

the only advantages we reap from that great and expensive armament of his Most Christian Majesty, under the orders of the count d'Estaing. The moment that commander appeared on our coasts, we were relieved from the British cruifers that had in a manner, shut up all our ports; they being obliged to keep collected for their own defence. When the count went to the West-Indies, he drew Byron, and the greatest part of the British ships of war on these coasts after him; making a most important diversion in our favour, and translating, in a great measure, the naval war to the West-Indies. The advantages arising from hence to these States, are too numerous to be particularly mentioned, and too obvious to require it."

It will be natural for men who do not take an extensive view of the operations of the war, to imagine that because an army has not landed to act with general Washington on the continent, so our ally has not directly and immediately assisted to oppose the enemy. They do not consider that the most direct and immediate way to weaken them, to draw them off from America, and to reduce them to think of peace, having yielded to our independence, was to attack their islands, where they are most vulnerable. It is a maxim in war, to attack the most vulnerable part. Demosthenes says, in his oration before the people of Athens, "the war itself will find out the weak side of Philip." It is a maxim also, to translate, if possible, the war to the country of the enemy. Agathocles, besieged in Syracuse by the Carthaginians, threw himself over into Africa, burnt his ships behind him, and rendered it necessary for the enemy to return home to defend their own borders. Scipio transferred the war from Italy to the neighbourhood of Carthage by a like manœuvre, Hannibal was beaten at the battle of Zama, by the same people whom he had overcome within three miles of Rome, at the battle of Cannæ.

The taking of Granada by the count, and his brilliant victory obtained over the English fleet off that island, has prevented the embarkation of the three thousand troops under major-general Gray, intended for New-York. It has been made necessary for them to remain, to defend their islands. This has hitherto delayed, and will considerably weaken, and strike down the campaign, on the continent, for this season.

These things it will be sufficient to have mentioned, to inform my countrymen of the councils of our ally and the operations of her arms, that they may not be misrepresented by those whose interest it is, or, at least, whose design it may be, to introduce coldness, dissatisfaction and distrust between us.

THE HONEST POLITICIAN.

PHILADELPHIA.

Tioga, September 30th, 1779.

SIR,

IN mine of the 30th ultimo to his excellency general Washington, and by him transmitted to congress, I gave an account of the victory obtained by this army over the enemy at Newtown, on the 29th of August. I now do myself the honour to inform congress of the progress of this army, and the most material occurrences which have since taken place.

The time taken up in destroying the corn, in the neighbourhood of Newtown, employing the army near two days, and there appearing a probability that the destruction of all the crops might take a much greater length of time than was at first apprehended, and being likewise convinced, by an accurate calculation, that it would not be possible to effect the destruction of the Indian country, with the provision on hand, which was all I had in store, and indeed all I had pack-horses to transport from Tioga; in this situation I could think of but one expedient to answer the purposes of the expedition, which was to prevail if possible, on the soldiers, to content themselves with half a pound of flour, and the same quantity of fresh beef per day, rather than leave the important business unfinished. I therefore drew up an address to them, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose you, which being read, was answered by three cheers from the whole army. Not one dissenting voice was heard from either officer or soldier. I had then on hand, from the best calculation I could make, twenty-two pounds of flour, and sixteen pounds of beef per man; the former liable to many deductions by rains, crossing rivers and defiles; the latter much more so, from the almost unavoidable loss of cattle, when suffered to range the woods at night for their support. I was, however, encouraged in the belief, that I should be enabled to effect the destruction and total ruin of the Indian territories, by this truly noble and virtuous resolution of the army, or which, I know not, whether the public stand more indebted to the

persuasive arguments which the officers began to use, or to the virtuous disposition of the soldiers, whose prudent and cheerful compliance with the requisition anticipated all their wishes, and rendered persuasion unnecessary. I sent back all my heavy artillery on the night of the 30th, retaining only four brass three pounders, and a small howitzer, loaded the necessary ammunition on horseback, and marched early on the 31st for Catharine's town. On our way we destroyed a small settlement of eight houses, and a town called Knawaholee, of about twenty houses, situated on a peninsula at the conflux of the Tioga and Cayuga branches. We also destroyed several fields of corn. From this colonel Dayton was detached with his regiment and the rifle corps up the Tioga about six miles, who destroyed several large fields of corn. The army resumed their march, and encamped within thirteen miles and an half of Catharine's town, where we arrived the next day, although we had a road to open for the artillery, through a swamp nine miles in extent and almost impervious. We arrived near Catharine's town in the night, and moved on in hopes to surprise it, but found it forsaken. On the next morning an old woman of the Cayuga nation was found in the woods, who informed, that on the night after the battle of Newtown, the enemy having fled the whole time, arrived there in great confusion early the next day; that she heard the warriors tell their women, they were conquered and must fly; that they had a great many killed and vast numbers wounded. She likewise heard the lamentations of many at the loss of their connections. In addition to this, she assured us, that some other warriors had met Butler at this place, and desired him to return and fight again. But to this request they could obtain no satisfactory answer, for as they observed, "Butler's mouth was closed." The warriors who had been in the action were equally averse to the proposal, and would think of nothing but flight and the removal of their families; that they kept runners on every mountain to observe the motion of our army, who reported early in the day on which we arrived, that our advance was very rapid, upon which all those who had not been before sent off, fled with precipitation, leaving her without any possible means of escape. She said that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Tioga in canoes. I was from many circumstances fully convinced of the truth and sincerity of her declaration, and the more so, as we had, on the day we left Newtown, discovered a great number of bloody packs, arms and accoutrements, thrown away in the road and in the wood on each side of it. Besides which, we discovered a number of recent graves, one of which has been since opened, containing the bodies of two persons who had died by wounds. Those circumstances, when added to that of so many warriors being left dead on the field, a circumstance not common with Indians, were sufficient to corroborate the woman's declaration, and to prove what I before conjectured, that the loss of the enemy was much greater than was at first apprehended. I have never been able to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, what force the enemy opposed to us at Newtown, but from the best accounts I have been able to collect, and from the opinion of general Poor and others, who had the best opportunity of viewing their numbers, as well as from the extent of their lines, I suppose them to have been fifteen hundred, though the two prisoners, whom I believe totally ignorant of the numbers at any post but their own, as well as of the enemy's disposition, estimate them only at eight hundred, while they allow that five companies of rangers, all the warriors of Seneca, and six other nations were collected at this place. In order to determine their force, with as much accuracy as in my power, I examined their breastwork, and found its extent more than half a mile. Several bastions ran out in its front to flank the lines in every part. A small block-house, formerly a dwelling, was also manned in front. The breastwork appeared to have been fully manned, though I suppose with only one rank. Some part of their works being low, they were obliged to dig holes in the ground to cover themselves in part. This circumstance enabled me to judge the distance between their men in the works. A very thin scattering line, designed, as I suppose, for communicating signals, was continued from those works to that part of the mountain which general Poor ascended, where they had a very large body, which was designed, I imagine, to fall on our flank. The distance from the breastwork to this, was at least one mile and an half. From thence to the hill in rear of our right, was another scattering line of about one mile, and on the hill a breastwork with a strong party, designed, as it is supposed, to fall in our rear. But general Clinton, being ordered so far to the right, occasioned his

flank to pass this mountain, which obliged them to abandon their post. From those circumstances, as well as from the opinion of others, I cannot conceive their numbers less than what I have before mentioned.

The army spent one day at Catharine's in destroying corn and fruit-trees. We burnt the town, consisting of about thirty houses; and the next day encamped near a small scattering settlement of about eight houses, and in two days after reached Kendaia, which we also found deserted. Here one of the inhabitants of Wyoming, who had been last year captured by the enemy, escaped from them and joined us. He informed that the enemy had left the town in the greatest confusion three days before our arrival. He said, he had conferred with some of the Tories, on their return from the action of Newtown, who assured him, they had great numbers killed and wounded, and there was no safety but in flight. He heard Butler tell them, he must try to make a stand at Kanadasaga; but they declared, they would not throw away their lives in a vain attempt to oppose such an army. He also heard many of the Indian women lamenting the loss of their connections; and added, that Brandt had taken most of the wounded up the Tioga in water-crafts, which had been provided for that purpose in case of necessity. It was his opinion, the king of Kanadasaga was killed, as he saw him go down but not return, and gave a description of his person and dress corresponding with those of one found on the field of action. Kendaia consisted of about twenty houses, which were reduced to ashes; the houses were neatly built and finished. The army spent near a day at this place in destroying corn and fruit-trees, of which there was great abundance; many of the trees appeared to be of great age. On the next day we crossed the outlet of the Seneca lake, and moved in three divisions through the woods to encircle Kanadasaga, but found it likewise abandoned. A white child of about three years old, doubtless the offspring of some unhappy captive, was found here and carried with the army.

A detachment of four hundred men was sent down on the west side of the lake to destroy Gotschungeau, and the plantations in the same quarters; at the same time a number of volunteers, under colonel Harper, made a forced march towards Cayuga lake, and destroyed Schoyere while the residue of the army were employed in destroying the corn at Kanadasaga, of which there was a large quantity. This town consisted of fifty houses, and was pleasantly situated. In it we found a great number of fruit-trees, which were destroyed with the town. The army then moved on, and in two days arrived at Kanandaque, having been joined on the march by the detachment sent along the Seneca lake, which had been almost two days employed in destroying the crops and settlements in that quarter. At Kanandaque we found twenty-three very elegant houses, mostly framed, and in general large. Here we also found very extensive fields of corn, which having been destroyed, we marched for Hanneyaye, a small town of ten houses, which we also destroyed.

At this place we established a post, leaving a strong garrison, our heavy stores and one half piece, and proceeded to Chinesee, which, the prisoners informed, was the grand capital of the Indian country; that Indians of all nations had been planting there this spring; that all the rangers and some British had been employed in assisting them, in order to raise sufficient supplies to support them while destroying our frontiers; and that they themselves had worked three weeks for the Indians when planting. This information determined me at all events to reach that settlement, though the state of my provisions, much reduced by unavoidable accidents, almost forbade the attempt. My flour had been much reduced by the failure of pack-horses, and in the passage of creeks and defiles; and twenty-seven of the cattle had been unavoidably lost. We, however, marched on for the Chinesee town, and on the second day reached a town of twenty-five houses, called Kaneghsaw. Here we found some large corn-fields, which part of the army destroyed, while the other part was employed in building a bridge over an impassable creek between this and Chinesee.

I had the preceding evening ordered out an officer with three or four riflemen, one of our guides, and an Oneida Chief, to reconnoitre the Chinesee town, that we might, if possible, surprise it. Lieutenant Boid, of the rifle corps, was the officer entrusted, who took with him twenty-three men, volunteers from the rifle corps, and a few from colonel Butler's regiment, making in all twenty-six, a much larger number than I had thought of sending; and by no means so likely to answer the purpose as that which had been directed. The guides were by no means

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