

## THE MILITARY JOURNAL AND EXPENSE ACCOUNTS OF CAPTAIN THOMAS BUTLER DURING THE SPRING 1756 OSWEGO CAMPAIGN

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Thomas Butler was a well-placed eyewitness to the events surrounding the French and Indian War in the mid-eighteenth-century Mohawk Valley. Having arrived at Fort Hunter,<sup>1</sup> New York, as an adolescent shortly after his father, Lieut. Walter Butler, was promoted in 1726,<sup>2</sup> he had the opportunity to become acquainted with the Indian families living within the fort itself, as well as with William Johnson, later Sir William Johnson, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs.<sup>3</sup> Thomas was the eldest of three sons. His younger brothers were Capt. Walter Butler Jr. and Col. John Butler, the latter of whom would become the leader of the Loyalist regiment called Butler's Rangers during the Revolutionary War.<sup>4</sup> Thomas's father served as commandant of the fort at

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<sup>1</sup> Fort Hunter was a fort and is now a hamlet located at the confluence of the Schoharie and Mohawk rivers.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1853–1887), 5:775.

<sup>3</sup> William Johnson, a nephew of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, was sent from Ireland to New York to manage Warren's property in the Mohawk Valley (Fintan O'Toole, *White Savage: William Johnson and the Invention of America* [Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005], 36–38, 41). Gov. George Clinton appointed Johnson "Colonel of the [Levies] Regiment of Militia Foot, for the City and County of Albany" on 1 May 1748, and on 16 April 1755 he was promoted to "Major General, Commander-in-Chief, of Provincial Forces raised in Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut" (*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. [Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921–1965], 1:166, 468–75). Gen. Braddock (commander in chief of the thirteen colonies at the start of the French and Indian War) appointed Johnson to the "sole Management and direction of the Affairs of the Six Nations of Indians and their Allies" (*Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 1:465–66), and that appointment was approved by the Lords of Trade in London (Secretary Pownall to Major-General Johnson, letter, 9 Oct. 1755, in O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* [note 1], 6:1017). He was patented as First Baronet of New York by King George II on 18 Nov. 1755 (*Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 2:343–50).

<sup>4</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 1:1. The will of Dr. Charles Kerr of Oswego (written 19 Oct. 1744, proved 31 Oct. 1748) names Lt. Walter Butler of Oswego and his sons Thomas and Walter (Charles Kerr will, New York Co., N.Y., Wills 16:369); the will of Thomas Butler, written 8 Sept. 1759 and proved 25 Sept. 1759, names his two brothers (Walter and John) and two sisters (Thomas Butler will, New York Co., N.Y., Wills 22:389); and the will of Walter Butler [Sr.], written 13 Mar. 1760 and proved 20 Jan. 1763, names all three sons (Thomas, John, and Walter) (Walter Butler will, New York Co., N.Y., Wills 23:567). For more information on Butler's Rangers see William A. Smy, ed., "The Butler Papers: Documents and Papers Relating to Colonel John Butler and His Corps of Rangers, 1711–1777" (monograph, Victoria, B.C., Canada, 1994); Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara* (Welland, Ontario: Tribune Printing House, 1893).

Oswego in the mid-1740s,<sup>5</sup> and Thomas himself was in Oswego as early as September 1744, when he wrote to Johnson from there.<sup>6</sup> Traveling to and from that post was familiar to him.

Thomas Butler was called a lieutenant as early as 30 May 1747, when William Johnson noted that “Lu<sup>t</sup> Thom<sup>s</sup> Butler & his party [returned] w<sup>th</sup> 8 prisoners” during King George’s War.<sup>7</sup> William Johnson promoted Thomas Butler to captain on 23 May 1755.<sup>8</sup>

As tensions increased in the mid-1750s between England and France, and hence between the colonies of English America and New France (Canada), New York’s leaders prepared for war. When England declared war against France in early 1756, the existence and maintenance of a British outpost at Oswego on Lake Ontario was of utmost importance. Threats to Oswego dramatically increased the need for manpower to protect it and provisions to support it. The route from Albany to Oswego included the “Great Carrying Place,” also known as Oneida Carrying Place, a portage connecting the Mohawk River with Wood Creek, which has its source north of the modern city of Rome, New York, and empties into the eastern end of Lake Oneida. Here the batteaux<sup>9</sup> and provisions had to be carried across land from the Mohawk River to Fort Williams, then to Fort Bull on Wood Creek. Troops thus engaged were vulnerable to attack, making the portage another strategic military stronghold. The two forts, Williams and Bull, were intended to protect the carrying place, but at the end of March 1756 the French attacked and captured Fort Bull, essentially blocking English access to Oswego.<sup>10</sup> It was feared that Oswego would also succumb to the French.

In 1755 Gov. Shirley of Massachusetts, who became commander of British forces in North America after Braddock’s death, placed Capt. John Bradstreet—or Broadstreet as Butler spelled it—in charge of moving supplies and ammunition through the Mohawk Valley to Oswego, both to strengthen the fortifications at Oswego and to prepare for a possible attack on Fort Niagara.<sup>11</sup> In April 1756 Thomas Butler received similar orders from Sir William

<sup>5</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 1:29.

<sup>6</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 1:22–23.

<sup>7</sup> King George’s War (1744–1748) was the third of the four so-called French and Indian Wars.

<sup>8</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 1:94, 96, 98, 121, 124, 535–36.

<sup>9</sup> Batteaux or Battoes were flat-bottomed boats used to transport troops and supplies on New York’s shallow waterways.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), 60–62. For a map showing the Carrying Place, see Claude Joseph Sauthier, “A Chorographical Map of the Province of New-York in North America, 1776,” Library of Congress Map #ar107001, *American Memory* (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdTitles21.html>). Also Lieut. Karl Wintersmith’s Map, ca. 1776, General Frederick Von Riedesel Papers, Staatsarchiv #237N115, folio 11–12, Niedersaechsisches Staatsarchiv, Wolfenbuettel, Germany. Also, “The Country of the Five Nations, ca. 1755,” Library of Congress Map #156, *American Memory* (<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3800.ar108100>). Fort Bull was shown as “Fort Bute” on the Sauthier map, but called Fort Bull by contemporaries.

<sup>11</sup> Lieut. Col. John Bradstreet of the British 51st Regiment of Foot may be Jean-Baptiste Bradstreet, born 21 Dec. 1714 and baptized 12 Mar. 1716, son of Lt. Edward Bradstreet, of the 40th Regiment in Nova Scotia, and his wife, Agathe de la Tour. In December 1757 John was officially appointed as deputy quartermaster general. When he died, he was a major-general in the British Army (See Beamish Murdoch, *A History of Nova-Scotia, or Acadie*, 3 vols. [Halifax, N.S.: James Barnes, 1865–1867], 1:263, 354; 2:46–48, 69, 316, 331; Stanley McCrory Pargellis, ed., *Military Affairs of North America, 1748–1765: Selected Documents from the Cumberland Papers in Windsor Castle* [1936; repr. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969], 187). Fort Niagara was located on a bluff overlooking Lake Ontario at the mouth of the Niagara River (see *Old Fort Niagara* [<http://oldfortniagara.org>]).

Johnson. In a letter to William Shirley, Johnson stated, "I sent Capt. Butler off Yesterday with Orders to Muster as many of the Mohawks, & other Indians as possibly He could in so short a time, & to proceed wth. them to the Carrying place, from thence to Osswego as a Guard to the Battoes, & Whale Boats."<sup>12</sup>

Bradstreet and Butler each moved troops and supplies toward Oswego, traveling together for several days. Bradstreet eventually went ahead, and actually arrived there in late spring of 1756. Although the troops did succeed in delivering supplies to Oswego, neither this mission nor a subsequent one undertaken by Bradstreet in July of the same year was able to save Oswego from its ultimate fate. It fell to Montcalm, the commander of French forces in North America, in August of 1756.<sup>13</sup>

Capt. Butler recorded the details of the Oswego expedition in his journal, stating in the first entry, 13 April 1756, that Johnson ordered him "To Repair To Oswego with all the Indians I cou'd get To Escort the Battoes provisions &c To That place."<sup>14</sup> Although the journal covers only the period from 13 April through 25 May 1756, it does document the mission and the struggles of the men as they made their way to the aid of Oswego.

Of particular interest is Capt. Butler's accounting of the Native Americans hired to escort this expedition. Sixty-two individual Indians are named in his accounts, which will appear in Part 2 of this article, sometimes with clues to their family relationships and to their respective tribes or clans.<sup>15</sup> Often both their Indian and Christian names, as well as brief personal descriptions, are given. Butler carefully documented the precise days they worked, how much they were paid, where they joined the convoy, and when and where they parted company.

Another extant journal, that of shipwright Stephen Cross of Newburyport, Massachusetts, gives a record of the expedition from a different perspective. One of eighteen shipbuilders from Newburyport called to New York to build a flotilla of boats capable of crossing Lake Ontario, Cross documented many of the same incidents Butler did, but as a relative newcomer to the wilderness, not as someone who grew up in the Mohawk Valley. While the journals mostly agree on the sequence of events, Butler's is rich with information concerning the local people and their Native American allies.<sup>16</sup>

The original of the Butler journal is extremely fragile, and access to it is severely restricted. Digital photographs of individual pages are available from the authors. The pages are no longer bound together, and may not be in their

<sup>12</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:429.

<sup>13</sup> See "A Journal of the Transactions at Oswego From the 16<sup>th</sup> of May to the 14 of August 1756. By Patrick Mackellar Eng'r en Second to the Expedition," transcribed in Pargellis, *Military Affairs of North America* (note 11), 187–218.

<sup>14</sup> Journal entry dated 13 Apr. 1756, Journal of Capt. Thomas Butler, Christopher Yates Papers, Box 4, Special Collections Research Center, Syracuse University Bird Library, Syracuse, N.Y. (finding aid at [http://library.syr.edu/digital/guides/y/yates\\_c.htm](http://library.syr.edu/digital/guides/y/yates_c.htm)). *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:429.

<sup>15</sup> For an explanation of the Iroquois means for organizing their society see Gail D. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 16.

<sup>16</sup> Sarah E. Mulliken, "Journal of Stephen Cross of Newburyport, Entitled 'Up to Ontario,' the Activities of Newburyport Shipbuilders in Canada in 1756," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 75 (1939): 334–57; 76 (1940): 14–42.

original order. They have been transcribed here in their current order, with one exception (see note 66). All of the maps mentioned in the footnotes can be found and downloaded from the Fort Plank website ([www.fort-plank.com/Patent\\_Maps](http://www.fort-plank.com/Patent_Maps)).

### CAPT. THOMAS BUTLER'S JOURNAL<sup>17</sup>

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1756—13<sup>th</sup> Aprill after Reciveing Sir William Johnsons orders To Repair To oswego with all the Indians<sup>19</sup> I cou'd get To Escort the Battoes<sup>20</sup> provisions &c To That place

arived the Same day at Conajohary Castle<sup>21</sup> did not call the Indians Together till the Morning when a party of them agreed To Go with me

14<sup>th</sup> came to Cap<sup>t</sup> Harkemers<sup>22</sup> att the Great Flatts.<sup>23</sup> waited there on Coll Broadstreet.<sup>24</sup> acquaint<sup>d</sup> him was Sent by Generall Johnson with a party

<sup>17</sup> Butler's route can be traced in the online map, "The Country of the Five Nations, ca. 1755" (Library of Congress Map #156, *American Memory* [<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3800.ar108100>]). In doing so, it is useful to be aware that Burnetsfield is also called German Flatts, and Fort Standwick (Fort Stanwix) is the third fort at the Oneida Carrying Place (see note 10).

<sup>18</sup> The pages were not numbered in the original, but for clarity, the pages have been numbered here according to their current arrangement in the journal.

<sup>19</sup> In the original, Butler sometimes spelled this word "Indians" and sometimes "Indjans," using the "j" and a symbol resembling a "y" interchangeably.

<sup>20</sup> The men who sailed the bateaux/battoes (and variant spellings) were troops assigned to the Quartermaster's Department, recruited specifically to operate the bateaux. For a detailed description of the bateau trip from Oswego to the Mohawk River see Second Lieut. Benjamin Slack, "The Navigation of the river St. Lawrence from Montreal to Oswegatchia . . .," dated 9 Apr. 1777, Papers of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs of the Northern District of North America, MG19-F35, Series 2, Lot 614, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario (transcribed at [www.Fort-Plank.com/B-Slacks\\_Report\\_on\\_Batteauxing\\_1777.pdf](http://www.Fort-Plank.com/B-Slacks_Report_on_Batteauxing_1777.pdf)).

<sup>21</sup> Called variations of "Konajohare Castle," "Onandaga Castle[s]," or "Castle Tarigioris," this seat of the Mohawks was opposite the northwesternmost corner of the Hermanus Van Slyke Patent on the west side of the Mohawk River and the south side of the Otsquago Creek ("Map of Van Slyck Patent at Canajoharie, Albany [now Montgomery] County, Surveyed by Isaac Vrooman [copy]," State Engineer and Surveyor, Survey Maps of Lands in New York State, Series AO273, Map #872, New York State Archives, Albany; also, "A Map of Lands on the South Side of the Mohawk River between Canajoharie and the German Flatts for Philip Livingston 1771," Cockburn Family Papers, Series SC7004, Box 4, Folder 2, New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany, which demonstrates the location of the Oneida Nation's "Onandaga Castle[s]," now known as Indian Castle on modern-day Nowadaga Creek in Herkimer County).

<sup>22</sup> Capt. Johan Jost Herkimer's stone house, which was later fortified, was located on Lot 24 of the Burnets Field Patent (*Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 3], 3:[map between pp. 22 and 23], which is a copy of the original map, "A Map of the County of Albany," Maps K.Top.121.9.2 (formerly CXXI.9.2), Cartographic Collection, British Library, St. Pancras, London). Herkimer was also a patentee in the Fall Hill Patent five miles to the east of his home at the Little Falls (see Applications for Land Grants, New York Land Records, Series A0272 [microfilm of original records, arranged by volume], Vol. 14, documents 72, 118, and 131, New York State Archives, Albany; also "A Map of Burnet's Field [undated]," Series A0273, Map #181, Survey Maps of Lands in New York State, New York State Archives, Albany, which shows Magdalena Erghemar on Lot 24 adjacent to an island). For more information on the Herkimer family, see O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* [note 1], 8:720.

<sup>23</sup> The German Flatts, part of the Burnetsfield Patent, was first settled in 1722 by German Palatine families relocating from the Hudson and Schoharie River valleys. The patent consisted of river flats, which extended several miles on both sides of the Mohawk River. See "A Map of Lands on the South Side of the Mohawk River . . ." (note 21), which shows the location of German Flatts; also "A Map of Burnet's Field [undated]" (note 22), which shows the location of the Burnetsfield Patent; and Henry Z. Jones Jr., *The*

of Indians To Escort him &<sup>c</sup> To Oswego. He seem'd very Glad Told me it wou'd be Some Days before he cou'd lead That as he must wait for a Number of Boats &<sup>c</sup> coming behind

16<sup>th</sup> Six Anondagas [Onondagas] Brot News that Oswego was Actually attacked by the French & Indians

17<sup>th</sup> Sent 2 Conajohary Indians at the Request of Coll Broadstreet to Oswego To know the Certinty of Oswegos fate. these two Indians are To be paid Ten Dollars<sup>25</sup> Each besides their wages of 4/ p day<sup>26</sup>

18<sup>th</sup> a number of Soldars new Recruits without arms A Great Grumbling among the Batto men for want of a proper Gaurd of Soldars to March along with the Battoes

Several Batto men Deserted. Coll Broadstreet very uneasey at his delay here bye

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Apr<sup>l</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> Left Cap<sup>t</sup> Herkemers<sup>27</sup> travled To Casses Landing<sup>28</sup> were I incamp'd with Indians in Comp<sup>y</sup> with the Boats &<sup>c</sup>

23<sup>d</sup> arived at the Great Carrying place<sup>29</sup> on the Way Decovrd no Sine of the Enemy. Boats & all Got Safe

24<sup>th</sup> it was so very Rainy cou'd Send out no Scouting party

25<sup>th</sup> I went out with 15 Indians Rainged the Carrying place Round Saw nothing but old Tracks of the Enemy

At this point there is a nine-day gap in Butler's journal. The gap appears in the center of a page, showing that the break does not result from a missing page of the journal. During this period Butler wrote at least three letters—abstracts of which appear below—allowing the recreation of his movements during those nine days.

On 26 April 1756 Butler wrote to Sir William Johnson that he had arrived at the Great Carrying Place on the 23rd, but had not sent out scouts until the 25th “due to foul rainy weather,” when he sent two Indians and a white man, who found nothing. That night the two Indian scouts he sent from the Great

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*Palatine Families of New York: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710*, 2 vols. (Universal City, Calif.: privately printed, 1985), which provides summaries of known Palatine families.

<sup>24</sup> “Coll. Broadstreet” was Capt. John Bradstreet of the 51st Regiment (see note 11).

<sup>25</sup> Although the British pound sterling was the standardized currency of the entire British Empire, the dollar was a currency defined in a specific area [e.g., New York], which varied in value from one issuing agency to another. From the context of the accounts in this journal (to appear in Part 2 of this article), Butler thought the British pound was roughly \$2.50.

<sup>26</sup> Four shillings per day.

<sup>27</sup> See note 22.

<sup>28</sup> “Casses Landing” is located in Lot 2 of the First Allotment of the Anna Kast Patent, on the north side of the Mohawk River a few miles to the west of the modern village of Herkimer (“1724 Map of the Anna Kast Patent,” Secretary of State, Map #460, New York State Office of General Services, Bureau of Land Management, Albany, N.Y.; Commissioners of Forfeitures for the Western District, Series A0200, Box 52, Item 176, New York State Archives, Albany). Called Casses Landing in 1756, it was referred to during the American Revolution as Thompsons Landing. John Thompson was son-in-law of Sarah Kast [Cass] McGinnis, who owned the land, including the landing, at that time. (Lieut. Col. [Daniel] Claus (Montreal) to Gen. Haldimand, letter, 5 Nov. 1778, Haldimand Papers, MSS 21774, folio 11–12, British Library, London, England). For a map and description of this patent see Cockburn Family Land Papers, Series SC7004, Box 4, Folder 4, New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany.

<sup>29</sup> See note 10.

Flatts to Oswego on the 17th returned, with letters and two “Annidass” [Oneidas], reporting no problems at Oswego. The two scouts reported that the Six Nations accused Johnson of carrying an illness [possibly smallpox] to Lake George that killed many of them and that any gifts that they could expect to receive in the future from Johnson would also be “poysond so that by wearing or puting any thing on they shall receive of you they will Emeadietly die.” Butler says this is propaganda being spread among the Indians by the French. He said he plans to run a scout along the Wood Creek on the 27th and reported that a stronger fort will be built at the head of the Wood Creek.<sup>30</sup>

On 3 May 1756 Butler reported to Johnson from the Great Carrying Place that Capt. Williams<sup>31</sup> sent three Oneidas to Oswegatia<sup>32</sup> as spies, who have reported back. News had arrived from the German Flatts that a family had been kidnapped there. He also told Johnson that “Nickass Yr Frind”<sup>33</sup> arrived at the Carrying Place the night before, and that he and about twenty Tuscarora and Mohawks had gone out to scout. Captain [James] Delancey had just arrived in camp with his company.<sup>34</sup>

Thomas wrote to Johnson again the next day, still from the Carrying Place, reporting on news he had from Nickass regarding some miscommunication among the Indians that Nickass had corrected. Butler shared a conversation he had had with Broadstreet regarding wages paid to the Indians.<sup>35</sup>

May 5<sup>th</sup> as the Greatist part of the Boats & provisions were Gone To the wood Kreek.

went there With the Indians. & as useal sent out Scouting parties

7<sup>th</sup> The Boats Battoes &c begin To fall down the wood kreek Nickass came in from a Scouting said had met with 5 Annanidas [Oneidas] Near the fish kill<sup>36</sup> that falls in the wood kreek who told him they were Going To oswegatia.<sup>37</sup> nickass has a bad oppinion of them as some of these were Those Spoke w<sup>t</sup> the French army who took the Fort this Spring at the Carrying place.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:444–45.

<sup>31</sup> Capt. William Williams oversaw the construction of Fort Williams at the Oneida Carrying Place on Wood Creek, and he served as fort commander there (MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements* [note 15], 105–6, 165).

<sup>32</sup> The Oswegatchee Indian Village was located on the western bank of the Oswegotchee River between Lake Oswegatchee and the Saint Lawrence River (Slack, “The Navigation of the river St. Lawrence from Montreal to Oswegatchia . . .” [note 20]; Sauthier, “A Chorographical Map of the Province of New-York [note 10],” a portion of which showing the location of the Indian village is at *Fort Plank* [fort-plank.com/Sauthiers\_Kingsland\_District\_1779]).

<sup>33</sup> This is Nickass (Nichus, Nickas, Nicolasa, Nicolasera), an Oneida Sachem [chief] and “a great Friend of Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson” (*Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 3], 9:585). On page [29] of this journal, to be printed in Part 2, Butler states that “Nickass was with my Brother formerly at Crown Point.”

<sup>34</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:446.

<sup>35</sup> *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:448–49.

<sup>36</sup> A creek that empties into Wood Creek just east of where the latter empties into Oneida Lake.

<sup>37</sup> See note 32.

<sup>38</sup> This is a reference to the 27 Mar. 1756 destruction of Fort Bull, which was also known as Bull’s Fort or Fort Wood Creek, by French troops commanded by Lieut. Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Lery (O’Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* [note 1], 10:403). Also *Papers of Sir William Johnson* (note 3), 9:409–17.

July 2013

*Captain Thomas Butler's Journal*

8<sup>th</sup> Rec<sup>d</sup> an order from Coll Broadstreet to proceed with the Indians down the wood kreek I incamp<sup>t</sup> a little below the Cannada kreek.<sup>39</sup> sent out Scouts & as useal who decovrd nothing

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May 9<sup>th</sup> made a Dam aCross the wood kreek<sup>40</sup> To raise the water for the Boats above. Cut a Channel from the Cannada kreek To the wood creek where all the Boats &c passed but incamped just below

10<sup>th</sup> Eairly all set out. A body of soldars with the Indians marcht by land on the nort side the kreek we had a Great deal of bad Traving. at Evning incamped at a place Called the neck about 4 miles from the Lake.<sup>41</sup> Some of the Boats & Battoes did not arive till late in the night. NB this morning Nickass with a party took a Scout from the Canada kreek over To the fish kill. he did not come To us this night.

The 11<sup>th</sup> Decamped Came To the Lake about 10 OClock where we met Nickas with the Scouting party who Said had decourd nothing we Left the Mouth wood kreek at y<sup>e</sup> Entrance the Lake about 2 oClock passing along the north Side Lake Some of the Battoe men Said Saw three Indians on the Shore. We Emeaidiatly landed but coud See nothing yet I Suppose they were the Enemys Spies. we Landed on the High Breasts Island<sup>42</sup> where lay this night.

12<sup>th</sup> We set of with a fine Gale wind all Sails up & as we were about 400 Boats & Battoes mad a fine appearance on the

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The Lake, at y<sup>e</sup> Entrance of the Lake wer Joyned by Some onodagas who waited there for us. we proceed To the three Rivers<sup>43</sup> whear we halted about two hours for the Comp<sup>y</sup>. the Onodagass there made a Speach & insisted on Five Dollars p<sup>r</sup> man To Escort the provisions &c through their Teretories this was not agreed to but Coll Broadstreet told them he wou'd Settle that point with their Chiefs whom he desid<sup>r</sup> To See. We proceed to a small Island about 1½ miles from the falls<sup>44</sup> where we incamped ~~all~~ that night

13<sup>th</sup> This morning the last of the Comp<sup>y</sup> Came To us. Sent out 7 Indians To Secure the falls whilst we lay Still on the Island they Returned Told us Saw Some few Tracks of the Enemy but that we shoud Go on, Accordingly The Battoes were ordered of, A number of them Got over & pusht for Oswego. ~~but~~ A whale boat w<sup>t</sup> 4 men in her Broke on y<sup>e</sup> Rocks filled w<sup>t</sup> water & over Satt one man Drowned ~~this night we Encamped at y<sup>e</sup> falls again at y<sup>e</sup> Island~~ We Returned To the Island in the

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<sup>39</sup> The first creek westward of Fort Bull, which flows into the Wood Creek from the north. Its mouth served as the boundary line between the colony of New York and the Six Indian Nations (Sauthier, "A Chorographical Map of the Province of New-York" [note 10]).

<sup>40</sup> The dam's location is shown on Lieut. Karl Wintersmith's Map (note 10).

<sup>41</sup> This is a series of bends in Wood Creek, just to the east of the mouth of Fish Kill, forming a nearly perfect Omega sign.

<sup>42</sup> This island lying toward the western end of Lake Oneida nearer the southern shore is now known as Frenchmans Island.

<sup>43</sup> The confluence of the Seneca, Onondaga, and Oswego rivers, west of Lake Oneida.

<sup>44</sup> This island is located between "halfway point" and "the Falls" in the Oswego River (see "The Country of the Five Nations, ca. 1755" map [note 17]).

Eveing where lodged but left at the falls A Great Number Battoes & Boats without gaurds

[Written sideways to the 13th is the following note:] Coll Broadstreet wou<sup>d</sup> not take advice about seting of the battoes &<sup>c</sup>

- 14<sup>th</sup> Came To the falls in y<sup>e</sup> Morning Mess<sup>rs</sup> McKolla<sup>45</sup> & Sowers<sup>46</sup> Layed out the post. Set of Boats & Battoes Briskly. one ~~Battoe~~ Boat w<sup>t</sup> 4 hands went of the Top the falls but filled w<sup>t</sup> water & over set --- 2 of the four Drowned 2 or three Battoes

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and Carrgo lost, as fast as the Boats & Battoes got over prest of To oswego.

- 15<sup>th</sup> Coll Broadst<sup>t</sup> Rec<sup>d</sup> a letter from Coll Mercer<sup>47</sup> that the Enemy had killed & taken Carpenters & Soldars at their work Near the fort.<sup>48</sup> they killed two one of the Enemy Indians one of whoss Scalp was brot us by Two Mohawks y<sup>e</sup> other was thrown into the river this Affair happened the 11<sup>th</sup> Instant

This Morning a battoe Drove down of the falls by Carliness [carelessness] over sett & lost her Cargo. A soldar was this day found Drowned with his arm torn of. No person cou<sup>d</sup> tell which way the way ~~this~~ Man came to ~~His~~ this accident. The Boats &<sup>c</sup> was pusht of in Such a hurry that I belive many more accidents happend ~~that~~ then cou<sup>d</sup> be well known &<sup>c</sup>

- 16<sup>th</sup> a Battoe over Satt. the men Saved, Scouts out returnd saw nothing Coll Broadstreet acquainted me he was Going to oswego & askt me if I ~~had a~~ wou<sup>d</sup> Go with him at the Same time he desird that the Indians wou<sup>d</sup> tarry here To serve as Scouts To the Soldars at work in building the fort.<sup>49</sup> I said to leve the Indians alone would not do for they wou<sup>d</sup> not be Contented without me, Neither was their but my self

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Self To understand them So that I concluded best To tarry with them A Scout out Returnd Saw Nothing. NB Coll Broadstreet Said he wou<sup>d</sup> be back this Eveing or tomorrow Morning. our Indians killed us several Sammans [salmon]

- 17<sup>th</sup> Battoes & Boats Eairly this morning at work passing down the falls. A Scouting party Returnd about 12 OClock Saw no Sine of the Enemy but brot in a ~~fine~~ Dear of which I had my share  
~~the Engineers for laying out this Fort were Mess<sup>rs</sup>~~

<sup>45</sup> Patrick Mackellar was an engineer in the British Army who accompanied the expedition to Oswego. He kept a journal, which begins on 16 May 1756, when he and Capt. Bradstreet left Thomas Butler and the Indians on the Oswego River, and ends 14 Aug. 1756 with the surrender of Fort Ontario to Louis Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon. The journal has been transcribed ("A Journal of the Transactions at Oswego From the 16<sup>th</sup> of May to the 14 of August 1756. By Patrick Mackellar Eng<sup>r</sup> en Second to the Expedition," in Pargellis, *Military Affairs of North America* [note 11], 187–218).

<sup>46</sup> Mr. [Thomas] Sowers, an engineer, who aided in the survey of the works to be built at Oswego ("Journal," Pargellis, *Military Affairs of North America* [note 11], 189, 194).

<sup>47</sup> Lt. Col. James F. Mercer of the 51st Regiment, commandant at Oswego, was killed in Aug. 1756 when the fort fell to the French (*Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 3], 2:547, 9:533).

<sup>48</sup> Col. Mercer was commandant at Fort Ontario on the east bank of the mouth of the Oswego River.

<sup>49</sup> This a reference to a fortification being laid out by Mackellar and Sower on the 14th of May at the Oswego Falls, not a reference to Fort Ontario at Oswego.



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the officers left here with a body of Soldars for Carrying on the Work &<sup>50</sup>  
Lieu<sup>t</sup> Cooling Commd<sup>t</sup>  
D<sup>o</sup> M<sup>l</sup> Criess  
Ensine Grant<sup>51</sup>  
D<sup>o</sup> Stevenson

about 8 OClock this night one of the advancd Centenels was fired at by  
Enemy. upon which as he Says fired at the Enemy Seeing one of them.  
it alarm'd the whole who lay on their arms all night. Entrench'd in a  
place dug for the pickets To put up in. two of our Indians went out all  
along the back of the Centenals but heard no Noyse, nothing more  
happend this night

18<sup>th</sup> The officers all met & agreed To Acquaint Coll Mercer and Coll

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Coll Broadstreet of what hapend last night Eairly ~~in~~ this Morning a  
Letter was dispatcht them by an Indian. The Indians Told us we were to[  
few men in Case of an Attack. Which nothing was more likely & desir'd  
The Fort might be finished as soon as possible otherways they woud Go  
away. its Certain very plain To be Seen the work goes on Slowly The  
Men unwilling To work about three OClock Indians Came from oswego  
with the Murder Cry. when they came oppisite To us Dispatcht a battoe  
To fetch them Over. the Told us their had been a Scurmig at oswego  
between our people & the French Indians, wherein we lost Lieu<sup>t</sup> Blair<sup>52</sup>  
two soldars & a Conajohary Indian.<sup>53</sup> & one soldier wounded. our  
people killed two of the Enemy Indians & Scalped them. our people  
tracked the blood of the Enemy So that its inded several of them was  
wounded their came timely a Relief from oswego who assisted the party  
first ingaged & put the Enemy To rout this happend the 18<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> ~~Coll~~  
~~Broadstreet cam~~ in the forenoon

19<sup>th</sup> Coll Broadstreet Came To us at the falls with the Battoes & battoe men  
& brot with him two indian scalps old Bunt<sup>54</sup> & several other princeble  
Indians from onadaga Came here this afternoon & Emeaidtly Desird

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To Speak with Coll Broadstreet. They did So & ~~Said~~ after shoing the  
Covenant Chain<sup>55</sup> &<sup>c</sup> said the English were false. that a white man on the  
Carrying place had told the onnidas Coll Johnson with his army would  
Dessstroy the Six Nations in 20 Days begining at the Mohawks &<sup>c</sup> after  
talking with them awhile they Seem'd Sattisfied it was a lye. this Day a  
Battoe was Castaway Going down the falls and one man Drowned

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<sup>50</sup> No extant muster rolls have been identified permitting identification of these soldiers. They were most likely also members of the 51st Regiment of Foot assigned to Oswego.

<sup>51</sup> This probably refers to Ensign Thomas Grant of the 51st Regiment ("Journal," Pargellis, *Military Affairs of North America* [note 11], 198).

<sup>52</sup> This was Lieut. William Blair of the 51st Regiment ("Journal," Pargellis, *Military Affairs of North America* [note 11], 188).

<sup>53</sup> In a "List of the Conajohary Indians on Service To Escort The provisions &<sup>c</sup> To oswego" (on page [29] of this journal, to be printed in Part 2), Butler states "Antony long Abrahams Son killed at the lake."

<sup>54</sup> Old Bunt or The Bunt was one of the primary chiefs of the Onondaga Nation and advisor to Thomas Butler (see for example, *Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 3], 2:685, 686, 695, 699–701).

<sup>55</sup> This was a sacred belt of wampum that signified the bond between the Iroquois and the English. It was the equivalent of a written contract or treaty.

20<sup>th</sup> We left the falls. the officers & solders who were To finish the [*a battoe over set in the fall*]<sup>56</sup> fort there set of for oswego, by Coll Broadstreets orders So that the fort is left undone. We Came To the three Rivers where we took a little Refreshm<sup>t</sup>. here most of the Indians left us in order To Go To ondaga<sup>57</sup> as they heard ~~Coll~~ Gener<sup>l</sup> Johnson was there. We Came as farr as The fishers kill<sup>58</sup> there all incamped

21<sup>st</sup> Came To Lake the wind ahead though not to hard but we proceeded forward made a Short halt till the whole came up then pusht forward in the afternoon the wind shifted about and blew fair for us we Got Safe in wood kreek there made a Small Stop till a Good Number of the Battoes Got up with us Then pusht on briskly till we came To the Neck where we incamped all the Comp<sup>y</sup> did not come

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up We had a Good pleasant night. ~~it~~

22<sup>d</sup> Decamp'd the Comp<sup>y</sup> not all together made A Small Stop at the Bev<sup>r</sup> Dam. ~~Went~~ arrived at Kannada kreek about two OClock where we met Coll Schuyler<sup>59</sup> with his Regm<sup>t</sup>—bound to oswego we made about an hours Stay here then went over the Carrying Place To Williams Fort<sup>60</sup> where we lodged here we were told That one Scramling a high Dutcher Cap<sup>t</sup> of the Batto Men<sup>61</sup> was tryed by a Court Martshall & Rec<sup>d</sup> 50 Lashes for Disobeying orders &<sup>c</sup>

[2]3<sup>d</sup> about 11 oClock we left the Carrying place at Sun Sett arriv'd at Herkemers. here I was told a Slay<sup>62</sup> man had been whipt Severly. he was a man the Indians of Canajohary had a Great Regard for for which they demanded Satisfaction I lodged this night with Cap<sup>t</sup> Miller<sup>63</sup>

[2]4<sup>th</sup> left Herkemers past the little falls<sup>64</sup> a little below which Coll Broadstreet left us & pusht forward on hors back for Albany. I made a halt at Canajohary<sup>65</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The bracketed phrase was written at this point between two lines with no indication of where it should be inserted.

<sup>57</sup> Onondaga, the primary castle of the Onondaga Nation, was located a few miles south of Three Rivers and to the west of Canassarage.

<sup>58</sup> This is probably a reference to Fish Creek, which flows southerly into the northern apex of a meander in the Onondaga River just to the east of Three Rivers.

<sup>59</sup> Col. Peter Schuyler, commandant of the New Jersey Blues (for example, *Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 3], 1:499, 598, 616; 2:564, 889, 895; 9:426, 436).

<sup>60</sup> This fort was located on Wood Creek, just to the west of Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River.

<sup>61</sup> This Capt. Scramling cannot be identified with certainty. Sir William Johnson's muster rolls for the year 1763 show only two Schremlings, Sergeant Henry Shrimling and private Henry Shrimling, both in Lieut. Goshin Van Alstein's Company as of 8 Aug. 1763 (State of New York, *Third Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, 1897* [Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1898], 797). However, because the batteaux service and its men were usually regarded as members of the Quartermaster Corps, not the militia, they typically do not appear in militia lists. Yurry [George] Scrimling and Hendrick Schremeling were listed as freeholders in Canajoharie District, Albany County, in 1763 (Kenneth Scott, "The Freeholders of the City and County of Albany, 1763," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 48 [1960]: 179–80). The 1766 Tax Roll for Canajohary shows only two Schremlings (or variants), Hen<sup>ck</sup> and George (Florence Christoph, *Upstate New York in the 1760s: Tax Lists and Selected Militia Rolls of Old Albany County* [Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1992], 134).

<sup>62</sup> "Slay" was a frequent misspelling of "sleigh."

<sup>63</sup> His identity is unknown due to the large number of contemporaneous Capt. Millers.

<sup>64</sup> The present-day village of Little Falls, N.Y.

<sup>65</sup> Canajoharie, also known as Upper Castle, was originally a settlement of the Mohawk nation located on the south side of the Mohawk River just west of the modern village of Canajoharie, N.Y.

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Brot forward My Journall

Spoke to the Indians of Conajohary Concerning the Death of the indian killed at Oswego.<sup>67</sup> Made that in A maner Easey. Went from that To Cap<sup>t</sup> Pitter Schuylers.<sup>68</sup> Got my Party Some provisions &<sup>c</sup> then went forward and lodged ~~at~~ That night at the House that was Fanis Cromils<sup>69</sup>

25<sup>th</sup> went from Cromils To Capt Fondass<sup>70</sup> where I left the Battoe & people To proceed To their homes, here I was informed My Father & the Family were gone To Schenectady To live for fear of the Enemy leveing the Servants To take Care of the farm &<sup>c</sup>.

**(TO BE CONTINUED)**

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<sup>66</sup> This loose page was found at the beginning of the journal, but is certainly out of place there because the entry for the 25th refers to an event that happened 18 May 1756, seven days prior to this entry. It likely belongs here.

<sup>67</sup> See note 53.

<sup>68</sup> Peter Davetse Schuyler lived south of the Mohawk River approximately 2 miles east of the Indian Castle Church and 1 mile east of Fort Hendrick in the Abraham Van Horne or Canajoharie Patent (1764 Map of the Abraham Van Horne Patent, New York State Secretary of State, Map #532, New York State Office of Land Management, Albany, N.Y.). Peter D. Schuyler was listed as a freeholder in Canajoharie District, Albany Co., in 1763 (Scott, "Freeholders of the City and County of Albany, 1763" [note 61], 179).

<sup>69</sup> "Phanus Crommel" resided on a 150-acre farm in the Archibald Kennedy Patent on the southern bank of the Mohawk River (Phanus Crommel quit rent remission application, Comptroller's Office, Land Tax Division, Legal Documentation Relating to Quit Rents, Series A1227, Box 1, Folder 1, New York State Archives, Albany). "Fanis Cromil" was probably Stephanus Cromwell, son of Jacobus Cromwell and his wife, Maria Philipse. In 1732 Stephanus and his mother bought from Nicholas Hartsinger half of a 775-acre tract south of the Mohawk River, part of a 1727 grant to Archibald Kennedy (see John Calder Pearson, "The Cromwell and Lewis Families of the Mohawk Valley," RECORD 41 [1910]: 20–21).

<sup>70</sup> Jelles Fonda of Caughnawaga was a prominent merchant in the Mohawk Valley, whose store was located about one mile south of Thomas Butler's own residence. For more on Jelles Fonda, see Karen Mauer Green, "Major Jelles Fonda's Store Ledger, 1756–1794, Caughnawaga, New York," RECORD 142 (2011): 19–225, 305–10; 143 (2012): 38–48, 112–21. On 12 May 1756 the Indians of the Lower Mohawk Castle petitioned Sir William Johnson, asking that "Yellows Funda" [Jellis Fonda] be appointed to oversee the planting of their crops while they were engaged in Colonel Broadstreet's Expedition to Oswego (O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* [note 1], 7:105), showing that Fonda also maintained close relations with the Native Americans.

**THE MILITARY JOURNAL AND EXPENSE ACCOUNTS OF  
CAPTAIN THOMAS BUTLER  
DURING THE SPRING 1756 OSWEGO CAMPAIGN**

BY MARIANNE MILES AND KEN D. JOHNSON

*(continued from* RECORD 144:121)

EXPEDITION EXPENSES

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1756		
Apr <sup>l</sup>	Coll Broadstreet To Tho <sup>s</sup> Butler	D <sup>r</sup>
	To Expences at y <sup>e</sup> Mohawk Castle <sup>72</sup> for Drink & <sup>c</sup> in Calling a Meeting of them	
	0.7.6 <sup>73</sup>	
	To Expences at Conajohary Castle <sup>74</sup> for the Same	0.4.6
	To paid for the Conajoharys Supper & breakfast at Tomis Scomakers at y <sup>e</sup> Flatts <sup>75</sup>	0.6.0
	To 4 p <sup>r</sup> indian Shoes bot at Herkemers <sup>76</sup> for y <sup>e</sup> indians	0.18.0

<sup>71</sup> As indicated in Part 1 of this article, the pages were not numbered in the original (Marianne Miles and Ken D. Johnson, "The Military Journal and Expense Accounts of Captain Thomas Butler During the Spring 1756 Oswego Campaign," RECORD 144 [2013]: 114). For clarity, the pages have been numbered here according to their current arrangement in the journal. Some pages have been torn and may not be in the original order. Maps cited in this article are reproduced at the Fort Plank website ([www.fort-plank.com](http://www.fort-plank.com)).

<sup>72</sup> Called variations of "Konajohare Castle" or "Castle Tarigioris. This Mohawk settlement was opposite the northwestern-most corner of the Hermanus Van Slyke Patent on the west side of the Mohawk River and the south side of the Otsquago Creek ("Map of Van Slyck Patent at Canajoharie, Albany [now Montgomery] County, Surveyed by Isaac Vrooman [copy]," State Engineer and Surveyor, Survey Maps of Lands in New York State, Series AO273, Map #872, New York State Archives, Albany; also, "A Map of Lands on the South Side of the Mohawk River between Canajoharie and the German Flatts for Philip Livingston 1771," Cockburn Family Papers, Series SC7004, Box 4, Folder 2, New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany, which demonstrates the location of the Oneida Nation's "Onandaga Castle[s]," now known as Indian Castle on modern-day Nowadaga Creek in Herkimer County). This castle was located near Queen Anne's Chapel at Fort Hunter, on the Mohawk River near the mouth of the Schoharie Creek.

<sup>73</sup> Thomas Butler expressed this as "'7"6," but for clarity amounts will be rendered here as 0.7.6 or 0 pounds sterling, 7 shillings, and 6 pence.

<sup>74</sup> See note 21 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 114).

<sup>75</sup> On 30 Apr. 1725 Thos. Shoemaker had land in the Burnetsfield Patent on the north side of the Mohawk River, as did his son Ludolph [Rudolph] Shoemaker on the south side of the river (Henry Z. Jones Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710* [Universal City, Calif.: privately printed, 1985], 936–38). Tomus Shumacher served as a soldier in Capt. Mark Petry's company of militia in February 1757 (*Third Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York, 1897* [Albany, N.Y.: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, and Crawford Co., 1898], 781). During the Revolutionary War, Thomas's son Rudolph/Ludolph was a Tory whose home was used as a military way station (*Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777–1795–1801–1804*, 10 vols. [Albany, N.Y.: J. B. Lyon Co., 1899–1914], 2:254; 3:204; 4:746–49, 760; 6:457, 699–700; also Wm. Petrie, Chairman, Committee of Safety, Tryon Co., N.Y., to Philip J. Schuyler, copy of letter dated 15 Aug. 1777, enclosed in Ph. [Philip] Schuyler to Gen. George Washington, letter dated 17 Aug. 1777, George Washington Papers, 1741–1799, Series 4, images 658 and 747 (letters are grouped chronologically, but are not numbered in any discernible fashion), *Library of Congress* (<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwseries.html#S>). The "Flatts," or German Flatts, were described in note 23 of Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 74], 112).

<sup>76</sup> See note 23 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 114).

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	1 skipple <sup>77</sup> Indian Corn from D <sup>o</sup> [ <i>Herkemers</i> ] 2/6	
	& 1 p <sup>r</sup> Indian shoes 4/6	0.7.0
	2 <sup>lb</sup> Shott @ 9 <sup>d</sup> is 1/6	1.6.0
18 <sup>th</sup>	1 knife 1/ one skipple Corn 2/6	0.3.6
	pipes at Coonrat Franks <sup>78</sup>	0.2.6
	To a hogg the Mohawks killed on the way for provis <sup>s</sup>	1.4.0
	To a calf killed by D <sup>o</sup> for D <sup>o</sup>	0.6.0
	To paid for bread & Meat at Herkemers for a sick Indian Going home	0.1.6
	To 9 <sup>lb</sup> Kittle at Herkemers @ 4/	1.16.0
	1 powder horn	0.3.0
	7 <sup>lb</sup> powder @ 5/	1.15.0
	2 <sup>lb</sup> Shott	0.1.6
	3 barrs lead @ 9 <sup>d</sup>	<u>0.2.3</u>
	Carryd forward	£7.18.7

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1756

Apr<sup>ll</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> by Cash Rec<sup>d</sup> £3.3 & D<sup>o</sup> £12.12                      £15.15.0  
Carryd forward

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1756	<u>Coll Broadstreet</u>	<u>D<sup>r</sup></u>
Apr <sup>ll</sup>	To your acc <sup>tt</sup> brot forward	7.18.7
	To paid the high Dutch Doct <sup>r</sup> at German Flatts <sup>79</sup> for Bleeding 5 Indians	0.5.0
	To a knife	0.1.0
	1 p <sup>r</sup> Shoes 4/6    5 p <sup>r</sup> D <sup>o</sup> from Wever 22/6	1.7.0
	To a fatt Calf & 4 Lo[ <i>a</i> ]ves Bread at Cotes for provisions as ours was not come up	0.14.0
	To 20 Dollars <sup>80</sup> paid the oswego posts <sup>81</sup>	8.0.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To 15 Dollars paid the 10 Annonidass from the 27 <sup>th</sup> Apr <sup>ll</sup> to y <sup>e</sup> 29 <sup>th</sup> Inclusive @ 4/ 3 days	6.0.0
	To three pounds Tobacco on y <sup>e</sup> Carrying place <sup>82</sup>	0.4.6
May 5 <sup>th</sup>	To 5 p <sup>r</sup> shoes @ 5/	1.5.0

<sup>77</sup> From the Dutch “schepel,” containing one-quarter *muid* or about three-quarters of a bushel (Philip Babcock Gove, ed., *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged* [Springfield, Mass.: Merriam-Wester, Inc., 1961], 2029). A seventeenth-century source confirms this definition stating “Every acre of land, whether cultivated or not, pays a bushel, that is, one schepel and a fifth of wheat.” (Bartlett Burleigh James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913], 156).

<sup>78</sup> Conrad Frank possessed 250 acres in the Rudolph Staley Patent near German Flatts during the Revolutionary War (Conrad Frank exemption certificate, Gerrit Y. Lansing Papers, Series SC13324, Box 8, Folder 5, New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany).

<sup>79</sup> This may refer to William Petry, a “surgeon” living at the German Flatts (*Papers of George Clinton* [note 75], 4:625, 6:895). He might be the same as the Wm. Petrie who was Chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety (see note 75).

<sup>80</sup> Although the British pound was the standardized currency of the entire British Empire, the dollar's value varied from one issuing agency to another. Butler thought the British pound was roughly \$2.50, thus “20 Dollars” equaled 8 pounds.

<sup>81</sup> This refers to messengers carrying communique to and from the post at Oswego.

<sup>82</sup> See note 10 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, “Captain Thomas Butler” [note 71], 112).

	2 <sup>lb</sup> paint	1.8.0
[May] 7 <sup>th</sup>	paid Doct <sup>r</sup> Harriss <sup>83</sup> for Bleeding & <sup>c</sup> : indians	0.12.0
	To p <sup>d</sup> two mohawks returned home sick at Herkim <sup>rs</sup>	
	from the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> to y <sup>c</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup> inclusive @ 4/	2.16.0
	To 8 mohawks pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> Apr <sup>ll</sup> to the	
	4 <sup>th</sup> May both Days inclusive @ 4/ being 21 Days	
	they returnd home from the Carry place	<u>33.12.0</u>
	Carried forward	£64.3.1

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1756	<u>Contra</u>	<u>C<sup>r</sup></u>
Apr <sup>ll</sup>	By brot forward	£15.15.0
21	By af <sup>d</sup> Gold	3.3.0
26	By Cash	6.6.0
	By 20 Dollars for y <sup>c</sup> oswego posts	8.0.0
29	By 15 Dollars To pay the Annonidas	6.0.0
May 2 <sup>nd</sup>	By 60 Dollars	24.0.0
3 <sup>d</sup>	By 60 D <sup>o</sup>	24.0.0
4 <sup>th</sup>	By 40 D <sup>o</sup>	<u>16.0.0</u>
	Carry'd forward	£103.4.0

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1756	<u>Coll Broadstreet</u>	<u>D<sup>r</sup></u>
	Brot forward	£64.3.1
	To Chocklate & Sug <sup>r</sup> of Brown	0.18.0
	To paid 6 Canajohary Indians that returned	
	back from the Carrying place from the 14 <sup>th</sup>	
	ap <sup>r</sup> to the 4 <sup>th</sup> May both Days inclusive	
	being 21 days @ 4/	25.4.0
May 11 <sup>th</sup>	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> three Annanidas turnd back from y <sup>c</sup>	
	Lake from 3 <sup>d</sup> may To the 11 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup> both days inclusive 4/	5.8.0
11 <sup>th</sup>	p <sup>d</sup> three Tuskarorass from 2 <sup>nd</sup> may To y <sup>c</sup> 11 <sup>th</sup> Turned	
	back from the lake both days inclusive 10 days @ 4/	6.0.0
14 <sup>th</sup>	p <sup>d</sup> To an Onnida named Ondaga from the 11 <sup>th</sup> May To the	
	14 <sup>th</sup> both days inclusive @ 4/ p <sup>d</sup> at y <sup>c</sup> Falls <sup>84</sup>	2.16.0
	[ <i>Written in the margin</i> ]: "he is Still with us"	
16 <sup>th</sup>	p <sup>d</sup> one Onnida Named ahdale at the falls Eleve days	
	pay from the 6 <sup>th</sup> may To y <sup>c</sup> 16 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup> both days inclusive 4/	2.4.0
16 <sup>th</sup>	p <sup>d</sup> To a Canossaraga <sup>85</sup> indian at falls Named Karahequatthe	

<sup>83</sup> Doctor Harriss remains unidentified. Care should be taken to avoid confusing him with Thomas Harris of the Conajohary Castle, whose wife supplied the Indians with twelve loaves of bread on 24 June 1755 or with the Thomas Harris who supplied the Indians with corn 13 Aug. 1756 (*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. [Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921–1965], 2:575; 2:636).

<sup>84</sup> Per the journal of the expedition (Part 1 of this article), this refers to the falls of the Oswego River between Oswego and Oneida Lake, the group's location on 14 May (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 114). See "The Country of the Five Nations, ca. 1755," Library of Congress Map #156, *American Memory* (<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3800.ar108100>).

<sup>85</sup> This refers to the Indian castle "Canossaraga" located on a stream flowing into Lake Oneida from from the south and west of "Two Breast Island" or, as it is now known, "Frenchman's Island." See "The Country of the Five Nations, ca. 1755" (note 84).

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9 days pay from the 8 <sup>th</sup> may To y <sup>e</sup> 16 <sup>th</sup> @ 4/	1.16.0
p <sup>d</sup> To an Onnida Named Onondaga from the 14 <sup>th</sup> may To 20 <sup>th</sup> making 7 Days @ 4/	<u>1.8.0</u>
Carryd forward	£110.17.1

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	Contra	C <sup>r</sup>
1756	Brot forward	£103.4.0
May 11 <sup>th</sup>	Rec <sup>d</sup> of Co <sup>l</sup> Broadstreet Cash	26.6.0
19 <sup>th</sup>	Rec <sup>d</sup> of Ditto Cash	<u>48.16.0</u>
	Carry'd forward	£178.6.0

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	Coll Broadstreet	D <sup>r</sup>
1756	Brot forward	110.17.1
May 19 <sup>th</sup>	D <sup>r</sup> p <sup>d</sup> 11 tuskaroras at oswego falls <sup>86</sup> from y <sup>e</sup> First may To y <sup>e</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup> both days inclusive @ 4/	44.0.0
	To 1 D <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> from 8 <sup>th</sup> may To 20 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup> his name Jonathan @4/ 13 Days	2.8.0
	To p <sup>d</sup> Ahgorondongwak from the 8 <sup>th</sup> may To the 19 <sup>th</sup> being 12 Days @ 4/	2.8.0
	To p <sup>d</sup> Tare sa da re at from 11 <sup>th</sup> may To the 20 <sup>th</sup> being 10 Days @ 4/	2.0.0
	To p <sup>d</sup> Sogonharantha & ahgatoayonk two Kanessararaga indians Each 12 Days pay from the 8 <sup>th</sup> may To the 19 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive 4/	4.16.0
	<i>[Written in the margin beside the preceding entry]: "p<sup>d</sup> these at y<sup>e</sup> falls"</i>	
19 <sup>th</sup>	To p <sup>d</sup> Tomis <sup>[,]</sup> Jacob <sup>[,]</sup> Tohowackhoo <sup>[,]</sup> Kagequiyea all 4 from Onohoquagu <sup>87</sup> from y <sup>e</sup> 8 <sup>th</sup> may To the 19 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive being 12 Days @ 4/	9.12.0
Onnida	p <sup>d</sup> To Petteris a likely tall man from y <sup>e</sup> 5 <sup>th</sup> may To the 18 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive being 14 Days @ 4/	2.16.0
Onnida	p <sup>d</sup> To Tutaraag an Elderly man from 3 <sup>d</sup> may To y <sup>e</sup> 18 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive being 16 Days 4/	3.4.0
Onnida	p <sup>d</sup> to <del>Quetter</del> Sagorowanah <sup>88</sup> a little lad from 3 <sup>d</sup> may To 18 both days inclusive being 16 Days @ 4/	<u>3.4.0</u>
	Carry'd over	£185.5.1

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<sup>86</sup> See note 84.

<sup>87</sup> Onaquaga (present-day Windsor, Broome Co., N.Y.) was an Indian settlement on the Susquehanna River about 30 miles below the mouth of the Unadilla River. There were many variant spellings including Oquaga, still in use to name local landmarks. During the American Revolution, it was a base of operations for Tories and as such was destroyed in October 1778 by Patriot forces under Lt. Col. William Butler of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment operating out of the Schoharie Valley's Middle Fort [now Middleburgh]. See Marjory Barnum Hinman, *Onaquaga: Hub of the Border Wars of the American Revolution in New York State?* (Windsor, N.Y.: Hinman, 1975).

<sup>88</sup> Sagorowanah is written in the left margin, above Onnida, but may be intended to substitute for the word crossed out.

1756		<u>Contra</u>	C <sup>r</sup>	D <sup>r</sup>
		Brot forward	£178.6.0	
May	19 <sup>th</sup>	By Cash	40.0.0	
		D <sup>r</sup> Brot forward		£185.5.1
		D <sup>r</sup> : p <sup>d</sup> To a Young Onnida Named ahganranuwak from 8 <sup>th</sup> may To the 19 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive being 12 days @ 4/		2.8.0
		To p <sup>d</sup> : To a young Onnida named Quetter from 7 <sup>th</sup> may To y <sup>e</sup> 18 <sup>th</sup> both days inclusive @ 4/		2.8.0
		p <sup>d</sup> To a Onnida tall fellow named Karoharockqua from 11 <sup>th</sup> May To 18 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive @ 4/		1.12.0
		[Written in the margin next to the following entry]: "3 Rivers"		
		p <sup>d</sup> old Tutarog & his Son Quetter from the 19 <sup>th</sup> may To y <sup>e</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive @ 4/		0.16.0
		p <sup>d</sup> To Tomiss 1 Days pay 4/ & dld him 4/ for Tohowackhoo these 2 Indans from onohoquaga		0.8.0
		p <sup>d</sup> Petteris y <sup>e</sup> onnida likely fellow from 19 <sup>th</sup> To 20 <sup>th</sup> may both Days inclusive @ 4/		0.8.0
	20 <sup>th</sup>	By Cash rec <sup>d</sup>	12.0.0	
		p <sup>d</sup> two Days to Karahorackqua Onnida		0.8.0
		To 1 Days pay To Ahganaranuwak onnida		0.4.0
		to p <sup>d</sup> Jacob from Onohoquaga		0.4.0
		p <sup>d</sup> to Kagequiyou To 20 <sup>th</sup> may		0.4.0
		To p <sup>d</sup> 9 onondagas from y <sup>e</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> may to 20 <sup>th</sup> both Days inclusive @ 4/		<u>19.16.0</u>
		Carryd forward	£230.6.0	£214.1.1

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1756 List of the Number of the Mohawks of the lowar  
Apr<sup>ly</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Castle on Service To Escort the provisions E<sup>tc</sup> To Oswego

Turtle <sup>89</sup>	X	Aric
	X	agorant — Hesters son
	X	Hendrick — aronedickas son
		Jacob — Schohary
	X	Aront — otthaqua
	X	Tomiss — Sahanathe
Wolf		Jacob — Sagohowonass son
	X	Joseph — Hesters son in law
	X	Queter — Rinears Son
	X	Hendrick — michals son in law
	X	Jacob — Christeyons son
	X	Joseph — Michals son
	X	William Arkson
Bear	X	Nickass — Ahwenshawanas son

<sup>89</sup> Turtle, Wolf, and Bear are clans or tribes within the Mohawk Nation. The meaning of the "X" before some of the names is not clear.



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X David — Warickoos Son

[A notation indicating the preceding two men]: “went away 20<sup>th</sup> Apr<sup>l</sup>”

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1756	Nickass Mohawk Awensawanas Son	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	By his pay from y <sup>e</sup> 14 <sup>th</sup> Apr <sup>l</sup> To the 20 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup>		
	being 7 Days @4/		1.8.0
20 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>l</sup>	paid him in Cash at Herkemers	1.8.0	

---

1756	David mohawk boy Warickoo son	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	by his pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ly</sup> to y <sup>e</sup> 20 <sup>th</sup> D <sup>o</sup>		
	being 7 Days @ 4/		1.8.0
20th apr <sup>l</sup>	paid him in Cash at Herkemers	1.8.0	

---

Aric	Mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	To a Chukt Shirt <sup>90</sup>	0.14.0	
	Gave him C <sup>r</sup> 19 Days pay To the 2 <sup>sd</sup> may		3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash	<u>2.16.0</u>	
		3.10.0	
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> him in full Near John Wemps <sup>91</sup>		
	on the Road M <sup>r</sup> Claus <sup>92</sup> present	<u>0.6.0</u>	
		3.16.0	

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1756	Tomis or Sahanothe mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash	0.8.0	
to 2 <sup>sd</sup> May	By 19 Days pay @ 4/		3.16.0

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<sup>90</sup> A chukt shirt was a frock or overshirt made from checked wool. It served two purposes: it kept the clothing under it clean and protected the wearer from the weather. It was similar to an ordinary shirt except that it was cut much longer. For a visualization of this garment, see <http://www.americanrevolution.org/clothing/colonialclothing>. See Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America 1650–1870* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1984), 197.

<sup>91</sup> In 1737 John Wemp (Jan Barentse Wemp/Wemple) applied for and received a patent of 450 acres just to the east of Fort Hunter and south of the Mohawk River (John Wemp patent, Applications for Land Grants, New York Land Records, Series A0272 [microfilm of original records, arranged by volume], Vol. 12, document 106, New York State Archives, Albany). During the American Revolution John Wemp possessed a farm of 150 acres in the John Wemp Patent, located near the mouth of the Schoharie (John Wemp exemption certificate, Gerrit Y. Lansing Papers, Series SC13324, Box 8, Folder 5, New York State Library Manuscripts and Special Collections, Albany, which states that he was forced to leave his property during the war; a similar exemption certificate for Agnes Wemp, also possessing 150 acres in the John Wemp patent, is in the same folder). A map of the area drawn in 1783 shows the location of the John Wemp Patent, granted in 1737 (In<sup>o</sup> R. Bleecker, “A Map of the Lands at Tionderogue or Fort Hunter, Surveyed [sic] and Laid into Lots, the Lowlands,” 25 Sept. 1783, in Applications for Land Grants, New York Land Records, Series A0272 [microfilm of original records, arranged by volume], Vol. 47, document 19, New York State Archives, Albany). See also William Barent Wemple Jr., “Wemple Genealogy,” RECORD 35 (1904): 193, 196.

<sup>92</sup> This refers to Christian Daniel Claus who was born 13 September 1727 in Bönnigham, Württemberg, Germany, a son of Adam Frederick and Anna Dorothea (\_\_\_\_) Claus. He came to America in 1749. He married Sir William Johnson's daughter, Nancy, in 1762. By November 21, 1756 Sir William Johnson had appointed he was appointed Deputy Secretary of Indian Affairs in North America (Documentary History of the State of New York Vol. 7: 211, 230, 232, 236, 240). His papers in the National Archives of Canada contain an extensive Claus Family Genealogy and a synopsis of his extensive services to the British Crown. He died near Cardiff, Wales on November 9, 1787.

	D <sup>r</sup> To 8 Dollars	3.4.0	
	To Cash p <sup>d</sup> you at the Castle Gate	<u>0.4.0</u>	
		£3.16.0	
<hr/>			
	Aront atthoqua a mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	C <sup>r</sup> by 19 Days pay To the 2 <sup>sd</sup> may @ 4/		3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash &c	3.14.0	
May 30	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash in full	<u>0.2.0</u>	
		3.16.0	
<hr/>			
	Arondadickas Son a little lad Mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	To a Shirt 14/a Lap 6/	1.0.0	
	C <sup>r</sup> by 19 Days pay from 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>l</sup> To 2 <sup>sd</sup> may 4/		3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid him in full	<u>2.16.0</u>	
		£3.16.0	

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1756	Shohary Jacob lives in the Mohawks	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 5 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash paid young Visher at Carrying place for shirt 14/ at y <sup>e</sup> same time Cash 2/ 3 dollars To buy you Stock <sup>s</sup> of John Glen	0.16.0 1.4.0	
20 <sup>th</sup>	Cash dld you at 3 Rivers in a Dollar	0.2.0	
23 <sup>d</sup>	To Cash dld you at Carrying place To buy beads	<u>0.2.0</u> 2.4.0	
25 <sup>th</sup>	by Cash in full		2.4.0
<hr/>			
1756	Jacob Sogohowanass Son	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 6 <sup>th</sup>	Cash dld you in the wood kreek	0.4.0	
20 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash 8/	0.8.0	

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1756	William Arkson	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	To Cash dld you at Herkemers	0.3.0	
	D <sup>o</sup> at the Carrying place	0.2.0	
23 <sup>d</sup> may	1 Doll at y <sup>e</sup> Carrying place	0.8.0	
<del>6<sup>th</sup></del>	C <sup>r</sup> by little agorant Cash for you		0.6.0
25 <sup>th</sup>	by 42 days pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>l</sup> To the 25 <sup>th</sup> may @ 4/		<u>8.8.0</u>
			£8.14.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> you in full	<u>8.1.0</u>	
		£8.14.0	

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1756	Michals Son Joseph	Mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	Cr
	To Cash To buy Shoes		0.8.0	
May 2 <sup>sd</sup>	<del>at two different times</del> 1 Dollars		0.8.0	
4 <sup>th</sup>	10 Dollars		4.0.0	
	To Cash at the falls		<u>0.1.6</u>	
			£4.17.6	
	Cr by 42 Days pay from the			
	14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> to 25 <sup>th</sup> may @ 4/			8.8.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> you in full		<u>3.10.6</u>	
			£8.8.0	

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1756	Hendrick Michals Son in Law <sup>93</sup>		D <sup>r</sup>	Cr
	Cash 2/ D <sup>o</sup> 2/ 1 Dollar 8/ 1 D <sup>o</sup> 8/		£1.0.0	
	21 Days pay @ 4/			4.4.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash in full at y <sup>e</sup> Carrying place		<u>3.4.0</u>	
	Rech <sup>d</sup> from y <sup>e</sup> 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> To the 4 <sup>th</sup> may			
	both days inclusive		4.4.0	

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1756	Agorant Moamatias Son Mohawk		D <sup>r</sup>	Cr
	taken on to pay W <sup>m</sup> Arkson		0.6.0	
May 26 <sup>th</sup>	Cr by Cash Recd			0.6.0
	By 42 Days pay from 14 <sup>th</sup> Apr <sup>ll</sup> To the			
	25 <sup>th</sup> may @ 4/			<u>8.8.0</u>
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> you in full at Cap <sup>t</sup> Fondass <sup>94</sup>		<u>8.8.0</u>	
			£8.14.0	£8.14.0

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1756	Quetter old Ryners Son Mohawk boy		D <sup>r</sup>	Cr
May 2 <sup>sd</sup>	Cr by 19 days pay To 2 <sup>sd</sup> may from			
	the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>l</sup> @ 4/			3.16.0
	To Cash dld him on the Carrying place		£3.12.0	

<sup>93</sup> Judging from the context of the other entries, this should probably read "Hendrick, Michals Son in law."

<sup>94</sup> See note 70 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 121). This refers to the home of Jellis Douw Fonda, located in Caughnawaga (now Fonda), in lot 2 of the John, Margaret & Edward Collins or Caughnawaga Patent of 4 Nov. 1714. For an accounting of the site of Jellis Fonda's home and his heirs, see H. E. Sickels, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York*, Vol. C (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1886), 287–327, Giles H. F. Van Horne, Plaintiff, vs. William Campbell and Andrew Brugahim, Defendants [https://books.google.com/books?id=RgMoAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA532&dq=%22William+campbell%22,+%22Douw+fonda%22&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwib4NSBuMvPAhWH11MKHVATB-oQ6AEIHDAA#v=onepage&q=%22William%20campbell%22%2C%20%22Douw%20fonda%22&f=false]. Jellis Fonda passed away on June 2[torn], 1791 at the age 64 years 2 months and 19 days (fragment of a Fonda Family Bible in Box 6 of the Christopher Yates Papers, Syracuse University Library). His death on June 23, 1791, at the age of 64 years, 2 months, 19 days is recorded in the records of the Reformed German Church at Canajoharie (original records in the Utica, New York Public).

1756	Jacob old Christians Son	Mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	D <sup>r</sup> To Sundryes		2.8.0	
May 2 <sup>sd</sup>	his pay To the Second may 19 days 4/			3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash on the Carrying place		1.4.0	

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1756	Nickass Ahwonshawanos Son	Mohawk	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	By 7 Days pay from 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> To the			
	20 <sup>th</sup> being 7 Days @ 4/			£1.8.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid you in full at Herkemers			
	where you returnd home Sick		1.8.0	

1756	David Warickoos Son a Mohawk		D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	By 7 Days pay from 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> To the			
	20 <sup>th</sup> both days inclusive @ 4/			1.8.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid you in full at Herkemers			
	where you returnd home with the above			
	Sick Indian		1.8.0	

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1756 List of the Conajohary Indians on Service To Escort  
Apr<sup>ll</sup> 14<sup>th</sup><sup>95</sup> The provisions &<sup>c</sup> To Oswego

Wolf X Thomas Harriss<sup>96</sup>  
X Victore Pottman<sup>97</sup>  
X Rutt The Deaf fellow  
X Agorant Son of the old Indian killed last ~~year~~ war  
near the fair Barrack  
Nickass was with my Brother formerly at Crown Point<sup>98</sup>

<sup>95</sup> This list, dated 14 Apr. 1756, is inserted in the midst of May account entries.

<sup>96</sup> This Thomas Harriss should not be confused with Doctor Harriss (see note 83). Thomas Harriss's Native American connection, as a member of the Wolf clan, is unknown. This Thomas Pottman's wife supplied the Indians with bread on June 24, 1755 per the Sir William Johnson Papers 2: 818, and Thomas supplied the Indians with corn on August 13, 1756 per the Sir William Johnson Papers.

<sup>97</sup> This Victor Pottman was probable relative of the Pootman/Putman family of the Lower Schohar Valley. He is mentioned in the pension application of Victor Putman of Captain Jacob Gardiner's Company of the Mohawk District Regiment of Tryon County Militia [Colonel Frederick Fisher's Regiment] (Revolutionary War Pension Application #S22944, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files [NARA M804, roll 2051]). His Putman connection and his Native American connection, as a member of the Wolf clan, are not known.

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Butler had two brothers, John and Walter (see note 33 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 116). *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* note that Lieutenant Walter Butler was the lieutenant commandant of a quite successful scouting party sent from a Mohawk Castle to Crown Point in April 24, 1747 (E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., 15 vols. [Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1853–1887], 6:343), and that Sir William Johnson's Papers demonstrate that Lieutenant Thomas Butler was also engaged at Crown Point at this time (*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 14 vols. [Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921–1965], 1:96). John Butler is noted to have been a lieutenant as late as 5 Nov. 1755 (2:594). A "Captain Butler" is noted to have been an interpreter at an Indian conference with Sir William Johnson at Lake George, New York, on 4 Sept. 1755 (E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. [Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1853–1887], 7:30); and "Nickus" and other Native Americans were paid by Sir William Johnson on 14 Oct. 1755 for the loss of their corn during their absence (*Sir William Johnson Papers*, 2:594). Thomas' oldest brother, A Captain Butler was reported by Garret Vanzandotf of the City of Albany to have been missing and presumed dead after the September 8, 1755 "Battle of Lake George"

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William he is a Chuckelhead fellow  
David he is Deaf Rutts Son<sup>99</sup>

---

Bear X Johaniss he is a very lusty Young fellow  
X Petter he was former Elizabeths Husband in the Mohawks  
[*A notation to the right of the preceding men*]: These two wear the Oswego Posts<sup>100</sup>  
X Quetter. John Smarts Son  
Aront Old arondiacks Son  
X Antony. long Abrahams Son killed at the lake  
X Nicholass. a Mohawk born but lives now at Conajohary  
X Joseph

---

X Adam<sup>101</sup>  
X Johaniss a young lad Tomis his Son

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1756	Johaniss a litle lad of Conajohary Tomis his Son	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	To 1 dollar dld y <sup>r</sup> mother		
	at y <sup>e</sup> Great Flatts	0.8.0	
May 3 <sup>d</sup>	by 18 days pay to To y <sup>e</sup> 3 <sup>d</sup> may		3.12.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash in full	<u>3.4.0</u>	
		£3.12.0	

---

	William of Conajohary Chuckold Head	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	A Checkt Shirt	0.14.0	
3d may	C <sup>r</sup> by 17 days pay To y <sup>e</sup> 3 <sup>d</sup> may 4/		3.8.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash in full	<u>2.14.0</u>	
		3.8.0	

[*In the margin beside the next entry*]: “his pay begins 5<sup>th</sup> may”

	D <sup>r</sup> Since Cash 2/ To Give the Squa	0.2.0	
	To Cash 2/ at y <sup>e</sup> falls To buy a knife		
	4/ at 3 Rivers	0.6.0	

---

along with “Capt Tedy Magin” and “Hendrick the Mohawk Sachim” (2:636). Sir William Johnson notes that he paid a “Widdow Bulter” on August 13, 1756 for the making of 67 Indian shirts (2:636), and the March 13, 1760, will of Lieutenant Thomas Butler of Schenectady, refers to his brother, Walter, as being deceased (Great Britain. Public Record Office, Audit Office 13, Vol 117, ff 385-449; National Archives of Canada, MG 12, AO 13, microfilm reel B-2555). Thus it is the supposition of these authors that the “brother” referred to by Thomas Butler as being with Nickus, a Mohawk Castle Indian, is his eldest brother Walter.

<sup>99</sup> David, “Deaf Rutts Son,” was probably the David Rutt, also known as David Karaghgunty (or Caraghgunthy and other variants), who served as an interpreter in Capt. Joseph Brant’s company during the Revolutionary War. “Dav<sup>d</sup> Rutt/alias Caraghgunty” was listed as an interpreter in the Papers Relating to Indian Affairs, 1777–1783, Add. Mss. 21769, unpaginated, Frederick Haldimand Papers, Series MF-989, Microfilm #48, Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario; microfilmed from original documents held by the British Museum, London. David was in the command of a war party during Brant’s attack on Fort Plank on 2 Aug. 1780 (Jos. Clement, Lieut. Indian Department, to Col<sup>o</sup> Guy Johnson, letter, 14 Aug. 1780, Add. Mss. 21767, p. 109, Frederick Haldimand Papers, Series MF-987, Microfilm #47, Library and Archives of Canada.

<sup>100</sup> These men were probably sent to deliver messages to Oswego.

<sup>101</sup> These two are separated from the others and may not belong to the Bear clan.

	Nickass Crown Point <sup>102</sup>	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	To a Checkt Shirt	0.13.6	
	By 18 Days pay To the 3d may 4/		3.12.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash in full	<u>2.18.6</u>	
		<u>3.12.0</u>	
May	19 <sup>th</sup> at y <sup>e</sup> falls 1 Dollar Since Rechd	0.8.0	
	<del>20<sup>th</sup> 1 Dollar 8/</del>		

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1756	Petter of Conajohary formerly Eliz <sup>th</sup> Husband	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 2 <sup>sd</sup>	To 2 Dollars advanced him	0.16.0	
	by 18 Days pay @4/		3.12.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid in full To y <sup>e</sup> 2 <sup>sd</sup> May	<u>2.16.0</u>	
		£3.12.0	

1756	Adam of Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 3 <sup>d</sup>	To Cash	0.8.0	
	C <sup>r</sup> by 19 days pay		3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> Cash p <sup>d</sup> him in full	<u>3.8.0</u>	
		3.16.0	

1756	May 3 <sup>d</sup> Agorant a Spry fellow Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	by 19 days pay to y <sup>e</sup> 3 <sup>d</sup> may 4/		3.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> Cash p <sup>d</sup> in full	3.16.0	

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1756	Aront. old arondiacks Son Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 5 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash dld you for a Squa	0.1.0	
3 <sup>d</sup>	Cash 2/ To a Shirt [ <i>no amount recorded</i> ]		
2 <sup>sd</sup>	Cash		0.2.0
20 <sup>th</sup>	Cash at three Rivers	0.1.0	
	By his pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> [ <i>no amount recorded</i> ]		

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1756	Petter of Conajohary John Smarts Son	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 5 <sup>th</sup>	1 p <sup>r</sup> Shoes 5/ to 5 dollars 4 of	£2.5.0	
	To p <sup>r</sup> penniston <sup>103</sup> Stock <sup>s</sup>	0.6.0	
	1 Checkt Shirt 14/ To p <sup>r</sup> Stroud <sup>104</sup> Stock <sup>s</sup> 8/	1.2.0	
2 <sup>d</sup>	Cash 4/	0.4.0	
19 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash dld you at y <sup>e</sup> falls—1 Dollar	0.8.0	

<sup>102</sup> See note 33 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 116.

<sup>103</sup> Pennystone (penniston, penestown) is a coarse woolen cloth named for the town in Yorkshire, England, where it was first made (Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650–1870* (note 90), 320.

<sup>104</sup> Stroud is a thick woolen cloth, often dyed red, named for the River Stroud, Gloucestershire, England (Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650–1870* (note 90), 352–53.

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20 <sup>th</sup>	Cash at 3 Rivers 1/. 3/p <sup>d</sup> Brown for buckles	0.4.0	
23 <sup>rd</sup>	To Cash dld you at Carrying place To buy beads		
		<u>0.4.0</u>	
		£4.13.0	
	C <sup>r</sup> by 41 Days pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> To the 24 <sup>th</sup> May <del>being</del> @ 4/		8.4.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash p <sup>d</sup> you in full at D: Wemps	<u>3.11.0</u>	
		8.4.0	

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1756	Joseph a young lad Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 6 <sup>th</sup>	Cash 1/ To a lapp 6/	0.7.0	
3 <sup>d</sup>	Cash 1 Dollar 8/	0.8.0	
16 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash dld you at Oswego Falls To buy shoes		0.10.0
	To Cash dld you at Oswego Falls to buy a knife		0.2.0
23 <sup>d</sup>	To a p <sup>r</sup> buckles of Brown	<u>0.3.0</u>	
		£1.10.0	
	By 41 Days pay from the 14 <sup>th</sup> aprill To the 24 <sup>th</sup> @ 4/		8.4.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid you in full at Cap <sup>t</sup> Schuylers <sup>105</sup> in Conajohary	<u>6.14.0</u>	
		£8.4.0	

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1756	Deaf Rutt Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	1 Dollar 8/ To 8 Dollars for your wife by y <sup>r</sup> pay from the 16 <sup>th</sup> apr <sup>ll</sup> To the 24 <sup>th</sup> May being 41 Days @ 4/	£3.12.0	
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash you in full Cap <sup>t</sup> Schuylers in Conajohary Fort	<u>4.12.0</u>	8.4.0
		8.4.0	

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	Nicholas. Mohawk born, but now in Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	1 p <sup>r</sup> Stock <sup>s</sup> 8/ 1 shirt 14/ by his pay 18 Days @ 4/	1.2.0	3.12.0

<sup>105</sup> See note 68 in Part 1 of this article (Miles and Johnson, "Captain Thomas Butler" [note 71], 121) for more information on Capt. Peter Davetse Schuyler. Peter Schuyler was son of David Schuyler (*Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 83], 4:140). On 2 Mar. 1757 most of the Indians at the castle on the Onandaga Creek (now Indian Castle, Herkimer County) requested that Peter Schuyler, an officer of the militia, be posted within their fort should the regular troops be withdrawn (*Papers of Sir William Johnson* [note 83], 9:626). Peter died by 9 Oct. 1764, yet his heirs shared in the ownership of Lots 1-4 of the Sixth Allotment of the Abraham Van Horne or Canajoharie Patent. In 1789 Peter Schuyler, a son of Peter D. Schuyler, had moved to Lot 12 of the Sixth Allotment of the Abraham Van Horne or Canajoharie Patent as per the words of surveyor James Cockburn: "I am of the opinion the building of a dam will be attended with a very great Expense the Church Built by the King of Great Britain for the Mohawk Indians is upon this Lot Peter Schuyler occupies the House where Molly Brant formerly livd and Jere Adam Smith occupies the Hose where Joe Brant the Indian Chief formerly livd there is a good Framed Barn for these buildings Nicholas Schuyler and Adam Ackert have also built Houses upon the lot but the improvements are small It is a good situation for publick business" (Van Vechten Family Papers, New York State Library Mss Collection #SC15213 Box 1 Folders 9 & 18 respectively).

p<sup>d</sup> him 6 Dollars at y<sup>e</sup> Carrying place 2.8.0  
£3.10.0

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1756	Victore Boreing	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
May 19 <sup>th</sup>	To Cash dld you at y <sup>e</sup> falls	0.2.0	
	C <sup>r</sup> by 44 Days pay from 12 <sup>th</sup> Apr <sup>l</sup> To		
	The 25 <sup>th</sup> may @ 4/		8.16.0
	D <sup>r</sup> To Cash paid you in full	<u>8.14.0</u>	
		8.16.0	

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1756	Antony of Conajohary	D <sup>r</sup>	C <sup>r</sup>
	By his pay from the 14th aprill To the		
	24th May being 41 Days @ 4/		8.4.0
	D <sup>r</sup> paid his Frinds in Conajohary his full		
	pay as though liveing	8.4.0	
	NB this Indian was killed by the Enemy		
	at oswego the 18 <sup>th</sup> May		

[page 37]<sup>106</sup>

1756 List of Tusaroras Mixt with some few Onnidass on  
May 1<sup>st</sup> Service [page torn] Escort the provisions &<sup>c</sup> To oswego  
met us y<sup>e</sup> Carrying place

Bear X Nickass the Generals Frind  
p<sup>d</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> On on da gah p<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> may  
Kanorond de[page torn] p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup>  
[A notation indicates that all three of the above were] "p<sup>d</sup> 10 Dollars To y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> may at the  
falls | These of the Tribe of the Bear & belong to onnida | 10 Dollars."

Wolf X Akass p<sup>d</sup> 10 [page torn]llars<sup>107</sup> ~~at~~ To the 20<sup>th</sup> may  
X Chen on oh [page torn] na p<sup>d</sup> To 11<sup>th</sup> may  
X Carehorook  
X Kellecks [page torn]llars<sup>108</sup>  
[Written beside the last two names]: "[page torn]se two left us at the 3 Rivers p<sup>d</sup> for the 2  
Eleven | dld it To Gotgweag To deliver them | in Tuskaroras"  
X Gotgweag p<sup>d</sup> To The 20<sup>th</sup> may 10 Dollars  
X Tye on a de do p<sup>d</sup> To 11<sup>th</sup> may  
X Chere we rah p<sup>d</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> may 10 Dollars

Bear X Christian p<sup>d</sup> To the 20<sup>th</sup> May 10 Dollars  
X Tomiss p<sup>d</sup> To [page torn] 20<sup>th</sup> may 10 Dollars

Turtle X Agwarant [?] <sup>th</sup> may  
X John p<sup>d</sup> 10 Da[page torn] To 20<sup>th</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The original document has been broken in the center, and some text may have been lost.

<sup>107</sup> Probably "Dollars."

<sup>108</sup> Probably "Dollars."



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- X Jonathan ioynd [*joined*]<sup>109</sup> the Tuskaroas he came from  
onohoquaga his pay begins 8<sup>th</sup> may p<sup>d</sup> To the 20<sup>th</sup> 6 Dol  
X Karehog[*page torn*]<sup>110</sup> p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> may 10 Dollars

[page 38]<sup>111</sup>

1756 List of The Indians from Kanessaraga<sup>112</sup> on service  
May 8<sup>th</sup> To Escort the provisions &<sup>c</sup> To Oswego

Bear ~~4 Dollars~~ Sogosharontha Joind us at Canada kreek  
X Kara he quatha p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> may 9 days at the falls  
X Ah gah a yonk  
Tane ya cat[*page torn*]a

[*A notation indicates that the preceding two men were*]: “p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> may.”

Wolf X Ah go ron dong watts  
Ge gea da Gah

[*A notation indicates that the preceding two men were*]: “p<sup>d</sup> from the 8<sup>th</sup> To the ~~49~~ 19<sup>th</sup> may  
being 12 Days 6 Dollars | Joind us at Canada kreek”

[page 39]

1756 List of Onnidas on Service To Escort the provisions &<sup>c</sup> To Oswego  
May 8<sup>th</sup>

Eale<sup>113</sup> X Tuta roag[*page torn*] an Elderly man p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> may  
11<sup>th</sup> X Sa go nah C[*page torn*]ght ah tall black fellow  
11<sup>th</sup> X Ah Seas Jo[*page torn*] one Eye young fellow  
[*A notation to the right of the preceding three names says*] “these 3 begins 3<sup>d</sup> may their pay”  
X ah ga nar[*page torn*]nue wak begins his pay 8<sup>th</sup> may p<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup>

Wolf X Sago ro wa [*page torn*]ah little lad begins 3<sup>d</sup> may his pay p<sup>d</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup>  
X Ah dale [*page torn*]gins 6<sup>th</sup> may his pay p<sup>d</sup> To y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> may  
X Petteris la[*page torn*] likely fellow begins his pay 5<sup>th</sup> may p<sup>d</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>

Turtle  
11<sup>th</sup> X Queteris begins the 6<sup>th</sup> may his pay p<sup>d</sup> y<sup>e</sup> 11

Bear X Quetter begins his pay the 7<sup>th</sup> may p<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>

*(Concluded)*

<sup>109</sup> In the Latin alphabet there is no “J” thus words beginning with the letter “J” are often spelled with the beginning letter “P”. For example the “IHS” which appears on tombstones of members of the “Society of Jesus” in the Catholic Faith.

<sup>110</sup> The word “Jean” was written in later in a differing ink and hand.

<sup>111</sup> This page has been torn in half, and some text may have been lost.

<sup>112</sup> This refers to the Indian village of Canessarage (see note 85).

<sup>113</sup> The Eel clan of the Oneida Nation.