

## THE JOURNAL OF RICHARD BUTLER, 1775

### Continental Congress' Envoy to the Western Indians

EDWARD G. WILLIAMS

#### THIRD INSTALLMENT

THE progress of Richard Butler through the Ohio Indian towns in August and September, 1775, continues. His itinerary coincides with key points of the traders' path that led to the heart of the Indian country, namely down the Ohio, across the Big Beaver to the Tuscarawas Crossing at the mouth of Sandy Creek, to the Delaware town at Coshocton. Thence we have followed Butler up the Walhonding and the Kokosing (Owl Creek) to the Big Lick and Pluggy's Town (the latter, Delaware, Delaware County). We are now to follow him to the Wiandot town (Upper Sandusky), back through the Big Lick, past present Columbus, to Old Chillicothe (southwest of present Circleville), thence by way of present Lancaster and Dresden to Coshocton again. The emissary's route then led up the Tuscarawas to the Upper Moravian Town (Schoenbrun, near present New Philadelphia) to join his outgoing road, north of the West Fork of the Little Beaver, and back to Pittsburgh.

There is no attempt here to retrace Butler's path minutely upon the ground, but certain landmarks herein mentioned establish a locus of points that can readily be identified with modern surroundings. For a complete understanding of the environment of early travelers among the Indians, the reader should keep in view a few general considerations often lost sight of by students, even writers, of early history.

The first of these items is consideration of the time at which we speak or write of a place or situation, because of the migratory propensity of Indians to relocate their habitations due to pressure from other peoples, flooding of the present abode, better hunting, or simply a desire for less littered ground. A good example is the case of the Shawnees' peregrinations as witnessed by the early French accounts, by Gist, and now by Butler, each of whom found the chief Shawnee towns at different locations at different times.

The Indians' conception of place designation did not agree with European usage. John Heckewelder (*History of the Indian Nations*, 199) refers to Chinglaclamoose Creek, which was also the designation

of the town at the mouth of the creek. Kuskuskies meant a group of several Indian towns spread over an area several miles long. A town may have been Wiandot or Shawnee at its origin, but later travelers would find the population predominantly Delaware. Often names traveled with the Indian community as it moved about. There were as many as five Chillicothes that flourished at different times in the Ohio country.

Important also is the fact that Indians never named a path or thoroughfare in the sense that is our European custom. A man living on present Tuscarawas Road (Tuscaroras Road) west of Beaver, Pennsylvania, has that address as his permanent designation. If he travels the road in either direction, he is still upon Tuscarawas Road. Not so the Indians. If an Indian were progressing westward, he would be traversing the Tuscarawas Road; but if he were moving eastward by the same path, he would be traveling the Fort Pitt Path. Every path was two-directional and was called according to its destination. It is noteworthy, again, that there were several paths known as the Tuscarawas Path, according as one traveled toward the Tuscarawas from Kuskuskies, from Detroit, from Cuyahoga, or from Pittsburgh.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the path leading from Fort Pitt to the Tuscarawas was the General Trail westward. At the same time it can be argued that the Tuscarawas Path from Kuskuskies was the more important at another time. Actually, the road traveled by Bouquet's and McIntosh's armies, and here traversed by Butler, was a white traders' path over an Indian trail, it is true; but it attained its importance to white men after they built Fort Duquesne and Fort Pitt at the Forks of the Ohio. Previous to that time, as long as Kuskuskies remained the chief Indian capital between Onondaga and the Scioto, the Kuskuskies-Tuscarawas Path was the important westward thoroughfare of the Indians. This path would have traversed Columbiana County, Ohio, passing near Columbiana, near Guilford Lake, and for the last twenty-five miles before reaching the Tuscarawas, roughly paralleled the Fort Pitt-Tuscarawas Path often within a few miles, till both converged at the historic crossing place (just above Bolivar).

Failure to appreciate the foregoing factors related to primitive life in the early frontier and Indian country has led to much misunderstanding of pioneer history. Such were the circumstances environing the emissary of the Continental Congress to the Ohio Indians.

A treaty most assuredly was held at Pittsburgh in a council house hurriedly built a short distance from Fort Pitt, where Captain John Neville then commanded. It was September 20th when Butler finally reached the end of his journey, notwithstanding his traveling companion's (Kiasota or Guyasuta) repeatedly falling from his horse. The Shawnee delegates began to arrive on the 26th and preliminary meetings between the commissioners of Congress and those of Virginia took place on the 30th. By October 7th representatives from all of the tribes were present — chiefs of the Shawnees, Wiandots, Delawares, Mingoes, Six Nations, and Ottawas. The Commissioners of the Continental Congress were Lewis Morris (of Morrisania, New York, brother of Gouverneur Morris, graduate of Yale and soon-to-be a Signer of the Declaration of Independence) and James Wilson (also to be a Signer and United States Supreme Court Justice). The Virginia Commissioners were Dr. Thomas Walker, Colonel Andrew Lewis, John Walker, Colonel Adam Stephen, and James Wood. The only Virginia Commissioner not present was George Washington, who was serving his country as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army around Boston.

At this treaty some very eloquent Indian speeches were delivered. Three were classics: those of Shaganaba, Ottawa, son of Pontiac; of Cornstalk, the Shawnee; and of White Eyes, the Delaware. Never had Greek orators declaimed with greater dignity or eloquence. Cornstalk was always majestic, Shaganaba had his father's nobility of expression like a true gentleman, and White Eyes spoke like a true Christian. The treaty was concluded on October 19th, presents mostly of clothing were given; and for over two years and a half the western Indians were held in check so that men from Westmoreland and West Augusta could march eastward to the aid of Washington in New Jersey, and at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and to spearhead Gates' victory at Saratoga.

Richard Butler had done his work well.

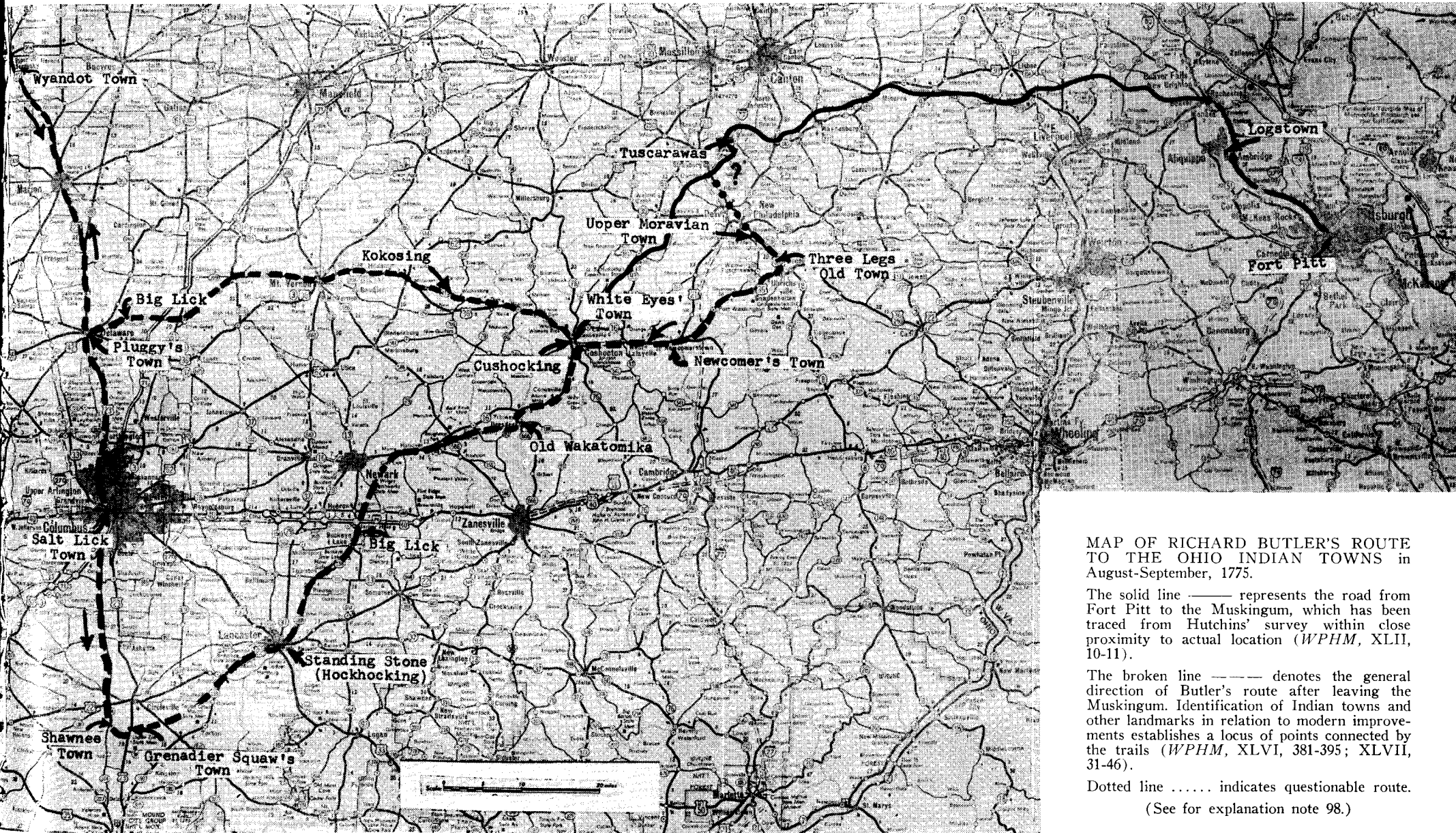
1775

## COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER'S JOURNAL\*

## PART III

8<sup>th</sup> Fr [iday] : this Morning I Asked pluggy if he would go to the great Council he answered that he would only that his wife was very Sick & As Many of the people was going he Must Stay to take Care of her but his heart was good & he thought well of what had been Said—— The Stone & big appletree & Others before Named, Returned many thanks for the Message Sent them by you & that they would hearken to it Carefully—— Kisota then At my Desire told them that we had been at great pains all Allong to know the thoughts of the People & that we were Very glad to hear what they had Said Last Night was So Nigh the Intention of the Delawares windots & Taways; but that we would be glad to know before we set off homany [how many] of their wise People would go when that we might Sattisfy our Great men when we would get to the Fort As we were Sure they were Now waiting. The big Apple tree then Said That he Could not tell how many would go or when till A man that had gone to the windot Town would return, that he is to be home this Day, & they then would know, but that we might Depend that As Soon As he Came they would Determine that Immediately; that they Believed the Speech & that they are very glad to be thought of By their Brother Onash & that they would Not Deceive Him; but As the Above Mentioned head man is to be the person that is to be at the head of the people or their Core [Care] taker, it Depends on him both As to the Number & time but Several has Already proposed going; & Several of the warriors We Met the Snake<sup>61</sup> At the uper crossing of Grindstone C.<sup>r</sup> <sup>62</sup> who told us that Near 20 of the Shanoes [Shawnees] had set off but he thought they would Stop At Cusshockkin till the rest would gather, Met the head of the party that Came to kill the people on the Hokh.<sup>n</sup> [Hockhocking or Hocking]<sup>63</sup> last year between the two Crossings of Said C.<sup>r</sup> Camp<sup>d</sup> At Dark on the bank of Sciotha [Scioto] Near the Salt lick town that was Destroyed last year<sup>64</sup>——

9<sup>th</sup> Sa : Started At 7 OClock our horses had run Away About 3 Miles Arived At the Sa.<sup>a</sup> [Shawnee] Town At 2 OClock went to the Hardman<sup>65</sup> & told him to Send & gather the people Early tomorrow to hear y<sup>e</sup> Message that I might get their Answer And Start As the



MAP OF RICHARD BUTLER'S ROUTE TO THE OHIO INDIAN TOWNS in August-September, 1775.

The solid line ——— represents the road from Fort Pitt to the Muskingum, which has been traced from Hutchins' survey within close proximity to actual location (*WPHM*, XLII, 10-11).

The broken line ——— denotes the general direction of Butler's route after leaving the Muskingum. Identification of Indian towns and other landmarks in relation to modern improvements establishes a locus of points connected by the trails (*WPHM*, XLVI, 381-395; XLVII, 31-46).

Dotted line ..... indicates questionable route.  
(See for explanation note 98.)

great men At the Fort would think long for us, he Seemed Very Easy About it, but in A Carless way Said he would send in the Morning—————

10<sup>th</sup> Su: About 10 OClock we were Sent for by the hardman: we went to the House where they were gathered; there being but few of them I Asked if there was No more to be present, that I would be glad [to know] how many of them would be by the Hardman Made Answer that there had been a Speech Sent to the Other Towns And it was Sent back to them & told that it was them the Mequaches<sup>66</sup> that had that buisness to do & No Others had Any Buisness with them I then read the Message to them & one Michael Kepley<sup>67</sup> Interpreted to them Then Kiasota Spoke the Whole Over Very well & Aded the Sence of the Other tribes that we had been Among & Made them Sencible of the Whole Very well, by the help of Shawano Ben<sup>68</sup> who understands the Mingoe I then told them what Winthesica<sup>69</sup> had Said; & Advised them to be as Expeditious as possible [*sic*] And give me their Answer, As the time Appointed to hold the Treaty is Now Elapsed & the great men at the Fort would be UnEasy to hear whether they Intended to Come Or Not; that I wanted to Set of Early tomorrow, the Hardman then Said they would Consider it this Evning & Early tomorrow Morning they would give me their Answer—————

11<sup>th</sup> Mo: About 2 OClock the Shawnos gave their Answer As Follows—————

Hearken to Me My Children; yesterday you heard About this time that your Old brothers y<sup>e</sup> Windots had done Amiss to your brothers the white People, but that they have with the help of these our brethren Done Away All Mischief from their Minds & hearts And have Opened their Ears to the good News brought them by these our brothers & have Opened their Ears And washd Sorrow from their hearts. And think of Nothing but what is good; And bids us their young brothers to think the Same way, therefore I say Hearken to me my brothers, And let this Clear your hearts & Minds from All ill, & Open your Ears to hear & Mind this, from the rising of the Sun to the Setting of it let No ill be in your hearts that you may think As they Do of the Mischief done & As they Are Sory for the bad Act of A fool [*i.e.*, Snip] I Advise you to think As they Do of it & keep your Hearts free from bad thoughts & bad Doings  
A String—————

Hearken to me my Brothers Onash

The windots Our Old brothers Says it is Hard to hearken to Speeches or Council with A tomhock Sticking in your head, they Are Sorry for what is Done & have pull<sup>d</sup> the tomhock out of your heads, & have Sunk it So low that it Shall Not be heard of Any more————

Brother Onash we likewise think it very hard that the tomhock has Stuck in your head to[o] long & As No Council Can be good while it is there, we likewise pull the Tomhock Out of your head & bury it Never More to be Seen or heard of———— we are Also very Sorry & follow their Example we heal the wound & wash it Clean & with this belt Cleans Our Hearts from All ill thoughts that your People may go About As Usual & our brethren go quietly home to you & tell you of Our good Intentions A Belt————

Brother Onash,

Hearken to your young brothers the Shawnos, yesterday About this time we heard your good Speech, it has made Our hearts Very Glad, to find that Our Old brother Onash has Again thought of us & pities us it has brought to Our Minds the Old Speeches that Passed between Our fathers & you before we was born<sup>70</sup> we therefore Chearfully hearken to what has been Said And Still will hold the Old Speeches that made us Relations & likewise this New One that renews Our Relationship;

Brother Onah we have Carefully Collected your Old Speeches together that joined Our hands & hearts & this New One brings All fresh to our Minds we hold it & the Old Speeches with Our hearts & hands And will not let it Slip & hope that All grievances will be lookd into And Everything be put to Rights Again that we may no More be Sorry Neither us or you but As it was of Old let it be Again As it is Now fresh in Our Memories & when you See it will bring it to yours Again Brother Onash Hearken to your young brothers the Shawnos. A belt large Think of us As you did of Old & And dont let Any thing bad remain in your minds Against us Neither you Nor Our brothers the big knife be Strong let All ill put Away think of Nothing but what is good; you Advise us to do So, & Our Old brothers the Windots & Mingoos Advise us to do the Same; we have been Sore Stricken the Tweghtwees<sup>71</sup> the Kikapoos<sup>72</sup> the pelagisias<sup>73</sup> the waweaghtanos<sup>74</sup>; All this we have laid Aside As you Advise us & the Windots & mingoos As before Mentiond we therefore will not think of anything bad therefore we Again Desire that both our Brothers Onash & the Big knife As they Are Now One people that you will both be Strong &

think of Nothing that is bad but be Strong & Cement that Relationship that you mention & No more let it be Disturbed—————

Likewise we hope Brother Onash that you will Not make much out of little Or hearken to Any thing Foolish Against us but be Strong in this Renewal of Relationship & make it Strong that there Never Shall be Any more Complaints on Either Side but that we may think Alike & Do Alike As Brethren Ought to Do As Everything bad on both sides is to be buried & Never to Rise more Or be thought of A String—————

They then Returned us many thanks for the good News we brought them & for Our trouble—————

I Returned them thanks for the favourable Answer & told them We would Go of[f] Glad And I would tell Our Head men of their good Intentions

12<sup>th</sup> Tu: Early this morning A Drunken Mosko<sup>75</sup> fellow Came & made great Enquiry For the Virginians Meaning us but was followed by Some Sober Ones And Taken of[f]; There Came Some of the Caghnewaga<sup>76</sup> people here last Night with News; & Kiasota went At Sunrise to See them & to hear what their buisness is & who sent them; The Mingo Man that was At the windot Town when we left the Mingoes was the person & One Other he Said he was Sent by the windots to tell the Shawnoes that Some of the windots is to be here the 13<sup>th</sup> Ins : to talk with them About the Many Speeches Sent Among them by Different People but that the Windots is three Days gone towards the fort & that the Mingoes sets of[f] tomorrow the Taways Are Also gone with the Windots & 2 More than was At the Council when I was there They [the] Windots had Sent for the Head Chief of the Taways who had lately Come from Detroit; & he heard the Message Very Attentively & then told the Windot Messenger that he was under promise to go to Detroit to A Council there therefore he Could not Attend but Advised the windots to be Strong & go that they were As Sensible As him & likewise Desired the Taways that was At the windot Towns to be Strong & go & he Also Sent two More, & this man Says he will Set of from this Straight for the Fort & Over take the Whole on the way that he took this rout at the request of the Windots to let the Shawnoes know of their Coming & their Buisness. but that all is well; that the windots As they promised to me had gone to Snip & Demanded the goods which he Refused to give then this Mingo Man Spoke to him but he Still persisted; the



women then [procured?]

A large quantity of wampom & went to the Villian<sup>77</sup> & begged of him to hear them & give up the goods & Not bring Evil on them he then gave All up & Seemed Reconciled, So the Traders got their property from the Thief With the loss of the life of A Very honest good man This Morning A head woman of the Mequache Tribe of the Shawnoes Came And told me She wanted to talk with me At her Own house — I went there it being On Our road to Pittsburgh, She told me that She was glad I had Come; After A little time She Asked me What I thought of the Shawno,<sup>s</sup> Answer, I Said I liked it very well & I hoped it was what they thought As the hardman Asured me, She then Said She did think it was the Sence of that Tribe but told me it is A folly to Depend on the Other two—— Meaning the Pickawees<sup>78</sup> & the Chilaathys<sup>79</sup> She told me that they Are Not yet Reconciled to the white people, & that they Are Stired up by the Windots & Mingoos who both tells them y<sup>t</sup> [that] the White People Are Only Decieving them; they Say, where is your people why Are they kept prisoners Meaning the Hostages; the[y] Say more that Now the white people will Siese Some of them Again if not All; & Desire them Not to trust; the Pickawees & Chilacaathys tells the Mequaches that they have weded the white people & that they Are Not to be trusted, So that there is A Division Amongst y<sup>m</sup> [them] Selves & I think there is No Dependance on what A few Says with respect to the whole; from this Instance it Appears Still more plain, the Other Day when John Edwards was Killed by Snip; there Came A Mingo Man (I think he is Called Neamtheta with tobacco & A tomhock to Tawnaloas Town & told them to be Strong Now, that the windots had [said?] that he was Sent to let them [*illegible*] by the Mingoos & Desired them not to let the Mequachees know Anything About it, that he was to go to Chillacautha to give the[m] the Tobacco & tomhock with the Same Charge Against the Mequach\* That the way She Came to hear it was by A young Brother of one Matchelinney who was Called to hear it that the Message went in the Night to both places & that this young Man Came in the Night to her & She Set off to the hardman Directly & Asked him If he Slept, & how A tomhock Could travel without his knowledge; that the Pickawees & Chilacauthys had it Now in their hands & that they would fool the Mequaches & bring them into trouble, that the people that was gone to the Fort was sent for that they ware [were] in A bad way if Care is Not taken; two Days After this She Said we Came & Now All Seemed to be well, but it is not

& Desired that the white people would be Carefull As these two tribes Does not yet know that the Mequaches has found this Matter Out; I Observed that there was but few of the Pickawees or Chilacathys Present but it might be Owing to thier Not being Sent for I then told her I hoped All would be made right At the Treaty & Made her Sencible of the Message I then Made her A present of a Stroud<sup>80</sup> A Shirt & 1 pair of leggings; She Said She would go to the Treaty but had No Horse; but if She found out Any Ill that She would Send word to me by A Relation of hers that is Now At the Fort Call<sup>d</sup> Nenieapewissica<sup>81</sup> As She Doubted great Disputes At the return of the People that is gone up———— in the Meantime Kiasota went to the Granadiers<sup>82</sup> & got Very Drunk & with Much Ado Got him I got him Away in Coming About A mile he got two falls of[f] his horse which has hurt him Very much

13 We: Started Early Kiasota So bad he Cant ride got only to the Standing Stone<sup>83</sup> About 25 Miles Rained All Day————

14<sup>th</sup> Th: Still like for rain Started At 8 OClock rained till about 10 OClock the Old man very bad All Day we came to the big lick,<sup>84</sup> About 25 M Campd At Sunset Rain All Night in Showers

15<sup>th</sup> Fr. Started At 7 OClock Still raining; Kiasota Still Very ill Came to the old Delaware Town on Licking C:<sup>85</sup> at 10 OClock thence to Old waightomace<sup>86</sup> at 6 OClock thence to the beech bank<sup>87</sup> at Dusk Camp<sup>d</sup> All Night the Old Man Still poorly————

16<sup>th</sup> Sa: Started At 6 OClock Kiasota Still bad Arived at Cushochking About 10 OClock; There was White Eyes<sup>88</sup> & Mohican John<sup>89</sup> who had Came from the windot Town he says y<sup>e</sup> [that] the windots was not Coming Nor the Taways the latter he Says is gone home, They were All Stopped by News from Detroit; therefore he Set of[f] with 3 other Men & Came to Newcomers Town,<sup>90</sup> the Delawares was Much Surprised At this Sunden [*sic*] Change As they had Sent them word they were to Set off in three Nights after y<sup>e</sup> Delaware Messenger left the wend.<sup>91</sup> Town; the Delawares Imediatly Set of 2 of the Men that had Come with John to Desire the wendots & Taways to Attend, that it is Not for them to Attend Alone therefor they will wait for them till the 20<sup>th</sup> & No longer; the Messenger had to go to the Taways he Set of the 13.<sup>th</sup>

17<sup>th</sup> Su: This morning I Call<sup>d</sup> At the Cornstalks Camp<sup>91</sup> As I was

Setting off: he then told me to write what he had to Say. He Desired me to tell his old Brothers Not to think long or be uneasy that their young Brothers the Shawnoes is this far on their way up; that they will Set off this Day & be Still going Lasyly till they are Overtake[n] by their grandfathers the Delawares & thier brothers the windots Taways & Mingoos that they Expect them that he Expects it will not Exceed 9 Days from this Date as that is the [illegible] of the Delawares he Expects that his brothers will Send Some provisions As far as M<sup>r</sup> Gibsons & 5 bags of paint to Distribute Among the young People Again that time the Number of the Shawnios Now on the way is 23 Men & 13 Women & Some Children; they likewise want Some Tobbacco & Salt

(it is Suspected that the Mingoos at the Salt licks is the chief reason of the Stopping the Taways & the windots & that they Dont Mean to Attend after All their fair promises) I Met M<sup>r</sup> Gibson<sup>92</sup> About 3 OClock yesterday just At white Eyes Town<sup>93</sup> With the Message from the Virginia Comissr<sup>s</sup> he tells of the fort being taken Possesion of by 100 Men & that there is 100 More Raising<sup>94</sup> he Overtook me At the Old Town<sup>95</sup> And Says he Sent Killbuck<sup>96</sup> with the Speech to the New Town<sup>97</sup> & he is to wait till Killbuck Comes back with An Ans<sup>r</sup> I fear M<sup>r</sup> Gibsons News will Not have A good Effect As it Coroborates the Comd<sup>t</sup> of Detroits Speech to the Indians that we are Decieving them & will take them prisoner. likewise the reports from Keantucky to the Same purpose; I Arrivd at the upper Moravian Town<sup>98</sup> About 5 OClock Kiasota being Poorly & our Provision out had to Camp there All Night M<sup>r</sup> Gibson Says it is lucky he Came Down As the Shawnies would have hurried back, which by the by is Not So for they were Determined to go On before the[y] Saw him As they gave No Head to the Messengers Sent After them to Stop them by their Own people but took them Along Also, they was Sent on Account of the News by the Mingo Man that the Shawno woman Mentiond to me y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> inst 18<sup>th</sup> Mo: M<sup>r</sup> Gibson Overtook me At the upper Moravian Town Started from that At 8 OClock campd At A little Run About 25 Miles from Said Town he Says the Shawnoes Started & Come About 4 M[iles]

19<sup>th</sup> Tu: Started At 7 OClock & Came On well till Kiasota got A fall of his horse Came to little B<sup>r</sup> Creek [Little Beaver Creek]—————

20<sup>th</sup> We: Started At 7 OClock and Come to Pittsburgh

Extract of Aletter [*sic*] from y<sup>e</sup> windot Town

A Trader to his Correspondant

Say he thinks No wonder of the Injury they had Recieved in the Murder of John Edwards & the Loss of their Property; for the Commander of Detroit has been Doing his Endavour for to Strike us all this Summer and has given them Amunition for to go to war Against us but I believe there will be No Disturbance this year  
5<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1775 Sign<sup>d</sup>

James Bevard<sup>99</sup>

#### EXPLANATORY NOTES

\*Addenda to note 26 (*WPHM*, XLVII, 41).

Note 26A. Since publication of the second part of this journal in the January issue of *WPHM*, we have further information that modifies our view (note 26) regarding the location of the Big Lick at which Butler stopped on the evening of September 1 and again on the night of September 6, on his way to and from the Wiandot Town (Upper Sandusky) en route to the Shawnee Town (near Circleville). He implied that it was very close to Pluggy's Town, since he waited all afternoon at the Big Lick and stayed that night at Pluggy's (*WPHM*, XLVII, 32, 38). This makes it practically certain that the lick at Mount Vernon would have been much too far away.

Although Henry Howe (*Historical Collections of Ohio*, I, 982) says there was "a salt lick by which the Indians had been accustomed to encamp," and, although it was directly on Butler's way, we find new evidence that fulfills the circumstances.

The Federal Land Act of May 18, 1796, designated as a salt reserve the northeastern quarter (No. 1) of Township 5 in Range XVIII of the U. S. Military District in Ohio. This is the site of the present small town of Kilbourne, on State Route 521, just six miles northeast from the center of Delaware, county seat of Delaware County. This was the most important salt lick thereabouts, being the only one in this part of the state set aside by Congress.

It would have been an easy matter for Butler to have spent the night at Pluggy's (Delaware) after having spent all of the afternoon at the Big Lick only six miles away.

- 61 There were two chiefs named the Snake, one a Mingo, the other a Shawnee. This one was the Shawnee, whom Wood mentions among those present at the Shawnee town on August 2. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 48, 58.
- 62 This was the Olentangy (meaning Whetstone) branch of the Scioto. Butler simply translated the term as Grindstone, synonymously. Today, only a small branch of Olentangy is called Whetstone. Rufus Putnam's Map (the first official map of Ohio, 1804) shows it Whetstone entirely. *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications*, V, frontis.; C. E. Sherman, *Ohio Land Subdivisions* (Columbus, 1925), 109; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, Map at end of vol. I. It is worthy of note that Butler mentions two crossings of the Whetstone between present Delaware and Columbus.
- 63 Hockhocking was on the site of modern Lancaster, Fairfield County. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 149n. See also William M. Darlington, *Gis's Journal*, 1750, 42, 116.

- 64 This is further reference to the destruction of the Salt Lick town across the river from Columbus by Captain William Crawford during Dunmore's War. See note 26.
- 65 Hardman was the English name for Kishanosity, which latter name Wood used in his journal. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 57-61. Reverend David Jones visited this chief in 1772 and spelled his name Kishshinottisthee, giving a good report of his friendliness, intelligence and reverence for the Christian religion. *A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio In the Years 1772 and 1773* (Burlington, N.J., 1774); (Sabin's Reprints), II, 52. For the Shawnee Town, see note 35.
- 66 The Mequaches (Mequachake, Maquiche, Macqueechaick by the French, and Maguck by Gist) were a division of the Shawnees, supposed to mean "the tribe of medicine men" and were acknowledged as the treaty-making body of the Shawnees. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 148.
- 67 Michael Kepley — likely the same whom Samuel Kercheval, *History of the Valley of Virginia* (4th ed., Strasburg, 1925), 81, calls Michael Copple and says he "had been a prisoner about two years, learned their [the Indians'] language, become an Indian trader and traveled much among them."
- 68 Shawnee Ben is mentioned by Wood, in his journal, among other chiefs present at the conference at the Shawnee town on August 2. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 59.
- 69 It is not clear what was said that Butler here makes allusion to, or to whom he alludes. This Indian has not been mentioned heretofore. We think it probable that Cornstalk's son, young Shawnee chief Allanawissica, is meant. He took an active part in gathering the chiefs together and was one of the Shawnee chiefs appointed at the treaty to supervise the performance of the part of the treaty agreement "relating to the Delivery of the Prisoners Negroes and [H]orses which remain among the Indians." He, along with his father, Cornstalk, was wantonly killed, in 1777, by white people while both were hostages. See note 23. *Dunmore's War*, 432; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 26, 103, 126.
- 70 This refers to the migration of the Shawnees from the South to Maryland, about 1692, and thence into Pennsylvania, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Shawnees "promised to live in peace and friendship with Penn's people, and the Conestoga Indians became their security." Message of Governor Gordon, May 21, 1728. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 149-150.
- 71 Twightwees (Miamis). See note 78, below.
- 72 The Kickapoos, the Piankeshaws (Piankeshes or Pianguiches, here written "pelagiasias"), the Mascoutins, and the Ouiatanons (here "waweaghtanos," on Mitchell's Map of 1755, Wawaughtanees) formed the Wabash Confederacy. They inhabited the country around old Fort Ouiatanon, just below modern Lafayette, Indiana. Mitchell's Map (1755), Library of Congress; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 158n; Thomas Hutchins' Journal (1762) in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 365-366. Thwaites calls them branches of the Miami tribe.
- 73, 74, see note 72, above.
- 75 The French map of de l'Isle (1718) shows the Mascoutins, "the nation of fire" (whom Butler calls "Moskos") living on the site of present Chicago. Hutchins called them Musquetons. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 122; *Ibid.*, II, 367.
- 76 The Caughnawaga Indians were Mohawks whose town of Caughnawaga was at the site of present Fonda, Montgomery County, New York, on the Mohawk River. Some of them became converted by French missionaries, who established a mission on the south side of Saint Lawrence River about

twenty miles above Montreal. They were known as the "praying Indians." Some of the remaining Caughnawagas migrated west and mixed with their related Mingoes. J. R. Simms, *The Frontiersmen of New York* (Albany, 1882), I, 279; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 81. They are usually mentioned along with the Mingoes and Wiandots. *Ibid.*, 199, 219.

- 77 Snip appears to have been regarded ever after the murder of John Edwards as a villain by the Indians. A note in the manuscript of the Rev. John Heckewelder's 1781 Journal: "Snip (a Mingo) a Notorious Villian and Murderer of whom both White People & Inds. are afraid." Butler says he was a Wyandot. Refer to page 34 of this Journal. Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 179n.
- 78 The Pickaweens, or Picks, were a branch of the Shawnees, according to *Christopher Gist's Journal*, Jan. 30, 1751, William M. Darlington, ed., 46, where he says that the Pickwaylinees (or Picks) were a tribe of Twightwees. Again, he calls "the Wawaughtanneys and Pyankeshees two tribes of Twightwees." *Ibid.*, 52. Darlington places the Twightwee, or Pickawillany, town on the west side of the Miami River two and one half miles north of present Piqua, Miami County, Ohio. *Ibid.*, 123. William Trent, in his Journal of 1752, mentions Picks and Twightwees as the same. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 291.
- 79 Chilaahtys is Butler's orthography for the Chillicothes, or Shawnees inhabiting the town of Chillicothe. See note 35.
- 80 Stroud was a kind of coarse woolen cloth woven in the town of Stroud or Stroud Water, in Gloucestershire, England. It was especially valued by Indian women for loose garments. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 315n. A stroud was traded for 2½ bucks (i.e., buckskins) at Fort Pitt, in 1767, at the same time that a large English blanket was worth the same. Colonel Thomas Cresap, trading for the Ohio Company, in 1750, was offering "a match-coat for a buck and a stroud for a buck and a doe." *Ibid.*, II, 318-320.
- 81 Names like this, not having been chiefs and undistinguished, are not identified.
- 82 "The Grenadiers" refers to the Grenadier Squaw's Town, located four miles south of present Circleville, Pickaway County, on Sciippo Creek just above the mouth of Congo Creek. It was only about 2½ miles by the trail from Old Chillicothe, the Shawnee Town mentioned above. See detailed map of this area in Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, II, 402; also Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 388. Howe says the Grenadier Squaw was a sister of Cornstalk. The town was notorious as the place where white prisoners were tortured. Dr. Johann Schoepf found her living at Fort Pitt, in 1783, "no longer young . . . by trade with the Indians she has become rich." Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*, A. J. Morrison, ed. (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 277.
- 83 This Indian village was Hockhocking on the river of the same name at the site of present Lancaster, county seat of Fairfield County. Adjacent to the town is a high hill surmounted by a precipitous rock, which was called the Standing Stone. This was the most prominent and most extensive of many places of the same name in Ohio. William M. Darlington, *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 116; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, I, 590; the Reverend David Jones, *Journal of Two Visits to the Indians* (Sabin's Reprints), II, 86.

There were several places distinguished by this name in widely separated parts of the country. A Standing Stone projected from the bed of Cuyahoga River where the old Cuyahoga trail from Kuskuskies crossed the stream, at present Kent, Portage County. This was just three quarters of a mile from the site of Samuel Brady's famous leap across the same stream. See map by General Samuel Harris, *Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications*, XX, 463; Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 439; *ibid.*, 253, Abraham Steiner's Journal therein published.

Another famous Standing Stone was in the North Branch of the Susquehanna River, seven miles below Towanda, Bradford County, Pa., and 7-8 miles above Wyalusing. See Lieutenant John Hardenbergh's Journal in *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan, 1779*, Frederick Cook, ed. (Auburn, 1887), 124; Journal kept by Lieut. Obadiah Gore in *The Sullivan-Clinton Campaign in 1779*, Division of Archives and History (Albany, 1929), 179; William H. Egle, *History of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1876), 434.

Probably the most notable Standing Stone stood on the bank of the Juniata River at the present Huntingdon, Pa., said to have exhibited Indian inscriptions. It was a landmark on the main trails through Pennsylvania. The tract belonged to George Croghan at an early time. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 257; Egle, *Hist. of Penna.*, 778-779, 782, 785; *Historical Journal*, John F. Meginness, ed. (Williamsport, 1888), I, 233; Philip V. Fithian, *Journal, 1775-1776*, R. G. Albion and L. Dodson, eds. (Princeton, 1934), 116; Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan, Wilderness Diplomat* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 20.

- 84 This Big Lick is different from that mentioned earlier near Pluggy's Town (note 26A above). Butler was traveling the same trail as Gist in January, 1751. Darlington, *Gist's Journals*, 115-116, delineates this path in detail, although in the reverse direction. "The trail led in a southwesterly direction through Coshocton County, passing near Dresden [Old Wakatomika] in the County of Muskingum, thence to the Licking Creek, crossing it at Clay Lick Station . . . six miles east of Newark . . . [a great swamp] in the northern part of Licking County. At the time of Gist's visit this swamp was of great extent, part of the locality known as Licking Reservoir [presently Buckeye Lake]. This was the 'Great Buffalo Swamp' of [James] Smith's Narrative, where he hunted with the Indians and where he made salt . . . Hockhocking, now Lancaster, Fairfield County, the 'Standing Stone' . . . rocky eminence near the town." This would place the lick on the line of the trail, covered by the eastern end of present Buckeye Lake. *James Smith's Narrative of Captivity*, W. M. Darlington, ed. (Cincinnati, 1870), 21.

Thomas Hutchins described the same path, giving distances. The reader should keep in mind that these particulars, by both Darlington and Hutchins, are given in reverse order to Butler's itinerary. See Thomas Hutchins, "A Description of part of the Country Westward of the Ohio River, with Distances Computed from Fort Pitt to the Several Indian Towns by Land and Water" (MS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), printed with notes in Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 192ff. Lewis Evans' *Map of the Middle British Colonies, 1755*, shows the trail from Coshocton to Hockhocking and the Great Swamp. There were several salt licks in this part of the country, and it should be noted that the licks mentioned by Gist six miles above the mouth of the Licking were at least twelve to fifteen miles below where this trail crossed that stream.

- 85 Heckewelder, in 1788, mentioned "a camp of savages on Licking Creek," but a search of all available maps fails to locate such a town, probably a temporary location. Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 230.
- 86 This important Shawnee town, variously spelled Wauketaumeka, Waukautau-meka, Waketomika, Waketomica, was destroyed by Major Angus McDonald's expedition in 1774. Force's *American Archives*, ser. 4, I, 682, 722-724; *Dunmore's War*, 151-155 (summary of the foregoing). The town was at the site of part of present Dresden, Muskingum County. The Indian town should not be confused with the present village of Wakatomika, Coshocton County, about eight miles distant from the old site.
- 87 Beech Bank must have been near present Trinway. Butler says he arrived at Wakatomika at 6 o'clock (September 15), hence sunset would have been a few minutes before, and he could have traveled only about two miles in the half hour that remained before dark.

- 88 White Eyes, Delaware chief, was one of the great Indian statesmen. He envisioned the time when his tribe should become civilized, live in peaceable trade relations with their white neighbors, and pursue agriculture. He went to Philadelphia to confer with Governor Hamilton, in 1761. The treaty at Fort Pitt, 1778, was largely his work. While attempting to carry out the provisions of this treaty, White Eyes died, as was reported, of smallpox. Reputable historians have contended that he was murdered by renegade whites, that death by natural causes was reported to pacify the Indians. Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, 20-21; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 241.
- 89 Mohican John (Mohickon John) was a Delaware chief, whose town was an important stopping place on the path from Tuscarawas to Sandusky and Detroit. Many early journals mention this town. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, I, 321n, states that it was located in Mohican Township, Ashland County. This would place it on the Lake Fork of Mohican River. Various other locations have been suggested in the general vicinity. Mohican John was friendly to the American cause during the Revolution and supplied information to that side at various times. *Ibid.*, II, 68, 187, 362.
- 90 New Comer's Town, home of New Comer, or Nettawatmees, Delaware chief, was within the area covered by the present town of the same name in Tuscarawas County. It existed before 1762; and, in 1772, the Reverend David McClure represented it as containing about 60 houses of all descriptions and 100 families. In 1775 the inhabitants removed fifteen miles westward to the site of the old Wiandot town of Conchake where they rebuilt their town, which they called Goschachgunk. The later rendering of the name as Coshocton resembles both names. *Dunmore's War*, 36n-37n; Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 189, 311. It is, hence, a fact that the Delawares were newly at this location when Butler visited them.
- 91 Cornstalk must have been staying at a temporary camp at or near Coshocton. Since Butler was traveling easterly toward White Eyes' Town, the camp of Cornstalk must have been east of Coshocton.
- 92 Mr. (later Colonel and finally General) John Gibson, a leading trader, was sent by the Virginia commissioners, waiting at Fort Pitt, to meet and expedite the Indians upon the road to the treaty. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 26. After the treaty, he was sent with a delegation of chiefs to enforce the terms of the treaty agreement for release of all captive white persons and Negroes as well as stolen horses.
- 93 White Eyes' Town lay in the northwest corner of Oxford Township, Coshocton County, nearly ten miles east of Coshocton and about six miles west of Newcomertown, south of the Tuscarawas River. Wallace, *Heckewelder*, 445; *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 46n (where the meaning is ambiguous).
- 94 A letter from the Preston Papers in the Draper MSS. is printed in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 21-22, in which is detailed the following action of the Virginia Assembly: ". . . 1000 regulars are voted to be, Divided into two Regiments . . . 8000 minuit men in 16 Batalions are to be trained & paid for the time of training 425 for the posts on the Frontiers viz 200 at Pitsburg . . ." Resolved Aug. 7, 1775, that "John Neavill be directed to march with his Company of one hundred men, and take possession of *Fort Pitt*, and that the said Company be in the pay of this Colony from the time of their marching." *Ibid.*, 22n.
- 95 Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 187, says that Three Legs Old Town was at the mouth of Big Stillwater Creek, on the south side, where it enters the Tuscarawas River, just north of Ulrichsville, in Warwick Township, Tuscarawas County.
- 96 See note 6. This was probably Killbuck, Jr.
- 97 Butler applied the appellation of New Town to Coshocton (see *WPHM*, XLVI, 391) whither only that same year, 1775, the inhabitants of New-



comer's Town (Delawares) had removed. Cushocking, or Guschachgunk, was set up on the site of the former Wyandot town of Conchake, which flourished from 1747 to 1753. This accounts for the fact that Gist found a town at the Forks of the Muskingum (1751) and that Hutchins' (1764) map does not show a town there, although he does note several New Towns at different locations.

The term New Town was loosely used to denote newly established towns, rather than by name. What would have been a New Town on Hutchins' (1764) map would no longer have been new in 1775. Hanna, *Wilderness Trail*, II, 188-189, 311.

- 98 The Upper Moravian Town was Schoenbrun, established by the Reverend David Zeisberger as an Indian Mission in May, 1772, just below the present New Philadelphia. Later the same year Gnadenhutten was established about six miles below Urichsville, on the Tuscarawas River. In 1780, Salem was established five miles above Newcomerstown. Both Gnadenhutten and Salem were destroyed in the wanton massacre of the Christian Indians, in 1782. C. E. Sherman, *Original Ohio Land Subdivisions*, 94-96.

At the Upper Moravian Town, Butler was at the confluence of Sugar Creek (Margaret's Creek on the old maps) with the Tuscarawas. From here, he joined the Fort Pitt-Tuscarawas Path, just where is conjectural. At any rate, he proceeded back to Pittsburgh for the last two or three days' journey via the road by which he had come. As mentioned in our introductory remarks, preliminaries to treaty meetings got under way on October 26th.

- 99 James Bevard, see note 46, was a good observer, anxious to be useful to the patriot cause. He gave James Wood timely notice of the warlike preparations of the Shawnees. *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 63.