subsequently served in the St. Leger expedition. Immediately following the council, Lt. Gov. Henry Hamilton sent him to British commander-in-chief Sir William Howe with word that the Lakes Indians had taken up the hatchet. He was compensated for services with St. Leger by Daniel Claus.

Montour's presence is confirmed by the list of participants in the council as recorded by Hamilton. Also listed are two Delaware war chiefs, Masseenina and Machiwynosso but there is no indication that they were present at the battle or siege. This is the first indication of Delaware participation in these events. It was not possible to determine how and when Montour joined St. Leger.

9. The siege of Fort Stanwix, Battle of Oriskany and other events in the Mohawk Valley during the time of the American Revolution represent more than a confluence of civil wars among the Iroquois and non-Indian residents of the Mohawk Valley.

Issues dividing people of European origin had little meaning for the indigenous peoples of colonial America. Instead, they were fighting to maintain the integrity of tribal lands against those whose incursions were most threatening at the time and responding to attacks and invasions of their homelands. In a fight for survival, political loyalties were often less important than practical exigencies dictated by immediate threats. This is not to say that personal loyalties were unimportant, indeed the ties between the Mohawks and the Johnson family are demonstrably critical for both. The current research shows that groups from the western Great Lakes also participated in the struggle even though the threats on their own frontiers must have seemed greater to them than those hundreds of miles away. Nevertheless, warriors from the Chippewa, Huron, Ottawa, and Potawatomi nations traveled by boat to Niagara, Irondequoit and Fort Stanwix in order to support the British expedition under St. Leger. Mississaugas from Canada also joined them as the troops made their way to the Mohawk Valley. Members of these nations made individual decisions to fight in order to protect and further their own interests against colonial, British, and other Indian threats.

Recommendations

1. Historical presentations in all media should reflect the wide geographical area from which participants came and their varied motives for participation.

What makes this area and the sites of Fort Stanwix and Oriskany so interesting is that the events that took place here during the Revolution involved many different ethnic and national groups fighting for a variety of reasons. Simplistic interpretations of the American Revolution as a fight for freedom by over-taxed colonists are clearly erroneous when seen in light of the battles and struggles that took place within the Mohawk Valley, involving people from at least two continents, fighting voluntarily and involuntarily, reflecting different religions, ethnic groups, tribes, and confederacies. However, characteristics such as religion, ethnicity, tribe, country of origin, and class are not alone sufficient to indicate the side any particular individual took in this struggle. Indeed issues such as personal loyalty, friendship, and family might well predict the stance a person would take, but families as well as larger entities often found themselves irreversibly divided by the Revolution. This war was not merely between a country and one of its colonies, it was also a world war and a confluence of civil wars.

2. Because visitors to National Park Service administered sites in this region come from both the U.S. and Canada, terminology that reflects appropriate use in each country must be utilized. In print media this should be "Indian/Native" and the reasons for such use stated. This has the added advantage of demonstrating how events of long ago affect people and communities today.

The problems of terminology have been addressed in the Methodology section of this report. The location of the Mohawk Valley and its proximity to Canada and the First Nations that reside within its boundaries dictates that the concerns of these individuals and groups need to be taken into consideration.

3. The data base of primary and secondary sources should be maintained and updated to include references to groups identified in this report.

Primary and secondary sources utilized in this report should be added to the master bibliography included in the first phase of this report. This data base should be regularly updated as new sources are discovered.

4. The National Park Service should acquire the microfilm records of the Minutes of Indian Affairs, 1755-1790 from the National Archives of Canada. These are

contained on reels C-1221, C-1222, and C-1223 which each cost \$40.00 (Canadian).

These microfilms are of high quality and reasonably priced and are an asset to any scholar or interested lay person interested in the native peoples of this area. These records are an invaluable source of information on the development and execution of Indian policies by the British government, as interesting for what they deal with as for what they omit. There is a strong Iroquois bias in these data, reflecting the primary importance the British placed on maintaining Iroquois cooperation and support. There is virtually no information on the Mississaugas as is true of nearly all British records from this time period.

5. In order to continue the examination of participation by different groups in the events in the Mohawk Valley during the time of the American Revolution, archival research focussing on the colonial militia and Continental units should be undertaken and should be followed by field research among descendants of those individuals in the same manner and for the same purpose as the first two phases of this project.

The first two phases of this project have dealt exclusively with Indian/Native participation in Mohawk Valley battles and this has addressed a clear need within the National Park Service for including the interpretations and concerns of groups that have heretofore received little recognition. At the same time it is important to give equal recognition to other groups whose ancestors were also vitally involved in these events and many of whose descendants live within this region today. This is particularly true because local interpretations of events are often at variance with both colonial and British sources. Information collected during the initial phases of this project suggests that many descendants are involved in re-enactor groups who have a special interest in both Fort Stanwix and Oriskany Battlefield. While re-enactors have no special position vis-à-vis the National Park Service, descendants of participants in the siege and battle do. This could present some difficulties for park managers in the future as these individuals have been outspoken in what they see as priorities for the park and some of the proposals they have put forth as individuals are directly counter to the wishes of Indian peoples. In order to ensure that they also have formal input to the National Park Service on these issues, it is critical that they too are involved as participants in the ongoing program to identify critical issues in park interpretation and management.

6. To complete the recognition of groups not traditionally associated with the Revolution in the Mohawk Valley, archival and field research as outlined in #5 above should be undertaken to document the participation by Canadiens, Scots-Irish, Hessians and other German mercenaries fighting with the British as well as by

blacks and women, whose activities on both sides have been discovered during research for the initial project phases.

The commentary in the previous section is also relevant here. British forces included German mercenaries whose interest in the Revolutionary ideals of the colonists and the British desire to maintain its American colonies was probably little to non-existent, yet many of them seem to have decided to remain in America once the war was ended. Scots-Irish loyalists to Britain and/or the Johnson family were also a major component of British forces and supporters. Previous research has indicated that blacks were present and involved in the fighting on both sides. Indian women may also have played a military role although only that of Oneida women has been documented. It is known that women were present in Fort Stanwix and that one gave birth during the siege and another was killed. The role of the Mohawk Molly Brant in alerting the Indians at the fort of the militia's advance was described in Phase I. Contributions of members of these often unreported groups require documentation. A focus on these groups continues the attempt to place the siege and battle within a larger geographic and political arena.

7. Issues of language and history should be integrated into the story of this area as a way of demonstrating the relevance of history to current conditions.

The fact that many Iroquois people live in Canada today is a direct result of the American Revolution. Those whose aboriginal homeland was in the Mohawk Valley have a particular interest in the region. The Mississaugas have also been affected by the Revolution in that parts of their homeland were taken to provide land for displaced Iroquois.

8. Having initiated contacts with Native communities in Canada, the National Park Service and the administration at Ft. Stanwix National Monument have an ethical responsibility to inform them of events in which they have expressed an interest and a desire to be kept informed. This research has established an affiliation between these groups and the events memorialized at the battlefield and the park.

This is a restatement of Key Point #8 but comments on the draft of this report suggest that it needs to be included as a recommendation as well. The border that separates the U.S. and Canada came about as a result of the American Revolution as did the diaspora of many Indian groups. Because many of the descendants of battle and siege participants no longer live in the Mohawk Valley does not mean that they have no interest in Oriskany Battlefield and Ft. Stanwix National Monument – a fact that the National Park Service clearly recognized when it initiated this project. For many the fact that the Mohawk Valley was their ancestral homeland gives the region a greater significance.

Field research in both phases of this project found great surprise, pleasure, and gratitude for the inclusion of non-U.S. Native communities among Iroquois, Mississauga, Huron, Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi community consultants in both countries. The willingness of the NPS to reach out to these communities stands as a welcome antidote to stereotypes of inflexible and unfeeling government bureaucracies. It is important the bridges created by the NPS remain open. This in no way ties the hands of park administrators and the kinds of communication envisioned in this recommendation can be accomplished by simple phone calls although more formal procedures may be developed if both parties feel the necessity to do so.

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Appendix 1

Historical Summary

Historical Summary

The "Western Indians"

The "Western Indians" who joined the British forces at the siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany set out from Detroit, traveling on the *H.M.S. Gage* to Fort Niagara and then on to Oswego or Irondequoit to join other members of the expedition. Involvement of Indians residing along the western Great Lakes in Revolutionary battles and policies had its origin long before 1777. The British government directed Sir Guy Carleton, Governor of Canada, to establish subsidiary governments at the western sites of Detroit, Kaskaskia, Michilimackinac, Vincennes, and Gaspe. A Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent were appointed to handle all administrative duties, including Indian affairs and trade, which had previously been handled by the military (Stevens 1984: 363). Stevens interprets this as a return to Sir William Johnson's ideas for centralized regulation but it was placed under Carleton rather than the Indian Department (1984: 365). Of the major interior posts, only Niagara did not have civilian officials who answered to Carleton.

In June of 1775, Guy Johnson, who had succeeded his uncle, Sir William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, following the latter's death during treaty negotiations at Johnson Hall in 1774, met at Oswego with Seneca, Onondaga, Delaware, Caughnawaga, and Wyandot (Huron) representatives. The Hurons had originally come from Detroit and it was their responsibility to take news of the meeting to Detroit and the Lakes Tribes (Stevens 1984: 335-336, 340). In May of 1776, John Butler recruited Ottawa and Chippewa warriors from Detroit who apparently fought with Carleton through the Lake Champlain campaign in October (Stevens 1984: 662). From Michilimackinac, Captain Arent Schuyler DePeyster sent five hundred western Indians (including Sioux, Chippewa, Menominee, Fox, and probably Sauks and Winnebagoes) across Lake Huron and Georgian Bay, down the Ottawa River to Lake of Two Mountains. However, Carleton's orders to stop the Indian march were received too late (Stevens 1984: 679-683) and the Indians eventually returned home, promising to hold themselves in readiness for a campaign in the spring.

By the fall, Carleton determined that a limited number of Indians would be used in the 1777 campaign and he instructed the officials at Niagara (Caldwell), Detroit (Hamilton), and Michilimackinac (de Peyster) to prepare them. Charles de Langlade, a metis on the British payroll at Michilimackinac, was told to bring two hundred warriors dependent on Michilimackinac to Montreal (Stevens 1984: 799-801). British officials in Quebec and London had difficulty in deciding whether or not to use Indian warriors, and if so, how their contributions could best be utilized. Requests for warriors from the west were often delayed because of the exigencies of travel, including getting orders from

England to America as well as from Quebec to the western posts. As will be seen, Indians were sometimes needed for multiple campaigns and it was left to the post commanders (both civil and military) to allocate the available warriors among competing campaigns, and, at the same time to maintain peace among the Indians and adequate reserve forces to protect the forts.

The relationship between Guy Johnson and Guy Carleton was difficult at best. Although the British government at Whitehall had agreed that Guy Johnson should assume the duties of Sir William, he still lacked a royal commission appointing him formally to the position and he was dependent on Carleton for supplies and money. Technically, Guy Johnson's only superior in America was Gage who had authorized him in May of 1775 to mobilize the northern warriors and implied that he retained charge of all the tribes in the Northern Department (Stevens 1984: 393-394). At the same time, the appointment of officials at the western posts who reported to Carleton made the chain of command unclear. Carleton's appointment of Henry Hamilton at Detroit essentially gave the latter control over Indian affairs at that post outside the oversight of Johnson and the Department of Indian Affairs. The coordination of Indian recruitment was therefore more complex. The situation was further exacerbated because Carleton disliked the Johnson family; as a result, he supported Butler in his conflict with Claus, whom he saw as closely associated with the Johnsons (Claus had married one of Sir William's daughters). The sniping and intrigue between the two factions would continue for years and deeply color reports on activities issued by all of the principals.

There were four major Indian nations in the region of Detroit that could raise twelve hundred warriors from a total population of four thousand. The Wyandots, Ottawas, Potawatomis and Chippewas had formed an alliance among themselves and the British collectively referred to them as the Lake Tribes. These groups maintained alliances with the Delawares, Shawnees, and Miamis as well as a wary friendship with the Six Nations. The Wyandots acted as fire keepers for the Lakes Tribes although the Chippewas were most numerous and could muster between 625 and 650 warriors at Detroit within a short period of time (Stevens 1984: 120, 122). Each of the nations also had settlements in other locations.

The Mississaugas were a branch of the Algonkian-speaking Ojibwas and had migrated from the Upper Great Lakes between 1690 and 1710. Within a decade they were established in what is now southern Ontario from Detroit to the end of Lake Ontario. Although nominal friends of the French, they allied themselves with the Six Nations and British in 1746 and had particularly close ties with the Senecas (Stevens 1984:117).

Indians from the western Great Lakes were engaged in Revolutionary War campaigns in New England as well as central New York but their participation rarely receives attention. Of the more than forty Indian groups included within the Northern Department (Stevens 1984: 15), the primary concern of the British was with the Iroquois as they were able to field a far greater number of warriors. In addition, the Johnsons had close personal ties with the Mohawks, especially the Brant family. Records from the western posts indicate that hundreds of warriors from many western tribes were involved in raids and battles throughout the length of the frontier, especially in the Ohio Valley and that the negotiations between the chiefs and warriors and delegates from

Britain, the colonies, and the Continental Congress were as complex as those between the Iroquois and the same entities. Many of the groups in the upper Great Lakes were emigrants from the east whose presence in the region was resented by groups long resident there. What are called tribes, nations, or confederacies are actually loose leagues of villages (White 1991: 16). Unlike Iroquoia where there were clearly identified villages (castles) associated with particular tribes and/or leaders, many of the western Great Lakes settlements were what White (1991: 188) calls "republican villages" whose residents were refugees from many different nations and settlements, and the villages often had deep internal divisions. Although the tribal or national affiliation of leaders can often be ascertained, it is far less certain that their followers all had the same affiliation. In fact, tribal affiliation is an unreliable predictor of social or political action in the land White (1991: 20) calls the *pays d'en haut* as there were many other potential loyalties that could be called upon. Divisions within villages not only reflected ethnic differences but also political differences on the proper course(s) of action in the war between Britain and her North American colonies. As the fortunes of Britain and the colonies shifted, Indian individuals and groups re-evaluated their position vis-à-vis the major combatants. All knew that regardless of the outcome, there would be significant effects in the west. As with the Iroquois, the western Indians were primarily fighting to protect their own lands from intrusions by all outsiders as well as to maintain their access to trade goods. Shifting alliances, rather than indicating duplicity, represented Indian strategy to achieve these goals.

This report examines those groups living in the area of Detroit and specifically the forty-seven Chippewas, Ottawas, Hurons, and Potawatomis that joined the St. Leger expedition. It is possible to narrow the focus because the available documents are very precise as to names and numbers of individuals. As a result, other groups have been excluded although it is certainly possible that Shawnees, Delawares, etc., are among the unnamed warriors who accompanied the chiefs.

What is striking about the record from Detroit is its completeness. Officials at Vincennes, Michilimackinac, Kaskaskia, and Gaspé did not document their interactions with Indians nor did they see fit to describe and justify their own policies and activities as did Henry Hamilton, the Lieutenant Governor at Detroit. There would appear to be two motivations for Hamilton's lengthy reports. First, more than the others, Hamilton was interested in the intricacies of policies and their long-term effects and he was able to put events into a broader context than his own post. He was particularly concerned, one might even argue paranoid, about the Spanish presence in New Orleans and potential collusion that might develop between the Spanish and French traders in the area. Access to European goods was important to the Indians not only for practical reasons, but also as a demonstration of alliance. Hamilton was well aware that the distribution of goods by Spanish, French, or rebel traders would ease the way for political influence. Although others were aware of these threats, Hamilton, more than any other official, faced them on a daily basis. The fact that he kept his superiors in both Canada and London informed of his concerns and activities also suggests that he also foresaw a future career for himself (as would be the case) but it would be erroneous to think that he was motivated only by self-promotion. Second, it is obvious from his letters that Hamilton was lonely and isolated and saw his letters as a way of maintaining contacts with a world that must have seemed increasingly distant to him. In

sum, the letters and reports of Henry Hamilton represent the writings of a caring and competent official trying to determine the best course of action in a frontier post with little or no guidance from his superiors. It is also clear that he respected the Indian warriors and maintained close relationships with many for a long time. This is apparent not only in his descriptions of them but also in the records which show their continued personal loyalty to him.

The St. Leger Campaign and the "Western Indians"

The three-pronged attack strategy to isolate New England began to take shape in the fall of 1777 and plans for the Mohawk Valley campaign as a component of Burgoyne's push south to Albany became formal by the late winter. On 17 February, Lord George Germain informed Sir Guy Carleton (CO 42/36, ff. 41-42) that Native warriors would be necessary for the campaign and that he was sending Daniel Claus to Canada to be used on the secondary expedition (*i.e.* St. Leger's campaign) because of his influence and experience with both the Six Nations and the Lakes Indians. Carleton assumed that he would be chosen to lead the expedition from Canada and was angered that General John "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne had been selected in his stead. The addition of Claus added insult to injury, as Claus was a member of the Johnson inner circle that Carleton perceived as acting against his interests. Carleton favored John Butler, who, not surprisingly, was an opponent of Claus. Germain's orders strongly suggest that Whitehall policymakers intended to supplement the Iroquois warriors who were always the primary Indian allies of the British.

By the end of March, Germain ordered Carleton to provide as many Indians and Canadians as he thought necessary (CO 42/36, ff. 51-57, extract in CO 42/36, ff. 227-229) and at the same time instructed Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton at Detroit to assemble Indians around that post for a diversion and alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. No mention was made of support for St. Leger by Lakes Indians at this time. In a letter dated 11 May (CO 42/36, ff. 273-274), Hamilton noted that Indians had recently arrived at Detroit for a council which he estimated would begin around the 25th and that he would keep them there until letters with instructions arrived from Canada.

Despite his pique at Germain, Carleton began arrangements for assembling Indians for both the Burgoyne and St. Leger expeditions. He instructed John Butler in a letter dated 18 May (CO 42/36, ff. 197-198, pp. 393-394) to "collect as large a body as possible of the Indians of the six nations and any others you might communicate with." Although he knew that Claus was en route to Canada, Carleton appointed John Butler to be in charge of the Indians joining St. Leger, stating "...I know no person so capable of the conducting and management of the Indians." Similar instructions were sent to Bolton at Niagara (CO 42/36, ff. 193-194, pp. 385-386) and Carleton noted that the leaders of the Indians would be appointed by Butler and that Bolton should consult with St. Leger in regard to the location of the rendezvous of Indians and British troops.

On 21 May, Carleton sent Hamilton a copy of the orders he had received from Germain and requested that Hamilton not draw off any Indians for frontier raids that were destined for the St. Leger campaign (CO 42/). Hamilton responded in a letter dated 15 June (CO 42/36, ff. 339, p. 677) that Ottawas, Potawatomis, Hurons, and Miamis as well as some Shawnees, Delawares, and Oushtanons were at Detroit and he would keep them there as long as possible in expectation of orders from Carleton. He believed that he will be able to assemble a thousand warriors within a span of three weeks if their services were required by Carleton. Whether he was aware of the animosity that Carleton felt for Germain is unknown, but two days later Hamilton also wrote Germain (thereby covering himself on both sides of the dispute) stating that representatives from the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandots, Potawatomis, and Delawares were present for the council. He noted that there were also Shawnees present although they had not sent chiefs of note, but that some were shortly expected (CO 42/37, ff. 57-66, pp. 113-131). Hamilton stated that there were 350 chiefs and warriors being provisioned by the fort and many more women and children but that these were being fed by the Indians rather than the post.

Reports of the Council held at Detroit are found in a June 16th letter from Hamilton to Carleton (CO 42/37, fol 24-, p. 47-), a June 17th letter from Hamilton to Germain (CO 42/37, ff. 57-66, pp.113-131), and Hamilton's daily record of the meeting (CO 42-37, ff. 70-77, pp. 139-153). The latter is somewhat confused as to chronology as Hamilton does not use the pages of his notebook consecutively, recording the end of the council on page 148 but continuing the speeches on pages 149 through 151. The following description is derived from these sources.

Ten Indian Nations (Hamilton's terminology) were represented by village and/or war chiefs. These included the Ottawas (Attanas) with two village and five war chiefs, the Chippewas with one village and four war chiefs, the Washtanon Ottawas with three village and two war chiefs, the Hurons (Wyandots) with six village and three war chiefs, the Potawatomis of Detroit with seven village and four war chiefs, the Potawatomis of St. Joseph with three village and one war chief, the Miamis (Tawittamies) with two village and two war chiefs, the Shawnees with three war chiefs, the Delawares with one village and two war chiefs, and the Caghnanagae with one war chief. Also present were the Commander of the garrison, Captain Mompesson (who was engaged in a power struggle with Hamilton), Lieutenants Yonge, Mercer and Caldwell of the 8th Regiment, Jehu Hay, the Deputy Indian Agent, and seven interpreters for the Indians.

Hamilton opened the council by announcing a recent alliance between the Ottawas and the nations on the Wabash, noting the King's approval of their behavior, and promising clothing for the women and children present. Although there would be no rum available for the duration of the meeting, each nation would be given an axe and liquor at its conclusion. Black wampum was given to each nation.

Tourdatting, a Wyandot village chief, explained the meaning of a large wampum belt sent by the Six Nations which was to be shown to the Hurons and the nations as far west as the Wabash to "encourage them to a firm alliance in Support of His Majesty and his Government and to be seen as a whetstone for the axes of all the young men when called upon." It is not clear if this is the belt that Hamilton then describes as "six feet long and thirty grains wide White with a Beaver of Black Wampum worked at one end" or another belt which he says has nine rows. The latter belt (if different) "was then

delivered to the Wyandotts addressed to them and the Western Nations by the Six Nations desiring them to remember the engagements entered into last year to assure them to their intentions to fulfill their part and their resolution to act as they should be directed by the Father.”

Hamilton then told the assembly “His Majesty finding that the rebellious subjects will not give ear to the merciful terms he has thought proper for them, has ordered his Children in the Neighborhood of Michilimackinac and the Six Nations to take up the War Hatchet and strike the rebels till they come to a sense of their duty and ask forgiveness - Your Brothers have taken the hatchet as your Father the Great King ordered.”

This sequence indicates Hamilton’s priorities: the maintenance of peace among the western nations, a demonstration that the western Indians would not be operating in isolation but were following ties of friendship and alliance with other Indian nations and the King, and finally, a request that the assembled nations take up the hatchet in favor of the King as their Six Nations brothers had.

At noon of the following day, Hamilton presented the Indians with a red belt symbolizing the war axe and announced that he expected them to take it up in the name of the King and to use it in defense of his crown and their lands, wives, and children. The war song was sung and the belt taken up by Hamilton, Hay, the officers of the garrison, a Caughnawaga¹ (an Iroquois), the garrison’s officers, the interpreters and the chiefs. Several chiefs sang their war songs and stated they would encourage their young men to take up the hatchet. The Huron (Wyandot) Tsecudatong noted that he was a village chief but if the warriors of his village were to be hard pressed, he would rise to assist them. A chief from Caughnawaga who was the father of John Montour², a Delaware village chief, noted that his son had previously carried belts and intelligence from place to place but had never taken up arms. Now, however, “tis time to untye his hands that he may take hold of it, I do accordingly loose them, that he may lay hold of, and use your Axe –” The Caughnawaga chief continued “I came here expressly to know your sentiments, and I think I now know them, nothing could give me more pleasure as I have already lifted the Axe against the Great King’s undutiful children – You have always recommended to us to defend our possessions, the fear of losing them obliged me to act as I have, seeing what has passed, and knowing your words, I have been induced to untye the hands of John Montour, and this string [six strings of black wampum] is a witness to my satisfaction in what you have done.” As the axe was passed from chief to chief, each made a brief statement.

At the conclusion, the war axe was given to Duyentite, the Wyandot war chief, for safe keeping and Tsiondatong, a Wyandot village chief, addressed the group: “Father! You see this Axe, it has gone round to all our Brothers and is returned to us – You see the two War Chiefs who are to be the Guardians of it. I thank our brothers for their Union on this occasion. We shall keep it ? use it when you shall order us We pray the Master of life to favor our undertakings and we hope he will approve of this step as

¹ Caughnawaga, known today as Kahnwake, was a Catholic community attached to the local mission and comprised primarily of Mohawks. It was connected to the Six Nations Confederacy through diplomacy but was usually referred to separately. It was one of the Seven Nations of Canada that remained in contact with the Five, later Six, Nations after moving north and communicated with them during the American Revolution. A detailed description can be found in Ostola (1989).

² Iroquois nations trace descent matrilineally, so that a child assumes the tribal affiliation of its mother.

he does whatever is good and right, and hitherto we have had cause to approve of your prudence and good advice." Hamilton complimented the Wyandots on being chosen guardians of the axe and the group adjourned to an open field where oxen were killed for them. The provision of food for Indian delegations was an important part of diplomacy and the feasting that followed added a social dimension as well.

The following morning was taken up by private meetings between Hamilton and several chiefs from each nation. Hamilton's report of statements made on the 19th of June does not indicate whether they were made in the context of those meeting or a general assembly of the chiefs. Much attention was given to an altercation the previous evening between the Oushatenon Ottawas and the Chippewas relating to a murder the previous winter of an Ottawa by a Chippewa. Hamilton presented the Ottawas with six strings of black wampum and a belt of seven rows of white wampum to "dry up your tears, and clear your hearts." The former phrase is part of the Iroquois condolence ceremony and probably reflects the extent to which Indian diplomatic protocols had been adopted by British (and colonial) officials. The latter phrase is reminiscent of the condolence ceremony but has no precise parallel although it may have had a particular meaning for the Ottawas.

The unsettled nature of events along the frontier is clear from this report. Both whites and Indians sought to ascertain what was occurring along the frontier from the many reports coming in from all sources. Hamilton was especially wary of traders moving among the many settlements whose loyalties were unclear and he refused to permit any to leave Detroit at this time in order to prevent knowledge of the council from spreading to the rebels and their allies. At the same time, he was also aware that many Indian nations were deeply divided and that their emissaries were sent to rebel strongholds such as Fort Pitt in order to learn what the other side was proposing. More than many others, Hamilton seems to have understood that the Indians' primary motivation in fighting would be to protect their own interests, not loyalty to the King or even to other Native groups. He expressed sympathy with the plight of the Shawnees and Delawares whose location made their position precarious because of threats of attack from frontier families and rebel forces. Both groups had serious internal divisions (White 1991: 356, 384) about the proper course to take in the conflict between Britain and her colonies.

It is logical to assume that the chiefs and warriors believed most of their military undertakings would be in the Ohio Valley and along the Wabash but the only specifics mentioned by Hamilton relate to the recruitment of warriors to go to Niagara. "Children! As I have told you the Six Nations and the Mississagais are ready to act the same part at Niagara, as you have done here, if you chuse to send some fine Chiefs and Warriors there I shall send down one of my Chiefs (Ens Caldwell of the King's 8th Regt) who shall be their friend and should they go to War by that way will go along with them." Subsequently he placed this within a broader military context. "The King says to his Indian Children, rise up as one Man and repel these invaders of your properties, defend your lands, Your Old Men Your Women and Children – An Army from Canada shall press on them by way of the Lakes, another joined by the six nations and Mississagais shall fall upon them from Oswego, another aided by my Ships of War shall straighten them by the Way of N. England, and another by Philadelphia shall call their attention to the Southward while the Cherokees shall take advantage of their distraction..."

According to Hamilton, the days between 26 June and 13 July were “taken up principally in preparing and sending out parties to War which have been added to by the several Nations instead of falling off in their numbers.” Unfortunately, he gives no specifics as to the objectives of these forays, how they were chosen or by whom, or how the participants were selected.

On the 26th of June, Carleton wrote to Germain (CO 42/36, ff. 172-174, pp. 343-346) from Quebec that “By accounts from Michilimackinac I learn that all the western nations are desirous of coming down, and that the difficulty is to prevent the number of them from being so great as to cause distress to His Majestys service, one body consisting to a hundred and twenty are just arrived part of those I ordered last year they will follow General Burgoyne as fast as possible.” Arent Schuyler DePeyster at Michilimackinac was as terse as Hamilton was verbose and there are no comparable records to indicate how the recruitment of Indian warriors was accomplished at that post. It appears, however, that the bulk of the warriors defined by Carleton as “western” were part of the Burgoyne rather than St. Leger forces.

As to St. Leger, Carleton stated “Lieutenant Colonel St Leger has likewise begun his movements, taking with him the detachment of the 34th and the Royal Regiment of New York which is increased to about 300 men; and a company of Canadians; He will be joined by the detachment of the 8th and the Indians of the six nations with the Missesagas as he proceeds...”

On the same date, John Butler wrote to Carleton from Niagara (CO 42/36, ff. 341) that he had provided clothing for a “great number of Indians” and expected more to arrive from Detroit within a few days. By the beginning of July, the Indians who planned to join St. Leger were waiting to sail from Detroit to meet Butler at Niagara. On the 3rd of July Hamilton wrote to Carleton (CO 42/37, ff. 31-32, pp. 61-63) “...expect the Gage to Sail this day with the Savages an interpreter for the Hurons, and one for the 3 Nations – Ottawas, Chippewas, Poutewouattamies.

“Ensign Caldwell has permission from Captain Lieutenant Mompesson to go to Niagara, and I venture to recommend him to Colonel St. Leger; he is an active young man who has acquired some knowledge of the Savage tongues and is acquainted with Fatigue and their manner of life If I could have done it I should have accepted the spirited offers of several of the soldiers, as an example much wanted in this Settlement where the Rebels find means to undermine what little loyalty I might otherwise build upon...” John Caldwell was the nephew of the late commander of the King’s Regiment (Stevens 1984: 1055) and should not be confused with William Caldwell of the Indian Department at Niagara.

From the Return (WO 28/10, ff. 396) we know that the group of Indians escorted by Ensign Caldwell was comprised of twenty-four Chippewas, including the chiefs Mettusawgay and Nassiggiath; seven Ottawas, including the war chief Egoushawey; nine Hurons, including the chiefs Dawattong and Orendiacky, and seven Potawatomis, including the chiefs Okia and Windigo. Two interpreters, William Tucker and Pierre Drouillard, accompanied them. Hamilton’s record of the Detroit council shows that all of these warriors except for the Chippewa chief Nassiggiath and the Potawatomi chief Windigo were present at the council. There are two chiefs listed as Okia in Hamilton’s report, one from Detroit and one from St. Joseph, and both are listed as village rather than war chiefs. It is impossible to determine which one is mentioned in the return,

although it would be logical to assume it is the chief from Detroit as this makes sense from a geographic perspective. Additionally there were eleven representatives from the Potawatomis of Detroit and only four from the Potawatomis of St. Joseph. It is important to note that two of the men (Mettusawgay and Okia) who went with Caldwell were listed by Hamilton as village rather than war chiefs. This is a strong indication of their commitment to the British, hostility toward the rebels, and/or personal loyalty to Hamilton. As village chiefs they would not be expected to go to war, nor would the motivations of adventure, material gain, and increased status pertain to those who already held political office. Therefore, their reasons for attending this expedition must lie in personal areas which cannot be ascertained two centuries later.

Hamilton's concerns about French and Spanish intrigues and the lack of support for the Crown among the white inhabitants near the western posts suggest that he would want to retain as many loyal Indians in the vicinity as possible and use them against incursions from the Ohio Valley. This is indicated by the fact that nearly one thousand warriors were involved in actions in this area and only forty-seven sent to the Mohawk Valley, nearly all of whom returned within two months. In his letter to Germain (CO 42/37, ff. 57-66, pp. 113-131), Hamilton alludes to problems that existed between the Six Nations and the Lakes Tribes and shows that his dispatch of the Western Indians had more to do with British and Indian politics than military support for St. Leger. "I have prevailed on each nation to send some chiefs and a few Warriors in the Vessel to Niagara to shew the Six Nations and their Allies that the Hatchet has been taken up by the Nations on the Lakes. – a rooted Jealousy exists between those two confederacies which required and always will a strict Attention from the Agents." There might have been more warriors enlisting at the council had it not been that most of the young men were out hunting. Hamilton also implies that the men sent from Detroit had not intended to go to war ("This the Council assembled had no thought of being called on for war...") but if that were the case, it is hard to understand why they took up the hatchet as the St. Leger campaign was described to them as a military operation and there is no indication that they were asked to go simply as political ambassadors.

In the meantime, Carleton learned that Germain had appointed Claus to lead the Indians accompanying St. Leger. For Carleton, this was another example of how Germain and the Johnsons continued to undermine his authority. It was also a matter of personal embarrassment as Carleton had appointed John Butler to the same position and would now have to admit his orders had been superceded. As Carleton wrote Germain on 9 July: "...I have already informed you [of the orders] I had sent for assembling the Indians of that Neighborhood to be put under the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and a corp of Rangers which Colonel Butler has of himself formed for the purpose of serving the Indians. Colonel Butler is a gentleman of extream good character, and some fortune on the Mohawk River, as also long service among the Savages, and undoubtedly very much attached to His Majesty's Interest, he has done all the business of that department since Mr. Guy Johnson left it and I had, for these reasons, made the choice of him for the command of these Indians before your Lordships letter, No. 8 mentioning Colonel Claus was received; but I have agreeable to that letter sent this gentleman likewise up there." Carleton further protested that "no arrangement for the Indian department has been communicated to me" and that he

hoped that his successor ("as I do not now expect it will be me") in Canada will be kept more fully informed of proposed actions.

Butler, too, was upset. From Ontario he wrote to Carleton on July 28th (CO 42/37, ff. 97-98, pp. 192-194), recounting his services to the Crown, especially in fixing the loyalty of the Iroquois to the British, and stating his "mortification to find the success of all my labors conferred on another." In the same letter, he reports that the Senecas and forty of the Western Indians had arrived on July 11th at Niagara. Because the *Gage* sailed directly from Detroit to Niagara, it is unlikely that seven warriors disappeared en route. Hamilton specifically states the number to be forty-seven; it could be that Butler was excluding the chiefs, although there is no obvious reason why he might do so, or, more likely, he simply got the number wrong. In order to spare provisions, Butler sent "a number of the Seneca Warriors together with many of their Women & Children to meet me at Irondequoit..." There is no mention of whether the warriors from Detroit were also sent to Irondequoit. A letter from Hamilton to Germain (CO 42/37, ff. 55-56, pp. 109-111) indicates that this was not the case. Hamilton reported that "The chiefs who went from this in the Vessel to Niagara have proceeded with the six nations to Oswego." It may be that Hamilton was assuming this as it was part of the original plan or perhaps he had received word from Niagara. At any rate, Butler's report from Oswego is the last mention of the Western Indians until they are listed in the Return and a letter from Hamilton to Germain dated Detroit September 5th (CO 42/37, ff. 172, pp 339-340) in which he states "...some of those who went from this Settlement and were present at the action near Fort Stanwix are returned, one party of eighteen Chippawas have brought off nine scalps and five prisoners one a Major of Militia, they have behaved with uncommon humanity to the Prisoners, and have given them all up either to Colo. Butler or myself." The Return (WO 28/10, ff. 396) indicates that on the 31st of August, the Huron chiefs Dawattong and Orendiacky arrived at Detroit with one scalp from Fort Stanwix and that two Potawatomis also returned with two scalps. Twenty-two Chippewas and their chiefs Mettusawgay and Nassigiath returned to Detroit from Fort Stanwix with five prisoners and nine scalps on 2 September 2, 1777. Egartshawey, the Ottawa chief, returned the same day with six warriors. What happened to the remaining five Potawatomis is unknown but there is no record of them having been lost. Perhaps they returned directly to their villages rather than reporting at the post at Detroit. The Return list includes all the Indian parties that left Detroit through 31 August, a total of 992 warriors. Five possibly "missing" Potawatomis were unlikely to be recorded by Hamilton or his deputy, Jehu Hay. There is no record of how the Western Indians returned to Detroit. If they came by foot, it is unlikely that they remained on the Mohawk for the duration of the siege, perhaps leaving after the Battle of Oriskany. Neither Claus nor Butler make any mention of them during the campaign. In his "Narrative of Col Butler's Services in America" (HP/BM Add Mss 21875, ff. 191-193), Butler notes that he was ordered by Carleton to command the Six Nations Indians in the St. Leger expedition (he does not indicate that this was countermanded by Germain) and that he gave them the war belt. He does not mention any other Indians.

John Montour whose father "untied his hands" at the Detroit council was also present on St. Leger's expedition. In a letter to Germain, Hamilton (CO 42/37, ff. 57-66, pp. 113-131) reported that on June 22nd he sent Montour, described as "half Delaware," with a notice to Howe that the Lakes Indians had taken up the hatchet and would send it

down the Wabash. Montour spoke English as well as several Indian languages and Hamilton gave him a commission as Indian Captain, the rank his father held in English service during the last war³. Hamilton estimated that Montour's trip to York and Philadelphia would take approximately twenty-eight days. Daniel Claus's account of expenses (HP/BM, Add Mss 21774, ff. 365-366) as Superintendent of Indians on the St. Leger expedition contains the following entry for 21 August: "To "Redeem two Prisoners £5.12.6 & to John Montour for Services £4." Whether the prisoners were captured during the battle, or even if they were redeemed from Montour is unknown. Where and when Montour encountered the St. Leger forces is also unknown.

The Mississaugas

The most surprising aspect of the archival research is the absence of any documentation relating to the recruitment and activities of the Mississaugas in the St. Leger campaign. Consultation with archivists, historians, and community members provided some insight as to why this might be but did not lead to the discovery of any documents beyond those already examined. It is clear that the Mississaugas were on the St. Leger expedition because they are mentioned by St. Leger and in Lieutenant Bird's diary as with him when he attempted to invest Fort Stanwix and they also took a prisoner (Stevens 1984: 1257). They remained until the end of the siege because St. Leger notes that they turned on his retreating forces. In his letter dated 27 August to Carleton (CO 42/37, pp.181-189), St. Leger tried to justify his failed mission by blaming the Indian forces. Although they comprised a minority of the Indians on the campaign, it was the Mississaugas that he singled out for particular blame; first for failing to prevent the landing and unloading of the rebel boats filled with provisions for Fort Stanwix and second, for stealing goods from the British boats as they retreated down Wood Creek en route to Oswego. Like the other Native warriors, the Mississaugas seem to have had little respect for his leadership abilities.

The British saw the Iroquois Confederacy as a natural ally because of the long-term antipathy between the Iroquois and the French and the large number of warriors that the Confederacy could field should its interests parallel those of Britain. After the defeat of the French in 1763, the British need for Iroquois support was less pressing and the Iroquois found themselves subjected to increasing inroads into their traditional territories. Attempts to relieve the disputes along the Indian/white frontier and open lands to colonial settlement resulted in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix which created a boundary line west of which white settlements were not permitted. The location of the boundary was open to some dispute, particularly the area around the portage from Wood Creek to the Mohawk River. The Iroquois had understood that this place which they knew as The Carrying Place was west of the boundary in Indian territory, but the English placed it to the east. Also under dispute was the southern part of the line, however, the disagreement here was between the Iroquois and the Shawnees. In agreeing to the southern demarcation, the Iroquois ceded traditional Shawnee territory.

³ This is Hamilton's term and presumably refers to the French and Indian War.

It was to the British advantage to agree to Iroquois claims to hegemony over other tribes because those lands could then be ceded to the British with no impact on Iroquois territory. This worked to the advantage of both groups in the east but created the problems alluded to by Hamilton between the Iroquois and more western Indian nations. Furthermore, French and Spanish interests operating in New Orleans and around the western posts could utilize these divisions among the Indians in their own intrigues.

The British were also tied to the Iroquois through Sir William Johnson, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department whose relationship⁴ with Molly Brant, the sister of the Mohawk warrior Joseph Brant, created especially close ties between the Johnsons and the Mohawks. But when the Iroquois nations were allied with the British, it was because they wanted to be, because it fit into their own long-term strategies for maintaining the integrity of their lands and politics. They could be difficult allies and the Confederacy itself was divided over the proper actions to take relative to the Revolution. This was also true of individual Iroquois nations.

A report from Captain Lernout (CO 42/36, ff. 132-135) at Fort Niagara dated 11 April 1777 stated that the Mississaugas were with him at Niagara and willing to act with the King's troops. He said "I cannot help being a little prejudiced in their favor, as they have never varied nor required holding any Councils to deliberate, or would give ear to anyone among the number sent at different time to draw them from their allegiance but remain firm to their first allegiance." Unlike the Iroquois, the Mississaugas did not require bribes, threats, cajoling, and constant attention – another reason why they received little mention.

With settled farming communities able to field hundreds of warriors if necessary, the British emphasis on maintaining ties with the Iroquois was logical. The Mississaugas were less centrally organized and their communities less permanent. They would have been less of a threat to the British and the effort to maintain strong alliances such as existed with the Iroquois would not have been worth the effort. As a result of these factors and their loyalty, the Mississaugas are relatively invisible in the British records. The Mississaugas were a part of the Six Nations' network of alliances that predated the Revolution (Jennings 1985: 53, 58) and had also been loyal to the British (Burnham 1905: 7; Indian Claims Commission (Canada) 1999: 152). In 1777, the British wanted groups allied with the Six Nations to join them in taking up the hatchet and they may have simply subsumed Mississaugas into a larger entity of Iroquois and their allies. It may also be relevant that when the Mississaugas are singled out for comment in the St. Leger expedition, it is in a negative context [see St. Leger to Carleton, 27 August 1777, CO 42/37, pp. 181-189] that may reflect British reluctance to criticize the Iroquois for diplomatic reasons.

It is possible, even likely, that documents relating to Mississauga participation in the American Revolution exist somewhere but they are not in any obvious collections. Oral histories of the Mississaugas recorded in the nineteenth century are concerned primarily with religious conversion and contain nothing related to the Revolutionary period. Some pension petitions mention military actions but contain few specifics as to battles and locations. Histories of Mississauga settlements in Ontario also contain no information. The nearest Mississauga communities to Buck Island would have been in

⁴ Although not married to Sir William by British civil or religious rites, Molly Brant was regarded by the Indians as his legal wife (Kelsay 1984:69).

the Fort Frontenac (Kingston) and Bay of Quinte area. The contemporary community for these areas is the Alderville First Nation and there are no extant written or oral records there. Wabakinine came from the Toronto/Credit River area; the contemporary community for this area is Mississaugas of New Credit and they, too, have no oral histories relating to the expedition.

The available data give the following description of Mississauga contributions to the St. Leger campaign. Daniel Claus reported (Claus to Knox, NYCD VIII: 719) that he collected 150 Mississaugas and Six Nations Indians between Lachine and Buck (aka Carleton) Island on 23 June. Whether this means a total of 150 Indians or 150 Mississaugas and an untold number of Iroquois is unclear. In July 1777 the Oneida Sachem Thomas Sawejjs reported that Sir John Johnson and Claus were in Oswego with their families and approximately seven hundred Indians. If the total with Claus was 150 then Sir John had 550 with him. On July 23rd, Brant was at Oswego with three hundred Indians (presumably mostly Iroquois but possibly with some from the Susquehanna area or the village of Oquaga). Butler estimated the total number of Natives at Oswego on the 25th of July as one thousand. Adding those forces assigned to Sir John, Claus, and Brant gives a total of 950, certainly close to Butler's estimate. If one assumes Butler is accurate, then there may have been fifty Iroquois accompanying Claus and Sir John. On the same day, St. Leger left Oswego for Salmon Creek with companies of the 8th and 34th Regiments and 250 Indians (NYCD VIII: 720), many of whom were probably those who came with him en route from Lachine. If these are the same Indians that Claus refers to, then the Mississaugas totaled 150 and they were joined by one hundred Iroquois warriors. Another intriguing possibility is that some of the Mississaugas whom Lernoult reported as present at Niagara in April joined Caldwell and the Western Indians on the journey to Oswego. In January 1778 Butler was at Niagara and Brant and Aaron Hill were also there preparing to go to the frontier villages in the Wyoming Valley if reports of attacks there were true. Butler stated he would join them with his Rangers and as many Mississaugas as he could get (HP/BM, MG 21, Add Mss 2176-1, pp. 114-117). It is obvious that there were Mississaugas at a number of locations from whence they could have joined St. Leger.

The next reports of the Mississaugas in the campaign come from excerpts from the diary of Lieutenant Bird contained in Stone's (1838) Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea. According to Stone (1838, 1: 220) the manuscript was captured from St. Leger by Gansevoort. As the entire diary is not available, the context of the chosen entries is unknown and the selection represents Stone's interpretation. Bird was sent ahead of the main army with a detachment from the 8th Regiment and "a few Indians" (Stone 1838, 1: 220). According to Bird, on July 28th he waited two hours for the Indians and eventually sixteen Senecas arrived and they proceeded to Three Rivers (the junction of the Oneida, Seneca, and Oswego Rivers) and waited there another two hours until "seventy or eighty Messesaugues coming up, I proposed moving forward. They had stolen two oxen from the drove of the army, and would not advance, but stayed to feast. I advanced without Indians seven miles farther – in all nineteen miles." Bird left the next morning at six, having again waited for the Indians although none arrived. At this point it seems as though all the men with Bird were in boats as he stated that they rowed all night and then encamped at Nine Mile Point. He makes no mention of whether the Indians were meant to accompany them on foot or in the boats.

On the 30th, Bird, along with twenty-seven Senecas and nine Mississaugas, joined Lieutenant Hair's [Hare] party. He stated that "Many savages being with us, proceeded to Wood Creek, a march of fifteen miles." The following day, the Indians announced that they intended to send parties to Fort Stanwix, but would advance as a body no farther. At a council of chiefs that he called, Bird stated his intention of approaching the fort with or without Indian warriors and the Mississaugas agreed to go with him. The Senecas, however, reminded Bird that he had agreed to be advised by their chiefs. Bird's interpretation was that Indian advice was limited only to fighting in the bush and that he had told them his orders were to prevent the rebels from stopping up Wood Creek and to invest Fort Stanwix. However, he agreed to wait until the next morning and the Indians sent out eighteen or twenty scouts in preparation for Bird's march.

On the 2nd of August Bird wrote to Gansevoort that of the Indians, only Henriques, a Mohawk and one other Iroquois would accompany him. The failure of others to join was blamed on one "Commodore Bradley." Two or three hours after he left, Bird reported that twelve Mississaugas came and that those and the scout of fifteen [?] would be adequate to invest Fort Stanwix unless he was ordered not to by St. Leger. St. Leger's reply was to send Brant and a corps of Indians to reinforce Bird and to caution the latter not to accept a capitulation from Fort Stanwix until such time as St. Leger himself arrived as the bulk of Bird's force was comprised of Indians and white troops were needed "to prevent the barbarity and carnage which will ever obtain where Indians make so superior a part of a detachment" (Stone 1838, 1: 220-222).

The next day, St. Leger invested Fort Stanwix, having earlier sent Bird with thirty troops and two hundred Indians under Captains Hare and Wilson and the chiefs Joseph (Brant) and Bull to seize the lower landing in order to sever the fort's communication with the surrounding country. They arrived too late and the boats with provisions and ammunition for the fort were successfully unloaded. In a letter to Carleton, St. Leger blamed the failure of this mission on "the slackness of the Missasagoes" (CO 42/37, p. 181). Hare and Wilson were killed three days later at the Battle of Oriskany. Whether or not they were leading Mississaugas at the battle is unknown.

The final record of Mississauga participation is dated August 27th, after St. Leger's forces had abandoned the siege and fled to Oswego. St. Leger stated "...at this place [Oneida Castle], the whole of the little Army arrived by twelve O'clock at night, and took post in such a manner, as to have no fear of anything the Enemy could do; here we remained 'till three O'Clock next morning, when the boats which could come up the Creek arrived, or rather that the rascally part of all Nations of the Indians, would suffer to come up, and proceeded across Lake Oneyda to the ruined Fort Brereton; where I learnt that some boats were still labouring down the Creek, after being lightened of the best part of their freight by the Missasagoes...."

Unlike the record for the Lake Tribes, there are no names associated with the Mississauga participants. Watt and Morrison (2001: 18) estimate that there were eight Mississauga war captains and principal warriors and 120 men with St. Leger's forces. They (2001: 100) name Wabakine, Pokquan, Neace, and Wabanip as having been present. According to Watt (2001: personal communication) these are names contained in Canada – Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Vol. 1, Treaties 1-138, and he believes it is very likely they were involved in the siege and/or battle. The petition by the sons of Wabakeyne (Wabakinine) for a pension based on their father's service as "principle

Chife and Chife Captain of the Massesagoes for and in behalf of Britain..." stated that "he served in when called for by the superintendent, and the commanding Officer in the late war, eather to go to and from Kingston, Mushekemacknack, or Detroit with Expeditions & war parteys, as well as from Niagara..."(Cruikshank 1930: 359). It is likely that Wabakinine was with St. Leger but there are no confirming data.

Appendix 2
Communities Consulted

Communities Consulted

United States

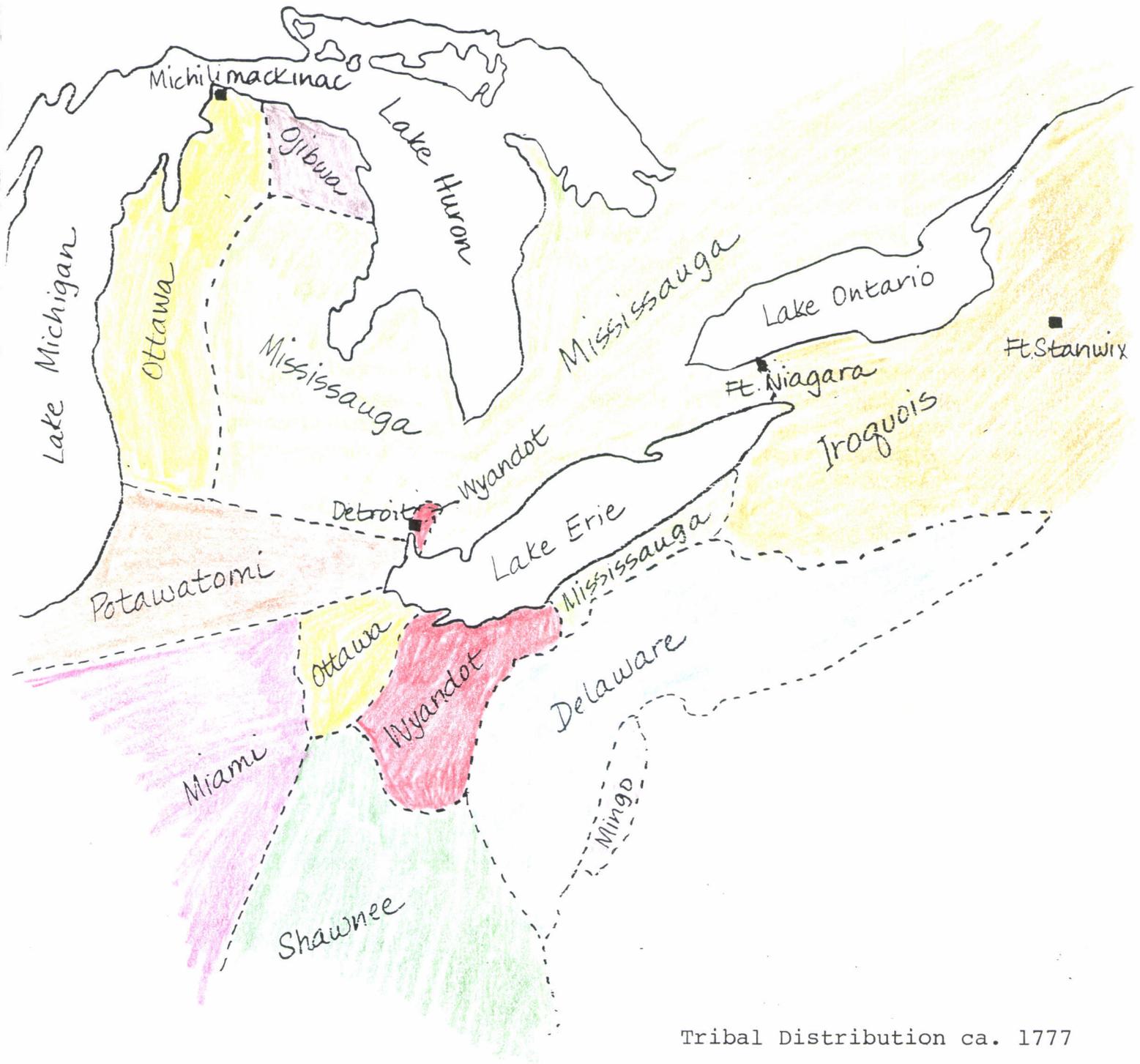
Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians of Michigan
Bay Mills Indian Community of Michigan
Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan
Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians of Michigan
Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma
Little Traverse Band of Odawa Indians
Little River Band of Ottawa Indians
Citizen Potawatomi Nation
Match-e-be-nish-she-wish Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan
Pokagon Band of Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan
Huron-Potawatomi, Inc.
Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma

Canada

Bkwejwanong Territory, Walpole Island
Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point
Chippewas of the Thames
Mnjikaning Chippewas of Rama
Chippewas of Nawash
Chippewas of Sarnia
Chippewas of Saugeen
Mississaugas of New Credit
Alderville First Nation
Moose Deer Point First Nation

Appendix 3

Map of Indian Villages and Tribal Distribution ca. 1768 (Tanner 1987: map 13)



Tribal Distribution ca. 1777

(after Tanner 1987: Map 3)

Appendix 4

Annotated Bibliography

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Indian Affairs Records, RG 10. National Archives of Canada, Reels C-1221, C-1222, C-123.

This Record Group contains primary documents for the period 1755-1790 and is an important complement to the microfilm series Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and their League which has already been acquired by Fort Stanwix National Monument.

Copies acquired as part of this project will be turned over to the Park Superintendent and the Cultural Resources Manager at Fort Stanwix National Monument as will all copies made from microfilms in the National Archives of Canada and the Ontario Provincial Archives.

Guy Johnson Papers. Yale University. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

The most useful document in this collection for the purposes of this research is a copy of a letter in Folder 22 from Guy Johnson to John Blackburn dated 7 November 1777 which contains a description of the siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany. As Johnson was not present, this likely represents what he learned from either John Johnson or Daniel Claus.

Secondary Sources

Linenthal, Edward Tabor. 1993. Sacred Ground. Americans and Their Battlefields. 2nd ed. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Although it does not deal with Oriskany or Fort Stanwix, this extremely valuable study examines five American battlefields (Lexington and Concord, the Alamo, Gettysburg, the Little Bighorn, Pearl Harbor) whose meaning has been contested by various groups. The interpretations of Lexington and Concord and the Little Bighorn are of particular relevance as they deal with the American Revolution and Indian battles respectively. This should be required reading for park personnel at Fort Stanwix National Monument and would be a useful addition to the books sold at the Visitors Center.

Rogers, Edward and Donald B. Smith, eds. 1994. Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations. Toronto: Dundurn Press.

This is a useful overview of Native peoples north of a border that did not exist at the time of the events covered in this project.

Stevens, Paul Lawrence. 1984. His Majesty's "Savage" Allies: British Policy and the Northern Indians During the Revolutionary War. The Carleton Years, 1774-1778. Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International.

This is the definitive work for this period and has received far less attention than it should. Based on primary sources, its 2500 pages include extensive notes that are as useful as the text. It is also inexpensive (\$62.00).

Watt, Gavin K. and James F. Morrison. 2001. The British Campaign of 1777. Vol. 1. The St. Leger Expedition. The forces of Crown and Congress. King City, ON: Gavin K. Watt.

Primarily concerned with documenting the presence of individuals in all the British forces, Watt and Morrison include those whose presence is likely but not demonstrable by available documents. It is an extremely useful compilation from Returns and other primary sources by very competent avocational historians.

Appendix 5

Document Transcripts

**Transcripts of documents from National Archives of Canada
Xeroxed November 2000**

Butler to Carleton, Niagara, 16 June 1777 [copy] [CO 42/36, folio 313-314]

Sir,

I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that yesterday Evening some Delawares arrived here from the Susquehanna River with a Mullatooe prisoner they had taken near Wioming: They say that General Howe has drove the grand Rebel army under M. Washington across the Delaware and that they are fortifying a camp near Bethlehem: I also learn, that the Rebels are intrenching themselves at the old Fort called Bulls Fort, on the Wood Creek about four miles below Fort Stanwix.

Finding myself from the Multiplicity of business under the necessity of appointing an able person to assist me in character of Secretary, I have made free to name in the list enclosed M. Edward Smith a man of abilities, and of an Universal goo [sic] character as my Secretary at 12/ york currency per day, which I earnestly wish may meet with your Excellency's approbation particularly as long services in the Commissary's department merit some better provision than he now enjoys.

I have the honour to assure Your Excellency that I am with perfect respect, Sir Your Excellencys most obedient & most humble Servant.

[signed] J. Butler

To Daniel Claus Esq. Superintendant of Indians on Brigd. St. Legers Exped. For Sundries distributed to Indians [HP/BM, Add Mss 21774, folio 365-366, reel A-685]

		L	s	d
1777				
June 23	To Sundries from Mr. Henry at LaChine as p acct (for Cap. Hares Party)	37	1	6
	To " " Mr. Morell as p acct	12	10	
	To " " Mr. Dobie "	40	5	
	To" " Mess. Ellice & Co. "	56		
	To" " Mr. Stanhouse "	144	1	10 1/2
28	To" " Mr. Biron at St. Regis	15		
July 3	To Cash for a Hog Mr. In Haris's Party had at ye Cedars	1	10	
	To " in Dollars to different Indians	2	5	
	To " for Birch Canoes for the Six Nations of St. Regis	5		
	To " for Wampum for Belts	6	10	3
	To " paid an Express from St. Regis	2	5	
	To Sundries Bt of Mr. Grant at Oswegatchie	63	7	9
	To Cash paid Messengers to the Six Nations	3		
		388	16	4
	To Cash to Chiefs to leave with their families	16		
	To " paid 5 Indians for pursueing a Deserter from Buck Island	3		
	To" paid for Arms for the Indians at "	5		
	To " paid for 2 Canoes for Indians to go on ye Exped.	3	10	
	To At. of Mr. Duffins acct. for Deer skins for Shoes	39	16	10 1/2

	To Cash paid an express to Sandy Creek with Arms, Paint, etc.	2		
	To " paid Indians for assisting the Hessians at their Boats at 3 Rivers	1	5	
August 7	To" paid for Arms taken in Genl. Harkimens defeat	10		
	To " & Sundries to wounded chiefs & others, & Who lost their husbands in the action near Ft. Stanwix	31	6	8
		111	18	6 ½
14	To Cash for Blankets Bt for Wounded Indians who lost yre packs	4	10	
16	To " to a Wounded Cayouga for necess. & to replace a rifle he lost	6	10	
	To " for Deer skins for Shoes	5		
	To " to John ODesirundy, a Mohawk, to send his family	6		
	To " to Torihowane, a Seneka Chief for want of Goods	2	10	
	To " to two Chiefs of Canadsega	5		
	To " to Redeem two Prisoners	5		
		34	10	
	Carried Over L 535 11[?] 11[?]			
16	To Cash [?] for Arms, L4 & 25 pr[?] Maugausons L3.2.6.	7	2	6
21	To" for Arms for Indians found in the action of Aug. 6	12		
	To " Aaron the Mohawk Chief for hire of his horses for the Army	16		
	To " Redeem two Prisoners L 5.12.6 & to John Montour for Services L4	8	12	6
	To Cash to Tesjoughradea's Widow L6 & to Sayengwaraghtons Son L2	8		

		To " Mohawk John for refreshments when wounded At Oswego	3		
			<hr/>	54	15 0
		To " for 3 Cows & heifer for the use of Indians	14		
		To " for Wampum & for Mr. McKinney (?) Going to Cayouga	7	10	
Sep	4	To " to the Indian going express to Gen Burgoyne	3		
	5	To " for Deer skins Bt. Of Mr. Hare for Maugasons	4		
	8	To " for Tea & Sugar for sick Indians L4.12/ to Mrs. Montour for Kettles L5	9	12	
		To " for Sundries from Mr. Thompson at Oswego Of L6.11 (?) & of Mr. Grant at Oswegatchie L10.17.6	17	12	6
		To " the chief Women of St. Regis for services done On the arrival of Rebel Oneid	2	6	8
		To " an Indian for the loss of his Canoe L2 & to a wounded Chief L1	3		
	19	To " for a Cow at St. Regis L4, & on En. Johnstons certificate for a boat L4.15	8	15	
		To" for Expenses at Birons at St. Regis, on my return with the Indians	8	18	
		To " for expenses incur'd at the Burial of a Mohawk Girl at "	1	5	
			<hr/>	79	19 2
		To " for Pilotage & for the Indians Depart. To Montreal	6		
		To Sundry Articles at LaChine & expencis at my return	18	10	3
		To Cash for Caesh & Horsehore ? to Indians For Provisions on their Arrival at Montreal	4	10	
		To Captn Johnstons expencis at Canadaga	9	2	

(ox for a War feast included)

Oct	3	To Cash & expenses ? and the Indians going from Oswego to Burgoyne	6	11	
		To Cash to Indians ? this ? & Buck Island For rifles & ? ?	?		
		To " for ? of Indian Goods & to ? L2.15 ? to a Chief for loss of ? & ? ?	6	15	
		To Joseph the Mohawk going to Genl Burgoyne L2.6.8 Indians Lodging at St. Regis 10/	2	16	8
		To Cash paid for building of a House & ? ? for an Oswegatchie Chief, badly wounded in the arm, to Mr. Biron	34(?)	8	9
		To 3 Officers Gorgets & for 3 Chiefs at Fort Stanwix	3	15	
		To A? of Mr. Stanhouses last acct. for supplies to the Indians at their Return home from Ticonderoga after the Campaign	150	9	9
		To 3 Officers pay from the 24 th June to 24 th Dec both Days inclusive at 5/ (?) day	138		
		To 3 Rangers Pay from 24 th June to 24 th Dec @ 2/6	69		
<hr/>			361	4	9

Halifax Currnecy L1663.10.1

Montreal 2 Decem 1777

/Sign'd/ Danl Claus
 Superin of Indians on Brigd
 St. Legers Expedition

Copy of a letter from R. B. Lernoult [to Sir Guy Carleton] dated Niagara 16th June 1777
[CO 42/36 folio 315-316]

Sir,

I had the honor of your Excellency's commands of the 29th May by Mr. Caldwell, who arrived at this post the 9th of June, and communicated them to the Officer commanding at the Detroit, and shall be careful no vessels but those employed and armed by His Majesty are suffered to navigate the lake.

Your Excellency's orders relative to Traders shall be strictly complied with.

I beg to report the detachment being ready to March and obey such orders as shall be given by Lieut Colo St. Leger. Colonel Bolton acquaints me he intends joining the corps speedily. I therefore propose going with this detachment on the expedition.

I shall cheerfully every assistance in collecting and persuading the savages to put themselves under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and make no doubt but the greater part of them will act heartily in the ? and either go with us, or meet at the place of rendezvous whenever they are called on. Colonel Butler writes on this subject to your Excellency and exerts his utmost to forward this service, sensible of the confidence you honor him with on this occasion. I sent down Prisoners Whright a Negro brought in yesterday by some Delaware Indians for disturbing their village, and discovering everything he could learn to the Rebels also Radolph Fox who came to this post about a month ago, for protection; but on the arrival of the Delawares, he tried to bribe a savage here to favor his escape, conscious of having bore arms against his Sovereign and to avoid being discovered by them, they knowing him to be a rebel for which reasons I send him down to Montreal.

I am very happy your Excellency is satisfied with my conduct here, and shall strive on every occasion to preserve the protecti[on] your honored me with since my first arrival in this country.

I have the honor to be with respect Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant

/Signed/ R B Lernoult

Commandant of Niagara

NB Some Savages report five Companies of Rebels are fortifying themselves at a place called Fort Bull four miles this side of fort Stanwix

Sir,

Since the departure of Mr. Langlade the Pottawatamies arrived here from St. Josephs fifteen in number who are all either Chiefs or Chiefs sons totally ignorant of bark Canoes I am therefore Oblig'd to send them in a Return Canoe I hire for that purpose. Mr. Langlade assured me You was very desirous of seing some of that nation their behavior here has been Remarkably good they came under the Conduct of Mons. Le Chevallier a man spoken very ill of at Detroit. I however percieve by the great attachment those Indians have to him that he had better be Carressed at present than Otherwise Charlot Safossissay the Iroquois came also with them and Conducts them to Montreal. This Indian Speaks good French and is a good subject. Mr. Langlade sent him with Therry to St. Joseph's to raise the Pottawatamies where he fell sick, but nevertheless was indifatigable in bringing over those Indians at another time those Gentry wou[ld] require a good Letdown for past Offence and some very recent ones but at Present no nation requires more tender treatment their coming is I hope is a Step towards future Good behavior.

Gautier is this instant arriving with the Sawks & Raynards I most therefore hurry them off before they see each Other as a meeting will be rather inconvenient at Prensent and may Greatly Protract their Voyage.

Gautier it Seems has been employ'd by Mr. Langlade to bring those Indians in here. I can count in the Canoes to the Number of thirty two

I am etc etc

(Signed) A. S. Depeyster

PS. I have inclosed the enamination of the Minominies goods to Mr. Langlade by which then appears to have been a most Scandelous Imberrelment

A List of Officers employed in the Indian department with their rank and pay [CO 42/36, folio 321]

Peter Ten Brouk
John Johnson
James Wilson as Captains at 10 Sterling per day
Charles Rerume
Thomas Butler

William Caldwell
John Powell
John Jost Hareamier
Lewis Clement
Frederick Yonge as Lieutenants at 4/6 per diem
Barent Frey
Andrew Thompson
William Ryer Benise (?)
George McGinnies

Edward Smith, Secretary to the Department with 12/York Currency p Diem
James Bennet Indian Commissary of stores and provisions at 10/York Currency p Diem

Sir,

As far as I can judge, the Bearer Monsieur Viviat is the person most capable of giving your Excellency information with regard to the views and intrigues of the Spaniards on the River Mississippi. The opinion of Monsieur Rocheblave appears fully in the letter I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency, and is confirmed daily by the accounts I receive from different quarters.

The 30th of June I received a letter from Capt De Peyster in which is the following paragraph "There is a belt gone from Detroit, forwarded by the Ottawa chief, Ottawakujeeek (?), requesting assistance for the Rebels, this Belt with one from the Spanish Commandant, some of my Traders stoped"

Your Excellency may be assured I shall use my endeavours to procure authentic proofs of this intercourse and send the earliest notice. In order to procure information and to set people on their guard with respect to the Cabals of the Savages with the Spaniards I have communicated several intelligences relating to those matters, to Mons. de Celeron, Monsr Viviat, and the Sieur Baubin circumstanced as I am, obliged to wait so long for an answer to my letters I am obliged to act as appears most expedient for His Majesty service tho very desirous of having instructions and order from your Excellency.

A Letter dated Jul 3 1777 on the Cover from Lieutenant Governor Abbot, would have been delivered to your Excellency by Mr. Babi a Merchant of this place who was on the point of going to Canada to prosecute his own affair, but I have thought proper to detain him here as Interpreter for the Shawanes and Delawares, such a one having been much wanting. Monsieur de Celeron a gentleman of Character formerly in the French service I have appointed to act at Ouiattonass, to keep up the intelligence between this place and the Illinois, The Sieur Charles Baubin to be interpreter at the Miamas to communicate intelligence and to attend to the conduct of those people who formerly acted as interpreters, and who I believe have kept alive a party very prejudicial to the peace and quiet of the Indians, and to the interest and honor of the Crown --- I have named some of the properest people here to act as Officers for the Militia, and in the Indian Department a list of them with their ? at appointments, I shall transmit as soon as possible --- The Council shall be sent if possible by this opportunity but as I am obliged to write so much and have no place as yet but where the Savages come almost hourly to importune me, and where I am obliged to keep council sometimes. I hope your Excellency will accept my excuse for not being so particular as I would wish. I enclose the Commissary of provisions Return with observations also a sketch of the Upper Country to accompany the plan I have construed to expose to your Excellency ---The Timber rafts are come down and the repairs are going on --- Belonging to His Majesty in the Powder Magazine twenty one Barrells of good powder, three damaged, to the Merchants in the said Magazine forty six Barrells ½ good powder ---since the appointing persons to different employes, who must reside for some time in the Fort, I have kept a Table for them at a Public house, which I shall retrench as soon as possible --- I have ordered an advice boat to be built to be about 15 Tonns burthen taking the advice of Captains Grant and Andrews for the expediency of it, for the conveyance of intelligence and of small quantities of Provisions and ammunition to the supply of ranging parties and the Savages --- the Council which began on the 17th closed on the 26th of June --- all possible testimonies of good will and unanimity shown on the occasion and at the particular War feasts of the several nations, so that if their performance keeps pace with their professions, they will answer fully what is expected from them. ---Tho there was no notion of War when the council assembled and that most of the Young People are out at thir hunt 47 Chiefs and Warriors have given in their names to go to Niagara and 81 to go in small parties on the Frontiers.

Mr. Hay Deputy agent is of opinion with me that in a few weeks there will be one thousand Warriors scattered upon the Frontiers in small bands.

2nd July a Poutaouattamie War chief was stabbed by another Poutewouattamie this may retard their scout for a little while.

3 July expect the Gage to Sail for Niagara this day with the Savages an interpreter for the Hurons, and one for the 3 Nations – Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pouteouattamies.

Ensign Caldwell has permission from Captain Lieutenant Mompessons to go to Niagata, and I venture to recommend him to Colonel St. Leger, he is an active young man who has acquired some knowledge of the Savage tongues and is acquainted with Fatigue and their manner of life If I could have done it I should have accepted the spirited offers of several of the soldiers, as an example much wanted in this Settlement where the Rebels find means to undermine what little loyalty I might otherwise build upon I shall not lose time, and I hope to find some resource in patience tho I dare not boast of being sufficiently freighted, for the present occasion.

Sir, many things which I have mentioned to your Excellency I have also mentioned in my Letter to Lord George Germain, not from any doubt except of omission on my own part – I am too sensible of the reliance I have, and ought to have on your Excellency, in every point, and am obliged to repeat, that the vast distance of this place, and the necessity of acting for the best must plead my excuse in a variety of Substances.

I have the honor to be most intirely
Your Excellencys most devoted Servant

/Signed/ H H

Extract of a letter from Governor Henry Hamilton dated Detroit May 11th 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 273-274, p 545-546]

Sir,

Several bands of savages have lately arrived at this place from their wintering, they all have behaved very quietly, and give me the strongest assurances of their being determined to act as I shall require them. Your Excellency's orders will govern my conduct, in expectation of which, I shall detain them from the time of their meeting in council which may be about the 25th of this month till letters arrive from Canada respecting their management.

As some of the Delawares appear wavering I have given one of their chiefs a belt, with a present to induce them to come to the council, when I make no doubt they will be influenced as I would wish.

The kings vessels on these lakes are put in the best repair possible and the Timber for the new one is all cut, but naval stores and Iron are yet wanting to proceed with the building of her on the arrival of these articles no time shall be lost in the building and equipping of her.

I am, etc.

(Signed) Henry Hamilton

Sir,

Since Mr Langlades departure for the Island I have received an express from Monsr Laurent Ducharmes at Milwakees informing that the chief Siginakee or Letourneau has received a Porole from the Spanish Commandant, to raise all the Indians between the Mississippi and the little Detroit of Labaye.

I am sensible we can undersell the Spaniards but still I am lead to believe they can only have News of Trade flattering themselves Gaining that Advantage during our Troubles – The inclosed Letter from a Trader will at least confirm that the Spaniards rather favour the English Traders. I must however observe that my intelligence from Milwakee dated the 15th of May Mr. Ducharme assures me that he will be upon the lookout, and come off to me immediately, should any thing happen to require it

Yesterday arrived here a Number of strange Indians, all fine looking men, without one Woman or Child, they decline going down the Country, but proffer the Greatest Fiendship I shall have a Strat Eye upon them.

Monsr Langlade has left me his Papers when they can be digested into a regular account, I will forward them. The 277 f Livres ref'd to me by your Excellencys order I have caused a Merchant to pay him as he waid he cou'd not do without it. I begin to perceive that he wants some looking after. I believe him to be strictly Honest, and quite disinterested, but I see he Retains all the French Customs nothing so easy given as a bon au Comfit du Roy, In short he can refuse the Indians nothing they can ask, and they will ? nothing for want of asking.

The present Mr. Langlade brought up for the Minomunies, he tells me have been Pillaged, and, belives before they left Montreal, whilst he was sick. I shall take the first opportunity to have them examined and shall transmit him the Bill of Parcels, Whether they have been tob'd ot not, by the Bulk they appear to be more than they deserve at present after so many of them shamefully leaving Langlad yesterday. They took a French Leave of me or I shou'd have sent them after him as I did a party of his Ouisippigoes (?) – as the Wind is very High I am in hope s thiss will find him in the Island.

I am with the Greatest respect
Your Excellencys most Humble and Obedient Servant

(Signed) AS DePeyster

Copy of a Letter from Henry Hamilton dated Detroit 15th June 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 339, p 677]

I have the honor to inform your Excellency that the Ottawas, Chippiwias, Pouteouattamis, Hurons, Miamiis are come to this place and are to meet in Council on Tuesday next. There are also some Shawanese, Delawares, Ouashtanons, but a few in Number.

I shall keep them together as long as possible in expectation of your Excellency's Orders- Tho the majority should return home I make no doubt of being able to assemble a Thousand Warriors in three weeks, should your Excellency have Occasion for their Services.

I have the honor to be most respectfully
Your Excellency's most devoted & most humble Servant

(Signed) Henry Hamilton

Copy of a letter from John Butler dated Niagara 26 June 1777 (to Carleton) [CO 42/36, Folio 341]

Sir

I have nothing very interesting to acquaint your Excellency with Since I had the honor of writing to you last on the 15th & 16th Instant, except the satisfaction I have to find that the Rebels have been frustrated in their Attempt to draw the Six Nations to a Congress at Albany & Fort Pitt The Chiefs have unanimously refused to meet them and declare their resolution to continue firm in their fidelity and Attachment to His Majesty and their willingness to join the Army from which circumstances I have the greatest reason to believe their appearance at Ontario will be very numerous.

As I have been under the necessity of Cloathing a great number of Indians at this place, and expect in a few days, more from Detroit, I am apprehensive of falling short of the proper articles to present them with, as well as the body which will assemble at Ontario, I have therefore wrote to Mr. Ellice Merchant at Montreal for a Quantity of Goods for that purpose to meet me at Ontario I must humbly request your Excellency will be pleased to order the necessary assistance forwarding them to me without loss of time.

I thought it my duty to apprise Brigadier General St. Leger of the number of Indians I expect to bring with, and to meet me at Ontario, as the Consumption of provisions for such a number will be certainly very great.

I have the Honor to be Sir
With perfect regard
Your Excellencys devoted & most obedient Humble Serv.

(Signed) John Butler

Sir,

Your Excellency's letters of the 18th & 22nd of May I was honored with on the 6th Instant and immediately in obedience thereto had a meeting with a number of Chiefs Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations & their Allies there present and communicated to them Your Orders; they expressed great satisfaction in having an opportunity to show their friendships to their father the King in an immediate compliance with his will.

I have sent out runners & trusty persons into the Indian Country to collect the Warriors, and farther with the advice of the Chiefs assembled here have sent to Mr. Hay at Detroit for a body of the western Indians to join their brothers of the six Nations on this Expedition agreeable to mutual treaties existing between them.

I am happy to acquaint Your Excellency that my health will permit me and will with pleasure accompany the expedition and take the care & management of the Indians and do every thing in my power to forward His Majesties Service.

The confidence You are pleased to put in me respecting the nomination of officers proper to lead Indians and my naming their Rank & Pay is what I could not Expect therefore am at a loss to express how sensible I am of the honor done me.

It would be presumptuous in me to point out to Your Excellency what Rank & pay I think myself intitled to. But ? in Your desire I Shall take upon me to mention it, should I ask to much I beg Your Excellency will forgive me.

From my long services the influence I have with the Indians the rank I have held in Civil Military & Militia lines and the interest I Possess in the Country of Albany & the Mohawk River I am induced to hope Your Excellency will not think me unworthy of the rank of Lieutenant Colonel And from the unavoidable expense attending my publick Station. I humbly hope a Guinea will not by Your Excellency be Esteem'd inadequate. Should this not meet Your Excellency's approbation I with Pleasure submit my pretentions(?) to that notice and Candor so impartially extented to all who have the honor to serve under Your Excellency's Command.

I have the honour to transmit (?) it to Your Excellency a list of Officers with their rank & pay at the same time beg leave to acquaint You that although from the Nature of the Service I find it requisite to Employ a number of Other persons for the good of the service a listt of which is also inclosed. Yet I cannot think of recommending them to Your Excellency for Commissions or to have rank.

I also transmit to Your Excellency a list of a Body to Rangers already raised and in pay the Command of which I humbly beg leave to recommend my son Walter Butler to Your Excellency for and form'd into an independent Company to Act in Concert with the Indians. The partiality perhaps of a parent will not permit me Sir to say more to You this subject only to assure You that I Shall Esteem myself Extreemly happy if in this Instance I should meet with Your Excellencys approbation of my request.

The bearer of this Mr. William Caldwell having distinguished himnself during the time he has beeb employ'd by me by his diligence attention and fidelity I must therefore beg leave to Recommend him to Your Excellency's Notice.

I am etc etc

(Signed) J Butler

Sir,

The Sawks and Raynards or Ottagamis Arrived as I have already ? to Your Excellency under the Conduct of Mons. Gaultier who Mr. Langlade had Employ'd to raise them.

It appears from the report of every Creditable Trader, and even from Gaultiers enemies that he is the only person Could have affected it in the Critical Situation he found things in the Mississippi his indefatigable industry to Stop the rebel belt & to divert that of the Spaniard. Shews that tho he may have been guilty of an Impudence He still is a good subject at heart which I hope will appologize for my letting him go down as in so doing Comply with the earnest request of the Indians who declare they Cannot do without him as he speaks their language and is thoroughly equalled(?) with their Customs manners etc etc

I am inform'd that upon Gaultiers hearing hearing hearing that his Conduct had been Sensur'd he immediately told off his goods even at a disadvantage in order to Divote himself to the Service part of which Mr. Langlade took for the Indians.

Every report confirms that the rebels have drawn to Balleau load of powder from the Mississippi by the Wabash under a Guard of a hundred men. This report alarm'd the Indians here till I prov'd to them that it must go hard with them when driven to such Necessity.

The rebel belt was forwarded from Detroit by the Ottawa Chief Stowagisshitec (?) and the Spanish belt was in the hand of Mons. Rasbech and inhabitant of new Orleans formerly in the french Service the true Nature of the latter is Perhaps Still a Secret, Hubert Said it was to invite the Chiefs of the different Nations to assemble at the Spanish fort and hear what their Father had to Communicate Gaultier thereupon told Mr. Hubert that the Indians on this side of the River knew of Only one Father and therefore must not ??? Several Traders ? him in Opposing Hubert who according by ??? and may perhaps want to settle a peace between our Indians & thiers but any talk with them at Present would greatly Alarm the Indians in this Quarter especially as the rebels have so lately appear'd in their Dominions.

I am etc etc

(Signed) A. S. Depeyster

Copy of letter from Carleton to Burgoyne dated Quebec the 19th of May 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 191-192, p 381-382]

Sir,

I enclose letters for the commanding Officer of the 8th Regiment, Colonel Butler Superintendant of Indian affairs the Officers at the posts of Oswegatchie and Michilimakinac; the three first contain full orders and directions for preparing the detachment for Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, assembling the Indians which are to join him and for giving him every assistance which these officers have it in their power to afford. But as I refer Lieutenant Bolton and Colo. Butler to Lieutenant St. Leger for fixing the rendezvous both of the detachment of the 8th and the savages, it will be proper that he should communicate his sentiments upon that subject to them; I will only offer it as my opinion that Cataragui is the properest place for that purpose.

Captain Tise and John being gone up to Montreal will carry these letters and receive any instructions you shall be pleased to give them.

I am Sir etc etc
(Signed) G. C.

Sir,

It being the kings pleasure that I put under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, to be employed upon an expedition.

A detachment from the 8th Reg. 100 men

A detachment from the 36th the same

Sir John Johnsons Regimt of New York

And a corp of Hanau chasseurs

You will accordingly direct that one hundred men with Officers in proportion to the strength of the regiment hold themselves in immediate readiness to march, and to obey all orders they shall receive from Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger.

The king having further signified his pleasure that a sufficient number of Indians be joined to this detachment, you will therefore employ every means in your power to assemble as many Indians as you can communicate with, and prevail upon them, to put themselves with proper leaders who will be appointed by Colonel Butler, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger and to exert their utmost efforts, under his direction, in the service of their king and father.

You will consult with Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger in regard of the rendezvous both of the Troops and Savages, and give every assistance in your power to promote the service upon which he is employed.

I am Sir,

Etc etc

(Signed) G. C.

My Lord,

Since my last dispatches I have received letters from Niagara, copies of which I think necessary to transmit to your Lordship both as they regard the orders which I have already informed you I had sent for assembling the Indians of that Neighborhood to be put under the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, and a corp of Rangers which Colonel Butler has of himself formed for the purpose of serving the Indians. Colonel Butler is a gentleman of extream good character, and some fortune on the Mohawk River, as also long service among the Savages, and undoubtedly very much attached to His Majesty's Interest, he has done all the business of that department since Mr. Guy Johnson left it and I had, for these reasons, made the choice of him for the command of these Indians before your Lordships letter, No. 8 mentioning Colonel Clause was received; but I have agreeable to that letter sent this gentleman likewise up there.

The mention which your Lordship makes that a different arrangement took place lays me under some embarrassment that I issue orders contrary ? as no arrangement for the Indian department has been communicated to me, and therefore it will be necessary I humbly conceive that your Lordship should make my successor, as I do not now expect it will be to me, fully acquainted with whatever arrangements are made in all matters wherein he may eventually be concerned to prevent the detriment which must otherwise result to the kings service.

I likewise transmit copies of two letters I have just received from Michilimakinac from Mr. Depeyster, lately appointed Major to the 8th Regiment by purchase who has been several years at that Post, and has acquired, by the prudence and discretion with which he has carried himself towards the Indians, great influence over them: as much may be said of Captain Lernoult who commanded first at Detroit, and since the death of Lieutenant Caldwell, at Niagara with equal credit to himself and advantage to the kings service; This gentleman tho eldest Captain could not purchase the Majority but marches the detachment of the eight that joins Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger in hope of obtaining preferment by his further merit.

I am, with all due respect

My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient Humble Serv.

Guy Carleton

Sir,

I have the pleasure to acquaint your Excellency of the success of His Majestys Arms against a Detachment of the Rebels on the 6th instant. Immediately after my arrival here, I was ordered by Brigadier Genl St Leger to march with 400 Indians to intercept a party of the Mohawk River Militia (in number 900) whom he was informed were on their march to throw themselves into this place; On the Evening Sir John Johnson with 50 of the Royal New Yorki regiment joined us; at 10 O'Clock the next morning near the Orisco field we heard the Rebels on full march with a Convoy of 15 Waggons of Provisions, & Stores. We were immediately formed by the Seneca Chiefs, who took the lead in this action, in concurrence with Sir John Johnson & myself Sir John was posted on the road to give the Enemy a Volley as they advanced, myself, with the Indians, & 20 Rangers were posted to flank them in the Woods, This disposition was soon after a little altered by the Indians while the Enemy were advancing and when they were near enough threw in an heavy fire on the Rebels, & made a Shocking slaughter among them with their spears, & Hatchets. The Rebel's however recovering themselves, fell back to a more advantageous ground, & maintained a running fight for about an hour & an half. At length the Indians, with the detachment of the Yorkers & Rangers pursuing their ?ly defeated them with the loss of 500 Killed Wounded and taken. Many of the latter were conformable to the Indian custom afterwards were killed. Of the New Yorkers, Capt. McDonald was killed, Captain Watts dangerously wounded, & one Subaltern; of the Rangers Captains Wilson & Hare killed, & one private wounded.

The Indians suffered much having 33 killed and 29 Wounded. The Senecas alone lost 17 Men among whom were several of their Chief Warriors & had 16 wounded. During the whole action, the Indians showed the greatest Zeal for His Majesty's Cause and had they not been a little too precipitate scarcely a Rebel of the party had escaped. Most of the leading Rebels are cut off in the action so that any farther attempts from that Quarter is not to be expected. Captn Watts of the Royal New Yorkers, where many amiable Qualities deserved a better fate lay wounded in three places upon the field, two days before he was found, however it is thought he will recover. I should not do justice to the Indians in general and to the Senecas in particular, was I not to acquaint you that their behavior in the Action exceeded anything I could have expected from them. The loss the Senecas have sustained will point out to Your Excellency how severe a share of it fell to them. The success of this day will plainly show the Utility of your Excellencys constant support of my unwearied endeavors to conciliate to His Majesty so serviceable a body of Allies.

Notwithstanding the pleasing prospect Your Excellency opened to me of having the direction of these Allies, to which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint Colonel Claus as Superintendant, Yet lest the cause for which under Your Excellency's auspices I have so long laboured should suffer, my best abilities shall ever be exerted in conjunction with him to approve myself worthy the confidence you have been please to repose it.

Sir, Your Excellency's Obliged & most Obedient Humble Servant

/Signed/ John Butler

P.S. 17th August

This moment we have Accounts that my son sent by General St. Leger with proposals to the inhabitants of the Mohawk River is taken prisoner by the Rebels but I give no credit to it.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the accounts we received in Canada concerning Fort Stanwix were the most erroneous that can be conceived, instead of the insultable and unfinished work we were taught to expect, I found it a respectable Fortress strongly Garrisoned with 700 men and demanding a Train of Artillery we were not masters of for its speedy subjection. – Its form is a kind of Trapezium or four sided figure with four Bastions preized and picketed, without there is a good ditch with pickets nipping out a considerable way at the salient angles of the Bastions three nines four sixes two threes with a considerable number of wall pieces were all the Artillery the Enemy made use of during the siege.

I beg leave to mention to your Excellency, that being informed amongst other things, by the Officer that Captain Hare brought in from Fort Stanwix on his first scout. That the Enemy only expected Sir John Johnson at the head of 5 or 600 undisciplined Tories, reasoning that regular Troops cou'd never be given (as they were pleas'd to stite(?) him) to so inexperienced a Commander, that the Militia were in high spirits at the thoughts and would be ready at a call in their own Phrase to come and eat them up.

Reflecting how great a part of this was true of the greater part of our strength being undisciplined I took the liberty without the least thought of arrogance pride of heart divaled of the most remote Idea of any ?liment attending it to assume the name. As I was entitled to the honour of a Brigadier till my junction with General Burgoyne.

This Manoeuvre has had with the rebels from various intelligence A desired effect with the Indians likewise it has been useful as they never enquired into my number till their own fear began to operate.

I hope this self creation done from views entirely political will not be displeasing to your Excellency and that I pray have your permission to carry it till I join General Burgoyne whom I have informed likewise of what I have done and my reasons.

I have the honour to be with the Most respectful regard Sir

Your Excellency's most obed't & most devoted Servantt

/signed/ Barry St. Leger

PS Since I wrote the above the Hessians are arrived with fifty of their men sick, one fortnight sooner. The Indians cou'd had no plea for their conduct.

/signed/ B. St. Leger

Sir,

I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency that on the 13th Instant, two days after the Senecas & 40 of the Western Indians arrived I left Niagara. In order to spare provisions I had before appointed a number of the Seneca Warriors together with many of their Women & Children to meet me at Irondequoit, where I had promised to deliver them a present of Cloathes and some provisions to support them in absence of their Husbands; at that place I waited seven days to deliver them the presents & give them the Hatchet, which they accepted and promise to make use of it. On the 19th I received from Gen. St. Leger orders to send him 150 Indians to act with the Kings Troops under his command upon an alert against Fort Stanwix on the morning of the 20th I had them ready, and sent off to him under proper Officers whom I flattered myself he would approve. Everything being settled with the Senecas, I left Irondequoit on the 24th & on the 25th arrived at this place, where besides the Indians I brought with me I found a large party under the direction of Joseph the Mohawk, in consequence of a message I had sent him on the 30th Past, besides these I had ordered another large body of the Six Nations to meet me here by way of the Three Rivers; but on my arrival found them stopped there by order of Col. Claus, Upon a review of the ? I have the satisfaction to assure Your Excellency that the number of Indian Warriors assembled at this place & the Seneca or Three Riv? Cannot fall much short of one thousand. Many Arms are yet wanting for them notwithstanding I had bought at Niagara every Gun I could. At this place I had promised the Warriors before they were led on to service to make them a handsome present in the name of their Great Father the King but find myself disappointed, Col. Claus having distributed before my arrival great part of the Cloathing etc I had provided for that purpose; The Indians of the United Nations I am much afraid will not be pleased: had Col. Claus thought proper to have given me early notice of his appointment, this hasty step might have been avoided & the Indians perfectly satisfied. The great reason of these people to this & every other place to partake of the Kings bounty caused me to present to Col. Bolton before I left Niagara another account for L4011.16.9 York Currency for his approbation since I am informed he has sent it to your Excellency for your Acceptance, I must humbly beg your Excellency will do me the Justice to believe that in all my Transactions, I have endeavored to execute your Orders with the greatest Economy in my power; and when you reflect the high value the Indians sell upon their Alliance the tempting offers the Rebels have frequently made to bring them over to their Interest, together with their numeroud Women & Children who all expect to be cloathed on absence of their Husbands which in my humble opinion there is no avoiding without disgusting these haughty and tenacious People; When Your Excellency has weighed all these reasons I flatter myself that you will not think the expense however high, to be useless or given with too lavish a hand.

Before I conclude I must beg leave to remind your Excellency that when I first arrived at Niagara, I found the Six Nations wavering & of the two rather inclined to the Rebels. Encouraged by Colonel Caldwell & Capt Lernout, and at the same time

supported by You, I have spared no pains nor attention to fix them in the Interests of the King. The pleasure attending my success I have enjoyed by experiencing your Excellencys approbation of my humble though unwearied endeavor and when at the last I had brought the pleasing task to maturity I had the mortification to find the success of all my labors conferred upon another. I will not farther trouble your Excellency with my feelings on this occasion but humbly beg leave to submit my case to your candid & impartial consideration.

I have the honor to be ever your Excellencys most Obliged & most obedient humble Servant

(Signed) John Butler

Copy of a letter from Guy Carleton to John Butler dated Head Quarters Quebec 18th May 1777 (Extract) [CO 42/36, fol 197-198, p 393-394]

Sir,

The king having thought proper that a detachment from this army together with a sufficient number of Indians should be employed upon an expedition under the command of Lieut. Colonel St. Leger, I am therefore to request that you will exert the zeal which has ever distinguished your conduct by now using every means in your power to collect as large a body as possible of the Indians of the six nations and any others you can communicate with, and to dispose them to act with all their vigor in concert with His Majesty's Troops and under the direction of Lieut. Colonel St. Leger. The providing and appointing of proper leaders who will have the usual allowances to this body of Indians is left to your care and judgment; and I hope your health will permit you to accompany this expedition, as I know no person so capable of the conducting and management of the Indians.

I should be glad you would transmit me a list of the Officers you think proper to nominate, and acquaint me what pay they should be allowed, and whether any of them should have rank, and what; likewise what rank and pay you think yourself entitled to.

As for the provincials that have come in Sir John Johnsons regiment being to go upon this expedition, I think they should join that corp at least as many as will compleat it, it will be right in you to make those people acquainted that for their encouragement His Majesty has thought proper to declare that he will give two hundred acres of land to all such of them as shall take arms and serve 'till the war be ended.

I am Sir etc etc

(Signed) G. C.

My Lord,

I transmit the copy of a letter which I have received from Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger giving an account of a victory obtained by a part of His detachment sent by him under the command of Sir John Johnson, with a number of Indians under Colonel Butler, over a body of Rebels lead by a General Harheimer, and explaining the reasons which induced him afterwards to abandon the siege which he had began of Fort Stanwix and to retreat from the Mohawk river. I likewise enclose a copy transmitted to me by Colonel St. Leger of a letter from General Burgoyne to him, also copies of letters I have received from Colonels Clause and Butler of the Indian department.

Your Lordship, not foreseeing this event, has laid me under a necessity of taking upon myself to order back to Niagara the detachment of the 8th Regiment, which had composed a part of the force put under Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, tho contrary to General Burgoyne's orders, as the upper posts, since the retreat of the Troops from the Mohawk river, would otherwise be left too weak: and I enclose the copy of a letter which I have just received from Lieutenant Colonel Bolton commanding at Niagara.

Colonel Butler with three principal chiefs of the five Nations Indians came down here being deputed for that purpose to assure me of the steadiness of their attachment of their readiness still to undertake anything in their power for the advantage of His Majesty and their full determination to persevere in the War. But as their country lies entirely open, since the return of the Troops, to the incursions of the Rebels, they desire in the name of all their nations that I will establish a post at Oswego, of force sufficient to protect them in case of accidents, or to send Troops or some white people, to remain in their Villages, and to go out to War with them. Colonel Butler represents to me the expediency of having a body of Rangers, as in the last war, to serve with the Indians and proposed to me to raise a corp properly qualified for that purpose, a part of which he has already engaged and served with him on the last expedition; I thought the scheme calculated to draw the most advantage from the service of the Indians of which the disposition of that people is capable; and Colonel Butler having shown himself by his zeal capacity and services worthy of the trust I have furnished him with the proper power to raise a corp of Rangers for this service, and appointed him Major Commandant of it. A copy of his beating order is herewith enclosed as also a copy of the orders which I have given him for the joyning as fast as possible, the army under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, with his corp and as large a body of the Indians of the five nations as he can collect.

The Domiciled Indians of Canda and those of the upper country which accompanied General Burgoyne's army have at different times returned, those of the upper country alledging the remoteness of their habitations, those of Canada other reasons which considering that these people are never to be prevailed upon by compulsive means, I did not enter into: But having held a council with the chiefs of the upper Indians and ordered them presents, I obtained a solemn promise that they would return early in the spring with their number greatly increased, and as a pledge they have left some of their young men to serve thro' the winter. The Canada Indians have

likewise consented to return in considerable bodies which they intend to relieve, from time to time, by which means General Burgoyne's army, I hope, will have large parties of those Indians constantly in service with him.

Altho' I am now in hourly expectation of a successor to arrive here, I nevertheless go up to Saint Johns to expedite the passage of Colonel St. Legers corp, going to joyn General Burgoyne by the way of Lake Champlain, a fresh supply of provisions and stores which has lately been demanded for that Army, and whatever else may be necessary to be done for the Kings service, at least so far as your Lordship has left me authority to act.

I am, with all due respect My Lord
Your Lordships most Obedient Humble Servant

Guy Carleton

From A. S. De Peyster dated Michilimakinac 18th February 1777

Sir,

I am just honoured with your Excellency's Letter of the 6th October by Monsieur Langlade.

You may depend upon it that nothing shall be wanting on my part to dispatch the Indians as soon as the nature of the service will admit.

I have already engaged such as wintered here with the small pox and shall advise him to take such only as have had it.

The last fall I had deputy's from Several nations to assure me they will be ready at Call; I wish I may be able to Subsist them all. The 5 nations have sent a large belt inviting those of this post to meet them at Niagara to settle an alliance in favour of His Majestys arms; such as choose it shall have my leave to go but it shall not interfere with Langlades Expedition.

From Lieut. Governor Hamilton dated Detroit 6th March 1777

We have had a report at this place lately mentioning that a number of men to the Amount of five thousand were to rendezvous in the neighborhood of Presqueisle and had built or were to build three hundred boats.

From R. B. Lernoult dated Niagara April 11th 1777

By Parcel (the Express) who arrived here the 10th March I have the honor of your Excellency commands of the 2nd and 9th February from Quebec and have ever since (jointly with Colonel Butler) exerted ourselves in persuading the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations to remain quiet 'till called upon to act with His Majesty Troops and by no means to attempt anything by themselves.

The dangerous situation of many of the Familys of the Mohawks and the frequent threats from Scyler to cut them off give the rest of the nations great uneasiness. Yet I have the pleasure to acquaint you, both Chiefs and Warriors have assured us this day in Council that they will obey your Excellencys Orders and remain quiet in hopes of having soon as Occasion to act more effectually with His Majestys Troops in rescuing

their Brethren and driving the Rebels from the neighborhood. I am persuaded, should Scyler attempt to hurt any one of them in the meantime, neither the Influence Colonel Butler has with them nor any other method in use will prevent some of the Young Warriors from taking revenge.

I have from Six hundred to a thousand Savages here for these three Weeks, also about twenty principal people and Farmers from the Mohawk river who have escaped thro the woods during the winter to this Post for protection, and I am informed many more are on their way from the Borders hither to avoid the ill treatment the friends of Government are liable to unless they take up Arms against the King... I shall wait your Excellencys directions relative to these People, and have sent out to provide Cattle in order to spare our store provisions for any service we may be employed on.

I have the pleasure to acquaint Your Excellency that these people have been treated with the greatest hospitality by all the Savage Nations on their way hither except one Village (near Fort Stanwix) of the Oneidas, who stoped two or three and carried them back to Scyler.

This Village have all along been suspected of favoring the Rebels, owing to the influence of one Catalin a presbyterian preacher who resides in the Village. All the other Castles & Villages of Savages have offer'd protection to any of the Kings friends who choose to shelter themselves on their lands. The Messisages are with me at present, to know if they are wanted and to assure me they are of the same mind ready and willing to act in behalf of His Majesty, when and where your Excellencys to call to them, I cannot help bring a little prejudiced in their favor, as they have never varied nor required any holding Councils to deliberate, or would give ear to any one (among the number sent at different time to draw them from their allegiance but remain firm to their first agreement.

From R.B. Lernoult dated Niagara 28th April 1777

Since I had the Honor of writing to you by Captain Parke, Several Savages are arrived reporting that an Army of Six thousand Rebels, were to take post at Ontario. Scyuler is very industrious in spreading such reports which alarm the Six Nations greatly, and Should he effect such an Attempt I believe it would deter the greatest part of the Savages from acting with the Kings Troops, if not alter their present good disposition towards us.

Not a day hard by but some white people are coming in from the Borders for protection, all friends to Government, they are almost naked and have been so long living in the woods and almost famished that it is distressing to behold them. I am informed above 50 are on their way, but so weak they can scarcely crawl. I wish your Excellencys direction how to dispose of them.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain Marked Separate dated Whitehall 26 March 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 227-229, p 453-457] (to Carleton)

Upon these accounts and with a view of quelling the Rebellion as soon as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy Junction of the two armies should be effected, and therefore as the Security and good Government of Canada absolutely require your Presence there, It is the King's determination to leave 3,000 Men under your Command for the defence and duties of that province, and to employ the Remainder of your army upon the Expeditions the one, under the Command of Lieut Genl Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany; and the other under the Command of Lieut Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a Diversion on the Mohawk River.

As this Plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, His Majesty strongly recommends it to your care, to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient Bodies of those men; and I am happy in knowing that your Influence amongst them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfill His Majesty's Expectations.

In order that no time may be lost in entering upon these important Undertakings, General Burgoyne has received Orders to Sail forthwith for Quebec; and that the intended Operations may be maturely considered and afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed by Success, he is directed to consult with you upon the Subject and to form and adjust the Plan as you both shall think most conducive to His Majesty's Service.

It is likewise His Majesty's Pleasure that you put under the Command of Lieut Gen Burgoyne

The Grenadier & Light Infantry of the Army (except of the 8 th Reg) & the 24 th Regt as the advanced Corps under the Command of Brigadier General Fraser	>	1,568
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First Brigade Battalion Companies of the 9 th 21 st 47 th Regiments Deducting a Detachment of 50 from each Corps to remain in Canada	>	1,194
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Second Brigade, Battalion Companies of the 20 th , 53 rd , & 62 nd Regts deducting 50 from each Corps as above...	>	1,194
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All the German Troops, except Hanau Chasseurs & a detachment of 650	>	3,217
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The Artillery, excepting such parts as shall be necessary for The defence of Canada		<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: auto; margin-right: 0;"/> 7,173
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together with as many Canadians & Indians as may be thought necessary for this Service; and after having furnished him in the fullest and completest manner with

Artillery, Stores, Provisions and every other Article necessary for this Expedition and secured to him every assistance which it is in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him Orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence, by the most vigorous Exertion of the Force under his Command, to proceed with all Expedition to Albany and put himself under the Command of Sir William Howe.

From the King's knowledge of the great Preparations made by you last year to secure the Command of the Lakes, and your attention to this part of the Service during the Winter, His Majesty is led to expect that every thing will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the Lake by the time you and he shall have adjusted the Plan of the Expedition.

It is the King's further pleasure that you put under the Command of Lieut Colo St. Leger

Detachment from the 8 th Regiment -----	100
Detachment from the 34 th Regiment -----	100
Sir John Johnson's Regt of New York -----	133
Hanau Chasseurs -----	342

675

together with a sufficient Number of Canadians and Indians, and after having furnished him with proper Artillery, Stores, Provisions and every other necessary article for his Expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your Power to afford and procure you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk River to Albany and put himself under the Command of Sir William Howe.

I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first Packet, but you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest Intelligence of this Measure, and also direct Lieut General Burgoyne, and Lieut. Colonel St. Leger to neglect no opportunity of doing the same that they may receive Instructions from Sir William Howe; you will at the same time inform them that until they shall have received Orders from Sir William Howe, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that they act as Exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the Rebels and bringing them to obedience, but that in so doing they must never lose View of their intended Junction with Sir. Willm Howe as their principal Objects.

In case Lieut General Burgoyne or Lieut Colo St Leger should happen to die, or be removed thro Illness incapable of executing these great Trusts, you are to nominate to the respective Commands such Officer or officers as you shall think to be the best qualified to supply the place of those whom His Majesty has in his Wisdom at present appointed to conduct those Expeditions.

I am etc etc

(Signed) George Germain

Extract of a Letter from A. S. De Peyster dated Michilimakinac 12th April 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 304, p 607]

Sir,

I have the pleasure to inform your Excellency that the season affords me an early Opportunity of sending off provisions to meet Mons Langlade Indians at Labaye. I have seen many Indians during the course of the Winter who are all well inclined. The only fear I have now is the not being able to prevent the whole Country from going down. Such as are prevented will take it ill. They must however be diverted from it.

(Signed) Ar. S. De Peyster

Sir,

Mr. Langlade arrived here with Sixty Indians from Labay. He says he expects more but I fear they will come to late. I have completed him with the Number required from this post. The Nations here have accounts that Spanish Agents have been among their Neighbors. If it be true I suppose it is to draw off the Trade during those Troubles. The News however has made the Indians rather more difficult to move than I expected such is their Curiosity and Fear, for I think I may Affirm they are all well inclined. The Embarkation is now ready and will take place immediatly. I must beg leave to refer you to Mr. Langlade for further particulars.

I have the Honour to be With great respect Your Excellencys most
Obdt & Hum Servant
(Signed) A.S. De Peyster

My Lord,

I acquainted your Lordship in my letter No 19 that the Troops ordered to be detached from the army in Canada to serve upon expeditions under Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, has been immediately put under their respective command. Lieutenant General Burgoyne proceeded, on the service allotted to him by your Lordship, about the 17th Inst having sent on part of his army some time before, and the last of it left Saint Johns about the 20th. Major General Phillips serves upon this expedition: and I have the satisfaction of being able to assure you that all the Troops, as well Foreign as National, are in high health and good discipline.

This army has been joined by the Indians of St. Regis, Sault St. Louis, Lake of the two mountains, and Saint Francis, and the Hurons are immediately to follow, the whole of which Indians amount to above five hundred warriors, but it is necessary to observe that there is always an uncertainty as to the force of the Indians parties being continually leaving them and returning, as their humor leads them.

By accounts from Michilimackinac I learn that all the western nations are desirous of coming down, and that the difficulty is to prevent the number of them from being so great as to cause distress to His Majestys service, one body consisting of a hundred and twenty are just arrived part of those I ordered last year they will follow General Burgoyne as fast as possible.

Having learnt by intelligence from the frontiers of this province, that considerable numbers of loyal inhabitants were waiting for the approach of the army to furnish them with opportunities of escaping from among their rebellious neighbors, and that they will take arms, I have made out blank commissions and delivered them to General Burgoyne to form two corps as he shall find occasion, wishing to make up, as far as I am able, for his want of powers, and that in some degree he may avail himself of a favorable disposition in those people, and turn it to publick utility immediately least the favorable moment should be lost in delay.

Lieutenant Colonel St Leger has likewise begun his movements, taking with him the detachment of the 34th and the Royal Regiment of New York which is increased to about 300 men, and a company of Canadians; He will be joined by the detachment of the 8th and the Indians of the six nations with the Missesagas as he proceeds: about a hundred of the Hanau chasseurs, have since arrived, and they are on their way to join him.

That you Lordship may be more particularly informed of all these matters and that you may see what great care has been taken to avoid all those evils which might naturally follow, to the publick from the chief command being given to an inferior officer, while the Kings commission of Commander in chief is appointed by your Lordship to act in a Subaltern office to that very command and within its own limits, I transmit the orders which I have ? on this occasion together with copies of all letters worth your notice which have passed between Lieutenant General Burgoyne, Major General Phillips and one on the subject of the arrangement they have thought proper to propose, a list of which papers is herewith enclosed.

With this opportunity your Lordship will receive duplicates of my letter Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 & 23.....and copies of such further letters of intelligence from the upper country as I have received since those last communicated.

I am, with all due respect My Lord
Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant

Guy Carleton

My dear General,

Your having done me the Honour to intimate to me that it was the Commander in chiefs pleasure that I shou'd be Consulted concerning a proper place of Rendezvous for the detachment of the 8th Regiment and the Indians destin'd for the expedition and in my Command. I take the liberty to lay before you the Difficulty I am under to determine a point of such Consequence & beg leave to submit to you (the proper Channel to the Commander in chief) whether the better to enable me to make the necessary arrangements with the procession(?) and without the least chance of Confusion or Misunderstanding, it wou'd not be proper to Communicate to me the different Nations that are to be Employ'd and the Magazines they are to be supplied from till a junction is effected eith them – because from some Questions I have put to the Commissary General, he seems to be at a loss to decide upon this very material point having peremptorily affirm'd that Niagara cou'd not supply a proper Quantity and moreover said not having it in Command from proper Authority to correspond with me, he did not think himself at Liberty to answer my Questions or to give into my desires – you will therefore do me the Honour to communicate this to His Exc the Commander in chief That he may be pleased to send me and other conern's in the Various Arrangement of this detachment such orders that no delay may be given to the fulfilling of his intention.

I have the Honour to be Dear General Your most Obedient and most Humble Servant

Barry St. Leger

P.S. The Commander in Chief having been pleased to tell me that I shou'd be assisted by a proportionate Staff, I request his permission to nominate that part of it, that will be most immediately concerned in contributing to the Success of the Expedition. – To the Deputy Adjutant Generals department Capt. ? pf the 34th who goes as a Captian of the Regiments detachment L Lundy of Mr. Cleam Corps to that of the 2nd Masters Lt. Crofts who is likewise one of the Officers named for the detachment of the 34th as Major of Brigade. I wish much for Mr. Blake Surgeon of the 34th goes as Hospital Surgeon assisted as his Exc may think proper. I esteem Mr. Farghuarson on Account of the very great Activity of his mind and person as the fittest Commissary for a flying Camp. An Inspector of Bathairs(?) will be Necessary such a person is at this moment at Montreal having fled from the Mohawk River to avoid persecution he formerly serv's under Genl Broadstreet in the same Capacity his name is Huick Hisman (?); this man I beg leave to submit to His Excellencies Consideration The Waggon Masters department has been already well fitted by the General at Quebec, as for any other assistance that may be thought Necessary I have no Choice.

Copy of a letter from Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton dated Detroit 16th of June 1777 [CO 42/37, folio 24-, p 47 -]

Sir,

This day I had the honor of receiving the following letters and papers from your Excellency – A Letter dated May 16th one dated May 21st enclosing a copy of one from Lord George Germain to your Excellency one for Lieutenant Governor Abbot, another for Monsieur de Rocheblave – The ordinances passed the last session in the legislative council of Quebec – a list of persons said to be attached to Government given by Lord Dunmore, and which I take the Liberty of remarking upon in a list I send herewith.

My last letter to your Excellency was dated May 10th since which time I will proceed in a sort of Journal as the shortest and most distinct method.

4th of June -- some Delaware Indians reported that the Virginians had formed a scheme against this place, to be executed partly by water partly by land - treated with indifference

16th – arrived the paquet from Montreal

17th – Opened the council with the following Nations & see the council had designed not to deliver the Hatchet till the 18th in full council but having some intimation of certain persons being likely to throw cold water on the motion, I seized the moment while the Indians shewed impatience and produced a red belt (or War Ax) and let them out on the parade where the War dance was begun, and had the proper effect.

18 –Published the proclamation encouraging the Royalists etc.

That the nations as mentioned in the council with the Officers of the Garrison Militia etc for which the council – I gave the hatchet which was received as I could wish.

22 – Sent of John Montour a half Delaware, with notice to General How & that the Hatchet was taken up by the Lake Indians and would be sent down the Ouabash, with other particulars which he is very capable to deliver verbatim, for he had no token by which an enemy could possibly discover anything of moment. He was to cross from the Delaware Toens, by the heads of the river which fall into the Ohio, and passing by Buffaloe swamp, cross the endless mountains, thro the great swamp and to York, Philadelphia etc he computed his journey at 28 days.

This day being Sunday I caused to be published at the Church His Majestys bountifull grant to such as would engage in the Service etc and on this day the Priests had exorted their parishioners to shew their spirit and Loyalty – The Indians had shewed the greatest unanimity and alacrity on the occation, that has been ever known This was a most oportune time for an ill designing person to create distrust and uneasiness among the inhabitants & Savages -- Mr. James Stirling a principal Trader at this place, made tha tuse of it which has induced me to confine him and if his guilt should be as apparent to others as it is to me, he will be rewarded as a Traytor to His King deserves -

As I send down the Affidavit etc I shall only observe in this place that my suspicions arose long since and that the precautions I had taken relative to his Correspondent Bentley are proofs that I considered him capable of holding a correspondence with Rebels, and of the most interested as well as deceitful conduct – As he has issued paper money, and has considerable dealings here, I have allowed him to appoint an attorney and to settle his affairs I shall take the earliest opportunity of sending him down.

23rd -- Sent of an express to Michillimakinac with your Excellency packets and the account of the hatchet being taken up by all the Nations present in Council, also reminding him C D of Mr. Bentley who has left the Illinois country, gone up the Ouisconsin, and was to go to Michillimakinac to dispose of his effects – Mr. J Stirling has shewed me a letter from Bentley mentioning his design of sending his Peltry to this place by the way of the Miamis, but my jealousy of Mr. S's candor made me immediately apprise Capt. De Peyster and I hope to see Mr. Bentley here shortly.

24th – Closed the Council, which I shall transmit to your Excellency

25th – Assisted at the war feast of the Ottawas

26th – with the Chippawas, and Ottawas of Ouashtenen

27th – with the Hurons, Delawares, Shawanise, and Miamis

28th – with the Pouteouattamis, of the Huron River of St. Josephs etc at all these meetings there was observed an uncommon order and decency at the same time the greatest alacrity imaginable – I took the opportunity of shewing them the English and French Volunteers, most of whom can speak the Indian Tongues, and are to go on the scouts with them, as well to encourage them to act vigorously as to restrain their Barbarity to defenceless persons -- Several of the Soldiers have applied to me for Liberty to go volunteering with the Savages, I have approved their spirit and could have wished Captain Montessor had joined me in the opinion that a few soldiers going on this occasion would have been of great service, but I am obliged to acquiesce in his opinion, and I have acquainted Lord George Germain that having laid my complaint of Captain Montessor before your Excellency, with a perfect assurance of being redressed, it might seem unnecessary as well as improper to mention it to him, but that it would not be doing justice to the zeal and loyal disposition of the Officers and men in this place, if I did not give the reasons for their not joining the Savages – Captain M however has attended at the Council, at the War feasts ect and I endeavor on all occasions to shew a satisfaction which I by no means feel.

29th – Reviewed the Company of Militia of the Fort, and those who have arms have them in good order, they fired Ball at a mark and acquitted themselves well.

The Ottawas this day delivered me the strings and a Belt presented to them by the Ouabash Indians, when Lieut Governor Abbot went to St Vincennes, The speak very satisfactory and appear pleased at his arrival amongst them.

30th – Two Vessels arrived here from Michillimakinac, and by a letter from Captain Depeyster I find the Spaniards are tampering with some of our Savages – this day the

Recollect priest brought me letters dated St. Louis, from a french Settler gone to reside on the Spanish side of the Mississippi – your Excellency desires an account of an attempt by the Shawanese Delawares etc in the Fort called Kentucke, but cannot get any information to be depended on.

Lieutenant Governor Abbott did not communicate to me you Excellencys instructions nor had I an idea of the amount of the sums I find he has drawn for, I knew nothing of the restrictions your Excellency was pleased to lay upon him. I humbly conceive that in proportion to the remoteness of situation expences rise, of which Captain Lord perhaps has given your Excellency some accounts.

As Governor Abbott took the method of proceeding to his Government which he must have acquainted your Excellency with, it is apparent his expences must have been very great, the Indians are rapacious, and the French traders taught Captina Lord that they are not less so.

Mr. Edgar a Trader from this place who accompanied Lieutenant Governor Abbott to St. Vincennes acquaints me that the great number of Indians who met him on the way, have consumed large quantities of provisions and goods to a considerable amount have been delivered, but he is proceeding to Canada with the vouchers amounting to Seven thousand four hundred Pounds NYC

Mr. Edgar is an intelligent person, and has the character of a very honest man, he is greatly alarmed at the account I have given him, and with reason, as I apprehend he has advanced the greatest part if not all for Mr. Abbott – I have written to Mr. Abbott without reserve and have set before him the Paragraph in your Excellencys letter which I thought would be the most instructive lesson.

3rd July – The Vessels are under sail and I must make a hasty conclusion, and pray you Excellencys indulgence for a hea? not used to business.

I am ever with the greatest respect Sir Your Excellencys most devoted
& Very Humble Servant

(Signed) Henry Hamilton

Letter from Germain to Carleton dated Whitehall 26th March 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 51-57, P 107-113]

Marked Separate (No. 9)

Sir,

My letter of the 22nd of August 1776 was intrusted to the Care of Captain Le Maitre, one of your Aid-de Camps. After having been three times in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, he had the mortification to find it impossible to make his Passage to Quebec and therefore returned to England with my Dispatch, which, though it was prevented by that Accident from reaching your hands in due time, I nevertheless think proper to transmit to you by this, the earliest Opportunity.

You will be informed, by the Content thereof, that as soon as you should have driven the Rebel Forces from the Frontiers of Canada, it was His Majesty's Pleasure that you should return to Quebec, and take with you such part of your Army as, in your Judgment & Discretion, appeared sufficient for the Defence of the Province. That you should detach Lieutenant General Burgoyne or such other Officer as you should think most proper, with the Remainder of the Troops & direct the Officer so detached to proceed with all possible Expedition to join General Howe, & to put himself under his Command.

Since I wrote that Letter I have had the Mortification to learn that upon your repassing Lake Champlain, a very considerable number of the Insurgents, finding their Presence no longer necessary near Ticonderoga, immediately marched from thence, and joined the Rebel Forces in the Provinces of New York & Jersey.

That unexpected Reinforcement was more particularly unfortunate for Us, as it enabled the Rebels to break in, with some degree of Success, upon parts of the Winter Quarters that were taken up by the Army under the Command of Sir Wm Howe.

Upon the accounts and with a View of quelling the Rebellion as soon as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy Junction of the two armies should be effected, and therefore, as the Security and good Government of Canada absolutely require your Presence there, It is the King's determination to leave about 3000 Men under your Command for the Defence & Duties of that Province, and to employ the Remainder of your Army upon two Expeditions: The One under the Command of Lieut. General Burgoyne who is to force his way to Albany and the other under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a Diversion on the Mohawk River.

As this War cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians,

His Majesty strongly recommends it to your Care to furnish both Expeditions with good and sufficient Bodies of those Men; And I am happy in knowing that your Influence amongst them is so great that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfill His Majesty's Expectations.

In order that no time may be lost in entering upon these important Undertakings, General Burgoyne has received Orders to sail forthwith for Quebec, and that he intended Operations may be maturely considered & afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed by Success, he is directed to consult with you upon the Subject, and to form and adjust the Plan as you both shall think most conducive to His Majesty's Service.

I am also to acquaint you that as soon as you shall have fully regulated every thing relative to these Expeditions (and the King relies upon you Zeal that you will be as expeditious as the Nature of the Business will admit) It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you detain for the Canada Service

The 8 th Regt deducting 100 for the Expedition to the Mohawk	460
Battalion companies of the 29 th & 31 st Regiments.....	896
Battalion companies of the 34 th deducting 100 for the Expedition	
To the Mohawk	348
Eleven additional Companies from Great Britain.....	616
Detachments from the Two Brigades.....	300
Detachments from the German Troops.....	650
Royal Highland Emigrants	500
	<hr/>
	3,770

You will naturally conclude that this Allotment for Canada has not been made without properly weighing the several Duties which are likely to be required. His Majesty has not only considered the several Garrisons and Posts which probably it may be necessary for you to take, viz. Quebec, Chaudiere, the disaffected Parishes of Point Levi, Montreal & Posts between that Town of Oswegatchie, Trois Rivieres, St John's, Isle aux Noix, La Prairie, Vergere & some other Towns upon the South Shore of St. Lawrence opposite the Isle of Montreal, with Posts of Communication to St. John's, But He hath also reflected that the several Operations which will be carrying on in the different Parts of America Must necessarily confine the Attention of the Rebels to the respective Scenes of Action, and secure Canada from external Attacks, and that the internal Quiet, whi at present prevails is not likely to be interrupted, or if interrupted will soon be restored by your Influence over the Inhabitants, he therefore trusts that 3000 Men will be quite sufficient to answer every possible Demand.

It is likewise His Majesty's Pleasure that you should put under the Command of Lieut Genl Burgoyne

The Grenadies & Light Infantry of the Army (except the 8 th Regiment	
And the 34 th Regt as the advanced Corps under the Command	
Of General Fraser.....	1,568
1 st Brigade Battn Companies of the 9 th , 21 st & 47 th Regt deducting a	
Detachment of 50 from each Corps to remain in Canada.....	1,194
2 nd Brigade, Balln Companies of the 20 th , 53 rd & 62 nd Regt	
deducting 50 from each Corps as above.....	1,194
All the German Troops except Hanau Chasseurs, ans a Detachment of	3,217
650	
The Artillery excepting such parts as shall be necessary for the Defence	
Of Canada	
	<hr/>
	7,173

Together with as many Canadians and Indians as may be thought necessary for this Service, and after having furnished him in the fullest and completest manner, with Artillery, Stores, Provisions, and every other Article necessary for his Expedition; and

secured to him every Assistance which it is in your power to afford, and procure, you are to give him Orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence, by the most vigorous Exertion of the Force under his Command, to proceed with all Expedition to Albany, and put himself under the Command of Sir William Howe.

From the King's Knowledge of the great Preparations made by you last year to secure the Command of the Lakes and you Attention to this part of the Service during the Winter, His Majesty is led to expect that every thing will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the Lake by the time you and he shall have adjusted the Plan of the Expedition.

It is the King's farther Pleasure that you put under the Command of Lieut Col St. Leger

Detachment from the 8th Regiment	100
Detachment from the 34 th Regt	100
Sir John Johnson's Regiment of New York	133
Hanau Chasseurs	342

675

Together with sufficient number of Canadians and Indians and after having furnished him with proper Artillery, Stores, Provisions and every other necessary Article for his Expedition, and secured to him every Assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him Orders to proceed forthwith to and down the Mohawk River to Albany and put himself under the Command of Sir William Howe.

I sha I write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first Packet, But you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest Intelligence of this Measure, and also direct Lieutenant General Burgoyne and Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger to neglect no Opportunity of doing the same, that they may receive Instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them that untill thney shall have received Orders from Sit William Howe, it is His Majesty's Pleasure that they act as Exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an Impression on the Rebels, and bringing them to Obedience, but that in so doing they must never lose View of their intended Junctions with Sir William owe as their principal Objects.

In case Lieutenant General Burgoyne or Lieut Colonel St. Leger should happen to die, or be rendered through Illness incapable of executing these great Trusts, you are to nominate to the respective Command such Officer or Officers as you shall think to be best qualified to supply the Place of those whom His Majesty has, in His Wisdom, at present appointed to conduct those Expeditions.

I am, etc.

Geo. Germain

Letter from Germain to Carleton dated Whitehall 19th Feby 1777 [CO 42/36, folio 41-42, p 81-83] (No. 8)

Sir,

The 7th Regiment being arrived at New York, I hope Major Campbell has also been released, and that he will be able to join the main Army in Canada, and take upon him the superintendence and direction of the Indians, who may co=operate with it in the next Campaign; but as it is to be expected that Operations in other parts will be judged proper to be carried on at the same time, where the assistance of the Indians will also be highly necessary, it is thought fit to send Mr. Claus out to Canada in order to his being employed in such secondary Expedition. He was, I find, long employed by the late Sir Wm Johnson as a Deputy in the Indian Department, and resided upon the Mohawk River; Is perfectly acquainted with, and has a great influence over the Indians in that Country, & upon the Lakes, which are circumstances that in a particular manner recommend him for employment in that Quarter. It is His Majesty's pleasure that he same allowance of L200 a Year, which was made him by Sir William Johnson, and continued by Colonel Guy Johnson untill a different arrangement took place, be made him out of the Army Contingencies. The said allowance to commence at t time the former Allowance ceased, which was on the 8th March 1776.

I am etc etc
Geo. Germain

The within Speches Delivered by two Onondagos at Kayingwarertos Village in the Sinake Country which was brought from Boston by the Onidias May 16 1777 [CO 42/36, fol 266-268, p 531-535]

Brothers,

Of the Six Nations we the Water Rath(?) Nation of Indians now assembled here are glad to see you and Heartily bid you welcome, our reasons for meeting here is to join our Brothers the Bostonians of this Island who are now engaged against the King who wants to deprive them of their life and Liberty, therefore we acquaint you that our Number of Indians now engaged of our Nation against the King consist of Two Thousand five Hundred etc & that we are firmly engaged and resolved to espouse of Brothers the Bostonians cause against the King and are going to take our Rout by Lake George and so toward Crown Point Desires you our Brothers rest peacable and Quiet in your minds, as we have declar'd to you our Intentions

11 Strings of Black Wampum

The Speech of the Bostonians

Brothers,

Of the Six Nations we the chiefs Assembled are heartily glad to have the pleasure of taken you by the Hand and Biding you welcome our dispute with the King we still persist in Vindicating our Lives and Libertys, and at the same desire of you Brothers, not to intermeddle, neither in espousing our parts, or taken the part of the King but still to lay still and study Peace and Brotherly love, as our Forefathers have established as a Maxim for us to walk by, for our parts we are prepared to fight with the King sometime in June, therefore beg of you not to interfere as the case is as God Almighty pleases, whether determin'd, we shall conquer or the King but you to study Brotherly love and Concord, you can now Brothers look round you and see what Numbers of Vessels we have taken from the King some having no Guns, and some two and three, four, and five, at Most, and likewise observe what Piles of Provisions Lye along the Waterside, which we have taken, and undoubtably his people must suffer very soon with famine.

Brothers once more we must repeatedly Desire of you to continue in those wise steps to follow Brotherly Love with us and not to engage on either Side

Denoting 13 Provinces

A Belt

Speech of the French General

Children

If you father who was once dead or put to sleep is now Arose again as I promised you, when the King silenced me some Years ago that it was not for Good and all but after some space of Time I wou'd visit you again, I am now come with a Fleet of 55 Ships of War, and others in Company sent by my Master the King of France to join the poor Injured Americans and our other Nations, along with me that is Hollander and Spaniards one I forget Dear Children once more Rejoice to see your Father again as I am Determined to open the Door once more, so as you may have Goods, as usual from the Hands of your father, I am going to set off for Quebec and ki?s those uswipers out that Resides there so to Canada that is Montreal, Oswagaisch, Codargoa, Niagara, Detroit, Misshanamakana, And Ohio, so as all this will be no Store hardship for me and my Fellow assistants to do, than you to break the Stem of a Clay Tobacco Pipe, Guns and other presents I have plenty for you, and Remain and Rejoyce to think your Father has come to your Relief as well as all Indians to the setting of the Sun.

A Belt of White and Black Stripes

The Speech of the Rebel American General

Brothers,

Of the Six Nations it gives me infinite Pleasure of seeing you and hope and am glad to hear, tha you study Peace and Brotherly Love and must desire of you so to continue, and not to engage on my side nor on the Kings, I shou'd be sorry if me or my People shou'd be the means of Spilling your Blood, well knowing how you lament the loss of any of your People the Case not being so with the White, they being so numerous soon forget the loss of their People, I have often told you and now declare that I always advised you for Peace, and to stay at Home and enjoy yourselves, but on the Contrary I am inform'd, Col. Butler who has kindled a Fire at Niagara is on the other side of the Question to exciting you to join with the King, this steps he takes is no as I advise you for peace and to remain Quiet as already my Blood is spilt through bad advisers However that nothing I am determined in establishing that Peace and Harmony I am always advising you to, not long ago the Foolish Cherokees fell at Butchering my People, and I rose to see what was the Reasons and whipt them a little by cutting off Two of three Castles, since that we live now in Harmony and Brotherly Love, therefore Brothers of the Six Nations dont follow those rules, but make it your study to follow Peace and Love I am now prepared to fight with the King and General Schuyler will soon be from Philadelphia, where you will hear the Determination of the 13 Governors.

Four Strings of Wampum
Connatagaries his Idian
Wasshington supposed to be

A Copy of a Speech sent by Captn John John Johnson

Letter from Henry Hamilton to George Germain dated Detroit July 27, 1777 [CO 42/37, fol 55-56, p 109-111]

My Lord

Last night arrived an Express from the Illinois which brought me the copy of a letter from Monsieur de Rocheblave the original of which is transmitted to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, By Lieutenant Governor Abbott who is now at St. Vincennes.

I send a copy in his own words –

“Monsieur,

Hier au ? il est arrive une voiture de la N. Orleans don't les proprietaires rapportent qui les Espagnals se snt empares de vingt deux batmins Anglais dans le fleuve, que ceux ci les attaquent ? Mer.

Ils one trop bien affirme et cinconstance la chose pour que je ne puisse douter aisy de quelque Nature qu'elles soient ?pailles on aubiment les hostilites sone commences, et il ne reste plus, qu'a savoir nous nous en tiserons –dinone nous pouvoir, ou nous laisse dans le primois cas, l'avantage est pour nous dans le record il est pour nos visions – Si nous pouvons les matre dehors, nous ne les revorons plus de si lot, s'ils nous y mettrat, ils nous susciteront bien de la besoigne jusques aux partes du Canada – Si vous voulez que nous les prevenion

My Lord this letter is addressed to Lieutt Govr Abbott, but I should not hesitate to advise Monsieur de Rochblave, were it not a point less hazardous for a person in my humble Station, to touch upon – I take the liberty to write to Sir Guy Carleton in the following terms, “It is very desirous to take the first steps but I dare not advise him.

“If your Excellency should approve a thing of the kind, it is my humble opinion that a company of Volunteers from this place with a few Indians from this place by way of St. Josephs, might act before Winter in concert with Monsieur de R and Lt. Governor Abbott.

The following is an Account of Indians gone to War from this Post.

Seven parties before the 18 th July	178
Interpreters and Rangers.....	22
From the 18 th to the 27 th eight parties.....	111
Indian Officers and Rangers	8

Tot 319

No particular account of the distant nations, except the Miamis who I am told are most of them preparing to set out with some Volunteer whites from their Villages –

The chiefs who went from this in the Vessel to Niagara have proceeded with the six nations to Oswego – Parties are forming dayly and a perfect chearfullness and obedince has appeared hitherto.

I have the honor to be with profound Respect

My Lord your Lordships most devoted obedient Servant

Henry Hamilton

My Lord

Had your Lordships dispatch of the 22nd of August arrived in due time, it might have relieved me from many doubts; I thereby should have learned your wishes were not for my remaining on this side Lake Champlain the remainder of the year, as I at times apprehended, My fears did not arise from your Silence on that head, this I imputed to an opinion pretty general, that any officer entrusted with the supreme command, ought, upon the spot, to see what was most expedient to be done better than a great General at three thousand miles distance; but considering your Lordship well knew how impossible it was for me to make the least preparations during the winter; and that agreeable to my desire, your Lordship had frequently been importuned for Boats, prepared timbers, with other materials necessary for Suddenly putting together, and equipping a marine Force for the Lake Service, and its immediate passage, and Seeing all those sollicitations disregarded by your Lordship; that the Artificers, sent out for this great work, dropped in & out at a time, and mostly late in the season a ? destined only to prepare matters for the following year, I naturally concluded, either than your Lordship had taken your measures with such great wisdom what the Rebels must immediately be compelled to lay down their arms, and implore the Kings mercy without our assistance, or that you had suspicions the Tories here might become necessary for the defence of the Province, and that your Lordship might not wish I should have the power, least, with an indirect[indesired?] order, I Should push on so as not to be able to return, as might become necessary for the defence of Canada.

At times I flattered my self our Progress had outstript all your hopes, that you Judged the Aids I had demanded for a Marine, could not possibly be employed in --76 and that before --77 all must be over.

These doubts might have been removed by your Lordships letter No 5 wherein you tell me you hope soon to hear I have driven the Rebels across the Lakes and taken possession of those Posts upon the frontier which may effectually secure this Province from any future insult, but the order for detaching that part of the Force which might be spared from the immediate defence of this Province, to carry on such operations as should be most conducive to the Success of the Army acting on the side of New York, the officer commanding to correspond with, and put himself under the orders of General Howe this would have embarrassed me exceedingly.

Your Lordship letter was dated 22nd of August, I might have received it early in November.

To set out upon such operations in that season of the year, and in this climate, under the circumstances that then existed, that detached corp, My Lord, must have perished by hunger or cold, or been cut off by the Insurgents, before it could have Joined General Howe's Army; I say this fully persuaded they would have done every thing that ought to be expected from good Troops, led by an able Officer,

A little reflection on the nature of this climate, will, I hope, convince your Lordship Troops cannot encamp in that advanced Season, without perishing from the cold alone; - the Inhabited country at a great distance; - and should the Troops, when there, avail themselves of the thinly scattered houses for Protection from the weather. They must

have been dispersed so, that not one quarter only, but all might have been cutt off before they could have assembled for their mutual defence.

Your Lordship perceives I here make no difficulties, even in that country about transporting of baggage, military stores, provision and such matters as are not attended to by persons little used to the movements of Armies. Tho objects of great importance with officers of Service; nor do I Suppose an Enemy in their way till they arrive in the rebel country; but if an Enemy had been found strongly posted, as at Tyonderoga, this with the Frost must have multiplied the difficulties, so that I regard it as a particular blessing, that you Lordships dispatch did not arrive in due time.

Your letter of the 26th March recapitulated these order and imputes to my repassing Lake Champlain, that the Rebels were enabled, with some degree of Success to break into the winter quarters of Sir William Howe's Army.

If your Lordship means the affair of Trenton a little military reasoning might prove the Rebels required no reinforcement. From any part, to cut of that corps is unconnected and alone; the Force they employed on that occation clearly demosntrated this, without my troubling your Lordship with any reasoning upon the matter: a little attention to the Strength of General Howes army, I hope, convince you that connected and in a situation to Support each other, they might have defended themselves, tho all the Rebels from Tyconderoga had reinforced Genl Washingtons Army.

After this Severe charge, your Lordship proceeds to tell me, that on these accounts, and in order to quell the Rebellion Speedily, Lieutenant General Burgoyne is to have the command of almost this whole Army, to attack Tyonderoga Which you consider as one of those Posts necessary to possess upon the Frontier, in order to Secure this Province from future insults, and I am ordered to remain behind at a time your Lordship must know all business of legislation is over till January, and where there is a Lieutenant Governor whose experience, abilities, and attachment to the King's Service entitle him to no Small confidence.

All this is Stated in such a manner and so strongly pointed at me by your Lordship that I shall add a little to convince you from a parallel instance, more was done last year, on this Side, than you had reason to expect, as I already have, I hope, that more was done than I had reason to immagine till very lately you Lordship really wished.

Permit me to remind your Lordship of the campaign fifty nine when General Wolfe was Sent with a Small army to reduce Quebec. You cannot be a stranger to the difficulties he had to contend with, a considerable body of regular Troops to oppose him, many Indians a multitude of excellent and obedient militia, the whole commanded by an officer of reputation, - add to all this a climate So Severe that unless the place was taken before the cold weather set in, the whole Armament must retire, and all begin a new the following campaign.

General Amherst could not but know all this, and your Lordships must allow, Seldom are stronger motives to induce a cooperating General to exert his utmost endeavours than General Amherst had, upon that occation to urge him to make every effort, in order to draw off part of those great numbers which opposed Mr. Wolfe, and no doubt he did every thing in his power.

General Amherst had a very Superior Army. His Situation furnish him with as many Artificers, Laborers, and materials for building a marine on Lake Champlain as he

could wish, with every other assistance that the hearty concurrence of all the English colonies could Supply. He was at liberty to arrange his own Plan, and make his own Preparations, amidst all those advantages, from the preceeding autumn to ?nothing of those already prepared by his Predecessor, General Amherst was free to begin his march as early in the Spring as he thought proper; Met with no Enemy to impede his progress, and tho his arrival on the Canada side in due time, might have been of the most essential use to Mr. Wolfes army, and the Kings Service, yet Mr. Amherst did not pass this Same Lake Champlain that critical campaign, tho the French had but a small marine Force upon the Lake, and a Small land Force at the Isle aux noix notwithstanding which, General Amherst received no censure from the then Minister, Who was not, I believe, over indulgent to officers who neglected opportunities to exert themselves for the Kings Service; nor was an opinion encouraged, that the misfortunes which happened in this neighborhood the following Spring, were occasioned by General Amherst, because he returned into quarters in november in place of continuing his operations during the winter: and your Lordship Should know such measures are less impracticable on this Side the Lake than on the other.

But I pent up in this Town till May in a Province partly disaffected; and over run by Rebels; When Troops arrived a numerous Enemy to capels, who, in their retreat burned and destroyed all that might be of use; - arrived at the end of these naviagble waters, not a boat, not a Slick to employ, neither materials nor work men, Stores nor covering; Trees and Ax men, all must be Sought for amidst confusion and the distracted State of an exhausted Province.

In Spight of every obstruction a greater Marine was built and equipt; a greater marine Force was defeated than had ever appeared on that Lake before; two Brigades were taken across and remained at crown Point till the 2nd November for the Sole purpose of drawing off this attention of The Rebels from Wm Howe and to facilitate his victories the remainder of the campaign: nature had then put an end to ours. His winter quarters, I confess, I never thought of covering, it was supposed ? time that was the Army favoured by your Lordship, and in which you put your trust, yet I never could imagine, while an Army to the Southward found it necessary to finish their campaign, and go into winter quarters, your Lordship could possibly expect Troops So far north Should continue their operations, least Mr Howe should be disturbed during the winter. If that great Army near the Sea coast, had their Quarters insulted, What could your Lordship expect would be the fate of a Small corp detached into the heart of the rebel country in that Season. For these things I am so Severely censured by your Lordship and this the first reason assigned why the command of the Troops is taken from me and given to Lieutenant General Burgoyne to attack those Posts upon the Frontier, essentially necessary for the Security of this Province.

He shall have every assistance in my power, and my most ardent wishes for the Prosperity of the Kings Arms ? in no man's power to Slacken this. The Troops and Armament, destined for his expedition, had immediate orders to receive and follow his directions, that he may combine their movements as he thinks proper; the Same so far as concerns Lt. Col. St. Legers Expedition. The Hanau Chasseurs excepted; I have no Such corp in this Army, not any information concerning it in your dispatch, but it is Set down as part of the corp I am to put under his command. At first I thought it might be a mistake and that the Brunswick Chasseurs were meant, Lt. Gen Burgoyne Says not;

that these are to go with him; and that he thinks the Hanau Chasseurs are on their way hither. All the Indians in the neighborhood of Niagara and Lake Ontario have orders to Joyn Lt. Col St. Leger, those in the lower part of the Province, and those ordered last year from Michilimakinac, are to attend Lieutneant General Burgoyne. Three hundred canadian Militia are also to make the Campaign to be disposed of by Lieutenant General Burgoyne the same I had ordered, While I flattered myslef I thought I Should have the conduct of the war on the Frontier of this Province. ? Canadians, with those necessary for Scouting the woods towards the New England Province, and a great number which must be employed for the forwarding all things for those two Expeditions is I think in the first dawning of good order and obedience, as much as ought, in prudence, to be demanded from this unfortunate Province more worthy of compassion than blame.

The Marine has been greatly improved and augmented, Which the impatience of last years Service would not permit. Those on Lake Champlain have been put under Lieutenant General Burgoynes command, and the greatest part of those on lake Ontario will attend Lt. Col St Leger.

Your Lordships Letter No 14 contains order for Captain Hamilton Lt. Gov of Detroit, in consequence of his correspondence directly with your office; thjese have likewise been forwarded.

Herewith is enclosed an account of all the Intelligence wörthy your notice, I am only to observe thereon, that the best accounts are mixed with lies, and this frequently from deceit, as well as Ignorance.

I am, with all due respect

My Lord Your Lordships Most obedient & most humble
Servant

Guy Carleton

A Return of the Officers & Rangers of the 5 Nation Indian Department ? the Province of Quebec, together with their Pay per day & arrears due to Each, dated Montreal, March 30th 1778 [WO 28/10, fol 406]

Officers Names	Rank	Pay per day	Month's pay due to each
Gilbert Tice	Captn	10 Ster	18
William Johnson	Lieut	4..8	18
Nathaniel Hillyer	ditto	4..8	14
Patrick Langan	ditto	4..8	12
Henry Hare	ditto	4..8	14
Lewis Clement	ditto	4..8	7
Jacob Adams	ditto	4..8	10
Chrisr Kreuser	ditto	4..8	10
Timothy Thomson	Ensign	3..6	6
Patrick Langan	Adjutant	3..6	10
Robert Picken	Commissary	4..8	14
0? Rangers @		1 each for	11

/signed/ Gilbt Tice
Captn

Note from Gilbert Tice to Guy Carleton, dated Montreal 11th May 1778 [WO 28/10, fol 407]

In pursuance of your Orders to me in March last; to go to Niagara with what remain'd here of Col Johnsons Department, and the Mohawk Indians: I for the Boats ready, & every thing prepar'd for my departure, and ? your Excellency wou'd order a Warrant to be Issued for the Officers and Rangers Pay, or any Liens(?) you wou'd judge proper on Acct. I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency that the Officers were obliged to Borrow Money to a Considerable Amount, not having rec'd any Money for a Twelvemonth, and some have a Year & a half's Pay due to them (as your Excellency may see by the Return Major Campbell sent and therefore must think it a great hardship if they are ordered Off without any Subsistence. If your Excellency will please to order a Warrant to be Issued for Seven Hundred Pounds Ster on Col Johnsons Acct: it will enable the Officers to satisfy their Creditors. Otherwise it will be Impossible for them to proceed. I shall wait your Excellency's answer.

I Have the Honor to be with great esteem your Excellency's most obedt
& hmbl Servt

Gilbt Tice

The Information of Mr. Patrick Langan [CO 42/36, fol 111-112, p 221-222]

That on the 29th of March he was at Ticonderoga that the Garrison then consisted of Twelve Hundred men – That some Regiments were on their march to invest Ti and that the Garrison was to consist of 1000 Men but thinks they cannot raise more than 5 or 6000; as th men enlist with the greatest reluctance, which their large bounty is a Confirmation of: giving 60 in Boston Governmt & 32 & 34 in Connecticut, for each man during the War, -- That they were then building on Lake George Three Ren Gallies & Two Scooners with a number of Batteaus That at Skenesborough there was a picketed fort, with a Hundred Men, but were to be reinforced in a few days – At Fort Ann is another Picketted Fort with a hundred men, which is also to be reinforced likewise at Fort Ann, is near 60,000 Pine Boards – could not learn what they were intended for – That there is 300 Men at Fort Edward, in Barracks & 150 at Saratoga at General Schuylers – That There was 5,000 Pieces of Timber cut at Saratoga Lake, from 18 to 50 feet long, is to be drawn down to the North River, but could not learn what use – that a number of Batteaus were building at Albany & ?Snakgo? that a number of Cannon were lying in the Streets of Albany – That Fort Stanwix was to be crazed? & a sod Fort made in the Room of it, with two Redoubts – The Fort to contain 700 men – That another Fort was to be built at the Little Falls, & one at German Flatts – That 3 Regiments was to be Quartered at Fort Stanwix – That they intend if any attempt should be made that way, to cut Trees across Wood Creek to hinder the Batteaus from going up – that there is a great quantity of Provisions at Ti & at Bennington, in the Bay Province – Gates to command at Ti

[among Carleton's letters etc, probably sent to him; not dated]

Letter from John Johnson dated Montreal 16th 1778 [WO 28/5, reel B-2863, fol 5]
(to Captain LeMaistre?)

Dear Sir,

The bearer Lieutenant Singleton who was taken at Fort Stanwix last year, and allowed by Mr. Gates to return to this province last Spring, in Order to be exchanged for one of their Officers, of equal Rank, has informed me that there is a Lieutenant Maynard, who was lately taken by the Indians, desirous of being exchanged for him, provided he can be conveyed as far as Tionderoga – As Mr. Singleton is an officer I have the highest opinion of, I wish the General would comply with his request.

I am ?ing my family & preparing to return to Sorell as soon as possible.

I am Dr. Sir

Your Very Hble Serv
John Johnson

My Lord,

Yesterday the 16th June 1777 an Express arrived from the Straight's Mouth which brought letters from Niagara.

Among others I am honored with one from His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, dated from Quebec 21st of May which encloses a copy of your Lordships letter dated Whitehall 26th March 1777.

This day the several Nations which have been for some time assembled at this place, are to meet in Council, when I shall deliver then The War Axe – There are Deputies from the Chippewas, Ottawas, Wyandotts, Pouteouattamis, Miamis, Delawares, and some Indians of other Nations as the Shawanese, but these have not yet sent Chiefs of Note to Council – however they are shortly expected. Would to God this Storm which is ready to fall on the Frontiers could be directed upon the guilty of those ?okes who have raised it, and pass by the miserable many who must feel its fatal effects.

Your Lordship may be assured I shall use my endeavors to render this Service as effectual as possible, by sending parties at such distance from each other as to produce the most extended alarm –

At the same time by sending Interpreters who are acquainted with the country I shall facilitate all in my power to escape of all the loyal inhabitants to His Majesty's Cause, and advertise those who would withdraw themselves from the Tyranny of the Rebel Service, where they may rendezvous in safety.

I beg leave to transcribe for your Lordships perusal, part of a letter from Monsieur de Rocheblave, which I received late last night dated Fort Gage 8th of May and which I shall communicate to Sir Guy Carleton without loss of time.

“J'ai ?rie Monsieur Abbott de vous faire parvenir une declation qui vous faire connaitre comment nos Catholiques Voisins one rompu les mesures que j'avais pris, pour arretes les voitures chargees de ?netion pas le moyen des Sauvages – Lorsque je vis qu'absolument je our pouvoir plus comptes ? ? je reposai aux inhabitants d'embarques une ? avec muy dans un Batteau ou j'avais quatre canons, et je computers amasser quelques Indians be la Tribe des Illinois, ques laches a la verite mais que je namenais, ? pour servis d'Epouventrail. Jesperais combattre sur blau avec ? des gens sans Canon et fatigues par une longue route, je ? abandonnais las prise entire, ne me recrivant si nous ?aisions captive que le londs et les papiers – J'eus le malheur de ne honieu que des gens decourages par les nouvelles, quon leur paisent entendre de laube cote et par les pratiques encoure plus ridiques de nomme Boukey indigene marchand Anglais, leur liaison avec autres piussances leur a de plus ? des Vieres a l'ambouchuse de la belle Riviere, et par ces pratiques a decourage un peuple veritablement attache au Gouvernement.....

...la crainte & puit gatern'a empeache de prendre une vengeance eclatante de moins be colui sur la fidelite dequesl le Gouvernement a des droits quil a voulu meconnaitre – Vous me ferient sont daltribues a faiblesse ce que jaicru devoir a la orise de ma situation, se j'ai prefere de la laisser partir pout Michillimakinou our Monsieur De

Peyster pourre s'en assurer qui de faire une ? eclat ma situation etait bien precaire et tres differente de la ?....

Quand aux Espagnols it n'est plus time de se dissimiler que sils no se preparent Pas a eclater, a tout le moins chirchent ils a perpetuer nos malheureux Troubles, en combatant non seulement les mesures prises contre les Voitures Anglaises Rebelles, mais en annoncent avec Emphasse aux Indiens la prochaine sortie de leurs ancien Pere de son assoupissement chose toute propre a nous faire cassu le Col, ?quils sont toujours attaches aux Francais ce que je ne crains pas de dire, que ma fidelite meme exige qui je repete...

J'ai encourage cherches des Quiquaboos de la Riviere des Illinois, pout ? les Espagnoles, sur le prsent qui veulent leurs faire a l'arrive de con? Et donner a leur chef la Medaille quils lui ont promis quisque domiciles sur notre partie. Je leur laisserai ignorer (c'est a dire a nos Voisins) que nous avons evente la micke..

l'i m'est revenue de vous dire que le nomme Elliott Ession que vous avez fait arreter au Detroit etait portiers d'une lettre de George Morgan commissaire pour ne Congres et le directeur general des entreprises qui se ? pas ici par le Fort Pitt, la ditte lettre adresse a Richard Winston ? Partisan de la mem cause et digereur ici, bien du dit Morgan, ou du ? de ce quil ne lui fait pas parvenir pas des moyens ?iques obliges moi Monsieur de me faire scavoir s'il ne serait pas juste de faire suppories a ce bien, les defenses qu'il occassionne a la Nation, j'en serai quitte ? ? de nouveau Navie de Despote pas le dit Winston... si je le sais joffre le spectacle singulaire d'un ? sans ? oblige de me plier aux ?

My Lord, having been witness to the influence which the Intrigues and falsehoods of the Rebels have had over a despicable and ignorant race I am humbly of Opinion that Monsieur Rocheblav could not compass his delight in the Convoi he mentions, however sealous & capable ? himself of executing it – I am further to acquaint your Lordship that last year the Rebels sent a Batteau down the ? with design of purchasing Powder & etc from the Spaniards at New Orleans – some of the party mentioned this to some French hunters who informed Mr. Rocheblave with this is addition that the Rebels had shewn them a large pacquet directed for the Governor at New Orleans, containing by their account Letters & Gold coin.

Of this Monsieur Rochblave gave me notice by Express desiring my direction how to proceed. I immediately informed Sir Guy Carleton but as time was not to be lost I directed Monsieur Rocheblave according to his own idea to make use of the Quiquatoes(?) and sent a considerable present to the principal chief to engage him to employ his young men – This day the Trader ? brought me Monsieur Rocheblave's letter (an Englishman) informs me that the deposition mentioned in the former part of the letter, related to the Intrigues of the Spaniards to gain the Savages (principally the Quiquatoes) to their interest. Lt. Governor Abbott encloses that declaration to Sir Guy Carleton.

As ? Bentley I have had no information some time since of his having sold Ammunition to the Rebels he has written however to a Trader at that place acquainting him that he purposed removing from Fort Gage in according the oppressions of Monsieur Rochblave & that he proposes bringing a large quantity of ? here – I had determined to seize him and his goods had he taken his route this Way, at the sa,e time

wrote to the Commandant at Michillimakinac (Captain De Peyster of the Kings Regiment to do the same by him should be attempt to pass by his Post.

Before the Vessel sails to Niagara I shall be able to acquaint your Lordship in what manner the Indians of this place receive the offer of the War Ax.

13th June

My Lord,

Yesterday I engaged an intelligent Savage who speaks English and several Indian languages, to pass from hence thro the Country to New York, and hence to the Southward, to inform the Commander in Chief, and other General Officers that the War Axe has been taken up at this place by the following Nations, all present at the Council with the utmost unanimity and chearfullness – The Ottawas, Chippawas, Wyandotts, Miamis, Poutewattamis, Ottawas of Ouashtanon, Pouteouattamis of St. Joseph , Shawanese, Delawares and one representative of the Caghnawagas. The Messenger expects to arrive at N York in 28 days – he has no token that can give any information to the Enemy should he fall into their hands, but will give ample proof of his being authorized from me and is master of his subject – his name is Montour - I have encouraged him to be diligent and faithfull by giving hi a Commission of Indian Captain which was what his father had enjoyed in the English Service during last War.

A Mr. James Herting one of his most respectable traders in this place and who has had the good opinion of several Officers commanding at this place, having appeared to me guilty of several practices, tending to alarm the inhabitants and shake the firmness of the Indians, I have caused him and his papers to be seized, and shall send him to Quebec for tryal – I have seized the Arms and Papers

N.B. Harting is Bentley's correspondent [at bottom of page]

Of other suspected persons – Heads of accusation and my ground for acting in this manner, with the Depositions of several persons, are to be forwarded to Quebec in the same Vessel which carried the Prisoners to Fort Erie – Your Lordship has been pleased to enable me to raise men in this Settlement where British spirit and ardor is little known and where Loyalty is but a name and I hope a proper use of that power will induce many who think more of their pay than their Duty to be servicable, and that speedily – I have the honor oof enclosing a list of the Persons appointed to command them, of whose zeal and activity I have the best opinions a particular account of them with my reasons for pitching upon them I have sent to Sir Guy Carleton and shall be happy if His Excellency should signify to your Lordship his approbation of my choice – Other absolutely necessary appointments for the Savages etc I shall touch upon to your Lordship, but mention particularly to Sir Guy This day reviewed the Militia of the Fort, and shall see the six Companies in them turn out of here. I shall as soon as possible form a light Company to act in conjunction with the Savages out of the Settlement. I have given orders for an advice boat of about 15 Tons to be built immediately for the purposes of carrying Intelligence, and for the speedy conveyance of Powder Provisions etc to such places as are proper for supplying the ? parties of Savages – I have consulted the Chiefs on the manner of carrying on the petite Guerre in the most extended and most offensive manner. I receive many useful hints from these people

whose ? memories furnish a variety of proper measures to be followed. I shall send proper persons with the Belts and the Hatchet to the Nations of the Ouabash as far as the Illinois – I have prevailed on each nation to send some Chiefs and a few Warriors in the Vessel to Niagara to shew the Six Nations and their Allies that the Hatchet has been taken up by the Nations on the Lakes. – a rooted Jealousy exists between those two confederacies, which required and always will a strict Attention from The Agents – As every circumstance attending this wide and wastefull rebellion may deserve attention, I presume a diary of the Council may be thought not undeserving notice, therefore shall enclose the proceedings from the meeting till it be dismissed – The Number of Chiefs and Warriors in the Settlement who are daily victualled is about 350. Women and children many more; but what is very rare on a like occation these last are subsisted by their own people – I have not heard of a single act of Violence of Theft having been committed since their assembling, tho many of them are housed by the inhabitants.

I must entreat your Lordship to overlook an appearance of any ? in my letter, I have hitherto not been able to keep copies, and the hurry of harrass(?) does not permit me to revise what I have written in a proper manner.

The Latitude your Lordships Instructions have given me put it in my power to take a writer in pay, which will be a prodigious relief to me as the Memorandums I have hitherto been able to keep of transactions are but confused extracts from the letters I write to and receive from different Quarters

I shall find it absolutely necessary to build a Council room, for at present the room I sit in is open to the incursions of the natives, & I can scarce boast the mildness of a Savage Chief who goes far beyond me in bearing all sorts of inconveniences with apparent indifference-

The repairs and Improvements of the Fort advance slowly, the Timber Rafts having not yet arrived, and limestone being brought in boats the distance of three Leagues The most violent Storm of Rain with Thunder that has been known for 40 years has done considerable damage to the sodwork of the Ditch and caused a deal of Earth to fall in however the new Blockhouses built of Oak muskett proof out us out of appre? of any sudden attack should the Virginians attempt what they have so often threatenéd. I trust Sir. William Howe has by this time reduced their Numbers considerably, it shall be my study to act so as to know their attention and divert a part of their Strength by plying them with waspish detachments on their Frontiers -- If the Indians should re? The countenance of a number of Whites, I shall send off the picked men of 5 Companies of Militia under the command of an experienced officer who served the last Indian War at this place, and on whom I have conferred the Rank of Major of Militia with the pay of 15 in diem

The appointment to Officers, Interpreters & etc and the pay to the light company will appear perhaps very high, and the little Gratification of Cloathing & etc unnecessary, as also that I have ventured to keep a frugal table for young ? unable to support their new rank in a Country where N England Rum has been at the exorbitant price of 28 York the Gallon sold for 2 at the manufacturing place in the time of peace. Beef ?? sold 4 the pound other things in proportion.

My Lord the trust reposed in me encourages me to act for the best on the present occasion and I shall not be timid on account of expenses if apparently necessary for his Majesty's Service indeed my situation is not such as to forward matters as I could wish

– My suite consists to a youth I have taken into [page tear] a ? since the Receipt of Your Lordship's letter, and who can scarcely write English – And as to the spirit and zeal which ought to actuate every one on such exigencies as the present, it has been more exerting to assist Rebellion and quash loyalty than to support the Kings Interest and the honor and dignity of the Station.

My Lord as I shall by gentle or other Means raise a Company of Chasseurs here, and as by the means of the active and spirited young men (of the best ? families chiefly) whom I have appointed for their Officers I expect to make them a usefull establishment for this Country I need only mention to your Lordship that for the present I shall arm them as well as possible, but should be desirous to have their Equipment ? home of Arms, Short couteaus, Rifles powder horns, light caps, scalping knives & Tomahawks, Linnens, Cloathing, Shoes and Stockings are immoderately dear at this place.

For the Fort, and for any expedition requiring dispatch, light ?ress fixed prices are much wanting, we have but two – such as might be carried thro the Woods on pack-horses would answer the best purposes in case of a ? with any of the Warlike nations of Indians unused the effect of Cannon such as the Sioux, Outagamies etc who are seldom at peace with our more tractable Indians of the Lakes.

I shall now My Lord quit Detroit and the Indians a Subject I could have wished to have treated more succintly.

Your Lordship is probably informed of the machinations of the Spaniards for my own part every thing conspires in making me assured that they endeavor to acquire the hopes of the French for a change of Government, and to debauch the Savages – This very day I have heard of two Ottawas who have been with them and are to return, and as I have reason to think I can procure intelligence by my interest in that nation I shall not be langued(?) in procuring it.

As I don't in the least doubt that Rebellion will be cut up by the roots this Autumn, I take the liberty to hint to your Lordship the fasility of turning the Arms of the Savages encouraged by good treatment and warmed by Success against our revengefull and treacherous Enemy who seems resolved to be thrust our of N. America _ If any such Scheme should be prosecuted I beg leave to offer my poor Services, They shall be most chearfully exerted in any station, and in the interim I shall in my correspondence with Mr. Rocheblave keep alive the hopes of being Governor of New Orleans – a more active and intelligent Person is not to be found in this country of ignorant Bigots & busy rebels, & had he the means I doubt not of his curbing their insolence and dissatisfaction – The Frigates and light Vessels on the American Station would do the Busyness at N. Orleans, and the Quiquaboos, Chickasaas etc would act their part, while the ? of the Enemy was drawn Seaward, and they continued secur of the Indians they have been endeavoring to seduce by Presents and Promises.

My Lord I am shocked at the length of this letter, which I have not time to take a fair copy from – at the same time that I have every reason in the World to expect General Carleton's assistance & Countenance, and that he will leave nothing undone that can be done for the King's Service, yet the confusion of affairs in Canada is such, that I presume to mention things to your Lordship, which ought to come thru my application to him, ? not from inattention to his superior station, but from fear of time being lost, or that a misplaced delicacy should being any injury to the public Cause –

I have the honor to be, with the most profound Respect

My Lord your Lordships most devoted and most humble Servant
Henry Hamilton

P.S. My Lord I have this day been at the Ottawa Village 5 Miles distant, where (as is usual on the like Occasions) they danced the War Dance and had a Feast – nothing can exceed their chearfullness and good temper. I am tomorrow to talk with two of their principal people who are going to the Ouabash, and I am informed have benen with the Spaniard this Spring, and recveived presents from them, I shall direct them to receive their presents and ? some written token of their designs that there may be no doubts

On my return home I found an Express which had arrived in my Absence from Post Vincennes.

Lt. Gov Abbotts acquaints me that Monsieur de Rocheblave's letter to him, mentionthe Spaniards reinforcing the Garrison at N. Orleans and forming Stores of provisions and increasing their Magazines – further That all the French Officers ?formed in this Country have had offers of being taken into their pay.

I have This Morning ordered a ? Smith from this Settlement to the Miamis Town with the pay of a Dollar per day, who is to repair gratis of the Arms of all the neighbouring Indians.

If your Lordship approves, this settlement would draw a great advantage from the pay of the Troops & being sent up to this place in silver specie, for exclusive of the great demand of it for the Indian trade, there will not be a Markett till the Canadians can get something more substantial than paper for the produce of their farms.

As a Vessel is hourly expected from Michillimakinac, I shall not close this tedious Journal till the Vessel which is to carry the Indians to Niagara be ready to sail.

My Lord – By Governor Abbotts Express I receive a letter returned to a Mr. James Harting one of the principal Traders at this place, on the outside of which is written "Mr. Bentley has quitted the Illinois" – I shall not trouble your Lordship with more particulars of that affair, but shall prosecute it to the End.

I had some Months ago offered a reward of L100 for the apprehending a Trader who absconded from this Settlement broke his oath & sold his goods to the Rebels. I shall probably have less trouble and fewer obstacles thrown in my way since The discovery and confinement of Mr. Horting which has made some people already alter their ?. A great Difficulty and embarrassment to me has been the conduct of Captain Lt Monpesson who commands the Detachment of the King's or 8th Regiment here – he has told me that no military order of mine respecting the Troops shall be obeyed, so that tho several of the private(?) ? have offered to go with the Savages, Volunteers, I must not accept, indeed cannot of their offers however acceptable at this time.

The King's Service requires unanimity, and I have long endured what I was ill able to book on that Account, however, Capt Monpesson appears at the Indian Councils, and I endeavor to betray no dissatisfaction, which is a ? on a person's sincerity not easily supported.

After several Months silence, I at length made a formal complaint to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, after which it may appear improper as well as unnecessary to inform your Lordship, but I should not do justice to the forwardness and Spirit of the Officers and Men under Captain Lieut Monpesson's Command, if I did not

acquaint your Lordship that they have testified the greatest zeal on the arrival of the orders for giving the hatchet, and it might appear very strange that dating my letter home one of His Majesty's Forts I should not say any thing of the disposition of the Garrison – To preserve appearances, while my right to command remains contested, I make application for what I think it my duty to command, but as no two Popes ever appeared more ridiculous than those who mutually excommunicated each other, I would not expose the King's Lieutenant Governor to the reproach of an indecent contest. Sir Guy Carleton is and has always been honored for his impartiality, I wait his Excellency's decision will all possible ?

30th of June a Vessel arrived from Michillimackinac, a letter from the Commandant mentions his having discovered an intercourse between the Spaniards and a Chief of the Ottawas called Ottawakeejeek – as follows "There is a belt gone from Detroit forwarded by the Ottawa Chief Ottawakeejeek requesting assistance for the Rebels. This Belt with one from the Spanish Commandant one of my Traders stopp'd" My Lord I venture to enclose to your Lordship a Plan showing the situation of the upper Spanish forts ? conceal no doubt being reduced from the very incorrect Map published in 175 by Jeffries and Fadea

With this plan I venture to send enclosed the copy of a Scheme which I lay before His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton I own with some hesitation lest I should be thought too presuming, but while I acknowledge my incapacity, I hope to escape the essence(?) of too great forwardness,

I find it impossible My Lord to send a copy of the Council being my own Secretary, and having a variety of distractions, the Savages holding their council in the very room where I now write, a Spy shall be sent as soon as possible I can only say that if the performance of the Savages keeps pace with their protestations they will effectually answer the purpose designed.

White Eyes – Kayashota and the Corn Stalk noted in the last Your Lordship was pleased to send to Sir Guy Carleton are very far from deserving to be called friends to Government

I shall with all convenient dispatch acquaint Your Lordship with the steps I have taken for the dragging the Canadians to their duty, the appointment of Officers to the Militia and Savages, and the success of the first Parties against

This the Council assembled had no thoughts of being called on for war, these are however 47 Chiefs and Warriors proceed this day (3rd July) or tomorrow in a Vessel for Niagara and 81 have already given in their names for the scouting war on the frontiers, most of the young men are out at their hunt and know nothing of this sudden change

I have the honor to be with most profound respect My Lord Your Lordships most humble & most devoted Servant

Henry Hamilton

Council held at Detroit June 17th 1777 By Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton Esq –
Superintend etc etc with His Majesty's Western Indian Allies [CO 42/37, fol 70-77, pp
139-153]

Present		
Lieutenant Governor Hamilton		
Captn Mompesson		Jehu Hay Deputy Agent
Lieut Yonge	8 th or	Most of the Officers of
Lieut Mercer	King's Reg	Militia of the Settlement
Lieut Caldwell		
<u>Village Chiefs</u>	<u>Indian Nations</u>	<u>War Chiefs</u>
Chamindawa	Attanas	Egoushaway
Pendiguhawa		Michimandai
		Nianego
		Maicateymake
		Shibiwessey
Mettusawgay	Chippawas	Meiatlenassong
		Webegoney
		Shaboquoie
		Wabinossay
Ogishkiminissey	Washtanon Attanas	Meehissineenee
Cocoosh		Accundecan
Meegickquoi		
Cughquanderong	Hurons of Wiandotts	Deeyontete the Elder
Tuindatton		Deeyentete the Younger
Dawatlong		Sandusquoia
Sondishetty		
Arininedosetong		
Yahshynaney		
CheiCaise	Puttawattamis of	Pomompkatak
Wariatten	Detroit	Winedigo
Okea		Wysuwanaqua
Wabisheegou		Heewytenane
Eshkibee		
Nomattotoo		
Peemusch		
Quoikeepeeran	Puttawattamies of	Heeamiskee
Okea	St. Joseph	
Kitnywissey		

Neicaquangga Cheipongdoskia	Miamees or Tawittamies	Misshikinaiqua Kupeecuttawa
	Shawanese	Tatesa Negotawayteeman Liapittegoshingua
John Montour	Delawares	Masseenina Machiwynosso
	Caghnanagai	Anonghshoata or Cap

William Tucker, Piere Drouillard, Joseph St. Marten, Isidore Chosac, Elespole Chesne, Charles Beaubin, Duperon Baby, Interpreters for the above Nations

The Lieut Governor addressed them as follows

Children! Ottawas, Chippawas, Wyandotts, Poutewattamis, Miamis, Delawares & Shawanese

I salute and welcome you to this Council fire – I beg you attention. I am reminded by your presence of the strict alliance and friendship concluded here last year and do not doubt its continuance.

Children! You are assembled here that the Alliance your Brothers the Ottawa have lately made with the Nations on the Ouabash may be confirmed publicly.

That I may inform you of such things as concern your common Wellness: To know your Sentiments which have hitherto agreed so perfectly with my own, lastly to do you what Service lays in my Power

Children: The Great King ours ordered father has been pleased to signify his approbation of your conduct hitherto, and has ordered me to distribute some cloathing to your women & children, at this time of scarcity occasioned by the rebellious and obstinate behaviour of some of his undutyfull Subjects.

Eight branches of Black Wampum, to each Nation one, and one for the Pouteouattamis of St. Joseph

? the Kings health was Bank and the Indians were told the sale of Rum would be stopp'd during the time of their assembly and that each Nation should have an Ax and some liquor when the Council should be dismissed.

Then Tourdatting a Wyandott Chief explained the meaning of a large belt sent by the Six Nations, to be shown to the Huron confederacy and to the Nations so far as the Ouabash to encourage them to a firm alliance in Support of His Majesty and his Government and to be seen as a whetstone for the axes of all the young men when called upon

A large Belt of six feet long and thirty grains wide White with a Beaver of Black Wampum worked at one end

A Belt of nine rows was then delivered to the Wyandotts addressed to them and the Western Nations by the Six Nations desiring them to remember the engagements entered into last year to assure them to their intentions to fulfill their part and their resolution to act as they should be directed by the Father.

Lieut Governor Hamilton – Children! You have ? with much attention. I ? you to continue Lieut Governor Hamilton – Children! You have ? with much attention. I ? you to continue ? You have been and to hear from one whatever concern your interest whether ? ? I ? now give you an account of the present situation of ?

His Majesty finding that the rebellious subjects will not give ear to the mercyfull ? he has ? ? ? ? ? has ordered his Children in the Neighborhood of Michilimakinac and the Six Nations to take up the War hatchet and to strike the rebels ? they come to a ? of ? and with forgiveness – Your Brothers have taken the hatchet as your Father the Great King ordered

This is the state of things at present. Tomorrow I shall open my mind to you all my ? In the meantime I thank my children for their orderly behavior and recommend them a continuance of it

Tsinistting – Wyandotte chief – Father! All your children now present have listened attentively and clearly comprehend what you have told them – When you have declared your sentiments we shall communicate ours to you – you know Father we have always joined in opinion with you your children are well pleased with what you have said do not believe what I say is from myself, I speak in the name of my Nation.

--- The Council ended for this day ---

18th June 12 o'Clock 1777

The above names Chiefs of the different Nations, with about two hundred and fifty Warriors being assembled at the Council house, Lieut Gov Hamilton with the Officers in Garrison most of the Officers of the Militia, and the Interpreters, went out to them

Lieutt Gov: Children! I am glad to find you all met agreeable to our adjournment of yesterday, and hope you will listen to the voice of your Father.

I told you yesterday you should hear my Sentiments without disguise. From the day I first saw you at this place, you have been guided by my Opinion. My heart is strong for the King your Father, and I hope yours is of the same temper.

To the English present – Gentlemen! I am now going to express the Will of His Majesty and I expect an implicit obedience thereto

The French present were addressed to the same effect.

Children! Yesterday I showed you a whetstone for your War Axes, but this day I produce in its room an Axe ready sharpened, in the name of the Great King, which I expect you to make use of in Defence of his Crown, and of your own Lands, your Wives and Children, against the Traytors and Rebels.

Produced the red Belt –

Then the War Song was sung and the Hachet /a large red Belt/ taken up By the Lt Gov, Mr. Hay his dep Agent, the Officers of the Garrison, a Caghnawaga, a Delaware, a Shawanese, Lieutt Reaume of the Militia, a Wyandott, An Ottawa, a Chippawa, another Chippewa, a Pouteouattamie of the Huron(?) River, a Pouteouattamie of St. Joseph's ~ A Miamis Chief took up the Belt, and said he had but a few of his People present, he was glad to see the disposition of the Nations, that he should report it on his return to his own Town, That he and his Warriors were always ready, and that above twenty of them were already out against the common Enemy.

N.B. it is not customary in the Miamis Nation to sing the War Song

Then a War Chief of the Wyandotts took up the belt and sung the War Song, next Mr. James Horting, Captn pf Militia desired of the Lieutt Governor that the Interpreter might be allowed to explain for him which being granted, he said that his duty to God required his obedience to his Superiors, that he could not dance, but that he should obey the orders of the King or his Officers

Mr. Chapeton, a Captain of the French Militia of the ?ment desired the like permission and said that he was old and should always be ready to march, or obey any orders he might receive.

Then Elespole Chesne an Interpreter for the Pouteouattamis took up the Beslt, then Shassigaiuk a Chippewa chief took it up saying Father I never dance but I ? all your Children ? the strength and numbers of the Chippewa Nation.

Then the Lt Governor took his small Sword from his side and made it a present to Egusha? An Ottawa chief, who was lately returned from the Ouabash as a proof of his appreciation of his conduct.

Shasnanone an old Ottawa chief then took the Axe, and sang his War Song saying he acted for his son (not present) who was better able to go to War than himself

–
Next Chaminatowa an Ottawa Chief – after him Dawattong, a Huron Chief who said, Father we take up the Axe to fulfill the Will of our Father The Great King. We Village Chiefs sing to encourage our young men, wishing they may be as dutyfull in laying it down when ordered.

Tsecudatong took it up saying my singing is a matter of form being a Village Chief, but if our young men be hard pressed, I shall be ready to assist them – after him Mickimundack an Ottawa Chief, then a War chief of Tiguomam – then Cassouchet or the Little Chief, a Chippawa – Duyentitie War Chief of the Wyandotte then took the Axe,

said it pleased him that he would sing it in his Village, and that he would pull out his hair, being too long for a Warrior, that he was young but would do the Duty of a Man.

The Lt Gov the expressed his satisfaction at their ready complioance and said he would apeak the day after with the Chiefs at the ? for the Council's assembling.

The Lieutenant Governor then sung the War Song,, and delivered the War Axe to Duyeatite The War Chief of the Wyandotte to be guardian of it.

Duyoutit then sung and told the Lt Gov he might depend on him for keeping it.

John Montour then mentioned the Nations to whom he was allied, took up the Hatchet sung the War Song, declaring he would act his part with the War Chiefs with a firm heart.

Then the whole Assembly rose and went into the open field where some Oxen were killed for them, and the next morning, nine o'Clock was appointed for a private meeting of three or 4 Chiefs of each Nation to confer with the Lt. Gov.

--- End of the second days meeting ---

19th June

The Chiefs abovementioned being assembled the Lieutt Governor addressed them as follows –

Children! As we are now of one heart and mind, and are to act in concert, I shall not leave any thing undone to wipe out and bury any ill will or Jealousy that may subsist among the different Nations, let it have proceeded from what cause soever.

You Ottawas of Ouashtenon my Children! attend to what I am going to say – Early this morning I was informed that an accident had nearly turned the Axe yesterday put into your hands, to another use than to destroy rebels, owing to the recollection of some of your blood having been spilt last Winter by a Chippawa

6 Strings of black Wampum

Children! This best will I hope dry up your tears, and clear your hearts, that this accident shall not be remembered again, this I request of you, to pay due attention to when you shall look upon this belt.

A White belt of Wampum 7 Rows

The Oushtenons then thanked their father for his care in preventing any bad consequences from what had happened last Winter (the murder of an Ottawa of Ouashtenon by a Chippewa) assured him they harbored no bad design and that they would give their young men a Caution ~ They added, Father we Thank you again and

are convinced Our Father the Great King sent you here to take care of us and give us good advice, and to have compassion on his young Children

Egushaway a War Chief of the Ottawa then addressed the Lt Gov. and thanked him for his care in preventing the bad effects of the foolish behaviour of some of their young people and desired his brethren (all the Nations present) to forget this folly

Fathers and Brothers – You know that we are not guilty of these follies but in our liquor, therefore we beg all may be forgotten, We have no more to say

A Belt of White Wampum to the Ouashtenons

The Lieutt Gov said he spoke like a man of sense, and hoped his brethren would pay attention to what he said – He then communicated to them some News brought from the Miamis town and desired the Chiefs of that Nation to declare if the intelligence was genuine, they declared it to be so – It was to the following purport ~ That four Delaware Chiefs who had gone to Fort Pitt, had been detained There for some time, and that their heads had been struck off, with some other particulars in addition, as that the Virginians had sent the Delawares a red Belt and a letter smeared with Vermillion, signifying that they did not want peace with any nation of Indians, and that in one Months time they might expect to be attacked – The reply of the Delawares was that they would expect them and that they should not want for opponents among the Delawares while there was a man left in the nation.

Egushaway said he had heard an account of that matter, but he did not believe the four Chiefs had been killed.

The Miami Chiefs being questioned by the Lieutt Gov replied that many false reports were raised in their Villages, but that this might be depended on for Truth

Theendatong a Village Chief of the Hurons then spoke as follows –
Father! We thank you for having covered the bones of the dead and reconciled those

Children! The method I advise you to pursue in this War is to send out many small parties to different quarters to divide the force of the Rebels and distract their attention while the Armies of the great King press upon them in large bodies. In three days I expect you shall have consulted together and I desire you to name to me the Chiefs you pitch upon for this Service, with the number of Warriors and at the samt time the present proposed shall be paid before you

Children! I shall not suffer any traders or others to quit this settlement for some time, that our designs may not be communicated to our Enemies – You call me your Father, and I consider you as my Children, attend to what I am going to say – some unthinking people of your colour, have gone toward the rebels to know what they are about, I advise you to send to them without loss of time to withdraw that we may all act as one man.

Children! Think on your Brothers the Shawanese and Delawares they are near the Enemy, take courage and do not forget their Situation

Children! As I have told you the Six Nations and Mississagais are ready to act the same part at Niagara, as you have done here, if you chuse to send some fine Chiefs and Warriors there I shall send down one of my Chiefs (Ens Caldwell of the King's 8th Regt) who will be their friend and should they go to War by that way will go along with them -- I shall expect your Answer Tomorrow morning ~ Isidore Chesne shall be your Interpreter.

Children! Should it be thought necessary for you to act in a large body, I shall send you friend The Snipe (Mr. Hay the Depy Agent) to assist you with his advice, and to inform me from time to time of your proceedings and acquaint me with your Wants – If you determine for sending small parties I shall send some few whites with each to serve as Interpreters, other Measures will be necessary to take after proper deliberation, I am now to thank you for your patient attention, and shall meet you tomorrow Morning.

~ Council broke up for this day ~

The succeeding days till the dismissing the Indinas, and closing the Council were employed in concerting proper measures, giving presents etc a detail of which would be tedious and unnecessary – Minutes of such transactions are kept for the guidance of the Agents on future occasions.

From the 26th June to the 13th July taken up principally in preparing and sending out parties to War which have been added to by the several Nations instead of falling off in their numbers

Henry Hamilton
Lieutt Gov and Superintend.

Right Honorable Lord George Germaine
His Majesty's principal Secretary of State for America

Whitehall

London

disputes which have lately happened we shall not fail to make it generally known

Father attend! This Axe you put into our hands yesterday, I look round to see who is the bravest War Chief – You have thought we Wyandotts, tho the youngest (meaning least numerous) of the Nations, the properest to keep possession of it, I think as all our brethren do, that sometimes the youngest children have as much sense as the eldest, yet not to show too great a confidence, we will yield the guardianship of it to our elder

Brothers the Chippewas, therefore in the sight of all the Nations we committed to them Charge ~ nevertheless Father be assured, tho we are young, we shall use it with all our force.

The Lieutt Gov told him he was well pleased with the confidence they expressed for their Brothers the Chippewas, and requested they might come to a determination what Nation should be the Guardian of the War Axe.

Then delivered it to the Hurons (?)

Massigariash Chief of the Chippewas – addressed the Lt Gov: Father listen to me! I speak in the name of the Chiefs of the nation – then turning to the Nation present he said, Brothers! You see our support, and what we have all to depend on, shuring(?) the Lt. Gov: ~ Father! Your axe has been received by all your children present, ? ? Father and brethren we are the strongest and the most numerous Nation, we swarm on the borders of the Great Lakes – Father! When you presented us this Axe we did not seize it in a hurry, but deliberately, and held it fast, as do all your Children, and we deliver it now to the Poutaouattamies.

Mettusaagay – Father! I hold fast your Axe and will attend you wherever you go.

Thaoricanong – an Ottawa Chief – Brethren I thank you for Your steadyness to support your Father and you Father I salute

A Chief from Cagnawaaga then spokes as follows –

Father! My son John Montour here present has been a Village chief hitherto, for which reason we have believed(?) to him, he has been employed to get intelligence, and to carry Belts and messages from place to place, he has acted as a peaceable man _ Now we have found our Father's Axe, 'tis time to untye his hands that he may take hold of it, I do accordingly loose them, that he may lay hold of, and use your Axe –

Father! It may not be long before the King's rebellious children are brought to reason. I shall listen to you and be as obedient in laying down, as I have been ready to take up the Axe ~ ~ Three strings of black Wampum

Tsocuidatong speaks. Father you see one of your Children a Caghnawaaga, all your Children here know you love him, he has something more to say to you

The Cagnawaaga Chief then continued – Father you see your child, I am born(?) the Salt spring, I came here expressly to know your sentiments, and I thin k I now know them, nothing could give me more pleasure as I have already lifted the Axe against the Great King's undutyfull children – You have always recommended to us, to defend out possessions, the fear of losing them obliged me to act as I have, seeing what has passed, and knowing your words, I have been induced to untye the hands of John Montour, and this string is a witness to my satisfaction in what you have done

--six strings of black Wampum

Wawiaghien Chief of the Pouteouattamis – Father I th you for listening to your Children here present, you see we hold your Axe in our hands, as well as your other Children, as far as to the Sachees(?) think not we shall let it go – He then returned it to the Hurons

The Lt. Gov: I thank Methusaagay for his professions, as I do all my Children in general, for the readiness they have shown to fulfill the Will of the great King their father, and I approve of Caghnaawaaga Roonak(?) having loosed the hands of John Montour

Children! I have kept you a long time this morning, The news we left last night took up a considerable part of it. I shall meet you tomorrow at the usual hour, and the great Guns which will presently salute you, are in testimony of my satisfaction in your conduct

Tscondatong – Father! You see this Axe, it has gone round to all our Brothers and is returned to us – You see the two War Chiefs who are to be the Guardians of it. I thank our brothers for their Union on this occasion. We shall keep it ? use it when you shall order us –tis true we are named to keep it but we are of Opinion if you took it in your own hand, all your children would follow your footsteps – We pray the Master of life to favor our undertakings and we hope he will approve of this step as he does of whatever is good and right, and hitherto we have had cause to approve of your prudence, and good advice

Egushaway – Father! I thank you and all my Brothers here present for the unanimity shown on this occasion – Our Brothers the Chippawas are more numerous tis true than we but we shall not be behind them in zeal to second the will of our Father – I am just returned from counting(?) you Brothers. Lt Gov Abbott to the Ouabash, I can answer for the disposition of all yor Children in that part of the Country, but you are too much hu(a)rried against to attend to the particulars I have to relate to you

The Lieut Gov then complimented the Wyandotts in particular on being chosen guardians of the War Axe, and the other Nations for their unanimity, said he doubted not they would act by his direction, and that he would prescribe the manner at length the day following

--The Council closed for this day --

June 20th 11 o'Clock

The Chiefs met according to adjournment. The Lt Gov saluted them adding Children! let us give thanks to the Master of life who has brought us together with one heart and mind – Children we will exert our common strength in grasping the Axe the Great King has put into our hands, nor will we part our hold till he orders us to lay it down

Children! Your Father the great King is better informed of passes in this great Council than we can be, he sees the risque his Indian Subjects run of losing their land. He

knows the perverse disposition of his rebellious subjects, and how they have sh? Their ears to the voice of Money(?). He is now using the only means by which they to be brought to due obedience, by their Obstinacy they have brought ruin on themselves – The King has ordered his Troops to take their large Towns on the shores of the Great Lake – tis done – He has ordered his own Warriors to strike the Rebels assembled in Arms. They have obey'd the King and have struck the Rebels in many different places along the Coast – The Rebels [page edge, missing word] said we are ? to this contact, let us retire towards our Frontiers and [page edge] us remove out of the reach of the King's Warriors, and settle on the lands of his Indian subjects – The King says to his Indian Children, rise up as one Man and repel these invaders of your properties, defend your lands, Your Old Men Your Women and Children -- An Army from Canada shall press on them by the way of the another joined by the six nations and Mississagais shall fall upon them from Oswego, another aided by my Ships of ? shall straighten them by the Way of N. England, and another by Philadelphia shall call their attention to the Southward while the Cherokees shall take advantage of their distraction --? These rebellious children who have disposed themselves to avoid the King's Troops on the Coast shall be surrounded and driven into the [page edge] like a band of Buffaloes, and fall prey either to the King's Troops who [page edge] to ? bodies, or to his Indian Subjects who chase them like hunters

Children! listen to me – I have never told you a falsehood since I have been among you, nor have I concealed any thing from you -- In the name of the great King, I shall present some things necessary for you tis not all he intends for you, in the mean times, I am strengthening this place to serve as a refuge for your Families during this War, and those who go out to strike the Rebels shall be supplied with every thing necessary which can be procured for them here.

Senake Country
PS 1777

Sir,

I have the Most Agreeable news to Acquaint You that my Last Information of the death of Mr. Butler is Contradicted by the Chiefs of the Six nations Who are now Assembled to Condole the loss of the Warriors Who Were Lately kill'd Although at first by Servals(?) of the Indians the Declared to me its being fact that he was put to death.

These the Chiefs Says that Mr. Butler was Brought to the place of Execution where his grave was fixed and dig'd. But no Executiner was found Whereupon the Col or Genl Commanding there said he would do it himself rather than he should not be Executed the Committee and people at the flatts Immediatly being Enraged at the Eproceedings and Determination of the Bostoniners Orderd him to be forwith released and Sent to Albany Where he shall remain with the Others who Accompanied him Except the Indians Who are released –

I hope this may serve to Ease the mind of Col Butler and Every one who is Well Disposed which if it had happened to have been Truth as at first it was Represented to be it must have been a Most Barbourous Unhuman Dismal Scene

My Advice by the Chiefs, who are hear now Assembled Says that some of the Onidias Informed that they were in fort Stanwix a few days after our Retreat ? the place was greatly Shatterd by our Shells and numbers kill'd and Wounded. A Woman being big with Child a Shell fell just Before her and Cut of Both her Legs of which she died Instantly. The Commanding officer Declaring if We had Continued the Seige two or three days Longer he must have Given up the Fort

By an Onondago Indians Who had a Lame Hand and Was With Lieut Porost(?) on Express to General Burgoinnes from fort Stanwix Some time ago Who (crossed out) and another Indian Who left the Army Some time ago about a Month and Informs that General Burgoyne Was about 3 Miles from Albany ? or at Old Col Peter Schuylers House and the General told the Indians in about 15 days from that time he Expected to be in possession of Albany a few days Before they Left the Army that Luke LeCorns Son Arrived from the Army from (crossed out) under General Clinton as they say they had 800 shiping in the River a (crossed out) I suppose they mean Large and Small Crafts Included – and the General told them that he Expected that Both Armys Would Meet in one day at Albany General Burgoyne Return'd the Six Nations thanks for there Gallant Behaviour Against the Rebles and Likewise told them that Very Soon they Might Expect his mag—in [page crease] Thanks for there Loyalty in helping to Support Government

Mr Brant With his family and about 40(?) Men Women and Children of the Mohawks are now in Connussadago being Rob'd of Every thing that they had and Distrust them in a Most Shocking manner by them Rapealy (?) Schuylers that is David Schuyler Hanjost Schuyler and the Howes/Towns(?) With a Number of Villanous Oriska

Indian Mr Brantt is hear in Connatasago Who Came hear Yestarday to pay a Small Visit.

The Mohawks of fort Hunter are all Run With there Women and Children a party of Cautnaw Comeing from General Burgoyns Army to fetch them Some Where Between the Mohawk river and Saratoga they meet a Reble Scouting party and came to an Engagemet they killing Seven of the Reble party the Rest making there Escape; One Mohawk Was kill'd Arons Brother Cornelus By name they are all Safe Arrived at General Burgoin Army

Four Indians are now in Albany now as Spies in Order to See and discover the Movement of the Army and as Soon as the General is in possession of it to Immedately forthwith to return and Give Information of the Success. Yestarday an Express Arrived hear Whom I had Dispatch'd to Oswego in Order to see if Colo Butler was Arrived there as he promised or pass'd that Way; Who brings one a Letter from Lawrons Partow he being the only person now resideing there the Army being Long-Gone from there. He Informs that a few days ago four Rebles Deserters Arriv'd from fort Stanwix at Oswego with a Large french Battle and says that when they Left it there was no more than 800 Men in tha place and the one half was waiting for an Opportunity to Desert they are gone to Canada –

A few days ago a Deserter Arrived hear to me at Connatasago from Washingtons Army Who says that When he Left it Washington Was Within 26 Miles of philadelphia and was a prepairing to go down to meet General How at the head of Elk river about 60 Miles from philadelphia; and at his Arrival at Wyomean on the Susquhanaha an Express Arrived that General Washington Was Defeated and that he and 2 other Commandingf officers had Made there Escape to philadelphia Where it was Said he Entended to make a Stand With the Miliatia and other Scattering Troops Mr Brantts people to about the Number of about 40 Mohawks Will want assistance of Cloath and that soon to keep them from the Cold as they are Stript as afoemention'd to Conclude with my Report To the Commanding officer Col Butler and Mr. Pollard

Remain Gentlemen yr Humble Servt
John Johnston

Mr. Brant Compliments to Mr. Pollard and desires if You will be so good as to credit him to send him a piece of your Best small flower'd Callico as Likewise I of

Return of Parties of Indians sent from Detroit [WO 28/10, f 396]

When Sent Off	Names of Chiefs etc	Nations	Numbers	When Returned
1777 July 3 rd	Mettusawgay Nassiggiath	Chippawas	22	Septem 2 from Fort Stanwix five Prisoners & 9 Scalps
	Egortshawey	Ottawa	6	Do (?)
	Dawattong Orendiacky	Hurons	7	31 August one scalp from Do
	Okia & Windigo Tucker & Drouettear, Interpreters	Poutawattamies	5	Do Two of them Returned from Do With two Scalps

Signed by Jehu Hay, Deputy Agent of Ind Affairs & Governor Hamilton

[list goes through parties departing 31 August 1777; total number who left = 992 and it is noted that this excludes those who left from the Wasbash]

Memoranda of General Carleton relative to the next Campaign communicated to Lt Genl Burgoyne to be laid before Government [CO 42/36, f 4-5; not dated]

A Reinforcement of four thousand Troops exclusive of compleating the present Army is necessary for Canada

It would be desireable to increase the present Establishment of British Regiments to an hundred per Company as part of the desired reinforcement.

With a reinforcement to the above amount, and well composed a large Corps may be spared to pass Lake Ontario, and to operate upon the Mohawk river.

Another Corps might possibly be employed to penetrate to Connecticut River.

Six Months provisions for at least twenty thousand Men at full rations, ought to be sent our early in the Spring. The Numbers of Mouths to feed including Savages, Canadians, Artificiers, Seamen etc upon the Lakes may be reckoned a full third more than the Troops.

Canada will furnish flour sufficiently, but the drain of live Cattle has been so great the last Campaign that very little can be expected

A Corps of Boatmen is absolutely necessary for all operations in a Country so intersected with Lakes and Rivers as that wherein the Canadian Army must act.

A List of Colonel Johnson's Department of Indian Affairs [f 402]

<u>Names</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>By Whom apptd</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Profession</u>	<u>Residence</u>
Col Butler	Supt	6/4/1775	Col Johnson	48	New Eng.		
Gilbert Tice	Capt	"	"	36	New Jersey		
Nathaniel Hilliard	Lt.	"	"	40	New York		
Daniel Steal	"	"	"	36	Ireland	Merchant Tryon Co NY	
James Bennett	Commissary	"	"	46	Old Eng	Carpenter w/Johnson 7yr	
John Johnson	Lt	7/1/1775	"	34	New Eng	Ind Trader	
William Johnson	"	"	"	32	New Eng	Ind TRAdEr	Mohawk R
John Powell	"	1776	Col Caldwell	26	Mohawk R	Credible Farmer	
Louis Clement	"	"	"	50	"	"	"
James Wilson	"	"	"	30	Ireland	Ind Trader	Niagara
James Caldwell	"	"	"	32	Ireland		Pennsylvania
Edward Ridley	"	"	"	24	Old Eng	?Merchant	Mohawk Riv
Peter Tenbruck	"	"	Capt Lernoult	34	Albany	Credible Farmer	" "
Andrew Thompson	"	1777	"	21	Ireland	Ind Trader	" "
Bernard Frey	"	"	"	24	Mohawk R	Credible Farmer	" "
George McGinnes	"	"	"	21	b on	"	" " " "
Samuel Thompson	"	"	"	19	Ireland	Ind Trader	" "
John Joseph Harramon	Volunteer	"	"	38	Mohawk R	Credible Farmer	" "
Frederick Young	"	"	"	44	"	"	" " " "
Peter Hiller	Private	"	"	40	Prov of NY		" "
John Dalton	"	"	"	34	Ireland		" "
George Steward	"	"	"	21	Pennsylvania		" "
Benjamin Davis	"	"	"	28	New Eng		" "
Peter Daniel	"	"	"	30	Schenady		" "
Michael Moarn	"	"	"	36	Ireland		" "
Thomas Sutton	"	"	"	36	O Eng	Discharged Soldier	Niag
Charles Humphreys	"	"	"	30	"	"	" " " "
Derrick Bell	"	"	"	32	Mohawk R		Mohawk R
John Riley	"	"	"	28	Ireland		" "
Daniel Padrew	"	"	"	24	Mohawk R		" "
Derrick Dedrick	"	"	"	22	"	"	" "
John Green	"	"	"	22	Pennsylvania		" "
John Depew	"	"	"	38	"		" "
John Young	"	"	"	36	Mohawk R		" "
Daniel Young	"	"	"	28	"	"	" "
Phillip Honies	"	"	"	30	"	"	" "
Class, a Negro	"	"	"	26	"	"	" "
[no name]	"	"	"	34		Black Smith	" "

Summary of Johnson's Department of Indian Affair (from above): [N=38]

Age:

Mean = 31.8
Mode = 36
Median = 32
Range = 19-50

Country:

Mohawk River = 12
Ireland = 8
New England = 4
Old England = 4
PA = 3
NY = 2
NJ = 1
Albany = 1
Schenady = 1
Not given = 2

Residence:

Mohawk River = 26
Tryon County = 1
Niagara = 3
PA = 1
Not given = 7

Profession:

Credible Farmer = 7
Indian Trader = 5
Merchant = 2
Discharged Soldier = 2
Carpenter = 1
Blacksmith = 1
Not given = 20

Guy Johnson Papers
Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Collection

Folder 22

This folder contains copies of two letters from Guy Johnson to John Blackburn dated 7 April and 7 November 1777. In the latter, Johnson reports that he wanted to lead the Indians but was ordered to remain in New York City. However, he did send messages to the interior to join any army and they did so.

The following is Johnson's report of the St. Leger campaign from the 7 November letter:

"How all subsequent hopes were frustrated you will have heard, some well meaning perhaps but mistaken adviser Suggested the Expedition to Bennington which raised the Rebels to the Clouds & gave to Gates a large Army, whilst the little handfull under Brigr St. Leger, accompanied by Sir John & his Provincial Regt of about 200 Men proved unequal to the undertaking their hopes being too much built on a rising of the Country Inhabitants, who proved their Enemy; - Some of the Six Nations were with Genl Burgoyne but agreeable to my Order above 600 of them with my Officers Joyned the other little Army, performed Wonders killed the rebel General sevl field officers & about 150 men; and lost above 30 of their own Warriors – this Army was obliged to retire back to Canada, and whatever prospect there was from the Gallant Conduct of the Troops who stormed the Forts on Hudsons River, was render'd abortive by the unhappy Circumstances which compell'd Genl Burgoyne to enter into a Convention so that, now, all I have to do for some months is by different Emissaries to keep up the spirits of the Indians, which I propose (unless an Expedn goes from here early) to take some measures which I will venture to say will be of real Service, and therefore unless counter ordered I shall be elsewhere when I shall write you in the mean time pray answer this at first opportunity, as I may receive it if you are not tardy, I think I have now said to you as much as is consistent with any degree of prudence."

Appendix 6

Research Design

Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Study, Phase II
PO #452000151

Research Design
August 2000

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Research Design
for Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography, Phase II
State University of New York, College at Fredonia
for the National Park Service
Order #P4520000151

Introduction

This document is the research design for the Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project, Phase II, based upon the Scope of Work provided by the National Park Service. It is a direct outgrowth of the initial phase of the study and will utilize the methodologies which were successful in that research. The design incorporates archival research, ethnographic field research, and work with experts and knowledgeable community consultants. Ethnographic research helps identify sensitive issues and contributes to the development and implementation of culturally appropriate resources management strategies. Ethnographic information helps park managers evaluate requests for access to resources, identify sacred resources that require special treatment, assess potential impacts of use on the resource and the effects of park programs on the cultural systems of contemporary peoples. The data also help to identify resources with major traditional cultural significance and potential eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places and contribute to cultural awareness in the interpretation of park resources.

The project's locational focus is Fort Stanwix and the Oriskany Battlefield in Oneida County, New York. Both sites incorporate locations important to international and national history, tribal and familial history, and scenes of triumph, defeat and diplomacy from the pre-Revolutionary era through the conclusion of the American Revolution and into the era of post-Revolutionary War treaties. The initial phase of the project, dealing with the Iroquois participation in events in the Mohawk Valley during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, revealed that Indian participants in these events, particularly the Battle of Oriskany, included representatives of many non-Iroquois nations, including those designated as Canadian Indians. This phase is designed to document those participants and identify their contemporary descendants. Because most of the Indians at the Battle of Oriskany fought alongside troops and rangers under nominal British command, British military records in Ottawa, unavailable at the time of the initial phase, will be accessed during the archival part of the second phase. The primary location of field research will also be Canada as many Indians allied with the British relocated to Canada during the decades following the Revolution and the present project is designed to focus upon Canadian and western Indians.

Specific Goals

The research design is flexible, to accommodate any unanticipated opportunities or problems that may arise during the course of the work. Certain approaches to data collection, collation, and presentation seem most likely to achieve the desired results.

These are spelled out and illustrated in the design and its appendices.

Brief Statement of Objectives

Ethical and pragmatic considerations require fieldworkers to make every effort to explain clearly and precisely the objectives of the research, the intended methods for achieving the objectives, and the place of the researchers and community consultants in the project. While we intend to present and explain ourselves and our work informally, we cannot rely solely on informal presentations to be adequate or consistent over the course of the project. Therefore we will present a Brief Statement of Objectives (Appendix 1) to all community consultants or other interested parties encountered during the course of the research. This statement is intended to be a public document that will provide the names, addresses, and phone numbers of the researchers and Superintendent of Fort Stanwix National Monument so that individuals have the option to follow up on issues that concern them, or add to their original comments at a later date. This is intended to bring home the point that peoples' opinions are welcome and solicited at all times, not just during the course of formal contacts initiated by project personnel.

Methods

Research methods conveniently break down into two categories: community consultations and background research. Often one leads to the other or requires the other for a full interpretation. Data sharing between the project director and Canadian consultant will be both formal and informal. Much of the archival and field research will be accomplished jointly; however, when contacts are made by one ethnographer, a copy of the contact sheet will be provided to the other researcher. Reference review forms will be exchanged in a similar manner.

Contact with Regional Ethnographer and Park Superintendent

We will maintain regular telephone contact with the Regional Ethnographer and Park Superintendent as needed in addition to the monthly letter reports summarizing project progress during the previous month. Both these venues will allow for a general project update and also for specific discussion of issues, problems, and successes.

Sensitive Data

Data of a sensitive nature may be elicited during research. That which is not relevant to project goals will be neither recorded nor reported upon. Project ethnographers will not address issues currently or potentially under litigation in either the US or Canada. Community consultants will be told that NPS research guidelines specifically forbid the discussion of land claims and treaty rights. Sensitive data that is related to project goals, and that the community contact has agreed can be recorded, will be kept in a secure manner, *i.e.* locked room or vehicle. No sensitive data will be sent by means of the Internet. If it is necessary to fax sensitive data, the sender will first contact the intended recipient by phone to ensure that she or he is present at the fax machine and the recipient will confirm by telephone receipt of the material.

Sensitive materials will be segregated on a "need to know" basis. It will not be offered as general background information and it will not be presented in any public forums. It will not be incorporated into the main body of reports but will be presented as physically separate addenda. All sensitive material will be clearly marked with a red rubber stamped SENSITIVE at the top of each page.

If researchers encounter field or other situations that are or have the potential to become sensitive, the Regional Ethnographer and Park Superintendent will be notified immediately. All ethnography is potentially sensitive, but for purposes of this project, the intent is to ensure that no single researcher is left alone to handle an encounter that could leave either project personnel or the NPS in an adversarial or negative relationship with others.

The Regional Ethnographer and Park Superintendent will be informed of any planned meetings with federal, state or provincial government personnel. If so requested by either, telephone reports of the meetings will be made of the results. All federal policy questions or questions related to federal law or NPS procedure or management issues will be referred to the Park Superintendent. All state policy questions or questions related to New York State procedure or management issues will be referred to the New York State Supervisor of Historic Sites for Oriskany Battlefield.

Background Research

Background research includes archival research and other work with documents including literature reviews, investigations in administrative documents and review of recent newspaper files to help identify issues of current concern. Archival research for this project may include genealogical investigation to help trace modern descendants of people who participated in the Battle of Oriskany and other Mohawk Valley events. The previous phase of the project demonstrated that while this is ideal from a research perspective, the practical reality is that enrollment records are not available to researchers and therefore, in most cases, the claim of an individual to be a descendant can neither be verified nor falsified.

Archival research in the National Archives of Canada, the Provincial Archives of Ontario, the Canadian National Map Collection, and other locations to be determined will attempt to locate records of Indian participation in the Saratoga campaign, particularly those which relate directly to the Battle of Oriskany and the siege of Fort Stanwix. Appendix 2 is the preliminary list of archival sources and Appendix 3 is the reference report form. The Final Report will include all relevant consulted references, with the most important being selected for annotation. Every attempt will be made to use original documents, although "fair copy" will be accessed in the absence of alternatives. If multiple "fair copies" exist, we will attempt to determine which is the more/most accurate within the context of previous research if significant discrepancies exist between/among them.

We will confer with colleagues in the US and Canada for suggestions of additional sources and document collections.

Community Consultant Research

Initiation: The Park Superintendent will initiate the field research procedure by writing a letter describing the project to Native governments and, as useful, US and Canadian politicians. The Park Superintendent will also issue a general press release which will name the ethnography team and provide a contact number.

Subsequent to the sending of this letter and the press release, the researchers will send formal letters to Native governments and other organizations requesting assistance and permission to proceed with individual contacts. We expect that some letters will not be answered and in those case the letters will be followed by telephone calls. In cases where the answer is negative, we will request permission to make a personal appearance to describe the research more fully and to be available to answer questions that might help resolve the issue(s) in a positive way. We expect to be able to draw upon the positive feelings engendered by the rapid response to suggestions in the Final Report of the initial phase of this project by the Superintendent of Fort Stanwix.

Identification of Potential Contacts: We will use a systematic method of discovery and identification for determining whom to contact. We already know that the following should be contacted: Native governments, Native organizations, community Elders, community historians. Additional contacts will be identified through archival research and suggestions by colleagues. Others will be identified through the formal process of ethnographic networking, which employs a dendritic process as leads or directions of research are identified through an initial set of contacts. Some or all of these contacts can be expected to name other specific contacts and/or to name specific groups, organizations or other sources from which more individual contacts can be derived. While the scientific process is a formal research instrument, the actual networking is accomplished informally as part of each field contact. People are encouraged to suggest other people who may be interested in the research, or who may be willing to assist in the research in some manner. Initial contacts will be identified through the utilization of the researchers' networks. See Appendix 4 for a preliminary list of groups to be contacted.

We will not do full-scale ethnographies or in-depth interviews covering the full range of ethnographic and historic concerns. NPS management needs, however, are not so narrow that we can conduct all interviews on the basis of pre-formulated interview sheets. Contact forms (see below) will be used to record certain types of data but these will be developed more fully in the fieldnotes of each researcher and shared between them.

We will thank the people and groups who have helped us by notes or phone calls. In some cases, the thanks may be offered in the form of public presentations. We believe this courtesy provides an additional way to show our respect for the people who assist us and it also offers one way to maintain open lines of communication that will serve everyone well in the future.

Protocols: The earlier phase of this project proved that written consent forms were intimidating and tended to interfere with rather than promote the exchange of information. Furthermore, the most helpful exchanges in the initial phase took place in the context of focus groups or presentations to organizations with a particular interest in the topic. Each

individual with whom we interact will be given a copy of the Brief Statement of Objectives. Individuals who wish their remarks to be attributed will be asked to sign a Release Form (see Appendix 5); for all others the source of the information will be attributed not by name but tribal/national affiliation. Where specific personal experiences or training is relevant to the interpretation or importance of the data (*i.e.* if the person is a medicine person, trained historian, etc.) and revelation of that background would permit identification of the consultant, a signed release form will also be required.

Contact Forms: All formal and informal discussion that result in the acquisition of information will be documented on contact sheets (see Appendix 6). For focus groups and other group discussions, the contact sheets will record only the number of persons present and the context of the discussion. We believe, however, that such initial discussions will lead to more in-depth conversations with specific people which will result in the creation of contact sheets for individuals. Unlike the previous phase, in this segment of the research we will use contact sheets only for community consultants as Native input is the primary focus. Discussions with professional ethnographers, historians, archaeologists, etc., as well as NPS and other government officials, will be recorded in fieldnotes.

Compensation: No monetary compensation will be offered to community consultants as this proved unnecessary in the earlier phase. However, small gifts in the form of tobacco, meals, or services, may be provided as appropriate to the individual situation. The previous research indicated that what consultants most desired was additional information and we will continue to share data that is not sensitive (copies of documents publicly available, locations of document collections, bibliographic references, names/phone numbers of public officials, etc.).

Our previous work on this project proved that the use of Native assistants was not necessary and, during the course of the research, it became clear to us that the use of such within factionalized communities would be dysfunctional. Therefore all the field interviews, presentations, discussions, etc. will be conducted by Bilharz and Rae.

Data Interpretation and Data Presentation

Data interpretation will be in two forms: first, by identification of circumscribed issues raised by the research; second, by identification of overarching issues or sentiments. Circumscribed issues might consist of particular concerns about a specific location or resources that has traditional significance, or concern over a particular historical interpretation. Overarching issues might consist of ones about which large numbers of people independently speak, or ones which have broad policy implications. Data will be presented cumulatively.

Raw data gathered by the project will be presented as appropriate. All identified current uses of the project area by community consultants will be presented in graphic form. Qualitative insights from community members will be highlighted as appropriate with quotes or paraphrases. The exact nature of the presentation will be dependent upon the data and can be more precisely defined when data start to be collected. The goal of the reporting will be to document overall Native group attitudes and concerns.

Historical perspectives will be provided on identified conflicts and successes in past

NPS/public relations. We will document the extent to which these successes can continue to be built upon, or the extent to which conflicts continue. We will provide constructive suggestions for capitalizing upon this information to improve and maintain good relations.

Timing of the Research

We have begun informal consultations with colleagues and completed the initial review of Paul Lawrence Stevens's dissertation His Majesty's "Savage" Allies. A preliminary list of groups to be contacted has been assembled as has a list of resources in the National Archives of Canada. We expect to add to these lists as archival and field research progress.

We plan to meet with NPS personnel at Fort Stanwix in August to discuss the entire project thus far and the specific goals of this phase. Patricia Kennedy at the National Archives of Canada has been informed of the new phase by Rae and has suggested that work in Ottawa be undertaken no earlier than September because of heavy use of archival materials in the summer months. We therefore plan to undertake the bulk of this research in September and October, with subsequent research as needed.

Field research will commence in the early spring. This will permit the NPS to make the initial contacts with the identified groups and for us to follow up on these as well as to begin our analysis of the archival data. Fieldwork during the winter months could be hindered by bad weather but phone and e-mail contacts will begin at this time so that as the weather becomes less problematic we can move rapidly into the field.

We plan to submit the first draft of the final report by the end of May and conclude the project by 1 July 2001. It should be noted that delays in the initial contacting by the NPS could significantly delay the beginning of the fieldwork. However, while it is likely there will be some unforeseen delays, using the winter months for expanding our networks of contacts and analyzing the documents should mitigate any negative impact of the delays.

We currently project that the archival research will require approximately one-third of the project's time and resources while two-thirds will be allocated to fieldwork. However, because the fieldwork is dependent upon the results of the archival research in documenting the groups to be contacted, this is based solely upon preliminary research.

Project Staff

The research team consists of Dr. Joy Bilharz, who will serve as Project Director, and Trish Rae, who will help co-ordinate the Canadian field research. Both investigators have worked on the earlier phase of the project, Bilharz as Co-Principal investigator and Lead Ethnographer and Rae as primary ethnographer for Canadian groups. Curriculum Vitae for each are attached to this document.

Appendix 1
Brief Statement of Objectives
Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project, Phase II

We are conducting a research project to learn more about people's relations to Fort Stanwix and the Oriskany Battlefield in New York State and, in particular, are trying to learn what is important to people today about these historic locations. We hope the research will benefit Native peoples by documenting what they think is important about these sites and by increasing historical and current awareness. We hope the research will help the U.S. National Park Service (NPS) make informed decisions in their approach to the locations and their public interpretations.

We are independent researchers hired by the NPS; we have no control over NPS policies or actions and we cannot guarantee that the NPS can or will act on any findings. The first phase of this project collected information and suggestions by Iroquois people in the U.S. and Canada and the Superintendent of Fort Stanwix National Monument responded quickly to the recommendations in our final report, thus we are confident that concerns raised in this phase will receive a prompt, empathetic, and fair hearing.

Your information will help in a variety of ways: by better informing NPS managers, they will be able to make more culturally sensitive decisions about the uses to which specific parts of the land are put; by supplying accurate data to NPS outreach staff, they will be better informed in their discussions with visitors, so that visitors to the fort and battlefield will learn more.

Many people today have ancestors who were directly and vitally involved in historic events in the Mohawk Valley. By consulting with as many descendants as possible, we hope to invite their involvement in decisions about how to present history to the general public and about specific land management issues. Similarly, the NPS is reaching out to nearby landowners, interested historians, and others.

Information you may provide will be presented in reports to the NPS and in informal meetings to the NPS staff. Copies will be forwarded to concerned tribal councils and other institutions. If requested, we will make every attempt to give public presentations of our findings.

There are certain things that you might want to keep in mind, or that you might discuss with others. The NPS sometimes must engage in construction projects. The NPS knows that some particular locations are important to people for religious or historic reasons, because they are beautiful, because they are traditional areas for recreation and collecting, etc. If you can help us identify these areas, the NPS can avoid projects in these areas or can minimize any impacts. You are the eyes and the ears of these issues. Please call or write us if you know of places needing protection. All data that you specify as confidential will remain so, including map locations, and will have restricted access.

Please feel free to add to your comments or ask questions by contacting us or the park superintendent by telephone, fax, e-mail, or letter.

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Appendix 2

Preliminary List of Archival Sources

AT THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA, OTTAWA:

National Map Collection

Manuscript Groups:

MG 19 F 1	Claus Papers
MG 19 F 28	Draper Manuscript
MG 19 F 35	Records of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs
MG 21	Haldimand Papers
MG 23 GII 17	Prescott Papers

Record Groups:

RG 1	Records of the Executive Council (Especially RG 1 L3 - Upper Canada Land Petitions)
RG 4	Records of the Provincial & Civil Secretaries' Offices; Quebec, Lower Canada and Canada East 1760-1867
RG 5	Records of the Provincial & Civil Secretaries' Offices; Upper Canada and Canada West 1791-1867
RG 8	British Military and Naval Records (Especially Vols. 247-271)
RG 9	Records of the Department of Militia and Defence
RG 10	Indian Affairs Records
RG 19	Records of the Department of Finance (regarding pensions)

AT THE ARCHIVES OF ONTARIO, TORONTO

Record Groups:

RG 1

Crown Lands Records

**Lands Branch Descriptions; Miscellaneous Records;
Minutes of the Land Board; Letters to Surveyor General;
Orders in Council**

**United Empire Loyalist Lists & Patent Index
Loyalist Claims & Conversion List**

Cartographic Collection

Appendix 3
Project Reference Review Form
Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project, Phase II

Author (ed.) _____

Title: _____

Bibliographic data (date/city/ISBN) _____

Source _____

Known duplicates _____

Means of access _____

Copy privileges? _____ Purchase? _____ Form _____ Cost _____

Check any that apply to this work.

- synthesis from other sources
 - synthesis from primary sources
 - synthesis from secondary sources
- primary data
 - field data
 - other (explain): _____
- secondary data (explain): _____

- author was expert/trained observer (explain) _____
- author was eyewitness or participant
- author was recipient of primary data
 - used now inaccessible/uncheckable written sources
 - used oral tradition (list sources) _____

- provides names of individual participants in historical activities
 - in lists, tables, etc.
 - spread throughout the material

- primarily an archaeological reference

Appendix 4

Preliminary List of Groups to be Contacted

Bkwejwanong Territory Walpole Island (Council of the Three Fires: Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomie)	R.R. #3, Wallaceburg, ON N8A 4K9
Caldwell First Nation (Nation affiliation not clear)	c/o R.R. #2, 10297 Talbot Road Blenheim, ON N0P 1A0
Chippewas of Kettle & Stony Point	53 Indian Lane R.R. #2, Forest, ON N0N 1J0
Chippewas of Nawash (Cape Croker)	R.R.#5, Wiarton, ON N0H 2T0
Chippewas of Sarnia	978 Tashmoo Avenue Sarnia, ON N7T 7H5
Chippewas of Saugeen	R.R. #1, Southampton, ON N0H 2L0
Chippewas of the Thames	R.R. #1, Muncey, ON N0L 1Y0
Delaware First Nation	R.R. #3, Thamesville, ON N0P 2K0
Mississaugas of New Credit	R.R. #6 2789 Mississauga Road Hagersville, ON N0A 1H0
Mnjikaning Chippewas of Rama	Box 35, Rama, ON L0K 1T0

**Moose Deer Point First Nation
(Ojibwa, Odawa/Ottawa &
Potawatomie)**

**P. O. Box 119
Mactier, ON
P0C 1H0**

Munsee-Delaware First Nation

**R.R. #1, Muncey, ON
N0L 1Y0**

Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation

**P.O. Box 112
Wikwemikong, ON
P0P 2J0**

Appendix 5
Release Form
Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project, Phase II

My signature at the bottom of this form gives permission to researchers for the Mohawk Valley Battlefield Project, Phase II to

- use my name or information that might make me identifiable in written or oral presentations**
- use photographs of me**
- use photographs I have taken**
- use drawings or maps I have made**
- use drawings, maps, photographs in my possession not publicly available**
- release my name and address and/or phone number to the U.S. National Park Service for consultation purposes**

Project information may be subject to inquiries under the Freedom of Information Act. Information of a culturally sensitive nature will be provided by the researchers to the NPS on a "need to know" basis, available only to site managers at the highest level.

Printed name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness:
Printed name: _____

Signature: _____

Community Consultant Contact Sheet
Mohawk Valley Battlefield Ethnography Project, Phase II

Name _____

Interviewer _____ Date of Interview _____

___ In person Location _____

___ Phone Number _____

___ e-mail Address _____

___ mail Address _____

Affiliation _____ Lives on reserve _____

Sex _____ Age _____ Veteran _____

Politically active _____ Political officeholder _____ (specify) _____

Education _____ Occupation _____

Religion _____

- ___ knowledge of area
- ___ visited Ft. Stanwix
- ___ visited Oriskany Battlefield
- ___ can identify important places
- ___ has photographs
- ___ has artifacts
- ___ aware of oral history
- ___ of Fort Stanwix
- ___ of Battle of Oriskany

___ wishes to consult with the NPS on public uses (NB: needs release form)

___ wishes to consult with the NPS on content of presentations/interpretations (release)

___ can use name Date of signed release form: _____ (attach copy)