

Syracuse University

SURFACE

Dissertations - ALL

SURFACE

December 2015

Butlers of the Mohawk Valley: Family Traditions and the Establishment of British Empire in Colonial New York

Judd David Olshan
Syracuse University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://surface.syr.edu/etd>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Olshan, Judd David, "Butlers of the Mohawk Valley: Family Traditions and the Establishment of British Empire in Colonial New York" (2015). *Dissertations - ALL*. 399.

<https://surface.syr.edu/etd/399>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the SURFACE at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations - ALL by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact surface@syr.edu.

Abstract: Butlers of the Mohawk Valley: Family Traditions and the Establishment of British Empire in Colonial New York

Historians follow those tributaries of early American history and trace their converging currents as best they may in an immeasurable river of human experience. The Butlers were part of those British imperial currents that washed over mid Atlantic America for the better part of the eighteenth century. In particular their experience reinforces those studies that recognize the impact that the Anglo-Irish experience had on the British Imperial ethos in America. Understanding this ethos is as crucial to understanding early America as is the Calvinist ethos of the Massachusetts Puritan or the Republican ethos of English Wiggery.

We don't merely suppose the Butlers are part of this tradition because their story begins with Walter Butler, a British soldier of the Imperial Wars in America. We don't assume it because his son, John Butler and grandson, Walter Butler were Tories and Loyalists during the American Revolution. An imperial identity was one that they claimed for themselves in a country where other, alternative identities were possible. For the Butlers, the British imperial ethos informed the nature of their careers, their wealth, and the manner in which they were socially connected to other Americans. It is manifest in their claim of ancestral connection to the Butler-Ormonde family, a fountain of Anglo-Irish leaders for centuries. It is manifest in Walter Butler's career on the garrisons of the New York frontier, at Fort Hunter and Oswego. It is manifest in the type of wealth the Butlers amassed and the traditions passed down to Walter Butler's sons. Lastly it is manifest in the part the John Butler played in the transformation of a frontier garrison to an English county within the British Empire. They are not merely representative of the way an imperial ethos impacted

early America, they are important as well for the lasting impression that they in particular made on the English frontier of New York.

A close look at the Butler family reveals a reality of the frontier largely ignored in previous works. That the imperial frontier embodied colonial ideals not often realized to its full extent. That the advantages that came from being part of the imperial frontier could be significant, but were often contingent on circumstances beyond the reach of those that commanded frontier posts. That competing colonial interests festered for years before the American Revolution. Finally, That the British Indian Department, long thought of as not only the personal creation of folk legend Sir William Johnson but a bulwark of imperial strength on the New York frontier, was much weaker than earlier supposed, in terms of the ability to direct Indian peoples and control frontier settlement by European peoples. The Butlers amassed great wealth and power over three generations on the New York frontier, lost much to imperial and civil war, and helped forge the new British nation of Canada in the wake of the American Revolution. The Butlers were not aberrations, bogeymen bent on evil or herculean forest warriors. They were British frontier soldiers, carving out pieces of Anglo empire from a turbulent frontier land, and struggling to navigate the myriad of obstacles and opportunities that would spell success or doom for the British Empire and the Butlers themselves.

Butlers of the Mohawk Valley: Family Traditions and the Establishment of British Empire in
Colonial New York

by

Judd David Olshan

B.S., SUNY Cortland, 2005
M.S., Syracuse University, 2010

Dissertation

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in *History*

Syracuse University

December 2015

Copyright © Judd David Olshan Ph.D. History 2015
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgments:

Thank you to Roger Sharp, Andrew Cohen, Judy Van Buskirk, Carol Faulkner, Susan Branson, Robert Wilson, and the History Departments at SUNY Cortland and Syracuse University for the support needed to bring this project to fruition. Both departments were full of kind and supportive mentors for which I am profoundly grateful.

Thank you Hannah Spencer Olshan for patience and kindness.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: The Shared Origins of Butler Heritage and English Colonial Doctrine 1

Chapter Two: Sergeant Walter Butler: Imperial Solider, 1690s-1710.....15

Chapter Three: Lt. Walter Butler: Rank, Marriage, and Social Mobility: 1711-1725.....38

Chapter Four: Walter Butler and Government on the New York Frontier 1726-1746.....45

Chapter Five: Imperial Service on the New York Frontier. Walter Butler’s Sons During
the French and Indian Wars 1745-1763.....82

Chapter Six: The Butler’s Ascendant: The Growth of Wealth and Prestige on the Colonial
Frontier.....100

Chapter Seven: The Seven Years War and the End of the French Frontier 1754-1763.....107

Chapter Eight: John Butler and Pontiac’s War 1763-1764.....190

Chapter Nine: John Butler and The Creation of Tryon County 1765-1775.....205

Chapter Ten: The Butlers and the End of the First British Empire: 1775-1776.....224

Epilogue: John Butler, Patron of Niagara. Garrison Government at the Beginning of the
Second British Empire 1788-1796.....237

Bibliography.....255

Vita.....278

List of Illustrative materials

Figure 1: Butler Lands in County Kilkenny c. 1640.....7

Figure 2: Home at Butlersbury (sketch).....78

Figure 3: Home at Butlersbury (photo).....78

Chapter One: The shared origins of Butler heritage and English colonial doctrine

England's experience with imperial colonization in Ireland dates back to the twelfth century. Unlike English frontiers in Normandy and Brittany, which shared the same history and ruling class at England's inception, Ireland and Scotland were foreign lands. The English conquest of Ireland in particular created a perpetual frontier marked by frequent conflicts. By the close of the seventeenth century, nearly five hundred years of English colonial ambitions in Ireland had created a distinct Anglo-Irish society that was highly militarized. Martial rank in particular was extremely significant in a society where war and the threat of war was constant.

The English attempt to control their colonial frontier in Ireland and create a civilian populace that could be drawn on for military support were rooted in contemporary understandings of ancient Rome's imperial example. Settlements at Ulster and Munster demonstrate the practical application of such theories. They were planned communities in which military rank, political power, and land ownership were inseparably linked. These "plantations," as the English called their colonies, set a precedent of military rule and produced a culture of soldier-planters that would evolve for generations. Plantation imperialism, which relied on land redistribution, frontier garrisons, para-military planter militias, Anglican missions, and shire government, were all features of the Irish conquest.¹

Distribution of lands in Ireland was loosely based on the theory that loyal English or Anglo-Irish planters would cultivate crown lands granted to them for the benefit of the wider

¹ Hugh Edward Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1897), 8; Howard Mumford Jones, 'Origins of the English Colonial Idea in England', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 85 n. 5 (September, 1942), 450; John Christopher Guzzardo, "Sir William Johnson's Official Family: Patron and Clients in an Anglo-American Empire, 1742-1777" (PhD diss., Syracuse University, 1975), 9

colonization scheme. The English conception of land ownership shifted the Gaelic conception of collective property rights to one that was strictly based on individual title. This formed the base of the English Aristocracy's power and influence. Distribution of lands to those who could manage them was a strategic necessity in borderlands regions that were unpredictable and vulnerable. Large land grants allowed lords to generate resources and attract military manpower. Grants given throughout the Irish conquest reaffirmed successful Anglo lords such as the Butlers, adding to their estates. Grants also introduced new lords to Ireland, extending imperial authority into newly conquered territories and replacing those who had fallen from favor and fortune. These grants represented fresh injections of imperial capital into the centuries long conquest. Ennobled families who thrived throughout the conquest did so only by accepting and projecting imperial authority.²

The success of English colonization in Ireland was not progressive and often suffered setback and stagnation. Devastating warfare plagued Ireland in the form of a cycle of conquests and uprisings. Anglo-Irish society was far from stable as it was subject to both the local pressures of a hostile frontier and imperial pressures manifest of frequent and volatile upheavals in English society. The plantations themselves often fell short of the models on which they were based. Many Irish garrison towns were populated by settlers who have generally been described as unskilled, unattached to religious institutions, and ambivalent towards authority. As a result Anglo-Irish soldier-planters ended up generally ragged and poor and did better for themselves by mixing freely with the populations rather than

² Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536-1588* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) 52-53; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 38; Ellen Meiksins Wood, *Empire of Capital* (Verso, 2005) 79; James Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility, and Political Control in Fourteenth-century England* (Boydell Press, 2004), 28-34; Brock Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches : English Aristocracy and Frontier Society* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 33-34

subjugating them. Shifting religious and political currents left a perpetually dynamic borderland, a patchwork of changing and shifting alliances. The Anglo-Irish looked towards a future where "a still more comprehensive union," might bring them more fully into imperial society.³

Ireland has often been cited as the training ground for English Atlantic colonization, and for good reason. For near a century after Europe became aware of the Western Hemisphere, North America was outside the reach of English imperial authority, visited only by English pirates, fisherman, and smugglers. The Irish frontier provided challenge enough for the English during the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries, absorbing most of England's imperial ambitions.⁴

Irish colonizers relied heavily on a classical understanding of militarized imperial colonialism as Caesar had practiced it, at the head of an army. This notion fit perfectly with the military realities that they faced as they attempted to force English law and civilization on an unreceptive and militant populace in Ireland. As the Romans had brought civilization to England, so too would the English bring civilization to savage and untamed lands. Edmund Spencer, an administrator and poet during the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland alongside Sir

³ Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier." In Kenneth Richmond Andrews, Nicholas P Canny, P. E. H Hair, *The Westward Enterprise: English activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650* (Wayne State University press, 1978),18, 20-21,23; Journals of the Irish Commons, vol. iii. p. 421; Eric Hinderaker, Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America* (John Hopkins University Press, 2003) 3-4

⁴ David Beers Quinn, 'Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 89, No. 4 (December, 1945), 543-560,544 Nicholas Canny, 'An Introduction to the Origins of Empire' in Nicholas Canny, *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume I* (Oxford University Press, 1998) 7; Guzzardo, "Sir William Johnson's Official Family", 32-34; J.H. Parry, "The English and the New World," in K.R. Andrews, Nicholas Canny, P.E.H. Hair ed., *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, The Atlantic, and America 1480-1650* (Wayne State University Press,1979),4-7

Walter Raleigh, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Thomas Smith, argued that the barbarous ways of the Irish would only be removed by military conquest. This imperial outlook not only influenced the protestant historiography of Ireland well into the twentieth century, but informed the Irish and then American colonial outlooks of early American adventurers Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Thomas Smith.⁵

Humphrey Gilbert had been intimately involved in plantation efforts in Munster and Ulster, and was responsible for leading particularly bloody repressions during the Irish revolts (Desmond revolts) in 1569. Gilbert was partner in several Atlantic colonial efforts and was the first Englishmen to receive a grant from Queen Elizabeth to settle permanently in North America in 1578, a grant he was never able to exploit but which laid the groundwork for his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. In 1583 he used the grant to annex an independently run fishing post at Newfoundland, officially extending England's imperial domain across the North Atlantic.⁶

Walter Raleigh served in Ireland during the 1580 conquest and plantation of Munster, earning a knighthood and considerable lands in Ireland before attempting a plantation at Roanoke in Virginia. Raleigh hired geographer Richard Hakluyt to write *A Discourse on Western Planting* in 1584 which supported colonial ventures in North America. Hakluyt relied heavily on Gilbert's notes and Raleigh's input. In part he argued that North American colonization would help bring civilizing influence to Ireland because of their proximity to

⁵ Quinn, "Sir Thomas Smith", 543-560; T.W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609-1641: The City of London and the plantation in Ulster* (Belfast, 1939), 23, 45, 47, 48, 39; Edmund Spencer Project, Cambridge University, Biography. <http://www.english.cam.ac.uk/spenseronline/scholarly-resources/biography/> (2015)

⁶ David Beers Quinn, 'GILBERT (Gylberte, Jilbert), SIR HUMPHREY', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. 1* (University of Oxford Press, 1966)

each other. The traditions of imperial plantation and conquests in Ireland formed the basis of the extension of English imperial power in America.⁷

Sir Thomas Smith was one of the chief architects of Irish colonization during the Tudor colonial efforts at Munster and Ulster. He relied heavily on classical wisdom with regard to the establishment of colonies and proposed that individuals be given grants to establish colonies at the head of armies made of soldier planters. He advised strong garrisons be maintained at the center of new provinces, citing the historical examples of Rome, Carthage, and Venice. Smith published pamphlets supporting the colonization of Ireland with arguments which were later repeated by Hakluyt in his 1584 discourses. Although Smith's own adventure in Ireland ended with failure and the death of his son and heir, both his methodology and propaganda formed the foundation of colonial efforts in North America. From the earliest permanent settlements in North America until the American Revolution, men who had ruled and fought in Ireland served in the Americas as governors, officers, and soldiers, bringing the English experience of colonial Ireland to North America.⁸

Walter Butler was a product of the Irish landscape, a member, he claimed of one of the most powerful Anglo-Irish families, the Butler-Ormondes. Their ancestor, Theobald Fitz-Walter had arrived in Ireland with Henry II's armies in 1171. He had been rewarded well for his service in conquered land and with the Chief Butlerage of Ireland, the origin of the Butler surname. Through the centuries his descendants navigated those difficult contingencies of

⁷ David B. Quinn & Allison M. Quinn, eds. *Discourse of Western Planting* (Hakluyt Society, 1993), 165

⁸ Quinn, "Sir Thomas Smith" (1513-1577), 551-560

history that caused the fall of many Anglo-Irish families, their story described in *Burke's Peerage* as synonymous with the history of Ireland since the Anglo-Norman invasions.⁹

The Butlers accumulated English peerages and land, rewards for military and political loyalty to England's monarchs, over the centuries of the Irish Conquest. Baronies and land grants were a critical part of extending the imperial authority of England's rulers. During the 14th century the Butler-Ormondes established their power base around their castles in Kilkenny County, an Anglo-Irish colony in the Southeast of Ireland. By Queen Anne's reign they had extended their influence into Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. In addition they held almost exclusive power in the politically independent palatinate of Tipperary.¹⁰

Control of Kilkenny was almost absolute. The Earl of Ormonde and at least 13 other related Butler families held nearly one third of the colony outright. They held a majority of the frontier regions which in turn protected profitable holdings in Kilkenny's economic core and alongside navigable portions of the county's rivers. Butlers were not only dominant land owners in Kilkenny itself but also Roscrea, Nenagh, Carrick-on-Suir. Holdings in Tipperary County were significant enough as to form a single economic unit with Kilkenny which was controlled overwhelmingly by the Butler families and their allies.¹¹

⁹ *Burke's Peerage*, 105th edition, 1970, 2047-9

¹⁰ The Butler family held 25 patents for various aristocratic titles in England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. Ormonde, Dunboyne, Cahir, Mountgarret, Ikerrin, and Galmoy are amongst some of the more well-known titles, John Cornelius O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, (1870), 149; Francis Godwin James, *Lords of the Ascendancy: the Irish House of Lords and its members, 1600-1800*, (Irish Academic Press, 1995), 109; W.G. Neely, "The Ormond Butlers of County Kilkenny 1515-1715." Margaret M. Phelan, John Kirwan eds. *Kilkenny: studies in Honour of Margaret M. Phelan* (Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1997) 107; Lord Dunboyne, *Happy Families, The Butler Journals*, Vol 1. No.1 (London, 1968) 2

¹¹ William J. Smyth, "Territorial, Social and Settlement Hierarchies in Seventeenth Century Kilkenny." in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny. History and Society* (Dublin, 1990) 137

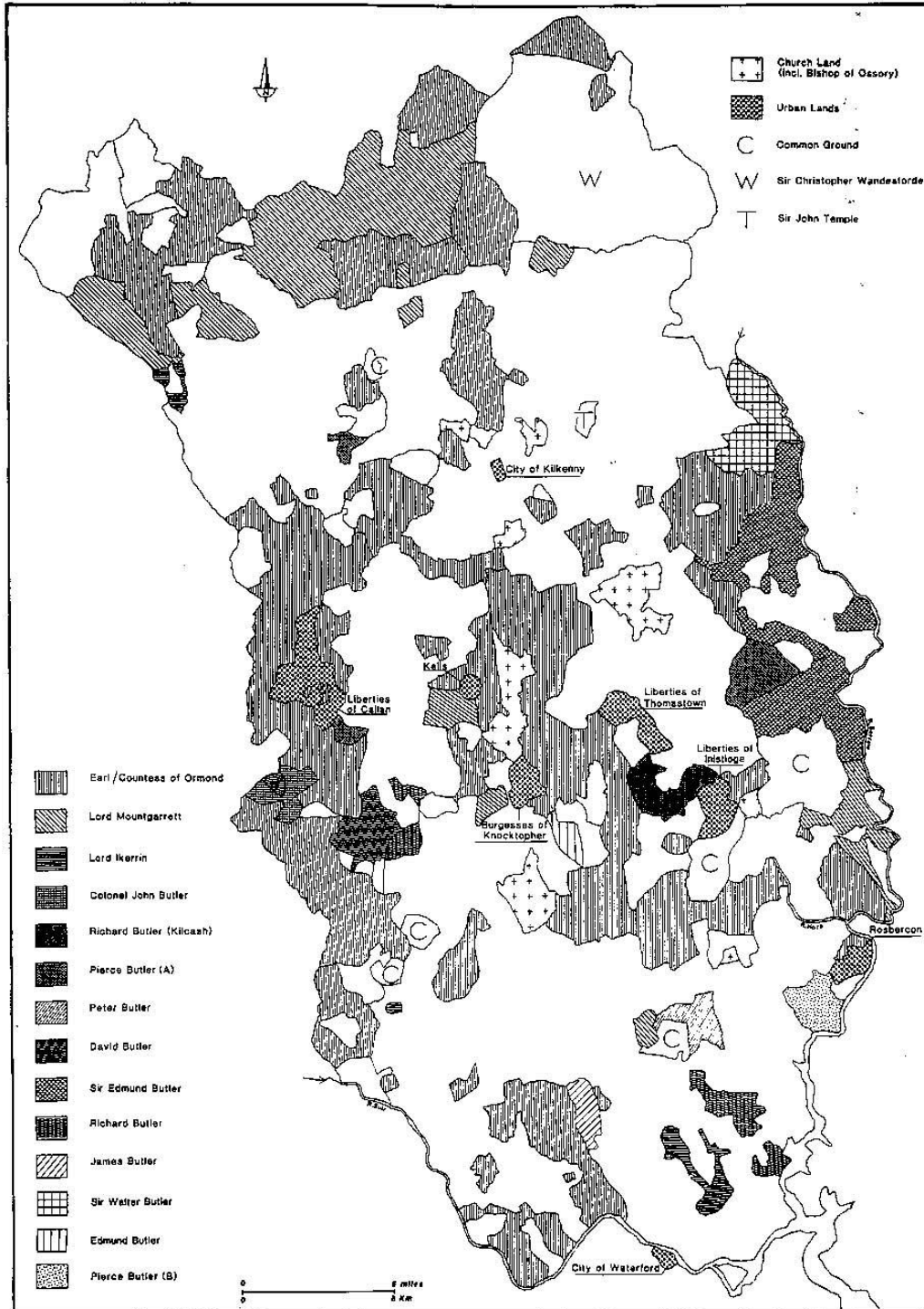


Figure 1: Butler Lands in County Kilkenny c. 1640¹²

¹² William J. Smyth, "Territorial, Social and Settlement Hierarchies" 138

The Ormonde-Butlers pursued many concurrent paths to success. Military, political, and economic success were all important to cementing their power base. They created a large base of supporters from the local landed gentry, merchants, and lawyers. They involved themselves heavily in trade and manufacturing by encouraging both with their patronage. Although the Anglo-Irish were always and deliberately maintained at the top of Irish society under the Ormondes, a diverse assortment of artisans from France, Germany, and Flanders were imported to strengthen the local economy. The Butlers also made great use of the native Gaelic population even as official English policy frowned upon their involvement in plantation society. They encouraged Anglicization by establishing grammar schools and supporting churches.¹³

The Ormondes were not immune to the effect of turbulent English politics however and often found their titles challenged during times of English political turmoil. Religious affiliation proved an especially tricky aspect of Irish political life. This was especially true in the 17th century as the English Reformation had not universally been embraced by Anglo-Irish nobility. As eager English Protestants looked jealously upon Irish lands and titles, the largely Catholic Anglo-Irish or Old English nobility in Ireland often faced the same fate as the Gaelic lords whom they had fought for generations, displacement or extinction. The Butler-Ormondes were able to avoid the total obliteration that many Old English in Ireland

¹³ William G. Neely, 'The Ormond Butlers of County Kilkenny 1515-1715' in William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny. History and Society* (Dublin, 1990) 110-111, 115, 121

faced but the period can be characterized by political turmoil, shifting religious allegiances and uncertainty.¹⁴

The English Civil War in 1642 further fragmented the Old English families, bringing widespread chaos and destruction to Ireland. Catholic forces in Ireland had done terrible damage to the Protestant infrastructure and left tens of thousands dead. Cromwell's Protestant invasion further devastated Ireland. The leading member of the Butler-Ormondes, James Butler, 12th Earl of Ormonde, went into exile during this turbulent period. Upon the Restoration of Charles II, James Butler was named first Duke of Ormonde as reward for his loyalty to the Stuarts.¹⁵

While James Butler and his brothers recovered their fortunes during the Restoration, many of their less influential relatives suffered extinction or permanent displacement. The State Papers of Ireland during the Restoration show the misfortune of many who carried the Butler surname, even though their cousins were among the most powerful of Charles II's Irish administrators. There were numerous petitions to the Duke to help secure the property they had lost. Patron to his relatives, James Butler distributed some of what he was awarded; however, Cromwellian adventurers kept a good portion of land through the Declaration of Breda and the need to manage a large debt that James Butler would eventually pass to his heir meant that his ability to totally restore lost fortunes was limited. Many of the once proud and numerous Butler clan were impoverished by 1690, the rough date that Walter Butler, the initial subject of this inquiry, was born.¹⁶

¹⁴ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford University Press, 2001) 60-69, 192.

¹⁵ *Burke's Peerage*, 105th edition, 1970, pp2047-9; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 269-272

¹⁶ The King to the Lords Justices for the Commissioners of Settlement in Ireland, April 12 1661. *Calendar of State Papers*, Ireland 1660-1661; Oliver Cromwell, "Letter LXXXIV: For the Honorable William

The Butlers were well represented in the Irish Army during the Restoration. The Duke of Ormonde along with such other ennobled Butlers as the Earl of Ossory and the Earl of Arran, commanded their own regiments. These colonels were able to disperse military patronage and provided an avenue into the military for their families and dependents. Regimental command was the epitome of how Anglo-Irish lords expressed their power and status, placing them at the top of a highly ordered military society. The importance of military service in Ireland was extremely important, even more so than in England itself. While in England, heirs to titles did not necessarily enter military service, military service was normal for Irish Lords.¹⁷

The Glorious Revolution in 1688 rekindled old conflicts in Ireland. The coup in England was marked by rioting and civil unrest but in Ireland there was a costly and devastating war that lasted until 1691. Catholic forces took most of Ireland in 1688, intent on pushing out what they considered a Protestant occupation. They were joined by the deposed Stuart king, James II, in 1689 along with thousands of French troops supplied by Louis XIV. In 1690 William arrived with a large army of his own and defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne. James fled Ireland and the remainder of Irish forces surrendered at Limerick the

Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These. Carick, April 2, 1650." In *Oliver Cromwell's Letter and Speeches*. ed. By Thomas Carlyle (London, 1876),418-422; The King to Lords Justice for Pierce Butler, of Callan co. Kilkenny. *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1660-1661*,359; The King to the Lords Justice for Theobald Butler of Derrylockare, *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1660-1661*, 349; Copy of Petition to the King, of Katherine Fitzhenry alias Butler and of James, John, and Walter, the younger children of Pierce Butler of Moneyhore, co. Wexford. *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1664* 522; Proclamation by the Lords Justices and Council,September 10, 1661, Council Chamber, Dublin. *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland 1660-1661* p418-419; W.G. Neely, "The Ormond Butlers" 120

¹⁷ State Papers Domestic vol.1 76-80; State Papers Domestic Vol. 2 pp399; Charles Dalton, *Irish Army Lists 1661-1685*, London, 1907; James, *Lords of the Ascendancy*, 124

following year. The Williamite War, the Irish manifestation of the Glorious Revolution, resulted in the brutal and bloody pacification of Ireland.¹⁸

Those who had flocked to James II's banner were bitterly disappointed. Many attempted to return home after it became apparent that William and Mary were secure on their throne. Once again Butlers were found on both sides of the conflict. Some soldiers were able to return home and even find appointments in English service. Many others fled to France with James II and remained in the military establishment of Louis XIV until the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713. James Butler, 2nd Duke of Ormonde was one of the first to join William of Orange. He would rise to great heights in the British military, replacing Lord Marlborough as Captain-General. Suspicions about his and the ministries conduct during the final year of the war led to James Butler's attainder for high treason during the Hanoverian succession in 1715.¹⁹

The seventeenth century proved to be a tumultuous time for the even the most esteemed of families within the empire, a family connection to leading Butlers was no protection against the ill fortunes of politics and war that swept over Ireland in the tumultuous seventeenth century. We find that those with Butler heritage petitioned for

¹⁸ Steven Pincus, *1688 The First Modern Revolution* (Yale University Press, 2011), 254, 273-274; Stephen Saunders Webb *Lord Churchill's Coup* (Alfred Knopf, 1995), 236-289

¹⁹ William III Jan. 24 Kensington, *State Papers Domestic 1702-1703*, 44-45; The Earl of Sunderland to Lord Deputy of Ireland *State Papers Domestic 1702-3*, 284; Commissions to officers of companies, added to regiments following: *State Papers Domestic 1702-3*, 527; Lord Marlborough gave a Mr. Butler an appointment without knowing him personally writing that "...[he] consents to the Prince being moved on his behalf." *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1702-1703*; J.Tucker to Hedges, July 7 Whitehall 1702, *State Papers Domestic 1702-3*, 165; *The Conduct of his Grace the Duke of Ormonde in the Campaign of 1712; A vindication of her late majesty Queen Anne, of glorious memory; of his grace the Duke of Ormonde, and of the late ministry from the horrid reflections cast upon them in a late pamphlet, intituled, The conduct of his grace the Duke of Ormonde in the campaign of 1712.* (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection, 1715) Contributed by: The University of Manchester, The John Rylands University Library, Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/60236184> (2015)

redress for lost fortunes, became outlaws, or left Ireland looking for other opportunities or safety. Like seeds in the wind, Butlers found purchase throughout the Atlantic world.

Descendants of the Butler Ormondes appeared on the European continent, in the West Indies, and in British North America.²⁰

Because of the exigencies of Irish tumults, many Butlers appear on French rolls as they found themselves allied with the Stuarts who contested the English throne from France for near a half century after the end of the Williamite War. The Irish regiments in Louis XIV's service had been formed out of the surviving remnants of regiments that had been defeated by King William in Ireland. Among the ranks of these "*Wild Geese*" were men from the Butler clan. Many who had survived the Cromwellian wars with their estates intact or restored, rewarded for remaining loyal to the Stuarts in Holland, were in 1688 cast out of Ireland for remaining loyal to James II. Over half a century later, General Lafayette reportedly commented on the family reputation while aiding American patriots during the American Revolution, saying that... "whenever he wanted anything well done, he got a Butler to do it." Military roles on both sides of the English Channel demonstrate the importance of a military profession for the Butler clan and in Irish culture.²¹

For hundreds of years the Butlers of Ireland extended, defended, and maintained English authority in Ireland. The Butler-Ormondes enforced the prerogative of many English monarchs in Ireland. They led English forces into battle, supplied English troops, garrisoned

²⁰ "Happy Families" is a serial of continuing research into the genealogy of families named Butler, compiled by Lord Dunboyne, and published in the Journal of the Butler Society, Vol.1 No.1 (1968) to Vol.4 No.1 (1997); Elmer Ellsworth. *Butlers and kinsfolk: Butlers of New England and Nova Scotia and related families of other names* (Milford, New Hampshire: Printed by the Cabinet Press, 1944)

²¹ O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigades* 76, 148-160

frontiers, and raised their own troops. Not only did they guard the borders of their own lands but they provided mutual support to the neighboring colonies in the Irish Pale and Scotts-Irish territories. Anglo-Irish lords lived in a highly militarized society that demanded constant vigilance against the perennial threat of Irish uprisings. The noble Butlers of Ireland practiced the art of building and administering militarized settlements for generations, a pillar of English empire. ²²

The Irish heritage that Lieutenant Walter Butler of the Mohawk Valley, New York inherited reflects a century of constant turmoil and traumatic warfare. Whatever the circumstances of Walter's immediate family, we can know for sure that the chaos of late 17th century Ireland offered little prospect for those born into it. One of the few possible paths for success in 17th century Ireland was the military, English or French. In 1710, along with 15 to 20 thousand of his countrymen, we find Walter Butler in Marlborough's army in Flanders in 1710. ²³

²² Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 60-69, 162; Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981)

²³ Desmond Bowen Jean Bowen *Heroic Option: The Irish in the British Army* (London, 2005) 106; Sean McCann, *The Fighting Irish* (London, 1972). Stephen Saunders Webb *Marlborough's America* (Yale University Press, 2013) 333; List of Sergeants Who Had Her Majesty's Commissions to be Lieutenants of Foot in America, All dated 1st January. 1711, Charles Dalton, *Commission Registers 1661-1714, Volume V:1707-1714* (London, 1898), 291-2

Chapter Two: Sergeant Walter Butler: Imperial Solider, 1690s-1710

The army that Walter Butler joined was one characterized by the luckless, the lawless, and the Irish. The uniform he wore was most notable for the red jacket, an iconic symbol of English imperial authority dating back to the Commonwealth. The imperial hierarchy that the uniform represented was rigid and absolute, reflecting an English military ethos centuries in the making. Only the facings on their jackets and their battle flags distinguished individual regiments of Redcoats. Irish men like Walter formed the anonymous backbone of British military strength in garrisons and armies throughout the Atlantic world.¹

Redcoats were unwelcome in England itself, they were more a symbol of English conquest, colonization, and military frontiers abroad. The imperial ethos that they represented was thus very much different than the republican ethos that largely kept them out of England proper. The two outlooks were not exclusive of each other but did represent two very different outlooks on the use of military administration depending on whether it was employed domestically or abroad. Thus while republican ideology was fostered in England through Whigery; Irish administration, as one of England's oldest colonial frontiers, was a purer embodiment of the English imperial impetus.²

Garrisons in Ireland were a fact of life and a real necessity for hundreds of years, while in England they were more often than not seen as a threat to the English constitution after 1688 and continually discouraged. This divergence of these two English traditions and

¹ Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors Generals* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979) 269-271; Cecil C P Lawson, *A History of the Uniforms of the British Army, Volume I: From the Beginning to 1760*. (Kaye & Ward, 1940); Peter Young & Richard Holmes, *The English Civil War: a Military History of the Three Civil Wars, 1642-1651* (Eyre Methuen, 1974) 43

² Lois G. Schworer, *No Standing Armies!: The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974)

the tension between them would remain a prominent feature of English history until the 20th century. Walter Butler's career and life was one entirely created by the imperial impetus. From the moment young Butler donned his red coat for the first time until the day he sold his commission as an old man, he was a tool of imperial England, living a life created by that ethos and passing that way of life directly to his heirs.³

At some point between the outbreak of war in 1702 and 1710, Walter became a sergeant. Sergeants in the Army of Queen Anne were non-commissioned officers who did not achieve their rank through purchase. They achieved their rank through experience and proven ability to provide leadership among the ranks. Sergeants were not normally associated with patronage. Rather, it was a rank born of rough battlefield pragmatism, the need for bullies, mentors and heroes to maintain discipline in the ranks, break green troops, and turn fear into viciousness. At the start of the War of Spanish in Succession in 1702 Walter Butler would have been roughly fifteen years old, time enough to enlist and earn his stripes by 1710.

4

As a sergeant, Walter most likely carried a halberd instead of musket into battle. Although this fearsome weapon was more representative of seventeenth century warfare, the sergeants that carried them helped John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, revolutionize the English army, ushering in a new era of warfare. Marlborough's sergeants helped transform English into faster and more flexible units. Heavier reliance and more efficient use of light

³ Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors General*

⁴ Stanley M. Pargellis, "The Four New York Companies," in *Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students* (New York, 1966), 120-121. Pargellis cites a letter from Abercromby to Calcraft, April 9, 1758 in *War Office Records* 34: 99, which gives Butler's age as 75 in 1758. Ernest Cruikshank put his birth date at 1670 saying "Walter Butler died at 90 years old in 1760, having been a Lt. for 70 years." *The Story of Butler's Rangers and Settlement of Niagara* (Tribune Printing House, 1893), 11

troops were most likely informed by the “miserable and disorderly skirmishes in Ireland.”⁵ Most importantly to the line soldier, the development of platoon fire gave them a chance to overwhelm opposing lines by increasing their volume of fire.⁶

Sergeant Walter Butler served on the battlefields of Flanders. As with his native Ireland, Flanders at the beginning of the 18th century was a bleak and war torn place. English and French armies and their allies crisscrossed the region for close to a decade and many of the region’s cities had fallen repeatedly. His service in Flanders was most likely one characterized by privation and hardship punctuated by vicious fighting. The battlefields of Flanders were meat grinders for the armies that marched there. The Battle of Malplaquet in 1709 was one of the largest battles of the War of Spanish Succession and the bloodiest Walter Butler might have experienced in his lifetime, being close to the time Walter appears in English military records.⁷

On the morning of August 31, 1709, close to 111,000 men under Marlborough's command marched on 80,000 troops under the command of the French General Villars near the town of Malplaquet,⁸ about thirty miles southwest of Bruxelles. English and French artillery opened fire at first light. By 8:00 AM several breaches had been made in the French

⁵ Ivor Burton, *The Captain-General: The Career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough from 1702-1711* (London, 1968) 63-64

⁶ Winston Churchill *Marlborough: His Life and Times, Book One*, (G.G. Haraap, 1947) 565; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 32, 94, 202; Richard Kane, *A system of camp-discipline, military honours, garrison-duty, and other regulations for the land forces, collected by a gentleman of the army. In which are included, Kane's Discipline for a battalion in action. To which is added, General Kane's Campaigns of king William and the duke of Marlborough (1757)*, 55, 165; Hugh Cuthbert Basset Rogers, *British Army of the 18th century*, (Allen and Unwin, 1977), 67-75.

⁷ Roderick Geikie and Isabel A.. Montgomery, *The Dutch Barrier: 1705-1719*, (New York, 1968) 109-110

⁸ David Chandler, *Robert Parker and the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo: The Marlborough Wars* (Archon Books, 1968) 86

entrenchments. The English and their allies advanced along a long front, attacking several villages and woods in and around Malplaquet. After nearly eight hours of vicious fighting, the French infantry routed, but were saved from total disaster by heavy French cavalry which helped cover the fleeing soldiers. More than 32,000 men lay dead on the field of battle.⁹ Robert Parker, of the Royal Irish Regiment, said that it had been "...the most obstinate and bloody battle that had been fought in the memory of any then living..."¹⁰

Parker also gave an eye-witness illustration of the benefits of platoon firing over firing by rank.¹¹ When Parker's regiment met The Royal Regiment of Ireland, an Irish Regiment serving under the French, their sergeants had drilled them to fire more guns faster than their countrymen. Six platoons fired their guns in rolling waves of fire and smoke perfectly orchestrated to create a continuous hail of lead. The Royal Regiment of Ireland only fired by ranks, which meant longer pauses in between volleys while men reloaded. After just three volleys, Parker's regiment had broken the opposing line. At the heart of platoon firing was a simple mathematical truth, Marlborough's lines killed more men faster. Sergeants like Walter Butler were the key to making platoon firing work, through strict practice and discipline.¹²

The Battle of Malplaquet marked the beginning of a short, steep decline of fortune for Marlborough. His victory was seen in London as having been bought at too high a price and left him vulnerable to his political enemies. It failed to boost the Whig ministry or secure

⁹ Chandler, *Robert Parker*, 88

¹⁰ Robert Parker in Chandler, *Robert Parker* 86-87; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 200-211

¹¹ Ivor Burton, *The Captain-General: The Career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough from 1702-1711* (London, 1968); Churchill, *Marlborough*, 565

¹² Robert Parker in Chandler, *Robert Parker*, 84

a favorable peace. There were military disasters in Spain that year as well. These setbacks in addition to the personal turmoil surrounding Queen Anne at court set the stage for convulsions at the top of British society that had direct consequences for Walter Butler's career and for British North America.¹³

The casualties suffered by Marlborough's regiments at Malplaquet precipitated political upheaval in Parliament. In 1710 Whig ministers were turned out of office. The new Tory ministry anticipated negotiations for peace and felt the best way to both conclude a treaty on favorable terms and restore confidence in the military was to have one more big victory. Another major campaign on the continent would risk another expensive slaughter like Malplaquet, so the ministry looked at an plan for the conquest of Canada which had been promoted by Samuel Vetch and Francis Nicholson entitled *Canada Surveyed In the French Dominions upon the continent of America, briefly considered in their situation, strength, Trade, number, more particularly, how vastly prodigal They are to the English interest, and a method proposed Of easily reducing them.*¹⁴

An expedition to Canada was an attractive solution to these problems. Prizes won in the Americas could be used as leverage in peace negotiations with Louis XIV. Military victory would also bring glory to the new Tory regime. It would weaken Marlborough's position by removing from the field in Flanders five British regiments that owed their battlefield prestige to Marlborough. Two regiments commanded by those with tight ties to St.

¹³ Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 212-224

¹⁴ Samuel Adams Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 267; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 227-230; Samuel Vetch, June 15, 1708 to Duke of Marlborough, *Canada Surveyed In the French Dominions upon the continent of America, briefly considered in their situation, strength, Trade, number, more particularly, how vastly prodigal They are to the English interest, and a method proposed Of easily reducing them.* This includes a Humble Representation of Francis Nicholson dated December 1708 National British Archives WO 4, Blenheim Addendum 61647 (notation at the end of folio says 15 June 1709 relating to Canada (C 1-41)

John were added to the expedition to make seven total regiments. As regiments were the creation of their colonels and generals, these two regiments would represent the interests of the Queen and Tory leadership during the expedition. Marlborough's men would provide valuable veteran experience to a Tory military initiative and reduce Marlborough's continental command. Tories not only sought to end the war through a distinctly Tory policy which was transatlantic in nature. This "Bluewater Strategy" was in stark contrast with Marlborough's continental strategy. Tories also hoped to win the support of American colonists, who had been traditionally unfriendly toward Tory ministers and an important part of the English mercantile class.¹⁵

Americans had been lobbying for military aid for much of the war. Letters, petitions, and colonial agents consistently attempted to solicit the kind of help that would eliminate French threats to colonial security, shipping, and access to natural resources.¹⁶ Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts and Jerimiah Dummer, a lobbying agent hired by Connecticut were among the most prominent of these voices during the war. The 1704 raid on Deerfield and attacks on New England's mercantile fleet created a renewed urgency to eliminate New France's threat to New England. New Englanders advocating a Canadian Invasion had been disappointed in 1709 when a planned invasion force to capture Canada

¹⁵ William Thomas Morgan. 'Queen Anne's Expedition of 1711'. *Queen's University Bulletin*. Issue 56, May 1928 3-32; Samuel Vetch, Canada Surveyed; Dudley to Council of Trade and Plantations November 10, 1707 CSPC 1706-1709 pp587 item 1186; "Address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay to the Queen, Nov. 11, 1710." *Papers of Queen Anne*, Item 482, Vol.25 (1710-1711), 253-255; James D. Alsop 'Samuel Vetch's 'Canada Survey'd': The Formation of a Colonial Strategy, 1706-1710.' *Acadiensis*, September, 1982, 39; Ian Steele, *Guerillas and Grenadiers: The Struggle for Canada 1689-1760* (Toronto, Ryerson Press: 1969), 42

¹⁶ Samuel Vetch, Canada Surveyed; Dudley to Council of Trade and Plantations November 10, 1707 CSPC 1706-1709 pp587 item 1186; "Address of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of the Massachusetts Bay to the Queen, Nov. 11, 1710." *Papers of Queen Anne*, Item 482, Vol.25 (1710-1711), 253-255 ; Alsop, Samuel Vetch's 'Canada Survey'd', 39; Steele, *Guerillas and Grenadiers*,42

was diverted to Portugal. Samuel Vetch and Francis Nicholson and Governor Robert Hunter of New York were all interested in having a hand in governing a newly acquired territory. A limited attack on Port Royal in 1710 had made Vetch a governor of Nova Scotia the previous year. Outside the walls of Port Royal however Nova Scotia was anything but pacified in 1711.¹⁷

As a dramatic part of the lobbying effort in 1710, five Mohawk Sachems were introduced to London's power elite, causing a huge sensation and focusing English attention on North American affairs. England's imperial representatives in North America as well as the colonial power elite worked vigorously together to convince British ministers to support a Canadian invasion. The Sachem's visit in many ways brought attention to the war in America as a *cause célèbre*. Talk of the American situation was fashionable during the Sachems visit. After years of Whig ambivalence about a major North American campaign, the Tories in 1710 decided to embrace a North American adventure for 1711.¹⁸

Francis Nicholson was one of England's most active and experienced imperial agents in North America. He had served as Governor of New York, Virginia, and Maryland by 1710 and had spent much of the war marshaling forces on the New England and New York's frontier with New France. In 1709 Nicholson had commanded the overland part of a Canadian Expedition, but had been bitterly disappointed. Nicholson had mobilized provincial troops for an assault on Montreal and then lingered for much of the summer at Wood Creek, a staging area near the southern shores of Lake Champlain while waiting for word of the

¹⁷ Morgan, 'Queen Anne's Expedition' 3-4, 185; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 302-303

¹⁸ Morgan. *Queen Anne's Expedition of 1711*, 32-33; Gerald Graham, the Walker Expedition. Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 227-229

English army that would attack Quebec from the ocean. In October of that year he was informed that the expedition had been cancelled months earlier and the army he had expected diverted to Portugal. In 1710 he and Samuel Vetch were able to successfully capture Port Royal, Nova Scotia.¹⁹

As the British Empire prepared to go to war in North America in late 1710, Queen Anne authorized the very rare promotion of thirty British sergeants to the commissioned rank of ensign in support of the Canadian expedition. The business of finding the thirty sergeants was taken care of by Richard Grenville, the Secretary of War.²⁰ Grenville conducted his search in secret, using deliberately vague language; no rank given in one letter, simply their 'encouragement' was to be their reward.²¹ The Queen's warrant for the actual commission demonstrates that Grenville was aware of the terms of the thirty sergeants. They were recommended and assembled in England soon after and in secrecy. Only one similar promotion on this level was for the 1709 expedition which was then diverted to Portugal. Out of 200 sergeants promoted beyond the ranks during Queen Anne's War, these 30 are a significant proportion at 15% of all such promotions. To receive one then was unusual and a great honor. Among those chosen to fill the warrant was Walter Butler.²²

"Anne R. Our Will and Pleasure is and we do hereby make and pass this our establishments of thirty sergeants of our army whose experience in military affair hath inclined us to employ them in our service on the foot of ensigns

¹⁹ Stephen Saunders Webb 'The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson' *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct., 1966), 540; George Waller, *Samuel Vetch Colonial Enterpriser* (Chapel Hill Press, 1970), 208

²⁰ Burke's Peerage 107th Ed. 2003, Burke, *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (107th Ed. 2003), Vol. 2 pp 2188

²¹ Granville to Commissioners of Transport, January 29, 1711 W/O 4/10 116-200

²² List of Sergeants Who Had Her Majesty's Commissions to be Lieutenants of Foot in America, All dated 1st January. 1711, Dalton, *Commission Registers, 1707-1714*, 291-2

pay; the same being to commence and take place from the first day of January instant. Given at our court at St. James this the 12th day of January 1710/11 in the ninth year of our reign."²³

Butler's recommender for this rather uncommon promotion is recorded as a "Mr. Trevanion." Among all those recommending sergeants for this endeavor, Mr. Trevanion alone is not distinguished by rank. The rest have either military rank or in the case of the earls of Barrymore and Orkney, a noble title.²⁴ It is most likely that Butler's patron was John Trevanion, a Tory who had negotiated the shifting political tides by first serving with James II Guards in 1686, having converted to Catholicism, then renouncing popery and returning to the Anglican Church by 1703. He inherited his father's estate in that year and in 1705 was elected to Parliament with John Grenville as running mate. John Trevanion was not a vocal Member of Parliament and few records exist to track his activities.²⁵ He took on the interest of a Genoese merchant in 1708 who had suffered losses at the hands of notorious pirate Captain Kidd. His other recorded involvements included voting against candle duties and the impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell, a Tory clergyman who had criticized the Whig government in a tract entitled "The Perils of False Brethren," which viciously attacked non-conforming protestants and their Whig defenders. During the elections of 1710 he and Grenville were returned to Parliament with the slogan "Grenville and Trevanion as sound as a Bell, For the Queen the Church and Sacheverel."²⁶ Both the issues of heavy taxes and the trial of Dr.

²³ Public Records Office Treasury Papers, Document Reference T1 / 131

²⁴ Granville to Commissioners of Transport, January 29, 1711 Public Records Office WO 4/10, 116-200

²⁵ <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/trevanion-john-1667-1740> (2015)

²⁶ The Parochial History of Cornwall: Founded on the Manuscript ..., Volume 2 edited by Davies Gilbert

Sacheverell were key events leading up to large scale rioting in London in March of 1710. Violence soon spread all over England and lasted into the autumn. Mobs particularly targeted dissenting congregations and Whigs. The existence of 10,000 Palatinate German refugees who were camped just outside London, a group which will continue to figure significantly in the story of the Butlers of the Mohawk Valley, was also contributing factor to the violence as English rioters resented their presence. As non-Anglican Protestants they were viewed as dissenting foreigners through the same lens as Scotch Presbyterians and French Huguenots, threats to the Authority of the Anglican Church and tools of Whig partisans.²⁷ Along with the heavy losses at Malplaquet these riots were a contributing factor in the fall of the Whig ministry.

John Trevanion was also a leading member of the “October Club,” a block of about 150 Tory MPs who wielded a significant amount of power between 1710 and 1714. The Club, either named after the type of beer drunk by the members at a tavern near parliament or a name derived from the October 1710 election which toppled the Whig ministry, was mostly composed of “backbenchers,” junior MPs dissatisfied with the politics of accommodation. They pushed an extreme Tory agenda which criticized not just the previous Whig ministry, but Tory leadership under Robert Harley, who they saw making too many compromises with the Whig opposition. John Trevanion was a signatory to the petition for Marlborough’s impeachment in 1712. Although he would eventually join the Whigs after the ascension of George I and fall into obscurity until his death, in 1710 John Trevanion was a Tory partisan

²⁷ Webb, *Marlborough’s America*, 296; Geoffrey Holmes, ‘The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London’ *Past & Present*, No. 72 (Aug., 1976), 55-85

with powerful connections to leading ministers. He would have been in a unique position to dispense the kind of patronage leading to Walter Butler's elevation in 1710.²⁸

His involvement with the young sergeant is weak circumstantial evidence supporting the Butler's claim that they were connected to the house of Ormonde in so much that this recommendation is proof a powerful patron did exist. John Trevanion and the second Duke of Ormonde did move within the same Tory circles. The second Duke, James Butler had; like John Trevanion, both been among King James II's elite before shifting allegiance to William and Mary in 1688. Unfortunately John Trevanion's lack of an obvious link with Walter Butler obscures whatever information might have been gleaned from the recommendation of a commanding officer, a circumstance that might have allowed us to follow Walter Butler through a regimental history. Whatever the motivations of John Trevanion, Walter Butler had a very high placed patron, evidence of an importance beyond his enlisted rank.

The rationale for the thirty sergeant's promotions was their experience. Walter Butler and the others were products of increased professionalization in the English military during Queen Anne's War. Ideally they would help bring order to disorderly provincial levies. Marlborough had achieved a high degree of uniformity of drill and clothing by 1710. His sergeants were well versed with these initiatives and their benefits. Thirty newly minted junior officers out pool of such military talent were a valuable potential resource to Francis Nicholson who would command the provincial land forces attacking Montreal. Thirty seems

²⁸ Eveline Cruickshanks, D. W. Hayton, Stuart Handley eds. *The House of Commons, 1690-1715, Volume 5* (Cambridge University Press, 2006) retrieved April 2014 at <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/trevanion-john-1667-1740>; H. T. Dickinson, 'The October Club' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Feb., 1970), 155-173

to be significant because it would be the number of junior lieutenants needed to fill three regiments.²⁹

Nicholson had a poor opinion of America's provincial troops. In 1709 he had commanded roughly 1500 men who were meant to march on Montreal from Albany while a larger British force sent from Europe attacked via New England and the St. Lawrence. This larger force was diverted to Portugal and left Nicholson's force abandoned on the New York frontier. News of the change of plan did not reach Nicholson until late in the fall of 1709. During the failed 1709 campaign, he watched his army at Wood Creek deteriorate steadily all summer due to sickness and desertion.³⁰

The men Nicholson commanded were a motley assortment of colonial militias. They were undisciplined, disorganized and poorly integrated. As a result, Nicholson struggled to achieve massive logistical feats with a miscellaneous band of non-professional soldiers. The colonial soldiers employed in the task of building and supplying a chain of forts from Albany to Lake Champlain were utterly overwhelmed by the tasks assigned to them. Complicating an already difficult task were jealousies between the colonial regiments and resentment over the perceived laziness of the Iroquois warriors who would not stoop to the kind of heavy menial labor demanded of colonial troops. Morale was extremely low. At the beginning of October of 1709, Nicholson described the temper of his men as "mutinous and cowardly." At the end of October his men not only deserted their posts but burned all the forts and remaining supplies, leaving Albany defenseless. Thirty professionally trained officers, loyal to

²⁹ William Alfred Foote, *The American Independent Companies of the British Army 1664-1764*. (University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D., 1966), 19, 269; J.A. Houlding *Fit for Service: Training of the British Army 1715-1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 105

³⁰ Waller, *Samuel Vetch*, 1960, 154

Nicholson, to oversee both the drilling of the colonials for combat and the equally important task of maintaining camp conditions in 1711, added significant professional value to his officer corps compared to 1709.³¹

While the bulk of the Canadian invasion force waited in secret, stuffed into transports anchored off Spithead, Walter Butler and the other ensigns sailed with Francis Nicholson to New England in advance of the main fleet. Two frigates, *Leopard* and *Sapphire* and two transports were badly tossed during the Atlantic crossing, taking close to six weeks to make a crossing which could be made in as little as three.³² Walter Butler and the others landed in Boston in on the 15th of June.³³ Still a medieval town in appearance, the timber frame buildings from the previous century had yet to be swept away by a massive fire later that year.³⁴ Newer structures were presaging the growth that Boston would experience in the 18th century. Butler might have disembarked on or near the brand new “Long Wharf,” a huge pier that extended a third of a mile into Boston Harbor. The Long Wharf led straight onto a steep cobblestone street which rose from the harbor to the center of town, a mass of wooden market buildings built around a Tudor style municipal meeting hall.³⁵

³¹ Waller, *Samuel Vetch*, 133; Bruce T. McCully ‘Catastrophe in the Wilderness: New Light on the Canada Expedition of 1709’ *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Jul., 1954), 441-456

³² Admiral Hovenden Walker, *A Journal, or, full account of the late expedition to Canada with an appendix containing commissions, orders, instructions, letters, memorials, courts...* (imprint by D. Brown, 1720) 3

³³ Walker, *A Journal*, 39, 63 (June 15th); At a meeting of the Governor and Council in New London, June 14th, 1711 *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 5, p 243. (June 8th); Webb, *Marlborough’s America*, 231

³⁴ Edward Ward, *Boston in 1682 and 1699: A Trip to New-England* (J. W. Club for Colonial Reprints, 1905)

³⁵ Walker, *A Journal*, 63

Nicholson brought with him a letter from Queen Ann, requiring the colony's assistance in an expedition against the French. His main duty upon arriving in Boston was the organization of the colonial forces, making sure each colony began to ready their quotas for the expedition and to build supply networks for the forces yet to follow. He was already behind schedule and after a hurried meeting in the old town hall, departed for Connecticut.³⁶

Representatives from all the northern colonies met in New London on June 19th to discuss the unified efforts of the colonies and their respective contributions. All colonies represented donated funds and all but Quaker Pennsylvania agreed to send troops. The Connecticut Assembly immediately endorsed the colony's role in the expedition and drafted an enthusiastic response to the Queen Anne. Bills of credit were authorized and printed immediately and provisions stockpiled and prepared for shipment to Albany where the provincial forces were to meet. New Englanders rejoiced that they would soon be rid of their enemies to the North. In Massachusetts, Bostonians were ecstatic; raising more troops than the plan had originally called for.³⁷

Walter Butler went to New London, Connecticut with Nicholson. There he joined that colony's contingent for the overland expedition to Canada, 300 militia and sixty warriors from local New England tribes, mostly Pequot and Mohegan. Six of Anne's Lieutenants, George Ogilvie, William Strenhorn, Michael Waters, John Price, James Ellis, and Walter Butler were immediately distributed among the Connecticut companies as began acting as recruiters, paymasters, and drill instructors.³⁸ The veterans of Flanders introduced the

³⁶ At a meeting of the Governor and Council in New London, June 14th, 1711 *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 5, 244.

³⁷ At a meeting of the Governor and Council in New London, June 14th, 1711 *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 5, 244.

³⁸ At a meeting of the Governor and Council in New Haven, July 24th, 1711 *Connecticut Colonial*

professionalism of Marlborough's modern army to the small contingent of Connecticut, a service for which Connecticut's council expressed gratitude long after angry letters had been dispatched to England condemning the rest of the expedition.³⁹

The Connecticut militia then marched overland to rendezvous with Nicholson in mid-August, marching roughly thirty miles a day, no small feat under the best of conditions. The route took them from the salt air of the Long Island sound through the bucolic farmland of New Haven and Woodbury. They marched over the heavily forested southern hills of the Berkshires and arrived in the Hudson Valley six days after setting forth. They then turned north, passing the old Dutch settlements along the Hudson River, Dyckman's on the Manor, Kinderhook, and Greenbush.⁴⁰ The last leg of their journey brought them to Half Moon, Albany, where the entirety of the Connecticut contingent was in camp by August 24th.⁴¹

At Half Moon near Albany, Walter got his first glimpse of warriors from the fearsome Iroquois League. At Nicholson's request some 400 Iroquoian warriors, mostly Mohawk, had joined the provincial army. Butler had already spent more than a week marching alongside the sixty or so warriors who travelled with the Connecticut men. Unlike the remaining New England Algonquin bands and tribes, the ethnically distinct Iroquois, were not a diminished people. These warriors of the Six Nations were the undisputed lords of

Records, Vol. 5, 256.

³⁹ A General Assembly Holden at Hartford, in her Majesties Colony of Connecticut, In New England, October 9-17, 1712. *Colonial Connecticut Records*, Vol. 5, 353

⁴⁰ Thomas Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut service in Queen Anne's War, 1710-1711* (New Haven, 1916) 31

⁴¹ Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War*, 31-33; distances estimated using various maps from Google Earth, <http://earth.google.com/>, 03/2007.

the woodlands, the nightmare of other tribes from the coast of Maine to the shores of Lake Superior.⁴²

The Connecticut contingent continued north from Half Moon to Stillwater. There, on August 31, General Nicholson joined the colonial troops. Three loud cheers filled the air as he reviewed his now assembled invasion force. His troops were still healthy and enthusiastic for the expedition, and now roughly 800 additional Iroquoian warriors, including Onondaga and Cayuga, had joined the force.⁴³

The Connecticut militia was mostly engaged in the task of clearing roadways, portaging equipment north via Wood Creek and moving cattle from the camps at Half Moon and Stillwater, past Saratoga, and to the southern terminus of the eleven mile portage that led to the shore of Lake George. All during the first week of September, Butler moved along this route, arriving at last at Fort Nicholson September 7th, a small fort that guarded the last great portage, and the staging area for many ancient and colonial assaults up what was once known as the Great Warpath.⁴⁴

The Iroquois were not the only non-English speaking members of what was, including Dutch New Yorkers from the Hudson, a rather ethnically diverse force, and one that, save for the inclusion of Native American warriors, would not have been out of place in

⁴² Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War*, 34-36; Some 60 local warriors joined the Connecticut expedition. See also Michael Oberg, *Uncas: First of the Mohegans* (Ithaca, 2003) for more detailed analysis of the relationship Connecticut forged with local Native Americans after King Phillip's War.

⁴³ Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War*, 36; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 304

⁴⁴ Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War*, 34; David R. Starbuck, *The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point* (University Press of New England, 1999)

Flanders. Upon Walter Butler's arrival to the rendezvous above Albany he would have heard the languages of Flanders and the Rhineland. Over 300 Palatine men had been impressed, helping to fill New York ranks. Walter Butler had fought alongside Palatine regiments in Flanders⁴⁵ and although the Palatine additions to Nicholson's force had attempted to flee the war that had destroyed their homelands in Europe, they found themselves on another border of the same conflict.⁴⁶

The Palatinate Germans came from a community of refugees, many of whom had escaped dire conditions only to find themselves on an odyssey of tragedy and hardship which had ended in a war camp on the New York frontier. These Palatinate refugees arrived in New York via London just a year or two earlier, escaping the ravages of war and the burden of high taxes in the Rhine Valley. They were lured to England by agents promising land to those willing to settle in the English colonies. By October 1709, close to fifteen thousand Palatinate refugees had flooded into England and assembled in a huge refugee camp on the outskirts of London, where they became first a curiosity, then a growing problem.⁴⁷

Many schemes and ideas were advanced as to what was to be done with these refugees. Groups of Germans were sent to Ireland, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Many ended up in the English military.⁴⁸ Governor Robert Hunter of New York proposed that settlers could be used in New York to produce materials for Britain's navy.⁴⁹ In 1709 roughly 3,000

⁴⁵ Charles Stewart Grant, *The Armies and Uniforms of Marlborough's Wars*, (Partizan Press, 2004)

⁴⁶ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 98; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 304

⁴⁷ Walter Allen Knittle, *Early eighteenth century Palatine emigration* (Philadelphia 1937) 1-5

⁴⁸ Knittle, *Early eighteenth century Palatine emigration*, 58-81; Rev. Sanford Cobb 1897 "The Palatine or German Immigration to New York and Pennsylvania" A paper read before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, PA. 9-10

⁴⁹ Colonel Hunter to the Lords of Trade, Nov, 30, 1709, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of*

Germans, the balance of those left in England, were conveyed to New York for this purpose.⁵⁰ The project was a failure however and the Palatines were treated as serfs and deeply unhappy with the servitude and humiliation that had awaited them on New York's manors.⁵¹

The campaign that Walter took part of during the summer of 1711 was quite different from the campaigns of the battlefields of Flanders that he was used to. What stories of backwoods warfare and Indian raids did he hear as he stared into the flames of the evening fires? Sentries at Wood Creek disappeared in the night without a trace into the primeval wilderness.⁵² War in the North American frontier was very different than the war he already knew. Instead of the pitched volley fire of European armies, concentrated and terrible, instead of rows upon rows of men who fired and reloaded again and again until they either outlasted the other side or were cut down or broken, the woods of the Northeastern colonies posed unfamiliar threats and terrors.⁵³

Walter Butler was a master of Marlborough's drills, the object of which was to provide rigid discipline and the ability to fire fast and effective volleys. The training that the thirty sergeants brought to this provincial are reflected in Humphrey Bland's *A Treatise of Military Discipline*. Bland was also a veteran of Marlborough's European campaigns. What

New York, (DRCHNY) Weed, Parsons and Co. Albany Vol. V 112

⁵⁰ Knittle, *Early eighteenth century Palatine emigration*, 128, 156-8; Secretary Clarke to the Lords of Trade, June 7, 1711, DRCHNY Vol. V 251, Lords of Trade to Governor Hunter, Nov 13, 1711, DRCHNY, Vol. VI 286; Conference between Governor Hunter and the Indians, Sept 20, 1714. DRCHNY Vol.V, 387

⁵¹ Knittle, *Early eighteenth century Palatine emigration*, 156

⁵² Thomas Buckingham, *Roll and Journal of Connecticut service in Queen Anne's War*, 40-41

⁵³ Ian Steele, *Warpaths of North America* (Oxford University Press, 1994) 189-190; Daniel K. Richter 'War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience' *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 4 (Oct., 1983), 528-559, 536

might have been especially useful to the colonials in 1711 beyond the drill, platoon firing, formations, issuing orders through the chain of command, were the procedures for maintaining sanitary encampments. Nicholson's force at Wood Creek in 1711 didn't experience the dysentery that his force had in 1709 or that later colonial forces would endure, perhaps for this very reason.⁵⁴

As Nicholson's force prepared to take Montreal, they could not know about the disaster that had befallen the main expedition. Admiral Hovenden Walker had left Spithead after several long delays. At St. Helena he opened his secret orders and learned he would be sailing to Boston. General John Hill would be commanding the troops. After arriving in Boston, in July, just two weeks behind Nicholson the expedition's leadership struggled with the challenge of outfitting such a large force in a provincial city. Walker and Hill had quickly alienated Boston's leadership, and in particular the traders and wholesalers that they needed to outfit their expedition. They accused merchants of hoarding and price gouging, sailors of feigning ignorance of the St. Lawrence River, and the populace of aiding a steady stream of deserters. Petulant and abusive, the commanders quickly turned an enthusiastic and grateful populace to resentment. In addition, both commanders had problems among their own commands. General Hill lost hundreds of men to desertion while Walker court martialed three of his own captains for failing to stay with the fleet and chasing prizes. The size of the expedition put an enormous strain on a city whose population was exceeded by that of the

⁵⁴ Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare: 1675-1815* (University of Oklahoma: Norman, 1998), 45; Fred Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts soldiers and society in the Seven Years' War* (Williamsburg, 1984) 77,90,96; Edward G Lengel, *George Washington, A Military Life* (New York, 2005) 109

English forces assembled there. The force that sailed from Boston on August 3 was an unhappy one.⁵⁵

On August 23, a few days before Nicholson joined his assembled forces at Wood Creek, Walker's fleets were cruising in the St. Lawrence estuary about one hundred miles west of Anticosti Island near a place called the Ile-aux-Oeufs, the Island of the Eggs. Despite warnings from his officers that they were headed towards shore, Walker sailed his fleet onto unforgiving granite rocks of the barren island just 650 meters from the main shoreline. Ironic since Walker had been fixated with just such an accident on the St. Lawrence since first opening his orders. Walker's journal reflects an obsession with procuring a knowledgeable river pilot. Failing to find a New Englander to guide him, he relied heavily on a single captured French sailor and did not leave a record of a backup plan for successfully navigating to Quebec. Close to a thousand officers, soldiers, sailors, women, and children died in the disaster. Although Walker and Hill still had an overwhelming number of ships and troops at their disposal, on August 25, citing a lack of knowledgeable pilots and the lateness of the season, the fleet sailed back to England.⁵⁶

The news of the fleet's disaster was a relief in Canada. Their situation in 1711 had been serious. Walker's fifteen Warships and sixty-nine transports carried more than enough troops to capture Quebec. Had Walker accomplished his mission, the 2,000 colonials and roughly 600 Iroquois warriors under Nicholson's command would have been unopposed on their march on Montreal from Lake George. The governor of New France, Philippe de

⁵⁵ Webb, *Marborough's America*, 233-237 Francis Parkman, *Francis Parkman's Works Volume IX: A Half Century of Conflict* (Frontenac Edition, 1892) 272-274; Walker, *A Journal, or, full account of the late expedition to Canada*

⁵⁶ Buckingham, *Roll Call and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War*, 32-33; Webb, *Marborough's America*, 242-244

Rigaud, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, could only field about 2,300 men and 700 native warriors. He concentrated all his forces, including the militia from Montreal and Three Rivers, in a last ditch effort to protect Quebec.⁵⁷

Without the threat of the massive British fleet coming up the St. Lawrence, Vaudreuil was able task his entire force to counter Nicholson's much smaller force.⁵⁸ Nicholson's army languished north of Albany for another month before learning in October of the disaster. Years later at a dinner hosted by Sir William Johnson for the Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm, Walter Butler took his turn at entertaining the table by describing Nicholson's reaction to the news of Walker's fleet. When Nicholson, who had a legendary temper, received the news he tore his wig off in a rage crying "Rougerly! Treachery!"⁵⁹ With no hope of success and now under threat themselves, Nicholson burned the forts at the great carrying place and sent the provincials home. It marked an inglorious end of Queen Anne's War in America.⁶⁰

In Europe, the war wound down as the belligerents ran out of cash and political realities shifted. The Duke of Marlborough, his political influence much diminished, still held command of the allied army in 1711 but failed to force a decisive battle. In December he was dismissed and replaced by the Duke of Ormonde, James Butler. The Tory ministry ordered Ormonde to hold in place while they pursued secret peace negotiations with the French. The Allies were left to continue their war with the French on their own while red coated Irishmen gazed across the river Selle at France and longed to plunder what they called

⁵⁷ Gustave Lanctot, *A History of Canada Vol. 2: From the Royal Regime to the Treaty of Utrecht, 1663-1713* (Cambridge, 1964)162

⁵⁸ Lanctot, *A History of Canada Vol. 2* 161-169

⁵⁹ Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America Vol II* (Dover Publications, 1966),135

⁶⁰ Webb, *Marborough's America*, 304

“the promised land.”⁶¹ The English officially concluded their war with Louis XIV at Utrecht in 1713. The Duke's announcement of the peace, instead of receiving cheers, received low hisses as it was read to the regiments.⁶² Ormonde gathered up the last of the equipment and decamped to the sounds of battle at Demain as French forces pushed the abandoned Dutch and German armies back towards the Rhine.⁶³

Queen Anne died in 1714, leaving the British realm to contemplate its political future. Whigs and Tories battled in parliament and in the streets over the succession. The nation had become heavily polarized after Malplaquet and rioting during these years became commonplace. Many believed that a return to the Stuart line was necessary. Rumors fueled by Ormonde himself circulated that Queen Anne had consented to allow her half-brother, the Catholic James Edward Stuart to succeed her instead of the Protestant elector of Hanover, George Louis, with whom Parliament had already negotiated to assume the throne. Tory leaders such as James Butler and Lord Bolingbroke organized popular protests and propaganda. Hoping to prevent George Louis from taking the throne, they were at the center of the movement to reinstate the Stuarts and allied themselves with Scottish Jacobites. Ormonde accepted command of a French force in 1715 which was to coordinate with the Scottish rising. The rebellion against the Hanoverian king however in 1715 was largely abortive.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Robert Parker in Chandler, *Robert Parker and the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo*, 120-122

⁶² Robert Parker in Chandler, *Robert Parker and the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo*, 122

⁶³ Robert Parker in Chandler, *Robert Parker and the Comte de Mérode-Westerloo*, 124

⁶⁴ Eveline Cruikshanks, The Duke of Ormonde and the Atterbury Plot in *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* ed by Toby Christopher Barnard, Jane Fenlon (Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 243-245

James Butler remained in France along with many other disappointed Jacobites and High Tories. He was attainted by an act of Parliament and stripped of his titles. He would die in Avignon, France, disgraced and exiled from his home, living out the rest of his days on a French pension, passing away in 1745.⁶⁵ For Ensign Walter Butler, any connection with his disgraced namesake would be a hindrance in the now firmly Protestant English establishment. His one-time benefactor and John Trevanion, renounced his vocal Toryism and lived out the remainder of his quiet political career as a Whig.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Simon Schama, *A History of Britain: Volume II, The Wars of the British 1603-1776*, (Hyperion: New York, 2001) 348-9

⁶⁶ *The House of Commons, 1690-1715, Volume 5* edited by Eveline Cruickshanks, D. W. Hayton, Stuart Handley (Cambridge University Press, 2006) retrieved April 2014, <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/trevanion-john-1667-1740>

Chapter Three: Lieutenant Walter Butler: Rank, Marriage, and Social Mobility: 1711-1725

Walter Butler and the five other Ensigns returned with their militia units to Connecticut at the end of the 1711 campaign. Nicholson had not provided for the ensigns to either get paid or to make their way home to Great Britain. At the end of 1711 they petitioned the Connecticut Assembly for the pay promised them by the Queen's warrant and for passage home, claiming that "they had been commanded forthwith to repair to Great Britain."¹ They might have expected to continue their commissions in an on-going conflict. As it was, the war was coming to an end. They, among thousands of other commissioned officers, were cast upon half pay. For the thirty sergeants made ensigns in particular, being kept on the half pay list as an ensign would only continue if they remained in America.²

Neglect by the British army of its subalterns was normal however and when considered in light of the social mobility that their promotions to commissioned officers had afforded the former sergeants and the success that Walter Butler and George Ogilvie cultivated in the colonies, was as much of an opportunity as a hindrance. In October of 1712, almost a full year after the failure of Walker's fleet, Connecticut awarded to their English ensigns payment for their 1711 campaign service by a "thankful assembly," for "... an honorable satisfaction for their trouble and expenses..." The six officers, George Ogilvie, William Strenhorn, Michael Waters, John Price, James Ellis, and Walter Butler were given 16 months' pay by Connecticut and were left to pursue their fortunes.³

¹ "At a Meeting of the Governor and Council at Newhaven, October 26th, 1711." *Colonial Connecticut Records*, Vol. 5, 291

² Foote, *Independent Companies*, 202

³ "A General Assembly Holden at Hartford, in her Majesties Colony of Connecticut, In New England,

Of the six Connecticut ensigns, Walter Butler and George Ogilvie remained prominent in the historical record. George Ogilvie stayed in America, married, and settled near New York in Jamaica, Long Island. The two men and their families would remain connected for the remainder of the colonial period. One of Ogilvie's sons, George, served as a midshipman under Sir Peter Warren, whose nephew, William Johnson, would be sent to the Mohawk Valley in the late 1730's. Two other sons were more intimately connected to the Butlers as immediate contemporaries. William Ogilvie became a captain in one of the New York Independent Companies at Fort Stanwick. John Ogilvie became an ordained priest in the Anglican church, after which he served as the rector of St. Peter's Church in Albany and missionary to the Mohawks for about ten years. He also served as Chaplain for the 60th Royal American regiment during the Seven Years War. The four other ensigns are not as apparent in the historical record, their paths for now unknown.⁴

Walter Butler stayed on and flourished in New London. Walter Butler married well into New London society following one of the surest paths for social advancement in Anglo society. In 1712 he married Mary (Harris) Dennison, the only daughter of Thomas and Mary Harris, and the granddaughter of Capt. Daniel Wetherell, a Puritan patrician. Mary had been born in 1690; but her father had died in Barbados when she was an infant. When Thomas died, he left behind a substantial estate. Her mother remarried George Dennison, a notable

October 9-17, 1712. *Colonial Connecticut Records*, Vol. 5, 353

⁴ Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Register*, 291-293; [Note regarding James Ellis] "treasury reference to Robert Pringle, Secretary at War, of the petition of Anne Ellis, widow of James Ellis, late of New York, shewing that her husband served the crown for 30 years in Ireland and Flanders and lately at Canada, where after the reduction of the Regiment in which he served with the other officers continued there to head the militia against the Indians: She therefor prays "his majesty's bounty to officers," the said petition being referred to the Treasury by an order of council dated St. James's 1717-1718" in Great Britain. Public Record Office, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, ... Preserved in the Public Record Office edited by W. A. Shaw. V.31, 1717. Part 3. (H.M. Stationery Office, 1957), 596

resident of New London with his own substantial estate. George Denison was a graduate of Harvard College, studied law and settled in New London, Conn., where he was town clerk, county clerk, and clerk of probate. George was nephew of one of Connecticut's most prominent citizens and a hero of King Philip's War, Captain George Dennison. The Dennison Family was a fixture of Connecticut colonial government.⁵ Walter's bride Mary was considered one of the richest heiresses in New London. Butler's marriage instantly made him one of New London's "prominent inhabitants."⁶ Walter Butler's father in law had been present at the Assembly which demanded an inquiry into the failure of Walker's fleet to get to Quebec.⁷ While the nature of their exact relationship is circumstantial, Walter and George had eight years in which to become acquainted and were family. That George Dennison supported his son-in-law through introductions as well as the material wealth that came with marriage to his daughter is certainly worth noting. Shortly before Denison's death during the winter of 1719/1720, he sold a one acre town lot in New London to Walter Butler.⁸ In the years after Queen Anne's War, Walter Butler led a life lost to time, punctuated in the historical record by the births of sons and daughters. Between 1712 and 1724, Walter and Mary had six children, the oldest of whom was Mary. Walter's next oldest were two sons,

⁵ John Dension Baldwin and William Clift, *A Record of the Descendants of George Dennison of Stoning Connecticut etc* (Worcester: Tyler and Seagrave, 1881) 6-8

⁶ Francis Caulkins, *History of New London*, (New London, 1852) 271; 342

⁷ At a Meeting of the Governour and Council in New London, October 30th, 1711, *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 5, 292; A General Assembly, Holden at Hartford, Nov. 3, 1711, *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 5, 294

⁸ At a General Assembly Holden at Hartford, May 8, 1720, *Connecticut Colonial Records*, Vol. 6, 179; Dennison Homestead Stonington New London Pequot ..Sepos Rd. 2 story, frame residence, built 1717?

Thomas and Walter, traditional Ormonde names for boys. His younger daughters were Jane, Katherine, and the youngest Lydia, who was born in January of 1724.⁹

The results, if not the substance, of the efforts he put into his career however was evident during the colonial crisis of 1724. In that year Walter Butler served as a militia captain in what is alternately known as Râles War or Dummer's War, 1722 to 1725. New Englanders at the time simply referred to it as just another Indian War. Walter Butler's experience during Râles War was that of a prototypical American Ranger. The Lt. Governor and acting governor of Connecticut, John Talcott, was well acquainted with the Denison family. Butler's commission is presumptive evidence of the colonial connections he had forged in the twelve years since becoming a resident of New London.¹⁰

Râles War was a consequence of cessions made at the end of Queen Anne's War. France surrendered territories in what are now Maine, Northern New Hampshire and Vermont to England. This forced the Algonquin in the region, a confederation of tribes known as the Abenaki, to conclude a separate peace with the English known as the Treat of Portsmouth.¹¹ The Abenaki were forced to swear their allegiance to the Queen as subjects, but for all practical purposes remained allied to the French. As the Abenaki pondered an uncertain future, a fragile peace between England and France left them vulnerable to English aggression spurred by land speculation and settlement. Canadian officials, fearing growing

⁹ Francis Caulkins, *History of New London*, 343

¹⁰ George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield Vol 1* (Press of E.A. Hall & Company, 1895) 171-173; Edwin Monroe Bacon, *The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut* (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1907 - Dresden (N.H.) 158

¹¹ Chalmers, George, *A collection of treaties between Great Britain and other powers. Vol. 1* (J. Stockdale (London): 1790) 340-390. Colin G. Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England* (Hanover, 1991) 154-155; 159

English influence in the region, used French priests to instigate a proxy war between the Algonquin tribes along the frontier of New England and New France. In January of 1722 Massachusetts send a force of militia to capture Father Rôle, A French priest and agent, at Norridgewock, initiating open hostilities. From the coast of Maine and Acadia to the Connecticut River Valley, frontier towns were terrorized by the kind of attacks which had once characterized the terror of King Phillip's War. ¹²

Walter Butler's adopted home was drawn into Massachusetts's war by their proximity to the fighting in the Connecticut River Valley. Connecticut traditionally cooperated with Massachusetts during colonial wars. Although much larger and powerful than Connecticut, Massachusetts had a wide wilderness frontier to defend, hundreds of settlements from the coast of Maine to the Berkshire Mountains. Massachusetts's military strength was spread very thin. Connecticut's soldiers, armed with the muskets supplied by Nicholson in 1711, marched north during the campaigning seasons to help defend Hampshire County, Massachusetts, in the Connecticut River Valley and were stationed as far North as present day Stafford Vermont. ¹³

Walter Butler served as a Captain in the Connecticut Militia during Rôle's War, commander of mixed force of 80 Indian and Connecticut fighters during the campaign season

¹² Colin G. Calloway, *Dawnland Encounters*, 154-155; 159; Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, "Who was Paugus?" *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 12, No. 2. (Jun., 1939), 203-226; Francis Parkman, *Francis Parkman's Works Volume Nine* (Frontenac Edition, 1892) 212-214 & 234-235; Drake, *The Border Wars of New England*, 221& 235-6

¹³ Governor of Massachusetts to Connecticut assembly, May 1697, *Connecticut Archives, War, Vol. III* doc. 32ab, Connecticut State Library, Hartford; Richard H. Marcus "The Connecticut Valley A Problem in Intercolonial Defense," *Military Affairs*, Vol.33, No.1. (Apr.,1969) 231; At A Meeting of the Governor and Council in Hartford, July 8th, 1724, *Colonial Connecticut Records*, Vol. 6, 474; Captain John Mason to Deputy Governor Talcott, Stonington, October 5th, 1724 in *The Talcott Papers: Correspondence and Documents (chiefly Official) During Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, 1724-41, Volume 5*, (Connecticut Historical Society, 1896) 9-10.

of 1724. These were light infantry that could move quickly through rough terrain and operate independently. This ranging type of warfare would comprise the bulk of the Butler's American experience for the next three generations. On July 2nd, Captain Walter Butler led his men from New London and Hartford County to protect the settlements at Litchfield, North Milford, Simsbury, Farmington, Danbury, Turkey Hills and the garrison at Shepag.¹⁴

The summer was tense for the residents of the Connecticut River Valley. Butler responded to multiple alarms from July to September. Reports of enemy warriors, sometimes in groups several hundred strong, filtered in to the Connecticut River Valley all that summer.¹⁵ Although worried about a continued threat from Algonquin warriors, Colonel Samuel Partridge, commander of the Connecticut troops in Massachusetts, ordered Butler's mixed command to return home and disband in October. By the end of the summer the Mohegan and Pequot warriors who augmented the Rangers were getting anxious to return to the harvest and were in turn causing the English some anxiety by drinking the hard cider that was readily available during the harvest.¹⁶ Colonel Partridge particularly commended Butler on his efforts that summer.

“...I can more especially speak to Captain Butler and his men, because they have been with me, who have been indefatigable in guarding the people and scouting the woods for the security of the towns they have been posted in. I shall never desire more effective men that Col. Goodrich and Captain Butler and their men upon such difficult exigencies as we in those extreme frontiers are exposed unto.”

¹⁴ At A Meeting of the Governor and Council in Hartford, July 8th, 1724, *Colonial Connecticut Records*, Vol. 6, 474

¹⁵ A Brief account, taken out of the minutes of the council of war book, of men sent into the service this summer, from May, 1724 to October 6th, 1724, in *Talcott Papers*, 10-12

¹⁶ Capt. John Williams to Deputy Gov. Talcott, Stonington, October 7, 1724. *Talcott Papers*, 14-15.

Mary Butler died shortly after the conclusion of Râle's War. In 1727 Walter married Deborah Dennis (Ely), the widow of Ebenezer Dennis. Ebenezer had left behind a house “commanding a fine prospect of the harbor,” and a substantial library of 139 books. He had also left 25 pounds to be distributed among the town's poor. Deborah filled the gap in Walter's family quickly and was also able to bring her economic resources to her new family. In 1728 Deborah gave birth to Walter’s third son, John.¹⁷

Walter Butler had been on the Royal Army’s Half Pay list for 14 years when he was offered a British command by the Governor of New York, William Burnet. On August 16, 1725 Governor Burnet commissioned Walter Butler to succeed Lt. John Scott, the first commander of Fort Hunter, a small outpost on the Mohawk River located on a peninsula where Schoharie Creek joins the Mohawk River (now the Eire Canal) from the southeast.¹⁸ The completion of Fort Hunter in 1711 had replaced Schenectady as the leading edge of frontier in New York. A garrison village at the edge of British Empire, Fort Hunter was prototypical product of centuries of imperial colonization with a heredity firmly based, like Walter Butler, in the Irish conquest.¹⁹

¹⁷ Caulkins, *History of New London*, 343

¹⁸ Governor Burnet to the Duke of Newcastle, August 17, 1725, New York in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739* CD Rom, ed. Karen Kupperman, Joyce Appleby and Many Banton (London: Routledge and PRO, 2000) Item 708, Vol. 34 (1724-25), 411; *Calendar of New York Colonial Commissions 1680-1770*, ed. by Edmund B. O’Callaghan (New York Historical Society, 1929) 20

¹⁹ Nelson Green, *History of the Mohawk Valley: Gateway to the West 1614-1925* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925) 430-450

Chapter Four: Walter Butler and Government on the New York Frontier 1725-1746

Conquest on the New York frontier followed a model developed over centuries in Irish borderlands. Garrisons helped establish control over place, established economic power, and supported a local ruling class. Military power was a necessary part of frontier conquest but the garrisons had limited military utility by themselves. They provided military support infrastructure, local intelligence, and ideally were reminders of the threat that the larger English military establishment represented (although their weakness conversely could and did undermine English authority.) However, the establishment of English law and culture rather than military might was at the heart of garrison government's role during English colonization in the Americas and Ireland. Lt. Walter Butler's Achievements on the New York frontier were not a result of military prowess, rather they resulted from the expansion of Anglo law and culture.¹

From the time of his arrival to the outbreak of the last great imperial war with France in 1755, Walter Butler helped transform the Mohawk Valley into an English territory. He helped convert large swaths of Indian land into *real estate* governed by English Common Law. He shaped economic development which attached the Mohawk Valley to Britain's massive Atlantic economy and the English laws which governed it. He acted as a local

¹ Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General. The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681* (University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*; Sarah Barber, "Settlement, transplantation and expulsion: a comparative study of the placement of people." in *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* ed., Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer (Cambridge University Press, 2005) 280; Patrick Kelly, "Conquest vs. Consent" in *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, 334-356; [Marriage:] Jane Ohlmeyer, "The Irish Peers, Political Power, and Parliament" in *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, 168; Ciaran Brady and Jane Ohlmeyer, "New Perspectives on the English", in *British Interventions in Early Modern*, 10-11, 14-16; Donald Jackson, *Intermarriage in Ireland: 1500-1650* (Montreal, 1970); Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (Yale University Press, 2012) 170-171; Lawrence Stone "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700" *Past & Present* No. 33 (Apr., 1966), 16-55

magistrate which supported imperial governance and English Common Law. Walter Butler's sons married into prominent local Dutch families which not only increased the Butler's social prestige and wealth, but brought those families in closer relationships with the English establishment which supported the Butlers. Lastly Walter Butler developed reciprocal relationships with the local Mohawk people, aiding in the creation of an Anglo-Iroquois borderland more susceptible to English pressures. Walter Butler's achievements in these five areas would have been entirely recognizable strategies employed by generations of his ancestors and namesakes in Ireland. While real estate purchase, civil governance, economic development, marriage, and diplomacy are not implicitly military in nature, all of these facets of colonialization were facilitated by the central role garrisons played in colonization.

Imperial prerogative was undermined consistently by a lack of material support from London. Thus the imperial roots of colonialization that New York shared with Ireland also included strategies for mitigating chronic underfunding. Country garrisons in Ireland were the precursors of the impoverished garrisons of New York's independent companies. Drawing pay for non-existent men on the muster roles, profit from garrison supply contracts, and land speculation; at casual glance mere instances of graft, were in fact the main source for garrison support in Ireland and at Walter Butler's Fort Hunter. What modern sensibilities view as fraud was in fact one of the main sources of imperial power for garrison commanders.²

² Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536-1588* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) 213-226, 227, 243); Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established* (New York, 1976) 158; G.A. Hayes-McCoy "The Completion of the Tudor Conquest," in *A New History of Ireland., Vol. III, Early Modern Ireland*, eds T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (Oxford, 1976) 94-144

Butler's command of a militarily insignificant post with little to no funding was in fact a plum. The command of Fort Hunter dramatically transformed Walter and his heirs into leading figures of the British establishment on the frontier. The tiny outpost was a seed, a virus, which would forever alter the Mohawk Valley all out of proportion to its humble size. The populations of people living around Fort Hunter were drawn into to an imperial tradition that had started centuries earlier.

Walter left his family in New London in the summer of 1725 and joined the garrison at Fort Hunter where he assumed duties immediately. Meanwhile Burnet's request to the Duke of Newcastle to confirm his appointment was denied. Instead, a Lt. Thomas Smyth was appointed in England. The appointment was a double blow to Walter Butler. Not only had Smyth taken his post, he had convinced the Duke of Newcastle to predate his commission to the date of Lt. Scott's death. Thus Walter Butler initially received no pay for almost a full year's active service at the post.³

A frustrated Burnet wrote to remind the Duke that the out-garrisons to which Smyth had been assigned were in dire need of his services and that since Smyth had already collected a full year's salary he should "...be ordered to repair forthwith to his post."⁴ In 1728 Burnet was sent to govern Massachusetts and replaced by a governor with closer ties to George II.⁵ Upon assuming his post, Governor John Montgomery wrote to the Secretary of State for American Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle, to announce his arrival In New York.

³ Governor Burnet to the Duke of Newcastle, June 2, 1726, New York. DRCHSNY, 775

⁴ Governor Burnet to the Duke of Newcastle, June 2, 1726, New York. DRCHSNY, 775

⁵ John Anderson and Alexander Flick (Syracuse University), *A Short History of the State of New York*, (New York, 1920) 48; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 375; Mary Lou Lustig, *Privilege and Prerogative: New York's Provincial Elite, 1710-1776* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1995) 39; Stanley N. Katz, *Newcastle's New York: Anglo-American Politics, 1732- 1753* (Cambridge, 1968), 23-28. 4.

His letter described political difficulties that had led to his dismissal of the New York assembly. He needed to shore up the imperial authority immediately. As part of his initial report Montgomery asked for the immediate confirmation of Walter Butler. "...There is one here Walter Butler, one of the half pay lieutenants, sent over some years ago, and yet unprovided for. He is a man of a very good character, and recommended to me as well affected to the King's service."⁶ Nearly two years after Walter Butler had taken effective command of the outpost, his commission was confirmed.⁷

The frustration of those on the American Half Pay list was typical. Management of commissions remained in London and often resulted in the appointment of officers without frontier experience. Andrew Nichols, one of the thirty sergeants who had come over with Butler in 1711, was passed over for promotion three times and became the oldest Lieutenant in all of the Four Companies.⁸ Henry Holland, with whom Walter Butler was well acquainted as his immediate superior in the Independent Companies of Fusiliers in New York, was passed over for a captaincy after twenty years of seniority. The man selected in his stead stayed in England for a year before selling his commission to another soldier who took eight months before taking his post. In 1722 Henry Holland was finally commissioned Capt. of

⁶ Governor Montgomerie to the Duke of Newcastle, May 6th, 1728, New York. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. By E.B. O'Callaghan (New York, 1855) 855; *Calendar of New York Colonial Commissions 1680-1770*, ed. by Edmund B. O'Callaghan (New York Historical Society, 1929) 21

⁷ Foote, *Independent Companies*, pp 20, 42, 271; Webb, Stephen Saunders. "Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle, *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 59, No. 4. (Mar., 1973), 980-982

⁸ Pargellis, "The Four New York Companies," 110-112

Albany's independent company.⁹ Walter joined two other former ensigns from the 1711 expedition who served on the Independent Company's garrisons, Timothy Bagley and Edmond Blood.¹⁰ William Helling would be added to the roll by 1740, another one of the 30 sergeants promoted by Anne in 1711. William Ogivile also joined the officer corps of the Rutherford's company. His father, James Ogivile, had been one of the 30 sergeants and served as the Garrison's chaplain. There were four of the 1711 sergeants at Albany in 1740. These four men and close to a dozen of their sons were eventually assigned to Albany's Independent Company.¹¹

Walter Butler's commission gave him command of one of the smallest posts in the British Empire. Fort Hunter was built during Queen Anne's War and named in honor of the Governor at the time. The road to the fort from Albany was a small, rough Indian path that meandered through the woods and was littered with fallen trees, roots, steep hills, and swamps. Riding or walking was equally difficult. The Mohawk River, which passed nearby, was only navigable in the spring and fall, being dry in the summer and frozen in the winter. Fort Hunter was 150x180 foot rectangle, with a blockhouse at each corner. Blockhouses housed fireplaces and small, seven and nine pound cannons. Loopholes provided safe firing positions for the soldiers. Inside the fort a house for two missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and a Chapel were erected. Among the unique treasures of Fort

⁹ Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *Calendar of New York Colonial Commissions: 1680-1770* (New York Historical Society, 1929) 25; Governor Burnet to Lords of Trade, Capt. Holland's Commission, March 18, DRCHSNY, Volume 5, 646

¹⁰ Dalton, *Army Lists*, 291-3

¹¹ Great Britain. *List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants and Ensigns of His Majesty's Forces on the British Establishment* (London, 1740), 57

Hunter was the communion plate given as a gift by Queen Anne in 1712.¹² By the time Butler took command of the fort in the 1720s; however, it had become a rotting collection of buildings with a stockade that the local Mohawk could scale "like so many cats."¹³

The history of the garrison at Fort Hunter fits into the larger history of British Empire as a representative microcosm of garrison government on the fringes, far from the halls of power and on frontiers where imperial authority was weak. The Independent Companies on the frontier represented a plantation strategy of settlement first employed during the conquest of Ireland. Officers commanding these garrisons have been described as a last vestige of feudal England, paid caretakers of self-sufficient posts that did not follow the main development of the British professional military. Garrisons and armed trading posts like Fort Hunter existed throughout the British Empire. Fort Hunter was one of several garrisons in upper New York located at Albany, Schenectady, and Oswego which were part of the New York Independent Company out of Albany.¹⁴

The New York frontier garrisons deserve comparison to those small frontier garrisons which were so ubiquitous to the Irish experience. They were born of the Irish experience. Garrisons in Ulster, Munster, the Irish Pale, and Kilkenny had helped define a borderlands where competing culture, religion, economies, and military power were transformed locally into pieces of English empire. Ideally, weak outposts would become stronger overtime, consolidating the imperial hierarchy and establishing new local power elite. The Tudors and

¹² Daniel O'Connor, *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel 1701-2000* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000) 237

¹³ John Wolfe Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks* (New York, 1968) 31-32; Guzzardo, *William Johnson's Official Family*, 36

¹⁴ Foote, *Independent Companies*, xxvi,1-8; Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 23

Stuarts had been especially concerned with the ability of provincial elites in Ireland and the Americas to weaken central authority and so had placed many garrisons and outposts under the separate command of the centralized English military. In Ireland, sixty six Independent companies were created during the Restoration to check the power of local elites, many of whom had wielded their troops in their own interest during the turbulent 17th century.¹⁵ The practice had been continued by William, Mary and Anne during the Protestant Settlement. Military continuity in the Americas was aided by the large number of soldiers, officers, and governors that shared military experience in Marlborough's army and remained separate from provincial control during the first half of the 18th century.¹⁶

In 1720 the twenty men (on paper) at Fort Hunter shared one bed tick, two blankets, and four sheets. Conditions at the main Albany garrison were not much better, they had rotten straw beds and only two out of the six cooking pots were usable.¹⁷ Men and officers were expected to pay for items as basic as food and uniforms out of their own pay. The high cost of staples in New York combined with a 30% pay reduction justified by the strength of the pound v. colonial currency made those who served in the Independent Companies some of the worst paid soldiers in the British army.¹⁸

¹⁵ Francis G. James, *Lords of the Ascendancy: The Irish House of Lords and its Members, 1600-1800* (The Catholic University of America Press, 1995) 101; John Childs *The Army of Charles the II*, (University of Toronto Press 1976), 203

¹⁶ Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland 1536-1588* (Cambridge University Press, 1994) 211 213-216 : Stephen Saunders Webb, *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of Empire, 1569-1681*, (The University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1979) 5-6, 325 Quoting Sir Thomas Lynch

¹⁷ Pargellis, *Four New York Companies*, 113

¹⁸ Pargellis, *Four New York Companies*, 100-1

The poverty of the New York Independent companies meant that they had to develop alongside of the communities they garrisoned and indeed most change that took place locally was a result of the garrison's becoming an inseparable part of colonial society. This was highly reminiscent of how imperial control had developed in Ireland as soldier planters implanted themselves within local societies and changed them by merging with them instead of supplanting them. The changes were so dramatic that over time Anglo-Irish communities would become, as Americans would become in the Mohawk Valley, exotic or foreign to those in England.¹⁹

Despite the material dependence and close relationships with local populations that shaped the garrisons, they remained distinct expressions of British military authority.²⁰ The Independent Companies of Walter Butler's day were ineffective as military tools but they did have political and symbolic value.²¹ They added to the prestige of royal governors and were reminders of the limits of the colonial assembly. Governor Hunter had employed the Albany garrison to reassert control over the Palatine refugees in the Hudson Valley in 1711.²²

They were tactically deficient in many respects. They had a difficult time simply staying supplied. There were too few officers in the Independent Companies. Because effective fighting in North America often required small groups of men engaged in backwoods duty, more officers were needed to ensure each detachment had an officer. As a fighting force they failed because of their small numbers and inability to fill the ranks. The

¹⁹ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 31-34

²⁰ Foote, *Independent Companies*, xxvi

²¹ Stanley Pargellis, "The Four Independent Companies of New York, in *Essays in Colonial History presented to Charles McLean Andrews by his Students* (New York, 1966) 96; Foote, 1966 pp47, 60

²² Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 295-6

British government envisioned them as "a skeleton framework around which provincial regiments may be constructed," but this only happened in preparation for participation for larger imperial wars, Queen Anne's War, King George's War, and the Seven Years War, and so was not a tool that governors could count on otherwise.²³

Despite many pleas from all the governors of New York from Bellomont to Hardy, the British government didn't spend the money necessary to strengthen the four companies. Governors raised funds through complicated schemes to keep the military symbols of their power supplied but these schemes ultimately benefited the governors and barely maintained the outposts themselves.²⁴ Robert Hunter wiped out a substantial personal debt during his tenure as New York's Governor.²⁵ Governor Cosby made £2000 annually for himself and for the subsistence of Independent Companies off of merchandise shipped tax free on warships and by facilitating the transfer of drafts from colonial money in America to English Pounds in England.²⁶ When money was squeezed from the assembly for the maintenance of the companies it was used as seed capital by royal governors. Governors invested funds first,

²³ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 39

²⁴ Beverly McAnear, *The Income of the Colonial Governors of British North America* (New York: Pageant Press, 1967) 38;

²⁵ Webb, *Marlborough's America*, (insert 5 page 6)

²⁶ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 39; James Henretta, "*Salutary Neglect*": *Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 120-21. Jacob M. Price, "Who Cared about the Colonies? The Impact of the Thirteen Colonies on British Society and Politics, circa 1714-1775," in Bernard Bailyn

And Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire* (Chapel Hill,

University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 395-436

skimmed profits if there were any, and then paid the men in colonial money, meaning that pay was often discounted twice before being doctored for uniforms and supplies.²⁷

Officers in the companies had their own strategies for paying both themselves and their troops. The use of John Does and Richard Rows on the books was common. These make-believe men or "faggot men" as they were sometimes called, enabled the companies to draw extra pay for a variety of purposes, including those that benefited the company as a whole. Widows were sometimes paid informal pensions from these funds. Officers also allowed their men leave to work in the community and earn their own pay. This was the case for the men at Fort Hunter. This practice often came with the understanding that the men would fend for themselves and the commanding officer would pocket the money earmarked for supplies.²⁸ The surprising lack of even basic bedding and cookware in the frontier garrisons is better understood by knowing that most of the men slept in their own homes rather than at the barracks. Walter Butler's accounts in Albany show no evidence of purchasing supplies or clothing for his men which offer some additional evidence that this was the case.²⁹

Colonial assemblies didn't resent the presence of the Independent companies the way they would later resent the presence of regular British regiments. The small size of most garrisons and the permanent nature of their deployment mitigated the negative effects of hosting imperial troops. The companies freed colonial militias from garrisoning the frontiers. They also boosted local economies. Soldiers became part of colonial society instead of

²⁷ Pargellis, *Four New York Companies*, 102

²⁸ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 35-38

²⁹ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 9-10

sticking out as outsiders as intrusive redcoats had done in Boston in 1711 and would again in the 1770s.³⁰

Walter Butler presided over a group of men at Fort Hunter that grew gray with each other. Filling the muster roles locally was difficult because of the low pay and was always a burden. Local men did sometimes fill out the ranks at musters but; unlike Walter Butler's British troops, were not signed up for long periods of time. The enlisted openings held no appeal for Americans as the pay was poor. The men who garrisoned the fort were mostly left over soldiers from 1711 like himself, aging and poorly paid. Lord Bellmont said that the New York Companies were filled with the "...very scum of the army in Ireland." These men were left over from an army that had been swelled by displaced Irish, felons, and debtors.³¹ The militarily insignificant and impoverished Fort Hunter is reminiscent of those high minded plantation schemes that had been envisioned in Ireland centuries earlier that often withered without proper support.³²

Although desertion was relatively simple matter in New York, by the time Butler assumed his post most of his command had already had more than a decade to desert if they cared to. Many soldiers in the small American garrisons were in fact happy for reasons that had little to do with the army. Fort Hunter in the 1720s was quiet outpost where the men could indulge their penchants for drink and native women.³³ Left largely to themselves the

³⁰ Pargellis, *Four New York Companies*, 102

³¹ The Mutiny Act of 1703 provided for release of condemned felons if they enlisted in the army and Act of 1704-05 allowed for debtors to get out of jail if they enlisted

³² Foote, *Independent Companies*, 43-44, 111(Fortescue, British Army); Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 34-8

³³ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 112-115

men and officers integrated into colonial society and pursued lives that little resembled that of regular British infantry. This was typical for other small American garrisons that were neglected in Nova Scotia and South Carolina.³⁴ Discipline was often lax in the four companies. Because of the lack of officers to perform the duties of a court martial, soldiers essentially were free from the otherwise harsh consequences of their actions.³⁵ Soldiers were more likely to appear in civil courts between 1697 and 1755.³⁶ Unlike generations of poor soldiers garrisoned in forts in Ireland who competed with townspeople as cheap labor,³⁷ the Mohawk Valley was a place where labor throughout the 18th century was at a premium, providing ample opportunity for soldiers to earn decent livings alongside other local populations.³⁸

A scandal in the Albany independent company is evidence of the social world that Butler was a part of. In the winter of 1737/8 Capt. Edward Clarke, son of Gov. George Clarke, an Indian commissioner and a young officer in the Independent Companies,³⁹ wrote Butler warning of an illicit liaison between Dr. Dishington, the Fort's Doctor and Miss Dick in Fort Hunter. Clark was a captain in the independent company at Albany from 1736 until he joined Cartagena Expedition in 1740 and its commandant as well as a commissioner of

³⁴ John Shy, *Toward Lexington*, 30-1, 34

³⁵ Pargellis, "The Four New York Companies," 115

³⁶ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 62

³⁷ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, 47

³⁸ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 1988), 127; Allan Kulikoff *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2000) 244; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, (Macmillan, 1983), 169; Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America Vol 1*, 308.

³⁹ *The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, Volume 22 248; DRCNY, Vol 6. p146

Indian affairs.⁴⁰ Miss Dick was the daughter of a former commandant in the Albany Garrison. Clarke warned Butler about how this would reflect upon him if he did not send the woman in question back to "the Bloods."⁴¹ Edmund Blood was in the Albany Independent Company and had come over with Walter Butler as one of the thirty sergeants. The indignant reply by Butler has been lost, but Clarke's response later that spring assured Butler that Clarke had meant no insult by his warning. Clarke also gave Butler orders to fill out his company as much as possible for the public muster he had scheduled for June of that year. The last message from Edward Clarke to Butler that still exists is a reminder that only he (Clarke) can draw pay for officers and men in the company. Apparently Walter Butler had been allowing his merchant and agent, Mr. Guerin in New York City, to draw funds on his behalf.⁴²

As in Ireland however, American garrisons were continually understrength and undersupplied. They were not immediate paths to empire, rather beachheads that given time and the occasional input of capital and energy might overcome the habitually inefficient management of empire at the fringes. Walter Butler inherited a command that was not unlike those that his ancestors had held for hundreds of years. As the community at Fort Hunter grew, so did the Butlers relative wealth and power. The command of a 20 man outpost in

⁴⁰ *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York*, ed Stephen C. Hutchins, Edgar Albert Werner, (Weed, Parsons & Company, 1891) 263

⁴¹ The scandal was the subject of Charlotte Lennox's first novel, *the Life of Harriet Stuart, Written by Herself*. 1750 Lennox was the daughter of a Lieutenant in the Albany Independent Company. Eve Tavor Bannet "NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction The Theater of Politeness in Charlotte Lennox's British-American Novels" *NOVEL: A Forum on Fiction* Vol. 33, No. 1 (Autumn, 1999), 74 ; Philippe Séjourné, *The mystery of Charlotte Lennox, first novelist of colonial America* Editions *Ophrys*, 1967, 111

⁴² Edward Clark to Walter Butler Feb. 6, 1737/8; Edward Clark to Walter Butler, March 3, 1738, Edward Clark to James Stevenson, May 10, 1738. *Sir William Johnson Papers*, (Albany, 1921) Vol. 1 1-3; Commissioned as lieutenant of Henry Holland's company of Foot, Feb. 22, 1731.

1725 might have seemed incredibly humble, but Walter brought with him the same tools which had transformed the Butlers of Ireland into powerful leaders.⁴³ Imperial connections, access to capital, military and civil offices separated those within the imperial hierarchy, those at the center of frontier garrisons, from the myriad of other industrious settlers and natives.

At the time of Walter Butler's arrival at Fort Hunter in 1728, the community there was still relatively new. It had begun to take shape around 1710 as Mohawks from the lower Castles at Ogsadaga (Milton Site) and Bushy Hill began to establish small permanent farmsteads around the mouth of the Schoharie Creek. The soils were rich in nutrients and would have been renewed often by flooding. Silt deposition increased throughout the 18th century due to increased erosion from cleared farmsteads further up the Mohawk and Schoharie Valley, which added to the fertility of the flood plain around Fort Hunter.⁴⁴ This community coalesced as the one of two major Mohawk communities during the 18th century and was known as the Lower community or castle.⁴⁵ It was home to about 350 men, women, and children who occupied about 50 to 60 dwellings.

This community reflected demographic trends that were prevalent among the Mohawk at the outset of the 18th century. Before the 18th century, Mohawks lived in “Castles,” palisaded villages, for protection. During the 18th century Mohawks increasingly lived outside the walls of their forts, using them instead only in times of need. This trend was

⁴³ "Francis Godwin James, *Lords of the ascendancy: the Irish House of Lords and its members, 1600-1800* (Irish Academic Press, 1995) 121

⁴⁴ Soil Survey of Saratoga County, New York (USDA, 1978) 44

⁴⁵ Tionondoroge or Tehandaloga Teantontalogo; Aboriginal place names, *Bulletin of the New York State Museum, Issues* 108-111 (University of New York, 1907) 127

largely due to the breakdown of the matrilineal clan structure which had been under stress for much of the 17th century. The family units of the Mohawks began increasingly to revolve around smaller nuclear families, which made the compact living arrangements of the previous century no longer socially possible. Additionally the wars against the French in the late 17th century made it abundantly clear that traditionally palisaded villages were not adequate when faced with the tactics and materials of European warfare. The lower Mohawk castles had been attacked and burned during the second Anglo-Dutch war in 1666 and again in 1693 during King William's war resulting in the loss of many lives and the destruction of the principal Mohawk castles both times. French attacks reduced Oneida and Onondaga villages in 1696.⁴⁶

The Mohawk around Fort Hunter by the 1720s lived in scattered, permanent farmsteads. Bark houses and Longhouses, once a staple of Iroquois villages, became largely ceremonial and even those families that chose to build more traditional homes, altered their structures internally to accommodate smaller families. The variations in wealth between tribe members altered the community throughout the 18th century. Wealthy Mohawk families began to build cabins and floored homes. Many Indian houses adopted fireplaces and plank flooring by 1755. Reports during the Revolution of sacked Indian homes revealed that some elite families had accumulated substantial wealth in their homes.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Webb, 1676, 268

⁴⁷ Dean R. Snow, "Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites", *Occasional Papers in Anthropology*, Number 23 (Pennsylvania State University, 1995) 485; Kurt A. Jordan, *The Seneca Restoration, 1715-1754: An Iroquois Local Political Economy* (University of Florida, 2009) 226, 276; Colin G. Calloway, *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (JHU Press, 1998) 42, 59; Philip Schuyler *Indian Papers 1710-1797*, (New York Historical Society, 1778) 487

As in Ireland, partnerships with aboriginals had been just as important as military conquest. The Anglo-Irish had co-opted a portion of the Gaelic population through reciprocal partnerships. These partnerships had been instrumental in altering Gaelic culture; changes which were evident in everything from the way wealth and power were distributed among families to the way land was owned.⁴⁸ Similarly, Butler presided over a Anglo-Mohawk partnership that was a nexus of change for Indian peoples. A trade partnership that began years ago in Albany with the Dutch had been inherited by the English and then reinforced through military alliance in 1675, 1676 and 1677 as English colonies waged war with Algonquin tribes from Virginia to Maine. The Covenant Chain as it was called bound the English and Iroquois together in a partnership that defined the New York frontier for more than a century.⁴⁹ The bond embodied by the Covenant Chain was strongest in the Mohawk Valley as the physical intersection between Iroquois and English empires. Mohawk leaders at Fort Hunter during the eighteenth century embodied some the most important personal links of the Covenant Chain because of their control of, and reliance on, New York's trade routes to and near Albany.⁵⁰

The Mohawk sachem Tejonihokarawa, known by Europeans as King Hendrick, was Walter Butler's immediate contemporary and contact with the Mohawk community in 1726. Tejonihokarawa was born in 1660, and lived in the Mohawk castle Tionondoroge, where Fort

⁴⁸ Ciaran Brady, "The Attainder of Shane O'Neill, Sir Henry Sidney, and the problems of Tudor state-building in Ireland" in *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland* 34-37; F.H.A. Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* (Academic Press: New York, 1978) 147

⁴⁹ Webb, *1676*, 4, 298-300, 356

⁵⁰ Thomas Eliot Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974) 27-55; Daniel K. Richter, James H. Merrell Ed. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Penn State Press, 2010) 84, 181

Hunter was built in 1711. He spoke English and had studied the bible at an early age. He was among a faction of pro-English warriors, baptized by the Dutch Reformed Church and employed in a failed invasion of Canada in 1690. He was deeply involved with Mohawk diplomacy in Albany and fought to maintain positive ties with the city's leaders despite real estate deceptions which threatened Mohawk independence.⁵¹ Tejonihokarawa had been one of four Mohawk sachems who met Queen Anne in London during 1710.⁵² While in England, Tejonihokarawa distinguished himself from the other three kings by his attempts to actively engage in English politics. He tried to cultivate a long term relationship with the arch-bishop of Canterbury as evidenced by his attempt to contact him a year later by passing a letter to Francis Nicholson. Jan Verelst's famous painting on the occasion of Tejonihokarawa's visit to London depicts Tejonihokarawa in a slightly different light than the other sachems he painted. The others carry Mohawk war clubs in their hand and are surrounded by forest. In place of a war club or musket however Tejonihokarawa carries a belt of wampum decorated with crosses. It is a tool of diplomacy that seems to speak to Tejonihokarawa's character. While he was undoubtedly a skilled warrior, he was also a savvy politician who sought to engage in English politics and balance Protestantism and Mohawk heritage.⁵³

Tejonihokarawa remained prominent following Queen Anne's War. When Fort Hunter opened its doors in 1711, Tejonihokarawa was present to thank the reverend William Andrews for establishing an Anglican mission. He also asserted that no land was to be

⁵¹ Eric Hinderacker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Harvard University Press: 2010) 3, 5, 41-58

⁵² Bond, Richmond Pugh, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1952) 46

⁵³ Dean R. Snow, "Searching for Hendrick: Correction of a Historic Conflation", *New York History* Vol. 88, No. 3 (summer, 2007), 229-253 ; Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings*, 49; Hinderacker, *The Two Hendricks*, 41-58

bought clandestinely nor were the Mohawks going to be paying any of the rumored tithes.⁵⁴ In 1722 at the outset of Râle's War, Theyanoguin was called upon to mediate between Algonquin tribes and authorities in Boston. His presence as a representative of the Mohawk was probably designed to impress the Algonquin chiefs, but he also seems to have impressed several New Englanders. Thomas Moore, known as "the Pilgrim Botanist," made the following observation, Tejonihokarawa "...spoke English well, hardly distinguishable from Englishmen." Thomas Pownell wrote that he was a "...bold artful, intriguing fellow and has learnt no [small] share of European politics..."⁵⁵

The Mohawk were just one ethnic group among many that formed the larger community developing around Fort Hunter. Palatine Germans also lived near the Fort Hunter in significant numbers. Palatine Germans began settling in the valley in 1723. For a group of 43 Palatine families it was a chance to claim freeholds that they had been seeking since their arrival on New York's frontier during Queen Anne's War. For New York's colonial governor the settlements would help augment the barrier that the Mohawk formed between English and French frontiers. There on the fringe of English empire, the German's flourished. German settlers would soon be found all along the Mohawk Valley with larger settlements at Herkimer and Stone Arabia.⁵⁶

The Germans who had arrived on New York's frontier during Queen Anne's War had little experience with the complicated and corrupt system of land purchase in New York.

⁵⁴ Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings*, 60

⁵⁵ Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings*, 64

⁵⁶ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 17-21; Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Dorrence and Co.: Philadelphia, 1937) 188-207; Sanford Cobb, *The Palatine, or, German immigration to New York and Pennsylvania* (Wilkes-Barre, 1897) 25; Burnett to the Board of Trade, DRCHSNY, Vol. 5, 634; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 295-6

Many had originally settled in the Schoharie Valley southwest of Albany but when a group of Albany merchants produced another title and began trying to collect rent from them, the Palatines had little power to defend themselves. The merchants ran roughshod over the Palatine claim, causing a revolt in 1714 that was quickly put down. Many left the Schoharie Valley for Pennsylvania, while others continued north into the Mohawk Valley.⁵⁷

When the Palatine Germans moved to the Mohawk Valley they were so poor that even the Mohawks took pity on their situation. Palatines were capable of building lives on the rough frontier, but to prosper, they needed to establish economic networks. Fort Hunter and the garrison there became the link to the New York economy that the Palatines needed to build successful farms. Walter Butler, who was not connected to the Albany Cabal that had mistreated them so badly in the Schoharie, and the local Dutch who had settled around the fort, were instrumental in providing that network.⁵⁸

The Dutch Community arrived with Fort Hunter's construction in 1712. They were Dutch settlers from Schenectady, a town whose very existence was in opposition to leading Dutch families from Albany and the Hudson Valley oligarchy. A faction of Schenectady's leaders were associated with Jacob Leister, the governor of New York during the Glorious Revolution, who had championed the town's claims against those of Albany. Schenectady was destroyed by a French and Indian attack in 1690 and lost Leister as a patron when he was executed as a traitor in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution under pressure from Albany

⁵⁷ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 17-21; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 188-207; Cobb, *The Palatine, or, German immigration to New York and Pennsylvania*. 25; Burnett to the Board of Trade, DRCHSNY, Vol. 5, 634; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 295-6

⁵⁸ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 17-21; Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration*, 188-207; Cobb, *The Palatine, or, German immigration to New York and Pennsylvania*. 25; Burnett to the Board of Trade, DRCHSNY, Vol. 5, 634; Webb, *Marlborough's America*, 295-6

and Hudson Valley elites in 1691. Survivors and their heirs spread from Schenectady west along the Mohawk Valley and often mixed with the Mohawk whom their families had been associated with generations.⁵⁹

These Schenectady Dutch, sometime referred to as Leisterian Dutch, remained distinct from their Albany cousins. Arent Bradt, Jan Wemp, the Clements, Veeders, and Van Pettens were among the men and families that Walter Butler would become connected to through trade, church, and marriage. Like the Germans in the Mohawk Valley, these old Leisterian families held a deep seeded abhorrence of the Albanian oligarchy and were sympathetic to projects which weakened Albany's political and economic stranglehold on the region. Jan Wemp had personally held the contract for building Fort Hunter. He and many others of the Dutch near Fort Hunter had scouted the route through the Mohawk Valley to Oswego and had helped with the construction of Fort Oswego in 1722, effectively breaking the monopoly the Albanians had on trade.⁶⁰

The English and Dutch at Fort Hunter formed a close relationship under Walter Butler's leadership. Walter Butler helped Jan Wemp purchase a farm next to his own near Fort Hunter. The Fort Hunter Dutch worshiped at Queen Anne's Chapel and mixed freely with the English there.⁶¹ In 1737 Walter Butler bought 6 Acres of Schenectady building lots. Arent Bradt and Jan Wemp were the last surviving heirs of a trust constituted in 1714 that managed the Schenectady (Dongan) patent and they executed the deed for Walter Butler.⁶²

⁵⁹ Thomas E. Burke Jr, "Leisler's Rebellion at Schenectady, New York, 1689–1710," *New York History*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (Oct., 1989), 405-430

⁶⁰ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 11-14, 37

⁶¹ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 5-16

⁶² Memorial of Lt. Colonel John Butler, March 1785-August 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 3-11; Jonathan Pearson, *A history of the Schenectady patent in the Dutch and English times* (Joel Munsell's Sons,

Walter Butler added to the small numbers of Irishmen that had arrived with the army in the Valley. In the years to come, the Irish became an ever growing important segment of the valley's population as Irish migrants would stream into the valley in ever increasing numbers. Not only would many settlers come from Ireland, leadership in the region was provided by Irish born imperial agents.⁶³ Transatlantic Irish migration in the eighteenth century was regional and even localized in character. Migration patterns were often established that linked specific departure points in Ireland with specific destinations in North America. These patterns sometimes held for generations and provide a solid basis from which to study the details of transatlantic cultural transfer.⁶⁴ The Mohawk Valley was an important destination for Irish immigrants to New York.

Walter butler managed relations between these people to provide for both a harmonious economic interaction and the cohesive defensive of the valley. Reminiscent of Irish garrison towns, Fort Hunter was at the center of a network of farms and villages that could be called upon to defend the Mohawk Valley from French and Indian attack. These peoples formed a diverse community presided over by Walter Butler and his peers in the British army.⁶⁵

One of the most important functions of Fort Hunter was as a trading post for both Mohawk and European farmers. Trade was an important part of Iroquois diplomacy and politics. Tribes without a connection with European trade were at a terrible disadvantage.

1884) 33-38

⁶³ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 39-41

⁶⁴ John Mannion and Fidelma Maddock, "Old World Antecedents, New World Adaptations: Inistioge Immigrants in Newfoundland." In *Kilkenny: History and Society*, edited by William Nolan (Dublin, 1990) 346

⁶⁵ Letter from Rev. William Andrews to the SPG, March 9th 1712/13, reproduced in Lydekker, *The Faithful Mohawks*, 34-38

Without the ability to trade, individuals had no access to the weapons or tools on which they had become dependent. The individual without furs or a trading partner was in an unenviable position. The tribe without trade relationships with European traders could not survive. The Iroquois had dominated the Beaver trade. The Beaver Wars, a series of conflicts during the Seventeenth century had resulted in Iroquois domination of the North Eastern First Nations.⁶⁶

The Mohawk middlemen at the eastern terminus of the fur trader were desperate to maintain control of the trade coming from the Great Lakes to Albany.⁶⁷ The Dutch and Palatine farmers in the area were also glad to have an alternative to the merchants at Albany to sell their produce. Both had generations of poor experiences with the Albanians, who had a reputation in the Mohawk Valley for unparalleled avarice and had used the local Dutch population, the Germans, and the Mohawk poorly in the past. One of Walter Butler's contemporaries in Albany's Independent Company, Peter Wraxell, was well known for his intense hatred of the Albany Dutch.⁶⁸ The development of Fort Hunter as a trading post was an important factor in the success of the community overseen by Butler. His position as garrison commander allowed him access to the market place but it was one that he shared with many other interested parties.

Lasting success would only come from the ownership of land, the principal path to standing in the 18th century British World. The ownership of land was difficult in any colony,

⁶⁶ George T. Hunt, *Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1967) 35-37, 68, 114-116, 135-137; Daniel P. Barr, *Unconquered: The Iroquois League at War in Colonial America* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006) 16-58

⁶⁷ Lewis Saum, *The Fur Trader and the Indian* (Seattle, 1965) 49

⁶⁸ Patricia U. Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York*, (Cornell University Press, 2014) 28-53; Robert Kuhn McGregor, "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York: The Palatine Germans of the Mohawk Valley", *New York History* Vol. 69, No. 1 (January 1988), 4-34; D. E. Leach, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina; 1986)

but in New York especially. Only a very privileged few owned land in New York.⁶⁹ While many could reap small rewards from the Indian trade, land ownership was the foundation of success.⁷⁰ Walter Butler's access to the mechanism of land distribution on the British frontier was perhaps the greatest single advantage of his small command. The timing of his commission was fortuitous as well, The Mohawk Valley was largely distributed between 1730 and 1740.⁷¹

The Royal governors controlled the distribution of crown land on the frontier. As the representative of the governor on the frontier, Walter Butler was perfectly situated to take advantage of the speculation in land being driven by the governor. Officers in the Independent Companies of New York were often involved in these land deals. Lt. George Ingoldsby and Lt. Timothy Bagley (one of the thirty sergeants) both helped Lt. Governor George Clarke obtain patents to tens of thousands of acres. Butler's predecessor Lt. John Scott had purchased some nice little tracts around Fort Hunter in his tenure there. Captain John Lindsay, a sheriff of Albany County who was in John Rutherford's New York Company, served with Walter at Fort Oswego. Lindsay was responsible for putting together land grants in Cherry Valley and along with Butler was one of the energetic land agents for the governors operating in the Mohawk Valley and surrounding area.⁷²

⁶⁹ Armand Shelby La Pontin, *The Minisink Patent: A study in Colonial Landholding and the Problems of Settlement in New York*. PhD Dissertation, (University of Wisconsin, 1974) 2-5

⁷⁰ Sun Bok Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York Manorial System 1664-1774* (Chapel Hill, 1978) 4-44, 234; Jack P. Green, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (University of North Carolina Press: 1988) 127

⁷¹ Edith Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* (Ithaca, 1949)

⁷² Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 8 -16, 42; John Rutherford to Walter Butler, Fort William, Jan.31, 1744-5 *Sir William Johnson Papers*, Vol. 1, 25

The construction of a trading post at Oswego in 1724 on the southern shore of Lake Ontario to compete with the French trading post at Niagara had reduced the importance of the Mohawk Valley as a hub for the fur trade. This in turn led to the development of agriculture as part of the local economy. In addition the decline of the fur trade in local importance, land was scarce in Massachusetts and the Hudson valley by the time Walter Butler arrived at Fort Hunter. The soils of New England had deteriorated since they had first been planted in the 1630s and the productivity of the land had dropped off. The Mohawk Valley, with four to six feet of black, sandy alluvial flatlands provided the perfect base for European-style agriculture. This and easy access to already established trade routes from Albany gave farms in the Mohawk valley a competitive advantage. Pea and wheat production became extremely profitable. Peace on the frontier from the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713 until King George's War in 1744 was also an important contributing factor to the agricultural development of the Mohawk Valley during this so called "long peace."⁷³

In 1732, William Cosby replaced John Montgomery as governor of New York. William Cosby was born in Ireland around the same time as Walter Butler. His father, Alexander Cosby was a gentleman whose ancestors had participated in the Tudor era conquests of Ireland. Like Butler, Cosby joined the British Army during Queen Anne's War. William Cosby was well connected and his military career progressed quickly. In 1718 he was appointed governor of Minorca where he ruled for ten years until his illegal seizure of a Portuguese merchant ship and the subsequent 10,000 pound judgment against him left him in

⁷³ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, x, 9, 13-15, 49-50; Ruth L. Higgins, *Expansion in New York* (Columbus Ohio, 1931), 19, 33-69; Richter, *Ordeal of the Long House*, 236-227; Robert W. Venables, *Tryon County, 1775-1783: A Frontier in Revolution* (Vanderbilt University: New York, 1967) 15-17, 23-24; Guzzardo, *William Johnson's Official Family*, 17

a poor financial situation. Cosby relied on his brother in law, the Duke of Newcastle, to secure him governorship of New York and New Jersey. He arrived in 1732, hoping to build a new fortune.⁷⁴

Walter Butler helped William Cosby obtain deeds for much of the area surrounding Fort Hunter. Butler was able to develop friendly relations with many local Indian leaders and used their dissatisfaction with competing would-be land lords from Albany to secure large tracts of land. In 1734 Cosby bought much of the land between the Schoharie and Mohawk Rivers. Critics of the governor likened him to an Irish Landlord. The observation was not coincidental. Cosby was in fact a product of the Irish conquest.⁷⁵

Cosby also immediately took control of an effort to obtain title to tens of thousands of acres in the Mohawk Valley which had been conceived by Lt. Governor George Clarke and Governor William Burnet in 1728. In 1730, Walter Butler, the principal middleman responsible for obtaining the Indian title to the land, had together with Lt. George Ingoldsby, Lt. Governor George Clarke, and the customs inspector, Archibald Kennedy Jr, petitioned to receive a warrant to obtain 12,000 acres around Tiononderoga from the lower castle Mohawk. The Mayor of Albany, John Depeyster, and the Corporation of Albany had tried to counter this warrant by presenting their own claim for 1,000 acres of cornfields around Tiononderoga directly to Governor John Montgomerie, William Cosby's immediate predecessor who had replaced William Burnet as governor in 1728 and served until his death in 1731. Montgomerie both approved the request from Depeyster and the Corporation of

⁷⁴ Stanley Nider Katz, *Newcastle's New York: Anglo-American Politics, 1732-1753* (Cambridge, 1968) 61-62; Mary Lou Lustig, *Privilege and Prerogative: New York's Provincial Elite, 1710-1776* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1995) 42

⁷⁵ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 15; Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 10-26

Albany and approved Walter Butler's warrant, amending it to purchase 30,000 acres and to include several more people in the partnership. While Butler's partnership had Montgomerie's support, the warrant remained in doubt when the Governor suddenly died and left Rip Van Dam, who was allied to the Albany Corporation, temporarily in charge.⁷⁶

When William Cosby arrived in the summer of 1732, he not only eagerly supported Butler's warrant, but in the summer of 1733, amended it to include an additional 56,000 acres. This was considered an extravagant grant even by contemporary standards.⁷⁷ On September 7, 1733, Walter Butler negotiated the purchase of these lands for 368 pounds worth of merchandise from the Lower Castle Mohawk. Hendrick Tejonihokarawa was a primary signatory. A little more than a year later, he purchased an adjoining 36,000 acres on the west bank of the Schoharie River.⁷⁸

In total Walter Butler obtained Mohawk deeds for 122,000 acres of prime alluvial farmland, the richest that most European farmers had ever seen. The growth in acreage from the warrant, to the Indian deed, to the grants, and to the final English deeds was a normal result of the way Indian territory was converted into fee simple by colonial land grant system. Acreage was routinely increased at every step of the process. Clients were added to partnerships in order to generate support for warrant approval. Clients were added to grants as patronage or to appease powerful individuals, governors (Cosby in this case) or ministers in London. Acreage was added as Indian deeds were converted to metes and bounds. Ambitious surveys replaced native understandings of the boundaries they had agreed to. The

⁷⁶ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* 14

⁷⁷ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* 9

⁷⁸ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* 17-20; Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 8, 6

numbers did not add up but they weren't supposed to. Walter Butler's role in forming the original partnership and negotiating the Indian deed had enriched considerably agents of imperial power such as Cosby, Clark, and Delancey. In return for his efforts Butler was rewarded with 2,000 acres for himself.⁷⁹

The Tiondoderoga purchase created a sizable piece of deeded property that hadn't existed before by converting it from Indian Territory to property governed by English Common Law. The conversion of land that was *res nullius*, unoccupied or underutilized, into deeded land that could be used by enterprising people who might then become its owners, was as much a function of English conquest as was military victory. This had been at the core of the Irish Conquest for centuries, exemplified by a tract by Andrew Trollope, writing as *Republicae Benevolus* in the 15th century, "land must come under the cultivation of powerful undertakers, the Irish themselves being not thrifty, and civil and human creatures, but heathen or rather savage and brute beasts." John Winthrop similarly established a policy of *Vacuum Domicilium*, which established that any lands not under immediate cultivation were 'wasted' and subject to immediate possession by English settlers.⁸⁰

English deeds took land out of Mohawk ownership, which like the Gaelic tribes had owned tribal land in common. Common lands were cultivated according to the labor one could contribute; efforts that would fluctuate over time, even seasonally, but always left land

⁷⁹ From photostats of the Albany County book of recorded deeds, 1608-1762, pages 153 and 179, reproduced in Schuyler, *Butlersbury, a Historic Sketch*, 27-29

⁸⁰ Andrew Trollope, writing as Republicae Benevolus in Nicholas Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534-1660* (Dublin, 1987), 168; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 52-52; Lauren Benton & Benjamin Straumann, "Acquiring Empire by Law: From Roman Doctrine to Early Modern European Practice," *Law and History Review*, Volume 28 / Issue 01 / February 2010, pp 1-38; Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (2001); F.H.A. Aalen, *Man and the Landscape in Ireland* (Academic Press: New York, 1978); 147 ; Francis Jennings, "Virgin Land and Savage People" *American Quarterly* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct., 1971), 519-541

itself as a tribal asset if not part of tribal identity. As the English established private ownership over acquired Indian lands, permanent development was dictated by capital investment and placed land under the control of powerful individuals within the English establishment, transforming it from a shared tribal resource to a piece of empire to be bought and sold, not shared.⁸¹

The Tiondoderoga purchase was one of the most notorious land grants achieved in 18th century British America.⁸² The huge grants of land going to Cosby and his clients sparked a vicious conflict between New York's imperial establishment and the colonial Albany elite. The Albany Corporation still had an alleged Indian deed for 1,000 acres for which Gov. Montgomery had approved a patent. The Mohawk, hearing that the Albany Corporation claimed to have an Indian deed for this land, petitioned to have the deed examined. Their complaint on April 24, 1732 stated that

“...they hear that Mr. Livingston has obtained a patent for all their lands which lays to the North and the West along the Mohawks River as far as to a certain fall upon the river. They say if this is true that Mr. Livingston has murdered us in our sleep for our Land is our life. We earnestly desire you to send for a copy of said patent that you may inform us how much land he has taken up in said patent that our children may not come into dispute after our decease, for we have sold no land to Mr. Livingston and are now fully resolved never to sell him a foot of land.”⁸³

Cosby travelled to Albany to meet with the Five Nations and aimed to both secure his claim and gain favor with the Iroquois. On September 12, 1733 at Albany, Cosby called upon the Albany Corporation to prove their claim by bringing forward the document for his

⁸¹ Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (2001); F.H.A. Aalen, Man and the Landscape in Ireland (Academic Press: New York, 1978); 147 ; Francis Jennings, “Virgin Land and Savage People” *American Quarterly* Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct., 1971), 519-541

⁸² Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*

⁸³ Peter Wraxell, *An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs*. McIlwan ed. (Benjamin Blom, 1968) 186

inspection. What happened next helped secure Cosby's notoriety in American History. The Mayor of Albany, John Depeyster, bought the deed to Cosby to be inspected.⁸⁴ According to Cosby himself, the Mohawk present were read the deed which they immediately perceived as being fraudulent. In their rage they tore it to shreds. Other accounts give Cosby more credit for the destruction of the deed. Historian James Thomas Flexner offers a popularized version of this in his biography of Sir William Johnson.

[Cosby] "...handed it to an Indian named Arie, who, at his request, threw it in the fire. The Parchment gave off the smell of burning flesh which Cosby sniffed with pleasure: His friends would have the land, and he would take for himself the 14,000 acres closest to the meetings of the Rivers."⁸⁵

The destruction of the Albany Corporation's deed would become one of the quintessential arbitrary acts of Imperial government cited by New York's Whig politicians for decades afterwards. Cosby justified his course of action to the board of trade, which had been petitioned to recall him by a particularly inspired New York opposition. Cosby claimed that the Mohawk had become so enraged by the Albanian's land frauds that anything less than destruction of the deed would have caused them to go immediately over to the French and become enemies of the English. Walter Butler had in fact exploited the anger and fear the Mohawk felt because of the Albanian deed and was able to secure his own in large part because of his assurances that a deed signed with him would offer protection against such designs in the future.⁸⁶ Cadwallader Colden, surveyor general at the time, summarized:

"This land is at least worth £5000 New York money and Col. Cosby being told of it and of the defects of the Albany Title resolved to have it to himself. But he thought this Indian Deed might be an obstruction to his purpose [so]

⁸⁴ Note accompanying Deed to Mohawk Flats, Nov 4, 1733, DRCHSNY, Volume 6. 15

⁸⁵ James Thomas Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson* (Syracuse University Press, 1959) 11

⁸⁶ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 22

Lt. Butler was employed to give the Indians some jealousy of the deed...and they were advised by him to complain to the Governor that the city had procured that deed fraudulently."⁸⁷

Lewis Morris, New York's chief justice, was at the heart of the effort to recall Cosby and used the incident to popularize local dissatisfaction with the governor and imperial governance. Like other colonial elites who opposed Cosby, Morris felt entitled to a larger role in the distribution of frontier lands.⁸⁸ Other local landlords, Samuel Storke and Peter Van Brugh Livingston, tried to go around the land-hungry Cosby by petitioning directly to the Privy Council for a their modest grant, six square miles near Fort Hunter and the Iroquois town of Tiononderoga. The petition claimed it was no-one's property and was near no plantation. The Albanians promised to faithfully collect whatever quit rents the council saw fit. But Cosby had already seen to his business in London. The petition was denied officially two years later. The Board of Trade had found that Cosby's claim was senior and already included the region Storke and Livingston were interested in. In the meantime; Cosby had consolidated his claim with Walter Butler's Indian deed, signed by thirteen sachems of the Lower Castle. Butler's deed placed all Mohawk territory near Tiononderoga under the trusteeship of the crown.⁸⁹ He also asked Captain Edward Holland to obtain and presumably destroy any copies of the Albany Corporation's original deed. These maneuvers in London

⁸⁷ Cadwallader Colden in *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden ... 1711-1775*, New York Historical Society publication Volume 50 (New York Historical Society, 1918), 304; Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 20

⁸⁸ Eugene R. Sheridan, *Lewis Morris 1671-1746: A Study in Early American Politics* (Syracuse University Press, 1981)

⁸⁹ Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 22; Deed Conveying the Mohawk Flats to the King, Nov 7, 1733 DRCSNY, Volume 6, 16-17

and New York effectively ended the contest for deeds, if not the controversy itself, until the Revolution, when the Albany deed would once again emerge.⁹⁰

The Albany Corporation moved to have a New York Grand Jury charge Cosby for what they saw as arbitrary abuse of power. But the traditional Dutch power base in Albany was being eroded by a network of officers with connections to the Governor and personal interests in Cosby's land grants. This was the network of which Walter Butler was part. With Albany's Independent Company's Captain John Lindsey as the appointed sheriff of Albany county and Captain Edward Holland replacing Albany's mayor, the Albany Corporation was unable to pursue their legal suit. They turned then to Peter Zenger, a newspaper publisher, who initiated a brutal attack on Cosby in the press and was in turn charged with sedition and libel in a case which had at its heart both freedom of speech and the sanctity of property rights. The conflict with Morris, Zenger and the Albany Corporation were aspects of a political battle that has been credited with the solidification of Court and Country politics in New York, and the creation of grievances that flavored New York politics until the Revolution.⁹¹

The aggressive frontier policy which opened up the Mohawk Valley to English colonization linked imperial policy with personal land speculation and provided for an agricultural boom.⁹² In order to take advantage of the growing local economy, Butler

⁹⁰ Mayor Holland to Secretary Clarke May 21, 1734, DRCHNY Vol 6, 14-16

⁹¹ James Alexander (Stanley N. Katz, ed.), *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger*, (Belknap/Harvard University Press, 1972); Eben Moglen, "Considering Zenger: Partisan Politics and the Legal Profession in Provincial New York," *Columbia Law Review* 94 (1994): 1495-1524; Stanley Nider Katz, *Newcastle's New York: Anglo-American Politics, 1732-1753* (Harvard University Press, 1968); Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (Alfred A. Knopf, 1968); Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley*, 20-23

⁹² Fox, *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Valley* 15

maintained a frontier store at Fort Hunter where he traded with both farmers and Indians for crops and furs. Stores outside of large towns provided a key element of a local economy. Settlers and tenant farmers were unable to access markets in Albany and New York City, and so had to bring their goods to middlemen who, through their office or landownership, had exclusive rights to run a market. Successful colonial landowners such as the Livingston family understood this well. Robert Livingston had for a time reaped huge benefits from managing the local economy by supplying the large group of Palatines settled on his land during Queen Anne's War and subsequent settlers.⁹³ Cadwallader Colder, a prominent colonial politician and scholar, commented on these markets particularly as an asset to colonial economies.⁹⁴ Farmers in the Mohawk Valley traded with Butler, who stocked his store at Fort Hunter with items appropriate for frontier trade. Butler provided a convenient alternative to the Albanian merchants who were hated by many settlers.⁹⁵ Butler's store allowed him to profit both from the export of grain and the import of frontier goods. When William Johnson first arrived in the Valley on behalf of his uncle, Peter Warren, Walter Butler sold Johnson items more amenable to a frontier store than the impractical items Warren had sent with him, and provided a working model on which Johnson could build his own enterprise.⁹⁶

Walter Butler's little piece of the British Empire he named "Butlersbury." His property had a commanding view of the Mohawk Valley. Walter could stand at the front door

⁹³ Cynthia A. Kierner, *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (Cornell University Press, 1992) 41, 66, 91-93

⁹⁴ Kim, *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York Manorial System 1664-1774*, 160

⁹⁵ Benson, ed., *Peter Kalm's Travels*, 142-143

⁹⁶ William Johnson to Peter Warren, May 10, 1739, Sir William Johnson Papers, Vol. 1 5; Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 21

of a modest home finished in 1742 and look west over the route to Oswego until it disappeared into the hazy distance. The sturdy house was built upon a 30 x 40 foot limestone foundation with foot square oak cross beams. Bricks filled the spaces in between substantial wood studs, making the walls secure against small arms fire and providing insulation. Pine boards traveled inside while clapboard covered the outside of the house. Two fireplaces on opposite sides of the house kept the Butlers warm during the harsh winters.⁹⁷

Butlersbury still stands as a testament to its solid construction. Legends about ghosts and haunting abounded. Novelist Robert Chambers, who used the Butlers as antagonists in many of his stories, described the house in *The Reckoning*, published in 1907.

"And now, set in a circle of cleared land and ringed by the ancient forests of the north, I saw the gray, weather-beaten walls of the house. The lawns were overgrown; the great well-sweep shattered; the locust-trees covered with grapevines - the cherry and apple trees to the south broken and neglected. Weeds smothered the flower gardens, where here and there a dull red poppy peered at me through withering tangles; lilac and locust had already shed foliage too early blighted, but the huge and forbidding maples were all aflame in their blood-red autumn robes..." "...The Clapboards were a foot wide, evidently fashioned with care and beaded along the edges. The outside doors all opened outward; and I noted, with a shudder of contempt, the "witches half moon," or lunette, in the bottom of each door..."

Chamber's description goes on to include the inside of the house, down to the brick walls and oak beams. The novelist was a resident of the Mohawk Valley and collected documents relating to the Butler family.⁹⁸ He described the house as it stood at the beginning

⁹⁷ Doris Schuyler, *Butlersbury: An Historical Sketch* (Canal Side Publishers: NY, 1985) 16-19

⁹⁸ Chambers apparently had a vast collection of Revolutionary War Era documents that he had collected at his home. When he passed away the home passed to his son who spent a good portion of his life in a mental health facility. The home fell into disrepair and the documents were destroyed by a generation of teenagers who used the house for parties in the 1950s and 60s. A Utica bookseller I spoke to went through the house in the late 1960s but all was destroyed, used for fire starter. The Chambers home is now renovated and is owned by a Catholic sisterhood.

of the twentieth century.⁹⁹ No evidence of a secret stairway was found during a restoration of the house in the 1970's but a 8 by 10 foot corner of the house had been partitioned off from the rest of the house with a brick wall. A story had been passed down through the more recent occupants of the home that a demented child had been kept in the room. The restoration turned up an opening in the partition through which items may have been passed. Other theories are that the room had been used as a prison. The witches holes Chambers described are there just as Chambers described them may hint at the cognitive world of the Butlers, a world where evil spirits might very well have commanded some attention, or at the very least that of the builders, who most likely were Walter Butler's Dutch in-laws.¹⁰⁰



Figure 2: Home at Butlersbury

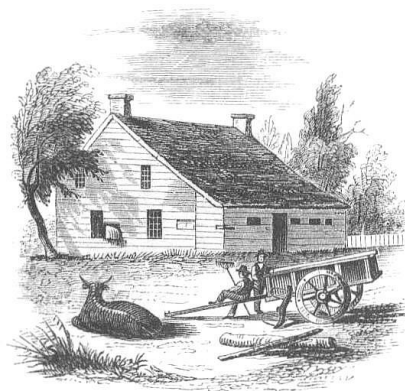


Figure 3: Home at Butlersbury

101

The Tiondoderoga purchase opened the door for a patron to arrive on the scene, someone who could infuse the Mohawk Valley with a large amount of capital and bring

⁹⁹ Robert W Chambers, *The Reckoning* (A Wessels, 1907) 283-286

¹⁰⁰ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 19

¹⁰¹ Butlersbury, Fall 2007 taken by author;; Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851)

imperial rule to local administration on a scale which Walter Butler could not. William Cosby might have imagined himself the next great Patroon of the New York frontier, but died before he could give any of his own ambitions in the valley life. A large portion of Cosby's Mohawk Valley land was sold by Cosby's widow to Peter Warren, an Royal Navy Admiral of Irish origins who was on the North American station, meaning he commanded a fleet that patrolled from the West Indies all the way up the Atlantic coast of British North America. Warren sent William Johnson and Michael Tyrrell, his young nephews, to the Valley to act as his managers. Warren wanted to transform the country into a replica of their native Ireland, his own profitable and bucolic piece of the empire in New York. In 1738, he instructed William to follow a pattern of development long established in their native Ireland. Warren envisioned orchards, vineyards, and fields of grain. Tenants would farm a landscape of squared fields bordered by hedgerows, "...which will keep the land warm, be very beautiful, and subject you to no more expense than doing it in a slovenly, irregular manner."¹⁰²

William Johnson arrived with 28 tenants, enough to start planting the large freehold he was managing. Peter Warren was following a model repeated for centuries in Ireland. In a "An abstract of the articles for re-peopling and inhabiting of the province of Munster in Ireland," 1586, instructions for Anglicizing the landscape are notably similar. Skilled artisans would comprise the bulk of those living within the model towns that were to be established at the center of Seignories. The architects of this plan envisioned each English undertaker settling around a defensible mansion and providing a church, mill, and a functioning market

¹⁰² Julian Gwyn, *The Enterprising Admiral: The Personal Fortune of Admiral Peter Warren* (McGill, Queen's University Press, Montreal London, 1977) 73-74; Christopher Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 48; Peter Warren to William Johnson, Johnson Papers Vol. 13 2-3

town. Peter Warren's instructions to William Johnson highlight a paradigm of land use which had characterized English conquest for generations.¹⁰³

Peter Warren was able to provide an enormous amount of capital to the settlement which he called "Warrens-bush." Eight families, seven of them Palatine, already living on the property were offered very generous terms in order to entice them to stay. Johnson, and his cousin Michael Tyrrell, brought with them a dozen families and began a steady flow of emigration from his home county of Tyrol in Ireland to the valley. Warren sent a blacksmith and slaves from New York City to aid in the development of his plantation.¹⁰⁴ Between 1736 and 1744, Peter Warren invested nearly seven thousand pounds to develop his holdings in the Mohawk Valley.¹⁰⁵ The settlement grew quickly and benefited from the demand for agricultural land.¹⁰⁶

The 1738 arrival of William Johnson in the Fort Hunter neighborhood marked the turn the Mohawk Valley from a poverty stricken backwater into one of the epicenters of British imperial power in North America. Over time William Johnson parleyed his role as his uncle's plantation manager into a legacy which left him one of the largest landlords and most powerful men on the frontier. With the profits available to him from his uncles plantation and the prestige of Warren's own connections he had some extraordinary advantages. Johnson also had a notably congenial personality. He began to forge friendships with other influential

¹⁰³ An Abstract of the articles for the re-peopling and inhabiting of the province of Munster in Ireland, 21 June 1586 (Calendar of State papers Ireland.), 1586-88, p85 Sir Robert Montgomery - A Plan Representing the Form of Settling the Districts, or County divisions in the Margravate of Azilia in the Carolinas.132; Guzzardo, Sir *William Johnson's Official Family*, 39-41

¹⁰⁴ Gwyn *Enterprising Admiral* 76-78

¹⁰⁵ Gwyn, *The Enterprising Admiral*, 79

¹⁰⁶ Norton, *The Fur Trade*, 27-55; Guzzardo, Sir *William Johnson's Official Family*, 39-41

men in the Mohawk Valley. One of his first friendships was with Walter Butler, commander at nearby Fort Hunter. For six years, Johnson not only developed his uncle's farm but purchased his own land on which to build an estate nearby. The Valley developed quickly in peace. The last of the Imperial Wars would disrupt the rapid agricultural growth of the region but would also provide other opportunities for Walter Butler and his sons who grew into adulthood during this turbulent period.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 21, 40-45

Chapter Five: Imperial Service on the New York Frontier. Walter Butler and his sons During the French and Indian Wars 1745-1763

Walter Butler raised his sons during a period of prolonged peace. Minister Robert Walpole (1721-1742) had pursued peace with France and Spain as policy. Peace allowed the Hanoverian monarchy to concentrate on Stuart threats to the throne and pursue the development of England's commercial and financial resources. Military expenditures were limited and as a result England's army was degraded during this period. "The War of Jenkins Ear," the result of growing trade disputes with Spain, ended the peace in 1739 and ushered in a new round of imperial war in North America just as Walter Butler's sons, Walter, Thomas, and John were coming of age. This conflict was enlarged after the death of Emperor Charles VI and challenges to his chosen successor, daughter Maria Theresa, by Spain, precipitated France's entry into the War in 1744. The dynastic challenge grew quickly to involve almost all the European powers which was called the War of Austrian Succession on the European Continent and King George's War in North America.¹

While the New York frontier remained at peace, many British officers and soldiers from the colony, including Michael Tyrrell and Edward Clarke, went to war in the West Indies. Thirty drill sergeants from New York Independent Companies were assigned to the first American-raised British Regiment, Gooch's Sixty First Regiment of Foot. One sergeant was to serve with each of the colonial companies raised from all over the colonies, four companies of which were raised in New York. New York City's garrisons were notably

¹ Ian Steele, "Governance of the British Empire," *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Eighteenth Century, Volume 2* ed. William Roger Louis, Elaine M. Low, Peter James Marshall (Oxford University Press, 1998) 118-119; Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the eighteenth century, Vol. 3* (P. Smith, 1958) 490-492

depleted. In total nearly 3,600 colonials from all the colonies took up arms to fight the Spanish, most eager for plunder. Peter Warren commanded a ship at St. Augustine in 1740 and then at Jamaica in 1741. England's focus on the Caribbean and then the threat of the combined strength of the French and Spanish navies meant the preparation of the British fleet took priority over the frontier in New York. As a result New York was not prepared to fight on the frontier with New France in 1745.²

The North York Independent Company at Albany was neither supplied regularly nor reinforced for decades. With peace on the frontier from 1711 to 1744, there was little reason to justify military expenditures on the small outposts. Their importance had been symbolic, diplomatic, and commercial; but they had little military effectiveness. Fort Hunter's tiny garrison could hardly be counted on to do much except keep a look out and provide aid for travelers.³

Fort Oswego, which was under the jurisdiction of the Albany's New York Independent Company, represented a rare military development on the frontier between 1722 and 1744. It was an investment in the fur trade, a counterpoint to the French post at Niagara. Oswego depended not so much on military might as the establishment of a profitable market on which the Iroquois depended. The fort relied heavily on the good will of Iroquois warriors to keep it safe from attack. The fort complex was expanded in 1727 and 1741, not only in recognition of its economic value, but of its importance to Iroquois diplomacy. Walter Butler

²Foote, *Independent Companies*, 41; Steven Laurence Danver, *Revolts, Protests, Demonstrations, and Rebellions in American History: An Encyclopedia, Volume 1* (ABC CLIO, 2011) 79; John Tate Lanning "The American Colonies in the Preliminaries of The War of Jenkin's Ear", *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June, 1927) 141-152; Pargellis, *The Four New York Independent Companies*, 101; Gwyn, *The Enterprising Admiral*, 11

³ Foote, *Independent Companies*, 275

increasingly spent time at Oswego in the years leading up to King George's War, acting as commissary and trading.⁴

Walter Butler was commissary at Oswego in 1745. His commission as commissary there, in addition to his command at Fort Hunter, put him at the center of the fur trade. He procured goods from his own holdings and neighbors in the Mohawk Valley and at Albany to both sell to the garrison and trade for furs. Walter was involved not just in supplying the garrison and trading on his own behalf, but in Indian diplomacy. He distributed Indian presents to Iroquois and provide a market to ensure Iroquois attachment to Oswego and thus the English. These presents included rare gifts such as grindstones imported from New York.⁵ Walter Butler's eldest son, Thomas Butler, was acting as his agent in the field and secretary by 1744, and there is evidence that Walter Butler, his second son was also working with the family at Oswego.⁶

The post was in perennial threat from the French and alarms were common. The post relied heavily on Indian intelligence and on the defense which the warriors congregated around the Fort could provide. There were consistent demands for bateaux to bring the rum for the warriors and trade goods to maintain the tribes who depended on the trading post and "have it at heart."⁷ Bateaux loaded with rum, pipes, wool blankets (strouds,) procured by the Butlers from England, returned from Oswego with pelts, keeping the Iroquois and Butlers

⁴ Thomas Butler to William Johnson, September 16, 1744, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 22-23; Thomas Butler to William Johnson, September 23, 1744 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 23; W. H. Bertsch, "The Defenses of Oswego," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* Vol. 13 (1914),108-127

⁵ Captain Rutherford to Walter Butler, July 11 1745, *Johnson Papers* Vol 1, 32-33

⁶ Thomas Butler to William Johnson, Sept. 16th 1744, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 22-23; Will of Doctor Charles Kerr, October 19, 1744, New York Historical Society. Abstract of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York (New York 1895), Vol IV, 200-201 in Butler Papers, Vol 1, p23

⁷ Thomas Butler to William Johnson, Sept. 16th 1744, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 22-23

well connected with each another. Walter regularly wrote to the Governor, the Indian commissions in Albany and, later during the war, to William Johnson regarding the condition of Iroquois diplomacy, the garrison, and the ongoing business which sustained both.⁸

Butler's role in the preparations for war at Oswego were limited by the lack of cooperation from provincial elites and Albany merchants. In June of 1745 Captain Rutherford wrote with frustration that "the last assembly seemed so little disposed to grant money for the interest or honor of the country." There was considerable resistance, especially from those connected to the Dutch trade at Albany, to turning the New York border with New France into a war zone. Butler was hampered by a reliance on markets at Albany and because no supplies were provided by the colonial government. Rutherford warned Butler not to expend too much of his own funds to provide presents to the Indians. The probability of his being repaid was low. With so little confidence in the provincial assembly, Rutherford and his men could only hope that men and resources from England would arrive to provide the support they needed. In 1743, Governor Clarke, Clinton's immediate predecessor, had proposed an 800 man regiment be stationed on Lake Ontario in support of Oswego and the Iroquois. However, in 1745 the approval of such a measure seemed extremely unlikely.⁹

Without clear or dependable funding, commissaries often paid for supplies out of their own profits, combining private and public business, much as the governors did on a

⁸ John Rutherford to Walter Butler Jan. 31, 1744/5, *Johnson Papers*, vol.1 25-26; John Rutherford to Walter Butler April 9, 1745, *Johnson Papers*, 28-29

⁹ Alice P. Kenny, *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York* (Syracuse University Press, 1975) 60-91; John Rutherford to Walter Butler June 11 1745 *Johnson Papers*, vol 1, 32-33; Clinton to Board of Trade August 18, 1748, DRDCSNY Vol. 6: 437-440; Timothy J. Shannon, *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754* (Cornell University Press, 2002) 72-74; Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760" *The William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series, Vol. 64, No. 1, (Jan., 2007), 58; Gov. Clarke's report on the State of the British Provinces with Respect to the French who Surround them, 1743 in *Papers relating to the first settlement and capture of Fort Oswego 1727-1756* ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Weed, Parsons & co., 1849) 466

larger scale. While they could hope to be reimbursed, and even turn a profit, it wasn't guaranteed. The entire funding of the empire on the frontier was an effort that was built around cronyism, that encouraged institutional corruption, and that was tied to fluctuations in market conditions. The Butlers had to accomplish both the garrison's and their own well-being in tandem. These were traditional challenges that Butler were well used to already at Fort Hunter. Garrison commanders throughout the British Empire and going back for centuries in Ireland shared these challenges. Controlling marketplaces was simply part of a garrison officer's profession. Officers had a distinct interest in limiting trade to military posts, for their own profit, for the benefit of their garrison, and at Oswego in particular, for the maintenance of Iroquois diplomacy.¹⁰

In 1745, Walter Butler not only held commissions as Justice of the Peace, and Commissary at Oswego, he was also the post's commander. In correspondence for this year he was addressed as captain, an honorific that reflected his responsibilities but not his actual rank. The Oswego garrison was small and isolated. The garrison consisted of Butler, a sergeant, a corporal, and twenty men. The men were chronically low on basic supplies. A recent wall built around the main barracks there had been made out of clay and written off as a boondoggle to enrich those with the building contract rather than an effective defensive measure. It was gloomily predicted that Oswego would fall at "the first rupture," with the French on the New York frontier. Because of the pitiful state of the impoverished Oswego garrison and rumors of an imminent French attack, the traders that were the life of the post of Oswego, who made trade with the Iroquois there possible, abandoned the post. Disappointed

¹⁰ Walter Scott Dunn, *Opening New Markets: The British Army and the Old Northwest* (Greenwood Publishing Group), 2002 14

Indian traders arrived periodically, only to turn back and discourage other traders. The trade that supported the post was gone in 1745.¹¹

The Albany Independent Company did not have the men available to provide full garrisons to any of the outposts which the Albany Company managed. The post at Oswego was especially vulnerable because of its distance from Albany. Because the company had been filled out with short term enlistments, the effort it would take to send a handful of men there and back was hardly worth the short amount of time that men would actually be stationed there. Replacing soldiers whose enlistments were up was a source of constant anxiety and the twenty man garrison was constantly understrength, not that it would have mattered if the Fort actually fell under attack, a fact that all the Independent Company and New York's leadership was well aware of. An assignment at Oswego for regular soldiers was a miserable one. A volunteer for dangerous courier duty to Albany during the winter could expect to be rewarded by not having to return to the post. Discipline was a challenge for Walter Butler. The desertion of one or two men could cause headaches that reverberated throughout the post. Walter sent at least one malcontent to Albany to be tried and his sergeant had become "insolent."¹²

The New York frontier could not get on a war footing. The incoming royal governor, Sir Roger Clinton, had an imperial mandate to prepare for war, but had neither military

¹¹ Mr. Clarke To The Board, August 20th, 1742 in *Papers relating to the first settlement and capture of Fort Oswego 1727-1756* ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Weed, Parsons & co., 1849) 463-464; Gov. Clinton to the N.Y. Assembly, Aug. 20, 1744, in *Papers relating to the first settlement and capture of Fort Oswego 1727-1756* ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Weed, Parsons & co., 1849)469-470

¹² John Rutherford to Walter Butler, April 9 1745, *Johnson Papers* vol. 1, 28-29; John Rutherford to Walter Butler April 25, 1744 *Johnson Papers* vol. 1, 29

strength nor strong civilian support.¹³ Governor Clinton's eagerness fulfill this mandate was hampered by his bitter power struggles with many of New York's leading families. Before Clinton could launch a campaign against New France, he had to overcome the challenges presented by those in the provincial assembly that had little interest in Imperial wars, namely James Delancy, whom Clinton had named chief justice in 1743 in the first year of his governorship, and the "Albany Interests," whom to Clinton's mind, had poisoned all hopes of getting the Iroquois to support a war effort.¹⁴ Gaps in military resources and the jurisdiction of local power elite over Iroquois diplomacy were both issues that Clinton needed to overcome in order to engage in a campaign against New France.¹⁵ Ironically Iroquois neutrality was all that had saved Oswego in the first years of the war, as the Iroquois had made that a condition of their neutrality in negotiations with French agents.¹⁶

Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts had more success in prosecuting war along New England's French border than George Clinton, a fact which galled New York's governor. Shirley had an enthusiastic population and the aid of the British Navy in the form of a squadron led by William Johnson's uncle, Peter Warren. The capture of the French citadel, Louisburg, in 1745 was a stunning success. Peter Warren became an Admiral, Knight of the Bath, and one of the richest men in the world for his role in its capture.¹⁷ Warren's success at Louisburg gave William Johnson prestige within the imperial establishment.

¹³ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 53

¹⁴ Hinderacker, *Two Hendricks*, 208; Katz, *Newcastle's New York*, 169-70; William Smith, *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery*, Volume 5 (New-York Historical Society, 1829), 97

¹⁵ Milton M. Klein *The Empire State: A History of New York* (Cornell University Press, 2005), 195

¹⁶ Richard Haan "The Problem of Iroquois Neutrality: Suggestions for Revision", *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 27, No. 4, Special Iroquois Issue (Autumn, 1980), 325;

¹⁷ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 52; Gywn, *The Enterprising Admiral*, 13,15-16

Warren recommended his nephew personally to Clinton. Clinton would use William Johnson in order to try and out maneuver his colonial political rivals and prosecute war on the frontier.¹⁸

In November of 1745, the relative peace that had held on the New York frontier since Queen Anne's War was shattered. The French and some Indian warriors attacked and burned Saratoga. The town was completely wrecked and out of around two hundred people living there, 15 were killed and 103 taken prisoner.¹⁹ The aged fort at Saratoga had been unmanned during the raid. Lt. Edmund Blood, one of the original thirty Queen's ensigns and serving also in Rutherford's Independent Company, testified to the decrepit condition of the fort at Saratoga. He described the lack of interest in maintaining the fort over the years. Captain John Rutherford had dispatched a sergeant, a corporal, and ten soldiers from Albany to defend the dilapidated fort, but they had withdrawn after being unable to repair the fort to a "habitable" condition. Edmund Blood had expressly recalled how the city of Albany was responsible for the upkeep of the fort and that they failed to do so, making them responsible for the disaster.²⁰

The raid at Saratoga and the damage along the frontier created by small raiding parties, gave Clinton fresh fuel in his battle with the Assembly. The French had clearly received aid from the Laurentian Mohawk. Clinton turned to William Johnson to create a new, imperially directed Indian Department in order to supplant the Albanian deputies and to

¹⁸ Julian Gwyn, *The Royal Navy and North America: The Warren Papers, 1736-1752* (printed for the Navy records society, 1975) 311

¹⁹ David R. Starbuck *The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point* (University Press of New England, 1999) 42-44

²⁰ Examinations at a Court of Inquiry at Albany, Dec. 11, 1745. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*, Vol. VI, 374-374

recruit Iroquois warriors to fight against New France. In June 1746, Clinton commissioned Johnson as “Colonel of his Majesties Iroquois armies” and directed him to enlist both Indians and Christians to form mixed scalping parties.²¹

Johnson was given blank commissions for officers, disciplinary powers, and a promise to reimburse his expenses. Walter Butler's son Thomas, who had been at Oswego with him and Walter, his second son, were prime candidates to lead raiding parties because of their experience on the frontier and fluency in Iroquoian languages. Walter Butler's sons were instrumental to Johnson, leading the very first combined raiding parties of Mohawk and English settlers to engage in fighting with the French for a half century.²²

Lt. Walter Butler, as a twenty five year veteran of Iroquois diplomacy, helped familiarize Johnson with Iroquois expectations and customs. Johnson's limited diplomatic success at a conference in July of 1746 was due in large part to Johnson's knowledge of Iroquois culture and his willingness to embrace it.²³

Walter Butler also made sure that Fort Hunter, though militarily insignificant, provided the symbolic gestures that were important to Indian diplomacy. The Garrison at Fort Hunter presided over the warrior's departure on a raid in the summer of 1746.

“The men presented their pieces as the Indians passed, and the drum beat a march; and with less respect, the officer said, they would have been dissatisfied. The Indians passed in single row one after another, with great gravity and profound silence; and every one of them, as he passed the officer, took his gun from his shoulder, and fired into the ground near the officer's

²¹ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*; Instructions to William Johnson from George Clinton, August 28, 1746, *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 1, 60-61; John Rutherford to William Johnson, June 12 1746, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1. 51; George Clinton to William Johnson, April 25 1747 *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 1, 86

²²Instructions to William Johnson from George Clinton, Albany, August 28, 1746, *Johnson Papers* 60-61

²³ Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing or Success on the Mohawk Frontier: William Johnson and the Indian Fashion," *William & Mary Quarterly* 53, no. I (January 1996): 13-43

foot: They marched in this manner three or four miles from their Castle. The women on these occasions follow them with their old clothes, and they send back by them their finery in which they marched from the Castle." ²⁴

The "officer" Colden described is most likely Walter Butler. His son, Thomas, was most likely among the English who accompanied this war party. Thomas did command with one of the first war parties in August of 1746, a group of about seventy warriors and "Christians." The warriors, upon reaching an old oak at the limit of their territory, each made a red mark upon the tree, the traditional way of keeping track of the numbers of warriors setting out to war. They would mark their signatures as returned when they came back. Unfortunately for Thomas, he fell ill with small pox before the party reached Canada and had to be carried back by five warriors.²⁵

Thomas fought off the virus but suffered permanent damage to his health. In 1749 he wrote "I am pretty much troubled with a pain in my side which I have had near two years. I shall be highly obliged to you if you could spare me one bottle with Tarlington's Drops," a common balsam resin remedy which helped heal skin conditions and could also be added to hot water to treat bronchitis and persistent coughs. ²⁶

Thomas Butler managed to recover enough by the end of 1746 to resume activity at Fort Oswego. Thomas procured cattle for the forts garrison from neighbors in the Mohawk Valley and penned letters for illiterate traders to facilitate their business and for his father. He

²⁴ Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada: Which are Dependent on the Province of New York, and are a Barrier Between the English and the French in that Part of the World*, Volume 1 (A.S. Barnes, 1904) xxiv

²⁵ Extract from a report on an Indian Council, Albany, August 16, 1746, *National Archives of Canada. Great Britain: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Dispatches and Miscellaneous, 1733-1754*, CO 5, Vol 5, Vol 1061, 61

²⁶ Captain Thomas Butler to Colonel William Johnson, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 275

also made sure that the Oswego merchants were supplied in 1746 and 1747, avoiding a repeat of the disappointing state of trade which affected the post in 1745. Common supplies included wool blankets made in England (strouds,) hatchets, powder, kettles, small mirrors, jew's harps, lead for shot, and rum. Indian "Truck," as these items were often referred to, was not only used to trade for furs but also needed as presents for Indian diplomacy. Materials used to outfit war parties were also required. Butler needed weapons, but also the vermilion, hair bindings, and razors that Iroquois men used to change their appearance to the aspect of a warrior. Coaxing the Iroquois out of neutrality meant demonstrating the value of Oswego.²⁷

Walter's second son, Walter Butler, got his first mission in the early spring of 1747. He was to scout Crown Point with thirteen young Mohawk warriors. They made their way to Crown Point through the thick and cool woods of the eastern Adirondack Mountains as they descend steeply to Lake George. These mountain paths were seldom used compared to the quicker but more easily watched lake routes which is why they were chosen. The forest paths and mountain ponds and streams of this region come alive in spring. The men were surrounded by symphonies of noise and the ever present signs of predators and prey. For several days the men moved through the steep foothills on the west shore of Lake George, predators themselves on their first hunt.²⁸

²⁷ John Craig to Colonel Johnson, June 6, 1747, 98; William Johnson to George Clinton August 13, 1747, *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 1,107-110; Henry Van Schaack to William Johnson August 22, 1747 *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1, 111; Evert Wendell Jr. to William Johnson Jan 25 1747/8 *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 1,129; Lt. Thomas Butler to Colonel William Johnson, 1746, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 70-71. Evert Wendell Junior to Colonel William Johnson, January 25,1747/8, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 129

²⁸ Extract from a report on an Indian Council, Albany, August 16, 1746, *National Archives of Canada. Great Britain: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Dispatches and Miscellaneous, 1733-1754*, CO 5, Vol 5, Vol 1061, 61; William Johnson to George Clinton May 30th 1747, *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1 93-96

The junior Walter's role as a ranking Indian Officer in command of the war party was to keep the war parties focused on British objectives. Earlier "scalping parties" had been revealed to have been simple prisoner hand offs between Laurentian Iroquois and local Mohawk. The Iroquois had been careful not to hurt one another and had orchestrated false "raids" in order to pacify English demands. Walter Butler's presence was Britain's gaze, a reminder of the deals struck around the council fire and witness to their martial proficiency. Now they jogged together, a new generation of English and Mohawk warriors, ready to prove their zeal and prowess.²⁹

Reaching Crown Point undetected, Walter and the Mohawk climbed a nearby hill where they laid still and watched the fort for two days. Crown Point in 1747 was as impressive a structure as could be found on the frontier. Limestone walls a foot thick were protected by huge earthworks that overlooked the Narrows of Lake Champlain. The French fort not only encroached on English claims, it threatened the entire English enterprise in New York.³⁰ Even as Walter looked on two large canoes left the fort heading south. Their shouts as they left the fort left told the watching warriors that these were scalping parties.³¹

On the third morning of their mountaintop scout, Walter's war party crept down the mountain and picked up fresh tracks headed towards the garrison. Soon they came up behind a party of twenty seven soldiers and three warriors from Crown Point's garrison "beating and

²⁹ Colonel William Johnson to Governor George Clinton of New York, April 24, 1747 EB O'Callaghan, eds. DRCHSNY, Vol II, 343-344; Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars," 61

³⁰ Duke of Newcastle to William Shirley, *Correspondence of William Shirley, Volume 1* ed. Charles Henry Lincoln (The Macmillan Company, 1912) 403; Clinton to Duke of Newcastle, *Correspondence of William Shirley*, 455

³¹ Colonel William Johnson to Governor George Clinton of New York, April 24, 1747, E.B. O'Callaghan, ed. DRCHSNY, Vol II, 343-344

dressing some touché wood they had found in the forest.”³² They surprised them, killing three immediately.

The French fired back wildly into the bush wasting their first shots while the Mohawk reloaded and rose for another volley killing one more and wounding several more. The French began to run but were rallied by a young officer dressed in smart blue coat with gold braids. The firefight intensified until the chief Mohawk Warrior [Chief of our Indians] was hit multiple times. The Mohawk enraged, rushed the French cluster of soldiers. One ran up on one of the French warriors and blasted him in the chest with a load of swan shot. The remaining two warriors and the rest of the French soldiers broke and ran for the safety of the fort in the race of their lives, getting there just ahead of their pursuers. The young French officer in the gold lace fought on bravely with his two sergeants until they all lay on the ground. Grievously wounded, his call for quarter in an Indian language was silenced by a mercifully quick death blow.³³

Walter Butler’s party returned that spring with 6 scalps. The attack on the French at Crown Point was widely celebrated in colonial America and touted as a great victory. Newspapers printed the story of the raid widely giving Walter Butler (and William Johnson who funded and orchestrated the raid) immediate fame in 1747.³⁴

Thomas and the Walter were commissioned by Johnson and the warriors they led were outfitted by Johnson. Parties, bounties, and salaries were all paid on Johnson’s account, encouraged heavily by Governor Clinton. Johnson outfitted war parties, fêted them, and paid for the bounties on prisoners that Thomas’s party brought in, and the scalps brought back by

³² I believe this means they were collecting and preparing wood meant for constructing Bateaux

³³ Colonel William Johnson to Governor George Clinton of New York, April 24, 1747, E.B. O’Callaghan, ed. DRCHSNY, Vol II, 343-344.

³⁴ *New-York Gazette, or Weekly Post-Boy*, published as *The New-York Gazette*, Revived in the *Weekly Post-Boy*; Date: 05-04-1747; Issue: 224; Page: [3]; Location: New York, New York; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, published as *The Pennsylvania Gazette*; Date: 05-07-1747; Issue: 960; Page: [2]; Location: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in NewsBank/Readex, Database: America’s Historical Newspapers

Walter. The two brothers were paid significant salaries, slightly over £79 per season.³⁵ Had the war been prosecuted by London more vigorously in New York the rewards would have been much higher. Thomas Butler had been rewarded with a blank commission empowering him to raise a company of sixty men in November of 1747, but it was a company he would never get to lead.³⁶ By the end of 1747 it was clear that English regulars were not coming to Albany and that supplies for the continuation of Indian raiding were not available. Any thought of an English offensive from New York dwindled away³⁷

Walter Butler's third son by his second wife Deborah, John Butler, appears in the historical record for the first time in the summer of 1747. He was one of a party gone out of Fort Hunter to investigate the grisly murder of an Indian along with several other young men including Piter Conyn, and Jelles Fonda, were men he would have close relationships for many years to come.³⁸

The units Johnson put together were not equipped for prolonged fights. Even raiding was limited by the Mohawk's refusal to fight the Caugnawaga Mohawk bands near Montreal. Johnson's ability to furnish armed bands was further complicated by the refusal of many Albany merchants to do business with him.³⁹ The theater of war that Johnson and the Butlers put so much enthusiasm into was largely insignificant outside of the New York Canadian borderlands. The Mohawk had declared war against the French because of the assurances that

³⁵ A Receipted Bill, February 27, 1748, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 9; William Johnson to George Clinton May 30th 1747, *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1 93-96

³⁶ John Roberts to William Johnson Nov 18, 1747. *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1, 121

³⁷ Jack M. Sosin "Louisburg and the Peace of Aix-la-Chappelle, 1748." *William and Mary Quarterly* 14 (1957): 516-535

³⁸ Report of a Jury on Murder of an Indian, August, 1747. *Johnson Papers* vol.1, 112

³⁹ Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet*, 45-51

the English military would support them. The Iroquois fear that the English could not be trusted to keep their military promises was confirmed. The Mohawk in particular had lost several leading warriors and young men in expectation of English support which never materialized. As in Queen Anne's War, the English had not followed through, leaving many Iroquois feeling betrayed and vulnerable. Mutiny among New York Militia which was camped out near Albany highlighted provincial distrust of Governor Clinton and the weakness of the Governor to compel provincial troops to do imperial business.⁴⁰ What King George's War did do was make clear that the Mohawk, regardless of their wishes, were linked to the English in the Mohawk Valley. The strengthening of this connection would have ever increasing consequences for them and the rest of the Iroquois Confederacy.⁴¹

King George's War cemented the Butlers to the Johnsons and presaged the rise of the Indian Department. William Johnson's ability to provide patronage strengthened the imperial impetus on the frontier and created opportunities for those associated with it. Butler's sons found opportunity in Johnson's service where little existed in the Independent Companies and were retained in the Indian Department on a permanent footing after the close of King George's War. Thomas Butler, one of Johnson's first agents, spent the winter in Albany; his letters kept Johnson informed about candidates and opinions about Johnson in particular during the winter of 1747/48.⁴²

⁴⁰ John Roberts to William Johnson, August 22, 1744 *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1, 110-111; John Rutherford to William Johnson January 1747/8 *Johnson Papers* Vol.1, 127

⁴¹ Jon Parmenter, "After the Mourning Wars," 61

⁴² Guzzardo, *William Johnson's Official Family* Thomas Butler to William Johnson Dec 12, 1747, *Johnson Papers*, vol. 1, 122-123

The core of the nascent Indian Department's strength was the tie between the garrisons at Oswego and Fort Hunter and William Johnson. Johnson's appointment as Indian Commissioner dramatically altered the balance of power between provincial elites and imperial elites. A significant power, Indian diplomacy, had been transferred away from provincial elites and into the hands of those in the imperial hierarchy. The Indian Department and the Independent Companies were natural allies whose authority came from the same source.⁴³

The bond between the Independent Companies and the Indian Department also extended to the Mohawk Villages, in particular Teontotalongo, the lower village, where Ft. Hunter was located and where Walter Butler continued to command, and Canajoharie, the upper village (Mount Johnson), where Johnson had taken up residence along the river. Warriors who accompanied the Thomas and the younger Walter Butler mostly came from these two villages. Walter Butler's oversight of trader and commissary at Oswego and Fort Hunter created a profitable situation for Johnson, the Butlers, and Mohawk traders. Fort Hunter may not have had a strategically significant garrison, having only "Lieutenant Butler, a sergeant, and a few privates,"⁴⁴ but the diplomatic and economic value that it held was significant, giving the Mohawk a disproportionate amount of power within the Iroquois

⁴³ An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751, by Peter Wraaxall, ed., C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1915), p. ix.

⁴⁴ From Journal of Reverend Gideon Hawley quoted in W.M. Reid, The Mohawk valley p 213 (Reid has placed John in parentheses in between Lt and Butler but I don't think this is John. Only Walter had a commission in the British Army)

Confederacy given their small proportionate population. Fort Hunter's value was enhanced by an Indian School and Church which was almost continually served by a minister.⁴⁵

The establishment of the Indian Department under William Johnson presaged a singular growth of imperial prerogative in the North American colonies. The agency consistently wrested power away from colonial elites and placed it in the hands of those connected to the Governor, the Independent Companies, and itself. The agency created a military hierarchy separate from Albany. It increasingly controlled access to trade and land by claiming exclusive rights to Indian diplomacy. The next eight years saw the development of the department as a political power hub as well as Indian affairs were an important aspect of New York's politics. The powers accumulated by the Indian Department transcended colonial boundaries. The Indian department grew ever capable of shaping the American frontier. By the time the last great contest for America between France and England began in 1754 the Indian Department was an instrumental tool of Imperial Britain.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Lydekker, (1938) 52-64, 111-150

⁴⁶ Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 113; Robert S. Allen, *His Majesty's Indian Allies* (Dundurn, 1996) 35

Chapter Six: The Butlers Ascendant: The Growth of a Family, Wealth and Prestige on the Colonial Frontier.

Walter Butler presided over a family that aspired to climb the social ranks of British colonial society. Raising their sons as gentleman was considered confirmation of that mobility. Though Walter Butler may have been slapping backs and tables well into his old age, a rough soldier whose social success was due to extraordinary circumstances, his sons and grandsons were raised to be gentlemen and to participate in British colonial society from birth. The end of King George's War marked a kind of high point for the family, a brief period of time in which Walter and his sons all enjoyed a prominence in the Mohawk Valley together.¹

Some of the best Indications of the Butler's prosperity and the transition of that family from lowly or middling subjects to gentlemen and ladies are the bills left behind from their business in Albany. The physical evidence of the family's status include a wide variety of custom made clothes and raw materials for sewing. Waistcoats, breeches both silk and woolen, hats, bonnets, handkerchiefs, "fine shoes," and capes are among the finished articles of clothing ordered by Walter Butler and his son John. Gingham, velvet, silk, mohair, laces and linens are among the many types of cloth ordered for sewing at home. Cider, rum, molasses, tea and tobacco were bought in large quantities. Luxury items include chocolate, silk gloves, ribbons, pen quills, ivory combs, indigo, fine paper, sugar, Lisbon wine,² and

¹ Bickham, Troy O. "Butler, John (1728–1796)." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2008); Oscar Jewell Harvey, *A History of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania: From Its First Beginnings to the Present Time, Including Chapters of Newly-discovered Early Wyoming Valley History, Together with Many Biographical Sketches and Much Genealogical Material*, Volume 5 (Raedar press: 1909) 929; On becoming Gentlemen: Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early Republic*, (New York, 1995) 14-15, 295-302; Gordon Wood, *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*, (New York, 2006) 25-26

² White table wine from Lisbon: John Hailman, *Thomas Jefferson on Wine* (Univ. Press of

metal buttons. In these accounts the Butler women are referred to as “Ladies.” Clothing was ordered in bulk for the Butler's black slaves and maids.³ These accounts depict a family with means and style, privileged members of elite society on the frontier, not the grubby and ill-mannered family described by historian Arthur Pound.⁴

Marriage continued to be a common path to securing one's social standing and was a cultural trait that Walter passed to his sons. Walter had married well, twice, into colonial society. So did two of his sons. Walter Butler Jr, married Mary Wemple in 1745. John Butler married Catalyntje (Catherine) Bradt in 1753. The Wemples and Brants were Dutch families descended from the original patent holders of Schenectady (Dongan Grant) which meant the two families often defended their inherited land holdings together. Their genealogy was heavily mixed. Mary was Catherine's aunt. Mary Wemple's father, Jan Wemp had been involved with Walter Butler for decades as they wrestled control of Indian diplomacy and trade away from Albanian elites and built the community at Fort Hunter. Catherine's father, Captain Andries Bradt was similarly involved in the Indian trade and was well known for his long defence of the Dongan Grant which he desired to pass on his heirs.⁵

Mississippi, 2009) 38

³ Manuscripts concerning Walter and John Butler, Courtesy of the Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, No. 71x27.6 -.9, .12, .14 -.17, .19a and .19b

⁴ Arthur Pound, *Johnson of the Mohawks: A Biography of William Johnson, Irish Immigrant, Mohawk War Chief, American Soldier, Empire Builder* (1930) 87-88

⁵ Extract from the records of Queen Anne's Chapel, Fort Hunter September 27, 1745 Montgomery County Department of History and Archives. Fort Hunter Church Records, Reverend Thomas Barclay, Queen Anne's Chapel in *John Butler Papers*, Vol. 1, 29 ; Extract from Trinity Church Parish Records, August 1753 New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. A Register of Christening Kept by the Rev'd John Ogilvie, begun ye 9th June 1749 (July 1936), Vol LXVIII in *John Butler Papers*. 42 ; The Dutch forbears of Cathrine Bradt, *John Butler Papers*, 114-115; Guzzardo, *William Johnson's Official Family*, 17; *Reports of Cases Adjudged and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors of the State of New York*, Volume 11 (Lawyer's co-operative publishing Company, 1884) 427; *Year Book of the Schenectady County Historical Society*, (Schenectady County Historical Society, 1907) 49; Don Rittner,

Thomas continued to trade at Oswego, taking on younger brother John as an assistant when their aging father returned to their home on the Mohawk River. Business was good immediately following the war. In 1750, Thomas had trouble getting all the furs he had traded rum and wool blankets for transported back to the Valley.⁶ But the booming trade was almost immediately challenged by the French fort that was built at Niagara in 1751, which halted the flow of furs into Lake Ontario from vast hunting grounds to the west.⁷ New France expanded steadily between King George's War and 1755. Thomas collected intelligence on French Indian Diplomacy, reporting on their efforts to disrupt English control of the frontier by enlisting the sympathy of Indians to attack English outposts. He also assisted in the distribution of Indian presents at Oswego and participated regularly in Indian diplomacy.⁸ He reported vulnerabilities from New England to the Ohio Valley and the French exercised a growing influence over Indian diplomacy and trade on the frontier.⁹

In 1751, Thomas and John Butler partnered with William Johnson to speculate on the land surrounding Onondaga Lake. The initial justification to Governor George Clinton for a warrant to obtain an Indian Deed was the possible threat of a French post located at Onondaga, one of many rumors reported from Oswego.¹⁰ The reason given to the Onondaga

Schenectady: Frontier Village to Colonial City (History Press, 2011) 28-30; Thomas Burke, *Mohawk Frontier, Second Edition: The Dutch Community of Schenectady, New York, 1661-1710* (SUNY Publishing, 1991) 217-218

⁶ Captain Thomas Butler to Colonel William Johnson, July 17 1750, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 290.

⁷ Captain Thomas Butler to Colonel William Johnson, May 29 1751, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 338.

⁸ Report of John Lindsay May24 -June25,1754 in *John Butler Papers*, 42-44

⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Colonel William Johnson, September 3, 1750, DRCHSNY, Vol VI, 591; William Johnson to Governor George Clinton, 14 September 14 1750; *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 67-68.; Lieutenant Walter Butler to Colonel William Johnson, June 12 1753, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 106.

¹⁰William Johnson to Governor George Clinton, August 18, 1750, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 63

for the purchase of their land was a demonstration of their loyalty to the English¹¹ and the protection of the Onondaga from settlers, the “...promise to keep it unimproved,”¹² (unsettled by Europeans.) Both arguments had been similarly made to the Mohawk by the elder Walter Butler when securing the Indian deed to the Mohawk Flats. The deed itself was obtained at a conference at Onondaga for £350 which was provided by William Johnson. The petition to patent 6000 acres with Thomas and John as co-petitioners was approved on the same date, May 16, 1751, by Governor Clinton. What happened to the Indian deed and petition to acquire land is somewhat murky. Johnson was given title to the entire tract in as repayment for the £350 at a later date but what Thomas and John’s part in this if any remains unclear. William Johnson was known for having proxies sign onto grants to stay under the legal limit for grant acreage but there is no record of a transfer.¹³

The practice of adding proxy partners onto petitions to obtain land was a way to get around legal reforms designed to prevent extravagant land grants to any one individual. From 1708 until 1753 there was a limit of 2000 acres that could be granted to any single person at a time. After 1753 that limit was reduced to 1000 acres. These reforms were a result of the outrage caused by earlier generations of governors in New York, in particular Benjamin Fletcher (1691-1698,) but had little actual impact on the distribution of land.¹⁴ Proxies were

¹¹ William Stone, *The Life and Times of William Johnson* Vol 1, 406

¹² Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet*, 105-106 ; Memorial of Sir William Johnson to the King's most excellent Majesty in Council, July 5, 1766 DRCHNY Vol 7, 870

¹³ The Petition of William Johnson Thomas Butler and John Butler, 16 May 16 1751, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 923-924 ; Goldsbrow Banyar to Colonel William Johnson, May 18, 1751, *Johnson Papers*, Vol.1, 334

¹⁴ Armand La Potin, “The Minisink Grant: Partnerships, Patents, and Processing Fees in Eighteenth Century New York,” *New York History* Vol. 56, No. 1 (January 1975), 32-33

simply added to the warrants and then paid modest sums to transfer title later, they were never expected to actually take possession of land.¹⁵

In 1753 Thomas bought the bulk his father's estate in the Mohawk Valley, nearly 25,000 acres, for a sum of £475.¹⁶ The sale marks Walter's readiness in 1753 to pass the bulk of his legacy on to Thomas, his oldest son. This was in accordance with English cultural and legal tradition during the 18th century, primogeniture, which entitled the first born son to the family estate. Primogeniture preserved the economies of scale that gave large estates the pecuniary power to sustain elites. Even though primogeniture was the law in New York until 1786, Walter made sure his legacy passed smoothly to Thomas by making the transfer without relying on a will or executors. The historical records which have shown Thomas and Walter working together at Oswego and Thomas acting as the primary purchasing agent associated with Walter's business during King George's War confirm what would be expected for the period, that Walter had made careful provisions to pass the legacy he had created and felt that the time was right to do so.¹⁷

The elder Walter was a regular guest at William Johnson's growing estate, Mount Johnson, which had quickly become a center of social and political activity. Johnson's Indian name, "Warraghiyagey," reflected the increased pace of British growth that flourished by his patronage.¹⁸ Loosely translated the name means "Mr. Big Business" or "He Who Does Much/Great Business." The Butlers socialized with an ever growing assortment of British

¹⁵ Flexner, *Mohawk Baronet*, 113

¹⁶ Thomas Butler's Deed to his Father for land, January 1st 1753, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 99-101.

¹⁷ Lee J. Alston and Morton Owen Schapiro, "Inheritance Laws Across Colonies: Causes and Consequences," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 44, No. 2, (Jun., 1984), 277-287

¹⁸ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 43-58

society and ever more cosmopolitan individuals whose business brought them to Mount Johnson. The period between the end of King George's War in 1748 and the Seven Years War in 1754 was a period of intense competition, not just between the French and English, but between many Indian factions, American colonies, traders, and land speculators. Indian negotiators were in high demand during these years. The Butlers, William Johnson, and other middlemen such as George Croghan, Andrew Montour, and Conrad Weiser, were engaged in shaping a frontier that was evolving quickly.¹⁹

When news of Washington's skirmishes at what was afterwards named Jumomenville's Glen and Fort Necessity in western Pennsylvania reached the Mohawk Valley in 1754, all three of Walter Butler's sons, Thomas, Walter jr. and John, were commissioned as officers in the Indian Department. Thomas and Walter were captains, John held a lieutenancy. Walter Butler's sons each knew several Iroquois languages by early adulthood and were accustomed to the backwoods, Thomas and Walter having led successful war parties during the War of King George. All three had worked closely with their father to support the growing power of the Indian Department. The period after King George's War for the Butler family must have filled with great anticipation and satisfaction. Walter had successfully created a legacy that was second to only to the Warren/Johnson legacy in the Mohawk Valley, witnessed the passing of that legacy to his oldest son, and overseen the coming of age in careers and marriages of his two younger sons, Walter and John. He had also cemented a relationship between his family and William Johnson, rising star and patron of the North American British Empire.

¹⁹ Scott Weidensaul, *The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, and Endurance in Early America* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012) 274-336

Chapter Seven: The Seven Years War and the End of the French Frontier 1754-1763

At the beginning of the French and Indian War, the now elderly Walter Butler commanded Fort William on the Mohawk River, which guarded the Wood Creek portage between the Mohawk River and Oneida Lake. His command consisted of a corporal and thirteen privates. Butler mustered his company only twice a year in April and October. Monthly musters were forgone, being called ‘private musters.’ The soldiers in Butler’s company were not on the ‘effective’ roles for the Albany Independent Company. Evidently small companies at Oswego, Fort William, Fort Hunter, and Schenectady were places where ‘invalids’ could be retained. In May 1754, in anticipation of being sent to Virginia, John Rutherford’s New York Independent Company mustered 68 privates, two drummers, three corporals, three sergeants, and were commanded by Lt. William Ogivile, son of John Ogivile, who commanded in Captain John Rutherford’s place while he had been in England since 1751. The dismal state of the company at Albany and its out garrisons was a source of much irritation to the British establishment as preparations for war were underway.¹

Securing Iroquois military aid against New France was the primary validation of the Indian Department’s authority leading up to the renewal of hostilities between the two European powers. The Iroquois dominated a vast swath of the frontier between the British colonies and New France, linking the Saint Lawrence River, the Great Lakes, the Ohio Valley and the Hudson River Valley. They claimed supremacy over the other native peoples inhabiting these regions, claiming the right to negotiate for them. This Iroquois assertion over neighboring bands and tribes, Delaware, Shawnee, Miami, the Iroquoian Mingo (Iroquois in

¹ A Report on the Independent Companies By James Delancy to the Earl of Holderness April 22, 1754 *Great Britain: America and West Indies, Original Correspondence, Despatches and Miscellaneous, 1733-1754*, CO 5, Vol 14, 53-57.

the Ohio Valley) as well as transient traders and refugee populations, in turn benefited the Indian Department. The Department claimed primacy over competing colonial interests (agents sent from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania for example) to conduct Iroquois diplomacy because the Indian Department, and not colonial authorities, was the primary diplomatic contact between England and the Iroquois. That Iroquois control over their neighbors was largely a myth, did not stop the English from accepting this myth as fact, and did not stop the Indian Department from exploiting the myth of Iroquois hegemony to inflate their own importance. Because of the importance placed on Iroquois diplomacy; however poorly deserved, the Indian Department evolved from the localized Anglo-Iroquois relationship in the Mohawk River region to one that encompassed the whole Northwest frontier. Indian Department missions outside of the borders of New York increased steadily from King George's War on.²

Like their father, sons Thomas, Walter, and John were key emissaries between the British and the Iroquois. Their knowledge of Iroquois language and custom made them valuable members of the Indian Department. They could participate in every aspect of Iroquois diplomacy: Interpretation, diplomatic form (condolence ceremony and use of wampum,) and effective distribution of gifts, Indian "presents," that was a key but complicated part of diplomacy that could be mishandled.³

² Daniel Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 11-15, 23, 42; Michael J. Mullin, "Personal Politics: William Johnson and the Mohawks" *American Indian Quarterly* Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), 350-358; Scott Weidensaul, *The First Frontier*, 274-336; Roger M. Carpenter, "From Indian Women to English Children," *Pennsylvania History* Vol. 74, No. 1 (Winter, 2007) 3,5-6,9; Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge 1991) 36; Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating A Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 28. Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, 3-24, 345, 372-374, Daniel K. Richter, James H. Merrell, eds. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse University Press, 2010) 7-8.

³ Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (Penguin, 2008); Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754* (U of Nebraska Press, 1983); Wilbur R. Jacobs "Wampum, the Protocol of Indian Diplomacy." *William and Mary Quarterly* 6

In addition to wielding diplomatic power and control over land acquisition, the Indian Department during wartime operated as a military component of the British Empire, recruiting scouts, warriors, and employing a wide array of tradesmen and laborers as auxiliaries, axe men, bateaux men, porters, and gunsmiths for the Indians. One of the most important military functions was providing leadership for Indian war parties.⁴

Once war broke out in 1755, the white officers of the department were tasked with leading Indian warriors. Indian Department officers were to keep warriors focused on British objectives. These objectives were dictated from the commander in chiefs, initially Braddock, to William Johnson, who then directed his officers.⁵ This was not easy. Indian warriors acknowledged no subordination to British rank. They did not consider themselves as being subject to British military discipline. Warriors often confounded the efforts of British officers to direct them because they considered themselves free to decide whether or not to follow British orders. Warriors often held long meetings among themselves concerning their military role in a campaign; a practice which, described through the eyes of British officers who were relying on them, was perennially aggravating. Indian Officers could not simply issue orders to the warriors they were assigned to. Instead, they had to convince them, as tribes and as individuals to follow British dictates. Being a successful Indian officer necessarily required cultural knowledge and personal intimacy instead of the practiced

(1949): 596-604.; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford University Press, 1950) 11; Condolence ritual: Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*, (D.G. Brinton, 1883) 49-50, 60, 81, 121 Nancy L. Hagedorn "A Friend to go between Them": The Interpreter as Cultural Broker during Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70", *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter, 1988), pp. 60-80

⁴ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 108-9

⁵ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 108-110, 112-113

aloofness of the officer class in the regular army. Warriors could and did leave expeditions en masse when they determined it was no longer worth it as conditions changed. The Butler's experience during the smaller, more intimate raids of King George's War, made them particularly valuable even if the need for time consuming accommodation was not often appreciated by regular army officers. Braddock's insensibility to this reality in 1755 was not only a factor in his defeat, but was witnessed first-hand by a young John Butler on his first important mission for the Department.⁶

On May 17th, 1755, the elder Walter and his son John were present at a great assembly of Iroquois warriors, presided over by William Johnson. Presents were laid out before the gathered tribes and belts of wampum manifested the points Johnson intended to make. The first belts were reminders of long standing ties between them. Johnson then informed the Iroquois that their services were needed immediately. The English would guard their women and children so that the Iroquois warriors could take the field without delay. The Six Nations, Johnson continued, had been tricked out of their lands in the West by the French. However with their assistance the British could put them back in possession of those lands and offer them free trade in America "from the rising unto the setting of the sun." He then swore friendship and brotherhood for "as long as the sun and moon shall last." More tangibly, Johnson promised presents, arms, powder, and shot to any warrior wanting them.

⁶ John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607–1814* (Cambridge University Press, 2005) 122-124; David L. Preston, "Make Indians of Our White Men", *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies*, Vol. 74, No. 3 (Summer, 2007) 285; Timothy J Shannon, "The Native American Way of War in the Age of Revolutions, 1754-1814", in *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815* ed., Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (Cambridge University Press) 148-9; Armstrong Starkey, *European and Native American Warfare 1675-1815*, Routledge Press, 2002) 32-33

He promised to keep whisky traders, who cheated Indians out of conference presents, at bay on pain of death.⁷

Johnson particularly held a belt of wampum to pay respects to the Half King, Tanaghrisson (also Tanacharison), an Iroquois overlord in the Ohio Valley. Tanaghrisson had fled a settlement called Logstown ahead of the French force that burned it and subsequently died at George Croghan's estate, one of Johnson's agents in the Ohio Valley. Tanaghrisson's flight had exposed Iroquois vulnerability not only to the French, but to the Delaware and Shawnee. The Iroquois would need to fight in order to reverse the humiliation.⁸ Johnson called the Iroquois to war. As Johnson spoke, the elder Walter stood nearby as part of the British entourage while his youngest son, John Butler attended as an officer of the Indian Department and interpreter.⁹

Later on the evening of the 17th, the Butlers were present at a meeting in which Johnson met only with the Mohawk of the Upper and Lower Castle, his closest allies. Johnson told them of a meeting that had taken place in Virginia with many of the governors of the English colonies and General Edward Braddock concerning the Braddock's army. Johnson described the army as one which was being deployed "to protect you, as well as his subjects upon this continent, and defend you against the usurpations and insults of the French." Johnson then announced his sole superintendancy of the Indian Department. From now on he would answer only to the commander-in-chief.¹⁰

⁷ Extract from an Indian Speech, May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 174

⁸ Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley Until 1795* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940) 70-73

⁹ Extract from an Indian Speech, May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 174

¹⁰ Extract from an Indian Speech, May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 174

For the Mohawk, it meant that their primary ally and contact with the English was now at the head of an imperial institution ascendant. The Indian department had already wrested power from the local power elites in Albany. Now as the head of the Indian Department, Johnson would outrank regional British governors in the management of Indian affairs. The authority of the Indian department now extended across colonial boundaries in its jurisdiction, far beyond New York. The Mohawk were at the nexus of the relationship between the British and Native Americans. They had reason to share in celebrating the news of the Department's elevation in imperial status. The core of the power both the Indian Department and Mohawk exerted among their own peoples was the ability to harness the alleged strength of their partners. Even as Johnson relied on the performance of the British military, so too did the Mohawk have to rely on their alleged command of Indian warriors far outside the Mohawk Valley.¹¹

The Mohawk alone had fought the French alongside Johnson and the Butlers in the last war. They had made sacrifices during that war that had not resulted in safety or prosperity. British promises of overwhelming military might had never materialized. The Iroquois had expected a large force to take Crown Point in particular. Peace had been negotiated with the French without regard to their interests.¹² Now they were being asked to make those same sacrifices, to put their warriors in harm's way and risk their standing with the other tribes. Johnson endeavored to ensure them of his authority and British ability to keep the promises he had made. Before Johnson called a conference which included the

¹¹ Extract from an Indian Speech, May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 174

¹² Johnson to Clinton May 7, 1747 DRCHNY Vol.6. 360; Johnson to Clinton August 9, 1747 DRCHNY Vol 6. p389; William Johnson to George Clinton, March 15, 1747/8, *Johnson Papers* Volume 1 p147-8

grater Indian community, a conference in which the Mohawk would play a crucial part in convincing other tribes to fight with the British, the Mohawk would observe Braddock's force for themselves.¹³

That same day William Johnson sent Indian Department Lieutenant John Butler to Braddock's army with a delegation of Mohawks. This was John Butler's first mission. Butler carried with him letters from Johnson to Braddock, including a report forwarded to Johnson from his brother Thomas at Oswego concerning French Indian diplomacy.¹⁴ John Butler travelled with Jonathan Wemp (John's brother in law,) and four Mohawk warriors, to General Braddock's headquarters at Fort Cumberland in Virginia. Butler carried Johnson's warning to Braddock that the Mohawk were well aware of their potential value to the British and that a lot of money would be required to entice them to fight. He recommended the young Mohawk who were with Butler in particular as friends but warned Braddock against trying to press them to service. They were there to inspect Braddock and they were not impressed. The warriors who accompanied Butler later said that "The great man in Virginia did not seem to love Indians and made but little account of them."¹⁵ Butler's Mohawk companions were personally insulted as well when, in expectation of presents from Braddock, received what they considered to be junk.¹⁶

¹³ Extract from an Indian Conference, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 176-9

¹⁴ Colonel William Johnson to General Edward Braddock, 17 May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 512-516

¹⁵In Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, 131

¹⁶ Colonel William Johnson's Accounts, 20 May 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, p 569;; William Johnson to Edward Braddock, *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, p569; William Johnson to General Braddock, May 17, 1755, *Johnson Papers* Vol. 5, 512-515 William Johnson to Edward Braddock, July 15, 1755, *Johnson Papers* Vol.9, 203-208

On June 9, John Butler started back with a message back for Colonel William Johnson from General Braddock. Braddock's June 9th missive blamed a miserable relationship with Native tribes on the "conduct of our Government's to these nations for some years."¹⁷ The observation however did not seem to hold any discernable lesson for Braddock. Johnson had already asked one of his deputies, George Croghan, to send Scarooyady, the new Iroquois Half King in the Ohio Valley, to Braddock in April as advisor. Braddock had secured 40 to 50 Delaware Indians as auxiliaries at Fort Cumberland. These warriors left over the next number of weeks as they learned that Braddock had no intention of making them promises concerning the disposition of territory in the Ohio Valley and that Braddock was annoyed by their presence in his camp.¹⁸ Scarooyady later said of Braddock, "He was a bad man when he was alive. He looked upon us as dogs and would never hear a thing that was said to him. We often endeavored to advise him and tell him of the danger he was in with his troops; but he never appeared pleased with us; that was why a great deal of our warriors left and would not be under his command."¹⁹ Braddock was unconcerned by the lack of Indian support.²⁰ When his army was destroyed on July 9th at the Battle of the Monongalia, it was the tragic consequence of his inability to interact successfully with American Indians.²¹

¹⁷ General Edward Braddock to Colonel William Johnson, June 9, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 9, 174

¹⁸ C. A. Weslager *The Delaware Indians: A History* (Rutgers University Press, 1989) 223-226; Lee McCardell, *Ill-starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958) 190-191

¹⁹ In Winthrop Sargent, *The History of an Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755*, (Historical society of Pennsylvania, 1856) 173

²⁰ McCardell, *Ill-starred General*, 238

²¹ Sargent, *The History of an Expedition Against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755*, 174-177. Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 99-104

Warriors fighting with French troops wrecked the British lines. Regular line troops, unable to maneuver well, fired in wildly inaccurate volleys and then panicked. British lines were not only particularly vulnerable to fast moving warrior shielded by the surrounding trees. Forensic evidence also shows that they fired into other British groups ahead and behind by accident.²² The Battle would feed an enduring American narrative about 18th century America. English troops were ill suited to American style warfare; they maneuvered in rank and were easy targets in red coats. It is part of an American narrative that condemns the English as unworthy masters of America. Braddock was buried in the center of the road his troops had built, the remains of his army marching over his grave in retreat. His defeat was a major setback for Indian Diplomacy, contradicting the narrative that Johnson had tried to sell the Iroquois Confederacy in May.²³ John Butler's official career (a career he had been well prepared for) began with a mission to attach the Mohawk to the English. It was his destiny to witness, time after time, the failure of British commanders to take seriously the work that it took to secure the cooperation of native warriors.

Part of General Braddock's plan in 1755 was to use an army of warriors, frontiersmen, and provincial troops commanded by William Johnson to take Crown Point, which guarded the passage to the Northern shores of Lake Champlain.²⁴ The Indian Department formed the core of this army. Walter Butler, the now elderly Walter Butler's son, a captain in the Indian department in 1755, was part of this force. He had scouted Crown

²² Frank A. Cassell, "The Braddock Expedition of 1755: Catastrophe in the Wilderness" *Pennsylvania Legacies*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (May 2005), 11-15

²³ General Edward Braddock to Colonel William Johnson, June 9, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 9, 174

²⁴ Guzzardo, *William Johnson's Official Family*, 109-110, 112, 121; Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, 126; Matthew Ferrel to Colonel William Johnson, July 28, 1755 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 785-786.

Point from the mountains in 1748 and engaged in short but furious fight there. He helped lead Mohawk warriors who, he and brother John had helped raise by travelling to Mohawk villages and joining the warriors at their fires and dances. Warriors from the rest of Iroquoia could not be secured. Enthusiasm for joining Johnson's planned expedition to Crown Point had suffered because of Braddock's defeat. In addition, Massachusetts Indian agent Col. John Lydius had attempted to recruit Iroquois warriors for Governor Shirley's army, gathering in New England for a planned strike at Niagara. This caused ill-feeling because it not only directly contradicted Johnson's position as sole superintendent of Indian affairs, it undermined Mohawk authority among Indians. Lydius challenged the Iroquois hierarchy by appealing directly to warriors instead of through the sachems and undermined Johnson's authority. Brothers John and Walter Butler confronted Lydius, warning him off in order to keep him from intriguing with individual warriors, while they worked to engage warriors through Mohawk sachems.²⁵ Johnson raised the problems created by Shirley's machinations with English ministers repeatedly. Publically, Shirley acknowledged Johnson's jurisdiction and denied interfering with his efforts to secure Indian allegiances. Hampered by Braddock's handling of Indian affairs in Virginia and by Shirley's use of Lydius to circumvent Johnson's newly established authority, the Indian Department in 1755 had succeeded only in recruiting Mohawk in significant numbers. Other Iroquois remained aloof.²⁶

On August 22, Johnson's army was camped at the *Great Carrying Place* between Lake George and the Hudson River. At a council of war that night, John Butler and two other Indian agents, Lieutenant Arent Stevens and Lieutenant Robert Adams, presented the

²⁵ Matthew Ferrel to Colonel William Johnson, July 28, 1755 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 1, 785-786.

²⁶ Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronett*, 130-131

intelligence they had gathered in the last few weeks. They attributed the uneasiness of the Mohawk to a lack of sufficient warriors and the belief the British were about to be defeated. John Butler confirmed intelligence reports that described large numbers of troops and supplies moving by water and wagons from New France towards Lake Champlain. His scouts had also established that Baron de Dieskau, a commander with a storied reputation in Europe, had full knowledge of Johnson's army and would intercept him before he reached Crown Point. Disturbing for the Mohawk from the lower castles was the additional information that not only had a substantial number of Indian warriors, nearly 700, been recruited to march with the French army, but that chief among them were the Mohawk from the St. Lawrence River, the Caughnawanga, their kin and partners as middle men in the illicit trade between Montreal and Albany. Despite their concerns, the Mohawk seemed to be committed to the campaign saying, [that Johnson and his men] ...” were our Brethren and would live and die with us.”²⁷

On August 29, 1755, 1500 troops and warriors reached the southern end of what the French called Lac Sacrament. William Johnson renamed it Lake George in honor of the King and commenced building a fort he named William Henry in honor of the King's grandson. Meanwhile a French force of 3,500 regular, provincial, and Indian fighters under the command of Baron de Dieskau moved south to intercept them. They reached the road between Fort Edward and Fort William Henry on the evening of September 7, having marched through the wilderness in order to surprise Johnson and cut off his southern escape route. A courier, who was carrying dispatches between the two forts for Johnson, was

²⁷ The Minutes of a Council of War, 22 August 1755. PM Great Britain. Public Record Office, CO 5, America and the West Indies, Vol 1066, 277-278 in *John Butler Papers*, 48-49

intercepted and killed. His dispatches indicated that Johnson know the French force was in the area but had yet to discover its exact whereabouts. On September 8th, a force of 1000 troops under the leadership of Ephraim Williams Jr., the commander of a Massachusetts regiment, was sent to find Dieskau from William Henry. They encountered Dieskau's men at about 10:00 in the morning as they hurried towards Fort Edward. The English column had given up the protection offered by flanking scouts in exchange for the speed of travelling in a single column on the road. Abanaki warriors and Caughnawaga warriors formed two arms of a horseshoe shaped ambush that been laid across the road. Just before the trap was sprung, Caughnawaga warriors alerted the Mohawk marching with Williams' men, almost all thirty of the Mohawk recruited by the Indian Department, to their presence. After a short exchange of words between the two Mohawk clans, a last minute warning perhaps, an eruption of fire along each side of William's column broke the English, sending the survivors into a desperate rout. The engagement, called the Bloody Morning Scout, was the first in a series of three actions which comprised the Battle of Lake George.²⁸

The ambush was devastating. Ephraim Williams Jr. was killed at the head of his Massachusetts provincial regiment. Theyogeeon, or King Hendrick, the Mohawk leader who had worked so closely with the Butlers and Johnson, was also killed. In addition to their losses among British forces, the Mohawk tragically suffered losses fighting for the French as well. Upset over the killings of Mohawk by other Mohawk, most Mohawk warriors simply left after the morning's bloody fight, leaving the English army with no warriors. It seems many of the warriors who detached themselves remained long enough after the battle to

²⁸ Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals : Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"*, 44-49

plunder the dead, which caused a great deal of resentment among the remaining New England troops.²⁹

Dieskau pursued Williams' men back towards William Henry. The rout was checked at Johnson's camp by hastily erected barricades and the deadly grapeshot from three cannon. French soldiers were mowed down by the English fire from behind the barricades. The French attack faltered and Dieskau, shot three times, was captured. As the day came to a close, troops marching to the relief of Johnson's force from Fort Edward killed a large number of Canadian militia, throwing an estimated 200 corpses into a pond by the road. The "bloody pond" fight ended the Battle of Lake George.³⁰

Johnson's army lost 160 killed, 103 wounded, and 67 missing. The bodies of the dead littered the woods between Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. Captain Walter Butler was one of those killed at the Bloody Morning Scout along with three other Indian Department officers. John had remained with Johnson in his main camp and escaped the morning's slaughter, fighting instead from behind the hastily erected barricades. It was an enormous blow to the Butler Family. Walter was an energetic leader who had been with the Indian Department from its inception.³¹

Although the French army had been shattered, Johnson's force was so crippled it could not continue. Advancing any further Fort William Henry was unthinkable. John Butler worked directly for Johnson for the remainder of the campaign, trying to regain the Mohawk

²⁹ Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals*, 53-54 - Inventory of those killed, wounded or missing in Ephraim Williams' regiment, 13 September 1755, <http://archives.williams.edu/ewilliamsexhibit/bms/bms02.html>

³⁰ Morris Patterson Ferris, *Account of the Battle of Lake George September 8th, 1755* (General Society of Colonial Wars 1903) p9-10

³¹ Ian K. Steele, *Betrayals*, 53-54

support that had been lost. John Butler shuttled messages between the camp at Lake George, Albany, and the Mohawk Valley. The means taken by Johnson and Butler to regain support included the secret transfer of French prisoners to the Mohawk to take the names and places of their dead warriors.³² By the end of September John Butler had re-engaged twenty warriors but, on their way to Lake George, half were turned back by their “brethren” who, according to John, told them “a heap of idle falsehoods.” The remainder paid their respects to Johnson, then most of those departed as well, leaving only four warriors at Lake George.³³

The Indian Department faced serious challenges over the winter. In February 1746 Johnson hosted continuous meetings with Iroquois. From February 2 to the 16 many of the smaller bands of the Iroquois made their way to Fort Johnson to discuss French threats and Indian raiding along the frontier. On February 18th the Indian Department held a private meeting with Abraham, King Hendrick’s brother, and the other sachems of the Upper Castle.³⁴ Later that day the elderly Walter Butler stood with members of the Indian Department, notes of the conference recognize him “as an English gentleman who had been among the Mohawk for more than 20 years.” Present also Rev. John Ogilvie, son of Lieutenant William Ogilvie, who had sailed with Walter Butler from England in 1711. John Ogilvie had served the Mohawk and Fort Hunter community as minister since 1750.³⁵

The February conferences were an attempt to bring the Iroquois tribes and bands into a common understanding of the Anglo Iroquois alliance Johnson wanted and especially to

³² Ian K. Steele *Betrayals* 54; Governor Hardy to William Johnson, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 289

³³ Colonel William Johnson to Governor Hardy, October 25 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, p 238; Goldsrow Banyar to Major General William Johnson, September 24, 1755, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 86.

³⁴ Indian Conference, February 2-16, 1756. Vol. 9 *Johnson Papers*, 347-355

³⁵ Extracts from the minutes of an Indian Conference, February 18-19, 1756 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 355

put an end to fighting on the Ohio Pennsylvania frontier. Condolences for the warriors killed at Lake George as well as those Seneca who had died fighting English settlers in the Ohio Valley were performed were given and their deaths “covered” so that all could move forward. It was during these ceremonies that the French prisoners, conveyed to the Mohawk valley the previous fall, were presented to the families of five fallen warriors, included King Hendrick’s. “They received the prisoners with the greatest marks of gratitude and satisfaction; every nation giving the shout of approbation, and then carried off the prisoners to their respective families.”³⁶

The next day large wampum belts were displayed, symbols of past allegiance and commitments, in order to renew the alliance between the Iroquois and English. The Onondaga speaker, Red Head, who spoke for the Iroquois, asked that in order for the disturbances along the Ohio frontier to be resolved, that English should troops be withdrawn from the frontier. Meanwhile the Iroquois would speak to “their nephews” the Delaware, in order to bring an end to their raids. Seneca sachems also spoke, some having never been to an English conference before. Because many had been involved with Delaware and Shawnee raiding they offered their gratitude for covering of their graves and also spoke directly to the other Iroquois bands and tribes assembled, reaffirming their commitment to the Iroquois as a united confederation. In general the Iroquois speakers expressed a desire to put an end to the frontier raiding but distanced themselves from the conflict, suggesting that it was a matter between the Delaware and Pennsylvania. Johnson was not thrilled with the lack of enthusiasm for halting the raids. The transfer of responsibility to Pennsylvania would damage

³⁶ Extracts from the minutes of an Indian Conference, February 18-19, 1756 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 357

the image that had been carefully crafted by himself and the Mohawk, that he alone could direct the Iroquois through the Mohawk, and that the Iroquois, when asked to deliver results, would.³⁷

The other main purpose of the conference was to generate excitement about a second conference that year at Oswego. Many presents Johnson promised, would be handed out at the upcoming spring meeting. If, Johnson argued, they had achieved so much at the Battle of Lake George with so few warriors, just think of the victory they could achieve with the full might of the Iroquois. In the meantime Johnson promised, New York's provincial forces would be dedicated to protecting the Iroquois villages from French attack. Also any village that desired to have a trading post established would be granted one. They had but to talk to him. No doubt Walter Butler saw the great pipe made especially for the conclusion of the conference, "the largest in America," which Johnson presented to Red Head. "Take this pipe to your great council-chamber at Onondago," Johnson told them, "let it hang there in view; and should you be wavering in your minds at any time, take and smoke out of it, and think of my advice given with it, and you will recover and think properly."³⁸

In order for the planned council of war at Oswego to succeed, the route to Oswego must be protected. One of the most vulnerable locations along the route was "The Great Carry Place," a four mile portage from the Mohawk River to Wood Creek. Fort William guarded the east entrance to the portage and Fort Bull the west. French fighters and Indians

³⁷ Extracts from the minutes of an Indian Conference, February 18-19, 1756 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 357

³⁸ Extracts from the minutes of an Indian Conference, February 18-19, 1756 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 373

attacked the portage on March 27 and slaughtered close to 30 people, mostly soldiers from Fort Bull but also a few Bateaux men and women. 35 English soldiers and a few travelers found along the portage were taken prisoner. The French raiders plundered the supplies bound for Oswego that were stored at the Fort and torched the remainder. The explosion of 45,000 pounds of gunpowder obliterated Fort Bull and the supplies the raiders could not carry. Fort William fended off a challenge by the raiders, losing 13 men before the French party melted back into the snow bound wilderness. It was a devastating surprise attack that exposed the weakness of the Mohawk / English frontier.³⁹

In April, Thomas Butler set up security operations with about twenty warriors at *The Great Carrying Place*. Thomas not only needed to secure the portage but find porters and bateaux men willing to transport the Oswego relief force. After the March raid few men were willing to work without adequate protection. Thomas sent out scouting parties and collected intelligence. Specifics were hard to come by but the French had been active on the lake early that year and the English were aware that the French were planning their own war council at Niagara.⁴⁰

Military operations along the route and at Oswego were commanded by Massachusetts Adjutant General John Bradstreet. Bradstreet, like Thomas and John Butler, was born on the American frontier. His father was a Lieutenant in the British garrison in Nova Scotia and Bradstreet had been able to capitalize on that to follow a military career. He was thirty years old when King George's War started. In 1744 He had been captured along with his garrison at Canso on the coast of Maine. The town was destroyed and the prisoners

³⁹ Gilbert Hagerty, *Massacre at Fort Bull* (Mabray, 1971); Francis Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe: France and England in North America*, (Little, Brown, and Co, 1910) 374–378

⁴⁰ Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson May 3, 1756, *Johnsons Papers*, Vol 9, p 446.

brought to Louisburg. The fortress exchanged them quickly, eager to be rid of the English soldiers in a fortress without adequate supplies. He was back the next year and aided in the capture of Louisburg in 1745.⁴¹

In 1756 he was tasked with maintaining the route from Albany to Oswego and organizing a corps of armed bateaux men and porters to keep the garrison at Oswego supplied.⁴² By the end of April his men had cleared most of the road and made those sections that regularly became morasses during the winters travelable. While Bradstreet undertook the logistics of organizing “the bateaux men,” thousands of men divided into corps of 50 men each to keep the British supply lines open. Thomas Butler worked alongside Bradstreet with his warrior band to help protect the route and supply intelligence.⁴³

Thomas complained bitterly against the availability of rum which made the management of Indian warriors nearly impossible. He described the problem to Colonel Johnson in May 1756, writing, “In short, they begin to be of little service as there is no such thing of hindering their getting rum. I have spoke so often to the officers on that head that am now determined to say no more. It appears to me there is a design in it, as some here are not your very good friends.” Further complicating efforts to retain warriors was the fact many had been paid for the same service the year before (a policy that Shirley had employed the previous year as a recruiting strategy to the chagrin of many experienced in Indian diplomacy.) Now warriors expected to be paid directly by the English instead of through their war chiefs.

⁴¹ W. G. Godfrey, “BRADSTREET, JOHN,” in Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. 4

⁴² Gov. William Shirley to John Bradstreet, March 17, 1756 Instructions as to provisions and stores for Oswego. Charles Henry Lincoln ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley: Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760*, Volume 2 (McMilliam and Co., 1912) 419

⁴³Gail D. MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012) 72-73. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 81

Bradstreet was also unable to pay for additional warriors that Thomas had offered to recruit. Thomas was also alarmed that, despite their promises in February at Fort Johnson, he had heard that many Iroquois bands and tribes were going to Niagara or had sent representatives to hear what the French had to say.⁴⁴

John Butler also took command of a number of Indian scouts designed to protect Bradstreet's bateaux men. In late May, he paid nearly 300 pounds for the service of warriors along the route to Oswego. It was a dangerous assignment. Attacks on forest convoys and working parties were common. Forest skirmishes claimed dozens of lives as warriors fighting for New France infiltrated the region.⁴⁵ On July 3 Colonel Bradstreet and roughly 300 of his bateaux men were attacked by a force of close to 700 French and Indian Warriors as they departed Oswego. Bradstreet won particular renown for himself for assessing the situation quickly and efficiently using his men to repulse the attack. John and Thomas helped protect the route until August of that year when a large French Force captured and destroyed the English outpost at Oswego on August 13th.⁴⁶

Even as Bradstreet and the Indian Department were engaged in a desperate bid to protect the outposts leading up to and including Oswego, English military operations as a whole stalled. Governor of Massachusetts, William Shirley, who had assumed command after Braddock's death, was replaced by Lord Loudon as commander in chief in America. General James Abercrombie, Loudon's second in command, upon arriving in Albany in July,

⁴⁴ Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson May 4, 1756 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 448-449

⁴⁵ Frank H Severence. *An Old Frontier of France: The Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes under French Control* (New York, 1917), Vol II, 162; Lt. John Butler to Lt. Colonel John Bradstreet, May 20, 1756, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 7, p 503

⁴⁶ William R. Nester, *The First Global War: Britain, France, and the Fate of North America, 1756-1775* (Greenwood Publishing, 2000) 8-9

immediately halted all operations along the Albany to Oswego supply route until new orders could be confirmed by Louden. Bradstreet's Bateux men were dismissed when they returned to Albany on July 12, a little over a week since their engagement just south of Oswego.

Bradstreet's warning that nearly 1000 French soldiers and a large number of warriors were gathering at a French Fort just 34 miles from Oswego was not immediately acted upon.⁴⁷ It would be a month before a British force under the command of Major General Daniel Webb made it to German Flats on August 17.⁴⁸

On August 20, Webb moved west to Wood Creek and reinforced the small forts guarding the portage: Fort Williams, Fort Wood Creek, (replacing Fort Bull destroyed in March,) Fort Newport, and Fort Craven. Thomas Butler would spend the remainder of the summer with Webb at the portage. Thomas gathered as much intelligence as he could as about the fall of the fort. Reports filtered in from scouts and few refugees lucky enough to escape through the ring of French allied warriors surrounding Oswego. He learned that the Fort had held out for several days during which the defenders had sallied from the gates only to lose many men in an ambush. He learned that several officers had been taken prisoner and brought to Niagara. Thomas gathered that Fort William Henry on Lake George could also soon expect to be attacked.⁴⁹

Thomas also reported that French Indian Diplomacy had hit some of its own rough patches, including some drama caused by the sensational murder of an Ottawa sachem whose

⁴⁷ Extract of a Letter from Capt. Bradstreet to Major General Shirley , July 16th, 1756., Lincoln, *Correspondence of William Shirley*, 485

⁴⁸ Nester, *The First Global War*, 8-9

⁴⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 4, 1756, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 448-449; Hagerty., *Massacre at Fort Bull*; Journal of Occurrences in Canada from October 1755 to June 1756, DRNYCH, Vol 10, page 403-405

head had been removed and placed on his chest outside of Niagara. A vicious debate had broken out as to the culprits. Mohawk warriors were implicated but others believed they had been framed. In the aftermath many Ottawa were simply for going home.⁵⁰

Webb pulled back to Albany with the remainder of the British force in September, while Thomas Butler prepared for a diplomatic mission that would carry him far from the safety of British arms. He would go to many of the principal towns of the Iroquois that winter. Johnson intended to make fresh diplomatic overtures and hoped to gain the support of more of the Iroquois than just the Mohawk. Thomas had spent the entire fund allocated by Bradstreet earlier and desperately needed cash to continue his mission.⁵¹

As the first snows began to fall, Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda were ordered by William Johnson to the Iroquois diplomatic capital of Onondaga to spend the winter. There they were to advise the tribes not to meet with any English or colonial government [sic] other than the officers of the Indian Department. Butler was to remind the Iroquois that Johnson alone was the sole superintendent of Indian affairs. Butler and Fonda were authorized to promise gunsmiths and traders to villages but under the condition that no French emissaries be allowed entrance into those communities. They were to collect as much intelligence on the frontier and disposition of New France as possible.⁵²

A week later Butler discovered that Jelles Fonda would be not be spending the winter with him, Fonda was to live among the Seneca, gain their allegiance, and if possible capture

⁵⁰ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, September 18, 1756 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, pp 532-534

⁵¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, September 1756 18, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, pp 532-534; Sir William Johnson to Lord Loudon 26 September *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, p 56

⁵² Sir William Johnson to Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda, December 20, 1756 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 582-583. Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, December 28, 1756 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 584

a notorious indian agent(s) working for New France named Joncaire. Joncaire, like what sometimes happens to the Butlers, does not necessarily refer to one person but may be up to three family members, a father and two sons that are often confused and conflagrated. The father Louis-Thomas had passed by 1756 but his sons, Daniel-Marie and Phillip Thomas were both active among the Iroquois during this time.⁵³ Thomas' own mission was expanded to include an embassy to the Cayuga after he had completed his business at Onondaga. He also learned that John Butler, now promoted to captain in the Indian Department, would be following similar instructions at the Oneida castle that winter, and that the brothers would be traveling together for the first leg of their journeys.⁵⁴

As John Butler and his partner for the journey, Lt. Steven Schuyler, bought snowshoes for the winter journey at the Lower Castle near Fort Hunter, several of his Indian acquaintances there told him it was a pity that he should be sent out to die; "such a likely young [man]." John told his brother Thomas about the exchange. Jelles Fonda told them that he as well had been warned by the Mohawk from the Lower Castle that were to escort them, "Haniss Crane" and "One Ey'd Lourance," that the journey was not safe. They carried wampum belts meant to give them safe passage but these offered scant reassurance on a frontier where loyalties were uncertain. The young officers must have had grave misgivings about the warnings of murder in the forest.⁵⁵

Their first stop was to the Upper Mohawk Castle where they spent the night. They stayed at the "house of an Indian named Brant." Brant told them [that] "They most certainly

⁵³ Frank Severance, *The story of Joncaire, his life and times on the Niagara* (Buffalo, 1906)

⁵⁴ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, December 28, 1756 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 584

⁵⁵ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

would be killed or taken.” This is most likely the family home of Molly and Joseph Brant who were both from the Upper Village. Their second night was spent at a German Flatts, where they met up with two Oneida, whom they hired to carry their baggage as far as the Oneida Castle. They spent two nights in the woods before coming to the Castle on the 5th of January.⁵⁶

The next day they delivered William Johnson’s messages. The Oneida assured them that they would pass on whatever information that their warriors, hunting in Canada, carried as soon as they returned. They agreed to ban French emissaries from their village or meet with any other English embassy. The Oneida also requested a blacksmith and suggested that John Butler maintain a stock of goods to trade with them while he was there. The sachems complained bitterly about the amount of alcohol being procured at German Flatts. They suggested Johnson put an end to it and appoint two salesmen they had in mind to use only for special occasions. That night the extent of the problem was evident as a drunken ruckuses kept the Butlers up most of the night after the meeting.⁵⁷

The next morning Thomas and Jelles said goodbye to John and continued on to the Tuscarora castle nearby where they met that afternoon with the head men. On the 8th they stayed overnight at an Indian town called Kanossaragah. One Ey'd Lourance spoke with the men there about Butler and Fonda’s mission but no meeting was held.⁵⁸

On route from Kanossaragah to Onondaga the party met up with several Indians who all told them to turn back. They also met John Abeel (Father of Cornplanter) along the way

⁵⁶ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 6, 1757. *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, 664-665

⁵⁷ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 6, 1757. *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, 664-665

⁵⁸ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

and spoke with him at length about the danger they faced. John was leaving Onondaga and on his way to Albany with a small party of warriors, two Cayuga and a Seneca. John asked Butler what their business was in Onondaga which Thomas explained. Abeel eyed the small group of Indian agents and warriors and asked if this was all the men they had. Yes, Thomas told him. Do you have presents for the Indians Abeel asked? No replied Thomas. John laughed at them. "Jone Cair" he said, had come to the Seneca with horses and wagons loaded. There they had outfitted war parties from Niagara and among the Seneca. John Abeel was on his way to Albany he said, because he was warned a war party was sent out especially to capture him. The men decided to camp together that night along the road. They two parties joined together and built a small camp and bark huts in which to pass the night.⁵⁹

That night Abeel told Butler the amazing story of how he had escaped assassination by a Seneca and Cayuga at the Cayuga Castle. As he approached the castle he was warned the two assassins were waiting for him inside. Abeel then passed the castle without stopping but discovered soon after that he was being followed. They caught up with him at Seneca Landing (Geneva,) where Abeel described sending the Seneca there a gift of rum which they shared with his two pursuers. Late that night, he received warning from an Indian woman via a child that they were coming for him. After a vicious fight in which both he and his black slave were injured, Abeel escaped. His friends among the Seneca hid him in a block house and then further up the shore of Seneca Lake until the assassins left the Castle. The Seneca, Abeel said, will not protect you.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

⁶⁰ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

As Butler and Fonda spoke with Abeel, Silver Heels, a Mohawk warrior and one of their escorts spoke with the warriors escorting Abeel and confirmed the threat. Barant Wemp, one of Butler's party and most likely Thomas's brother in law, also spoke to one of Abeel's Seneca escorts, youngest son of a chief named The Drunkard. "You are far enough," the young man told Wemp, "Don't go there (Seneca Country) unless you want to be burnt." What about the Cayuga Castle Wemp asked? The warrior answered that "it was worse" there. The Cayuga, he told Wemp, would betray the English.⁶¹

In the morning, Abeel and Butler's parties continued on their own ways. Butler and Fonda decided to go as far as Onondaga but no further. "If we meet them (Cayuga or Seneca,)" Thomas wrote, "We shan't know them from the enemy until they fire upon us." The warriors accompanying them were nervous and already planning on returning home. The small party must have been happy to reach the relative safety of Onondaga that afternoon.⁶²

Onondaga was relatively empty. Many were hunting in Canada so it was relatively easy to assemble those who remained. Thomas delivered Johnson's messages and got an appropriate response. The men then gleaned what they could about what was going on in New France and in the Upper Iroquois Nations (Cayuga and Seneca) from some of the Indians and traders at the castle. The Onondaga told them they were right to go back to the Mohawk Valley. A trader passing through Onondaga told them of the ruins of Oswego which he had seen that fall. The timbers were burnt and stones pulled down he told them. The trader, Albert Ryckman, said that he too had fled the Seneca country after meeting John Abeel but that soon he would return. He had left goods behind which he hoped to reclaim.

⁶¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 9, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2 665-666

⁶² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 9, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2 665-666

Ryckman said he was sick of hearing from the Indians how easily Oswego had fell. The defeat at Oswego had severely damaged English credibility.⁶³

Thomas Butler considered leaving the Indian Department Lieutenant Steven Schuyler behind at Onondaga but Ryckman told them not to bother. If Schuyler has no presents and no trade goods, he would be no good to the English cause Ryckman explained, creating suspicion. The Joincare by comparison he told them, confirming what they had already heard, had brought wagons of goods with them. Thomas Butler then proposed that Schuyler accompany Ryckman, a proposal that the trader and backwoodsmen “modestly refused.”⁶⁴

The next day Thomas Butler gave messages to two of the Seneca warriors who had accompanied them on their journey. They could continue on to the western Iroquois castles, delivering Johnson’s messages and finding the family of the Cayuga chief named the “Englishman,” that Johnson had particularly wanted to invite to Fort Johnson. Like most of the chiefs and warriors from Cayuga, they were gone hunting around Niagara, another reason to turn back. After these arrangements were made, Butler’s party spent one more night at Onondaga and started back the way they had come. After three nights on the road they arrived back at Oneida.⁶⁵

When they arrived. the Oneida said they had done well to turn back. John Butler was not happy. John complained of large amounts of rum that were being consumed by the warriors and drunken threats that had caused him to stay outside of the village at night for his

⁶³ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

⁶⁴ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

⁶⁵ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

own safety. There was a constant stream of men making the trip back and forth to the German Flatts for rum. Thomas and his men observed this first hand. They left Lt. Schuyler with Captain John Butler at Oneida and returned via the German Flatts to the Mohawk Valley on the 18th of January. ⁶⁶

The journey, recorded in Thomas's letters to Johnson and in a report presented after his return, is a rare magnification of the type of Indian Diplomacy that we know the Butlers conducted but is often only described in brief missives or much abridged summaries. Like their brother Walter's account of the small fight at Crown Point in 1747, the account of the trip offers color to lives most often only viewed as ancillary footnotes. ⁶⁷

John Butler continued at Oneida through February and regularly passed intelligence back to Johnson. In early February he reported that seven Onondaga from the Oneida town of Oswegatchie on the Upper St. Lawrence River, arrived at Oneida bringing news from New France. Like the Mohawk, the Oneida also had bands that supported the French and had established settlements in the French controlled borderlands. A French priest residing at Oswegatchie had asked them to deliver a message to the Oneida from the French Governor. John listened as the warriors from Oswegatchie delivered their message to the Oneida Sachems.

The delegation began by assuring the assembled listeners that their kin were well in Canada and still hunting. They had killed so many deer that most of the Iroquois hunters would wait until spring to return so they could use the water routes to transport their bounty.

⁶⁶ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

⁶⁷ Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda To Sir William Johnson, January 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 667-673

Not one, they said, had even fallen sick. Then they delivered the message from the French. The French Governor was pleased that so many of the Iroquois were in Canada and expressed his desire for peace. He had thanked the Onondaga and Oneida for remaining aloof from the previous summer's campaigning. The Oneida were then presented with four bags of gun power as a gift from the French Governor, "...because I heard the English, your brothers, gave you but a single handful." He invited them to come to Niagara and fetch more whenever they desired.⁶⁸

The missive to the Oneida was just one of eight separate diplomatic parties that were sent not only through Iroquois country but throughout the Ohio Valley. Oswegatchie was being using as a staging point for these missions. The French had sent several sleighs loaded with supplies and Liquor there to aid in these diplomatic missions.⁶⁹ The delegates also told Butler what had happened to all the regulars that were taken at Oswego. 1600 men had been taken as prisoners, protected from Indian warriors fighting with Montcalm, and sent away the day after their surrender. Nearly all had been sent to France for safe keeping as hostages.⁷⁰

The next day Butler wrote to William Johnson again. The story of the attack on John Abeel had been told to the Osawegatchie the previous evening and they came to Butler in the morning. "These French Indians declare they never heard a word of it before our Indians told them of it here, nor don't think the Governor of Canada ever gave such orders, but when they return they will find out by whose orders this was done." Butler asked Johnson to send any

⁶⁸ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, February 7, 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol. 9, 598-599.

⁶⁹ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, February 7, 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol. 9, 598-599

⁷⁰ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, February 7, 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol. 9, 598-599; Christian Ayne Crouch, *Nobility Lost: French and Canadian Martial Cultures, Indians, and the End of New France* (Cornell University Press, 2014); Linda Colley *Captives*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002) 180

message he wanted the delegation from Osawegatchie to carry back into their own country quickly before they departed Oneida.⁷¹

Four days later Johnson sent his reply. He was not happy that the Oneida had received the Osawegatchie embassy. To the Osawegatchie, he offered the chance to return to the English interest. He asked Butler to make clear that the English would “to punish the French for their villainous and insolent behavior.” Those Indians that joined with the French would “repent it when too late,” and “must take the consequence and blame themselves.” To emphasize the point and help them convey the message to other Iroquois, Johnson sent a Wampum belt for Butler to give to the Osawegatchie.⁷²

On February 19, Sir William Johnson ordered Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda back to Onondaga. Johnson wanted to hold an Indian conference at Onondaga as soon as the weather allowed. They were to arrange the meeting as soon as possible. Any intelligence of enemy designs and movement was to be sent immediately to Johnson. Butler received three belts from Johnson in order to emphasize important English messages in the Iroquois fashion and a string of beads for an Indian embassy to use in the transmission of Thomas’ speech deeper into Iroquois territories.⁷³ These physical manifestations of diplomatic messages were not only an aide-mémoire for messengers but were respected as items with spiritual power that helped protect the integrity of the messages. These items had more authority for example

⁷¹ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, February 8, 1757 *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 602.

⁷² To Captain John Butler and Lt. Stephen Schulyer, February 12, 1757, *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 602-603.

⁷³ Extract from William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Proceedings, February 23, 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 618.

than simple word of mouth or paper letter and were expected to be used for important messages.⁷⁴

Thomas was to use the first belt to inform the Iroquois gathered at Onondaga that a meeting between the Governor of Pennsylvania, Iroquois in the Ohio Valley, the Delaware and the Shawnee, had ended with a peace agreement. One provision of the agreement was the return of all English captives. The Iroquois were to use their influence to enforce this provision. Without the return of the prisoners Johnson explained, the peace agreement could not be taken seriously.⁷⁵

Thomas was to use the second belt to let the Six Nations know that a second meeting of the Delaware, Shawnee, and Ohio Iroquois would be held in the spring at Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna. William Johnson would personally host this second conference which would also be attended by Pennsylvania's governor. There the English would hear and take seriously the grievances that had led to the frontier violence in recent years, giving "...those Indians satisfaction for whatever injuries they can make appear to have suffered so that everything may be peaceably settled."⁷⁶

Lastly, Thomas Butler was to convince the Iroquois that the English would drive the French from Indian lands. "You will, by all the arguments you can use, endeavor to convince

⁷⁴ Sir William Johnson to Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda, February 19 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 615-616. Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (Penguin, 2008); Richard Aquila, *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754* (U of Nebraska Press, 1983); Wilbur R. Jacobs "Wampum, the Protocol of Indian Diplomacy." *William and Mary Quarterly* 6 (1949): 596-604.; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford University Press, 1950) 11

⁷⁵ Sir William Johnson to Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda, February 19 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 615-616.

⁷⁶ Sir William Johnson to Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda, February 19 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 615-616.

them it is their interest to keep up that friendship so long subsisting between them and their brethren, the English, who are best able to supply and support them; as I hope a little time now will plainly convince them thereon, give this belt.”⁷⁷ With belts and instructions in hand, Thomas waited four days for the spring melt and floods to pass before setting out to Onondaga.⁷⁸

As Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda were on their way to Onondaga, Captain John Butler and Lt. Steven Schuyler returned from Oneida to Fort Johnson. If they did not meet Thomas and Jelles on the way to Onondaga, they came very close. John Butler delivered his report on his last three months in Oneida to William Johnson within a week of Thomas’ departure from the Mohawk Valley.⁷⁹

John Butler and Jelles Fonda had been hosted by two Sachems named Canachquiesa and Oehtaughquesera and their families. Except for drunken revelries and the rumors of disaffection in Seneca and Cayuga territories, January at the Oneida castle had been uneventful. Most of the warriors had been hunting in Canada. Then the Oswegatchie embassy had arrived at the beginning of February. John recounted the meeting and added

⁷⁷ Sir William Johnson to Captains Thomas Butler and Jelles Fonda, February 19 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 615-616.

⁷⁸ Extract from William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Proceedings, February 23, 1757 *Johnson papers* Vol 9, 618

⁷⁹ The report of Captain John Butler and Lieutenant Stephen Schuyler on their return from Oneida where they were posted by Sir William's orders since the beginning of January last. March, 1757, *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 627-628.

what he had been able to learn since his last dispatch to Johnson on the 8th immediately following their arrival.⁸⁰

John Butler learned that French embassies from Oswegatchie had blanketed Iroquois and the Ohio Valley in an attempt to gather a huge Indian force in Canada as early in the spring as possible. The French hoped that as many as 5,000 warriors would answer their summons, a force large enough to destroy the English settlements in the Mohawk Valley.⁸¹

Butler's report described the uncertainty felt in Oneida caused by rumors that the English would no longer trade with them and that William Johnson had abandoned them. These rumors, Butler continued, had been mostly dispelled as Indians coming to Oneida from Sir William's house, Schenectady, and Albany relieved anxieties concerning the supposed prohibition on trade. At least one of these rumors had originated at Burnetsfield in the German Flatts, a troubling bit of evidence that the loyalty of the Palatine there was suspect.⁸²

On March 8, Thomas Butler arrived at Onondaga via the Oneida and Tuscarora castles, most likely following the same route they had taken in January. Thomas confirmed what John had written in his report, that the Indians generally expected the Mohawk Valley and Fort Johnson in particular to be attacked within the next couple months. Specifics were frustratingly difficult to come by. A French force supposedly assembled 30 miles to the east

⁸⁰ The report of Captain John Butler and Lieutenant Stephen Schuyler on their return from Oneida where they were posted by Sir William's orders since the beginning of January last. March, 1757, *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 627-628.

⁸¹ The report of Captain John Butler and Lieutenant Stephen Schuyler on their return from Oneida where they were posted by Sir William's orders since the beginning of January last. March, 1757, *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 627-628.

⁸² The report of Captain John Butler and Lieutenant Stephen Schuyler on their return from Oneida where they were posted by Sir William's orders since the beginning of January last. March, 1757, *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 627-628.

of Oswego in one story became a single French trader who was stuck and being cared for by a single warrior. Thomas had not been able to determine where young warriors leaving Onondaga were going, whether to fight against the English on more Southern frontiers or to fight against Flatheads in an intra-Indian fight. Thomas hoped that “some of the cleverest of the Mohawk” would attend the conference he was arranging with the hope that they could help make sense of the information he was collecting.⁸³

Five days later, Sir William Johnson wrote Thomas Butler to tell him that rumors of an approaching French army were running rampant through the Indian Castles at Oneida and Tuscarora and German Flatts. The sachems who had remained in Canada after the hunting season were now being held by the French to avoid their bringing intelligence back to the English frontier. Johnson was anxious that Thomas find out exactly what was going on. He also wanted Thomas to plan for the eventuality that if a French force actually appeared, Thomas would need to press as many warriors and scouts as possible into service and return as fast as possible to the German Flatts.⁸⁴

John Butler, on his way to join Thomas at Onondaga, wrote from the German Flatts on March 16 to let Johnson know that he had been delayed by his Oneida escorts who did not want to continue until they heard the news from the Oneida Sachems who had just returned from Canada a few days earlier. There was great anxiety of an imminent French attack. The escorts assured John that a meeting at Onondaga had not taken place yet.⁸⁵

⁸³ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 10, 1757 *Johnson papers*, Vol 9, 634-635.

⁸⁴ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler and other Indian Officers, March 13, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 635.

⁸⁵ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 16, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 643.

On the 19th of March, Silver Heels, the Seneca whom Thomas Butler had employed as a messenger in the winter, arrived at Fort Johnson with a letter from Thomas sent from Onondaga on the 14th. The Iroquois were greatly distressed that a large force of warriors that had been recruited by the French were on their way to ravage Iroquois from Oswego. The news was instantly forwarded to the General Webb at Albany. Silver Heels returned to Onondaga with more bad news. An army was marching from Canada in order to attack Fort William Henry.⁸⁶

A few days later John Butler, now arrived at Oneida, met with the Sachems recently returned from Canada. He forwarded the proceedings of a counsel with the French that the sachems had attended in Niagara that winter. At Niagara the Onieda had been thanked for staying out of the previous year's fighting and warned that any Indians aiding the English during the upcoming campaigns would get (in the figurative speech of Indian diplomacy,) an axe in their head. The Oneida had assured the French speakers that while they had accepted the English Axe that "it was very small and they put it behind their back."⁸⁷

The French had then revealed their plan to take Lake George. They would have taken it last year the French speaker dismissively said, but it was no big deal to do it now. Look at how easily he boasted, they had wrecked Fort Bull. They had taken Oswego, he continued, and "flung it down," with just two cannon. (This was a boast, nine was actual number.) The English at Lake George stood no chance. The English take your land, the French speaker

⁸⁶ Extract from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, March 19, 1757 Johnson Papers Vol 9, 666.

⁸⁷ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 21, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 690-693.

continued, but pointed out that the French had no interest in taking land. They took Oswego and then left it in ruins, returning it to the Indians instead of occupying the land there.⁸⁸

The French speaker listed all the tribes that had joined with the French. The Cauwnawanga and the Wyandot were at “Great” Flats south of Montreal while the Ottawa and several other nations were gathered at Oswagatchie. In addition the Palatine at the German Flatts, according to the French speaker, had claimed that they were no longer white men but Oneida as their blood was mixed. John also wrote that he heard an English officer had been hanged for espionage in Canada and that many of the Oneida that had returned from Canada had with them French presents and were taunting the Oneida that had remained behind and had no new coats or presents from Sir William.⁸⁹

Thomas struggled to get a meeting organized at Onondaga. He was with John at Oneida on April 3 and Captain Jelles Fonda and Lt. Schuyler were now at Onondaga. Captain Andrew Montour, another Indian Department agent who had been in the Ohio Valley, had come to Oneida and gone. Come only, he had told Thomas, to collect his wife. The Onondaga he told Thomas, had warned him to quit the English and go among the Indians. Thomas was irked that Montour shared no news and left so abruptly. It had made the Oneida suspicious that a French attack was imminent. He also complained the Mohawk, Tuscarora, and Oneida had declined to go to the Onondaga Castle right away because they

⁸⁸ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 21, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 690-693.

⁸⁹ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 21, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 690-693. Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 668.

said the Seneca were going to take a long time getting there. They would wait until they knew the Seneca were actually on their way.⁹⁰

Thomas also spoke again with Mr. Ryckman, the trader he had spoken with at Onondaga in January. The trader, accompanied by two young warriors, wanted to determine the danger of setting off on his own business. Thomas learned that Ryckman had been told to be careful but that the roads were most likely still passable as no sign of the enemy had been confirmed yet. Ryckman promised to stop in at William Johnson's place and relate the news of the planned French attack on the Mohawk Valley that he had heard over the winter, the same as John and Thomas had already heard. Ryckman also had additional intelligence which Thomas declined to share in his message. Indian officers often left vital information out of their written reports, preferring to rely on the messengers themselves to transmit sensitive information.⁹¹

Thomas shared a concern that many of the Iroquois had, that the German Flatts were not defensible. The strongest defensible location was at Herkimer's House, but without a strong fort, there would be little chance of stopping the large army that the Indians and Europeans at Oneida imagined were coming.⁹² In light of Braddock's defeat and the fall of Oswego, and in light of generous French presents compared to very little from the British, the Iroquois nations greeted British assurances with suspicion. To gain their trust, Thomas Butler would need some evidence that the French could be stopped.

⁹⁰ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, March 21, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 690-693. Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, March 28, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 668.

⁹¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 3, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 661-663.

⁹² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 3, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 661-663.

To that end Thomas and John Butler did have some good news to offer the Indians at Oneida. Johnson had sent John Butler an account of a battle at Fort William Henry three weeks earlier in which 1500 French raiders had been repulsed.⁹³ John and Thomas Butler gathered the Indians and read an account of the four day battle. "...[T]hey seemed vastly pleased" Thomas wrote, "to hear the English had beat the French, and glad to find the Militia are so brisk to rise and defend their country when occasion calls them."⁹⁴

While dreams of uniting all Iroquoia in martial opposition to the French remained a pipe dream given the circumstances, the Butlers had organized small Indian scouting parties to keep an eye on the ways from Oswegatchie to Oneida, and also the Seneca country near Niagara. They had to agree to pay the warriors cash upon their return. Information on any advancing army was much different than agreeing to fight. Many Oneida had chosen to stay away from the Castle that winter and in the spring; the few that remained were ready to flee and would be glad of any advance warning.⁹⁵

Sir William Johnson meanwhile had mustered the militia and had set up camp at Burnettsfield. Anxious to hear from Thomas he sent Butler letters on April 8 and April 9 asking for information. A good portion of his anxiety stemmed from having so many militiamen assembled without any action. Even though Johnson felt confident they could give the enemy a "warm reception," they were, in Johnson's words, becoming "uneasy" as they waited idle at the German Flatts without news.⁹⁶

⁹³ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 186

⁹⁴ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 3, 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 661-663

⁹⁵ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 3, 1757, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 661-663

⁹⁶ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, April 8, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 673-674.

He ordered Thomas Butler and Andrew Montour to Onondaga providing there was no danger from the enemy. A successful conference there he told them, was of the utmost importance. “Exert yourselves all in your power on this occasion, as much depends thereon” Johnson told Thomas. This was the Indian Department’s opportunity to potentially secure the allegiance of many sachems and warriors. Johnson assured Thomas Butler that Mohawk would be present at the conference and that they were setting out even as he wrote. The French alarms had already stalled the Department’s plans for a spring conference and now Johnson needed to balance the risk of an imminent attack with the risk of losing valuable opportunity to conduct Indian diplomacy. John Butler was to stay at Oneida with another officer and manage the gathering of intelligence as scouts came and went from Oneida.⁹⁷

Johnson, writing from among a militia camp of hundreds of restless men, asked Thomas Butler to be careful about alarming the country without definite news. To that end he implored Butler to send warriors to Oswagatchie and even to try and secure the release of several English prisoners being held there, “... it would be a glorious thing and worthy of a reward. I would have you try it by all means.” He also asked that Thomas secure the immediate release of Elizabeth Hilts, a German girl from the Flatts who was being held at Onondaga. “Tell them” he told Thomas, “I expect they will deliver her to me as their keeping our flesh and blood prisoners will look very ill and not like brothers.”⁹⁸

Thomas Butler did not go to Onondaga in April. He stayed in Oneida, collecting and passing on a steady stream of messages to Johnson, sending a letter every 4 or 5 days starting on April 11. The Indians consistently told Butler that the French planned on taking three

⁹⁷ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, April 8, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 673-674.

⁹⁸ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, April 8, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 673-674.

routes which they hoped ultimately would converge in Albany. Butler reported that one army would come via Oswego, the main English trade route to the Lake that John Bradstreet had worked so hard to keep open in 1756. A Cayuga source Butler cited claimed 400 large French bateau were earmarked for Oswego.⁹⁹ A second force would attack via the smaller trail from Osawagatchie that had been used to attack Fort Bull and the Great Carry Place the previous March. The third and largest army would come through Lake George, destroying forts William Henry and Edward before pushing through to Albany.¹⁰⁰ A large French fleet was expected in Canada that spring carrying thousands of additional troops for these campaigns.¹⁰¹

Thomas had the dubious task of filtering fact from rumor, a challenge which is evident in his reports. At one time he was told a great gathering of foreign Indians were assembled at “the Great Salt Place” (Onondaga) to offer their allegiance to the Iroquois who were in the English camp. At another time he reported Flat Heads coming North to aid the French. In mid-April he also heard that most of the young men among the Seneca and Cayuga had gone South to fight the English. Johnson had warned him not to alarm the country without cause but Thomas pointed out that he had no way of confirming rumors. After all, the warnings they had received the previous year for attacks on Fort Bull, Oswego, and Fort William Henry had all proven true, even if the timing had not been precise.

⁹⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 22, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 687-688.

¹⁰⁰ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 11, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 675; Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson April 17, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 680.

¹⁰¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 22, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 687-688.

Everyone at Oneida expected an attack that spring or summer and so Thomas reasoned “if they tell us the enemy are coming, we can't but believe them.”¹⁰²

Everyone waited in daily apprehension for the scouts that had been sent to Oswego and Oswegatchie. When John Abeel passed through with his slave and the Onondaga he employed, he described hearing cannon fire from the direction of Oswego. This caused great concern. The scouts to Oswego had been gone too long and many could well imagine the French army and their warriors gathering at Oswego.¹⁰³

On April 22, Thomas Butler received word that two sachems from Oswegatchie, “old Scaroonnyades son named Tanewanagah and his brother,” were on their way to Oneida. Thomas also heard they had brought a supply of powder and lead with them, and that Gawickie with some others were near at hand. Gawickie or Gawèhe was an Oneida sachem who was employed by both the French and the English as an intelligence agent and courier. In 1757 he was regularly at Oswegatchie.¹⁰⁴ There was much speculation as to the purpose of this visit, but Thomas supposed initially that news would be told only to the representative’s “particular friends.” In a few days Thomas reasoned, they should be able to find out what the purpose of Gawickie’s visit. Thomas also received word from Andrew Montour that orders had been issued that Onieda women and children prepare packs and provisions so that they could flee the approaching enemy at a moment’s notice. Thomas doubted the council at Onondaga, so long expected, would now happen anytime soon.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson April 17, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 680; Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 22, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 687-688.

¹⁰³ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 22, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 687-688.

¹⁰⁴ Arthur Einhorn, “GAWÈHE,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 3,

¹⁰⁵ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 22, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 687-688.

The next day, Thomas Butler spoke with several Iroquois who had been on the hunt near Oswego. They told Thomas that they had no sign of any French army. They had only spoken with one warrior from Kanessadagh in Canada who carried with him a scalp from the March attack on William Henry. That French force (1500 men) he told them had not yet returned from Lake George before he had left on his own business. Provisions among the French were scarce he had told the Iroquois. The scouts that Thomas had sent out also returned, confirming that there were no French at Oswego. They had heard no cannon firing and the route had been very difficult to traverse quickly due to high water. For the people at Oneida imagining a vast French army assembling at Oswego, it was most welcome news.¹⁰⁶ Later Thomas reasoned that the firing that was heard about Oswego was from a French ship reconnoitering there.¹⁰⁷

On the 25th of April Thomas reported that five Oswegatchie, including Gawicki, all former residents at the Oneida Castle, had arrived as expected. They held a meeting in the house where Thomas and John Butler were staying and brought a message from the French. Thomas and John were not, as they had expected, excluded from the delivery of this message. Gawickie told them he would keep nothing secret from those of his Nation and us that he knew relating to the enemy's motions. Gawickie gave a belt of wampum from the French condoling the deaths of some of the Oneida the previous fall and a large belt from the French Indians in Canada asking the Oneida to join them. "Three strings of wampum" Thomas wrote," was shown in the meeting coming from a little French boy who desires to come and live here, who is now at Oswegatchie." This indicated the desire of the priests and

¹⁰⁶ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 691-693.

¹⁰⁷ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 691-693

missionaries who had helped build Oswegatchie as a Iroquois castle and Catholic mission, to come to Oneida. The priest's intention was confirmed later by an Oneida who told Thomas that a French priest had asked the embassy to quietly ask permission to come lodge at Oneida. The Oswegatchie embassy, as the one that winter had done brought with them presents from the French. This time 100 lbs powder and four small casks of lead. There was much more they said, more than they could carry. ¹⁰⁸

The Butlers may have felt chagrin at the French largess shown to their Oneida hosts but must have been somewhat relieved to report that the Oswegatchie confirmed what their scouts had told them two days earlier, that there was no French army gathering at Oswego or Oswegatchie. Scalping parties were another story Gawickie told the men gathered in the Oneida longhouse. Warriors of foreign Nations were gathering and "in a few days" Gawackie told them, "there would be no such thing as white people to pass and repass to the 5 Nations." Warriors employed by the Butlers and Montour would need to take special care. ¹⁰⁹

A large French force was moving to attack Fort William Henry Gawickie continued, and he elaborated on the battle in March at the fort, the news of which had been such a source of relief to the Butlers. The Battle, the Oswegatchie explained, was a mere scout to find the fort's weakness. Gawickie dismissed the idea that it had been an English victory. In fact the French force had destroyed the outbuildings and boats there, greatly weakening the fort's outer defenses and means to move men and communicate. ¹¹⁰ Even now they said, vast

¹⁰⁸ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 691-693.

¹⁰⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 28, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 701-703.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 192

numbers of French Indians were moving into place to isolate the English posts from one another.¹¹¹

Before the Oswegatchie returned to French territory, the Butlers gave a short speech, probably much along the lines of the one Thomas had hoped to give in Cayuga and Seneca country in January and the one he now doubted he would get to deliver at a grand Iroquois council at Onondaga. The English, he asserted, would win the war against the French and remember their Iroquois friends and enemies. He sent several strings of white wampum with Gawakie and invited him to come to Fort Johnson. Gawakie was eager to return to Oswagatchie, saying the “foreign” Indians about to descend on the region “had no sense” and “might kill him.” Andrew Montour also was eager to leave, doubting any council would be taking place soon. He told Thomas Butler that, absent a council or an approaching French army, that he was leaving for home in the Ohio Valley. Indeed plans for a council at Onondaga had stalled entirely. Among the Oneida only one chief, known as The Old Cag, had even volunteered to go to such a meeting but no other chief had seconded his proposal and so the issue among the Oneida was on hold. Thomas Butler was told later that if the meeting really did take place that another chief, Techarondia would go; however, Butler suspected this was simply for his benefit and doubted that any meeting would take place that summer. Seeing little cause for to stay in Oneida any longer, the Indian Department officers left the castle and began the trek back to the Mohawk Valley the next day. They carried the undelivered belts that Johnson had supplied them with and English officer’s gorgets, medal breastplates much prized as signs of status, that were to have been given out after the council. Jelles Fonda and Lt. Schuyler, arriving at similar conclusions as to the futility of remaining in

¹¹¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 691-693.

Iroquois country until approaching battle at William Henry was over, left Onondaga at the same time.¹¹²

The Butler's time among the Oneida had been very trying. For weeks they had lived in daily expectation of attack. Their efforts to get the Iroquois together for a council at Onondaga had ended in disappointment, and the French had shown up the English capacity for providing material aid. Thomas Butler told Sir William Johnson to expect a rather large request for reimbursement. Because food had been so scarce at Oneida he explained, every time the Indian officers had sent to German Flatts for their own food supplies, an expensive source of food at 2 shilling per quart of Indian corn, they were expected to share with their Indian hosts. As a result the Indian officers had accumulated a considerable debt of nearly 15 pounds at the Flatts. In addition he had promised Gawakie a keg of rum and needed cash to arrange that delivery as well.¹¹³

Sir William Johnson received Thomas Butler's message via Jelles Fonda who had met up with Thomas on the way back from Onondaga at the German Flatts. Jelles brought more particular news by word of mouth to Johnson, who was not happy with how things were going among the Iroquois. He told Thomas to go back to Oneida and focus on gathering intelligence via scouting parties. He also told Thomas to deliver a message directly to the militia officers at the German Flatts: stop opening and reading his intelligence reports before forwarding them on.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 691-693; Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 28, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 701-703

¹¹³ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 28, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 701-703.

¹¹⁴ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, May 4, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 717-718.

Sir William ordered John Butler to stay at the German Flatts to manage the forwarding of letters between Iroquois country and Fort Johnson. John was also to keep the peace between the soldiers posted at German Flatts and the Indians and find out who exactly was selling them rum. Drunkenness among the Indians had reached disturbing levels and was causing no end of trouble there. John was also to discover as much as he could about an alleged trade going on between the French Indians and German traders there which, given the proximity of Oswegatchie and rumors of overtures between the German community there and the French, were cause for English concern.¹¹⁵

On May 17th John Butler wrote to Sir William with the news he had collected at German Flatts since setting up his operation at Burnetsfield at the home Nicholas Herkimer, a Palatine German whose farming and trading activities had become quite profitable since the war had begun. The Herkimer house was the strong point at the Flatts that summer and Herkimer, a lieutenant, was John's contact among the militia there. John reported that two foreign Indians had been intercepted about 17 miles away. When questioned, they said they meant to spy on the Flatts, and that 6 more were coming. Frustratingly for John, the language difference between the Indians meant that John had no idea if they meant six more Indians were coming or six hundred. If it was six hundred, Wood Creek beyond the west side of the portage was in immediate danger. John promised to send out scouts and white men as soon as possible to confirm either way. Even more astonishing was the news that a great council at Onondaga had just concluded without the Indian Department's knowledge or participation.

¹¹⁵ Sir William Johnson to Captain John Butler, May 12, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 721-722.

An Oneida named Jacobus told John Butler that he would convey the results of the meeting as soon as they were known.¹¹⁶

The next day, Johnson ordered John to Oneida to determine the truth of the wildly erratic report of six or six hundred Indians in the French service descending on the Flatts. He also conveyed his suspicion of the Germans community. "As there has been a suspicion for some time that the Germans of Burnetsfield have carried on a correspondence with the French Governor of Canada by means of the Oneida (Oswegatchie) Indians, you are therefore to endeavor all in your power who the persons are concerned and to stop or intercept any letters which you can passing that way or any other way to or from the French, and send them to me." Captain John Butler was to aid in the recruitment of scouts but Colonel Johnson also asked him to use "...all mean in your power stir up the young men of the Six Nations to act against the French."¹¹⁷

On May 21, Thomas Butler, operating from the German Flatts, sent Lieutenant Schuyler with 12 Germans and 4 Oneidas on the scout Sir William had ordered. The next day Lt. Schuyler sent one back with a message. The party had discovered a French hatchet and a set of tracks leading to a float tied up at Sadaghwedne Creek. There they found two more sets of tracks. Schuyler and his party then continued on to Oneida. They planned on returning via Oneida Lake and the Carrying Place. Two Germans working near the Mark Tree, the point of departure for war bands where warriors carved their marks before a raid or scout,

¹¹⁶ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 17, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 723-724.

¹¹⁷ Sir William Johnson to Captain John Butler, May 18, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 725-726.

said two shots were fired at them, the report of the shots were heard by several as it was near the Flatts. But there was no sign of a six hundred man raiding party.¹¹⁸

On May 23rd Thomas Butler had Arent Bratt, one of his in-laws, deliver to Fort Johnson the disappointing news that a meeting had, after all, been held in Onondaga. Thomas's demand, that the Iroquois declare themselves for England and mobilize for war had not been discussed. Many of the warriors present only heard the initial speech and missed the meetings later because of drunkenness. Others seem to have ended up leaving before the meeting was concluded. The Iroquois did discuss an invitation to Philadelphia by Pennsylvania's Indian agents. As incentive to come to Philadelphia the invitation had indicated a willingness to release Indians held in Philadelphia jails. Further news was that of a delegation from Canadian Iroquois, the Cagnawagas, Skawandadees and Arondax, who carried a large Wampum belt to the Mohawks.¹¹⁹

The exclusion of the Indian Department, the lack of interest to act on its demands, and the diplomatic pressure of Pennsylvania and Canadian Iroquois is strong evidence the Iroquois who met at Onondaga did not trust Sir William and the Indian Department. Their lack of enthusiasm for having the Indian Department present combined with the report of wide spread drunkenness speaks to low morale among the Iroquois that spring. The English had done little to assuage Iroquois fears that the English military would hold up under a determined French assault. The loss of Oswego, the inevitable fall of William Henry, and the reports of thousands of warriors from all over French Canada and the Mid-West descending on Iroquois country, all pointed towards French victory. The greatest expression of English

¹¹⁸ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson May 23, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 768-770.

¹¹⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson May 23, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 768-770; Extract from the Journal of Indian Affairs, May 24, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 770.

activity had been the presence of Captains John and Thomas Butler, Captains Jelles Fonda and Andrew Montour, and some lieutenants. They had been conducting Indian diplomacy without presents, without the means to travel safely, without the means to supply their hosts with food without great cost, and without any information about the enemy's movements. The weakness of the Indian Department was again emphasized In May. Thomas Butler ordered the commissary at Burnettsfield to feed a group of starving Oneida which included women and children. They had been fed Thomas said, but the commissary, a Mr Trotter, said he would not feed Indians again without orders from the food contractors.¹²⁰

In addition to a weak position with the majority of the Iroquois League, the English found the German community at German Flatts uncooperative and sympathetic to French overtures. Thomas Butler worked to uncover the mystery of German correspondence between the Flatts and Canada in May. On the 23 of May, Thomas was almost sure that at least three messages between the French and Palatines had gone through Gawakie at Oswegatchie, but Butler was still trying to uncover the identity of the Germans involved in passing the letters. There were also men passing bogus wampum messages, an Iroquois taboo, which were allegedly from Johnson. Because of the scalping of men on Lake George the message claimed, all trade between the English and Indians was forbidden. This was quite the opposite of what Johnson had arranged and undermined the work Sir William had put into acquiring supplies for the Iroquois. It was a powerful rumor on a very unstable frontier.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 23, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 768-770.

¹²¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 23, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 768-770.

On the 24th, Captain Thomas Butler sent another letter to Sir William with more urgent news. Lt. Schuyler's party had discovered that war parties were indeed almost upon the Mohawk Valley. Lieutenant Schuyler had sent two Onieda warriors, Tyonogo and Cranisse, to bring important news as quickly as possible to Thomas and Johnson. They had made the trip from Oneida to Burnettsfield without stopping. In addition to a message from Schuyler there was a wampum belt from Nicknacksque, an Onieda who lived on Oneida Lake. An army of French and Indians was at Oneida Lake. Thomas sent his brother John to wait on William Johnson's response. Sir William did not send Captain John Butler back to Thomas with a reply, instead he send John immediately on to Major general Webb to forward the warning.¹²²

Schuyler spoke to an Indian named Orawaraghhte, who had recently returned from Canada. He told Schuyler that "that the French are marched from Canada with a great army to attack our forts at Lake George, that their place of rendezvous will be at Crown Point or Ticonderoga and are to be joined by a number of Indians and give out that our forts can't hold out long against them." Orawaraghhte also said a hundred Cagnawagas would attack the Mohawk Valley, but did not know where exactly. He also warned Schuyler that a war party had undertaken to assassinate William Johnson. "...[A]n Indian named Anthony, who formerly lived at Canajoharie, with a party of 10 has undertaken to kill you; he designs to leave his men at a distance from your house and come himself in and pretend to be your friend and if he can't get you conveniently out, will take an opportunity of destroying you in

¹²² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 24, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 772-773.

your house at all events. They suppose he may now be near your place. His Indians name is Turkey.”¹²³

On the 25 Lt. Schyluer and the rest of his party showed up in Burnetsfield, a day behind their express scouts. Two Indians of Conochquiesas family, Butler’s previous winter hosts, came with him. The French priests at the Oneida town of Osawegatchie were sending a message punctuated by strings of beads to Iroquoian castles. The Priests at Osawegatchie had a great regard for the welfare of their souls and would hope to see them as soon as the troubles between French and England were over. The 100 Cagnawagas Schyler had learned of the day before, the lieutenant now believed to be headed towards New England. Lt. Schyluer had also learned more about the assassin Anthony, suggesting he may be dressed in fine laced clothes, part of the price to kill Johnson. Anthony’s ruse, he warned, might be to try and tell Johnson he wants to return to the lower castle.¹²⁴

The size of the huge French and Indian army descending on the Mohawk Valley was somewhat revised from the day before to two war parties. Ten Cauwgnawagas and a considerable number of [M]aguas warriors, fifty or sixty men, had been seen moving along the north side of the Oneida Lake, and had left a huge footpath in the woods. A hundred more were soon expected but once again, a much imagined great army had failed to materialize in Iroquois forests. Two [M]aguas were seen near the carrying point and although Thomas Butler thought these must be the two that fired at the German boys, the Germans in the area had other ideas. Thomas cryptically wrote that his brother John, would further give Johnson

¹²³ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 24, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 772-773.

¹²⁴ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 25, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774

the details in person. The problem was an example of how much the Germans had lost faith in the English. When John did speak to Johnson he described a situation in which the Germans were positive the Oneida were making things up just to scare them including firing at their people near the Carrying Place. The reports reflect a great deal of uncertainty and the extent to which the Iroquois could manipulate information to the detriment of the English. If the French goal was to keep the Mohawk Valley in a state of chaos through misinformation, the entire spring's effort was a complete success. ¹²⁵

The Oneida, for their part were deeply disrupted that May. A great portion of their village had been away all winter in Canada and now, amid rumors of war parties from Canada, the castle was largely empty. Thomas Butler was "plagued" by refugees from Oneida at German Flatts and to keep the Oneida at Burtnettsfield from starving had to start paying for food in cash. The warriors at the German Flatts told Thomas Butler that his Lt. Schuyler should not go back to the Carrying Place, predicting that he and his small party would be taken. An Onondaga named Canadogte had just been killed on the Onondaga River. It was not safe. Even so, Thomas resolved to make the trip to Oneida with just two Indian escorts. Thomas needed to verify the erratic news he was receiving. ¹²⁶

Thomas also repeated the news that a large French army and thousands of warriors were converging at Crown Point. There were also stories circulating among the Iroquois that the English had lost a naval battle far out in the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Out of eight English ships the French had allegedly captured four and sunk two. ¹²⁷ Captain John Butler

¹²⁵ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 25, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774

¹²⁶ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 25, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774

¹²⁷ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 25, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774

made the trip from German Flatts to Fort Johnson that day. Johnson grimly acknowledged news of the assassin's party, writing "I wish I may see him fairly." Johnson ordered John to General Webb with a letter from Johnson and copies of the Intelligence Thomas had collected over the last week, especially on the 24th and 25th of May. Captain John Butler was to return with news from Webb as soon as possible. Captain Jelles Fonda joined Thomas to replace John in Burnettsfield to manage Indian Department business at the Flatts in case Thomas needed to go to Oneida. Thomas Butler was to thank the Oneida scouts, and Nicknaxques and his family in particular, for their information, and to return the belt that had been used to send warning of the war bands near Oneida.¹²⁸

Johnson wanted to make sure that an Indian Department officer and a few Indians went with every scout the Germans sent out and that the scouting parties stayed out for at least four or five days to gather sufficient information to make outfitting them worthwhile. He ordered the two German militia captains at Burnettsfield to commence such a scout and included with the order a threat to punish them according to the law if they failed to act.¹²⁹

Captain Thomas Butler had made some progress discovering the path of the letters passing between German Flatts and Canada by the end of May. Rudolf Shoemaker had brokered a meeting at his house. Packets were passed from two men, one from "the Realls" and another from a man named "Smith" to Shoemaker. Shoemaker then in turn passed them to Gawakie and two of his men who were present. They would take the letters to Canada. Before the transaction was done however Shoemaker and Gawakie had insisted on opening each letter. Gawakie said he would not deliver any information, especially not to the

¹²⁸ Sir William Johnson to Thomas Butler, May 25, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774-775.

¹²⁹ Sir William Johnson to Thomas Butler, May 25, 1757, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 774-775.

Governor of Canada, without knowing exactly what it was. Shoemaker said one packet were “simple letters only,” to prisoners from their friends. The other Shoemaker could not read. It was in English. Gawakie had taken the letter but had been unhappy about not knowing what it said.¹³⁰

If the French strategy had been to keep the English guessing as to what would happen in the Mohawk Valley that summer, it would have been a goal achieved. The alarms that kept the Indian Department busy, the German militia in a taxing state of constant readiness, and Iroquois peoples dispirited or confused certainly took a toll on each group. There was a substantial financial cost to be borne in order to outfit scouts, pay warriors, and feed people. There was also the loss in regional productivity as people fled their farms and villages on both sides of the frontier or were called into military service.

Johnson sent Captains John Butler and Jelles Fonda with a number of Mohawk warriors to Major General Daniel Webb at Fort Edward on June 25. He wanted one of the officers at Fort Edward and one at Fort William Henry so there would be at least one Iroquois speaker that the Iroquois warriors employed by the Indian Service could rely on at those places. They were also to be the ones responsible for debriefing Indian scouts and to deliver any information to General Webb. While they were to report to Webb directly, they were Johnson’s men and he relied on them for accurate information concerning the French advance. “You will in every respect act with the greatest economy, prudence and circumspection in your power and send me the earliest intelligence of anything material by express through the woods so that I may guard against any attempts of the enemy this way.”

¹³⁰ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 26, 1757 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 778.

They were also to keep alcohol away from the Indians and to keep the Indian warriors from selling the arms and clothing that they had been given by the Indian Department for rum. In fact they were to keep Indians and Indian camp followers away from the soldiers for any reason, “as it generally produces bad consequences.” They were to accompany any large party of Indian Department warriors, especially if English officers wanted them deployed in conjunction with English soldiers.¹³¹

The French approached Fort William Henry in July with speed and efficiency. The French Commander in Chief, the Marquise Du Montcalm, moved men and supplies with a professional competence that was admired by his *aide-de-camp*, Louis Antoine de Bougainville, who described the campaign in his journal. Montcalm’s army was vulnerable however. A lack of supplies meant he could not stay on campaign very long. Montcalm hoped to destroy Fort William Henry and Fort Edward quickly, ruining any attempt at an English attack, and then retreat to await resupply.¹³²

One of the great advantages Montcalm had in July was the large numbers of Indian warriors, some 1,800 in total. While the Butlers had tried unsuccessfully to gain much of an audience with Iroquois outside of the Mohawk and Oneida, Montcalm had experienced a surge of warriors ready to fight in his army. Stories about the destruction of Braddock’s force and the fall and sack of Oswego had attracted many warriors. The lure of loot and glory had not only rallied New France’s traditional native allies, nearly 800 Abenaki and Iroquoian warriors, but attracted past enemies and strangers from far away. This assembly was the

¹³¹ Sir William Johnson to Captains John Butler and Jelles Fonda, June 25, 1757 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 9, 787-788.

¹³² Steele, *Betrayals*, 83-87

horde of warriors that the Butlers had reported that winter. What the Butlers had not been able to establish was their location. Rumors had suggested that multitude would decent on the Mohawk Valley. Twice that spring false alarms had imagined Indian armies at Oswego and Oneida Lake. The army of warriors recruited by the French had instead joined Montcalm for the main assault on Fort William Henry. Their war parties scoured the wilderness around William Henry with devastating effect, providing an effective screen for Montcalm's army.

133

The warriors allied to France enjoyed two major victories in July as Montcalm assembled his forces at Fort Carillion (Ticonderoga) for his lunge down Lake George to William Henry. Montcalm's warriors conducted a raid on July 23rd along the road which connected Fort Edward with Fort William Henry. An Anglo-Mohawk scouting party came close to the French camps around Carillion on the 23rd but was chased off after a very brief attack in which two Indians near the French camps were killed. The pursuit led to the discovery of a larger English raiding party. Six companies in 22 whaleboats had come as far as Sabbath Point on Lake George. Montcalm's warriors trapped them in a surprise attack on the water the next day, destroying the English force. 150 of the English who hadn't been killed or managed to escape were taken prisoner.¹³⁴

Montcalm and his officers often described the horror they felt at the treatment of English and Indian prisoners by their Indian allies. Nearly 30 English prisoners had been tortured at Oswego. Whatever they had witnessed in the past however was nothing compared to what they saw on the eve of Montcalm's assault. In July of 1757 French officers witnessed

¹³³ Steele, *Betrayals*, 83-87

¹³⁴ Steele, *Betrayals*, 83-87

one of the most diverse and large assemblies of warriors ever recorded; 1,800 warriors from roughly two dozen tribes. They witnessed all manner of Native American martial traditions. Prisoners were not only enslaved, they were ritually tortured to death and even in a few cases, eaten. This traditional, though rare practice seems to have been committed with an unusual regularity that month, in particularly by the Ottawa. French officers reflected with disgust and helplessness to the practice. Other prisoners were tortured and burnt. Most became slaves. Many warriors, satisfied with the loot and slaves they had acquired during raids in July, wanted to leave Montcalm's army and go home. Montcalm had certainly assembled a horrific army of native warriors, but there were significant complications which arose from having such a force. While the Indians fighting alongside the French contributed to early victories in 1757, their presence was extremely problematic for Montcalm.¹³⁵

Beyond the inability to control what their Indian allies did to their prisoners, there were numerous other problems that Montcalm experienced that summer. Sir William and the Butlers would have been well familiar with the challenges the management of Indian warriors created for European commanders. Warriors came and went from the French camp as they wished, often on missions of their own design. Formal councils took days as war chiefs from numerous tribes and bands needed to be included. Montcalm had to hold a three day conference with the warriors between July 27 and 29 in order to secure the ransom of surviving English prisoners and to negotiate roles for various tribes in the assault only days away. Warriors also ate, to the dismay of Montcalm, much more than his regulars, cutting deeply into his already scarce supplies. John Butler experienced many of the same problems

¹³⁵ Steele, *Betrayals*, 83-87

during his long career, and would bear witness to the worst shortcomings of campaigning with large numbers of warriors throughout his life.

John Butler must have encountered some of the new regiments of Rangers at Fort Edward. The Rangers served a similar function to the mixed war parties of frontiersmen and warriors that the Indian Department raised and staffed with their officers. Rangers had largely replaced the Indian warriors who had abandoned the English after the Bloody Morning Scout in 1755. Robert Rogers and his Ranger regiment had been indispensable to William Johnson in the fall of 1755. Since then, four new Ranger regiments had been raised and were stationed at Fort Edward in 1757. The Rangers had several advantages for the English over relying on Indian warriors. Rangers were under military discipline, a huge advantage over the relative anarchy created by Indian traditions which allowed warriors to contribute freely to discussions of tactics and goals. These long discussions were very tedious to the English officers responsible for keeping their parties focused. Rangers also did not cause the type of cultural friction that often arose from things like trading, gambling, the use of alcohol, treatment of European prisoners, and the taking of wives (female Indian camp followers caused terrible jealousy among English soldiers.) What John most likely witnessed at Fort Edward that summer has been described by some historians as the emergence of a distinctly American type of light infantry which was capable of backwoods fighting and scouting, had a working knowledge of camp craft, and could conform to regimental discipline. Just south of Fort Edward, a large supply base was under construction on what would be known as Roger's Island. From there Ranger scouting and raiding parties struck

deep into French Canada. From this island the first dedicated Ranger units would prove that the English need not rely on Indian recruitment alone for elite wilderness units.¹³⁶

John and Thomas's task in 1757 had been to try and rally the Iroquois *en masse* to the English cause. Outside of their close Mohawk friends, they did not have the kind of support that would cause the Iroquois to rally around the English cause. The Oneida and Onondaga both had pro English factions but remained split and demoralized. The Cayuga and Seneca had been overtly hostile towards the English for years. Thomas Butler's mission to travel to the western castles had failed. The Butlers were without the ability to provide significant material support, unable to compete with the French who had been distributing presents generously. Lastly French military victories served as stark evidence that England had been and would be defeated. John Butler might have very well looked at those four regiments of Rangers at Fort Edward and seen an easier solution to the problem of backwoods warfare.

On July 26 Major General Webb, the commandant of Fort William Henry, Major John Munro, and other provincial officers held a council of war at Fort William Henry and prepared for the French army that they now knew was days away. Webb assigned Munro additional troops and then returned to Fort Edward on July 28. By the time the French started landing on August 2, 2,300 soldiers squeezed in a Fort that only held 500, the rest set up a defensive camp where Johnson's barricades had stopped Dieskau two years earlier. Webb had agreed to send the remainder of the army to relieve the Fort once the French had landed, but he never did. Without a counter attack of English and Provincial troops at Fort Edward,

¹³⁶ Steele, *Betrayals*, 72-74; Burt Garfield, *Genesis: Rogers Rangers : the First Green Berets : the Corps & the Revivals, April 6, 1758-December 24, 1783* (Loescher Heritage Books, 2000); David R. Starbuck, *The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point* (University of Nebraska Press, 1999) 54-57

and without any way to counter the French artillery, Munro surrendered the Fort three days later.

Montcalm's second in command, Bougainville, wrote down a Mohawk story which dramatically depicted the Indian Department's Superintendent, Sir William Johnson, other frontiersmen dressed in Indian garb, and a crowd of Indian Department warriors, mostly Mohawk, at a supposed confrontation in Webb's headquarters during the siege. William Johnson had marched to Fort Edward, ready to attack Montcalm at William Henry on the 29th, with 1500 provincials. In the story, Johnson expected to provide the flanking force with which to protect Webb's regulars as they marched through the forest road to Fort William Henry. Three times Johnson asks Webb "you will not go?" Each time Webb replied with a simple "no." After the third reply, Johnson and his men raised their weapons above their heads, let out a terrifying war cry, and dropped their weapons in unison as a show of disgust. This rather heroic portrayal of William Johnson gives us a glimpse into the image that Johnson, and by extension the Indian Department was trying to create. Heroes of the frontier, brave enough to stand up to British incompetence, strong enough to turn the tide of the war. This is a very different picture of the Indian Department than the one seen through the Butler's experience. While the Butlers may have appreciated such a story and may have seen themselves in the role of champions, their experience in the seven months leading up to the Fall of William Henry mostly speak to the weakness of the Indian Department in 1757.¹³⁷

The Butlers were not immune to the anger against Indians in general among American provincials. The massacre at Fort William Henry on August 5 helped solidify an already robust hatred of Indians by contemporary Americans. As part of the capitulation

¹³⁷ Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, xii-xiii

agreement with Montcalm, Commander Colonel George Munro negotiated the safe passage of his surrendered garrison to Albany. Instead, warriors denied the honors of war and the booty promised as payment for their allegiance, attacked the retreating column. In a matter of fifteen minutes they destroyed the retreating column in a chaotic orgy of killing, mugging, and kidnapping. Most of the English force fled through the woods to Fort Edward. In the 19th century Benson Lossing described 1500 dead, a gruesome scene mirrored by the depiction most read by Americans that of fictional eye witness Natty Bumppo in *Last of the Mohicans*. Despite their inaccuracies, these early histories represented the truth as colonists at the time and Early Americans understood it. The massacre of Fort William Henry became a legend which reinforced the savagery and capriciousness of the American Indian.¹³⁸

For the Butlers, it would mean that colonials increasingly looked at their role as an agents to Indians as a menace. From homesteaders to the colonial elite, Indian peoples were seen as a threat, not a resource. Many of the same warriors the Butlers were trying to recruit had been present at Braddock's defeat and had been fighting the English in Virginia. White captives from Pennsylvania and New York were held by Iroquois. The single largest contingent among the warriors with Montcalm was not only Iroquois but Mohawk, the Caugnawaga. The Butler's connection to the Iroquois provided economic and career opportunity but as conflict between settlers and tribesmen intensified, those advantages increasingly came at the cost of being seen as dealing with savages to the disadvantage of Europeans. In 1757, tribes that the Indian Department had claimed they had some sway with; either raided the English frontier or stood aside while others did. Settlers often complained Indians could not understand the difference between friend and foe, attacking along the

¹³⁸ Benson Lossing, James Fenimore Cooper

frontier without differentiation. In addition just plain murder and robbery along the frontier was common.¹³⁹

Several other outbursts of violence that fed intolerance of Indian peoples and had ramifications for the Butlers are notable during this period. In Particular the Paxton Boys incident at the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 illustrates the culmination of this resentment into a violent act that also had political implications. After a four separate attacks in December which wiped out the Conestoga Indians, anglicized and Christian Indians since the 1690s, vigilantes calling themselves the Paxton Boys killed 26 people, mostly the elderly and children. They then marched on Philadelphia and came very close to starting a Civil War in Pennsylvania. Indian officials, they claimed as part of their grievances, were protecting Indians for their own profit at the expense of colonists trying to build lives on the frontier. The Butlers increasingly became figure heads for these the type of Indian official Americans were imagining.¹⁴⁰

Thomas Butler was one of William Johnson's highest ranking officers by the end of 1757. In January 1758 He and George Crohgan helped William Johnson preside over a meeting of the Mohawk from the lower town. The Mohawk were extremely upset over an incident that had transpired a few days earlier when provincial soldiers, new to the post, had pushed a warrior to the ground outside the English fort, emptied a chamber pot on his head, and pelted him with snow balls. The initial incident sparked more encounters throughout the day that got out of hand. Mohawk and a French prisoner were chased into several houses

¹³⁹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, December 29, 1758 *Johnson papers*, Vol 10, 82-84.

¹⁴⁰ John H. Brubaker, *Massacre of the Conestogas: On the Trail of the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County* (The History Press, 2010); Stephen S. Webb, *1676: Americans First Revolution* (Syracuse university Press, 1995) 411

where they had to bar the doors to keep from being assaulted. Abraham, King Hendricks's brother and successor after his death in 1755, was beaten up by four soldiers at his own home. The incident was not isolated. Several women from the village had been attacked by soldiers as well that year.¹⁴¹ The Indian department was struggling to retain even their closed allies among the Mohawk. The Butlers had as fruitless a winter making inroads with the Iroquois as the previous winter. Meanwhile Palatine settlements at the Flats were attacked by French and their Indian warriors that winter, proof that efforts to get the Iroquois to guard against or even warn of impending raids had found little traction.¹⁴²

On August 6, 1758, Thomas Butler was ordered to lead the Indians attached to Col. John Bradstreet's mission to assault the French outpost at Cataraqui, Fort Frontenac, where Lake Ontario flows into the St. Lawrence River. His brother John was to assist him. The target was kept secret from troops and especially Indians though once the party got underway it could really only have been one of three objectives, Niagara, Oswegatchie, or Cataraqui. The Butlers joined a large camp of provincial troops and Iroquois Warriors gathering at the Oneida Carrying Place and at the German Flatts. Troops would either be assigned to the construction of Fort Stanwix on the east side of the portage or to Bradstreet's raid. William Johnson arranged for Iroquois warriors to meet Bradstreet at the Flatts. At a conference held on August 11 held to recruit Iroquois warriors, John Bradstreet and the Butlers watched the

¹⁴¹ Extract from Journal of Indian Affairs, January 13, 1758 *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 108

¹⁴² A Journal of the Expedition against Fort Frontenac in 1758 by Lieut. Benjamin Bass & A Journal by Ensign Moses Dorr from May 25, to Oct. 28, 1758, Including an Account of the Erection of Fort Stanwix. "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix" *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), 455

Onondaga sachem Red Head deliver a “harangue” to rally a gathered assortment of several hundred warriors from assorted tribes.¹⁴³

Few could be convinced into joining an English campaign. First, the English were weak militarily in the eyes of Indian peoples. They had lost numerous battles since 1755. Second, the gun power and supplies that had flowed into Iroquoia through Oswegatchie and Niagara came from Cataraqui. The Butlers had twice witnessed the delivery of powder to the Oneida castle the previous winter, when they had none to give. For many warriors, the French had been a source of much needed supplies and they were not eager to see the outposts from which these supplies were distributed destroyed. However, many Mohawk were firm in their loyalty to Johnson and the Indian Department and the Oneida had been offended by the French raid at the German Flatts that winter. The raid was conducted through Iroquois territory and upon Palatine neighbors with whom they had developed close ties. In order to “guarantee the strength of the Indian contingent,” Thomas was given 500 pounds Sterling. By the August 12, 42 warriors had agreed to participate in the raid.¹⁴⁴

Captain Thomas Butler also had, for the first time, a company of rangers under his command led by Captain Henry Wendell. The ranger company formed a more predictable/controllable corps of professional wilderness fighters and scouts. Indian parties would be led by an Indian Department officer and filled out with Thomas Butler’s ranger company. As scouts for Bradstreet’s force, Thomas’ men moved out ahead of Bradstreet’s

¹⁴³ Sir William Johnson to Captain Thomas Butler, August 6, 1758 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 966-967.

¹⁴⁴ John Bradstreet, an impartial account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's expedition to Fort Frontenac : to which are added, a few reflections on the conduct of that enterprise, and the advantages resulting from its success (1759) Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), 449-464; Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 1, 1758, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 2, 835-836

main force as they set out from the site of Bull's Fort on the west side of the Oneida portage to Oswego.¹⁴⁵

The Butlers had known this route from their earliest days. From the Oneida portage, the route followed Wood Creek, a tunnel through thick woods in some parts by water and by creek-side paths. Boats often had to be hauled out of shallow water and the sometimes very narrow channel was very easily blocked with downed trees and vegetation. Wood Creek eventually led to Oneida Lake, a 32 mile stretch of water easy to traverse with boats. From the west side of the big lake, the Oneida River ran towards Oswego. The river route required boats to be emptied and transported around cataracts and falls. Where the river approached Oswego, it became wider in spots. As Bradstreet made his way to Oswego between August 17 and August 21 they came upon the bodies of two officer's servants from Butler's scouting force. Left to look after the camp on an island, they had been murdered and scalped.¹⁴⁶

By August 21, all of Bradstreet's force was assembled at Oswego. Men cooked and prepared three days' worth of rations near the ruins of the Fort that had figured so large in the Butler family's fortunes. The next morning the rangers and Indians set out in the vanguard of Bradstreet's flotilla of 123 bateaux and 92 whale boats. On August 25 as Bradstreet began landing his force adjacent to Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui, Butler's Indian warriors and rangers scoured the woods around the landing site and reconnoitered Frontenac's walls. The siege lasted two days with minimal British casualties; the 120 soldiers stationed there were unable to resist the 3000 troops and artillery Bradstreet had brought with him. After quickly

¹⁴⁵ Brigadier General James Abercromby to Sir William Johnson, August 20, 1758, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 969; Sir William Johnson to Brigadier General James Abercromby, August 12, 1758, *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 967-968.

¹⁴⁶ An impartial account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's expedition to Fort Frontenac "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix," *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), 449-464

establishing an investment with artillery close to the Forts walls and launching a few shells into the Fort, the defenders surrendered.¹⁴⁷

Terms of the surrender allowed the French defenders to retain their clothes and money. They would be transported to Albany to be exchanged for English prisoners. As the English took possession of the fort, The Iroquois warriors came forward from the woods around the fort intent on assaulting the French prisoners. In eye witness accounts Bradstreet confronted the warriors and hotly warned them to stay away from the French soldiers. They "...entreated him to close his eyes and turn his back for a little bit," as the French had, a reminder that Red Head and many of the warriors that followed him had fought alongside the French in the past. Thomas and John Butler, the two officers responsible for resolving just such issues, were not mentioned in the recollection of the confrontation. In order to assuage the warriors, Bradstreet told the Indians they could look for loot at the fort, but to hurry since he would soon burn what could not be taken away.¹⁴⁸

There was more than enough. The Fort was stocked with furs, trade goods, and military provisions. Not only were there loads of supplies bound for Indian lands, supplies for 5,000 French regulars had just been stored at Frontenac as well. An estimate at the time put the value of such a cache at 35,000 pounds sterling. A brig and a schooner were sent to Oswego with much of the loot. They were burnt after unloading their cargo into bateaux. These were believed to be the last French ships on the Lake. The rest of the ships there had

¹⁴⁷ An impartial account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's expedition to Fort Stanwix "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix," *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), 449-464; Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, August 28, 1758, *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, 889-890

¹⁴⁸ An impartial account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's expedition to Fort Frontenac. "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix" *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), pp. 449-464 (Beaver 360 Elk Deer 4007 Bear 732 Otter 53 Fox 55 Raccoon 4950)

been damaged by cannon fire as they tried to escape the bay on the 25th, their crews fleeing in the ships boats. Seven vessels in total were burnt along with the Fort and supplies that could not be taken away. The mission was a great success, Thomas and John Butler would have had much reason to celebrate the coup. Oswego was avenged, the French pipeline of Indian gifts to Iroquois was disrupted, and the spoils of war were large. Just before dispersing his force at the Oneida carrying place on September 8, Bradstreet had all the boats emptied and the men's packs emptied of plunder. Then each contingent of the army got their portion of the packs of cloths, tools, and the enormous numbers of furs that constituted the bulk of the loot. In addition Fort Stanwick received 78 barrels of French gunpowder. Loot would have been divided by shares, private soldiers getting single shares while officers got a number of shares based on their rank. Because of the amount of loot taken away, the Butler's shares should have been substantial.¹⁴⁹

That winter the Butler tried to follow up on the victory at Cataraqui with the diplomacy that they hoped would result in better recruiting the following summer. John Butler aided his brother and helped escort Indian messengers through the European settlements between Fort Johnson and Fort Stanwix, the last English outpost before Iroquois territory. John Butler and Jelles Fonda, unlike their first winter during the war where they had little to give Indians, brought food and clothes to the settlement at Scholharie twice that winter. Thomas Butler continued to gather Intelligence and manage scouting parties from the fort with Captain Henry Wendell and the ranger company. They had no lack of emergencies

¹⁴⁹ An impartial account of Lieut. Col. Bradstreet's expedition to Fort Frontenac. "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix" *New York History* Vol. 16, No. 4 (October 1935), pp. 449-464 (Beaver 360 Elk Deer 4007 Bear 732 Otter 53 Fox 55 Raccoon 4950)

Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, August 28, 1758, *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, 889-890; Captain Henry I. Wendell to Sir William Johnson, September 4, 1758, *Johnson Papers* Vol 2, 894-895

to contend with. Scalping parties not only hit isolated farms but made a game out of trying to infiltrate English forts in order to gain a scalp or prisoner in addition to gathering information.¹⁵⁰

Two young warriors, an Onondaga and a Cayuga named Tanighwanega, both known to Thomas Butler from the previous summer, arrived at Fort Stanwix at the end of December. They stayed with the only trader there at that time, John McMickel, and sold him two beaver skins they claimed to have got hunting near Lake Oneida. During their stay, Skanondo, an Oneida living at the Fort that winter heard that large bands of warriors had assembled near Oswego and at Catarauqui and that scalping parties were already in the area. The Fort was put on heightened alert and Thomas Butler sent Indian scouts and rangers out to discover more about the threat. John McMickle was given a note to a supply train on its way to the Fort and, as the rest of the Indians were out on a scout, took Tanighwanega with him as an escort.¹⁵¹

Tanighwanega however returned alone three hours later, saying that his knee was feeling lame and that McMickel had met up with a group of Onieda whom Thomas Butler had sent out earlier and continued on. Almost as soon as Tanighwanega had left, one of the Onieda whom McMickel had supposedly met up with returned. After checking with the rest of the Oneida at the cabins they stayed at near Stanwix, Thomas determined Tanighwanega had lied to him. Thomas and Captain Wendell rushed out of their own cabin to stop him from leaving but found that he and the Onondaga he had come with had left minutes earlier. Unable to catch up Butler dispatched six of the fastest rangers to catch them and bring them back which was in vain. The two young warriors easily outran their pursuers. The trader was

¹⁵⁰ Extract from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, October 1, 1758 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 21

¹⁵¹ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 30, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 93-94.

found murdered and scalped about 6 miles away. The two warriors it was determined, were part of a group of about twenty warriors scalping in the area. Butler suspected that the Cayuga at the fort knew about the raiders but that the Oneida did not.¹⁵²

Even worse news arrived shortly after McMickel's murder, 400 Canadians and 100 French Regulars were building a Fort at Oswegatchie. This was not only provocative to the English, as the German Flatts were easily accessed from Oswegatchie, but to many of the Iroquois who had earlier understood that the French would not build forts in their territory. The Iroquois, as divided on the best course of action for their tribes in 1758 as they had been in 1755, determined to have a conference that spring and this time, wanted Johnson and the Indian Department present.¹⁵³

Thomas Butler oversaw all the trading that happened at Fort Stanwix to ensure that the Indians were not cheated, a common complaint of the Indians along the English frontier, but that winter there was not much trading at Stanwix as McMickel had been the only trader there. That fact alone, Thomas felt, was more than enough reason to dismiss the reports reaching Johnson of Indians being robbed. There was not enough trading at Stanwix to support the kind of cheating that was being described at Sir William's. Thomas explained how either he or Wendell had attended every meeting where trading took place to ensure the Indians were not being taken advantage of. The Iroquois, he told Johnson, simply were not coming in any significant numbers to trade due to McMickel's murder and that the Iroquois had nothing with which to trade. Thomas's scouts returned at the end of January to report that there was no force at Oswagatchie and that the French were only engaged in fortifying

¹⁵² Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, December 29, 1758 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 82-84.

¹⁵³ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 30, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 93-94.

positions and building ships along the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. There were scalping parties in the area, the most recent a Caughnawaga band of about twenty that had stopped at Oswegatchie.¹⁵⁴

In February John Butler was sent again to Schoharie to recruit warriors to go on a scout to Ticonderoga. He was also tasked with discovering the truth of a complaint made by Indians there that a German farmer had been planting on Indian land and to find out how much in the way of provisions the Indians at Schoharie needed since his last visit in December.¹⁵⁵

Thomas Butler captured a warrior suspected of being a spy and looking for an opportunity to scalp or capture someone from Fort Stanwix in February. The man was bound and sent with an escort of 12 rangers to Fort Herkimer with strict instructions to pass him along from post to post in the same way until he could be interrogated at Fort Johnson.¹⁵⁶

In the spring of 1759, Captain Thomas Butler fell ill. Instead of assigning another captain, Johnson replaced Thomas with two lieutenants so that Thomas could retrieve his captaincy if he recovered. Johnson explained to Sir Jeffery Amherst, who had become the new North American Commander in Chief after his successful campaign against Louisburg and Cape Breton Island the previous fall, that Thomas Butler, “who has been an Officer all the last and this War under my command, and for whom, should he recover, I should be glad to have it in my power to provide.” Johnson settled both Butler brother’s accounts in June,

¹⁵⁴ Captain Thomas Butler to Sir William Johnson, January 30, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 93-94.

¹⁵⁵ Sir William Johnson to Captain John Butler, February 10, 1759, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 100; Extract from Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs, February 3-10, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, p 99.

¹⁵⁶ Major James Clephane of the 78th Regiment to Sir William Johnson, February 26, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 3, 22.

reimbursing Thomas 177 pounds and John 37 pounds for monies spent in his service. A few days later both received their pay for six months service as well, recorded in Johnson's accounts as one payment, 313 pounds for both brothers.¹⁵⁷

In May, John Butler traveled to Stockbridge Massachusetts to recruit warriors from the Indian settlement there for the coming campaign against Niagara. When he arrived John sought the assistance of Timothy Woodbridge, schoolmaster, magistrate, and counsellor. Woodbridge had been heavily involved in Indian affairs and the purchase of Indian Territory. In addition he supported the education of Native Americans, especially Mohawk children. The adult Indians at Stockbridge were mostly Mohicans. John Butler called on the Indians there to join him, recalling the meeting that several Stockbridge sachems had attended earlier that year at Fort Johnson, at which they had approved of a joint raid against the French. "The time is now come" John told them, "... and I do by this belt call on you to assemble here at the fireplace of the Six Nations in three weeks in order to march with me, the Mohawks your Uncles, and other Indians of the Six Nations..." John promised to outfit all those who wished to be warriors and also promised extra pay for those who could provide their own gear and weapons.¹⁵⁸

On July 1, 1759, John Butler departed Oswego with Sir William Johnson's mixed force of Indians and Rangers as part of Brigadier General John Prideaux's march on Niagara. The victory at Fort Frontenac and faltering French Indian diplomacy had resulted in the

¹⁵⁷ Sir William Johnson to Jeffery Amhearst, May 30, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 115-116; Jeffery Amhearst to Sir William Johnson, May 30, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 116-117; Sir William Johnson to Jeffery Amhearst, June 1, 1759, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 120; Sir William's Accounts of Indian Expenses, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 3, 173

¹⁵⁸ Sir William Johnson to Captain John Butler, May 29, 1759 *Johnson Papers* Vol 9, 912; Speech of Sir William Johnson to the Stockbridge Indians (Delivered by John Butler) *Johnson Papers* Vol. 9, 913-914

unprecedented recruitment of nearly 1000 Indian warriors that summer. The English now had the advantage when it came to recruiting warriors. Many of those that joined the expedition had previously fought with the French, including roughly 200 warriors from Oswegatchie who had endured starvation that winter when French aid had failed to materialize. Six days later the English force began the siege of Niagara.¹⁵⁹

During the Siege of Niagara, Johnson assumed overall command when the General Prideaux was killed. John Butler assumed command of all Indian forces. John's service in this capacity was described as conspicuous and meritorious. On the morning of August 24, two weeks after the siege had begun, Butler's scouts brought news of a large mixed force of 1,500 Indian warriors, French soldiers, and *cours-de-bois*, French 'men (kings) of the woods.' Butler helped coordinate the defense of the British siege lines, laying breastworks across the road from Lake Eire to Niagara and infiltrating the woods to either side. Butler's force held a defensive position that enveloped the front of the relief column, similar to the French attack on the British column during the Bloody Morning Scout, the morning his half-brother Walter died. When Butler's force opened fire on the French lines, the relief force crumbled. In light of Butler's victory at what became known as the 'bloody run,' The French commander at Niagara surrendered to William Johnson the next day, July 25.¹⁶⁰

John Butler stayed with Johnson for the next four days in order to oversee the orderly dispersal of the Indian warriors. Most left on the 28th with their share of loot, 150 scalps and

¹⁵⁹ Lt. Col. William A Smy, "The Butlers before the Revolution," in *The Butler bicentenary: commemorating the 200th anniversary of the death of Colonel John Butler*, 39; Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, 202; Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* Vol. 2, 97

¹⁶⁰ Lt. Col. William A Smy, "The Butlers before the Revolution," in *The Butler bicentenary: commemorating the 200th anniversary of the death of Colonel John Butler*, 39; Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, 202; Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* Vol. 2, 97

some 96 prisoners. The warriors were induced “with some difficulty” by “ransom, good words etc.” to give the French officers they held to the English. The next day, John Butler set out with seven bateaux men to carry an express message to General Amherst. Johnson not only wanted to report on the success of the campaign, describe the Fort and the health of the remaining English soldiers, but also wanted a dispute over command to be resolved by the commander in chief. Lt. Colonel Frederick Haldimand had arrived from Oswego the day before expecting to take command of the army but Johnson had refused to step down.¹⁶¹

Butler delivered the message to Amherst that August and then carried out orders from Johnson to return with as many Mohawk warriors with him as possible. Johnson and the English officers at Oswego, Haldimand and Brigadier General Thomas Gage, who took command on August 17 at Oswego, were uncertain of Wolfe’s progress and were endeavoring to make Niagara and Oswego defensible again. Enemy warriors still roamed near Oswego and several enemy outposts remained nearby. Johnson desperately wanted to capture these “nests” as he called them but both Gage and Haldimand were very cool to the idea. Gage in particular was annoyed with the amount of provisions that the warriors Johnson was gathering were consuming. Gage asked that many of the warriors be sent home even as they were arriving at Oswego following Johnson’s call for warriors. He didn’t like having them in large numbers around his army any more than Amherst did, who had been happy to keep warriors away from his own army, relying instead on the Rangers that had proved so successful since 1755.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Sir William Johnson’s Journal of the Niagara Campaign, July 31, 1759, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 118

¹⁶² Sir William Johnson’s Journal of the Niagara Campaign, July 31, 1759, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 122-139

Gage was dubious that any further campaigning should be undertaken that year and frustrated that Amherst had taken so long to take Fort Ticonderoga. Amherst had moved 11,000 men very slowly to the head of Lake George and taken possession of Ticonderoga a day after Niagara's surrender. He was not expected to be able to link up with Wolfe's army at Quebec that summer. The officers in the Niagara campaign felt like they needed to prepare for a French counter attack and not press the remaining hostile outposts on the Lake, especially La Galette, site of the French Fort Fort de La Présentation. The Fort guarded the river approach to the French leaning Oneida village of Oswegatchie, which had been such an effective part of French Iroquois diplomacy since the beginning of the War. Johnson argued the point tediously throughout the rest of the campaign season to Gage, describing in his journal eleven fruitless attempts between August 17 and October 14 to convince the General to organize further attacks. Gage's responses are sometimes described by Johnson as non-committal, sometimes defensive, and in one case Johnson's appeal was greeted with silence. Even after Amherst sent orders to Gage to destroy La Galette, Gage simply told Johnson that it wasn't going to happen.¹⁶³

John Butler arrived at Oswego September 7 with twenty seven warriors from Canajoharie. Butler had less success in his appeals to the Oneida for warriors. Butler had been "... very ill treated at the Upper Oneida town by Ganaghquiesa and in short by the whole three, but kindly received by Gawehe (Gawakie) who promised that thirty of his warriors would follow and join me at Oswego." Apparently a rumor had taken hold among the Oneida that the English would get them all beastly drunk when they arrived at Oswego

¹⁶³ Sir William Johnson's Journal of the Niagara Campaign, July 31, 1759, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 121, 126

and then slaughter them all. In fact none of the Iroquois arriving were that thrilled to go on an additional campaign. This left Johnson rather alone in his enthusiasm for continued fighting. Eventually Johnson agreed to let most of them back out if they agreed to keep the area around Oswego and the route to Fort Stanwix free from scalping parties.¹⁶⁴

John Butler was at Oswego at least intermittently during September. Sir William Johnson had employed his officers there on numerous scouting parties and diplomatic missions to various villages. Butler's name does not appear in his campaign journal very often, but none of the officers do, and their business has to be understood in total as part of Johnson's agenda rather than through their individual roles in Johnson's plans, which are not documented. On the 29th, Captain John Butler scouted the viability of a meadow two miles away from the Fort to serve as an Indian camp, a purpose it might have been used for in the past, but found it to be too grown over. Meanwhile news from Amherst and Wolfe was sporadic at Oswego. Neither Johnson, Gage, nor Haldimand seemed confident of the crushing victory that General Wolfe eventually won over the French in the Battle of Abraham Plains.

As John Butler continued to serve the Indian Department at Oswego into the fall, Thomas Butler's illness grew worst at Buttersbury. In September of 1759 Thomas Butler prepared a will. Thomas died shortly after. He left to his brother John Butler the bulk of his estate which included his own farm which Thomas had called "the New Land," and fifty acres he had bought from Adam Vrooman. 1,200 acres he had bought from "the widow Scott," wife the commandant, Lt. John Scott, whom his father had replaced at Fort Hunter,

¹⁶⁴ Sir William Johnson's Journal of the Niagara Campaign, July 31, 1759, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 114-157, 139

was divided into four parts. Their sister Mary, wife of John Vanderheyden, got one share. Sister Anne got a share. John's three sons, Walter, Thomas, and Andreas got a share. John's children were all quite young, Walter and Thomas would survive but Andreas, the youngest and an infant, died soon after his baptism in March of 1761. Lastly the two daughters of his lost brother, Walter received a share. Peter Coyne (Coine), longtime friend, neighbor, in-law, and fellow congregant at the Dutch Reformed Church, executed the will.¹⁶⁵

As the fall turned to winter, the senior Walter Butler wrote to General Sir Jeffery Amherst and asked for permission to sell the lieutenant's commission that had brought him so far. It is likely that his commission was sold to Guy Johnson, Sir William's nephew, because the effective dates of their commissions coincide.¹⁶⁶ Retirement for the old soldier must have bitter with the death of two of his sons. Walter Butler died an old man, most likely in his seventies, just before the close of the Seven Years War. His will was proved, January 20, 1763. He left the bulk of his farms, buildings, and land, almost 4000 acres in total, to his son John. He also left provisions for his daughters and the spouse and children of his son, Walter Butler. 240 acres on the northeast side of the Mohawk River, about three miles from Fort Hunter was granted to John, Edward, and Margaret Collins. Walter reserved for his wife Deborah the income of two tenant farms where Johannes Kets and Jacob Neffe lived and farmed.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1897* (New York, 1898) 39-40; Albert Rightman and Peter Canine executors - Witnessed by Martin Mynderon, Jacob Van Schaick, and William Corry. Sept. 8, 1759 - proved in Albany Sept 25, 1759. The family of John and Catherine Butler, *John Butler Papers* Vol.1, 125-126

¹⁶⁶ Smy, *John Butler Papers* Vol 1, 82

¹⁶⁷ *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1897* (New York, 1898) 210-211

While historians today easily declare the French and Indian War all but over after the fall of Quebec in 1759, for the people on the New York Canada frontier, the broad picture looked anything but certain. Much of the Butler's efforts in the winter and spring of 1759 were focused on removing the threat from Oswegatchie, the last remaining stronghold from which the French could directly attack the Mohawk Valley. John Butler described much confusion in his attempts to reconcile the Oneida who resided just beyond the Great Carry Place and at those Oswegatchie. The aim of the Indian Department's diplomacy that year was to re-integrate Iroquois villages and settlements that had sided with the French previously into a more unified Iroquois Confederacy. These efforts led to a confrontation at Oswegatchie in April which John Butler described to William Johnson. A French officer still posted there had berated an Onondaga delegation sent to convince the Oneida there to remove themselves from French service. The officer railed at them, shouting that he "...was not dead yet!" The French, he claimed, had thousands of men coming and would take back Oswego easily. The English, the French officer continued as he lectured that Onondaga delegation, would have been unable to capture Niagara without Indian help. "I gave you some time ago a small hatchet to keep in your bosom and desired you to make use of it against anybody that might oppose you; but you have made use of it against myself, so I desire you will return it very soon, as I am very angry and this is all I have to say at present."

168

The Onondaga mission to wrest the Oswegatchie away from the French ended without resolution on that occasion, in part because of the French presence still there. Not only were preparations for war observed there, the Onondaga reported that the Ottawa, who

¹⁶⁸ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 24, 1760 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 140-142.

had begun to respond to English overtures the previous fall, were now weighing the possibility of surprise attack on Niagara. Detroit was still in French hands in the West and Montreal had become the new capital of New France, so the possibility of French counter attacks that year seemed well within the realm of possibility. If the situation with the “Swegatchies” as Johnson often called them was difficult for the Onondaga to divine, for the English Indian officers it was nearly impossible.¹⁶⁹

Captain Butler was at a loss of what to do from his post at Fort Stanwix. He had no way of independently confirming any news coming out of Oswegatchie; having, in April, only “two old Indians” and no cash to hire Indian scouts. His documented activity seems to have been limited to activities immediately around the fort. On June 9 Butler was employed in finding a Lieutenant and four men from the 44th who had gotten lost in the woods.¹⁷⁰ To judge from the information Butler received intermittently from Indian informants, The French were on their way to Oswego and had already taken back Quebec in April. Without orders, money, or accurate information, John was as uninformed and functionally impotent as he had been in the first years of the war, telling Johnson frankly [that] “I don’t know how to behave.”¹⁷¹ The confusion among Indian officers that spring was not limited to John Butler. The Indian Department officer at Oswego, Captain Lottridge, one of the Lieutenants who had replaced Thomas the year before and now promoted, similarly did not know how to deal with the increasing number of Oswegatchie coming to Oswego to that spring and repeated asked Johnson if he should trade with them, recruit them, turn them away, or detain them.

¹⁶⁹ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 24, 1760 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 140-142.

¹⁷⁰ William Johnson to Jeffery Amherst Fort Johnson June 10, 1760 JP Vol 10, p171.

¹⁷¹ Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 24, 1760 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 140-142; Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, May 17, 1760 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 151.

Haldimand, who commanded at Oswego, wrote a testy letter to Johnson on May 19 demanding that Sir William establish some sort of policy that Lottridge could consistently employ.¹⁷²

Captain John Butler once again paired up with Captain Jelles Fonda in June on a mission to summon and gather Iroquois warriors at Oswego for a campaign that would sweep the remainder of the French forts on Lake Ontario and meet up with Amherst for an assault on Montreal. Butler and Fonda followed the familiar route from Fort Stanwix to Oneida, Tuscarora, and then to Onondaga. The Oneida and Tuscarora had listened to Butler and Fonda and seen the large wampum belt they displayed as a call to war. Both villages declined to join the junior officers but said as soon as William Johnson himself passed on his way to Oswego, they would join the English.¹⁷³

At Onondaga Butler and Fonda found most of the Indians drunk, a sadly common observation in the Indian Department's annals. Butler and Fonda took refuge next to the house of a close ally of the Indian Department, a chief called "The Bunt," a longtime acquaintance of the two officers and close ally among the Onondaga. As they kept out of sight in their tent, they could hear warriors outside arguing about attacking the two Indian Department emissaries. The next day, July 6, Butler and Fonda were finally able to have a sort of meeting with those Indians who were awake, many of whom were still drunk but rather subdued compared to the previous day and night. The Oswegatchie, Butler discovered, several of whom were in Onondaga and Oswego, were telling all who would listen that the

¹⁷² Captain John Butler to Sir William Johnson, April 24, 1760 *Johnson Papers*, Vol 10, 140-142.; Col. Haldimand, to Sir William Johnson, May 19, 1760 *Johnson Papers* Vol. 10, 153

¹⁷³ Extracts from the Journal of Jelles Fonda, June 29, 1760 to October 23, 1760, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 167-169

English planned on murdering them all. Many Onondaga were convinced to go to Oswego but they were, Jelles Fonda wrote, ashamed that they had no rum left with which to celebrate a war dance. They would dance at Oswego the warriors assured them.¹⁷⁴

Butler and Fonda split up on the 14th, each travelling to smaller castles, Butler to Chenesseia and Fonda to Caniaia. Their recruiting trip ended at Oswego. There, a huge army under the command of General Amherst had assembled, 10,000 regulars and provincial troops. Indian Department officers had assembled 1368 Indians from 16 different bands and tribes to accompany them. It is interesting to note that these Iroquoian bands were broken down by Butler in detail in his August 5 census, reflecting a more diverse collection of warriors than typically defined when just using the moniker “Iroquois” or even one of the five major nations as a descriptor. Butler’s census more accurately reflects the nature of the confederation of one of villages and bands as much as tribes. For example, Mohawks, Canajoharie, Schoharie, and Mohicans are all catalogued separately even though broadly they are all understood to be Mohawk. On August 10, Sir William Johnson left for Oswegatchie with 706 Indians sober enough to join Amherst, including 15 men from Oswegatchie who had embraced the English. Butler remained behind with those number of warriors still too drunk to travel, gathering them together and following Johnson the next day.¹⁷⁵

Amherst’s force arrived at Oswegatchie on August 17. The Indian town surrendered immediately, their safety assured by the Oneida and Oswagatchie Indians from Johnson’s

¹⁷⁴ Extracts from the Journal of Jelles Fonda, June 29, 1760 to October 23, 1760, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 167-169

¹⁷⁵ Extracts from the Journal of Jelles Fonda, June 29, 1760 to October 23, 1760, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 167-169; Census of Indians by John Butler, August 5, 1760, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 175

native contingent. The French post, Fort Levi which stood nearby, surrendered on August 25. The English soldiers took the French into custody and occupied the fort while keeping the Indian warriors at bay, denying warriors the opportunity to take prisoners or loot. Warren Johnson, William Johnson's nephew wrote "The Indians were greatly disgusted at not being admitted into Fort Levi on Isle Royale after the surrender. Some, however, got in and seen the Grenadiers, who took possession of it, plundering and pillaging, and themselves not allowed. But such as got in ordered out by the General. They were universally dissatisfied and many returned home upon that account." The Indian Department officers faced the daunting task of mediating between 1300 insulted warriors and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who could not care less about Indian warriors had expected and had ten thousand men. He didn't feel like he needed them or had anything to fear from them. By the time Amherst was ready to assault Montreal, the number of warriors accompanying the army had dwindled to 175.¹⁷⁶

The capture of Oswegatchie and the peaceful surrender of the Iroquois there was the death knell of Franco-Indian cooperation. While at Oswegatchie, Butler helped the Indian Department concluded peace with at least eight different tribes, many of them firm allies of the French for decades. By the end of the trek to Montreal, five more tribes had sued for peace. This left the river approaches to Montreal guarded only by a few French posts which could only take pot shots at the flotilla as it made its way east. 500 Caughnawanga, whom had formed the core of France's warrior corps, assembled along the shore and simply watched the English boats pass by. The Lachine rapids proved the most deadly adversary, tossing English boats and drowning 120 men on the approach to Montreal. Wet and without

¹⁷⁶ D. Peter MacLeod, *The Canadian Iroquois and the Seven Years' War* (Dundurn, 2012); Extracts from the Journal of Warren Johnson, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 180-211.

shelter before the walls of Montreal, Warren Johnson was glad that his uncle had taken the Indians out of the war, writing “if we had not got them to be neuter, [the Indians] might have given us a great check.”¹⁷⁷ An Indian conference on September 12, four days after the surrender of Montreal, resulted in a treaty guaranteeing the Canadian tribes, “The Seven Nations,” freedom to trade at Albany and the right to keep their lands and priests.¹⁷⁸

At the end of 1760 Jeffery Amherst ordered Sir William Johnson to dismiss John Butler, and other Indian officers from service.

“I am at the same time to observe to you that as the several salaries of the Indian Officers are a heavy charge to the public, and that from the present circumstances of affairs their services can be dispensed with and occasion a great saving, I must desire, especially as I make no doubt that Captains John Butler and Jelles Fonda, and Lieutenants William Hair and Henry Nelles, part of the aforementioned Indian Officers, have other occupations, that you will thank them for their past services, and strike them off the lists from the respective times they are now charged to in your accounts.”¹⁷⁹

Amherst felt the Indian Department was no longer needed and hoped to save a considerable amount of money by shutting it down. General Amherst also withdrew the material support and presents that were the basis of Indian diplomacy. As a result, many tribes that had barely just been won over to the British cause were, in 1760, left destitute. Tribes which had been promised prosperity under British rule were betrayed. Johnson warned Amherst that his policy was ill-conceived:

“Your lordship you will observe that the Indians are not only very uneasy, but jealous of our growing power, which the enemy had always told them would prove their ruin, as we should by degrees surround them on every side, & at length extirpate them. . . . from the treatment they receive from us, different from what they have been accustomed to by the French, who spared

¹⁷⁷ Extracts from the Journal of Warren Johnson, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 180-211

¹⁷⁸ Extract of an Indian Conference, *Johnson Papers*, Vol. 10, 198-206

¹⁷⁹ Jeffery Amherst to Sir William Johnson, November 8, 1760, *Johnson Papers* Vol 3, 277-278.

no labor, or expense to gain their friendship and esteem, which along enabled them to support the war in these parts.¹⁸⁰

Johnson thought Amherst had underestimated the military threat posed by the Indian Nations. He argued that the cost of Indian diplomacy, for the most part cheap goods and supplies given as presents, far outweighed the expense of fighting a frontier war. Indian department officers and post commanders on the frontier agreed with Johnson and did what they could to salvage Indian diplomacy. However, Amherst's Indian policy caused widespread pain and anguish among Indian peoples, uniting many far flung tribes in a war which engulfed the Old Northwestern frontier. The Indian Department barely managed to stave off war in 1761 when Seneca sachems began to feel out the possibility of anti-English alliance with the Miami and Mingo in 1761. The war was merely delayed.¹⁸¹

Captain John Butler had not been dismissed immediately as Amherst had wished. In July 1761 he met with the [M] aqua, Chippewa, Michilimakinac, and other local tribes at Toronto while Sir William negotiated separately with the Seneca at Niagara. Butler listened to speech after speech declaring loyalty to the English, then reported success to Sir William Johnson. These tribes had been in the French interest for decades but now it appeared "were very hearty in our [English] interest." Butler left Niagara on July 26, 1761 and appears to have been trading fur at least partially on William Johnson's behalf during September and October. As he had done in the past at Oswego with his father and brothers, and at Oneida on

¹⁸⁰ Johnson to Charles Wyndem Earl of Egemont May 1762 *Johnson Papers* Vol. 10, 461-462

¹⁸¹ William Nestor, *Haughty Conquerors, Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000) 61-63

his own account, John may have set up trading operations for the dual purpose of supporting Indian diplomacy and personal enrichment.¹⁸²

The Butlers were intimately connected to the Iroquois. They derived economic success and social standing from a friendship with Indian peoples. Much of their authority sprang from careers with the Indian Department. The Butlers' role on the frontier as Indian agents was unique even for frontiers people with long experience with Indians. They lived during extended missions amongst savages and even mimicked or adopted parts of their martial culture which was terrifying for most English. By 1757, The three Butler brothers had all participated in at least one council where war dances had been performed by Indian Department officers, gone out with at least one war party, and could speak several Iroquois dialects. Their role as Indian Agents under William Johnson during the Seven Years War played a role in isolating them from a majority of colonists who looked forward to removing the Indian tribes entirely from the frontier.

¹⁸² Extract from Sir William Johnson's Detroit Journal, July 25, 1761, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 228; Extract from the account book of John Butler, 1761, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 506

Chapter Eight: John Butler and Pontiac's War 1763-1764

John Butler was still on Indian business at the Tuscarora Castle on April 6, 1763. There he incurred a twelve pound expense for small presents, relief supplies basically, distributed to that castle.¹ There had been a great deal of tension on the frontier that winter. The murder of two white traders at Onondaga in the late fall of 1762, had turned into a diplomatic crisis. The accused murderers, two Seneca from the village of Kanestio, slipped away with the seeming cooperation of the Onondaga. The English wanted the murders. Guy Johnson, now a lieutenant in the Independent Companies, most likely with a commission sold him by Walter Butler, was acting as one of the Indian Department's few agents that winter. Guy Johnson travelled to Onondaga where he convened a meeting with The Onondaga. He demanded that the murders be handed over and chided the Iroquois for not detaining them. In reply, the sachems assured Guy Johnson that they despised the murders but described Kanestio as a village of refugees and renegades, claiming that the village lay outside of the authority of the Iroquois Confederacy. The sachems at Onondaga told Johnson they would wait to take action until the Seneca let them know what had happened. The Seneca, nominally in charge of the territory at Kanestio, had avoided sending delegates. The crisis over what was to be done with the murderers and who was responsible for bringing them to justice stretched into the spring. At the heart of the dispute was the essential issue of Iroquois sovereignty.²

There was a great deal of mistrust between the Indian Department and the Iroquois sachems. Indian Department officers doubted that the two Seneca had could move freely

¹ Extract from the account book of John Butler, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 506.

² Indian proceedings, November 21 - December 8. 1762, *Johnson Papers*, Volume 10 588-596

through Iroquois territory without help and knew the truth about the Seneca was being obscured. The Iroquois were angry that English were breaking with a long standing tradition, that Indian people would only face justice from their own tribes. Turning the accused murderers over to the English would set a precedent the tribes were desperate to avoid. The crisis most likely was the focus of Butler's visit to Tuscarora as it had occasioned numerous conferences and meeting between December 1762 and May 1763, when attacks on British posts, several launched from Kanestio, occurred simultaneously along the frontier.³

By 1763, an Indian alliance had coalesced around an appealing message of a Delaware prophet named Neolin, would advocated the eradication of the English from Indian lands and Independence from European goods. On May 10, coordinated attacks all across the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley resulted in the fall of 10 British outposts, the isolation of Detroit and Fort Pitt, and countless deaths. Pontiac's Rebellion, a pan tribal Indian war was the result of three years of Amherst's hostile treatment of the tribes and those tribes increasing willingness to cooperate.⁴

Later, on May 22nd, John Butler acted as the sole interpreter at a meeting at Johnson's estate. The lack of an indicated rank on the conference proceedings indicated that Amherst may have indeed succeeded in trimming the Indian Department since 1761. The Oneidas did not attend they said, because a party of their warriors had just returned home with prisoners and loot, prizes from raids among the southern Indians they claimed. The next

³ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

⁴ Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course and Consequences* (Routledge, 2012) 48-64; David Dixon, *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2005) 80-105; William Nestor, *Haughty Conquerors, Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2000) 61-63

day, May 23rd, 270 men crowded into Johnson's council hall. The meeting began with the Iroquois *Condolence Ceremony*.⁵

An Onondaga Sachem stood holding three strings of wampum. He raised the first and "...agreeable to their manner, wiped away the tears from Sir William's eyes shed for the loss of his Father, so as that he might look cheerfully & friendly at his brethren present, the Six Nations. With another String He removed all Sorrow & uneasiness from his breast, occasioned by said loss, and cleared away all obstructions, which otherwise might prevent his speaking freely, & brother-like to the Six Nations. With a third String he removed everything from of the death bed, & wiped away the blood out of his sight, so as to given no further concern."⁶

The *Condolence Ceremony* continued with four more belts, one mixed and three white, each invoking a personal concern for Johnson. It ended with three more strings to wipe away the dust for a fresh start to business.⁷ The condolence ceremony, prelude to any important meeting, was a diplomatic ceremony which expressed sympathy for the other party's losses and personal pain. Next belts were produced to confirm past allegiances, a long oral history recounted carefully. Like the ritual use of wampum, the *Condolence Ceremony* gave credibility to the entire proceeding and assured participants that the rules of Iroquoian diplomacy were being followed. For the Iroquois the condolence ceremony created sacred

⁵ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

⁶ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

⁷ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

diplomatic space. It was crucial to John Butler's success as an interpreter that he understood this ritual. Diplomacy did not happen without it.⁸

The meeting then came to the point. The Onondaga responded to the demand that the two accused murderers be turned over to the English to face justice. The Onondaga had rejected the whole basis of the English claim to the men. It was a matter of sovereignty that was not up for debate, Indians were not subject to English jurisdiction. It was a message that was delivered with great respect, the speakers clearly stating their abhorrence for the murder and their sorrow for the victims. Onondaga and Seneca speakers country warned the English that the chain that held them together, the Covenant Chain, had become dull during the past war, especially considering their many dead at the hands of Europeans, the lack of promised free passage to trade and the lack of regulated and supplied trading posts.⁹

The next day the Iroquois continued to catalogue their grievances. Traders robbed them and plied them with alcohol, destroying their ability to provide for their families. Fields were being planted by Europeans around new English forts and at Oswego Falls, contrary to the Iroquois expectations. The Forts were only supposed to be temporary expedients to winning the war. Iroquois expected many of the posts to be abandoned now that the French had been defeated. They only had expected trading posts to be maintained by mutual consent as Oswego had been for decades, an isolated trading center deep in Indian country. The

⁸ Michael M. Pomedli, "Eighteenth-Century Treaties: Amended Iroquois Condolence Rituals", *American Indian Quarterly* Vol. 19, No. 3 (Summer, 1995) 319-339

⁹ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

English were not leaving the frontier however, they were taking it as conquered territory, just as the French had warned.¹⁰

The English had not only broken their promises to the Iroquois regarding settlement, but canceled a tradition of support and patronage of tribes by gift giving, the distribution of Indian presents. The practice was viewed differently depending on the people involved and the circumstances of the exchange. Ideally it was a delivery of tribute that recognized Indian sovereignty and demonstrated respect for friendship and loyalty. The Mohawk and less often, broader groups of Iroquois, had come close to experiencing the ideal and it was what they strived for through their relationship with William Johnson and the Indian Department. The Butlers had often presided over successful conferences, intimate ritual proceeding which concluded with distribution of presents.¹¹

Sir William Johnson had invested his own resources, even when it was likely he would never be reimbursed, in order to gain, a near monopoly on Indian diplomacy by 1763. Often gift giving was rather mercenary, and involved the fitting out of war parties, the delivery of relief in exchange for allegiance or land. At its very worst, gift giving simply became alms giving, infrequent and small acts of charity that did nothing to aid peoples who had become impoverished and dependent on the generosity on a society that despised them. These were reminders of dependence and helplessness. Jeffery Amherst's policy to end the practice of gift giving completely directly challenged the idea that Indians were relevant, that they were worth anything. The tribes were horrified as Amherst stopped recognizing them as people worth dealing with. Amherst was declaring, in a very public way, that Indian people

¹⁰ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674

¹¹ Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763* (Stanford University Press, 1950) 11

were no longer valued and that he wanted them to die. This was true, Amherst really hated dealing with Indians, did not consider them sovereign, and considered them of no value and little threat. His decision to cancel gift giving was a very real declaration of war of sorts and was one of the major contributing factors to Pontiac's Rebellion.¹²

John Butler was an expert at giving Indian gifts. It was often his role to help distribute gifts as Sir William Johnson's adjunct, or in Sir William Johnson's name in Indian country and on the warpath. There was an art to getting the most leverage possible with the distribution of gifts and John had learned from his father and Thomas how to think about it strategically. When it was done incorrectly it had disastrous results. One of the things that is most notable about John Butler's career is the number of times the outcome of a gift ceremony has had a major impact on his endeavors.¹³

Even as the May 22nd meeting progressed and the Iroquois were describing grievances they had in common with many frontier tribes, news had still not reached the Mohawk Valley of the war many aggrieved Native Americans, including Iroquois war bands, had started 14 days earlier. As Johnson prepared his response to the Iroquois complaints on the evening of the 23rd intelligence concerning the attacks on the posts in Great Lakes and

¹² Nestor, *Haughty Conqueror*, 41-47, 165 Note: The English are constantly describing the Indians as haughty and having too much pride. It is a constant theme which I have noticed over time but never thought to document, the theme only making itself clear over time. I have no doubt a simple Boolean search of the word pride and its variants in William Johnson's Papers alone would keep someone, either a historian or psychologist, busy for quite some time. The English are annoyed by Indian pride because it isn't representative of their power. This may have a lot to do with class stratification in English society where large groups of powerless people are raised with little self-worth. Indian culture allowed for much greater participation in village matters, on the war path, and during diplomatic negotiations. Native Americans had political system with a much stronger emphasis on group consensus rather than the mass submission required by English political elite. What is pride to an Englishmen is no more than the Indian expectation that membership in a community has inherent value.

¹³ Extract from proceedings of an Indian Conference, May 21, 1763 *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 674; Nestor, *Haughty Conqueror*, 41-47, 165

Ohio Valley was being gathered at Fort Pitt. Fort Pitt itself would be under siege by the 28th. News still hadn't reached the Mohawk Valley when Amherst wrote on May 29 following the conference at Fort Johnson, "I cannot think the Indians have it in their power to execute anything serious against us, while we continue to be on our guard."¹⁴

Colonel Henry Bouquet, commanding a relief column to Fort Pitt, won a significant victory over Pontiac's forces at the battle of Bushy Run on August 5 and 6. Having now full knowledge of the Indian rising by the end of August, Johnson hosted an enormous congress at his estate. Indians began to gather August 25. Nearly 20 different tribes were present at Johnson Hall for most of September. "I sent Captain Butler to the German Flatts to bring down the 5 Nations here to my house, as I am not able to go up to the Flatts through indisposition" Johnson wrote.¹⁵ "Captain John Butler, my interpreter, returned from ye German Flatts and acquainted me that the 6 Nations were on their way hither, and would be here as this night, he having met them yesterday at Canajoharie Castle where they told him they would rest themselves that day and have some talk with the Indians. I sent Captain Butler to acquaint the Lower Mohawks there with and desire their attendance tomorrow."¹⁶

At the conference, Butler listened solemnly to the explanation the Onondaga gave for the war. They reported they had diligently gone to the Seneca to discover what had happened and to try and bring the Seneca back into the peaceful fold. The explanation was very familiar to Butler who had already heard them several times that year... stolen land, no

¹⁴ Indian Intelligence, Copy of the Intelligence Enclosed in the Above Intelligence brought to Fort Pitt by M^r. Calhoun, on May 27, 1763 at 11 o'clock at Night, June 1, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol. 10, 685-688; Jeffrey Amherst to Sir William Johnson, 29 May 29, 1763. *Johnson Papers* vol.10, 689

¹⁵ Extract from the journal of an Indian Congress, August 25, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 801.

¹⁶ Nestor, *Haughty Conqueror*, 135. Extract from the journal of an Indian Congress, September 1, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 828.

traders, no justice, no presents. The broken promises of the English and the suffering of their people. In May these were complaints, in August these complaints were *raison du guerre* for the Seneca. Johnson chided the Onondaga for looking into the matter so late. The time for talking, he told the assembled chiefs, was over as soon as the breakaway Seneca went to war with the English. The split the Onondaga were trying to prevent had already happened. The Iroquois League must go to war against the breakaway Seneca bands, not try and talk with them. Johnson swept aside the Seneca complaints and laid out his own narrative of what had happened.¹⁷

“On the reduction of Canada we became one people, and peace was established throughout the country, trade was beginning to flourish, to our mutual advantage, when on all of a sudden these foolish treacherous Nations [slipt] whom we took into the chain of friendship with you & the rest of our brethren [did] without any Notice or provocation [known to us] fall upon traders, butchering & captivateing [sic] them, taking the goods designed for their [use] conveniency & that of others, [Destroy-ing] Surprising by the vilest stratigems. Destroying the King’s posts & troops who were for the protection of trade posted in their Several Countries, by [their] which unwarrantable behavior [of theirs] they have sullied the Covenant Chain which we brightened so lately, & thereby debarred the well-disposed Indians of the benefit of Trade, and good offices which the English Nation intended, and were inclined to do them.”¹⁸

The congress continued for 28 days, from September 1 to the 28. As interpreter, Captain John Butler was at the center of the massive proceeding. Belt after belt of wampum were passed. Many were from previous conferences, reminders of previous promises made by English and Iroquois. The belt given in 1754 at the Albany Congress was displayed. Strings of wampum accompanied dozens of messages and were hung on the wooden racks

¹⁷ Extract from the journal of an Indian Congress, September 1, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 828.

¹⁸ Extract from the journal of an Indian Congress, September 1, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 828.

used to display them during the proceedings, a visible record of the negotiations. Towards the end of the conference, many of the meetings with individual tribes concerned specific grievances regarding land. The details of each dispute taken down and recorded by Guy Johnson, who was now being groomed as Sir William Johnson's protégé.¹⁹

Butler continued to submit expenses to Johnson for reimbursement, spending money on travel and to hire runners into the late fall of 1763. He seems to have traveled from Fort Johnson to Johnson Hall in September. Johnson was moving from his first estate along the Mohawk River in present day Amsterdam, to a new village he was building in the rolling hills north of Fort Hunter, closer to Butlersbury, "Johnstown."²⁰

In January of 1764, Butler was at Fort Johnson. There Butler and Johnson received intelligence reports from Silver Heels and Red Head, a Seneca and Onondaga warriors who had been close to the English. Silver Heels had accompanied Thomas Butler on several missions and Red Head had led Butler's warriors when attached to Bradstreet's raid on Fort Frontenac. Tribes poured in to learn news, pledge their loyalty to the English, and outfit warriors to accompany English troops preparing to crush the Pontiac's warriors in the Ohio Valley. Butler helped pass the news of the dramatic murder of Conestoga Indians in Pennsylvania. It was important that warriors arriving at Sir William's and those living in nearby castles heard the news from the Indian Department, to prevent "misunderstanding."²¹

¹⁹ Extract from the journal of an Indian Congress, September 1, 1763, *Johnson Papers* Vol 10, 828.

²⁰ Extracts from the Account Book of John Butler, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 507.

²¹ Extract from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, January 18, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, p 28.

In February of 1764, Three emissaries came to Fort Johnson “to acquaint Sir William that there were near from them parts on their way hither, and begged he would send one of his officers to provide provisions from them at Cherry Valley and [Frey’s] place.” 300 Indians from Otseningo and several other villages on the River Susquehanna had arrived at Cherry Valley on their way to Johnstown. John Butler arranged for and escorted three wagons of supplies and a wagon of Indian truck to Cherry Valley, a shipment valued at 103 pounds. Hendrick Frey, an officer in the Indian Department, agreed to distribute the supplies after Butler acquired the goods and brought them to Frey’s. Captain John Butler stopped at every tavern on the road to Cherry Valley and gave the order that no liquor was to be sold to the Indians. Thus supplied, 270 of the Indians returned with Butler Johnstown, where they intended to make peace with Sir William.²²

The meeting was supposed to include only sachems representing a tribe or village. The 270 Indians that insisted that they fit this criteria. It was a larger group than Johnson wanted to deal with, but it was a truism that the Indian officers were forever trying to exclude whole families from Indian conferences and that large numbers of warriors simply felt entitled to be present at any large gathering. Nanticokes, Onondagas, Cayugas and Mohicans were some of the largest groups living along the Susquehanna, but there were large numbers of refugees and polyglot bands of Indians created by war. John Butler translated as best he could but needed the help of two Canajoharies, some Oghquagoes, and Scholharies for the many dialects that this group spoke.²³

²² Extracts from the Account Book of John Butler 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 506; Extract from Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs ,February 6, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 45 and 58; Extracts from the Account Book of John Butler *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 507.

²³ Extract from Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs, February 16, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 58.

The same day, February 6, 1764, Sir William sent Captain Butler to Canajoharie with clothing for the women and children, and elderly. Butler was also to deliver powder, ball, flints, paint and deer skins at Canajoharie for the use of the warriors of that castle, expected to join the Indian Department as warriors for the English.²⁴ The expense on “powder and sundries” recorded by John seems very low at 1 pound 10 shillings, but it may have not been for a large group. These may have been warriors John Butler was personally outfitting as his own war party for the upcoming campaign.²⁵

Butler recorded a few more expenses in the coming month that would seem to indicate he was outfitting a war party. A sled of supplies, a gun for a Canajoharie warrior, and the cost of express messages sent to Canajoharie and the cost of a message to the German Flatts forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians all indicate preparations. On May 4 Butler wrote: “To traders at my house for a party of Mohawks a going to war -- John's party... 1 pound ten shillings [1 10 0]”²⁶ In May a daughter, Debora, was Baptized. Her sponsors were Pieter and Rebecca Coneyn (Coine.)²⁷

By May 1764, Johnson was beginning to assemble a large Indian force to accompany John Bradstreet’s effort to relieve Detroit and retake the Great Lakes forts. Bradstreet’s orders were to force peace on the remaining Indians through violence. John Butler handled the logistics of the large Indian force. He showed arriving warriors where to camp and

²⁴ Extract from Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs, March 6, 1764 *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 106-107.

²⁵ Extracts from the Account Book of John Butler 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13 Vol 13, p 508; Extract from Sir William Johnson’s Journal of Indian Affairs, March 9, Hall9 March 1764 *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 108.

²⁶ Extracts from the Account Book of John Butler 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 508-509.

²⁷ Extract from the record of the Dutch Reformed Church, May 12, 1764 in *John Butler Papers* Vol 1, 109

provided victuals. He tried to turn women and families away, tried to limit access to alcohol, and endeavored to keep Indian and European soldiers separate from one another. Managing an Indian encampment was an important, but thankless task. On May 30, Johnson ordered John Butler to finish assembling Bradstreet's Indian contingent and prepare to bring them to Oswego.²⁸

On June 14, John Butler went ahead to Oswego to prepare for the arrival of the warriors that had been assembled at Johnstown. Butler needed to make sure that there was a site a suitable distance away from the Fort and European soldiers, and that a shipment of clothes was ready to distribute to the warriors who were in need. Once the ground had been prepared for the warriors, Butler met Johnson just above the big falls portage on the Oswego River. 50 boats full of warriors beached and carried their craft around the falls where Butler helped manage the orderly portage of men, supplies, and boats.²⁹

From Oswego, the Indian force travelled to Niagara. Bradstreet's expedition stalled while Johnson organized a massive Indian conference there. One of the goals of the conference was to ensure safe passage of Bradstreet's army past the Niagara portage, the site of a massacre the previous spring of an English column on its way to Detroit. William Johnson and Captain Butler, in conjunction with the Fort's commander, hosted a massive treaty conference and handed out gifts and supplies to dozens of tribes and bands arriving at Niagara to pledge peace. Bradstreet's campaign floundered from the moment they left Niagara. It's not likely that Butler went on the expedition in the same capacity as he had with

²⁸ Extracts from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, May 28, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 206; Sir William Johnson to Captain John Butler, May 30, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 13, 327-328.

²⁹ Extracts from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, May 28, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, pages 237 and 253; Falls described in *An Impartial Account of John Bradstreet's ...*

Bradstreet in 1755 and 1758. Given the dismal outcome of Bradstreet's campaign after he left Niagara and the wide spread criticism of Bradstreet's leadership afterwards, it seems unlikely that Butler had stayed with the army after it departed from Niagara given his absence from the record of the campaign or the recriminations that followed.³⁰

On November 6, just two days after John Bradstreet and a small portion of his remaining army reached Niagara, a report from Hendrick Frey and John Butler to Sir William Johnson placed them "six miles up Canosorago Creek," which is on the south shore of Oneida Lake. The report indicated that they had sent previous messages from that location and that they were mixing Indian diplomacy with buying Ginseng. Indian diplomacy often meant providing a market for Indian trade goods. While furs constituted the bulk of their trade, a "ginseng craze" had recently increased demand in Europe and had caused a rush to buy the root from Indian peoples who collected it. The root provided a temporary alternative to gathering furs. Butler and Frey had collected 26 barrels of Ginseng since the last time they written to Johnson, indicating that they had been at it for a while. "The Onondagas," they reported "have still absconded themselves, and only a few have been here. We hear they have gone down in order to sell their roots to the widow Maginnis, who we hear is at Cases', buying roots for rum, &c. And also at the Flatts. If they, or any, have that liberty we are surely in a disadvantage to those." Competition with German traders was aggravating the Indian officers.³¹

³⁰ Nestor, *Haughty Conqueror*, 206-220 Jon William Parmenter, "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766" *Ethnohistory* Vol. 44, No. 4 (Autumn, 1997)

³¹ Captains Hendrick Frey and John Butler to Sir William Johnson, November 6, 1764, *Johnson Papers* Vol 11, 398.

Pontiac's Rebellion had caused a horrendous amount of bloodshed on the frontier. It was another in a long series of events which shaped American opinions of Native Americans. Stories of murder and abduction reinforced a profound hatred of Indians. Violence between settlers and Indians didn't conclude with a peace treaty in 1764, despite efforts by the Indian Department to enforce peace. Increasingly the Indian Department was seen as an institution which favored Indians over settlers. The Indian Department tried to investigate Indian murders and moved European settlers off of Indian lands, both unpopular undertakings. John Butler was personally responsible for removing several families. In addition, department officers John Butler, George Croghan, and William Johnson acquired large amounts of land through exclusive access to Iroquois diplomacy. In addition they limited the ownership of land on the frontier by orchestrating the Proclamation of 1763, by which the Crown prohibited settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. Economic and political entitlements claimed by core officers of the Indian Department caused jealousy from competitors, but their association with Indians was a source of animosity from rich and poor alike that stemmed from ethnic hatred.³²

Pontiac's Rebellion set the stage for a decade of increasing discontent with English frontier policy. Resentment between frontier communities, Indian tribes, and the Indian Department remained strong during the ten years between Pontiac's War and the Revolution. The provisions of the Proclamation of 1763, limiting all white settlement to east of Appalachia, and an Indian policy that promised real partnership were huge promises made to Indian peoples but unsustainable against colonial demographic pressure. Indian peoples

³² Extract from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, March, 14 1767, *Johnson Papers*, Vol 12, 288

looked to the British Indian Department to keep promises respecting Indian territorial claims, claims which the Department was helpless to enforce with very small exceptions. John Butler did evict settlers from Indian land as part of his service for the Indian Department, but the single recorded circumstance of this happening is unique considering the thousands of people that poured into borderlands without permission or title. Furthermore many speculators already had title to western lands.³³

Far from halting western settlement, Indian department officers used their access to secure Indian lands for their own profit and did not so much seek to halt settlement as much as take control of it. Investors and would be American lords often wrote Sir William in the years afterwards to ask for his help in obtaining land and ministers were always ready to support new warrants in exchange for portions of land. This caused the enmity of impoverished frontier settlers and elite colonial land speculators alike as well as the mistrust of many Indian people. William Johnson used the Indian Department to achieve control over Indian deeds, making him important to ministers in England and New York elite alike taking an interest in American real estate on the frontier, big unbroken blocks of it could only be inherited, bought at great cost, or carved out of Indian land.³⁴

The Indian Department was not simply a diplomatic entity. As an Imperial catalyst, the department formed the locus of a power elite that found much success in shaping the immediate frontier to their benefit. The Butlers were part of a core of men who controlled Indian Department offices, who held rank in the local militias, and who were land owners

³³ Extracts from Sir William Johnson's Journal of Indian Affairs, March 14, 1767, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 288

³⁴ Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking The Backcountry: Seven Years War In Virginia And Pennsylvania 1754-1765* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003); Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences*; Sir William Johnson to Robert Leake, October 6, 1766, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, p 205

with large tenant bases. They were connected through their religious congregations and by a secret society, the Masons. They were part of an oligarchical hierarchy which ruled the Mohawk Valley in despotic fashion under the constant leadership of Sir William Johnson. As an old and trusted member of Sir William's inner circle, John Butler would see his fortunes reach heights second only to Sir William himself. Butlersbury grew to encompass nearly 3,500 acres and John Butler's wealth was second only to the one created by Sir William Johnson.³⁵

³⁵ Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson's Official Family*, 168; Smy, "Butlers before the Revolution", 39

Chapter Nine: John Butler and The Creation of Tryon County 1765-1775

The creation of Tryon County was an important milestone in the creation of John Butler's power among the Mohawk Valley's imperial elite. Tryon County was established in March of 1772 by a provincial bill that separated the western regions of Albany County from Albany and created a new governmental base in Johnstown about 50 miles west of the Hudson River. The eastern border of Tryon ran from the boundary with Pennsylvania northeast along the Mohawk branch of the Delaware River, west from the Schoharie Valley, through the Mohawk Valley at (the now extinct) "Johnson's Village," then all the way to the Canadian border at a slight north western direction. Johnson's Village (Amsterdam, NY) was the location of a Sir William Johnson's "Fort Johnson" estate and Guy Park, an estate built by Sir William's nephew, Guy Johnson. Lake George and the chain of forts leading to it from Albany marked an eastern boundary with Charlotte County which had been created at the same time and included the disputed Hampshire Grants (Vermont). The Western boundary was the boundary set with the Six Nations by a treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768. Tryon County was divided into five large districts, the Mohawk District, the Stone Arabia District, the Canajoharie District, the German Flatts District, and the Kingsland District. These districts essentially were centered on watershed units that all connected to the Mohawk River Valley.

1

Tryon County had been a project that was first introduced to the legislature in 1769 and promoted energetically by Sir William Johnson and his allies. Sir William arranged the location of the county seat and boundaries with Hugh Wallace, a member of the New York

¹ Chapter 1534: An Act to divide the County of Albany into three Counties, *The colonial laws of New York from the year 1664 to the Revolution* Vol 5, (New York State, 1894), 819

Council; Sir William's close friend, Goldsbrow Banyar, deputy secretary to the colony; and Philip Schuyler, Albany County Assembly Representative. John Butler was one of 152 influential New Yorkers who petitioned the legislature to create the new county. Tryon County was an administrative tool that from 1772 to 1775, allowed Johnson and his associates to solidify magisterial power in the region.²

A new courthouse and jail at Johnstown, and local administrators such as judges, sheriffs and coroners was intended to transform a frontier region into an ordered British county. Civil suits and basic business concerning the provincial government would be easier to conduct at Johnstown for those far from Albany and also easier to control by the Indian Department associates. Tryon County allowed Johnson's associates new tools and powers in curbing the independence of settlers and limiting the Jurisdiction of provincial elites in Albany and New York. New tools for maintaining law and order would also reduce crime and a sense of lawlessness, giving the new jurisdiction legitimacy. Qualified electors would be drawn from a pool much more aligned with local elites instead of having to compete with those in Albany and the Hudson River Valley.³

The new county seat was Johnstown, a town entirely contrived and controlled by Sir William Johnson. Sir William built the new county courthouse and jail, and presided over the establishment of officers for the county. A surviving June election return for one of the five districts not only demonstrates Sir William's complete control over the electoral process, but

² "Fulton County Courthouse", The Historical Society of the Courts of New York; Guy Johnson to Sir William Johnson, November 28, 1771, *Johnson Papers* Vol 8, 330-335

³ Chapter 1534: An Act to divide the County of Albany into three Counties, *The colonial laws of New York from the year 1664 to the Revolution* Vol 5, (New York State, 1894), 819

demonstrates intimate patronage relationships among the few freeholders allowed to vote and those elected, or in this case selected, for office.⁴

As one of Sir William's most trusted Lieutenants, John Butler was involved in the highest levels of this exercise in Imperial government. John Butler had acted as Justice of Peace several times in the past for the county of Albany.⁵ On Sept 8, 1772, he presided over the first convening of the Court of General sessions for the newly created Tryon County in a building that was nearing completion only five months after Sir William had personally seen to its commencement. Butler had been selected over New York's Governor, James DeLancy's choice for Justice, John Lyne, because Lyne did not live within the borders of the newly created Tryon.⁶ Next to Butler sat Guy Johnson and Pieter Coneyn.⁷ Guy Johnson was Sir William's nephew and son-in-law, the heir apparent to the Indian Department. Pieter Coneyn was a prominent community member who had known John for most of his adult life. Pieter investigated a murder with John close at Fort Hunter almost thirty years earlier. Pieter and his wife were god parents to John's child Rebecca and were communicants at the Dutch Reformed Church with the Butlers. John Butler had already acted as Justice of the Peace alongside Pieter Coneyn for the Mohawk District from 1769.⁸ Another piece of evidence proving the close connections between those who created Tryon County was the honor given

⁴ John C. Guzzardo, "Democracy Along the Mohawk: An Election Return, 1773", *New York History*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (January 1976), 30-52

⁵ Justices of the Peace for Albany, February, 1770, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 783

⁶ John Lyne to Sir William Johnson, March 26, 1772, *Johnson Papers* Vol 8, 432; William Johnson to Hugh Wallace, March 30, 1772, *Johnson Papers* Vol.8, 436-437

⁷ Theresa Bannon, *Pioneer Irish of Onondaga (about 1776-1847)*, (G.P. Putnam & sons, 1911); *The History of Montgomery County and Fulton Counties, N.Y.* (F.W. Beers & Co., 1878)

⁸ Lists for Justices of the Peace, December 22, 1769, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 768-769; *The History of Montgomery County and Fulton Counties, N.Y.*, 141; Extract from the records of the Dutch Reformed Church, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 1, 107

to each other through the naming of children. John Butler named a son William Johnson Butler, an honor that was reciprocated when William Johnson named one of his sons by Molly Brant, Walter Butler Johnson.⁹

The creation of Tryon County was marked by a visit by Governor William Tryon himself along with many of New York's leading figures. The County's three militia regiments, The Mohawk, the Canajoharie, and the Palatine, were controlled directly from Johnson Hall instead of Albany and officered by men more often than not connected with the webs of patronage extending from those most intimate with Sir William. Governor Tryon, in his tour of the Mohawk Valley in 1772, reviewed separately the three regiments of Tryon County militia at Johnstown, Burnetsfield and German Flats, respectively, numbering in all 1,400 men. John Butler served as Lt Colonel in the Mohawk Regiment, an area which drew men "from the West bounds of Schenectady to Anthony's Nose, comprehending all the Patented Lands North of the Mohawk River within that bounds and South to Normands Kill and Schoharie Settlements." Jelles Fonda, Butler's oft companion and fellow Indian Department captain, was the regiment's major. John Butler's eldest son Walter was an ensign in the regiment¹⁰

In December of 1772, commitment to the imperial project was solicited in the form of an oath of allegiance to the crown and the Protestant succession. Most of the leading men of Tryon County signed the oath, , although Sir William's signature is noticeably absent, given that he was the most powerful man in the county. The document provides a comprehensive listing of most of the influential men of the county and marks the last time

⁹ The family of John and Catherine Butler, *John Butler Papers* Vol.1, 125-126

¹⁰ Extract from the Militia Records of the Mohawk Valley, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 1, 115

men of republican and imperial leanings were able to find common ground enough to produce such a document.¹¹

The establishment of a Masonic Lodge was an additional institution in the Mohawk Valley that allowed British American elites to strengthen their ties with each other. Sir William Johnson brought the Masonic tradition to the Mohawk Valley in 1763. The lodge was one of the earliest in New York. Johnson wanted to create a core of “learned men of ability and consequence,” at the center his project at Johnstown. John Butler was made secretary of the newly established St. Patricks’ lodge.¹² William Johnson’s two son in laws, Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, were named as Senior Warden and Junior Warden respectively. The Lodge founders held wealth in the form of land and tenant farms, were civil magistrates, and were officers in the militias, the British army, or the Indian Department. The Lodge would not only bind men of the Mohawk Valley together but allow them to interact with leading men from other Lodges at Albany or New York. This would help them direct the development of frontier communities into towns and cities. John Butler helped preside over an institution created deliberately to shape the development of the American frontier using British institutions.¹³

John Butler had continued as an officer from 1764 to 1774 in the Indian Department. In 1765 he had led a Mohawk delegation to Oneida to perform a condolence ceremony that included Gawake, the Oneida/ Oswegatchie warrior who John and Thomas had met with

¹¹ Nelson Greene ed., *History of the Mohawk Valley: Gateway to the West 1614-1925* Vol. I, (The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1925) 691

¹² Extract from the First Charter of St. Patrick’s Lodge, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 1, 114

¹³ “Minutes of St. Patrick’s Lodge, St. Patrick’s Archives, Johnstown, New York” in Guzzardo, *Sir William Johnson’s Official Family*, 234

during the winter of 1756. The delegation ended up including only two Canajoharie Mohawk who were the only ones sober enough to travel. A frustrated Butler wrote “We waited until the 5th day, but finding they got rum so plenty, we proceeded in our journey with two of that Castle who were the only sober ones at that time, and who expressed their dissatisfaction at the state of the rest.”¹⁴ In 1767 Butler and Hendrick Frey evicted some settlers from Indian land,¹⁵ In January of 1768, Butler helped manage the arrival of representatives of the Six Nations at Johnson Hall to make peace with Cherokee leaders who had travelled there for that purpose.¹⁶ In general however, from 1764 to 1767, The Indian Department had little power to conduct Indian policy. The recommendations for an imperially funded Indian Department, which would oversee land purchase, settlement, and trade were never implemented. With the emergency of Pontiac’s War over, ministers in London ignored requests for financial support from the Indian Department and neglected the military posts to the West.¹⁷ John Butler continued to be an agent of the Indian Department but he was not involved in far flung adventures to the west. George Croghan, the Indian Department deputy whose speculative activities rivaled even Johnson’s, easily eclipses Butler in the historical record, but Butler’s immediate proximity to Johnstown would naturally have cut down on written correspondence that appears in the Johnson Papers, reducing his visibility in the

¹⁴ Extract from Sir William Johnson’s journal of Indian Affairs, July 9, 1766, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 288

¹⁵ Extract from Sir William Johnson’s journal of Indian Affairs, July 9, 1766, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 288

¹⁶ Extract from Sir William Johnson’s journal of Indian Affairs, July 9, 1766, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 452

¹⁷ Peter Marshall “Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768” *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct., 1967), 149-179; Ray A. Billington “The *Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768*” *New York History*, 25: 1974, 182–194

remaining historical record. In 1768 however, John Butler was heavily involved with the land deals that culminated with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix at the end of that year, appearing regularly at Indian conferences as interpreter and provider of logistical support.

The Indian Department, even as it was losing the prerogatives it had gained during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's War, suddenly found its negotiation services much in demand. Johnson had used the Indian department as a clearing house for Indian land, but had not been able to complete the final step of creating title. Many of his patents remained unconfirmed, which was not only an inconvenience to him but to the many investors who were stalled in their ambitions. Although warrants and Indian deeds had been obtained by Johnson and his agents for hundreds of thousands if not millions of acres, the properties had not gone through the final step of being approved by the New York assembly, which had consistently contested the Governor's prerogative over land titles since the abuses of the 1730s. The assembly simply sat on many of the patents without taking final action for a variety of reasons. There was a tangle of competing Indian deeds, some generations old and involving the most powerful families in the colonies. The boundaries of many of these patents lay outside the Proclamation Line of 1763. Moreover, Indians still lived east of the proclamation line, and disputed claims that were generations old.¹⁸

In order to help clear titles, Johnson had to establish the boundaries of Indian lands and specifically in New York, convince tribes to sign off on old patents so that competing Indian deeds could be reconciled among English litigants. To that purpose John Butler helped Guy Johnson and Sir William Johnson organize meetings among the Mohawk in June and

¹⁸ Peter Marshall "Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768" *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct., 1967), 149-179

July; and arranged for a much larger congress with all the impacted tribes later that year at Fort Stanwix.¹⁹

The summer meetings were brutal for the Canajoharie Mohawk. They gave up hundreds of thousands of acres of lands in a series of meetings intended to clear the title to a large piece of territory called the Kayaderrosseras patent. The large area in question lay north of the Mohawk River and constituted Mohawk hunting territory. It had initially been patented during Queen Anne's reign but because of the French threat to the region, had remained undeveloped. For generations the Mohawk had zealously defended the region against squatters and defended their claim to those lands. The conferences in the summer of 1768 did not adjudicate the validity of the deeds, no matter how weak, to the frustration of the Mohawk, who insisted that the Indian deeds of which the patent was based were pure fiction. This argument was a well-established one that had been used for generations, stalling development of those territories. Unfortunately for the Mohawk, in 1768, with the French threat gone and frontier land selling at a premium, the Mohawk faced the inevitable loss of this territory. These conferences were heavy handed and it is no wonder that historians have accused Sir William of selling out his Indian charges and even his closest allies among the Mohawk. William Johnson and John Butler made the argument to the Canajoharie Mohawk that making a final deal through them would give the Mohawk the best possible deal, no alternative to the inevitable sale of the territory being available. This was always John Butler's best argument during the many land negotiations throughout his life. John Butler

¹⁹ Marshal, "Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768" 170

was rewarded for his efforts during the negotiations with 1050 acres of the former Mohawk territory.²⁰

A heavy hand was also applied to George Klock, a rum seller who had been a particular thorn for William Johnson and John Butler for many years. Klock had managed to obtain Indian deeds from the Canajoharie and had complicated the clearing of titles by producing his own competing Indian deeds. Sir Henry Moore, governor of New York, had attended the Mohawk conference in the hopes of speeding along the process of clearing titles (in which he had an interest, he bought a 40,000 acres portion of an Indian deed that week.) Moore demanded Klock sign a release invalidating his claims to Canajoharie lands. Klock refused. John Butler then testified against Klock confirming that he had made the “pretended purchase” through a group of young men who had no authority to sign deeds and that Klock had created a considerable disturbance among the Canajoharie. Klock balked, “made use of every rude expression to the speaker of the Indians,” and refused to sign a release.²¹

John Butler’s services as interpreter were invaluable during negotiations. While much can be learned through the public records of conferences, much went on behind closed doors. Often details were worked out in private before they were suggested publically, so that the outcomes would not cause sudden offense or embarrassment. Very few men could speak Iroquois dialects effectively. Fewer still were additionally knowledgeable in Iroquois diplomatic etiquette. Butler delivered messages and proposals from men who did not

²⁰ Extract from the minutes of an Indian Council, May 19, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 504; Extract from the minutes of an Indian Council, June 8, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 529-530; Extract from the minutes of an Indian Council, July 10-16, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 548; Extract from the minutes of an Indian Council, August 4, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 578; Memorial of Lt. Colonel John Butler, March 1785-August 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 3-11

²¹ Extract from the minutes of an Indian Council, June 10, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 540; Marshal, “Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768” 170

understand either. He was a valuable mediator that could be used by both parties in private. John Butler as interpreter allowed conferences to run smoothly by keeping misunderstandings and conflict to a minimum.²²

For example, during negotiations with the Mohawk in June, John Butler translated a proposal from Sir Henry Moore to Mohawk leaders who had withdrawn to consult on an answer to an attorney who was negotiating on behalf of some patent holders who were claiming 250,000 acres of Mohawk territory. Moore had been looking at the map of the patent and wanted to change one of the boundary markers to include land he knew he could find immediate buyers for. John Butler relayed the message which the Mohawk declined. Guy Johnson had already made the same proposal earlier and it had already been rejected, “for very sensible reasons.” Despite the unfavorable light which having a proposal they had just rejected be made a second time, Butler faithfully communicated the Governor’s desire. Interpreting could be a thankless job. Moore blamed Butler for the failure of his proposal, a charge that Johnson rejected writing, “I cannot help expressing my concern for the unjust suspicions you expressed at my house before several persons, at New York and now in your letter concerning the honesty of my officers, which notwithstanding any insinuations to the contrary, will appear unimpeachable. I am persuaded that Mr. Butler acted as a faithful interpreter; he is a sworn officer of my department, a man of a very fair character, and of as much integrity as any person at New York.”²³

The massive negotiations at Fort Stanwix that fall made the concessions made by the Mohawk earlier that year look miniscule. The Mohawk had acquiesced, seeing no other

²² Sir William Johnson to Henry Moore, September 20, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 6, 398-401.

²³ Sir William Johnson to Henry Moore, September 20, 1768, *Johnson Papers* Vol 6, 398-401.

alternative and now they exerted their influence over many other tribes to sign off on similar concessions. Over three thousand Indians at Fort Stanwix negotiated tribe by tribe to establish a new settlement line. Huge acreages were cleared for speculators as Johnson plied the sachems with gifts and presents: twenty boatloads of material goods that were piled high for all to see and many cash payments were made to individual sachems.²⁴ Historian James Merrill described the massive land grab as one the largest example of the British Empire's territorial imperative to acquire land during the colonial period.²⁵

John Butler's eldest son, Walter Butler, went to study Law at the practice of Peter Silvester in Albany in 1770. Peter Silvester had established a law practice in Albany sometime after 1764 and had taken on Sir William Johnson as a major client. He served the Albany government as a clerk and sometimes represented the city.²⁶ Walter Butler studied alongside Peter Van Schaak, younger brother of Peter Silvester's wife Jane Van Schaak and of Henry Van Schaak, an officer who must have frequently crossed paths with John Butler as he had served in some of the same campaigns during the Seven Years war. The Van Schaaks were also close associates of William Johnson.²⁷ By 1773 Walter Butler was practicing law in the valley.²⁸

²⁴ Marshall, "William Johnson and the treaty of Fort Stanwix", 149-179

²⁵ James H. Merrill, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (W.W. Norton, 1999) 281

²⁶ Peyton Farrell Miller, *A Group of Great Lawyers of Columbia County, New York* (Priv. print., 1904) 55-57

²⁷ Howard Swiggett, *War out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (I. J. Friedman, 1963) 25

²⁸ Plea of Gilbert Tice, June 10, 1773, *Johnson Papers* Vol 12, 1025-26

The few remaining letters concerning this period of Walter's career primarily concern land ownership and tenancy. Fights over property provided one the greatest underlying tensions on the New York frontier leading to the American Revolution. Uncertainty about clear titles and tenants' rights precipitated many disturbances on the frontier in the years preceding the Revolution. Tenant revolt in the Hudson Valley and widespread revolt in the Hampshire Grants/Charlotte County, and a backcountry war in the Wyoming Valley were all dramatic manifestations of tension over land. Evictions, debtor prisons, rising land prices, and restrictions against settlement in Indian Territory caused a kind of irreconcilable kind of resentment that fueled factionalism and discord. Lawyers in New York not only had plenty of work, but were largely engaged in defending their own interests. Mark Irving, historian of New York's real estate conditions, wrote "...Of the one hundred and thirty- seven governors, councilors, assemblymen, judges, and lawyers from about 1750 to 1776, one hundred and ten, eighty per cent, were large landholders, or related to such families." Walter was immersed in the intense competitions over land and power which characterized growing political instability on the frontier among Europeans. Walter Butler was not just training to be a lawyer as a career, but to help defend the estate his grandfather, uncles, and father had built. In 1773, Walter had a confrontation with James DeLancy, son of the former Lieutenant governor, over land.²⁹

The heir of the powerful Delancey Faction, James DeLancey, maintained far flung and massive colonial estates and wielded significant political power. The Tiontodalogo purchase made by the first Walter Butler had preempted the claim belonging to DeLancey's

²⁹Mark Irving "Agrarian Revolt in Colonial New York, 1766" *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Jan., 1942), 111-142 ; Swiggert, *War out of Niagara*, 37-38.

father and partners, their Indian deed burnt by William Cosby. The grievance remained for generations; as had a copy of the rival deed. Young Walter was described as arrogant and truculent when dealing with DeLancey, one of the single most powerful people in New York at the time. Walter is often described as arrogant.³⁰ Whether he was arrogant or not doesn't matter as much as the fact that he was openly hostile with DeLancey in the historical record.

31

Walter Butler waded into the rough world of colonial real estate, ready to defend his family's estate and create his own. The lack of clarity when it came to clear titles or consistent tenancy agreements on the frontier was a source of constant anxiety for New Yorkers. Conflicting deeds such as the ones that made adversaries out of the Delanceys and Butlers sometimes engulfed entire communities, as in the Wyoming Valley, or entire regions as Vermont, where a rebellion had already been brewing since 1772 when New York invalidated grants and sales that had gone through New Hampshire. Not only did the uncertainty of frontier deeds result in economic tragedy for many, it was constitutionally questionable and morally upsetting. Elites: lawyers, governors, councilors, assemblymen, and judges competed with one another intensely, but small land holders and would-be yeoman were almost completely shut out from the executive, legal, or legislative processes that were vital in securing land. This had caused massive resentment among the Palatine community, led often enough led to violence from frustrated tenant farmers, had helped focus Whig or Republican sentiment among New Englanders who found themselves impacted by aggressive

³⁰ The charge of arrogance seems to just come out of thin air at times but it happens so often to Walter Butler. I see no particular reason to doubt it but don't see much evidence of it in the record either. He was turned into a fictional caricature which may have a lot to do with why modern historians describe him in this way.

³¹ Swiggertt, *War out of Niagara*, 37-38.

New Yorkers, and certainly foreshadowed the revolutionary fervor on the frontier. Lawyers handling land disputes were at the center of much of the discontent that preceded the Revolution. A young Lawyer in Albany would have certainly come into direct contact with many of the forces that contributed to the Revolution in the early 1770s, especially the heir to a huge estate.³² Walter Butler continued to develop his law practice up until the very eve of the revolution. The last record of his short legal career describes an effort to establish a local organization of lawyers to set fees and make regulations for the Mohawk Valley, a meeting with Christopher P. Yates and Bryan Lafferty at Veeder's, an Inn near Cauhgnawaga on 23rd of January, 1775.³³

Thomas Gage had predicted that the Treaty of Fort Stanwix would produce peace for about as long as the Indians still had the gifts from the treaty and the new boundary line of course was a disaster for Indians in the Ohio Valley. The British couldn't have stopped white settlement before 1768 because there were no troops, no enforcement mechanism to keep them out. Deeds could not be formalized but squatters, pioneers, and traders didn't rely on deeds. After the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, large patent holders were able to pursue ambitions with deeds in hand. English ministers had turned the disposal of Indian Lands back over to individual colonies, taking that power away from the Indian Department. These conditions created intolerable circumstances for the tribes in the Ohio Valley.³⁴

³² Irving, "Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775" (Columbia University Press, 1940) 50-74; Willard Sterne Randall *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times* (W.W. Norton, 2011) 229-237

³³ Swiggertt, *War out of Niagara*, 39

³⁴ Peter Marshall "Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768" *Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Oct., 1967), 149-179

In 1774 the Indian Department was attempting to stave off an intensification of ethnic violence in the Ohio Valley which threatened to pull the Iroquois into a general frontier war. Colonists poured into the Ohio Valley following the treaty of Fort Stanwix and aggressively evicted, robbed, and murdered the Indians they found living there. From Scioto to Kentucky, Indian peoples were dragged into a cycle of violence which continuously threatened to turn into a full-fledged war from 1768 to 1774. Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, encouraged the violence. Dunmore in particular had high hopes of making extensive profits from the acquisition of vast new swaths of Indian Territory. Dunmore was preparing to use the violence as an excuse for a more general war against the Indians. In 1774, Micheal Creasp, a Virginian Captain hoping to mend a flagging fortune, provided the excuse he was looking for. Creasp murdered the whole family of a Cayuga Chief, Logan, and inspired frontiersmen to continue the slaughter. Among the murdered were several prominent Iroquois and their relatives, including the Seneca chief Silver Heels, a regular companion of both Thomas and John Butler during the French and Indian War. Now anticipation the inevitable retribution that must come following such a series of murders, Dunmore activated Virginia's frontier militia and sent them into the Ohio Country.³⁵

Confusion, chaos, and anarchy characterized the frontier in 1774. Frontiersmen, often frustrated by their own military incompetence, held the British military, barely strong enough to man isolated posts, in bitter contempt. The Indian Department, trying to prevent a general war, was suspected of siding with Indians against frontiersmen. Frontier post commanders and Indian Department officials looked on Dunmore's provocations as idiocy which only

³⁵ Jack M. Sosin, "The British Indian Department and Dunmore's War" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 74, No. 1, Part One (Jan., 1966), 34-50

served to unite Indian factions. Indian leaders wavered between trying to make peaceful accommodation and the desire for revenge. Many warriors, especially young men who saw no future, desired to die warrior's deaths rather than watch their communities waste away. Colonial militias from competing colonies confronted each other over land. Colonial legislatures, alarmed at the extent of the land jobbing taking place, would not support the frontiersmen, leading to further animus. In short, Dunmore's War was not as much a traditional war as much as it was the creation of violent chaos and anarchy.³⁶

Six hundred Iroquois converged on Johnson Hall in 1774, looking to the Indian Department for some kind of solution to the violence which was destroying their villages and neighbors. The Iroquois were dangerously close to joining the coalition of Mingo and Shawnee warriors in the Ohio Valley who were already fighting with American frontiersmen. Many of their younger warriors had already gone to war. John Butler welcomed the Iroquois to Johnson Hall in his role as deputy and interpreter. Sir William Johnson himself was extremely ill and relied heavily on his deputies as the conference got underway. William Johnson gave an impassioned speech on July 11, 1774, in which he asked the Seneca to allow him to pursue diplomatic means of curbing the violence which griped the frontier. When Sir William finished speaking he retired to his sitting room where he passed away. Guy Johnson, Sir William's son in law, nephew, and deputy for many years, inherited the mantle of Indian affairs.³⁷

³⁶ Jack M. Sosin *The British Indian Department and Dunmore's War* *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 74, No. 1, Part One (Jan., 1966), pp. 34-50

³⁷ Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Dartmouth, April 17th, 1774, DRCHNY Vol 8, 439; Lt. Gov. Colden to the Earl of Dartmouth, August 2, 1774, DRCHNY Vol. 8, 485; Flexnor, *Mohawk Baronet*, 346-347

John Butler and his son Walter Butler were both in attendance at Guy Johnson's first Indian Congress on September 15th, 1774 with chiefs and warriors of the six nations. A private meeting preceded the public gathering where many of the sachems the Indian Department officers had known for years offered their condolences and related instances of particular friendship between themselves and Sir William. The next day the public meetings began. John and Walter Butler watched as wampum belts, representations of the agreements forged over the years were displayed by Iroquois speakers. The Covenant Chain belt, twenty-one rows thick, was displayed first. Then a fourteen row belt that represented the friendship of the Indian Department. Then smaller belts that recognized relationships with individuals. A belt of six rows recognized John Butler and desired that his service be continued. The conference continued with news from the Delaware and from Indian agents Alexander McKee and George Croghan who were both posted in the Ohio Valley. The Shawnee had grudgingly agreed to allow the Iroquois to negotiate on their behalf, even while they continued to recruit warriors from other tribes. Guy Johnson assured the Iroquois they were making the right choice in staying out of the fighting to the south and told them that going to war would endanger everything they had. He promised to keep John Butler on and to supply them with supplies needed for hunting. The succession of the Indian Department's leadership thus confirmed, and the promises to remain out of the war secured, the conference came to close. No solution to the problem of the tribes already at war was reached.³⁸

John Butler served twice more as interpreter for councils that winter at Guy Park. In December, the Iroquois agreed to send one more message to the tribes in the South asking them

³⁸ Proceedings of Colonel Guy Johnson with the Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations held at Johnstown in September 1774, 497-506

to cease hostilities with the frontiersmen. It was clear however that the Iroquois had little influence over other tribes in 1774. Equally clear was the fact that the Indian Department had no influence over the frontiersmen. The Iroquois asked that he remind the king of the great cessions they had made at Fort Stanwix, and that while they would turn away from the war in the South, they were prepared to call upon the tribes in Canada should white encroachment reach their territory.³⁹

The February conference was much the same, neither the Iroquois nor the Indian Department could do anything but relay messages and confirm their friendship to one another. These were to be the last Indian conference at Guy Park.⁴⁰

³⁹ Proceedings of a Congress held with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations at Guy Park, December 1 1774, DRCHNY Vol. 8, 518-524

⁴⁰ Proceedings of a Congress with the Chiefs and Warriors of the Cayugas and several Chiefs of the Six Nations Confederacy held at Guy Park Feb 7, 1775 DRCHNYS, 556

Chapter Ten: The Butlers and the End of the First British Empire: 1775-1776

On March 16th, 1775, a grand Jury of Tryon County judges and lawyers which included John and Walter Butler, gathered at Johnstown courthouse during the quarter session to discuss the riots at Boston and to demand that the people gathered there for court business sign a declaration of loyalty and condemnation of the “Bostonians,” to be published in New York. John and Walter Butler were foremost among the signers. Signers affirmed their loyalty to King George and their faith in the British Constitution, a more provocative act in 1775 than it had been in 1772, given the growth of republican fervour and organized political opposition to Parliament in the intervening years.¹ In early 1775, John Butler had already firmly refused an invitation by James Duane, an Anglo-Irishmen who also owned a substantial estate in the Mohawk Valley near Schenectady, to join the newly formed Continental Congress. The heavy-handed demand for an oath immediately provoked the local committees of safety and correspondence which had formed over the winter. They condemned the petition and immediately organized a response. Thirteen days later, 300 Mohawk Valley ‘Whigs’ gathered at the Caughnawaga tavern, Veeders, to deliberate and to raise a liberty pole. Guy Johnson, John Johnson, John Butler, and a large number of their followers, armed with pistols, clubs, and knives, interrupted the proceedings. Guy Johnson is said to have harangued the crowd in such an abusive manner that he inspired the brawl that subsequently broke out. The combatants separated without anyone being killed, but bruised and angry men on both sides anticipated more grievous violence to come. The Revolution had started in the Mohawk Valley.²

¹ Declaration of the Grand-Jury and Magistrates, Etc. at the Court of Quarter-Sessions, at Johnstown, Tryon County, New-York, March 16, 1775; New York, *Rivington's New York Gazetteer*, 6 April, 1775

² Memorial of Lt. Colonel John Butler, March 1785-August 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 3-11;

Threatened by their neighbors over the next several days, Sir John Johnson formed a corps of 150 Highlanders recently settled by his father, to patrol their grounds. He gave orders to kill trespassers. The Butlers similarly organized their tenants into a small armed militia. They began patrolling the roads in the Mohawk Valley, stopping and searching travelers. When “Patriots” raised another liberty pole near Butlersbury, the crowd was dispersed violently and the pole cut down by Sherriff Alexander White. In Massachusetts, the first Loyalist regiment, formed by the order of Lord Dartmouth, was chased out of New England and was retreating towards Guy Park, Guy Johnson’s estate on the Mohawk River. On May 3rd, Patriot militia mustered at Albany and took control of the city. Worse still for the British Interest locally, on May 10 Fort Ticonderoga fell to the Green Mountain Boys who had been waging their own rebellion in Charlotte (Hampshire) County since 1772. On that same day, General Thomas Gage, commander of British forces in North America wrote Guy Johnson, warning that local patriots intended to seize him. Guy Johnson decided to retreat to Oswego to regroup and plan.³

The nascent loyalists of the Mohawk Valley seemed unprepared for the speed with which the Revolution manifested itself locally in 1775. The Grand Jury statement that the Butlers signed had condemned a Bostonian uprising that to them, seemed to be more about a tax on tea, a commercial article that they were not obliged to purchase, than a more widespread American phenomenon. The statement in part read,

“...it did not appear to tend to the violation of their (Bostonians) civil or religious rights, but merely regarded a single article of Commerce, which no person was compelled to purchase, and which persons of real virtue and resolution might easily have avoided or dispensed with; instead of which the

William Leete Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant* (J. Munsell, 1865) 52-53

³ Thomas Gage to Guy Johnson, May 10, 1775, *Gage Papers*, in Peter Force ed., *American Series* Vol. 4, (Washington, 1853) 129

inhabitants of one capital had committed an outrageous and unjustifiable act on the private property of the India Company, and therefore appeared to be alone affected by or really interested in the measures then taken by the King and Parliament.”⁴

As in the Mohawk Valley, “Loyalist” throughout in the American colonies were slow in organizing, late to waking up to the danger of revolutionary sentiment.⁵

By spring of 1775, local committees of correspondence had transformed themselves during the winter of 1774/5 into the Tryon Committee of Safety. Yet The Johnsons and Butlers had been more concerned with the frontier Indian war than with preparing for a local revolt. The crisis split long standing relationships overnight. As Walter and John Butler prepared to retreat to Oswego with Guy Johnson and their followers, 120 whites and 90 Mohawk all together, John sent several men down to Jelles Fonda’s tavern on May 17 with a short note, “Please send me two gallons of new rum per bearer and you will obliged.” Major Fonda was a colleague in the Indian Department, the Militia, and on the Bench, but he would be, along with Pieter Coyne and many other close colleagues of John Butler, an enemy.⁶

The meeting at Oswego was a hurried affair between 1,500 Iroquois and the Indian Department. The large numbers of Indians at Oswego had more to do with Indian War in the Ohio Valley than American Revolution. Delegations from Seneca and Cayuga had happened to be at Fort Stanwix as the Johnson/Butler party fled from the Mohawk Valley, they had been on their way to treat with Guy Johnson in the Mohawk Valley. A shared threat from

⁴ Declaration of the Grand-Jury and Magistrates, Etc. at the Court of Quarter-Sessions, at Johnstown, Tryon County, New-York, March 16, 1775 in Peter Force ed. *American Series* Vol. 2, (Washington, 1833) 151

⁵ Norman James Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (University of Toronto Press, 1997) 113; W Stewart Wallace, *The United empire loyalists: a chronicle of the great migration*, Volume 13 (Brook and Company, 1914) 32

⁶ Lt. Colonel John Butler to Major Jelles Fonda, May 17, 1775 in Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (New York, 1933), 41

rebel frontiersmen was not enough to ensure Iroquois cooperation with a “loyalist” Indian Department. The Iroquois confederacy began to splinter as factions began to choose sides.⁷

The Mohawk, many under the leadership of Joseph Brant, a young leader from Canajoharie and brother of Sir William Johnson’s long-time companion Molly Brant, were especially anxious to respond to rebel threats. The Mohawk had been at the centre of the Covenant Chain and had much to lose if their Indian Department allies fell from power. Ethnic violence and threats to remaining Mohawk property converged with threats to British authority and threats to Tory property. Mohawk under Brant’s leadership already moving towards war with the patriots. For the other Iroquois tribes, fears of ethnic violence were very real, but the Indian Department had been the instrument of the great dispossessions at Fort Stanwix and not been successful in protecting Indian peoples. Many wanted no part of the impending conflict. Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca advocated neutrality and were perfectly happy in 1775 to “sit still and maintain peace.” The Oneida had suffered greatly as their lands had been absorbed into the British empire with none of the pay-offs the Mohawk received. Many had close ties with revolutionary minded Palatine communities at German Flatts. The Oneida looked to former British Indian Department agent and their main castle’s Reverend, Samuel Kirkland, who now acted as a deputy for the new “Patriot” Indian Department for guidance. Kirkland advocated partnership with the new revolutionary government as the path to Oneida security in the future.⁸

⁷ Samuel Kirkland to Timothy Edwards March/April 1776, *John Butler Papers*, Vol. 2, 11; AFC Wallance, *Death and Rebirth of Seneca*, 126-128

⁸ Barbera Greymount, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse University Press, 1975) 64-66; Stone, *Life of Brant*, 87 Thomas Ablor, ed., *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as Told to Benjamin Williams*, University of Nebraska Press, 2005) 36/ Stone, *Life of Brant*, 102

Colonel John Butler and his son, Walter Butler, accompanied Guy Johnson and the other Mohawk Valley Loyalist and Mohawk to Montreal to aid in its defense. Guy Johnson was eager to find Indian support for the defense of Canada among the St. Lawrence tribes and intended to hold another congress at Montreal.⁹ In August, 1775, at council of an estimated 1,600 Indians at Montreal, the assembled chiefs declared their unanimous intention “of leading several nations against the Bostonians &c.” English observers were reassured by the “solemnity and decorum that made the assembly a very respectable, as well as an agreeable, sight,” but Governor Carleton had doubts. One concern was that while the Iroquois “promised great things,” that they were expensive allies that were not entirely dependable. Many Canadian villages were in “a weak situation.”¹⁰

Another concern was for clearing up an ambiguity concerning the military ranks of provincial officers in the militias and Indian Department and the jurisdiction of the Indian Department.¹¹ Carleton desperately needed the manpower but was worried that jealousies between officers of the Indian Department and the army would further complicate an already tenuous military situation. Carleton requested clarification of Indian Department ranks and duties immediately upon their arrival in Canada.¹²

While Sir Guy Carleton had doubts about the effectiveness of Guy Johnson and Daniel Claus, Carleton did regard John Butler as a valuable officer. Carleton promoted John Butler to interim Superintendent of the Indian Department and sent him to the garrison at Niagara, still in

⁹ Greymount, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 64-66

¹⁰Quebec Gazette, August 3, 1775 in *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 4

¹¹ Extract of Carleton to Lord Dartmouth August 14, 1775, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5

¹² Extract of Carleton to Lord Dartmouth August 14, 1775, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5

British possession, to secure aid from the western tribes, the Seneca in particular. The Seneca were not as attached to the British as the Mohawk. They had been distressed by English settlement and ethnic violence in the Ohio Valley. Many of their warriors had participated in Pontiac's War and many had continued to fight isolated battles with Virginian settlers. The Seneca had been under increasing pressure to keep their client tribes in the Ohio Valley from going to war and consistently felt insulted by the justice, slim to none, that the Indian Department could offer while their people had been repeatedly slaughtered. Butler was aided in his diplomatic efforts by the reports of marauding American soldiers in Indian country, and he had access to just enough supplies to continue to host diplomatic meetings.¹³

Information was hard to come by and John Butler engaged in his duty largely cut off from events in the rest of the country.¹⁴ In almost total isolation, as a refugee, and with little news of his family, John Butler tried to shape Indian policy using the limited resources available to him. That winter Butler seems to have been under the impression that English nobles were on their way over to treat directly with congress. His explanation for the evacuation of Boston did not reveal any long term pessimism. To spend the winter there, "would be pernicious," to the health of the soldiers," he had reassured some men travelling from Detroit back to the Mohawk Valley.¹⁵ Whatever his private doubts, outwardly he was confident that the crisis would be resolved by the coming spring.

¹³ Samuel Kirkland to Timothy Edwards March/April 1776, *John Butler Papers*, Vol. 2, 11; AFC Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of Seneca*, 126-128; Robert L Scribner and Brent Tarter ed., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence* Vol 6 (Norfolk, 1981), 153-154; Peter Force, *American Archives 4th Series* Vol. 5 (Washington, 1837-1846), 818.

¹⁴ Extract from a letter from Albany, Nov 23 1775, *The Virginia Gazette*, December 16, 1775 in *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 10

¹⁵ Extract from a letter from Albany, Nov 23 1775, *The Virginia Gazette*, December 16, 1775 in *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 10

While his father had gone to Niagara for the winter, Walter Butler stayed at Montreal, a city built on an island in the St. Lawrence River. On September 25, 1775, he was roused by an alarm. Reports arrived that a rebel force of unknown size was headed toward the city from the North side of the Montreal Island. They had somehow crossed the St. Lawrence in the night and landed at Longue Point. Panic engulfed the city. Crews readied boats for immediate evacuation and every available armed man mustered at the town's parade grounds. It was a pitifully small force. There were about 200 men, eighty English and one hundred and twenty French Canadians, roughly 30 soldiers of the 26th Regiment, thirty two men from the Indian Department, and a handful of warriors. Then a man ran into the city with news. He had been captured by the Yankees but he had gotten away. Fewer than 200 Americans were stranded on the Montreal Island. Carleton sent his force after the patriots.¹⁶

Walter Butler raced ahead with Peter Johnson, one of Sir William Johnson's sons by Molly Brant, and a handful of Mohawk warriors.¹⁷ They cornered Ethan Allen with 20-35 men in and around a Longue Point barn. The men Allen had sent to guard his flanks escaped. There they shot at one another for several hours. The battle was described as brisk and loud but little actual damage was done. The two miniature armies blasted away at one another through the underbrush, "...from woodpiles, ditches, buildings and such like places,..."¹⁸ Around three in the afternoon a grasshopper, a small field cannon, was bought along from Montreal and the men inside the now inadequate barn walls surrendered. Ethan Allen emerged and surrendered his sword to Peter Johnson. As he did, an Iroquois warrior

¹⁶ Ethen Allen, *A Narrative of Ethan Allen's Captivity* (Thomas and Thomas, 1807) 27-30

¹⁷ Sir John Johnson to Daniel Claus, September 11, 1775, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5

¹⁸ Extract from the Narrative of Colonel Ethen Allen, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5-7

rushed at Allen with his gun. Allen grabbed an English officer and used him as a shield. Then another warrior rushed at Allen. An Irish sergeant had to intervene and threatened to kill the next man who did that. Walter Butler participated in an easy victory and the capture of a notorious frontier rebel.¹⁹

Walter's first taste of war and success against Allen coincided with bad news from Butlersbury. The tenants John Butler had armed were disarmed by the local committee of safety in early September. Butler's mother, sisters, and younger brothers Thomas, (William) Johnson Butler, and (Andreas) Andrew Butler, were now at the mercy of local patriot forces. Eventually, they, like many families of Loyal Americans, were moved to the more secure location of Albany where they were held as hostages. John Johnson, who was then the last major Loyalist figure in the Valley with his own militia, boldly asserted that if the Patriots tried to disarm him in similar fashion, he would not surrender as quietly.²⁰

Walter Butler continued to serve with the forces defending Montreal. He led a small force together with Peter Johnson against the Americans at Isle au Noix, on the Richelieu River a key position defending the approach to Montreal. Failing to do more than stall the Americans, The British Fort at St. John's fell on November 3, opening the way for a direct assault on Montreal. Montreal was evacuated on November 11, the same day Benedict Arnold

¹⁹ Ethen Allen, *A Narrative of Ethan Allen's Captivity*, 27-30

²⁰ Sir John Johnson to Daniel Claus, September 11, 1775, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5 ; Ethen Allen, *The Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen* (New York, 1961), 17-22. The Quebec Gazette, October 19, 1775.; John Butler Papers, Vol. 2, 8

²⁰ Sir John Johnson to Daniel Claus, September 11, 1775, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 5

arrived opposite Quebec City after a grueling march with a rebel through the Maine wilderness.

21

Arnold was just in time to watch the English Merchant ship carrying both Butler and Allen to England depart before the river became unnavigable. While Butler was not specifically named in Allen's narrative, it seems that Guy Johnson, Joseph Brant, Daniel Claus, Peter Johnson, Gilbert Tice, Joseph Chew, and about thirty other New York Tories were aboard the same ship.²² It is very likely that young Walter Butler, nobody to Allen at the time, was among them.

Allen described the behavior of the Tories towards himself and the other prisoners as "one possessed of a spirit of bitterness."²³ He described how he and his men "...were insulted by every blackguard sailor and Tory on board in the cruelest manner." All seemed to think Allen was on his way to be hanged as a traitor. One part of Allen's story stands out in particular.

"...a lieutenant among the Tories, insulted me in a grievous manner, saying that I ought to be executed for my rebellion against New York and spit in my face; upon which, though I was handcuffed, I sprang at him with both hands and knocked him partly down, but he scrambled into the cabin and I after him; there he got under the protection of some men with bayonets, were ordered to make ready to drive me into the place aforementioned [the prisoner's hold.] I challenged him to fight notwithstanding the impediments that were on my hands, and had the pleasure to see the rascal tremble for fear..."²⁴

Once in England, the loyalist lobbied hard for the aid they needed, but the British polity was divided in its opinions about the American situation. Although many felt that the

²¹ J Long, *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (London, 1791), 18-19

²² Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 81: The Quebec Gazette, October 19, 1775; *John Butler Papers*, Vol. 2, 8

²³ Allen specifically exempted Daniel Claus.

²⁴ Allen, *Narrative of Ethen Allen*, 37

Americans and Bostonians in particular should be severely punished, the Whig opposition, merchants, many military leaders including the Howe Brothers, and even the Prime Minister, Lord North, were ambivalent about a military solution. As a result, there was no clear policy developed over the winter of 1775/6. None the less, the Loyalists did have supporters. Walter Butler pursued and received an ensign's commission in the British army.²⁵

The fleet that sailed to America in the spring of 1776 carried the largest contingent of British forces ever sent to America. The aims of the army beyond securing New York City were limited however. Many believed that loyalists would provide significant manpower in the American countryside, none more certain than the Loyalist themselves. In fact however Loyalist support in the country and along the frontier was slow in materializing and often in too limited numbers to make a strategic difference.²⁶

In the Mohawk Valley in November of 1775, The Tyron County Committee of Safety resolved to arrest Colonel John Butler if he tried to return and have him tried by the Provincial Congress as a suspicious enemy to America. John Butler had reportedly tried to return to the valley via bateaux from Oswego earlier that fall, but turned back for fear of being arrested.²⁷ Meanwhile, the Patriots further secured Tryon County by ousting the last remaining body of Loyalist, under the command of Sir John Johnson at Johnson Hall. Johnson's men were disarmed in February 1776 by 3000 troops led by Philip Scyhuler, forcing Sir John to flee to Canada.²⁸

²⁵ Andrew Jackson O'Shaunessy, *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire*, (Yale University Press) 59-61

²⁶ O'Shaunessy, *The Men who Lost America*, 59-61

²⁷ Maryly B Penrose, *Mohawk Valley in the Revolution: Committee of Safety Papers and Genealogical Compendium* (Liberty Bell Associates, 1978) 56-58

²⁸ Joseph S. Tiedemann, *The Other New York: The American Revolution beyond New York City, 1763-*

Butler's house was searched "without effect," in May 1776 by patriots checking the compliance of Tories who had given their paroles, which John's wife, Catherine and their children.²⁹ The leading Tryon County Loyalists had lost all of their major outposts within the Mohawk Valley within the first year of the war. By the summer of 1776, rebels controlled Albany to Fort Stanwix and quickly replaced British colonial institutions with their own. Justices, legislators, militia, even a new American Indian Department, were all operational in the Mohawk Valley at the beginning of the summer in 1776. In June, John Butler's brother-in-law, Ephriam Wemple, used the Committee of Tryon County to demand the payment of Walter's debt for a horse from Mrs. Butler.³⁰

Walter Butler had secured a commission as an ensign or second lieutenant in the King's 8th regiment while in England, his commission was dated November 1775.³¹ He returned to Quebec in May, 1776, aboard one of the ships ordered to brave the ice on the St. Lawrence early in order to relieve Sir Guy Carleton's besieged forces. Immediately on the fleet's arrival with a portion of the reinforcements slated for Canada that year, Carleton lifted the siege of Quebec and began a campaign to recapture Montreal and push American forces back towards Ticonderoga. Ensign Walter Butler joined British Indian Agents and a small

1787

(SUNY Press, 2012) 187

²⁹ Mark E Lender and James Kirby Martin, ed. *Citizen Soldier: The Revolutionary War Journal of Joseph Bloomfield* (Newark, 1982), 54; JB Papers 1775-1, Extract, British Army List in *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2,

20-22

³⁰ Extract from the Journal of the General Committee of Tryon County, June 6, 1776, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 16; Mary B Penrose. *Mohawk Valley in the Revolution: Committee of Safety Papers and Genealogical Compendium* (Franklin Park, NJ), 81-82.

³¹ The British Army List, January, 1776 in *John Butler Papers* Vol. 2, 22

element of the 8th at Osawegatchie, about 40 miles to the West of Montreal, a post which remained in British hands during the American occupation of Montreal. The British attacked and captured key locations west of Montreal, supported by a large Mohawk force, in a series of confrontations collectively called the Battle of the Cedars. The fear of Indian atrocities contributed greatly to the surrender of American forces at these posts. Although no evidence of atrocities exist, rumors at the time helped spread both fear and loathing of the role the British Indian Department. Carleton retook Montreal and the St. Lawrence River Valley after General John Burgoyne arrived with the bulk of his reinforcements but though Sir Guy Carleton was expected to take back Albany by the end of the campaign season, the British were unable to go push into New York from Canada in 1776.³²

John Butler did not expect the war to last past the summer of 1776. From Niagara, Colonel Butler did not have a full understanding of the magnitude of the revolt that was about to consume everything his family had worked to build on the frontier of English colonial America. A swift resolution by diplomacy or military force was not realistic however. As winter settled over the frontier in 1776 the terrible reality of the situation became clear. The rebels had made astonishing progress in securing the New York Canadian frontier, and they were not going to be dislodged easily. Though it would take five years of bitter fighting to prove it to John Butler, Tryon County and Butlersbury were about to be washed away along with the rest of the first British Empire.

³² Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara*, 71; Stone, *Life of Brant*, 154; Greymount, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, 94; Paul David Nelson, *General Sir Guy Carleton Lord Dorchester* (Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 2000) 84-85

Epilogue: John Butler, Patron of Niagara. Garrison Government at the Beginning of the Second British Empire 1788-1796

The British campaign in 1777 under General John Burgoyne and Colonel Barry St. Ledger was the only serious threat to the American cause on the frontier during the Revolution. John and Walter Butler were frustrated in their efforts to support St. Ledger's army, meant to capture the Mohawk Valley from the west while Burgoyne's main force struck at Albany via Lake Champlain and Ticonderoga. An army they were counting on to restore them to Butlersbury utterly fell apart.

Colonel Butler and his son were vilified for their roles in the Revolution. The Regiment of Rangers John Butler raised at Niagara was the scourge of Patriot outposts and farms. Their light units could appear without warning along the wilderness frontier, often alongside Iroquois warriors. Americans were terrified of the bloodshed which they had the potential to unleash on the borderlands. The Butler name became indelibly attached to the brutal chaotic forest battle with Herkimer's heroic column at Oriskany, the slaughter of routing troops at Wyoming Valley, and the massacre at Cherry Valley. Raids were often deeply personal, targeting former associates, neighbors, and even family. John Butler's knowledge of frontier warfare, his association with Indian warriors, and extensive experience made him a fearsome figure to the Americans in his former Mohawk Valley home.

Butler's Rangers; however, were never able to do more than conduct raids on the frontier. Iroquois warriors and Loyalist rangers could not hold territory on their own and lacking significant military resources in Canada, the British were, with the exception of the doomed 1777 campaign, forever on the defensive on the Northern frontier. John Butler was eventually tasked with building a community out of Tory refugees alongside the Fort and

trading post at Niagara. When Walter Butler was killed in a raid on the Mohawk Valley in October of 1781, bells rang throughout Albany, celebrating the demise of the hated Tory.¹

Walter Butler was one of the last well known Americans to die during the Revolution. His death brought closure to the war for many on the frontier, marking the end of the war in New York more so than Washington's victory at Yorktown. Walter Butler's death became a symbol of American triumph over evil. He embodied arbitrary British authority, the tyranny of a standing army, government corruption, the savagery of Indian warfare, and cruelty. His death was the death of British North America, and the creation of a new identity. Diverse groups of peoples in the new Republic struggled to make the ideology of the Revolution as they understood it work, and while conflict was common, many could agree that the death of the first British empire had been righteous and just. Walter Butler brought Americans together by becoming a caricature, part of a larger body of American culture and identity as villain to the republic.²

¹ For a full account of Colonel John Butler's wartime exploits see Howard Swiggett, *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers* (I. J. Friedman, 1963) ; Ernest Alexander Cruikshank, *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara* (Lundy's Lane, 1893); Michael O. Logusz, *With Musket and Tomahawk: The Saratoga Campaign and the Wilderness War Of 1777* Vol. 2 (Casemate Publishers, 2014); Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (Cambridge University Press, 1995)

² Robert W. Chambers, *Cardigan* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1901; Robert W. Chambers, *The Maid at Arms*, (New York: Harper & Bros., 1902); Robert W. Chambers, *The Hidden Children*, (New York: Appleton, 1914) ; Robert W. Chambers, *The Little Red Foot*, (1921) ; *The Reckoning* 1905; John J. Vrooman, *Forts & Firesides of the Mohawk Valley* (Johnstown, NY: Baronet Litho Co., 1951) 320; Review, Mohenga,, *The Flower of the Forest: Grand Musical Drama in Three Parts*, *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, Saturday Morning October 8, 1859 No. 226; Thomas Dunn English "The Death of Walter Butler: A Ballad of Tryon County," *Harper's Magazine* (Vol. 19 1859) 204-208; Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1851-2) 270; Jephtha Simms, *The Frontiersmen of New York: Showing Customs of the Indians, Vicissitudes of the Pioneer White Settlers* (Albany, 1883) 549; Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (William Baynes and Son: London, 1823) 191; John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington* (1805) 641; Stephen Vincent Benét. *The Devil and Daniel Webster: Play in One Act* (Dramatists play service, inc., 1939); William W. Campbell, *Annals of Tyron County* (New York, 1831)109-120; George Peck, *Wyoming: Its history, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures* (New York, 1858) 83; Francis Whiting Halsey, *The Old New York Frontier: Its War with Indians and Tories* (New York, 1901) 242; Max Reid, *The Mohawk Valley and Its Legends* (New York: Putnam and Sons, 1901) 227; Francis Samuel Drake, *Indian History for Young Folks* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1885) 305; Timothy Noah, "The Unluckiest Man in Movie History." *Slate*, June 13, 2000 www.slate.com/toolbar.aspx?action=print&id=1005493 7/3/2008;

John Butler, his family, and his rangers started new lives in Upper Canada, building a new permanent community around their military base at Niagara. Colonel Butler's remaining sons Thomas, Johnson, and Andrew all held commissions by the end of the war in either Butler's Rangers or in Johnson's case, the 102nd. In 1788 Butler was a superintendent of the Indian Department at Niagara and commander of the newly formed Lincoln County Militia. He was the lead advocate for those members of his old regiment that settled in the region. John Butler established Niagara as a community of farms with a capable militia to defend his new home. He lobbied what few high connections he had in the British establishment to obtain compensation for lost properties and land bounties for himself and his men, stepping into the role of patron. As his father had at Fort Hunter, John Butler would help create a British outpost of soldier planters, recreating once more the Anglo-Irish style of plantation. At the heart of the plantation was his regiment of loyalist and their families, hundreds of people eager to rebuild their lives around Niagara, the first garrison town of the second British Empire.³

The Butlers had lost a tremendous amount of New York property during the Revolution, suffered tremendous personal loss, and been displaced as refugees. Their tragic family fortunes reflect the losses of a most of those at Niagara following the war. Because his efforts to re-establish himself were tied to the efforts of other loyalist notables and the

The Spirit of '76 in *The American Film Institute Catalog* 1911-1920 (University of California Press) 875

³ Extract from Quebec Gazette, August 18, 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 16; Extract John Collins, Deputy Surveyor General to Lord Dorchester, December 6, 1788, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 40; E.A. Cruikshank, ed., *Records of Niagara 1784-1789*, no. 40 (Niagara Historical Society, 1929), 58; General return of appointments in the proposed Indian Department for 1787, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 34; Lt. Colonel John Butler to Sir John Johnson, August 26, 1788, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 39-40; Major Robert Mathews to General Sir Frederick Haldimand, Christmas Day, 1788, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 41

members of his regiment, they cannot be considered as simply self-interested or cynical. Butler and his regiment after the war were in a precarious situation and dependent on the British government and each other. Butler's soldiers had sacrificed much in the British service and before 1788 had made do with small plots of land, little in the way of stock and tools, and a handful of rations to live on for years after the war.⁴

The agricultural capability of Niagara had been built very quickly after the starving winter of 1779, but two things had held it back until 1788. The first was the passage of an updated Quebec Act which allowed the British now at Niagara to own land in freehold instead of having to abide by the French system of land tenure. John Butler had lobbied extensively for changes in the Quebec Act that would make Niagara more viable. The second was the decision to maintain the post at Niagara permanently, therefore creating the need for large scale extinguishment of Indian Title, handled in large part by John Butler.

Butler had spent most of 1785 in London at Gerard Street, Soho, No 25. He was there to testify before the Commissioners of American Claims which he did between March 15th and August 19th, 1785. It was a long process complicated by the fact that deeds for most Loyalist remained in the United States. Loyalist from the Mohawk Valley had to give testimony repeatedly as to the validity of their former neighbour's claims.⁵ Although he had some difficulty meeting with British overlords in person, letters written on his behalf speak of him in glowing terms and of his "mistreatment" during his tenure at the Indian Department. Although Sir Guy Carleton, his biggest supporter during the war, did not meet with him

⁴ Joseph Hadfield, *Joseph Hadfield, An Englishman in America, 1785* (Toronto, 1933) 62-62

⁵ Memorial of Lt. Colonel John Butler, March 15, 1785 to 19 August 1785, Great Britain. Public Record Office, Audit Office 12, Vol 21, ff 201-210; National Archives of Canada, MG 12, AO 13, microfilm reel number B-2555. In *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 2-11

personally he directed his secretary, Maurice Morgan to interview him and "[putting] him in a way of obtaining that attention he deserves."⁶ Morgan also received confirmation of Butler's story from General Frederick Haldimand just a week and a half later who described him as " ...having been uniformly zealous, brave and judicious, have deservedly obtained my fullest testimonies of approbation." Statements from Brigadier General Allan Maclean ended with the same closing and Alexander Dundas also attested to his "...influence and zeal for the King's service."⁷

Butler's patrons soured quickly of his efforts. In a private journal in January, 1786 General Frederick Haldimand, who had commanded in Canada after the failed 1777 campaign, expressed irritation at Butler's persistence despite being told to be patient. Butler had been advocating heavily for his subalterns and his interest in the Quebec Act had become aggravating for those who did not want to be rushed down to Parliament "every other day." Loyalist in Canada had good reason to desire the abandonment of the 1774 Quebec Act's provisions that protected French traditions. The law, including commercial and real estate law had remained French under the old act and protections for French religion prevented the development of English cultural institutions. Loyalist wanted full integration into the British Empire. John Butler made regular visits to Lord Sydney's office during his stay in London. Lord Sydney, Thomas Townshend, was Home Secretary and President of the Committee on

⁶ Sir Guy Carleton to Maurice Morgan, April 28, 1785, JB Papers BR1785, 13; "[Maurice Morgan] was a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State and became private secretary to Shelburne in 1766. He served in Quebec, 1768-70; was an undersecretary of state in 1782; and secretary of the Peace Commission of 1782-83." Alan Valentine, *The British Establishment, 1760-1784 An Eighteenth - Century Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. 2 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1970) 624

⁷ General Frederick Haldimand to Maurice Morgan, London, May 7, 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 13-14; Statement of Brigadir General Allan Maclean, London, May 24, 1785, JB Papers BR1785, 14; Statement of Alexander Dundas, May 26, 1785, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 14-15

Trade and Foreign Plantations in 1785. He fostered settlements in Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New South Wales in Australia.⁸ Butler and his compatriots in Niagara were rewarded eventually for their efforts by the passage of the *Constitutional Act of 1791* which removed Upper Canada from the jurisdiction of the Quebec Act and placed the seat of the new province at Niagara-on the Lake (Newark), John Butler's creation.⁹

Butler returned to Canada in the spring of 1786 and continued to doggedly press for aid and compensation for himself and his clients at Niagara. Butler was tenacious in the face of constant reproach. He was criticized as impatient with the chain of command and self-interested.¹⁰ The use of the Indian Department to obtain the concession for the carrying place for one of his sons (most likely Andrew) was noticed in particular. Butler would never be free of criticism from other British administrators in Canada for the rest of his career.¹¹

At the core of Lt. Colonel Butler's new garrison settlement were the land grants created by the crown's bounty and the compensation boards. John Butler himself had overseen the purchase of thousands of acres of land from local Indian tribes to be disposed of

⁸ Ian K. R. Archer, 'Townshend, Thomas, first Viscount Sydney (1733–1800)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27636, accessed 29 July 2014]

⁹ David Milobar, "Conservative Ideology, Metropolitan Government, and the Reform of Quebec, 1782-1791" *The International History Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1, Feb., 1990, 45-64; F. Murray Greenwood, *The Legacies of Fear: Law and Politics in Quebec in the Era of the French Revolution* (University of Toronto Press, 1993) 1-4; Michel Ducharme, *The Idea of Liberty in Canada during the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, 1776-1838* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2014) 37-53

¹⁰ Extracts from the private diary of General Sir Frederick Haldimand, January 1786, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 16.

¹¹ Major Robert Matthews to General Sir Frederick Haldimand, Quebec, August 9, 1786, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 17; Extract from the "Report of the Merchants of Montreal by their Committee to the Honorable Committee of Council on Commercial Affairs and Police" in E.A. Cruikshank, "Records of Niagara 1784-1787," *Niagara Historical Society*, NO. 39, 72-73.

by the crown to former Loyalist.¹² What is striking about the distribution of land to former Rangers is the magnanimity of the grants and the equitable manner in which they were distributed.¹³ A study of land distribution anywhere in the newly created America would be hard pressed to find a more equitable distribution of yeomen in any of the New Republic's communities. A close look at Niagara shows that in total 338 families received free hold title¹⁴ to 267,500 acres of land in Upper Canada. Butler received the lion's share at 5500 acres. Eight captains including the deceased Walter Butler's estate received 3000-3200 acres each. Thirteen lieutenants including Andrew and Thomas Butler received 2000-2300 acres each. Four special officers/surgeons received 2000-2300 acres each. Thirty-nine non-commissioned officers received 500-800 acres each. 169 privates and volunteers received 300-600 acres each. At least a half dozen of the new land owners were black.¹⁵ Butler's Rangers alone accounted for 160,600 of the acres allotted, other plots claimed by soldiers mostly from the King's 8th and the Indian department although a dozen other regular and loyalist regiments are represented including (William) Johnson Butler, the only one from the 102nd to take lands in the region.¹⁶

¹² Lt. Colonel John Butler to Captain Robert Mathews, March 31, 1783, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 7, 16; Lt. Colonel John Butler to Captain Robert Mathews, May 8, 1783, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 7, 26; Lt. Colonel John Butler to Sir John Johnson, August 26, 1788, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 39; Major EB Littlehales to Colonel John Butler, December 20, 1794, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 80; John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, December 20, 1794, *John Butler Papers* Vol.8, 80

¹³ A Return by Augustus Jones, Deputy Surveyor, of Lands Granted, July 2, 1792, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 47-63

¹⁴ Made possible by Constitution Act of 1791

¹⁵ Extracts from a return of disbanded soldiers, December 15, 1788, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 40

¹⁶ A Return by Augustus Jones, Deputy Surveyor, of Lands Granted, July 2, 1792, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 48-63

The existence of so many Crown backed freeholds meant that the titles were extremely stable once acquired. The extent of the properties meant that once agricultural development took place the properties became economically viable. Disbanded soldiers who received crown lands in Canada stayed on that land in very high percentages. As a result the communities themselves became economically stable and prosperous quickly. That and the extraordinary weather experienced on the Peninsula, especially at Niagara on the Lake, were major factors in the success of Butler's community.¹⁷

These former soldiers not only formed the bulk of land owning civilians at Niagara, they formed the backbone of the British military presence in the form of the Lincoln County Militia. At the Militia's first recorded mustering we find so many veterans of Butler's Rangers that the two are forever connected. The formation of the United Empire Loyalists as an extra paramilitary and political arm of the community only helped to strengthen those martial traditions that permeated the soldier settler community at Niagara and remain a source of pride among descendants to this day.¹⁸

To emphasize the structure that Butler's former regiment brought to the settlement of Niagara a comparison of the returns of town leaders, militia officers, and former rangers provide ample evidence. The results of a town meeting to determine various positions from town clerk, assessor, and overseers of Highways and Fences in 1793 in Newark, showed that ten out of fifteen of the community's administrators had served in Butler's Rangers. John

¹⁷ Angela E.M. Files, "The Provincial Loyalist Corps: Settlers of Upper Canada" Grand River Branch Newsletter, *Branches* February 1991, Vol.3 No.1, Pages 5-8 accessed November 2010 through http://www.grandriveruel.ca/Newsletter_Reprints/91v3n1Loyalist_Corps.htm; Tiffany Mayer, *Niagara Food: A Flavourful History of the Peninsula's Bounty* (History Press, 2014) 13

¹⁸ A Return by Augustus Jones, Deputy Surveyor, of Lands Granted, July 2, 1792, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 45-46

Butler himself served as one of two Town or Church Wardens. Out of seventeen captains in the three Lincoln County Militia, fourteen had held commissions in Butler's Rangers.¹⁹

Butler was also a leading booster when it came to the church and other cultural institutions such as the Masons. Butler helped build the Anglican Church that bound the community together spiritually²⁰ and established St. John's Lodge # 19 at Niagara as master of the local Masons.²¹

John Butler also continued in his role as Indian superintendent to the Iroquois, which allowed him control of the distribution of Indian presents at Niagara and a role in the obtaining of Indian deeds. Control over this annual and large disbursement of trade goods ensured his continued influence with the Iroquois. However the distribution of Indian presents had become contentious after the war and opened John Butler up to charges of corruption by many of his contemporaries. To critics of the policy in government, the distribution of gifts seemed to only benefit the Indian Department and the Indians. The Indians equally sensed corruption in the system but depended on it. In his defense Butler always cited the under-estimated cost of doing business in Indian country and the strain on his personal finances. Although the relationship between Butler and the Iroquois was highly dysfunctional, John Butler continued to use that relationship to shape economic development and diplomatic policy that would benefit the community of Niagara.²²

¹⁹ Officer's List Nassau Militia, 1792, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 48; Results of a Town meeting, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 72

²⁰ Results of a Town meeting, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 72; Parish History, St. Mark's Church, Niagara-on-the-Lake <http://stmarks1792.com/wp/history/parish-history/> accessed December 2014.

²¹ William W MacDonald, "Colonel John Butler, Soldier, Loyalist, Freemason: Canada's Forgotten Patriot," in *Canadian Masonic Research Association*, #76, May 1964.

²² Proposed Appointments in the Indian Department for 1787, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 34; John Graves Simcoe to Alexander McKee, January 27, 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 66; John Graves Simcoe to Allurd Clarke, May 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 67; John Graves Simcoe to Henry Dundas, September 20, 1793,

In June of 1788, John Butler and a group of businessmen from Niagara met with American associates at Buffalo Creek, the post war capital of the Seneca on the Niagara River. There they mediated the purchase of over two and a half million acres in the Genesee Valley. The agreement effectively removed the Western Iroquois tribes, mostly Seneca, from two thirds of their former lands to the West side of the Genesee River. The confluence of events and people at Buffalo Creek that summer reflects the circumstances of the New York frontier in the post war period. The tragic consequence of the Phelps Gorham purchase was the tragic death of Seneca sovereignty. The American role in the purchase has been well described. However, the British from Canada have often just been dismissed as duplicitous players in the scheme, skimming profits in contempt of the Indians, the Americans, *and* the Crown. Their role is more complex than this and John Butler's part in the purchase demonstrates that Niagara, as a unique community, had a real stake in the outcome.

The extinguishment of Indian title in Western New York had been inevitable since the Treaty of Paris (1783) had ceded all the territory south of the Great Lakes to the Americans. American generals had meet with most of the Iroquois chiefs at Fort Stanwix the following year to affirm tribal ownership of lands one last time in order to establish a process for the adjudication of title from Indian Territory to American ownership. New York State negotiated an end to a long standing dispute with Massachusetts over colonial boundaries. New York and Massachusetts would set their boundaries and cede all further western expansion to the Federal government. New York would be granted jurisdiction over new land in Western New York and in return Massachusetts investors would sell the land. This

John Butler Papers Vol. 8, 72-73; Lord Dorchester to Sir John Johnson, January 21, 1790, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 43-44

arrangement would pre-empt problems like those created in the Wyoming Valley and Hampshire Grants under the colonial system.²³

The effort between New York and Massachusetts to establish legal titles and quickly start selling lots had been complicated by a group of Albany merchantmen who had, upon their own initiative and with the use of the considerable influence they had in Indian country, convinced many Seneca that leasing their lands to American tenants through their partnership for a generous annuity was mutually beneficial. The New York Genesee Land Company included such New York frontier notables as John Livingston and Phillip Schuyler. The group did not have the blessing of New York State. Not only would New York not recognize the leases, they would drive any unauthorized tenants away as if they were outlaws. The Genesee Land Company had already negotiated a settlement with various Iroquois chiefs however and spoiled the diplomacy needed to obtain Indian deeds. Meanwhile thousands of opportunistic squatters and veterans promised land for their service poured into frontier regions without waiting for a formal process to develop. The potential for disaster is what gave negotiating power to John Butler.²⁴

As the promise of the generous lease agreements offered by the Genesee Land Company fell apart, enough Iroquois chiefs were sufficiently alarmed to allow John Butler to step in with other leading Tories at Niagara and negotiate on their behalf. John Butler formed the Niagara Genesee Land Company with other leading Niagara businessmen, promising the

²³ Orsamus Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps & Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve* (W. Alling, 1852) 108-110

²⁴ Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorhman's Purchase*, 108-109, 138-141, 230

Iroquois that they, with the backing of Great Britain, would best be able to protect them from American frontiersmen.²⁵

Meanwhile the New York Genesee Land Company changed tactics and abandoned the leases, offering instead to procure the needed cooperation with the tribes that Massachusetts investors (Phelps-Gorham) needed to fulfill their obligations to extinguish Indian title before being granted full title. When the Phelps-Gorham delegation arrived in central New York at the village of Kanadesaga on the North shore of Seneca lake, they expected to find an Indian conference already organized by the NY Genesee Land Company. But instead of a conference there were just a handful of drunk and bored Indians. The chiefs had followed John Butler to Buffalo Creek, where negotiations would now be sponsored by the Niagara Genesee Land Company.²⁶

The three land companies, instead of blocking one another's claims, worked together. The position of any single faction on their own was weak that summer. The reality was that Phelps-Gorham was pressed for time, the New York investors needed to make a deal happen to justify their share in the project, and the British had no official authority in the region except as businessmen. The bleak reality for the Seneca was that despite the fact that the role Massachusetts played in the whole affair was irritating and made no sense to the chiefs, the Americans would be taking possession of much of their lands. Butler reasoned that a sale of the land east of the Genesee would give the Seneca the capital they needed to rebuild west of the Genesee. Without an agreement, they would simply be overrun eventually anyway. The logic of the argument is extremely similar to the one Butler and William Johnson made to the

²⁵ Turner, *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase*, 108-109, 138-141, 230

²⁶ This excerpt is from the Reverend Kirkland's manuscript journal, transcribed and quoted by George S. Conover and published in the *Ontario County Times*, March 28, 1883.

Mohawk during the Kaderoosas sale right before Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Samuel Kirkland, representing the Genesee Land Company agreed.²⁷ Joseph Brant's interest in the affair was as an investor with Butler and it has been suggested he hoped many Seneca would re-locate under his leadership in Canada.²⁸ Butler is reported to have said "That the Dish was now offered them [and] if they did not feed themselves it was their own faults, that before they called upon him to witness their Bargains, if they did not now determine, he should not attend again, as they had so often made a fool of him."²⁹

For his part in the Treaty of Buffalo Creek, Butler received a 1/60 share in the large purchase. John Butler owned land once again in New York. Although some of his colleagues held onto to the shares they acquired in the Genesee, Butler sold his share to financier Robert Morris when Morris took over the original Phelps and Gorham patent several years later.³⁰ There is some evidence that John Butler had also acted for the benefit of his mother's family in Norwich Connecticut, purchasing 20,000 acres on the Genesee River for their benefit. He also obtained land for his sisters, Deborah and Anne.³¹ His Iroquois associations still had considerable tangible value in New York.

²⁷ F.B. Hough, ed., *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs in the State of New York* Vol. I (Albany, 1891), 214

²⁸ Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2007) 178

²⁹ Extract in Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers, and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. (Alfred Knopf: New York, 2005) 178. Originally cited from Ralph Clench to Sir John Johnson, Aug., 28, 1790 MG II (Colonial Office 42), LXIX: 277

³⁰ JB Papers BR1785, 37-38; Turner. *Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York* 396-397.

³¹ Copy of a letter from Colonel John Butler to the Honorable Oliver Phelps, July 20, 1788 in William Ketchum, *An Authentic and Comprehensive History of Buffalo, with Some Account of Its Early Inhabitants, Both Savage and Civilized, Comprising Historic Notices of the Six Nations, Or Iroquois Indians* (Rockwell, Baker & Hill, Printers, 1865) 54-55

The British did not like Butler's involvement as facilitator between Iroquois and Americans and resented the resulting settlement of the Genesee. Butler was accused as not being as attached to the crown's interest as could be desired. Lord Grenville, British secretary of State wrote in 1789, that Butler's actions was "no less than applying that influence with the Indians which his Majesty maintains at so large an expense and of which his official situation gives [Butler] in great measure the direction, to promote the objects of the United States of America and to further his own interest." Sir Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, investigated Butler's role in the sale and his manipulation of the Seneca during the negotiations. The investigation found that Butler was using his position as superintendent to further his personal gain. The investigation also found him to be indispensable to Indian diplomacy at a time when the Western posts were still extremely vulnerable.³² The evidence can be used to condemn John Butler as self-interested, but does not preclude the possibility that John Butler as patron was performing services that were also in the best interests of Niagara.

While many Iroquois had settled peacefully near Niagara at Grand River or Buffalo Creek, Many of the Mingo Iroquois and Great Lakes tribes had formed a confederation that had continued to resist American expansion after the American Revolution. They had stunning victories in 1790 and 1791, destroying two American armies. Joseph Brant and John Butler still had considerable diplomatic influence with the confederation and both found themselves at the nexus of a diplomatic crisis in 1793. Lt. Governor of Canada, John Graves Simcoe and Alexander McKee, an influential deputy agent in the Indian department at Detroit, desperately wanted to check and control the expansion of Americans into the

³² Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 179

Northwest by aggressively backing the post war Indian confederation and allowing the confederation to develop into a buffer nation between Canada and the expanding United States. They pushed a united Indian confederacy to assert their sovereignty over the Ohio Valley and aggressively block American settlement. Butler has often been implicated in this design but in fact he was not in agreement with the policy.³³

Butler was invited to negotiations at Sandusky with the Americans at the insistence of Joseph Brant in 1793. Simcoe and McKee did not want either present.³⁴ Their frustration with Butler and Brant was quite sharp by 1793. As Simcoe and McKee struggled to hold together the Indian confederation, Butler was using the crisis to request additional lands for Mohawk captains and requested a package of Indian presents far in excess of anything the other deputy superintendents had asked for.³⁵ As the summer of 1793 took shape an irritated Simcoe railed at the expenses created by Butler and the Six Nations, calling it wasteful corruption.³⁶ Butler was already branded by British leadership as a self-interested cynic and Brant's duplicity was described as demanding to be separate from Britain on one hand and entitled to the full rights of British subjects on the other, contradictions "...to be reconciled by his wishing to promote his own interest."³⁷

³³ Colonel John Butler to Joseph Chew, March 1, 1795, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 81-81; Colonel John Butler to Joseph Chew, Niagara, July 10, 1794 *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 77; White, *The Middle Ground*, 462-465; Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 281-284

³⁴ John Graves Simcoe to Alexander McKee, Niagara, January 27, 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 65.

³⁵ Lt. Col John Butler to Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, Newark, March 30, 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 65

³⁶ John Graves Simcoe to Alurd Clarke, June 6, 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 66-67; EA Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe* Vol. V, (Toronto, 1931), 39; John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, July 1, 1794, *John Butler Papers* Vol 8, 76

³⁷ John Graves Simcoe to Alured Clarke, May 1793, *John Butler Papers* Vol 8, 66; John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, Johnson, Upper Canada, January 30, 1795, *John Butler Papers* Vol 8, 80-1

Butler and Brant believed that the gathering at Sandusky was a chance for united tribes to negotiate peace from a position of power. They advised against military confrontation with the Americans even though they thought that the American army would be defeated by the 1500 warriors that the confederation could field.³⁸ Butler wanted the Iroquois to get what they could out of peaceful settlement with the United States and to settle near Niagara.³⁹ When the Indian confederation was destroyed in August of 1794 at Fallen Timbers, Butler and Brant seemed to have been proven correct. The Great Lakes tribes had been crushed with no hope now of recovering even paltry sums for the lands now being taken.⁴⁰

Neither Butler nor Brant would exercise any influence outside of Niagara and the Iroquois community settled there again however. They were seen as traitors to the larger Indian community, failing to back the confederation at a crucial moment. In addition to losing the confidence of the Ohio tribes, they were also regarded with suspicion by British policy makers who didn't trust their personal motives and who were pursuing neither Butler's or McKee's approach to Indian diplomacy, preferring instead to keep the tribes divided and reaching accommodation with the Americans.⁴¹

In his remaining few years Butler was not a very effective superintendent although he enjoyed a certain degree of respect earned of long years as one of Britain's closest links with

³⁸ Colonel John Butler to Joseph Chew, March 1, 1795, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 81-81; Colonel John Butler to Joseph Chew, Niagara, July 10, 1794 *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 77

³⁹ Grenville, colonial secretary to Lord Dorchester, Whitehall, August 3, 1790, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 43-44; Reginald Horsman, "The British Indian Department and the Resistance to General Anthony Wayne, 1793-1795", *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* Vol. 49, No. 2 (Sep., 1962), 269-290

⁴⁰ Anthony Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of Seneca*, (Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2010) 162-8

⁴¹ Wallace, *Death and Rebirth of Seneca*, 168; Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 290-294; White, *The Middle Ground*, 474-475

the Iroquois. He was cited as an authority in anthropological papers at the royal society and was seen as the heir to Sir William's legacy by many.⁴² By 1795 John Butler was too infirm to care for his responsibilities. Lt. Governor Simcoe had hoped to push him onto a council seat where he would receive his salary and be available for consultation but have no more to do with the operation of the Department.⁴³ Simcoe complained to Lord Dorchester, "Colonel Butler is so deaf that he can scarcely interpret or speak in public councils."⁴⁴ "It is very much wished that he could be prevailed upon to retire and that a person of established integrity, loyalty, and abilities could be found to fill his place."⁴⁵ Butler however remained in his position and was content to collect his 200 pound per annum salary.⁴⁶

In 1796, John Butler began suffering from severe dropsy. Excessive swelling of his limbs made getting up and moving around impossibly painful. The cause could have been liver or heart failure or both. He passed away on May 13, 1796. Long recognized as one of the founders of British Canada, Butler has been memorialized by Canadians since then and today his bust occupies a spot of honor at the Canadian War Memorial, his gaze fixed on the red coated backs of the Canada's elite honor guard, his place there assured by the success of the community he built out of the ashes of war, the first garrison community of the second British Empire.

⁴² Mr. Richard Mc Causland, Particulars Relative to the Nature and Customs of the Indians of North-America. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Vol. 76 (1786), pp. 229-235; Extract from Canadian Letters, Descriptions of a Tour through the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada in the course of the years 1792 and 1793. *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Vol IV, Series 3, Number 4 (Montreal, 1912) *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 84

⁴³ John Graves Somcoe to Lord Dorchester, Kingston, March 9, 1795, *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 82-83.

⁴⁴ John Graves Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, Navy Hall, Oct 9, 1795 *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 84

⁴⁵ James Green to John Graves Simcoe, Quebec, November 5, 1795 *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 85

⁴⁶ Indian Department Pay, March 1796 *John Butler Papers* Vol. 8, 87

Bibliography:

- Aalen, F. H. A. *Man and the Landscape in Ireland*. London: Academic Press, 1978.
- Allen, Ethan. *The Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen*. New York: Corinth Books, 1961.
- Allen, Robert S. *His Majesty's Indian Allies British Indian Policy in the Defense of Canada, 1774-1815*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.
- Alsop, James D. "Samuel Vetch's 'Canada Survey'd': The Formation of a Colonial Strategy, 1706-1710." *Acadiensis* 12.1 (1982): 39-58.
- Alston, Lee J., and Morton Owen Schapiro. "Inheritance Laws across Colonies: Causes and Consequences." *The Journal of Economic History* 44.2 (1984): 277-87.
- Anderson, Fred, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1984.
- Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000.
- Andrews, Kenneth R., et al. *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America, 1480-1650*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979.
- Anonymous. "Canadian Letters, Descriptions of a Tour through the Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada in the course of the years 1792 and 1793." *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*, Vol IV, Series 3, Number 4, Montreal. 1912
- Aquila, Richard. *The Iroquois Restoration: Iroquois Diplomacy on the Colonial Frontier, 1701-1754*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983.
- Armitage, David, 1965. *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. 59 Vol. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Bacon, Edwin Munroe, 1844-1916. *The Connecticut River and the Valley of the Connecticut; Three Hundred and Fifty Miles from Mountain to Sea; Historical and Descriptive*. 1907.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *The Origins of American Politics*. New York. Alfred A. Knopf, 1968
- Bailyn, Bernard, and Philip D. Morgan. *Strangers Within the Realm: Cultural Margins of the First British Empire*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1991.
- Baldwin, John Dension and William Clift, *A Record of the Descendants of George Dennison of Stoning Connecticut etc* (Worcester: Tyler and Seagrave, 1881)

- Bannan, Theresa. *Pioneer Irish of Onondaga (about 1776-1847)*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1911.
- Bannet, Eve Tavor. "The Theater of Politeness in Charlotte Lennox's British-American Novels." *Novel: a forum on fiction* (Brown Univ., Providence, RI) 33.1 (1999): 73.
- Barnard, Toby, and Jane Fenlon. *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745*. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2000.
- Barr, Daniel P. *Unconquered: The Iroquois League at War in Colonial America*. Annotation ed. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2006.
- Beauchamp, William Martin. *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*. Albany: New York State Education Dept., 1907.
- F.W. Beers & Co. *History of Montgomery and Fulton Counties, N.Y. With Illustrations Descriptive of Scenery, Private Residences, Public Buildings, Fine Blocks, and Important Manufactories, from Original Sketches by Artists of the Highest Ability, and Portraits of Old Pioneers and Prominent Residents*. New York: F.W. Beers & Co, 1878.
- Benét, Stephen Vincent. *The Devil and Daniel Webster: Play in One Act*. New York: Dramatists Play Service, 1966.
- Benton, Lauren, and Benjamin Straumann. "Acquiring Empire by Law: From Roman Doctrine to Early Modern European Practice." *Law and History Review* 28.1 (2010): 1-38.
- Bertsch, W. H. "The Defenses of Oswego." *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 13 (1914): 108-27.
- Billington, Ray A. "The Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768." *New York History* 25.2 (1944): 182-94.
- Bloomfield, Joseph, Mark Edward Lender, and James Kirby Martin. *Citizen Soldier: The Revolutionary War Journal of Joseph Bloomfield*. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1982.
- Bond, Richmond Pugh, 1899-1979. *Queen Anne's American Kings*. New York: Octagon Books, 1974.
- Bonomi, Patricia U. *A Factioned People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- Bothwell, James. *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility, and Political Control in Fourteenth-century England*. Boydell Press, 2004.

- Bowen, Desmond and Jean Bowen, *Heroic Option: The Irish in the British Army*. London: Pen and Sword, 2005
- Brady, Ciaran. *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536-1588*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Brady, Ciaran, and Jane H. Ohlmeyer. *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- British Academy, and Oxford University Press. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com.libezproxy2.syr.edu/>>.
- Brodhead, John Romeyn, Berthold Fernow, and E. B. O'Callaghan. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York: Procured in Holland, England, and France*. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853.
- Brubaker, John H. *Massacre of the Conestogas: On the Trail of the Paxton Boys in Lancaster County*. Charleston: The History Press, 2010.
- Buckingham, Thomas. *Roll and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queen Anne's War, 1710-1711*; Ed. for the Acorn Club. United States; 1916.
- Burke, Bernard, Peter Townend, and John Burke. *Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage: Founded 1826 by John Burke and Sir Bernard Burke*. London: Burke's Peerage, 1970.
- Burke, Thomas E. "Leisler's Rebellion at Schenectady, New York, 1689–1710." *New York History* 70.4 (1989): 405-30.
- Burke, Thomas E. *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady, New York, 1661- 1710*. 2nd ed. Albany, N.Y: Excelsior Editions/State University of New York Press, 2009.
- Burton, Ivor F. (Ivor Flower). *The Captain-General: The Career of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough from 1702-1711*. London: Constable, 1968.
- Butler, Elmer Ellsworth. *Butlers and Kinsfolk, Butlers of New England and Nova Scotia and Related Families of Other Names, Including Durkees, Descendants of Lieut. William and Sarah (Cross) Butler, of Ipswich, Mass., and of Eleazer 1st and Lydia (Durkee) Butler, of Ashford, Conn. and Yarmouth, N.S.* Milford, N.H.: The Cabinet Press, 1944.

- Calloway, Colin G. (Colin Gordon). *New Worlds for all: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America*. Johns Hopkins Paperbacks ed. Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998; 1997.
- Calloway, Colin G. (Colin Gordon). *Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991.
- Calloway, Colin G. (Colin Gordon). *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Campbell, William W. *Annals of Tyron County* (New York: Cherry Valley Gazette Print, 1831)
- Canny, Nicholas P. *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565-76*. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1976.
- Canny, Nicholas P. *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534–1660* Dublin: Helicon, 1987
- Canny, Nicholas P. *The Oxford History of the British Empire: British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century / Volume 1: The Origins of Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Canny, Nicholas P. *Making Ireland British, 1580-1650*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Carpenter, Roger M. "From Indian Women to English Children: The Lenni-Lenape and the Attempt to Create a New Diplomatic Identity." *Pennsylvania History* 74.1 (2007): 1-20.
- Caulkins, Frances Manwaring, and Cecelia Griswold. *History of New London, Connecticut, From the First Survey of the Coast in 1612 to 1860*. New London: H.D. Utley, 1895.
- Cassell, Frank A. "The Braddock Expedition of 1755: Catastrophe in the Wilderness." *Pennsylvania Legacies* 5.1 (2005): 11-5.
- Chalmers, George. *A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and Other Powers Vol. 1 Vol. 1*. London: Stockdale, 1790.
- Chambers, Robert W. *Cardigan; A Novel*. New York: Harper & Bros, 1901.
- Chambers, Robert W. *The Maid-at-Arms: A Novel*. New York: Harper & Bros, 1902.
- Chambers, Robert W. *The Reckoning*. New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1905.

- Chambers, Robert W. *The Hidden Children*. New York and: D. Appleton and Co, 1914.
- Chambers, Robert W. *The Little Red Foot*. New York: George H. Doran Co, 1921.
- Chemist and Druggist: The Newsweekly for Pharmacy*, Volume 34 (Benn Brothers, 1889)
- Childs, John. *The Army of Charles II*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1976.
- Colden, Cadwallader. *The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden ... 1711-[1775]*. New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1918.
- Colden, Cadwallader. *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada: Which Are Dependent on the Province of New York, and Are a Barrier between the English and the French in That Part of the World*. New York: A.S. Barnes, 1904.
- Colley, Linda. *Captives*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2002.
- Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.
- Crouch, Christian Ayne. *Nobility Lost: French and Canadian Martial Cultures, Indians, and the End of New France*. 2014.
- Cruikshank, E. A. *The Story of Butler's Rangers and the Settlement of Niagara*. Welland, Ont: Tribune Printing House, 1893.
- Cruikshank, E. A. *Records of Niagara, A Collection of Documents Relating to the First Settlement, 1778-1783*. [Niagara, Ont.]: Niagara Historical Society, 1927.
- Cruikshanks, Eveline, David W. Hayton, and Stuart Handley. *The House of Commons 1690-1715. [Volume] 5, [Volume] 5*. London: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Chickering, Roger, and Stig Förster. *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775-1815*. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2010.
- Churchill, Winston. *Marlborough His Life and Times Book One, Book One*. Marlborough, His Life and Times [Texte Imprimé] / by the Right Honourable Winston S. Churchill. London: George G. Harrap, 1947.
- Cobb, Sanford H. *The Palatine or German Immigration to New York and Pennsylvania: A Paper Read Before the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*. Wilkes-Barré, Pa: Printed for the Society, 1897.
- Dalton, Charles. *Irish Army Lists, 1661-1685*. London: privately printed, 1907.

- Dalton, Charles. *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1892.
- Danver, Steven Laurence. *Revolts, Protests, Demonstrations, and Rebellions in American History: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO, 2011.
- Dennis, Matthew. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Dixon, David. *Never Come to Peace Again: Pontiac's Uprising and the Fate of the British Empire in North America*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.
- Dickinson, Harry. "The October Club." *Huntington Library Quarterly: A Journal for the History and Interpretation of English and American Civilization* 33 (1970): 155.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography Vol. 1. Vol. 1. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1966.*
- "Documents: Fort Frontenac and Fort Stanwix." *New York History* 16.4 (1935): 449-64.
- Downes, Randolph C. *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio: A Narrative of Indian Affairs in the Upper Ohio Valley Until 1795*. [Pittsburgh]: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940.
- Drake, Francis S. *Indian History for Young Folks*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885.
- Drake, Samuel Adams. *The Border Wars of New England: Commonly Called King William's and Queen Anne's Wars*. Williamstown, Mass: Corner House Publishers, 1973.
- Ducharme, Michel, and Peter Feldstein. *The Idea of Liberty in Canada During the Age of Atlantic Revolutions, 1776-1838*. 2014.
- Dunboyne, Patrick Theobald Tower Butler. *Happy Families: Genealogical Questions and Comments Pertaining to Butler Families*. New London, NH, USA (P.O. Box 1286, New London 03257): Butler Society, 1983. A serial of continuing research into the genealogy of families named Butler, compiled by Lord Dunboyne, and published in the *Journal of the Butler Society*, Vol.1 No.1 (1968) to Vol.4 No.1 (1997)
- Dunn, Walter S. *Opening New Markets: The British Army and the Old Northwest*. Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2002.
- Dwight, Timothy, and Barbara Miller Solomon. *Travels in New England and New York*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Eckstorm, Fannie Hardy. "Who was Paugus?" *The New England Quarterly* 12.2 (1939): 203-26.

- Egerton, Hugh Edward. *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*. London: Methuen & Co, 1897.
- English, Thomas Dunn. "The Death of Walter Butler: A Ballad of Tryon County." 19 Vol. New York, N.Y: Harper, 1859.
- Essays in Colonial History Presented to Charles McLean Andrews by His Students*. New Haven: Yale University press, 1931.
- Ferris, Morris Patterson, and General Society of Colonial Wars (U.S.) *Account of the Battle of Lake George, September 8th, 1755*. 1903.
- Files, Angela E.M. "The Provincial Loyalist Corps: Settlers of Upper Canada" Grand River Branch Newsletter, *Branches* February 1991, Vol.3 No.1, Pages 5-8 accessed November 2010 through http://www.grandriveruel.ca/Newsletter_Reprints/91v3n1Loyalist_Corps.htm
- Fingerhut, Eugene R., and Joseph S. Tiedemann. *The Other New York: The American Revolution Beyond New York City, 1763-1787*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005.
- Flexner, James Thomas. *Mohawk Baronet: A Biography of Sir William Johnson*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1989.
- Foote, William Alfred. "The American Independent Companies of the British Army 1664-1764." ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1966.
- Force, Peter, and M. St. Clair Clarke. *American Archives: Consisting of a Collection of Authentick Records, State Papers, Debates, and Letters and Other Notices of Publick Affairs, the Whole Forming a Documentary History of the Origin and Progress of the North American Colonies ; of the Causes and Accomplishment of the American Revolution ; and of the Constitution of Government for the United States, to the Final Ratification Thereof. In Six Series*. Washington, D.C.: Published by M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1837.
- Fox, Edith M. *Land Speculation in the Mohawk Country*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1949.
- Flick, Alexander Clarence, and New York State Historical Association. *History of the State of New York*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.
- Frame, Robin. *Colonial Ireland: 1169-1369*. Dublin: Helicon, 1981.
- Geikie, Roderick, and Isabel Annie (Morison) Montgomery. *Dutch Barrier, 1705-1719*. Cambridge [England]: University Press, 1930.

- Gilbert, Davies, William Hals, Thomas Tonkin, James Liddell, James Lake, Oliver Matthews, T. Vigurs, Elizabeth Heard, William H. Roberts, and Joshua Brooking Rowe. *The Parochial History of Cornwall: Founded on the Manuscript Histories of Mr. Hals and Mr. Tonkin ; with Additions and Various Appendices*. London: Published by J.B. Nichols and Son, 1838.
- Graham, Gerald Sandford, and Hovenden Walker. *The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711*. 1953.
- Grant, Charles Stewart. *The Armies and Uniforms of Marlborough's Wars*. Essex [England]: Partizan Press, 2004.
- Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. [Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1972.
- Great Britain. *A List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns of His Majesty's Forces on the British Establishment With the Dates of Their Several Commissions As Such, and Also the Dates of the First Commissions Which Such Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, and Lieutenants Had in the Army ; Also, a List of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns of His Majesty's Forces on the Irish Establishment*. London: T. Cox, 1740. <<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/29109256.html>>.
- Great Britain, Mary Anne Everett Green, Francis Henry Blackburne Daniell, and Francis Bickley. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles II*. London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860.
- Great Britain, and Robert Pentland Mahaffy. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Anne, Preserved in the Public Record Office. Vol. 1, Vol. 1*. Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968.
- Great Britain. Public Record Office. Treasury Papers. T-1 series
- Great Britain. Public Record Office. The State Papers of Queen Anne, 1702-1714: Public Record Collection S.P. 34. Wilmington, De: Michael Glazier, 1977.
- Greene, Jack P. *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.
- Greene, Nelson. *History of the Mohawk Valley, Gateway to the West, 1614-1925; Covering the Six Counties of Schenectady, Schoharie, Montgomery, Fulton, Herkimer, and Oneida*. Chicago: S.J. Clarke, 1925.

- Greenwood, F. Murray. *Legacies of Fear: Law and Politics in Quebec in the Era of the French Revolution*. [Toronto]: Osgoode Society, 1993.
- Grenier, John. *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier, 1607-1814*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Gribbon, H. D. *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*. [Dublin]: [An leabharlann], 1985.
- Guzzardo, John Christopher. "Sir William Johnson's Official Family: Patron and Clients in an Anglo-American Empire, 1742-1777." Ph.D. diss., ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1975.
- Guzzardo, John Christopher. "Democracy Along the Mohawk: An Election Return, 1773." *New York History* 57.1 (1976): 31.
- Gwyn, Julian. *The Enterprising Admiral: The Personal Fortune of Admiral Sir Peter Warren*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.
- Haan, Richard. "The Problem of Iroquois Neutrality: Suggestions for Revision." *Ethnohistory* 27.4 (1980): 317-30.
- Hadfield, Joseph, and Douglas Sinclair Robertson. *An Englishman in America, 1785, Being the Diary of Joseph Hadfield*. Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co, 1933.
- Hagedorn, Nancy L. "'A Friend to Go between them': The Interpreter as Cultural Broker during Anglo-Iroquois Councils, 1740-70." *Ethnohistory* 35.1 (1988): 60-80.
- Hagerty, Gilbert W. *Massacre at Fort Bull; The De Léry Expedition against Oneida Carry, 1756*. Providence, R.I.: Mowbray Co, 1971.
- Hailman, John R. *Thomas Jefferson on Wine*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006.
- Hakluyt, Richard, David B. Quinn, and Alison M. Quinn. *A Particuler Discourse Concerninge the Greate Necessitie and Manifold Commodityes That Are Like to Growe to This Realme of Englande by the Westerne Discoueries Lately Attempted, Written in the Yere 1584, by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde Known As Discourse of Western Planting*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1993.
- Hale, Horatio. *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. [Toronto]: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
- Halsey, Francis W. *The Old New York Frontier: Its Wars with Indians and Tories, Its Missionary Schools, Pioneers, and Land Titles, 1614-1800*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1901.

- Hanson, Patricia King, and Alan Gevinson. *The American Film Institute Film Catalog of Motion Pictures Produced in the United States: Feature Films, 1911-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Harvey, Oscar Jewell, and Ernest Gray Smith. *A History of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania: From Its First Beginnings to the Present Time, Including Chapters of Newly-Discovered Early Wyoming Valley History, Together with Many Biographical Sketches and Much Genealogical Material*. Wilkes-Barré: Raeder Press, 1909.
- Henretta, James A. "Salutary Neglect"; *Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1972.
- Higgins, Ruth Loving. *Expansion in New York*. Columbus: Ohio State University, 1931.
- Hinderaker, Eric, and Peter C. Mancall. *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Hinderaker, Eric. *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011.
- Holden, Brock W. *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087-1265*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Holmes, Geoffrey. "The Sacheverell Riots: The Crowd and the Church in Early Eighteenth-Century London." *Past & Present*.72 (1976): 55-85.
- Horsman, Reginald. "The British Indian Department and the Resistance to General Anthony Wayne, 1793-1795." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 49.2 (1962): 269-90.
- Hough, Franklin B. *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs Appointed by Law for the Extinguishment of Indian Titles in the State of New York. Published from the Original Manuscript in the Library of the Albany Institute Vol. I Vol. I*. Albany [N.Y.]: J. Munsell, 1861.
- Houlding, J. A. *Fit for Service: The Training of the British Army, 1715-1795*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.
- Hunt, George T. *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967.
- Hutchins, Stephen C. *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York*. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1880.
- Mark, Irving. "Agrarian Revolt in Colonial New York, 1766." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 1.2 (1942): 111-42.

- Jackson, Donald. *Intermarriage in Ireland, 1550-1650*. Montreal: Cultural and Educational Productions, 1970.
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. "Wampum: The Protocol of Indian Diplomacy." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6.4 (1949): 596-604.
- Jacobs, Wilbur R. *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1950.
- James, Francis Godwin. *Lords of the Ascendancy: The Irish House of Lords and Its Members, 1600-1800*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995.
- Jennings, Francis. "Virgin Land and Savage People." *American Quarterly* 23.4 (1971): 519-41.
- Jennings, Francis. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire: The Covenant Chain Confederation of Indian Tribes with English Colonies from Its Beginnings to the Lancaster Treaty of 1744*. New York: Norton, 1984.
- Johnson, William, 1715-1774, and University of the State of New York. Division of Archives and History. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921.
- Jones, Howard Mumford. 'Origins of the English Colonial Idea in England', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, v. 85 n. 5 (September, 1942)
- Jordan, Kurt A. *The Seneca Restoration, 1715-1754: An Iroquois Local Political Economy*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008.
- Kalm, Pehr. *Travels into North America*. Barre, Mass: Imprint Society, 1972.
- Kane, Richard. *A System of Camp-Discipline Military Honours, Garrison-Duty, and Other Regulations for the Land Forces. Collected by a Gentleman of the Army. In Which Are Included, Kane's Discipline for a Battalion in Action. With a Map of the Seat of War, Lines and Plans of Battles, and Above Sixty Military Schemes, Finely Engraved from the Originals of the Most Eminent Generals, &C. To Which Is Added, General Kane's Campaigns of King William and the Duke of Marlborough, Improved from the Late Earl of Craufurd's and Colonel Dunbar's Copies, Taken from Gen. Kane's Own Writing. With His Remarks on the Several Stratagems by Which Every Battle Was Won or Lost, from 1689 to 1712. The Second Edition. Continued from the Restoration Where Our Standing Army Commences, in a Series of Historical and Chronological Facts of the Military and Naval Transactions of Great Britain ; Being a Concise History (to Supply the Scenes of Action in Which the General Was Not Engaged) to 1757. By an Impartial Hand*. London: Printed for J. Millan, opposite the Admiralty

Office, 1757.

<http://find.galegroup.com.libezproxy2.syr.edu/ecco/infomark.do?contentSet=ECCOArticles&docType=ECCOArticles&bookId=1183000500&type=getFullCitation&tabID=T001&prodId=ECCO&docLevel=TEXT_GRAPHICS&version=1.0&source=library&userGroupName=uvictoria>.

Katz, Stanley Nider. *Newcastle's New York; Anglo-American Politics, 1732-1753*.

Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968.

Kenney, Alice P. *Stubborn for Liberty: The Dutch in New York*. Syracuse: Published for the New York State American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, Syracuse University Press, 1975.

Ketchum, William. *An Authentic and Comprehensive History of Buffalo: With Some Account of Its Early Inhabitants, Both Savage and Civilized ; Comprising Historic Notices of the Six Nations or Iroquois Indians, Including a Sketch of the Life of Sir William Johnson, and of Other Prominent White Men, Long Resident Among the Senecas ; Arranged in Chronological Order*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Rockwell, Baker & Hill, Printers, 1864.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790*.

Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

Kim, Sung Bok. *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664-1775*.

Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Kirwan, John, and Margaret M. Phelan. *Kilkenny: Studies in Honour of Margaret M. Phelan*. [Kilkenny, Ireland]: Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1997.

Klein, Milton M. *The Empire State: A History of New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Knittle, Walter Allen, and Dixon Ryan Fox. *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration: A British Government Redemptioner Project to Manufacture Naval Stores*.

Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co, 1937.

Knowles, Norman James. *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Kulikoff, Allan. *From British Peasants to Colonial American Farmers*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

- Kupperman, Karen Ordahl, John C Appleby, and Mandy Banton. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: North America and the West Indies, 1574-1739*. Windows version 1.0
London: Routledge, 2000.
- Lamb, Martha, Joanna Pond, Nathan Gillett , John Austin. *Stevens The Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, Volume 22. A.S. Barnes, 1889
- Lanctôt, Gustave, and Margaret M. Cameron. *A history of Canada. From the royal régime to the Treaty of Utrecht, 1663-1713 Vol 2. ; Vol 2*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co, 1964.
- Lanning, John Tate. "The American Colonies in the Preliminaries of the War of Jenkins' Ear." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 11.2 (1927): 129-55.
- La Pontin, Armand Shelby. *The Minisink Patent: A study in Colonial Landholding and the Problems of Settlement in New York*. Ph.D. diss., ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1974.
- Lawson, Cecil C. P. *A History of the Uniforms of the British Army*. London: P. Davies, 1940.
- Leach, Douglas Edward. *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Lengel, Edward G. *General George Washington: A Military Life*. New York: Random House, 2005.
- Lennox, Charlotte, and Susan Kubica Howard. *The Life of Harriot Stuart, Written by Herself*. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995.
- Loescher, Burt Garfield. *Genesis: Rogers Rangers : the First Green Berets : the Corps & the Revivals, April 6, 1758-December 24, 1783*. Bowie, Md: Heritage Books, 2000.
- Logusz, Michael O. *The Mohawk Valley Campaign in the Wilderness War of 1777*. Havertown, Pa: Casemate, 2012
- Long, J., James Robson, John Debrett, John Sewell, James Edwards, Isaac Taylor, Isaac Taylor, James Fletcher, and Lewis Bull. *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader: Describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians ; with an Account of the Posts Situated on the River Saint Laurence, Lake Ontario, &C. ; to Which Is Added a Vocabulary of the Chippeway Language ; Names of Furs and Skins, in English and French ; a List of Words in the Iroquois, Mohegan, Shawanee, and Esquimeaux Tongues, and a Table, Shewing the Analogy between the Algonkin and Chippeway Languages*. London: Printed for the author, and sold by Robson, Bond Street, 1791.

- Lossing, Benson John. *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution ; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence*. New York: Harper & Bros, 1851.
- Lustig, Mary Lou. *Privilege and Prerogative: New York's Provincial Elite, 1710-1776*. Madison [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995.
- Lydekker, John Wolfe. *The Faithful Mohawks*. Port Washington, N.Y.: I.J. Friedman, 1968.
- MacDonald, William W. "Colonel John Butler, Soldier, Loyalist, Freemason: Canada's Forgotten Patriot." *Canadian Masonic Research Association, Papers*, 76 (1964).
- MacLeitch, Gail D. *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- MacLeod, D. Peter. *The Canadian Iroquois and the Seven Years' War*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2012.
- Mahaffy, Robert Pentland. *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland / Charles II: Preserved in the Public Record Office 1 1*. München: Kraus, 1980.
- Marcus, Richard H. "The Connecticut Valley: A Problem in Intercolonial Defense." *Military Affairs* 33.1 (1969): 230-42.
- Marshall, John, and Bushrod Washington. *The Life of George Washington, Commander in Chief of the American Forces, During the War Which Established the Independence of His Country, and First President of the United States*. Philadelphia: Printed and published by C.P. Wayne, 1804.
- Marshall, P. J., and Elaine M. Low. *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Vol. 2, Vol. 2*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Marshall, Peter. "Sir William Johnson and the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1768." *Journal of American Studies* 1.2 (1967): 149-79.
- Mayer, Tiffany. *Niagara Food: A Flavourful History of the Peninsula's Bounty*. Charleston: The History Press, 2014.
- McAnear, Beverly. *The Income of the Colonial Governors of British North America*. New York: Pageant Press, 1967.
- McCann, Sean. *The Fighting Irish*. London: Frewin, 1972.
- McCausland, Richard. "Particulars Relative to the Nature and Customs of the "Indians" of "North-America": Communicated by Joseph Planta, Esq. Sec. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 76.1 (1786): 229.

- McCardell, Lee. *Ill-Starred General: Braddock of the Coldstream Guards*. [Pittsburgh]: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1958.
- McCully, Bruce T. "Catastrophe in the Wilderness: New Light on the Canada Expedition of 1709." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11.3 (1954): 441-56.
- McGregor, Robert Kuhn. "Cultural Adaptation in Colonial New York: The Palatine Germans of the Mohawk Valley." *New York History* 69.1 (1988): 5.
- Merrell, James Hart. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: Norton, 1999.
- Middleton, Richard. *Pontiac's War: Its Causes, Course, and Consequences*. New York: Routledge, 2007.
- Miller, Peyton F. *A Group of Great Lawyers of Columbia County, New York*. [New York]: Priv. Print, 1904.
- Milobar, David. "Conservative Ideology, Metropolitan Government and the Reform of Quebec, 1782-1791." *The International History Review* 12.1 (1990): 45.
- Moglen, Eben. "Considering "Zenger": Partisan Politics and the Legal Profession in Provincial New York." *Columbia Law Review* 94.5 (1994): 1495-524.
- Mohenga, The Flower of the Forest: Grand Musical Drama in Three Parts, *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel*, Saturday Morning No. 226 (October 8, 1859)
- Moody, Theodore William. *The Londonderry Plantation 1609-1641*. Belfast: William Mullan, 1939.
- Moody, T. W., F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne. *A New History of Ireland. [Vol] III, [Vol] III*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Morgan, William Thomas. 'Queen Anne's Expedition of 1711'. *Queen's University Bulletin*. 56. (1928)
- Mullin, Michael J. "Personal Politics: William Johnson and the Mohawks." *American Indian Quarterly* 17.3 (1993): 350.
- Nelson, Paul David. *General Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester: Soldier-Statesman of Early British Canada*. Madison [N.J.]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000.
- New York (Colony), Charles Z. Lincoln, William H. Johnson, and A. Judd Northrup. *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution: Including the Charters to the Duke of York, the Commissions and Instructions to Colonial Governors, the Duke's Laws, the Laws of the Dongan and Leisler Assemblies, the*

- Charters of Albany and New York and the Acts of the Colonial Legislatures from 1691 to 1775 Inclusive.* Albany: J.B. Lyon, State printer, 1894.
- New-York Historical Society. *Collections of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1897* (New York: Printed for the Society, 1898)
- Nester, William R. *"Haughty Conquerors": Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763.* Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2000.
- Nester, William R. *The First Global War: Britain, France, and the Fate of North America, 1756-1775.* Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2000.
- Noah, Timothy. "The Unluckiest Man in Movie History." *Slate*, (June 13, 2000)
www.slate.com/toolbar.aspx?action=print&id=1005493 7/3/2008
- Nolan, William, and Kevin Whelan. *Kilkenny: History and Society.* Templeogue, Dublin: Geography Publications, 1990.
- Norton, Thomas Elliot. *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York, 1686-1776.* [Madison]: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974.
- Oberg, Michael Leroy. *Uncas: First of the Mohegans.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- O'Connor, Daniel. *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701-2000.* London: Continuum, 2000.
- O'Callaghan, E. B. *Papers Relating to the First Settlement and Capture of Fort Oswego: 1727-1756.* [Albany]: [Weed, Parsons & Co., public printers], 1849.
- O'Callaghan, E. B. and Dorothy C. Barck. *Calendar of New York Colonial Commissions, 1680-1770.* New York: New York historical Society, 1929.
- O'Callaghan, John Cornelius. *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, From the Revolution in Great Britain and Ireland Under James II., to the Revolution in France Under Louis XVI.* Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1870.
- Ohlmeyer, Jane H. *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Osgood, Herbert L. *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. Vol. 3.* Gloucester, Mass: P. Smith, 1958.
- O'Shaughnessy, Andrew Jackson. *The Men Who Lost America: British Leadership, the American Revolution, and the Fate of the Empire.* 2013.

- Parker, Robert, and David G. Chandler. *Robert Parker and Comte De Mérode-Westerloo: The Marlborough Wars*. [Hamden, Conn.]: Archon Books, 1968.
- Parkman, Francis. *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1884.
- Parkman, Francis. *A Half-Century of Conflict*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co, 1892.
- Parmenter, Jon William. "Pontiac's War: Forging New Links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766." *Ethnohistory* 44.4 (1997): 617-54.
- Parmenter, Jon. "After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676-1760." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64.1 (2007): 39-76.
- Pearson, Jonathan, and J. W. MacMurray. *A History of the Schenectady Patent in the Dutch and English Times: Being Contributions Toward a History of the Lower Mohawk Valley*. Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell's Sons, 1883.
- Peck, George. *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858.
- Penrose, Maryly Barton. *Mohawk Valley in the Revolution: Committee of Safety Papers & Genealogical Compendium*. Franklin Park, N.J.: Liberty Bell Associates, 1978.
- Pincus, Steven C. A. *1688: The First Modern Revolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Preston, David L. "'Make Indians of Our White Men': British Soldiers and Indian Warriors from Braddock's to Forbes's Campaigns, 1755-1758." *Pennsylvania History* 74.3 (2007): 280-306.
- Quinn, David Beers. "Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577) and the Beginnings of English Colonial Theory." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 89.4 (1945): 543-60.
- Randall, Willard Sterne. *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011.
- Readex (Firm). 2004. *America's Historical Newspapers: Including Early American Newspapers series, 1-9*
- Reid, W. Max. *The Mohawk Valley: Its Legends and Its History*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.
- Richter, Daniel K. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 40.4 (1983): 528-59.

- Richter, Daniel K., and James Hart Merrell. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987.
- Rittner, Don. *Schenectady: Frontier Village to Colonial City*. Charleston, SC: History Press, 2011.
- Rogers, H. C. B. *The British Army of the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1977.
- Sargent, Winthrop, and Robert Orme. *The history of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in 1755 under Major-General Edward Braddock*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co, 1855.
- Saum, Lewis O. *The Fur Trader and the Indian*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965.
- Schama, Simon. *A History of Britain. The Wars of the British, 1603-1776 Volume II Volume II*. New York: Hyperion, 2001.
- Schenectady County Historical Society. *Year Book of the Schenectady County Historical Society*. S.l: s.n.], 1906.
<<http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/8020378.html>>.
- Schuyler, Doris E. *Butlersbury: An Historical Sketch*. Frankfort, N.Y.: Canal Side Publishers, 1991.
- Schuyler, Philip John. *Indian Papers*. New York: Public Library, 1710.
- Schwoerer, Lois G. *"No Standing Armies!": The Antiarmy Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Séjourné, Philippe. *The Mystery of Charlotte Lennox, First Novelist of Colonial America (1727?-1804)*. Gap: Editions Ophrys, 1967.
- Severance, Frank H. 1906. "The Story of Joncaire: His Life and Times on the Niagara". *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society*. 9.
- Severance, Frank H. *An Old Frontier of France; The Niagara Region and Adjacent Lakes Under French Control*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co, 1917.
- Shannon, Timothy J. "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53.1 (1996): 13-42.

- Shannon, Timothy J. *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Shannon, Timothy J. *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*. New York: Viking, 2008.
- Sheldon, George. *A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts: The Times When the People by Whom It Was Settled, Unsettled and Resettled*. Deerfield, Mass: [Press of E.A. Hall & Co.], 1895.
- Sheridan, Eugene R. *Lewis Morris, 1671-1746: A Study in Early American Politics*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981.
- Shirley, William, and Charles Henry Lincoln. *Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America, 1731-1760*. New York: Macmillan Co, 1912.
- Shy, John W. *Toward Lexington; The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Silver, Peter Rhoads. *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.
- Simms, Jephtha Root. *The Frontiersmen of New York: Showing Customs of the Indians, Vicissitudes of the Pioneer White Settlers, and Border Strife in Two Wars*. Albany, N.Y.: G.C. Riggs, 1882.
- Smith, Edwin Burritt, and Ernest Hitchcock. *Reports of Cases Adjudged and Determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature and Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors of the State of New York With Copious Notes and References, Tables of Citations, &C.* Newark, N.Y.: Lawyer's Co-operative Pub. Co, 1883.
<<http://www.heinonline.org.libezproxy2.syr.edu/HOL/Index?index=newyork/nycmmnlwrprt&collection=newyork>>.
- Smith, William. *The History of the Late Province of New-York, from Its Discovery, to the Appointment of Governor Colden, in 1762*. New-York: Pub. under the direction of the New-York Historical Society, 1829.
- Smy, William A. *The Butler Papers: Documents and Papers Relating to Colonel John Butler and His Corps of Rangers, 1711-1777*. Victoria, BC: [W. Smy], 1994.
- Snow, Dean R. *Mohawk Valley Archaeology: The Sites*. University Park, Pa: Matson Museum of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University, 1995.

- Snow, Dean R., "Searching for Hendrick: Correction of a Historic Conflation," *New York History*, 88.3 (2007) 229–253.
- Sosin, Jack M. "Louisburg and the Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle, 1748." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 14.4 (1957): 516-35.
- Sosin, Jack M. "The British Indian Department and Dunmore's War." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 74.1 (1966): 34-50.
- Starbuck, David R. *The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999.
- Starkey, Armstrong. *European and Native American Warfare, 1675-1815*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.
- Steele, Ian Kenneth. *Guerillas and Grenadiers; The Struggle for Canada, 1689-1760*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969.
- Steele, Ian Kenneth. *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Stone, Lawrence. "Social Mobility in England, 1500-1700." *Past & Present*.33 (1966): 16-55.
- Stone, William L., and William L. Stone. *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart*. Albany: J. Munsell, 1865.
- Stone, William L. *Life of Joseph Brant--Thayendanegea: Including the Border Wars of the American Revolution and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne. And Other Matters Connected with the Indian Relations of the United States and Great Britain, from the Peace of 1783 to the Indian Peace of 1795*. New York: G. Dearboran and Co, 1838.
- Swiggett, Howard. *War Out of Niagara: Walter Butler and the Tory Rangers*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1933.
- Talcott, Joseph. *The Talcott Papers; Correspondence and Documents (Chiefly Official) During Joseph Talcott's Governorship of the Colony of Connecticut, 1724-41*. [Hartford]: [The Society], 1892.
- Taylor, Alan. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995.
- Taylor, Alan. *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.

- Turner, O. *History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve: Embracing the Counties of Monroe, Ontario, Livingston, Yates, Steuben, Most of Wayne and Allegany, and Parts of Orleans, Genesee, and Wyoming. To Which Is Added, a Supplement or Extension of the Pioneer History of Monroe County.* Rochester [N.Y.]: William Alling, 1851.
- United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada, and Lincoln and Welland Regiment Foundation. *The Butler Bicentenary: Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Death of Colonel John Butler.* [Niagara-on-the-Lake?]: [Colonel John Butler (Niagara) Branch, The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada], 1997.
- University of Connecticut. *Colonial Connecticut Records 1636-1776.* [Storrs, Conn.]: [University of Connecticut], 2000. <<http://www.colonialct.uconn.edu>>.
- Valentine, Alan Chester. *The British Establishment, 1760-1784; An Eighteenth-Century Biographical Dictionary.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.
- Van Schreeven, William James, Robert L. Scribner, and Brent Tarter. *Revolutionary Virginia, the Road to Independence.* [Charlottesville]: Published for Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission [by] University Press of Virginia, 1973.
- Venables, Robert W. *Tryon County, 1775-1783: A Frontier in Revolution.* ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 1967.
- Vrooman, John J., and Elijah Ellsworth Brownell. *Forts and Firesides of the Mohawk Country, New York: The Stories and Pictures of Landmarks of the Pre-Revolutionary War Period Throughout the Mohawk Valley and the Surrounding Country Side, Including Some Historic and Genealogical Mention During the Post-War Period.* Philadelphia: Elijah Ellsworth Brownell, 1943.
- Walker, Hovenden. *A Journal: or Full Account of the Late Expedition to Canada. With an Appendix Containing Commissions, Orders, Instructions, Letters, Memorials, Courts-Martial, Councils of War, &c. Relating Thereto.* London: D. Browne, 1720.
- Wallace, Anthony F. C., and Sheila C. Steen. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Knopf, 1970.
- Wallace, W. Stewart. *The United Empire Loyalists; A Chronicle of the Great Migration.* Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914
- Waller, George M. *Samuel Vetch, Colonial Enterpriser.* Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va. by University of North Carolina Press, 1960.

- Ward, Matthew C. *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765*. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.
- Warren, Peter, and Julian Gwyn. *The Royal Navy and North America: The Warren Papers, 1736-1752*. [London]: Navy Records Society, 1973.
- Winterthur Library: Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera
- Winship, George Parker, J. W., J. W., and Edward Ward. *Boston in 1682 and 1699; A Trip to New-England*. New York: B. Franklin, 1970.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 23.4 (1966): 514-48.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. Review "Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration Under the Duke of Newcastle. 59 Vol. *The Organization of American Historians*, 1973.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. *The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1979.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. *1676, the End of American Independence*. New York: Knopf, 1984.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. *Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo-American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered*. New York: Knopf, 1995.
- Webb, Stephen Saunders. *Marlborough's America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Weidensaul, Scott. *The First Frontier: The Forgotten History of Struggle, Savagery, and Endurance in Early America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012.
- Weslager, C. A. *The Delaware Indians; A History*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972.
- White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Williams, Benjamin. *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as Told to Benjamin Williams*. Edited by Thomas Abler. Bison Books ed. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.
- Wood, Ellen Meiksins. *Empire of Capital*. London: Verso, 2003.
- Wood, Gordon S. *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*. 2006.

- Wraxall, Peter and Charles Howard McIlwain. *An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751*. New York: B. Blom, 1968.
- Young, Peter, and Richard Holmes. *The English Civil War; A Military History of the Three Civil Wars 1642-1651*. London: Eyre Methuen, 1974
- Zenger, John Peter, and James Alexander. *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal*. Edited by Stanly Katz. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963.

VITA
Judd D. Olshan

Ph.D. Degree in History, 2015 Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*

MA Degree in History, 2010 Syracuse University, *Syracuse, NY*

B.A. Degree in History, Summa Cum Laude, 2005 SUNY Cortland, *Cortland, NY*

M.S. Degree in Resource Management, 1997 Central Washington University, *Ellensburg, WA*

B.A. Degree in Human Ecology, 1992 College of the Atlantic, *Bar Harbor, ME*

Teacher, Nature's Classroom, *Charlton, MA* 1993-2004

Tour Leader, Trek America, *Gardena, CA* 1994-2000