

At a Court of Enquiry held at the City of Albany on the 12th Day of March 1781 "To enquire Into the Conduct of Brigadier General Robert Van Rensselaer,¹ on the Incursions of the Enemy Into Tryon County in October last," pursuant to General Orders of His Excellency Governor Clinton.²

Present.

Brig'r General Swartwout, President.³

Colonels Thomas⁴ & Cantine⁵ Members.

The Court met & adjourned till tomorrow afternoon 5 O'clock.

Tuesday March 18th, 1781.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment

Colo: John Harper,⁶ then appeared before them & offered in Evidence against General Rensselaer, a Copy of a Letter written by John Lansing, Jun'r, Esqr.⁷ by order of the General, to Colo. Lewis Dubois.⁸ In these words vizt.

"Van Eps⁹ Caghnawago 19th Oct'r 1780.

Sir, We are here with a Force sufficient to cope with the Enemy, But if you can possibly, cooperate with us, it will in all probability tend to insure us Success. General Rensselaer who commands here, therefore, desires you to march down along the South Side of the river with all the men you have, with as much Expedition as possible. He intends to attack the Enemy as soon as the Day appears. It depends on your Exertions to favor this Enterprise. I am, Sir, yours,
By order of Genl Rensselaer,

J. Lansing, Jun'r.

Colo. Dubois."

Colo: John Harpur¹⁰ being then sworn, says, That on the 19th of October he was under the Command of General Rensselaer on the Mohawk River; that he commanded a Party of Indians on the South Side of the Mohawk River; east of Fort Plane or Rensselaer;¹¹ that he was under the immediate Command of Colo. Dubois;¹² that in the morning of the 19th Oct'r they proceeded down the river, until they heard an Engagement which happened on the North Side of the river, between a Detachment of Troops under the Command of Colo. John Brown¹³ & the Enemy under Sir John Johnson; that upon hearing the Firing, Colo. Dubois ordered the greater Part of the New York Levies under his immediate Command & the Indians commanded by the Witness, to cross to the North Side of the river, to support Colo. Brown's Detachment, when some men of that Detachment, which had been defeated & dispersed, came to the river & crossed it & gave the Deponent Information of the Fate of Colo. Brown's Party; that upon hearing that Colo. Brown was defeated, the Deponent Informed Colo. Dubois of the Disaster; and that the whole of the Detach't of Levies & Indians, or Part of them, who had crossed to support Colo. Brown, recrossed to the South side; that Colo. Dubois then informed the Depon't that General Rensselaer was below, & requested him to ride down to the Genl & advise him of the Fate of Brown's Detachment; which he accordingly did: that he found General Rensselaer halted about a mile

below Fort Rensselaer; that he intreated the General to march on; that he informed him there was a Ford near at Hand about knee deep, where the Troops might cross; that he urged the General to attack the Enemy at all Events; that the General informed him he did not know the Enemy's numbers, nor the route they intended to take; that he told the General, that if the Enemy took the same route which they did when they came, they could do us no more Injury than they had already done, or if they should go thro Johnstown, they would hurt their Friends & not ours; that the General then told him, he would go to Colo. Dubois & advise with him & that he attended the General there; that he is ignorant of what passed between Colo. Dubois & the General, but that the Levies & Indians with some of the Tryon County militia recrossed to the North Side of the river, either by the General's or Colo. Dubois's orders; the Dept supposes it to have been by the Genl's order; that while the Detachment under Colo. Dubois & the Indians & militia were crossing, the Genl & Colo. Dubois went to Fort Rensselaer & there dined; that they returned to the Bank of the river & there stood at the ferry, for a considerable Time after the Levies & Indians had crossed; that the Dept came to the North Bank of the river & hailed the Genl, intreating him for God sake to cross, but he rec'd no reply; that the Deponent believes the Levies & Indians had all crossed about 1 O'clock & that he believes it was near three Hours thereafter, before the militia under the immediate Command of Genl Rensselaer (who had crossed about a mile below) came up to the ferry, where the Levies & Indians remained paraded; that when the Militia came up, the whole of the Troops were divided into three Columns & marched to attack the Enemy; Colo. Dubois with the Levies on the right; the Albany Militia on the Left & that he does not know who commanded the Centre Column, composed of whites & Indians; that the Deponent commanded the Indians in advance of the Centre Column; that after advancing some Distance, he was met by an Indian who informed him that the Enemy were near at Hand & that the Enemy's Force was about 400 white men & but few Indians; which the Deponent in person immediately communicated to Genl Rensselaer, then at the Head of the Centre Column & then returned to his Command without receiving any further Orders from the General; that after advancing about half a mile, his Party fell in with & began to skirmish with the Enemy's rear Guard, who were then retreating up the river; that part of the Centre Column also fell in with that Part of the Enemy: that the Enemy then changed their front, came down the river & engaged our left & commenced a regular & heavy Platoon firing on them, but that our left not being formed, fired irregularly & were beat back, but advanced again & continued firing irregularly; that at this Juncture the Enemy attempted to gain & secure the Ford; that thereupon Part of the Centre Column filed off to the right & Joined Colo Dubois's Detachm't who attempted to gain the Enemy's Left Flank & the remainder continued with few of the Indians advancing in the Centre; that soon after a very heavy fire commenced & was continued on our right, which, as the Deponent has since been Informed, happened between Colo. Whiting¹⁴ & the Enemy; that when the firing on the right commenced, it was quite Dusk, & the Detachment under Colo. Dubois had gained the Enemy's Left & they were fording the river;¹⁵ that he was then informed by Colo. Dubois that the General had ordered a retreat & was requested by the Colo. to communicate it to Major Benschoten.¹⁶ That he did not receive orders to retreat till the Enemy had crossed to the south side of the river. That when he went in Search of Major Benschoten, he found some of the Troops composed of Tryon militia & Levies plundering; that he forbid it & ordered the Indians to remain in close Quarters, least some accident might happen to them.

Question by the Genl How was you Informed that the Enemy had crossed?

Ans'r. When I was In Quest of M. Benschoten, I was informed by many People, who were on the Ground that the Enemy had crossed.

Quest. Did you see me after that?

Ans'r. No. sir.

Quest. Did you send me any Information that the Enemy had crossed the river?

A. I did not.

Quest. Did our Troops engage the Enemy as they were first formed & advanced?

A. No.

Quest. Do not you recollect, that you came to me before the Skirmishing began & requested that the Indians might go in the rear of the Centre Column?

A. I do not.

Quest. Did you observe the militia on the left to be in great Confusion when the firing commenced?

Ans'r. I did.

Mr. Wm. Harpur,¹⁷ being sworn, says: That he was at Schenectady on the Evening; of the 17th October when Genl Rensselaer arrived there with the Militia & they discovered the Lights of Fires at the lower End of Schoharie, where, they had rec'd Information. that the Enemy were burning; that he was Informed, the Militia under the General were to march the next morning; that the Militia remained in Schenectady till it was late in the morning; that the Deponent, being impatient, went on to the Willigen¹⁸ about 14 miles above Schenectady, where he received Information that the Enemy were burning at Cadorothy about a mile above Fort Hunter;¹⁹ that the Express who came from Fort Hunter to Genl Rensselaer was forwarded by the Dep't; that the Genl & Troops soon came on; that it was near Sun set, when they rec'd Information of the Enemy's being at Warrensbush;²⁰ that the Troops were ordered to halt at Elliots, at the Old Farms;²¹ that the Gen'l applied to the Deponent to procure 6 or 7 suitable men with an officer, to go on a reconnoitering Party, to discover the number, situation & movements of the Enemy; that he procured them & waited on the Genl; that the Genl told him he would consult with his Field Officers & that, thereupon, he sent a Serjeant, Wm Wood,²² with 7 or 8 men to reconnoitre the Enemy; that the Depon't accompanied the party to Fort Hunter, & from thence he with one Man went to Anthonys Nose,²³ where the Enemy had their Camp; that they returned, with all possible Dispatch to the General, whom they found advanced with the Troops, as far as Gardineers Flatts,²⁴ about 4½ miles above Fort Hunter & 26 above Schenectady, about 12 OClock at night or after; that he Informed the General of the Enemy's Situation & that the Genl continued advancing with the Troops to Van Eps's, about ½ or ¾ mile: that the Genl there ordered Letters to be written to the Officers command'g at Fort Plane or Rensselaer & Stone Arabia²⁵ & they were given in Charge to Lt. Wm. Wallace;²⁶ that the Genl & troops remained at Van Eps's between 2 & 3 Hours & that soon after the march the Day broke; that the Troops marched about 4 miles to Peter Lewis',²⁷ where the whole halted about 10 or 12 minutes, for the purpose of examin'g a Prisoner taken by our advance Party; that the troops then marched 2 or 3 miles to Putnam's Lands,²⁸ where the whole Body halted a considerable Time & the advance Party were on or near the Ground, where the Enemy had halted that night. That the Deponent went to the Genl urged to him that the Troops might be ordered to march, but the Genl answered, that he must first furnish the Troops

with Cartridges; that soon after Leave was obtained for Major McKinster²⁹ with the advance Party to march; that while the Troops were halted there, Colo. Louis³⁰ had been sent out to reconnoitre, whether the Enemy did not remain at the Nose, to ambuscade Genl Rensselaer's Troops. That the advance Party under Major McKinster marched on to lame Corn's Van Alstyne's³¹ & that he & the Major discovered the Enemy drawn up on the opposite Side of the river at John Erxe's House;³² that the road at the Nose was very bad so as to render it difficult to come on with the artillery; that Major McKinster's Party halted about an Hour at Van Alstyne's before the main Body came up; that as soon as the main Body arrived the whole marched about a mile to another Corn's Van Alstyne's; and on their arrival there, they heard a firing between Colo. Brown's Detachm't & the Enemy; that the Genl enquired from the Dep't the best Place to ford thro the river; that upon Trial at Major Yates's³³ it was found impracticable; that they then marched on to Adam Countryman's³⁴ ab't 1½ miles where the whole of the Troops halted & another Party was ordered, as the advance; that the troops had been there about ½ an Hour when Colo. Harpur came to the Genl & gave him an acco't of Colo. Brown's Disaster; that it was full three Hours from that Time before the Troops under Genl Rensselaer crossed & came up to Walrods ferry; that Genl Rensselaer went up to Walrods ferry on the south side of the river, but when, the Deponent knows not; that the General stood at the Ferry & was pressed & intreated by him, Colo. Harpur & others, to cross the river attack the Enemy, but that he gave no answer nor came over, till his militia had joined Colo. Dubois's Command; that after the Troops had joined, they were divided into three Columns; the right commanded by Colo. Dubois; that about Sunset or after, the Enemy came down out of the woods to Phelans Orchard,³⁵ when a skirmishing began between our Left & the Enemy, in the low Lands; that our left was much disorder & fired very irregularly & never were in Order after the firing commenced; that the rear of our left was ab't 500 yards from the Enemy, when the front began their firing at about 250, & the whole kept up a brisk fire towards the Enemy; that he saw several Officers (& particularly Adj't. Van Veghten³⁶ of Colo. Cuyler's regt.) exert themselves to bring on the Troops & to prevent their running away, but that they were not able to bring up the Men so close to action, as to annoy the Enemy; that the Confusion took place as soon as the firing commenced & that it was pretty dark before it ceased; that about the Time when the firing on our Part ceased, the Dep't saw the Genl with the left Column; that the Genl informed him, that as it was dark & dangerous to let the firing continue least our Troops should kill each other, he had ordered, or would order the Troops out of action; that he pressed the Genl to push the Enemy while they were crossing the river, but the Genl declined it; that it was then dark; that the General observed to the Dep't that he was apprehensive the Enemy would surround our Troops & desired the Dep't to ride down to the river & inform himself whether the Enemy were not attempting it; that he replied to the Genl they were crossing the river. But In Compliance with the General's request, he rode down; that the Place where the Enemy crossed the river is a Common Ford³⁷ & generally made use of: that when the Genl told him, he was resolved to call the men off, he requested the Genl to encamp them on the Low Ground, the Field of action, but that the General replied he would go to the Hills & he with the Troops retired to a Hill, about a mile from the field of action.

Henry Glen, Esqr., being sworn says that on the 17th Oct'r about 6 OClock P. M. General Rensselaer arrived at Schenectady at the Dep'ts House & informed him that a number of Troops were on their march from Albany. That the Genl appeared solicitous to procure Horses to mount

his Troops on & expedite their march to Fort Hunter to way lay the Enemy who were on their way from Schoharie to the Mohawk River: that the Dept as acting Qur. master of the Department, advised the Genl that the most eligible mode of procuring Horses would be by having the Inhabitants of Schenectady convened, which was accordingly done on that even'g: that the General then represented to the Inhabitants, that he wanted 4 or 500 Horses to mount his men on to go to Fort Hunter for the purposes above mentioned; that the Genl informed the Inhabitants that the Deponent had received an Express from Colo. Veeder command'g the lower fort at Schoharie,³⁸ informing him, that the Enemy had burnt & destroyed the Settlements at Schoharie on that Day and were halted that night at one Sidneys³⁹ about 14 or 16 miles from Fort Hunter; that the Distance from Schenectady to Fort Hunter is 20 miles; that the few Inhabitants who were collected promised the General their Horses & that they should be sent to the Deponent's House by Break of Day next morning; that it was also proposed by Genl Rensselaer that in Case a Sufficiency of Horse; could not be procured he would take waggens to carry the greater number of them on.

Qu. by Genl Rensselaer. Were the Horses or waggens ready as I had required?

A. They were not

Qu. Do you recollect that as soon as I arrived at Schenectady I went to the Comm'y & desired him to procure & get in readiness that Evening, Provisions for the Troops who were coming on?

A. I do, but the Commissary had no Provisions; he sent out & procured two Beeves, which were killed the next morning, hut it was late before the Troops were served. The last drew their Provisions at about 8 OClock.

Qu. Do you recollect my sending that night to Colo. Van Alstyne,⁴⁰ who was at Nestigiuna,⁴¹ to expedite his march so as to be in Town by Day Light the next morning?

A. I do.

Qu. After the Troops were served with Provisions, did I, to your Knowledge make any unnecessary Delay in marching them?

A. You did not.

Q. What Distance is it, between Nestigiuna & Sir Wm. Johnson's old Place?⁴²

A. The Distance between its nearest Settlement called Rosendal⁴³ & Sir Wm's old place is ab't 19 miles.

Qu. Had the Troops any Time to cook their Provisions from the Time they drew it till their march?

A. They had not.

Court Qu. Had you any Intelligence from Genl Rensselaer on the Day of March, after he left Schenectady?

Ans'r. Yes, the same Evening an Express came from the Genl with a Letter to the Governor, Dated at Checktinunda,⁴⁴ six miles east of Fort Hunter, informing the Gov'r that he had halted to refresh his men till moon rise, when he intended to march. Afterwards an Express from the Officer command'g at Fort Hunter came to me, with an acco't that Sir John Johnson had that afternoon passed Fort Hunter & had destroyed Cadorothy in his route.

Qu. Are you acquainted with the roads & Passes of Checktinunda Hill?

Ans'r. I am; the road is bad, & up a long Clay Hill, with a pretty close wood on both

Sides.

Colo. Lewis Dubois, being sworn says: That on the 19th October last, at about two O'clock P. M. he met General Rensselaer about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile below Fort Rensselaer & informed him that Colo. Brown was defeated & that the Enemy were advancing up the river; that the General then advised with him where would be the most convenient Spot to meet them; that he told the General there was a Fording Place⁴⁵ just by the Ground where the Troops then were & that in Case they crossed there, it would expedite the Pursuit after the Enemy, more than if they crossed in the two small Boats above, which would delay them a long Time; that the General then gave Orders, to Lt. Driskill⁴⁶ to send the Artillery to Fort Rensselaer, & that the Troops should cross immediately: that the Dept then asked the Genl whether he had dined, the General replied that he had not, that as soon as the Genl had put the Troops in motion, he rode to the Deponent's Quarters in Fort Rensselaer to take Dinner; after leaving orders with the Officers to cross the river with all possible Dispatch; that Lt. Driskill was then ordered to leave his men in Fort Rensselaer to work the artillery in Case the Enemy should attack it, and some of the militia who were in the fort were ordered to cross the river, and that Mr. Lansing was sent down by the Genl to expedite the crossing of the militia; that the Genl & the Deponent then went down to Walrods ferry & found that the militia had not yet come up; that he sent several Expresses to hurry them on; that upon their coming to the ferry, they found several of the militia who had not yet crossed, but immediately passed the ferry & then the Genl & the Dept crossed as quick as possible; that about the Time of their crossing they discovered from the firing, that the Enemy were coming down out of the woods towards the river, at or near Fox's mill;⁴⁷ that shortly, thereafter, Genl Rensselaer's militia joined & the Genl advised with him on the most eligible mode of attacking the Enemy; that the Plan of attack was directed to be in three Columns; the right, composed of Levies commanded by the Dep't to be on the high ground, the left composed of militia & commanded by Colo. Cuyler⁴⁸ to be on the Low Ground, & the Centre to be commanded by Colo. Whiting; that it was found inconvenient to march in Columns & they were ordered to subdivide into Sections & so marched on till they came in Sight of the Enemy. That the Deponent rode down to the Genl (then in the Centre Column) & informed him that the Enemy were formed as follows, That their rangers were on their right on the Bank of the river; the regular Troops in the Centre on the flatts in Column, & the Indians & riflemen on the left, about 160 yards advanced of the other Troops in an Orchard near Klocks House;⁴⁹ that upon reconnoitering the Ground it was found impracticable to form the Centre & Left Columns as was at first intended; that they were therefore subdivided into smaller Detachments; that, thereupon, a Skirmishing commenced between some scattering Indians & white men advanced of the right of the Centre Column, & the Enemy; that the Dep't then retired to his Command; that Major McKinster in pursuance of the Genl's Orders, filed off to the right from the Centre & marched very near the right Column; that the remainder of the Centre Column under the Command of Colo. Whiting advanced to the Orchard at Klocks House & engaged them; that the firing on the Part of the Enemy was so warm as to prevent the Troops under Colo Whiting from advancing; that, thereupon, the Deponent ordered two Companies of his Column to raise the Summit of the Hill to & fire on the Enemy in flank, which broke them & they ran off; that the Deponent then marched on till he gained the Flank of the Enemy's main Body, pursuant to the Genl's Order; that it began to grow dusk & he discovered that his front had got into the Enemy's rear; that,

thereupon, he faced his men about & marched in a Line down to the Enemy, undiscovered; that he gave orders for firing Platoons from right to left, when the Enemy broke & ran; that he advanced & continued firing upon the Enemy, till he discovered a firing on the rear of his Left; that find'g it to come from some Part of our own militia he halted his men & rode up to the militia & met with Genl Rensselaer on the left of the Centre Column; where he found the militia had given way; that it was so dark, that he could not discern Genl Rensselaer at the Distance of five paces nor know him but from his voice. And that when he came up to the Genl he found him encouraging & entreating the Men to come on & form; that the Deponent attempted to encourage the men to advance & form but he found his Efforts in vain; that he Informed the Genl that the right of the Centre Line were firing on the Levies, who were advanced ag't the Enemy; that it was then proposed by either the Genl or the Deponent, that the firing should be ordered to cease, lest our men should kill each other; that the Genl requested him to ride to the rear of the Troops & stop their retreating & inform them that the Enemy had retired over the river; that he went some Distance & on his return informed the Genl that he could not over take the front; that the Genl Inquired from him, whether he knew of a good Piece of ground, to encamp on that night; that he, thereupon, recommended a Hill near Klocks House⁴⁸ & an Order was sent to Major Benschoten of the Levies to return to the ground near Klocks House; that on riding with the Genl, he mentioned his apprehensions, that his men would want Provisions for the March the next Day; that the Deponent then recommended to the Genl a spot of ground near Fox's,⁴⁹ where the Troops would be secure from Surprise & Provisions might be brought to them from the Baggage waggons which were at Fort Rensselaer; that a Part of the Levies were left at Klocks House, to take Charge of the wounded & of the Stores taken from the Enemy & the remainder of the Troops retired to Fox's; that the Genl immediately ordered Parties to Fort Rensselaer for Provisions for the militia & ordered the Dep't to hold himself & the Levies in readiness to march before Day Light the next morn'g in Pursuit of the Enemy; that in Consequence thereof be moved with the Troops about 3 OClock In the morn'g.

Question by the Court. Did the Genl In your Opinion, do every thing in his Power, to annoy & repel the Enemy & save the Country from Desolation?

Ans'r. Yes Sir, while I was with him, I saw nothing wanting in him.

Court. Did the Genl at any Time discover the least want of personal Bravery & Firmness in the Course of the action & Transactions of the 19th October last?

A. He did not, but the Contrary.

Court. Did you know that the Place where the Enemy crossed the river was a Common fording Place?

Ans'r. I did not, nor was it. The Bank at the Place where they crossed, was Breast high from the water & the water was as deep.

Court. Was it very dark on the Evening of the action?

Ans'r. I do not think it was 16 minutes after the Firing commenced before it was so dark, as to render it impossible to distinguish one man from another at the Distance of two Paces.

The Court adjourned till tomorrow morning 7 OClock.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. Sampson Dyckman⁵⁰ being sworn says, that he joined General Rensselaer about five miles above Schenectady, at 8 or 4 OClock in the afternoon of the Day, the Genl marched from

Schenectady; that when he came up with the Genl, the Troops were marching with Expedition & continued so till Evening, being then about 14 or 16 miles from Schenectady, where they halted till moon rise; that just as the Moon rose the Genl came to the Encampment & ordered the Troops to prepare & march immediately & that in few minutes they moved; that the Genl informed him, the Enemy were some Distance ahead & that he expected his Troops would soon fall in with them; that the road over Checktinunda Hill was very bad, miry and deep, which impeded the march; that they arrived at Fort Hunter at about 12 O'Clock & crossed instantly in a Scow, on Waggons & on Horseback & proceeded in their March without much Delay; that when the roads were good the Troops marched very fast but where the roads were bad, they were delayed by the artillery & waggons.

Question by Genl Rensselaer. Did you come to me with a request that the Troops might not be ordered to march so fast?

Ans'r. I did wait on you at the Instance of Major Schuyler⁵¹ & others, who said the men would not be fit for action, in Case they were marched so fast. You then told me, that the Enemy were ahead destroying the Country & the men must be marched fast at all Events, to come up with them. Many of the Men were much fatigued by 10 O'Clock next morning so as to render it necessary for them to go on Horseback & in the waggons.

The Court adjourned till 6 O'Clock P. M.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Major Lewis R. Morris⁵² being sworn, says that he overtook Genl Rensselaer at Mr. H. Glen's at Schenectady on the 18th Oct'r last, about 12 O'Clock & joined him as a volunteer aid de Camp; that he was there ordered by the Genl to assist Mr. LeRoy,⁵³ his major of Brigade in getting the Troops out of Town; that the Troops marched out of Town about 1½ mile on the Low Lands where they were formed & ordered to march into Sections to the Woestyne⁵⁴ at Mr. Van Eps's about 9 miles from Schenectady, where they were halted to refresh themselves for a very short Time & then marched on to Sir William's old place; that it was then dark & the Troops halted till moon rise, about 10 or 11 O'Clock. The Deponent was there informed that the Genl & field officers, on Consultation, tho't it imprudent & dangerous to march over the Checktinunda Hill in the night, till moon rise, & the Troops were accordingly halted on the side of the road; that the Deponent thereafter attended the advance Corps under Lt. Colo. Pratt⁵⁵ & Major McKinster; that about moon rise, the Genl ordered the Troops in motion & marched to Fort Hunter & that the Troops immediately crossed the river or Schoharie Creek in Scows &c., while the Genl was examining two Deserters from the Enemy; that the Troops were halted on the west side of Schoharie Creek, till the artillery came up, which had gone a different route & joined 'em in a short Time; that the Troops then marched on, without Delay, to Van Eps's, where they arrived about 4 O'Clock & halted not more than an Hour; that during that Halt, Letters were written by order of the Genl to Colo. Dubois & Colo. Brown, informing them of his approach with a Body of Troops; & that those Letters were given in Charge to a Mr. Wallace; that soon after the Letters were dispatched the Troops were put in motion; that the Day then began to dawn; that the roads were very bad & the Troops complained of being much

fatigued; that the whole Body marched about 4 or 5 miles & halted at the ruins of a House, for few minutes, for the purpose of examining a Prisoner, taken that night; that the Deponent then again Joined the advance Corps, & proceeded on to a Bridge, when he & Lt. Colo. Pratt discovered a Party of the Enemy on the opposite Side of the river; that the advance Corps halted, till the Deponent rode down about $\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile, to the Genl (who was advancing with the Troops) to inform him of the Discovery of the Enemy; that as that Party of the Enemy was out of the reach of musquet Shot, the Genl ordered up a Piece of artillery, whereupon the Enemy dispersed; that the whole of the Troops moved on to the South Side of the river opposite Major Fry's,⁵⁶ where (as the Deponent had understood) the Genl intended to cross the Troops, but that on his arrival there he found it impracticable; that it was then between 8 & 10 O'Clock; that a firing was then heard, which, from its Direction, was supposed to be at Oswegotchie,⁵⁷ & which afterwards proved to have been Colo. Brown's rencounter with the Enemy; that the advance Corps not being incumbred with any waggons or artillery, moved on expeditiously; that with the main Body were one ammunition waggon & two Pieces of artillery & that to the best of his Knowledge the Baggage Waggons were in the rear of the whole; that the main Body moved on to a House about a mile below Fort Rensselaer; that it was then between 10 & 1 O'Clock that the Troops halted there & the Genl then rec'd Information of Colo. Brown's defeat; that Colo. Dubois & Colo. Harper there waited on the Genl; that the Troops were ordered to refresh themselves, & the Genl gave orders for their crossing the Ford as soon as they had refreshed themselves; that after delivering the orders for that Purpose, the Genl went with Colo. Dubois to Fort Rensselaer; that the Deponent rec'd orders from the Genl to go & assist Mr. Leroy in getting the Troops over the Ford; that he accordingly exerted himself in assisting Mr. Leroy to get the Troops over the river; that the Troops refused to ford the river & waggons were drove into it to facilitate their passage; that it was about an Hour after the Troops came to the ford before they began to cross; & that it was between two & three Hours from their first arrival before they were all over; that they crossed the Ford in different ways; in some Instances the waggons were drove into the river behind each other & the Troops passed from one to the other by walking on the Tongues; that Capt. Driskill came down to the Ford, with orders from the Genl, to hasten the crossing of the Troops, & that Mr. Lansing also came & exerted himself in getting them over the river; that after they had all crossed, they marched with Dispatch to the Ferry, where they joined the Levies & Indians; that the Genl did there take the Command of the whole; that after they had joined, the whole were divided into three Columns; the right composed of Levies, & the Left & Centre of militia; that the Oneida Indians marched between the Left & Centre, but sometimes changed their Situation; that the Troops marched in this order, in pursuit of the Enemy for some miles; that the Centre & Left Columns were then subdivided & continued their march; that Colo. Harpur came to the Genl & advised him that an Oneida Indian had discovered the Enemy near at Hand on the Low Grounds; that soon thereafter the Deponent discovered them drawn up in order; that the Genl then ordered Mr. Lansing to the right & the Deponent to the Left; that the firing on the Enemy from the advance Party of the Centre then commenced at about (200) two hundred yards Distance; that about the same Time Colo. Cuyler's regiment of the Left Column began to fire on the Enemy at about 400 yards Distance; that the Genl desired the Deponent to go to the Left & order them to cease firing & advance towards the Enemy; that he, thereupon, went to the Left & communicated the Genl's orders, but that it was a considerable Time before he could effect it;

that the regiment advanced a little & inclined towards the river, when the Dep't left it; that Colo. Rensselaer's regim't was advanced towards the Enemy in an Orchard⁵⁸ in front of Klocks House; that after delivering the orders to Colo. Cuyler's regt. he returned to the General, whom he found in the Center with Colos. Rensselaer's & Whiting's regts. which were then in the greatest Disorder & Confusion; and that the Genl did exert himself to get them in order again.

Court. At what Time did the firing commence?

Ans'r. At about sunset & continued for about 30 minutes.

Court. Did the General discover any want of personal Bravery & firmness in the action of that Day?

A. He did not.

Court. Was Colo. Cuyler's regt. also in Disorder & Confusion?

A. They were.

Page 699-703.

Court. What was the Extreme Distance between the Front & rear of that regt.?

A. About 250 or 300 yards.

Genl Renss. Did not the rear of the Left, fire at the same Time when the Front did?

A. They did.

Genl Renss. Did you bear the reason assigned for ordering a retreat?

A. I did; I think the reason was that the Troops were in such Confusion, that it would be easy for a small Party of the Enemy to cut them in Places.

Court. Did the Genl thro the whole of his march from Schenectady upwards, discover a Solicitude to come up with the Enemy?

A. He ever appeared anxious to come up with them.

Court. What was Genl Rensselaer's Conduct the Day after the action?

Ans'r. Colo. Dubois with the Levies, marched in Pursuit of the Enemy the next morning & the Genl then ordered some Light Troops from the regiments of militia, who were best able to march, to go on as volunteers to overtake Colo. Dubois; that the Dep't went on accordingly with about 30 volunteers; that on his way, the General with a Party of horse passed him at the Castle⁵⁹ & that the deponent with his Party marched on & came up with the Genl & Colo. Dubois at Fort Herkimer;⁶⁰ that as soon as the main Body of militia came up, the whole Force marched In pursuit of the Enemy. about 3 or 4 miles above Fort Herkimer at Shoemaker's,⁶¹ where they halted for some Time; that a Difference of opinion then arose on the route the Enemy had taken; and on a Consultation of the Field Officers, the whole of the Troops returned to Fort Herkimer, where the general took the Comm'd.

Genl Rensselaer. Do you not recollect that I sent out 3 or 4 Indians to discover the Enemy's Track?

A. I do.

Edward S. Willet,⁶² being sworn, says, that on the Day of the action of the 19th October last, he was attached to the artillery; that he was at Fort Rensselaer & afterwards with Genl Rensselaer & Colo. Dubois, on the Bank of the river at the ferry; that he there rec'd orders from the Genl to go down to the Place where the militia were crossing & desire the officers to hurry on

the Troops as quick as possible: which he did.

Genl Renss. Quest. Do you not remember that the artillery & ammunition waggons frequently halted on acco't of the Badness of the roads?

Ans'r. I do. & particularly at & above Anthony's Nose, where the ammunition waggon was delayed, the Horses being very much fatigued.

Lt. Garret W. Van Schaick⁶³ being sworn says, that he was in the Field of action on the 19th Oct'r last; that when Colo. Cuyler's regt. & the other Troops were advancing towards the Enemy, they yet out of the reach of musket shot, Colo. Cuyler's regt. began to fire upon the Enemy & rushed on a few paces which broke the Line or order they were in; that soon after they were in great Disorder & Confusion, and the Deponent saw Genl Rensselaer with them, endeavoring to form them; that the Genl Exerted himself greatly on this Occasion but his Efforts were fruitless; that the Troops were worn down with Fatigue, occasioned by the long & rapid march & the want of rest the proceeding night.

The Court adjourned till Thursday morn'g 7 OClock, — March 15th 1781.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment & adjourned till the 16th at 6 OClock P. M. March 16th. The Court met.

Colo: Samuel Clyde.⁶⁴ being sworn says, that on the Day of the action of the 19th October last, he commanded a Party of Tryon County Militia: that he was at Walrods Ferry near Fort Rensselaer, at the Time when Genl Rensselaer with the Militia, arrived at Adam Countryman's,⁶⁵ about a Mile below it; that he crossed the Ferry to the north side with the Levies & militia, about 11 OClock A. M., by Colo. Dubois's orders; that he had orders to halt there, till Genl Rensselaer should join him; that about 3 or 4 Hours thereafter, the Genl with his militia joined the Levies & militia at the Ferry, when without the least Delay, the whole Force marched with the greatest Expedition, till they came up with the Enemy; that the militia commanded by the Dep't, were attached to the Levies under Colo. Dubois, on the right; that the Depon't was not informed of the Disposition of the other Troops & had no opportunity to observe it, as he marched immediately into the woods on the Hill; that the Troops marched about 4 miles, till they had got above Colo. Klock's;⁶⁶ that he then heard a firing near Klock's House; but that the right continued their march with Design to outflank the Enemy: that upon find'g that the right had got above the Enemy, two or three Platoons of Levies & militia were detached (by Mr. Benschoten) from the rear, to attack a Body of the Enemy who were posted about 100 Rods above Klock's; that the Detachm't fired six or seven Platoons, when the Enemy fled & the Troops returned to their Post; that the right was then ordered to halt, until Colo. Dubois waited on the Genl for orders; that it was then so dark as to render it difficult to enter into action with Safety, as it was hardly possible to distinguish our Troops & the Enemy from each other; that he then observed a cross fire upon the right, from the Low Lands, which he supposed to have come from the Enemy, but that he was the same Even'g Informed by Colo. Dubois, that it proceeded from our own Troops; that the right remained in that Situation for about half an hour; that the Enemy could just be discerned & Part of them were then heard crossing the river; that the Day Light was then in & the Troops rec'd orders to march & they proceeded towards Klock's House, where they halted a short Space of Time; that on hearing the Groanings of a man who lay wounded in the Field of action, he detached 6 men to bring him in; that those men with some others bro't in the artillery waggons & artillery which had been deserted by the Enemy; that a report of this matter was sent to Genl

Rensselaer two or 3 Hours after Dark; that it was agreed between the Dep't & Mr. Benschoten to halt the Troops, & remain on the ground where they were; & that soon after Colo. Dubois came to them, with orders that they should remain on the ground near Klock's; that he did not hear of any Council of war being held & a retreat resolved on; that Colo. Dubois informed the Deponent & Mr. Benschoten, that the Genl would be with them in the morning & that they were to march in Pursuit of the Enemy; that the Levies under Colo. Dubois & the militia commanded by the Deponent marched accordingly, about an Hour after Sunrise & before the Genl came up with them; that he heard the Genl lodged at Fox's about 3 or 4 miles below Klock's;⁶⁷ that Colo. Dubois & the Dep't & their Troops marched to Fort Herkimer & arrived there about 2 O'Clock, being about 18 or 20 miles; that about an Hour after, they were joined by the Genl with a Party of Horse & that some Time, thereafter, Major Morris with a Party of militia came up, and that ab't two Hours after the Genl's arrival, they were joined by a Body of militia; that then (ab't 4 O'Clock) all the Troops marched from Fort Herkimer (about 6 miles) to Shoemaker's.

Genl's Question. Do you know the reason of our marching to Shoemaker's?

Ans'r. The Enemy had marched into the woods & it was supposed they only meant to avoid the little Forts which were along the public road & would come into the road again at Shoemaker's.

Genl's Qu. Did you not hear that we were at a Loss to know which way the Enemy had gone & do you not recollect that 3 Indians were sent out by me to discover their Track?

A. I did hear that it was doubtful which route the Enemy had taken & that the Indians were sent out

Qu. Did we remain there that night or did we return & when? & do you know the reason of our return?

A. We remained there till near dark & then returned to Fort Herkimer. I do not know the reason why. I heard the Scouts had been out & had returned & that they could not discover that the Enemy had gone that way.

Qu. Did not the Governor⁶⁸ join as at Fort Herkimer?

A. He did some Time in that night.

Qu. Had you on the 19th Oct'r, from your Situation, any Opportunity of seeing the Confusion that prevailed in our Left & Centre.

A. I had not.

Qu. Do you think it would have been prudent in me, to have engaged the Enemy with the Party of Levies & militia who were on the North Side of the river at Walrods Ferry before the militia, who were below, came up?

A. I do not think it would.

Court. Did you on the 19th or 20th October or at any Time before, discover any want of personal Bravery & Firmness in Genl Rensselaer?

A. I never did before nor did I at any Time on those Days.

John Lansing, Jun'r, Esqr. being sworn says as follows:

On the 17th of October last in the afternoon I accompanied Genl Rensselaer in Quality of aid major from Albany to Schenectady, the City of Albany militia & some other Regiments having previously proceeded on their march to that place. We overtook & passed a number of the Militia before we arrived at that Place, and Colo. Van Alstyne's regt., which had been directed to

march by the way of Nestagiuna, not having arrived at Schenectady, in the Evening the Genl sent an Express to him with orders to hasten his march so as to be at Schenectady at Day Break next morning.

In the mean Time, the General having been informed that the Enemy were still burning in the lower Parts of Schoharie, convened some of the principal Inhabitants of Schenectady & advised with them on the Practicability of procuring a number of Horses & waggons by the next morning, to convey such militia as could be collected. towards the Enemy, with the greater Expedition.

The attempt was made in the Course of the night, but a number very inadequate to the service could only be procured. The Issuing Commissary⁶⁹ was the same Evening sent for, to inform the General of the State of Provisions at Schenectady. It appeared from his Information, as I was advised by Genl Rensselaer an Hour or two after he was sent for, that there was not a Sufficiency of Provisions of the meat kind to victual the Troops for a Day & a very small Quantity of Bread. Some Cattle arriving, destined for the Garrison of Fort Schuyler,⁷⁰ the General ordered some of those to be killed for the use of the militia. Those were to have been ready at Day break, but the Bread which was ordered to be baked & the Cattle directed to be killed, did not get ready till about 9 O'Clock in the morning; before which orders were issued, to march as soon as the Provisions should be received.

While we were at Schenectady on the morning of the 18th General Rensselaer wrote a Letter or directed me to write to Colonel Staats⁷¹ or Veeder⁷² (I cannot charge my memory to which) directing him, as nearly as I can recollect, to call upon Major Woolsey⁷³ & to take all the Force he could collect from the different Posts at Schohary, without exposing the Forts too much, pursue the Enemy & hang on their rear, avoiding however an Engagement & advising the Genl from Time to Time, of the route, numbers & such other particulars respecting the Enemy, as he could collect.

I believe it was between 9 & 10 O'Clock before the militia got in march; they marched on the 18th as far as Sir William Johnson's old place, on the Mohawk River, which I think I was informed was 16 miles above Schenectady. We arrived there after it was dark & took post on a Hill. A Council was called by the General, as soon as the Troops could be properly disposed of, consisting of a number of Field Officers & the, Genl suggested to them the necessity of taking measures to procure Intelligence of the Enemy's route. It was agreed to send out a Party to make discoveries & which was accordingly done. The Chughtenunda Hill being covered with woods & it being very dark, the Council agreed in Sentiment that it would be most advisable to remain on the Ground on which we then were, till the moon should begin to appear. We accordingly remained, I think till some Time before the moon rose, when the march was reassumed; we arrived at Fort Hunter⁷⁴ (I think) about twelve. The Militia were directed to cross the Schohary Creek, which was soon effected in a Scow & the Waggons.

I went into the Fort⁷⁵ with the General, who examined a Prisoner that had been taken & brought in & upon coming out we crossed the Creek & found most of the militia on the west side. We then marched on & I do not recollect that we made any Halt after leaving the Creek till we got to Van Eps's, where we halted, I think about an Hour. Here the General directed me to write to Colonels Dubois & Brown advising them of his Situation & his Intentions to pursue the Enemy closely & to attack them by Break of Day. In Consequence of those orders I wrote a

Letter to Colo. Dubois, of which I believe the paper Colo. Harpur produced to the Court, is a Copy. Another was dispatched to Colonel Brown. The General rec'd the account at Van Eps's, by one Wallace, that the Enemy was encamped at Anthony's Nose on both Sides of the river. We continued our march to a Field at some Distance from the East side of the Nose. It was then some Time advanced in the Day. Here we halted. The ammuniton was inspected & an additional Quantity distributed among the Troops. Colonel Louis was sent out to reconnoitre Anthony's Nose, which is a very dangerous Defile. Upon his return & reporting that he had made no Discoveries, & after the Issues of ammuniton were compleated, which might possibly take an Hour, the Militia were ordered on. After proceeding to the West Side of the Nose we discovered a Party of about forty of the Enemy on the North Side of the Mohawk River, who were bending their Course towards the river. Our advance was then about one quarter of a mile in front of the main Body. Capt'n Driskill of the artillery was with a Field piece with the advance Guard. I was directed by the Genl to go to the advance Guard & order the Officer commanding it, to make proper Dispositions to intercept the Enemy, should they cross a Ford, which it was said, was in our Front, as the General supposed they mistook our Troops for those of the Enemy. I rode to the advance & delivered my Orders; they halted for some Time & Capt'n Driskill upon my returning, desired me to beg the General to permit him to give the Enemy's Party a Shot or two. When I returned I communicated Driskill's request; Genl Rensselaer observed to me, our Business was not so much to frighten the Enemy, as to fight them, & that a Compliance with Driskill's request would only tend to discover to the Enemy, that we were in force; we continued marching on without making any General Halt, that I recollect, till we arrived at the Ford about a mile to the Eastward of Fort Rensselaer. the militia stopp'd here to refresh themselves, not having had Time to cook their Provisions since their leaving Schenectady; the Enemy being then burning, from the Direction of their Fires, at Stone-Arabia.

Soon after the Halt, Genl Rensselaer went to Fort Rensselaer, to which Place I followed him & dined; Immediately after Dinner, Genl Rensselaer directed me to go down to the Militia & order them across the river, as soon as possible. When I came down to the Place where they had halted, I found that some had already crossed the river on waggons & others were following their Example. But they went across very tardily, complaining of being too much harrassed by a forced march, & many appeared much dispirited on account of Brown's Defeat, which was generally known among them.

Imagining that their crossing would be expedited by forming a Bridge across the river with our waggons, I suggested it to some of the Field Officers who agreed with me in Sentiment, but the orders given for the Execution of this Service, were executed with such reluctance, that at least two Hours elapsed before the militia had crossed, tho' many of the Officers exerted themselves to facilitate their Conveyance across the river.

While the militia were crossing, I received two messages from the General to push them on with all Expedition, which was communicated to the Field Officers on the Ground.

In the mean Time an attempt was made to induce them to ford the river, but proved unavailing. As soon as they were crossed, they were marched to the Place where the Levies had crossed the river & were formed & counted off in Sections; the Enemy were then about two miles in advance, burning the Buildings as they proceeded.

After we had marched on some Distance, the General directed me to write a Letter to His Excellency, the Governor, advising him that he was near the Enemy & intended to attack, as soon as he could overtake them. While I was writing, the Disposition of the Troops was made for an attack.

Upon my overtaking the Genl who was at the Head of what I was told was the Centre Column, I rode with him some minutes, when he observed to me that the militia on the Left were marching on without observing any Order & directed me to go to them & order them to march more compactly. I went down & gave the Orders to Colo. Cuyler & some other Officers. Upon my return to the General, I observed a number of Men, in advance of the Centre, as I afterwards found, and upon my taking the shortest route towards them, I found they were Indians. I inquired of one of them whether he had seen the Genl, he appeared not to understand me, & while I was endeavouring to make him understand me, the Indians began to fire & received a warm one in return. The first fire my Horse fell with me; by this Time the Troops in the low Grounds had commenced a firing at long Shot from the Enemy, broke & some ran. I again made an attempt to mount my Horse, but finding that he would not stand fire, I ran down towards the Left, one of the Militia attending me & leading my Horse, till I came to Van Alstyne's Regim't which was broke. I assisted in rallying it, which was partly effected; I then went to Colo. Cuyler's & endeavoured to assist the Officers in rallying that Regiment, which was also partly rallied; but Part of another regiment (Van Alstyne's I think) firing at Cuyler's, they again broke & could not be rallied.

A similar Confusion seemed to prevail in every Part of the Troops on the Left. I did not see, General Rensselaer after the firing commenced till It had somewhat subsided, & from the Direction of the Fire it appeared that the Enemy's had entirely ceased, when he exerted himself to rally Cuyler's & other regts. on the Left. He observed to me that the Confusion & Darkness was such, that it would be imprudent to engage the Enemy in the night & directed me to assist in marching off the Troops.

When the firing commenced on our Part, the rear of two regiments in the low Grounds were strung along 150 or 200 yards, behind the Front & kept up a warm fire as well as the Front, but the Direction of the Fire seemed to be up in the air.

At the Time the Engagement begun, It was dusk & in few minutes it was quite dark which I believe was occasioned by the Smoak of the Building which were burnt by the Enemy.

Immediately after the firing on the Part of the Enemy ceased, I heard several exclamations at different Times, by the militia on the low Grounds, that they were In Danger to be cut to Pieces & surrounded by the Enemy & many of them expressed a great Disposition to run off.

In the Evening of the action, I suggested to the General, that the Troops were without Provisions & I recollect he informed me, that he had ordered the Provisions to be over early in the morning but it did not arrive till after Sun-rise.

In the same Evening the General informed me, that he had given Orders to Colo. Dubois for the marching of the Levies, in pursuit of the Enemy, the next morning by Break of Day or before Day, (I do not recollect which) & those Troops marched accordingly.

As soon as the Militia had got their Provisions & had cooked & eat it, they marched also, I think about an Hour after Sunrise, (but this I cannot ascertain with Precission).

On the march the General desired that a small Detachment of men, of the different regts., who were best able to go on should turn out as volunteers to overtake those who went in to join,

Colo. Dubois. If I recollect right, this Detachment was made in Consequence of Intelligence rec'd that Colo. Dubois was very near the Enemy.

The General went on, escorted by a small number of Horsemen, to join Colo. Dubois; I followed him & we arrived at Fort Herkimer about 2 O'clock. About two Hours After, the militia joined us & halted a short space of Time.

Here the General received Intelligence, that the Enemy had struck off from the public road to avoid the Fort & had taken the route to Shoemaker's.

The General then marched the Troops on to near Shoemaker's. It was there become doubtful what route the Enemy had taken & Parties of Indians & white men were sent out to discover their Track, who returned & finally reported, that from the Observations they could make, the Enemy had not gone that way.

When the General found that he had mistaken the Enemy's route, he ordered the Troops to return to Fort Herkimer, with Intention (as was said) to fall in with their Track to the Southward of Fort Herkimer. It was just Dusk when the Troops marched from Shoemaker's towards Fort Herkimer.

The next morning the Governor took the Command.⁷⁶

Court. From the whole Tenor of Genl Rensselaer's Conduct, in his march up the Mohawk River, had you reason to suppose that he was anxious to come up with the Enemy?

A. He appeared to be very much so, in every Part of his Conduct

Court. Did you, in or before the action of the 19th Oct'r discover any want of Firmness or Personal Bravery in the General?

A. From what I observed of his Conduct, before the action, he appeared to possess himself fully, & in the Course of that action, or after it, he did not betray the least want of resolution or Firmness, as far as it fell under my Observation.

The Court adjourned till Sat. morning March 17th at 7 O'clock.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Upon duly considering the Proofs and Allegations, respecting B. Genl Rensselaer's Conduct on the Incursions of the Enemy into Tryon County, in October last; — The Court do, unanimously, report their opinion, That the whole of General Rensselaer's Conduct both before & after, as well as in the action of the 19th of October last, was not only unexceptionable, but such as became a good, active, faithful, prudent & spirited officer and that the public Clamors raised to his Prejudice, on that account, are without the least Foundation.

Jacobus Swartwout, Presdt.

His Excellency Governor Clinton.⁷⁷

[Hastings, Hugh., ed. The Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777-1795 – 801-1804. Published by the State of New York. Albany and New York: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Company, 1899-1904. 8 vols. Volume 6:692-703.]

END NOTES

1. Prior to his July 1, 1780 promotion to Brigadier General, Robert Van Rensselaer was the colonel of the Claverack District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia.
2. George Clinton. First Governor of New York as Colony and State.
3. Jacobus Swartout, former colonel commandant of regiments of the Dutchess County, New York Militia prior to his promotion to Brigadier General of Dutchess County on March 3, 1780.
4. Colonel Thomas Thomas, colonel commandant of the Middle Regiment of Westchester County, New York Militia.
5. Colonel John Cantine, colonel commandant of the Third Regiment of Ulster County, New York Militia.
6. Prior to his May 11, 1780 appointment as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Second Regiment of New York State Levies, Harper was the colonel commandant of the Fifth Regiment of Tryon County, New York Militia His competence as a officer was highly questioned by both Brigadier General Robert Van Rensselaer and Colonel William Malcom, Colonel Commandant of an Additional Regiment of New York State Troops. Malcom had, prior to the reduction of the Grand Army, served as the Colonel Commandant of the 16th Regiment of the Grand Army of the United States [see the Correspondence of Colonel William Malcom at www.fort-plank.com/edit].
7. John Lansing Junior served as the Adjutant of the Tryon County, New York Militia Brigade.
8. Prior to his appointment as Colonel Commandant of a Regiment of Levies Raised to Reinforce the United States on July 1, 1780, DuBois had served as the colonel commandant of the Fifth Regiment of the New York State Line.
9. Johannis Van Eps purchased the 900 acre Johannis Visger Patent, adjoining the John & Hendrick Ten Eyck Patent, from Johannis Visger on June 2, 1752 (Albany County Deeds 6:432).
10. Harpur was appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Second Regiment of New York State Levies on May 11, 1780. He was previously Colonel Commandant of the Fifth Regiment of Tryon County, New York. His competence as a commanding officer was sounding criticized by both General Van Rensselaer and Colonel William Malcom, Colonel Commandant of a regiment of Additional New York State Troops, prior to this battle [see the correspondence of Colonel William Malcom at www.fort-plank.com/Writings_of_Wm_Malcom_1780.pdf]. By Military Convention, Harper would have been autonomous of Colonel Lewis Dubois unless orders from a superior officer (e.g., Brigadier General van Rensselaer or Colonel William Malcom, Commander of the Northern District) specified otherwise. It is clear from Harper's testimony, that Harper consider himself to be under the command of Colonel Lewis Dubois, formerly Commandant of the Fifth New York Regiment, on that fateful day. After the expiration of his commission, he is not to have commanded troops again during the Revolutionary Period.

11. The exact locations of Forts Plain and Rensselaer are as of today unknown. A careful study of all known facts concerning this fort suggest that its location was somewhere near the westernmost portion of the Lewis Morris Patent/southeastern most part of the Freysbush Patent, adjoining the Mohawk River.

12. Colonel John Brown commanded a regiment of Bay State Levies from Berkshire County, Massachusetts who were to be discharged from service on October 16, 1780, but who were detained on the intelligence of Sir John Johnson's possible foray into the Middle and Upper Mohawk Valley. Per the December 9, 1780 Virginia Gazette, in an article which parallels a report of the events of October 19, 1780 by New York's Governor, George Clinton, Brown was last officially billeted in Fort Plank. Lieutenant Henry J. Vanderburgh, who was commanding Fort Keyser on the night of October 18, 1780 states that . . . *Col. Malcom who commanded at Fort Plank ordered Col. Brown with a regiment of new levies to reinforce the deponent to prevent the enemy crossing the river . . .* (Revolutionary War Pension Application #S14760. Of Colonel John Brown's Regiment of Berkshire County, Bay State Levies the following are recorded as having lost their lives either or as a result of the Battle includes:

Colonel John Brown, Captain Levi Ely. Sergeant Moses Lemmon of Captain John Spoor's Company, and Corporal Judah Jones of Captain Levi Ely's Company. Privates of Captain Levi Ely's Company, the exact date being unrecorded: Wainwright Bruk, John Chapin, and Abraham Conners. Privates Asa Day, John Dimmon, Daniel Gleason, Dan Hill, Jonas Hubbard, Russel Leonard, Thomas Loyhead, Jared Noble of Captain Levi Ely's Company on October 19, 1780. Privates Peletiah Bigsbey, Robert Davis, Jacob Goff, Ambrose Horsford, Solomon Hatch, Jacob Hatch, Jacob Lomis, Oliver Meeken, Joseph Noble of Captain John Spoor's Company on October 19, 1780. Private William Beckett of Captain Samuel Warner's Company who died on October 20, 1780. And, Private Richard Lewis of Captain William White's on October 19, 1780.

13. John Walrad's Ferry. During the American Revolution Walradt lived upon Lot 4 of the Francis Harrison just to the south of Abeel's Island and above Lock 15 of the Enhanced NYS Barge Canal in the channel of the Mohawk River. The exact text of his license is found in Volume 5 of The Public Papers of George Clinton, page 593, and reads:

We the Supervisors of Tryon County do hereby certify that the Place of John Walrad is very convenient to be an establish'd Ferry, and at this Time highly necessary to preserve a Communication between Forts Plank and Paris, and do hereby recommend the said John Walrad to his Excellency Governor Clinton, for a License for a Ferry across the Mohock River. Given under our Hands the 6th Day of April 1780.

Jelles Fonda, Chris'r P. Yates, John Pickerd, Augustinus Hess, Henrick Staring.

A map of the Harrison Patent at the time of the American Revolution can be found at www.Fort-Plank.com/Harrison_Patent.

14. William Bradford Whiting was appointed the Colonel Commandant of the Kings District Regiment of Albany County Militia and was reappointed such on June 16, 1778.

15. The Revolutionary War Pension Application of Richard Hilton, #S13403, states:

In the month of October in the year last mentioned [1780] I was again drafted and called into the service in consequence of reports of which were rife that one Sir John Johnson intended to march from Canada with a body of Tories and Indians and lay waste the Country, accordingly left Albany with my Company passing through the City of Schenectady and up the Mohawk river to Fort Hunter a few days after our arrival at Fort Hunter information was brought there that Johnson with his Tories and Indians was near by and had burned & devastated the Country in his march we immediately received orders to prepare to meet him. He did not make his appearance and we then in pursuance of orders went in pursuit of the enemy & continued the pursuit to to [sic] Fort Plain when we arrived here we were told that the Enemy were six miles off and we still continued the pursuit to the German flats and came up to him there about an hour before sun set There had already been an engagement between him and Col Brown in which Col Brown was killed and scalped. After we arrived a number of men were placed under Col Dubois of the regular Army who was ordered to keep himself & men concealed from the enemy and not to fire until Johnson & his came within two hundred yards of them Dubois however disregarded his orders and his men by his direction fired upon the enemy at five times that distance. Johnson immediately after the firing by our troops under Col Dubois retreated and was pursued by our troops to Fort Herkimer without being overtaken And the pursuit was then given over Genl George Clinton came to Fort Herkimer the same evening accompanied by his aid Le Roy and a Major Shanenet a Frenchman. We remained at Fort Herkimer two days afterwards and then returned to Albany and were discharged having been about on duty two months My officers were Col Wemple Major Cuyler Captain Nicholas Joraleman and Liuts Johnson and Hilton Gen Van Rensselaer accompanied & had the Command ____ . . .”

16. Elias Van Benschoten was appointed a major in Colonel Lewis Dubois' Regiment of New York State Levies on July 1, 1780.

17. William was a brother of Colonel John Harper (Albany County, New York Probate File H:115). He was a Tryon County Justice at the time of the battle (Public Papers of Governor George Clinton, Volume 4:716)

18. The Willigen was a small land grant located on the south bank of the Mohawk River near the border between the Counties of Schenectady and Tryon. It made up the south-easternmost portion of the Charles Williams or Warrenbush Patent.

19. Fort Hunter was located on the eastern bank of the Schoharie Kill several hundred yards south or upstream from its mouth into the Mohawk River.

20. Warrenbush was a large land grant or patent located to the south and east of the mouth of the Schoharie Kill. It appears on most Colonial Land Maps as the Charles Williams Patent. See www.fort-plank.com/Warrensburgh_1738.

21. Elliot's, at the Old Farms. This location has yet to be identified.
22. Sergeant William Wood was a member of Captain Jacobus Philip's Company of the Claverack District Regiment of Albany County Militia commanded Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer prior to his promotion to Brigadier General.
23. Anthonys Nose was actually two large hills, one on the north-side of the Mohawk River, Big Nose, and one on the south-side of the River, Little Nose. They descend to the river's edge in such a way that they overlap creating a very tight passage through which the river flows from west to east. This prominent landmark can be best viewed traveling westward on the NYS Thruway from Fonda, New York.
24. Gardineer's Flatts. The Gardineer's possessed the westernmost portion of the Johan Scott, Hunior Patent where it adjoined the Johannis Visger Patent which was owned at that time by Johannis Van Eps (Jacob Abbott Collection, Box 2:317, in the New York State Library Manuscripts Division). Its modern location is on the south-side of the Mohawk River to the east of the Village of Fultonville.
25. Stone Arabia was an early German Settlement and land grant located directly north on NYS Route 10 from Palatine Bridge, where a Lutheran and Reformed Church still stand upon their original Colonial sites.
26. William Wallace he served just short of three years a First Lieutenant in Colonel James Livingston's Regiment of Additional Continentals before resigning his commission to care for his father at Johnstown in August of 1779. He later served as a lieutenant while leading men in the Battle of Johnstown on October 25, 1781.
27. Peter Lewis. During the Revolutionary War a Peter Lewis possessed 150 acres of land in the Archibald Kennedy Patent (Certificates of Quit Rent Remissions, Mss #A1228).
28. Putnam's Lands. The location of these lands has yet to be identified.
29. Major John McKinster of the Second Claverack District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia commanded by Colonel Peter Van Ness.
30. Lewis Atayataghronghta, Revolutionary Bounty Land Warrant #12-450. He was also known as Colonel Luie, Atyatoghharongevia and Lewis Cook (Nicholas Cusick, "alias Kanaghtjoh", RWPA #S18788). Lewis was by birth a Mohawk Indian of the Caughnawaga Clan per a letter from Philip Schuyler to Henry Laurens in Congress dated March 15, 1778 (Continental Congress Papers, M247, Roll 173 item 286). Colonel Lewis' Indian name is provided by James Wakarantharaus, "alias James Powlis" (RWPA #R11007). He received a Bounty Land Grant of 450 acres for his services as a lieutenant colonel in the Revolutionary War. In a letter of March 29, 1779, it is stated . . . *Colonel Louis arrived here this afternoon from Oneida and brings an account that he has received undoubted Intelligence that Joseph Brant is gone with a very large Belt of Wampum to the seven Tribes in Canada. He is sent to call those Indians to Oswego where*

Colonel Butler is to meet them with what force he can collect of Indians Tories &c. and to take post as soon as the Season will permit. In consequence of which Intelligence Louis now on his Way for Canada & leaves this to morrow. He determines if possible to frustrate the Design of the Enemy as to his Countrymen and prevent their being imposed on by the Arts of Brandt. Should any military operations be carried on to the Westward in which the Assistance of our Indian Allies will be required . . . (Continental Congress Papers, M247, Roll 173 item 493). He was also in charge of the Indians chosen by Lieutenant Colonel Willett to pursue Captain Walter Butler in late October 1781 and is credited with the killing of Walter Butler (Henry Shaver, RWPA# S11371; Nicholas Smith, RWPA #S16252; John Stalker, RWPA #S19478).

31. Lame Corn Van Alstine. The exact identity and location of this man's home have yet to be identified.

32. John Ekkor's? Located on rhomboid shaped portion of the southern section of Lot 9 of the Abraham DePeyster's [Eastern] Division of the Harmen Van Slyck Patent of September 1, 1716.

33. Major Christopher P. Yates'. This is a reference to the former property of Major Yate's father-in-law, Henry Frey, which was located nearly directly across the river from the home of Major John Frey, occupant of what is now known as Fort Frey in the western portion of the Village of Palatine Bridge, New York.

34. Lowland Lot 8 of the Otsquago Patent which adjoined Ravers Rapids of the Mohawk River, just to the south of the mouth of the Otsquago Creek in the modern Village of Fort Plain.

35. Failing's Orchard. Jurry Failing owned land the west half of Lot 15 & east Lot 18 of the Francis Harrison Patent (Montgomery County Deed 6:472).

36. Hendrick Van Veghten.

37. Fort Hendrick Ford now located just the west of the southernmost terminus of modern day Snell Road about a mile to the west of the Village of Saint Johnsville. Chart 12 of the 1803 Survey of the Mohawk River drawn by Benjamin Wright for the Western Inland Navigation Company, housed in the Oneida County Historical Society in Utica, New York, notes that the river current was "very rapid" at this fording site and it remains so in 2014.

38. The modern day of Village of Schoharie.

39. Sidney's modern day location remains unknown.

40. Abraham Van Alstyne, Colonel Commandant of the Kinderhook District Regiment of Albany County Militia.

41. Niskayuna was located to the east of the City of Schenectady, New York on the south side of the Mohawk River.

42. Sir William Johnson's Stone House in the now Village of Fort Johnson.
43. Rosendall was located on the south-side of the Mohawk River about six miles down river from Schenectady.
44. This is a long hill south of the City of Amsterdam over which NYS Route 5 now runs, and which is now referred to as Yankey Hill. A Beech Nut Corporation packing plant and a large Target Warehouse are located upon the top of this hill.
45. Raver's Rapid just below the mouth of the Otsquago Creek adjoining Lowland Lot 8 of the Otsquago [Bleecker's] Patent owned by Adam Countryman.
46. Second Lieutenant Joseph Driskill of the Third Regiment of Continental Artillery.
47. Philip Fox's on Lot 7 of the Francis Harrison Patent (Montgomery County Deed 1:18).
48. Colonel Abraham Cuyler, Commandant of the City of Albany Regiment of Albany County , New York Militia.
49. This is a reference to 'Old' George Klock's Stone House which was fortified and located upon Lot 16 of the Francis Harrison Patent, which adjoined the Lot 15 Harrison Patent farm of Jurry Failing (Montgomery County Deed 6:472). Of 'Old' George Klock's house, John L. Nellis testified on September 20, 1833, in behalf of George Saltsman, RWPA #W22152, that . . . *the first Service rendered by the Applicant [George Saltsman] he can recollect was, latter part of February 1780 When Ordered Out, & marching to Fort Timmerman, & Stationed Under Capl Miller At the Stone house of George Klocks, On an Alarm, expecting Incursion by the Common Enemy 14 days ____*. While George Saltsman himself stated that his first tour of duty was at . . . *Fort Timmerman Vizt George Klocks near the fort . . .* (George Saltsman, RWPA #W22152).

On April 16, 1757, George Klock purchased the northern or western moiety of Lot 13 of the Francis Harrison Patent from Evert Harmanus Wendell of Albany (Albany County Deed 7:89), but this parcel was in the possession of his son, George G. Klock, by the end of the American Revolution.

During the American Revolution, George is said to have occupied a 150-acre farm in Lots 16 & 17 of the Francis Harrison Patent and his son, Jacob G. Klock, an additional 150 acre farm in the said Lots 16 & 17 (New York State Archives Collection #A1211). N. B. Map #7 of the New York State Commissioners of Forfeitures Map Collection (New York State Archives Collection #7 suggests that "Old" George occupied Lot 17 while his son Jacob G. Klock occupied Lot 16. George Klock's ownership of Lot 17 during of the American Revolution is significant in that Thomas Blaisdell states in his Revolutionary War Pension Application that Sir John Johnson's Corps was defeated by the Rebels on the farm of *George Clock* on October 19, 1780 and that the *enemy* crossed the river there (RWPA #S958). With this description of "Klock's Field" in mind, it is fascinating to note some of the September 23, 1765 description of a land estate which was mortgaged by *Juria Klock* to the widow *Margrit Schuyler* of the City of Albany, James Van Cortlandt and his wife Elizabeth [Schuyler], and others in Albany County,

New York Mortgage 2:24:

. . . two Just and full equal third parts of two Lots of land number sixteen and Seventeen (excepting there out four Hundred forty Eight acres heretofore sold by the said George Klock to Adam Walrath) which said two third parts are to begin by the River in the division Line of the said Lott Number sixteen and Lott Number Fifteen and to runn westerly up along the said River untill two third parts of the low land of the said two Lotts Number Sixteen and seventeen are included then to runn north Forty nine Degrees East to the Road which said road Leads over the River then along the said Road to the House of Adam Klock and ~~Adam~~ Carol Garlock then with a northwest ~~west~~ Course to a runn of water of water Called Nellises Kill then the same course so far untill one mile and a Quarter is full from the said River on a Straight Line then Southeasterly to the Division Line of said Lotts N^o sixteen & Fifteen then south Fifty two degrees west to the said River to the place where it began and the remainder of the said two Lots N^o 16 & N^o 17 which lays beyond the mile and a Quarter is to be laid out into Lots of one hundred Acres of which the two thirds parts are to be part of the hereby granted Premisses . . .

49. This is most likely a reference to the farms of Christopher, Daniel, and Honyst Fox located upon Lots 9 & 10 of the Francis Harrison Patent (New York Archives Collection # A1211). One should note that Johannes Klock, a brother to 'Old' George and Colonel Jacob Klock, lived within a stone house [and now referred to as Fort Klock] located upon Lot 11 of the Francis Harrison Patent. One of two Fox's Mills was located on Lot 7 of the Francis Harrison Patent (Montgomery County, New York Deed 1:18). The other Fox's Mill was operated by Philip W Fox (A Manuscript Plan to Resupply Fort Schuyler). The only reference found to date concerning the lands of Philip W. Fox state that the Revolutionary War he possessed 115 acres in Lot Number 4 of the First Allotment and Lot 4 of the Second Allotment of the Abraham Van Horne Patent located immediately across the river from the upper portion of the Francis Harrison Patent (Garret Lansing Papers, Box 9:4).

50. Sampson Dyckman was a member of the Kinderhook District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia commanded by Colonel Abraham Van Alstine.

51. Major Peter P. Schuyler of the 3rd Rensselaerwyck District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia.

52. Lewis R. Morris. He served as Brigadier General Robert Van Rensselaer's Major of Brigade per a Certificate found in Mister Morris' Revolutionary War Pension Application #R21997 and signed by Robert Van Rensselaer.

53. Lieutenant Daniel LeRoy of the Third Regiment of New York State Levies commanded by Colonel Morris Graham.

54. The Woestyne [now known as “Woestina”] was a small settlement located on the south-side of the Mohawk River in the western portion of the now Town of Rotterdam in Schenectady County, New York.

55. Lieutenant Colonel David Pratt of the Second Kinderhook District Regiment of Tryon County Militia.

56. The western edge of the Village of Palatine Bridge where the stone house of Major John Frey still stands below the stone Mansion of Samuel Ludlow Frey.

57. A section of the Stone Arabia Patent located about two miles to the east of the Stone Arabia Churches which are now located on NYS Route 10 north of the Village of Palatine Bridge.

58. The Failings possessed 159 acres in the southwesterly portion of Lot 15 of the Francis Harrison Patent per Montgomery County Deed 6:472. This property adjoined the farm of George Klock on Lot 16 of the Harrison Patent.

59. The Indian castle near the mouth of the Nowadaga Church were a small wooden church still stands on the south-side of NYS Route 5S.

60. Shoemaker’s. This is most likely a reference to Lot 17 of the Burnetsfield Patent which was patented to Rudolph Shoemaker on the south-side of the Mohawk River. See www.Fort-Plank.com/Burnetsfield_Patent.

61. Located on the south-side of the Mohawk River approximately one to one and a half miles east of the Village of Herkimer on the southern bank of the river.

62. Edward S. Willett was a Forage Master located in Albany, New York under the command of Quarter Master General Morgan Lewis. He was exempted from Militia duties by Governor George Clinton (Public papers of George Clinton 5:727).

63. First Lieutenant Garret W. Van Schaick of the City of Albany Regiment of Albany County Militia commanded by Colonel Abraham Cuyler.

64. Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Clyde, was the commandant of the Canajoharie District Regiment of Tryon County, New York Militia.

65. Adam Countryman’s. Adam Countryman possessed Lowland Lot 8 of the Otsquago [Bleecker] Patent (Albany County Mortgages, 2:336). See www.Fort-Plank.com/Division_Of_3242.

66. Colonel Jacob Klock’s on Lot 13 of the Francis Harrison Patent (New York State Archives Collection #A1211).

67. A case of hearsay. The quarters occupied by General Van Rensselaer on the night of October 19, 1780 are officially unknown. However, Joseph Cooper testified in RWPA #S12586 . . . *that in the Autumn of 1780 he was ordered out in the Militia under Capt. [Harmanus] Maby & Lieut. [Francis] Putman on an Excursion against the Indians & Tories of Schoharie. That he was Sent out as a Scout with Six men under his Command. That he & his Ass Cornered* was taken prisoners by the Indians & Carried to Fort Plain he was prisoner with the Indians at the time of the Battle of Stone Arabia when Col. ~~Brown~~ Brown was killed. The Evening after the battle ~~the~~ Some Militia who had been sent on by Gen. Van Ranselor. Had a battle with the Indians. A short distance above Fort Plain when this deponent runaway into the water nearby. That he remained in the water all night untill about 4 - O - Clock in the morning when he Effected his Escape. Having Escaped from the Indians he went to Col. Harper at Fort Timmerman & Soon after returned home -- ~~Having been~~. He was ~~about~~. He was in this last mentioned Service only a little more than one week. That while a prisoner with the Indians he lost his discharge which he had received from Capt Pulaski. . . .

68. Governor George Clinton of New York.

69. The Issuing Commissary.

70. Fort Schuyler. This a reference to 'New' Fort Schuyler which was formerly know as Fort Stanwix in the area of the modern Village of Rome, New York.

71. Lieutenant Colonel Barent Staats of the First Rensselaerwyck District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia.

72. Colonel Volkert Veeder of the Third Rensselaerwyck District Regiment of Albany County, New York Militia.

73. Major Melancton Lloyd Woolsey of Colonel Lewis Dubois Regiment of New York State Levies.

74. Located on the east bank of the Schoharie Creek.

75. Fort Hunter.

76. The Revolutionary War Pension Application of Richard Hilton, #S13403, suggests that Governor George Clinton was also accompanied by Assistant Deputy Quarter Master Major Francis Chandonnet, *a Frenchmen*.

77. An original manuscript diary kept by the Lieutenant Commandant of a company of Hessen-Hanauer Jägers and found in the Staatsarchiv Darmstad: 0 59 Rhode-Fenner Nr, 71, and published by Holger Thomas Graf and Lena Haujert, eds., as *Unter Canadiensern, Irokesen und Rebellen. Das Tagebuch des Hessen-Hanauer Jägers Phillip Jakob Hildebrandt aus den Jahren 1777-1781* (Hanau and Martburg: Hanauer Geschichtsverein and Hessisches Landesamt fuer Geschichtliche Landeskunde, 2011) suggests that members of his, Hildebrandt's Company,

fought in the Battle of Klocks Field and a number of them were wounded therein.