Unrest, increasing and threatening, was rife among the Ohio Indians, the result of the dilatoriness — evidently planned — of Lord Dunmore’s Virginia government toward its commitments at the Peace at Camp Charlotte in 1774 (on Scippo Creek, six miles southeast of present Circleville, Pickaway County, Ohio). To assuage the rising fury, the Continental Congress, on assuming the functions of government, had appointed commissioners who, in turn, had deputized Richard Butler, trader at Fort Pitt, as Indian Agent for the Middle Department. He left Pittsburgh on August 22, 1775, on his mission to cultivate the good will and neutrality of the Indians in our Revolutionary conflict, and to invite the chiefs to a conference at Fort Pitt.

Proceeding via the well-trodden path that led down the Ohio River, across the Beaver and over the hills to the historic crossing of the Tuscarawas, Butler took a familiar way. It was the same trail deeply worn by the pack trains of innumerable traders, by Indian delegations en route to conferences at Fort Pitt, by Christopher Gist, by Bouquet’s army and its returning detachments conducting released captives,* and within two years would be beaten still deeper by the numerous comings and goings of McIntosh’s army to and from Fort Laurens. In the first part of this annotated journal, we left Butler near present Mount Vernon, in Knox County, Ohio.

In transcribing and presenting Butler’s translation of the Indian speeches, we note that there is a similarity of this dialogue to all other published Indian ceremonial orations; yet there is present a certain charm in the picturesqueness, imagery and metaphor employed that one cannot disregard. We can sense craftiness and deceit behind the figurative language on both sides. Back of the screen of beautiful figures of speech that betokened mutual trust and harmony lurked the mistrust and wariness that, in reality, existed. Actually, neither party could pledge the other with assurance that “the young men” of

*Note on Bouquet Map, WPHM, Vol. 42, No. 1.
either side, the hotheads and uncontrollable elements, would not be
out committing depredations and murders while the very conference
was in progress — as, indeed, did happen during Butler’s series of
conferences. Through it all is exhibited, on the part of the old chiefs,
a bizarre admixture of childlike intelligence combined with the sage
wisdom of a philosopher.

Explanatory Notes at end of Journal.

1775
COL. RICHARD BUTLER’S JOURNAL
PART II

Sept r
1st F : r Started at 6 OClock For plugys\textsuperscript{25} it being the Nighest way
to the windots from Cushockking & No Other Road So good
which Induced me to go that way Arived at y e Big lick\textsuperscript{26} at Sun
Set; the Head men of the Mingoes had been 5 Days gone to y e Windot
Town\textsuperscript{27} to hear A Speach from M r Johnston\textsuperscript{28} Desiring them to give
Ear to No Speech from the big knife\textsuperscript{29} As they only meant to Deceive
the Indians & Not to believe them or Any message but his: & there
had 2 Mingoes Arived that had been at Kaintuckky where the[y] Said
they had Seen A Number of whitemen who told them after
Some discourse that they had built three Strong Forts;\textsuperscript{10} that one was
very Near them & Advised them to go & See the One Next them; that
it was not quite finished but it Soon would, & that As Soon As Done
there would be A Large Garrison of men put in it, that they were on
their way Already & the two beyond was then Garrisoned; & As
Soon as the Other was Compleated that they would Then go of[f] to
the Indian Country Over the Ohio & See them; & See how they liked
their Country, which report put the Indians in A great Pannick till I
Saw them; & helped M r Johnstons report to Credit; the Cornstalk\textsuperscript{31}
On his way Down the Ohio Call\textsuperscript{4} At the big Kanhaway [Kanawha]
where he Says he Saw A man that had been prisoner with the Shaws.\textsuperscript{8}
that he Asked for his Indian Mother & if She was well, that He
was in great fear for the Shaw\textsuperscript{e} that he Expected Verry soon A great
Body of the big knife people there & their intention was to go to their
Country Over the Ohio to look at them & Much more; this was
Reported to the Mingoes\textsuperscript{32} Taways\textsuperscript{33} & Windots\textsuperscript{34} & they were each
to send two men to watch the big river to See these people. this
report gave Rise to An Opinion that the white People intended to
Call them To A Treaty & the Army to go in their Absence & Cut
of[f] their Town[s] Women & Children & Cut up the Corn These Considerations with the Advice of A Frenchman At Detroit Not to hear Any of the Messages from the Big Knife or Any Other but Johnston or him; had Determined the Sha\(^3\) Mingoes Taways & windots Not to go to the Treaty As they looked on all had been Said to them A Deception; & that it would be Running too Great A Risque

2\(^4\) Sat.\(^7\) left the big lick About 10 OClock As the Time Apointed for the Treaty is So Nigh & these reports So much Against us; I Could not be Sure what time it would take me At the Windots to Settle the Matter Sattisfactoroly; for which Reason & that No time Should be lost, I Sent Mr M:Cully to the Shan:° Towns\(^15\) with the Copy of the Speech & the String of wampom to Gather them to Oneplace [sic] that they Might hear the Message & the Result of ye Taways Windots Mingoes & Delawrs\(^16\) Immediatly on Our Arrival without Loss of time & that they might have Every thing Ready for the journey I met Pluggy, M'Clellan,\(^37\) & the Apple Tree;\(^18\) on their Return from the Windots they Seemed much Embarassed; till I told them that I had left An Invitation Speech with Conessaway\(^39\) & the Stone\(^40\) & the black wolf\(^41\) inviting them to A Council fire At Pittsburgh & to loose no time in Considering or thinking wrong but be Strong and Come; that the Invitation is not from the Big knife Only The Whole of their brothers the English. On this great Island\(^42\) & Desired them Not to hearken to to [sic] what Johnston had told them that there is Now A Dispute, between the people on this Island & Some of those beyond the Sea & that Johnston & All them people that belonged to the Army want\(^4\) to keep their Eyes Shut but that now they would be Opened & See Clear if they Miss\(^4\) this Opertunity that they would be long in the Dark & the whole of the white people wanted to become their friends & be as one people which Imediatly on Kyasotas making the Matter Clear to them they Said they would go but this is Not to be thought our Answer till your Return; when you must Stay & Rest One whole Day with us & Advise & talk with us —— went on till Sun Set Camp\(^4\) At a little pond —— Came through A fine Country All but About 10 Miles ———

3\(^4\) Sun.\(^7\) Started At 6 OClock, Arrived at the Windot Tow[n] At 11 OClock where I found the windots & Taways in the Council house; they Seemed Verry much pleased at our Arrival, they welcomed us And told us they would be glad to hear our Errand; As there was Some Traders there Namely Messrs Graveret;\(^43\) Boyle,\(^44\) Dodge,\(^45\)
Beveard, & Heron, Heron, & W.:m Butler on his way to Detroit I thought proper to have them present I then Delivered the Message; then being A Very good Interpreter One Abraham Coon A Trader that Talk[ed] the Windot Tongue well, therefore they were Very Sensible of the True Mean[ing] Then Kisota Rose Up & Spoke Very Spiritedly & Interpreted the whole Speech in his Own Tongue was well, then very Spiritedly Advised them to lay by All Other Business think of Nothing but the Message be Strong & Rise Up that both w[e] & the Delawares were Ready to ta[ke] Them by the hand to the Delaw[are] Towns Who would wait till they Come, & they would Push them before them to the Council I then Read the Delaware Answer to the Message & their Advice to them which they liked Very well; they then Told Us that it was A Message of Concience & would require to be properly Considered You must Stay tomorrow & w[e] will give Our Answer; Just [at] this Juncture Came in A Woman Called Spitfire with A piece of Very bad News that had like to Ruined All—

A Hand of M‡ Herons Called John Edwar‡‡ was Coming to the Windots from the Sh. [Shawnees] Towns with Some goods belong.‡ to Messrs Heron; Beveard & Dodge (the two latter having left him on the Road & A Windot Calld y‡ Doctor)‡‡‡ they were Under A Necessity of Stoping to Camp At the Sciotha [Scioto] Said Edwards had lay Down to rest him Self he being Sick, the Indian was making fire when An Indian Called Snip A Windot came up & Asked the Indian what Ailed his friend; the Indian told him he was Sick & lay Down to rest: Said Snip went to the young man & pulled the blanket of his face & Struck A Tomhock in his head & Scalped him, the Ind.‡ called the Doctor Ran of[f] And the Murderer took & opened the goods. & took what he pleased; the Half king‡‡ was told of the affair privately & he Called Out Some of the Other head men And Acquainted them of it He then Came in & with Tears in his Eyes told Us he was Very Sory that they the Windots had Done us Much wrong that they had Struck y‡ Tomhock in Our heads for which they Also were Now Very Sorry; And it had Struck the Message we brought them But As An Act Done Could not be Undone, beg‡ of us Not to be Surprised Or Angry or More Sorry than we Could help, As it would be of no use Or Could Not bring back Our lost friend he then told the Above related affair which Realy Surprised Us All; but After Our Surprise was Over A bit the Half king Spoke Again & beg‡ of us to Stay & hear what they would Conclude upon; We waited
About 2 hours when we were again Called & he Spoke As follows; Brothers We Are Very Sorry for this bad Act of A Bad man, it is not the Sence of this tribe to hurt you Or Do they by Any means Aprove of this Action, but on the Contrary do Condemn & Disclaim it therefore you will Consider what has been Said As Our true meaning; therefore with this String wipe the tears from your Eyes & Open your Ears to hear us; And with this we wash Away All Ill from your minds, & all Sorrow from your Hearts & hope you will be Sorry no More, we will Send & bury your Dear Friend & bring your Effects to you Again;

They Sat A while, and Addressed us Again as Follows—

Brothers having told you Our true Meaning; we Now with this belt Draw the Tomhock out of your heads And heal the wound & bury the tomhock So Deep that it Shall No more be Seen by Us Or you & we wash Away the blood Never to be thought of more——

The Whitepeople present Considered that to Show Any Resentment was of No use As they had Declared themselves in the Above manner: We therefore got Afew Strings of white wampom & Addressed them Afollows [sic]—

Brothers—

We believe that you Are Sorry for this Sad affair as well as us & that you knew Nothing of the Matter; therefore we Desire you to hearken to us; we tell you to be Strong & Advise your people to tak[e] care for the future Not to be guilty of the like Any more; that we do not Come here to Do Mischief to you or to Fight you, that we Come here As brothers & friends to buy your Skins & Sell you Our goods, that we thin[k] it Very hard that Ourselves & Our People is in So much Danger of our & their lives in Doing this Busin[ess] therefor tell you, you Ought to Protect us & Not hurt us; we do Expect you will Bury our Dear Friend Out of Our Sight, & that you will bring back our property & Restore it to us; that Although we And you Are Very Sorry for what has happened yet we Desire you to be Strong & hearken to the Speech Sent you from the great men At Pittsburgh & do not let this Affair hinder you from going to meet them; but be Strong rise up & go with your Brothers as is Required, that we all think As little as possible of the past unhappy affair; On purpose to remove this Stumbling block Out of your way; And to Convince you that Our heart is good we do give you this String. We Dont Blame you; but we blame the Bad man that did it & leave it to the great men to Settle the past affair
with you

Kuiasota went in the Evening to talk these Matters Deliberately with the Head men; About Midnight he Came back & told me that they would Send A runner to the big lick Mingoes to Desire them to Sit Still and to tell them the Affair in its true light that they might do No Harm & likewise Send Some more for the goods & to bury the Dead man Very Early tomorrow Morning; Mr.Heron & the other Traders Are of Opinion that the Commd. At Detroit is much to blame As it Apears to them that he has Certainly Encouraged the Indians All that he Could to do Injury to the Publick in general; that he has the Militia Embodied: and he Seems Much prejudiced in fav. of the Ministerial Measures that he frequently breaths Threats Against the Rebels As he Calls all the Oposers of the Above ment Measures that Mr. Heron Says he himself was present when the Half King of the Winots Said that the Commd. had promised him A Keg of Powder to go And Kill the Virginians that Isaac Williams was present but Afraid to tell the Commd. what the Chief Said And that he Mr. Heron told him and that he Said he had told him he would let him have powder and that he Should get it

I told them At the time I gave them the Message that I heard that there was A report Among them that there is to Come A body of the white People Over the Big River to them which I told them they might Depend is false & that I would Convince them on which I read that part of the Circular letter wherein it mentions that all bodies of Armed men were to be Dismissed & I Desired them to give No Ear to Any Such reports

4th Mo[nday] this Day waited for the Answer to the Message, Till 4 OClock when I was Sent for with Kiasota & my other Friends; to the Council house where there was 7 Taways present with About 20 Windots Who Spoke in the Following Manner

Brothers; We Are Very well pleased with the good Speech you Sent us; But as there is neither A principal Chief Or head warrior at this place; we Are under a Necessity to Send to the Huron Village at De Troit where our head man Resides; likewise Taways who Are present must Send to their head men before they Can give you A proper Answer there being None of their principle Head men here; we Shall forward the Speech to the Chipwas who you cannot Expect to See till Next Spring As the Distance is So great And the time Ap-
pointed therefore we cannot go*  A String Brothers;  
It Seems hard for us to give you A Direct Answer in this matter, but  
As the big knife has Sent A Message Inviting us & taking us by one  
hand & Now your Speech taking us by the other hand & both pulling  
us Very Strong; We will get Up in four Nights more; with our  
brothers the Taways & go to the Delawares Our Nephews, where we  
Expect to See & meet Our brothers the Mingo & the Shawnies and  
then go to See you Alltogether to the place Apointed———  
I Advised them to be Strong & Come as fast as possible, that the great  
men would think long for them After the time Apointed would pass  
by, but I would go As fast as I Could to inform them of their Coming;  
& the More would Come the better; Kiasota then rose And And [sic]  
Advised them in the Same manner Very Cleverly & behaved with great  
Spirrit And Candour They Answered that they would not Delay  
but that Accidents might Happen & hoped for a few days they would  
not be uneasy———  
5th Tu; they Asked me many questions of the White peoples Settle-  
mants on the Ohio & of their building Forts and placing garisons on  
Kaintucky river All which I Evaded Answering positively but told  
them that they might be Assured that they should be Properly Sattisfied  
by the great men when they Arrived At Pittsburgh That I was No  
Councillor, but A Messenger therefore had No more to Say to them,  
As I had given the Message & Received their Answer. . That both  
me & my fr[iends] Would Now go home glad And Hoped they  
would be Strong———  
Kiasota told me A great deal of the talk he had With the half king, it  
was Chiefly to Clear of his Doubts Concerning the Ill Intentions of the  
White people, on getting them up to the Treaty, As the Reports had  
mad[e] So deep An Impression on their minds, they with Reluctance  
believed Any thing Else; Some of them brought 2 Small kegs of rum  
& the Taways & Some Windots got Drunk together & in A Dispute  
A Windot man bit of A Taway mans Nose; We left the Windot Town  
About 11 OClock & rode through the Village to take our leave of them  
& the Taways who were still a little Drunk———  
________________________________________________________  
*they Misunderstood me & thought they must be punctual to A Day but  
I had Setled that Matter to Satisfaction & the[y] gave the following  
Speech Again
before we Came Away I made Kiasota Ask the Windots if the Comdt At De Troit had not given them A blody belt & tomhock to Strike the Virginians, their Answer was Evasive & given with reluctance they Asked me Who Said So; I told them that I told them that the Traders had heard it Among them that the Shawnoes said they, the Windots, had taken it to them ; that the Delawares had given theirs to M. Wood & that I believed it to be true; they then Said He had given them A belt but it was Not A blody One it Was to Open their Eyes to See the Virginians in Case they Came to Strike them & to bid the Windots be Strong & Strike too but M' D———e [Dodge] Says that the Tawsys told him that the Comdt. had given A belt And told them that he was there on the ground of their father And to look on him As their father that he had been Asleep Along time but that he was Now Awake & on his feet & Ready to help his Children both to fight & to Suply them with Amunition & much More but As M' Dodge will be here in A bout 20 Days it is Needless for me to Say more as this is the heads of what he Said he Sets of Tomorrow to bring the Taway king to the Treaty As he Only turned back from the Windots on Acct of one of his Children that was Very Sick Camp: d this Night About 25 Miles from the Town in the beech woods without A drop of water—

6th Wed: Started at 6 OClock; I Seem to think That the Comdt of Detroit makes the Indians believe that the Whole of the Colonies Are to be Considered As Virginians Since the Union of the Congress made them One people Arived at the big lick About 12 OClock Waited for the Mingoes Answer All this Afternoon Stayed At Pluggys all Night, they used us Very well I talked with Some of them about the Murder Comitted by Snip & So did Kiasota & their Answers to us both Agree that Snip has been Very uneasy for the loss of A friend of his Called the big kettle 45 that was killed at the Salt licks by y' Virginians last fall, for which he had Set of to war but these Mingoes sent three men After him & brot him back; it hapened to be As the Disceased was Coming from the Sha. 9 [Shawano] Towns & the villion overtook him & Come part of the way with him & He Says he heard him Say that he was At the killing [of] the people there & that he had killed One himself which Aggravated the Villian & he took that opertunity of revenge when he got the poor man Asleep
I find that the Speeches has made A general bad Impression on the whole of the Indians, they seem to be Couched in Very Insinuating terms I mean the Detroit Comd by a Frenchman & those by himself also——— yet I hope that these will Succeed Nearly to Our wish As these people has pind Their faith on the Windots———

7.th Th;—— Waited till 9 OClock Expecting the Mingoes Answer to the Message left with them last Saturday, when the Old Stone brought the Speech & wampom to us he Said, as it is a Matter of Conciquence he was Induced to Say Nothing About it to his Children till Our return, that As we must be tired Desired we might rest this Day, & that we Must read y Speech Over in the hearing of them All, that the late Murderer of Our friend had Disturbed him So, he was Afraid he had forgot part, therefore made this request; I found it would Answer No good End to hurry them, therefore Stayd Cheerfully; Kiasota Harangued them On the Occasion & Advised them Very Strongly to go & hear their Brother Onash, that they would return glad in their hearts; Connessaway Said it was hard to Expect them to go to A Council Fire with the Tomhock Sticking in their heads; that the Big knife had Called them to A Council last Spring & when they went they Came home Again in the Same State, that they then had Another message from the Big Knife to go At the same time we Mentioned; but they Did not know what to Do, As they were Disapointed; I therefore told them that it was hard to get things ready As it was Only the Great man that had Invited them, the people knew Very little About it; but Now the whole of the Virginians had Called them & that Now the late war would be Settled & the Tomhock Burried & if they would be Strong that No ill would be Any more between them That the Treaty we Called them to was A Council of the whole of the white People On this great Island & that it is Separate from that of the big knife; that the reason of the great men Calling them At the Same Time is to Save them y Trouble of two Journeys as huntingtime is Nigh

Pluggy had Many Scruples, he Said he had Attended at pittsburgh last fall & heard the great man of the bigknife & thought he Meant As he Said; that he Also Attended at the plains of Sciotha & thought all was well, & that he Might Depend on what the great man Said; but on his returning home by the Salt licks he was Distressed to the heart to See his blood relations lieing dead that he then Saw he Could not depend On the faith of A treaty As All that had been Said had Sliped
out of his hands Although he Meant to hold it fast; therefore he would have No More to Say to Councils that he would leave it to the wise people; That he Did not Intend to do Any ill that he looked upon himself As Dead; but that he would Advise the people to be Strong & Do All the good they Could; but Kiasota then Call'd me Out & told me A little About [it] we Advised together what to Say to him (which I hope will me[et] with your Approbation) Friend the big pond we think your Resolution wrong At this time, when your old Brothers from One End to the Other of this Island is Now Ready to take you by the hand & put you All in their bosoms; & As your Friends that is About you here has much dependance on your judgement & their Eyes on you they will Very probably follow your Example; Therefore we Advise you to be Strong & lead them by the hand to hear the good Speeches of your brother Onash & the Other great men of this great Island we Asure you that they will be glad to See you in particular About 11 OClock the Whole gathered & I read the Speech & then told it Over in Shawn⁶ likewise told them the Resolution of the Delawares, Windots, & Taways, that they had listened to us Sent us Away glad & hoped they would Consider it Very Carefully & give their Answer in the Same Maner that me & my friend Might go glad home, & Make report of their good Intentions to Our great men who we Asured them would be very glad also—— Then Kiasota Spoke Exactly in the Same Manner As we had pre-concerted what we would Say; All went on well & About 11 OClock At Night: The Stone, the big Appletree, Connesaway, the black Snake,⁶⁰ Pluggy and any Others Come in & Spoke as follows; Hearken to me my Brother Onash; As your Messengers went by us they left us your good Speech, which made us Very glad, As we Never heard Any thing bad from you we gave Ear to it; but As Our head men were Mostly gone to hear their brothers the windots & Some to the Shawnoes, we Could not give An Answer; but Now We Are all present And they have All heard it read Over Again; it has filled Our hearts with gladness & we have Considered it Very Carefully; it has brought to Our minds the Old love & Friendship that was made in Old times & we now hope to Make that love & Friendship New & bright As Ever; Be Onash we Are Ready to rise up & go to Meet you At the place Appointed: Some of Our Most Sensible head men & Some of Our warriors will follow; but the Time is So Nigh we Desire your & our friends & brothers the Messengers to Inform you As Soon As they learn of our good Intentions that
you may not be any way uneasy, It will make us very glad to Se[e] the great men from from the Country of Our Brother Onash and the Other great men from all the people on this Island; we shall Carefully hearken to your good Speeches & it will make our hearts glad to See you Our Old Brother Onash & the rest of Our Brothers & hope your hearts will be glad Also; we therefore take hold of your speeches & the Messengers by the hands & shake them that we may travel with glad hearts As we look upon their Sayings yours and their hands also your hands; we Desire them to be Strong & [illegible] this y' [that] you may Se[e] us with good And glad Hearts, And that Nothing Shall hinder us, will not hearken to Any Speech from Any people that Shall Come hereafter, till we Se[e] you face to face, & hear you & And renew the Old love & Friendship & Strengthen it On both Sides that it May not Slip Out of Our hands Any more

[To be continued]

EXPLANATORY NOTES

25 Pluggy's town was at the present site of Delaware, Ohio, on the Olentangy River, or branch of Scioto, originally a village of Mohawks who, led by their chief, Pluggy, had migrated to the Ohio country about 1772. C. A. Hanna, The Wilderness Trail (New York, 1911), 210 (hereinafter cited as Hanna, Wilderness Trail); Thwaites and Kellogg, Revolution on the Upper Ohio (Madison, 1908), 56n (hereinafter Revolution on the Upper Ohio). Pluggy was killed, in 1776, during an attack on McClelland's Station, Kentucky. Ibid., 206n.

26 Butler's route lay up the Walhonding from Coshocton, as he says, the shortest and best road to the Wyandot town (Upper Sandusky). It ran past Owl Town, in the forks of Kokosing and Mohican rivers, to the Big Lick, which was at the site of present Mount Vernon, Knox County, on the south side of the river, where the Indians had a camp by two fine wells. Henry Howe, Historical Collections of Ohio (Norwalk, 1898), 1, 982. Thence, the route progressed by way of Pluggy's Town (present Delaware, O.) This Big Lick should not be confused with the Salt Lick Town on Scioto, on present Columbus' West Side, which town was destroyed by Captain William Crawford in 1774. Dunmore's War, 304n; C. W. Butterfield, Washington-Crawford Correspondence (Cincinnati, 1877), 56n; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 210. Wood traveled that way to the Lower Shawnee Towns.

27 The chief Wyandot town, in 1775, was at Upper Sandusky, where the old Wyandot Mission Church may still be viewed. This town was visited by both Wood and Butler. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 210.

28 Colonel Guy Johnson was Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the British crown; hence, he was hostile to the cause of the American Colonies and was trying to win over the Indians to the British side. See note 16 (first installment).

29 The Big Knife, or Long Knife, was the name first given by the Iroquois, or Five Nations (after admission of the Tuscaroras, the Six Nations), to Lord Howard, Governor of Virginia, in 1684, and to his successors. The Dutch word hower, with which the Iroquois were familiar, signifying a cutlass, sounded like his name. In time the Indian word was translated

30 The three Kentucky forts were Boonesborough, Harrodsburgh, and McClellan's Station. James Wood's Journal, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 205-206. Stories like this one were circulated by the British at Detroit to keep the Indians in turmoil and to prevent them from joining the Colonies. James Wood was told of rumors quite similar and of the fears of the Indians, although he could not have been truthful when he told them, "I never heard of any Fort being built on Kentucke." The Frenchman at Detroit mentioned as abetting the British schemes was M. Jacques Duperon Baby (spelled by Wood Baubee, as indeed it is pronounced). *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 53-54.

31 Cornstalk, see note 23 (first installment).

32 Thwaites summarizes the question of the origin of the Mingoes, agreeing with Hanna and Darlington that they were the same that the Dutch called *Mingasia* or *Mengues* and the same as the Susquannahocks or Conestogas, allied to the Iroquois and conquered by them. All three lapse into vagaries by stating that the term *Mingoes* was applied latter to mixed Iroquoian stock migrating to Ohio. The latter seems to be true through all of the writings like this journal, where Senecas and Mohawks are indiscriminately called *Mingoes*. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 37, 348-349; Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 127; *Dunmore's War*, 28n.

33 The Tawas, Towas, Taways were the Ottawas. *Dunmore's War*, 273n.

34 The Wyandots were usually agreed to be the same as Hurons. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 327n.

35 There were several Shawnee (Shawano, Shawnese, Shawanese, Chaouanons) towns and groups of towns corresponding to different periods. There were the Upper and the Lower Shawnee towns. Tribesmen from the region above the Hocking and Kanawha moved down to the mouth of the Scioto. Having been flooded out, they moved up the Scioto till, in 1775, their chief towns were between Chillicothe and Circleville. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 157-158; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 57; *Dunmore's War*, 292.

36 The Delaware Indians (Lenni Lenape), of Algonkian stock, were found by the first Swedish and English settlers along the river from which they were named, in Eastern Pennsylvania. Conquered by the Iroquoian Confederation, their lands reduced by successive purchases, they had been pushed westward till, at the time of Butler's visit, they were living upon the Muskingum and adjacent waters, in Ohio. *Dunmore's War*, 28n; Paul A. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1961), 16-18; Lewis Evans, *An Analysis of a General Map of the Middle British Colonies* (Philadelphia, 1755), 14; Lawrence H. Gipson edition of same (1939), 158.

37 No identification of McClellan, an Indian, can be found in any of the standard authorities. It was the custom to give a white man's name to an Indian in recognition of a meritorious deed; or the white man and Indian might exchange names out of mutual regard.


39 Conessaway. There being no name given in any of the standard authorities which corresponds to this spelling, and no other clue given by Butler to the identity of this Indian, we are forced to make deductions. By eliminating such possibilities as Canajacherra (Big Kettle), who Butler says was killed in the previous year (see note 55), and Canachquaus, who had died of smallpox (C. Hale Sipe, *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1929, 331), and after comparison with Wood's journal, we are of opinion that it refers to White Mingo (Kanaghragait), son-in-law of French Margaret (Montour). If, as Hanna says (*Wilderness Trail*,
II, Index, 424), that "K, C, and G are interchangeable in Iroquoian words"; also that R and L are interchangeable (ibid., 441); also, if the a's are pronounced broadly a and the ait ending pronounced ay as the same ending in French, the resulting pronunciation of the two names would be similar.

After comparing the Speech of Conessaway, given hereafter, with those of the White Mingo in Wood's journal (Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 40 and 77), also noting that the White Mingo is the only important chief otherwise unaccounted for by Butler that is involved in Wood's conferences, it appears probable that Conessaway and the White Mingo were the same.

40 The Stone was a Mohawk Mingo chief. Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 102; Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 319.

41 The Black Wolf was a Mingo chief; we are not told of which tribe. Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 102.

42 By the Indians' tradition, a turtle brought up this great island (American continent) out of the depths of the ocean on its back. Many sources exist for this tradition, but conveniently refer to Paul A. Wallace, ed., Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder (Pittsburgh, 1958), 227 (hereafter cited as Wallace, John Heckewelder); also Stephen Quinon, "The Indian Conception of America As an Island," WPHM, VII, 102.

43 There being no name resembling Graferet in any list of traders, in Hanna's Wilderness Trail or in the Pennsylvania Archives, or in any of the quoted authorities, we can only suppose that Butler was again trusting to his own orthography. Phonetic spelling produced wonders with proper names. Depending on whether the writer were German, English or French, the same name, pronounced orally, took on very different forms. Thus the English Shenango, became Chimingue when written in French orthography. We find Crawford spelled Crafford, Craford, and Craffred. See Index to Dunmore's War. If one pronounces the C hard and the f like v, in the German manner, one might arrive at a pronunciation like Graveret. It is therefore probable that Butler means Crawford, probably Valentine, as Hugh, the old trader, had died in 1770. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 374.

44 Philip Boyle was a soldier in Captain Joseph Shippen's Company, May, 1756-May, 1757. Penna. Archives (5th ser.), I, 75. He was listed among the traders at Fort Pitt (Bouquet's enumeration) in 1760 and 1761, when he was employed by George Croghan. PMHB, II, 303, 469; VI, 344. He appears on William Twent's list of traders suffering the greatest losses incurred by Pontiac's (1763) uprising. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, II, 382. He was among the 23 traders to be compensated by the Indian grant including all of West Virginia between Laurel Mountain and the Great Kanawha. Ibid., II, 59-60. His name also appears on George Croghan's list of traders, most of whom were captured or killed, with the notation that Philip Boyle traded at Sandusky and was then at Fort Ligonier. Ibid., 279. He was on the pay roll at Fort Ligonier impressed for service, in 1763, as an ensign. WPHM, XLV, 256. Boyle enlisted, May, 1776, in Cumberland County (probably Carlisle), in Captain Abraham Smith's Company of Colonel William Irvine's Sixth Battalion. After the terrible Canadian campaign the Battalion returned to Ticonderoga, thence to Carlisle, Pa., where it was reenlisted as the Seventh Regiment of the Continental Line for three years or duration of the war. Boyle must have served for the duration, for he received Depreciation Land. Penna. Archives (5th ser.), II, 231, 194, 198.

45 John Dodge, a controversial character, was born in Connecticut in 1749. After entering the Indian trade about 1770, he opened a trading house among the Wiandots. Because of his sympathies with the Colonies, he was arrested by the British in 1776, held prisoner in Detroit and Quebec till 1778, when he escaped. When Dodge reached Philadelphia, he was
sent as Indian Interpreter, with the rank of Captain, to the Western Department and as such accompanied McIntosh on his western campaign in the winter of 1778-1779. He visited Virginia where he met Governor Thomas Jefferson, who sent him as Indian Agent to Kaskaskia, where General George Rogers Clark had taken control from the British. He entered into schemes for commercial gain and obtained military control, incurring the enmity of the civilian population. In 1787, Dodge removed to Spanish territory, where he died in 1794. For facts concerning this man's turbulent life, see *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 55, 92, 143; Louise P. Kellogg, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1916), 183, 196; J. D. Barnhart, *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution* (Crawfordsville, Ind., 1951), 34; Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston and New York, 1887), VI, 683; C. W. Butterfield, *George Rogers Clark and the West* (Columbus, 1904), Appendix.

46 James Bevard, usually written Bavard, is mentioned later in the journal as an informant from the Wyandot town, whereas Wood says he was a trader in the Shawnee towns. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 63. In both cases he informed, first Wood then Butler, that he expected war and that the commandant at Detroit was abetting war preparations.

47 James Heron was a trader, a patriot and apparently well-to-do, as he and John Dodge pledged £ 4,000 for the safe conduct of the Indian chiefs to the treaty at Fort Pitt. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 55.

48 William Butler was the second son of Thomas Butler and the brother and partner of Richard Butler in the Indian Trade at Fort Pitt and the Ohio Indian towns. J. A. Murray, "The Butlers of Cumberland County," *Historical Register*, I, 2. He entered the army as captain in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion on January 5, 1776, the same day that his brother Richard was commissioned in the same battalion. He became Aide-de-Camp to General William Alexander (Lord Stirling) and, after Monmouth, was sent with his 4th Pennsylvania Regiment and a detachment of riflemen to defend Schoharie County and the New York frontier. He retired, in January of 1783, as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 4th. After the war William Butler removed to Pittsburgh from Carlisle, where he entered into the trading business and operated the ferry between Pittsburgh and Venango Path on the North Side. He died in 1789. Heatman, 138; *Penna. Archives* (5th ser.), II, 125-130; J. R. Simms, *History of Schoharie County* (Albany, 1845), 290-295; *WPHM*, I, 169-170.

49 This was Abraham Kuhn, a Wyandot who could read. Wallace, *John Hecker-welder*, 175-178; Archer B. Hulbert, *Ohio in the Time of the Confederation* (Marietta, 1918), 172.

50 The estate of John Edwards, deceased, was administered by "Jersey Ben" Kuykendall. See Minutes of the Court at Fort Dunmore, *Annals of Carnegie Museum*, I, 561.

51 The Doctor was a Mohawk Indian. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 67.

52 The Half King, not to be confused with Tanacharisson, the Seneca chief who befriended Washington on his Fort Necessity campaign, but another of the title, a Wiandot, as hereinafter stated.

53 The commandant at Detroit at this time was Captain Richard Lernoult. Captain Henry Hamilton had been appointed to the command in April, but he did not arrive at Detroit until November 9, 1775. J. D. Barnhart, *Henry Hamilton and George Rogers Clark in the American Revolution*, 13; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 128, 147.

54 Isaac Williams was a highly esteemed man among his contemporaries. A native of Chester County, Pa., born 1739, he moved with his parents to Winchester when young, was in Braddock's army, and was part of the guard of the first supply train to arrive at Pittsburgh after its occupation
by Forbes' army. He then became a hunter, scout and trader of great experience and was present at the battle of Point Pleasant, on October 10, 1774. Richard Butler encountered him among the traders in Ohio in 1775. After serving as a ranger and scout in the Revolution, during which time he resided at Redstone (now Brownsville, Pa.) and at Wheeling, he removed to a tract on the Virginia side opposite Marietta, in 1787, where Williams was appointed. There Williams cultivated a very fine farm and, as described by Col. John May, was expert in curing victims of the bites of poisonous snakes. Williams was the leading citizen of a growing community and died in 1820. West Virginia Historical Magazine, January, 1902; L. P. and Julia Cutler, Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, I, 412-413; Dwight L. Smith, The Western Journals of Colonel John May (Cincinnati, 1961), 55; Participants in the Battle of Point Pleasant, Report of the Point Pleasant Battle Monument Commission (Charleston, 1927), 30. In 1789 the Virginia Assembly passed an act to permit Isaac Williams to operate a ferry across the Ohio. In Marietta Fortescue, Cuming, described the mechanics of operating Williams' ferry by the current, novel then but since quite common. R. G. Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels (Cleveland, 1904), IV, 124-125; Henning, Laws of Virginia, XIII, 48. S. P. Hildreth, Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Pioneer Settlers of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1840), 475-490.

55 The Big Kettle, so called by the Virginians and Broken Kettle by the Pennsylvanians, was a Seneca Mingo chief. His Indian name has been variously spelled, Canajachrera, Conajcarca, etc. He was formerly a chief at Kuskuskie (near present New Castle, Pa.), and later moved to Ohio. Hanna, Wilderness Trail, I, 344-346. Washington mentioned him in his diary, while at the Great Meadows, in 1754. J. C. Fitzpatrick, The Diaries of George Washington (New York, 1925), I, 91. Butler here gives us information not found elsewhere, namely, that Big Kettle had been killed at the destruction of the Salt Lick town in 1774, by Crawford's detachment from Dunmore's army. Other writers have had him dying as late as 1839. See note 26, above.

56 This was M. Jacques Duperon Baby (pronounced, and often written, Baubee) was the Frenchman influential at Detroit. See Wood's journal, Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 54: "I then told him I was well Acquainted with the Steps taken by the Officer Commanding at Fort D'Troit and Monsieur Baubee to prejudice them against the Americans . . . ." Ibid., 44; Milo M. Quaife, ed., The Siege of Detroit (Chicago, 1958), 148-149.

57 Onas was the same name applied by the Delawares first to William Penn at the treaty in 1682, then to the governors of Pennsylvania, and finally to all representatives of Pennsylvania. Revolution on the Upper Ohio, 77n.

58 This is further reference to Butler's important and difficult job of dispelling from the Indians' minds the confused image imposed upon them by many representatives of different white groups and interests; also that a new treaty would solve the problems of the unfulfilled obligations of Lord Dunmore's treaty of the year before. See Amer. Archives (4), II. 1240.

59 The "great man of the big knife" here referred to was, of course, Lord Dunmore. This speech of Pluggy's alludes to the disillusionment of the Indians after the conference of the Six Nations (Mohawks, Senecas, etc., designated collectively as Mingoes) and Delawares at Pittsburgh in October, 1774, wherein Dunmore promised these tribes full confidence and friendship if they would bring the Shawnees to like terms. In November, Colonel Crawford of Dunmore's army attacked the Salt Lick town (on Scioto opposite Columbus), burned it and killed and captured a number of Indians. Pluggy expressed extreme frustration at the futility of treaty agreements.

60 Blacksnake was a Seneca chief. Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio, 20n.
Dr. Lyman C. Draper, the historian, interviewed Blacksnake in 1850. He had been on the warpath against the Americans and led attacks on the frontiers of New York during the Revolution. He participated in the treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1784, and visited President Washington and Congress in New York. Blacksnake aided the Americans in the War of 1812. His own dictated statement appears in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 159-167.