



THE BOARD ON GEOGRAPHIC NAMES DOMESTIC NAMES COMMITTEE PROPOSAL FORM

This document is for those interested in proposing:

1. **A new name for a currently unnamed geographic feature, or**
2. **A change to an existing name, spelling, or where a name is applied.**

By submitting this form, the proponent acknowledges the [BGN Policies](#) and agrees to work with BGN staff regarding their proposal.



Domestic Geographic Name Proposal Form

The U.S. Board on Geographic Names (BGN) is responsible for standardizing the names of geographic features within the 50 States and in other areas under the sovereignty of the United States. The BGN retains the legal authority to promulgate all official names and locations of natural features (e.g. mountains, rivers, valleys), as well as canals, channels, reservoirs, and other select feature types.

This form is to propose a new name or name, spelling, or application change for a geographic feature for Federal use. A proponent should carefully review the proposal prior to submission to ensure that it is consistent with the [BGN policies](#). Please note all fields with a red outline are required prior to submitting this form.

The proponent should also be aware that the entire proposal—including personal identifying information and any associated correspondence—is in the public domain and may be made publicly available at any time.

Submit Proposal:

1. Email this form and supporting documentation to: BGNESEC@usgs.gov

i. Save PDF as 'ST_GeographicName' for example 'CO_BearCreek'

ii. Email Subject: ST_GeographicName

OR 2. Send by mail to:

U.S. BGN Executive Secretary, Domestic Names
12201 Sunrise Valley Drive, MS-523
Reston, VA 20192

Contact Us:

BGNESEC@usgs.gov

Please note that anything submitted by mail will be delayed.

Naming Basics

Proposed Name:

Agiocochook

Is this to change an existing name?

Y N

If yes, please provide the official name and Feature ID as it appears in [the Geographic Names Information System \(GNIS\)](#).

Is this name in current local use?

Y N

What is the Feature Class?

Summit

GNIS Name: Mount Washington

Feature ID: 871352

Location Basics



Where is the feature?

Latitude: 44.2706 (38.94741)

Longitude: -71.3033 (-77.36839)



General Location:

State: New Hampshire

County: Coos

City/Town/
Township/
Borough:

For Linear Features (e.g. stream or valley):

Mouth/Confluence

Latitude: (38.94741)

Longitude: (-77.36839)



Source/Headwater

Latitude: (38.94741)

Longitude: (-77.36839)

Public Land Survey System:

Section(s), Township, Range, Meridian

Feature Description

Physical shape, length, width, etc. (Maps can be submitted separately by email)



Name Details

Name information:

Please provide relevant information about the proposed name, such as origin, meaning, how long it has been in current use, as well as current or historical significance. Also include why you believe the feature requires a name or name change and why the proposed name is appropriate. Describe any documents that you will be submitting (separately by email) to support your proposal.



Please provide a list of supporting documentation, including any web links:

Examples: Published sources showing the proposed name or letters of support (local government, historical society, etc.).

Included above.

Is the name [commemorative](#)? Does the name honor or refer to a person or persons? Y N

Please note that the BGN will only accept proposals for names that are intended to honor a person or persons deceased at least five years. The BGN will disapprove names that could be construed to honor living persons. The person being honored should have had either (1) some direct or long-term association with the feature, or (2) have made a significant contribution to the area, community, or State in which it is located; or (3) have outstanding national or international recognition. The BGN discourages the use of an individual's full name except to avoid ambiguity.

If yes, please provide the following:

Honoree's Date of Birth:

Honoree's Date of Death:

Short biography and significance or association with the geographic feature: *(list any additional honorees here)*

Is the feature in a Wilderness Area or Wilderness Study Area? Y N Unknown

If yes, please provide your justification for making an exception to [the Wilderness Policy](#):

Please note that the BGN will not approve new names for unnamed features within wilderness areas or wilderness study areas, unless an overriding need can be demonstrated by the proponent.

Part of Mt. Washington is a designated Wilderness Area.

Additional Information +

Is there any local opposition or conflict with the proposed name? Y N

If yes, please explain and describe any opposition:


Additional notes:


Proponent Information


Please provide one form of contact (email preferred):


 Proponent's Name: Kris Pastoriza

Agency or Organization, if applicable:

 Email: krispastoriza@gmail.com

 Mailing Address: 294 Gibson Rd.
Easton, N.H. 03580

 Phone: 603-823-9063

 Are you completing this form for someone else? Y N

If yes, please fill out the following:

Completed by:

Full Name:

Email:

Mailing Address:

Phone:

Please submit this form and supporting documentation to: 1. By email to BGNEEXEC@usgs.gov 2. By mail to the address on page 2.

Feature description:

Wikipedia describes the geographical features of the mountain:

"Although the western slope that the Cog Railway ascends is straightforward from base to summit, the mountain's other sides are more complex. On the north side, Great Gulf—the mountain's largest glacial cirque—forms an amphitheater surrounded by the Northern Presidentials: Mounts Clay, Jefferson, Adams and Madison.[15] These connected peaks reach well into the treeless alpine zone. Massive Chandler Ridge extends northeast from the summit of Washington to form the amphitheater's southern wall and the incline is ascended by the Mount Washington Auto Road.[15]

First aid cache

East of the summit, a plateau known as the Alpine Gardens extends south from Chandler Ridge at about 5,200 feet (1,600 m) elevation. It is notable for plant species either endemic to alpine meadows in the White Mountains or outliers of larger populations in arctic regions far to the north.[35] Alpine Gardens drops off precipitously into two prominent glacial cirques. Craggy Huntington Ravine offers rock and ice climbing in an alpine setting. More rounded Tuckerman Ravine is New England's premier venue for spring back-country skiing as late as June and then a scenic hiking route.[36]

South of the summit lies a second and larger alpine plateau, Bigelow Lawn,[37] at 5,000 feet (1,500 m) to 5,500 feet (1,700 m) elevation. Satellite summit Boott Spur and then the Montalban Ridge including Mount Isolation and Mount Davis extend south from it, while the higher Southern Presidentials—Mounts Monroe, Franklin, Eisenhower, Pierce, Jackson and Webster—extend southwest to Crawford Notch. Oakes Gulf separates the two high ridges."

(15) Heald, Bruce D. (2011). *The Mount Washington Cog Railway: Climbing the White Mountains of New Hampshire*. The History Press. p. 74. ISBN 978-1-60949-196-3.

(35)

Name Details:

Mt Washington requires a name change because it is inappropriate to name a geographical feature after a person, especially a white, male member of the ruling class, complicit in slavery and the theft of land from Native Americans.

George Washington represents a world-view and religion which places some humans at the top of a hierarchy of power and value, and sees some people, animals, plants and the land as objects for exploitation. This culture has created a legal system which enforces human and

corporate (amoral) ownership of land and protects human and corporate (amoral) rights to exploit and damage that land.

The Indigenous New Hampshire Collaborative Collective states:

“The Wobanadenok

In celebration of the United Nations International Mountain Day with the theme Mountains Matter to Indigenous Peoples, the Indigenous NH Collaborative collective selected several mountains from the range of the Woban-aden-ok, in the Algonquian language meaning “to the place of the high white or crystal/mica mountains,” or what Euro-American settlers refer to as the “White Mountains” to present an Indigenous view and meaning of the natural landscape. We chose these land formations from N’dakinna (Our Land, the Land of the Rising Sun) or what is known to many Euro-Americans and others as “New England.”

Our use of Indigenous descriptions of their long-standing natural landscape challenges dominant colonial narratives about a lack of Indigenous presence in our region and the Euro-American sense of entitlement to the land. By claiming places as Indigenous, these sites bear witness to the on-going presence of Native American communities and their connection to the landscape in meaningful ways...Mount Washington exemplifies Native Americans’ respect for and reverence of natural landscapes as sites of divine powers and the settler colonial challenge to these beliefs...The first European ascent of the mountain was performed in June of 1642 by Darby Field accompanied by two Native American guides. It is said that Field wanted to prove to the local Abenaki Chief Passaconaway that he was not subject to the same rules as the Indigenous peoples, who did not climb the summit of the mountain believed to be the realm of divine powers. By climbing the mountain Field dismissed these Indigenous beliefs and assisted the colonists’ northern expansion.”

<https://indigenousoh.com/2018/12/06/the-wobanadenok/>

“The Government of the United States are determined that their Administration of Indian Affairs shall be directed entirely by the great principles of Justice and humanity,” Washington informed treaty commissioners heading off to deal with the Southern Indians in August 1789. Washington and his Secretary of War Henry Knox agreed that the most honorable and least expensive way to get Indian land was to purchase it in treaties. Offering Indian tribes a fair price for their land, Washington hoped, would allow the United States to expand with minimal bloodshed and at the same time treat Indian peoples with justice.

But when Indians refused to sell, Washington was ready to wage war against them. “Extirpate” was the term he used. (The Merriam-Webster dictionary provides two definitions of the word: one is “to pull up by the root”; the other “to destroy completely: wipe out.”) After he dispatched armies to ravage their country during the Revolution, the Haudenosaunee (or Iroquois) called Washington “Town Destroyer.”

The Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, after visiting Washington in Philadelphia in 1792, warned other Indians: “General Washington is very cunning, he will try to fool us if he can. He speaks very smooth, will tell you fair stories, and at the same time want to ruin us.” Six months after meeting the president, the Cherokee chief Bloody Fellow declared, “General Washington is a Liar.”

The chief was right to be skeptical. A man who had swindled fellow officers out of the bounty lands they had been promised as payment for their services after the French and Indian War hardly could be expected to protect Indian rights against forces of expansion which he himself helped set in motion...

Washington’s decisions set precedents that are still with us. As the father of the country, he was also the father of America’s tortuous, conflicted, and often hypocritical Indian policies. While he aspired to a national Indian policy that might somehow reconcile taking Native land with respecting Native rights, he shared and shaped the attitudes and ambitions of his time, and employed deception and violence to attain his own and his nation’s ends.

For example, the Treaty of New York, which he signed with a delegation of Creek chiefs in August 1790, contained secret articles to secure the agreement of chief Alexander McGillivray. And in 1791 Washington dispatched an army to defeat Indian resistance to American expansion by destroying Indian villages in northwest Ohio (a tactic that backfired when the Indians destroyed the army).”

<https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2018/08/02/george-washingtons-tortuous-relationship-native-americans/ideas/essay/>

Mt. Washington requires a name change because George and Martha Washington engaged in slavery. Allowing the mountain to be named after George Washington indicates federal and cultural approval of the practice of slavery.

“When Washington died in 1799, a new nation ground to a halt. Mourning Americans wore black crepe armbands. Church bells tolled. And at Mount Vernon, the first president’s estate, wrote a visitor, “Every one was affected, but none so much as his domestics of all ages.”

Or so the story goes. Washington’s “domestics” were enslaved workers. And though he promised in his will to free all of his workers when he died, only one of them immediately went free and nearly half of the enslaved people at Mount Vernon remained in bondage for decades. The reason why has to do with law, marriage and a family that disagreed with their patriarch’s evolving views on slavery.

Like nearly all wealthy landowners in Virginia, George Washington owned enslaved people who worked his land. He received the first enslaved workers of his own when his father died in

1743. Washington, just 11 years old at the time, was willed 10 enslaved people, and by the time he married Martha Custis in 1759, he had purchased at least eight more.

His new wife was a 25-year-old widow who arrived with enslaved workers of her own. At the time, a young woman's father was expected to provide a dowry, a gift of money, land and other assets, to her new husband. If he died before she did, a wife was entitled to one-third of his estate, also known as a "widow's third" or a "dower share," throughout the remainder of her life. She would live off of the proceeds of her dower share and when she died, the money and assets would revert back to her late husband's heirs.

The dower share was designed to protect a woman from poverty if she became a widow, but even though it was technically hers, it immediately became her husband's to manage when she remarried.

Martha's dower share was massive and made her into one of Virginia's richest women. When her late husband, Daniel Parke Custis, died, two-thirds of his assets automatically went to their eldest son, John, who was a minor. The other third—including enslaved people—later went to Washington to manage. The enslaved people and all of their children were considered part of the dower share, and though they lived on Washington's estate and served him, they were technically held in trust for Martha's children. When they married, Martha brought 84 slaves along with her.

By the standards of his day, Washington treated his enslaved workers better than most. But he expected more from them than the average slave, especially as he began to use his plantation as a kind of efficiency experiment. The future president tried out new farming techniques, closely monitored his enslaved workers' production in connection with the farm's yield. He whipped, beat, and separated people from their families as punishment. Washington also relentlessly pursued escaped slaves and circumvented laws that would allow his enslaved workers freedom if they did manage to escape to neighboring states.

Over the years, Washington's thinking on slavery evolved. During the Revolutionary War, he became more uncomfortable with the thought of purchasing and owning other human beings. But though he supported abolition in theory, he never tried it in practice. His plantation, his wealth and his position in society depended on enslaved workers. And, as noted in Erica Armstrong Dunbar's book, *Never Caught: The Washingtons' Relentless Pursuit of Their Runaway Slave, Ona Judge*, when one of Martha's enslaved workers fled to freedom in 1796, Washington spent the last three years of his life trying to force her to return.

In the words of historian Henry Wiencek, his contradictory attitudes towards slavery are "one of the mysteries of his life." Those contradictions made it into his will, too. Though the will contained the unheard-of order to free his enslaved workers, it stipulated that they remain with Martha for the rest of her life.

Freeing them, he wrote, would “be attended by such insuperable difficulties by their intermixture with the dower Negroes, as to excite the most painful sensations...to manumit them.” Translation: It would be too complicated to free the enslaved people, so instead they would be owned by Martha as long as she wished.

Since he didn’t technically own the enslaved people Martha had inherited, he didn’t say they should be freed. Instead, he used them to justify the continued enslavement of the others.

By the time George died, he owned 123 enslaved people outright. After Washington’s death, Martha freed just one person: William Lee, a Revolutionary War celebrity who was the only enslaved person George said should be immediately given his freedom. But she didn’t free the others—until she became convinced that they were plotting against her.

After at least one fire and a rumor that an enslaved person wanted to poison her, she freed the rest of George’s enslaved workers about a year after his death. It was just too risky to keep “restive” enslaved people who longed for freedom among those she had inherited, she implied to friends like Abigail Adams.

But was that really the reason? Historian Marie Jenkins Schwartz suggests that Martha’s real motivation was financial and that she felt taking care of her husband’s enslaved workers was leeching money from her children’s estate. Either way, freeing George’s enslaved workers wasn’t as complicated as the president implied in his will. In January 1801, they left Mount Vernon as free men and women.

The 153 enslaved people who Martha had inherited weren’t so lucky. They were divvied up between her children when she died in 1802. None of Martha’s children freed more than a few of the enslaved workers or their children during their lifetimes. And Martha never freed the single enslaved man she owned outright, even willing him to her grandson. George’s views on slavery may have been advanced, but his family apparently did not share them.”

<https://www.history.com/news/did-george-washington-really-free-mount-vernons-slaves>

Nov. 28, 1796, President Washington’s’ reply to Joseph Whipple, Collector of Customs, Portsmouth, New Hampshire:

“I regret that the attempt you made to restore the Girl (Oney Judge as she called herself while with us, and who, without the least provocation absconded from her Mistress) should have been attended with so little Success. To enter into such a compromise wit her, as she suggested suggested to you, is totally inadmissable, for reasons that must strike at first view: for however well disposed I might be to a gradual abolition, or even to an entire emancipation of that description of People (if the latter was in itself practicable at this moment) it would neither be politic or just to reward unfaithfulness with a premature preference; and thereby discontent

before hand the minds of all her fellow-servants who by their steady attachments are far more deserving than herself of favor.”

<https://huntington.org/verso/george-washington-letter-and-runaway-slave>

New Hampshire recently approved Ona Judge Staines Day, honoring this enslaved woman who escaped from George and Martha Washington and settled in New Hampshire.

<https://www.nhpr.org/nh-news/2022-07-08/nh-law-recognized-ona-judge-staines-day-may-21-2022>

Federal approval of the name Mt. Washington sanctions the State of New Hampshire’s hypocrisy in honoring a black woman who escaped slavery while also honoring the white male president who enslaved her.

List of George and Martha Washington’s enslaved people:

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/06-04-02-0405>

History of the use and meaning of the name Agiocochook:

According to Wikipedia,;

“Before European settlers arrived in the region, the mountain was known by various indigenous peoples as *Kodaak Wadjo* ("the top is so hidden" or "summit of the highest mountain") or *Agiochook* or *Agiocochook* ("the place of the [Great Spirit](#)" or "the place of the Concealed One").^[6] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mount_Washington. The [Algonquians](#) called the summit *Waumbik*, "white rocks".^{[6][7]} The [Abenaki people](#) inhabiting the region at the time of European contact believed that the tops of mountains were the dwelling place of the gods, and so among other reasons did not climb them out of religious deference to their sanctity.^[8]

The first European to mention the mountain was [Giovanni da Verrazzano](#). Viewing it from the [Atlantic Ocean](#) in 1524, he described what he saw as "high interior mountains".^[9] [Darby Field](#) claimed to have made the first ascent of Mount Washington in 1642.^[10] Field climbed the mountain in June of that year to demonstrate to the Abenaki chief [Passaconaway](#) that the Europeans bargaining for tribal land were not subject to the gods believed to inhabit the summit, a primarily political move that facilitated colonists' northern expansion.^[8] Field again summited Agiocochook in October 1642 on an early surveying expedition that created maps of land as far as [Maine](#), which allowed people from the Massachusetts colony to identify arable coastal areas.^[8]

6. *The Indian Heritage of New Hampshire and Northern New England* (ed. Thaddeus Piotrowski), McFarland & Company: 2002, p. 182.
7. Heald, Bruce D. (2011). [*The mount washington cog railway*](#). Hoopla digital. [United States]: The History Press. [ISBN](#) . [OCLC 1099036399](#).
8. Howe, Nicholas (2009). *Not Without Peril: 150 Years of Misadventure on the Presidential Range of New Hampshire*. Guilford, Connecticut: Appalachian Mountain Club. p. 2. [ISBN](#) .

“When we come to the perhaps more important, and doubtless more interesting, subject of Indian names of the Mountains, we are again on uncertain ground. Several of such designation of the principal range have come to us, vouched for by various authorities. Belknap speaks of the name “Agiocochook,” which occurs in a reduced form as “Agiocook,” as having been applied to what is now known as the “Presidential Range.” This name Mr. Drake found in print as early as 1736 in the narrative (1) of John Gyles’s captivity published in Boston in that year. It is also recorded by Schoolcraft, who says it is plural in form...The shortened form of this name, which occurs in the early ballad on the death of Captain Lovewell, has been adopted by Whittier, Edna Dean Proctor, and others authors as a poetical name for Mount Washington.”

1. “These White Hills, at the head of the Penobscot River, are by the Indians said to be much higher than those called Agiocochook, above Saco,” says Captain Gyles.

Chronicles of the White Mountains, Frederick W. Kilbourne, 1916, p. XXIX

The Indigenous Collaborate Collective website states: “Mt. Washington's Algonquian Native American name is G8dagwjo or K8daakwaj (Hidden Mountain Always in the Clouds). It could also have been known as Agiocochook (Home of the Great Spirit or Mother Goddess of the Storm), or Waumbik (White Rocks).”

<https://indigenousoh.com/2018/12/06/the-wobanadenok/>

“Native American names for what is now called Mt. Washington appear to have applied to the whole of what is now called the Presidential Range. “The first peak to be named was Mount Washington, though the exact date and the occasion of the naming remains unknown. The generally accepted theory is that the mountain was named by Reverend Manasseh Cutler sometime after his expedition to the peak with Reverend Jeremy Belknap in 1784. Belknap and Cutler were both prominent intellectuals at the time – Belknap was a Harvard graduate, minister, and historian who wrote the first history of the state of New Hampshire – and Cutler was a lawyer, minister, and early scientist, who was considered to be an innovative botanist. Though Belknap and Cutler were not the first to ascend Mount Washington, their expedition was the first well-documented climb in North America to gather information on natural history and measure the summit’s altitude. This trip was also one of the first times that scientists visited and observed a world above treeline in the United States.

In their written accounts, neither man actually referred to Mount Washington by a name. Instead, they called the peak “the great Mountain,” “the Mountain,” “the highest Mountain,” “Sugar loaf,” and “the White Mountain.” It was not until 1792 that the words “Mount Washington” appeared in writing, though the Belknap-Cutler expedition is thought to be the catalyst for this name designation. At the time, everyone was rushing to name things after America’s favorite General (and later, the first president of the United States), George Washington. Mount Washington’s original name, given by the Abenaki Indians, is Agiocochook, which translates to “Home of the Great Spirit.”

<https://www.outdoors.org/resources/amc-outdoors/history/how-the-presidential-peaks-got-their-names/>

1918: “WASHINGTON, MT., “the white hill” and “the Sugar Loaf,” Winthrop’s jour., 1642. “White mountain,” Cutler 1786 (writing two years after his visit with Belknap and six years before Belknap published the name “Mt. Washington”). “*Monte Agiocochook*,” Bigelow, 1816.” *Nomenclature of the White Mountains II*, by Frank H. Burt: *Appalachia*, July 1918 Vol. XIV, p. 268.

1828: “This was many, many moons before the white men came; but none of our warriors dared venture to Agiocochook, to bring away the bodies of the slain.”

Wheeler's Hampshire and West of England Magazine, Volume 1, 1828, p. 435

[https://www.google.com/books/edition/Wheeler s Hampshire and West of England/dvkHAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Wheeler_s_Hampshire_and_West_of_England/dvkHAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0)

1840: “The majestic hill of the Granite State must ever continue an object of deep and solemn interest to him, who delights to contemplate the wonders of creation. Here they stand, just as they stood, when baptized by their aboriginal proprietors, of yore – the Tuckaway, the Chocorua, the Ossapy, and the Kyarsarge; the Mooshelock, the Sunapee, and the Monadnock; and last and loftiest of them all, the Agiocochook: – truly, as we are informed by Sterne, there is something in a name. – Agiocochook ws the appellation, bestowed by the red man, upon that portion of these hills, which is now designated as the White Mountains.”

The Temperance Tales, Volume 6, by Lucius Manlius Sargent, 1840

[https://www.google.com/books/edition/The Temperance Tales/QERJAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0](https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Temperance_Tales/QERJAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0)

1841: “I see the stanzas rise around me, verse upon verse, far and near, like the mountains from Agiocochook, not having a terrestrial existence as yet, even as some of them may be clouds,

but I fancy that I see the gleam of some Sebago lakes and Silver Cascades, at whose well I may drink one day.”

The Correspondence of Henry D. Thoreau, Volume 1: 1834 – 1848, Henry David Thoreau, 2014
p. 80

1849: “Wandering on through notches which the streams had made , by the side and over the brows of hoar hills and mountains , across the stumpy , rocky , forested and bepastured country , we at length crossed on prostrate trees over the Amonoosuck , and breathed the free air of Unappropriated Land Thus , in fair days as well as foul , we had traced up the river to which our native stream is a tributary until from Merrimack it became the Pemigewasset that leaped by our side , and when we had passed its fountainhead the Wild Amonoosuck , whose puny channel was crossed at a stride , guiding us toward its distant source among the mountains, and at length, without its guidance, we were enabled to reach the summit of AGIOCOCHOOK.”

A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, Henry David Thoreau, 1849.

1849: The Saco has its springs in New Hampshire, near the celebrated “NOTCH” of the White or Agiocochook Mountains, and reaches the Atlantic after a winding course through the State of Maine. It receives the waters of many lakes and streams, passes over numerous falls, and is throughout remarkable for its clearness and beauty.”

FROM Agiocochook’s granite steeps,
Fair Saco rolls in chainless pride,
Reoicing as it laughs and leaps
Down the gray mountain’s rugged side ; ---”

Christian Songs, by James Gilbourne Lyons, 1849

https://www.google.com/books/edition/Christian_Songs/PYVJAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0

1854: “ALONG THE JOHN STARK RIVER, FROM AGIOCOCHOOK TO THE CONNECTICUT...”

It is not a presumptuous stream, scarcely aspiring to the title of river, except in the rainy season, or when the melting snows move southward; and then its channel broadens and it becomes a boisterous arrogant flood. A score of miles will measure its sinuous course from the rills of Agiocochook through the wilds of Carroll, the glens of Whitefield and the dales of Dalton, to the “union of the waters.”

New Hampshire, the Granite State Monthly, Volume 5, 1882 L. W. Dodge, p. 357

https://www.google.com/books/edition/New_Hampshire_the_Granite_State_Monthly/EjE_AQAAMAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=agiocochook&pg=PA357&printsec=frontcover

1866: "Agiscocook, is given as the Penacook name for the White Mountains."

Character of the Penacooks, Indian Mode of Applying Names; Indian Names Connected with the Valley of the Merrimack, by Edward Ballard, 1866.

1869: One of the Indian names of these mountains was "Agiocochook," which signifies "the place of the Spirit of the Great Forest," or, according to Judge potter, "the place of the Storm Spirit," and another, "Waumbekketmethna," alluding to the whiteness of the mountains. The distinctive title of "White" has always been applied to them on account of their peaks being white with snow during ten months of the year."

The White Mountain Guide Book, Samuel Coffin Eastman, 1869 p. 95.

1899: "Undoubtedly the changes in geology have a relation to the prosperous sprouting of the corn and peas in my kitchen garden; but of less is there a relation of beauty between my soul and the dim crags of Agiocochook up there in the clouds. Every man, when this is told, hearkens with joy, and yet his own conversation with nature is still unsung."

The Power of Natural Beauty, Ralph Waldo Emerson, p. 83; *Excelsior Writer and Speaker Being a Standard Work on Composition and Oratory ... Together with a Peerless Collection of Readings and Recitations, Including Programmes for Special Occasions from Authors of World-wide Renown ...* Henry Davenport Northrop, 1899

1906: "It is a well-known fact that the Indians named the entire White Mountain System, "Waumbeck Methna," in one dialect and "Agiocochook," in another, meaning "The mountains with snowy foreheads." *Granite State Monthly*, volume 38, 1906, p. 7

2004: "Jeremy Belknap spent years before and during the War for Independence researching and writing his magnum opus, the *History of New Hampshire* (1784). Belknap was especially interested in the history of White Mountains exploration. He accumulated what was for the time an extensive collection of data on past journeys to the White Mountains and ascents of the Great Mountain Agiocochook."

Passaconaway's Realm, Captain John Evans and the Exploration of Mount Washington, Russell M. Lawson, 2004

2018: “Mount Washington, or Agiocochook in native parlance (3) harbors diverse and isolated arctic-alpine vegetation – this fact is generally well-known. The arctic-alpine plant diversity on its ridges and in its gullies is greater than that found on Katahdin in Maine or any of the lower alpine summits in New Hampshire, Vermont or New York. The alpine plants of the Presidential Range have been famously well-studied by some of new England’s greatest scientists and naturalists – from Henry Thoreau, Louis Agassiz, and Edward Tuckerman (contemporaries of a sort) to Merrit Lyndon Fernald and other botanists and ecologists of the modern era.”

Eastern Alpine Guide Natural History and Conservation of Mountain Tundra East of the Rockies
2018

2021: “...in New Hampshire, there’s Agiocochooc, the Place of the Great Spirit or the Place of the Concealed One. Another name for it is Kodaak wadjo, the Mountain Whose Top is Hidden. Some also call it Waumbik, the White Place...

Of course, it’s now named Mount Washington – for the president the Iroquois called the Town Destroyer. “

Padoskoks, A Jacob Neptune Murder Mystery, By Joseph Bruchac, 2021

2022: “Katie Ives on Pinnacle Gully, Huntington Ravine, Agiocochook, Mt. Washington, 2012. [Photo] Alan Cattabriga

Icebergs in the Air

On a bright April day, a decade ago, the giant slab of ice before us had melted and refrozen into a surreal form—as if an iceberg had floated through the sky, thousands of miles from the Arctic or Antarctic Circles, only to be trapped between the walls of Pinnacle Gully, on Agiocochook, Mt. Washington, awaiting a final spring thaw. Ever since, its image has lodged in my dreams: the deep, radiant blue of the climb rippling like a mirage, a fleeting remnant of the enchantment of winter. “

<http://www.alpinist.com/doc/web22s/wfeature-a78-sharp-end-melt-outs>

2022: “In February 1976, Gregg Doster and I attempted to climb Mt. Washington (*Agiocochook*, “*The Place of the Concealed One*”) in the New Hampshire Presidential Range, an ill-fated trip, though happily we survived to tell the tale.” p. 161

Essays; Howard Giskin, 2022

2022: “Since the early 1990s, the Cowasuck Band of the Pennacook – Abenaki People has been engaged in preserving existing and decolonizing anglicized names that have been applied to Abenaki-Pennacook places, mountains, rivers, lakes, and other geographic features. We have worked with the

University of New Hampshire (UNH) faculty and students, the Indigenous NH Collaborative Collective (INHCC), and the New Hampshire Commission on Native American Affairs (NHCNAA), and other government agencies.”

<https://indigenousoh.com/2020/09/23/renaming-heritage-abenaki-trails-place-names-geographic-features/>

Explicit objections to the name Mt. Washington and acknowledgment of the name Agiocochook (and other Native American names) has existed since the mountain was named Washington. Most of these are not in print but occurred in dialogue amongst people, and finding those that are in print is hindered by the lack of clear search terms for such objections.

In 1882, the President of the Appalachian Club, Charles E Fay said, in his Annual Address:

“...it is the ideal name which awakens no vivid impressions, calls up no image other than, or least apart from, the natural object to which it is applied...”

Indian names...are almost the only ones of all our American place-names which satisfy the requirement of our ideal. And this is why a name of Indian origin should generally be accorded the preference when it is desirable to bestow an appellation on a natural feature worthy of the expenditure. Alas that our store of them is so limited!...

I confess that it becomes an argument against the application of personal names, when all the peaks of a group are named for men of a single class, as in our so-called “Presidential Range.” This name is of itself sufficient condemnation...

The earlier names bear witness to a recognition of the rights and co-humanity of the red-men, the occupants found in possession”

Appalachia Vol. 3, 1884

There is a Change.org petition to change Mt. Washington’s name to Agiocochook:

<https://www.change.org/p/new-hampshire-state-house-rename-mount-washington-to-original-indigenous-name>

Agiocochook is an appropriate name for what is now called Mt. Washington. It honors the mountain as an entity and rejects the violence toward Native Americans and enslaved people that President Washington and his name represent.

New Hampshire's present Governor Sununu, has stated his commitment to civil rights:

“CONCORD, N.H. (AP) — New Hampshire is joining most other states in having a dedicated civil rights unit within the attorney general's office, while also creating an outside council to recommend steps to combat discrimination and promote diversity and inclusion.

Republican Gov. Chris Sununu announced the new unit and advisory council on Thursday, saying the changes will help ensure the state lives up to its "Live Free or Die" motto. Led by Seacoast NAACP president Rogers Johnson of Stratham, the council will hold a series of community forums around the state and make recommendations by June 1.

"The number one word here is communication. We have to make sure people know the avenues they can pursue, allow that communication to go forward and to be blunt, have real action behind it," Sununu said. "This is not a study that will come out in June and sit in someone's desk. This is about having real action and taking real positive steps that aren't just for the short term but build on the long term to make sure our state truly is the Live Free or Die state."

<https://www.seacoastonline.com/story/news/2017/12/14/nh-attorney-general-adds-civil-rights-unit/16832848007/>

I have contacted the Indigenous New Hampshire Collaborative Collection and the New Hampshire Commission on Native American Affairs. My impression of their positions is that they prefer to comment in response to a submitted application. I request that they, and the Manchester and Seacoast branches of the NAACP, be notified of this application for name change. cowasuck@tds.net

nhcnativeamericanaffairs@gmail.com

<https://www.seacoastnaacp.com/>

<https://naacpmanchesternh.com/>

Please provide a list of supporting documentation, including any web links:

Examples: Published sources showing the proposed name or letters of support (local government, historical society, etc.).

Included above.

Part of Mt. Washington is the Great Gulf Wilderness.

Additional Information:

There will be opposition to the proposed name change. I don't understand the distinction between opposition and conflict. Conflict would arise between those who oppose a name change and those who do not.

Those who support maintaining the present name might assert that changing the name would lead to confusion and expense due to the need to change documents and websites which use the present name.

Kris Pastoriza

Easton, NH

krispastoriza@gmail.com

Supplement to Mt. Washington, N.H. name change application:

The Sullivan Massacre.

Included in this supplement is the request that the U.S. Board on Geographic Names consult with the Haudenosaunee regarding this name change request.

Included in this supplement is a request that the U.S. Board on Geographic Names require consultation with all federally recognized Tribes affected by a person whose name has been proposed for replacement, or for a geographic feature or location.



“The near-annihilation of North America’s indigenous peoples remains a formative event in U.S. history. Along with wars, real estate transactions of often questionable validity, the making and breaking of treaties, forced removal, confinement to reservations, and the 1987 Dawes Allotment Act, which reduced federally recognized native American landholding by about 90,000,000 acres, the American Indian population cataclysm played a central role in the clearing of hundred of millions of acres for colonization. These lands, in turn, provided the vast geography and the cornucopia of natural resources upon which the modern United States was built. Thus, how we explain the Native American population catastrophe informs how we understand the making of the U.S. and its colonial origins.

In 1622, the *Mayflower* passenger Robert Cushman wrote of America: “Our land is full...their land is empty. This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live lawful; their land is spacious and void, and they are few and do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes and wild beasts. They are not industrious, neither have [they] art, science, skill or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it; but all spoils, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, etc.” Articulating the *vacuum domicilium*, or “empty domicile,” theory, which many would cite in attempting to justify their conquest and colonization of North America, Cushman claimed that American Indians did not inhabit their homeland fully enough, either in population density or in economic development, to justify their having legal ownership, particularly in so-called “empty” areas.

Cushman was not alone in such thinking. In 1516, the English lawyer Thomas More anticipated that colonists would, and preachers John Donne and John Cotton and even Pennsylvania proprietor William Penn later asserted that legally they could, seize “voyde and vacannt,” “abandoned” or unfilled, “vacant,” and “Waste, or unculted Country.” The English philosopher and Carolina Colony secretary John Locke then contended in 1690 that colonists could obtain the legal title to such Indian land with his “agricultural argument,” which suggested that agriculturally unimproved lands could be taken by those who improved them. Meanwhile, “Old World” diseases such as diphtheria, influenza, malaria, measles, scarlet fever, smallpox, typhus, and whooping cough killed great numbers, diminishing many Native American populations while buttressing the specious *vacuum domicilium* theory in some European’s minds. Thus emerged the almost canonical trope of American Indian population decline as a natural disaster created by biological forces, and the expropriation of increasingly “empty” Native American lands as a just response to opportunities created by regrettable, but inevitable, natural devastation.

Disease did kill untold numbers of Native Americans, and scholars continue to explore the causes, dynamics, variability, and magnitude of disease-induced population losses. Yet the emphasis on disease

as the prime agent of American Indian demographic decline tends to overshadow the equally undeniable role of violence in the population catastrophe and in the conquest of the United States. The determination of whether or not such violence constituted genocide requires a more careful examination of the role of human agency in this cataclysm and whether or not some colonizers committed what legal scholar William Schabas has called “the crime of crimes.” It requires an exploration of the possibility of genocide in the foundations of U.S. history, or at least that of some regions. These are difficult issues. Nonetheless, the question of whether genocide occurred in the United States and its colonial antecedents should be on conference agendas, discussed in classrooms, debated in public forums, and pursued in scholarly journals because the stakes are so high for scholars, American Indians, and all U.S. citizens.”

The American Historical Review, Vol. 120, No. 1 (FEBRUARY 2015), Benjamin Madley

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43696337?seq=6>

“In 1944, THE EMINENT Jurist Raphaël Lemkin minted a new word for an ancient crime: “genocide.” Four years later, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, which included the following definition:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The Genocide Convention thus provides an internationally recognized, though restricted, rubric for evaluating possible instances of genocide. First, perpetrators must evince “intent to destroy” a group “as such.” Second, perpetrators must commit at least one of the five genocidal acts against one of the four protected groups. The Convention does not allow for the prosecution of crimes committed before 1948, but it does provide a useful analytical tool: a frame for evaluating the past and comparing similar events across time.”

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/43696337?seq=6>

“But you will not by any means listen to any overture of peace before the total ruinment of their settlements is effected. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive will inspire them.” [20]

George Washington to Major General John Sullivan

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-20-02-0661>

George Washington promoted and engaged in genocidal policies toward Native Americans.

“In 1779, with the violence of the American Revolution still smouldering, General George Washington embarked on the first genocidal campaign in US history. His aim: to “chastise and intimidate” the Haudenosaunee or, as one of his subordinates more succinctly put it, “to extirpate those hell-hounds from off the face of the Earth.” With over 85 percent of the national budget in hand, General Washington enlisted the aid of military experts...Together, these men directed hundreds of US troops to ensure the total destruction of Iroquoia in order to clear U.S. lands for settler occupation.”

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/amerindiquar.42.4.0427>

“On May 31, 1779, he commanded General Sullivan:

“The expedition that you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the six nations of Indians... The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now on the ground, and prevent their planting more... [P]arties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed.”

Crops such as corn, beans, potatoes, pumpkins, squash, cucumbers, and melons grew in an abundance that astonished the invading soldiers. Some of the corn stalks were sixteen feet high and the ears as much as twenty-two inches long. There were also apple, peach, and cherry orchards. The orchard in one town contained 1,500 fruit trees. None of this was left intact. Forty towns and scattered settlements containing large houses were burned. In his report Sullivan declared, “We have not left a single settlement or field of corn in the country of the Five Nations [sic], or is there even the appearance of an Indian on this side of the Niagara.”

<https://mronline.org/2020/07/04/george-washington-and-genocide/>

“Historians have gone from celebrating United States military campaigns against Native America in the nineteenth century to condemning them as genocide in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Barbara Alice Mann for the first time fully documents the crimes committed against the Indians during the Revolutionary War. Instead of relying only upon biased U.S. documents, Mann also mines British and Indian sources, especially neglected Indian oral tradition. In painstaking detail, Mann chronicles ...General John Sullivan's and Colonel Daniel Brodhead's 1779 campaigns against Iroquois in New York and Pennsylvania. ...

The real reasons for the campaigns, Mann insists, were to acquire Indian land for the United States, and to exterminate the entire Indian population through genocide. Several common themes run through these campaigns. The United States invariably covered up its own atrocities but exaggerated and publicized the few Indian atrocities for propaganda purposes. Whereas Indians did not kill prisoners (soldiers or civilians) and never raped female captives, Americans took the lives of combatant and noncombatant Indians alike, often scalping or skinning their victims. The women who were spared were often raped. Outnumbered and powerless to stop the U.S. forces advancing toward them, Indians

abandoned their towns to the enemy, who looted and burned them. For example, Mann calculates that Sullivan's 5,000 troops destroyed 41 Indian towns, 700 multifamily homes, and 400,000 bushels of crops. As many as 10,000 fleeing Indian refugees died of exposure, starvation, and disease during the severe winter of 1780.

George Washington's War on Native America, and: The Political Philosophy of George Washington (review), January 2011, [Journal of the Early Republic](#) 31(3):529-533

“It may come as a surprise to many that, in Iroquois Country, Washington is no hero. To this day, the term “holocaust” in Iroquois Country is taken to mean the series of raids by General John Sullivan and his associates, under Washington’s orders, during 1779. “Town Destroyer” is a name still commonly used for Washington, father of one country, scorcher of another. Such an image of Washington is difficult for some people to accept in the context of a history awash in myth about him.

In the genteel lexicon of the nonmythical Washington, the destruction of roughly sixty Iroquoian towns and the burning of their farm fields in 1779 was euphemized as “chastisement.” Washington never seems to specify exactly what they had done to merit the final solution that he called “the rod of correction,” but he ordered Sullivan to “cut off their settlements, destroy next year’s crops and do them every other mischief, which time and circumstance will merit.” Upon its conclusion, having crushed the Iroquois by means that violated every European rule of war, Sullivan called his victims “inhuman barbarians.” Washington later lauded the campaign, praising its “destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time, and with so inconsiderable a loss in men.””

George Washington's War on Native America. Barbara Alice Mann, 2005

Sullivan-Clinton Campaign; Indigenous Values Initiative

“To this day, as a consequence of the Sullivan Clinton Campaign the Haudenosaunee refer to the office of the President of the United States as Hanadagá:yas, which translates “He Who Destroys Villages.” This encapsulates that historical relationship with United States.”

<https://indigenousvalues.org/decolonization/sullivan-clinton-campaign/>

See also:

Letter from George Washington to Major General John Sullivan, 31 May 1779:

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-20-02-0661>

The Sullivan Indian Expedition: One Man’s Victory Is Another’s Ethnic Cleansing, New England Historical Society.

<https://newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/the-sullivan-indian-expedition-one-mans-victory-is-anothers-ethnic-cleansing/>

Native America and the Question of Genocide, Alex Alvarez Lanham, M.D., Rowman & Littlefield, 2014

Ethnic Cleansing and the Indian: The Crime That Should Haunt America, Gary Clayton Anderson, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014

The American Genocide of the Indians—Historical Facts and Real Evidence

https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/202203/t20220302_10647120.html

Toppling George Washington and the myth of American democracy, Joseph Massad, Middle East Eye, June 25, 2020

<https://www.middleeasteye.net/opinion/why-statues-colonialist-criminals-need-come-down>

'Town Destroyer' Versus the Iroquois Indians, Forty Indian villages—and a powerful indigenous nation—were razed on the orders of George Washington, U. S. News, Johannah Cornblatt, June 27, 2008

<https://www.usnews.com/news/national/articles/2008/06/27/town-destroyer-versus-the-iroquois-indians>

Wikipedia:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sullivan_Expedition

General John Sullivan, SeaCoast NH:

<http://www.seacoastnh.com/general-john-sullivan/>

University of Rochester Library Bulletin: The Sullivan Campaign, A Bibliography:

GENERAL WORKS

1. Adams, Warren D. "Sullivan's Expedition and the Cayugas." *Collections of the Cayuga County Historical Society*, no. 7 (1889), 169-94. (One of the "mopping-up" movements in the campaign)
2. Adler, Simon L. "Sullivan's Campaign." *Rochester Historical Society, Publication Fund Series 3* (1924), 93-109. First pub. as *Sullivan's Campaign in Western New York, 1779*. Rochester: 1898. 8 pp.

3. Amory, Thomas C. *The Military Services and Public Life of Major-General John Sullivan, of the American Revolutionary Army*. Boston: Wiggin and Lunt; Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868. 320 pp. Repr. 1968 by Kennikat Press, Port Washington, N.Y. (Thorough work with many long excerpts from original documents)
4. Campbell, William W. *Annals of Tryon County; or, The Border Warfare of New-York during the Revolution*. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1531. 269 pp. Repub. 1849 by Baker & Scribner, New York. 396 pp. (A rather cut and dried account, less interesting than Stone, below)
5. Craft, David. *The Sullivan Expedition. An Address Delivered at the Seneca County Centennial Celebration at Waterloo, September 3rd, 1879*. Waterloo: Observer Book and Job Printing House, 1880. 71 pp. Also in Willers, below. (Competent account of the action by a diligent antiquarian)
6. Cruikshank, Ernest. *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. Welland, Ont.: Tribune Printing House, 1893. 114 pp.
7. Eastman, Edward R. *The Destroyers, a Historical Novel*. Ithaca: American Agriculturist, 1946. 250 pp.
8. Edson, Obed. "Brodhead's Expedition against the Indians of the Upper Allegheny, 1779." *Magazine of American History* 3 (1879), 649-75. (Has a list of manuscript and published soldiers' journals for the whole campaign)
9. Flick, Alexander C. "New Sources on the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 10 (1929), 185-224, 265- 317. (Reprints many documents, including Washington's inquiries about the best route from Tioga Point to Niagara; emphasizes strategic purpose of the campaign which, in fact, it may not have had)
- 10._____. "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 15 (1930), 64-72.
- 11._____. "The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779." *History of the State of New York*, vol. 4: The New State, 185-216. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.
- 12.Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972. 359 pp. (The best work on the subject, placing the campaign firmly into its larger historical context; has an excellent bibliographical essay)
- 13.Griffis, William E. "New Hampshire's Part in Sullivan's Expedition of 1779." *New England Magazine*, N.S., 23 (1900), 355-73.
- 14._____. *The Pathfinders of the Revolution: A Story of the Great March into the Wilderness and Lake Region of New York in 1779*. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1900. 316 pp. (Fiction)
- 15._____. "The History and Mythology of Sullivan's Expedition. An Address Delivered before the Wyoming Commemorative Association... ." *Report of the Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association, on the Occasion of the 125th Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, July 3rd, 1903*. Wilkes-Barre: 1903. 38 pp. (Exposes some minor myths about the campaign in the Ithaca area)
- 16._____. "Sullivan's Great March into the Indian Country." *Magazine of History, with Notes and Queries* 2 (1905), 295-310, 365-78; 3 (1906), 1-10.
- 17.Grinde, Donald A. *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation*. San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1977. 175 pp.

18. Hagan, William T. *Longhouse Diplomacy and Frontier Warfare: The Iroquois Confederacy in the American Revolution*. Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, [1976]. 58 pp. (Good brief survey)
19. Halsey, Francis W. *The Old New York Frontier: Its Wars with Indians and Tories, Its Missionary Schools, Pioneers and Land Titles, 1614-1800*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901. 432 pp. (Rather perfunctory account of the campaign, especially beyond Tioga Point)
20. Harding, Garrick M. *The Sullivan Road; A Paper Read by Garrick M. Harding before the Wyoming Valley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution*. Wilkes-Barre: 1899. 21 pp.
21. Harris, George H. "The Life of Horatio Jones." *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 6 (1903), 381-526. (A few references to the expedition)
22. Heilig, M. R. *With Sullivan in Seventeen Seventy-nine; A Tale of the War for Independence, Being the Diary of a Forest Runner*. Stroudsburg, Pa. : Stroudsburg Printing Co., 1907. 89 pp. (Fiction)
23. Hinman, Marjory Barnum. *Onaquaga: Hub of the Border Wars of the American Revolution in New York State*. np.: 1975. 113 pp. (History of a frontier way station for raiding parties in both directions)
24. Hubbard, John N. *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen, a Surviving Soldier of the Revolution*. Bath: R. L. Underhill & Co., 1841. 310 pp. Revised ed., Fillmore: Published by John S. Minard, 1893. 337 pp. (Van Campen served as a scout during the campaign, and his grandson wrote his stories down.)
25. McAdams, Donald R. "The Sullivan Expedition: Success or Failure." *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 54 (1970), 53-81. Repr. in *Narratives of the Revolution in New York: A Collection of Articles from The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*. (Collections of the New-York Historical Society, Vol. 85) New York: 1975. (The best recent discussion of the campaign itself, pointing out that the aim was to destroy Indian villages and take prisoners, not to capture Fort Niagara)
26. McKone, Frank E. *General Sullivan: New Hampshire Patriot*. New York: Vantage Press, 1977. 434 pp. (This is called "Vol. 1," and carries the general's life to 1776. Does not rival Whittemore, below, as a general biography.)
27. Merrill, Arch. *Land of the Senecas*. New York: American Book-Stratford Press, nd. 147 pp. (Popular account)
28. Miner, Charles. *History of Wyoming*. Philadelphia: J. Crissy, 1845. 488 + 104 pp. (For the Sullivan Expedition, see pp. 259-77.)
29. Mulligan, Robert. "The Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and Some Problems of Supply." MA. thesis, State University of New York College at Oneonta, 1972.
30. Norton, A. Tiffany. *History of Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois; Being a Full Account of that Epoch of the Revolution*. Lima: Published by the author, 1879. 200 pp. (Consulted documents, journals, and maps in a successful effort to dispel myths and ignorance about the expedition)

31. Parker, Arthur C. "The Indian Interpretation of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign." *Rochester Historical Society, Publication Fund Series 8* (1929), 45-59. (Draws on a few Seneca traditions, but mostly another summary of the action)
32. Rising, Oscar E. *A New Hampshire Lawyer in General Washington's Army: A Biographical Sketch of the Hon. John Sullivan, LL.D., Major General in the Continental Army; and an Account of the Expedition under His Command against the Six Indian Nations in 1779*. Geneva: Press of W. F. Humphrey, 1915. 120 pp. (Superficial and poorly written)
33. Russell, Eber L. "The Lost Story of the Brodhead Expedition." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 11 (1930), 252-63. (Brodhead pushed up the Allegheny River from Fort Pitt, but never joined the main force. Russell makes more effective use of Seneca traditions than does Parker, above.)
34. Seaver, James E. *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison. The White Woman of the Genesee*. New York: American Scenic & Historic Preservation Society, 1918. 453 pp. (The most available version of a minor classic of its kind, first published in 1824. For a discussion of the many editions, see Strecker, below.)
35. Simms, Jephtha R. *History of Schoharie County, and Border Wars of New York*. . . Albany: Munsell & Tanner, 1845. 672 pp. (Chap. 11 has a few pieces of oral testimony from surviving witnesses.)
36. _____. *The Frontiersmen of New York, Showing Customs of the Indians, Vicissitudes of the Pioneer White Settlers, and Border Strife in Two Wars; with a Great Variety of Romantic and Thrilling Stories Never Before Published*. Albany: George C. Riggs, 1882. 2 vols., 712 + 759 pp. (Lively stories, careless of detail at times)
37. Stone, William L. *Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea: Including the Border Wars of the American Revolution*. . . New York: George Dearborn and Co., 1838. 2 vols., 425 + 537 pp. (Vol. 2, chap. 1, is an account of the campaign, making much use of original documents.)
38. _____. *Border Wars of the American Revolution*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843 and later eds. 2 vols., 384 + 381 pp.
39. Stryker, William S. *General Maxwell's Brigade of the New Jersey Continental Line in the Expedition against the Indians, in the Year 1779*. Trenton: W. S. Sharp Printing Company, 1885. 66 pp. (Narrative of the campaign with an emphasis on New Jersey units)
40. Sturtevant, William C., general ed. *Hand Book of North American Indians*. Vol. 15: Northeast, edited by Bruce G. Trigger. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978 924 pp. (Has articles on general Iroquois history and culture by the best authorities, but little specifically on the Sullivan Expedition)
41. Swiggett, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933. 309 pp. Repr. 1963 by Ira J. Friedman, Inc., Port Washington, N.Y. (Aims to improve the reputation of Walter Butler; superseded by Graymont, above)
42. Wait, William. "Sullivan's Campaign." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 80-86.
43. Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970. 384 pp. (Main emphasis is on religious response to demoralization following loss of lands after the war.)

44. Whittemore, Charles. *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. 317 pp. (The best biography, with an extensive bibliography of general sources for the Revolutionary War)
45. Williams, Sherman. "The Organization of Sullivan's Expedition." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 29-36.

PRINTED SOURCES

1. Bleeker, Leonard. *The Order Book of Captain Leonard Bleeker, Major of Brigade in the Early Part of the Expedition under General James Clinton, against the Indian Settlements of Western New York*. New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865. 138 pp. (Ends with the joining of the two armies at Tioga Point)
2. Brophy, Marion, and Tripp, Wendell, eds. "Supplies for General Sullivan: The Correspondence of Colonel Charles Stewart, May-September, 1779." *New York History* 60 (1979), 245-82. (First of two articles)
3. Murray, Louise Welles, ed. *Order Book of Fort Sullivan and Extracts from Journals of Soldiers in Gen. Sullivan's Army Relating to Fort Sullivan at Tioga Point, Pennsylvania, 1779. . . Compiled from MSS. in the Craft Collection, Tioga Point Historical Society*. Athens, Pa.: 1903. 55 pp. (Order book kept by Thomas E. Gee covers the period Aug. 27-Oct. 26, 1779.)
4. _____, ed. *Notes from Craft Collection in Tioga Point Museum on the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and Its Centennial Celebration of 1879, Including Order Book of General Sullivan Never before Published; Original Manuscript in the New Jersey Historical Society*. Athens, Pa.: 1929. 33 + 100 pp. (Introduction discusses the antiquarian researches of Craft; second part includes the order book of Lieut.-Col. Francis Barber.)
5. N.Y. State Historian. *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779: Chronology and Selected Documents*. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1929. 216 pp. (Excerpts from documents and diaries are well chosen to give an overall picture of the campaign. Included is previously unpublished material from Canadian archives and the journal of James Fairlie, Aug. 26-Sept. 8, only.)
6. Sullivan, John. *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army*. Edited by Otis G. Hammond. (Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vols. 13-15) Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930-39. 3 vols. (Contains many letters and documents relating to the campaign)
7. Van Campen, Moses. "The Van Campen Letters." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 11th Annual Meeting, 1987, 4-5. (Letters concerning the Sullivan Campaign, written in 1841)
8. Wright, Albert Hazen. *New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; Contemporary Newspaper Comments and Letters*. Part I: Preliminary Correspondence and Raids. Part II: Indian Participants, Brodhead's Expedition, Battle of Chemung. Part III: Battle of Newtown, Genesee, Return. Part IV: The Conclusion and Bibliography. ("Studies in History," nos. 5-8) Ithaca: Published by the author, 1943. 53, 50, 34, 9 pp. (Meticulous compilation of newspaper references to the Sullivan Campaign, complementing the journals listed below)
9. _____. *New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; The Regimental Rosters of Men*. ("Studies in History," no. 34) Ithaca: Published by the author, 1965. 145 pp. (Lists 5,865 men known to have served in the campaign)

10. _____ . *New York Historical Source Studies: The Sullivan Expedition of 1779; The Losses*. ("Studies in History," no. 33) Ithaca: Published by the author, nd. 29 pp. (Discusses various estimates of casualties)

SOLDIERS' JOURNALS

1. Barton, William. "Journal of Lieutenant William Barton of Maxwell's Brigade. Kept during General Sullivan's Expedition. . . ." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 2 (1846), 22-42. Repr. in Conover, below.
2. Beatty, Erkuries. "Journal of Lieut. Erkuries Beatty in the Expedition against the Six Nations under Gen. Sullivan." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 219-53. First pub. in Conover.
3. Beekman, Tjerck. "Journal of Lieutenant Tjerck Beekman, 1779. . . ." *Magazine of American History* 20 (1888), 128-36. See also "A Mess Account Kept at Valley Forge and during Genl. Sullivan's Indian Expedition, from 1778 to 1780, by Tjerck Beekman, Lieutenant in the Second New York Continental Regiment." Edited by James R. Gibson, Jr. *New York Genealogical & Biographical Record* 19 (1888), 126-31, 173-74. Not in Conover.
4. [Blake, Thomas.] Frederic Kidder. *History of the First New Hampshire Regiment in the War of the Revolution*. Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868. 184 pp. Also in Conover. (Journal of Lieut. Blake is found on pp. 47-54.)
5. Burrowes, John. "Major Burrowes' Journal of the Sullivan Expedition." Edited by Arch Merrill. *Genesee Country Scrapbook* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1953), 18-23. First pub. in Conover.
6. Campfield, Jabez. "Diary of Dr. Jabez Campfield, Surgeon in Spencer's Regiment." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 3 (1872-74), 117- 36. Repr. in Conover.
7. [Conover, George S., comp.] *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 with Records of Centennial Celebrations*. Auburn: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887. 579 pp. Journals only repr. 1970 by Benchmark Publishing Co., Glendale, N.Y. (Important collection of 26 soldiers' diaries, accompanied by speeches and poems from the commemorative exercises held in 1879)
8. Davis, Nathan. "History of the Expedition against the Five Nations, Commanded by General Sullivan in 1779." *Historical Magazine*, Ser. 2, 3 (1568), 198-205. (These later reminiscences add interesting details not found in the contemporary journals. Not in Conover.)
9. Dearborn, Henry. *Revolutionary War Journals of Henry Dearborn, 1775-1783*. Edited by Lloyd A. Brown and Howard H. Peckharn. Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1939. First pub. in Conover. (Journal IV, pp. 155-94, covers the Sullivan Campaign.)
10. Elmer, Ebenezer, "Extracts from a Journal Kept by Doctor Ebenezer Elmer. . . ." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 2 (1846), 43-56. Repr. in Conover. Also pub. as "Journal of Ebenezer Elmer." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 35 (1911), 103-107.
11. Fogg, Jeremiah. *Journal of Major Jeremiah Fogg, during the Expedition of Gen. Sullivan in 1779, against the Western Indians. . .* Exeter, N.H.: The News-Letter Press, 1879. 24 pp. Repr. in Conover.
12. Gookin, Daniel. "Revolutionary Journal of Daniel Gookin-1779." *New England Historic and Genealogical Register* 16 (1862), 27-33. Repr. in Conover.

13. Gore, Obadiah. "Diary of Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr., in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779." Edited by R. W. G. Vail. *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 33 (1929), 711-42. Also pub. in *Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Genealogical Society* 19 (1926), 219-35, and in part in no. 47, above.
14. Grant, George. "March of Sullivan's Army in 1779." *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania* 14 (1834), 72-76. Repr. in Conover.
15. Grant, Thomas. "Gen. Sullivan's Expedition to the Genesee Country, 1779: A Journal of Janaral Sullivan's Army, after They Left Wyoming." *Historical Magazine* 6 (1862), 233-37. Repr. in Conover.
16. Hardenbergh, John L. "The Journal of Lieutenant John L. Hardenbergh of the Second New York Continental Regiment..., in General Sullivan's Campaign against the Western Indians Edited by John S. Clark. *Collections of Cayuga County Historical Society*, no. 1 (1879), 7-59. Repr. in Conover.
17. Hubley, Adam. "Adam Hubley, Jr., Lt Colo. Comdt 11th Penna. Regt, His Journal, Commencing at Wyoming, July 30th, 1779." Edited by John W. Jordan. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 33 (1909), 129-46, 279-302, 409-22. Also pub. separately, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909. 57 pp. Also pub. in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 11 (Harrisburg: 1890), 12-48, and in Conover. (The 1909 edition is the best, including Hubley's maps.)
18. Livermore, Daniel. "Journal of the March of General Poor's Brigade, from Soldier's Fortune, on the Western Expedition, May 17, 1779." *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society* 6 (1850), 309-35. Repr. in part in Conover.
19. McKendry, William. "Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians of New York, 1779. . . Journal of William McKendry." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 2 (1886), 436-78. Also pub. separately, Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, 1886. 45 pp. Repr. in part in Conover.
20. McNeill, Samuel. "Journal of Samuel McNeill, B.Q.M., 'His Orderly Book,' 1779." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 753-59.
21. Norris, James. "Major Norris' Journal of Sullivan's Expedition. June to October, 1779. From an Original Manuscript in Possession of the Society." *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* 1 (1879), 217-52. Repr. in Conover.
22. Ogden, Aaron. "Autobiography of Col. Aaron Ogden of Elizabethtown." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, Ser. 2, 12 (1892-93), 15-27.
23. Parker, Robert. "Journal of Lieutenant Robert Parker, of the Second Continental Artillery, 1779." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography* 27 (1903), 404-20; 28 (1904), 12-25. Repr. in part in no. 47.
24. Rogers, William, Rev. "The Journal of a Brigade Chaplain in the Campaign of 1779 against the Six Nations. . . ." *Rhode Island Historical Tracts*, Ser. 1, no. 7 (Providence: 1879), 136 pp. Also pub. in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Ser. 2, 15 (Harrisburg: 1893), 255-88. Repr. in Conover, in part. (Journal ends with Sept. 5 entry; very detailed.)
25. Shreve, John. "Personal Narrative of the Services of Lieut. John Shreve of the New Jersey Line of the Continental Army." *Magazine of American History* 3 (1879), 564-79.

26. Sproule, Moses. "The Western Campaign of 1779: The Diary of Quartermaster Sergeant Moses Sproule" Edited by R. W. G. Vail. *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (1957), 35-69.
27. Tallmadge, Samuel; also John Barr. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780, the Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, by Samuel Tallmadge and Others, with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782, and John Barr, 1779-1782*. Edited by Almon W. Lauber. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1932. Repr. 1958 by Lost Cause Press, Louisville, Ky. 933 pp. (Meticulously edited, even to the point of following the confusions of the original manuscripts. Both regiments served in the Sullivan Campaign.)
28. Webb, Nathaniel. "Continuation of Nathaniel Webb's Journal, as Published in the Elmira Republican of Sept. 11th and 12th, 1855." Edited by William Wait. *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 80-93. Earlier portion of the journal pub. in Conover.

ANNIVERSARY OBSERVANCES; BOYD-PARKER AMBUSH

1. Bartlett, Charles E. *The Boyd-Parker Story*. Castile: The Castile Historical Society, 1956. 12 pp.
2. Boyd, William P. "The Life and Parentage of Lieut. Thomas Boyd, Who Was Massacred Near Cuylerville, Sept. 13, 1779." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 13th Annual Meeting, 1889, 5-13.
3. _____. "The Indian Settlement at the Head of Conesus Lake and Scenes Connected with Its Destruction, Sept. 13, 1779." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 14th Annual Meeting, 1890, 6-9. (Town of Conesus)
4. Byrne, Thomas E., ed. *A Bicentennial Remembrance of the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, 1779, in Pennsylvania and New York*. Elmira: Sullivan-Clinton '79; New York State Bicentennial Commission; Chemung County Historical Society; 1979. 32 pp. (A brief history and chronology of the campaign, with biographical sketches of prominent participants and photographs of many of the monuments erected along the route)
5. *Canajoharie and the Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, 1779-1929*. Canajoharie: 1929. 127 pp. (Newspaper articles, addresses, etc.)
6. Doty, Lockwood R. "Report of the Historical Committee." *Livingston County Historical Society*, 28th Annual Meeting, 1904, 23-38. (Prints and documents concerning the reinterment of Boyd and Parker in Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, in 1841)
7. _____, ed. *Boyd and Parker, Heroes of the American Revolution. An Account of the Dedication, September 17, 1927, at Cuylerville, New York, of a Wayside Shrine in Memory of Lieutenant Thomas Boyd and Sergeant Michael Parker, Scouts of the Sullivan Expedition*. Dansville: Livingston County Historical Society, 1928. 119 pp.
8. _____. "The Massacre at Groveland." *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* 11 (1930), 132-40.
9. Elwood, Mary Cheney. *An Episode of the Sullivan Campaign and Its Sequel*. Rochester: Post Express Printing Company, 1904. 39 pp. (Material on the Boyd-Parker ambush is all taken from published sources, making errors in the process.)
10. Eyres, Lawrence E. *Along the Sullivan Trail: The Story of Sullivan's Indian Expedition of 1779 that Opened Northern Pennsylvania and the Finger Lakes and Genesee Region of New York for*

- Settlement*. Elmira: Chemung County Historical Society, 1954. 40 pp. (Pamphlet written for a general audience)
11. *A Genesee Harvest: A Scene in Time, 1779*. Geneseo: Genesee Valley Council on the Arts, 1979; 96 pp. (Published to accompany an exhibition of paintings, drawings, and artifacts at the State University College at Geneseo. Contains essays on history and culture of the Seneca people.)
 12. Hitchcock, S. E. "The Groveland Ambuscade." *Museum Service* 12 (1939), 166-67.
 13. Melone, Harry R. *A Sesqui-Centennial Souvenir Describing One Hundred and Fifty Years of Progress; with a Complete Story of the Sullivan Campaign of 1779 and a History of the Towns of the Finger Lakes Region Settled by Veterans of That Expedition*. Auburn: Published by the author, 1929. 400 pp. (A promotional book sponsored by the Finger Lakes Association; no original material)
 14. N.Y. State Historian. *Suggestions for the Observance in 1929 of the Sullivan Campaign in 1779*. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1927. 5 pp.
 15. _____ . *One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign; Historical Programs and Dedication of Markers along Route of March*. Albany: University of the State of New York, n.d. 64 pp. (Gives scripts of the elaborate pageants held at Leicester, Geneva, and Elmira in 1929)
 16. [O'Reilly, Henry.] *Notices of Sullivan's Campaign, or the Revolutionary Warfare in Western New-York: Embodied in the Addresses and Documents Connected with the Funeral Honors Rendered to Those Who Fell with the Gallant Boyd in the Genesee Valley, Including the Remarks of Gov. Seward at Mount Hope*. Rochester: William Ailing, 1842. 191 pp. Repr. 1970 by Kennikat Press, Port Washington, N.Y. (Patriotic piety, with little of importance on the expedition itself)
 17. Patchett, Anna E. *Two Parks-Small in Size, Big in History; With a Brief Account of Major-General John Sullivan and the Expedition of 1779*. Geneseo: Livingston County Historical Society, 1976. 24 pp. (Brief accounts of the Boyd-Parker Memorial at Cuylerville, and the Groveland Ambuscade Monument at Groveland)
 18. Willers, Diedrich, Jr., ed. *The Centennial Celebration of General Sullivan's Campaign against the Iroquois, in 1779. Held at Waterloo, September 3rd, 1879*. Waterloo: The Waterloo Library and Historical Society, 1880. 356 pp. (Reprints addresses and documents from the observance. See also Ethel Buckley, *Diedrich Willers: Local Historian of the Centennial Years*. Waterloo: 1976.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Butterfield, Lyman H. "History at Its Headwaters." *New York History* 51 (1970), 126-46. (Includes an interesting discussion of the sources for and the historians of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign)
2. Ingalsbee, Grenville M. "A Bibliography of Sullivan's Indian Expedition." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 6 (1906), 37-70. (Most comprehensive listing of the nineteenth-century material, including minor items not included in present listing)

3. Klein, Milton M. *New York in the American Revolution; A Bibliography*. Albany: New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1974. 197 pp. (An excellent reference book)
4. Strecker, Frederick. *My First Year as a Jemisonian. . . As Printed in The Colophon, Part Seven. To Which Is Added a Tabulation of Known Editions and Issues of the Life of Mary Jemison*. Rochester: Frederick Strecker Company, 1931. unpaginated.
5. Utica Public Library. *Bibliography of Sullivan's Expedition against the Six Nations in 1779*. Utica: 1929. 22 pp.

<https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/3568>



“Sullivan Expedition Issue

This commemorative honors the 150th anniversary of Maj. Gen. John Sullivan's expedition against the Iroquois. It is a single 2-cent red stamp issued on June 17, 1929. The campaign's success is credited with weakening the alliance between the Iroquois and the British and helping facilitate the westward expansion of the new nation.

Gordon T. Trotter”

<https://postalmuseum.si.edu/exhibition/about-us-stamps-bureau-period-1894-1939-commemorative-issues-1928-1929/sullivan>