

# THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD BUTLER, 1775\*

## Continental Congress' Envoy to the Western Indians

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As happens with all civil wars, the war of the American Revolution exhibited many interesting associations, contrasts and family relationships. Many families were split, as were the Franklins, father and son, Benjamin and William. There were many brother groups, a few of which it may be interesting to mention.

On the British side there were the Howe brothers, Sir William and Lord Richard. Virginia had the Lees, Richard Henry, Arthur and William, none of whom was military, and their cousins, Colonel "Light Horse Harry" and Charles. Virginia also had the five sons of the same mother, Colonel John, Colonel Hugh, James, Marcus and Richard Stephenson and Colonel William and Valentine Crawford. Then there were the Washington brothers, George, Samuel, John A., and Charles, only one of whom was militarily inclined, and their cousin, Colonel William who had a claim to laurels of his own. New York had her famous brothers Clinton, Generals George and James. Pennsylvania had Colonels George and John Gibson; Colonels Benjamin and James, Captain Robert, also Joseph Chambers; also the six giant Brady brothers, Captain Samuel, John, William, James, (later General) Hugh and Robert.

Many more such family groups might be mentioned, but none as a whole can claim distinction greater than the five Butler brothers of Cumberland Valley, all commissioned officers in the Continental Army. Richard, the eldest, was probably born in Dublin, Ireland, before Thomas Butler brought his family to America and settled near the mouth of Conewago Creek<sup>1</sup> on land which became York County with

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Mr. Williams has again made available to our readers an eighteenth century journal.—Ed.

\* Never before printed.

1 There has been disagreement as to the date of birth of General Richard Butler. *The Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 366 (1958 Copyright edition), apparently relying on William D. Butler, *The Butler Family in America*, gives April 1, 1743, as date of birth. (Hereinafter cited as *DAB*.) Also *Historical Register: Notes and Queries*, W. H. Egle, ed., I, 2, article by J. A. Murray, D.D., "The Butlers of Cumberland Valley," states the same. (Hereinafter cited *Hist. Regstr.*) Simon Gratz, "Biography of General Richard Butler," *Pennsylvania Magazine of His-*

the separation from Lancaster County, in 1749, of that part west of the Susquehanna River.<sup>2</sup> The four other sons were William, Thomas, Percival and Edward.<sup>3</sup> The image of "the fighting Butlers" was evoked by the Commander-in-Chief, Washington, himself.<sup>4</sup> The fame of the martial brothers reached back to Ireland where the Duke of Ormond, chief of their ancestral house, hearing of their exploits, exulted in the spirit of their clan.<sup>5</sup>

In 1748, the Thomas Butler family moved to West Pennsborough Township in Cumberland County. The events relative to the early life of Richard are unknown, but they probably were similar to those incident to life on a farm in a new country, lately frontier. We know that he attended Doctor Allison's New London Academy in Chester County and later started the study of law.<sup>6</sup> We are told that he marched with Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition against the Indians of Ohio, in 1764, as an ensign in Captain James Hendricks' company of Lieutenant Colonel Turbutt Francis' First Pennsylvania Battalion.<sup>7</sup> If this be the case, he did not attend the meetings of officers or participate in the lotteries for the lands granted to Bouquet's officers.<sup>8</sup>

Although Butler's biographers agree that the brothers Richard and William appeared about the year 1770<sup>9</sup> at Fort Pitt to enter the Indian trade, we feel that it is more reasonable to suppose that they began business at an earlier date. By 1774 they were the leading firm in the Indian trade; and, in fact, it was because of this importance that Richard was chosen to succeed the incomparable Croghan as Indian Agent.<sup>10</sup> It would seem that four years would have been too soon for rank newcomers to have attained such a commercial position in com-

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*tory and Biography*, VII, 7 (hereinafter *PMHB*), gives the date of birth as July 1, 1743. The former date has been accepted.

2 *Hist. Registr.*, I, 2; *Pennsylvania Archives* (3rd ser.), XXIV, iv-vii.

3 *Hist. Registr.*, I, 1-7; *PMHB*, VII, 1-6.

4 *PMHB*, VII, 2.

5 The Butlers of Cumberland Valley were descended from the Dukes of Ormond through the house of Dumboyne. Lord Dumboyne has been quoted as writing: "I consider the five American Revolutionary Butler brothers as adding luster to the Dumboyne pedigree." In ancient times the Dukes of Ormond were the royal *cupbearers* or *butlers*. Captain James Butler of the Pittsburgh Blues in the War of 1812, son of General Richard Butler, was named after James, Duke of Ormond. J. A. Murray, *Hist. Registr.*, I, 2.

6 *Ibid.*, 3; W. H. Egle, *History of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1876), 534.

7 *Hist. Registr.*, 3.

8 *Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I, 95, 109.

9 *DAB*, II, 366; *PMHB*, VII, 7.

10 Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 80 (hereinafter, Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*); Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 298 (hereinafter, Wainwright, *George Croghan*).

petition with such old, established trading houses as Baynton, Wharton & Morgan, John Gibson, George Croghan, the Lowrys and others. It would seem more possible that the Butler brothers would have begun business in the years immediately following the suppression of Pontiac's uprising of 1763-1764, when all of the existing traders were close to bankruptcy due to the confiscation of all of their goods and profits in their stores in the Indian towns.<sup>11</sup> With the newly established friendship with the Ohio tribes, with greater demands for trade goods than ever and with accumulated peltries in the hands of customers eager to trade, a most fertile field for new enterprise existed. The present writer does not believe that the facts support the former statements that the brothers Butler sprang to the top position in trade at Fort Pitt all within four years' time.

These years were troubled by a keen contest between partisans of Virginia and Pennsylvania for control of the promising region west of the mountains. Indeed the Pennsylvanians had invited the encroachment by repeated refusal to fortify the Forks of the Ohio or other effective steps to protect their frontiers.<sup>12</sup> The Virginians, meanwhile, had eagerly seized the initiative by building Fort Prince George at the Forks (taken by the French, in 1754), by building Fort Cumberland on the communication to Virginia, by sending the force defeated under Washington at the Great Meadows, and now were seeking to re-establish decaying Fort Pitt when the Pennsylvania government was slow to act. The story of Doctor Connolly and his imperious and tyrannical tactics is well known. The Butlers, however, supported the Pennsylvania party consistently.

A new order was evolving in all American life and certainly in regard to Indian affairs. The Continental Congress had taken over administration of all American governmental and business matters; and, on July 12, 1775, they had created three Indian departments, with the Middle Department headquartered at Pittsburgh. On July 13, Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, and James Wilson were elected Indian Commissioners for this department.<sup>13</sup> They, in turn, named Richard Butler to be Agent at Pittsburgh, he being then the most prominent trader in the region.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 206, 207, 257; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 278.

<sup>12</sup> Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 42-44, 60, 61, 69, 73, 95-97, 118; Neville B. Craig, *Olden Time*, I, 445-446.

<sup>13</sup> Journals of Continental Congress in Force, *American Archives* (4th ser.), II, 1883.

<sup>14</sup> Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 74, 80.

An urgency rested upon the newly appointed Indian Agent to inform the tribes of the state of affairs existing between the mother country and the Colonies, to convince them that they should remain neutral in the struggle then beginning and to warn them against the wiles of British agents.

Meantime, the Virginia House of Burgesses was greatly concerned over the unrest among the Indians because of the delay in ratifying Lord Dunmore's treaty (at Camp Charlotte) of 1774, no steps having been taken to carry out the terms of the treaty or to release the Indian hostages. On June 24, 1775, the House passed a resolution appointing George Washington, Thomas Walker, James Wood, Andrew Lewis, John Walker and Adam Stephen commissioners to hold a treaty at Fort Pitt.<sup>15</sup> It seems ironical that nine days prior to his appointment as Commissioner to Pittsburgh, Washington had been unanimously elected Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.<sup>16</sup> Mere slowness of communications can not account for this paradox, since six days were ample to have transmitted the news to Williamsburg.<sup>17</sup>

Far from a concerted and coordinated effort's being made, every interested party was conducting its own private negotiations with the tribes. The Virginia House of Burgesses, as just noticed, had sent their representative in the person of James Wood to invite the head men of the tribes to a treaty at Fort Dunmore (Fort Pitt), only to find that Major (Doctor) Connolly, the Governor's commandant there, had already held a treaty with the Mingo and Delaware chiefs. The Committee of Augusta County was also conducting negotiations and giving presents.<sup>18</sup> In the interim two unreconciled Frenchmen had been among the Shawnees, inciting hostility, and were then reported to be among the Wyandots (Hurons). James Wood started from Pittsburgh to visit the Delaware, Shawnee, and Wyandot towns on July 18th,<sup>19</sup> accompanied by Simon Girty.

15 Journal of the Virginia House of Burgesses, Force, *American Archives* (4th ser.), II, 1240.

16 D. S. Freeman, *George Washington*, III, 436-438.

17 See detail of progress of the message regarding news of Lexington and Concord from Watertown, Mass., to Philadelphia, to Williamsburg and southward in D. S. Freeman, *George Washington*, III, 412n; also Force, *American Archives* (4th ser.), II, 365-366. Arrived at Philadelphia on April 24, Williamsburg on April 29.

18 R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1902), 35-38, Journal of James Wood.

19 *Ibid.*, 35-38. Entries by Wood in his journal concerning the confused state he found in Indian affairs. Colonel James Wood, father of this Captain James Wood, was one of the wealthiest planters of Frederick County,

It is difficult now to determine exactly when Richard Butler entered upon his duties as Indian Agent, but on August 22nd he set out on a journey in which he visited every important Indian town and every influential chief in the Ohio country. In the name of the Continental Congress he sought to convince the Indians of the rectitude of the cause of the United Colonies, that they could win the contest already in progress (a very important consideration), that the struggle between the mother country and the Colonies did not concern the Indians, and to urge attendance at a treaty to be held at Pittsburgh. Against the background of all of these conflicting forces, with all of the duplicity of many people of doubtful loyalty, with the bad influence of die-hard Frenchmen plus the rampant hostility of British agents, Butler was entering into a very dangerous situation. Add the fact that there sat in Pittsburgh in idleness the only white man in whom the Indians had had complete confidence, one who had, often singlehandedly, averted conflicts without number.<sup>20</sup> Croghan had always gone to them with lavish presents, whereas Butler went empty-handed. In the face of all these difficulties, Butler was successful in inducing the chiefs of all of these nations to attend the treaty at Pittsburgh in the fall of 1775. For nearly three years the Indian threat on the borders was held off while the struggling Colonies contended with the disciplined armies of the king in the east.

Following is Richard Butler's journal of this important mission, meticulously detailing all of his transactions and travels. It has never before been published, although it should have been made available long ago to those interested in our Revolutionary literature. James Wood's journal of his mission received publication more than fifty years ago. It parallels Butler's both as to places visited and persons interviewed, and we have used it copiously as reference. We should keep in mind that Butler's was the mission representing the policies

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Virginia, founder of Winchester, and accompanied Washington to the Great Meadows. James Wood, the younger, later became colonel of the 12th Virginia Regiment (designated the 8th after 1778), retiring as a brigadier general. He became governor of Virginia. *Ibid.*, 20n; F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914), 603 (hereinafter, Heitman).

20 Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat*, 222-223, Detroit commander to General Gage: "All the tribes that came here since the arrival of Mr. Croghan were . . . extremely well pleased and satisfied and Pontiac in particular." *Ibid.*, 239. Benjamin Franklin to Croghan: "You have doubtless render'd great service to Government by your negotiations among the Indians." *Ibid.*, 252, Gage to Lord Hillsborough, June 18, 1768: "Croghan's treaty prevented a war which many thought inevitable."

and authority of the Continental Congress, while Wood's represented only one colony's viewpoint.

Briefly we shall trace the distinguished career, only then beginning, of this gallant officer, one of the first citizens of our state and of early Pittsburgh. He remained Indian Agent until April 10, 1776,<sup>21</sup> when he was succeeded by George Morgan, of Philadelphia and Trenton, New Jersey, and later of "Morganza," Washington County. By accepting the office of Agent, Butler had lost his commission as captain in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion and his rank in the army. Congress made an unique case by passing a resolution to "compensate for that disappointment, to him, by some promotion in their service." On July 20, 1775, he was elected major of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment, then being formed. His military record, thenceforward, reads like the annals of a hero of romantic fiction.<sup>22</sup> He was in the thick of nearly every important engagement and was mentioned with distinction in the dispatches of the generals to the Commander-in-Chief and in his reports to Congress.<sup>23</sup> As major in Colonel Aeneas Mackay's 8th Pennsylvania, he survived that heroic winter march over the mountains to Washington's aid in New Jersey, which was fatal to his colonel and to Lieutenant Colonel George Wilson.<sup>24</sup> A tribute to his energy and skill was his being chosen second in command of Colonel Daniel Morgan's Rifle Corps, picked from the entire army, to assist Gates' army in the Saratoga campaign, where he led the advance of the right wing at Freeman's Farm under Arnold. He was in the thick of the Battle of Monmouth. It was Richard Butler whom Wayne chose to command the left wing of his attacking force in the storming

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21 Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, 80.

22 *Heitman*, 137. Richard Butler (Pa.). Captain 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion, 5th January, 1776; Appointed Indian Agent 17th May 1778 [1775] and lost rank in the army; Major 8th Penna., 20th July, 1776; Lieut. Col. 12th March, 1777, to rank from 28th September, 1776; Colonel 9th Penna., 7th June, 1777; transferred to 5th Penna., 17th January, 1781; transferred to 3rd Penna., 1st January, 1783, and served to 3rd November, 1783; Brevet Brigadier General, 30th September, 1783; Major General U.S. Levies in 1791; killed 4th November, 1791, in action with Indians near Fort Recovery, Ohio.

23 Washington to the President of Continental Congress, July 1, 1778, W. S. Stryker, *The Battle of Monmouth* (Princeton, 1927), 262-264; J. S. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, XI, 143; H. P. Johnston, *The Storming of Stony Point* (New York, 1900), Wayne to Washington, 161-164; Charles J. Stille, *Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line* (Philadelphia, 1893), Wayne to Washington, 292; *Ibid.*, Washington to Wayne, 253.

24 *Penna. Archives* (5th ser.), III, 306-307; *Ibid.* (2nd ser.), X, 658-659.

of Stony Point, in July, 1779,<sup>25</sup> and to command the Pennsylvania troops in the Light Infantry Corps, the élite of the army.<sup>26</sup> During the tense and critical days of the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, in the following January, Colonel Butler and Colonel Walter Stewart were Wayne's constant support. Again he merited special mention in Wayne's letters to Washington.<sup>27</sup>

In the Virginia campaign, Colonel Richard Butler commanded one of the three Pennsylvania regiments under General Wayne that joined Lafayette in June, 1781.<sup>28</sup> He and Colonel Stewart were the first American officers to greet the French army as they reached the James River, near Williamsburg.<sup>29</sup> His journal of these events is one of the most informative accounts of the siege of Yorktown. Lieutenant (later Major) Ebenezer Denny's journal<sup>30</sup> relates that, as he (Denny) was in the act of planting the American standard on one of the captured British redoubts, General Baron von Steuben seized the staff from him and planted it with his own hands. This delicate point of honor caused Denny's commanding officer, Colonel Richard Butler, to send a letter of challenge to the Baron. Washington and Lafayette, however, "accommodated" the matter to the satisfaction of both parties.<sup>31</sup>

After the surrender of Cornwallis' army, Butler accompanied Wayne to join General Nathanael Greene's army in South Carolina and Georgia, where the fighting dragged on for two years longer. He

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25 Stille, *Wayne*, 145; H. P. Johnston, *The Storming of Stony Point*, 81.

26 *Ibid.*, 180, 184.

27 *Ibid.*, 208-210; *DAB*, II, 366. Carl Van Doren, *Mutiny in January* (New York, 1943), 14, 50-51. A detailed narrative of Col. Richard Butler's part in each of these actions is found in the standard histories of each campaign. The early writers, however, are prone to confuse the Butler brothers. Gen. H. B. Carrington, in *Battles of the American Revolution* (New York, 1877), states that William Butler was with Gates at Saratoga. B. J. Lossing, *Fieldbook of the American Revolution*, calls him Col. Perceval Butler.

28 Charlemagne Tower, *Lafayette in the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1895), II, 328.

29 Colonel Richard Butler's Journal, *Historical Magazine*, VII, 102-103.

30 One of the most interesting and informative journals narrating events of the campaign in Virginia under Wayne and Lafayette, culminating the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in October, 1781, is that of Lieutenant (later Major) Ebenezer Denny, then a very young officer. Afterwards he was to be the first mayor and leading citizen of Pittsburgh. He continued his journal through his army career, in the southern campaign with General Greene and with St. Clair in Ohio. Denny's Journal is in the collection of the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania and was published in 1860, as Vol. VII of the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. (Hereinafter noted as *Denny's Journal*.)

31 *Denny's Journal*, 248; Introductory Memoir by Dr. William H. Denny, 214.

continued in the service until November, 1783, retiring with the brevet rank of Brigadier General.<sup>32</sup>

Returning to his home in Carlisle, General Butler enjoyed there, along with General Edward Hand, General William Irvine, and General John Armstrong, the position of one of Pennsylvania's most distinguished citizens.<sup>33</sup> Congress elected him one of the commissioners to negotiate treaties with both the Six Nations (at Fort Stanwix, N.Y., 1784)<sup>34</sup> and with the Western tribes (Treaty of Fort McIntosh, 1785). At the former General Oliver Wolcott and Arthur Lee, at the latter General George Rogers Clark and Arthur Lee were the other Commissioners of Congress.<sup>35</sup> It is notable that Lafayette attended the Fort Stanwix treaty.<sup>36</sup> After that, Butler received appointment of Agent of Indian Affairs for the Northern District. Then, on January 31, 1786, he, with General Samuel H. Parsons and General George R. Clark, signed a treaty with the Shawnees at the mouth of the Great Miami.<sup>37</sup>

Upon the formation of Allegheny County, in 1788, General Butler was chosen County Lieutenant, head of militia affairs of the county.<sup>38</sup> Also in 1788, he was appointed, with Colonel John Gibson, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, commissioner to purchase from the Indians the land in the Erie Triangle.<sup>39</sup> He had been appointed an Associate Judge of Common Pleas of Allegheny County when the county had been formed. This office he resigned in December, 1790, upon his election to the State Senate.<sup>40</sup>

In the meantime the Butlers had moved to Pittsburgh, probably near the end of 1789.<sup>41</sup> Richard Butler had purchased lots numbers

32 Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers* . . . (see note 22 above).

33 Journal of Arthur Lee, R. H. Lee, II, *Life of Arthur Lee* (Boston, 1829), Appendix XI, 377.

34 Journal of Griffith Evans, H. F. Raup, ed., *PMHB*, LXV, 204, 207. It is interesting that the Marquis de Lafayette and M. Barbe de Marbois attended this treaty. See also the Journal of M. de Marbois, *Our American Ancestors*, E. P. Chase (New York, 1949), 194-215.

35 W. H. Smith, ed., *St. Clair Papers*, II, 1n; Journal of Griffith Evans, *PMHB*, LXV, 229, 231; Daniel Agnew, *Fort McIntosh and Its Times* (Pittsburgh, 1899), 24-30.

36 Journal of Griffith Evans, *PMHB*, LXV, 207.

37 *PMHB*, VII, 9; Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, II, 11n.

38 *Penna. Colonial Records*, XV, 551.

39 *Penna. Colonial Records*, XVI, 36; *Penna. Archives*, XI, 405; 591, letter, Butler to President Mifflin, laying treaty before him, Jan. 7, 1789. Daniel Agnew, *History of Pennsylvania, North of the Ohio and West of the Allegheny River* (Philadelphia, 1887), 20-71.

40 *Penna. Colonial Records*, XVI, 537; *Penna. Archives*, XII, 5.

41 Although Dr. Murray, *Historical Register*, I, 5, states that family letters indicate that 1789 was the year of removal to Pittsburgh, Col. Butler must

128 and 129, in the middle of the block between Marbury and Hay streets, running between Liberty and Penn streets. Colonel William Butler's lots, 130 and 131, were situated on Liberty, Marbury and Penn, while Major Abraham Kirkpatrick's lot, number 127, was at the Hay Street end of the block.<sup>42</sup> Marbury Street, having been nearly at the location of the present Commonwealth Street, Richard Butler's land would have run across the modern Liberty Avenue parkway between the State Office Building and the Hotel Hilton, with the State Building covering the southern end and the hotel covering the northern end of the property.<sup>43</sup> It is evident that several interesting changes have taken place through the years.

In the early part of 1791, when General St. Clair was organizing an army of regulars, militia and levies to march against the Indians in Ohio, Butler was appointed by President Washington a major general to command the levies and second in command of the expedition.<sup>44</sup> The story of the terrible defeat of this army has been oft-told, when General Butler was left, mortally wounded, upon the field of battle to perish at the hands of the savages. His sword was found many years later, and a century after the battle, the remains of the fallen were permanently interred in a fine cemetery plot with an imposing monument.<sup>45</sup>

True to the tradition of the "fighting Butlers," the courage of the General's widow stands forth heroically, as she bade her son good-bye, when in 1812, Captain James marched at the head of the Pittsburgh Blues: "Son, remember you are a Butler."<sup>46</sup>

The following journal was kept by the young Indian Agent, just twenty-five years of age, as a daily record of his travels and transactions. It was written each night by the light of the campfire. It is no better and no worse, compositionwise, than all diaries and letters of his contemporaries. In those times, no standardization of spelling and no

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have had residence here in 1788 in order to have received the important offices he held in Allegheny County. The journal of Mrs. Mary Dewees, *PMHB*, XXVIII (1904), 190, tells of the Butlers' "very handsome parlour . . . like Philadelphia," in October of 1787. Of course, this refers to Colonel William Butler, but the inference has usually been that it was General Richard Butler.

42 Plat Map of the Town of Pittsburgh, 1784, Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

43 City of Pittsburgh, Bureau of Surveys.

44 Smith, *St. Clair Papers*, 200n.

45 *Denny's Journal*, 69-73; Winthrop Sargent's Journal, *American Historical Record*, I, 481-487; Judge Samuel F. Hunt, *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications*, VIII, 374n, 384-387.

46 *WPHM*, V, 244.

rules of punctuation were known beyond the barest requirements. A comma, being a larger mark than a period, was often used to end a sentence, while a period, being smaller, might be used in the body of the sentence. Punctuation was used to stop the flow of words, not to clarify the meaning or to elucidate thought. Capitalization was used for emphasis within the sentence, not necessarily to begin a sentence or to denote proper names. Many a Harvard College graduate wrote a whole page without a thought of paragraph or sentence breaks. On the other hand, the fluent vocabulary of these people is truly amazing.

To edit out these indicators of the mental processes and capacities of the author would be to falsify his character and to place him in a different generation than that in which he belonged. As has been mentioned, another journal of the then Lieutenant Colonel Butler was published many years ago in a much-edited form. It was his diary of experiences in the siege of Yorktown. From a comparison of the composition of the two journals, it would seem that he had become a much changed man during the six years of war. Army experience, continually in the field, does not give a man great academic improvement.

Therefore, we have transcribed the journal as Butler wrote it, with a clarifying word, here and there, in editorial brackets. It is Butler as he was, and not as we would like to make him.

With pleasure we acknowledge our indebtedness to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, through whose courtesy it is possible for us to publish this document, and especially to Mr. J. H. Givens of the Manuscript Division. Also, we are grateful to Dr. Donald H. Kent, State Historian, of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, for his suggestion that we publish this journal.

1775

COL RICHARD BUTLER'S JOURNAL

Left Pittsburgh y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>d</sup> of August 1775——

on the Tour of the Delawares Yendots—Mingoes & Shawnies——

22: T[uesday] Camp<sup>d</sup> At the 2 Mile run<sup>1</sup> Rained All night

<sup>1</sup> This was at the same location as Bouquet's Camp No. 2. See E. G. Williams, *The Orderly Book of Colonel Henry Bouquet's Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, 1764* (Pittsburgh, 1960), 3 and 53, note 2; WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, vol. XLII (hereinafter noted *WPHM*).

23 W[ednesday] Started at 6 OClock met M<sup>r</sup> Davison<sup>2</sup> from the Sha.<sup>o</sup> [Shawano] Towns with A letter, & A proclamation Enclosed of Gen.<sup>l</sup> Carlton<sup>3</sup> for Raising the Quebeck Militia, which I Opened & read & thought fit to push on: Stopped at the Logstown & Dined Saw Old Newcome[r]<sup>4</sup> who Seemed pleased At the Invitation to the Indian tribes; found one Drunk Indian Lying on the road; More at big beaver Creek Camp.<sup>d</sup> At the big run 2 M from beaver Cr<sup>s</sup>

24: Th[ursday] Started at 6 OClock Met Some Squas & Old Killbuck<sup>6</sup> Who told me the Principal men of the Delawares was to be that Day At the New Town Or Cushohockking<sup>7</sup> which Induced me to go that Road least they might be Scattered before I would See the Head men together, As the other way is Counted the longest Camp<sup>d</sup> Near yellow C.<sup>r</sup><sup>8</sup> fine evening————

2 John Davidson is the only person of the name mentioned in the old records, although he must have been very old. Washington mentions him, in 1753, at Logstown as an Indian interpreter. J. C. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington Diaries*, I, 46. He is mentioned as Davison in Lewis Evans' *Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies*, p. 10; Lawrence H. Gipson's edition of same, 154; Lois Mulkearn, ed., T. Pownall's *Topographical Description . . .*, 154. There he is given credit for having furnished information on the Ohio (Allegheny) "from the Forks upward."

3 General Sir Guy Carlton (1724-1808), afterward Lord Dorchester, was Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in Canada. *DNB*, III, 1002.

4 Newcomer was a very old Delaware chief, probably having been born before 1700. He was already an important chief when he signed the Treaty of Conestoga, in 1718. He succeeded "King" Beaver as principal chief, in 1772. His town was on the site of present Newcomerstown, O., and he died at Fort Pitt in 1776, while attending a council. He was grandfather of Killbuck. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 38, 46.

5 This stream is still called Two Mile Run. See U.S. Topographic map, Beaver, Pa., Quadrangle; E. G. Williams, "A Revolutionary Journal of General McIntosh's Expedition, 1778," *WPHM*, XLIII, 11, 2n. Also see Journal of Arthur Lee, R. H. Lee, II, *Life of Arthur Lee* (Appendix), 384.

6 Killbuck (Gelelemend) was long a friend of white civilization. He was given the island at the junction of the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers opposite to Fort Pitt, known as Smoke or Smoky Island, afterwards Killbuck Island. Margaret P. Bothwell, "Killbuck and Killbuck Island," *WPHM*, XLV, 345. Killbuck succeeded Newcomer as chief of the Turtle tribe of Delawares. See Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 111n.

7 This was originally a Wyandot town containing about 100 families, when Gist visited it in 1750, which he simply called Muskingum (modern Coshocton, Ohio). Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 105. Croghan had a trading house there, which was confiscated in 1763. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 2. There are as many spellings of this town as there were travelers who left records. Conchake, Goschachgunk, Kochocktin, Koshkoshkunk, etc.

8 There had been and, for a long time after this, there was confusion as to Yellow Creek. The West Fork of Little Beaver Creek was called Yellow Creek by all travelers. None of the early map makers, including Thomas Hutchins, Lewis Evans, Dr. John Mitchell, and the French map makers, knew that there was a West Fork of Little Beaver. All, without exception, show only the North and Middle Forks, while showing Yellow Creek correctly as the next affluent of the Ohio. Not being acquainted with the intervening country and being ignorant of the parallel direction

25 F.[riday] Started At 7 OClock Rained all Day Very Heavily, Camp<sup>d</sup> At the lower end of the plains<sup>9</sup> Rained Most of the Night Our things being Wet. & it being like to Clear we Stayed to Dry them &—

26 Sa[turday] Started At 10 OClock—Went to Tuscarawas<sup>10</sup> & Dined the Waters rising A little, it Does not Appear as if the rain was general, we Camp<sup>d</sup> on the Upper Crossing of the long run;<sup>11</sup> there is very fine Meadow land all Along sam[e] & fine upland—

27 Sunday Started at 6 OClock went to the 10 Mile Camp<sup>12</sup> & dined thence to the 2 Mile run; One horse gave out this Day Near Brush Camp<sup>13</sup> Which Obligated Rob<sup>t</sup> M Cully<sup>14</sup> to Stay behind All Night he

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of both streams, they supposed this stream to flow into the Ohio below the Little Beaver. As late as 1784, George McCully was of this impression. McCully's MS. Journal in the Library of Congress, printed in *Magazine of History, Extra Number 10*. For further explanation, see Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 188, 193, 116.

- 9 See "Journal of McIntosh's Expedition," E. G. Williams, ed., *WPHM*, XLIII, 15, where are described "Two Extensive plains here, the first of which is One mile Three Quarters and Seventy Perches in length and three Quarters of A mile in Breadth near the lower end a little rising, . . . 120 Perches from thence there beginnith Another one mile and 24 Perches in length and little inferior to other in Breadth . . ." *Ibid.*, note 22, describes the beautiful, fertile farms there today. The Journal of Bouquet's Expedition (1764) calls them "savannahs . . . by nature extremely beautiful." William Smith, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians Commanded by Colonel Henry Bouquet* (1766 ed.), 12; Parkman's (1868 ed.), 49.
- 10 Tuscarawas was an old Delaware town on the Tuscarawas Branch of Muskingum. It was often called King Beaver's Town, at the present Bolivar, Ohio. One mile upstream from the town was the historic fording place of the Muskingum Trail. The lines of both the Fort McIntosh and Greenville Treaties ran to this point. See *Bouquet's Orderly Book, 1764*, 64, note 46; *WPHM*, XLIII, 196, note 46.
- 11 This was probably Sugar Creek, then called Margaret's Creek, which the path crossed approximately where the highway bridge on U.S. Route 250 crosses it. There is a Broad Run flowing into Sugar Creek below this point. If this run is meant, the path would have crossed Broad Run near the present village of Winfield. See Hutchins' map superimposed on modern map, *WPHM*, XLII, 16-17.
- 12 The 10-mile Camp may have been the same as Bouquet's Camp No. 15, near old Chili, there being a discrepancy between the map drawn by Hutchins and Bouquet's journal. According to the large copy map by Engineer Ratzler in the Gage Papers (Clements Library) the Camp No. 15 was nearly 10 miles from the Forks. For explanation see *WPHM*, XLII, 256, note 58.
- 13 Brush Camp must have been where the path crossed Brush Creek near present Baltic. The camp site may have been used on the return march by Bouquet's army, or it may have been used by one of the four detachments known to have marched over the road. See map referred to in note 11, above. It may have been a traders' camping spot, as this was the traditional traders' path.
- 14 Robert McCully was a man of the proper type and background to have

Cam[e] up Next Morning at 8 OClock—————

28 Mo ; Started at 9 OClock & Came to Cushochking & Delivered Our Speech At 5 OClock we Received An Answer As p<sup>r</sup> the Speech Date 28<sup>th</sup> Ags<sup>t</sup> & in it A Message to the windots—————the Delawares sends one Man with us to Asure the Windots of their Intentions & to leave A String of wampom with y<sup>m</sup> [them] Tho<sup>s</sup> Nicholson<sup>15</sup> Inform<sup>d</sup> me that he Read Or in their Way Interpreted A Speech from the Five Nations & M<sup>r</sup> Johnston Inviting them to a treaty y<sup>e</sup> [that] is to be held at DeTroit but did not Mention the Time ; As they Are to get Another Message When M<sup>r</sup> Johnston<sup>16</sup> is Ready to Meet them but he bids them Sit Still & Do No harm to Any Body till they hear from him Again or See him—————

29<sup>th</sup> Tu ; We Set out from Cusshochking at 11 OClock for the Windots the Man from the Delawa'es having lost his horse Detained us that we got No farther than winginoms<sup>17</sup> who used me very Kindly More So

accompanied young Captain Butler on his perilous mission to the Ohio Indian towns. The two young men came from Cumberland County and both later were to be residents of Allegheny County. On July 8, 1763, Robert McCully entered upon a two year enlistment in Colonel James Burd's Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, and seems to have served the whole time at Fort Augusta, at the forks of the Susquehanna (modern Sunbury, Pa.). See pay list at Fort Augusta, November 1, 1763, to June 1, 1764, also from January 1 to June 13, 1765. *Penna. Archives* (5th ser.), I, 327, 339. On January 5, 1776, he was a sergeant in Captain William Butler's Company in Col. Arthur St. Clair's Second Pennsylvania Battalion (enlisted in Westmoreland County, which would indicate that he may have lived in that county at the time). That command went through the terrible Canadian campaign, and McCully was with them at Fort Ticonderoga in November of 1776. *Penna. Archives* (5th ser.), II, 97. On January 27, 1777, the Second Battalion left for home, although many reenlisted. *Ibid.*, 91, 97. No mention can be found in the rolls of any Pennsylvania regiment thereafter. In 1790, he was living in Allegheny County, that part formerly Washington County. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the U.S., 1790* (Washington, 1908), 17.

15 Thomas Nicholson was a brother of Joseph, who was one of Washington's guides and interpreter during his 1770 trip down the Ohio. Fitzpatrick, *George Washington Diaries*, I, 412, 443. Thomas served in Dunmore's War (1774) and in Crawford's disastrous expedition (1782) as one of the guides. *Penna. Archives* (ser. 2), XIV, 705; Thwaites and Kellogg, *Documentary History of Dunmore's War* (Madison, 1905), 13-14 (hereinafter *Dunmore's War*). He later resided in Pittsburgh.

16 This was Col. Guy Johnson who had succeeded his uncle, Sir William Johnson, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs upon the latter's death, July 11, 1774. E. B. O'Callahan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849), II, 1006; J. R. Simms, *The Frontiersmen of New York* (Albany, 1882), I, 264.

17 Winginom (Wingenum, Wingemund) was an important Delaware chief. In 1761, he went to Philadelphia to interview Governor Hamilton. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 241. His town was on the Walhonding, and he was

than Common among Savages the Delaware man overtook us just At Sun Set Camp<sup>d</sup> At winginoms all Ninght [*sic*]—————

30 We<sup>d</sup> Started At 7 OClock went up y<sup>e</sup> white Womans Cr<sup>18</sup> to the Forks to an old Town,<sup>19</sup> then 2 M: to Windochaloo<sup>s</sup><sup>20</sup> Town Dined there we Cross<sup>d</sup> said C.<sup>r</sup> 7 times between Cushochking & Said Town there is Very fine land the Whole way & then up Owl C.<sup>r</sup> About a mile then some small ridges but very fine land up the white Womans branch to the windot road we Camp<sup>d</sup> on Owl C.<sup>r</sup><sup>21</sup> About 8 M Above windochalos Town Cross<sup>d</sup> Owl C.<sup>r</sup> Once there is pretty bottoms All along N:B: yesterday morning Kiasota<sup>22</sup> [Guyasuta] told old wingenom that he thought the Sh.<sup>o</sup> People had Something bad in their hearts As they Always Cast Up the Selling of the land to him;

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present at the conference held by Virginia at Fort Pitt in October, 1775. He later was a bitter enemy and was present at the torture of Colonel William Crawford.

- 18 White Woman's Creek, the present Walhonding River, unites with the Tuscarawas at Coshocton, Ohio, to form the Muskingum, which in turn flows into the Ohio at Marietta. It was called White Woman's from Mary Harris, who had been captured from New England when very young and had married an Indian. Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 41, 114. A historical marker stands at the site of her town today, nearly opposite the mouth of Killbuck Creek.
- 19 This town was noted by Woods as "Mohicans old Town." Thwaites, *Revolution on the Ohio*, 48; also on Crevecoeur's map, *Ibid.*, frontis. On Evans' map (1755) and on Pownall's modification, it is shown as Old Mohican Town.
- 20 Windochalos is phonetic spelling for the usual Windaughala, Windohala, or Winduchale; everyone spelled it as he was able. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 119, says that his town was situated just above the mouth of the Scioto, in Scioto County. Also that he lived near Tuscarawas in 1762. The latter must have been his town that Butler visited. This chief was in Pittsburgh in 1759, at the Treaty of Lancaster in 1762, at Pittsburgh in 1774 and was first to sign the Treaty at Fort McIntosh, in 1785.
- 21 Owl Creek is the same as Kokosing. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 210. The junction of the Kokosing and Mohican form the Walhonding. Wood says he crossed the Walhonding six times in coming thus far. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 48.
- 22 Kiasota — the name has been spelled in various ways, Kiasuta, Guyasuta — was a Seneca chief. He was present at a number of notable events. He went to Montreal and to Pittsburgh, was most active in Pontiac's uprising, in 1763, was at the Treaty of Lancaster, 1762, and Bouquet's Treaty on the Muskingum, in 1764. When a young man, he had been one of Washington's escort on his mission to the French forts, in 1753, and visited him on his 1770 trip down the Ohio. Probably the most influential of the Ohio chiefs, he was a close friend of Croghan's. Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 210; Fitzpatrick, *George Washington Diaries*, I, 404 and n., 423, 430. Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 293; Smith, *An Historical Account . . . Bouquet, 1764* (1766 ed.), 14; H. H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising* (Princeton, 1947), 106-107, 278. In the summer of 1782 Kiasota burned Hannastown. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 287. He died at Cornplanter's village on the Allegheny in 1795. Thwaites, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 39.

& the Cornstalk<sup>23</sup> had Spoke Very ill of him & of the Delawares who wingenom Said he look<sup>d</sup> on or Called Dogs or Serv<sup>rs</sup> of the white people; & the Sh<sup>o</sup> people Said they Still loved the land & would not part with it; but they both remarked that they Own no land & Kiasota Said that they had Charged him with Acting ill tow<sup>d</sup> them but he was Now Determined to See what they Mean.<sup>d</sup> & Defied them to Pronounce One Act of his that was bad; but that he had Still Acted as a Mediator till last Sumer & that as they had fell out with the English he Said he was Active in keeping peace between the others & English & let them the Sha<sup>s</sup> [the Shawnees] Fight their Own battles & Deside their own quarrels As they Despised being Advised they Should have No Assistance for which the Cornstalk held him at very ill will—————

31: Th: Started at 7 OClock Came to koskosing<sup>24</sup> At 12 OClock; the people there had not heard the Invitation we therefore told them of it & they promised to Attend, left it at 1 OClock & went up A Small branch of the C<sup>r</sup> through a Very Rich level Country to An indian Cobbin [cabin] Near a Deer lick Camp<sup>d</sup> All night

[To be continued]

23 Cornstalk (sometimes called Cornblade, Tamenebuck, Keigh-tugh-qua, a stalk of maize) was a Shawnee chief. Dr. Draper says he was born on the Scioto. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 432. He was one of several Shawnee chiefs present at the Philadelphia council with Gov. Thomas Penn in 1739. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 306. In Pontiac's War he led an expedition far into Virginia, to the Greenbriar and Carr's Creek. He was present at Bouquet's treaty at the Muskingum in 1764 and was one of the hostages at Fort Pitt, though he later escaped. Cornstalk was a skillful leader at the battle of Point Pleasant, but after Lord Dunmore's treaty at Camp Charlotte, he worked for peace. He was an effective speaker with very impressive bearing. In 1777 while at Fort Randolph (at the mouth of the Kanawha) as a mediator, held as hostage, Cornstalk and his son were killed by white troops. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Dunmore's War*, 347, 432-433.

24 The town of Kokosing, or Owl Town, was located in the forks of the White Woman's Creek (Walhonding) and Owl Creek (Kokosing). Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 187, 199. Hutchins' map, in Smith, *An Historical Account*, shows it at that spot, but his map in his *Topographical Description* (1778) omits it.