

Depredations on the Pennsylvania Frontier

Being an Account of the British Invasion
of Pennsylvania from 1777 to 1782

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16 July 1780

An Historical Fiction Narrative

What thoughts race through your head when you open the door and find more savages than you can count staring at you in the blinding dawn light? The door slams shut in your face before you even realize that it is yourself who is shutting it. Then you finally remember to breathe, and the lump in your throat suddenly lets loose. With a half-cough you cry out to your fellow Rangers for the ones still asleep to wake up.

There were twelve of us in the small cabin. Dawn was just breaking and many of my fellow Rangers were still sleeping. But a few of us had got up and were getting our breakfast ready. Over half of our original group had got up earlier and left to range through the forest about two hours ago looking for evidence of the Indians who had sparked our tour of duty. I kind of wish that I had been picked to go with them. But I didn't and so now I, and the rest of my fellows who were left here in the cabin, need to deal with the problem at hand.

Responding to our shouts of alarm, the rest of the suddenly awakened militia men jump from their beds and reach for their guns. Some of them jump into action clad only in their breeches, not even taking the time to put on a shirt.

Flintlock muskets that had been leaning against the wall are snatched up and a small measure of priming powder is poured in their pans. The musket's barrels had already been charged with black powder and a lead bullet last night. All that was needed for the first shot was the small measure of priming powder in the pan. Subsequent shots would require the barrel being charged anew, but last evening each man had also made and filled their cartridge boxes with cartridges: small squares of paper rolled into cylinders with one end twisted tight into which a single lead ball and a measure of black powder had been poured.¹ The open end of the paper cylinder was then twisted tight and the cartridge was placed in one of the holes in the cartridge box. When needed to recharge the musket, the gun would be halfcocked with the pan open.² A cartridge would be pulled out of the cartridge box, one end would be bit off and a small portion of the powder would be poured into the pan, which was then closed. The remaining powder in the cartridge was poured into the barrel. The cartridge paper and the ball it still held were then stuffed into the mouth of the barrel. The ramrod would be swiftly pulled from the channel under the barrel and used to ram the powder and ball tightly into the bottom, or breech, of the

barrel. The musket was ready for taking the next shot. Experienced soldiers could reload and be ready to fire the musket within fifteen seconds. Expert marksmen might be able to reload and fire six times per minute.

Open windows and holes in the chinking between the logs would soon become loopholes through which the musket barrels would be aimed. Those same holes, though, were openings through which arrows might come screaming in, so I am cautious around them. An eye peering out of a hole just might receive an arrow into it if one is not careful.

Everyone turns their attention to Captain Phillips. Although he had only recently been commissioned a captain, I respect him for his rank, and his whole company looks to him to tell them what to do. Every militia man knows that your Captain is your military ‘father,’ and like your natural father you look to him for guidance and direction. He just now ordered everyone to keep quiet while he assesses the situation. We make a rough estimate that there are about three score Indians surrounding the cabin. Some of us, me included, are certain that we can hear voices speaking in English. We soon agree that they are probably local Tories. Just two years ago, the Westons and others from Standing Stone and the Sinking Spring Valley were captured attempting to incite the Indians at Kittanning. Captain Phillips instructs us not to fire until the Indians instigate a fight, and that they soon do.

It has been estimated that some, perhaps upwards of ten, of the Indians are bearing muskets instead of bow and arrows. The British and local Tories sell muskets to the Indians, knowing full well that they will be using them against us Colonists.

The Indians apparently know that we are all now awake and stirring. Suddenly the discharge from a musket splits the morning stillness. It comes from the Indians outside, and it makes my heart race.

Muskets are being thrust through loopholes, open windows and random holes in the chinking between the cabin’s logs and fire into the surrounding trees. The Indians, in turn, fire their muskets and shoot arrows at the cabin’s door and window. Although they have not caused harm to any of our militia men, their harassment is keeping all of us Rangers in a state of excitement.

Well into the afternoon the Indians have kept up their barrage. They keep moving back and forth among the trees and I and my fellow Rangers take shots at them as best we can. Our targets are difficult to hit considering the inaccurate nature of our flintlock muskets and the fact that they, of course, won’t stand still. Even if they did stand still, you can’t really take aim, but we are banking on the fact that since musket shot scatters in all different directions when it leaves the barrel, some of the Indians might be hit, if only by chance.

The shadows cast by the trees suggest that the battle ~ and yes, that is what I would call it ~ has continued into the afternoon. Through the fight, four of the Indians have been struck by militia musket balls, two of them mortally. From their shrieks and unearthly howls, it appears that one of the Indians that we killed was important to them. Maybe he was a sachem, or chief. Whoever he was, his falling caused the rest to let out war-whoops and it seemed to energize them.

Seeing that our company will not leave the cabin, firebrands are now being shot onto the roof. This cabin, like most log structures here in Bedford County, is roofed with wood planks or staves for shingles. Unlike a slate roof that you might find on houses down east, a wood covered roof is susceptible to catching fire.

Before long, the cabin's wood shingled roof is indeed beginning to burn; sparks are falling down around us. We try to douse the flames with the small amount of water we have sitting in buckets that we brought up from the river last night. Captain Phillips asks us to try to shove the butting poles out of place so that the burning shingles will slide off. Using our muskets as makeshift peaveys, we push at the butting poles that rest on top of the walls, and upon which the entire roof rests. Luckily, the butting poles were not pegged in and we succeeded in that task. But the roof's burning clapboards and weight poles did not fall away from the cabin, as planned. Now, not only the roof, but the walls are on fire.

Captain Phillips shouts for us to stop firing. The lull in shooting on the part of the militia seems to have momentarily brought a pause in the Indians' attack. It was just enough of a break for the Captain to call out that he was going to surrender. I feel a lump in my throat as we look at each other, dreading what may happen to us next.

One of the Tories responded to the Captain by telling him that we Rangers must give up our arms. Then he added that we must agree to allow ourselves to be pinioned, meaning to have our arms bound tightly behind our backs. What could we do but give in to the demands? The cabin is burning out of control and all of our efforts to put out the fire have been unsuccessful. It appears that there is no recourse but to surrender and give in to whatever demands are made. Despite my hopes that the Indians will treat us fairly, I know, deep down, that things will not turn out favorable for us.

Each of us is grabbed by two or three of the Indians. They roughly yank my arms backward, tying them tightly together with climbing vines that they rip down from the surrounding trees. My arms are scratched by their rough handling and the natural pricking of the vines. They do have some rawhide strips with which they are tying some of the men's arms. The savages must carry them with them at all times, just in case they need to tie someone up. It's hard to avoid trying to get loose, your natural tendency is to be able to get your arms free, but they have tied the strips so tight, all you succeed in doing is cutting your wrists.

We are marched southward through the Woodcock Valley. The Indians and the white men with them, who we thought were Tories, are arguing about something, but I can't make out what they're saying because they're speaking Iroquois. And thinking about those white men, I'm not so sure now that they are Tories from across the mountain. It's something about their accents that makes them seem different.

At one point, perhaps a half mile south of the cabin, the two Indians who have a tight grasp on my arms suddenly pull me to a stop, along with all the others ~ that is except for Captain Phillips. The Captain and his son, Elijah (who is only fourteen or fifteen) are separated from the rest of us. What's going on? Five or six of the Indians and two or three of the white men with them have continued on with William and

Elijah, half pulling, half prodding them up the east slope of Tussey Mountain and out of sight. The rest of the Indians and white men hold back with me and the other Bedford County men at the foot of the mountain.

I'm really beginning to feel sick. My stomach is churning from the dreadful fear of the unknown. My head is starting to throb and everywhere I look everything seems blurry. No one is saying anything except the unintelligible noise uttered by the Indians. The thought flashes in my mind: Why didn't I ever learn the Indians' language? And as suddenly as that thought leaves my mind, I think about my wife and two children. How will they know where I am and what has become of me if the Indians don't free me? Abruptly, the thoughts of my family are supplanted by a vaguely odd thought: Is the Captain a Tory himself, working with the Indians to betray us? No, I can't think such thoughts; he and Elijah have probably already been tomahawked to death. It seems like an eternity since we left the burning cabin.

My mind stops racing for a moment, and I take notice to the utter lack of noise. None of the other Rangers are talking ~ each one apparently lost in his own anxiety. A faint breeze is stirring only the topmost leaves of the tall, slender trees. It makes a barely perceptible rustling sound. Only every now and then does the shrill whistle of bird calls break the silence.

Wait a minute! What's happening now? Oh God! They're backing me up against a tree and tying me to it. . .





. ***The Pennsylvania Frontier***

The Pennsylvania frontier in the 1770s and 1780s included the valleys drained by the Juniata River and its Frankstown and Raystown Branches in the then-county of Bedford; the valleys drained by the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers in the then-county of Northumberland; and the valleys drained by the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio Rivers in then-Westmoreland County. Lands acquired from the Amerindians in 1754 in the Albany Purchase and in 1768 in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix ostensibly became part of Cumberland County, which had been erected four years earlier in 1750 out of York County. Bedford County was erected out of the new territory in 1771. Northumberland was erected partially out of the new territory and partially out of Cumberland and Bedford Counties in 1772. Westmoreland County was then erected out of Bedford County in the year 1773.

The Indian Traders

It was along the various rivers and their tributaries that cut through the Appalachian mountain ranges that most of the Euro-Americans who moved into the frontier settled. Traders, who sold goods to the local Amerindians are commonly called *Indian Traders*. Those Indian Traders often established their trading posts along the rivers, especially where established 'Indian paths' also intersected.

John Ray established his trading post in present-day Bedford County where the Dunnings Creek empties into the Juniata River. The site he chose coincided with the intersection of an Indian path that would become known as the Raystown Path and one of three paths similarly called the Warrior Path. Ray constructed two log structures at the site, one of which he probably used as a house and the other as his storeroom/trading post. Surrounding the two cabins with a fence, called in German *zaun*, and subsequently in Old English *tun*, from which we get the word *town*. By surrounding his two buildings with a fence, John Ray created 'Raystown.'³ John Wray was engaged in September 1732 to act as an interpreter in a meeting between Thomas Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania and two 'Shawanese chiefs.'⁴

James Dunning established a trading post to the northwest of Ray's, along the waterway (*i.e.* Dunnings Creek) that would come to bear his name. He received his license to operate in the wilds of Pennsylvania as a trader in July 1744.⁵ He apparently had only a single

building as evidenced by the fact that his trading post was simply called ‘Dunnings’ and never acquired the name *Dunningstown*.

Garrett Pendergrass had a trading post along the south bank of the Juniata River about two miles west of Ray’s trading post. Pendergrass, like Dunning, never got the word ‘town,’ signifying a fenced-in group of buildings, appended to his name, so it might be assumed that he operated out of a single structure also. His property was appropriated by the British Army led by Henry Bouquet in the Forbes Expedition, and he later moved to the vicinity of present-day Pittsburgh.

To the north, in present-day Blair County, Frank Stevens established his own trading post in the vicinity of the abandoned Amerindian village of Assunepachla. The village, referred to by fellow trader James Le Tort in 1731 as *Assunepachla upon Choniata*, was located on an Indian path that linked Paxtang in the east with Kittanning in the west and at the mouth of the Oldtown Run where it empties into the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River, or as the Amerindians called it, the *Tyunayate*. Stevens’ trading post, like Ray’s consisted of more than one building surrounded by a fence or wall, and so it was known as *Frankstown*.

George Croghan received his license to trade with the Amerindians in May 1744.⁶ He established a trading post along the east bank of Aughwick Creek, a tributary of the Juniata River in present-day Shirley Township, Huntingdon County. Croghan, like certain other traders, did not have the name ‘town’ appended to his name, and so it may be assumed that he operated out of a single structure. His trading post appears on early maps and in texts as ‘Croghan’s’ or ‘George Croghans.’ Espousing beliefs and opinions similar to many Shawanese and Delawares, Croghan attracted scores of them to his trading post after the defeat of the British near the Great Meadows in May 1754. It became known in the region as ‘Aucquick Old Town’ and possessed upwards of two hundred Amerindians living in more than twenty cabins near to Croghan’s own. Croghan sent a letter to the Pennsylvania Provincial Council on 16 August 1754 to inform James Hamilton, the Lieutenant Governor, of the situation. In that letter he stated: “*The Half King has sent Three Men off for Shingass and the Delawares and the Shawonese to bring them here in ten Days, and has ordered me to write to your Honour to meet or send one to meet them here in ten Days. They all seem to think if the English does nothing this Fall, when they have it in their Power, that the Ohio Lands will belong to the French, so that it is my Opinion this Meeting will determine the Ohio Indians in Favour of the English or French.*”⁷ Conrad Weiser, a skillful and competent emissary to the Amerindians since 1731, was sent to meet with the warriors at Aucquick. That meeting went favorable for the Pennsylvanian delegation with promises made by the sachems (*i.e.* Amerindian leaders) of the various tribes to support the English in the event of a war with the French.⁸

George Croghan was also a land speculator. He bought up large tracts of land throughout the frontier region and sold smaller tracts of some of them. He maintained a home on a tract opposite to Fort Bedford, on the north bank of the Juniata River.

A fortification, named Fort Shirley, was constructed to the northeast of the Croghan homestead in 1755 as part of Forbes’ Expedition.

Hans Peter Scheaver settled near the Amerindian village known as Standing-Stone, the site of the present-day borough of Huntingdon in Huntingdon County. He received a license to trade with the Amerindians in May 1744 and continued in 1747 and 1748. He was

murdered and scalped by local Amerindians in 1755 and his body was dumped into the twenty-mile-long creek that bears his name (*i.e.* Shavers Creek) and empties into the Juniata River.⁹

To the west of Standing Stone, John Hart established a trading post along the north bank of the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. Hart obtained his license to trade with the Amerindians in July 1744.¹⁰ Known as ‘Hart’s Log’, his trading post gave its name to the Harts Log Valley.

Lazarus and James Lowry also obtained licenses to establish trading posts in July 1744.¹¹ They occupied a tract of land adjacent to and just west of Frank Stevens’ post in present-day Blair County.

The traders mentioned were just eight of perhaps a dozen who established their posts in the region obtained in 1754 by the Treaty of Albany that would become part of Bedford County in 1771. That region, encompassed by the four present-day counties of Bedford, Blair, Huntingdon and Fulton, comprised 2,817 square miles.

Because of their isolation, the traders had to be self-sufficient and accepting of the solitary way of life for a good portion of their year. They maintained their homesteads and families down east and would return there to spend the winter. During those winter months they would be busy bargaining for and accumulating the goods which they would take out the next year. In the spring, they would set out with pack-horses laden with goods, tools and trinkets to be sold to their Amerindian customers through the summer and fall at their trading posts. The Indian traders were mostly transitory. They did not pose a threat to the Amerindians’ migratory way of life by turning the forest into farms.

Rivers And Indian Paths

Until 1754, no actual roads traversed this frontier region. Numerous *Indian* paths stretched north to south through each of the valleys and east to west following waterways that cut gaps through the mountains. Many of those *Indian* paths were unnamed, but they named the waterways. The names by which the Amerindians knew them were heard by European ears and they became anglicized. The *Tyunayate*, vocalized as “tyu-nay-at-e” was heard as “Ju-ni-ata.” [It should be noted that some historians claim that the name ‘Juniata’ was derived from a combination of the words ‘Onio’ and ‘Kaniote’ meaning *upright stone*, the name given to the ‘Standing Stone’ that Amerindians erected along the major waterway in the vicinity of present-day Huntingdon Borough.¹²] The river that the Amerindians knew as the *Alligewi-hanna*, vocalized as “alle-ge-we-hanna” was heard as “Allegheny” and the river that the Amerindians knew as the *Menaungehilla* was heard as “Monongahela.”¹³ As can be seen just in these three examples, the anglicized words are not really so different from the originals. As noted, most of the paths had no names. As the Euro~Americans began to prepare maps of the region, they gave names to the paths. The long path that had its easternmost terminus at Paxtang (*i.e.* Harrisburg) and its westernmost terminus at Kittaning was the path along which Frank Stevens constructed his trading post. Since the trading post was known to other Euro~Americans as ‘Frankstown,’ the path became known as the Frankstown Path. Travelers going west on the Frankstown Path, after passing Frank Stevens’ trading post, called the path that continued on to the major Amerindian village of Kittanning

as the Kittanning Path. Likewise, the path that had its easternmost terminus at Paxtang and its westernmost terminus in the Ohio Valley was the path alongside which John Ray built his trading post. It therefore became known to travelers as the Raystown Path. Travelers who continued westward, after passing Ray's trading post, called the same path the Allegheny Path. Many paths, even after the Euro~Americans started naming them, continued to be called, simply 'Warrior' paths.¹⁴

The Euro~Americans Push Farther West

A sign that the Amerindian sojourners of this frontier did not feel threatened was the sale of two large tracts of land to the north and west of the lands already sold to the Euro~Americans.¹⁵

During June and July 1754, New York Governor James DeLancey hosted delegates from the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts~Bay, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, Maryland and Pennsylvania met at Albany. They met to discuss the French construction



of forts from Quebec southward into the Ohio Valley. One of the results of the Albany Congress was that the Pennsylvania delegates 'purchased' a large tract of land from the Iroquois Confederacy.¹⁶ It encompassed the lands from the Blue Mountain westward to the Allegheny Mountain and from Penns Creek southward to the Maryland / Pennsylvania boundary. In 1768, at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, in addition to the settlement of land claims between the Iroquois and the Penn family, the Pennsylvania delegates purchased an additional, large tract of land. The Iroquois who traveled through the forests of the two large tracts of land did not view land ownership in the same way as the Euro~Americans who wanted land for their permanent farmsteads and defensive fortifications. The Amerindians

who ‘sold’ the land believed that they could continue to freely move through those lands as they always had, despite the fact that the Euro~Americans claimed to ‘own’ them. That difference in understanding would breed animosity and eventually lead to the deprivations that would occur during the 1780s.

The French And Indian War

British and French enmity had its roots in the 1066 invasion of Anglo~Saxon England by the Norman, Flemish, Frankish and Breton army led by William, Duke of Normandy.¹⁷ It might be argued that the animosity between the two kingdoms started long before that, but the Norman Conquest of England fanned whatever embers of hatred might have been glowing. England became a vassal of the King of France and became ‘Norman’ and after that the flame of malice was never fully extinguished. Warfare erupted in 1337 in the beginnings of what has become known as the Hundred Years War (despite it lasting an actual one hundred and sixteen years). The Plantagenet rulers of the Kingdom of England, themselves deriving their kingship from four royal houses of Anjou, France, fought the French House of Valois over the Kingdom of France. In essence, the Norman English and the French were brothers, quarreling as brothers sometimes do over the right of succession. The English and French continued to be at odds for the next two hundred years, participating against each other in the Italian Wars, the Second Anglo-Dutch War, the War of the League of Augsburg, the War of the Spanish Succession and the War of the Austrian Succession.

Armed conflict erupted in the 1750s on the North American continent between the French who were constructing a line of forts into the Ohio Valley to secure their beaver pelt harvesting and trading interests and the British who claimed the same territory primarily for the sake of empire expansion.¹⁸ The initial fight began just one month before the Albany Congress. On 28 May 1754, a contingent of the Virginia militia led by Colonel George Washington attacked a party of French Canadian militia under the command of Ensign Joseph Coulon Ecuyer de Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville near the Great Meadows (in present-day Fayette County). The French and Indian War was started with the defeat of Washington’s Virginian army in the Battle of Fort Necessity. During the next year, a British-Virginian army led by Major General Edward Braddock would cut a road from Fort Cumberland (in Maryland) and attempt to take Fort Duquesne, which the French had built at the Forks of the Ohio. The Forks of the Ohio gained its name from the fact that the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers merge at a point to become the Ohio River. Braddock basically followed the route of an Indian Path called Nemaquin’s Path to make his way through the forests. Braddock’s Expedition failed when the Virginians were ambushed and defeated on 9 July 1755 by a force of 250 French joined by 637 Indian warriors at the Battle of Monongahela (*aka* Battle of the Wilderness). In the battle, General Braddock was mortally wounded and the command devolved to Colonel George Washington.

Prior to General Braddock’s death, Colonel James Burd began to cut a road through Pennsylvania to serve as a supply route for Braddock’s army. Burd essentially followed and enlarged the Raystown Path from Carlisle westward. His road had passed Ray’s trading post and had continued westward by connecting onto the Glades Path along the summit of Dry Ridge. Burd was cutting his road and had reached a point on the eastern slope of the

Allegheny Mountain when he received word of Braddock's defeat and death. All work on the road was discontinued.

Three years later, in the summer of 1758, another campaign to take the French fort at the Forks of the Ohio was headed by British General John Forbes. Although Forbes was the commander-in-chief of the expedition that bore his name, the actual person in charge was Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss-born officer in the British Army. Forbes' Road followed Burd's Road until it reached a point just about six miles west of Ray's trading post. There, Bouquet diverged from the Glades Path route, and cut a more direct route toward and over the Allegheny Mountain. To serve as a fortified supply depot, the British troops constructed a fort on a rise above the south bank of the Juniata River about two miles west of Ray's trading post. It would be named Fort Bedford, in honor of John Russell, the Fourth Duke of Bedford.

Fort Bedford was just one of a number of fortifications either newly constructed or refurbished during the Forbes Expedition as part of *The Communication*. The name, Communication, referred to the logistical supply line intended to support the army that would attack and subdue Fort Duquesne. It included the cutting of the road, the building of forts and redoubts in which to safeguard supplies and the garrisoning of those fortifications. A benefit of the Communication was that many of the fortifications constructed in the Forbes Expedition were utilized in later years by the local residents when under attack or under the threat of attack by Amerindians.

Cutting A Road

A major reason for summarizing the campaigns of the French and Indian War is to draw



attention to the military roads cut by the British Army. Indian Paths were often only single person-wide footpaths through the forest. They were too narrow to permit an army with supply wagons and troops marching eight or ten abreast to negotiate easily. A large share of the Forbes Expedition was the cutting of the road over which the troops intended for fighting and their supplies could be transported.

When it is said that roads were cut through the forests, that is literally what happened. The phrase 'cutting a road' refers to the chopping down (or felling) of large trees, the hacking of smaller saplings and undergrowth, the removal of the resulting stumps and the clearing of large boulders. In the 1700s, saws had not yet become a standard tool for felling trees. Nor were those large, spade shaped axes used for chopping down trees. The so-called 'broad ax' was

used to 'dress' the felled trees and cut the sides flat. A broad ax was often two to three times as heavy as a felling ax, and its use would have exhausted even the hardiest homesteader in attempting to cut down numerous trees each day. As noted, any and all small saplings needed to be cut out. All of the bushes and low brush needed to be cut away too. Anything that would hinder the marching of the troops needed to be removed. All of the tree stumps needed to be pulled out of the ground, and anyone who had ever tried to pull out a single tree stump knows that it is not a job that can be finished easily and quickly. Oxen were chained to the stumps to pull them loose from the ground and then the workers would use their felling axes to cut the roots. After the stumps and large boulders were removed, the ground would then have to be raked level.

The road cutters also built bridges across the rivers and corduroy roads across swampy areas. Corduroy roads were constructed by felling straight trees, trimming off any branches and then placing the logs flat on the ground, parallel to each other. Sometimes the individual logs were lashed together with vines to keep them in place.

No time or effort was expended to prepare a hard surface to the road. There was no attempt to lay down a layer of small rocks in the way that, in later years, would be accomplished by the macadam system of road building. The quarrying of rock and then its transport to the site of the road being cut, and the laying of it would have required double as many men and time to accomplish. So, although the underbrush and small saplings began to regrow in the roads within a few years of being cleared, the road provided an open swath about thirty-five feet wide for a while. After the British Army left the region, the roads they had cut beckoned to Euro~Americans hoping to find new lands on which to homestead.

In The Wake Of The War: Pontiac's Rebellion

The Pennsylvania theatre of the French and Indian War came to a close with the evacuation of Fort Duquesne on 25 November 1758, and Euro~American settlers began to utilize the abandoned roads. Before the 1770s, there were only a few Euro~American settlers in the region that would become Bedford County. It wasn't until the British Army withdrew to the east that the military road became fully accessible to Euro~American settlers. They came in large numbers and established farmsteads initially along the roads. As more and more families arrived, the newcomers moved away from the military roads and into the valleys that stretched out to either side of them along other Indian Paths. Of course, they then enlarged those paths into wider roads which allowed more Euro~Americans to move in and take up even more land.

The French and Indian War, known as the Seven Years War in Europe, was officially ended on 10 February 1763 with the Treaty of Paris.¹⁹ Soon thereafter, on 9 October, the British Board of Trade, by the consent of King George III, issued the *Royal Proclamation of 1763*.²⁰ Among other things, the *Proclamation* stipulated that the English would prevent Euro~American settlements west of the Allegheny Mountain. The enticement of the roads cut into the wilderness by Braddock and Forbes induced the violation of that policy. Also, the withdrawal of the British troops from the region resulted in practically no enforcement of the *Proclamation*.

Despite a few weak attempts by the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania and Virginia to evict the settlers out of the region, there was no removal by force. The settlements, in fact, continued to grow after the *Proclamation*.

The relationship between the Euro~Americans and the Amerindians deteriorated fairly rapidly. After the British Army left the region, the Amerindians assumed that all of the British ~ soldiers and settlers alike ~ would leave the region. When the British didn't all leave, the Ottawa chief Pontiac led a rebellion against them. Pontiac's Ottawas and many other tribes realized that the British had simply traded places with the French. Between 1763 and 1766, under Pontiac's leadership, warriors from the Delaware, Huron, Kickapoo, Mascouten, Miami, Mingo, Ojibwas, Ottawa, Piankashaw, Potawatomis, Shawnee, Wea and Wyandot tribes carried out attacks on the Euro~American settlers in the Ohio Valley and the Illinois Country. A number of British held forts were taken by Pontiac's warriors. Attacks were made on settlers as far east as the region drained by the Juniata River, including the Cumberland County region that would become Bedford County some eight years in the future.

Panic swept through the valleys of the Cumberland County frontier in mid-June 1763. Captain Lewis Ourry, commandant of the garrison at Fort Bedford, wrote to Colonel Bouquet on 20 June.²¹ In his letter, Ourry noted: "*The Settlers are all leaving me...Yesterday Evening whilst the Militia was under Arms on the Parade, near Bedford house fronting the Creek two little girls fetching their Cows just on the opposite Bank were within 30 yards of being taken by 3 Indians, but being discovered by the Men Such a Volley immediately fell upon them that they made the best of their Way; I believe one was wounded. The ball went thro' the Girls hair.*" A letter that Ourry had sent to Major General Sir Jeffery Amherst on the 10th of June informed him, speaking of the settlers who were taking refuge at Fort Bedford: "*Their Distress was inexpressible on the News of this Insurrection; the whole would have fled directly to Carlisle... I got 160 men under Arms in two or three Days; but not being under Military Discipline they are a little difficult to manage.*"²² On 29 June, Ourry wrote to Bouquet to inform him that: "*Last Night before Dark a Young Man was taken Prisoner, within half a mile of the Town and carried off. This is owing to the obstinacy of the People going out Single & without arms to hunt their Creatures...*"²³ On the 2nd of July, Ourry wrote to Bouquet to tell him: "*Yesterday morning soon after Sunrise, a Party of about 20 Indians fired upon Col^l Croghan's Haymakers in his meadow, & killed & Scalped three men.*"²⁴ George Woods was placed in charge of the garrison at Fort Juniata Crossing. On 4 July 1763, Woods wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet: "*the Indeans is playing on us in all quartrs I have been at this post with two Regilrs and four Vollenters this week Pas and on the arriv^l of the Hilenders. Cap^l Ourry sent us two More and M^l Croghan sent five of his Vollenters the whole amounts to 13 men, which if We had aney Place to Defind our selves I think we Cold stand a smart attick, but the for^l being all out of Repair, we have took to My hous and prepaired it as well as possable to Difen^d our selves...*"²⁵ On 13 July, Ourry wrote to Bouquet: "*The Indians carried off Some Days ago two Boys from near Pearsall's Fort [south of Bedford on a branch of the Potomac River], one of which is returned, & reports that they were eight that took them.*"²⁶ Captain Ourry filed a *Return of Persons Killed or Taken by Indians in the Department of Fort Pitt* during June and July 1763.²⁷ The report noted James Clark and Peter Vanest were killed and scalped on 17 June near Fort Bedford;

Christopher Diven, his father, wife and six children (five sons and one daughter) killed on 18 June near Fort Bedford; James Beaty taken on 28 June near Fort Bedford; William Lyon, Andrew Enochs and Thomas Guilding killed and scalped on 30 June near Fort Bedford; Henry Rowe and William Anderson killed and scalped on 4 July ten miles above Fort Cumberland; and Henry Horshaw stabbed and beheaded on 12 July near Fort Bedford. Over the fall and winter the attacks dropped slightly. Only one man killed, one wounded and one taken were reported.²⁸ Then on 24 March 1764 Captain Ourry wrote to Bouquet: “[five Indians] *has this Evening killed & Scalped a Man of this Town, George Dobson between Bedford Bridge & Croghan’s Place....*”²⁹

It was during this state of affairs that the British suggested germ warfare. Jeffery Amherst sent a letter to Colonel Henry Bouquet in which he said: “*Could it not be contrived to Send the Small Pox among those Disaffected Tribes of Indians? We must, on this occasion, Use Every Strategen in our power to Reduce them.*”³⁰

Fort Duquesne, now in the hands of the British rebuilt it and named it Fort Pitt. On 22 June 1763, Delaware and Shawnee warriors laid siege to Fort Pitt.³¹ Colonel Henry Bouquet was commissioned to lead an army of five hundred soldiers to relieve the garrison at Fort Pitt. Bouquet’s army and the Amerindians besieging Fort Pitt met in the Battle of Bushy Run on 5 August 1763. Although the British sustained many losses in that battle, they went on to liberate Fort Pitt on 20 August. From Fort Pitt, Bouquet struck at Pontiac’s supporters in the Ohio Valley.

Meanwhile, to the north, Seneca warriors prevented supply trains from reaching the British garrison at Fort Niagara in September 1763. William Johnson was engaged to attempt to negotiate with the Senecas now in possession of Niagara. He accomplished that task by the signing of the Treaty of Fort Niagara in August 1764. With Fort Niagara back in British hands, Colonel John Bradstreet was sent from there to support the garrison at Fort Detroit and then to strike southward into the Ohio Valley, joining with Colonel Bouquet’s army. Going against his orders, Bradstreet negotiated treaties of peace with certain of the Amerindian tribes at Presque Isle and Detroit. Although he disappointed his superiors, Bradstreet’s action isolated the tribes in the Ohio Valley, making them more willing to make peace with the British. During late October 1764, Bouquet met in council with most of the warring factions. He achieved a truce with them and a promise to meet the following summer with William Johnson to sign a formal peace treaty. Hearing of the truce, Pontiac agreed to meet with Johnson’s deputy, George Croghan. The result of their meeting was that Croghan convinced Pontiac to travel to meet with Johnson at Fort Ontario. They signed a formal treaty on 25 July 1766 ending hostilities.

Pontiac’s Rebellion cost the British Army four hundred deaths. Fifty British soldiers were believed to have been captured and tortured. A report by George Croghan stated that nearly two thousand settlers had been killed, but the actual number was probably closer to four hundred and fifty.³²

There is no way to determine an accurate number of Euro~American families settled in the region prior to 1767 because tax assessment returns are not extant, but there were enough settlers residing in the region to merit the formation of the five original townships that would become Bedford County: Barree, Bedford, Colerain, Cumberland and Dublin. Those five townships encompassed a region from which the counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, Blair and

Fulton would be erected in 1771, 1787, 1846 and 1850 respectively. According to tax assessments returned for the year 1767, there were two hundred and fifteen families (including fifty-four single freemen) in the entire region. Just three years later the number had doubled. In 1771, when the increasing numbers of settlers demanded that a new county be erected out of Cumberland, there were approximately four hundred and twelve families settled in the region acquired in the 1754 Albany Treaty. In 1780, the total number of families residing in the same region was approximately one thousand, two hundred and forty-eight, of which one hundred and thirty-four were single freemen. In ten years, the population had tripled.

• • • • •***The Indian Incursions***

The region making up Bedford County in the late-1700s was the site of a number of Amerindian incursions during the three or four years prior to 1780. Evidence of this comes from the letters sent to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from 1777 onward requesting financial and military aid, which will be discussed below.

Although there might have been a few small and widely scattered Amerindian villages in the region prior to the arrival of the Euro~Americans, there were no continuously occupied villages of any size after the 1750s. That is not to say that Amerindians did not continue to make use of their paths through the region for the purpose of yearly hunting migrations. The raids, or incursions, of parties of warriors expressly for the purpose of killing Euro~American settlers and the taking of captives began only after the American Revolutionary War started. The tribes who had previously occupied this region were primarily the Lenni Lenape (*i.e.* the Delaware) and the Shawnee, both Algonquin speaking nations. The tribes, though, who conducted the incursions, were mostly Iroquoian speaking nations, such as the Seneca. When the first ‘treaties’ for the purchase of lands in this region were drawn up and negotiated, the British met with, and directed their attention to the Iroquois, not the Delaware, nor the Shawnee. The Delaware and Shawnee were justified in feeling cheated out of their lands. While the Delaware and Shawnee had every reason to be hostile toward the Euro~American settlers, they seldom conducted murderous raids against those settlers. It was primarily the Seneca tribe (who called themselves *Osininka*) of the Haudenosaunee nation from the Great Lakes region, who were closely allied with the British, who made the incursions into the settlements to the east of the Allegheny Mountain. The Haudenosaunee were called *Ireohkwa* or *Iriakhoiw* by the French. The names referred to snakes. Rather than differentiate between tribes, most of the references in many contemporary records call the attackers simply ‘Iroquois.’

The Bedford County Committee of Correspondence, made up of Samuel Davidson, David Espy, Thomas Smith, William Todd and George Woods, sent a letter to the delegates meeting in congress at Philadelphia. The letter dated 14 November 1777 requested arms and ammunition:³³

Sir, This Council is applied to by the people of the County of Westmoreland in this Commonwealth with the most alarming

Complaints of Indian Depredations. The Letter of which the inclosed is a copy will give you some Idea of their present situation.

We are further informed by verbal accounts, that an Extent of 60 Miles has been evacuated to the Savages, full of Stock, Corn, Hoggs & Poultry, that they have attacked Palmer's Fort about 7 miles distant from Fort Ligonier without success; and from the information of White Eyes & other circumstances, it is feared Fort Ligonier has, by this time been attacked. There is likewise reason to fear the ravages will extend to Bedford, & along the frontier. We shall order out the militia of Bedford County, & take such other steps as may be immediately necessary for the relief of those Settlements but we find they are greatly deficient in the articles of arms, & especially ammunition & Flints. In Fort Ligonier, when our Informants left it, there was not more than 40 lb of powder & 15 lb of Lead - Flints are sold at a Dollar a piece.

We must beg the assistance of Congress in these articles - arms we dare hardly ask, but ammunition & Flints we hope may be supplied by Congress both to Westmoreland & Bedford; and we must also intreat the attention of Congress to the general Defence of the Frontier. We know not the situation of Gen. Hand, his forces or his views; but we have reserved the militias of Bedford & Westmoreland, for the purpose of co-operating with him in those parts of the states, & the neighbourhood.

Mr. Thomas Galbraith will call on you in a few Days on his way to Ligonier, the supplies should be furnished to him from Carlisle to be carried from thence on Pack horses. He will explain more at large their situation & it might not be amiss to communicate to him what may be expected from Gen. Hand, as well as what Congress shall order.

On 27 November 1777, George Woods and Thomas Smith wrote to Thomas Wharton, President of the Supreme Executive Council in which they described the extremely dangerous conditions in which Bedford County settlers found themselves:³⁴ They noted: “Before you went down they had killed one man at Stony Creek, since that time they have killed five on the Mountain, over against the heads of Dunning’s Creek, killed or taken three at the three springs, wounded one and killed some Children by Frankstown, and had they not providentially been discovered in the Night, & a party went out and fired on them, they would, in all probability, have destroyed a great part of that settlement in a few hours. A small party went out into Morrison’s Cove scouting, and unfortunately divided, the Indians discovered one division and out of eight killed seven & wounded the other.” So many of Bedford County’s residents had fled from the frontier that the writers warned: “Cumberland County will be a frontier.” The Bedford County Militia was kept active searching for Amerindian war parties by sending out its own “ranging parties”. Smith and Woods also

complained to the Assembly that they could not count on their own militia because of their lack of both arms and military understanding. They pressed the Assembly to send a trained unit to the frontier to assist them. They noted that: “A *small number of select Men would be of more real service to guard the frontiers than six times that number of People unused to arms or the woods.*”

The eminent and continuing threat of attack by the Amerindians motivated the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council to authorize the officials of Bedford County to call out the militia as necessary. The following entry was recorded in the Minutes from 9 December 1777.³⁵

Several letters from the County of Bedford, relating to the incursions made by the Indians, being now read and considered, Ordered, That the Lieutenants of the County of Bedford, & of the County of Westmoreland, be authorized and directed to call out from time to time, such parts of the Militia of the said Counties as may be necessary for the immediate defence of the Inhabitants against the Indians, & to take such measures as may most effectually cover the inhabitants while they are securing their grain, and it is recommended to the said Lieut's to confer & correspond with each other on this Subject as occasion may require, so as to act in conjunction, as far as may be, for the Public safety.

Even the inhabitants of Cumberland County to the east felt in danger, so much so that on 31 January 1778, the Cumberland County Militia sent the following letter to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council.³⁶

A Petition of a respectable number of Militia of the fifth battalion of Cumberland County, representing their exposed situation & danger from the incursion of the Indians, & praying (in effect,) that the Classes now ordered into service may be permitted to go against the Indians, was now read & considered, & thereupon, Ordered, That agreeable to the order of the 9th of December last, in the case of the Counties of Bedford & Westmoreland, the fifth & sixth Classes of the fifth Battalion of Militia of the said County of Cumberland, now under orders to march to Camp, be employed in the immediate defence of the inhabitants of the frontiers of that and the neighboring Counties against the Indians; and that the Lieutenant of the said County be empowered to call out from time to time, such part of the Seventh & Eighth Classes of the Militia of the said County as shall be absolutely necessary for the defence of the Frontiers. And it is

recommended to the Lieut. of the County of Cumberland to Correspond with the Lieut's of Bedford, Westmoreland, & Northumberland, so as to act in conjunction, as much as may be, for the public safety, and give this Council the earliest intelligence of his proceedings herein.

While nearly all of the letters begged for supplies and support, many of them, such as the following one dated 19 May 1778 from the Supreme Executive Council to the delegates meeting in congress, provided statistics, such as the number of Euro~American settlers massacred or kidnapped.³⁷

The General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, having received accounts of attacks being made by the Indians on several parts of our Western frontiers, and that upwards of thirty persons have been lately killed by them in Bedford county, appointed a Committee to confer with the Executive Council on this distressing circumstance: this conference being had, we are unanimously of opinion, that it is our duty to apply to Congress for effectual assistance against the Savages as hath been afforded to the Southern States. This we conceive to be the more necessary in the present situation of our State, while the British enemy are in possession of our Capital. The great extent of our frontiers renders it almost impossible to prevent the sudden & horrid excursions of this Savage people, by any force which can be supported in forts or defences of that kind; but we conceive, that of an expedition were carried into the heart of the Indian country, and some of their towns destroyed, it would be much the most effectual defence, and be attended with less expence, and the loss of fewer men, than any mode of mere defence. We have a firm reliance on the wisdom of Congress in directing the measures in the present distressing situation of our affairs; yet we should be greatly wanting in our duty to the people whom we represent, if we neglected to solicit immediate and effectual assistance against an enemy, which, with small number of men, may depopulate a greater country in a few days than a large British army would do in a whole campaign. Signed by order of Council.

Practically every letter noted that because of the 'Indian menace,' a great number of the residents had fled from the county. In various letters, it was strongly implied that Cumberland would again become the frontier county if aid was not soon in coming. Unfortunately, tax assessment returns are no longer extant in the Bedford County Court House for the years 1776 through 1778 to tell us which of the early settlers remained in the

region; it is possible that they have become lost over the years. Perhaps the assessments were never taken because of the danger of traveling in the wooded valleys and hills which made up the township. The 1779 Frankstown Township Tax Assessment does give us some indication of the extent to which the region suffered from settlers moving away. Of the roughly 163 residents listed, 79 (or nearly half of the total resident population) of them are recorded as “absant” or “vacant land” implying that the residents had left the area. In some cases it might be inferred that the male head of the household was absent because of serving in the militia or continental line. But that cannot be assumed to have been the case for all.

It should be noted that although it has rarely been discussed in prior books on this subject, the government of Pennsylvania conjectured that the British were behind the Amerindian incursions from as early as 1778. In a letter of 21 May 1778 from the Council to Lieutenant Samuel Hunter, it was stated: “*The present attack of the Savages is doubtless concerted by our European Enemy, who avow in the face of the world, the employment of such horrid Allies. It is manifestly made in concert with the invaders of the eastern side of our state...*”³⁸

Captain Robert Cluggage, commanding the garrison at Fort Roberdeau, in the Sinking Spring Valley of present-day Blair County, sent a letter dated 17 June 1778 to an unidentified recipient:³⁹

By express I send you the situation of this garrison and the late movements of the enemy in these parts. The thirteenth, the Indians killed or took one woman and three children near the Standing Stone Town. A number of the enemy have been discovered in these parts. The 14th about twelve o'clock in the day one was discovered within two hundred yards of this fort. I immediately sent a party to this spot. They found the marks of issue. They searched in every quarter but could not over take them. The preceeding night two or three of them was discovered by one of the sentinals creeping up to the wall, He notified the sgt. of the guard. He immediately got three more of the guards together and fired on them. He drove the rest of them away without returning the fire. The same night one Hollidays house at Frankstown was attacked. Luckily there were nine men with arms in it. The enemy set fire to all the out houses and burnt them to the ground. The dwelling house the men defended until day break. At that time they got relief. There was not any killed in either as far as we can learn - from every circumstance we may believe that there is a number of the enemy amongst us.

Twenty four of the militia left me yesterday. I hourly expect the remainder to leave me. Enclosed I send a return of the time the militia arrived at this post and the time of their leaving it. The inhabitants is entirely fled or forted for fifty miles below this place. The guards I am under obligation to keep on the road to

defend provisions coming here make me excessively alarmed.

If there is not more men ordered to this frontier, I am afraid it will be in a distressed situation. There is scarcely one day but I receive expresses from one quarter or other praying for assistance. It grieves me to think that I am not able to afford any.

I have already mentioned the situation at Standing Stone. If that place is not defended I know not how this place will be supported. Scarcity of paper make me write short. The bearer, an inhabitant, has undertaken to present these lines to you. Pray satisfy him for his trouble.

Pray let General Roberdeau know our situation as I am not able to write to him. I am your humble svt 1st Robt Clugage

N.B. Major Alexander McHatton commanded the Cumberland County Militia which has been on the Frontier the two months past was here and informed me that he would be willing to remain three or four months longer in the defense of his country. To my knowledge he is an experienced man in the way of Indian wars. He likewise understands the woods well, &c.

I would be sorry to complain against any militia officer but as yet I have never been acquainted with one that for the term of two or three months could bring their men under regulation. Therefore I pray if it is in your power he will be continued. I am certain if General Roberdeau knew him as well as I do he would give the same recommendation of him. As above 1st R.D.

On 20 February 1779, inhabitants of the 'head waters of the Juniata' sent a 'memorial' to the Pennsylvania General Assembly in which they expressed an aspect of the Amerindian incursions that brought death as surely as the tomahawk or bow and arrow:⁴⁰

To the Honourable the House of Assembly now sitting at Philadelphia:

The Memorial of the Inhabitants Living on the Head Waters of the Juniata, part of the Frontiers of Bedford county, State of Pennsylvania, Humbly Sheweth:

That We, your Honours' Memorialists, taking under considerations the present defenceless situation of these parts, Rendered valuable on many considerations, that in case of a sudden Penetration into this Contery, we ourselves and Families, must fall a Marcyless Pray to the Savages, whose rule of War is to punish with the Greatest Tortures those that is so unhappy as to fall in their Hands. The situation of this contery is very alarming, Rendered so by the Savages and Toryes Last Summer, who prevented the Inhabitants from raising what grain would be

necessary to support themselves and families until next harvest. Numbers is already suffering for want of Bread, standing in Defence of their Contery on this Fronteer, who, without speedy assistance, will be under the necessity of moving their families to the interior parts of this or some other State, as Grain is not to be had here. If your Honours mean to assist us, now is the time to send up a store of Flour, as the Juniata in common is not navigable for Boats and canoes above two Month in the Spring.

That in consequence of the above mentioned situation of these Fronteers, We, your Honours' Memorialists, do most earnestly pray for some immediate assistance to be Given, so as to Prevent any of these dreadful effects from taking place, which they must unavoidably do if we are visited by our enemies, as we have the utmost reason to expect.

That We, your Honours' Memorialists, having a Personal Knowledge of the Present Commander of these parts, Major Rob't cluggage, and as he has at all times Testified the Great zeal for Serving his Country, in relieving the Distressed Inhabitants, shewing the utmost willingness to attend to any alarms that might be given, we do, as we are already Bound in Gratitude to that Gentleman, Beg of your Honours to Continue him amongst us. He may prove, if Necessaty should require, a skillful! Director in any Case of Difficulty presents, as he being well acquainted with the face of the Contery will be the most Capable of Defending the same. Humbly Hoping that our Memorial may meet with your Honours' approbation, We remain with the Greatest Respect Your Honours' most Obedient & Very Humbl. Serv'ts.

Without grain, starvation threatened the settlers as greatly as bodily attack. As had been seen in the section, *1780 ~ Prelude To The Massacre*, the officials of Bedford County requested an exception to taking the taxes during the year 1779 due to the large number of families having fled out of the region. The desolation of the region was echoed in a letter that George Woods sent to Thomas Urie on 4 July 1779:⁴¹

I have just opportunity, as far as Carlisle. to convey you a few lines; last Saturday was a week, a man and his daughter, of the name of Brikinridge, in wood cock valley, was kild & Scalpt by the indians. The action was Don hard by hartsock's Fort. Frenkstown is intirely Evequated. Mr. Holliday lives at the flat Spring, in your Vally; we have all Indeverd, with Piper, what lies in Our power, to rease a fue men to kape Frenkstown Settlement together. but all to no purpose. Mr. Holliday Applied to Colln

piper for men to bring off the Stors, but was Oblaged to Lave them there. The Indeans after Doing the above mentioned Damages. They Drove off a considerable many horsis. When the Enemy are so fare into Our contery you must know the Situation we are all in; not a single Solger or Militia man appears in this county for Our Defence. I just now here that Colla piper has Got a guard at his hous. On Receiving the late Instructions from Council, Colln Smith, Mr. Martain has indevered to bring out a fue of the Militia from the Townships of Are & Bethul, but his Orders are immediately countermanded by Colln Piper, as I understand. Dear Sir, you know well whate Situation Our county is in respecting the conduct of the Lieutenants, you have often mentioned to me Some of their fealings, & now Our poor Starving contery, when they have Got Something on the Ground for Gethering, Dare not Go out to Save it. Our county Seems to be pointed out for Distruction; every other frontier Settlement has Some Notice taken of them & assistance Sint them; in the name of wonder, if you are a member of council for our county, will you never Get us taken Notice of or Git us a share of Reliefe according to the rest of the Contery. I wish you would Spake your mind as freely in council respecting Some of Our officers as you Do here; I think we would be soon in a peter Situation. I am certain you have a Gentleman now at the head of your Board that would not Suffer us to be used in the mannor Did he but Knaw it. Your Soon Robt is Gon is Gon out with capt. Erwin. I understand John Montower has come into Fort pitt & some Indeans with him, I understand he has taken in hand to bring in Simon Guirty. Capt. Bradly latly retook two prisoners, five Scalps & Killd One Indean, he is Gon out again, in Company with Montower & two Indeans, in Order to bring in Girty, which I hope They will perform.

A letter written by Colonel John Montgomery of Cumberland County to Joseph Reed, the President of the Pennsylvania Assembly on 29 May 1780 noted more of the Amerindian incursions. In particular he noted that on Sunday, the 14th of May, in addition to other incidents, “*the savages killd 18, took 8 prisoners in Woodcock Valley.*”⁴² Who those eighteen massacred settlers were was not recorded. It seems fairly fantastical that such a large massacre of settlers could take place without their names being known. Apart from Montgomery’s letter, no other known document, nor any family *tradition* enlightens us. Perhaps Montgomery stretched the truth just a little in order to make his point bear more emotional weight. But just perhaps, he wasn’t exaggerating. A month later, Colonel John Piper wrote his own letter to President Reed, in which he stated that “*the Indians Had Made an Incurtion into this county, which to our misfortune is More Generall than I at that time supposed, there Being upwards of twenty People Killed and taken....*”⁴³

. *The British*

Ever since the defeat of the French forces under the Marquis de Montcalm on 13 September 1759, the British controlled the St. Lawrence River and the Province of Quebec. Although not officially a part of the British Army, the bureaucracy that controlled the region was known as the Indian Department. Sir Guy Carleton served as Governor-in-Chief of



Quebec, and therefore as the nominal head of the Indian Department from his appointment in 1767 until he was replaced by Sir Frederick Haldimand in 1778.

Sir Guy Carleton (left), a Knight of the Order of the Bath and 1st Baron Dorchester, was born on 3 September 1724 in Ireland.⁴⁴ He entered the British Army as an ensign in 1742 and was promoted to Lieutenant in 1745. In 1751, Carleton transferred to the 1st Foot Guards and by 1757 had been promoted to Captain Lieutenant and Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment. At the Battle of Louisburg in June and July 1758, Carleton served under General Amherst. In August of that same year, Carleton

transferred to the 78th Foot and was promoted to Colonel and served as the QuarterMaster General to General James Wolfe. After service in the West Indies, on 24 September 1766 he was appointed as Lieutenant Governor to back up James Murray. Carleton ran afoul of his superior when he suggested that the officials receive a regular salary. They traditionally accepted no pay, but rather obtained fees for various services. Murray wanted a ‘yes-man’ which Carleton was proving not to be. Ultimately, his rift with Murray lasted only a short time. Murray chose to resign in 1767, upon which event Carleton was named Governor. Three years later, Carleton traveled to London to provide consultation on the integration of Quebec into the British system. He thought the trip would be a short one, but he did not return to Quebec until January 1775. During his stay in England, he is believed to have drafted the Quebec Act, which he vigorously urged on the Parliament.



George Germain (above), 1st Viscount Sackville served as the Secretary of State for the American Department in Lord North’s cabinet.⁴⁵ His duties included the hiring and firing of Generals and the approval and distribution of supplies. Germain urged the use of local Amerindians to destroy the frontier settlements of the rebels. Lord Germain directed the

actions of the Governor of Quebec, first Carleton and then Haldimand and they in turn transmitted his wishes to the commandants of Fort Detroit and Fort Niagara.

On 26 March 1777 from his office at Whitehall (*i.e.* the complex of governmental offices in the City of Westminster, Central London), Lord Germain sent the following missive to then-Governor Sir Guy Carleton at Quebec:⁴⁶

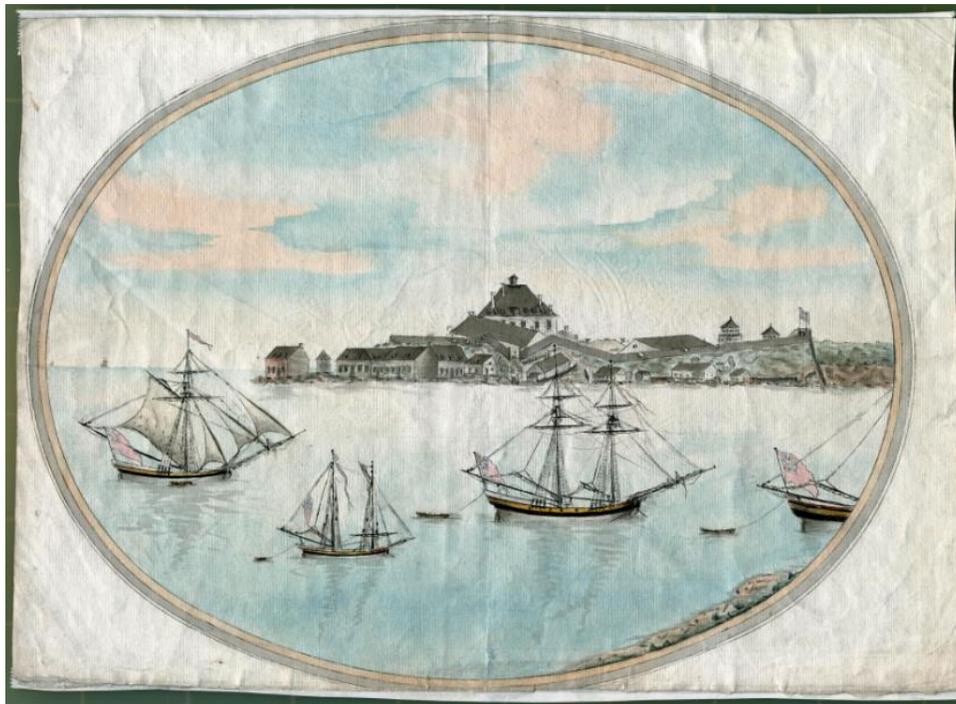
The proposal to send parties of Indians to Virginia and Pennsylvania has been maturely weighed. Hamilton's report of the warlike disposition of the Indians, whom he could scarcely restrain. There can be little doubt they are still in the same mind, and will readily engage in any enterprise under the King's officers. "It is His Majesty's resolution that the most vigorous efforts should be made and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majesty's hands for crushing the rebellion, and restoring the constitution; it is the King's command that you should direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his district as he conveniently can, and placing a proper person at their head, to conduct their parties and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected, inoffensive inhabitants; employ them in making a diversion and exciting an alarm on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and as there is good ground to believe there are considerable numbers of loyal subjects in those parts, who would gladly embrace an opportunity of delivering themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the rebel comities (sic): it is His Majesty's pleasure that you do authorize and direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to invite all such loyal subjects to join him, and to assure them of the same pay and allowances as are given to His Majesty's other corps raised in America, and that such of them as shall continue to serve His Majesty until the rebellion is suppressed and peace restored shall each receive His Majesty's bounty of 200 acres of land." Hopes that these offers will enable Hamilton to extend his operations, and to compel the rebels to weaken the main army, facilitate operations in other quarters and restore those deluded people to their former happiness and prosperity, which are the favourite wishes of the King and object of all his measures. Indian presents sent. List of loyalists recommended by Lord Dunmore who may assist Hamilton, The list of names follows.

In a letter sent by Sir Guy Carleton to General John Burgoyne on 15 September 1777, Carleton told him that the Five Nations (*i.e.* the Iroquois Confederacy) would send men to assist the British Army.⁴⁷ Carleton also sent a message to Lieutenant Colonel Bolton at Fort Niagara to inform him that 'Indian presents' were sent his direction for distribution "to keep

the Indians in good humour.”⁴⁸ On the next day, the 16th, Carleton sent a note to the Commissary General at Fort Niagara to tell him that rum was being sent to Fort Niagara and Fort Detroit for distribution among the Indians.⁴⁹

Sir Guy Carleton and Lord Germain became embroiled in a dispute that arose over Carleton’s failure to carry the War into New York as fervently as Germain desired.⁵⁰ By the end of July 1778, Germain had replaced Carleton with Sir Frederick Haldimand.

Sir Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791) served as the Governor of the Province of Quebec between 1778 and 1786.⁵¹ François Louis Frédéric Haldimand was born in Switzerland. A friend of Henry Bouquet, Haldimand served in the French and Indian War on the North American continent. When the American Revolutionary War erupted, Haldimand continued in the service of the British Army. For a short period in 1773 he acted as temporary Commander-In-Chief of North America while General Thomas Gage returned to England. Haldimand’s Swiss nationality prevented him from advancing in the British Army, and so in 1778 he accepted the post of Governor of Quebec (succeeding Sir Guy Carleton). In that position, Frederick Haldimand promoted the invasion of the rebellious colonies, including Pennsylvania. Although Haldimand never led any forces in the field, he encouraged his underlings to do so.



Contemporary View of Fort Niagara

As a young man, Irish-born Guy Johnson (1740-1788) worked for his uncle Sir William Johnson.⁵² Sir William was then serving as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs [in the English Colonies in North America]. In the year 1774, upon Sir William’s death, Guy Johnson was appointed as his successor. In early 1775, General Gage commissioned Guy Johnson to enlist Iroquois and head to Montreal to assist General Guy Carleton in an attack on the New England colonies. Chain of command squabbles developed between Johnson and John Campbell, the Superintendent of the Canadian Indians. Johnson was informed by Sir

Guy Carleton, then-Governor of Quebec that he had no authority over the Indians in Canada and that the Iroquois, with whom Johnson had a rapport, were not to be employed in attacks against the Colonials outside of the Province of Quebec. Johnson traveled to London in the company of the Iroquois Chief, Joseph Brant, to present his argument for greater autonomy in Canada with the British Lords of Parliament. His arguments for authority in Canada were denied, but the Lords did appoint Johnson as the permanent Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Northern Colonies. Johnson returned to America in 1779 and immediately set about inciting his Iroquois allies to conduct incursions into the Mohawk and Cherry Valleys of the Province of New York and the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. In fact, the incursions of the Iroquois, incited by the British, spread all along the Pennsylvania frontier in the year 1779. That frontier included Bedford County.

Henry Hamilton (1734-1796), a Lieutenant Colonel in the British Army, served as the commandant of Fort Detroit. Under his command were Alexander McKee and Simon Girty.

Samuel Kirkland (1741-1808) was a Presbyterian minister and a missionary to the Oneida and Tuscarora tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy. He transmitted a letter to General Philip John Schuyler in 1776 regarding a meeting between Colonel Butler and six Oneida sachems: Sughnavevrat, Jimmey, Tigawi, Aghshinhare, Tekeongo and Kaghneghlories.⁵³

Oneida, May 22, 1776

Brother Governour: We, the Oneida Chiefs, think proper to acquaint you with the result of the meeting at Niagara with Colonel Butler. This we do at our own option, without being despised by the other parts of the Confederacy, though it has been reported among them that General Schuyler ought to be informed. We sent two Oneidas to hear what should pass at Niagara. They returned the night before last, and bring the following account:

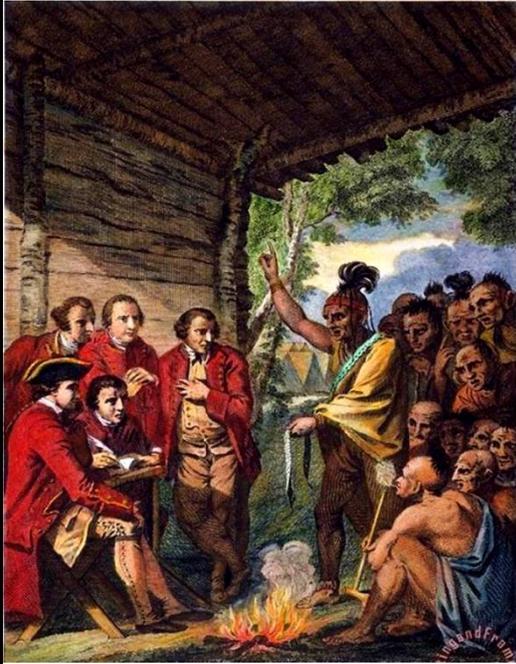
The Representatives of the Six Nations delivered the answer to Colonel Butler's belts, that was formed and agreed upon in full council at Onondaga, of which we suppose you have been made acquainted. The purpose of our answer was, that the Six Nations, with the Caughnawagas, and the Seven Tribes in that vicinity, had all united and resolved to maintain peace, both with the King and the Bostonians, and receive no axe from either.

Colonel Butler replies:

"Brothers: I am glad to hear you are all united, but I am surprised to find you talk of maintaining peace with the Americans, and at the same time support the King's peace or Government.

"Brothers, your resolutions are very surprising. Where is there any one or body of men to be compared to the King? As for General Schuyler, (and the other Commissioners,) of whom you boast so much, what is he? He was born but yesterday; just

now, as it were, started up out of the ground, and to-morrow will return into the earth whence he came. It will not be the space of a month before you hear him cry. He has no men, guns, cannon and ammunition, or clothing; and should he survive the summer, he must perish by the cold next winter for want of blankets. But the King wants neither men nor money; there is no computing his numbers. As to the Caughnawagas claiming seven tribes as under their jurisdiction, it is false; they tell a lie. The Caughnawagas are by themselves alone, and they are become Bostonians. But the other six tribes in that vicinity, with all the back nations, are at the King's command and will take



his side. And as for Canada, they are all (except twelve persons) returned to the King's side.

“Brothers, you had better recall your resolutions, and determine to keep the King's peace, and the King will then be glad to hear from you. What a wretched situation must you be in when the King attacks all the

seaports of America, and comes in earnest to sweep off the Americans, if he finds you supporting the Americans!”

To this the Sachems made an immediate reply:

“Brothers, we will support the King's peace or Government, and we now speak from our very inside, and don't think it proceeds only from our lips.” For this, Colonel Butler returned thanks, and expressed great joy.

The conference recounted in the letter was an attempt to win the Iroquois to the side of the British, and as can be seen, the initial stance of the Indians was to maintain peace with both Great Britain and the American Colonies. Colonel John Butler was quite successful in swaying the Indians to support only the British.

Before a month had passed, the Reverend Kirkland sent a letter to General Schuyler informing him that the Indians of the various Iroquois nations had moved from cautious neutrality to full cooperation with the British.⁵⁴

Lake George, June 8, 1776

Sir: I left the Oneida country the 29th of May. In my way down waited on Colonel Dayton, at Johnstown [New York]; acquainted him with the conduct of the Mohawks in their late conference with him at that place, as related to the Oneidas by a head warrior of the Onondagas, who was present. The Mohawks were impudent ~ insulting to a very great degree. However, can assure your Honour their conduct on that occasion was condemned and utterly disapproved by the Oneidas, in full council.

The Oneidas and Tuscaroras have expressed great concern on account of Colonel Butler's growing strength and influence at Niagara. He has, by threats and proffers, prevailed upon the greater part of the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, to renounce the cause of the Colonies, and engage on the King's side, as they call it. By the last accounts from Niagara, upwards of one hundred have inlisted into the King's service, and are now acting against us. The war-hatchet has been sent to the Chippewas and Ottawas; some of their tribes have received it. Should Colonel Butler get a reinforcement at Niagara, with a supply of provisions, our Indian friends say our frontiers will soon feel his resentment, particularly the back parts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The Oneidas, with some others, have often mentioned with surprise our apparent delay, and want some resolution. They say, the lenity and forbearance shown the Mohawks, after their repeated breaches of promise, and acting against us, is, by our enemy Indians, imputed to cowardice in us, want of a manly spirit, or being engaged in a bad cause. I can assure your Honour, it is the opinion of many of their chiefs that the Mohawks in general have forfeited their liberties by their repeated breaches of the covenant entered into with the Commissioners at Albany, and acting against us in one part or another. The Oneidas, and some others, have intimated as much to the Mohawks themselves, in private conferences.

The Indians are now generally of opinion that it is impracticable for them to continue much longer in a state of neutrality, and that it has now become necessary for the Commissioners to call upon the Six Nations, and demand who are friends and who are not; and if a party of five hundred men, with two or three Rifle companies, were sent to Fort Stanwix, it would annoy our enemy and strengthen our friends, and protect

that part of our frontiers. And I must say, from a regard to my fellow-men, that if this matter should be long delayed, it is my real opinion we shall soon hear of hostilities committed upon those defenceless frontiers. Upon a short conference with Mr. Dunn, he was persuaded that a speedy meeting of the Commissioners was necessary. He accordingly sent for Mr. Edwards, and forwarded my letter to your Honour, on the same head with his request for a speedy meeting, which letter, I understand, has not come to hand.

*Your Honour's most obedient and very humble servant,
S. Kirkland*

To General Schuyler

What the foregoing reveals is that through the efforts of Colonel John Butler, Sir Guy Johnson and others, the Seneca, Cayuga and Onondaga tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy were convinced to side with the British against the colonial settlements in the frontier of Pennsylvania. Through the efforts of the Presbyterian minister, Samuel Kirkland, most of the Tuscaroras and Oneidas remained neutral or sided with the Americans. Kirkland was loved by the Oneidas. When Guy Johnson attempted to curb Kirkland's influence by removing him as a missionary to them, the Oneidas went entirely into the American camp.

Traditional rationales for the Indian raids and incursions often cite the fact that the British paid bounties for the scalps of the American colonists. That, of course, seems like a good reason ~ if you were the Indians. C. Hale Sipe, in his address at the 1933 dedication of the monument, went to great length describing the atrocious nature of the practice.⁵⁵ He stated:

“And let us remember the British scalp bounties before we conclude that the American Indian was the most hellish of men. The British gave their Indian allies these scalp bounties as an inducement, well knowing that Indian warfare meant suffering and death to the innocent and the helpless. The Indian was paid for slaughtering children before the eyes of their anguished parents; the Indian was paid for slaughtering wives in the presence of their husbands; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the aged man whose form was bent by a life of toil and hardship in these mountain valleys; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the aged mother whose hair had been silvered by child-birth pain and a life full of care and rich in service; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the boy just opening into adolescence; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the young man of talent, promise and joyous parental hope; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the maiden in all the loveliness of grace, beauty and virtue; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the widow, lingering at the grave of her buried love; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the matron,

devoted and ministering to her children; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the child, angel-eyed and silken-haired, prattling at its parent's knee; the Indian was paid for slaughtering the tender and helpless babe on its mother's breast."

In his book, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, Sipe mentions the scalping of Euro-American settlers by Indians, especially young children and babes because the British paid for them. Mr. Sipe did not provide many sources for his claims. The sources that Mr. Sipe did provide were for instances in which the Euro-Americans were encouraged to kill and scalp the Indians.

Not all historians agree that the paying of scalp bounties even existed. Elizabeth Arthur, in her biography of Henry Hamilton, known in the 1770s as 'Hair-Buyer,' (shown in the



cartoon) noted that no proof that scalp bounties were paid by the British has ever been found.⁵⁶ The taking of scalps by most Amerindian peoples was not for monetary gain, but rather for the pride of victory over another; a scalp provided proof that the warrior had taken a life in battle. It

was probably more likely that the idea of the British paying Indians for colonists' scalps was the product of propaganda. There is, in fact, greater evidence of the Pennsylvania government having offered bounties for *Indian* scalps. In 1780, in a letter to Colonel Samuel Hunter, President Joseph Reed stated that "*The Council would & do for this Purpose authorise you to offer the following Premiums . . . 1000 [dollars] for every Indian Scalp.*"⁵⁷ In another letter, to Colonel Jacob Stroud, President Reed stated that "*We would gladly support & promote such a Measure & have therefore authorized the Lieutenant of the County to offer 1500 Dollars for every Indian or Tory Prisoner taken in Arms against us & 1000 Dollars for every Indian Scalp.*"⁵⁸ At least one instance of the payment of this *Indian* scalp bounty was recorded in the year 1781. At a meeting of the Supreme Executive Council on Monday, 19 February it was ordered that "*An order was drawn in favour of Colonel Archibald Lochry, Lieutenant of the county of Westmoreland, for the sum of twelve pounds ten shillings, State money, equal to two thousand five hundred dollars Continental money, at the exchange of seventy-five, to be by him paid to Captain Samuel Brody, as a reward for an Indian scalp, agreeable to a late proclamation of this Board.*"⁵⁹

The *Indian Department* in North America was seemingly managed and operated in an autonomous (*i.e.* self-directed and self-governed) manner. Although Sir William Johnson, his son Sir John Johnson and later his nephew Sir Guy Johnson, submitted reports to Governor Frederick Haldimand, their actions were not overtly micromanaged by Haldimand.

A corps of officers were established at Fort Niagara and Fort Detroit, and raiding parties were routinely sent out, led by certain of those officers.

It should be noted that the rank of *Ranger* was established within the Indian Department. On 4 October 1776 a *Return of the Officers &c in the Department of Colonel Guy Johnson Superintendent of Indian Affairs* was compiled at New York City. Four men, Peter Miller, Michael Moran, John Powell and George Stewart were named as Rangers. Colonel Johnson included the following note for the Rangers: “*The Rangers are very Necessary to accompany Indian Parties, serve as Expresses and assist the Officers...*”⁶⁰

A roster of the *Officers of the Indian Department commanded by the Superintendent and Inspector General Sir John Johnson at Niagara* included:⁶¹

Captains	
Mathew Elliot	Joseph Brant
Gilbert Lice	Henry Nelles
John Johnson	William Johnson
John Powell	Robert Lottridge
Lieutenants	
William Bowen	Daniel Service
Nathan ^l Killyer	Jacob Service
John Dochstedder	William Johnson
George Maginn	John Clement
Adam Kryslar	Robert Nelles
John Young	John Ryckman
Joseph Clement	Richard Wilkinson
Brant Johnson	
Acting as Ensign	
James Hair	

From the examples of the two incidents which occurred in Bedford County in 1780 and 1781, it would appear that the Lieutenants were sent out with parties of Seneca Indians to raid into the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers. In certain cases, such as the incursion into the Woodcock Valley in 1780 resulting in the engagement with Captain Phillips’ Rangers, the Lieutenant might have been accompanied by a single British soldier who perhaps functioned as an aid. The narratives of that incident speak of only two ‘white’ or Euro~Americans with the Seneca. But in other cases, such as the incursion into the Beaverdam Run Valley in 1781 resulting in the engagement with Captain Boyd’s Rangers, the Lieutenant might have been accompanied by a sizeable body of British soldiers in addition to the Seneca. As will later be seen, one of the men who was not killed but taken captive, Horatio Jones stated “*When the British-Indian expedition left the Genesee, it consisted of Lieut. Nelles commanding, his platoon of rangers, nearly a hundred warriors and some squaws.*”⁶² A ‘platoon’ was a small body of soldiers, usually numbering between ten and twenty men.

A report sent in the form of a letter from Sir Guy Johnson to Governor Haldimand on 30 June 1781 included the statement that: “*I have likewise several small partys now on the*

frontiers for the purpose of obtaining intelligence, besides three large partys headed by my officers, there are likewise others Marched from the Indian settlements not included in the return herewith enclosed.”⁶³

Even though the incentive to raid into the Euro~American settlements in the frontier of Bedford did not come from the promise of a bounty on those colonists’ scalps, it might have come from a simple enjoyment of causing havoc and destruction.

Phillips Rangers Massacre

. ***Prelude To The Massacre***

Many, if not most, of the residents of Bedford County were in a state of alarm during the summer of 1780. During the previous year, the Amerindian incursions into the valleys between the Tussey, Dunnings, Evitts, Wills and Allegheny Mountains had increased to such an extent that many families had abandoned their farms and fled to the relative safety of the eastern counties. As 1780 began, it appeared that the year would be a repeat of the previous: random attacks by the Indians on the Euro~American settlers resulting in some deaths and some of the settlers being taken into captivity. As has been noted, the 1779 tax assessment returns are filled with notations such as ‘absant’ denoting the residents who had fled from the region because of the Indian incursions. For example, the name of Michael Skalley, a brother of massacred Rangers, Hugh and Philip Skelley, was recorded as a resident in the Hopewell Township tax assessment return in 1779. Beside Michael’s name was the notation “*not in the County.*” Jacob Miller’s name on the same return had the additional comment “*fled on acct of the enemy.*” In Hopewell Township alone, thirty-five of the roughly one hundred and twenty families of residents and single freemen had fled. That would have been approximately forty-two percent or nearly half the total number of families.

Due to the reduced number of inhabitants remaining there, a letter was sent on 16 February 1779 to the Pennsylvania General Assembly. The letter was sent by a group of the Bedford County commissioners and tax assessors requesting that the county be exempted from the ‘quota’ of taxes laid upon the county.⁶⁴

*To the Honourable the Representatives of the Freemen of the
commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met:
The Petition of the Board of commissioners, Assessors &
Assistant Assessors of Bedford county, Humbly Sheweth:
That the Petitioners have met in order to Lay the Taxes
directed by Law to be paid by this county, but the situation of the
greatest part of the county is such that Humanity forbids them to
levy the same, and induces them to apply to the Honourable*

House for relief, and to represent That for eighteen months past the frontier Inhabitants have almost entirely been deprived of the fruits of their labour by the incursions of the Indians. Many of them are gone entirely out of the County, and when that part of the Petitioners whose duty it is to take the Returns of Property, went to the once chearful abodes of Humble Industry & content, the Inhabitant had fled to preserve his life, and nothing presented to their view but forlorn inhabitations and untilled fields, (in several of which the grave of the former owner, murdered by the Indians, was to be seen); and to levy Taxes off those would be adding distress to the afflicted and taking from the Poor that which he has not to give. That part of the Inhabitants who remained collected into forts - some formed into companies and Ranged along the Frontiers in order to afford some small Protection to the rest, who, at the hazzard of their lives, ventured out to save their scanty harvest and to prepare another; but they were so often driven in that it was little they could do. The Panic occasioned by one incursion was scarcely over till they were alarmed afresh by another. Many were deprived of sowing & planting, & not a few were prevented from reaping that which they had put in; In consequence of which, Famine stares us in the face. There is not Bread enough amongst us to sustain the Inhabitants till Harvest, & were it to be had for Money, which it is not, many of the Poorer sort have not wherewithal to purchase it. The great Plenty of money that is circulating in other parts of the Country is to them no relief, because their Savage Foe has prevented them from having anything to sell to acquire Money; and many of them have undergone such a variety of hardship & distress, and suffered such loss that they are realy objects of compassion, & if the Times would permit their situation would strongly Plead for Public assistance, to save the helpless families of those who have perished by the sword, and those who have been deprived of Providing Bread for their Families, from suffering by Famine. The few who have been permitted to remain at their Habitations, and reap the fruits of their industry, will chearfully pay their part of the Taxes, according to their circumstances; but should the whole Quota laid on this County be levied off them, it is so large and their numbers so few that they would be reduced to beggary by it. We, therefore, intreat the interposition of the Honourable House, and that they would grant such an exemption in the Premisses as to their Wisdom shall seem meet, & the Petitioners as in duty bound shall Pray, &c.

James Martin, Sam'I Davidson, commissioners. Allen Rose,

David Jones, Gideon Ritchey, John Canan, Wm. Goff, County Assessors. Henry Abram, Hugh Robinson, James Little, Absalom Gray, Tho's Crossan, Robert Moore, Township Assessors.

An Indian / Ranger confrontation would occur in the Woodcock Valley during the summer of 1780. [A similar incident would occur during the next summer (3 June 1781) that would become known as the Engagement of Frankstown.] The number of participants in this Woodcock Valley Indian / Ranger conflict would not be as many as at Frankstown, but both of the incidents involved ambushes of the Bedford County Militia by Indians goaded on, and indeed led by, the British. The number of brave men to meet their ends doesn't matter; even one death would have been too many and worthy of being commemorated and honored.

Uriah J. Jones in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* included a narrative about this incident.⁶⁵ The Bedford County Heritage Commission also included a brief narrative in their book, *The Kernel of Greatness*.⁶⁶ Jones prefaced his narrative, in an identical way that he prefaced the narrative of the Engagement of Frankstown, by stating that the report filed by Colonel Piper to President Reed was "*filled with gross inaccuracies*". It is interesting that any single man, living at a time some seventy-five years removed from the actual event, could know the actual circumstances and truth of a matter and be so self-assured that those individuals who witnessed or participated in the event itself should be so incorrect. Jones noted the statement made by Piper that the "*Capt., with Eleven of his Company, were all taken and killd*" reveals one of the many inaccuracies of the account. The fact of the matter may be that when Colonel John Piper wrote the account, he believed that Captain Phillips was also dead. Few white men taken captive by the Indians were kept alive beyond the point of providing amusement to the Indians in their games of torture. The problem we, at this time, have is the lack of many other accounts with which to compare Jones'. Therefore, in spite of Mr. Jones' attitude of knowing more than the actual participants, we must, of needs, use his account as a primary source of our own knowledge of the event.

An assumption would be that the Euro~American participants in this incident would probably have (at the time) been residing in the Morrisons Cove of Bedford County. In 1780, the Morrisons Cove fell under the jurisdiction of Frankstown Township (which had been formed out of Barree Township in 1775). Woodberry Township would be formed out of Frankstown in 1787, during the same year that Huntingdon County was removed from Bedford. The summit of Tussey Mountain functioned as the boundary line between Frankstown Township and the remaining portion of Barree Township. In 1846, when Blair County was removed from Huntingdon County (and a small portion of Bedford), the summit of Tussey Mountain would become the boundary line between Blair and Huntingdon Counties. The Woodcock Valley lay on the east side of Tussey Mountain, its northern half in Huntingdon County and its southern half in Bedford County.

The Phillips house, located at the northern end of the Morrisons Cove, was said to be fortified and served the purpose of providing shelter to those settlers in the Morrisons Cove, which was rather heavily inhabited at the time of the Revolutionary War. The Phillips house was the place where "*the inhabitants of the lower end of the cove and along Clover Creek fortified during alarms caused by Indian forays from 1777 to the close of the Revolutionary*

war, *Capt. Phillips' house being turned into a temporary fortress.*"⁶⁷ So what exactly does it mean that his house was fortified? A man could not completely rebuild his house to include the bastions and ramparts of a fort, but he could surround it with a sort of stockade fence to prevent attackers from getting very close to the house. He also could install shutters on the windows which would be solid except for a slit or two through which the barrels of muskets could be pointed. The memoirs of Edward Bell have been accepted as gospel in regard to the massacre, so when he stated, in those same *Memoirs* that: "*Many of our people gathered together at private Houses best situated for defence & in many cases built stockade walls Round their houses.*" it can be assumed that that was an accurate recollection of what was meant by 'fortifying' one's house.⁶⁸ When Mr. Bell said that the people gathered at 'Houses best situated for defence', he probably meant the ones located on a rise or with only a single or two sides exposed to danger. William Phillips' house stood on a slight rise with a commanding view of the surrounding valley.

William Phillips' military history was not very extensive. He was commissioned as a Captain in the Bedford County Militia at some time in the early summer of 1780. His name does not appear in any of the existing rosters or lists of military officers of the Bedford County Militia prior to this particular episode. The records pertaining to the Bedford County Militia that have come down through time, and have been preserved are certainly not complete. Therefore it is possible that William Phillips did participate in the defense of this region prior to his being appointed a Captain. The lack of evidence of prior service, though, is probably due to the fact that William swore the oath of allegiance before David Espy only a year before ~ on 12 April 1779.⁶⁹ The only document which actually references William Phillips' service as a Captain comes from an Account Ledger. Under the heading "*For Services performed by the Bedford County Militia in 1777, 78, 79, 80, 81 & 1782 &c.&c.&c.*", William Phillips is recorded as a Captain: "*from May 1780 till November 1782*".⁷⁰ The next entry in the Ledger states: "*Dittos Company ~ May 1st to the 10th June 1780.*" These entries help to identify the date on which William Phillips began his military career as a Captain as being 1 May 1780: the date his company was established.

U. J. Jones stated that "*Through the influence of some of the most prominent men about Clover Creek, Colonel Piper was induced to give Mr. Phillips a captain's commission, with authority to raise a company of rangers to serve for two months, as it was known that there was a large body of savages somewhere in the valley, unmistakable traces of their presence having been seen at many places along the river.*"⁷¹ Jon Baughman restated Jones' narrative to say that: "*Col. Piper secured the services of William Phillips . . . Through the influence of other settlers about Clover Creek, Piper was induced to bestow on Phillips a captain's commission, with the authority to raise a company of rangers to serve for two months and protect the settlers in the Cove and Woodcock Valley while they took in their harvest.*"⁷² The reader might assume from the wording that Mr. Jones and Mr. Baughman were stating that Colonel Piper conferred with the inhabitants residing in the region to get their opinion on who should lead a company, arriving at the choice of William Phillips. Then, with his commission in hand, Captain Phillips went about enlisting men to serve as his privates. William Phillips would not have performed any enlistments. He might have chosen particular men who had already enlisted in the Bedford County Militia, but the actual act of enlisting men into the service was a function of the county's Prothonotary. Also, in regard to

the Pennsylvania militia system, it was standard practice to allow the privates of any company to choose their Captain from their ranks. On 9 May 1775, the Bedford County Resolves were passed. The third 'Resolve' stated: "*That each Township in this County shall be immediately notified to assemble themselves at a certain day and place most convenient for that purpose, and then and there, by ballot or otherwise, choose Officers in their respective Townships.*"⁷³ There is no compelling evidence to suggest that the choice of William Phillips to serve as a Captain and how his company was 'raised' were handled any differently than the normal. Perhaps Colonel Piper gathered together the Bedford County militia in Woodberry Township to choose a Captain, and after they made their choice of Mr. Phillips, Colonel Piper would have formally appointed him to the rank of Captain. And afterward it would have been newly appointed *Captain* Phillips' duty to call out certain of the men who were members of the militia for tours of duty. It must be remembered that an individual Captain did not make decisions entirely on his own. Captain Phillips would have received directives from the Colonel of the Battalion to which his company was assigned or directly from the Bedford County Lieutenant. The County Lieutenant from 1777 until November 1780 was Colonel John Piper.

As noted, shortly after or at the time of receiving his Captain's commission, William Phillips was given the authorization to raise a company of militia as *Rangers*. In the frontier counties, a 'militiaman' was sometimes referred to as a 'Ranger' or 'Ranger on the Frontier' because his primary duty was to range or travel around through the forests in search of antagonists.

In Bedford County, the usual antagonists were Indians and Tories. The Indians came from any number of the Iroquois tribes from the west side of the Allegheny Mountain or from the Province of New York to the north. The Tories, supporters of the British who often engaged in terroristic raids on their Patriot neighbors, tended to come from the east. Rangers were usually called out to serve for a tour of duty lasting anywhere from two weeks to two months in order to range through the forested hills and valleys of Bedford County in search of Indians, Tories and even British troops.

There had been a number of incursions into the region by Indians during that spring and summer of 1780. The white settlers did not know how many there were or to what particular tribe(s) they belonged, but they were convinced that there were many Indians in the woods that surrounded their farmsteads.

The threat of Indian incursion was not imaginary, nor were the fears of the settlers exaggerated by any means. It has been estimated that during the year of 1780 alone, there were "*no less than sixty-five Indian war parties marched from Fort Niagara...*"⁷⁴ Donald H. Kent, the director of the Bureau of Archives and History at the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission did not disclose the source of his statistics but made the claim that two thousand, four hundred and nineteen Indians had made the raids noted above into the frontier of western and northern Pennsylvania. Some of those raids were extended eastward into New York and New Jersey as far as the Hudson River. During the year of 1780, eight [Militia] officers were killed and seven officers, including Captain William Phillips, were taken captive. One hundred and sixty-five Euro-American settlers were murdered during that year. One hundred and ninety-eight of the white settlers were taken captive in 1780. Of those captives, eighty-four women were eventually released. The raiding parties left a lot of

destruction in their wake. In addition to three churches and ten grist mills, three hundred and fifty-seven houses and one hundred and fifty-seven barns were destroyed. And finally, there were two hundred and fifty horses and four hundred and thirty head of cattle killed.

Many of the valley's settlers who left, headed eastward into Cumberland County, or southward toward Maryland, where they would reside until the threat had passed. It was up to the Rangers to discover and remove any threat to the settlers' well-being.

On the frontier between tours of duty, the militiamen had their daily lives with which to contend. Unlike the Continental Line, the Militia were not professional soldiers. Most of them were farmers and they had a tough life of it. For a man to leave his wife and children for a two month, or even just a two week tour of duty, it created a hardship for that family. According to some accounts, the new Captain apparently had some trouble getting men to turn out for his company.⁷⁵ According to U. J. Jones, by Friday, the 14th of July 1780, Phillips had succeeded in obtaining only ten men besides himself and his fourteen year old son, Elijah. (As will be seen later, there very well might have been thirty-five men in the company.) Regardless of the total number in the company, the Rangers who would be massacred are said to have included:

M(organ) Davis,⁷⁶ Thomas Gaitrell,
Daniel Kelly, Joseph Roberts,⁷⁷
P(hilip) Sanders,⁷⁸ T(homas) Sanders,⁷⁹
Richard Shirley, Hugh Skelly,
Philip Skelly, and one unknown man.

The above list was certainly not the final word on the matter. Samuel Stoler and the Fisher Summit Memorial Association had the stone obelisk-shaped monument installed at the massacre site in 1926. At that time the name of Joseph Roberts was omitted. And although U. J. Jones did not include them in his narrative, the names of two more men were included:

G(eorge) Morris and A. Shelly⁸⁰

Mr. Stoler did not provide an actual source of the additional two names. But he had noted, in a *Bedford Gazette* article dated Friday, 30 July 1915, that David B. Weaver's grandmother had provided much of the information that they then had regarding the incident. Stoler and the Fisher Summit Memorial Association probably came up with the two additional names from that source.

David I. Foster also added a name to the list in 1881 or 1882 despite failing to provide a rationale for the addition:

Fred(erick) Rouser⁸¹

Jon Baughman attempted to rationalize Mr. Foster's addition of the name by stating that "*History shows a family named Rouser living along Clover Creek as early as 1778, so the name could be authentic.*"⁸² A check of the tax assessment returns for the region and time

proved the contrary. No family by the name of Rouser, or any variation of it, appeared in the region any earlier than the 1820s. In fact, according to Jon Baughman, David Foster suggested that Captain Phillips was able to raise a company of sixteen men.⁸³ The names of the extra men were not provided by Mr. Baughman, and Mr. Foster's original documentation is no longer available, so the identities of the extra six men have disappeared into the mists of time.

Of the individuals identified as participants in this incident, only a couple can be found in the records of this region prior to their singular appearance and participation in this incident. Joseph Roberts' name was included on the 1779 '*Memorial of the Inhabitants Living on the Head Waters of the Juniata...*'⁸⁴ In 1779, the name of Joseph Roberts was also included on the tax assessment return for Hopewell Township, but a line was crossed through it.⁸⁵ Hugh Skelly's name appeared on the 1775 Hopewell Township tax assessment return as an 'inmate' and then on the 1776 tax assessment return for Hopewell Township, but as a 'non-resident.' An 'inmate' referred to a man who was living with another family, but paid his own share of the taxes ~ essentially a taxpaying renter. Finally, in 1779 the names of Richard Shirley and Hugh Skalley were recorded as 'residents' in Hopewell Township.⁸⁶ Philip Skelly, being a brother to Hugh, should also have appeared as a resident in Hopewell Township. His name does not, though. As noted previously, William Phillips appeared on the 1779 Frankstown Township tax assessment return.⁸⁷

The names of the others are not found on any tax assessment returns for the county. [Note: The suggested names are derived from names beginning with those initials which appeared in rosters of militia in Pennsylvania ~ not in tax assessment returns.] So where did M(organ) Davis, Thomas Gaitrell, Daniel Kelly, G(eorge) Morris, P(hilip) Sanders, T(homas) Sanders and A. Shelly come from prior to the massacre? It is possible that some of those other individuals were actually from another, adjacent county, such as Cumberland. For example, Cumberland County Militia assisted in garrisoning the Fetter's Fort near Frankstown. Perhaps their tours of duty had lapsed, and they simply had stuck around in the area. The name of only one of the recruits, Daniel Kelly, appeared in the Depreciation Account books maintained in the office of the Auditor General of Pennsylvania. But Kelly's name was listed in the Northumberland County Militia, in Captain Thomas Gaskin's Company.⁸⁸ Only Hugh Skelly and Richard Shirley are known to have been members of another militia unit from Bedford County. Their names appear in the roll of Captain Thomas Paxton's Ranging Company which was raised in September of 1776 and discharged from service in November of that same year.⁸⁹

.*The British And Their Connection To The Massacre*

No first-person, eye-witness account of the actual massacre exists, but two contemporaneous documents do exist that shed a little light on what happened in the Woodcock Valley in July 1780. The one document was a letter Colonel John Piper sent to Joseph Reed on the 6th of August in which he reported finding the bodies of the massacred Rangers tied to trees. [See below in the section titled '*Aftermath of the Disaster*'.] The other, and more vital document, was a letter sent by Guy Johnson to Sir Frederick Haldimand on 11 August in which the British point of view was expressed.⁹⁰

Sir, I have the honor to acquaint your Excellence that Lieut Dochstedder is just arrived after having reduced a rebel Block House – the commanding officer of which and others are brought to this place ~ On the 16th Ultimo he had reached Wood cock Valley in Bedford County, Pennsylvania where the Block House was situated. He immediately invested it, and made several attacks for above an hour when the commanding officer (Captain Phillips) surrendered.

The garrison consisted of a Captain, Lieutenant, and thirty four Rangers, but the Lieutenant with twenty three men had gone on a scout about two hours before the attack was made, for which reason, and as the Country was alarmed as well as on account of the Treachery which some of the party has experienced from the rebels the Indians could not be restrained from killing ten of the rebels.

Lieut. Dochstedder destroyed the Block House, and on his return burnt 7 Houses and as many Granaries and killed some cattle and Horses ~ I enclose the letter from the Lieutenant of Bedford County for Captain Phillips's raising his ranging company, from which your Excellency will perceive that he was of some estimation there, altho he affects ~~some~~ much simplicity and uses a great deal of prevarication, he says that they were then raising some men to come to some of our Frontier posts, but denys any further Knowledge of any thing. . .

I am Sir &c (Signed) G. Johnson

In Guy Johnson's letter of 11 August, we find that the Indians who committed the massacre of the Bedford County Militia men were led by British Lieutenant John Dochstedder. A 'List of Officers belonging to the Indian Department at Niagara' compiled in 1785 included the name of John Dockstadder and noted that he "Served with Spirit during the War."⁹¹ Prior to his service in the Indian Department, John Dochstedder had been a farmer residing in Tryon County, New York. He left the Colonies in 1777 and served as a Lieutenant in the British army from that time until 20 March 1784. Apparently John Dochstedder enjoyed his job attacking and killing Americans.

Prior to the 1970s, when the letter from Guy Johnson to Frederick Haldimand was discovered, it was believed that there were only two 'white men' with the Indians as they surrounded the Heater cabin on 16 July 1780. It was generally believed by the early historians who wrote of the incident that those 'two' white men were local Tories. In fact, even some more recent historians have written of the incident without the knowledge of the British connection. One local historian stated: "From their observation post Phillips' rangers spotted two white men among the savages. From their dress and mannerisms it was obvious they had been adopted by the Indians."⁹² The letter from Johnson revealed, in no uncertain terms, that the incursion into Bedford County in the summer of 1780 was in fact a

British instigated and controlled situation. In addition to the fact that the Euro-Americans in charge of the attack were British soldiers, the revelation of the Johnson letter draws attention to the fact that there is no basis to the assumption that there were only two non-Indians in the group of protagonists.

There is no reason to doubt the veracity and accuracy of the detail presented by Guy Johnson's report to Governor Haldimand. When he noted that Lieutenant Dochstedder "*on his return burnt 7 Houses and as many Granaries and Killed some cattle and Horses*", there is no cause to doubt that seven houses and the same number of granaries (or barns) were set afire. Likewise, there is no reason to believe that other details in his report should be doubted or held to higher scrutiny. A case in point is Lieutenant Dochstedder's statement that the garrison that he encountered in Bedford County consisted of a Captain, Lieutenant and thirty-four Rangers. The bodies of only ten Rangers were found tied to the trees in the clearing by Colonel Piper on the 17th of July. Since the report of his activities made by Lieutenant Dochstedder was not widely known in the 1800s, when U. J. Jones wrote his narrative, he knew only about Captain Phillips, his son, Elijah and the ten Rangers that Colonel Piper found after the massacre. Despite Jones' claim to have utilized Edward Bell's *Memoirs*, which stated that Captain Phillips had '*som 20 men*' under his command, he ignored the possibility that any number of Bedford County Militia under the command of Captain Phillips in July 1780 could avoid being massacred. The idea that a portion of the thirty-six man garrison might have left the Heater cabin before the fight began is simply something that has not previously been considered.

In regard to the knowledge of a Bedford County Lieutenant and twenty-three Militia men leaving the rest of the garrison, it is surprising that questions about them were not raised by earlier historians. How did the British at Fort Niagara know about the composition and movements of the Bedford County Militia? Did the British have Tory contacts actively spying on the Militia in this region? How extensive throughout the frontier of Pennsylvania was a network of British / Tory communication if it did exist? And in regard to this incident specifically, was the group led by Lieutenant Dochstedder surveilling the Rangers under Captain Phillips for a while prior to making their move? Did they 'shadow' the Rangers as they trekked across Tussey Mountain and southward through the Woodcock Valley? If the Indian party led by Dochstedder watched and allowed a militia 'Lieutenant' and twenty-three privates leave the cabin without starting a fight then and there, what was the reason or purpose? Had they been keeping track of Captain Phillips' Company all along, knowing that there were thirty-six in the company, and did they figure that by allowing over half of them to leave, they would be assured of winning a fight with the rest? How did Dochstedder know that one of the twenty-four who left early was a militia Lieutenant? The Bedford County Militia did not wear any type of identifying uniform that would have indicated rank. Perhaps Lieutenant Dochstedder relied on local Tories for his intelligence of the local situation. If Lieutenant Dochstedder knew who Captain Phillips was, when the partial body of the Rangers left the cabin and Phillips was not one of them, did Dochstedder prevent the Indians from following that partial body? Did Dochstedder simply intend to capture a Bedford County Militia Captain? Was that his sole mission, and was the massacre simply a happenstance ~ ten men in the wrong place at the wrong time? Militia officers, no matter how long they held that rank, were better bargaining chips to be traded for captive British

officers. It is difficult to second guess the tactical decisions of anyone two hundred and forty years distant from the event, but the facts in this situation was that the British Lieutenant John Dochstedder watched as a soldier who he identified as a Bedford County Militia Lieutenant and twenty-three Rangers left the Heater cabin and waited another two hours before letting his Seneca allies open fire on the Rangers remaining in the cabin.

There is another statement in the Johnson letter that merits being discussed. Johnson related that: “*for which reason, and as the Country was alarmed as well as on account of the Treachery which some of the party has experienced from the rebels the Indians could not be restrained from killing ten of the rebels.*” The ‘reason’ Johnson referred to was the fact that a “*Lieutenant and twenty-three men had gone on a scout about two hours before...*” It could be inferred from that statement that the Senecas were not in agreement with Dochstedder for letting any of the Rangers get away. It is hard to imagine what ‘treachery’ the party of Indians would have experienced from the Bedford County ‘rebels.’ Regardless of the specifics, it is apparent from the statement that Dochstedder felt that his Seneca allies were justified in defying his promise of safe passage and killing the Rangers. Reporting on the incident to his superior, Guy Johnson, John Dochstedder appears to have rationalized the Indians’ action: they were simply responding to wrongs done to them by the Bedford County Militia.

Donald H. Kent, who apparently was the first to note (in 1975) that the Indians were led by British Lieutenant John Dochstedder, did not include many details, especially the one about more Militia being involved besides the ten who were massacred and Phillips and his son. In 1980, Ron Morgan mentioned Dochstedder in a history of the massacre that was printed in serial form in the *Daily News* for Huntingdon, Mount Union and Saxton. He, though, did not mention the fact that Dochstedder claimed to have discovered that the garrison included a Captain, Lieutenant and thirty-four Militia. In 2004, Jon Baughman included a mention of Lieutenant Dochstedder in the chapter on the massacre that was published in his book, *Saxton: The History of the Most Interesting Little Town in Pennsylvania*. Despite the report being the only actual first-person account of the incident, Mr. Baughman apparently did not entirely believe it. He noted that: “*In the letter Dochstedder said that there were 34 men in Phillips party, a figure that seems very exaggerated. Perhaps the officers and their Indian companions were bragging to gain favors from the British command.*”⁹³ Mr. Baughman did not elaborate on how he came to the conclusion that the figure of thirty-four was ‘very exaggerated’ ~ not just exaggerated, but very exaggerated.

. The Massacre Of Captain Phillips’ Company

Apart from the letter of Guy Johnson relating Lieutenant John Dochstedder’s report from the British viewpoint, the closest thing to an eye-witness account of the massacre is a second-person narrative that Edward Bell (1767-1852) included in his *Memoirs*, which he claimed was recounted to him by Captain William Phillips.⁹⁴ Edward Bell wrote his memoirs in 1840. According to his account, William Phillips told Bell his story at some time after he returned to Bedford County in 1782. That would have been fifty-eight years (at the most) after the telling till Mr. Bell committed to paper what he was told by Phillips.

The following is a verbatim transcription of Edward Bell's handwritten *Memoirs*. Mr. Bell made an error in the date, stating that it took place in 1778 rather than in 1780. It begs the question: did he make any other errors? Bell also noted that William was taken to Kittanning and from there to Detroit, where he said William "*remained to the end of the War & was then sent to the British at Quebec.*" That is clearly incorrect when one discovers that William Phillips was taken directly to Fort Niagara, and from there to Île Jesus near Montreal, where he actually was kept only until his escape in 1782 ~ a year before the end of the war. The trip northward might have gone through Kittanning, but certainly not so out of the way as to Detroit.

I think in the forepart of the summer of 1778 Captain William Phillips whose home was on Clover creek about 3 Miles above Williamsburgh or Where Williamsburgh now stands at the Mouth of Morrisons Cove as it was not laid out untill the Summer of 1795 was Stationed with som 20 men on the Road from Huntingdon to Bedford above Shy Beaver Run and near where Flukes Tavern formerly stood his Fort was a cabben House partialy defended by Stockade the Indians atacked him early in the Morning & That some 2 or 3 of his men when they first opened their door the rest of the men poold them in to the House, closed the door & commenced firing at the Indians when they could see them from behind loggs trees or Stumps for an Indian will not stand open to be fired at in this way the battle lasted some 2 or 3 hours and the soldiers in side of the house had received but little injury except from the first fire. At Lenth one of the Indians took advantage of a large Chimney in the house that had one port hole in it and got up near enough to shoot some fire arrows in to several places in the Roof and several other Places of the Cabben easiest sat on fire, When Phillips discoverd their Fort on fire he orderd his men to throw the Roof off of it by shoving off the Butting Pole at each side for these are very convenient Houses if you throw the Butting Pole off the rest will all follow hoping by this means to hold possession of the House, but contrary to his expectation the Weight Poles Butting Poles and clapboards fell too near the House & in place of helping them destroyd all their hope. Meantime one of the Indians put a handkerchief on the Mussel of his gun and proposd to Phillips & his men that if they would give them selves up Prisoners they should not be hurt further. Phillips and his men agreed to that as they had no alternative & there was 3 or 4 Times as many Indians as White men to rush out on them with their Tommahauks would be certain death & death could by only the Worst of their fate, so they ceasd firing

as they had nearly done before they surrendered, having shot away all their powder & lead but a few loads, When they marched out the indians took their guns Shotpouches Tomehauks and Scalping knives from them and tied their hands behind their Backs with straps of Buckskin and Capt Phillips & his son Eligah the servd in the same way but seperated them from the rest of his men and a part of the Indians with Phillips & his son crossed the Cove mountain at & got partly oposite the Fort and the others went across the Ellk gap when they were about 2 or 2 & one half Miles from the scen of action Phillips heard several shots in the direction his men went and said to his captors he hoped they were not killing his men as he was answered that they would kill as many of them as the white had Killd of their people if it took them all & him & his sone in to the bargan, he says they then parted him & his sone & he seen no more of him untill after the warr they took him to Kittaning & from that to Detroit where he remaind to the end of the Warr & was then sent to the British at quebeck, his son Elijah was taken from Woodcock Vally to Chinelemuch old Town on the suscahana & from that to Canada where he staid untill he was exchanged this account I got from Capt Wm Phillips who returnd to his place on Clover creek & brot his family from near Hagerstown Maryland where he had taken them for safety when the warr broke out his son Elijah returnd about a month after his father, & his father said he had not heard of him from the time they parted on the Cove mountain until he arrivd at home & beleved the Indians had Killd him.

The Woodcock Valley Settlers In Panic

By mid-July 1780, a group of local settlers who had taken shelter at Shoup's Fort were getting worried that they might be attacked.⁹⁵ Perhaps they feared that they might not be able to hold out against the Indians who had been making incursions into the region.

Shoup's Fort was located at the southeast end of Woodcock Valley, where the borough of Saxton now stands. Shoup's Fort is only known locally. Mention of it was not included in the *Report of the Commission To Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, published in 1916.⁹⁶ The 1884 *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* included a very brief description of the fort by stating: "Sebastian Shoup, a German, was one of the very first settlers. He located where Saxton now is prior to the revolution. During the period of Indian hostilities he built a fort or blockhouse very near the spot where the railroad depot now stands. To this shelter the neighboring families resorted until the depredations became so violent that they felt compelled to seek a more secure fortification."⁹⁷ According to local tradition Shoup's Fort consisted of five log cabins, each a single story in height, apparently positioned in a rectangle with three standing along the

‘front’ wall and the other two on the ‘back’ corners. A stockade wall of upright logs filled in the spaces between the buildings. A heavy timber gate was located in one section of the stockade wall.⁹⁸ Although the buildings had portholes in their outer walls for the purpose of firing at attackers, there exists no evidence that the ‘fort’ was ever attacked. Then, in the summer of 1780, when an attack was eminent, the settlers apparently felt that the fort was not secure enough to withstand an actual attack, and abandoned it.

The settlers of Hopewell Township who took refuge at Shoup’s Fort had somehow received intelligence that a party of Indians had “*spied out the Fort and informed the British Garrison at Detroit, Mich., that 60 warriors would be able to capture the Fort and destroy the settlement.*”⁹⁹ Certain of their group had decided to head east into Cumberland County. Those that remained at the Fort at the south end of Woodcock Valley decided on their next course of action. Their decision was to have one of their number travel northward and across Tussey Mountain into Morrisons Cove to request a party of the Bedford County Rangers to come aid them in their defense. It would probably have been just as near for someone to travel southeastward to Piper’s Fort, which no doubt was also being garrisoned by Bedford County Militia. The decision to head northward to Phillips’ fortified homestead was probably made with the option to head farther north to Standing Stone if necessary.

Joshua Davis was the man chosen to make the trip for help. Joshua Davis had been commissioned as the Captain of the 3rd Company of the Third Battalion of the Bedford County Militia in 1777. The Third Battalion had been raised during the early part of that year in Hopewell, Barre and a portion of Frankstown Townships.¹⁰⁰ Sebastian Shoub served in Davis’ company as a Court Martial Man. Then by the fall of 1777, Captain Joshua Davis betrayed his Patriot neighbors. A letter sent by Thomas Paxton to Colonel William Parker of the First Battalion of the Bedford County Militia dated 8 October 1777 stated:¹⁰¹

Sir: I take this opportunity to let you know that a certain Benjamin Right that lived in Wood Cock Valley was apprehended and brought before me one of the Justis of the Peas for the Common Welth of Pennsylvania, and was duley sworn that Capt’n Joshua Davis ~ 1 Leutenant Mori Cain ~ 2 Leutenant Mickal Skeley and Jacob Shoup ~ 1 Shargin Thomas Miller ~ 2 Shargin Gasber Miller ~ 1 Corpal Thomas Cheventon ~ 2 Corpal John Cheventon ~ 3 Corpal Benjamin Right... The Benjamin Right Declares upon oath that the persons whose names I have menched hear has bound them selves to a oath to be true to King George the Third and will do everything they can against the Freedom of America and sworn a number of persons to joyn them in this traitorous conspiracies.

Apparently the recognizance bond of £100 that he had to pay helped to convince Davis that he should reconsider which side he wanted to support. And it can be assumed that he decided to switch back to the American side despite being stripped of his Captaincy in the Bedford County Militia. By the summer of 1780 Joshua Davis was not in the militia anymore. According to David I. Foster, Davis was “*also known as Commissary Davis.*”¹⁰²

Where Mr. Foster came up with that epithet is anyone's guess. He certainly did not appear with that name in any contemporary public document. In the late 1700s, a 'commissary' in the army was an officer who kept an account of the strength of the regiment, noting and recording for his superiors the number of troops, horses, equipment, etc. The Bedford County Militia during the American Revolutionary War did employ individuals in the position of 'commissary' but Joshua Davis was never recorded in that position. Today we tend to think of a 'commissary' as a *delegate*, and perhaps Mr. Foster bestowed the title on Davis since he was chosen in July 1780 to serve as a delegate to speak for the people of Shoup's Settlement to the militia. Joshua Davis was chosen to travel into the Morrison Cove to try to rouse a militia contingent if he could. [Apparently, the people at Shoup's Fort were not aware that just a few days before, Colonel Piper had already made contact with William Phillips and that a contingent of militia were already being called out. ~ Or perhaps, the tale of Davis' trip to Morrison Cove was more apocryphal than actual.]

According to the Davis narrative, Joshua Davis set out that morning and in a few hours found Captain Phillips who agreed to take his small company into the Woodcock Valley to search for any Indians who might be there to endanger the settlers. On his return trip, Davis started out ahead of Phillips' company and while crossing Tussey Mountain was ambushed by a party of Indians who showered him with arrows and bullets. Davis somehow managed to escape and hurried to the fort to warn the others. According to the extant few 'chapters' of D. I. Foster's narrative, Joshua Davis submitted a 'report' when he returned to Fort Shoup.

Apparently, Edward Bell was not familiar with that part of the story because he made no mention of Joshua Davis or the people at Shoup's Fort.¹⁰³ Instead, Bell claimed ~ as told to Jones ~ "By the 15th of July, 1780, he [Phillips] had but ten men collected; but with these he determined to scout through Woodcock Valley and the Cove, in order to protect the farmers in harvesting their grain."

To return to Davis' report, to whom Joshua Davis submitted the 'report' was not revealed in Foster's narrative. After being caught advocating for support of King George III ~ the Loyalist position ~ Davis' name did not show up in the Bedford County Militia rosters, so it is questionable whether his 'report' would have been made to the Bedford County Militia.

The so-called *Davis' Report* itself is a little confusing because of the manner in which it was transcribed within Foster's narrative. The report begins speaking in the first-person singular as if it was being submitted to the rest of the settlers in Shoup's Fort as an account of Davis' trip northward and across Tussey Mountain to obtain the assistance of the militia troops believed to be garrisoning William Phillips' fortified house. Then part way through and to its end, the report speaks of the actions of the settlers at the fort as if it had been submitted to some other entity to describe the reaction of the defenders at Shoup's Fort to his report. A 'report' is seldom prescient enough to be able to record the reaction to itself within the report itself.

Before progressing, here is the transcript of Davis' Report as narrated by David I. Foster but separated into the two parts.¹⁰⁴

<p><i>We stayed over night at Dietrich's mill, near Williamsburg. We were to meet on the next evening at the Heater Block House.</i></p>
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I started to cross the mountain by way of the packsaddle path while the Phillips Scouts were to cross below and come up the Valley. I had not reached the foot of the mountain when my ears were greeted with the most unearthly yells that ever emitted from a human throat. My large black horse was so frightened that he stood still and trembled. My dog sprang on the back of my horse and let out some of the most melancholy yells that ever was heard. At last I succeeded in getting my horse started on a run but not quick enough to avoid a volley of both arrows and bullets, one of the bullets penetrated my right leg, below the knee, making a very painful flesh wound. But the most curious thing connected with the trip was the actions of my large dog, he would snap at the nose of my horse and try to get on my legs, this so bothered me and kept me from getting along that I seen that the dog if left alone would cause my capture. I concluded it would be better to part with the dog and I soon put a ball through his head, after which I left ground between me pretty fast until I struck the river, which was low, the weather being warm.

That first part of Davis' Report appears to be the extent of the actual report that Joshua Davis would have made to the defenders at Shoup's Fort. The remaining portion of the 'report' continues below.

When I got on the side of the river next to the Fort I seen a crowd coming down the river in a skiff loaded with fish. But they were so excited that they hardly left their prow touch shore until each one grabbed what fish they could carry and made for the Fort, and when all were in the Fort safe they then began to consider what was best to be done under the trying circumstances. After my leg was dressed we talked the matter over. Some were for starting at once for the haunts of civilization; for they had found that Indians had spied out the Fort and informed the British Garrison at Detroit, Mich., that 60 warriors would be able to capture the Fort and destroy the settlement, and as they thought there was fully that number and I had seen at least one British officer when they had fired at me on the West side of the mountain, and taking all these things into consideration, we all concluded that it was best to leave the Fort as soon as possible, for we had but little help to expect from the Scout if they did arrive at Heaters that night as they would proceed to Hartsock's Fort when they found that the Valley was invaded by over 60 Indians and they might meet the Indians

before they got over the mountain, and if they did they would undoubtedly be attacked, and the survivors if there were any would make their way back to the Big Cove.

But there was one drawback to our leaving at once, for two families were absent from the Fort and were at their houses, though the families of the fishing parties were in the Fort for protection while they were on the expedition. The families that were out were Frederick Heater of the Valley Hill place and Rev. Thomas Johnson of the Island place and they did not wish to leave those two behind, yet it was a perilous undertaking to warn them and Sabastian Shoup asked for two volunteers to warn those two families. And though rather heavy and clumsy for one to be sent on such an errand, Frederick Sheckler was first to volunteer. His seven years of service in the German Army had left an everlasting impression of duty that danger made it the more binding to him. So he was sent to Frederick Heaters. He crossed the river below the mouth of Shoups run and crossed the hills as in this way he could avoid the Indians as they had not time to be out of the Valley yet.

Peterson Cherry then volunteered to go to Johnstons, which he did without any adventure worth naming. While these two men were on their preveous journey, those in the Fort got their cattle together that were running in the field which was between the fort and the river.

A number of incongruities exist in the *Davis' Report*, as presented by David Ira Foster. Due to those incongruities, the veracity of the document must be taken into consideration.

'The 'historical note #47, which David Ira Foster published in the *Independent* just before his transcript of *Davis' Report*, included the comment that: "By Saturday, July 15, 1780 the Forters at Shoups had sent one of their number, Joshua Davis, familiarly known as commissary Davis to the Big Cove to see if they could expect any aid from there."¹⁰⁵

It would appear that previous researchers either failed to take note of or chose to ignore the discrepancy between the dates and times mentioned in the narrative presented by David I. Foster. The Foster narrative has Joshua Davis leaving Shoup's Fort in the vicinity of present-day Saxton on Saturday, the 15th of July and arriving at the Phillips homestead about three miles south of the present-day Williamsburg on the same day. The distance between the two points is approximately eighteen miles by today's roads (which incidentally follow the paths of the roads in the 1700s). An average day's journey was fifteen miles traveling steadily but not hurriedly. If a person was racing from one point to another like the Pony Express of later years, he might have traveled twenty to thirty miles in a day. The odd thing about the Foster narrative is that Davis not only made the trip in one day, he arrived there in time to give William Phillips the time to send out calls for men to turn out for a tour of duty. And then, according to Foster's note, Davis arrived back at Shoup's Fort on the same day (July 15, 1780). Despite the speed with which Joshua Davis carried out his trip, he

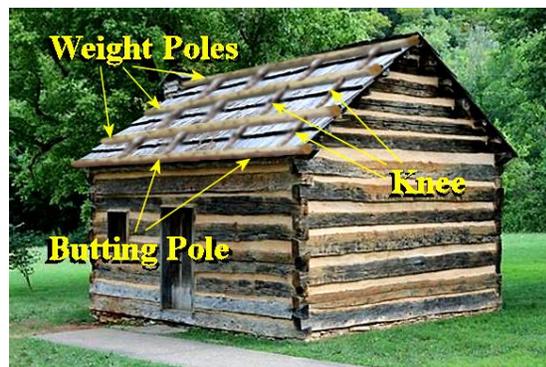
claimed to have “*stayed over night at Dietrich’s Mill, near Williamsburg.*” Either Joshua Davis knew the secret of time travel, or perhaps David I. Foster got his facts a little mixed up.

The fact that Foster referred to the Frederick Heater cabin as the ‘*Heater Block House*’ is also a little curious. An actual *blockhouse* would have been a fortified structure built specifically for that purpose ~ not a log cabin that was fortified. It must be remembered,



though, that the Johnson letter related that Lieutenant Dochstetter also referred to the cabin as a block house. Generally speaking, a *blockhouse* was originally a redoubt constructed of squared timbers or blocks.¹⁰⁶ The block-house was built without any windows. Instead there were slits for loopholes. A cabin, per se, was a house consisting of a single room, perhaps with a loft. A cabin could be fortified, but it

couldn’t be changed, overnight, into a blockhouse unless it was torn down and a new structure built in its place. To fortify a cabin, as noted previously, the home owner might construct a fence as a form of stockade around it. The fact that the militia would end up spending the night at the Heater cabin, and then engaging in a fight with Indians the next day did not turn the cabin into a ‘block house’. On 16 July 1780, the Heater cabin was still just the Heater cabin, albeit a cabin in which Phillips’ company spent a night. What is the importance of this discussion? If the building in which the militia men stayed overnight was an actual blockhouse, then it would have been constructed for defense. One aspect of that defensive construction would have included a substantial, permanent roof. A roof held in place by ‘butting poles’ was indicative of a rustic, humble cabin. Butting poles, weight poles and knees were structural elements of a roof



on which the shingles were not nailed or pegged in place. The three named structural elements are exactly what held the roof in place in the absence of nails or pegs. The first, primitive log cabins, built by settlers when they initially took up land upon which to homestead, had such roof construction to economize on time, labor and cost. If the Heater cabin had a roof with shingles held in place by butting and weight poles, then it probably was not a substantially built structure as a whole. It probably had walls constructed of logs

that were put in place when they were still green, as compared to a later, more refined construction for which the builder could take the time to cut logs and let them dry a bit before using them. That suggests that there might have been gaps between the logs through which musket barrels could be aimed. Referring to the Heater log cabin as a blockhouse was probably just a comment of how it was used in retrospect. Even Lieutenant Dochstедder's use of the name might have been simply to note that it was used by the militia, albeit for a single night.

Mr. Foster's transcription has Joshua Davis stating that "*I started to cross the mountain by way of the packsaddle path, while the Phillips Scouts were to cross below and come up the Valley.*" It is doubtful that Joshua Davis (or Edward Bell) would have actually referred to the Bedford County Militia as 'Scouts'. In the 1700s, the word *scout* was not used interchangeably with either *militia* or *ranger* or even with *soldier*. The word *scout* was derived from the French *escoute*, which referred to 'A centinel who keeps guard in an advanced post.'¹⁰⁷ Despite the fact that the militia men might be said to scout through the forests for Indians, they were called 'rangers' not 'scouts.' Colonel Piper did not refer to the men led by Captain William Phillips as the 'Scout'. He called them Captain Phillips' *company* in his report of 6 August 1780.

Another thing to consider in regard to *Davis' Report* is found in the first couple of sentences: "*We stayed over night at Dietrich's mill, near Williamsburg. We were to meet on the next evening at the Heater Block House. I started to cross the mountain by way of the packsaddle path while the Phillips Scouts were to cross below and come up the Valley.*" The primary impetus for Captain William Phillips being asked by Colonel Piper to raise a company of militia was for them to range through the Woodcock Valley ~ at least according to the most widely accepted narrative, the one presented by U. J. Jones. He noted that the Woodcock Valley was traversed by an Indian path, and therefore as he noted "*it was a favorite haunt of the savage*"¹⁰⁸ If the company raised by Captain Phillips was to travel southward through the Morrison Cove, cross over 'below' and then travel northward to the Heater cabin, and Joshua Davis was going to range by himself southward through the bulk of the Woodcock Valley, what was the purpose in Davis crossing over Tussey Mountain in the first place? If he was willing and felt that he was able to range through the Woodcock Valley by himself, why involve anyone else? Also, what would the purpose have been for Captain Phillips' Rangers to meet with Davis at the Heater cabin? If they were going to cross over Tussey Mountain close to the south end of Woodcock Valley, and if Davis was going to range south through the Valley, why would they not have planned to meet at the Shoup's Fort?

The settlers at Shoup's Fort discussed the situation after hearing Davis' report, or at least the first part of it, and agreed to leave the relative safety of the fort and head eastward. Many of them would not actually return to Bedford County until 1785.

The various discrepancies in *Davis' Report* suggest that it was perhaps a later fabrication by Mr. Foster or by someone who presented it to Mr. Foster in an attempt to fool him into thinking that it was an authentic document.

Sheckler's Tale



As the rest prepared to leave, it was discovered that two families had not yet taken shelter in Shoup's Fort. Two of the men at the fort headed north through the valley to warn the families of Frederick Heater and the Reverend Thomas Johnston of the impending danger to their safety. Peterson Cherry went to warn the family of the Reverend Thomas Johnston. Mr. Cherry accomplished his mission without incident. Frederick Sheckler headed toward the supposedly well fortified 'blockhouse' of Frederick Heater (*variously, Heeter*).

The Heater's homestead dwelling was said to be located along Fisher's Summit about two miles northwest of Shoup's Fort, and the Rangers were said to have been marched about a half of a mile south of the Heater cabin after the skirmish with the Indians. So the Heater property would have stood somewhere in the vicinity of the intersection of State Routes 164 and 26. The exact location of the Heater property, though, is not known. Frederick Heater did not obtain a warrant, survey or patent for the property on which he homesteaded. The only person with the surname 'Heater' to appear on any tax assessment returns for the region was 'George'. A man by the name of George Heater was recorded on the 1774 Hopewell Township tax assessment return. Frederick Heater was not recorded on that return. Then, in both 1779 and 1781, George Heater's name was again recorded, just before the names of Frederick Shackler and Joshua Davis. Again, in 1779 and 1781, Frederick Heater's name was not found in any Bedford County tax assessment returns. A check of the grantor files in the Recorder of Deeds' office in the Bedford County Court House resulted in finding that Frederick Heater never sold any property in Bedford County in the late 1700s and early

1800s. The earliest deed in which a man by the name of Frederick Heater sold any land in the region was one filed in the Huntingdon County Court House in 1879.¹⁰⁹ That deed, though, referred to a tract of land located in Todd Township, nearly ten miles away to the east. It described a tract of land that had been a portion of a larger tract belonging to George Heater. A check of the mapping departments of the court houses of both the Bedford and Huntingdon Counties revealed that no physical feature named Fisher's Summit exists in either county at the present time ~ nor for the last hundred years for that matter. A representative of the Huntingdon County Historical Society suggested that the 'summit' might have been in the vicinity of a 19th Century railroad stop: Cove Station. It was in the general vicinity of the present-day intersection of Route 164 and 26.

To return to the narrative, in the yard to the house, Sheckler found the Heater's son, John, lying on the ground, scalped and dead or in the process of dying. He roused the rest of the family (or at least Mr. Heater) and they headed out of the valley to join their fleeing neighbors.

According to David I. Foster, Frederick Sheckler told his story to his children.¹¹⁰ They, in turn, told the story to Foster in 1882. It's amazing that any of Sheckler's children could have performed that feat ~ in view of the fact that all of Frederick Sheckler's children died prior to 1881, a year before they supposedly told the story to David I. Foster. In any case, Mr. Foster miraculously came up with the story directly from Frederick Sheckler's lips:

"I crossed the river below the Fort and went over the two hills very fast until I got near the Heater place, and when I laid my hands on the fence to leap over it, I received the greatest shock I ever felt in my life, for right in front of me on the other side of the fence lay the quivering body of young John Heater. The scalp had been brutally torn from his head and there he lay writhing in agony with his eyes rolling spasmodically in their sockets, while his hands clutched the ground convulsively, and by all appearance was unconscious. In order to do myself and family justice, it would have been my duty to turn at once and make for the Fort, but I risked to go to the house and tell Heaters the awful news about the boy and warn them about the Indians. In my great hast to get from the fence, where I found the boy, to the house, I stumbled and fell several times and was out of breath. As soon as I could talk I told them my errand. Heater was not long about getting ready to start, this being done by grabbing up a few of his valuables and getting his long gun.

The Indians had not yet found the house, the reason I suppose, the Indians did not wish to raise an alarm before night as the plan was by all appearance, to strike the Valley a terrible blow destroying Fort and settlement at one bold and terrible stroke. But thanks to Davis, the bold scout by whose actions their plan was foiled in time to prevent deadly loss of life yet a

score or more were cut down to appease the savage wrath. Heater felt very bad about the sad occurrence of his son, yet he said but little and as soon as he was ready, we started for the Fort and arrived there early in the evening and were not discovered by the Indians. When we arrived at the Fort the young men had already started with the cattle up the path to Doek's Mountain."

The fence around the Heater house must have been quite a distance away from the house itself. If the Indians could attack and scalp the son just inside the fence and not be noticed by the rest of the family, it must surely have been far from the house. One would assume that the Heater boy screamed out in pain by the attack but apparently was not heard by the rest of the family. The rest of the family were, presumably, in the house at the time. It is possible that they actually did not hear the attack or the son's screams (if he did, in fact, scream). But if any of the other family members was outside at the time, surely someone would have taken notice to the son being attacked.

In regard to the Heater family, the only member of the Heater family who was at the house when Sheckler arrived there must have been Frederick Heater, the father. According to the Sheckler account, Mr. Heater alone was "*grabbing up a few of his valuables and getting his long gun*". No other member of the family is mentioned as hurrying to leave. And in fact, later in the story Sheckler says that Heater felt bad for his son, but "*as soon as he was ready, we started for the Fort*".

The indifference of Frederick Heater toward his dying son who, according to Sheckler's account, was "*writhing in agony with his eyes rolling spasmodically in their sockets, while his hands clutched the ground convulsively*." is shocking. For the father to not make any effort to comfort or put the boy out of his misery is unbelievable to our modern day sensibilities. A loving parent would at least have shot the boy to put him out of his misery. When a horse would break its leg, the owner would shoot it without any hesitation, knowing the alternative of the animal dying a slow death. That Frederick Heater would leave his son "*writhing in agony*" is astounding ~ or simply evidence that 'Sheckler's Tale' was mostly fabrication from the imagination of David I. Foster. At the very beginning of this book, I noted that my narrative was historical fiction, but in the 1800s and early 1900s, a person could 'write' history without anyone being able to check their facts. I am not making a claim that Mr. Foster 'lied' but some historians would rather fill in any empty spots rather than admit that the actual facts are not known.

Captain Phillips' Company Range Into The Woodcock Valley

As has already been discussed, the commission of William Phillips as Captain and the raising of a company to serve under him was probably not as U. J. Jones narrated ~ that "*Captain Phillips commenced recruiting men immediately on the reception of his commission...By the 15th of July, 1780 he had but ten men collected.*"¹¹ Nevertheless, a company was called out, and by the 15th of July it was ready to range southward through the

Morrison Cove, then over Tussey Mountain to continue southward through the Woodcock Valley.

As Captain Phillips and his small company made their way southward through Morrison Cove they found that most, if not all, of the houses were abandoned by the settlers.¹¹² No Indians were encountered, though. The troop crossed over Tussey Mountain near the southernmost end of the valley and arrived at the house of Frederick Heater, which, unbeknownst to them, had just been abandoned by the family. U. J. Jones commented that Mr. Heater had pierced the walls of his log homestead with loopholes in order to defend it if necessary. As suggested above, the cabin, being rustic, might have had natural gaps between the logs through which musket barrels could be aimed. Loopholes could also be easily created by knocking holes in the chinking between the logs. Captain Phillips' men at least would be able to take advantage of Heater's defensive measures.

It should be mentioned that the narrative of Weaver and Stoler, based on the recollections of Mr. Weaver's grandmother, Maria (Eicher) Weaver, stated that the Heater homestead was built of stone. The narrative stated: "*they came to the house of Frederick Heater, which had been abandoned. They decided to remain over night in this house, which was built of stone and had been provided with loop holes and well fitted for a fort, for which it had been used at times when the Indians were about.*"¹¹³ It makes one wonder, if the Heater house had indeed been built of stone with the intention of being used as a fort, why would the local settlers feel the need to flee in July 1780? It also makes one wonder why Colonel John Piper said, in the letter he sent to Joseph Reed, that he found "*the House Burnt to Ashes.*" Stone structures seldom burn to ashes.

The 16th Of July Dawns / The Rangers Become Aware Of The Indians

The Bedford County Rangers decided to spend the night in the Heater house. They made and ate their supper and then stretched out for a sound and uneventful night's sleep. Jones said that "*they all stretched themselves out on the floor and slept soundly until morning.*"¹¹⁴



Sipe stated that "*Phillips and his men passed the night in safety.*"¹¹⁵ The fact of the matter is that no one knows, or could know, how the night actually went for the Rangers. Bell, who is supposed to have got the story from Phillips, and then relayed it to U. J. Jones made no mention of how the Rangers spent the night. It is believed that it rained during the night, but that it was a light rain, and therefore probably was not accompanied by lightning and thunder. A soft, steady rain might have indeed contributed to a peaceful night's sleep for the Rangers.

As daylight broke, a militia Lieutenant led twenty-three men out of the cabin and into the surrounding forest. The British and their Seneca allies held their fire for another two hours

until the rest of the Bedford County Rangers began to move about in the cabin. The Lieutenant and twenty-three privates were not heard from again.

According to U. J. Jones' narrative, while the Rangers were preparing their breakfast on Sunday morning, the 16th, one of the Skellys opened up the door and discovered that the house was surrounded by Indians. The narrative, as related by Edward Bell, stated that two or three of the Rangers were in the doorway when the door was first opened that morning, and possibly lost their lives as the Indians opened fire. Bell did not say that in so many words, but by noting that the "*rest of the men poold them in to the House*" there was the implication that the two or three Rangers could not come back into the house on their own initiative or power. He could have meant, though, that the two or three men who opened the door, upon seeing the Indians surrounding the cabin, were shocked and froze and had to be pulled back in quickly. U. J. Jones stated that only one man, one of the Skellys, opened the door. He did not comment on it any further.

The estimate given for the Indians' number was approximately sixty. According to Jones (and all of the historians who copied his narrative), two of them were not Indians at all; they were white (*i.e.* Euro~American) men "*dressed, decorated and painted, the same as the savages.*"¹¹⁶ Before the Dochstедder report became widely known, it was often conjectured that the two white men traveling with the Indian party were Tory neighbors of the Morrison Cove and Woodcock Valley residents. The local Tories were known to agitate their Patriot neighbors. Jones did not hazard a guess as to their identity but instead simply called them 'white renegades.'¹¹⁷ Sipes did not know who the 'white' men were and simply referred to them as the Indians' "*white companions.*"¹¹⁸ As it came to be known, the Euro~Americans with the Indians were, in fact, British soldiers. Lieutenant John Dochstедder led the party of Senecas from Fort Niagara southward to bring death and destruction into the frontier of Pennsylvania. His raid into Bedford County was just one of sixty-five war parties that had been sent from Fort Niagara during the single year of 1780.¹¹⁹ Some historians claim that Chief Bald Eagle, from the present-day Centre County region, participated in the incident, but there is no solid proof of that.¹²⁰

The Battle Commences

The eminent confrontation was slow to get started. Captain Phillips surveyed the situation and waited to see what action the Indians might take now that they were aware that the Rangers were aware of their presence. Although most of the Indians were armed with bow and arrows, perhaps ten of them had muskets. It is believed that one of the Indians fired his gun as if in an attempt to draw the men from the house. Soon some of the others began to advance closer to the house. The Rangers thrust their rifles and muskets through the holes in the walls and began to fire. Thomas Gaitrell is credited with scoring the first hit for the Bedford County Militia when a ball fired from the muzzle of his rifle hit one of the Indians in the left shoulder. As the intensity of the siege increased, the Indians let out war-whoops and ran from tree to tree in order to gain better vantage points and also to draw the Rangers' fire and thusly exhaust their ammunition. At one point, as if according to a prearranged signal, the Indians fired a volley toward the door and window. This tactic proved effective in doing damage to the building, but none of the Rangers inside were hit. The fighting

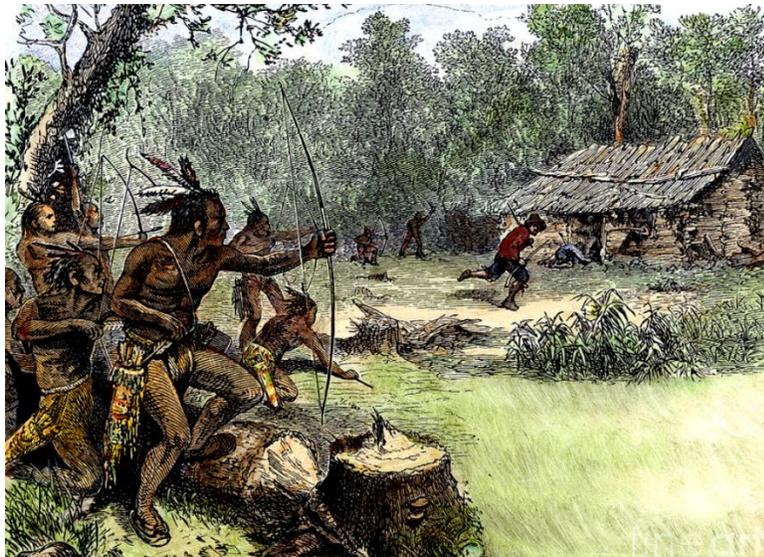
continued well into the middle of that Sunday's afternoon, during which Philip Skelly is claimed to have shot the chief in the left cheek at a distance of nearly a hundred yards. Throughout the course of the battle, two of the Indians were killed and two were wounded, but the Bedford County Militia Rangers were not touched.

The narrative told by Captain Phillips to Edward Bell stated that Private Davis had pointed his rifle out through a hole in the wall and an arrow became lodged in the gun's muzzle. The arrow had become so stuck that it required four men to pull it out.

The Burning Roof Forces Surrender

Finding it impossible to defeat the Rangers by the way they were going about it, the Indians decided to try another tactic. They fastened some leaves and other combustible materials to their arrows, set them afire and shot them at the roof of the house. They might have had some trouble getting the roof to catch fire because, as the narrative relates, it had rained during the previous evening and the roof would have been damp at the least. Eventually, though, the roof was ablaze in two or three spots. The Rangers carried what water was available in the house up to the loft area just beneath the roof. They succeeded in quenching the flames from the inside, but in the process used up all the water. The Indians simply set the roof on fire a second time.

Phillips' men kept up their vigil against the attackers despite the fact that the roof was burning and threatening to be the cause of their deaths if the Indians didn't succeed. Finally Captain Phillips called out for a ceasefire and told the Indians that the Rangers would surrender under the condition that they be treated as prisoners and not injured. The Indians agreed to this, and the Rangers left the building in time to escape the fire which caused the roof to collapse and consumed the entire structure.



According to Bell's narrative, the roof of the log house, after becoming engulfed in flames, had to be removed by knocking out the 'butting poles' and allowing the rest of the roof to just slide off. Unfortunately the burning shingles fell backwards and caught the house's walls on fire. In Jones' narrative the roof of the house was left to burn and the walls did not catch fire: *"a fresh volley of the fire-arrows set the roof ablaze, and there were no longer means within their reach to quench the destructive element. Still the rangers stood at the loop-holes, even when the upper part of the house was all on fire. Certain death stared them in the face; they dared not go out of the house, for they would expose the weakness of*

*their force and meet instant destruction as soon as they passed over the threshold; on the other hand, the fire above them was raging, and they did not know what moment they would be buried beneath the burning timbers. And yet the men never flinched. But, at last, Captain Phillips, seeing the desperate strait to which they were reduced, cried for quarters, and told the savages that he would surrender, on condition that his men should be treated as prisoners and not injured. To this the Indians assented, and the men escaped from the house just in time to save their lives from fire, but only to meet a death equally shocking.”*¹²¹ Jones never actually stated that the roof collapsed, but by noting that the Rangers “*escaped from the house just in time to save their lives from fire*”, the reader is led to infer that the roof ultimately give way. The version of the story presented by Weaver and Stoler, as told to them by the ‘old citizens, whose word cannot be questioned’, “*The roof was all ablaze and the fire was in the upper part of the house . . . At last Phillips agreed to this [their surrender] and the men came out just before the fire fell to the lower story of the house.*”¹²² Since the Heater house, in the Weaver and Stoler narrative, was built of stone, the roof apparently simply collapsed within the stone walls.

The Massacre Of The Rangers

According to early researchers, it was believed that one of the Tories with the Indian party acted as their spokesman and demanded that the Rangers’ firearms be surrendered. In fact, it was probably Lieutenant Dochstедder who called for the Rangers’ surrender. The Rangers, seeing the possibility of being and gave up their rifles that the Rangers agree behind their backs. The Kittanning and they humiliation of being Although they objected finally had to give in. and they started on of the Indians escorted ahead of the others; Niagara, and later be second party, of ten first and after going barely a half mile from the Heater homestead, they came to a halt.



futility of further resistance and with burned alive, readily assented to this and knives. The next demand was to have their arms pinioned and tied Indians were going to take them to would have to endure the pain and shackled during the whole trip. to this second demand, the Rangers The Indians tied their arms securely their way in two groups. Five or six Captain Phillips and his son, Elijah they would eventually arrive at Fort imprisoned near Montreal. The Rangers, started out a bit behind the

The ten Rangers, with their arms still tied behind their backs, were lashed to some trees and apparently tortured. That is all that can be said with any certainty based on the letters and contemporary documents that are extant. Colonel John Piper, whose report will be discussed below, simply stated that the Rangers had been: “*Murdered in the most Cruel Manner.*” In the absence of solid facts, historians tend to fill in holes in their narratives with assumptions (usually unstated as such, but conjectures nonetheless). The assumptions made by early historians, based on certain published accounts of the torture of Euro~Americans at the hands of Indians, was that practically any form of torture possible to be dreamed up was,

in fact, employed. An example of those accounts can be found in the following, taken from the history of Genesee Valley of New York in 1779: “*There has been no more intellectual nation among the aborigines of America than the Senecas of Western New York ~ the most original and determined of the confederated Iroquois ~ but its warriors were cruel like the others . . . After they had been stripped and tied to trees, and tomahawks were thrown so as to just graze their heads . . . Boyd was made to suffer lingering miseries. His ears were cut off, his mouth enlarged with knives and his severed nose thrust into it, pieces of flesh were cut from his shoulders and other parts of his body, an incision was made in his abdomen and an intestine fastened to the tree, when he was scourged to make him move around it, and finally as he neared death, was decapitated, and his head raised on a pole.*”¹²³ This and other accounts not only fed the imaginations of the settlers, but confirmed their stereotypical ideas about the ‘savages.’

Two or three volleys of arrows fired into their bodies and then being scalped would not have been unusual tortures for the Rangers to have experienced, although Colonel John Piper’s account did not give any specifics.

David I. Foster left his imagination run wild when he described this portion of the incident. Referencing Foster’s writings, Jon Baughman related: “*Historian D. I. Foster wrote, ‘They were found tied to trees with from three to five arrows sticking in them and some had their entrails protruding from their abdomen.’ Foster stated the men were disemboweled. All were scalped.*”¹²⁴ Disemboweled? The fact of the matter is that no contemporary visitor to the scene of the massacre stated that the men had been so mutilated. But that wasn’t the only ‘fact’ that David Foster seemed to pull out of thin air. He also noted, that when they were discovered “*As it occurred in July ... the sun shining on their nude bodies had caused decomposition ...*” Where did the ‘fact’ that the bodies had been stripped nude come from? Nobody knows, but think of the horror the vivid description would have presented to the staid Victorian audience that was Foster’s readers.

It should be noted that the concept of ‘nude’ or ‘naked’ had different connotations in the past as compared to today. During the 1700s, for a man to be naked meant that he was bare-chested. It did not refer to being stripped stark naked, but rather just to the waist. An item was included in the *American Archives*, referring to the act of tarring and feathering, which stated that “*I was then made to strip, which I did to my breeches. . .*”¹²⁵

Colonel Piper Reports On The Massacre

On Monday, 17 July, 1780, someone carried the news of Frederick Heater’s house being reduced to ashes to Colonel Piper. As he noted in his letter to the president of the Supreme Executive Council, he “*marched with only ten Men directly to the Place, where (they) found the House Burnt to Ashes, with sundry Indian Tomahawks that had been lost in the Action*”. By following the tracks made by the party of Indians and their captives, Colonel Piper and his company found Philip’s men still tied to the trees with numerous arrows protruding from each of their bodies. Sipe stated that each of the Rangers were “*killed and scalped and with from three to five arrows sticking in his body.*”¹²⁶ Jones stated that some of the men, including Daniel Kelly, apparently were not killed outright; that they must have struggled in their dying as evidenced by the way the thongs which held them had dug deeply into the

flesh.¹²⁷ Jones also noted that all of the men were scalped. Foster claimed that all of the men were disemboweled.¹²⁸ Foster, even though he had no direct experience, also claimed that the men's bodies, being nude, had decomposed in the July sun to such a degree that Colonel Piper's men did not want to touch them in order to bury them. According to Foster, Piper's troops used long poles to roll the bodies into a common grave. Mr. Foster apparently did not have access to the *Pennsylvania Archives* to read what actually transpired. As will be seen below, it was not Piper's troops who buried the bodies, but rather Cumberland County Militia Colonel Abraham Smith's troops who did the distasteful job.

Despite the fact that Colonel Piper did not mention those facts, and in view of the fact that no living person witnessed the massacre, we cannot assume that Foster's or Jones' narratives are entirely factual. But then we cannot assume that they are not entirely factual either. What we can assume is that the barbarity with which the Indians treated most of their white captives was legendary, and Jones' narrative would, by no means, be an exaggeration of the truth.

According to most narratives, Colonel Piper had the men cut down from the trees and buried at the spot. The bodies were interred roughly eighteen inches below the ground; they were discovered on 25 January, 1933 when some excavation work was being performed at the site. Only the bones of seven bodies were discovered. Floyd G. Hoenstine, in a footnote to U. J. Jones' narrative, stated that the memoirs of Edward Bell might explain the discrepancy. According to Hoenstine's footnote, it is stated that Edward Bell had received his information on the incident directly from William Phillips who had returned to this region following his release at the close of the war. Bell noted in his account of the event, that two or three of Phillips' men were killed as they opened the door of Frederick Heater's house on Sunday morning, and that their bodies were probably consumed by the ensuing fire. The question arises: "why didn't Jones include this important piece of information in his narrative when he composed it?" Jones stated in the Preface to his book that from the manuscript memoir of Edward Bell, he was able "to glean some useful information". If the three men, whose remains were not unearthed in 1933, were in fact killed at the house, what harm would it have caused for Jones to include the fact in his narrative? It should be noted that although the men's death at Heater's house is a possibility, it is a rather slight one in view of the fact that the temperature attained by a log house burning would not have been sufficient to reduce the human bodies to complete ashes. Colonel Piper's account would surely have noted the presence of any human bones, however charred and consumed as they might have been, in the ashes of the house. It is most likely that the remains of the others are still lying in their own shallow graves where they were cut down from the trees over two hundred years ago. The Saxton American Legion Post, who unearthed the bones of the seven Rangers, re-interred them at the spot in a more decent manner and erected a monument to their honor.

• • • • • ***The Aftermath Of The Massacre***

In the year 1976 a resident of the region, Bob Ramsey, gave an interview according to local historian, Jon Baughman.¹²⁹ To whom and for what reason, Mr. Baughman did not note. Mr. Baughman related the details of Ramsey's interview as he noted the finding of the

bones on 25 January 1933 by a small group of WPA workers (although it was actually members of the American Legion Post 169 who were involved). During the interview, Mr. Ramsey noted that he had been given a small hand-typed pamphlet by John Ramsey, his grandfather. The pamphlet described how, in the middle of July 1780, a local farmer and his son were working in the fields nearby. They noticed bussards circling overhead, so they followed them to the clearing where they found the Rangers “*murdered and tied to a hugh tree.*” [The single tree must have been very large for all ten men to be tied to it.] Continuing, the pamphlet told of how: “*The bodies being too decayed to handle, the two dug a hole beneath the tree, cut the rawhide ropes and let the bodies fall into the shallow grave.*” Unfortunately, the pamphlet was lost in a fire that destroyed the Ramsey’s home in 1973.

On 06 August 1780, Col. John Piper sent a report to Joseph Reed (then-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania) of a recent incident in which a company of the Bedford County Militia had been involved.¹³⁰ In that letter he stated:

“Sir: Your favor of the 3^d of June with the Blank Commissions have Been duly Recev^d. Since which we Have been anxiously employed in raising our quota of Pennsylvania Volanteers and at the Same time defending our fronteers, but in our Present shattered Situation a full Company Cannot be Expected from this County when a number of our Militia Companys are Intirely Broke up and whole Townships Layd waste. So that the Communication betwixt our uper and Lower districts is Entirely broke, and our apprehensions of Emediate Danger are not lesson^d But Greatly Agravated^d by a most Alarming Stroke. Cap^t Phillips, an Experienced good woods man Had Engaged a Company of Rangers for the space of two Month for the Defence of Our fronteers, was Surprisd at His Post on Sunday, the 16th July, when the Capt. with Eleven of His Company, were all taken and Killd. When I Recev^d the Intelligence, which was the day following, I marched with only ten Men directly to the Place, where we found the House Burnt to Ashes, with sundry Indian Tomahawks that had been Lost in the Action, But found no Person Kill^d at that Place. But upon taking the Indian tracks, within about one Half mile we found ten of Cap^t Philip’s Company with their Hands ty^d and Murdered in the most Cruel Manner.

This Bold Enterprise so Alarmed the Inhabitants that our whole fronteers were upon the point of Giveing way, but upon Aplication to the Lieu^t of Cumberland County, He Hath sent to our Assistance one Company of the Penn^a volanteers which, with the volanteers Rais^d in our own County Hath so Encouraged the Inhabitants that they seem Determin^d to Stand it a Little Longer. We hope our Conduct will Receive your

Approbation, and you'l pleas to approve it By Sending your Special Order to our County Commissioner to furnish these Men with Provisions and other necessarys untill Such times as other Provisions Can be made for our Defence. As Colonel Smith will Deliver this, I Beg Leave to Recommend you to Him, as he is verrey Capable to Give full Satisfaction to you in Every Particular of our Present Circumstances." I have the Honor to be with all Due Respect your Excellancys Most obed^d and verrey Humble serv^t, John Piper."

From the text of another letter to President Reed, it would appear that Colonel John Piper, despite finding the ten Rangers tied to the trees and killed, neglected to give those massacred men the proper burial they should have had. On the 7th of August, only one day after Piper wrote his letter, Abraham Smith wrote his own letter to the President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council. Abraham Smith had received his commission to the position of Colonel of the 8th Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia on 31 July 1777. He would, on 26 September 1780, advance to the position of the Cumberland County Sub-Lieutenant. In August when he wrote to President Reed, Abraham Smith was still holding the rank of Colonel in the Cumberland County Militia:¹³¹

Cumberland County, Aug. 7th, 1780
"Sir, I Received the orders of Council for the Volunteers to be put in motion in order to join the main Army, and for those Classes of the Militia to be in readiness, it was unfortunately long Coming to my hand. I have Sent agreeable to said orders to put the Volunteers in motion, which were Raised on this side of the north mountain, but unfortunately I have Sent one Company to them to the fronteers of Northumberland County and the other to the fronteers of bedford which was in a very Distressed Situation. About three weeks ago the Indians Come on a Scout of a Capt. And twelve men in a place Called Woodcock Valley and not one of the party escaped they lay I believe ten days without being buried. I went with a party from this County and covered them the best we could which was a very Disagreeable task. Ab^m SMITH"

As noted above, David I. Foster claimed that Colonel Piper's men did not want to touch the Rangers' bodies because they had decomposed in the sun, and that they used long poles to roll the bodies into a common grave. Mr. Foster was partially accurate. Apparently, Piper's men did not push the bodies into a common grave, but rather just cut them from the trees and left them lie where they collapsed to the ground. Remember that Colonel Piper stated that he and his men had discovered the scene of the massacre on the day after it had taken place ~ the 17th of July. As can be seen from the letter, Colonel Smith noted that "they

lay I believe ten days without being buried.” He further noted that he and a party of men from Cumberland County ~ not Bedford ~ covered them as best they could, apparently with a thin layer of dirt. That would suggest why the bones of the men were discovered to be only eighteen inches below the surface when found in the 1900s.

It might also be mentioned at this point that the burying of the bodies was noted by others. John Campbell started his military career by serving in the Maryland Militia, but he also served a tour of duty in the Cumberland County Militia. Campbell stated in his pension application filed in Kentucky that: “*during the revolution In the month July 1780 he entered the Service of the U^d States as militia man [illegible] the Indians at the foot of the allegheny mountain who were committing depredations. They murdered ten men which sd John Campbell helped to bury not far from a place called the standing stone, that he served on this occasion two months tour under Capt John Orbison . . .*” Captain John Orbison was the Captain of the 4th Company in the 4th Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia in the year 1780, according to a roster taken on 21 August.¹³² The 4th Battalion was commanded by Colonel Samuel Culbertson. If the 8th Battalion under Colonel Abraham Smith had marched to Bedford County to bury the ten massacred Rangers, why would anyone from the 4th Battalion under Colonel Samuel Culbertson have been there too? Whether John Campbell was one of only a few men from the 4th Battalion called out for a tour of duty with the 8th Battalion under Colonel Smith is not known. If he had not been involved in the burying of the Rangers, how would John Campbell have known to say in his pension application that he had been involved?

In a display of unmitigated audacity, Jones commented on Colonel John Piper’s brief report on the massacre by scoffing at him. He stated: “*Overlooking the fact that Colonel Piper, in this semi-official statement, did not even condescend to mention the name of a single one of the brave men who fell by the hands of the ruthless savages. . .*”¹³³ If the report on an incident by the County Lieutenant ~ the virtual leader of the entire county during times of military control ~ is only a ‘semi-official’ statement, it begs the question: who would Mr. Jones have accepted to provide an ‘official’ statement? Perhaps Colonel Piper simply did not have the names of the men, but felt the need to get a report on the massacre out without delay. In the absence of a list of the men who were massacred, Mr. Jones must have felt that he alone could provide an ‘official’ statement, and in order to do so, he pulled the names of eight men out of thin air.

The memoirs of Edward Bell, who claimed to have gotten his information directly from Captain William Phillips, stated that the Captain and his son were taken across the Cove (i.e. Tussey) Mountain at a “*gut partly opposite the Fort*” while the others “*went across the Elk Gap*”. The fort mentioned by Edward Bell would have to have been Shoup’s Fort, which was south of the site where the massacre took place. There is no problem with that statement, but the auxiliary one that the other men were taken across the Elk Gap would imply that the Indians traveled with their captives westward across the Tussey Mountain through the Elk Gap in that range, and then turned back and headed back eastward toward the Woodcock Valley, because of the fact that the site of the massacre was on the east side of the Tussey Mountain. That would indeed have been a possibility, but one must wonder why the Indians felt one place (i.e. the east side of the mountain) would have been better suited to perform the massacre over the other (i.e. the west side of the mountain).

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*Return of Prisoners
 sent from the Garrison of
 Quebec, for exchange
 since 1st of November 1779*

7	Names Rank	Prisoners they belong to	where sent & how way
	James Gordon Lt. Col.	NY	Broke their Parols and made their escape on Sept. 1782
570	Isaac Snyder Capt	Pa	
	Wm Phillips	NY	
	Brett Roberts Lieut	"	
	Anthony Abeal	"	
	Abraham White	"	
	Henry Barker	"	
576	Chris ^r Barker Cadet	"	

Edward Bell's memoir went on to tell about Captain Phillips' experiences following the separation of him and his son from the others. Phillips apparently stated that when they were about two or three miles from the "scene of action", he heard several musket shots in the direction his men went. Philip's statement that he heard gun shots conflicts with the information related by Jones that the captives were killed by numerous arrows shot into their bodies, such arrows most assuredly inflicting death but not instantaneously. The fact of the matter, as stated by Colonel John Piper in his letter to President Reed on the 6th of August, was that ten of Captain Phillips' company were found "with their Hands tyd and Murdered in the most Cruel Manner". Whether Jones embellished his narrative for the sake of theatrical suspense, or whether William Phillips' memories were a bit faded and confused by the passage of time is open to speculation. One possible solution to the question of what might have actually happened could be a blend of the two. It is possible that the Indians shot their captives with arrows at first, so that they would suffer cruelly, and then finished off the lives of a few who lingered between life and death with musket fire. It is also possible that the sounds Captain Phillips heard could have been muskets fired upward into the air just for the sake of making noise. Even today, protestors and rebels fire their guns into the air in a show of power. It must be remembered that the Indians, even if they did not have rifles or muskets when they started the confrontation, they obtained the Bedford County Rangers' own firearms at the surrender. When discovered in the 1930s, it was noted by the members of the American Legion (who found the remains buried in a shallow grave) that some of the skulls had holes in them, apparently from tomahawk blows.¹³⁴

The two live captives were parted soon after they heard the shots. Where Elijah was taken is not known with any surety. Edward Bell's *Memoirs* stated that "Elijah was taken from

Woodcock Vally to Chinelemuch old Town on the suscahana & from that to Canada.”¹³⁵ Chinklacamoose was an Indian village located on the site of the present-day borough of Clearfield, in Clearfield County, Pennsylvania. The village was located on the Great Shamokin Path midway between the Indian villages of Kittaning and Shamokin (present-day Sunbury). Elijah would possibly have been taken northward on one of the three Indian paths named the ‘Warrior’s Path’ to Assunapachla (present-day Frankstown, in Blair County). From there, if they did go to Kittanning, they would have undoubtedly taken the Kittanning Path portion of the Frankstown Path to that village, and from there northeastward to Chinklacamoose they might have taken the Shamokin Path.

On the contrary, it is known that William Phillips was taken to Fort Niagara (despite Bell’s claim that he too was taken to Kittanning and then to Detroit). Public documents state that William arrived at Fort Niagara in the company of British Lieutenant John Dochstедder just prior to 11 August 1780. On 30 October 1780, a list of ‘*Rebel Prisoners in and near Montreal*’ included the name of William Phillips. The entry gave his age as forty-five years.¹³⁶ ‘Capt. Will Phillips’ was noted as a prisoner again on a roll recorded on 22 July 1782 at Quebec. The entry noted that he was being held prisoner at Île Jesus.¹³⁷ On 08 November 1782, William Phillips was noted as having “Broke his Parole and made his escape in September 1782.”¹³⁸ Parole was a conditional release from imprisonment while still serving out a sentence. Apparently, Mr. Phillips was being held captive at Île Jesus, which is an island adjacent, to the north, of the island which is occupied by Île de Montreal in the Province of Quebec. Being on parole probably meant that he had been released from the actual prison facility in which he had previously been confined, and permitted to move freely about the fort’s interior.

During the fall of 1782, William had made his escape from the fort. The 16 October 1782 issue of the *Pennsylvania Journal* included an item from ‘friend in New England, dated August 12, 1782’¹³⁹ The item stated: “Two other officers, (a Capt. Phillips of Pennsylvania, and Lieut. Roberts, of Stillwater) who escaped about the same time, and intended to reach the river Connecticut, crossed that river near its source (not knowing it) struck the river Ammoscoggin, and got into Conway on Tuesday last week; they confirm the above, and add, that the whole number of troops in Canada amount to 6000 men.” The pension application of Ezekiel Roberts stated: “sent him to the Isle Jesus aforesaid, where he remained until about the first of September in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty two when he and one Captain Phillips made their escape, and after many adventures and hairbreadth escapes made their way back to their own country....”

At first glance, it would seem ironic that after the fact, Captain Phillips’ company was compensated by the State of Pennsylvania. A document titled ‘*For Services performed by the Bedford County Militia in 1777, 78, 79, 80, 81 & 1782*’ noted that Captain William Phillips ‘(prisoner)’ was to be paid £434 f9 10d ‘from May 1780 till November 1782’. ‘Ditto Company’ was noted to be paid £138 f9 10d ‘May 1st to the 10th June 1780’.¹⁴⁰ The document did not mention if the pay directed to the company was to be paid to the dead men’s wives. Nor did it mention, for that matter, that the pay was to be directed to the dead men at all. Perhaps the pay was to go to the Lieutenant and twenty-three other members of the company who left the Heater cabin two hours prior to the battle, and who would have survived the massacre.

• • • • • • • • • •**The Rangers**

Who were the men who followed Captain William Phillips in the summer of 1780? Where did they come from? Did they have families? It is an absolute shame that we cannot answer these questions adequately.

The massacred Rangers will be discussed below, but first a comment will be made regarding one of Captain Phillips' Company who avoided the massacre. John Lane, a resident of Hopewell Township after the American Revolutionary War, applied for a pension on 27 November 1832. He noted how he had enlisted in April 1779 for a nine month tour of duty under Captain Thomas Cluggage, and how he had served at Huntingdon and then at Fort Roberdeau. Then he noted that he "*afterwards enlisted under Captⁿ William Philips in the spring following his discharge for three months, to serve as a scout or wood Ranger as they were called and was stationed at the three springs then in Bedford now in Huntingdon County from which they scouted four days every week. They were also engaged frequently as expresses from one fort to another to give information of signs on the approach of Indians ~ and that he remained in said Company & service six months when they were broken up in consequence of the capture of the captain & the death of some of the men.*"

As has been noted previously, there exists no first-person, contemporary record of the men's names, or even how many there actually were in the small company that Captain Phillips pulled together in July 1780. Lane's statement of "*& the death of some of the men*" of Phillips' company suggests that British Lieutenant Dochstedder's claim that a Bedford County Militia Lieutenant and twenty-three men had left the Heater cabin two hours before the fight began was an accurate detail.

It again must be noted and emphasized that no roster of the men who made up Captain William Phillips' Company of Bedford County Rangers is extant today. Only one pension application notes that the applicant served in Captain Phillips' company [*See pages 166-168 for Henry Dugan.*]

Uriah J. Jones listed nine men: M. Davis, Thomas Gaitrell, Daniel Kelly, Elijah Phillips, P. Sanders, T. Sanders, Richard Shirley, Hugh Skelly and Philip Skelly. Jones added that there were also two men whose names had been forgotten. Although he claimed to have got his information from the *Memoirs* of Edward Bell, Mr. Bell did not provide the names of any of the men ~ with the exception of Captain Phillips' son, Elijah.

The names of Joseph Roberts, Richard Shirley and Hugh Skelly were discovered in pension records, so they can be confirmed to have been involved in the incident.

In 1926, when the Fisher Summit Memorial Association erected the monument at the site of the massacre, Joseph Roberts' name was not included. The names of G. Morris and A. Shelly were included as the two men whose names U. J. Jones didn't know. How did the Association come up with those two names? And what was their rationale for dropping Roberts' name?

Then, David I. Foster added the name of Fred Rouser to the list. Or so, that is what Jon Baughman said. Since both Mr. Foster and Mr. Baughman are no longer living, they took whatever proof they might have had for including Rouser's name to the roster with them to their graves.

And then there is the report made by British Lieutenant John Dochstедder to Guy Johnson at Fort Niagara in which he noted that in addition to Captain William Phillips and his son, Elijah, and ten Rangers who were massacred, there was also a Bedford County Militia Lieutenant and twenty-three additional Rangers.

So where did U. J. Jones come up with the list he provided? As no roster, per se exists to name the men who answered Captain Phillips' call in the summer of 1780, an assumption might be made that he deduced them by process of elimination. He could have identified all of the men who resided in the region (*i.e.* Frankstown and Hopewell Townships) during the year prior to the massacre and then compared that list with residents of the region during the year following the massacre. The 1780 tax assessment return was written out in the winter of 1779 and used in the spring of 1780 to collect the taxes. The next year's return would be written out in the winter and used the following spring in the collection of the taxes. The names of any men who were residents in 1780 but not in 1781 would no doubt provide the list that U. J. Jones used. Unfortunately, that method does not work. As already noted, most of the men, whose names U. J. Jones came up with, were not residing in the region at any time contemporary with the massacre.

Another problem with this process of elimination method of ascertaining the names of the Rangers is that the necessary 1780 tax assessment returns for Hopewell and Frankstown Townships do not exist. They presumably never did exist. On 5 June 1780 the Bedford County Commissioners included an entry in their *Minutes* that noted: ¹⁴¹

The Board met agreeable to adjournment and the assessors of cumberland Valley, Air, hopewell and Turkey Foot attended with their returns. Those from the other Townships do not attend. The board, upon examination, find that some of the Townships have made returns to different Periods, of the depreciation, & that in some others no assessment has been made since the Revolution began. That the frontier Townships being some of them altogether depopulated & others mostly so & that on account of the present distressed situation of the County by the ravages of the Indians, it is impossible to procure any return from them. This being the case, the Board find it utterly impossible to lay the Taxes which, as the whole county is invaded & in a state of war, they trust will be sufficient excuse to the Legislature."

Although Hopewell was stated to have been one of the few townships that the Board met with and who "*attended with their returns,*" no such return can be located in the Bedford County court house archives, nor was it included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Despite the fact that we cannot utilize any return from 1780 in our 'process of elimination' exercise, we can be relatively certain that U. J. Jones was likewise unable to locate such return. Therefore, we ~ as Mr. Jones would have had to ~ will compare the closest alternative, the 1779 return, to the 1781 return.

Using the process of elimination, the list of men who resided in Hopewell Township in 1779, but not in 1781 included: Stewart Anderson, Robert Frakes, Hugh Guthery, Thomas

Hamilton, Hugh Hill, Joseph Jonston, Michael Kernachan, Richard Kimber, Richard King, Robert McGee, Felix Miller, James Mullem, Mathias Myser, John Plumer, Jason Rutlage, William Samson, Abraham Sells, John Sheay, George Shook, Hugh Skalley Jr., Martin Stotler and Robert Whitnall.

The list of men who resided in Frankstown Township in 1779, but not in 1781 included: Henry Black, Edward Burke, Thomas Coleman, Thomas Cooke, Philip Edington, Jonathan Edington, John Gorman, Absolom Gray, Arramanus Gray, Daniel Gripe, Jacob Gripe Sr., John Hesse, Henry Hoshel, Michael Huffnaygle, Matthew Huston, James Igoe, Joshua Igoe, James Johnston, Patrick McGuire, John McGuire, Joseph Miller, Joseph Moore, Thomas Moorhead, Joseph Neron, Peter O'Reilly, James Roddy, Jacob Roller Jr., James Roller Sr., Jacob Smith, John Stephens, John Stevens, Edward Tipton, Peter Titus and John Wise.

It will be noticed that none of the men identified as residents in 1779, but not in 1781 were recognized as any of the Rangers who served under Captain William Phillips and were massacred according to Jones or anyone after him.

It also should be noted that the process of elimination does not necessarily provide a reliable list of the names of every resident who died or otherwise left the region between their appearance in one year and their absence in the next. This is confirmed by the fact that the man named Jacob Smith, in the preceding list for Frankstown Township, was a direct lineal ancestor of the author of this volume. Jacob Schmitt is known to have continued to reside in Frankstown Township until his death in 1797. So the inclusion of Jacob Smith's name in 1779 but not in 1781 does not prove that he died in 1780.

Despite the fact that other than Elijah Phillips, only a few of the rest of the company were recorded anywhere in any contemporary documents prior to the massacre, we will take a look at what we can know about each of them in the following.

Please note that the following lineages have been derived from books and websites created by descendants of the massacred Patriots. The information may or may not be accurate.

M(organ) Davis

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

The name "M. Davis" was included by U. J. Jones in his narrative of the massacre. The 'M' could stand for any number of names, including Michael, Martin, Mathias and Mathew.

A check of the published *Pennsylvania Archives* revealed that the only man by the name of Davis, having a given name beginning with the letter 'M' who served in the Bedford County Militia was Morgan Davis.¹⁴² The reference to Morgan Davis was the inclusion of his name in a listing of the Bedford County Militia who was to receive depreciation pay.

In addition to the Bedford County Militia, the *Pennsylvania Archives* recorded a man by the name of Morgan Davis who served in a company of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line in 1777. The company was commanded by William Oldham. A notation alongside his name on a roster taken in 1777 stated that he deserted on 22 September. Then in June 1778, Morgan Davis was recorded in the company's roster as an active private. Morgan's name does not appear in any roster for the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment after 1778. The Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment was originally enlisted as the Fourth

Pennsylvania Battalion at Chester, Bucks, Lancaster and Philadelphia Counties. It is possible that after serving in the Fifth in 1778, Morgan might have left the army and headed west to wind up in Bedford County in the year 1780.

Where Morgan Davis resided and whether he was married and had a family are not known. Despite serving in the Bedford County Militia, Morgan Davis' name did not appear on any tax assessment returns for the region prior to 1780. The only men by the surname of Davis who resided in Bedford County in the townships from which Captain Phillips' company might have been enlisted prior to and after 1780 were Samuel, Thomas and Joshua. Samuel Davis was recorded on the Frankstown tax assessment returns for 1779 and 1781. Thomas Davis was recorded on the Colerain Township returns for 1779, 1781 and 1782. Joshua Davis ~ presumably the same man who left Shoup's Fort on 15 July to request the aid of the Bedford County Militia ~ was recorded in the tax assessment returns for Frankstown Township in 1781 and Hopewell Township in 1776 and 1779. Morgan Davis might have been a son of any of the Davis men noted. The fact that Morgan's name was not recorded on any tax assessment return might have been indicative of his having been living with his parents at the time of the massacre.

Thomas Gaitrell / Gartrell

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

U. J. Jones included the name of Thomas Gaitrell in his narrative of the massacre. Thomas' surname is sometimes assumed to be *Gartrell*.

The name of Thomas Gaitrell does not appear in any tax assessment returns for the region prior to 1780, nor does his name appear in any roster for the Bedford County Militia. It is possible that Thomas was neither married, nor owned property of his own when he died in the massacre in the Woodcock Valley. It is also possible that he did not appear on the tax assessments because he might have been living with his parents and therefore not paying taxes as a resident nor even as a single freeman in his own right.

A man by the name of John Gartrell was born in 1748 in Prince Georges County, Maryland.¹⁴³ He moved his family to Pennsylvania, settling in the region that would eventually become Hopewell Township, Bedford County. John's wife's name is not known at this time. They had at least two sons: Thomas, born circa 1755 in Maryland and John Jr., born circa 1765 in the part of Frederick County that would later become Washington County. John Gartrell Jr., died circa 1815 in Shelby County, Kentucky. The man identified as Thomas Gaitrell by U. J. Jones was undoubtedly Thomas Gartrell, the eldest son of John.

It is not known if Thomas was married prior to losing his life in the massacre. It might be assumed that he was indeed married because a man by the name of Thomas Gaytrell, probably Thomas Jr., was residing in Huntingdon County after the massacre. He was included on the 1790 U.S. Census for Huntingdon County.¹⁴⁴ The entries for Huntingdon County were not returned by townships, so the location of the Thomas Gaytrell household cannot be determined. The entry recorded one male over sixteen years old, one male under sixteen years old and four females. The man who appeared in this entry in 1790 might have been a son of the Thomas Gaitrell who served under Captain Phillips ten years earlier.

Daniel Kelly

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

The name of Daniel Kelly does not appear in any tax assessment returns for the region prior to 1780, nor does his name appear in any roster for the Bedford County Militia. A man by the name of Hugh Kelley was found on the 1774 tax assessment return for Hopewell Township. John Kelly and Jacob Kelly were recorded as ‘inmates’ on the returns for Hopewell Township in 1775 and 1776. An ‘inmate’ was a taxpaying renter, and the category referred to men who resided with an established family until they could obtain their own property and build a house for themselves and any families they had. Daniel Kelly could have been related to either Hugh, Jacob or John.

No man by the name of Daniel Kelly was listed as serving in the Bedford County Militia prior to U. J. Jones claiming that he served in Captain William Phillips’ company in the summer of 1780. The only men by the name of Daniel Kelly who were recorded in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* as serving in the American Revolutionary War resided in Cumberland and Northumberland Counties, Pennsylvania and in New Jersey. One Daniel Kelley served in the 6th Company of the 6th Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia and was recorded on a roster in August 1780 and again in 1782, making that man unable to be the one who served in Captain Phillips’ Company.¹⁴⁵ A second Daniel Kelly served, in 1776, in Captain John Miller’s Company of Colonel Robert Magaw’s Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion.¹⁴⁶ That Daniel Kelly was originally from New Jersey. Whether he came to Bedford County after serving in the company raised in the vicinity of Philadelphia is not known. A third Daniel Kelly served in Captain Patrick Jack’s Company, the 5th Company of the First Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia in 1779.¹⁴⁷ A fourth Daniel Kelley was included in the Northumberland section of a *List of “Soldiers of the Revolution who received pay for their services,” Taken from Manuscript Record, having neither date nor title, but under “Rangers on the Frontiers, 1778-1783”*.¹⁴⁸

G(eorge) Morris

[Claimed to be massacred by Samuel Stoler]

A man by the name of George Morris was included on a roster of Captain Richard Brown’s Company of Colonel Samuel Miles’ Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment of the Continental Line in 1776.¹⁴⁹ Captain Brown’s Company was raised in Bedford County, so the George Morris who was listed in that company was undoubtedly residing in Bedford County in 1776. A roster from October 1776 included the notation beside George Morris’ name that he ‘Des’d [deserted] Oct’r 23rd’. Captain Brown’s Company was enlisted for the duration of the war. George Morris having deserted in 1776, shortly after being enlisted, might imply that he changed his mind about serving at that time. Four years later, he possibly felt that serving in the militia would not be as demanding ~ or perhaps as life-threatening ~ as serving in the Continental Line.

The only men by the surname Morris who resided in or near Bedford County prior to 1780 were William Morris who was recorded in the Dublin Township tax assessment return for the year 1779 and George Morris, a resident of Spring Hill Township in 1773. Although

the George Morris who resided in Spring Hill Township could have been the G. Morris who died on 16 July 1780, it must be pointed out that Spring Hill was a township created in Westmoreland County in the region west of the Laurel Mountain range. George could conceivably have moved eastward into the valleys to the east of the Allegheny Front in the seven years between 1773 and 1780; there is simply no evidence of such a move.

There is the simple possibility that the ‘G’ Morris who was included in Captain Phillips’ company might have been residing with relatives in Bedford County and just not listed as a taxpayer himself.

Elijah Phillips

[Taken as a prisoner to Canada]

Elijah Phillips was the second son of William Phillips. He was born in 1766.¹⁵⁰ Elijah would have been fourteen years of age in 1780. After the action at the Heater cabin, Elijah was taken by the British and Indians northward and held in Canada for a couple years.

Elijah was taken, according to certain accounts, northwestward to Chinklacamoose Old Town on the Susquehanna River (on the site of present-day Clearfield, in Clearfield County), and from there to some point in Canada. British official, Guy Johnson at Fort Niagara, stated (in his letter to Governor Haldiman) that “*Lieut Dochstedder is just arrived after having reduced a rebel Block House – the commanding officer of which and others are brought to this place ~.*” Whether one of those ‘others’ was Elijah is not known with any certainty. The fact of the matter was simply that Elijah was also held captive in Canada for a couple years until he could either escape or be released. Elijah also returned to the Morrison Cove, shortly after his father.

It has been said that after he returned to the Morrison Cove, Elijah was ostracized by some people who felt it wasn’t fair that he should live when their relatives and friends had lost their lives. They could not comprehend the fear and anxiety that Elijah, a boy only fourteen years old, would have experienced as he was taken and held in captivity. True, he had not died, but he suffered nonetheless.

Elijah Williams returned from captivity to Bedford County around the same time as his father in 1782. Five years later, on 14 March 1787, Elijah received pay for service in the Bedford County Militia. At some time during the next three years, Elijah moved south to the Bourbon County region of western Virginia. Bourbon County was formed in 1785 from a portion of Fayette County, Virginia. The region would be part of the new state of Kentucky when it was removed from Virginia in 1792.

Elijah Phillips was married to Hannah Corwin by the Reverend Moses Bledsoe on 1 October 1790 at Bourbon County, Virginia. Hannah was born on 30 November 1774 in Virginia. Elijah and Hannah gave birth to four children: Mary, born 1794; William, born circa 1797; Sarah, born 14 September 1797; and Jesse Corwin, born 14 March 1799. Elijah is believed to have died in March 1799 at Kentucky.

After Elijah’s death, Hannah Phillips married Philip Kenton on 7 October 1817. Hannah died at some time prior to 1850. Her name was not recorded alongside her second husband’s on the 1850 US Census.

Despite the fact that Elijah was not known to have returned to Bedford County, Pennsylvania just prior to his death, a tombstone has stood on the property once owned by William Phillips to the south of the borough of Williamsburg. The tombstone bears the inscription: "*Here lies the body of Elijah Phillips.*" Since the 1970s, the Phillips property has been owned by the Biddle family. They have maintained the gravesite since then, claiming that it contains the remains of the son of William Phillips whom they believe died in 1795. The Veterans Administration provided a bronze marker. The only 'proof' that is given for Elijah, the actual son of William Phillips being buried on the Phillips farmstead was that William F. Keagy (of the Bonner-Sollenberger American Legion Post 456 of Williamsburg) said so. He has since died and no one at the Post have any idea where he came up with his 'facts'.

Mary Phillips (daughter of Elijah), married Samuel Taylor. Samuel was born circa 1794 in Virginia. The couple is not known to have had any children. Mary died before 1860 at Champaign County, Ohio. In 1860, Samuel was residing with another family at Madriver Township, Champaign County, Ohio. When the 1870 U.S. Census was taken, Samuel was recorded in the city of Urbana at the age of seventy. His household consisted of three servants between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-three. Samuel died at Kings Creek, in Champaign County, Ohio.

William Phillips (son of Elijah) died after 1850. His name was recorded on the 1850 U. S. Census for Urbana, in Champaign County, Ohio. At that time William was recorded at the age of fifty-three, living with the family of Albert and Sarah Jackson.

Sarah Phillips (daughter of Elijah) married Samuel Taylor. Samuel was married to Sarah first, and then to her older sister, Mary. Samuel and Sarah's marriage was on 10 April 1817. The couple is not known to have had any children. Sarah died on 13 September 1827. She was buried in the Kings Creek Baptist Church Cemetery. Her tombstone bears the epitaph: "*Wife of Samuel Taylor and Daughter of Elijah & Hannah Philips, born in Bourbon Co, KY.*"

Jesse Corwin Phillips (son of Elijah), married Eleanor Stewart. Eleanor was born on 25 July 1806. The couple gave birth to: Eliza Jane, born March 1828; Elizabeth, born 8 April 1830; Elijah Thomas Price, born 22 April 1832; Matthew George, born 17 December 1833; Hannah Katherine, born 9 November 1835; Sarah Dentwood, born 17 October 1837; Nancy E., born 6 November 1840; Jesse Corwin, born 20 September 1841; Francis Wright, born 1843; Margaret Sophia, born 6 November 1845; Charles Anthony, born 27 April 1848; and Eliza Jane, born 31 March 1850. The first child in the family died on 31 July 1830 at the age of three years, and so the name was reused for the child born in 1850. Jesse died on 13 February 1885 at Champaign County, Ohio. Eleanor died on 5 January 1892.

Eliza Jane Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), died on 31 July 1830 at Champaign County, Ohio.

Elizabeth Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), married John Davis Kirkpatrick. John was born on 22 December 1820 at Green County, Ohio. The couple gave birth to: Edwin Osborn, born 6 January 1852; Elnora A., born 1853; and Cassius Castelno, born October 1854. John died on 3 February 1875. Elizabeth died on 3 March 1913.

Elijah Thomas Price Phillips (grandson of Elijah), married Sarah Jane Taylor. Sarah was born on 24 September 1830. Elijah and Sarah gave birth to: Addis Thurston, born 11 August

1858; and Walter Taylor, born 27 March 1866. Sarah died on 23 September 1894. Elijah died on 16 April 1909 at Urbana, in Champaign County, Ohio. After Elijah's death, Sarah married Enos Parker.

Matthew George Phillips (grandson of Elijah), married Emma Tanquasy. Emma was born on 17 November 1838 and died on 20 July 1866. Matthew died on 3 November 1869.

Hannah Katherine Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), married John Wesley Wynant. He was born on 11 April 1837. John and Hannah gave birth to: Jesse Corwin, born 1859; Charles Wesley, born 2 October 1861; Francis M., born 19 December 1864; Elinor E., born 5 October 1866; and Capitola B., born 30 April 1871. Both the father, John and the son, Charles were preachers. John died on 1 December 1912 at Spencerville, Allen County, Ohio. Hannah died on 9 June 1925 at Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

Sarah Dentwood Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), married Phillip Stout. Phillip was born at Gettysburg, in Adams County, on 4 April 1831. The couple gave birth to: Ida Jane, born 3 September 1857; Oscar L., born 13 October 1861; William Sidney, born 9 September 1863; Nellie, born 12 October 1865; and Sophia B., born 25 December 1868. Sarah died on 10 September 1871 at Udall, in Cowley County, Kansas. Phillip died on 4 March 1915 at Satsop, in Chehalis County, Washington.

Nancy E. Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), married Samuel B. Everett. Samuel was born circa 1837. One child was born to this union: Clifford Samuel, born 24 March 1874. Nancy died on 30 May 1876. Samuel died on 11 October 1895.

Jesse Corwin Phillips (grandson of Elijah), died on 11 February 1849 at the age of seven and one-half years.

Francis Wright Phillips (grandson of Elijah), married Lavenia B. Holler. The couple gave birth to one daughter: Eleanor Arrowsmith, born 7 October 1876. Lavenia was born on 14 June 1846 at Urbana, in Champaign County, Ohio. Francis died on 30 August 1911. Lavenia died in May 1940 at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Margaret Sophia Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), married Francis M. Hunter. Francis was born on 3 April 1848 in Clark County, Ohio. The couple gave birth to three sons: Ruie, born 3 October 1875; Jesse Jonathan, born 11 October 1877; and Harry Thurston, born 1 November 1882. Margaret died on 29 March 1904. Francis died on 5 July 1917.

Charles Anthony Phillips (grandson of Elijah), died on 29 December 1876.

Eliza Jane Phillips (granddaughter of Elijah), died on 31 July 1852.

Joseph Roberts

[Massacred per pension application]

Joseph Roberts was born on 18 March 1743.¹⁵¹ His father was Richard Roberts, but his mother's name is not known. Richard Roberts was born in 1720 in Wales and immigrated to North America prior to the birth of Joseph. Although Richard and his wife settled initially in Virginia, it is believed that Joseph was born in Pennsylvania. Joseph married Agnes Seabrook.

Agnes Seabrook was the daughter of William I. Seabrook and Jemima Gist. Agnes was born on 18 March 1742 at Baltimore, Maryland.

In 1779, the name of Joseph Roberts was recorded on the tax assessment return for Hopewell Township. His name, though, was crossed out on the return. He had been recorded as a farmer owning three horses and two horned cattle. A second copy of the tax assessment included the name Joseph Robarts, but in that return he is noted as '*absant vacant*'. Joseph Roberts' name was also recorded on the Frankstown Township tax assessment return for 1779. The boundary between Frankstown and Hopewell Townships was hard to ascertain and that is probably why it was first believed that the Roberts homestead was located within Hopewell. Then, when it was discovered that the property was in the questionable region, Joseph Roberts' name was added to the Frankstown Township return.

According to current genealogists, Joseph and Agnes Roberts gave birth to five children: Mary, born between 1761 and 1767; Richard, born between 1761 and 1767; Jemima, born 17 March 1773; Nancy; and Levi, born 9 February 1779. Agnes died on 24 August 1833 at Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

According to a pension application filed by Joseph's widow, Agnes, there were only four children in the family of Joseph and Agnes Roberts.¹⁵² The pension application filed in Huntingdon County stated:

Agnes Berry, formerly a widow of the late JOSEPH ROBERTS, states that he (JOSEPH ROBERTS) was a private in Capt. William Phillip's Company of Bedford County. He was killed July 16, 1780 by the Indians at a Station or Fort in Woodcock Valley, Bedford County. He was then about forty years of age. Four children survived him ~ Ann, born April 23, 1767, Jemima, born March 17, 1773, Mary, born March 5, 1776 and Levi, born February 9, 1779. The said Agnes Berry remained the widow of JOSEPH ROBERTS from July 16, 1780 to March 24, 1783.

Jemima Roberts (daughter of Joseph) married Patrick Dimond. Patrick was born in the year 1770 at Baltimore, Maryland and died in 1815 in Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Jemima died in 1859 in East Taylor Township, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. The couple gave birth to five children: Joseph, born 1794; Anna Elizabeth, born 1797; Agnes, born 1801; Daniel, born 30 September 1804; and Levi, born 1809. Joseph Dimond died in 1866.

Anna Elizabeth Dimond (granddaughter of Joseph) married George Hildebrand. George was born in 1787. The couple gave birth to David Hildebrand on 10 November 1835. Anna Elizabeth died in 1836. George died on 16 December 1877 at Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Agnes Dimond (granddaughter of Joseph) married, but her husband's name is not known. She died in 1836.

Daniel Dimond (grandson of Joseph) married Catherine Appleton Wilt. Catherine was born 6 January 1830 at Shade Township, Somerset County. Daniel and Catherine Dimond gave birth to: Appleton, born 1865; Sarah J., born 1867; Susannah, born 1869; and Emily Emma, born 1872. Appleton Dimond died in 1896. Sarah J. Dimond died in October 1867.

Susannah Dimond died in November 1869. Daniel Dimond died on 27 December 1882. Catherine died on 27 November 1914.

Nothing is known about Richard Roberts (son of Joseph).

Mary Roberts (daughter of Joseph) married a man by the surname Shaffer.

Nancy Roberts (daughter of Joseph) married Jacob Sheets.

Levi Roberts (son of Joseph) married Elizabeth Gochmour. The couple gave birth to: William, born 19 December 1801; Nancy, born 22 January 1804; Susannah, born 18 February 1808; Sarah, born 11 June 1809; Jacob, born 1 February 1813; and John, born 17 January 1818. Levi Roberts died on 6 December 1860 in Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Nancy Roberts (granddaughter of Joseph), married Samuel Good. Nancy died in 1849 at Jefferson County, Iowa.

Susannah Roberts (granddaughter of Joseph), married Anthony Hunt. They took up residence in Johnstown, Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Sarah Roberts (granddaughter of Joseph), married John Singer. Sarah died in 1832.

Jacob Roberts (grandson of Joseph), died on 8 October 1842.

John Roberts (grandson of Joseph), married Susannah Singer. John and Susannah gave birth to: Robert, born 1842; Jacob, born 1845; Oliver, born 1848; Sarah Jane, born 17 August 1849; Susan Emma, born 1852; Elizabeth, born 1855; Mary Augusta, born 1858; Levi, born 1860; and Jessie, born 1865. John died on 23 January 1906.

Fred(erick) Rouser

[Claimed to be massacred by D. I. Foster]

Despite Jon Baughman's confirmation of David I. Foster's claim that there were a number of Rouser families in the Woodcock Valley during the 1770s and 80s, absolutely no such name appears on any of the tax assessment returns for Bedford County from 1771 through 1781. David I. Foster is the only source for the name of Fred Rouser as one of the Bedford County Rangers who were massacred on 16 July 1780. He never revealed how he came up with the name. One thing can be assumed, though. Foster gave the man's name as simply 'Fred' but in the Eighteenth Century the name 'Frederick' would not have been abbreviated into 'Fred'. So we can be sure that if a man by the surname Rouser did indeed serve along with the other Patriots under Captain Phillips, his name would have been fully pronounced as Frederick.

As noted, despite David I. Foster's claim that there were a number of Rouser families in the Woodcock Valley during the 1770s and 80s, the name does not appear on any of the tax assessment returns for this region of Bedford County from 1771 through 1781. A man by the name of Joseph Rouzer resided in Napier Township, and died there in 1817. That Joseph had three sons: John, Joseph Jr., and Isaac. Whether Frederick Rouser was closely related, or related at all, to that family cannot be known from available records. The name Rouser definitely did not show up in the Morrison Cove from which the majority of Captain Phillips' Rangers would have been enlisted. Granted, some families by the surname Rouser might have moved into the region after 1780, but if they did that would have been after the massacre and not before.

The name of Rouser did not show up on any roster for companies raised in the region during the American Revolutionary War. No man by the surname Rouser, or any of its variations, was recorded in any Pennsylvania military unit during the American Revolutionary War. The name first appeared in rosters in 1789 ~ six years after the War was officially ended.

P(hilip) Sanders

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

No man with the letter 'P' as the initial letter of his given name along with the surname Sanders, Saunders or any variation thereof appeared in any tax assessment return for the region. The name is not found in any roster for the Bedford County Militia either. Jon Baughman was the first person to suggest that the letter 'P' stood for the given name of 'Philip' though it could have just as convincingly stood for 'Peter', 'Patrick' or 'Paul' since no name starting with the letter 'P' appeared in any of the tax assessment returns or the militia rosters for Bedford County. Mr. Baughman did not provide any justification for his suggestion.

The only men with the surname Sanders to be recorded on any tax assessment return for Frankstown, Colerain and Frankstown Townships prior to 1780 were Benjamin Sanders and William Sanders. Benjamin was recorded on the 1774, 1775, 1776 and then the 1779 Hopewell Township tax assessment returns. On the 1782 return for Hopewell Township, Benjamin Saunder was recorded as a resident ~ but his name included the notation of '*Dec'd*'; he had indeed died in August 1782. William was recorded only on the Bethel Township tax assessment return for the year 1776.

No woman by the surname of Sanders filed any application for a pension, so there exists no evidence of Philip having any family who survived him.

T(homas) Sanders

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

'T.' Sanders, like 'P.' Sanders, is a mystery to us. In the same way, no man with the initial letter of 'T' for his given name and the surname of Sanders was recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to 1780. No man by the name Sanders with the given name starting with the letter 'T' is found in any of the rosters for the Bedford County Militia either.

Jon Baughman was the first person to suggest that the letter 'T' stood for the given name of 'Thomas'. The initial letter 'T' could also suggest the names 'Tobias' or 'Timothy' which were both common in the Bedford County of the 1700s. Mr. Baughman did not provide any rationale for his choice. I have chosen to assume that the 'T' stood for Thomas as it would have been the most common given name starting with that letter at the time.

As with Philip Sanders, Thomas might have been related to Benjamin Saunders, the only individual by that surname to be recorded in the Bedford County tax assessment returns in the 1770s and 80s. It is also possible, but unproven, that Thomas and Philip might have been brothers.

No woman by the surname of Sanders filed any application for a pension, so there exists no evidence of Philip having any family who survived him.

A(braham) Shelly

[Claimed to be massacred by S. Stoler]

The name 'A. Shelly' was included on the bronze plaque attached to the stone monument by the Fisher Summit Memorial Association, headed by Samuel B. Stoler in 1926. The name was not included in the list provided by U. J. Jones in his narrative of the massacre. The source of the name died with Mr. Stoler in 1927.

The letter 'A' could have stood for the given names of either Abraham, Anthony, Adam or Andrew. Prior to 1780, no man by the surname Shelly and with a given name starting with the letter 'A' resided in the Bedford County region. The only men by the surname Shelly, with a given name beginning with the letter 'A' in the whole of Pennsylvania were Abraham, a resident of Philadelphia; Abram, a resident of Bucks County; and Abram Jr, a resident of Lancaster County.

In 1779, a man by the name of either Charles or Cornelius Shelly was recorded as a resident in Colerain Township. Abraham might have been a relative of this man, and may have resided in the Shelly household rather than paying taxes himself.

In regard to the man's military career, the only references to any men with the surname of Shelly and a given name beginning with the letter 'A' serving in the army during the American Revolutionary War was for Abraham, Abram and Andrew, all serving in the Lancaster County Militia.¹⁵³ In Bedford County, two men by the name of Shelly: Hugh and Michael served in Captain Thomas Paxton's Company of Rangers in 1776. They were the only men by the surname Shelly to be recorded as having been enlisted in Bedford County.

Richard Shirley

[Massacred per pension application]

Before joining William Phillips' Company in the summer of 1780, Richard Shirley served in Captain Thomas Paxton's Ranging Company, Bedford County Militia between 12 September 1776 and 13 November 1776.¹⁵⁴

Richard Shirley was a son of William Shirley and his first wife, whose name is not known at this time.¹⁵⁵ William Shirley, born in the 1730s, resided in the portion of Prince Georges County, Maryland that would later be erected into Frederick County. William and his family moved northward into the region of Cumberland County that would become Bedford in 1768. His name was included on the Barre Township tax assessment return for the year 1769. In 1771, William Shirley was named as a constable for Barre Township. His homestead was located in the Trough Creek Valley and in 1773, when Hopewell Township was formed out of Barre Township William's name appeared on the new township's tax assessment return. William Shirley served in the Bedford County Militia and was listed as a court martial man for Captain John Shaver's Company, the Fourth Company, Third Battalion of the Bedford County Militia on 10 December 1777. In 1787, when Huntingdon County was erected out of Bedford, the William Shirley property came under the jurisdiction

of the new county. On 2 September 1796, William sold his lands in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania and moved to Scott County, Kentucky. William wrote out his will on 30 September 1799 and it was probated in 1805. At the time of his death, William Shirley was married to his second wife, Margaret (Johnson), the widow of William Johnson.

William Shirley and his first wife gave birth to seven children. Richard was the third child and second son born to the couple. He was born in the year 1755. In 1780, when he died in the massacre in Woodcock Valley, Richard Shirley would have been twenty-five years of age. About three years before, Richard married Rachael Moore. In the three short years of their marriage, Richard and Rachel gave birth to two children: Margaret, born 23 December 1777 and William, born 12 January 1780. Richard's name appeared on the 1779 tax assessment return for Hopewell Township. After Richard's death, Rachael married Thomas Gartrel. [Note: The existence of this man within the circle of people involved with the 1780 massacre might account for the assumption that Thomas Gaitrell's name was variously, *Gartrell*.]

Rachael did not settle Richard's estate until 1796. On 26 August, letters of administration were granted to Rachael as Richard Shirley's widow.

Rachel Gartrel filed for a pension in Huntingdon County. The document stated:¹⁵⁶

Rachel Gartrel, formerly widow of late RICHARD SHIRLY, states he (RICHARD SHIRLY) was a Private Soldier in a Company of Militia Rangers commanded by Capt. William Phillips and raised by order of the Lieut, of Bedford County. He was killed by Indians July 16, 1780 at a Station or Fort in Woodcock Valley, Bedford County. He was then about twenty-five years of age. William Shirly, born January 12, 1780 and Margaret, born December 23, 1777 were the two surviving children. The Court appointed Levi Moore and William Shirly guardians for said children.

Margaret Shirley, born 23 December 1777, the first child of Richard and Rachael Shirley, married Abraham Welch at Mason County, Kentucky in 1797. The couple moved to Ohio.

William Shirley, born 12 January 1780, just four months before his father was killed, married Jemima Taylor in 1801 at Nicholas County, Kentucky. In 1810, William and Jamima Shirley were recorded as living in Bracken County, Kentucky. In 1820, the couple lived in Harrison County, Kentucky, and in 1830, they were residing in Monroe County, Indiana.

William (son of Richard) and Jemima Shirley gave birth to nine children: Richard, born 1802; John L., born 1803; Elizabeth, born 1804; William T., born 7 March 1806; Leason, born 1811; Rachel; Ruth, born 1815; Mary, born 1817; and Levi, born 1818.

Richard (grandson of Richard), married Jerusha Buskirk on 17 February 1827 at Monroe County, Indiana. The couple gave birth to: William, born circa 1830; Mary, born circa 1831; Jane, born circa 1832; Ruth, born circa 1838; Jershua, born circa 1840; Stilwell M., born circa 1843; and John, born circa 1847. The first four children were born in Iowa and the

family was residing at Buchanan County, Missouri in 1850, where the last three children were born.

John L. (grandson of Richard), married Sarah Ashbrook on 2 June 1825 at Nicholas County, Kentucky and his second marriage was on 16 October 1846 to Lucretia H. Hart at Parke County, Indiana. To the first marriage was born Dulcinea, born circa 1833; Paris, born circa 1836; and Gerome, born circa 1838. The second union resulted in two children: Homer J., born circa 1846; and Sarah G., born circa 1850.

Elizabeth (granddaughter of Richard), married William Alexander and they took up residence in Monroe County, Indiana.

William T. Shirley (grandson of Richard), married Mary (Worrel) Hitch on 13 December 1829 at Harrison County, Kentucky. The couple gave birth to James A., born 26 September 1830; Lucinda, born 20 February 1833; Sarah, born 20 October 1833; Meranda J., born 8 September 1838; Robert Eldridge, born 6 October 1845; and William R., born 15 August 1846 (?) (*Note: the Shirley website gave William's birth year as 1845, but that would have been impossible with Robert Eldridge being born in the same year.*)

Leason (grandson of Richard), married Letisha Dowden on 4 July 1831 at Owen County, Indiana and Tabitha ----- prior to 1850. Leason and Letisha gave birth to James M., born circa 1833; William P., born 1836; Mary, born 1844; and John L. born circa 1846.

Rachel (granddaughter of Richard), married Emanuel Yoder in 1839 at Monroe County, Indiana.

Ruth (granddaughter of Richard), married John J. Wright and they resided in Monroe County, Indiana in 1835. In 1850 they were residing in Buchanan County, Missouri.

Mary (granddaughter of Richard), was married twice, first to David Ashbaugh in 1840 and second to B. Secret.

Levi (grandson of Richard), married Rhoda Fletcher on 3 February 1839 at Bloomfield in Green County, Indiana. Rhoda was born on 24 January 1819 in Indiana. Levi and Rhoda gave birth to: John Simpson Shirley, born 3 September 1842 in Buchanan County, Missouri; Rhoda C., born circa 1845; Robert N., born 1848; Bathilda, born circa 1851; Mary E. born 1853; Sarah, born 1853; Lewis Worth, born 4 November 1855; and Emma Louisa, born 5 May 1860. Rhoda died in 1897 at Russell County, Kentucky.

Hugh Skelly

[Massacred per pension application]

William Skelly, the father of Hugh and Philip (and a third son, Michael), was an immigrant from County Antrim, Ireland.¹⁵⁷ His ship is believed to have landed in 1729 at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. After several years in the city of Philadelphia, and his marriage to Mary Ann Lunsford, William moved his family into Bucks County, Pennsylvania. Family *tradition* states that the family moved into the Woodcock Valley ~ settling near Elk Gap ~ in 1758. That tradition is probably off by just a couple years since there were very few, if any, settlers other than traders and fur trappers in this region prior to the Forbes Expedition in 1758.

Despite the fact that no family by the name of Skelly appeared as residents in any tax assessment return for the region prior to or during the Revolutionary War, Hugh Skelly

owned land in Hopewell Township in 1776 as a ‘non-resident.’ That meant that he did not reside on the property at the time, but may have been preparing it and perhaps building a house.

Hugh Skelly was born in the year 1745. Hugh was six years younger than his brother Philip Peter and possibly a twin to the third brother, Michael. He would have been thirty-five years of age at the time of the massacre.

Hugh Skelly was married, but the name of his wife is not known at this time. The couple had at least two children, a daughter, Mary and a son, Hugh Jr. (whose name was recorded on the 1779 and 1780 Hopewell Township tax assessment returns along with his father). Hugh’s widow, upon his death, married Richard Clark and left Pennsylvania. It was for the reason that she was left on her own that the daughter, Mary filed for a pension. At the time she was noted as a minor child, which meant that she was younger than eighteen years of age.

The pension application filed in the Bedford County court house for Hugh’s daughter, Mary Skelly¹⁵⁸ stated:

Mary Skelly, a minor daughter of HUGH SKELLY is the application. George Buchanan, the guardian. Said Hugh Skelly was a Private under command of Captain William Philips. On July 16th. 1780 was killed by savages in an engagement. Richard Clark and widow of Hugh Skelly intermarried and went out to Penna. and left said Mary Skelley destitute of any means of sustenance.

Philip Peter Skelly

[Claimed to be massacred by U. J. Jones]

Philip Skelly, son of William and brother of Hugh, was born in the year 1739 at Bucks County, Pennsylvania.¹⁵⁹ He would have been forty-one years of age in 1780. Philip was married to Mary Ann Hastings. The couple bore five sons, the eldest named Philip Jr., born on 16 December 1759; John, born on 23 February 1760; Patrick, born circa 1761; William, born circa 1766; and George Alexander, born circa 1773.

To differentiate the son from his father, Philip Jr., was called Felix. In fact, he was variously known as Felix O’Skally. Felix Skelly married Margaret McAfee circa 1794. Margaret was born on 12 June 1771. The couple moved from their home in Woodcock Valley, along with a number of neighbors to Cambria County. The group included Daniel Diamond, Michael McAfee, Luke McGuire, Michael McGuire, Richard Plummer and various others. A genealogical sketch provided by Michael H. Kennedy in the 1930s noted that ‘brothers’ of Felix went with the group, but who those brothers were was not noted.¹⁶⁰

Felix and Margaret Skelly established a farm of three hundred acres near the present-day village of Wilmore, in Summerhill Township. It was there that Felix died on 2 July 1835. Margaret died on 11 January 1851.

Felix had his own experience with the Indians, but unlike his father’s, Felix’s adventure did not end with his death. During the latter part of 1777 or early part of 1778, Felix was

taken captive along with a cousin, known only as Mrs. Elder.¹⁶¹ While they were being marched toward Detroit, Felix made his escape. The Indians and their captives had stopped enroute and spent a night sleeping on the second floor of a grist mill. Felix took advantage of the opportunity, when they were all asleep, to escape. He did so by jumping from the window of the mill into the milldam below. For a day he stayed in the water, hiding under an overhanging bank. The next night he was able to leave the water and make his way back home.

The family of Felix (son of Philip) and Margaret Skelly included three sons and six daughters: Daniel; Hugh; Michael; Margaret, born 20 June 1796; Eleanor; Catherine; Mary Ann; Elizabeth; and Ann.¹⁶²

Margaret Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 20 June 1796. She married John Kearns. John and Margaret raised a family of eight children: Philip, born 12 October 1823; Catharine Elizabeth, born 3 April 1824; William, born 18 May 1827; Anastasia, born 2 October 1831; Michael, born 11 May 1835; Cecelia Margaretha, born 1 April 1837; Abraham, born circa 1840; and Isaac, born circa 1840. Margaret died on 2 November 1848.

Hugh Skelly (grandson of Philip) was born on 23 January 1800 and married Elizabeth Bridget Kennedy. The couple raised a family of four daughters: Mary A., born 1832; Rosalia, born 1844; Lucinda, born 1844; and Celestina, born 1850. Rosalia Skelly died on 22 November 1925. Elizabeth Bridget died in 1858. Hugh died on 17 February 1879.

Michael Skelly (grandson of Philip) was born 4 April 1802 and died on 20 February 1873. Michael married Rachel Rebecca Wilt. Rachel was born circa 1824 and died on 7 May 1894.

Eleanor Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 4 June 1804 and died on 18 June 1876. She never married.

Catherine Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 16 February 1807. She married Patrick Skelly. He was not closely related and had emigrated from Ireland. Catherine died on 23 April 1879.

Mary Ann Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 19 June 1809. She married Thomas O'Connell. Mary Ann died on 19 March 1886.

Elizabeth Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 21 February 1812. Elizabeth married Michael Rockett on 27 May 1833. Michael Rockett was born in 1795 at County Waterford, Ireland. The Reverend Father Prince Demetrius Gallitzin married the couple at St. Michael's Catholic Church in Loretto, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. The couple had a daughter, Margaret, who married Charles A. Kennedy on 4 November 1861. He was from Carrolltown, Pennsylvania.

Ann Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was born on 13 January 1813. She married Joseph Lecky and died on 6 December 1871.

John Skelly, the second eldest son of Philip Skelly, married Catherine Whitestone about the year 1794. The couple gave birth to: Daniel, born 1788; Margery, born 1789; Patrick, born 1790; Elizabeth, born 1791; John Jr., born 23 February 1792; Michael, born 23 February 1793; Mary Ann, born 1795; Catherine, born 16 February 1804; Sarah E., born 1805; and Susannah, born 1805. John Skelly died on 7 September 1842 at Derry in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Catherine had died two years earlier.

Daniel Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Catherine Keelin. Catherine was born in 1821 at Derry, Pennsylvania. Daniel and Catherine gave birth to Patrick Augustine, born 18 October 1841; and John C., born 1846.

Margery Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) married Adam Otto. Adam was born circa 1803 in Maryland.

Patrick Skelly (grandson of Philip) married, but his wife's name is not known. Patrick died on 12 December 1867 in Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Elizabeth Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) married Jacob Neff. The couple gave birth to Elizabeth, born 1838; Susan; Margaret; and Sarah. Elizabeth died at Wilmore, Cambria County, Pennsylvania in 1870. Jacob was born in the year 1792 in Cambria County.

John Skelly Jr., (grandson of Philip) married Mary Elizabeth McGough. She was born on 1 April 1796 in Hartford County, Maryland. John and Elizabeth raised a family of four sons and three daughters: James, born 15 October 1821; Sarah A., born 9 January 1825; Elizabeth, born 1829; Daniel Augustine, born 1831; Mary, born 1832; Alexander Augustine, born 11 May 1832; and Philip, born 1837. John died on 12 December 1867 at Croyle, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Mary Elizabeth died three days later, on 15 December 1867.

Michael Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Rachel McGough. Rachel was born on 16 May 1800 at Harford, Maryland. Michael and Rachel gave birth to: Thomas Augustine, born 16 December 1823; John Augustine, born 20 March 1825; James, born 20 March 1825; Susan, born 11 October 1828; and Michael, born 11 June 1830. Rachel died on 26 June 1832. Michael died on 20 February 1873 at Croyle, Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Mary Ann Skelly (grandson of Philip) married a man by the name of McGough. The couple gave birth to five sons and three daughters: James, born 20 February 1814; Mary Ann, born 1820; John, born 1820; Patrick, born 25 March 1822; Thomas, born 17 October 1827; Sarah Ann, born 1830; Daniel, born 16 October 1833; and Elizabeth, born 11 November 1836. Mary Ann died in 1870 at Croyle, Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Catherine Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was married twice. Her first husband was Elisha Plummer; her second husband was Joseph Skelly. Elisha Plummer was born in 1803 at Summerhill, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Elisha and Catherine gave birth to: Susan, born 1828; Patrick, born 1830; James Demetrius, born 15 March 1833; Mary Ann and Daniel. Elisha died on 26 June 1878. Joseph Skelly was born in the year 1805. Joseph died on 6 September 1881. Catherine died on 9 September 1886 at New Baltimore, Somerset County, Pennsylvania.

Sarah E. Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) died on 15 August 1881 at Croyle, Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Susanna Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) was married to Issac Plummer. Issac was born in 1800 in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania. The couple gave birth to Michael, born 6 May 1824; Samuel, born 3 September 1827; Thomas, born 27 February 1829; Philip, born 26 April 1834; Elizabeth, born 1838; Mary, born 1840; Ellen, born 1840; Joseph, born 18 March 1841; and Margery. Issac died on 18 July 1846 at Summerhill, Cambria County, Pennsylvania. Susanna died on 15 July 1881 at Croyle, Cambria County, Pennsylvania.

Patrick Skelly (son of Philip) served in the Continental Line and was at the Siege of Yorktown. He died during that siege on 19 October 1781.

William Skelly (son of Philip) married Mary Elizabeth Byerly. William and Mary gave birth to three daughters and six sons: Mollie, born 6 May 1794; David, born 18 May 1797; George, born 25 August 1799; James, born 25 March 1802; Samuel, born 4 July 1804; Rachel, born 10 October 1806; William Jr., born 29 January 1808; Gaston, born September 1811; and Jane, born 27 February 1818. William died on 16 August 1825 at Newville, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

David Skelly (grandson of Philip) died on 7 August 1860 at Millersburg, Holmes County, Ohio.

George Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Cassidena Wilson.

James Skelly (grandson of Philip) died on 7 July 1875 at Millersburg, Holmes County, Ohio.

Samuel Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Nancy ---. She was born in 1816. Samuel died circa 1875 at Millersburg, Holmes County, Ohio.

George Alexander Skelly (son of Philip) married Rebecca McMullin. Rebecca was born in the year 1776 in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania. The couple gave birth to: George, born 12 May 1797; William, born 1806; Rebecca Jane, born 1810; Johnston Hastings, born 18 May 1813; and Mary, born 1815. George Alexander died on 16 August 1825 at Southampton, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Rebecca died at Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania on 11 April 1850.

George Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Lydia Cramer. Lydia was born on 14 October 1801. George and Lydia gave birth to: Mary Jane, born 29 May 1822; Rebecca, born 8 July 1824; William, born 29 August 1826; Peter, born 8 October 1828; Elizabeth, born 11 April 1830; Lydia, born 28 August 1832; George, born 15 May 1834; John, born 5 October 1836; Catherine, born 24 January 1838; Jacob, born 1 October 1842; and Samuel, born 24 November 1846. George died on 3 February 1849 at Southampton, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Lydia died on 2 January 1859.

Rebecca Jane Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) married William Irvin. William was born in the year 1796 at Franklin, Pennsylvania. Rebecca died in the year 1877 at Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

Johnston Hastings Skelly (grandson of Philip) married Elizabeth A. Finnefrock. Elizabeth was born on 15 February 1816. The couple gave birth to: Charles Edwin, born 1838; Elmira, born 1838; Johnston Hastings Jr., born 4 August 1841; Sarah Jane, born 16 December 1842; Daniel Alexander, born 16 December 1844; John Cyrus Altick, born 16 August 1847; George McMullen, born 10 October 1850; and Ann Margaret, born 25 April 1856. Johnston died on 4 April 1892 at Gettysburg, Adams County, Pennsylvania. Elizabeth died on 1 May 1895.

Mary Skelly (granddaughter of Philip) died on 30 December 1842 at Shippensburg, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania.

.Captain William Phillips ~ Biographical Sketch

William Phillips (variously spelled: Philips or Phelaps) had been a resident of this region since roughly 1774. Mr. Phillips obtained a warrant for a tract of land encompassing two hundred acres on 28 March 1774.¹⁶³ Jon Baughman made the statement that “*It is believed*

he came to the region from Maryland as early as 1773. The year is in question and could be earlier.”¹⁶⁴ Perhaps Mr. Baughman was correctly assuming that if he warranted the tract of land in March 1774, William Phillips might have arrived during the previous year to locate a tract upon which he wanted to homestead. A safe ‘rule of thumb’ is that the homesteader was in the region at least one year prior to when he either warranted / patented land or showed up on the tax assessments. The tract that William warranted in March 1774 was described as ‘*On Clover Cr No Side of Tusseys Mt*’. The tract was surveyed and that survey was returned on 3 June 1774. The tract, surveyed to consist of two hundred and sixty-seven acres, was named ‘Fairfield’ and was eventually patented by William Phillips on 26 September 1791.

[It should be noted: The land warrant simply noted the *intention* of the person to settle on a piece of land in the *vicinity* of the location noted in the land warrant. There were three types of warrants. The warrant to survey gave the person the right to have the land surveyed in preparation for purchase. The warrant to accept meant that the survey had already been completed, either by another prospective purchaser or simply by the surveyor in the absence of a request. The warrant for entry was a warrant to purchase a previously owned tract of land, which itself had been surveyed by the previous owner. The person who took out the land warrant might never have settled on the indicated tract of land. The date listed on the land warrant, likewise, indicated the date that the land warrant was taken out and not the date that the person actually started to reside on the piece of property.

The survey provided an exact location for the tract of land, and noted the tract’s relationship to surrounding properties.

The patent, on the other hand, was a deed from the provincial authority, either the Proprietaries or a land office of the state. The patent was the actual document by which an actual tract of property changed hands, the true bounds of which were described by the survey. The application for, and the subsequent granting by, the authority of a patent for a tract of land was indicative of actual settlement thereon. It is, of course, possible that individuals might have settled on a certain piece of land first and then applied for a patent, but that was not necessarily a common practice. Even in the frontier of the 1760s to 80s there was a certain amount of morality; the majority of settlers would have respected others’ rights.

In any case, the information contained on the land warrant should be regarded as evidence of the intention to settle; the information contained on the survey should be viewed as the actual geographical boundaries of the patented tract of land and the patent’s information should be viewed as evidence of the actual purchase of a tract of land.^{165]}

The tract of land that William Phillips warranted in 1774 and patented in 1791 would, in 1787, fall under the jurisdiction of Huntingdon County. It would then, in 1846, fall under the jurisdiction of Blair County.

In the 1774’s tax assessment for Barree Township, William Phillips appeared as a resident.¹⁶⁶ It should be kept in mind that the assessment records for the year dated (in this case, 1774) were quite often prepared during the previous year in order that the tax collector’s job could be simplified a bit when the actual tax collection time came around. Therefore, we might assume that William Phillips was actually in the area, and might have built his homestead during the year 1773. The fact that he might have applied for, and obtained the warrant for the tract of land after he constructed his homestead is not unusual.

He maintained the property, and apparently resided on it for most of the years from 1774 until 1791 before he legally owned it (*i.e.* by obtaining the patent for it).

In 1775, William Phillips' name appeared on the Frankstown Township tax assessment. It did not mean that he moved his family physically; it meant simply that a new township had been formed out of portions of Barree and Bedford Townships.¹⁶⁷ His property now found itself within the new township's boundaries. In 1779, William was recorded on the assessment as a farmer¹⁶⁸ His farmstead was located along Clover Creek a couple of miles south of where the Borough of Williamsburg now stands. After 1779, William Phillips' name does not appear on any regional tax assessment returns.

William Phillips' name does not re-appear on the tax assessment records of this region until the year 1785, when he was recorded in Woodberry Township with 300 acres of land, three horses and two cows. In 1786 and 1787 William again appeared in Bedford County's Woodberry Township's tax assessment, but 1787 was the last year's return in which he would appear in that township. That is because the region in which Phillips resided was, in 1787, removed from Bedford County and erected as Huntingdon County.

Within the new Huntingdon County, the government needed to be developed. Among the individuals appointed to new positions within that new county government on 23 November 1787 was William Phillips who was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace for Woodberry Township.¹⁶⁹ William had already served in that capacity. In 1776 (3 September) he was appointed as a Justice of the Peace for Frankstown Township.¹⁷⁰ At about the same time, William was appointed as an Assessor for Bedford County.¹⁷¹

Between 1789 and 1793 William Phillips purchased three tracts of land totaling six hundred and ten acres. Coupled with the three hundred acres that he already possessed, the Phillips property amounted to over nine hundred acres. On 21 December 1789, William purchased a tract of four hundred acres from Isaac Worrall, an absentee land owner from Jefferson County, Kentucky.¹⁷² On 15 November 1792, a tract of one hundred and eighty acres was purchased from Elizabeth Shirley / Johnston, the widow of William Shirley.¹⁷³ A much smaller tract of thirty acres was purchased from Benjamin and Mary Tudor on 17 August 1793.¹⁷⁴

In the First U. S. Census, taken in 1790, the names of William Phillips (*Esqr*), and William Phillips were recorded in the list of Huntingdon County (which had been erected out of Bedford County in 1787).¹⁷⁵ William Phillips, Esqr's household consisted of two males above the age of sixteen years, three males under the age of sixteen years and three females. The other William Phillips household consisted of one male above sixteen years, two males under the age of sixteen and on female.

Beginning in the summer of 1794, William Phillips began to sell off tracts of his property. On 6 June 1794, William sold a tract of two hundred and sixty-six acres to Joseph Chapman. It was a tract Ann Davis had patented in 1786 and which she conveyed to William Phillips.¹⁷⁶ A tract of two hundred and thirty-three acres was sold to William Johnston on 26 April 1795.¹⁷⁷ A tract of two hundred and sixty-seven acres was sold on 8 October 1796 to John Scholes. It was the tract named 'Fairfield' that William warranted in 1774 and patented in 1791.¹⁷⁸ Just two weeks later, on 21 October 1796, William sold one hundred and five acres to John Smith of Woodberry.¹⁷⁹ Four days later, on 25 October, a tract of thirty-nine acres was sold to Powell Rhodes.¹⁸⁰ Then two days later, on 27 October, William sold two

tracts of land. One hundred acres was purchased by Adam Sorock and two hundred acres by Abraham Miller.¹⁸¹ On the next day, 28 October, William Phillips sold a tract of three hundred acres to Philip Hartman.¹⁸²

According to some family historians, the Phillips family moved circa 1794 to Boone County, Kentucky. According to public records, it was more like 1796. On 9 November 1796, William Phillips gave his Power of Attorney to David Stewart, Esquire. The document stated:¹⁸³

Know all men by these presents that I William Phillips of Woodberry Township in the County of Huntingdon & Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Esquire being about to remove to the State of Kentucky have made constituted authorized ordained & appointed and by these presents, do make constitute authorize ordain and appoint my trusty and loving friend David Stewart of Morris Township in the County and Commonwealth aforesaid Esquire my true and lawful attorney for one and in my name stead and place and for my use to ask demand sue for recover and receive all manner of dues debt demands and rents whatsoever which are in anywise due owing or coming to me from any person or persons whatsoever. And I do hereby authorize and empower my said attorney to procure purchasers for, and to sell for the best price, all the following tracts of land situate in Woodberry Township Huntingdon County aforesaid ~ viz. One tract containing one hundred acres more or less adjoining land of Abraham Ditch ~ one other tract containing fifty acres more or less situate between Piney Creek & the Conoe Mountain adjoining land of Hermanus Clapper ~ one other tract of fifty acres being the north-east end of a large tract surveyed In pursuance of a warrant granted to Elizabeth Williams ~ and one other tract containing forty acres more or less being the southerly end of the tract surveyed in the name of Elizabeth Williams aforesaid ~ and when sold to take security, etc. ~.

After the Phillips family had moved to Kentucky, David Stewart, William's attorney negotiated a few sales of land. Although the date is not known, a tract of one hundred and fifty-six acres and eighty-eight perches near Canoe Mountain was sold to William Bailey of Baltimore County, Maryland.¹⁸⁴ A tract of an unspecified number of acres were sold to John Acker on 12 June 1798.¹⁸⁵ On 13 November 1798, Andrew Biddle purchased a tract of four hundred and seven acres which were located about two miles from the mouth of Clover Creek.¹⁸⁶

A final tract of land of one hundred and eleven acres was sold to Abraham Ditch of Woodberry Township, Huntingdon County. On the 10th of November 1802, when the deed

was recorded, William Phillips was noted as residing in ‘Green River and Green County, Kentucky.’¹⁸⁷

Whether his first wife, Sophia, died in Kentucky or in Pennsylvania prior to the move is the subject of conjecture. William’s name was included on the 1830 U.S. Census as a resident of Green County, Kentucky. He was listed as being of 90 to 100 years of age. He had, in Kentucky, married a widow, Mrs. Sarah Bailey Walker. Between them was born a daughter, Sylva.

William Phillips died on 22 December 1830 at his residence in Green County. His obituary was included in the 02 March 1831 issue of the *Frankfort Argus*. He did not make out a will. On 23 May 1834, a document was filed and recorded in the Green County, Kentucky Circuit Court.¹⁸⁸ The document noted that William Phillips was deceased, leaving one hundred and sixty-two and one-half acres. He also left a widow and six living children (Bazel, Jesse, Samuel, Margaret, Delila and Comfort). He also left the heirs of four deceased children (Elijah, Joshua, William Jr., and Nancy). The document requested the court to divide William’s real and personal estate among the heirs. It should be noted that attached to the document was a note made by Jesse Phillips transferring his interest in his father’s estate to his brother, Samuel. The note was dated 28 June 1831, indicating that William had died prior to that date. The US Census for 1830, on which William last appeared, was taken in Green County starting on 1 June of that year. Until the obituary was discovered, researchers could only assume that William Phillips passed between 1 June 1830 and 28 June 1831.

A final thought on Captain William Phillips needs to be stated. In a way, it is the five ton elephant in the room. According to Jones, upon their return the local residents treated William and his son, Elijah with disdain. Some of his previous neighbors came to the assumption that William was a traitor and that he and his son had been spared from being killed by some deal he made with his captives. The region was rife with Tory sympathizers and some may have questioned whether William, like Joshua Davis, had negotiated with local Tories, if not with the British themselves, to betray his Patriot neighbors. Although that question eventually dissipated, who knows how long William and Elijah had to live with it? Elijah was young; he probably didn’t waste too much time thinking about it and worrying what the neighbors thought of him. But William would have had to bear the full weight of such an accusation on his conscience. And it would have added to the burden of grief and guilt he probably carried all through his captivity ~ that men under his command had lost their lives.

In regard to the genealogy of William Phillips, he was born, according to some genealogists, about the year 1735. Some genealogists have claimed that William was the son of Basil Phillips and his wife, Sophia. Others place William in the family of William Phillips and his wife Margaret (Low). Still others state that William’s parents were William Phillips and Phoebe (Hincksman). Regardless of his parents’ names, the family into which William was born was then residing in Maryland. William grew up in Maryland and it was there that he married his first wife.

[*Note:* Due to the very large number of William Phillips’ descendants, this genealogy will include only the first four generations.]

William Phillips was married twice.¹⁸⁹ His first wife, Sophia was born 1748. By his first marriage to Sophia, while they were residing in Maryland, six children were born: Nancy,

born 1765; Elijah, born 1766; William Jr., born 1768; Margaret, born 1772; Bazil, born 1773; and Delilah, born 1774. After William escaped from the British and returned to his home in Bedford County, five more children were born: Solomon, born 1783; Comfort, born 1785; Samuel, born 1787; Joshua, born 1792; and Jesse, born 1795. The family moved south to Green County, Kentucky. It is there that Sophia, William's first wife, died in 1803. After Sophia's death, William married Sarah Bailey Walker on 23 April 1803 and they gave birth to one daughter, Silvy, born 16 March 1804. With that second marriage, William became stepfather to Sarah's two children: Judith Walker and Baylor Walker.

The first child, a daughter, was Nancy. She was also called Sally. On 15 March 1782, Nancy (daughter of Capt. William), married Rezin Davis. Although Nancy's actual birth date is not known, it is believed that she was born circa 1765 while the family was residing in Maryland. The couple gave birth to: Sophia, born 1783; Elizabeth Ida, born 19 February 1791; Rezin Jr., born 22 January 1792; Comfort, born before 1795; Nancy, born before 1796; Joshua, born circa 1798; Lydia, born 10 January 1800; Sarah, born after 1802; Francis Marion, born 8 August 1805 and Amos, born circa 1806.

Sophia Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Jacob Shively. Jacob was born in 1772. Jacob and Sophia gave birth to Nancy Ann, born circa 1802; Stephen A., born 25 December 1803; Sarah, born circa 1807; John W., born 1811; Rezin Davis, born circa 1817; Michael, born circa 1817; Hannah Dean, born 1819; Sophia Ann, born 1820; William Jacob, born 25 January 1825; and Abraham Harding, born 15 March 1828.

Elizabeth Ida Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married John Harris Overstreet. John was born in 1790. The couple gave birth to: Eunice, born 27 January 1814; Moses, born 4 June 1815; Nancy, born 31 December 1816; Amanda F., born 18 November 1818; Judith, born 12 June 1823; Mary Isabella, born 12 October 1825; John, born 2 February 1828; America Jane, born 24 May 1830; Rezin Davis, born 28 May 1830; and Benjamin Franklin, born circa 1838. Elizabeth Ida died on 11 May 1849 at Green County, Kentucky.

Rezin Davis Jr. (grandson of Capt. William), married Ann Beckerton Webb. Ann was born in 1792. Rezin and Ann gave birth to: Rezin Hammond, born 31 January 1817; Elizabeth T., born 27 October 1819; Laura Ann, born 11 July 1821; Mary Louise, born 15 April 1823; William L., born 2 March 1825; John P., born 25 January 1827; Malinda J., born 19 February 1829; James Wesley, born 13 March 1831; Nancy Cary, born 9 July 1833; and Lucy Ann, born 16 September 1837.

Comfort Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Isaac Newcomb. Isaac, variously known as 'Turk', was born circa 1794 at Maryland. The couple gave birth to: George Washington, born 25 March 1818; Emily M., born circa 1833; Almyra, born 11 February 1835; and William Woodford, born May 1838. Comfort died before 1850. Isaac died circa 1863 at Marion County, Kentucky.

Nancy Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married John B. Fisher. He was born circa 1794 at King & Queen County, Virginia. Nancy died after 1817. John died circa 1863 in Taylor County, Kentucky.

Joshua Davis (grandson of Capt. William), married Elizabeth Brown. She was born circa 1808 in Green County, Kentucky. The couple had three children: William Garrett, born 1832; Joshua A., born October 1832; and Sarah S., born circa 1840. Joshua died in November 1850 in Taylor County, Kentucky.

Lydia Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Thomas D. Fisher. Thomas was born on 10 January 1794 at King & Queen County, Virginia. Thomas and Lydia gave birth to: Nancy D., born 4 September 1825; Sarah T., born 6 June 1828; Mary H., born 14 July 1828; Elizabeth O., born 8 February 1831; Louvisa, born 22 August 1833; Eunice, born 17 April 1836; Kitty, born 8 November 1839; and Thomas T., born 28 May 1842. Thomas died on 2 March 1859 in Taylor County, Kentucky. Lydia died in August 1859 in Taylor County, Kentucky.

Sarah Davis (granddaughter of Capt. William), married William Lewis. He was born in the year 1805 in Kentucky. The couple had three sons and a daughter: Stephen, born 1830; Francis Marion, born December 1832; Wesley, born 1833; and Sarah. Sarah, the mother, died circa 1838. William died after 1880.

Francis Marion Davis (grandson of Capt. William), married Wilmoth B. Staton. She was born circa 1813 in Kentucky. Francis and Wilmoth gave birth to: William Rezin, born 6 July 1831; John Wesley, born 24 June 1834; Nancy Elizabeth, born 23 January 1837; Sarah Ann, born June 1841; Francis Marion Jr., born 3 March 1844; Mary Sophia, born circa 1846; Judith V., born circa 1848; and Martha Susan, born 3 September 1850. Wilmoth died circa 1857. Francis died on 4 November 1864 in Adair County, Kentucky.

Amos Davis (grandson of Capt. William), married Sarah Ann Shively. Sarah Ann was born circa 1812. Amos and Sarah Ann had two children: Rezin J. F., born 1825; and Nancy Flora, born 1828. Sarah Ann died prior to 1850, and Amos then married Susan E. ----. Susan was born circa 1806. Susan died after 1870.

The second son of William and Sophia Williams was Elijah. His descendants will be found below in the section devoted to the Rangers.

William Jr. (son of Capt. William), was born in 1760, no doubt in Frederick County, Maryland. On 12 July 1787, William Jr married Lucretia Davis. Lucretia was born circa 1769. William and Lucretia were living in Green County, Kentucky in 1831 when he died. William and Lucretia gave birth to: Francis, born circa 1788; Lott, born circa 1788; Catherine, born 1790; Sophia, born 1793; Thomas, born 1794; John, born 1795; Nancy, born 1795; Lucretia, born 14 April 1797; William, born 24 February 1802; Harriet, born 30 May 1806; Davis, born before 1809, Godfrey, born 1810; and Emily, born 1810/ Lucretia died after 1831.

Francis Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Margaret Dudgeon. Margaret was born after 1788 in Virginia. Francis and Margaret gave birth to: Morieu F., born 26 May 1811; Jefferson, born 1813; Mary Ann, born 1815; and William Cope, born 26 March 1826. Margaret died prior to 1833 at Springfield, in Sangamon County, Illinois, and Francis then married Elizabeth Tompkins. Francis died in 1837 at Sangamon County, Illinois.

Lott Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Martha Gilman Emerson. Martha was born circa 1791 in Green County, Kentucky. The couple gave birth to: Harriet, born 1810; Catherine Emerson, born 1810; Lucretia, born 25 July 1813; John Emerson, born 1815; Martha, born 1817; and Jefferson, born 1821. Martha died in January 1831. Lott then married Sarah Rucker. She was born circa 1808 in Virginia. Lott and Sarah gave birth to: Lemuel R., born December 1833; William D., born 1835; R. E., born 1837; Mary R., born 1839; James Aaron, born 23 June 1841; S. M., born 1844; and Joseph W., born 2 February

1847. Lott died in May 1850 at Elk Horn, in Taylor County, Kentucky. Sarah, Lott's second wife died on 30 October 1858 at Taylor County, Kentucky.

Catharine Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Thomas Hutcheson. Thomas was born in Virginia circa 1786. The couple gave birth to: Cynthia Ann, born 1811; Lucinda, born 1814; David Andrew Jackson, born 20 March 1815; Elizabeth, born circa 1816; Henrietta, born 15 January 1819; and William Thomas, born 6 April 1828.

Sophia Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married William Buchanan Dudgen. William, known as 'Buck,' was born at Charlotte County, Virginia on 26 October 1788. Born to this couple were: Randolph Foster, born February 1813; John Sublett, born 17 September 1815; Lucinda, born 17 September 1815; William Phillips, born 31 July 1817; Nancy, born 27 February 1822; and Thomas C., born 25 December 1823. Sophia died on 8 February 1824 at Green County, Kentucky. Buck died on 3 July 1869 at Taylor County, Kentucky.

Thomas Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Mary A. McCorkle. Mary was born circa 1823 in Tennessee. The couple gave birth to: William Thomas, born 26 November 1839; J. W., born 1841; Lucy, born 1844; J.C., born 1846; and Andrew J., born 1851. Mary died in March 1857 at Morgan County, Missouri. Thomas died a year later in April 1858.

John Phillips (grandson of Capt. William) married Sally Galloway. He died after 1830.

Nancy Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), was married three times and bore children to the second and third unions. Nancy's first husband was Sublett Dudgeon. Sublett was born circa 1790. He died before 1816. Nancy then married David Cobb. David was born circa 1795. David and Nancy gave birth to a single daughter: Martha Ann, born 8 January 1826. David died prior to 1828. After David's death, Nancy married William Sublett. William was born on 21 June 1791 at Charlotte County, Virginia. The couple gave birth to Margaret, born 1833; Benjamin Franklin, born December 1835; and Mary, born 1836. Nancy died after 1836.

Lucretia Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married William Sublett Lowe. He was born on 5 January 1795 at Charlotte County, Virginia. The couple gave birth to: Adeline Johnston, born 1827 at Alabama; Thomas Jefferson, born 1829; and Martha A., born 27 October 1830.

William Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Nancy Satterwhite. William died on 9 October 1847.

Harriet Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Edmond Thomas. 'Ned' as he was called, was born on 24 February 1801 at Adair County, Kentucky. The couple gave birth to: Mary J., born 1834; James Edward, born 1842; William H., born 1843; and Harriett Ann, born 25 July 1847. Ned died on 27 May 1853 at Carroll County, Missouri. Harriet died in July 1854 at Carroll County, Missouri.

Davis Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), died before 1833.

Emily Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Rudolph Neat Thomas. Rudolph was born on 5 November 1809. The couple had one child, a son named William Gibson, born 9 April 1833. Emily died before 1836 at Missouri. Rudolph died on 23 February 1870 at Carroll County, Missouri.

Margaret Phillips (daughter of Capt. William), was married to ----- Miller. Margaret died after 1834 at Kentucky.

Bazil Phillips (son of Capt. William), was born in Maryland at some time prior to 1774 when the family appeared in Bedford County, Pennsylvania. He probably was born circa 1773. Bazil Phillips married Nancy Bailey. Nancy was born circa 1780. Bazil and Nancy had three sons: William, born 20 January 1800; Elijah, born 29 July 1801; and Nathaniel, born 6 May 1816. Although Nancy's death date is unknown, Bazil died circa 1839 at Green County, Kentucky.

William Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Sarah Wright. Sarah was born on 16 June 1810. The couple gave birth to: Nancy Jane, born 1 May 1833; Lydia V., born 17 May 1835; William B., born 2 November 1837; Elijah, born 14 February 1839; Jemima Jane, born 21 July 1841; Eunice, born 28 August 1843; Sarah, born 6 May 1846; Mary Etta, born 21 December 1849; Henrietta, born 5 April 1853; and John Basil, born 23 February 1856. William died on 18 June 1893 at Taylor County, Kentucky. Sarah died on 21 June 1898.

Elijah Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Nancy Hamilton Eades. Nancy was born on 30 July 1813. The couple gave birth to Sarah Elizabeth, born 11 October 1832; William Elonza, born 7 September 1834; Mary Letitia, born 1837, Samuel Anderson, born 28 February 1838; John, born 29 September 1841; Mary Louisa, born 12 April 1844; Samintha A., born 26 August 1847; Mary Etta, born 13 February 1850; Elijah, born January 1852; and another unnamed son, born 1854. The unnamed boy died in 1860. Nancy died on 7 September 1855. After Nancy's death, Elijah married Mary Susan Bright. Mary was born in the year 1840. Elijah and Mary gave birth to Elliott Bristo, born 28 June 1860. Mary died on 19 May 1868. Following Mary's death, Elijah married Lydia Wright. Lydia was born on 10 October 1819 and died after 1880. Elijah died on 29 March 1877.

Nathaniel Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Rutha P. Eades. Rutha was born on 8 October 1819. The couple gave birth to: Permelia Victoria, born 24 July 1838; Ann Eliza, born 3 April 1843; Henrietta, born 30 October 1845; James Madison, born circa 1848; Blanford S., born 23 November 1852; Nancy Ellen, born 6 September 1853; David Morton, born October 1855; an unnamed daughter, born on 20 September 1858; and Nathan Donaldson, born 16 July 1861. The unnamed daughter died in 1860. Nathaniel died on 7 July 1876. Rutha died on 16 September 1902.

Delilah Phillips, (daughter of Capt. William), was born in 1774 at their new home in Pennsylvania. Delilah married twice. Her first husband was ----- Shirley. He was born circa 1765 in Pennsylvania. To that union was born: William Henry, born 1789; Ary, born 1791; and Sarah. Her first husband apparently died sometime prior to 1793, which was the year the first child was born of a second union. The second husband was Robert Walker. Robert was born in 1740 at Georges, in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Robert and Delilah gave birth to: Elijah, born 15 October 1793; Martha Ann, born 2 January 1797; Samuel, born 1798; Philip, born 1798; James, born 1799; Mary Eunice, born 1802; Milton, born 15 July 1805; Sophia, born 28 January 1810; Catherine, born 1811; and Nancy, born 12 June 1811. Robert died in 1825. Delilah died on 18 September 1851 at Boone, in Crawford County, Indiana.

William Henry Shirley (grandson of Capt. William), married Milia Howe. Upon Milia's death, William married Nancy B. Froman, born 1797 at Tennessee. William and Nancy gave

birth to: Nancy A., born 22 May 1814; John Thomas, born 13 August 1818; Elizabeth, born 28 June 1822; Mary Ann, born 24 February 1825; Harriet, born 19 June 1825; Sarah Jane, born 12 September 1830; and William Isaac, born 17 April 1833. William died on 28 October 1845 at Mandeville, in Carroll County, Missouri. Nancy died in 1860 at Carroll County, Missouri.

Ary Shirley (granddaughter of Capt. William), married William Dean. William was born on 15 November 1781 in Pennsylvania. The couple gave birth to: John T., born 12 June 1808; Richard, born 5 October 1810; Hannah, born 18 January 1814; Joshua, born circa 1815; Harrison, born 1815; Eunice Elizabeth, born 26 February 1819; Elizabeth Anna, born 17 February 1824; and Milton, born 1827. William died circa 1830 at Perry County, Indiana. After William's death, Ary married John Pearson. He was born before 1815. Ary died after 1836.

Elijah Walker (grandson of Capt. William), married Nancy S. Shaver. Elijah and Nancy gave birth to: Elizabeth, born 16 September 1818; Milton R., born 2 April 1821; James F., born 29 January 1824; Nancy J., born 1826; Mary, born 7 September 1828; and Hiram C., born 22 June 1831. Elijah died on 10 August 1871 at Oil, in Perry County, Indiana.

Martha Ann Walker (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Riley A. Main. Riley was born on 30 August 1793 at Litchfield, in Litchfield County, Connecticut. The couple gave birth to: Eliza Jane, born 20 December 1819; Walker, born 10 January 1823; Louisa Anna, born 10 January 1825; John J., born 29 December 1826; Nancy, born 1831; Martha, born 31 October 1832; William Riley, born 3 September 1835; Mary, born 7 April 1838; and James Wesley, born 30 August 1842. Martha Ann died on 2 November 1865 at Abington, in Mercer County, Illinois. Riley died on 18 February 1881 at Seaton, in Mercer County, Illinois.

Philip Walker (grandson of Capt. William), married Elizabeth Ewing Riley. Elizabeth was born on 31 August 1803 in Kentucky. Philip and Elizabeth gave birth to: Samuel W., born 1825; William W., born 30 June 1826; Minerva Janes, born 1829; Thomas R., born 1831; Henry Clay, born 1833; Catherine C., born 22 August 1841; and John S., born 1844. Philip died after 1860 in Mercer County, Illinois.

Samuel Walker (grandson of Capt. William), married Mary Ellen Farabee. Mary was born on 9 March 1807 at North Carolina. The couple gave birth to: Margaret, born 18 June 1828; Sarah Jane, born 14 August 1830; William Francis, born circa 1834; Amy Ann, born 30 March 1834; John P., born 23 September 1836; Alfred Newton, born 25 December 1838; Henry C., born 14 March 1840; Mary Ellen, born 15 January 1842; Nancy, born 21 December 1843; and Samuel Smith, born 2 August 1846. Mary died prior to 1850 at Farabee, in Washington County, Indiana. Samuel died on 1 December 1868 at New Philadelphia, in Washington County, Indiana.

James Walker (grandson of Capt. William), married Jane Ervin. Jane was born circa 1805.

Mary Eunice Walker (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Abisha L. Dodson. Abisha was born on 4 April 1800 in Green County, Kentucky. The couple gave birth to: Delilah, born 1 June 1825; Elizabeth, born 15 November 1827; Comfort, born September 1829; Virona, born 1832; John W., born 14 February 1833; Robert, born 18 March 1836;

and Abisha, born 29 March 1839. Abisha died on 11 October 1872 at Mercer, in Mercer County, Illinois. Mary died in 1881 at Hendricks County, Indiana.

Milton Walker (grandson of Capt. William), married Anna Gail Reily. Anna was born on 31 October 1805. The couple gave birth to: Samuel Phillip, born 13 February 1831; Elizabeth Emily, born 19 January 1833; Thomas Clelland Reily, born 24 December 1833; John Wesley, born 22 June 1836; James R., born 12 January 1839; Mary Ann, born 28 March 1840; Minerva Emaline, born 8 December 1842; Asbury Wilkerson, born 29 December 1845; and Martha C., born 15 November 1849. Anna died on 14 January 1883. Milton died on 17 November 1890 at Oil, in Perry County, Indiana.

Sophia Walker (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Hiram Marcus Esarey. Hiram was born on 10 April 1813 at Branchville, in Perry County, Indiana. The couple gave birth to: William Mansfield, born 21 December 1835; Eliza Jane, born 24 May 1837; Matilda, born 24 September 1838; Mary Ann, born 13 July 1840; Sarah, born 27 June 1842; Elvira, born 13 April 1844; Martha Elizabeth, born 8 March 1846; Frances Emaline, born 28 March 1848; Nancy Allen, born 29 July 1850; and Cara L., born 1859. Hiram died on 22 January 1891. Sophia died on 28 January 1885 at Oil, in Perry County, Indiana.

Catherine Walker (granddaughter of Capt. William), married James Borer. James was born circa 1799. He died before 1844. Catherine then married John C. Riley. He was born circa 1798 at Surrey County, North Carolina. John died circa 1850 in Buchanan County, Missouri. Catherine died after 1870. No children were born to either union.

Nancy Walker (granddaughter of Capt. William), married David Colby. David was born on 1 June 1795 at Newbury, in Orange County, Vermont. The couple gave birth to: Thurianne, born 25 July 1832; Czarina Jane, born 18 January 1834; Harvey David, born 26 November 1835; Sarah Elizabeth, born 29 September 1840; Nancy Louisa, born 13 November 1840; Samuel W., born 23 August 1844; Wesley B., born 28 July 1846; Charles E., born 8 September 1849; and Mary Antoinette, born 18 September 1852. David died on 2 August 1883. Nancy died on 2 February 1887 at Perry County, Indiana.

Solomon Phillips (son of Capt. William), married Delilah Davis on 26 February 1804. Delilah was born before 1783. She died after 1804. Solomon died before 1830.

Comfort Phillips (daughter of Capt. William), married Matthew Hutcheson on 02 March 1803. Matthew was born circa 1775 at Virginia. The couple gave birth to two sons: James T., born 1810; and William Dailey, born circa 1815. Comfort died circa 1815 at Green County, Kentucky. Matthew died on 19 April 1844 at Green County, Kentucky.

William Dailey Hutchison (grandson of Capt. William), married Elizabeth Peters. She was born on 6 July 1823 at Morgan County, Tennessee. William and Elizabeth gave birth to: Dorothy Ann, born 25 September 1842; James W., born May 1845; Benjamin D., born March 1847; Rebecca, born 1848; Robert Jones, born 8 June 1848; Marion, born 1852; Rachel Frances, born 28 May 1854; Mary Elizabeth, born 17 December 1854; Timothy Winfield, born 20 February 1855; John Wesley, born 13 February 1857; Samantha Madeline, born 13 February 1859; Canzada, born 16 May 1860; and William Dailey Jr., born 16 May 1860. William died on 24 April 1891 at Lincoln County, Kentucky. Elizabeth died on 6 December 1892.

Samuel Phillips (son of Capt. William), was married three times. He first married Sabrett Lee on 15 June 1808. She was born circa 1788. Samuel and Sabrett gave birth to: William

Newton, born 1810; Parthenia E., born 1 October 1811; Joshua G., born 8 September 1816; Moses Lee, born 7 June 1818; Margaret, born 1820; John W., born 1823; Mary Elizabeth, born September 1823; and James Simpson, born 4 August 1826. Sabrett died before 1827. Samuel then married Sarah Murray. She was born circa 1806. The couple gave birth to one son: Samuel Brookin, born 1828. Sarah died circa 1833. Then Samuel married Sarah Sylinder. Sarah was born circa 1795 and died after 1852. Samuel died in January 1852 at Benton County, Missouri.

William Newton Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), died before 1879.

Parthenia E. Newton Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married William Wesley Shelton. William was born on 10 April 1810 at Virginia. The couple gave birth to: Samuel Thomas, born 24 January 1837; Laura Ermine, born 7 November 1838; William Terry, born 22 April 1840; John L., born 20 March 1843; Mary Frances, born 1845; James M., born August 1845; Sarah Margaret, born September 1846; and Sophronia E., born on 11 August 1851. Parthenia died on 17 February 1883. William died on 15 May 1888 at Powder Mill, Hart County, Kentucky.

Joshua G. Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Frances M. Brown. Frances was born in 1817. The couple gave birth to: Martha Catherine, born 15 September 1843; and James Brown, born 17 February 1846. Frances died on 12 September 1848. After Frances' death, Joshua married Teresa Ann Bowles. Teresa was born on 12 January 1828. This second marriage gave birth to: Ruth E., born 30 July 1851; Emma Frances, born 5 January 1854; William B., born 15 November 1855; Charles Blakey, born 7 December 1857; Harriet Sabret, born 14 November 1859; Margaret Carrie, born 29 October 1861; Joshua Rapheal, born 5 June 1864; Theresa Anna, born 3 September 1866; Julia Grace, born 17 January 1868; and Samuel Chancey, born 10 May 1870. Teresa died on 16 March 1924. Joshua died on 27 December 1887 at Warsaw, in Benton County, Missouri.

Moses Lee Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married three times. His first wife was Susan Ford. The couple gave birth to: Mary Susan, born November 1842. Susan died before 1845. Moses then married Susan Bane. Susan died before 1849. Moses then married Mary Humphreys. Mary was born on 10 April 1823. Moses and Mary gave birth to: Samuel Burton, born June 1850; Sabert Amanda, born December 1851; Melissa, born 1 March 1855; and William Hayden, born June 1858. Mary died on 15 September 1886. Moses died on 20 June 1898 at Benton County, Missouri.

Margaret Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married James J. Jones. James was born circa 1815. The couple gave birth to: Samuel T., born 1835; William J., born July 1837; Martha A., born 1839; Hezekiah, born 1840; James, born 1842; Mary E., born 1844; Thomas B., born 1846; Moses B., born 1848; George, born 1852; Robert, born 1854; and Susan, born 1854. James and Margaret both died after 1860.

John W. Phillips (grandson of Capt. William) died after 1850.

Mary Elizabeth Phillips (granddaughter of Capt. William), married Lewis Jefferson Dillon. Lewis was born in 1812 at Virginia. The couple gave birth to: Chloe Ann, born 21 August 1839; Susan Amanda, born 15 December 1841; Lewis Jefferson, born 1 June 1844; James Samuel, born 21 September 1847; Margaret C., born 1853; Mahalia Jane, born 1855; Mary A., born 1855; Sophronia Henry, born 22 February 1856; Charles Joshua, born 18

December 1860; and Meredith Price, born 1 September 1863. Lewis died in 1863. Mary died in 1901 at Benton County, Missouri.

James Simpson Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Nancy Ann Raines. Nancy was born 28 November 1830 at Buena Vista, in Schuyler County, Illinois. The couple gave birth to: Sarah Matilda, born 30 September 1848; James Robert, born 11 May 1850; Samuel Thomas, born 14 September 1852; and Delva, born 1866. Nancy died on 21 October 1877. After Nancy's death, James married Nancy J. Parsons. This second Nancy was born in July 1835 and died after 1900. James died on 7 November 1904 at Weston, in Umatilla County, Oregon.

Samuel Brookin Phillips (grandson of Capt. William), married Elizabeth M. Holloway. Elizabeth was born on 27 January 1833 at Morgan County, Illinois. The couple gave birth to: Mary A., born 14 July 1850. Samuel died circa 1852. Elizabeth died on 19 March 1918.

Joshua Phillips (son of Capt. William), died after 1850.

Jesse Phillips (son of Capt. William), married Sally Boyd. Sally was born circa 1795. Jesse died after 1840.

Silvy Phillips (daughter of Capt. William), married John Fryer. John was born on 7 July 1808 at Virginia. The couple gave birth to: Martha A., born 1834; Lucy C., born 6 July 1834; Amanda M., born 1836; William Turner, born 1838; Washington G., born 1842; Elizabeth M., born 1842; and Hetha Louisa, born 1847. John died on 13 April 1883 at Green County, Kentucky. Silvy died on 4 February 1886.

Martha A. Fryer (granddaughter of Capt. William), married James M. Myers. James was born in September 1817 at Washington County, Kentucky. James and Martha gave birth to: Virginia P., born March 1866; Daniel W., born 12 February 1868; Sylvia Louise, born 10 March 1873; Harlen Parker, born 6 May 1875; Martin Luther, born January 1878; and Robert Lee, born 12 December 1880.

Lucy C. Fryer (granddaughter of Capt. William), married James Madison Middleton. James was born on 28 August 1838 at Hart County, Kentucky. The couple gave birth to: Silvy Louisa, born 27 June 1859; Nancy J., born 1862; Sarah Elizabeth, born 6 June 1864; Mary C., born 1868; James R., born 15 October 1870; Nora B., born 22 February 1874; Amanda E., born 18 February 1876; and John Franklin, born 9 September 1879. James died on 5 September 1904. Lucy died on 30 August 1918 at Wyanet, in Bureau County, Illinois.

Amanda M. Fryer (granddaughter of Capt. William), married John Bunyan Vaughn. John was born circa 1833. The couple gave birth to: Naomi Elizabeth, born 29 December 1856; John W., born 25 December 1858; George W., born 1863; Robert L., born 1866; and Sarah W., born 1869. Amanda died circa 1875.

William Turner Fryer (grandson of Capt. William), married Nancy Elizabeth Sweeney. William and Nancy gave birth to: William John, born 16 April 1865; Ida Florence, born 16 May 1867; Emmette Turner, born 14 January 1869; Lou Ella, born 7 October 1870; Ada Evelyn, born 29 December 1872; Virginia Nora, born 6 April 1873; Lena Bell, born 22 June 1875; Maggie May, born 28 May 1878; Lillie Gray, born 28 May 1878; and Fredrick Olen, born 1 September 1883. William died on 28 December 1883 at Greenville, in Hunt County, Texas. Nancy died on 4 September 1899.

Elizabeth M. Fryer (granddaughter of Capt. William), married John Bunyan Vaughn following the death of her sister Amanda, his first wife. John and Elizabeth had one son: Thomas Grieffe, born 14 May 1883.

.***The Discovery and Reinternment of
the Rangers***



The site of the massacre of Captain William Phillips' Company of Rangers is currently marked by a flagstone patio on which a stone obelisk monument stands. A low stone wall punctuated by four pyramidal features borders on the 'back' or west edge of the patio. A similar low stone wall including steps borders on the 'front' or east wall of the patio.

The 18.06 acre site, owned by the Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, is maintained by the Liberty Township supervisors. An iron informational marker was also installed in front of (at a short distance to the east) of the monument by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The site appears on google maps simply as 'Phillips Memorial' although it is more appropriately named 'Captain Phillips' Rangers Memorial.' The memorial is located just four tenths of a mile off the west side of Raystown Road, State Route 26 at the end of Captain Phillips' Monument Road. Until the summer of 2019, there was no sign at the end of the road announcing the memorial, although there was a PHMC sign opposite to the road's entrance.

The stone monument was installed by the Fisher Summit Memorial Association in 1926 on a tract of seventeen acres donated to the Saxton Post of the American Legion by Mr. and

Mrs. W. A. Graffious.¹⁹⁰ The president of the Association at the time was Samuel B. Stoler. The particular site of the monument was the traditional site of the massacre. The site had been identified by early residents in the vicinity and a post had been erected on the hillside to preserve the location. Samuel B. Stoler was instructed by his father to never let the location of the massacre fade from memory, so he and his friends would make their way to the hillside on Decoration Day (variously, Memorial Day), picking wild flowers on the way to place at the post. At the time of the construction and dedication of the monument in 1926 the actual location of the Rangers' remains was not known for certain. The memorial was dedicated in a ceremony held on 16 July 1926 on the occasion of the 146th anniversary of the massacre. More than one thousand persons attended the ceremony.

The ceremony was introduced by master of ceremonies, G. A. Troutman, followed by music played by the Coalmont band.¹⁹¹ The entire audience was then led in singing the hymn, *Onward Christian Soldiers*. An invocation was given by the Reverend L. C. Gobrecht. Samuel B. Stoler presented an address on the history of the incident and unveiled the obelisk monument. The band played the hymn *Nearer My God To Thee*. A male quartet, consisting of Bob Huff, Ed Ramsey, Carl Stake and Chas. Williams performed. A girls' glee club performed. A number of addresses were given. Dr. A. H. Evans "gave a vivid and interesting account of the early settlements of Bedford County..." Dr. A. B. Van Ormer "spoke on the significance of the pile of stones." In addition to Emma Shultz reciting Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, the band played two more selections. The actual dedicatory address was presented by H. W. Watson. He charged the American Legion to perpetuate the memory of the slain Bedford County Militia men. William G. Fluke, on behalf of the American Legion, accepted the responsibility of keeping the site sacred. The male quartet then sang *My Country, 'Tis Of Thee* (referred to in the dedication program as *America*). Three volleys were fired over the marker by members of the American Legion. Mrs. Hicks of the Standing Stone Chapter, DAR gave an address, followed by another song by the girls' glee club and the program concluded with a benediction by the Reverend Rhine.

Then on the 25th of January 1933, an area was being cleared by workers for the American Legion Saxton Post 169 for the construction of a speaker's stand, in preparation for a Memorial Day program. During that work, a discovery was made.¹⁹²

Human bones were found lying just eighteen inches below the surface. It was determined, from the few bones recovered, that they belonged to seven men. It was assumed that the other two or three men had possibly been killed at the Heater cabin; their bones having burned when the cabin was reduced to ashes. The primary source of this information, the 1933 booklet for the rededication program, *History of the Massacre of Captain Phillips' Pennsylvania Rangers*, did not note whether a thorough search of the surrounding landscape had been conducted. The site was not properly excavated by certified archaeologists and therefore the recovery of the remains might not have been handled as best as possible. In fact, in a 1980 newspaper article detailing the recovery project, interviews with the only two surviving men who had taken part in the project (Robert Ramsey and Lawrence B. Reed) revealed that 'souvenirs' of some teeth had been taken home by some of the workers. It should also be noted that Mr. Ramsey stated in his interview that a pile of rocks located about one hundred yards southeast of the obelisk, on the west side of a small stream marked the spot where the workers believed the remains of the other three Rangers were buried. His

rationale for that belief was not noted. If that were indeed the case, the question arises as to why some of the bodies would have been buried in a mass grave in one spot and a few others buried in another spot nearby. The claim, though is possibly accurate because it must be remembered that Colonel John Piper's letter of 6 August 1780 included the statement that no bodies were found at the site of the burnt Heater cabin.

The work party of the American Legion included Perry Baumgardner, Homer Carbaugh, Red Dearing, Oscar Graffious, Frank Guillard, Peter Guillard, Herman I. Hamm, Joe Huff, George Little, David Ramsey, Robert Ramsey, Jesse Reed, Lawrence B. Reed, Percy B. Seibert, Chalmer C. Smith, Bosie Snyder, George Snyder and Warren G. Weaver.

The remains were transported to the mortuary of Robert E. Huff in Saxton where they were housed temporarily.¹⁹³ A wooden casket was procured for the reburial of the bones. A special 'krypt ~ alloy' seamless vault was designed by Lt. Col. A. F. H. Scott for the permanent interment. A bronze tablet was cast for installment in a cement pad atop the vault. The tablet, still intact at the present time reads:



<p>WE REST HAVING DIED IN LINE OF DUTY ON JULY-16-1780</p> <hr/> <p>REBURIED BY AMERICAN LEGION SAXTON POST No 169 MAY-28-1933</p>
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With the remains re-interred, a dedication ceremony was organized by the Saxton American Legion. The ceremony was held on Sunday, 28 May 1933. The General Chairman of the re-dedication ceremony was Chelton Smith.

The re-dedication program began with the Saxton Lions' Boys' Band playing the patriotic hymn, *America*. An invocation was given by the Reverend Norman Wagner. Dr. Frank Guillard then gave a welcoming address. Lieutenant Colonel Allison F. H. Scott, representing the War Department, U. S. Army, gave a speech. The 'Male Quartette' three-quarters of whom (Huff, Stake and Williams) had performed at the 1926 dedication again performed. The fourth member at this program was listed simply as ----- Moyle. Congressman Joseph Biddle presented an address. C. Hale Sipe then read his history of the massacre, as presented in the program. The Saxton Lions' Boys' Band played another selection. Congressman Benjamin K. Focht gave a 'talk' and an 'address' was given by Major General Edward C. Shannon, the Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania and

Commander of the Pennsylvania National Guard. The Reverend Stephen A. Ward consecrated the grave, followed by a song presented by the 'Ladies' Quartette' (consisting of ----Enyeart, ---- Parks, ---- Parks, and ---- Williams). A consecration service by the Reverend Arthur C. Thompson and a military burial ceremony performed by the American Legion, Post 169 closed the program.

During the mid-1950s, the Captain Phillips Rangers Memorial and the access road from Route 26 were deeded to the Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission by the American Legion Saxton Post 169.¹⁹⁴

In 1993, an article in *The Daily News* noted that the Liberty Township supervisors were concerned about the condition of the Capt. Phillips Monument Road. The road had, over the years, become in need of repair, but the township did not have the means to fund the repairs. At that time, the Liberty Township officials began the process of acquiring ownership of the access road (but not the memorial site itself).¹⁹⁵

The memorial has stood silently along the hillside for the past eight and one-half decades. Visitors to the memorial come and go. Some of those visitors probably have heard the story and just want to pay homage to the Rangers' memories. Some of them may have heard some



aspects of the story and wanted to see more. Some of the visitors have been paranormal investigators, so-called 'ghost hunters,' hoping to audio record any ethereal vocalization or to video record any apparition.

In early May 2019, a visitor to the memorial was the author of this book, Larry D. Smith. (Donald) Mark Phillips had contacted Larry asking for help in organizing a ceremony at the site in 2020. Larry had gone to the memorial to

get some ideas for that event. It was then that Larry discovered that the stone obelisk had been damaged. A few stones at the base had been knocked out, and the rest of the obelisk had developed cracks indicating that the entire monument might collapse.

To start the process of having the monument repaired, Larry contacted the Liberty Township Municipal Office to find out who owns the property. He was informed that the Liberty Township Supervisors lease the property from the Pennsylvania Historic and Museum Commission. Brian Weaver, one of the Liberty Township Supervisors, told Larry that they have wanted to have the monument repaired but could not afford to do so, giving Larry permission to take care of it if he could. On behalf of the Frontier Patriots Chapter, SAR Mr. Smith contacted



and requested permission of the PHMC, which owns the property, for permission to have the monument repaired. The base had broken out on the north side, causing all of the stones to become loose. He also asked for permission to install a sign on the low stone entrance wall also owned by PHMC bordering the 'T' intersection of Captain Phillips' Monument Road and Raystown Road (State Route 26) and to.

Tom Swope, of Swope Masonry performed repairs to the monument by refurbishing the base, re-cementing all of the stones and then covering the entire obelisk monument with a weatherproofing material. The restoration of the monument was completed by Friday, 26 July 2019.

Another concern of Mr. Smith was that there was no sign at the entrance to the access road to the memorial to point the way to the memorial. The road, shown on maps as Capt. Phillips Monument Road cuts off the west side of Route 26, the Raystown Road. The only indication of the existence of the memorial for tourists passing by, between Huntingdon and



Everett and Lake Raystown has, for many years, been a Pennsylvania Historical Marker standing along the east side of Route 26 opposite to the access road.

Larry Smith designed a sign and, with funding approved by the Frontier Patriots Chapter, SAR, site approval by the Liberty Township Supervisors and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission engaged SKE Design of Everett to fabricate and install the sign.

Phillips' Rangers Massacre

A party of sixty Senecas were led by British Lt. John Dochstедder, at the direction of Guy Johnson of Fort Niagara, to carry destruction through the frontiers of Pennsylvania in the year 1780.

This marker is placed in remembrance of a party of Bedford County Militia who, on 16 July 1780, were massacred by that British-led party at this site, and their Captain William Phillips and his son who were taken into two years of captivity in Canada.

**Dedicated in July 2020 by the Frontier Patriots Chapter
Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the American Revolution**

The sign for the entrance was fabricated and installed by SKEDesign of Everett, PA on 22 November 2019. Frontier Patriots Chapter compatriots, Larry D. Smith (despite having a broken ankle) and Robert Williams attended the sign installation on a blustery and rainy day. The sign is set back from the intersection so as not to obstruct the view of vehicles.

The Frontier Patriots Chapter, also approved the design and purchase of a new bronze plaque (with text by Larry Smith) that was installed during the spring of 2020 at the memorial. The purpose of the new plaque was to supply the pertinent information that the massacre was the outcome of a British-led Seneca raid into the Pennsylvania frontier. The name of the British Lieutenant who led the raid, John Dochstedder, does not appear anywhere on any of the existing signs or plaques associated with the memorial. Mr. Smith felt that making that point known was very important and needed to be addressed. Also, although Captain Phillips' given name of William is included on the Pennsylvania Historical Marker along Route 26, it is not included on any sign or plaque at the memorial itself.

. ***The Sources***

Was the fictional narrative presented at the beginning of this volume what Hugh Skelly, Thomas Sanders, Richard Shirley, or any of the other Bedford County Rangers actually experienced? Who knows? Most of the details of the massacre have come down to us at nearly two and one half centuries distant in time from only a few sources ~ none of which were first person experiences of the actual massacre. There were only two actual 'first person' accounts of the ambush, but only one of them was generally known before the 1970s.

The story of the massacre, as it has commonly been known for roughly two centuries, has come to us today from just a few 'original' source documents. Besides a letter from Bedford County Colonel John Piper, sent just three weeks after the incident, and a letter from Cumberland County Colonel Abraham Smith, sent a day after Piper's, the first published account of the 1780 massacre was a single paragraph included in I. Daniel Rupp's 1846 *The History and Topography of Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Bedford, Adams, and Perry Counties*.¹⁹⁶ The paragraph is short enough to include here. "*One John Lane was out at one time, and a spy and scout under the command of Captain Philips. He left the scout once for two days, on a visit home, and when he returned to the fort, the scout had been out some time. Fears were entertained for their safety, A party went in search; and within a mile or two of the fort, found Captain Philips and the whole of his men, fifteen in number, killed and scalped. ~ When found they were all tied to saplings; and, to use the language of the narrator, who was an eye witness, 'their bodies were completely riddled with arrows'.*"

The most popular account of the incident, by any measure, was a narrative written and published by Uriah J. Jones in 1856.¹⁹⁷ That was seventy-six years after the massacre, and the important thing to remember about it is that it wasn't a first-person account. Jones claimed to have obtained the information from Edward Bell, who in his *Memoirs*, claimed to have gotten it directly from Captain William Phillips.¹⁹⁸ How reliable was Edward Bell's memory to provide a second-person account? He supposedly repeated what William Phillips related to him. No matter how sincere Mr. Bell was in attempting to relate, faithfully, what

was told to him, he might have made some mistakes. As with any second-person account, Mr. Bell's memories of what he had been told by William Phillips ~ perhaps many years prior ~ cannot be assumed to be one hundred percent accurate. It is important to note that prior to writing the history of the Juniata Valley, including the account of the "*Fight with, and Destruction of, Captain Phillips's Scout by the Indians*", Uriah J. Jones was a writer of fiction. The book is filled with first-person exchanges despite the fact that neither Jones, nor any of his sources (the group of four 'octogenarians' who met to reminisce) were living at the time that the events he recounted were taking place. If Jones had obtained his information from Mr. Edward Bell, then Bell must have provided the names of the participants. But a study of Bell's writings reveals that he did not provide any of the names of the members of Phillips' company, with the exception of the name of his son, Elijah.

David Ira Foster wrote an historical narrative of the Broad Top region which was published during 1881 and 1882 in a series of seventy-three chapters in the *Independent* newspaper (the precursor to the *Broad Top Bulletin*).¹⁹⁹ The articles were published under the pseudonym of T. E. LePhone. [It should also be noted that many people claim that David Ira Foster was actually David Foster Horton. Mr. Foster, in his book, *History of the Foster Family*, published in 1902 makes no mention of the latter name.] The absence of any source references in his works makes the accuracy of Mr. Foster's information questionable. For example, Foster, in Chapter XLV, quoted a 'report' by Joshua Davis, a previously unknown source document, the original of which has since disappeared, leaving Foster's transcription the only evidence that it ever existed. The narrative, as written by Mr. Foster, included a number of new 'facts' not stated by any of the earlier historians. Where he got the new 'facts' is not known.

Two county histories only briefly noted the incident. In 1883, J. Simpson Africa commented in his *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* about Captain Phillips' homestead in Woodberry Township, Blair County.²⁰⁰ Africa did not give much information about the massacre; after all, it took place in neighboring Bedford County, not Blair. His comments on the massacre comprised a single paragraph of two sentences and a quote of some of Jones' narrative. Waterman, Watkins & Company condensed and quoted Jones' account in its 1884 *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* without adding anything.²⁰¹

Sons of American Revolution Look Up Site of Massacre was the title of an article that appeared on page 4 of the 30 July 1915 issue of *The Bedford Gazette*. The article was written by David B. Weaver and Samuel B. Stoler of Saxton. The narrative as presented by Mr. Weaver and Mr. Stoler differed in certain details from U. J. Jones' version. As noted in the article: "*Mr. Weaver's grandmother was born within two hundred rods of the scene of the massacre, just eight years after. From her own lips they have much of the history of this event. Mr. Stoler's father related to him the same story as it came to him as a young boy and in early manhood from his father and his people who lived in the community and knew of the occurrence. Mr. Stoler stated that while on a squirrel hunt with his father many years ago, his father pointed out to him the very trees to which the soldiers were tied.*" The authors establish the validity of their narrative by making the statement: "*With these three old citizens, whose word cannot be questioned...*" Despite Weaver and Stoler's certainty of their accuracy, we can question the three old citizens' word because none of them were actual

eye-witnesses any more than Edward Bell was. Mr. Weaver's grandmother was born eight years after the event, and she would probably have been six or seven years of age when she was told the tale by her father. Her father, therefore, would have related the story to her some twelve or thirteen years after the event. How accurate can we assume Mrs. Weaver's father was when he told her the narrative? He was neither an eye-witness nor participant himself. The narrative, as related to Mr. Weaver and Mr. Stoler in 1915, was comprised of the assumptions and rumors made by people who later came to live in the region and who, at best, surmised at what occurred at the Heater cabin and in the clearing at Fisher's Summit.

In 1933, as part of the ceremony to re-bury the remains of some of the massacred Rangers which had been discovered quite accidentally during a clean-up project, Chester Hale Sipe (a Pennsylvania State Senator from Armstrong and Butler Counties) gave a speech commemorating the massacre. Mr. Sipe, despite being an author and expert on the Indians who sojourned through Pennsylvania, did not provide any details on where he got his information.²⁰² In his own book, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, Mr. Sipe provides a note in which he quotes from Jones' account and the information given in J. Simpson Africa's *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*.²⁰³

Floyd G. Hoenstine was a Blair County historian who published a number of monographs by copying and 'editing' original works by other historians. In 1949, he did just that with Edward Bell's *Memoirs* along with nine others under the title of *Memoirs of the Early Settlers of the Juniata Valley*. Hoenstine avoided the accusation of plagiarism by slightly changing the original and/or by adding a note or two. For example, in the Bell memoir, Edward Bell stated: "*his fort was a Cabben House partly defended by stockade...*" Hoenstine altered that sentence to state: "*His fort was a cabin house partly defended by Stockage.*" Hoenstine added nothing substantial to the narrative that U. J. Jones had developed out of Bell's *Memoirs*.

On 9 June 1962, Albert M. Rung transcribed the *Memoirs* of Edward Bell. He added various bits of information as found in U. J. Jones' narrative, but like Hoenstine, he added nothing substantial or new. Perhaps intended for a particular historical society, Mr. Rung's transcription was not widely published.

The subject lay dormant for two decades. Then, in the 1980s, Ron Morgan, a staff writer for *The Daily News*, serving Huntingdon, Mount Union and Saxton, presented the story of the incident in a series titled: *The Saga of Phillips Rangers*. Mr. Morgan was conscientious in presenting all available sources of information on the incident. Unfortunately, his excellent series reached the limited audience of *The Daily News* subscribers.

In 2004, in conjunction with the Saxton ~ Liberty Sesquicentennial, local historian Jon D. Baughman published a book, *Saxton: The History of the Most Interesting Little Town in Pennsylvania*.²⁰⁴ In that book, Baughman quoted Jones' and Sipe's narratives, but he also introduced information gleaned from the writings of Saxton historian / author, David Ira Foster. Mr. Baughman also introduced a new witness to the massacre and suggested that one of the two Euro~Americans who accompanied the Indians was a British officer: Lieutenant John Dockstedder from the British garrison of Fort Niagara. The information was not technically 'new.' It had been included by Donald H. Kent in an article published in the *Pennsylvania Heritage* magazine in 1975.²⁰⁵ Dockstedder's involvement in the massacre was not widely known locally, though, until Mr. Baughman related it. And despite noting the

British officer's name, Mr. Baughman did not attach much significance to the fact that the British were directly involved in the incident.

Now, sixteen years later, this book has been prepared by Larry D. Smith, a self-styled 'forensic historian' to compare and distill all of the foregoing sources in an attempt to discover a more accurate and complete narrative of the incident. This present study has been significantly assisted by the knowledge of, and documentation accumulated by William Phillips' descendant, Donald Mark Phillips.

Engagement of Frankstown

. **An Engagement
Within Three Miles Of Frankstown**

Sir, I have to inform you that on Sunday the third of this instant a party of rangers under Captain Boyd eight in number, with twenty-five Volunteers under Capt. Moore and Lieut. Smith of the Militia of this County had an Engagement with a party of Indians (said to be numerous) within three Miles of Frankstown where Seventy-five of the Cumberland militia was station'd, commanded by Captn. Jas. Young, sum of the party running into the Garrison acquainting Capt. Young of what happened he Issued out a party Immediately and Brought in Seven more five of whome are wounded and two made there escape to Bedford, Eight Kil'd and scalpt, Capt. Boyd, Captn. Moore, and Captn. Dunlap with six others are missing, Captn. Young expecting from the enemys numbers that his garrison would be surrounded sent express to me Immediately, but before I could colleckt as many volunteers as was sufficient to march to Frankstown with the Enemy had return'd over Alligany hill, the warters being high occation'd by heavy rains they could not be pursu'd, this County at this time is in a Deplorable sittuation a number of Familys are flying a way daily ever since the late damage was dun, I can assure youre Excellency that if Immediate assistance is not sent to this County that the whole of the frontiere Inhabitants will move of in a few days. Colo. Abm. Smith of Cumberland has Just Inform'd me that he has no orders to send us any more militia from Cumberland County to our assistance which I am much surpris'd to heare, I shall move my family to Maryland in a few days as I am convinc'd

that not any one settlement is able to make any stand against such numbers of the Enemy. If your Excellency should please to order us any assistance less than three Hundred will be of but little reliefe to this County, ammunition we have not any, the Cumberland militia will be Discharg'd in two days. It is dreadful to think what the consequence of leaving such a number of helpless Inhabitants may be to the Crueltys of a savage Enemy.

Please to send me by the first opportunity Three hundred pounds as I cannot possibly doe the business without money, you may Depend that nothing shall be wanting in me to serve my Cuntry as far as my abilities.

I have the Honor to be, Your Excellencys most obedient Humble Servant, George Ashman Lieut. Bedfd. Cty.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a 'battle' is *a prolonged fight between organized armed forces*, a 'skirmish' is *a brief period of unplanned fighting* and an 'engagement' is *a battle between armed forces*. According to the 1789 *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, a 'battle' was *an Engagement or general Fight between two Armies*, a 'skirmish' was *a small Encounter of a few Men, when they fight in Confusion without observing Order*, and an 'engagement' was *a Fight*. It should then be added, that a 'fight' was *a Combat, Duel, Engagement*.

The reason to make this point at the very beginning of the discussion is because it has been a point of argument for many decades. In the year 1940, in his book *Military Services and Genealogical Records of Soldiers of Blair County, Pennsylvania*, Floyd G. Hoenstine stated: *"As to whether the engagement can be described as a massacre, a battle or a skirmish, is a matter of opinion, it being true that the Rangers suffered defeat; however, some resistance was offered as proven by wounds received from the enemy in close combat and that the Indians suffered some casualties...The pension application statements of those Revolutionary War veterans refer to this engagement with the Indians as the Battle of Frankstown and in no case is any other title used. These veterans came from many different parts of Pennsylvania and afterwards moved from place to place, eventually, most of them took up residence in western Pennsylvania or Ohio...Some located in Kentucky, Indiana and even west of the Mississippi, so it was not by agreement that they called the engagement the Battle of Frankstown, but rather for want of any other name."*²⁰⁶

George Ashman did not quibble over whether the encounter between the Bedford County Militia and the party of Indians was a battle, a skirmish or an engagement. He chose to use the word, *engagement*, to describe what happened when the militia and Indians tangled in the summer of 1781. The historians who deal with the 'big' and 'important' battles, like Germantown, or Trenton or Monmouth probably sneer at any claim that a battle, or anything like it, ever took place in the frontier of Pennsylvania. If the strict dictionary definition of a battle is employed, then the requirement that the opposing forces must be organized armed forces or armies rules out the word 'battle.' But like it or not, as at the Woodcock Valley the year before, a body of Bedford County Militia engaged with a party of Amerindians. And

regardless of the length of the engagement and the number of casualties, two opposing forces shot at each other, and there were casualties and prisoners taken. Both incidents were indeed engagements.

For so long, both the Phillips Rangers Massacre in 1780 and the Engagement of Frankstown in 1781 have been treated as two separate, unrelated incidents of random Amerindian incursions into the frontier of Pennsylvania. It is time to identify the two incidents for what they truly were ~ two of many British-led raids carrying death, havoc and disaster into the Pennsylvania frontier ~ and the resulting engagement between the fledgling Americans and the British and Senecas.

• • • • • ***The Frankstown Garrison***

George Ashman was the Bedford County Lieutenant on 12 June 1781 when he sent the foregoing letter to the President of Pennsylvania’s Supreme Executive Council, Joseph Reed.²⁰⁷ In fact, Ashman was relatively new to the position, having been named to take over Colonel John Piper’s position as recently as 21 November 1780.²⁰⁸

The ‘County Lieutenant’ was essentially the man in charge of the county. Prior to the outbreak of war in 1775/6, the county was generally managed by a group of individuals. There was no police, but there was a sheriff. There were no commissioners or judges, but there were justices of the peace. So the county was managed jointly by the sheriff and justices of the peace. On 17 March 1777, the *Act to Regulate the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania* was passed by the Supreme Executive Council of the Province of Pennsylvania.²⁰⁹ The *Act* would in time reach the frontier counties.

Although it eventually would fall under the jurisdiction of Huntingdon County and then Blair County, Frankstown Township was a part of Bedford County in the 1770s and early 1780s. The township’s affairs were under the command of the Bedford County Lieutenant, John Piper and in 1781, his successor George Ashman.

The word *garrison*, in the 1700s had the meaning: “*a Place of Defence, into which Soldiers are put; also the Soldiers who defend it.*” And so the fortified structure from which Captain John Boyd led a unit of Bedford County Militia men was called the ‘Frankstown garrison’ and those men occupying it were likewise the fort’s ‘garrison.’

At the time of the incident, Fetter’s Fort was being garrisoned primarily by militia from Cumberland County. A letter of 19 May 1781 from Lieutenant George Ashman to Joseph Reed stated:²¹⁰

Bedford County, Littleton, May 19th , 1781.
Sir, On Friday the fourth of this Instant the Indians came into this County Killed one man a woman and two children and took one man prisoner within one mile of Col John Pipers on Yellow creek, I have Just received the returns of all the male white Inhabitants residing in this county that come under the Militia Law in the whole foureteen Hundred and fifty six and am now forming them. I hope your Excelency will order one hundred of

the Militia of Cumberland County to be ready to take post in this county when those that are now heare are discharged, which will be the foureteenth day of June or send me such orders as will enable me to call out the Militia of this County from the interior parts of it by that time. If this is omitted I can assure your Excelency that a principal part of the Inhabitants of this County will moove of, as many familys have already moov'd when the late damage was dun. I have been obliged to surply the Cumberland Militia with ammunition therefore pleas to order three hundred of powder and six hundred of Lead to be sent for the use of this county as soon as possible as the County is much in want of amunition you may depend that nothing shall be wanting of me in the execution of my office that is in my power. I have the honour to be your Excelencys most Obedient Humble Servant. GEORGE ASHMAN, L. B. C.

The garrisoning of Fort Fetter by Cumberland County Militia was the result of a directive from the Board of War issued to the counties of York, Lancaster and Cumberland on 3 April 1779:²¹¹

His Excellency, the President of Pennsylvania, having informed the Board that he has ordered two hundred and fifty militia from York, cumberland & Lancaster to the Frontiers of Westmoreland & Bedford, to be stationed there until the Companies of Rangers to be raised for the defence of the frontiers of this state are completed, you will give the necessary directions as to the supply of these troops on the Presidents informing you of the Posts they are to take.

The Cumberland County Militia that was garrisoning Fort Fetter at the beginning of June 1781 was commanded by Captain James Young. In the year 1781, Captain Young's Company was the Eighth Company of the First Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia.²¹² The company consisted of seven officers and ninety-eight Privates. According to George Ashman, reporting the engagement to Joseph Reed on 12 June 1781, Young had seventy-five Cumberland County Militia with him at Fort Fetter in July 1781.

Captain James Young	
Lieutenant Robert Wilson	
Ensign Henry Ralph Snider	
Sergeants	
Adam Martin	Jacob McConkey
William Thorn	

Corporals	
George Cuningham	Thomas Milliard
1st Class	
Owen Asten	Daniel Earley
Patrick Campbell	James Clark
Robert Biggam	John Allen
Benjamin Chambers	Nicholas Snider
John Trout	Wm. Morrow, in ye light
Hugh Gibb	Dragoons
2nd Class	
Charles Gallaher	Jas. McClellan
Michael Whittmore	John Trees
Simon Shunk	Bolser Weaver
3rd Class	
John Jack	Patrick Alexdr
John Baxter	John McMullen
Alexr. Culbertson	Frances Gardner
Thomas McKean	Martin Obrian
John Calhoun, merchant	William Monsen
Henry Lousenhiser	Abraham Stratin
Alexr. Duncan	
4th Class	
Jas. Bretherton	John Cowdan
John Plummer	John Clark
Isaac Davis	John Caldwell
Robert Boland	Samuel Purviance
George Smith	Wm. Shannon
George Greassey	Robert Pilsan
Mathew Riddle	Edward Newton
Stephen Riggle	Jas. Stuart
George Chambers	John Martin
5th Class	
George Cook	John Ralph Snider
Thomas Shannon	Michael Rayen
John Sheets	John Carmichael
Henry Coyle	
6th Class	
Daniel Cowan	John McClellan
Michael Greenwalt	Daniel Smith
John Beatty	David Cowan
John Alexander	Benjamin Swane
Martin Cook	Jacob Snider

Philip Goosehead	George Shannon
John Polk	Henry Snider
John Miller	
7th Class	
John Thompson	Joseph Chambers
Charles Wright	William Cochran
William Long	Moses Blackburn
Albright Hickman	William Wilkeson
John Stoner	Hugh Taylor
8th Class	
Phelty Gooshead	Daniel Thompson
Jacob Cook	Pierce Wallaher
Wm. Kirbey	Henry McClellan
Nicholas Swope	Moses Barnet
Rob't. Stuart	William Smith
William Chambers	David Work
Joseph Smith	John Thompson
Robert Boyd	Andrew Keith
Thomas Clark	Robt. Hamilton

Since no roster of the company specific to their tour of duty at Frankstown exists, there is no way, with any degree of certainty, to say which seventy-five of the one hundred and five men of his company were at Fort Fetter on the 3rd of June 1781.

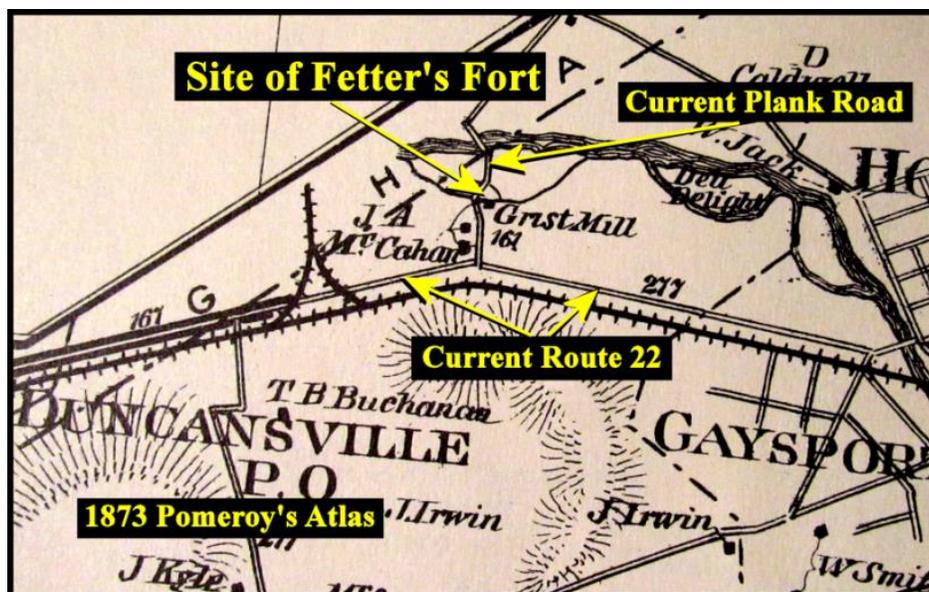
It should be noted that Hoenstine claimed that it was a different Cumberland County Militia company which was garrisoning the fort at the time of the engagement. He stated: *“It had been the policy of the Executive Council to guard the frontier by stationing companies of Militia from the more eastern sections of Pennsylvania, in the western forts. These companies of Militia consisted mostly of farmers, or farm boys as the better-to-do were able to pay a substitute as this service was compulsory for a two months period. Two muster rolls of Captain Thomas Askey’s Company. 8 “Class, 6” Battalion of Cumberland County Militia commanded by Colonel James Dunlap, are preserved in the Pennsylvania Archives. These rolls indicate that this company was on guard at Frankstown from April 15, 1781 to the 15” of June following.”*²¹³ Mr. Hoenstine made an assumption, and in so doing made an error. One of the rosters to which he alludes, in fact the only one which provides any date includes the information: *“A Roll of the 8 Class of Capt. Askey’s Company Now on Guard at Frankstown This Sixt Betalan of Cumberland County Militia Comanded by Col. James Dunlop.”* and *“I do hereby certify that this is a just and true Return of the Eighth Class that served under me in April fifteenth, 1781. Thomas Askey, Capt.”*²¹⁴ Hoenstine made the assumption that the roster was taken on the very first day of the tour of duty at Fort Fetter (*i.e.* the Frankstown garrison) ~ 15 April 1781. Then, using his ‘rule’ that the tour of duty in the ‘western fort’ was exactly two months because *“as this service was compulsory for a two months period”*, he calculated the time out two months from 15 April, giving an end date of 15 June. He made two errors in his calculation. Nowhere in the *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, Volume IX 1776 to 1779, Chapter DCCL, Pages 76 through 94, An Act to*

Regulate the Militia of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania does it state that “*this service was compulsory for a two months period.*” His second error was, as stated above, to assume that the roster was dated at the very first day of the tour of duty. There is nothing to indicate that in the text of the roster. The date of 15 April could just as easily have been the final day of the tour. The fact of the matter is that Colonel George Ashman, in his letter to President Joseph Reed on 12 June 1781, made no mention of Thomas Askey in relation to the Frankstown garrison. He clearly stated that there were seventy-five of the Cumberland militia at the fort, commanded by Captain James Young.

U. J. Jones, in his narrative, stated that “*The seventy Cumberland county militia, under strict military discipline, were sent first to Standing Stone, and afterward to Frankstown....*”²¹⁵ Where Jones came up with that information is anyone’s guess. It does not appear in any of the contemporary accounts.

In regard to the physical structure called the Frankstown Garrison, the exact location of the fortified structure is in question. U. J. Jones stated that the fort on Michael Fetter’s property, about a mile west of the present-day borough of Hollidaysburg, was the one known as the Frankstown garrison, and that it was a stockaded structure.²¹⁶ Hoenstine proposed the idea that the Frankstown garrison would have been in the general vicinity of the Fetter property, but that it wasn’t the Fetter barn. He claimed that some of the pension applications noted that a completely different structure, a blockhouse, had been constructed circa 1780 to 1782.²¹⁷ Whether it was Michael Fetter’s own barn or a new structure built for the purpose of a regional fort is inconsequential in view of the fact that both were supposedly in close proximity. Because the fortified structure in any case stood upon grounds owned by Michael Fetter, we’ll refer to it as the Fetter’s Fort.

A footnote was included in the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* which stated: “*Michael Fetter, Sr., built the fourth grist-mill in the upper valley of the Juniata. It was in operation during the Revolutionary war, and stood near or on the site now*



occupied by McCahan’s mill, near Gaysport. A fort known as Fetter’s Fort also stood near the mill, and was a place of refuge and defense for the people living near during the days

when George the Third of England employed Tories and savages to massacre those whom he termed rebellious subjects.”²¹⁸ [Note: A Comfort Inn currently occupies the site of Fetter’s Fort at the west end of Duncansville, in Blair County, Pennsylvania.]

The site of the engagement was just a little over two miles northwest of the Fetter fort. In the present-day township of Allegheny, the stream called Sugar Run flows southeastward with its mouth joining the Mill Run flowing southward. The general vicinity of the mouth of Sugar Run is occupied by the town of Canan (or Canan Station). The name of Frankstown applied to this area in the year 1781 in terms of it being part of Frankstown Township (which, until 1785, made up the whole of Blair County). The Sugar Run enters into present-day Blair County from present-day Cambria County through the Sugar Run Gap in the Allegheny Mountain range. Although not lying on the Kittanning Indian Trail itself, the site of the engagement lay on a minor Indian trail which led to the Kittanning Trail.

. **The Nelles Report**

Sir Guy Johnson wrote to Governor Frederick Haldimand on 30 June 1781.²¹⁹ He noted:

Sir, In my last letter of the 24th instant I had just time to enclose a copy of Lieut. Nelles’s Letter with an account of his success since which he arrived at this place, with more particular information, by which I find that he killed 13, and took seven (the Indians not having reckoned two of the persons whom they left unscalped.) The commanding officer whom he has brought in is a Captain Boyd of third regiment of Pennsylvania Continentals, and there are likewise among the prisoners a Captain of Militia and a Lieutenant / ~ Boyd says he was recruiting / at Bedford, and gives an account of an action in May between General Phillips and Baron Steuben in which the latter was defeated, and the former reduced Petersburg in Virginia, which is further corroborated by a Rebel paper since brought in by a sergeant of the rangers.

The letter to which Johnson referred was the following report which Lieutenant Robert Nelles submitted to his superior at Fort Niagara on 19 June 1781.²²⁰ His report stated:

Sir, By these few lines I acquaint you of my march We went at first but very slow having constant sick & Lame men, the 16th of May we met Six Delaware from Kadaragaras, who had taken three Scalps & two prisoners near Bedford. The Indians said that the Rebels used the Large road but very little, they go the most part the Virginia Road, on hearing that, the Chiefs concluded to go to Bedford. The 2nd day of June we came near Frankstown Fort ~ Thirty three miles from Bedford, where the

Rebels keep Scouts, the next day we met with a Scout of Thirty three men whom we engaged, they retreated & we followed them up about two miles & took Six prisoners & eleven Scalps & the Commanding officer, a Continental Captain, who has been in the Rebel Service five years, And we lost one man and had two wounded.

The papers of Guy Johnson include an entry: “1780 June 1-13, *Travels from Little Niagara to French Man’s Creek, Fort Erie, Buffalo River, the New Seneca Town, Catfish Creek and Kadaragaras. Meeting with the Indians at Kadaragas--Senecas, Delawares, Onondagas.*” [Note: The Indian village of Kadaragaras / Kadaragas is the present-day Cattaraugus in Cattaraugus County, New York.]

Fort Niagara was located along the south bank of Lake Ontario, situated downstream from the Niagara Falls, along the east side of the Niagara River where it empties into the lake. Anyone intending to travel ‘up’ the Niagara River to Lake Erie had to pass Fort Niagara. And most of the British-led Amerindian incursions into the frontier of Pennsylvania would have started their journey basically along the same route as outlined by Johnson. The ‘Little Niagara’ river would probably have referred to the branch of the Niagara River which flowed along the east side of Grand Island, upstream, or to the south of the Falls. French Man’s Creek cut off the west side of the Niagara River a short distance upstream from Grand Island. The headwaters of Frenchman’s Creek were located in the vicinity of where Fort Erie had been constructed along the north bank of Lake Erie in the southeast corner of the province of Ontario (to the west of the present-day city of Buffalo, New York). The ‘New Seneca Town’, which eventually became known simply as ‘Seneca’ was, in 1852, changed to West Seneca to avoid confusion with another town named Seneca in New York State. The New Seneca Town was, and still is, located just southeast of the city of Buffalo. Although the ‘Catfish Creek’ cannot be identified by modern names, the ‘Kadaragaras’ is presently known as the Cattaraugus Creek, with the village of Cattaraugus about thirty miles south of Buffalo.

By following one river, the Seneca in the vicinity of Fort Niagara could pick up perhaps an established foot path, which in turn might connect to another river or creek. Since they travelled on established routes, taking advantage of known paths, they could travel quite swiftly despite traveling usually by foot and not on horseback.

According to Horatio Jones, the party led by Lieutenant Nelles travelled south crossing the Genesee River in early May.²²¹ They followed the Niagara Trail through the Chautauqua Valley. After crossing over to the Canisteo they followed that stream to connect to the Tioga and then the Pine Creek. That brought them to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. From that river they then travelled on foot paths to a point about two days journey from Bedford. They established a base camp near Harts Log, the site of present-day Alexandria, Huntingdon County. From that camp, they traveled southward through the Tuckahoe Valley to the settlements of Frankstown Township.



A point to note in Lieutenant Nelles' report was that on 16 May, as Nelles' party was just starting out, they met "Six Delaware from Kadaragaras, who had taken three Scalps & two prisoners near Bedford." The thing to note is that the warriors with whom Nelles' party met were Delaware, an Algonquin nation. Although the Iroquois nation of Seneca sided almost

exclusively with the British, the Delaware tended to side with the colonists. But individual tribal families within any Amerindian nation made their own decisions rather than supporting a ‘national’ opinion. The Delaware in general supported the colonists, but it must be remembered that the Delaware in the frontier bordering on the Colony of Pennsylvania had been left out of the negotiations in which much of their lands in present-day central and western Pennsylvania were sold to the English by the Iroquois. They felt that they had been cheated.

• • • • • ***Militia Participants***

Just prior to the 3rd of June, 1781 a party of Amerindians, believed to have been from the Seneca nation, had attacked the white settlements of Bedford County and had killed two men. A woman was taken captive during this raid. It was said that they were not indigenous to this region but had come across the Allegheny Mountain from the west ~ perhaps the Ohio Valley. The Amerindian warriors had gone back into or across the Allegheny Mountain from whence they had come. In his book, *Soldiers of Blair County Pennsylvania*, Floyd Hoenstine claimed, without providing the source of his information, that: “*Word was received at Bedford on Friday June 1, that the Indians had crossed Allegheny Mountains and had attacked and killed 2 men and carried a woman into captivity.*”²²² He continued: “*Captain Boyd asked for volunteers to accompany the members of his command and the expedition arrived the next day at the blockhouse on the Frankstown branch of the Juniata River, where they remained until early the next morning.*”

John Boyd had served for a number of years in the Continental Army, from which he retired on 1 January 1781. The Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council took under consideration that four companies of Rangers should be raised in the state and that officers be appointed to command those companies. A note was recorded in the Council’s Minutes for 10 February:²²³

Resolved, That the following gentlemen be appointed & commissioned accordingly, vizt: ...John Boyd, Captain, Richard Johnston, Lieutenant; and ----- Ensign, of the company to be raised in the county of Bedford.

And the following orders were drawn on the Treasurer, vizt: ... In favour of Captain John Boyd, for the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds, new Continental or State money, for the purpose aforesaid, for which he is to be accountable.

Using only Floyd Hoenstine’s narrative and documents such as the Council’s Minutes referenced above, one would assume that Captain John Boyd raised his company within Bedford County. Boyd was from Northumberland and after he ‘retired’ from the Continental Line he returned to his home there. When he was offered the rank of Captain of a Bedford County company of Rangers, Boyd recruited his troops out of Cumberland County. Much of Boyd’s company came from the Derry and Armaugh Townships region that would eventually become Mifflin County. Although he did not reference his source, W. F. Wagner

in a paper detailing Boyd’s public documents, claimed that the company was assembled at Brown’s Mills (present-day Reedsville).

Only two rosters exist for Captain John Boyd’s Company. Neither of the two is dated. Despite the fact that the rosters are undated, one contains the names of seven men for whom the notation ‘*dead*’ is appended²²⁴ and the other contains the names of five men for whom the notation ‘*dec’d*’ is appended.²²⁵ Therefore, it might be assumed that both of the rosters were written out after 3 June 1781, after the engagement in which those seven (or five) men were killed. What might also be assumed ~ what must be assumed in the absence of any other roster ~ is that these two rosters are an accurate accounting of the totality of the men who comprised Captain Boyd’s Company. An additional list of five men also exists in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* for which the explanation is given: “*A company of Rangers under command of Captain John Boyd, was in service during the years 1781, 1782 and 1783. The list of those in the field in 1781 is given in Penn’s Archives (N.S.) Vol. XI, p 743. The following names are omitted:*”²²⁶ Hoenstine claimed that Captain Boyd asked for volunteers to accompany ‘the members of his command.’ Perhaps the five names ‘omitted’ in the roster of Boyd’s Company were omitted because they were, in actuality, not enlisted members of that company.

The roster given on pages 743 and 744 of the Second Series, Volume XI includes the following names and ranks:²²⁷

Captain ~ John Boyd, late of 3d Pa.	
Lieutenant ~ Richard Johnston	
Sergeants	
Robert Atkins	David Beates
Henry Dugan	William Ward
Florence Grimes, dead	
Privates	
William Alligane	Stephen Goble
Stephen Archer	James Grimes
Isaac Arthur	John Grimes
John Arthur	James Hall
Moses Bernan	Samuel Haslett
Abraham Bodle	George Jones
Joshua Burton	William Jones
Daniel Colvert	Samuel Kennedy
John Conrad, dead	Felix McKinney
Richard Corps	Joseph Martin
Jacob Creviston	Samuel Moore, volunteer
John Crossin	Michael Nicholas, dead
Ludwig Curtz	James Paxton
John Downey, Sr.	Henry Simons
John Downey, Jr., dead	Solomon Sparks
William Ducker (Decker), dead	John Thomas, dead

Benjamin Frazer	William Tucker, dead
Marshall Galloway	John Whiteacre
Daniel Glovert	

The names which were noted on page 95 of the Fifth Series, Volume V as having been ‘omitted’ from the Second Series roster included:²²⁸

Henderson Murphy
Hugh Means
Henry Tantlinger
Richard Delapt
James Henry

The roster given on page 109 of the Fifth Series, Volume V includes the following names and ranks:²²⁹

Henry Dugan, Sergt.	Lon Curtz
Florence Grimes	Dorrington Price
David Beatis, Sergt.	Rob. Aitkins
Est. Joseph Martin, ‘dec’d’	John Downey
Wm. Alligam	James Paxton
Felix McKinney	Jacob Creviston
John Whitair	Est. Jno. Conrad, dec’d
Stephen Goble	Sam. Sampson
Ab’m Bodel	Isaac Arters
Rich’d Corps	John Grimes
Est. Jno Thomas, dec’d	Dan. Colvert
John Crossin	Sam. Kennedy
James Grimes	Solomon Sparks
Henry Simins	Ben Frazer
Marshall Galloway	Stephen Archer
James Hall	Est. Wm. Tucker, dec’d
Joshua Burton	Est. Wm. Nichols, dec’d
Sam. Haslett	John Downey, Jun’r
Wm. Jones	Moses Beman
George Jones	John Arters
Wm. Ward, Sergt.	

The five ‘omitted’ men’s names were also not included on the second roster. And oddly enough, the name of the individual who provided the first notice of the British involvement in the incident, Horatio Jones, was not even included in this short list.

It might be noticed that neither roster divided the men’s names according to classes. In the militia system of Pennsylvania, the Privates in a company tended to be separated into groups of six to ten. Each group was designated as a sequentially numbered *class*. The

purpose of doing this was to provide a standard for calling certain men out at particular times. A company of the militia was different from a company of the Continental Army. A militia company did not necessarily march, set up camp and skirmish all together over great distances far from home. Unless called out for a tour of duty, the militiaman remained at his homestead, taking care of the family's business, such as harvesting the crops, but being on call at all times. Men were called out by class number sequentially so that all the troops serving tours of duty were rotated equally. If a detail of twenty men, out of a company of seventy divided into eight classes, were needed for a particular tour of duty, and class seven was the last to be called out for the previous tour of duty, the Captain would call out the men in classes two, three, four, and perhaps five. In that scenario, the men in classes six, seven and eight remained at their homesteads. This system of division into classes benefited both the Privates and the Captain. The troops were able to get their farm work completed while safeguarding their own and their neighbors' families. The Captain did not need to worry about missing someone or calling the same man out too many times when calling out men for a tour. He simply needed to remember which classes he had previously called out and call out the next sequentially numbered ones.

Company rosters which noted the classes and the men who comprised those classes were what are known as 'permanent billet rolls.' They provide us with the names of all of the men who served under a particular Captain in a particular Battalion of the county militia. Conversely, when only certain classes were called out for a tour of duty, their names were recorded on 'active duty rolls' on which the class numbers were not noted. Only the names of the men were included on the active duty roster. It will therefore be noted that the two rosters extant for Captain John Boyd's Company were active duty rosters.

There are a few discrepancies between the two rosters. The first one (from the Second Series) has four men not found on the other roster:

Daniel Glovert	Michael Nicholas
Samuel Moore	William Ducker

The second roster (from the Fifth Series) has three men not found on the other one:

Dorrington Price	Wm. Nichols
Sam. Sampson	

The Second Series of the published *Pennsylvania Archives* was produced between 1874 and 1890. It was discovered that the Series contained errors. In 1906, the Fifth Series was produced in order to correct the Second Series. So the two rosters, one from the Second Series and the other from the Fifth Series, should be identical for the most part.

A third list, though not a roster, per se, but a listing of "*Soldiers Who Received Depreciation Pay*", included many entries notated as 'Boyd's Rangers' or '(Estate of)' thusly providing a sort of third roster.²³⁰

Robert Aitkins, captain	Boyd's Rangers
William Alligan, captain	Boyd's Rangers

David Beates	Boyd's Rangers
John Beatty	Boyd's Rangers
Abraham Bodle	Boyd's Rangers
Michael Brown	Capt. Boyd's Company
John Conrad, captain	(Estate of) Boyd's Rangers
Henry Dugan, sergeant	Capt. Boyd's Rangers
Stephen Goble	Capt. Boyd's Rangers
Torrence Grimes	Capt. Boyd's Rangers
Richard Johnston, lieutenant	Boyd's Rangers
Joseph Martin	(Estate of) Capt. Boyd's Rangers
John Thomas	(Estate of) Boyd's Rangers

On this listing, there are two men's names which do not appear on either of the two actual rosters:

John Beatty
Michael Brown

It should be noted that John Beatty's name appeared on the roster for the Cumberland County Militia under Captain Young, but not on either of the two rosters for Captain Boyd's Company. His pension application made no mention of Captain John Boyd or his having been at or near Frankstown.

Floyd Hoenstine stated that Boyd's Company started out from Bedford and was later joined, on the way, by Captains Richard Dunlap, Samuel Moore, and ~~~~~ McDaniel, Lieutenants John Cook, George Smith, and Harry Woods, and Privates James Henry, Horatio Jones, Patrick McDonald, Adam Wimer, Hugh Means, James Moore and Zadock Casteel.²³¹

Jones in his *History of the Juniata Valley* stated that a force of volunteers led by Captain Samuel Moore and Lieutenant George Smith had started out at the Frankstown garrison and were joined by the rangers from Bedford at the then-abandoned Holliday's Fort (in the vicinity of Gaysport).²³² The volunteers, local residents apparently not enlisted in the militia, included: James Somerville, ~~~~~ Coleman (possibly Michael), ~~~~~ Coleman (possibly Thomas), ~~~~~ Holliday (possibly Adam), ~~~~~ Holliday (possibly William), Horatio Jones, ~~~~~ Jones (possibly George), ~~~~~ Jones (possibly William), ~~~~~ Gray (possibly Hermanus), ~~~~~ Beatty (possibly John), Michael Wallack and Edward Milligan.²³³

So where did Hoenstine and Jones come up with the extra names and information? Reading through *The Life of Horatio Jones* by George H. Harris, one finds that certain of the additional men are listed there, but not all of them. As with the massacre of Captain William Phillips' company during the year before, it would appear that Hoenstine, like U. J. Jones for that previous incident, simply pulled some names out of the air. Some of them, though, came from information the participants supplied on pension applications. One, for example, is that of Adam Wimer. His name appears only one time on the published *Pennsylvania Archives* and that is as a Private in Captain George Enslo's Company of the Bedford County

Militia.²³⁴ Wimer's name also does not appear in *The Life of Horatio Jones*. But in his pension application, Adam Wimer stated that he “served under Ensign Thomas McGauphey and Captain Boyd when he was eighteen years of age...” and that he “was engaged in the battle of Frankstown, and was wounded in the engagement...”

Perhaps the most surprising name which does not appear on either of the two rosters or the depreciation pay list is that of Horatio Jones. Granted, U. J. Jones stated that two men by the surname ‘Jones’ were in the group of volunteers, but he did not know their given names. And while Horatio could have been one of those, looking at the first roster, we find a George Jones and a William Jones, so the two men given by U. J. Jones could have referred to either or both of those two men. At least, Floyd Hoenstine did specifically name Horatio Jones in the group of men who joined Boyd’s company. As the name of Horatio Jones does not appear anywhere in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*, Hoenstine’s volume (besides Harris’ biography, *Life of Horatio Jones*) was the only publication where Horatio’s name was recorded.

While we are looking at the Bedford County men who participated in the engagement, we are confronted with a question: Why did Captain John Boyd ask for volunteers from outside the ranks of the Bedford County Militia? If the roster(s) recorded for his company, devoid of class designations, were so-called active duty rosters, why would it have been necessary for Boyd to call for *any* additional men? Perhaps he did not actually ‘call’ for additional men to join his ranks. Perhaps they simply requested to join in for the adventure and thrill of it.

According to the historical fiction narrative presented by U. J. Jones: “*The enrolment of volunteers by Captain Moore, of Scotch Valley, assisted by his lieutenant, a Mr. Smith, from the vicinity of Frankstown, proceeded; and on the second of June,*



*1781, these men met at Holliday’s Fort, then abandoned for want of provisions.”*²³⁵ The ‘Captain Moore’ mentioned by Jones would have been Captain Samuel Moore and the ‘Mr. Smith’ would have been Lieutenant George Smith. In regard to that statement, there exists no public record of that ever happening. Jones probably got the two names from Colonel Ashman’s letter of 12 June to Joseph Reed in which Ashman stated: “*I have to inform you that on Sunday the third of this instant a party of the rangers under Captain Boyd eight in number, with twenty-five Volunteers under Capt. Moore and Lieut. Smith of the Militia of this County had an Engagement with a party of Indians...*”²³⁶ Jones may have got the information that the volunteers met at Holliday’s Fort from the reports given by the survivors of the engagement. Horatio Jones, in Harris’ biography, stated that: “*June 2d the scouting party assembled at Holliday’s fort a mile or so below Fetler’s.*”²³⁷

Jones continued with his narrative: *“There they were joined by the rangers, under command of Captain Boyd and Lieutenant Harry Woods, of Bedford, but instead of there being a company, as the volunteers were led to expect, there were but eight men and the two officers above named.”*²³⁸ Again, U. J. Jones apparently derived his information from Colonel Ashman’s letter to Reed. So who were those eight Bedford County Militia men in addition to the two officers, Captain John Boyd and Lieutenant Harry Woods? Looking at the men killed in the engagement, we find that there were nine men out of Boyd’s Company killed: Sergeant Florence Grimes and Privates John Conrad, William Decker/Ducker, John Downey Sr., ~~~~~ Jones, Joseph Martin, William Nichols, Michael Nicholas and John Thomas. If Ashman’s letter was accurate, that would mean that all of the men he brought with him (plus one not noted) were killed. If that were all, the researcher could assume that a simple mistake of missing one person could be accepted. But in actuality, we know that there were three men out of Boyd’s Company who were wounded: Sergeant David Beates, Abraham Bodle and Stephen Goble, and one man: Sergeant Henry Dugan, who was taken captive. That suggests that instead of just eight men, Boyd’s Company, as assembled and marched from Fort Bedford to the Frankstown region, consisted of at least thirteen men.

In addition to the foregoing, it should be noted that certain of the men recorded as enlisted in Captain John Boyd’s Company did not all arrive at Fort Fetter together. Apparently, some were mustered and led northward from Bedford by various officers under Boyd. Moses Beeman would be an example of this situation. In his pension application filed at Harrison County, Ohio on 22 October 1833, Moses Beeman gave the following narration: *“He was quartered during the principal part of the time of this service at Bedford; but went occasionally on Scouts to ‘Dunnows Creek’, ‘Raystown Branch’, ‘Frankstown’ etc. He went at one time, during this enlistment, with 8 or 10 others of his company commanded by said Ensign Means, & about 15 or 20 Militia, Commanded by Captain Delap (or Dunlap) to Frankstown, and the next morning they marched out towards the Mountain, along what was called the ‘Catanian Path.’ Three or four miles from Frankstown they were attacked by the Indians, who were lying in ambush & nearly all killed. Ensign Means was wounded in the hand and he thinks only 7 or 8 besides himself escaped. He returned with those to Bedford, where he & his company continued stationed...”*²³⁹ Beeman’s statement reveals that Ensign Hugh Means rounded up eight to ten of the Rangers who were enlisted under Captain Boyd, and they joined with about twenty Militia men under Captain Richard Delap to head north.

Returning to Colonel Ashman’s letter of 12 June, he stated that there were twenty-five volunteers assembled by Captain Moore and Lieutenant Smith. Disregarding the men enlisted in Captain Boyd’s Company, we find that there were only two of the volunteers: Henderson Murphy and Henry Tantlinger, who were killed, two: Hugh Means and Adam Wimer, who were wounded, and eight who were taken captive: Captains Richard Delap, William McDaniel and Samuel Moore, Lieutenants John Cook and George Smith, and Privates Horatio Jones, Patrick McDonald and ~~~~~ Ross. A roster was not taken of the volunteers assembled by Moore and Smith, and the names of those killed, wounded or captured were recorded on individual pension applications.

The one ‘fact’ which Colonel George Ashman stated in his letter to Joseph Reed, which was corroborated by the British Lieutenant Robert Nelles was that there were thirty-three Bedford County Militia and volunteers in the party that were engaged by the British-led

Senecas. Lieutenant Nelles, in his report to Sir Guy Johnson stated: “*the next day we met with a Scout of Thirty three men whom we engaged...*”. [It might be noted that Floyd Hoenstine, without providing any basis for his statement, made the claim that: “*The above list does not include the names of the local residents mentioned by U. J. Jones as being present and it is quite probable that others arrived during the night and early morning from their homes in the vicinity...Making the entire force to number well over forty.*”²⁴⁰ Apparently, Hoenstine felt that the more men he included, the more valid the basis for calling the Engagement a ‘battle.’] There is no reason to assume that Ashman’s facts were not accurate in regard to the number of participants. If that is the case, and the foregoing discussion is taken into account, then there is only one mystery that may never be solved: Who were the additional thirteen non-militia participants, the volunteers?

. ***The Seneca Participants***

From the information presented primarily in the narratives published by U. J. Jones and Floyd G. Hoenstine, one might be led to assume that the occurrence near Frankstown in early June, 1781 was simply a random, isolated Amerindian incursion, much like so many other raids during the Revolutionary War years, including the incident in the Woodcock Valley during the year before. Once the documents in the Haldimand Papers collection were identified, the incident in the Woodcock Valley in 1780 and this incident in the Frankstown Township in 1781 were both revealed to be the result of British instigated raids. The publication of the biography of Horatio Jones, George Harris’ *The True Story of Hoc~Sa~Go~Wah: Prisoner, Pioneer and Interpreter* emphasized the British connection to the raids into Pennsylvania and went a step farther. It identified the Amerindians associated with the British.

The British Army operating out of Fort Niagara along the south shore of Lake Ontario courted the Seneca tribes of the Iroquois located in the region encompassed by the Chautauqua and Cattaraugus valleys and the watersheds of the Genesee and Cohocton Rivers and the Buffalo, Conewango and Tonawanda Creeks in western New York State. The major village in the region was known to the Seneca as Gah-ne-ya-de-o (meaning ‘where the heavens rest or lean upon the earth’), which became anglicized as ‘Caneadea.’²⁴¹

Although we do not know the names of the Seneca sachems who accompanied British Lieutenant John Dochstetter in 1780 to the Woodcock Valley, thanks to George Harris’ biography of Horatio Jones and Horatio’s pension application, we do know the names of the sachems that raided into the Tuckahoe Valley in 1781.

The document closest to the source was Horatio Jones’ pension application which he submitted in 1834 at Livingston Township, New York State. His application began with an affidavit from four of the Seneca sachems:²⁴²

<p><i>We severally certify that we ware of the party of Seneka Indians that took Horatio Jones now living in the town of Genesco & county Livingston in the state of New York. [Jones] was taken on the waters of the Juniatty in the state of Pennsylvania and fighting under Capt. John Boyed in the</i></p>
--

Revolutionary war. we also certify the he was Kept a prisoner among the Indians about four years.

Sunfish his X mark Big Snow his X mark
Blue Eyes his X mark Col Pollard his X mark

The Seneca nation was governed by a number of sachems, or chiefs, but one in particular was revered as the ‘hereditary military sachem of the Iroquois league.’²⁴³ His name was Dó:nihogä:’wëh, which George Harris anglicized into ‘Do-nee-ho-ga-weh’.²⁴⁴ The biographer of Horatio Jones translated the name to mean ‘open door’ but a modern Seneca dictionary interprets the name as a variation of ‘*-ninhokara’w-’, which is a basic chief’s title rather than a personal name. This sachem, being friendly to a Euro-American by the name of Hutson, embraced that name and eventually became known as *Hudson* and variously, *Captain Hudson*.

Dó:nihogä:’wëh’s eldest son died in 1770 and thereafter his second son, Hah-yen-de-seh became the *elder* in the family. At this time we only have the anglicized form of this warrior’s name, but we do know that it translated into English variously as: ‘Dragging wood’ or ‘Hemlock carrier’.²⁴⁵

Another Seneca of note from the Caneadea region was Gah-nee-son-go, who the British called simply ‘Shongo’ and sometimes ‘Copperhead’. Chief Shongo, whose name translated into English as ‘man fond of nanniberries’ assisted the British in battles with the Colonists in the Cherry Valley of New York. He would live to the age of one hundred and twenty-six.²⁴⁶



The report filed by Lieutenant Robert Nelles upon his return to Fort Niagara did not mention the names of any of the Seneca participants. The only first person reference to the Seneca sachems was Horatio Jones’ pension application. Despite the fact that the biography of Jones provides more information than the

pension application, it may not be totally accurate. The information presented in the *Life of Horatio Jones* was recounted by George Harris, from information he received from B. F. Angel, Jones’ son-in-law, who received it from Jones himself; it is in actuality third person and subject to error.

Assuming that the biography was accurate, from it and Jones' pension application, we find that the Seneca sachems who participated in the Engagement of Frankstown would have been: Do-nee-ho-ga-weh (Open Door), Hah-yen-de-seh (Dragging Wood), Gah-nee-son-go (Man Fond of Nanniberries), Ga-ga-hgwa (Sunfish), On-i-ya-no-des (Big Snow), Hah-ney-wee (Blue Eyes) and Colonel Pollard.

. ***The Coming Of The War Party***

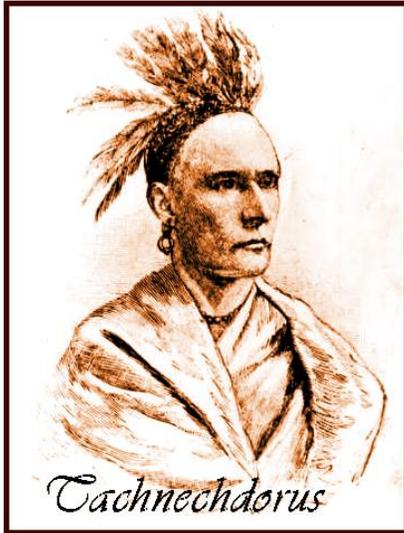
In 1978, a local newspaper, the *Altoona Mirror* published an article titled: *Many Area Sites Are Tied To Nation's Early History*.²⁴⁷ The unnamed author of the article stated that: "A total of 63 Indians under Chiefs Sunfish, Blue Eyes and Big Snow, and Col. Pollard, along with Lt. Charles Ellis of the Royal British Grenadiers, left Kittanning late in May to lay waste to the Juniata Valley and the settlements eastward to Harrisburg." Where the author came up with the name of 'Lt. Charles Ellis' is anyone's guess, since the name does not appear in any of the narratives nor does it appear in any public documents devoted to this incident. The claim that the party left Kittanning is also in error. The actual British officer in charge of the raid, Lieutenant Robert Nelles, noted the route by which the party made their way into south-central Pennsylvania, and as will be seen below, it was not by way of the Amerindian town of Kittanning. It would appear that since Kittanning was the point of interest of local Tories in the recent years, uninformed historians would assume that it would be the point of interest in all incidents involving Amerindians in the region.

The biography of Horatio Jones, by George H. Harris, stated that Colonel Butler at Fort Niagara instructed Captain [Henry] Nelles to take his company to the Genesee. The narrative stated that:²⁴⁸ "*Marching to Gah-an-o-deo he procured a log house, took an Indian wife and set up housekeeping in primitive style. Not caring for the fatigue and discomforts of a forest march at that season of the year, Capt. Nelles placed a platoon of men under the command of his son [Lieutenant Robert Nelles] and rallied the Indians under the lieutenant in an expedition to Pennsylvania to cut off bodies of continental troops passing between the Susquehanna and Ohio rivers.*" The narrative raises two questions. Whether a British officer could just decide on his own to disregard his commanding officer's instructions and remain in the British Army is questionable. Also questionable about this part of the narrative is that Colonel Butler gave Captain Nelles the command to lead a raid into the Pennsylvania frontier. When Lieutenant Robert Nelles returned to Fort Niagara, he reported to Guy Johnson, not John Butler. One would assume that Nelles would report to his commanding officer, which was Johnson.

It was already noted above, but we'll review it again. British Lieutenant Robert Nelles' report to Sir Guy Johnson, stated that the group left the Genesee camp during the first part of May. They followed the Niagara Trail southward into the Chautauqua Valley to the Canisteo.²⁴⁹ They next came to the Tioga, and following that stream, they crossed over the boundary line between the province of New York and the province of Pennsylvania. They followed the Tioga till they reached Pine Creek (*i.e.* the Tiadaughton) which empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River (known by the Iroquois as the Otzinachson). From the West Branch, the party traveled by land following forest trails southward. They could have followed the Bald Eagle Creek Path or the Kittanning Path, both of which led into

Bedford County. The party made camp at a point about two days' journey from the town of Bedford. The squaws would remain at this camp with the troops' baggage while the warriors and British troops would scout around to ascertain the strength of the local fortifications.

So where was the camp established? The measurement of 'about two days' journey from the town of Bedford' would place it about forty to fifty miles north of Bedford. Although it can't be proven, the camp established by Nelles and his Seneca allies is commonly believed to have been somewhere in the valley formed by the Allegheny and Brush Mountain ranges



north of the present-day city of Altoona. That valley, known locally as the Tuckahoe Valley was inhabited by Amerindians long before the Euro~Americans moved into it. Shickellamy, a chief negotiator for the Iroquois over the sale of Amerindian lands to the Euro~Americans, was the son of a French man and a Cayuga woman. Tachnechdorus, or John Logan, was a son of Shickellamy. He had a cabin beside a spring, known as Logan's Spring in present-day Antis Township, Blair County. Tachnechdorus was a friend to the Euro~American settlers throughout the American Revolutionary War period. It is possible, but not proven, that the Seneca war party made their camp somewhere near Logan's Spring.

The statement made in Hoenstine's narrative that word had been received at Bedford on the 1st of June that "*the Indians had crossed the Allegheny Mountains and had attacked and killed 2 men and carried a woman into captivity*" is not corroborated by any public record.²⁵⁰ It is not even corroborated by Harris in his biography of Horatio Jones. If a woman had been taken captive, it surely would have been something mentioned by Jones and Boyd. There is the possibility that another war party was operating in the region. Or perhaps it was simply false information intended to create tension.

Harris' narrative included the information that "*It appears that Shongo led a band some distance down the Juniata, but learning of the number of soldiers at Frankstown fort [Fort Fetter], he proceeded up the river and joined Hudson, who had formed a temporary camp at a place called Hart's Log.*"²⁵¹ The Juniata River is formed by the merging of the Little Juniata River and the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata just east of the present-day town of Alexandria. The Frankstown Branch begins in a number of small streams, or runs, in the vicinity of the present-day town of Claysburg, in Blair County. It flows northward and makes a sharp turn eastward to pass through a gap in the Tussey Mountain where the village of Water Street developed. Now flowing eastward, the Frankstown Branch meanders through the valley lying to the east of Tussey Mountain. The Little Juniata River forms from a number of small streams in the vicinity of the present-day city of Altoona, Blair County. It flows northward through the Logan and Tuckahoe Valleys and in the vicinity of the borough of Tyrone, the Bald Eagle Creek empties into it just before it turns sharply toward the east. As a larger stream, the Little Juniata River meanders through a gap between the north end of Tussey Mountain and the south end of Bald Eagle Mountain. At a point midway, as the crow flies, between the present-day towns of Alexandria and Petersburg, the Little Juniata empties

into the Frankstown Branch and their union becomes known as the Juniata River. After passing Standing Stone, *i.e.* the present-day borough of Huntingdon, the Raystown Branch, flowing northward from Bedford County, merges into the Juniata River. The Juniata River varies in width, reaching between one-quarter and one-half of a mile wide after it passes Huntingdon. It is somewhat shallow, though. Except for when it is swollen during a storm, the Juniata River flows calmly in the absence of white water rapids along its course. It is a perfect waterway for canoes. The Juniata meanders in roughly an arc northeastward and then southeastward to a point where it empties into the Susquehanna River a short distance from Harrisburg.

George Harris' narrative stated "*Shongo led a band some distance down the Juniata...*" If he was referring specifically to the portion of the waterway named the Juniata River, then he was pointing to the river east of Standing Stone. 'Down' a river means in the direction of its flow, so it does not matter if the river is flowing north, south, east or west, if you travel down a river, you are moving from its source toward its mouth. Then, after learning of the number of soldiers at Fort Fetter, Shongo "*proceeded up the river...*" which implies that they had changed direction and headed back against the flow toward a spot upstream. It almost seems that the Seneca were trying to find the Bedford County Militia so that they could confront them in battle. The Amerindian's movements were confirmed by noting that they "*joined Hudson... at a place called Hart's Log*" and as noted, the place called Hartslog was in the vicinity of present-day Alexandria, about seven miles northwest of Standing Stone / Huntingdon.



It has already been noted that John Hart established a trading post in the year 1744 along the Juniata River to the west of Standing Stone. He located his trading post along the Frankstown Path before it passed Waterstreet to become the Kittanning Path. As with most

trading posts, Hart's was located along the well-worn Frankstown Path. By making a camp in that vicinity, the Seneca risked being easily discovered by the Bedford County Militia, but that might have been what they wanted to occur.

The Seneca sent out scouts to determine where the Bedford County Militia might be and had found that the Rangers were also scouting the area. It is believed that the campsite at Hartslog was abandoned soon after it was established. They hoped to lure a large body of the garrison to leave the safety of the fortified buildings and so be more easily ambushed and slaughtered. They chose a spot just northwest of the Fetter lands on which the garrison was stationed. The local scouts did, indeed, find the recently abandoned campsite and returned to Fort Fetter to inform the rest of the garrison.

. ***The 3rd Of June***

The Rangers Prepare To Search For Invaders

On 5 June 1781, Colonel Arthur Buchanan of the Cumberland County Militia sent a letter to Captain Samuel Postlethwaite, Cumberland County Militia Quartermaster at Carlisle. Along with his own missive, Buchanan included a letter which he had received just that day from George Ashman.²⁵²

Dr. Sir, I send you a Copy of a Letter that I received from Col. Ashman, L. B. C. [i.e. Lieutenant, Bedford County]
“ Sir, by an Express this moment from Franks Town we have the bad news. As a party of Volunteers from Bedford was going to Franks Town, a party of Indians fell in with them this morning and Killed thirty of them. Only seven made their Escape to the Garrison of Franks Town. I hope that you'll Exert yourself in getting men to go up to the Stone and pray let the River people know as they may turn out. I am in health

We know now that the number of men which Ashman in that first message noted as having been killed ~ thirty ~ was an exaggeration, but it probably was what survivors had told him in a state of excitement.

The question must be asked: What is really known about the Bedford County Militia's participation in the engagement that took place in the summer of 1781 on the Bedford County frontier? No one stopped and wrote out a sequence of events at the time. Colonel George Ashman's letter to Joseph Reed [*see page 104*] provides us with perhaps the most timely account of the engagement. Unlike British Lieutenant Nelles' first person report [*see page 111*], which was delivered to his commanding officer sixteen days after the event, Ashman's report, in the form of a letter, was written out within nine days of the event. Despite it being compiled soon after the event, Ashman's letter relied on other individuals' accounts, thereby making it less accurate than the later compiled report by Nelles. Ashman's letter, like most reports made by a person in a leadership role after a disastrous incident,

concentrated primarily on the statistics of the incident: the number dead, the number wounded, the number garrisoning the fort and so forth. He also engaged in the usual ‘cover your own actions’ when he stated that he couldn’t follow the ‘Enemy’ by saying: *“the warters being high occation’d by heavy rains they could not be pursu’d.”*²⁵³ Ten men (or their widows) who had participated in the engagement applied for pensions in the 1830s after the Pension Act of 1832: Moses Beeman, John Boyd’s widow Rebecca, Zadock Casteel, Richard Delapt’s widow Jane, John Downey, Henry Dugan, Stephen Goble, Horatio Jones, Hugh Means’ estate and Adam Wimer. In order to qualify for a pension, the veteran of the American Revolutionary War, or his widow or children, needed to prove that he had served for at least two years in either the Continental Line or a local county Militia. None of the survivors’ pension applications added anything of substance to Ashman’s letter. Most of them simply noted that in the summer of 1781 they served under Captain Boyd and engaged the Indians in the Battle of Frankstown where they were wounded or taken captive.

The amazing thing, as had been seen in regard to the massacre of Captain Phillips’ Rangers in 1780, was that in the absence of facts, some historians create their own.

The 3rd of June, 1781 fell on a Sunday as noted in George Ashman’s letter. On that

morning a party of Rangers set out to search for the Indians who had made a recent attack on the white settlement. No ‘recent’ attack was noted in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* on or around the date it was supposed to have happened. The most popular narrative of the engagement, the one presented by Floyd Hoenstine, simply stated: *“Word was received at*



*Bedford on Friday June 1, that the Indians had crossed the Allegheny Mountains and had attacked and killed 2 men and carried a woman into captivity.”*²⁵⁴ Notice that Hoenstine’s narrative did not mention the date of the deadly attack itself. It only noted that word was received of the incident at Bedford on the 1st of June. The purpose of mentioning this detail is that British Lieutenant Robert Nelles had noted, in his report filed on 19 June that on the 16th of May his party had met *“Six Delaware . . . who had taken three Scalps & two prisoners near Bedford.”* Nelles did not provide a date for when the act occurred, but it would have had to have occurred a couple days prior to 16 May, which is the date that he was apprised of it. The incident related by the six Delaware might have been the incident that George Ashman wrote of in his letter to Joseph Reed dated 19 May in which he noted: *“On Friday the fourth of this Instant the Indians came into this County Killed one man a woman and two children and took one man prisoner within one mile of Col John Pipers on*

*Yellow creek. . .*²⁵⁵ Despite the discrepancy between the ‘three dead and two prisoners’ associated with the six Delaware and the ‘four dead and one prisoner’ according to Ashman, both comments might have referred to the same incident. If that were indeed the case, and the six Delaware who met with British Lieutenant Robert Nelles’ party on the 16th of May had indeed committed the murders and taken the captives on the 4th of May, it would be consistent that they would have taken eleven or twelve days to make their way back north to the Genesee River valley of New York.

In view of the fact that Lieutenant Nelles did not note that his own raiding party committed murders and captures of any of the settlers prior to the engagement, we might assume that Hoenstine simply associated the early-May atrocity with the arrival of the war party led by Lieutenant Nelles. Regardless of the particular facts, the point to be made was that the rationale for the raising of a body of troops and their heading out from Fort Fetter on the morning of the 3rd of June was the somewhat recent report of a deadly incursion by Amerindians in the vicinity of the Frankstown garrison.

Heading out on a scouting expedition on the morning of 3 June was probably nothing out of the ordinary for the Rangers. Despite the fact that we might want to make the incident out to be more dramatic than it actually was, the activity of setting out into the wooded region to scout and search for the Indians was literally the Rangers’ job. The act of ‘ranging’ is, after all, implied in the name: Ranger.

Boyd and his body of Rangers had no idea where they would find the invading war party. For all Boyd knew, the Amerindians could still be somewhere in the hills and valleys of Bedford County. But more than likely they had, like so many war parties before, headed westward into the forests blanketing the Allegheny Mountain range. U. J. Jones stated that the Rangers planned to travel through the Kittanning Gap and then along an old State road to Pittsburgh and then back by way of Bedford.²⁵⁶ The Kittanning Gap is located in present-day Logan Township, Blair County, on the eastern slope of the Allegheny Mountain where a tributary of Glen White Run cuts into the mountain. It was a gap through which the Kittanning Path, a major east/west *Indian Path*, travelled. Although U. J. Jones stated that the Rangers would then travel “*along an old State road to Pittsburgh*”, there was no “*an*” to it, suggesting that there were multiple ‘state roads’ from which the Rangers could choose. In 1781 there was only one ‘State Road.’ That was the name given to the Forbes Road, cut in 1758 between Carlisle and the Forks of the Ohio, present-day Pittsburgh. It was the same Forbes Road that lay in an east/west path over thirty miles south of Fort Fetter and did not naturally connect to the Kittanning Path. According to the U. J. Jones statement, the Rangers, if they were to arrive at Pittsburgh before turning back toward Bedford, they would have had to follow the Kittanning Path to its western terminus and follow the Allegheny River south to the Forks of the Ohio. If they wanted to avoid a water route, after reaching the Amerindian town of Kittanning, the Rangers would have needed to travel southward along the Venango Path. From the Forks of the Ohio, or Pittsburgh, the Rangers could have returned to Bedford by way of the ‘State Road,’ as noted above, the only ‘State’ road in Pennsylvania in 1781.

A person traveling by foot could average about twenty to twenty-five miles per day. If the Rangers did, in fact, intend to travel by way of the Kittanning Path to Kittanning and then south to Pittsburgh and then back to Bedford (a roughly 225 mile trip) it would have taken

them approximately nine days at twenty-five miles per day or eleven days at twenty miles per day. Perhaps they had planned such a long scouting, or maybe they intended just to range through the Allegheny Mountains to make sure that the Indians who had made the recent incursion had left the area. In either case, they did not make it very far before they were ambushed by the Indian party.

The Cumberland County Militia Do Not Join Boyd's Scouting Expedition

According to Floyd Hoenstine's narrative, "*Sunday, June 3, 1781, was a day long remembered, especially, by those who happened to be in the Frankstown district of Bedford County, at which time the battle was fought.*"²⁵⁷

Also according to Floyd Hoenstine: "*It is stated by Jones [i.e. the author, U. J. Jones] that no member of the Cumberland County Militia stationed at the fort joined in the party under Captain Boyd and no information being found in the official records to the contrary, it is believed that the militia from Cumberland County were ordered to remain at the fort.*"²⁵⁸ The fact of the matter, though, was that Uriah J. Jones in his narrative did not state what he was claimed to have stated, at least not in so many words. What Jones actually stated was that: "*The officers, who were regular woodsmen, and knew that the Indians would not venture into the settlement until the day following, were confident of meeting them near the mouth of the gap and giving them battle. They at once tendered to Colonel Albright the command of the expedition; but he refused to accept it. They then importuned him to let a portion of his men, who were both anxious and willing, accompany them; but this, too, he refused.*"²⁵⁹

What must be understood is that Floyd Hoenstine made an accurate statement when he said, as noted in the above quote, that "*no information being found in the official records...*" because no document exists to confirm or deny any assumption as to why the Cumberland County Militia did not participate. And for Hoenstine, as an historian, to offer his personal opinion that "*it is believed that the militia from Cumberland County were ordered to remain at the fort*" is reckless. If that were his own personal opinion, he should have stated it differently. Instead of "*it is believed*" he could have stated something to the effect of "*it is possible...*" or "*it is my belief that...*" As he wrote it, the reader might assume that it is a general belief among historians.

In regard to U. J. Jones' narrative, he apparently pulled the statements: "*They at once tendered to Colonel Albright the command of the expedition; but he refused to accept it. They then importuned him to let a portion of his men, who were both anxious and willing, accompany them; but this, too, he refused.*" out of thin air. They do not exist in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* or any other public documents. Furthermore, no man by the surname *Albright*, let alone with the rank of Colonel, was recorded in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. It might be remembered that Jones' first mention of the name 'Colonel Albright' was included with the statement that the Cumberland County Militia under Captain James Young had been first sent to Standing Stone and then to Frankstown, which can't be proven by any public record. Perhaps Jones, who was a noted author of pure fiction prior to writing his history of the Juniata Valley's early settlement, simply gave in to his instinctive urge to

make the story up as he went. George H. Harris, in his biography of Horatio Jones likewise noted that: “*In the spring of 1781, in consequence of the frequent depredations of the Indians, a body of Cumberland County militia, variously estimated at thirty-five to seventy-five, under command of Colonel Albright and Capt. Brown, were sent to Frankstown.*”²⁶⁰ Jones published his narrative in 1855 and Harris published his in 1903, so if anyone quoted from the other, it would have been Harris from Jones. As can be seen, if Harris actually did have access to, and used U. J. Jones’ narrative as supporting information for his own narrative of Horatio Jones’ biography, then he mistakenly wrote the name Capt. Brown when he actually meant Capt. Young.

The Cumberland County Militia, for some reason, did not participate in the scouting expedition on the morning of 3 June 1781. Having no basis, Floyd Hoenstine offered the following statement to explain why the Cumberland County Militia did not participate in the scouting party.²⁶¹ He stated that “*As the militia company had only a few days to serve in their tour of duty it seems logical that they would not join an expedition of unknown duration or destination.*” He was basing his assumption on the ‘fact’ that the company of Cumberland County Militia’s tour of duty would be ending on 15 June. But as shown above that that assumption might have been in error, as evidenced that it was not Captain Askey’s Company that Bedford County Lieutenant George Ashman stated was garrisoning Fort Fetter, the assumption that the company didn’t want to go on a scouting tour on the 3rd because they anticipated that they would be discharged on the 15th is just plain illogical.

While militia duty included the garrisoning and defense of a fortification, it did not necessarily include the duties of the Ranger. The standard Militia and the Ranger are seldom differentiated in casual histories. Often, the differences between the two bodies of non-Continental Line troops are not integral to the storyline. In fact, since the companies of Rangers fell under the same military authority as the Militia in the more frontier counties, a Captain of a company of Rangers might just as easily find himself in command of a company of standard Militia ~ the only variance being in how he was commissioned at a particular time. One would assume that that did not occur, but it was possible. It might be said that all Rangers were Militia, but not all Militia were Rangers. While the Rangers’ tours of duty and orders for those tours were directed by the local (ostensibly Militia) County Lieutenant, they operated somewhat independent of any military establishment. Companies of Rangers were often composed of expert riflemen and experienced woodsmen. They were trained to be adept at scouting. One of their scouting skills was being able to determine how recent an enemy had vacated a campsite. They needed to be able to notice the markings left by a person moving through the forest: twigs broken off of bushes, footprints in the dirt and the sounds of birds in the distance. Although some exceptions existed, the militia was seldom trained in the art of war in the manner that the Continental Army had been trained at Valley Forge by Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben. Militia men might have been loyal to the Patriot Cause, but their commitment to fighting was often secondary to dedication to their own families. For those reasons, George Washington held little trust in the ability of the militia to execute a battle plan. He did, though, encourage the establishment of Ranger companies. On 3 March 1779, General Washington sent a letter to Joseph Reed in which he suggested an expedition against the “*hostile tribes of Indians*” who were causing so much havoc on the western frontier of Pennsylvania.²⁶² The General suggested to Reed that:

With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion, it is scarcely necessary to observe that the detaching a considerable number of Continental Troops on such a remote expedition, would too much expose the Country adjacent to the body of the Enemys Army. There must therefore be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians, and for this I intended at a proper time to make application . . . They should be Corps of active Rangers who are at the same time expert marksmen and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood fighting practiced by the Savages. Men of this description, embodied under proper officers, would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of Militia unacquainted with this species of war and who would exhaust the magazines of Ammunition and provision without rendering any effectual service.

The Cumberland County Militia sent to garrison Fort Fetter in the summer of 1781 more than likely did not participate in the scouting expedition because they were enlisted solely for militia duty. They would have been neither trained nor expected to scout through the forests like the Rangers. Captain John Boyd's Company of Rangers, on the other hand, would have been experienced and ready to undertake the search for the Amerindians reported to have made another incursion into the region.

The attentive observer might notice that even though the troops who actually embarked on the scouting expedition on the morning of 3 June would have been Rangers, there were additional men not enlisted specifically in Captain John Boyd's Company. It is quite possible, though not proven by any public document, that when Boyd attempted to gather together his company, not all of the men actually enlisted in the company were available on short notice. It is also possible that in order to rally additional noted marksmen and woodsmen experienced in scouting, but not currently enlisted in the Bedford County Militia, Boyd might have requested that Captain Samuel Moore and Lieutenant George Smith go to round up however many volunteers as they could. Does anyone really believe that the volunteers all heard about the recent incursion at the same time and spontaneously made the decision to head toward Holliday's Fort at the same time? The rounding up of volunteers to assist the few members of Boyd's Company who could be roused to attend muster very well might have been an orchestrated effort rather than pure spontaneity.

The Men Who Comprised The Scouting Expedition

Not all of the men who were enrolled in Captain John Boyd's Company of Rangers participated in this particular scouting expedition. Of course the roughly thirty men noted for having been killed, wounded or captured during the engagement would have needed to participate in the fight, but few others mentioned that the engagement had even happened. Certain of the men who were actually enlisted in Captain Boyd's Company of Rangers filed applications for pensions, and although they noted their tour of duty in that company,

Stephen Archer, John Arthur, John Beatty, Joshua Burton and Samuel Sampson did not state anything about participating in the Engagement at Frankstown. In his pension application, Solomon Sparks mentioned that Boyd's Company engaged with the Indians at Frankstown, but he did not specifically state that he, himself, had participated in the fight. To have stated participation would probably have helped their chances of receiving a good pension, so for these six men to not claim it suggests that they indeed did not take part in the scout. Can it be assumed that the men who have been named as having been killed, wounded or captured were the only ones taking part in the engagement? The answer to that question would be 'no' because survivors made it back to Fort Fetter to inform Captain Young of the ambush.

The lists of men killed and wounded in the engagement or taken captive, along with a very few who either claimed to have been participants in their pension applications or were noted as having survived the engagement by others give us the following list of actual participants:

David Bates	Zadock Casteel
John Beatty	(Michael) Coleman
Moses Beeman	(Thomas) Coleman
Abraham Bodle	John Conrad
John Boyd	John Cook
William Decker	Patrick McDonald
Richard Delapt	Hugh Means
John Downey Jr.	Edward Milligan
John Downey Sr.	James Moore
Henry Dugan	Samuel Moore
Stephen Goble	Henderson Murphy
~~~~~ Grey	Michael Nicholas
Torrence Grimes	William Nichols
James Henry	~~~~~ Ricketts
(Adam) Holliday	~~~~~ Ross
(William) Holliday	George Smith
~~~~~ Johnson	James Somerville
Horatio Jones	Henry Tantlinger
(George) Jones	John Thomas
(William) Jones	Michael Wallack
Joseph Martin	Adam Wimer
William McDaniel	Harry Woods

As will be noticed, the list contains forty-four names. Lieutenant Robert Nelles reported that his party encountered "*a Scout of Thirty three men...*" How Nelles came up with his count can never be known. Perhaps one of his men was secreted upstream from the actual site of the engagement with the directive to count the Bedford County troops as they passed him. Perhaps it was just a guess.

Sunday Morning At Dawn

On Saturday, the 2nd of June, two scouts arrived at Fort Fetter bringing news that an Amerindian encampment had been discovered near Hart's Log.²⁶³ According to the biography of Horatio Jones, which was the only source of information on this, the two scouts said that the 'savages' probably numbered twenty-five to thirty and that they had left their fires burning. Although he did not state it per se, he might have used the number of fires as an indication of how many 'savages' he estimated. The fact that they left the fires burning suggested that the Amerindian 'savages' might still be in the vicinity of the encampment. Traveling quickly, it would have taken the scouts at least a day to make their way between Hart's Log and Fort Fetter.

According to Hoenstine's narrative, "*Word was received at Bedford on Friday June 1 . . . and the expedition arrived the next day at the blockhouse on the Frankstown branch of the Juniata River.*"²⁶⁴

Captain Boyd, taking the initiative and apparently acting in the absence of any interest by Captain James Young, made the decision to head out early the next morning on a scouting expedition. Historians might question why Boyd did not immediately set out in search of the reported Amerindians. Of course no one can know at this present time what the motivations were of decision makers nearly two hundred and forty years ago. We can surmise, though, that if the narratives are accurate, and if Boyd gathered his troops together just a day prior, marching them northward from the vicinity of Bedford to Fort Fetter, to cover the over thirty miles in one day would have resulted in some very tired men. Walking normally over varied terrain, a man could average about twenty to twenty five miles a day. So the trek from Bedford to Fort Fetter would have been an arduous one to complete in one day. It also must be taken into consideration that no one knows exactly when the Rangers from Bedford and the volunteers who met up with them actually arrived at Fort Fetter. They might not have arrived there until late in the evening. If they had not stopped on their way to eat, they were probably quite hungry. Starting out in the dark, with men tired and hungry from marching all day, the scouting expedition would have met disaster for sure.

If the Amerindians had already headed into the forests on the east slope of the Allegheny Mountain, they would probably get away before the Rangers could catch up to them. The information that the fires were still burning only a couple hours earlier meant that Boyd's Rangers could possibly catch up with them. Captain Boyd would probably have assumed that the Amerindians would follow the Kittanning Path, through the Kittanning Gap and up over the mountain. And it was probably for that reason that Harris, in the biography of Horatio Jones, stated that Boyd made the decision to "*march out and meet the invaders near the mouth of the gap.*"²⁶⁵

A battle might not have been the intention of Boyd for such a plan. Although the band of native warriors who had committed the recent murders and taken the woman captive had probably already crossed back to the western side of the Alleghenies by the time the two scouts reported sighting the Harts Log campsite, Boyd and his Rangers no doubt assumed otherwise. They might easily have assumed that the Amerindians who had abandoned their campsite were the same ones who had made the earlier incursion in early-May, and had simply not left the area yet. Perhaps they hoped that the Amerindians didn't fear reprisal for

the early May incursion and could be caught unprepared for a fight. Some of the Amerindians who made raiding incursions into this region entered from the west beyond the Allegheny Mountain range. Boyd might have assumed that such was the case with this raiding party - that they had headed eastward to the vicinity of Hart's Log and then moved further east of that region. Perhaps he figured that they would soon return westward to cross back over the Alleghenies. The plan to head to the Kittanning Gap in the Allegheny Mountain made more sense now. The hope might have been to head the Indian party off at the Kittanning Gap and possibly recover the captive woman.

The Ambush & Engagement

The fortified structure known as Fort Fetter stood along the south bank of the Beaverdam Branch of the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. Although the Beaverdam Branch flows west to east where the Michael Fetter property bordered on its south side, it is primarily a southward flowing stream. The Beaverdam Branch has its beginnings in three waterways, all of which originate in the Allegheny Mountain. Mill Run starts as the northernmost of the three and flows through the eastern side of Logan Valley. The next stream to the south is the Burgoon Run, formed from the merging of Kittanning and Scotch Gap Runs just to the east of Kittanning Gap. Burgoon Run flows along the west side of Logan Valley. The third stream is the Sugar Run, which begins at the summit of Allegheny Mountain near the Blair / Cambria Counties border, flows eastward and empties into the merged Beaverdam Branch at a point about two miles north of the Fetter fortification.

The Rangers headed out of Fort Fetter early on Sunday morning, the 3rd of June 1781. They headed northward following a path known as the Bald Eagle Creek Path. That *Indian* path connected the village of Assunepachla (present-day Frankstown) in the south with Mecheek-Menatey or the Great Island (present-day Lock Haven) in the north. A portion of the Bald Eagle Creek Path, from the mouth of Beaverdam Branch near Frankstown to the Burgoon Run, overlaid the Frankstown Path. While the Kittanning Path became the western arm of the Frankstown Path and entered the Allegheny Mountain through Kittanning Gap, the Bald Eagle Creek Path continued northward along the bank of Beaverdam Branch to its tributary, the Mill Run.

At a point close to the mouth of Sugar Run, as the rangers were marching forward along the trail, they were ambushed. Floyd G. Hoenstine stated that "*As this armed force marched from the fort in single file along the trail...*"²⁶⁶ Harris, in his biography of Horatio Jones stated that "*A narrow path ran close along the river; the men marched in single file...*"²⁶⁷ Uriah J. Jones stated: "*The path led close along the river, and the men marched in Indian file, as the path was narrow.*"²⁶⁸ Hoenstine, writing in 1940, probably derived his information from Harris, writing in 1903, who probably obtained his information from U. J. Jones who wrote his narrative in 1855. None of the survivors of the engagement, including Horatio Jones, who described the event in their pension applications stated how the Rangers walked along the path. It would probably be assumed that the path was only a single person wide simply because that is the standard stereotype of 'Indian Paths.' The fact of the matter is that sometimes the paths were a bit wider if they were in heavy use ~ which the Frankstown Path most definitely was. The reason I point this out is that for the thirty-three to

forty-two men involved, if they were walking single file, their line would have stretched at the minimum thirty-three feet long, assuming that each man took up only one foot of linear space. They surely were not walking that close, and so if each man took up two feet of space in the line, the entire line would have stretched roughly sixty feet. And if there were in fact forty-two men in the party, as the reports of participants indicate, each taking up just two feet of linear space, the line would have been, at a minimum, eighty-four feet long. Most casual observers, reading that the body of Rangers was ambushed by a party of Seneca warriors probably envision a small group of men suddenly forming a tight mass, huddled together to cover each other's back. A line stretching out eighty-some feet in length could not have formed a defensive huddle quickly or even at all. As will be seen in the narrative to follow, the line basically disintegrated with Rangers heading in all different directions. Had the party not been so large, it might have worked more as a cohesive unit under fire. It is possible, though, that the men walked, not in strict single file, but in twos, compressing the line a bit. Even if that were the case, the line would still have stretched nearly forty feet long.

U. J. Jones stated that: "*Nothing daunted, however, the rangers and the volunteers arose by daybreak on Sunday morning, put their rifles in condition, eat their breakfast, and, with five days' provisions in their knapsacks, started for the mountain.*"²⁶⁹ In the absence of any documentary evidence to support that scenario, Jones should have prefaced his statement by noting that it was only a guess of what took place on Sunday morning. Anyone getting ready to go on a trip would eat their breakfast, make sure that their guns were loaded and prepare food for the trip. The interesting thing about Jones' narrative is that he stated specifically that they took five days' provisions. As noted above, to travel through Kittanning Gap, possibly to Kittanning itself, to the Forks of the Ohio and then back to Bedford would have taken them more than five days.

In any case, the Rangers headed out from Fort Fetter, presumably just after daybreak. Sunrise in June in this region falls between 5:30am and 6:00am. Perhaps they were all lost in their own thoughts about the expedition they were on. They may or may not have talked among themselves as they walked. The general assumption held by the Rangers was probably that the Amerindians who had made the early-May incursion were on their way back across the Allegheny Mountain. According to Hoenstine's narrative: "*As this armed force marched from the fort in single file along the trail towards the junction of the Kittanning Indian trail little thought was given to the possibility that the Indians would advance close to the fort.*"²⁷⁰

The trail over which the Rangers trod was covered in fog that morning. It was the beginning of summer in central Pennsylvania. The trail lay alongside the Beaverdam Branch. In early summer, in the valleys of central Pennsylvania, mist often rises from the cold water streams into the warm air above. The mist hangs as a layer of fog until the rising sun cuts through it. The narrative as presented by George Harris, which may or may not have been a verbatim account as told by Horatio Jones to his son-in-law noted that: "*A thick fog rendered even near objects invisible.*"²⁷¹

The party of Rangers and volunteers walked about two miles north of Fort Fetter. Leaving just before or around 6 o'clock in the morning, and taking perhaps an hour to walk the two miles, it was probably around 7 o'clock as they neared the mouth of Sugar Run. Suddenly, musket fire rang out from behind trees and bushes as the Rangers passed. Perhaps

the Rangers heard the sharp whistle of arrows as they sailed past their ears. At this point in the narrative as presented by Floyd Hoenstine, that author made an attempt to second guess Captain Boyd's thoughts. He stated: "*Captain John Boyd led the way...Captain Boyd's thoughts could not have been of his brother Thomas, who suffered torture and death when captured on a similar expedition while leading fourteen of Morgan's riflemen during Sullivan's expedition into New York state a few years previous, a thought of Thomas Boyd would have warned the Captain of possible danger.*"²⁷² More than likely, in the harsh life of the Eighteenth Century frontier, with the threat of danger all around just in the course of everyday life, it would not have taken the thought of a past event to warn Captain Boyd of "possible danger".

Hoenstine's narrative continued: "*Scouts from the Indian war party watched the movement of the soldiers at the fort and observed the departure of Captain Boyd and his men. Quickly reporting to their chiefs, the plans for an ambush were made and the warriors awaited the arrival of their foe.*"²⁷³ Hoenstine's scenario exhibits how most historians regarded the Amerindian incursions of the Revolutionary War period ~ as completely random attacks by the 'savages.'

With a loud war-whoop the body of Amerindians sprang up from behind the bushes that hid them.²⁷⁴ It can be assumed that the Amerindians let out a loud war-whoop in order to surprise the rangers, because that was a generally accepted Indian practice of surprise. According to U. J. Jones, the rangers were taken so completely by surprise that they failed to return any fire, but simply, in their confusion, turned and fled. His narrative stated that: "*a band of savages rose from the bushes on the left-hand side of the road, firing a volley at the same time, by which fifteen of the brave scout were stretched dead in the path. The remainder fled, in consternation, in every direction.*"²⁷⁵ In the first place, in his exuberance to write a good story, the prior fiction writer, U.J. Jones forgot that, despite the fact that he was writing his story in the 1850s, there were no 'roads' in this region of the Bedford County of the 1780s. And secondly, how would U. J. Jones know that the survivors of the initial Amerindian attack fled, "*in consternation*"? Perhaps his use of that word was meant to imply 'bewilderment' and 'alarm' but how would he know what they were feeling, especially since, other than the usually abbreviated descriptions of events given in pension applications, no first-hand accounts of the engagement exist?

U. J. Jones, in his account (actually only in a footnote of that account), stated that the only shot fired by any of the Bedford County Rangers was that by Harry Woods. In that footnote he stated: "*Woods shot an Indian. His rifle was the only one discharged in what Colonel Ashman termed an 'engagement'.*"²⁷⁶

Floyd G. Hoenstine, who wrote a very detailed narrative, did not acknowledge that the Rangers put up any fight per se. He simply noted: "*The attack was so sudden and the savages so numerous that the Rangers and Volunteers were thrown into confusion and instead of being able to meet the savages as a unit, each one fought his own battle.*"²⁷⁷

As quoted above, U. J. Jones stated that fifteen "*of the brave scout*" were killed in the initial volley of gunfire that accompanied the Amerindians' surprise. The listing given by Hoenstine trims the number down to thirteen. Two of the individuals who were included in Hoenstine's list died after the engagement, and so according to him, the number of Rangers who were immediately killed during the ambush was probably closer to eleven. About five

individuals were wounded in the engagement, but made it to safety. Hoenstine gives the names of seven men who were captured by the Indians. *“Those in front, consisting mostly of the officers were spared the fire of the savages, as officers were worth more as prisoners than privates, and prisoners were also worth more than scalps when settling with the British Agents”* was a statement made by Hoenstine.²⁷⁸ If that statement was true and accurate,



it would lend credence to the suggestion made above that the party of Rangers was spread out for quite a distance. In the dense fog, the Amerindians rose up from their hiding places behind bushes and trees and let out a volley of musket fire into the marching line of Rangers. To avoid hitting any of the men at the front of the line (apparently the officers), they would have had to have been enough distance ahead of the others (the privates) to not be hit by the fire of the Amerindians. And to avoid striking any of the valuable officers, it would have been necessary for the Amerindians to watch the line of Rangers and wait until one or two privates had passed before rising up and firing into those men following. The question arises as to how would the Seneca warriors have known which of the Rangers were officers and which were privates? Perhaps local Tories helped them to determine which was which.

The account of the engagement as given by George Harris in the Horatio Jones biography does not differ much from those presented by U. J. Jones and Floyd G. Hoenstine.

Both, U. J. Jones and Hoenstine pointed out that following the initial volley of musket fire from the Amerindians, the Bedford County Rangers basically panicked and fled in all directions without firing a single shot in return. Although Harris' biography of Horatio Jones notes that the Rangers were thrown into a state of confusion by the ambush, the narrative does not make such an all-encompassing assumption of panic and abandon on the part of the Bedford County Rangers. Noteworthy, is the assertion that Captain Boyd and his fellow officers were not invulnerable to the attack, as the other two narratives would lead one to assume. According to Harris: *“When the company reached the flat within thirty rods of Sugar Run, the British and Indians poured a murderous volley into the single line of scouts and, springing up with tomahawks in hand, awoke the echoes of the wilderness with appalling yells. The surprise was complete. A number fell, several fled without discharging their guns, but Capt. Boyd, Lieut. Cook and a few other veteran fighters bravely held their*

ground, raised a yell and returned fire, killing some of the savages.”²⁷⁹ That account was followed with: “Seeing they were greatly outnumbered, Boyd ordered his gallant men to save themselves. They at once scattered.”

In regard to Horatio’s own experience, Harris’ narrative stated that he was marching along proudly when the ambush occurred. He was immediately deafened by the firing and nearly blinded by the smoke of the muskets. Before he knew fully what was happening, he found that he had been carried into the river that the Rangers were walking alongside of by the sudden rush of those who were trying to flee for cover.²⁸⁰ The narrative states that “*the rattle of musketry...*” filled the air. Whether that was only the Amerindians’ musketry or if it included the Rangers’ musketry or both is not specified.

Most historians don’t want to give the engagement the honor of being called a *battle* and that is understandable in view of the fact that organized armies were not involved. And although a first-hand account to describe the skirmish between the British-led Senecas and the Bedford County Militia Rangers does not exist, for contemporary accounts (*i.e.* pension applications and Colonel George Ashman’s report) to refer to it as an *engagement* suggests that there was indeed a fight between the two parties of men. There does not exist a standard that states that a certain number of muskets fired equals a *fight* and another number of muskets fired equals a *skirmish* and a further number equals an *engagement* and so on. Two parties met and engaged each other, shots were fired, men fell dead or wounded and others attempted to escape.

The action was probably over as quickly as it had begun. Muskets were single-shot guns. They needed to be reloaded each time they were fired. So, assuming that some of the Rangers fired their muskets, they would have needed time to reload to continue the fight. Other Rangers might not have been able to fire their muskets in the first place ~ either as a result of their own shock, or because their muskets misfired. In any case, as the musket fire died down and the smoke cleared, John Conrad, William Decker, John Downey Sr., Sergeant Florence Grimes, James Henry, Joseph Martin, Henderson Murphy, Michael Nicholas, William Nichols, Henry Tantlinger and John Thomas lay dead.

Horatio Jones, one of the survivors, had attempted to escape. Harris’ biography noted that as he had been pushed into the river, he continued to the opposite side and onto the eastern bank. The Beaverdam Branch flowed near the base of a small hill, and Jones began to ascend it. According to Harris’ biography:²⁸¹

Just then, the long string of one of his moccasins becoming loose, it began snapping about his legs, impeding his progress. The fog was clearing up; he thought he heard some one call him. Looking back again he saw the foremost warrior raise his hand and heard him shout in plain English, “Stop boy, stop!” At that instant the vexatious moccasin string caught in a shrub throwing him heavily to the ground. Though stunned by the shock he retained his senses and hastily attempted to rise. Finding his foot fastened he made a violent effort to free himself, rolled over and sat up. As the pursuers came up, gun in hand, it was evident to

him that any further effort to escape would result in being shot. He decided to sit still. As the Indians approached, Horatio looked steadily at them to discover some intimation of their intentions, and if necessary make a desperate effort at defence. The mild manner of the leading warrior dissipated his fears and he made no show of resistance. The Indian halted within a few feet of him, dropped the butt of his rifle to the ground, leaned upon the muzzle, looked smilingly down at the young ranger and addressed him pleasantly:

“No be scart, me no hurt you; you berry nice boy; you run like deer; you make fine Indian boy; me good friend; me help you.” Stooping over he released the strings, fastened the moccasin, placed his hand on Horatio’s shoulder and said quietly but authoritatively “Dis-dot” (“get up”). Notwithstanding the smiling face, the sharp eyes watched every motion of the captive with keen interest, and as the latter stood up, submissively the warrior took from his own person a belt of wampum and placed it around Horatio’s neck. Picking up the rifle he removed the flint, threw out the wet powder, handed the weapon to the boy and, still smiling, extended his hand saying, “Go with me.” Reassured, Horatio suffered his captors to lead him back to a spot near the point from which he first started to escape. Then the two Indians took away his weapons, bound a blanket about his legs so that he could move only at a slow walk, and left him in the company of some of his late comrades, who were huddled together under the care of five or six young warriors.

The dead Rangers were scalped and stripped of their clothes and accoutrements by the Amerindians. According to Jones, speaking in Harris’ biography: “Near by lay the bodies of several rangers and warriors. As the boy stood staring at the inanimate forms... the savages set to work scalping the dead soldiers. The mutilated bodies of the whites were stripped and left upon the ground, while the greatest efforts were made to conceal the remains of the warriors.”²⁸²

A couple of the Rangers who died as a result of the engagement were not victims of the initial volley that was fired into them. For example, one of the Jones brothers, possibly George as noted below, died as the survivors made their way back to the fort. According to the narrative of U. J. Jones: “As the Colemans were coming to the fort, they found the other Jones lying behind a log for the purpose of resting, as he sad. Coleman advised him to push on to the fort, which he promised to do. Captain Young at length started out with a party to bring in the wounded. The man Jones was found resting behind the log, but the rest was a lasting one; he was killed and scalped.”²⁸³ The narrative continued by mentioning another man who had been wounded, and as he tried to escape he was followed, killed and scalped. His name was not noted, though.

Sergeant David Beates, Abraham Bodle, Stephen Goble, Hugh Means and Adam Wimer had been wounded but would survive by escaping the hands of the Seneca warriors. Stephen Goble, later stated on a pension application that he had received a bullet in his right arm during the 'battle at Frankstown.' Hugh Means was "*wounded in the arm*" according to a list of soldiers who had applied for 'State annuities.' The others didn't say in which part of their bodies they had been wounded; the important thing was that they survived and also escaped being taken captive.²⁸⁴

Harris noted the Seneca custom of making sure that the bodies of the slain Seneca warriors were properly concealed ~ perhaps to ensure that those slain warriors would not be scalped. "*The savages believe that no one can make a respectable appearance in the spirit land baldheaded...To scalp an Indian is to debar him from the happy hunting-grounds, and hence it is they scalp white people, believing they can not get into heaven without their hair.*"²⁸⁵ So claimed George Belden in 1870. Belden lived among the Plains Indians for twelve years and learned many of their customs including that of scalping. The Plains Indians' ideas on scalping were probably quite similar to those of the Iroquois Confederacy. Scalping also afforded the Amerindian with proof that he had indeed killed his enemy. Concealing the dead bodies of their fellow warriors, the Senecas probably believed that they were denying the Bedford County Rangers the privilege of claiming any successes.

This author would be remiss if the (perhaps most repeated) incident of the engagement failed to be mentioned.

In the U. J. Jones narrative, an episode in which Lieutenant Harry Woods, Michael Wallack and James Somerville were making their escape and Somerville's moccasin came loose was treated in detail. The U. J. Jones account states that Woods had fired his rifle in the excitement of the ambush, and that as the three Bedford County men fled across the river and were running up what became known as O'Friel's Ridge, it was "John Hudson's son, Hay-en-de-seh, who was chasing them. When Somerville stopped to tie his moccasin, the son of Hudson raised his tomahawk to strike him, and Woods instinctively raised his rifle toward the Indian despite the fact that the gun was empty. Hey-en-de-seh ducked behind a tree for shelter, but soon recognized Woods, and called out to him that his intention was not to do them any harm. It would appear that Woods also recognized the Indian as the son of the Seneca chief who had saved his own father from torture when he was captured in 1756. According to the narrative, the Woods family had often been visited by Do-ne-ho-ga-weh, or rather "John Hudson", and his sons at their Bedford County home. Woods dropped his gun and likewise Hay-en-de-seh "made no further demonstration of hostility". He allowed the rangers to pass and make their escape across the ridge.²⁸⁶

The Aftermath

According to the various narratives and militia rosters, there were two brothers by the surname Jones, in addition to Horatio who was taken captive, who were involved in the engagement. Included on the two rosters of Captain John Boyd's Company were the names of George Jones and William Jones. The narrative presented by U. J. Jones stated that one of the Jones brothers was the man who brought news back to the garrison at Fort Fetter that the engagement had taken place.²⁸⁷ "*A man named Jones, one of the fleetest runners, reached the*

fort first.” Whether that man was George or William cannot be known for certain, but it was possibly William. A man by the name of William Jones appeared on the Colerain Township tax assessment return for the year 1785. George did not appear in any return after 1781, which suggests that it was he who died on 3 June.

Hoensline stated that *“The militia who were garrisoning the fort took no part in the battle. However, upon receiving the news of the defeat of the Rangers and Volunteers, they proceeded to prepare the fort to resist an attack, sent messengers to apprise settlers and other forts of the danger and a party was sent from the fort to the aid of the wounded.”* Any rational thinking historian would agree that that is probably what transpired when Captain Young and the Cumberland County Militia garrisoning the fort received the news of the engagement. But there exists no contemporary or first-hand document to support any of the musings of Floyd Hoensline in this regard. The first report of what took place in Frankstown Township comes from Colonel George Ashman’s letter of 5 June to Colonel Arthur Buchanan, which was short but full of information. He stated:²⁸⁸

Sir, by an Express this moment from Franks Town we have the bad news. As a party of Volunteers from Bedford was going to Franks Town, a party of Indians fell in with them this morning and Killed thirty of them. Only seven made their Escape to the Garrison of Franks Town. I hope that you’ll Exert yourself in getting men to go up to the Stone and pray let the River people know as they may turn out. I am in health GEO ASHMAN

Then, in a letter of 12 June, he noted: *“sum of the party running into the Garrison*



acquainting Capt. Young of what happened he Issued out a party Immediately and Brought in Seven more five of whome are wounded ... Captn. Young expecting from the enemys numbers that his garrison would be surrounded sent express to me Immediately,” [See pages 104-105.]

So think about what was just stated. Some of the party of Rangers and volunteers who participated in the engagement came running into the garrison (*i.e.* Fort Fetter). In response, Captain Young sent a party of his Cumberland County Militia out to bring in any wounded men. The letter then states that they brought in *“Seven more five of whome are wounded.”* Apparently, they found two individuals who were not wounded. If the two who weren’t wounded did not arrive at the fort prior to Captain Young sending out the recovery party, perhaps they had hid themselves and didn’t stir for fear of being found by the Amerindians.

The following morning was Monday, 4 June 1781 and on that morning Captain James Young led another party of Militia to the site of the engagement to bury the dead.

On Tuesday a group of nearly a hundred men gathered from Standing Stone and other nearby villages and set out in pursuit of the Indians. Assuming that the British and Amerindians had taken their captives to Kittanning, this search party would have followed the Kittanning Path, the western extension of the Frankstown Path. They did not catch up to the Senecas who were well on their way across the Alleghenies. U. J. Jones stated that the search party went as far as Hart's Sleeping Place, which is located in the vicinity of present-day Carrolltown, about twelve miles north of Ebensburg in Cambria County, before turning back.²⁸⁹ U. J. Jones stated: "*The men went as far as Hart's Sleeping Place, but they might just as well have remained at home; for the savages, with the scalps of the scout dangling from their belts, were then far on their way to Detroit.*" Although we can accept that U. J. Jones was accurate about the direction the search party went, he was wrong in his assumption that the captives would have been taken to Detroit. Lieutenant Nelles, like Dochstедder the year previous, returned to Fort Niagara and gave his report to Sir Guy Johnson. The British Lieutenant Robert Nelles led his platoon of British soldiers and allied Senecas from Fort Niagara; there would have been no reason whatsoever for the party to have taken their captives to Fort Detroit.

. ***Rangers Taken Prisoner***

*"As Boyd turned to run the Indians pursued. They struck him several times with their tomahawks before he surrendered. Lieut. Cook was a powerful man and swift runner, but the four warriors who pursued him threw their weapons and knocked him down, when he was promptly secured."*²⁹⁰

More than likely Captain Young would have attempted to determine who had been killed, who had been wounded and who had been taken captive as quickly as he could. The Rangers who had been killed and wounded would have been somewhat easy to ascertain. Those who were taken captive would not have been so easy to identify. Granted, a few wounded individuals might have fled into the surrounding forest, where they later died, and thusly have escaped identification and assumed taken but that would only be speculation. The problem with identifying the men who were taken by the British and Seneca party is that a roster of which men actually participated in the scouting party had not been compiled at the start of the expedition. And as has been discussed above, the scouting party included only a portion of Captain Boyd's Company but also a number of non-enlisted volunteers. One cannot simply use a 'process of elimination' method to develop a list of those taken captive. Instead, the list of the captives we compile must be derived from information found on pension applications and any contemporary documents, such as Colonel Ashman's letter to Joseph Reed dated 12 June.

The list of captives that we are able to assemble from the available documents includes: Sergeant Henry Dugan, Patrick McDonald, Horatio Jones, Captain Samuel Moore, Lieutenant George Smith, Captain Richard Delapt, Captain William McDaniel, Lieutenant John Cook, ~~~~~ Ross and Captain John Boyd.

The first document we will look at is British Lieutenant Robert Nelles' report which he submitted to Sir Guy Johnson on 19 June.²⁹¹ Nelles reported that his party "*took Six prisoners & eleven Scalps & the Commanding officer...*" As will later be noted, Captains Richard Delapt and William McDaniel would be killed enroute to Fort Niagara. Nelles would not have wanted his superior officer to know about those two deaths. Captains, whether they were officers of the Bedford County Militia or the Pennsylvania Continental Line would be valuable in an exchange of prisoners as compared to Privates or lesser officers. To have had two Captains when they started back to Niagara, only to have the Senecas kill them enroute would have been somewhat embarrassing to Nelles. He and his platoon of British soldiers probably kept that information to themselves as a secret. So, Nelles' report of the commanding officer and six prisoners would not have been totally accurate. He had one more prisoner than he claimed to have. That might have been an error of counting on his part, or the unsourced information provided by Hoenstine (naming McDonald and Ross as prisoners) might have been inaccurate.

In Colonel Ashman's letter to Reed he stated: "*Capt. Boyd, Captn. Moore, and Captn. Dunlap with six others are missing...*"²⁹⁰ Accounting for nine out of the ten men in our list, it is possible that Ashman simply had missed one.

Sergeant Henry Dugan filed an application for a pension on 30 August 1820 at Hamilton County, Ohio.²⁹³ In that application he stated that he had enlisted "*under Capt John Boyd in a Company of rangers (in Bedford County Pennsylvania) and that he was taken prisoner with Capt John Boyd about the 4th June in the year 1781 in a Battle with the Indians at Franks Town Juniatta & remained a prisoner eighteen months*" Henry Dugan's name and service was also recorded in the *Pennsylvania Archives* in which it was noted that he had resided in Cumberland County and his wife and three children were killed by Indians. The entry noted that "*At Battle of Frankstown with the Indians, June 4, Captain Boyd and he were taken prisoners, where they received hard treatment, and got to New York on Christmas Day 1782.*"²⁹⁴

Patrick McDonald filed an application for a pension in May 1818.²⁹⁵ In that application he stated that he: "*was taken at Frankstown valley now called Huntingdon by a party of Indians who killed some of his companions and carried him into Canada where he remained until after the peace...*"

And of course there was Horatio Jones who filed an application for a pension on 27 January 1834 at Livingston County, New York.²⁹⁶ His application began with a statement made and signed by the Seneca sachems, Sunfish, Big Snow, Blue Eyes and Col. Pollard testifying that they had taken him prisoner.

Samuel Moore was noted by Floyd Hoenstine as having been taken captive on 3 June 1781. But Moore's name does not appear in any actual public record as such. No pension application exists for Moore, nor does the notation exist in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. The only reference to Samuel Moore as being captured by the Amerindians is found in a reference that states: "*The Comptroller and Register General's report upon the accounts of Samuel Moore for a rifle gun and accoutrements taken from him by the savages at Frankstown, in Bedford county, while in actual service as a volunteer under Captain Boyd, in 1781, valued at five pounds five shillings, was read and approved.*"²⁹⁷ That information does not specifically point to Samuel Moore having been taken as a captive. He

could have escaped from the Amerindians after having his rifle and other items grabbed out of his hands. He could have put up a fight and as a warrior tried to grab him, his gun pulled out of his grasp and he could have taken off and escaped. The point is that although it has been generally accepted by historians that Samuel Moore was one of the captive marched to Canada along with the others, his captivity is not stated in so many words in any public document.

George Smith's name was recorded in a "*List Of Soldiers ~ Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.*"²⁹⁸ The entry for George Smith states: "*Bedford, served in Colonel Piper's regiment; subsequently in Captain Boyd's ranging company; in June, 1781, taken prisoner by the Indians and held in captivity until November, 1784.*"

Captain Richard Delapt (*variously, Dunlap*) was taken along with the others, but a few miles from the engagement site he was killed by the Amerindians. Harris' biography of Horatio Jones described the manner in which Delapt met his end.²⁹⁹ "*After marching at a rapid rate for several hours, Capt. Dunlap, who was severely wounded, showed signs of exhaustion. Blows failed to keep him in pace with the warriors; at last he was so weak that he staggered under his load. Without the slightest warning a painted savage stepped behind the wounded man, buried a tomahawk deep in his neck and jerked him over backwards. As the officer fell, the wretch stripped off his scalp and left him quivering in the agonies of death.*"

In regard to the capture and death of William McDaniel, Captain Boyd gave a deposition to the Bedford County Orphans Court on 26 December 1785.³⁰⁰ In that statement he stated that: "*I, the subscriber, being commanding officer at the time, do hereby certify that James Henry and ~~~~~ Tantlinger, were on the 3d day of June, A.D. 1781, killed in an engagement with ye Indians near Frankstown in Bedford County; and Richard Delapt and William McDaniel were, on the same day, made prisoners. Richard Delapt was murdered a few miles from the place of action and William McDaniel was murdered at an Indian village known by the name kerkadeer a few days after.*" All attempts to identify the village were unsuccessful.

Lieutenant John Cook received a number of wounds, and as a result, could not flee to safety. He was taken captive and on the third night of his forced march northward he became the object of his captors' amusement.³⁰¹ "*They began to amuse themselves by burning his legs with firebrands, and as he was much exhausted from loss of blood from his wounds, was scarcely able to move. After travelling through the wilderness for about twenty days, fed on the entrails of wild animals, they brought him to Niagara. He was brought out one day to run the gauntlet, but being unable to run, as his legs were so badly burned, the savages at length took mercy on him, and let him off. He was then confined in prison till he was finally exchanged and returned. He is said to have had an exceedingly sharp pair of legs from the knees down, probably occasioned by the burning.*"

A captive by the surname Ross was included in Hoenstine's narrative. He undoubtedly got the name from Harris' biography of Horatio Jones.³⁰² The following narrative of how this man by the name of Ross came to his end was found in the book, *Otzinachson*, by J. F. Meginness: "*They also had another prisoner, named Ross, who was wounded very badly.*"

Being unable to travel further, they determined to massacre him in a very cruel and inhuman manner. He was fastened to a stake, and his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters, when fire was applied, and they danced round him, making the woods resound with their hideous yells. His tortures were terrible, but at length death put an end to his sufferings.”³⁰³

In regard to the Captain, John Boyd, J. F. Meginness stated:³⁰⁴

During this time Captain Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to a small white oak sapling, and compelled to be a silent spectator of the diabolical scene. His turn was to come next, and he summoned up courage, and quietly resigned himself to his fate. Whilst these incarnate fiends of Pandemonium were making preparations to torture him to death by inches, he sang a very pretty Free Mason song, with a plaintive air, which attracted their attention, and they listened to it very closely, till he was through. At this critical moment an elderly squaw came up, and claimed him as her son. The Indians did not interfere. She immediately dressed his wounds, and attended to him carefully during their journey to Canada. She accompanied him to Quebec, where he was placed in the hospital, and attended by an English surgeon, and rapidly recovered.

According to Hoenstine’s narrative, the Amerindians were satisfied with having killed about a dozen of the Rangers ~ the scalps of which would be proof to their families of their valor and bravery. They also had a number of prisoners, of whom one was a Captain who had served in the Continental Army in addition to three additional militia Captains. The narrative stated that the party “*immediately departed with their prisoners and booty across the mountains to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River near the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek...*”³⁰⁵ Harris provided a bit more information on the events which followed the engagement.³⁰⁶ Lieutenant Nelles and his Seneca allies apparently assumed that the few Bedford County Militia Rangers who fled after the initial volley from the ambushers would rouse the rest of the garrison at Fort Fetter to exact revenge. They therefore gathered as much of the plunder that they could into blankets which they then tied onto the prisoners’ backs, and surrounding those prisoners, goaded them to march.

As Horatio Jones presumably told it, he and each of the other prisoners had blankets “*bound about his legs...*” The intention of this was probably to hobble the prisoners and thusly prevent their escaping. In a perfect world, the captors would have placed shackles on each of the prisoners. But in the wilderness of Pennsylvania in 1781, the victors of the engagement at Frankstown did not have shackles with them so they had to use what they had at hand: blankets. Those blankets would no doubt have been made of either animal hides, wool or linen. Cotton was not in widespread use by the Iroquois in the 1780s. Although animal hide blankets might have been the most common for the Senecas to use themselves for warmth, they probably would not have carried heavy fur blankets with them on a long trek. Wool and linen blankets would have been the lightest for transport. Between wool and linen, a wool blanket would become the heaviest when wet. The blankets that Horatio Jones

told of as being used to hobble the prisoners became quite sodden from the dew that still covered the grass. They were soon removed when their use as restraints threatened to slow down the party's return northward.

A runner was sent ahead of the main body of captors and prisoners to the camp they had established about two days' journey north of Bedford. That runner was sent ahead so that he could rouse the women who had remained there with their supplies, and have them ready to join the trek northward back to the Genesee River region of the colony of New York. The engagement had taken place in the morning and by noon the party had started out with its prisoners in tow. Harris' narrative noted that "*They reached the camp in the evening.*"³⁰⁷ That would have been accurate if the camp, as suggested previously, had been established in the north end of the Tuckahoe Valley of present-day Blair County.

The squaws were finishing tearing down their camp and packing their supplies by the time that Lieutenant Nelles and his Seneca allies arrived. The party continued north. Their trek was a forced march all night and the Bedford County men were probably completely exhausted by it. Jones noted that "*Some of the captives had had no sleep the previous night, and all had marched at a rapid rate many hours without food. Borne down by heavy burdens, urged along by cruel savages, faint, fearful that each moment might be their last, they stumbled forward in the darkness.*"³⁰⁸ When they finally did stop to rest, all of the party, captors and captives alike, fell into fatigued, but no doubt fitful sleep.

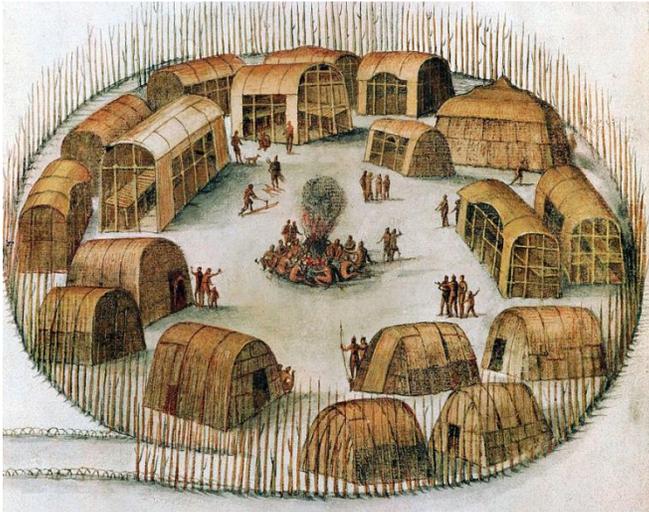
The second day was spent walking in strict silence. Although they had gone quite a distance from the Frankstown district, there was still the possibility that Bedford County Militia scouts could be tracking them through the forests of the north-central Pennsylvania wilderness. Jones noted that during that second day no hunting was permitted, lest the sound of musket fire would draw attention to their location. That general rule was disregarded, though, when the party happened upon a bear. The bear was killed with one shot by one of the Amerindian warriors and eaten, but the prisoners were given only the entrails and some of the flesh, which they consumed raw.³⁰⁹ Their experience was no doubt as horrendous as Jones' biography suggests ~ in fact it was probably more hard and horrid than words can describe. But one must always view history in context, and the context of this situation would have been that life in the frontier of the 1780s was hard enough as it was. Frontier inhabitants probably went for days at a time not having anything to eat. So, while their repast might sound absolutely vile to us today, the Rangers were probably thankful for anything they could get.

By the end of the third day, the party crossed the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. They camped during that third night of their trip north near the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek, where it empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. That campsite would have been made in the vicinity of present-day Clinton County, Pennsylvania. And it was there that the Ranger named Ross was tortured, as will be described below.

The narrative presented by George Harris did not mention the British Lieutenant Robert Nelles and his platoon of British soldiers after the engagement with one exception, as will be noted below. Reading the story of the return trip, one would think that the Senecas were the only captors leading the prisoners north. Perhaps Harris did not have access to the Haldimand Papers. He apparently did not know about Lieutenant Nelles' report of 19 June upon the party's arrival back at Fort Niagara. But the fact of the matter was that the party

was headed for Fort Niagara and was ostensibly led by Nelles and his platoon rather than the Seneca sachems. When reading Harris' narrative, the researcher must bear in mind that the Amerindians were probably not just deciding what route to take on whim. As has been noted elsewhere in this volume, there were sixty-five known raids into the Pennsylvania and New York frontiers in 1780 alone. The British troops were probably well acquainted with the paths and waterways they needed to take in order to travel most quickly.

On the fourth day of the return trek, the party followed a foot path from the vicinity of the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek to the Tioga. They followed the Tioga downstream to the mouth of the Cohocton River, where the merging waters form the Chemung River. The present-day town of Painted Post lies to the north of the fork. According to Harris' narrative: "*Several wigwams were located near the river and there were many cultivated fields about. A huge post painted in a fantastic manner to represent an enemy stood in the open. When*



war parties halted at the camp they usually held brag dances about the post"³¹⁰ The Seneca name for the camping site was *Dane-ne-ta-quen-deh*, meaning 'where two valleys come together.'

After a couple days of resting the party traveled along the Niagara Path up the Canisteo and Chautauqua Valleys to Hunt's Hollow in present-day Livingston County, New York. The party had,

to this point been heading north. Here they turned south to pick up a stream named the Kish-a-wah. They made camp along that creek. Harris stated that the following morning was the 20th of June.³¹¹ Lieutenant Nelles dated the report he submitted to Sir Guy Johnson upon the party's return to Fort Niagara as the 19th. Either Harris was incorrect about this point, or Nelles dated the report for the day upon which he wrote the report ~ it being written on the way prior to reaching Fort Niagara. In any event, according to Harris: "*the camp was aroused by the sentries post by Lieutenant Nelles.*" The British and their Seneca allies spent some time preparing themselves to be received at the nearby Seneca home village which Captain Boyd called 'Kerkadeer.' It was possibly located in the vicinity of the present-day town of Caneadea. The British soldiers shined up their arms while the Amerindians painted their faces and adorned themselves with articles of clothing that they had liberated from their victims. Then, in the words of Harris: "*A small body of Indians led the way up the hillside, the rangers [i.e. the British soldiers] marching next. Then came the prisoners, followed by the main body of the savage party.*"³¹²

As the prisoners arrived at the edge of the village, the inhabitants brandishing weapons formed two lines down the slope of a hill. Lieutenant Nelles informed the prisoners that they were to run through the two lines toward a council house on the summit of the hill. A white flag flew over the council house, and if the prisoner reached that point, they would be safe from further harm. Known as running the gauntlet, the Seneca warriors were expected to

honor the pledge not to harm any prisoner who reached the safety of the council house. The Bedford County men soon found out that that vow was not to be honored. One Ranger in particular, William McDaniel (whom Harris referred to as *McDonald*), was singled out by the frenzied Seneca males. While ignoring the other prisoners, they grabbed McDaniel and roughed him up a bit before one of the warriors decapitated him with a tomahawk. His head was impaled on a stake and it was thrust into the ground near the council house fire. Then they danced around it with chaotic abandon. As the Seneca warriors were thusly occupied in their ecstatic revelry, a group of the Seneca women grabbed the arms of the other prisoners and led them out of the building and into the darkness of the surrounding forest. Captain Boyd, after achieving his freedom at the end of hostilities, provided a statement to the court at Bedford County in order for McDaniel's family to receive a pension. Avoiding much description, Boyd stated: "*William McDaniel of the Township of Providence in the County aforesaid was taken Prisoner, and a few Days after he was killed by the Indians*"³¹³

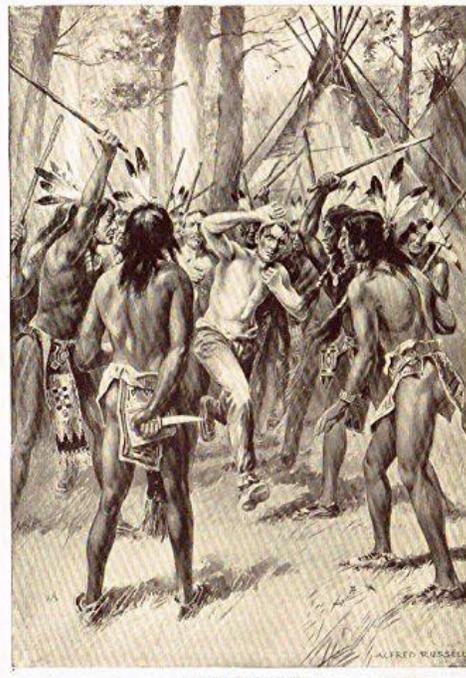
In the meantime, as the Seneca warriors were reveling, the British troops would no doubt have kept a respectful distance and not interefered. It was a scene that they would have witnessed many times before and it no doubt was one that they would experience many times to come.

On the following morning, with the warriors sobered up from their excitations of the night before, the Seneca women brought the prisoners back to the council house. The fate of the prisoners was discussed, and the warriors acknowledged that they had received satisfaction for any debts they felt the prisoners owed them. Only Horatio Jones, whom the Amerindians named Hoc-sa-go-wah

(which meant 'the boy is very handsome') was to remain at the Seneca village. He would take the place of To-an-do-qua, a young warrior who had been killed by Euro~Americans at an earlier time, and serve the slain warrior's mother as if he were her own flesh and blood son. Captain John Boyd and the remaining prisoners would be marched another ninety or so miles northwest to Fort Niagara.

The party arrived at Fort Niagara on 19 June 1781 and Lieutenant Nelles submitted his report to Sir Guy Johnson.

Captain John Boyd was held at Niagara until 23 July, at which time he was sent to Montreal. General Henry Watson Powell noted in a letter written to Governor Haldimand: "*I send down Captain Boyd who was lately taken and the information he gives , which corresponds in some degree with the Rebels papers*"³¹⁴



RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

. ***The Rangers Killed***

Please note that the lineages included in some of the following sketches have been derived from books and websites created by descendants of the massacred Patriots. The information may or may not be accurate.

John Conrad

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

John Conrad was included on a roster of Captain John Boyd's Company of Rangers.³¹⁵ His name did not appear on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

John Downey, Sr

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

John Downey Sr's name did not appear on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

Floyd Hoenstine claimed that John Downey *Sr* was among the men killed in the Engagement of Frankstown (p 25). James B. Whisker also claimed that it was the father who died, apparently obtaining his information from Hoenstine.³¹⁶ Hoenstine did not provide any source of his information. Whisker cited the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XIV, page 669; and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, pages 108 and 120 for his agreement with Hoenstine. But none of the cited references indicate that it was John Downey *Sr.*, who died in the engagement. In fact, certain rosters (such as one that appears on page 108 of the Fifth Series, Volume V) include both, John Downey and John Downey Jr. Other rosters (such as one for Captain William McCall's Company that appears on page 120 of the Fifth Series, Volume V) include only the name of 'John Downey'. In view of the fact that that last noted roster includes three men with the surname suffix of 'Jun'r', there is no reason that if the John Downey included in that roster was the son, for the name not to be similarly presented as 'John Downey Jun'r'.

Additionally, in regard to John Downey Jr., Whisker cited a volume titled: *I Pa in the Revolution*, page 64 for the date (14 March 1776) that the son enlisted in Captain John Neilson's Independent Company of Riflemen. The book is actually Volume X of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, and although John Downey is recorded as enlisting on 14 March 1776 in Captain John Nelson's Company there is no 'Sr' or 'Jr' following the name to identify the man as either father or son. How Mr. Whisker determined that the John Downey recorded in that roster was the father is not known.

The entry in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, page 743 actually reads: "Downey, John, Sr." and "Downey, John, Jr., dead". That is the only reference that specifically notes that the son died in the engagement.

On 6 May 1833, with the passage of an act the previous year to grant pensions to American Revolutionary War veterans, a man by the name of John Downey, aged seventy-seven years, applied for one at the Henry County Court House, Kentucky.³¹⁷ Noting that he

was seventy-seven years old, suggests that he was born circa 1755. A general rule of thumb for genealogists is that each generation is approximately twenty years difference. Granted some men became fathers as young as thirteen years of age. So the man's father would have been born circa 1735 to 1742. If that were truly the case, and the man would have been John Downey Sr., then he would have been between ninety and ninety-seven years of age in 1832 when he applied for the pension. The court officials would surely have recognized that the man filling out the application was not seventy-seven! Likewise, if the father was the man born in 1755, then John Downey Jr., would have been born circa 1768 to 1775 and therefore too young to serve in the War. It can be assumed that the man who was killed on 3 June 1781 was indeed the father, and that the man who applied for a pension fifty years later was the son, John Downey Jr.³¹⁸

John Downey Sr., was born circa 1725 to 1735 at Virginia. That would have made him approximately fifty-six when he was killed in the engagement in 1781. Who he married is not known for certain. The couple gave birth to at least four children: William, born 1749; Mary, born 1751; Margaret, born 1753; and John Jr., born 3 October 1755. John Jr., stated in a pension application that he was born at Frederick County, Maryland.

According to the History of Indiana County, Pennsylvania³¹⁹ John Downey Sr., moved to the region that would become Black-lick Township, Indiana County between 1770 and 1780. He removed from that region circa 1780 to take up residence in Bedford County.

John Downey Jr. (son of John Sr), married Elizabeth Crevison, possibly at Bedford County. Elizabeth was born circa 1767. John and Elizabeth gave birth to: Mary (Polly), born 1790; William, born 1791; Nancy, born 18 January 1792; Jacob, born 1795; and Margaret, born 1798.

Mary (Polly) Downey (granddaughter of John Sr) , married John Taylor. John was born circa 1783 in Ireland. The couple gave birth to: Elizabeth, born 1812; Mary, born 1815; Nancy, born 1817; Thomas J., born 1818; John, born 1821; Isabella, born 1824; William, born 1826; Margaret, born 1828; Robert, born 1830; and Cynthia Jane, born 1833. Mary died in February 1870.

William Downey (grandson of John Sr), married Mary Martin. Mary was born circa 1796.

Nancy Downey (granddaughter of John Sr), married Jonathan Martin. Jonathan was born on 15 May 1786 at Virginia. The couple gave birth to: John, born 1812; Elizabeth, born 1813; William, born 1814; Bethsheba, born 1815; Pricisilla, born 1816; Susannah, born 1817; Jonathan, born 1818; Sarah, born 1820; Jacob, born 1821; Benjamin, born 1823; Nancy, born 1824; Thomas L., born 1825; Jane M., born 1826; Hannah, born 1827; Margaret L., born 1830; George C., born 1832; an infant son and an infant daughter. Nancy died circa 1834. Jonathan died in September 1859.

Jacob Downey (grandson of John Sr), married Elizabeth Kennon. Elizabeth was born in 1800. The couple gave birth to: John, born 1822; Elizabeth, born 1825; James, born 1828; Anna, born 1831; Alexander Peterson, born 1834; Nancy, born 1836; Jane, born 1838; and Isabella, born 1839. Jacob died on 16 January 1882.

William Decker

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

William's surname is recorded as *Ducker*, or variously *Decker*, in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. In view of the fact that a man by the name of William *Ducker/Decker* and a man by the name of William *Tucker* was both recorded on the same roster of Captain John Boyd's Company, there might have been two men with very similar surnames.³²⁰ Nevertheless, it is possible that there was only one man, whose name was mistakenly recorded twice on the roster.

Only one man by the name of either *Ducker*, *Decker* or *Tucker* appeared on any tax assessment return for Bedford County around the time of the American Revolutionary War. That was John Decker who resided in Spring Hill Township in 1773, his name being recorded in the fall of 1772, prior to the removal of Spring Hill Township as part of the newly erected Westmoreland County.

Florence Grimes

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

In one roster of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*, Grimes' given name is recorded as *Florence*.³²¹ He served as a Sergeant in the company of Captain John Boyd. In another roster his name is recorded as *Torrence*.³²²

The name of this man was presented as 'Torrence' Grimes by Floyd Hoenstine. U. J. Jones did not even mention any of the names of the enlisted Rangers in Captain Boyd's Company. Although most readers (who might be casually interested in history) would have read one of the narratives, either Hoenstine's or Jones', they wouldn't necessarily have researched the information in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Therefore the name of the man has been etched in stone because of Floyd Hoenstine's choice in 1940.

No man by the name of Florence (or, for that matter, Torrence) Grimes was recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War. In 1768, James Grimes was included on the Air Township return, and in 1773, Edward Grimes was recorded on the Brothers Valley return. Those two were the only men by the surname *Grimes* to be recorded on a Bedford County tax assessment return of the time period.

James Henry (volunteer)

[Noted as killed per pension application]

As early as 1773, James Henry was listed as a resident in Bedford Township. He appeared on that year's, and various subsequent tax assessment returns for Bedford Township.

A pension application was submitted by Elizabeth Henry and stated: "*Respecting a pension to Eliz. Henry of Bedford County, widow of JAMES HENRY, who was a Private in a party of Militia under Capt. John Boyd and was killed in actual service in action with Indians near Frankstown on 3rd June 1781. Certified by John Anderson.*"³²³

In 1786, Elizabeth Henry filed a request for a pension with the Orphans Court of Bedford County.³²⁴ The 'certificate' signed by John Boyd no longer exists at the Bedford County Court House.

Frederick Righart and William Clark, overseers of the poor of Bedford Township; and Henry Werts and George Funk, freeholders of Bedford Township, Stated that James Henry of Bedford Township was killed in an engagement with the Indians at Frankstown on the 3d day of June 1781, and said James Henry left a widow Elizabeth, leaving small children under the age of 9 years, and the youngest in a state of insanity.

Another copy of the pension request³²⁵ stated:

A Certificate or Instrument in Writing was produced to the Court from the overseers of the poor and two freeholders of the Township of Bedford in the words following, to wit. Whereas by a certificate signed by John Boyd Commanding Officer of a Party of Bedford County Militia it appears to us Frederick Rigart and William Clark Overseers of the Poor for the Township of Bedford in the County of Bedford and Henry Wort and George Funk Freeholders of the Township and County aforesaid that James Henry late of the Town of Bedford was killed in an Engagement with the Indians near Frankstown on the third Day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one. We do therefore Certify to the orphan's Court for the County aforesaid That Elizabeth Henry Widow of the aforesaid James Henry was then left in very distressing Circumstances having a number of Children two of which Children were under the age of nine years the youngest of those being in a state of Insanity from these distressing Circumstances. We are of opinion that they are entitled to such support as the law in such cases doth allow, Given under our Hands the eleventh Day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty six. Frederick Righart (his mark) William Clark (his mark)} Overseers of the poor Henry Werth George Funk} Freeholders

Whereupon it is considered by the Court and ordered That George Woods Esquire Lieutenant of the County aforesaid Agreeably to the Law in such case made and provided pay or cause to be paid unto the said Elizabeth Henry the sum of thirty seven shillings and six pence Per Month from the said third day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one to the aforesaid fourteenth Day of February one

thousand seven hundred and eighty six both days inclusive being the half pay of the said James Henry Together with rations agreeably to the said act of assembly.

The time elapsed from the 3rd of June 1781 until the 1st of February 1786 would have encompassed fifty-five months. Elizabeth Henry was to be paid thirty-seven shillings and six pence per month. That means that she was to be paid a total of 2,035 shillings and 330 pence. Since there are twelve pence in a shilling, the total number of shillings would have amounted to 2,062 and one half. Since there are twenty shillings in a British pound, the total number of pounds to be paid to the Widow Henry was one hundred and three. A British pound in the 1780s, converted to today's US Dollars was one pound to roughly eighteen dollars. The £103 in 1786 would be the equivalent of \$1,854 in 2019.

The narrative presented by Floyd Hoenstine presents the death of James Henry in a very heroic manner.³²⁶ Hoenstine stated: "*His terribly mutilated body was found against a tree and nearby was five dead Indians; the tree and ground showed that there had been a bitter struggle and Henry took five lives before surrendering his own.*"

As with so many historical accounts written by early historians, the narrative presented by Mr. Hoenstine was not sourced so that anyone else could check its veracity.

(George) Jones **(volunteer)**
[Claimed to be killed by U. J. Jones]

Uriah J. Jones claimed that there were two individuals ~ he said brothers ~ by the surname Jones, who were involved in the engagement. We know that one of those individuals was Horatio Jones ~ who was taken captive and not killed. And we know, from the narratives that the first man to reach Fort Fetter to tell of the ambush was a man by the name of Jones. A third man by the surname Jones was killed and scalped in the engagement. Since Horatio Jones was not even known by Uriah J. Jones when he wrote his narrative, it can be assumed that Horatio was not one of the two brothers.

Two men by the surname of Jones, George and William, served under Captain John Boyd. Which of the two was killed on 3 June is not known from any contemporary source. William, though, is believed to have lived into the early 1800s; therefore the man by the surname of Jones who died at the engagement was probably George.³²⁷ Horatio did not mention the fact that a brother of his was killed in the engagement and it may be assumed that he was not closely related to that man.

The man by the name of Jones (presumably George) who was killed in the engagement was apparently killed after the actual fray, if U. J. Jones' narrative is to be believed.³²⁸ According to that narrative: "*As the Colemans were coming to the fort, they found the other Jones lying behind a log for the purpose of resting, as he said. Coleman advised him to push on to the fort, which he promised to do. Captain Young at length started out with a party to bring in the wounded. The man Jones was found resting behind the log, but the rest was a lasting one; he was killed and scalped.*"

Joseph Martin

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

No man by the name of Joseph Martin was recorded in any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War. Jacob Martin was the only man by the name of Martin to be recorded in the region at that time period, and he was found in Bethel Township in 1781.

Joseph Martin was recorded on a roster for Captain John Boyd's Company with the notation "*(dec'd)*" indicating that he, like so many others, had died in actual service.³²⁹

Joseph Martin was born in 1744 at Chester County, Pennsylvania.³³⁰ He married Sary Sally Jones. She was born circa 1745. The couple gave birth to: Benjamin, born 1762; Joseph Jr., born 15 January 1764; and Levi James, born 18 November 1764. It is possible that any or all of the sons served in the War too, but identifying them in particular units is difficult. The names of both Joseph Martin and Levi Martin was recorded in addition to the name of Joseph Martin (estate of) in a listing of Depreciation Pay given to soldiers. The 'Joseph Martin (estate of)' reference would definitely have referred to the father who died in the engagement. The other 'Joseph Martin' would have referred to the son.³³¹

Joseph Martin Jr., (son of Joseph), married Rebecca Gerard. Rebecca was born in 1771. The couple gave birth to: Hannah, born 1 November 1789; William, born 23 April 1791; Jonah, born 20 September 1792; John, born 2 March 1794; Levi, born 10 December 1795; Jacob, born 19 January 1798; Joseph, born 9 March 1799; Chloe, born 19 December 1800; Nancy J. (White), born 1802; Drucilla, born 20 October 1803; Rachel, born 10 March 1805; Susanna, born 13 January 1806; Mehetable, born 24 October 1807; Martha, born 10 January 1809; Gano, born 4 February 1811; Elizabeth, born 25 November 1813; Jane, born 11 May 1815; and an unnamed infant. Rebecca died on 25 March 1843. Joseph died on 10 October 1845 at Newtown, in Anderson Township, Hamilton County, Ohio.

Hannah Martin (granddaughter of Joseph), married Daniel Landry. Daniel was born 25 October 1800. The couple gave birth to Joseph Martin, born 1827; and Jacob, born 1828. Hannah died on 30 July 1849. Daniel died in 1862.

William Martin (grandson of Joseph), died in 1847.

John Martin (grandson of Joseph), died on 23 September 1854 at Versailles, in Brown County, Illinois.

Levi Martin (grandson of Joseph), died on 15 December 1866.

Jacob Martin (grandson of Joseph), died on 10 March 1882 at Greensburg, in Decatur County, Indiana.

JosephMartin (grandson of Joseph), died on 23 April 1873.

ChloeMartin (granddaughter of Joseph), died on 17 February 1877.

Nancy J. (White) (granddaughter of Joseph), died in 1867.

Mehetable Martin(granddaughter of Joseph), died on 14 December 1884.

Martha Martin (granddaughter of Joseph), married ---- DeBolt. Martha died on 3 February 1873.

GanoMartin (grandson of Joseph), died on 30 April 1884.

Levi James Martin (son of Joseph) died on 22 March 1835 at Staunton, in Miami County, Ohio.

Henderson Murphy _____ **(volunteer)**

[Noted as killed per pension application]

Henderson Murphy was born circa 1739 at Ireland. He emigrated to the British Colonies and in 1772, Henderson Murphy was found to be a renter in Colerain Township. By 1774 he was recorded as a resident in the Colerain Township tax assessment return. He appeared again in the 1776 and 1779 returns.

The estate of 'Henry' Murphy filed an application for a pension.³³² It stated: "Henry Murphy was a Private of Bedford County Militia under command of Capt. John Boyd and was killed in action with Indians near Frankstown on June 3rd., 1781."

Henderson Murphy's widow, Sarah petitioned the Orphans Court for a pension.³³³

A Certificate or Instrument in writing was produced to the Court from the Overseers of the Poor and two freeholders of the Township of Providence in the Words following (to wit) Whereas by a Certificate Signed by George Smith Lieutenant of a party of Bedford County Militia Comanded by John Boyd, it appears to us John Morre and George Barton, Overseers of the Poor for the Township of Providence in the County of Bedford aforesaid and Joseph Morrison & Hugh Ferguson Freeholders of the Township and County aforesaid, that Henderson Murphy late of the Township of Providence in the County aforesaid was killed in an Engagement with the Indians near Frankstown on the third Day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one. We do therefore Certify to the Orphans Court for the County aforesaid that Sarah Murphy Widow of the aforesaid Henderson Murphy was then left in very distressing Circumstances having seven Children the oldest of them being under the age of fouteen years and the youngest about four Months old, from these distressing Circumstances we are of opinion that they are Intitled to such Support as the Law in Such cases doth allow. Given under our Hands this tenth Day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & eighty seven. John Moore George Barton} Overseers Joseph Morrison Hugh Ferguson (his mark)} Freeholders.

Whereupon it is considered by the Court and ordered that George Woods Esquire Lieutenant of the County aforesaid pay or cause to be paid unto the said Sarah Murphy the Sum of thirty seven shillings & six pence pr Month from the said third Day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one to this Day both Days inclusive being the Half pay of the said Henderson Murphy Together with Rations agreeably to the Act of Assembly in such cases Made and Provided.

According to James B. Whisker in his 1985 book, *Bedford County (Pennsylvania) in the American Revolution*, Helen Greenburg had copied documents from the Orphan's Court (Prothonotary's Office) at the Bedford County Court House in 1935. This one, regarding Henderson Murphy was included in the documents she supposedly found. It does not exist in the Court House at the present time.³³⁴

I, the subscriber, lieutenant of the party of Bedford County militia commanded by John Boyd at the time, do hereby certify that Henderson Murphy was, on the third day of June in the year, A.D., 1781, killed in an engagement with the Indians near Frankstown in the County of Bedford, aforesaid. Given unto my hand this 9th Day of August, A.D. 1787. Lt. George Smith

Henderson Murphy was the fifth son and eighth child of William Corjord Murphy and his wife Eleanor Elizabeth (Echols).³³⁵ Henderson married Sarah ----. Sarah was born circa 1741. After his death in 1781, Sarah would marry Thomas Burns. Henderson and Sarah gave birth to: Alexander, born 1763; Elisha, born 1765; Henry, born 1767; Jesse, born 1770; William, born 1770; Margaret, born 1775; and a second son named Alexander.

Elisha Murphy (son of Henderson), died on 27 September 1834 at Cass, in Fulton County, Illinois.

Alexander Murphy (son of Henderson) was the second son given that name. Alexander married Sally Jenkins. Sally was born in 1779 at Pendleton, Anderson County, South Carolina. The couple gave birth to: James I., born 8 May 1795; Sarah, born 1797; Sylvia, born 4 May 1799; Dianna, born 1804; Alexander, born 1805; Rachel, born 1806; and Phoebe, born 25 December 1811. Sally died in 1813. Alexander died in 1830 at Pope, Illinois.

James I. Murphy (grandson of Henderson), died in 1865.

Sarah Murphy (granddaughter of Henderson), died on 8 March 1874.

Sylvia Murphy (granddaughter of Henderson), died on 9 October 1857.

Alexander Murphy (grandson of Henderson), married Mary Polly Scott. Mary was born in 1808 at Tennessee. The couple gave birth to: John W., born 1828; Alexander, born 1830; Matthew J., born 1831; Alexander, born 1832; James Frank, born 1835; Joseph, born 1837; Sarah, born 1838; Margaret, born 1840; George Washington, born 1842; Isaac A., born 1843; Thomas Read, born 1847; Valentine, born 849; Mary C., born 1851; and Lucy, born 1856. Alexander and Mary both died in 1860.

Rachel Murphy (granddaughter of Henderson), died in 1870.

Phoebe Murphy (granddaughter of Henderson), died on 23 December 1889.

Michael Nicholas

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

Michael Nicholas' name appears on one roster of Captain John Boyd's Company. It includes the notation "*dead.*"³³⁶

No man by the name of Michael Nicholas was recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

William Nichols

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

William Nichols' name was not included in either U. J. Jones' or Floyd Hoenstine's narratives. It was included, though, on the roster included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* with the notation of 'dec'd' along with the similarly notated names of John Conrad, Joseph Martin, John Thomas and William Tucker (Decker).³³⁷ If the other men are accepted as having died in the Engagement of Frankstown, then William Nichols should also.

Henry Tantlinger (volunteer)

[Noted as killed per pension application]

Henry Tantlinger appeared on the 1779 Colerain Township tax assessment return. It was the only tax return that he would appear on in Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

An application for a pension stated: "*Nelly Tantlinger and John Tantlinger, applicants, daughter and son of HENRY TANTLINGER a Private in a party of Bedford County Militia, under command of Capt. John Boyd, Was killed in action with Indians near Frankstown on June 3rd.1781.*"³³⁸

On 14 February 1786, a petition was filed with the Bedford County Orphans Court by Cathrine Tantlinger:³³⁹

A Certificate or Instrument in Writing was produced to the Court from the overseers of the poor and two freeholders of the Township of Providence in the words following (to wit) Whereas by a Certificate signed John Boyd Commanding officer of a Party of Bedford County Militia, it appears to us Joseph Morrison and John Moore overseers of the poor for the Township of providence in the County of Bedford and Joseph Sparks and Joseph McDaniel Freeholders in the Township and County aforesaid, that Henry Tantlinger late of the Town of Bedford was killed in an action with the Indians near Frankstown on the third Day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one. We therefore Certify to the orphans Court for the County aforesaid. That Cathrine Tantlinger Widow of the aforesaid Henry Tantlinger was then left in very low Circumstances having five Children (the eldest nine years of age and the youngest [illegible]. Since the Death of her husband to support and Maintain and that She is Still endeavoring to support said Children although under distressing circumstances. For these reasons we are of opinion

that she and her children are justly intitled to such support as the Law in such cases doth allow. Given under our Hands the Fourteenth Day of February in the year of our Lord 1786.

Catherine's attempt to obtain a pension as a result of her husband's death continued for the next three years. On 3 September 1789, an entry was recorded in the Minutes of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council:³⁴⁰

"A letter from the Comptroller General, relative to Catherine Zantlinger's pension, received by Mr. Woods, inclosing her affidavit and Colonel Woods' account of Lieutenant of Bedford county, as settled by the Comptroller General, was received and read, and the same referred to the Vice President, Mr. Smith and Mr. Willing, the committee on the letter from the Comptroller of the sixth of May last, relative to Colonel Woods' conduct."

On 9 October 1789, it was recorded that:³⁴¹ *"The Comptroller General's reports upon orders of the Orphans' Court of Bedford county, in favor of the following persons, for their pensions, were read and approved, and orders were drawn upon the Treasurer for the several sums reported by the Comptroller to be due to them, payable out of the monies arising from the militia fines of the county of Bedford, vizt: Catherine Tantlinger, for the sum of twenty-two pounds ten shillings, balance due of her pension from the fourteenth of February, 1786, till the fourteenth of August, 1787."*

On 7 October 1790, a final entry was recorded in the Minutes of the Council:³⁴² *"In favor of Catherine Tantlinger, widow of Henry Tantlinger, late of the Bedford county militia for the sum of thirty-three pounds fifteen shillings, payable according to act of Assembly passed the twenty-seventh day of March last, being the amount of two warrants of Council, dated the fifteenth of May, 1788, and the tenth of October, 1789, which were drawn in her favor, for the pensions due to her untill the fourteenth of August, 1787, according to an order of Orphans' Court of the said county, dated the same day, in pursuance of an act of Assembly passed the twentieth of March, 1780, payable out of the monies arising from militia fines in the said county, but that fund not being productive, the said warrants are now delivered up to be cancelled."*

Henry Tantlinger was born circa 1746 in Pennsylvania. He married Catherine -----, who was also born circa 1746. They raised a family of one daughter and two sons: Eleanor, born 1778; John, born 1778 and died circa 1840; and Henry, born 1781.

Henry Tantlinger (son of Henry), married Mary Crawford. Mary was born circa 1781, possibly in Germany. The couple gave birth to a son also named Henry, born circa 1809 in Somerset County, Pennsylvania. Henry, the father died in 1840 at Ligonier, in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Mary's death date is unknown.

Henry Tantlinger (grandson of Henry), married Nancy Nicewonger. Nancy was born in 1808. The couple gave birth to: Joseph Nicewonger, born 20 May 1844. Henry died prior to 1870 at Fairfield Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Nancy died in 1870.

John Thomas

[Noted as killed on roster in *Pennsylvania Archives*]

John Thomas' name appears on a roster for Captain John Boyd's Company with the notation "dec'd."³⁴³

The name of John Thomas was not recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

William Tucker **[See entry for William Ducker]**

The names of William Ducker and William Tucker exist only on one roster, on pages 743 and 744 of Volume XI of the Second Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*. None of the narratives noted two men with similar names.

. ***The Rangers Wounded***

David Bates

[Claimed to be wounded by Floyd Hoenstine]

David Bates (*variously*, Beate) served as a Sergeant in Captain John Boyd's Company of the Bedford County Militia.³⁴⁴

According to Floyd Hoenstine, David Bates (*variously* Beates) served as a Private under Captain Boyd, and after the Captain's and the Sergeant's (Dugan) capture in the engagement, he was promoted to the rank of First Sergeant. According to Hoenstine, Bates "was in command until Lieutenant Johnston arrived from recruiting duty." He simply noted that David "was wounded during the Battle of Frankstown." without provided any additional information.³⁴⁵ It is amazing that Floyd Hoenstine was privy to such detailed information that no longer is in existence in any public form. It is moreso shameful that such a distinguished historian felt it was unnecessary to reveal the source(s) of his information.

David Bates's name was not recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War. He did not apply for a pension.

Abraham Bodle

[Claimed to be wounded by Floyd Hoenstine]

According to a listing in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, of men who were "Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.", Abraham Bodle was then residing in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. The entry noted that he had been "wounded in right thigh at Frankstown when in pursuit of Indians."³⁴⁶

No man by the name of Abraham Bodle was recorded in the tax assessment returns for the Bedford County region prior to and during the American Revolutionary War. Abraham Bodle did not apply for a pension.

Stephen Goble

[Noted as wounded per pension application]

Stephen Goble (*variously*, Gable, Gabel or Gobel), a Corporal, was claimed, by Hoenstine to have been wounded in the right arm.³⁴⁷ No *Pennsylvania Archives* reference provides proof for such a claim. All published references simply note that he was wounded. What Hoenstine did not reveal to his readers was that he got his information from Stephen Goble's application for a pension.³⁴⁸

Stephen Goble was born in March 1759 at Morris County, New Jersey, the youngest son of Stephen Sr., and Rhoda (Corey).³⁴⁹ In 1777 Stephen Goble was recorded as receiving pay on a *Pay Roll of Captain Silas Howell's Compy of the first New Jersey Regmt. Commanded by Colonel Mathias Ogden, in the Service of the United States for the Month of October ~ 1777*.³⁵⁰ He apparently served a number of tours of duty in militia units in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, despite the fact that his name appears in the *Pennsylvania Archives* only on the roster for Captain John Boyd's Company.³⁵¹

Stephen Goble's pension application, which he submitted in September 1832 at Bartholomew County, Indiana, indicated:³⁵² "Period: *Voluntarily enlisted in the Spring in 1781, Previously to the service aforesaid in the year 1780 he enlisted & served. / Names of General and Field Officers under whom he served: Genl. Potter, Capt John Boyd, Lieut Johnson, Capt. John Moore, Lieut Wm. McCall / In what battles was he engaged: Battle at Frankstown*" [It should be noted that the 'Genl. Potter' that Mr. Goble identified as one of his superiors would have been James Potter, of Northumberland County who was commissioned as a Major General in 1782 in charge of Pennsylvania Associators. General Potter's name does not appear in relation to any company, let alone Captain John Boyd's, of Bedford County.]

In Stephen Goble's own words, as given in the pension application he filed:

That in the year 1781 in the Spring he voluntarily enlisted in the Pennsylvania troops for during the war under Capt. John Boyd ~ Johnson Lieutenant, the company called Bedford rangers and attached to Genl Potter's Command, and that he served until the close of the Revolutionary War, and received an honourable discharge signed by Lieut. Johnson, Capt. Boyd having been taken prisoner by the Indians. Previously to the service aforesaid in the year 1780 he voluntarily enlisted under Capt. John Moore, William White Lieut for seven months and served during that time, and at the expiration thereof received an honourable discharge... that he was in the battle at Frankstown in nhis last tour of service, and was wounded in the right arm by a bullet...

Following the War, and his official discharge on 1 July 1783, Stephen Goble moved westward. After the American Revolutionary War was over, the militias were continued throughout Pennsylvania. Stephen stated on his pension: "*He also served three years under*

Genl Wayne, having enlisted in Westmoreland Co Pennsylvania and received an honourable discharge which has been last under Capt Sparks Company.” It has been claimed by some of his descendants that he received a bounty of land in Westmoreland County, *Donation Lands* tract #470 for his service in the Revolution. The fact of the matter is that absolutely no land was ever given to *militia* for Revolutionary War service. It was, however, given to militia for service *after 1783*, and since Stephen Goble served under General Anthony Wayne for three years after the War (*i.e.* 1783 to 1786), he very well could have received bounty lands for the later service.

In 1790, his name was recorded on the U. S. Census for Washington Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania. Stephen eventually settled at Taylorsville, in Bartholomew County, Indiana. He died on 11 September 1841.

On 26 July 1827, Stephen Goble married Elizabeth Bones. Elizabeth was born circa 1760. Prior to their marriage, the couple gave birth to: David H., born 12 August 1782; Stephen Currin, born 20 December 1818; and William, born 1823.

David H. Goble (son of Stephen), married Elsie Simpson. Elsie was born on 13 June 1783 in Kentucky. The couple gave birth to: Stephen, born 08 September 1805; David Jr., born 8 July 1811; William Henry Harrison, born 16 March 1815; Nancy, born 1817; George Washington, born 15 September 1820; and Simpson S., born 14 March 1822. David died on 20 June 1855 at Lawrence, in Cloud County, Kansas. Elsie died on 10 May 1862 at Ainsworth, in Washington County, Iowa.

Stephen Goble (grandson of Stephen), died on 8 April 1846 at Columbia, in Bartholomew County, Indiana.

David Goble Jr. (grandson of Stephen), died on 30 January 1905 at Medical Springs, in Baker County, Oregon.

William Hentry Harrison Goble (grandson of Stephen), died on 9 January 1903 at Childers, Oklahoma.

Nancy Goble (granddaughter of Stephen), died in 1880 at Washington, Iowa.

George Washington Goble (grandson of Stephen), died on 19 October 1884 at Ainsworth, in Washington County, Iowa.

Simpson S. Goble (grandson of Stephen), married Elizabeth Ann Marr Bone. Elizabeth was born on 11 January 1828. The couple gave birth to: Oliver S., born 16 April 1845; Margaret, born 9 December 1847; Elizabeth A., born 11 March 1850; Sarah Ann, born 6 October 1854; David Henry, born 15 May 1856; William Albert, born 9 January 1859; Stephen Andrew, born 10 February 1862; Martha Elizabeth, born 17 July 1866; and Dwight, born 1869. Elizabeth died on 18 May 1889. Simpson died on 17 January 1908 at Lincoln, in Lancaster County, Nebraska.

Stephen Currin Goble (son of Stephen), married Matilda A. Palmer. Matilda was born circa 1838 at Indiana. The couple gave birth to: Demetrius, born 1868; Lizzie, born 1870; Dora, born 1871; and Jessie, born 1879. Stephen died on 22 August 1898.

William Goble (son of Stephen), died during February 1870 at Brown County, Indiana.

Hugh Means **(volunteer)**

[Noted as wounded per pension application]

Hugh Means was “wounded in the arm,” according to the statement given in the *Pennsylvania Archives* in the list of “Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.”³⁵³ According to Floyd Hoenstine, who did not provide any source for his information, Hugh Means was “wounded in the wrist.” It is a very specific bit of information and should have been supported by a source reference.

Hugh Means’s name was recorded on the tax assessment return for Barree Township for the year 1768 while the region was still part of Cumberland County. A notation with his name was ‘Waterstreet Valley’, west of the village of Standing Stone. After that time, he continued to appear on tax returns for Barree Township while owning uncultivated land in the valleys west of Waterstreet. His uncultivated lands showed up on the tax assessment returns for Bedford Township in 1767 and Frankstown Township in 1775.

Captain John Boyd’s Company of Rangers for Bedford County was raised after his appointment to Captain in early January 1781 and after a directive by the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council dated 10 February.³⁵⁴ At the time that a roster of his company was taken, Hugh Means was not recorded as being in the company³⁵⁵ but his name and rank of Ensign was included on a list of officers for Captain Boyd’s Company dated 10 February 1781.³⁵⁶ Also, Hugh Means’ name was included in a listing of ‘Soldiers of the Revolution who received pay for their services. Taken from Manuscript Record, having neither date nor title, but under Rangers on the Frontiers 1778-1783’³⁵⁷ The entry states: “Means, Hugh, ensign, Boyd’s Rangers.”

It is interesting to note that at the same time that Captain John Boyd was commissioned and set about raising a company from Bedford County, the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council issued an order (on 7 January 1781) stating: “The Board taking into consideration the recruiting the Ranging companies in the counties of Bedford, Westmoreland and Washington. On consideration, Resolved, That a sum of two hundred and fifty pounds specie, be paid into the hands of David Espy, Esquire, and by him delivered to Lieutenant William Johnston and Ensign Hugh Means, for the purpose of recruiting the company of Rangers in the county of Bedford.”³⁵⁸

Hugh Means was mentioned in John Downey Jr’s pension application in 1833 filed in Henry County, Kentucky. In that application, Downey stated that “our lieutenant was James Johnson & ensign Henry Manes...”

After the War, Hugh Means was residing in Mercer County, Pennsylvania. He had married Rosanna ---- on 20 March 1783 while residing in Catharine Township, Huntingdon County. He was included in the list of residents in 1796 and later moved to New Wilmington, in present-day Lawrence County

Hugh Means died on 12 February 1835.

Hugh and Rosanna gave birth to: Edward, Thomas, Henry, Daniel, Jannie and George.

Adam Wimer (volunteer)

[Noted as wounded per pension application]

Adam Wimer’s name does not appear in any record of the men wounded in the engagement other than in Floyd Hoenstine’s writing.³⁵⁹ His name appears in only one roster in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*, and that was as a Private serving in Captain George Enslow’s Company “*Laid down . . . July 12th 1781.*”³⁶⁰ He might have served under Captain John Boyd, being wounded on the 3rd of June, and then served in Captain Enslow’s Company just over a month later.

. ***The Rangers Captured***

The Indians, Senecas from the headwaters of the Genesse River in New York State, headed toward the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The group paused near the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek. One of the captives, a man by the name of Ross, was tortured by the Indians who burned him with firebrands until he died; this occurred in the vicinity of the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek. According to a statement made by Henry Dugan in his pension application, he and Captain Boyd received hard treatment, but they achieved their freedom and made their way to New York on Christmas Day, 1782. Boyd’s life was purportedly saved by an old squaw who claimed him in place of her own son who had been lost in battle.

John Cook

[Noted as captured by J. F. Meginness]

John Cook was identified as a Lieutenant when he accompanied John Boyd’s Company of Bedford County Rangers in search of Amerindians on 3 June 1781. According to rosters published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, in 1776 Cook served as a Private in Captain Thomas Herbert’s Company of Colonel Samuel J. Atlee’s Musketry Battalion of the Continental Line.³⁶¹ He was promoted to Ensign in Colonel William Cooke’s Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line in 1777, serving alongside John Boyd.³⁶²

J. F. Meginness told a brief story of his capture during the engagement at Frankstown and his subsequent treatment:³⁶³

About the same time. Lieutenant John Cook of Northumberland, a full cousin of Colonel Cook, belonged to the company of Captain Boyd. The Captain started with a company of about forty men on an expedition to the Juniata to look for Indians. They were suddenly surprised by a large body in ambush, and fired upon. A smart engagement took place, but the whites were overcome by superior numbers, and after losing several men, were compelled to fly. Cook received several wounds, and was taken prisoner. Four Indians took him in charge, and started off,

he knew not where. On the third night of his captivity they began to amuse themselves by burning his legs with firebrands, and as he was much exhausted from loss of blood from his wounds, was scarcely able to move. After travelling through the wilderness for about twenty days, fed on the entrails of wild animals, they brought him to Niagara. He was brought out one day to run the gauntlet, but being unable to run, as his legs were so badly burned, the savages at length took mercy on him, and let him off. He was then confined in prison till he was finally exchanged and returned. He is said to have had an exceedingly sharp pair of legs from the knees down, probably occasioned by the burning. Previous to this, Cook captured an Indian near Northumberland, and brought him to town a prisoner. The scuffle between them was animated and severe, but he succeeded in getting the Indian's gun, tomahawk, and knife away from him, and finally overpowered him. The Indian remained at Northumberland for many years, and became quite civilized. Cook died in March, 1822, aged seventy-six years.

John Cook did not appear in any of the tax assessment returns for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

Richard Delapt

[Captured and later killed per pension application]

Richard Delapt (*variously*, Dunlap), was claimed by Hoenstine as having been killed during the actual engagement. Also, a pension application filed by his widow stated: "*Jane Delapt, applicant, widow of RICHARD DELAPT, who was a Private in Bedford County Militia under command of Capt. John Boyd and was killed in actual service against Indians near Frankstown, June 3rd 1781. Certified by David Espy.*"³⁶⁴ Conflicting with that application was a statement made by John Boyd to the Bedford County Orphan's Court on 26 December 1785. Boyd's statement indicated that Richard DeLapt had been taken prisoner and killed a few miles from the action. Boyd's statement read:³⁶⁵

A Certificate or Instrument in Writing was produced to the Court from the overseers of the poor and two freeholders of the Township of Bedford in the words following (to wit) Whereas by a certificate signed John Boyd Commanding officer of a party of Bedford County Militia, it appears to us Frederick Righart and William Clerk overseers of the poor for the Township of Bedford in the County of Bedford and Henry Wert and George Funk Freeholders in the Town and County aforesaid, that Richard Delapt late of the Town of Bedford was wounded and taken

prisoner in an engagement with the Indians near Frankstown which happened on the third day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one and on the same Day within a few Miles of the place of action he was killed. We do now certify to the Orphans Court for the County aforesaid that Jane Delapt widow of the aforesaid Richard Delapt was then in low circumstances having one Child of the age of six years to support and maintain and that she and said Child are now in necessitous circumstances we are therefore of oppinion that they are intituled to such Support as the Law in such cases doth allow. Given under our Hands the Eleventh Day of February in the year of our Lord 1786..

Richard Delapt, along with eight others, sent a letter to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council dated 17 September 1779. The letter requested assistance in defending the frontier settlements against Indian incursions:³⁶⁶

Bedford, Sept. 17th, 1779.

Sir, This Day arrived here Capt. Samuel Paxton, with twenty-one Men, who had been out at Frankstown on a Tour of Militia Duty, by order of Colonel James Martin; the Capt. reports that during his stay at that Place, which was about sixteen Days, He, with some of his Men, ranged the Woods at least ten Miles around the Fort. And last Week he discovered at the Head of Frankstown Waters in the Allegany Mountain, a Rendezvous Place the Indians have had for some time past; there was erected ten Bark Houses in their Way, each of which would do for three to sleep under, it appeared that three of the said Shades or Houses had been occupied about three or four Days before. We mention this as one circumstance of our Fears; We understand that Colonel Broadhead has destroyed the Indian Towns in the Forks of Allegany, and we think it a great thing; but at the same Time we lie exposed here, and from the nature of Indians they look for revenge, and of course we must be the first Victims of their Rage, as we lie nearest and most convenient to them. We are also without Powder to enable us to defend ourselves, even if we had Men, and such a Backwardness appears in some of our officers, that we dread the Consequence. We hope your Excellency and the Honourable Council will take the Premises into consideration, and send such relief as you may think most proper for the safety of this part of the Commonwealth.

*We are, with due respect, Your Excellency's Humble Sert^s,
RICHARD DELAPT, THOMAS ANDERSON, MICHAEL*

FEATHER, HENRY WERTZ, JACOB SAYLOR, JOHN GRAHAM, JACOB THERSH, THOMAS HAY, WILLIAM EULES.

According to James B. Whisker in his 1985 book, *Bedford County (Pennsylvania) in the American Revolution*, Helen Greenburg had copied documents from the Orphan's Court (Prothonotary's Office) at the Bedford County Court House in 1935. This one, regarding Richard Delapt was included in the documents she supposedly found. It does not exist in the Court House at the present time.³⁶⁷

I, the subscriber, being commanding officer at the time, do hereby certify that James Henry and ~~~~~ Tantlinger, were on the 3d day of June, A.D. 1781, killed in an engagement with ye Indians near Frankstown in Bedford County; and Richard Delapt and William McDaniel were, on the same day, made prisoners. Richard Delapt was murdered a few miles from the place of action and William McDaniel was murdered at an Indian village known by the name kerkadeer a few days after. Given under my hand this 26th Day of December, A.D. 1785. Jno Boyd

Henry Dugan

[Noted as captured per pension application]

Henry Dugan served as the Sergeant in Captain John Boyd's Company in the summer of 1781. He was captured in the engagement at Frankstown, but made his escape in January 1782.³⁶⁸

In 1783, a petition was submitted to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council by John Boyd and Thomas Stokely. The petition stated: "*We the Subscribers would beg leave to represent the Situation of Henery Dungan Serjt. of Captn. Jno. Boyd's Company...that they have been Captured by the Savages in the Summer of Eighty-one and are now on their return from Canada being Destitute of Money and allmost Cloathing would beg that Council would take their Situation under Consideration and grant them such supply's as they in their wisdom shall think necessary.*"³⁶⁹ The Council noted the petition in an entry in their Minutes: "*A representation was read, signed by John Boyd, Captain of Rangers, and Thomas Stokely, also Captain of Rangers, representing the situation of Henry Dugan, Serjeant of Captain Boyd's company...now returned from captivity amongst the savages: and thereupon, Ordered, That two month's pay be advanced to the said Henry Dugan...that each of them be furnished with a hat, two shirts, a waistcoate, a pair of overalls, a pair of stickings, a pair of shoes, and cloth and trimmings for a coat, and that Colonel Farmer be directed to furnish the said cloathing accordingly.*"³⁷⁰

Henry Dugan applied for and received a pension.³⁷¹ In that pension application he stated:

HENRY DUGAN came from Ireland 1760, resided in

Cumberland County. Went up to Mongohala County with wife and three children, where they (wife and children) were killed by Indians. In Spring of 1777 he and others went to Kentucky to improve lands, were driven off by Indians. On return home joined Army, beat Indians at mouth of Kanawa River. Crossed Ohio River, joined Lord Drumore at Chilicothe. Next Spring enlisted with Captain Michael Crissup in Old Town, Md. In Company of Riflemen for one year. Shortly after Company marched to Bostom and at expiration of term was discharged at Staten Island. Afterwards he re-enlisted in Col. Malcolm's Regt. Of New York troops for short time and was discharged. About 1780 or 1781 he enlisted with Capt John Boyd, who commanded a Company of Penna. Rangers. At Battle of Frankstown with the Indians, June 4, Captain Boyd and he were taken prisoners, where they received hard treatment, and got to New York on Christmas Day 1782. Was discharged as First Sergeant from same Company, July 18, 1783. Is eighty-two years of age.

Henry Dugan did not appear in any of the tax assessment returns for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War.

It is interesting to note that Henry Dugan served under Captain William Phillips prior to serving under Captain John Boyd. He noted that service in the pension he applied for in 1820:³⁷²

On this 30th day of August Eighteen hundred and twenty personally appeared in open Court being a court of record for the said County, so expressly made by law of the State of Ohio aforesaid, Henry Dugan aged eighty four years on the 24th day of March 1820 resident in Miami Township County of hamilton and State of Ohio aforesaid, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth, on his oath declare, that he served in the revolutionary war as follows Viz, he first went from Maryland to Boston under Captain Michael Cresop in the year 1775 belonging to no regiment was discharged on Staten Island in May 1776 ~ he then joined Col William Malcolm's regiment, (in Capt Dean's Company of rangers, belonging to Scotts brigade) in the City of New York discharged in New Jersey the December following ~ he then joined Capt Phillips' Company of six months militiamen in Bedford County, State of Pennsylvania; in the year 1779 he enlisted for during the war, under Capt. John Boyd in a Company of rangers (in Bedford County Pennsylvania) and that he was taken prisoner with Capt John Boyd about the 4th June in the year 1781 in a Battle with the Indians at Frankstown Juniatta

& remained a prisoner eighteen months. . .

According to his pension application, Henry was married to Polly, thirty years his junior, and their daughters, Mary and Kitty and their son, William. According to the pension, Mary was “*an idiot & incapable of learning or performing any work, aged twenty*”. William was, at that time, twelve years old and Kitty was ten.

The pension application which Henry Dugan submitted in 1820, his entire personal estate consisted of: one blind horse, a cow & calf, three sheep, one sow and pigs, one plough, one axe, one hoe, one pot and one kettle, four plates, six knives and forks, two pine water buckets, four cups and saucers, one hand saw, two chisels and two gouges, one foot lathe, two gimblets and two augers and brace bits. According to the pension application: “*This deponent was bred a turner...*”

Horatio Jones

[Noted as captured per pension application]

Horatio Jones was the eldest son of William and Mary (Parry) Jones. He was born on 19 November 1763 at the family’s home in Downington, Pennsylvania. The Jones family later moved to Baltimore County, Maryland and in 1771-2 they moved to Bedford County, Pennsylvania where Horatio grew up.

Horatio Jones’ name does not appear in any roster published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. Hoenstine stated that he enlisted as a fifer in Captain James Packer’s Company of Colonel John Piper’s Bedford County Militia. Once again Hoenstine did not supply the source reference for his information, and when one checks the published *Pennsylvania Archives* it is discovered that there existed no man by the name of James Packer or Parker who served as a Captain. Hoenstine also stated that Jones “*guarded Tories imprisoned in Bedford jail.*” Neither does the name of Horatio Jones appear in any roster included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. What we find is that Hoenstine got his information from Horatio Jones’ pension application.³⁷³

It has been noted elsewhere in this volume that the ‘biography’ of Horatio Jones, written by George H. Harris is not a first-person narrative. It is the story of his life as told to his son-in-law, B. F. Angel, who then told it to Harris. Jones’ pension application, though was his own words.³⁷⁴

On this Twenty seventh day of January 1834 personally appeared in open court before the judges of the court of common Pleas of the county of Livingston aforesaid now sitting Horatio Jones a resident of the town of Geneseo in the county of Livingston aforesaid aged seventy years who being first duly sworn according to Law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7th 1832 that he was born at Great Valley in Chester County in the state of Pennsylvania in the year 1763 and

that he has no written memorandum of the time of his birth nor does he know of any. That according to the best recollection and belief of this deponent he entered the service of the United States in character of a Musician being then a fifer in the autumn of the year 1776 the he volunteered into the company of Rifle men commanded by Captain James Parker in the regiment commanded by Col John Piper and that he resided at the time of his so entering the said service at a place called then Old Fort Littleton in Bedford County and state of Pennsylvania. and that he joined the company in that neighborhood that they were immediately marched to Philadelphia and from thence after a short space to Trenton and finally to Princeton in New Jersey where they were quartered for the winter that this deponent was quartered in the college at Princeton where he remained till in the winter where being attacked by the small pox he was removed to a Pox hospital some two miles from the college where he remained long confined with that disease. The said deponent recollects that while he was quartered at the college General Putnam who was at that time in command at that place had his quarters a short distance perhaps half a mile from the college and this deponent used very frequently to see General Putnam and his aid whose name this deponent believes was Humphrey. that this deponent has after been present when scouting parties received their orders [unintelligible] from General Putnam. and the said deponent further saith that he remained till spring or early summer when the Regiment were discharged and this deponent returned home having but barely recovered from the effects of the Small Pox. This deponent further saith that the time which he actually served during this tour of duty was according to his impression nine months but that he actually served at this time six months he has no doubt.

And the said deponent further saith that after his return from this expedition he was previous to the expedition of Col Broadhead engaged in these several tours of duty in the service of the United States in each of which he volunteered on one of these occasions he went as one of a company to guard the Public Stores which were sent from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and on another of these occasions he was employed in guarding the Tories who had been imprisoned in Bedford Jail in both of these engagements he was employed six months. In the spring of the year 1778 the said deponent entered the said service again as a volunteer near the Borough of Bedford aforesaid in the state of Pennsylvania where he then resided that he volunteered for six

months according to his best recollection and belief under Captain John More commanding a company of rangers or spies as they were called and this deponent supposes the company was Pennsylvania Militia. That soon after entering the said company they were marched to a Block House on the Frankstown Branch of the Juniatta River in the State of Pennsylvania where the company was stationed to keep the Indians back from the frontier settlements that they were frequently engaged in scouting parties and remained in the service during this engagement according to the best recollection and belief of this deponent nine months and that he is positive that he served at this time six months when he with the said company returned home.

And the said deponent further saith that he was next to wit in the summer of the year 1779 enlisted under Capt Irwin whose Christian name this deponent doesnot recollect that the Captain Irwin did not accompany the company in the service which imediately followed this deponents enlistment but that he well recollects that John Jemison first Lieutenant and Henry Armstrong second Lieutenant were in command in the said company in which the deponent enlisted and served that he enlisted in the Borough of Bedford aforesaid for nine months and served out fully the period of his enllistment and that he joined the company at the place of the enlistment which was also the place of his residence and immediately marched to Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania where the Regiment assembled and were under the command of Col Broadhead they remained at Pittsburgh several weeks from thence they marched up the Allegany River and at the Broken Straw narrows on the Alleghany River a skirmish was had with the Indians in which several of the Indians were killed from thence they marched to the Town of the Senecas and Delawares on the head waters of Allegany River and destroyed their houses grain cattle &c from thence the Regiment returned to Pittsburgh but the company to which the deponent belonged stopped at Old Fort Katanion above Pittsburgh where they remained under Lieutenant Jamison as a frontier guard till in the winter where they descended the River to Pittsburgh from thence they were marched to a place called Hannahs Town where they remained till Spring. the snow was unusually deep and the winter remarkably severe in the spring this deponent returned home having fully performed the tour of duty for which he enlisted.

The said deponent further saith that afterwords and either in the early part of the summer of 1780 or 1781 and in which year he is unable now to recollect being at his Fathers house in the

Burrough of Bedford aforesaid where he then resided information was given that a small party of Indians had within a few Miles attacked and Killed two men and carried off one woman captive Captain John Boyd of the United States Army was then at Bedford in the recruiting service and immediately upon receiving this information called for volunteers to join the twelve recruits then under him to go in pursuit of the indians. twenty persons of which number this deponent was one immediately volunteered to go under the said Captain Boyd they immediately commenced the pursuit and during the next day arrived at the Block house on the Frankstown branch of the Juniatta where this deponent had previously been quartered as before mentioned being about forty Miles from Bedford here they remained till early the next morning when they continued the pursuit and about four miles from the said Block House met with a body of 83 Indians under the direction of several of their chiefs who immediately commenced a vigorous attack and after Killing Eight of the whites and taking seven prisoners and dispersing the residue of the company immediately removed with this deponent who with Captain Boyd and five others were prisoners over the Allegany Mountains to Canadea on the head waters of the Genesee River in the State of New York after many perils and severe trials this deponent was adopted into the Indian nation Captain Boyd was delivered over to the British and this deponent detained till after the peace and in fact this deponent remained a prisoner with the Indians till after the Treaty of Fort Stanwix and was not given up by them with the other prisoners in pursuance of that Treaty but remained till the year 1785 before he got clear of the Indians

And the said deponent further saith that he has no documentary evidence to show the performance of the before mentioned services on his enlistment or discharge from such services that his Brother John H. Jones whose affidavit is hereunto annexed was personally knowing to this deponent having left his home and been absent in his countrys service at the times hence before mentioned and who also is knowing to the times when this deponent was taken prisoner by the Indians and the length of his captivity and this deponent further saith that the Indian Chiefs of the Seneca Nation To wit Sunfish, Big Snow Blue Eyes and Col Pollard were each of the Indian party that made this deponent prisoner and can state that they Know of his captivity and the length of his dentention among the Indians and this deponent further saith that in each of the services before

mentioned he served in the character of a private. That he has set forth the names of the several Superior officers under whom he served as far as he recollects the same and the period of the Revolution in which he served and that never having returned to Bedford since his captivity he does not know of any person living other than his Brother John H. Jones and another Brother who resides in the State of Indiana who can testify to his services

Horatio adapted easily to his captivity. Harris' biography stated: "*Possessing a natural gift of speech, he soon not only mastered the Seneca tongue, but also acquired the accentuation so difficult for beginners, upon which the meaning of many Indian words depends. He soon was called upon to act as interpreter in examining white prisoners brought into town and it became his recognized duty to question all the captives regarding such things as the red men wished to know... He was soon referred to by the Indians as 'Hi-e-wah-doo-gis-tah,' or 'The Interpreter'.*"³⁷⁵

Horatio Jones was later engaged as an interpreter by President George Washington.

Horatio Jones accepted his new way of life, and adapted to it. Learning the craft from an itinerant blacksmith sent to the village from Fort Niagara, he took up blacksmithing. He repaired tools and weapons for the village and even produced jewelry out of scraps of metal he was able to obtain.

As anyone would though, he sometimes missed his family and life at Bedford and resolved to escape and return to the frontier of Pennsylvania. At one point he started to accomplish that end, but his conscience got the best of him. He contemplated the fact that by being able to speak the Iroquois language quite well, he was able to help other captives when they were brought into the village. In the end, he returned to the village and did not make another attempt to escape.

Horatio Jones' first union was to a Seneca woman, Summer Flower (*i.e.* Ha-no-Jo-dek) circa 1781. She was born circa 1766. They gave birth to one child, a son named William Horatio (*i.e.* De-to-yo-yo-uh), born 1781. Summer Flower contracted small pox and died in the year 1782.

William Horatio Jones (son of Horatio), married Betty Bennett. She was also Amerindian in descent and was variously known as Ga-yah-nio-ha-ah (meaning 'She carries the lasso').

Sarah, a daughter of a Euro-American family by the name of Whitmore was taken captive in the spring of 1782. She was at the family home with her baby and two of her brothers. The rest of the family was away from the house when Seneca warriors arrived. The four were taken to the village where Horatio resided. Because of its crying, the baby was snatched from her arms and killed instantly. The two brothers were sold to the British and Sarah (variously known as Sally) remained at the village. Over time, Horatio and Sarah fell in love. Horatio married Sarah Whitmore in December 1784 at Schenectady, New York. The couple took up residence first at Seneca Falls, but later moved to Geneva where their first child, Billy was born on 18 December 1786. The couple had three additional children: George W., born 1788; Hiram W., born 1789; and James W., born 1791. Of the four children, George and James were both unmarried when they were killed by Amerindians at Lewiston in December 1813. Sarah died in June 1792. After her death, Horatio married

Elizabeth Starr in 1795. Elizabeth was born in 1779 at Genoa, in Cayuga County, New York. Horatio and Elizabeth gave birth to twelve children: Horatio, born 1796; Mary Ann, born 1798; John, born 1799; Ann, born 1802; Rebecca, born 1804; Elizabeth, born 1805; Sarah, born 1807; Hester, born 1809; Julia, born 1811; Seneca, born 1813; Charles, born 27 August 1815; and Jane, born 1820. Horatio Jones died at Genesee, in Livingston County, New York on 18 September 1836. [His tombstone says that he died on 18 August.] Elizabeth died on 4 March 1844 at Geneseo, New York.

William W. Jones (son of Horatio), married Eliza Lemen. William and Eliza gave birth to: Julia; George W., and James W. After Eliza's death, William married Nancy Harrington. William and Nancy gave birth to: William; Elizabeth; Flora; Nancy; Homer; and Mary.

Julia Jones (granddaughter of Horatio), married John H. Jones Jr. The couple gave birth to: Elizabeth; Edward; Delia; Edward (2nd); Delia (2nd); James; and Alma.

William Jones (grandson of Horatio), married Caroline Camp.

Elizabeth Jones (granddaughter of Horatio), married Edward Camp. The couple gave birth to a son and a daughter.

Nancy Jones (granddaughter of Horatio), married Jellis Clute. The couple gave birth to: Fayette; and George.

Homer Jones (grandson of Horatio), married Fabbie Wicker and after her death, he married Josephine De Rochemont.

Mary Jones (granddaughter of Horatio), married Albert Phillips and had one daughter.

Hiram W. Jones (son of Horatio), married Verona Shepherd. The couple gave birth to: George W.; Sarah E.; James W.; and Hiram.

George W. Jones (grandson of Horatio), married Emma Hutton. The couple gave birth to: Edward; Grace; and Mary.

Sarah E. Jones (granddaughter of Horatio), married Alexander Clute. The couple gave birth to: James H.; Charles O. S.; and Sarah J. E.

Horatio Jones (son of Horatio), married Julia Wilmerding.

Mary Ann Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Richard Fitzhugh.

John Jones (son of Horatio), married Lucy Tromley.

Ann Jones (daughter of Horatio), married William Lyman.

Rebecca Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Elijah Hewitt. The couple gave birth to: Horatio Jones; born 25 November 1828.

Horatio Jones Hewitt (grandson of Horatio), married, but the name of his wife is not known. The couple gave birth to two sons and four daughters.

Elizabeth Jones (daughter of Horatio), married William Finley.

Sarah Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Henry Perkins. The couple gave birth to ----- who married Frederick Law Olmstead.

Hester Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Robert Flint.

Julia Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Benjamin F. Angel.

Seneca Jones (daughter of Horatio), died in California after 1854.

Charles Jones (son of Horatio), married Eliza Richmond. The couple gave birth to one daughter who lived to thirteen years old before dying on 1 January 1869. Eliza died in December 1849. Charles then married Sarah E. Cummings. He died on 26 February 1899.

Jane Jones (daughter of Horatio), married Charles Carroll Fitzhugh.

Daniel Livingston

[Incorrectly Noted as Captured according to James Whisker]

This entry is included simply to point out the error made by James B. Whisker. He stated: “1781, Pvt, Boyd’s rangers, taken prisoner at Frankstown, exchanged 3 years later. In 1833, lived in Potter twp, Centre Co. 5 Pa Arch 5 at 91.”³⁷⁶ The reference cited does indeed include Daniel Livingston as a private in the “Pay roll for the seven months men under the command of Lieut. Michael Johnston of the Pennsylvania Rangers in Bedford County in the year 1781. Capt. Boyd’s Co. Rangers” Unfortunately, Whisker did not read Daniel Livingston’s pension application of 27 August 1833. In that application, Daniel clearly stated: “Capt Boyd was taken prisoner by the Indians before the applicant joined the Company.”³⁷⁷ Most people would assume that that would imply that the engagement in which Boyd was taken prisoner would probably have taken place before Daniel Livingston was a private in Boyd’s Company ~ ergo, Livingston did not participate in the engagement.

According to his pension application, Daniel resided in the part of Northumberland County that would become Mifflin County prior to his service. He resided at Potter Township, Centre County after the War.

William McDaniel

[Captured and later killed per Orphans Court]

An entry was recorded in the docket of the Orphans Court of Bedford County dated 7 February 1786.³⁷⁸ It stated:

A Certificate or Instrument in Writing was produced to the Court from the Overseers of the Poor of Cumberland Valley Township and two Freeholders of the said Township in the Words following , to wit: Whereas by a Certificate signed by John Boyd commanding officer of a Party of Bedford County Militia, it appears to us Tetrach Taughman [Frederick Dughman] and Thomas Leasure Overseers of the Poor for the Township of Cumberland Valley in the County of Bedford and Joseph Kelly and Ludowich Reid Freeholders of the Township and County aforesaid that in an action with the Indians near Frankstown which Happened on the third Day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one, William McDaniel of the Township of Providence in the County aforesaid was taken Prisoner, and a few Days after he was killed by the Indians ~ We do therefore certify to the Orphans Court of the County aforesaid that Margaret McDaniel Widow of the aforesaid William McDaniel (now residing in the Township of Cumberland Valley aforesaid) was there left in low Circumstances having five Children the oldest only seven Years of age and the youngest born soon after the Death of her

Husband That Notwithstanding the two oldest were bound out from her inability to support them ye she is still in necessitous Circumstance and much distressed to maintain the remaining three children that looks to her for Support ~ We are therefore of Opinion that she is justly entitled to such Support as the Law in such Case doth Allow. Given under our Hands the seventh Day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty six.

William McDaniel was killed by his captors near the Amerindian village of 'kerkadeer' which was possibly in the vicinity of the present-day town of Canadea.

Patrick McDonald

[Claimed to be captured by Floyd Hoenstine]

Patrick McDonald was recorded as a single freeman in the Bedford Township tax assessment of 1775. That category was for young men, at least twenty-one years of age, but unmarried.

Patrick McDonald served as a Private in Captain Robert Cluggage's Company in 1775.³⁷⁹ Cluggage's Company headed to Boston and during the seige of the City of Boston, the militia companies from many colonies formed the nucleus of General George Washington's Continental Army. Cluggage's Company became part of Colonel William Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen. Although there is no source reference for it, Hoenstine made the claim that "*While home on a furlough he joined the force under Captain John Boyd...*"³⁸⁰ Despite Hoenstine's lack of references, Whisker grabbed the statement and made it "*While on leave...*"³⁸¹

Patrick McDonald was held a prisoner in Canada until the end of the War.

Patrick McDonald was one of the 'memorialists' who sent a *Memorial of the Inhabitants on the Juniata* to the Pennsylvania General Assembly on 20 February 1779.³⁸²

That We, your Honours' Memorialists, taking under considerations the present defenceless situation of these parts, Rendered valuable on many considerations, that in case of a sudden Penetration into this Contery, we ourselves and Families, must fail a Marcyless Pray to the Savages, whose rule of War is to punish with the Greatest Tortures those that is so unhappy as to fall in their Hands. The situation of this contery is very allarming, Rendered so by the Savages and Toryes Last Summer, who prevented the Inhabitants from raising what grain would be necessary to soport themselves and families until next harvest. Numbers is already suffering for want of Bread, standing in Defence of their Contery on this Fronteer, who, without speedy assistance, will be under the necessaty of moaving their families

to the interior parts of this or some other State, as Grain is not to be had hear. If your Honours mean to assist us, now is the time to send up a store of Flour, as the Juniata in common is not naverage for Boats and cannoes above two Month in the Spring.

That in consequence of the above mentioned situation of these Fronteers, We, your Honours' Memorialists, do most earnestly pray for some immediate assistance to be Given, so as to Prevent any of these dreadfull effects from taking place, which they must unavoidably do if we are visited by our enymies, as we have the utmost reason to expect.

That We, your Honours' Memorialists, having a Personal Knowledge of the Present Commander of these parts, Major Rob't cluggage, and as he has at all times Testified the Great zeal for Serving his Country, in relieving the Distrised Inhabitants, shewing the utmost willingness to attend to any alarms that might be given, we do, as we are already Bound in Gratitude to that Gentleman, Beg of your Honours to Continue him amongst us. He may prove, if Necessaty should require, a skillful! Director in any Case of Dificulty presents, as he being well acquainted with the face of the Contery will be the most Capable of Defending the same. Humbly Hoping that our Memorial may meet with your Honours' approbation, We remain with the Greatest Respect Your Honours' most Obedient & Very Humbl. Serv'ts.

Samuel Moore

[Claimed to be captured by Floyd Hoenstine]

On 6 May 1789, the Supreme Executive Council of the state of Pennsylvania approved a request filed by Samuel Moore for reimbursement of five pounds five shillings. The request was for the loss of “a rifle gun and accoutrements taken from him by the savages at Frankstown, in Bedford County, while in actual service as a volunteer under Captain Boyd, in 1781.”³⁸³

In 1767, while it was still a part of Cumberland County, Samuel Moore was recorded in the tax assessment return for Bedford Township. In 1774 and 1775, a man by the name of Samuel Moore was recorded on the Dublin Township tax assessment return. In 1776 and again in 1778, the name of Samuel *Moor* was recorded on the tax assessment return for Colerain Township, Bedford County.

~~~~~ **Ross**

[Noted as participant by George H. Harris]

The man by the surname of Ross who was taken captive along with the others on 3 June was tortured and killed during the trek north after the engagement. He might not have been married because no pension was applied for by any widow.

**George Smith**

[Claimed to be captured per *Pennsylvania Archives*]

George Smith served in Captain James Ross' Company of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line in 1776.<sup>384</sup> He then served in Lieutenant Colonel James Piper's Second Battalion of Colonel Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment.<sup>385</sup> According to the *Pennsylvania Archives*, George Smith eventually served in Captain Boyd's Company when June 1781 came around. Hoenstine stated, in the brief sketches section of his book, that George Smith was serving as the Adjutant of the First Battalion of the Bedford County Militia when he volunteered to accompany Captain Boyd's Company.<sup>386</sup> Hoenstine also noted that George Smith was a Lieutenant when named in the text of the engagement.<sup>387</sup> He was held in captivity until November 1784. There exists no roster showing George Smith as either an Adjutant or a Lieutenant. Where Floyd Hoenstine found that information is not known.

The entire entry for George Smith in the list of "*Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.*", stated: "*served in Colonel Piper's regiment; subsequently in Captain Boyd's ranging company; in June 1781, taken prisoner by the Indians and held in captivity until November, 1784.*"<sup>388</sup>

. . . . . **Captain John Boyd ~ Biographical Sketch**

John Boyd was born on 22 February 1750 at Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was the son of John and Sarah (DeVane) Boyd. The father was an Ulster Scot and the mother was a French Huguenot. The parents had three sons: John, born 22 February 1750; Thomas, born 1752; and William, born 1755. All three sons served as Patriots in the American Revolutionary War. Thomas served as a First Lieutenant in the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line. While serving with the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel William Butler on the Sullivan expedition in 1779, Thomas was taken captive by Amerindians and tortured and killed on 13 September. William served as an ensign and later a Second Lieutenant in the Twelfth Regiment, Pennsylvania Line. He lost his life on 11 September 1777 at the battle of Germantown.

John Boyd moved to Northumberland County and took up residence there in 1778. He was a single man when he took up arms in defense of the fledgling United States.

John Boyd was recruited into the Twelfth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Continental Line under Colonel William Cooke on 16 October 1776. The regiment was raised primarily in

Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. Initially, Boyd served in the position of Second Lieutenant and later was promoted to First Lieutenant. While maintaining the rank of First Lieutenant, he was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment in July 1778.

In July 1779, Boyd was one of twenty men who participated as a 'forlorn hope' leading one of the two attacking columns of troops under General Anthony Wayne in the assault on Stony Point, New York. A month later, on 13 August 1779, John Boyd was promoted to the rank of Captain Lieutenant. Boyd retired from the Continental Army on 1 January 1781. On the 10th of February 1781, Boyd was appointed to be the Captain of a company of Rangers raised in Bedford County.<sup>389</sup> He apparently moved southwestward to Bedford County, where he accepted the appointment to the rank of Captain of a Militia Company. Certain of the Militia were designated as Rangers and Boyd's company was one of those. Captain Boyd led his company of forty-four men for only five months before its near total destruction near Frankstown.<sup>390</sup>

In regard to John Boyd's time in captivity, the following tale was related in the book, *Otzinachson; or, A History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna*, by J. F. Meginness.<sup>391</sup>

*Several accounts of Captain Boyd's captivity have been published, but are said to be incorrect. The following account was furnished me by Mr. Jacob Cook, of Muncy, and is claimed to be correct. After the defeat of Captain Boyd's party, he tried to make his escape by running, but was pursued and received three severe gashes in his head with a tomahawk, when he was taken. The Indians immediately struck across the country, and came to the West Branch, near the mouth of the Sinnemahoning Creek. They also had another prisoner, named Ross, who was wounded very badly. Being unable to travel further, they determined to massacre him in a very cruel and inhuman manner. He was fastened to a stake, and his body stuck full of pitch pine splinters, when fire was applied, and they danced round him, making the woods resound with their hideous yells. His tortures were terrible, but at length Death put an end to his sufferings. During this time Captain Boyd, faint from the loss of blood, was tied to a small white oak sapling, and compelled to be a silent spectator of the diabolical scene. His turn was to come next, and he summoned up courage, and quietly resigned himself to his fate. Whilst these incarnate fiends of Pandemonium were making preparations to torture him to death by inches, he sang a very pretty Free Mason song, with a plaintive air, which attracted their attention, and they listened to it very closely, till he was through. At this critical moment an elderly squaw came up, and claimed him as her son. The Indians did not interfere. She immediately dressed his wounds,*

*and attended to him carefully during their journey to Canada. She accompanied him to Quebec, where he was placed in the hospital, and attended by an English surgeon, and rapidly recovered. He was then turned out into the street without money or friends. As he passed along, a large sign, with the letters, "Masonic Inn," painted on it, attracted his attention, and observing the landlord standing in the door, gave him the sign of the Order, which was recognized. He was kindly taken in, and cared for till he was exchanged. The wounds on his head occasioned him to keep up a continual winking. The old squaw who was the means of preserving his life, belonged to the Oneida tribe. Boyd remembered her as his best friend, and often sent her presents of money. On one occasion he made a journey personally to visit her. Boyd died in Northumberland.*

According to Charles Biddle's autobiography: "*John Boyd, one of our Senators, commanded a company on the frontiers, and was an excellent partisan officer. During the war he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Indians. Having killed a number of them before he was taken they were determined to burn him. For this purpose he was stripped naked and tied to a stake, and expected every moment to suffer death, when he was released by the interposition of one of the squaws, who had her husband killed in the engagement with Boyd. His life was possibly saved in consequence of his being a stout, well made man.*"<sup>392</sup>

Boyd was exchanged for a British officer after only one year in captivity. Upon his release he made his way back to Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. There, he entered into merchandising in partnership with Colonel William Wilson in the town of Northumberland. The partnership also established a mill at the mouth of the Chillisquaque Creek. The partners produced a large quantity of potash which was shipped and sold at Philadelphia.

John Boyd represented Northumberland County in the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council between 22 November 1783 until 23 November 1786. President George Washington appointed Boyd as the Inspector of Internal Revenue. He was one of the commissioners to superintend the drawing of the Donation Land Lottery. John Boyd was a member of the Pennsylvania convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. From 1790 to 1792, Boyd served as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. And when the second election for the President of the United States was held in 1792, Boyd was one of the electors. Incumbent President George Washington was elected to a second term by a unanimous vote in the electoral college while John Adams was re-elected as vice president.

John Boyd served as the Register of Deeds and Recorder of Wills for Northumberland County. He also held the office of Justice of the Peace for a number of years.

An entry in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* noted: "*John Boyd, to be captain lieutenant vice Capt. Lieut. Marshall; retired the regiment January 1, 1781, and appointed captain of a company of rangers, in Bedford County. He married Mary, daughter of Col.*

*John Bull; was many years justice of the peace at Northumberland, and died there February 13, 1832, aged eighty-two.*"<sup>393</sup>

The entry included in the *Pennsylvania Archives* was apparently incorrect in regard to the marriage. John Boyd married Rebecca Bull on 13 May 1794. Rebecca's parents are not known for certain; they are believed to have been John and Mary (Phillips) Bull. John and Rebecca gave birth to: Sarah Haines, born 9 April 1796; Annie Smith, born 8 February 1798; Mary Phillips, born 24 November 1799; Elizabeth Rittenhouse, born 20 September 1801; John Benjamin, born 11 January 1804; William Thomas, born 25 November 1805; and Marie Josepha, born 16 September 1808. John Boyd died on 13 February 1832 at Northumberland. Rebecca died on 20 December 1852.

Sarah Haines Boyd (daughter of John), married William Richmond Smith. William was born on 1 July 1798. The couple gave birth to: Mary Eliza, born 29 March 1827; John Boyd, born 15 September 1829; Rebecca Boyd, born 3 November 1831; Elizabeth Lathy, born 16 November 1834; and Anne Haines, born 12 May 1837. William died on 18 September 1849 at Northumberland. Sarah died on 7 June 1866 at Peoria, Illinois.

Mary Eliza Smith (granddaughter of John), died on 27 January 1912 at Danville, in Vermilion County, Illinois.

John Boyd Smith (grandson of John), died on 20 December 1893 at Fresno, California.

Rebecca Boyd Smith (granddaughter of John), died on 15 March 1911 at Clinton, in Rock County, Wisconsin.

Elizabeth Lathy Smith (granddaughter of John), died on 22 February 1916 at Clinton, in Rock County, Wisconsin.

Annie Smith Boyd (daughter of John), died on 24 November 1801.

Mary Phillips Boyd (daughter of John), died on 7 December 1801.

Elizabeth Rittenhouse Boyd (daughter of John), married Henry Kent Lathey. Elizabeth died on 10 March 1874 at Upper Alton, in Madison County, Illinois.

John Benjamin Boyd (son of John), died on 1 August 1845.

William Thomas Boyd (son of John), married Grace Slater. William died on 8 January 1848.

Marie Josepha Boyd (daughter of John), married Samuel Freeman Headley. Marie died on 28 May 1893 at Morristown, New Jersey.

## **. . . . . *The Rangers Who Participated And Lived***

Not all of the men who participated in the Engagement of Frankstown on 3 June 1781 were killed, wounded or taken captive. Certain of them escaped the engagement alive and told their stories to Captain Young at the safety of Fort Fetter or in pension applications.

### **John Beatty**

**[Noted as participant by Jones, Harris and Hoenstine]**

All three of the principal narratives included a man by the surname Beatty, although none of them recorded his given name. A man by the name of John Beatty resided in Armagh Township, Mifflin County during the American Revolutionary War.

John Beatty applied for a pension on 9 November 1833.<sup>394</sup> His application stated: *“In the preceeding year, to with in the summer of 1781 he enlisted in the said Township of Armagh under Lieutenant Richard Johnstone in Captain John Boyds company for a tour of seven months (he does not recollect whether the company belonged to the Pennsylvania line or to the continental service) that he joined the company at their rendezvous at Browns hills in said township of Armagh...and we were marched under the command of Sergeant William Ward to Bedford Pennsylvania to guard the frontiers from the incursion of the Indians...Before we arrived at Bedford our Captain John Boyd was taken prisoner by the Indians. Soon after we got to Bedford we were joined again by our Lieut. Richard Johnstone. He was the only commanding officer there...”*

From the information supplied by John Beatty himself in the foregoing pension application, it would appear that he did not actually participate in the engagement.

### **Moses Beeman**

#### **[Noted as participant per pension application]**

None of the narratives of the Engagement of Frankstown include the name of Moses Beeman as a participant. His application for a pension, submitted on 22 October 1833 at Harrison County, Ohio, stated that he had in fact participated in the ill-fated scouting expedition. It noted that he had been among eight or ten others who were mustered and marched to Fort Fetter (*i.e.* Frankstown) by Captain Richard Delapt.<sup>395</sup>

*He first entered the Service in the month of May 1781 in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, (& he thinks the first of the month) as a substitute for John McKirver, in a company of Militia which was drafted for two months. The Company was Commanded by Captain Patrick Haney. The names of the Lieutenant & ensign he cannot remember. The Company rendezvoused at Bedford & shortly after marched to Wettcorvis's [?] Station on Dunning's Creek about three miles from Bedford. They continued to be stationed there (for the purpose of guarding the settlements against incursions of the Indians) until their tour expired, which was the [illegible] of June or first of July 1781 when they were discharged; but he received no written discharge that he can remember. He served in this tour two months. There was no other Company in the Service with them at the time. By February 1782 (he thinks about the tenth of the month) he entered the service again, as a substitute for David Collins, who had been drafted for two months in a company of militia at said Bedford County. The Company was commanded by Captain Edward Rose, but the names of the Lieutenant & ensign he doesn't remember. The Company was stationed during the whole time at the Town of Bedford for the purpose of protecting the place & the neighboring settlements from incursions of the*

*Indians. There was also stationed there, at the time, the Company of Bedford Rangers Commanded by Lieut. Richard Johnston. He was discharged on the 10th of April 1782, as near as he can remember & he served two months; being the whole period for which his Company was drafted. He got no written discharge, according to the best of his recollection.*

*On the 14th of April 1782 he entered the service a third time, at said Bedford County, as a substitute for his father, William Beeman who had been drafted for two months. The officers of the Company in which he served was Captain John Rush, Lieut. John Longstreach & Ensign Thomas Harrod. He marched with his Company & served all the time during this tour at "Piper's Station" on Yellow Creek ten miles from Bedford. Col. John Piper was the Commandant at that station. He served two months, this tour, & was discharged on the 14th day of June 1782; but received no written discharge, except an imperfect memorandum signed by Ensign Harrod; the Captain, Lieutenant & most of the Company having returned home a day or two before.*

*Between the first & the fifth of August 1782 (but he is not certain as to the prior day) he enlisted at "Friend's Cove" in said Bedford County into the Company of Bedford Rangers, during the War. The Company was Commanded by Lieutenant Richard Johnston. The Ensign was Hugh Means. The Captain (whose name was John Boyd) had been shortly before that time, taken prisoner by the Indians. He was quartered during the principal part of the time of this service at Bedford; but went occasionally on Scouts, to "Dunnows Creek," "Raystown Branch," "Frankstown" &c. He went at one time, during this enlistment, with 8 or 10 others of his company, commanded by said Ensign Means, & about 15 or 20 militia, Commanded by Captain Delap (or Dunlap) to Frankstown, and the next morning they marched out towards the Mountain, along what was called the "Catanian Path" Three or four miles from Frankstown they were attacked by the Indians, who were lying in ambush & nearly all killed. Ensign Means was wounded in the hand and he thinks only 7 or 8 besides himself escaped. He returned with those to Bedford, where he & his company continued stationed, He finished part of the time until hostilities ceased; & he was discharged with the rest of the company on the fourth day of July 1783. He served in this last tour, under said enlistment, eleven months. And altogether (including his previous services) Seventeen months...*

Moses Beeman continued to reside in Bedford County after the War. He was recorded on the Providence Township tax assessment return for the year 1789. His name was recorded in Woodberry Township's tax assessment return in the year 1798 (the year Woodberry was formed). His property was noted as owned by Charles Coxe. Coxe was a land speculator from Philadelphia. He bought up large tracts of land along the western slope of Tussey Mountain, and through the adjacent valley known as Morrison Cove. This tax return entry thusly helps to identify where he settled. The property of Moses' father, William Beeman, was recorded along with Moses.

In the 1800 U. S. Census, the household of Moses Beeman included one male and one female between the ages of twenty-six and forty-four. Those two individuals would have been Moses and his wife. The household also included five sons, one between the ages of ten and fifteen and four beneath the age of ten.

On 22 October 1810, Moses Beeman received Warrant #455 for 100 acres of land.<sup>396</sup> The so-called 'bounty lands' were located in the northwest corner of the state of Pennsylvania, in the lands purchased from the Amerindians by treaty in 1784. Bounty lands were granted only to veterans of the Continental Line for American Revolutionary War service and not to soldiers who had served in the Militia until after 1783. It can be assumed that Moses Beeman received the bounty lands for service after the Revolutionary War. That assumption is proven out when it is seen that Moses was recorded in "*A List of Inhabitants of Providence Township Made Subject by Law to the Performance of Militia Duty Taken by Peter Morgert the 27th Jany. 1789.*"<sup>397</sup>

Moses Beeman was born at Cumberland County, Pennsylvania on 8 August 1757 to William and Anne (Jeans) Beeman. Moses married Margaret Poland. Margaret was born in the year 1770 at Allegany County, Maryland. The couple gave birth to: Lydia, born 1788; and Thomas, born 1789. Margaret died on 30 August 1795. Moses then married Sarah Poling. Sarah was born in 1772 at Allegany County, Maryland. This second marriage produced: George Henry, born 7 January 1796; Samuel, born 21 January 1798; William, born 21 January 1798; Moses, born 1800; James, born 1801; Mary, born 1807; and Margaret, born 1810. Sarah died in 1842. Moses died on 13 December 1842 at Brown, in Knox County, Ohio.

Lydia Beeman (daughter of Moses), died in 1856 at Van Wert, Ohio.

Thomas Beeman (son of Moses), died on 31 May 1865 at Adams, Indiana.

George Henry Beeman (son of Moses), married Barbara Ann Loar. Barbara was born on 20 November 1799 at Eckhart Mines, in Allegany County, Maryland. The couple gave birth to: Sarah, born 4 February 1821; Rebecca (Winebrenner), born 1822; Mary, born 29 January 1824; John, born 24 December 1825; Jacob August, born 27 January 1827; Catherine, born 20 July 1829; Harriet, born 9 April 1831; George, born 10 February 1833; Salem, born 31 March 1835; Lenox Martin, born 2 March 1837; Charles Henry, born 10 January 1839; William Thomas, born 19 June 1841; Moses, born 28 December 1843; Thomas, born 28 December 1843; and David Francis, born 18 December 1846. George died on 14 January 1875. Barbara died on 1 January 1877.

Sarah Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 22 January 1909 at Frostburg, in Allegany County, Maryland.

Mary Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 25 January 1834.

John Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 7 January 1834.

Jacob August Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 23 March 1910.

Catherine Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 4 February 1891.

Harriet Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 1 January 1834.

George Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 12 April 1917.

Salem Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 12 May 1897.

Lenox Martin Beeman (grandson of Moses), died 6 May 1909.

Charles Henry Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 24 November 1914.

William Thomas Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 14 February 1875.

Moses Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 3 July 1907.

Thomas Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 27 February 1918.

David Francis Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 29 March 1924.

Samuel Beeman (son of Moses), died on 24 December 1863 at Shelby, Illinois

William Beeman (son of Moses), married Mary L. Neptune. Mary was born in 1797. The couple gave birth to: Elizabeth, born 1818; George William, born 24 March 1819; Andrew R., born 12 February 1820; Samuel, born 6 June 1820; Richard W., born 17 June 1822; Eunice Beall, born 1824; William Henry, born 15 April 1826; John Jackson, born 2 April 1828; James Keyes, born 29 January 1830; Andrew R., born 3 October 1832; Cyrus, born 8 December 1833; Thomas Jefferson, born and died 21 January 1836; and Norman N., born 22 September 1838. Mary died after 22 September 1838. William then married Elizabeth Shemer. Elizabeth was born in 1818. The couple gave birth to: Thomas Jefferson, born 10 July 1845; Mary Jane, born 18 February 1846; Ann Moriah, born 28 December 1847; Emeline, born 14 December 1848; Zephaniah, born 16 January 1850; Josiah, born 21 December 1850; Jacob, born 6 September 1852; Henry, born 31 December 1854; Sarah Elizabeth, born 8 August 1856; William Harrison, born 22 August 1859; and Rebecca Ellen, born 31 December 1861. William died on 21 January 1872 at Jefferson, in Knox County, Ohio.

George William Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Jane McMillen. Jane was born in 1823 at Bekmont County, Ohio. The couple gave birth to: Mary Ellen, born 1843; Louisa Jane, born 845; Martha Ann, born 1847; Isabel, born 1849; Samuel Newton, born 1853; Sarah Elizabeth, born 1854; William, born 1856; James W., born 1860; and Kiturah Addell, born 1862. Jane died on 22 April 1857. George died on 27 May 1874 at Mark, in Defiance County, Ohio.

Andrew R. Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Rachael Perdew. Rachael was born on 18 May 1818. The couple gave birth to: Mary Elizabeth, born 1848; John, born 1849; William Henry, born 1850; Hester Ann, born 1851; Albert, born 1853; and George Thomas, born 1853. Rachael died on 30 January 1881 at Pond Gap, in Kanawha County, West Virginia. Andrew then married Mary M. Beeman. Mary was born on 8 June 1841 and died on 9 September 1920. Andrew died on 21 March 1886 at Galena, in Cherokee County, Kansas.

Samuel Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 15 March 1903.

Richard W. Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 1 May 1864 at Andersonville Prison in Georgia.

Eunice Beall Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 23 December 1838.

Cyrus Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 29 July 1854.

Norman N. Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 8 June 1920 at Cuyahoga, Ohio.

Thomas Jefferson Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 12 August 1918.

Mary Jane Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 6 March 1930.

Sarah Elizabeth Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 19 May 1940.

William Harrison Beeman (grandson of Moses), died in June 1920 at Summit County, Ohio.

Moses Beeman (son of Moses), married Catherine Wells. Catherine was born in 1805 at Maryland. The couple gave birth to: Sarah A., born 1829; Isaac Newton, born 1832; Samuel Marion, born February 1838; Emeline, born 1840; Ann E., born 1842; Catharine, born 1845; David Francis, born 18 December 1846; Daniel, born 1847; Joseph, born 20 September 1847; and David, born 1848. Moses died after 1850 at Madison, Indiana. Catherine died in 1860.

Sarah A. Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died on 22 January 1908 at Frostburg, in Allegany County, Maryland.

Isaac Newton Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Matilda Fellda Sears. Matilda was born on 27 August 1832. The couple gave birth to: Eliza Lydia Louisa Catherine, born 1862; William Isaac, born 1866; and Viola Jane, born 1869. Isaac died on 5 April 1865 at Baltimore, Maryland. Matilda died on 19 July 1905 at Anderson, in Madison County, Indiana.

Samuel Marion Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Catherine Sears. Catherine was born on 29 November 1839. The couple gave birth to: Dewey M., born 1860; Bartholomew, born 1862; Margaret Jane, born 1863; Isaac Newton, born 1865; Mary Tressa, born 1868; Charles Maxwell, born 1870; Elzeph, born 1870; William H., born 1873; Cora Dell, born 1874; Nora Bell, born 1874; Luella Irene, born 1876; Robert Joel, born 1878; and Joseph Edward, born 1882. Samuel died on 25 November 1901. Catherine died on 14 March 1925.

Catharine Beeman (granddaughter of Moses), died in 1883.

David Francis Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Margaret Elizabeth Crowe. Margaret was born on 28 April 1847. The couple gave birth to: John Wesley, born 1872; Emma Agnes, born 1876; David Francis, born 1879; Margaret E., born 1881; Jesse Thomas, born 1882; Joseph Edward, born 1882; and Elizabeth Loretta, born 1883. Margaret died in 1883. After Margaret's death, David married Sarah Matherine McCloud. Sarah was born on 11 April 1854 at Hardy, West Virginia. David and Sarah gave birth to: Benjamin Harrison, born 1887; Albert George, born 1889; and Peter William, born 1894. Sarah died on 17 April 1920. David died on 29 March 1924 at Kitzmillerville, in Garrett County, Maryland.

Daniel Beeman (grandson of Moses), died on 26 April 1917.

Joseph Beeman (grandson of Moses), married Nancy Hosier. Nancy was born on 1 March 1857. The couple gave birth to: Fredrick Marion, born 1883; John Wesley, born 1885; Myrtle, born 1889; Irene Belle, born 1892; Ollie Pearl, born 1896; Edgar Ernest, born 1897; and Eddie, born 1898. Joseph died on 26 April 1917. Nancy died in May 1937.

James Beeman (son of Moses), died in 1826 at Ohio.

Mary (daughter of Moses), died on 5 June 1828 at Harrison, Ohio.

Margaret Beeman (daughter of Moses), died after 1871.

## Zadock Casteel

### [Noted as participant per pension application]

Zadock Casteel applied for a pension on 1 June 1841 at Monroe County, Ohio.<sup>398</sup>

*He entered the service according to best of his recollection two years & six months before the close of the Revolutionary war, under Captain Boyd (first name not recollected) of the Wood Rangers, in Bedford, Pennsylvania about two weeks after [illegible] he was in an engagement under Captain Boyd against the Indians at or near a place called Frankstown, Indians victorious, Captain Boyd was taken a prisoner [illegible] Captain Dunlap commanding another company was killed in this engagement. The command of our company then devolved on Lieutenant Johnston & served under him till the Close of the war pursuing the Indians up & down Juniata River & through different parts of Pennsylvania but was in no particular engagement...*

Zadock Casteel's name was recorded in the category of Single Freemen on the tax assessment return for Cumberland Valley Township in 1778 and 1779. Prior to that time (1773 and 1776), a man by the name of Frederick/Shadrick Casteel had appeared in Cumberland Valley Township.

## Michael Coleman

### [Noted as participant by Harris and Hoenstine]

In 1774 and 1775, Michael Coleman was recorded as an Inmate on the Bedford Township tax assessment return. [On the 1774 return his surname was written as *Coalman*.] An 'Inmate' was essentially a tax-paying renter. It referred to a man who was staying on another person's property temporarily (perhaps while constructing his own homestead) and paid his own share of taxes.

The published *Pennsylvania Archives* includes the name of Michael Coleman on a 1775 tax assessment return for Barre Township. The original for that transcription is not extant in the Bedford County Court House Archives.

Michael Coleman was recorded on the 1779 Frankstown Township tax assessment return as a "farmer Living on William Henry Land" with the spelling of his given name as 'Mickel'.

Besides being mentioned in the three narratives as having participated in the engagement as a 'volunteer,' no public document(s) mention his participation. His name does not appear in any roster for service during the American Revolutionary War for Bedford County.

## Thomas Coleman

### [Noted as participant by Harris and Hoenstine]

Thomas Coleman's name was recorded as a Resident on the tax assessment return for Frankstown Township in 1779.

Thomas Coleman served in Captain Samuel Thomas' Company (possibly) the 4th Company, 3rd Battalion of the Bedford County Militia. Although the roster is not dated, it might be assumed that it was made out in 1778 due to certain individuals being named who are found in rosters from 1777.

Thomas Coleman was memorialized (and it could be said, idolized) by U. J. Jones. He devoted a whole chapter to 'Tommy Coleman, the Indian Fighter' in his book, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*.<sup>399</sup> According to Jones: "Among all of the early pioneers of the upper end of the Juniata Valley none was better known to the Indians than Thomas Coleman. His very name inspired them with terror; and, in all their marauding, they carefully avoided his neighborhood, He was, emphatically, an Indian-hater, ~ the great aim and object of whose life appeared to be centered in the destruction of Indians." Although he provided no sources of his information, Jones spoke of the two Coleman brothers, Thomas and Michael, in grandiose statements of heroism and valor. He stated: "These men were fearless almost to a fault; and on the commencement of hostilities, or after the first predatory incursion of the savages, it appears that Thomas gave himself up solely to hunting Indians. He was in all scouting parties that were projected, and always leading the van when danger threatened; and it has very aptly, and no doubt truly, been said of Coleman, that when no parties were willing to venture out he shouldered his rifle and ranged the woods alone in hopes of occasionally picking up a stray savage or two." That statement is completely unfounded in any historical sense, but Jones might have expanded on Thomas' pension application.

Thomas Coleman applied for a pension application on the 1st of February 1833.<sup>400</sup>

*On this first day of February one thousand eight hundred and thirty three the subscriber one of the Judges of the said county of Huntingdon personally attended at the dwelling of Thomas Coleman a resident of Allegheny township in the Said county of Huntingdon and state of Pennsylvania aged eighty five years who is unable from bodily infirmity to attend the Court of the Said county and who being first duly sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of a act of congress passed June 9th 1832 that he entered the service of the united states under the following named officers and served as herein stated*

*That in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven, he with a number of his neighbors who lived on what was then considered the very frontier settlement Situate in said county then known as a part of the county of Bedford collected into a fort called Fetters fort situate in Frankstown township in said county*

*during which year he began to exert himself against the Indians and in the service of the United States that in the month of November in the same year he discovered the tracts of a parcel of Indians pursuing the path from Kittaning towards Frankstown that he followed until he found them in the act of making their fires he immediately informed the inhabitants of the settlement of their danger who made their escape and that he assisted in collecting men to attack them the following night when five of the Indians were killed and wounded from that time deponent became a guide to the different companies of men that came to protect the defenseless inhabitants on the frontier he also turned out and followed the Tories who had meditated the death of the defenseless women and children by joining the Indians & conducting them to the settlement and followed them to the cherrytree on the Susquehanna in the most inclement weather when we encamped and deponent was the first man chosen to proceed to Kittaning to discover if possible if the Tories had formed a junction with the Indians in the months of August one thousand seven hundred and Eighty he was commissioned as an Ensign by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and served by the authority of the said Commission for the space of seven months the officers under whom he served were Captain John Moore | late Jude Moore of Bedford county and Lieutenant William McCall his senior officers and men being strangers to the place the same stationed the fatigued of conduction them day and night in search of Indians and pursuing them fell principally on deponent*

*After deponent was discharged he continued his services as Spy and guide to all that called upon him against the Indians to the end of the Revolutionary War he hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any State Sworn and Subscribed the day and year aforesaid.*

Far be it from me to suggest that Mr. Coleman exaggerated his exploits, but his statement that he served as the 'pilot' for most of the scouting expeditions undertaken in Bedford County is not supported by any public document. If he did, indeed, guide all or most of the scouting expeditions, he would have been noted as being enlisted in all of the companies for which he served in that capacity. As noted above, Thomas was recorded on the roster for Captain Samuel Thomas' Company of the Bedford County Militia. He was not recorded on the roster for any company of Rangers. If he was called out by the acting Lieutenant of Bedford County to guide, or serve as a 'pilot' for a company into which he wasn't actually enlisted, surely he would have been paid for such special service. But the Lieutenant's Accounts do not reveal any payment to him for the special duties. It is quite possible that an eighty-five year old man might want to embellish his youthful escapades.

From the information supplied by Thomas Coleman himself in the foregoing pension application, it would appear that he did not actually participate in the engagement at Frankstown. Why would he go into such detail and fail to mention the one scouting expedition he supposedly ‘piloted’ which actually resulted in a fight with the Amerindians?

~~~~~ Gray

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

None of the narratives provide the given name for the man by the surname Gray (*variously*, Grey). In 1775, two men by the surname Gray resided in Frankstown Township. Arramonis Gray was recorded as a Single Freeman. Absolam Gray was recorded as an Inmate (*i.e.* tax-paying renter). In 1779, the same two men (Arramanus and Absalom) were recorded in the return of Residents for Frankstown Township.

The only man by the surname Gray who served in the Bedford County Militia prior to the Engagement of Frankstown was Hermann Gray and Moses Gray. Hermann served in the rank of Lieutenant in the 1st Battalion and Moses served as a Private in Captain Thomas Paxton’s Company of the 1st Battalion. Since Arramonis’ name was sometimes written as *Harmanius*, it is possible that it was ‘anglicized’ as Hermann.

Neither Absolam nor Arramonis Gray (nor even Hermann) filed an application for a pension, so that type of document is not available to determine which man might have participated in the Engagement of Frankstown.

Adam Holliday

[Noted as participant by Jones and Harris]

Despite U. J. Jones’ claim that Adam Holliday served in the French and Indian War, it is supported nowhere in the public records. He first appeared in the public record on 10 October 1776 when he was enlisted in Captain Thomas Paxton’s Company of Rangers in the Bedford County Militia. Then on 21 January 1779 he swore an Oath of Allegiance at the Bedford County Court House. A man by the name of Adam Holliday also served in Captain Thomas McDowell’s Company, the 7th Company of the 4th battalion of the Cumberland County Militia.

Adam Holliday died in the year 1799. He did not apply for a pension for his service in the War. Therefore no description of his service, including any participation in the engagement on 3 June 1781 exists.

John Holliday

[Noted as participant by Floyd G. Hoenstine]

According to Floyd Hoenstine, two of the participants in the engagement, were “*two of the Hollidays (Captain John Holliday and probably his brother William)...*”⁴⁰¹ Why Hoenstine suggested that one of the Hollidays would have been John is questionable. John applied for a pension on 1 April 1818. His service in the First Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line was noted, beginning with his promotion from 1st Lieutenant to Captain on

25 September 1776. He noted that he had participated in the battles at Long Island, Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli. He noted that he resigned his commission as Captain in the summer of 1778 to assist with his ailing father at Bedford County. But nothing at all was mentioned about any participation in the Engagement of Frankstown in June 1781. Perhaps he felt it was too insignificant to mention in relation to the other major battles of the War in which he had participated.

William Holliday (Jr)

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

The true biographical information on the Holliday brothers has been tainted by the use of artistic license by Uriah J. Jones. In his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, Jones placed words in the mouths of Adam and William where no eye-witness was present to observe and hear those words. In regard to the town named for the brothers, Hollidaysburg, Jones stated that: “*When Adam drove the first stake into the ground he casually remarked to William, ‘Whoever is alive a hundred years after this will see a tolerable-sized town here, and this will be near about the middle of it’.*”⁴⁰² Jones also stated in his book that Adam and William were cousins, but they actually were brothers. According to Jones, the two had served in the French and Indian War under Colonel John Armstrong in his expedition to Kittanning on 8 September 1756 and then under Colonel Henry Bouquet. Unfortunately, their names were not recorded in any roster of the troops who actually did serve in that conflict.

It must be noted that there were two men by the name of William Holliday who served in various capacities in the Bedford County Militia.

In 1776, William Holliday Jr (born 1759 and died 1819) served in Captain Thomas Paxton’s Company of Rangers in the Bedford County Militia. He would have been seventeen years of age at that time. Then, on 21 March 1777, William Holliday Jr received a commission as a Bedford County Sub-Lieutenant.

The only position in which William Holliday Sr (born 1730 and died 1796) is known to have served was Paymaster.

William Sr would have been fifty-one years of age in 1781, while his son would have been twenty-two. Neither one applied for a pension, so that type of document cannot be used to figure which one participated in this engagement. I have assumed the William who participated in this engagement was probably the son, because he would have been more physically fit for the scouting expedition.

~~~~~ Johnson

[Noted as participant by George H. Harris]

Harris’ biography of Horatio Jones is the only source for the name of a man surnamed Johnson who was one of the volunteers who joined with Captain Boyd’s Company.

It would be impossible to identify which man by the surname Johnson was the one who participated. In Colerain Township, John, Joseph and Thomas were residents in 1774. In 1775, John and Thomas were still residing in Colerain. In 1779, Joseph and Thomas were

residents of Colerain. And two new men, Moses and Zopher joined Joseph and Thomas in 1782. Two men by the surname Johnson resided in Barre Township: Thomas, a Single Freeman in 1779 and William in 1782.

Perhaps the most favorable residents to have participated in the engagement would have been those who resided in either Bedford or Frankstown Townships. In the year 1779, John resided in Bedford Township and Jears and Thomas resided in Frankstown Township.

None of the men named Johnson applied for a pension.

John McDonald

[Noted as participant by George H. Harris]

John McDonald is only mentioned in Harris' biography of Horatio Jones, but he mentioned neither Patrick McDonald nor William McDaniel.

A man by the name of John McDonald served as a Private in Captain James McKenny's Company, the 8th Company of the 1st Battalion of the Bedford County Militia in 1781.

A man by the name of John McDonald was recorded on the tax assessment return as a Resident of Frankstown Township in 1779.

William McDonald

[Noted as participant by George H. Harris]

William McDonald is only mentioned in Harris' biography of Horatio Jones, but he mentioned neither Patrick McDonald nor William McDaniel. Perhaps he meant McDaniel instead of McDonald.

A man by the name of William McDonald served in Captain William McCall's Company, the 7th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Bedford County Militia in 1781.

Edward Milligan

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

No man by the name of Edward Milligan is found in any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the American Revolutionary War. No man by the name of Edward Milligan served in the Bedford County Militia.

~~~~~ Ricketts

[Noted as participant by George H. Harris]

There were seven men by the surname of Ricketts who took the Oath of Allegiance at the Bedford County Court House. In 1778, Cheny, Edward Sr., Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Richard and Zachariah took the Oath. Then, in 1779, Edward Jr., took the Oath. None of them, though, were recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or during the War.

James Somerville

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

In the *Life of Horatio Jones*' narrative of the escape of James Somerville, Michael Wallack and Harry Woods and the subsequent recognition between the Indian chasing them and Woods, Harris stated: "*Hudson made no further demonstration of hostility and allowed the other two rangers to escape over the ridge.*"⁴⁰³ The assumption therefore is that James Somerville escaped death, wounding and capture.

James Somerville served in Captain William McCall's Company, the 7th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Bedford County Militia in 1781. The company was enlisted in September.

James Somerville did not appear in any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or after the War.

Michael Wallack

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

In the *Life of Horatio Jones*' narrative of the escape of James Somerville, Michael Wallack and Harry Woods and the subsequent recognition between the Indian chasing them and Woods, Harris stated: "*Hudson made no further demonstration of hostility and allowed the other two rangers to escape over the ridge.*"⁴⁰⁴ The assumption therefore is that Michael Wallack escaped death, wounding and capture.

Michael Wallack served in Captain William McCall's Company, the 7th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the Bedford County Militia in 1781. The company was enlisted in September.

Michael Wallack did not appear in any tax assessment return for Bedford County prior to or after the War.

Henry Woods

[Noted as participant by Harris, Jones & Hoenstine]

Harry Woods was a son of Bedford County resident and surveyor George Woods. Despite not being included in any roster, all of the narratives claim that Harry served as a Lieutenant in the Bedford County Militia. The father, George Woods, had been taken captive by Amerindians and taken to the Forks of the Ohio (present-day Pittsburgh), where he became acquainted and long-time friends with Hudson, the Seneca sachem and his son.

According to U. J. Jones' narrative, Harry Woods, along with James Somerville and Michael Wallack, ran up over O'Friel's Ridge with a single Indian in pursuit.⁴⁰⁵ Somerville's moccasin became untied and as he stopped to tie it, the Indian raised his tomahawk to strike him. Woods aimed his rifle at the Indian and pulled the trigger. Having already discharged it without having time to reload, it did not fire at this time. The Indian, though, jumped aside to avoid the possible bullet coming his way. In that instant, Woods identified the Indian as the son of Hutson, an old Indian known to Woods, and the Indian recognized Woods too. Jones'

narrative continued by noting that years later the two again met and the Indian reminded Woods of how fast he had run up the hill.

Despite the wealth of information on his father, George, Harry Woods is virtually absent in the public records of Bedford County. His name did not appear on any tax assessment return prior to or during the War. And as noted above, the name of Harry Woods did not appear in any roster of the militia of Bedford County.

In their narratives, Jones, Hoenstine and Harris used an often substituted variation of the name Henry: Harry. But even the name Henry does not appear in any tax assessment returns for Bedford County prior to or during the War. Nor does the name, Henry Woods appear in any roster included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* except for reference to a private who served in the Washington County Militia (and albeit without the 's' at the end of the surname: Henry Wood).⁴⁰⁶

Henry Woods did, in fact, apply for a pension, and that document provides answers to the questions about his service.⁴⁰⁷ Henry Woods was not a Lieutenant during the American Revolutionary War. A document from his pension application package notes that he served under Captains Buck, John Moore, John Boyd, John Hughs and Lieutenant Johnston ~ in each case as a Private ~ not as a Lieutenant. He provided evidence of his participation in the *Battle* of Frankstown:

On the 8th day of September 1832 personally appeared in open court in the Court of Common Pleas of Said County of Beaver, Henry Woods a resident of Said County aged about seventy five years who being first duly Sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the provision made by the act of Congress passed June the 7th 1832. That during the American Revalution, he lived in Bedford County Pennsylvania, that during the War the Indians took part with the British and in the frontier Settlements annoyed the Americans very severely, This was particularly the case in Bedford County. To dispel these Savages This deponent was often required to perform Military duty, the first service he performed was in the Summer of 1778. The Inhabitants for security were obliged to leave their homes & fly to forts ~~for~~ ~~Security~~. This deponent in the early part of that Summer volunteered with a number of others, under the Command he thinks of Captain Buck & Marched against the Indians and was out a Considerable time Ranging the Woods in Search of the Indians deponent cannot tell how long he was out at any one time but was not able to attend to any thing else during the Summer but was to required [illegible] & be on the watch. The next year 1779 He was again required to march against the Indians Who were still hostile, in the early part of the Summer he Marched under Captain John Moore. The Regt. Was commanded he thinks

by Col. Parker. That season he was employed in the Same way as the preceeding season. In the spring of 1780 deponent was again called on & marched as a volunteer under Captain Buck, and were Still engaged ranging the woods in search of the Indians who watching their opportunity & making [illegible] on the frontier. This season was employed semeler to the two preceeding ones. In May 1781 deponent was again Called upon to March against the Indians as a volunteer & Marched under Capt. Boyd. On the 3d. of June had a battle with the Indians and were defeated. This battle was fought on the east side of the Alleghany Mountain, near Burgues Gap. The troops after the Wounded were taken care of retreated to Bedford. The Whole Country were drawn to their Forts and deponent was kept under Arms the balance of the Season. In the Summer of 1782 deponent was again called upon to Volunteer, & early in the Summer Marched under Lieutenant Johnston, The tour was called a two months tour, but the season was pretty much employed as these already refered to, deponent is confident although he cannot refer to dates particularly ~~ye~~ that he did not serve taking all the periods of Years collectively, less than one year. And that in adition thereto in the Winter of 1790 91 he volunteered in a Rifle Company that was raised at Washington Pennsylv and Narched under the Command of Capt. Hughs to Fort Franklin at the Mouth of French Creek up the Allegheny to guard a Supply of provisions for the troops that were stationed at that place, te length of time engaged in this tour was not less than one month. The Same year, the Indians committed Some depredations on the frontiers in the Vicinity of Wheeling, on the Ohio side of the River. Deponent to give them ~~Relief~~ Volunteered as a Horseman under Colonel Blakenings and immediately March from Washington to that place a distance of [illegible] thirty miles before they Reached the place where the Murders had been Committed & the Blockhouse burned. The Indians had made their escape & could not be found. The time of himself and horse employed in this excursion was something [illegible] three weeks. Deponent is Consous he is not mistaken as to the length of time he has Related, that in all it will exceed thirteen months for which he never secured one farthing of pay.

Henry Woods claimed, in his pension application, that he believed that he was born in the year 1757. He did not mention any relationship to George Woods. He simply noted that he was born in Bedford County. He also stated that he was never drafted, nor did he serve as a substitute for another man, but rather that he volunteered for each tour of duty “*from a Sence of duty to defend his Country...*”

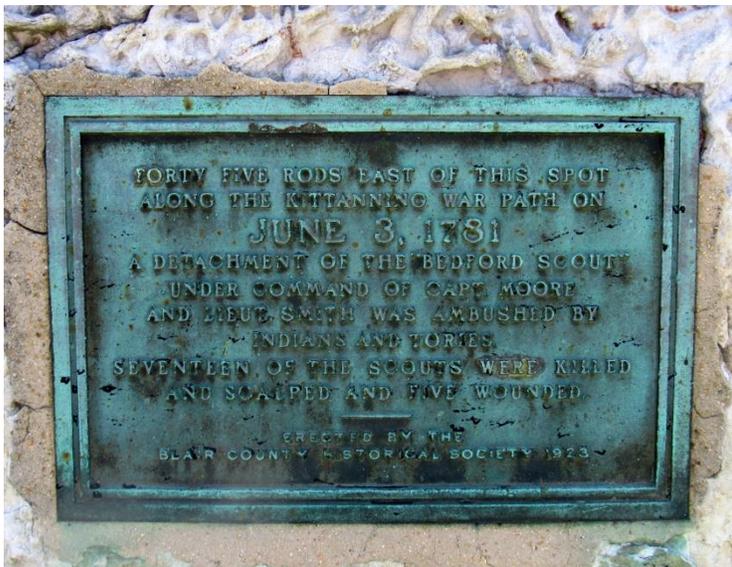
. *The Erection Of A New Monument*

In the year 1933, the Blair County Historical Society erected a monument to memorialize the Engagement of Frankstown. The monument consists of a small bronze plaque affixed to a slab of stone set upright in the ground. The stone is less than three feet in height and the plaque is positioned about two feet above ground. The monument is located along the east side of a road known as the 'Old Sixth Avenue Road' (present-day State Route 764 between Duncansville and Altoona, Pennsylvania). When it was constructed, the monument might have been located safely off the side of the road, where it could be visited



and read safely. Over the years the road was widened and the amount of traffic increased over it. Today, in order to read the bronze plaque on the monument, the visitor must almost

get down on their knees. And in that position the visitor's body is only inches from passing automobiles. It is extremely dangerous to try to read the plaque and it is worthless if no one can read it.



The author of this volume, Larry D. Smith, in his roles as President and Historian of the Frontier Patriots Chapter, SAR, decided to encourage the Chapter to undertake a

project to remedy the situation. A few years previous, the Frontier Patriots Chapter had received a bequest from the Joseph and Elizabeth Ramsey Estate, and it therefore had the funds necessary to have a monument erected. Mr. Smith came up with the idea for the design of the new monument to duplicate the Phillips Rangers' Massacre Monument since the Engagement of Frankstown essentially duplicated the Massacre in the Woodcock Valley in being a British-led Seneca attack that goaded the Bedford County Militia out and into an ambush. The Frontier Patriots Chapter liked the idea and voted to endorse and undertake the project.

The only obstacle with the monument project was finding the proper location for it. The owner of the property upon which the 1933 monument is located was initially agreeable to having a larger monument erected to the east of (or behind) the 1933 monument. Shortly after expressing interest in the new monument, the owner of the property changed his mind

and informed Mr. Smith that he might want to build on the tract identified. The next location to be considered was where Fort Fetter stood in the 1770s and '80s. A Comfort Inn currently

The Engagement Of Frankstown

3 June 1781

At dawn on the morning of 3 June 1781, Captain John Boyd led a detachment of approximately forty-four Bedford County Rangers and militia volunteers from Fort Fetter (in the vicinity of Wye Switches) to search for a party of Iroquois warriors that had recently killed three Euro-American settlers and taken two captive.

While ranging along the Beaverdam Branch of the Juniata River, the Bedford County Rangers were ambushed about a mile north of this site by a party of Senecas led by British Lieutenant Robert Nelles and a platoon of British soldiers out of the Genessee Valley of New York. Nelles had been directed to bring the Seneca warriors into the Pennsylvania frontier by Sir Guy Johnson of Fort Niagara. The British had been orchestrating such raids since 1777.

Musket fire rang out in the foggy morning air. Within a few minutes at least twelve of the Bedford County men lay dead, five or six were wounded but escaped alive and ten were taken prisoner. Captain John Boyd, one of the captives, was possibly the object of the raid.

Participants In The Engagement

(k) killed ~ (w) wounded ~ (p) prisoner

David Bates (w), John Beatty, Moses Beeman, Abraham Bodle (w), John Boyd (p), Zadock Casteel, Michael Coleman, Thomas Coleman, John Conrad (k), John Cook (p), Richard Delapt (p & k), John Downey Sr. (k), William Decker (k), Henry Dugan (p), Stephen Goble (w), ~~~~ Gray, Florence Grimes (k), James Henry (k), Adam Holliday, John Holliday, William Holliday Jr., ~~~~ Johnson, (George) Jones (k), Horatio Jones (p), Joseph Martin (k), William McDaniel (p & k), John McDonald, Patrick McDonald (p), William McDonald, Hugh Means (w), Edward Milligan, Samuel Moore (p), Henderson Murphy (k), Michael Nicholas (k), William Nichols (k), ~~~~ Ricketts, ~~~~ Ross (p & k), George Smith (p), James Somerville, Henry Tantlinger (k), John Thomas (k), Michael Wallack, Adam Wimer (w), Henry Woods.

**Monument provided by the Frontier Patriots Chapter
Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the American Revolution. Dedicated 2021.**

This obelisk duplicates the monument erected in 1926 at the Phillips' Rangers Massacre Memorial in the Woodcock Valley of Bedford County. The Engagement of Frankstown, like the Phillips' Rangers Massacre, resulted from the incursions led by the British and carried out by the Seneca Nation during the American Revolutionary War.

stands on the site which is located at the Wye Switches, just east of the borough of Duncansville. The owner of the motel expressed interest in the project, but was not forthcoming in providing assurance (such as a covenant to the deed) that the monument

would be protected in the event of the sale of the motel in the future. The next possible site was identified as the parking lot of the Allegheny Township Municipal Office. Erection of the stone monument on that site was denied by the Allegheny Township Supervisors on the basis that it would set a precedent. The project was saved by the intervention of one of the



Allegheny Township Supervisors ~ Fred Imler Jr., co-owner of the Imler's Poultry business along State Route 764. The site chosen consists of a dry portion of a tract designated as 'wetlands' and therefore safeguarded from ever being built or otherwise infringed upon. The site will also be prominently viewed by passersby and those stopped at the intersection of Route 764 and Theater Drive.

The firm of Stiffler Masonry, owned and managed by Michael

Stiffler, was engaged to construct the monument out of stone to duplicate the Phillips Rangers' Massacre Monument. Mr. Stiffler took measurements of the existing Phillips monument and even tried to match the type of stone as closely as possible. In the meantime, Mr. Smith designed a plaque to be cast in bronze by Olde Mill Impressions of Mechanicsburg. The 1933 Monument contained a number of errors, which Mr. Smith hoped to correct in the new monument. The 1933 Monument stated that Captain Samuel Moore and Lieutenant George Smith led the Bedford County Rangers while not even mentioning Captain John Boyd. British Lieutenant Robert Nelles was not mentioned in the 1933 Monument while local Tories were blamed for leading the Indian incursion. And while the 1933 Monument did not record any of the Bedford County men's names, the new monument not only lists all known participants but notes whether they were killed, wounded or taken prisoner.

Construction of the new monument had been planned to begin in the spring of 2020 but the spread of the Covid-19 Coronavirus Pandemic halted work throughout the United States. A new start date was set for 21 May 2021. Inclement weather and other unforeseen problems prevented the monument from being constructed until the week of June 20. It was completed and a dedication ceremony was held on Saturday 10 July.

The dedication of the Engagement of Frankstown Monument was attended by about thirty interested persons. Fred Imler Jr., extended a greeting to the audience and noted the gratitude he had for his company being honored to have the monument stand upon their

property. Blair County Commissioner Bruce Erb spoke of the importance of the monument to the county of Blair's heritage. The people in attendance then listened to Larry D. Smith give an historical account of the engagement which included short biographical sketches of various of the participants. The ceremony then concluded with the blessing and consecration of the monument by Pastor David McClanahan, of the Smith Corner Church.

• • • • • • • • • •**The Sources**

The story of the Engagement of Frankstown has been told in previous volumes. The earliest narrative of the incident was in U. J. Jones' *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* published in 1856.⁴⁰⁸ Jones gave a first-person account of the event, despite the fact that he wrote his version seventy-some years after the fact. He gave the incident the title of "*Massacre of the Bedford Scout.*" As has been noted previously, in the 1700s, the word *scout* was not used interchangeably with either *militia* or *ranger* or even with *soldier*. Perhaps the suggestion that militia rangers 'scouted' through the forests, induced Jones to believe they should be called 'scouts.' Unlike the incident of a year before, the Massacre of Captain Phillips' Rangers, it was not U. J. Jones' narrative of the Engagement of Frankstown that was the most popular. Floyd G. Hoenstine's narrative would claim that honor.

U. J. Jones stated that the information given by George Ashman in his letter to Joseph Reed was full of errors - that "It would appear that even a man holding an official station is liable to gross mistakes." Jones claimed that he based his first-person narrative on the information given to him by persons living at the time of his writing "who lived at the time of the occurrence." The Engagement of Frankstown took place seventy-five years before Jones wrote his narrative. An eighty-five year old would have been only ten years old at the time of the event. If the witness was twenty years old at the time of the event, he would have been ninety-five when he told his story to U. J. Jones. There are questions about the credibility of any witness twenty years or younger, seventy-five years after an event.

In the year 1857, a book was published by John Franklin Meginness titled: *Otzinachson; or, A History of the West Branch Valley*. The book included information about the captivity of Captain John Boyd and Lieutenant John Cook by the Senecas.⁴⁰⁹

It is amazing that the singular American Revolutionary War incident to take place within the bounds of present-day Blair County deserved absolutely no mention in J. Simpson Africa's *History of Huntingdon & Blair Co's, Pennsylvania* published in 1883.

Apparently because it took place outside of the bounds of present-day Bedford County, the incident was not discussed in the 1884 *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* besides a reprint of the 12 June 1781 letter from George Ashman to Joseph Reed.⁴¹⁰

Perhaps the most informative account from the Amerindian point of view was given in *The True Story of Hoc-Sa-G-Wah Prisoner, Pioneer and Interpreter ~ The Life of Horatio Jones* by George H. Harris.⁴¹¹ Having been adopted by the Senecas, Horatio Jones learned their Iroquoian language and their history. Following the American Revolutionary War, Jones was engaged by George Washington to act as interpreter to the Six Nations. In 1794 he assisted in the negotiations that resulted in the Treaty of Canandaigua and also the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797. The biography, written by George H. Harris comes to us third-hand,

though, and therefore is not a true first-hand account. Harris obtained his information from B. F. Angel, Jones' son-in-law. Jones died in 1836. Harris wasn't even born until seven years later in 1843. Harris did not start writing about history until 1877, nearly one hundred years after the Frankstown Engagement. Harris was considered to be an honorable historian, and so we might accept his biography of Horatio Jones as mostly accurate.

In 1940, Floyd G. Hoenstine, in his book, *Soldiers of Blair County Pennsylvania*, stated that, as a result of his own research, he could give an account of the engagement which did not necessarily agree with either Ashman's or U. J. Jones' versions.⁴¹² Unfortunately, Hoenstine did not supply the reader with source references. He came from the stock of historians who felt that source references were unnecessary; the reader should believe whatever was written simply because the historian said so.

The two original county histories which should have included an article on this incident - the *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* and the *History of Huntingdon & Blair Co's, Pennsylvania* - make no mention of it, with the exception of the transcription of George Ashman's letter to Joseph Reed in the Bedford County volume.

Floyd G. Hoenstine provided a chapter titled *Blair County At War* in the 1945 publication: *Blair County's First Hundred Years 1846-1946*. He basically paraphrased the information he had previously included in his 1940 book.⁴¹³

In the summer of 1981, a commemoration of the site of the engagement was held by the Blair County Historical Society and the Blair County Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. Floyd G. Hoenstine delivered an address at that ceremony which summarized his previous writings.⁴¹⁴

James B. Whisker published his book, *Bedford County (Pennsylvania) in the American Revolution* in 1985.⁴¹⁵ In that volume Whisker devoted two pages to the engagement, which he titled *The Frankstown Massacre*. Although he noted "*The facts of the Frankstown skirmish seem, now, to be clear*", he did not offer much information to support that statement. In regard to his thumbnail sketches of the soldiers, Whisker basically repeated Hoenstine's information, and of course, since Hoenstine did not provide any sources, Whisker didn't either.

In 1993, the author of this volume, Larry D. Smith, issued a Newsletter to his SAR chapter in which he commented on the engagement utilizing information about the British participation in the engagement derived from the biography of Horatio Jones by Harris.⁴¹⁶ Apart from the Jones biography, the newsletter was the first to make note of the leading of the Seneca party by Lieutenant Nelles.

The most recent book about the engagement was *Frankstown: Anatomy of an Ambush*, by Roger G. Swartz. Swartz published his volume in 1995.⁴¹⁷ Mr. Swartz utilized the engagement to provide a focal point for a discussion of a variety of topics associated with the militia and Amerindians during the period of the American Revolutionary War. The narrative, as presented by Swartz was a bit confusing because it contained too many elements unrelated to the engagement itself.

Battle of Bald Eagle Creek

.*The Northumberland Frontier*

During the year 1782, British Lieutenant Robert Nelles was once again sent southward into the frontier of Pennsylvania with a platoon of British soldiers and Seneca allies. They met the Northumberland County Militia under Captain Thomas Robinson at Bald Eagle Creek on 16 April 1782.

The only direct reference to the incident to be recorded in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* was a single sentence added at the end of the roster of Captain Robinson's Company:⁴¹⁸

This company had a sharp engagement with the Indians, at Bald Eagle Creek.

The British record of the incident, published in the *Haldimand Papers* of the British Archives is equally scanty.⁴¹⁹ The capture of the highest participating 'rebel' officer was the only aspect of the incident of any importance to the British.

Moses Van Camp, a Lieutenant of one Independt Company, called the Pennsylvania Rangers, taken Prisoner on Bald Eagle Creek, 16th April 1782.

There was a second reference to the incident in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, but it is not as direct a reference as the foregoing. On 17 April 1782 Colonel Samuel Hunter sent a letter to James Potter, the Vice President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.⁴²⁰ In that letter sent from Sunbury, Mr. Hunter said:

Agreeable to your letter and the resolve of Council, Captain Robinsons head Quarters is at Fort Muncy, and I am certain he does all he can in the Rangeing way for the Good of the County,



but as for doing much towards the Repaireing of the Fort its not in his Power at present, as the Enemy has made their appearance once more on our Frontiers. The 7th Inst. They took off a Woman and four Children from Wyoming, and the 14th Inst. A scout of Captain Robinsons men came on fresh tracts of Indians about a mile above Lycoming, and followed them up the Creek towards Eel Town, I have not heard from them since.

The site of the *sharp engagement* was at Hick’s Spring near the mouth of the Bald Eagle Creek where it empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The site was in the vicinity to the east of the present-day city of Lock Haven in Clinton County, Pennsylvania.

Northumberland County was erected in 1772 primarily out of a portion of the territory purchased from the Iroquois in 1768 in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Added to it at the time of its erection were a portion of Bedford County (*i.e.* Tullileague Township), and portions of Berks, Cumberland, Lancaster and Northampton Counties. The line that initially defined the northeast corner of Bedford County when it was erected in 1771 followed the path of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. At the point where Bald Eagle Creek (flowing northeastward) empties into the West Branch, a surveyed line was run from northwest to southeast. It lay between the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek to the vicinity of Loganton, Clinton County. The line then ran in the southwest direction along the summit of the Sugar Valley Mountain.

• • • • •**Militia Participants**

The company of militia of whom some would become involved in the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek was Thomas Robinson’s Rangers. The company was raised in Northumberland County in 1780.

Two rosters and a payroll for Captain Thomas Robinson’s Company of Rangers were recorded in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. A list of the officers of that company also exists. The list of officers noted Joseph Alexander and John Faulkner as serving in the position of Lieutenant in 1780 and Moses Van Campen as serving in the position of Ensign. Their commissions were dated 8 April 1780. The list also noted that on 10 February 1781, Moses Van Campen was promoted and received a commission to the rank of Lieutenant.⁴²¹

The payroll for Captain Thomas Robinson’s Company was recorded on 1 June 1781.⁴²² The roll was stated for a ‘detachment of seven months men.’ The payroll recorded two Sergeants and twelve Privates. In addition to the payroll recorded in 1781, individual testamentary statements were filed by forty-six men who had served as ‘seven-months men’ under Captain Thomas Robinson. Those statements revealed payments made to those men after the American Revolutionary War was officially ended in 1783.⁴²³

The first full roster of Captain Thomas Robinson’s Company, transcribed on pages 744 and 745 of the Second Series, Volume XI, includes the following names and ranks.⁴²⁴

Captain ~ Thomas Robinson commissioned 10 Feb 1781

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Lieutenant ~ Moses Van Campen commissioned 10 Feb 1781 | |
| Sergeants | |
| Jonathan Bey | Ebenezer Green |
| William Doyle | Edward Lee |
| Privates | |
| John Adams | Adam Hempleman |
| James Bennett | James Henderson |
| Conrad Bessell | Joshua Knapp |
| Claudius Boatman | Michael Lamb |
| Jonathan Burnmell | William McGrady |
| James Busler | William Miller |
| Henry Carton | Adam Neible |
| Conrad Cutherman | Jonathan Pray |
| James Daugherty | John Shilling |
| Ephraim Dunbar | William Snell |
| John Fox | Richard Stewart |
| Ebenezer Green | Francis Varbelet |
| Leonard Groninger | John Wallace |
| Charles Haines | Thomas Wilkinson |

In addition to the above roster, *A List of Arms lost at Bald Eagle Creek in an engagement of Capt. Tho. Robinson's Co. April 16th-'82*⁴²⁵ is recorded in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*. Eleven names are included in that list, only one of which (Leonard Croninger) does not appear in the above roster. The names of the men who did appear in the above roster were: Jonathan Burwell, James Dougherty, Ebenezer Greens, Adam Hempleman, Michael Lamb, William McGrady, William Miller, Joshua Nap, Jonathan Pray and Moses Van Campen.

The second 'roster' is more of a collection of the names of all of the men who served as Rangers under Captain Thomas Robinson during the entire period of the War rather than a roster taken on a single date. In fact, the list does not include any dates for the service of any of the men recorded. Included under the general title of *List of "Soldiers of the Revolution who received pay for their services," Taken from Manuscript Record, having neither date nor title, but under "Rangers on the Frontiers, 1778-1783" was published in Vol. XXIII Penna. Archives, Third Series, by the Former Editor, the list is subtitled: Robinson's Rangers.*⁴²⁶ The list recorded one hundred and ninety-one names, including three Lieutenants, one Ensign and one Fifer; the rest were Privates.

| | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| | Lieutenants | |
| Samuel Gready | Peter Grove | Joseph Robinson |
| | | |
| Ensign | Thos Chambers | |
| Fifer | Cornelius Boatman | |

| Privates | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| John Adams | Robert Adams | Mathew Aitkinson |
| William Aitkinson | Robert Allen | Jacob Anguish |
| Henry Antes | Daniel Armstrong | William Armstrong |
| James Bailey | Uriah Barber | James Barrett |
| John Beatty | Thomas Black | William Black |
| Cladius Boatman | Jno Bombough | John Bosley |
| Daniel Bower | John Boyd | Mathew Breadley |
| John Bready | Lewis Broomsberry | George Brown |
| Lewis Brownburry | Conrad Brussell | Edward Brussell |
| Jona. Burrwell | James Buttler | Mathew Calhoon |
| Carey Campbell | Cleary Campbell | Samuel Campbell |
| William Campbell | John Carmudy | Robert Carothers |
| Samuel Carson | Thomas Carswell | Conrad Cautherman |
| William Clark | George Clerk | William Clerk |
| Bathn. Coats | John Coons | John Cox |
| John Crawford | Thomas Crockett | Leonard Croninger |
| Henry Crughton | John Dawson | William Deurtt |
| Leonard Doctor | William Dougan | William Dougherty |
| James Doughorty | Samuel Doyle | William Doyle |
| Ephram Dunbar | Edward Edgerton | John Eirh |
| James Emmitt | Jno. Emmitt | Wm. English |
| Christian Erwin | James Farrough | John Faulkner |
| Paul Fisher | John Fleming | John Fox |
| John French | John Frester | Samuel Fulton |
| William George | Robert Gibson | Daniel Goudley |
| Ebenezer Green | Joseph Green | James Greer |
| Andrew Gregg | Daniel Gridley | Michael Grove |
| Charles Haines | Joseph Harriott | Wm. Harris |
| James Headley | Adam Hempleman | James Henderson |
| Thomas Hewett | Joseph Hill | Aaron Himrod |
| Jesse Honeycraft | Jacob Houser | John Huff |
| Elijah Hunt | Alexander Hunter | Robert Hurst |
| Andrew Ingler | Jno. Ingram | Francis Ishenwood |
| Hugh Kerrell | Jno. Killing | William King |
| Joshua Knap | Saml. Knap | Michael Lamb |
| Edward Lee | Edwd. Lee (estate) | Jona. Lodge |
| Robert Love | John Lukins | Nicholas Lumberson |
| Archibald
McCallaster | David McCarter | Charles McClung |

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Joseph McCool | Daniel McCoomb | Alexander McCready |
| David McEaster | Dennis McGradley | William McGreadey |
| Henry McHenry | John McHenry | Thomas McHenry |
| Dennis McLaughlin | Jno. McWilliams | Thos. Marlen |
| William Marshall | James Martin | Eli Mead |
| Eli Meade | Eli Meade, Junr | Eli Meade, Senr |
| Peter Mellick | Benjamin Miller | William Miller |
| William Monks | Samuel Montgomery | Adam Neibel |
| Hugh Nichols | Stephen Oliver | John Patton |
| George Pearson | Jonathan Perey | Jona. Prey |
| Jno. Price | Jacob Rappinger | John Rees |
| Daniel Reese | Ludwig Rosegh | Ludwig Rough |
| John Ryan | William Scull | Sampson Sharp |
| William Shewell | Jno. Shilling | John Shoke |
| Peter Smith | Casper Snyder | John Solomon |
| William Speedy | Joseph Sprangs | Luke Stephens |
| Richard Stewart | William Stewart | John Stoy |
| James Sweaner | Jacob Taester | Jacob Teiple |
| Jesse Thorney-Craft | Joseph Thorney-Craft | Jos. Thorney-Craft (estate) |
| Tid Martin | David Torbitt | Garrett Vancampen |
| Moses VanCampen | Levi Vanderson | Francis Verpelia |
| Jno. Wallace | Samuel Wheeler | Daniel Whipple |
| David Whipple | Thomas Wilkinson | James Wilson |
| Jno. Wilson | Mathew Wilson | |

Despite the large number of men included on the above list, and the apparent inclusivity of the list, eight men were included on the roster taken in 1781 but not on this list: Lieutenant Jonathan Bey and Privates, Conrad Bessell, James Busler, Henry Carton, Conrad Cutherman, Ephraim Dunbar, Leonard Groninger and William Snell.

The purpose of including the foregoing list is to emphasize that in early April, prior to the incident that occurred on 16 April, the men who participated in the engagement may not have specifically been only the men recorded on the roster. The statement at the end of the roster, as noted in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* and above, was: “*This company had a sharp engagement with the Indians, at Bald Eagle Creek.*” The initial assumption upon reading that statement would be that the group of men listed were the ones who participated in the engagement. It might just as well refer to the company in general under the name of ‘*Capt. Thomas Robinson’s Company*’ meaning that some of the men listed *might* have participated, whereas others *might* not even have been enlisted in the company at the time of the engagement. To use an analogy, a high school band, under the name of ‘The Premier High School Band’ would have a somewhat fluid roster of students, changing every year with some members leaving and some others joining. All the while the name of the band would not change from year to year. So the statement that the company had a sharp

engagement with the Indians could either refer to each of the men individually or to the company as an entity in and of itself.

Moses Van Campen, whose narratives and pension application form the primary basis of our knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek, stated in his pension application: “*On the 8th day of April 1780 I was Commissioned as Ensign of Captain Thomas Robinson’ Company of Infantry Pennsylvania line, on the 10th day of February 1781 I was promoted and commissioned as Lieutenant of Said Company...*”⁴²⁷

Despite Moses Van Campen’s claim, none of the extant rosters transcribed in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* include Van Campen’s name as either Lieutenant, Ensign or even Private in the Pennsylvania Line companies in which a man by the name of Thomas Robinson commanded. In fact, the Thomas Robinson who served in the Pennsylvania Line was a Captain only in 1776. He was recorded in Colonel Anthony Wayne’s Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion “*As it stood at Ticonderoga, November 26, 1776.*” Robinson was noted as having been “*commissioned January 5 1776; sick in Penna.*”⁴²⁸ The man named Thomas Robinson who served in the Pennsylvania Line served as a Major in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776 and 1777. He received his commission as Major in Colonel Francis Johnston’s Fifth Regiment on 2 October 1776, was wounded at Brandywine, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment on 7 June 1777.⁴²⁹ The Thomas Robinson who served in the Pennsylvania Line served, not as a Captain, but as a Lieutenant Colonel in all subsequent commissions in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, and was included in rosters taken in 1778, 1780 and 1781.⁴³⁰ On 1 January 1783 Thomas Robinson was transferred to the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, continuing with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.⁴³¹ At the time that Moses Van Campen would have served under Thomas Robinson, the Thomas Robinson who commanded in the Pennsylvania Line had been a Lieutenant Colonel for a number of years.

In a list of *Soldiers who received depreciation pay as per cancelled certificates on file in the Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania State Library*, the name of Thomas Robinson was recorded as a Captain of Northumberland Rangers. Various other men were recorded as Privates; their names were followed by the notation: *Robinson’s Rangers*.⁴³²

As noted above, Moses Van Campen claimed in his pension application to have served in the Pennsylvania Line. At least he suggested that the company in which he served had been one of the Pennsylvania Line by stating that he had been commissioned as an Ensign “*of Captain Thomas Robinson’ Company of Infantry Pennsylvania line.*” The fact of the matter is that when Mr. Van Campen applied for a pension he was denied twice. On 2 September 1828, the Treasury Department gave the following answer to his claim: “*It further appears that Moses Van Campen is not now on the pension list of any agency, and has not been since the 3d March 1826. The Revolutionary records in this office furnish no evidence whatsoever in relation to the services of Lt. Moses Van Campen of the Pennsylvania Line.*” Then again on 3 January 1829 Robert Taylor of the War Department Bounty Land Office stated: “*It does not appear by the records of this office that Moses Van Campen as an officer of the Penna. line ever received or is intitled to bounty land of the United States.*”⁴³³

Also it is important to note that contrary to Moses Van Campen’s claim that Captain Thomas Robinson’s Rangers was associated with the Pennsylvania Line, the militia and the Line were not interchangeable. Only at the very beginning of the War, when companies of

militia traveled from all over the colonies to assist Boston and relieve the seige, did the militia participate in the service as the ‘continental army’ into which they were later formed. The Thomas Robinson recorded as a Captain of the Northumberland County Rangers was undoubtedly the Thomas Robinson under whom Moses Van Campen served as a Lieutenant in 1782 and he did not command a company of the Continental Line. On the 7th of October 1844, some sixty years after the event, when Moses Van Campen filed his application for a pension, he might simply have been confused and claimed to have served in the Pennsylvania Line whereas he had not in actuality.

It must be noted, before leaving this subject, that a definitive list of the Northumberland County Militia men who accompanied Lieutenant Van Campen does not exist. As he noted in his pension and other writings, his instructions were to choose twenty men out of the thirty-two in the company to accompany him. More about the men involved in the engagement will be dealt with later.

• • • • •***The Seneca Participants***

Not much is stated in the writings of Van Campen and others about the Amerindians who participated in the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek. In the book, *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Moses Van Campen*, he narrated to his grandson that:⁴³⁴

While Van Campen with his company was ascending the river, a large party of Indians, not far from eightyfive were on their way down, paddling along in their little bark canoes and were intending when they came into the vicinity of the settlements to separate themselves into small companies, commit their depredations and return home.

The Amerindians who would become participants in the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek were Senecas. That fact did not come from Moses Van Campen directly. That fact actually came from a fellow prisoner ~ Horatio Jones ~ the same Horatio Jones who was taken captive the year before at Frankstown Township in Bedford County. On 8 October 1830, Horatio provided a statement to bolster Moses Van Campen’s pension application. He stated:⁴³⁵

The said deponent [Horatio Jones] then being a prisoner with the Seneca Tribe of Indians and being at a place called the Pigeon Ground in what is now called the county of Alligany in this state was called upon by the Indians to examine a prisoner which they had then recently taken. this deponent thereupon repaired to the place pointed out where there were a large body of the Seneca Indians probably as many as five hundred in number and in the midst of them this deponent found Moses Van Campen...

There is absolutely no reason that one tribe would take a Euro~American prisoner and then just give him or her to another tribe. The Senecas were holding Van Campen when Jones was asked to translate between them, so it can be safely said that the Senecas were the Amerindian nation that attacked Van Campen's party on 16 April 1782.

Also, although he did not name them as Senecas directly, Van Campen laid out the path followed after the engagement to Fort Niagara. It was the same path, up the Pine Creek, then up the Genessee and on through that valley to Niagara, as the path followed by the Seneca party led by Lieutenant Nelles in 1781. It was probably the same Senecas who participated in the attack on the Bedford County Militia during the previous year who participated in this raid.

In the previous year's engagement a captive, Horatio Jones, became familiar with certain of the Seneca warriors (*e.g.* Hah-yen-de-she and Gah-nee-son-go) and spoke of them. In regard to this incident, though, the captured participant, Moses Van Campen, wary of becoming too friendly with the Senecas, turned his attention to British Lieutenant Robert Nelles. As a result, the names of different Seneca warriors did not become known.

. A Death Brings The Militia To Bald Eagle Creek

In the latter part of March, just at the opening of the campaign of 1782, the companies that had been stationed during the winter at Reading, were ordered back by Congress to their respective stations. Lieut. Van Campen marched, at the head of Capt. Robison's company, to Northumberland...

So started chapter ten of the book authored by Moses Van Campen's grandson, John.⁴³⁶

The company headed for a site along the north bank of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River (in present-day Lycoming County) where they set to work rebuilding Fort Muncy. The fort that had been established on the property of Samuel Wallis was destroyed in 1778 and again in 1779. In what has been called the 'big runaway', during June and July 1778, the settlers all along the river were ordered to evacuate their farmsteads and forts and take refuge at Sunbury. According to Colonel William Hepburn: "*The men of the settlement came down in single file on each side of the river, to guard the women and children. The whole convoy arrived safely at Sunbury, leaving the entire line of farms along the West Branch to the ravages of the Indians. They destroyed Fort Muncy, but did not penetrate to Sunbury.*"⁴³⁷ On 13 December 1779, Colonel Lund Weltner wrote to the Pennsylvania Board of War. He noted that: "*Fort Muncy having been evacuated and destroyed ~ McClung's was agreed on and a detachment of the Troops accordingly took post there the 5th of last month...*"⁴³⁸

Van Campen led a unit of the militia to the site of Muncy where he "*threw up a small block house, in which he placed his stores and immediately commenced rebuilding the fort...*"⁴³⁹ Soon thereafter, Captain Robinson joined Van Campen's unit and with him was Mr. Culbertson who had a farm on Big Island in the channel of the West Branch of the Susquehanna. This Mr. Culbertson would have been Andrew.⁴⁴⁰ He was noted in the *History*

of Centre and Clinton Counties, Pennsylvania as having served in Matthew Palmer's Company in 1778. Moses Van Campen's reference to this man as variously 'Squire' or 'Esquire' would suggest that after serving in the War, he made a living as a lawyer. According to Mr. Culbertson, his brother had recently been killed by the Indians and some of his personal effects had been kept safe by being buried. Culbertson hoped that a small party of the militia could escort him back to Big Island to search for that buried property.

Captain Robinson directed Lieutenant Van Campen to take a detail of twenty men and escort Mr. Culbertson back to his brother's farm. The directive set the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek into motion.

. ***The 16th Of April 1782***

Although the report filed by Lieutenant Robert Nelles upon his return to Fort Niagara on 19 June 1781 (after the raid he led into the Tuckahoe Valley of Bedford County) was recorded in the *Haldimand Papers* collection, the report filed by that same British Lieutenant after the raid in Northumberland County, if one had indeed been filed, was not recorded in the collection. One document does exist in that collection which seems to refer to the 1782 incident at Bald Eagle Creek. Before looking at that item it should be noted that Dr. Ted Bainbridge, in his detailed essay *The Battle of Bald Eagle Creek*, noted that twenty-six Northumberland County Militia men participated in the engagement. Of those, nine were killed, three escaped and fourteen were captured. Of the fourteen men captured, three were killed immediately and one was killed during the forced march northward. That left ten Northumberland men who survived the engagement and were taken to Fort Niagara. It also should be noted (as mentioned by Moses Van Campen in his pension application) that Robinson's Company had guarded Hessian prisoners in Berks County during 1781.

The single reference to the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek in the *Haldimand Papers* stated:⁴⁴¹

*Extract of Mr. Deales Letter to Colonel Johnson, Dated,
Carleton Island May 11th 1782 ~
A Scout from Niagara has brought in 10 Prisoners who
mention that 13,000 Hanoverians were arrived at N York.*

As will be seen below, ten men have been determined to have survived the ordeal and were taken to Fort Niagara and the entry notes that ten prisoners were brought in. Also the ten men captured at Bald Eagle Creek had guarded Hessian prisoners and would have had an idea of their numbers and the entry notes that the prisoners who were brought in 'mentioned' that 13,000 Hanoverians (one of the Hessian groups) had arrived at New York. The similarities of the two points are too coincidental to overlook, and the statement in the letter may indeed refer to the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek. Unfortunately, the very short entry in the *Haldimand Papers* does not provide many details of the battle, and so we must rely on one of the participants to narrate it.

The primary source of information on the engagement that took place at Bald Eagle Creek are the writings of Moses Van Campen.⁴⁴² Van Campen served as an Ensign under

Captain Thomas Robinson in the year 1780. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1781. As noted above, the company was called to perform duty in Berks County, and during that tour the company was employed at guarding Hessian prisoners. In the spring of 1782 Robinson's Company was sent to the Pennsylvania frontier of Northumberland County to guard against Amerindian incursions.

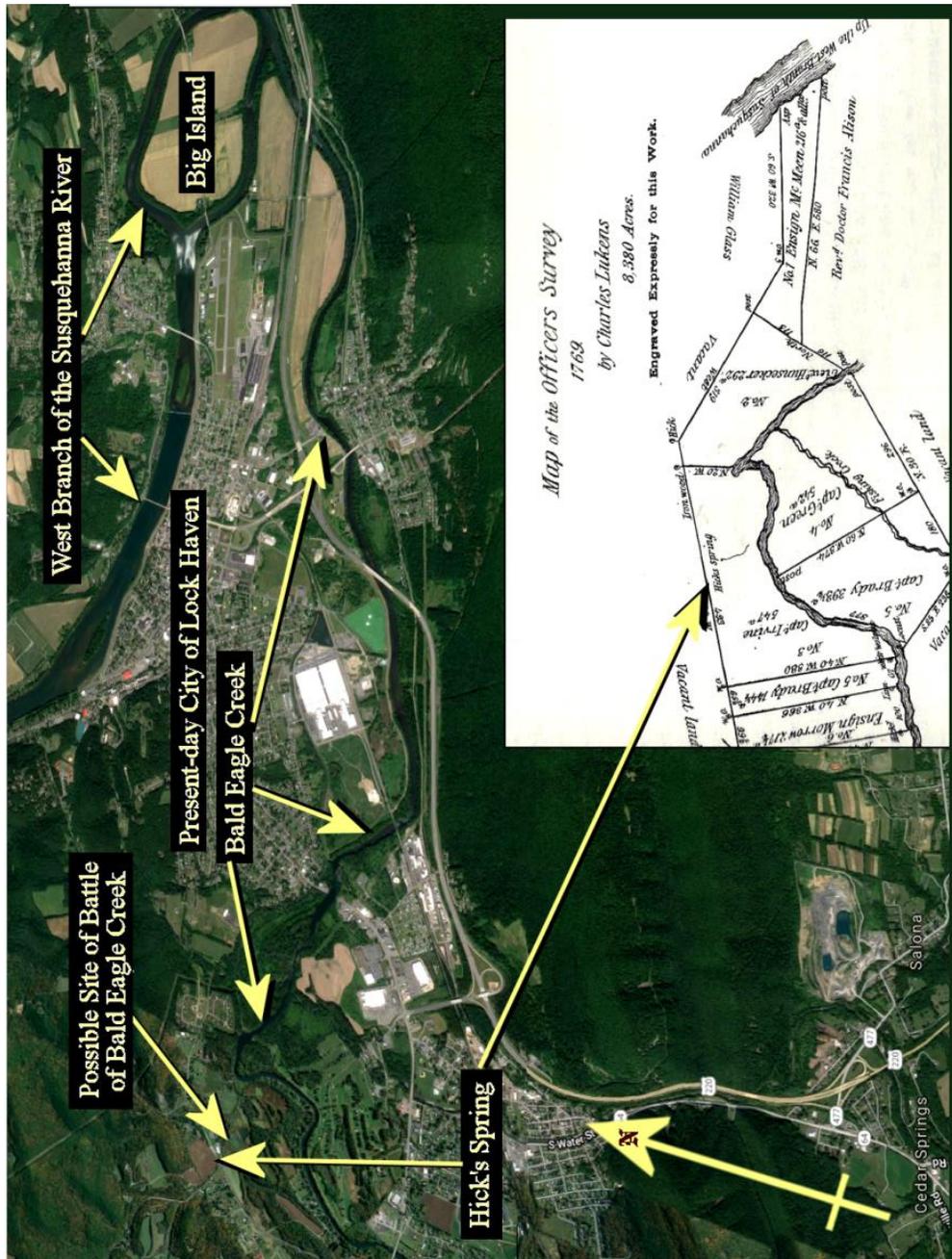
Of the battle, Moses said in his pension application of 7 October 1844: "*I marched Robinson's Company to Northumberland and entered upon the laborious duty of protecting the frontiers of the Said County on the 16th day of April 1782 I was taken prisoner by the Indians, and Surrendered to the British at Niagara...*"⁴⁴³ In the narratives for his book, *Incidents of Border Life* and his grandson's book, *Sketches of Border Adventures*, Moses Van Campen was a bit (but not too much) more *verbose*.⁴⁴⁴

In the latter part of March, at the opening of the campaign in 1782, we were ordered by Congress to our respective stations. I marched Robinson's company to Northumberland, where Mr. Thomas Chambers joined us, who had been recently commissioned as an ensign of our company. We halted at Northumberland two or three days for our men to wash and rest; from thence ensign Chambers and myself were ordered to Muncy, Samuel Wallis's plantation, there to make a stand and rebuild Fort Muncy, which had been destroyed by the enemy. We reached that station, and built a small block-house for the storage of our provisions; about the 10th or 11th of April, Capt. Robinson came on with Esquire Culbertson, James Dougherty, William M'Grady, and a Mr. Barkley; I was ordered to select twenty or twenty-five men with these gentlemen, and to proceed up the west branch to the Big Island, and thence up the Bald Eagle Creek, to the place where a Mr. Culbertson had been killed. On the 15th of April, at night, we reached the place, and encamped for the night; on the morning of the 16th we were attacked by eighty-five Indians. It was a hard-fought battle; Esquire Culbertson and two others made their escape; I think we had nine killed, and the rest of us were made prisoners.

In the book, *Sketches of Border Adventures* by his grandson, Moses Van Campen stated that "*The Indians were commanded by a Lieut. Nellis, who was in the British service, and often led the savages in their descent upon the frontier settlements.*"⁴⁴⁵ Robert Nelles, as noted previously in the chapter on the Engagement of Frankstown, was the son of Captain Henry Nelles. Lieutenant Robert Nelles, only one of sixteen men holding the rank of Lieutenant, had been serving in the British Army since 1780.⁴⁴⁶

It was by Van Campen, in telling his story to his grandson that the name of Nelles came up. And in fact, the narrator got the name incorrect as 'Nellis' rather than correctly as 'Nelles' perhaps because that was the way it sounded when spoken by its British owner.⁴⁴⁷

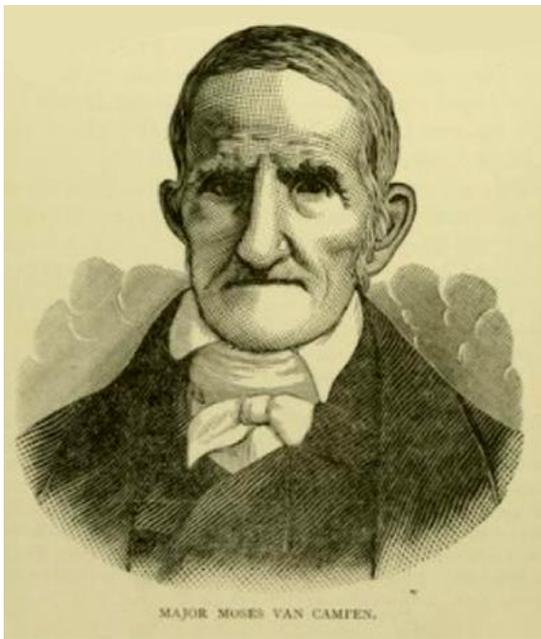
As had been the case during the previous year and approximately seventy-five miles to the southwest in the township of Frankstown (and the year before that in the Woodcock Valley), the Amerindian incursion (regardless of having been led by the British) was no doubt believed to have been assisted by local Tories. Moses Van Campen, in his 1844 pension application stated: “and as we had the british to fight on our sea board, And british, Indians and Tories on our frontiers...”⁴⁴⁸ To be sure, Van Campen probably was not insinuating that they fought the “british, Indians and Tories” all at the same time. But he was noting that all three were threats on the frontier.



According to Van Campen, he chose only the best sharpshooters to accompany him “according to his usual custom” which was to hold up a piece of paper and have the men

shoot at it.⁴⁴⁹ Those men who hit the paper were chosen. Reading through Van Campen’s narratives, there is no question that he waxed poetic at times. And this is a good example. He was leading a unit of *Rangers*. And what qualified a man to be noted as a *Ranger* as compared to simple *Militia*? Rangers were supposedly trained at certain things which the simple Militiamen were not. Rangers were trained to move through the forests silently and steadfastly and they were trained to use rifles as compared to smoothbore muskets. In order to be enlisted in a company of Rangers, every single man was supposed to be an able, if not an expert sharpshooter. And commanding the company for any length of time should have made Van Campen adept at knowing who were the best ~ and the worst ~ of the company. In any case, the comment on how he chose twenty of the company suggests that he didn’t choose according to personal likes, but rather according to skill.

Van Campen led his platoon along the river “while Culbertson and four others advanced up the stream in a boat.”⁴⁵⁰ Culbertson was the resident whose brother had been killed, and he therefore needed to go along with the twenty-one Rangers in order to lead them to the right location. The identity of the ‘four others’ is not so easy to determine. They would not have been enlisted Rangers. If they had been, Van Campen would have noted that four of his hand picked twenty men joined Culbertson in the boat to travel upstream. It might be remembered that the list of men who had lost their arms (*i.e.* weapons) in the engagement at



Bald Eagle Creek included the name of one man ~ Leonard Croninger ~ who had not been included in the roster of Robinson’s Rangers from 1781. He probably was not a Ranger per se, but instead enlisted in the Northumberland County Militia. Indeed, his name (as Linhart Croninger) was included on *A List of Receipts & Names of Six and Seven Months Men*.⁴⁵¹

The unit led by Moses Van Campen, along with the party in the boat arrived at Big / Great Island and made their way to the Culbertson farmstead. The farmstead was noted, in the *History of Centre and Clinton Counties, Pennsylvania* as: “[This was on the Capt. James Irvine tract, a mile west of the present limits of Lock Haven, on

which there was a spring called in the survey of 1769 ‘Hicks’ Spring’]”⁴⁵² They arrived at that location and established a camp on the evening of 15 April. The party was attacked by eighty-five Amerindians the following morning.

According to the narrative told by Moses Van Campen to his grandson, John Hubbard, “While Van Campen with his company was ascending the river, a large party of Indians, not far from eightyfive were on their way down, paddling along in their little bark canoes...”⁴⁵³ Van Campen did not give any additional information or explanation of the situation, but it presents a bit of a dilemma. Are we to understand that there was a large party of Seneca warriors traveling downstream simply by coincidence at the same time that a small party of

Northumberland County Rangers was traveling upstream? Or are we to believe that the Senecas just happened to know that a party of Northumberland County Rangers would be traveling to a particular farmstead on Big Island? It is perhaps more believable to consider the possibility that the Senecas had traveled downstream prior to mid-April, murdered the brother of Mr. Culbertson in order to lure the local Militia out and then lay in wait for the Militia to turn out. It might be remembered that in July 1780 the party led by British Lieutenant John Dochstetter committed some murders and took some captives in order to lure out the Bedford County Rangers under Captain William Phillips. And then in June 1781, the party led by British Lieutenant Robert Nelles committed some murders and took some captives in order to lure out the Bedford County Rangers under Captain John Boyd. The party led this time by Lieutenant Nelles may very well have arrived a few days before, committed the murder of Mr. Culbertson's brother and then waited for the Northumberland County Rangers to come out. On the evening of 15 April, the Seneca warriors could very well have been hiding along the West Branch near or on Big Island. They could have watched the Rangers moving upstream and into camp. They could have kept watch on the Rangers' camp all night and been ready to launch their attack as soon as the sun rose the following morning.



Moses Van Campen did not note whether his party slept overnight in any sort of shelter. He didn't specifically say that they took shelter in Mr. Culbertson's brother's house, barn or any other permanent building on the property. That Captain William Phillips' company took shelter in an abandoned settler's house, we know from various sources. How the troops in Lieutenant Moses Van Campen's company spent the

night of 15 April is not so clear. April in Pennsylvania can be quite cold. It has been known to be cold enough to snow, perhaps not much, but cold enough nonetheless. It seems doubtful that the Van Campen party would have slept in the open, but there is no way to know for certain. Van Campen's claim that the men "*started upon their feet and in a moment were ready for action*"⁴⁵⁴ suggests that they were not even sleeping in anything temporary such as tents or marquees. Although it might seem trivial, it could explain the large number of Northumberland County men killed. Caught in the open, more or less, the Rangers would have been more vulnerable.

Tuesday, the 16th of April, dawned around thirty minutes after six o'clock. As the sunlight broke over the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, the Seneca warriors sprang upon the sentries who had been posted on the lookout near their sleeping fellow Rangers. According to Van Campen's narrative, the surprise was so sudden, that the Sentries had only enough time to call out "*The Indian, the Indian*" before the Senecas burst upon the Rangers just rising from their sleep. Describing what happened next, Van Campen noted:⁴⁵⁵

Van Campen and his men started upon their feet and in a moment were ready for action. The enemy had a warm reception. The combat was at first, from hand to hand, and so well sustained was the resistance that the Indians were obliged to retire, but they came up on all sides, and one after another Van Campen's men were cut down with the rifle.

Like the Engagement of Frankstown during 1781, in which the Militia was ambushed and initially overpowered by the British-led Senecas before they could offer much resistance, this engagement started out with the Northumberland County Rangers at a great disadvantage. Even if there had been more than just twenty-six Rangers against the eighty-five Senecas, the element of surprise was on the attackers' side. Van Campen noted.⁴⁵⁶

Perceiving that the party of warriors was so large as to offer them no hope of escape, and beholding their number every moment growing smaller, they determined, though reluctantly, to surrender themselves to the enemy, under the belief that their lives would be spared.

How long the fight lasted before a number of the Rangers surrendered is not known. Van Campen did not record that particular detail. What he did record in his memoirs was:⁴⁵⁷

It was a hard-fought battle, Esquire Culbertson and two others made their escape. I think we had nine killed, and the rest of us were made prisoners.

By Moses' reckoning, if twenty-six men were involved on the Northumberland County side, three escaping would have left twenty-three. Then, if nine were killed, that would have left fourteen to have been made prisoner. Joshua Knapp gave only slightly different numbers. In his pension application he stated.⁴⁵⁸

This deponent saith that during the time of his service different detachments of said Company were engaged in skirmishes with the Indians...and at another [Bald Eagle Creek] the Indians took fifteen prisoners... and killed five...

By Joshua Knapp's reckoning, if fifteen men were taken prisoner eleven would have either been killed or escaped. Since he noted that five were killed, then he was suggesting that six had escaped.

The unfortunate thing is that there are no narratives to tell the stories of the men who escaped and made their way back to the relative safety of Fort Muncy.

There exists no record of the men who were in fact killed during the battle. As noted above, the number of men killed in the engagement was either five or nine, depending on whom you believe. If the four men noted by Moses Van Campen in his various narratives (i.e. Henry Craton, James Henderson, Richard Stewart and John Wallace) are accepted as having been killed *after* the battle per se, and instead during the march northward, then the five or nine killed during the battle should be other than those four. The roster included in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, pages 744-745 noted only one individual other than Craton and Wallace as dead at the time the roster was taken: Sergeant Ebenezer Green. Richard Stewart and James Henderson were not even noted as dead in that roster.

To reiterate, according to Moses Van Campen's narrative, Henry Craton, Richard Stewart and John Wallace were wounded in the battle.⁴⁵⁹ The three men were taken captive, but not for long. The Senecas apparently did not want to worry with them on their return trip northward. They were killed soon after having been taken captive. After disarming their prisoners, both Stewart and Wallace, being wounded, were killed by the warriors with blows of the tomahawk. Craton, on the other hand was killed by musket fire. In Van Campen's words:

Another by the name of Craton, was placed on a large stone, and as he sat bending over half unconscious of what was transpiring around him, was made the mark of four or five savages, who took their position a few rods from him, and all aiming their rifles at his head, fired at once, and with their balls tore the top of his skull from his head. Poor Craton fell over, and his brains rolled out and lay smoking on the ground.

Van Campen's statement that "*his brains rolled out and lay smoking on the ground*" would refer to the fact that the incident happened in April, when the air was still cold in Pennsylvania. The average temperature of a person's body is 97 to 99 degrees Fahrenheit. With the top of his skull torn off by the gunfire, Craton's brain at about 97 degrees hitting the cold April air would indeed have given off steam.

In addition to the three individuals noted by Van Campen, Jonathan Burwell's pension application noted that he was wounded in the battle.⁴⁶⁰ It stated:

That he was in several skirmishes both with British & Indians that in one of said skirmishes with the Indians in 1782 on the west branch of Susquehannah he was very severely wounded having both arms and his right shoulder broken & was at the same time taken prisoner...

A document filed along with Burwell's pension application from the 'District Court for Pennsylvania' more fully described his injuries during the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek.⁴⁶¹

Disability: Wounded by a musket ball, which passed through his right arm, near the shoulder, coming out through the shoulder blade, then passing on the left elbow, fracturing the ends of the bones...

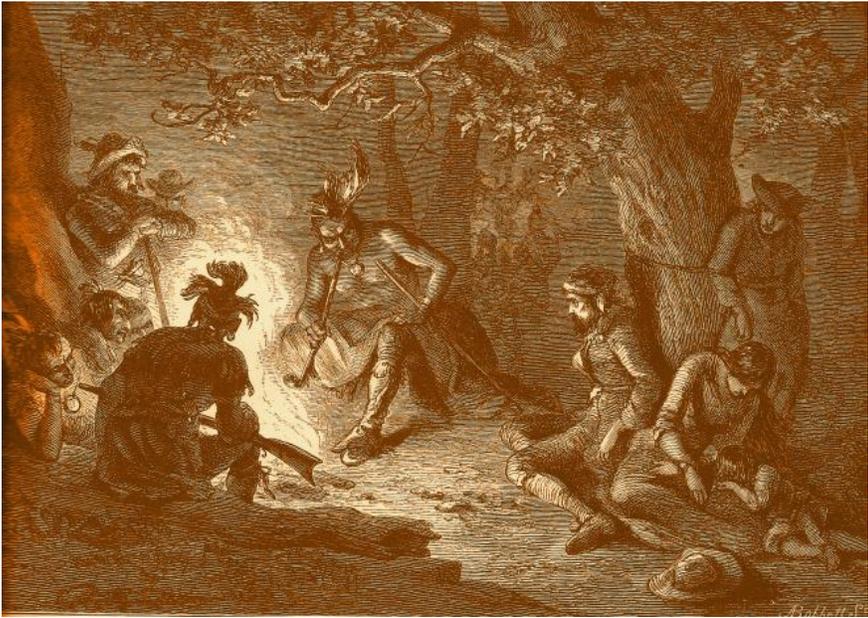
A complete list of the men who were taken prisoner, in addition to those already mentioned who had also been wounded in the engagement, is nearly impossible to compile because of the statement made by Van Campen that: “*It was a hard-fought battle; Esquire Culbertson and two others made their escape...*”⁴⁶² Without knowing who those ‘two others’ were, we cannot determine who of “*the rest of us were made prisoners*” would have been. And it should be noted that not all of the men who had been hand-picked by Moses Van Campen to accompany Mr. Culbertson back to his brother’s property filed applications for pensions. If they had all done that, then a complete list of those wounded, captured or survived could be compiled.

. **After The Battle**

According to Van Campen’s narrative, as related to his grandson: “*The Indians, thus becoming masters of the ground, came up and took possession of the prisoners and their arms, after which they began to dispatch those that had been wounded.*”⁴⁶³ The first two

were Stewart and Wallace. Then they killed Henry Craton.

The Indians made a move to strike Jonathan Burwell with the hatchet, but Moses Van Campen jumped to his rescue and held the arm of the Indian about to strike the blow.



The attention turned thusly to Van Campen and a brief scuffle ensued, at the end of which Van Campen was spared the Indians’ wrath because his bravery was seen as a good thing to the warriors. Killing Burwell was apparently completely forgotten because he ultimately gained his freedom from captivity and lived into the 1820s.

The Indians moved the captives away from the site of the fighting and proceeded to attend to their own dead. According to Van Campen:⁴⁶⁴

Immediately after this struggle for Van Campen's life, the prisoners were stripped of all their clothing except pantaloons, and taken a short distance from the battle ground, where they were made to sit down in the form of a circle while the Indians made a larger one around them and bringing up five Indians, who had been killed during the engagement, laid them down near the prisoners. In their movements they observed the stillness and solemnity of death, and as the captives eyed their motions and beheld the dead warriors stretched out before them, they felt that the ceremonies that were in progress, deeply concerned themselves...

The Indians then went through their ritual of burying their dead. What the above informs us is that the British and Senecas sustained five killed. It also points out that the Indians did not want to bury their fallen comrades on the battle field. There exists no evidence that the Indians had a religious belief that prevented them from burying their dead at the site of where they died. It is possible, though that the site of the fight may have been inconvenient for the burials. Perhaps it was close to the river's bank, or perhaps it was rocky land. Van Campen described the burial manner as:⁴⁶⁵

Directly after, the Indians proceeded to bury those who had fallen in battle, which they did by rolling an old log from its place and laying the body in the hollow thus made, and then heaping upon it a little earth.

Whether the Indians found four more old logs which they could roll aside and employ the depressions as ready dug graves for the other four dead warriors is not stated.

The party then headed off on their return trip to Fort Niagara. Moses stated that:⁴⁶⁶

packs were prepared for us, and they returned across the river at the Big Island in bark canoes they then made their way across hills, and came to Pine Creek, above the first forks, which they followed up to the third fork, and took the most northerly branch to the head of it, and thence to the waters of the Genesee river. After two days travel down the Genesee river, we came to a place called the Pigeon Woods, where a great number of Indian families, old and young, had come to catch young pigeons...

On the trip northward, Van Campen, as a Lieutenant himself, made friends with Lieutenant Nelles, and through him was able to know what the Senecas' intentions were for the captives. Along the way Van Campen also met another captive, Horatio Jones, and from

him he also learned some secrets of how to deal with the Senecas and most importantly how to stay alive and retain the hair on the top of his head.

Lieutenant Colonel John Butler was the Deputy Superintendent of the Six Nations under Sir Guy Johnson at Fort Niagara, having started out as an interpreter working for Sir Guy's father, Sir William Johnson. When the Bald Eagle Creek captives arrived at Niagara, Moses Van Campen was adopted into Colonel Butler's family in the same way that others were adopted into Indian families. As he stated in the narrative presented in Joseph Pritts' book: "*I was adopted, according to the Indian custom, into Col. Butler's family...I was to supply the loss of his son, Capt. Butler, who was killed late in the fall of 1781, by the Americans.*"⁴⁶⁷

. ***The Rangers Killed***

Ebenezer Green (Sergeant)

[Noted as dead per *Pennsylvania Archives*]

Although not specifically stated as having been killed in the engagement at Bald Eagle Creek, Sergeant Ebenezer Green was noted as 'dead' in the roster of Captain Thomas Robinson's Company, transcribed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. The notation is generally accepted as evidence of the Sergeant's death during this incident.⁴⁶⁸

As noted in the foregoing text, Moses Van Campen suggested that nine men were killed in the battle. But Joshua Knapp claimed that only five men were killed in the engagement.

There is no way to know who was the most accurate in identifying the number of men killed in the engagement with the British and Senecas on 16 April 1780. It might be noted that as soon as the battle was over, the raiding party headed northward toward Fort Niagara. Moses Van Campen, despite all his eloquence in describing his adventures following his capture, would, by the very definition of his being captured and marched away from the scene of the engagement, not have remained there to witness any dead bodies lying upon the field. Joshua Knapp, on the other hand, was not taken captive, nor was he killed in the action. It is quite possible that Joshua Knapp helped to bury the dead after the captors marched their captives away. And it is also quite possible that Joshua Knapp knew the accurate number of men killed that day.

With Sergeant Ebenezer Green being the only confirmed death, it is probable that there were four unidentified deceased men.

. ***The Rangers Wounded***

The five individuals who were noted as wounded during the battle ~ Burwell, Craton, Henderson, Stewart and Wallace ~ were taken captive and afterward all but Burwell were killed by their Seneca captors. No other men were noted as having been wounded according to either the records in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* or in the numerous narratives by Moses Van Campen. Since the only narrative of the battle came from Van Campen, only the men that he noted as having been wounded can be confirmed with any degree of certainty.

Jonathan Burwell was the only man to apply for a pension, and therefore the only one to be wounded and to tell his story. His story will be told in the next section.

. ***The Rangers Captured***

Jonathan Burwell

[Noted as wounded and captured per pension application]

Jonathan Burwell applied for a pension on 23 August 1820 at Champaign County, Ohio.⁴⁶⁹ In that application he stated:

That he was in several Skirmishes both with British & Indians in 1782 on the west branch of Susquhannah he was very severally wounded having both arms and his right shoulder broken & was at the same time taken prisoner...

An attachment to the pension application stated that his disability was:

Wounded by a musket ball, which passed through his right arm, near the shoulder, coming out through the shoulder blade, then passing on the left elbow, fracturing the ends of the bones...

Jonathan Burwell's full pension application stated:

County of Champaign and state of Ohio
On this twenty third day of August 1820 personally appeared in open Court at a court of Common pleas in and for said county (being a court of Record for said county so made & constituted by the constitution and Laws of the State of Ohio) Jonathan Burwell aged Sixty years who being first duly sworn accord~ to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the provisions made by the act of Congress of the 18th of March 1818 & this 1th May 1820 that he the said Jonathan Burwell enlisted for the term of three years on the 10th day of March 1777 in the State of Pennsylvania in the Company commanded by Capt. John Paul Shotts in the Regiment commanded by Colonel [illegible] in the line of the State of Pennsylvania on the Continental establishment that he was discharged from the said service at Wilksbarra in said state in the year 1780 having served the full period for which he enlisted that about the last of March or first of april 1780 he again enlisted in the said Service in a Company of United States Rangers commanded by Capt. Thomas Robinson in a corps commanded by Colonel Potter that he so enlisted to serve during the continuance of the war that he remained in service during the

said war and was discharged regularly & honorably in the month of November 1783 at Wilkesbarre afsd. that he was in the Battle of Short Hills in New Jersey under the command of Lord Stirling when he was taken prisoner on the 25th day of July 1777 & was discharged on 25 July 1778. that he was also in the battle fought between the Continental troops under the command of General [illegible] and the Indians in the state of New York that he was in several skirmishes both with British & Indians that in one of said Skirmishes with the Indians in 1782 on the west branch of Susquehannah he was very severally wounded having both arms and his right shoulder broken & was at the same time taken prisoner that on the 26th day of March 1795 he obtained a pension of thirty Dollars annually in consequence of his infirmities occasioned by said wounds which pension he continues to draw until the 4th of March 1818 Since which time he has drawn no part of it and that he has no recollection of his said service except such as will appear on the records of the war office at the city of Washington And in pursuance of the act of the first of May 1820 I do solemnly swear that was a resident citizen of the United States on the 18th day of March 1818 & that I have not since that time by gift sold or in any manner disposed of my property or any part thereof with intent thereby so to Diminish it or to bring myself within the provisions of an act of Congress entitled: act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States in the Revolutionary war passed the 18th day of March AD 1818 and that I have not now has any person in trust for me any property or securities contracts of Debts due to me nor have I any income other than what is contained in the Schedule hereto amended & by me subscribed. And state now either in law or Equity Personal estate one can 2 spinning wheels one iron pot one kettle 2 tea cups and saucers 2 small bowls 5 knives [illegible] forks 3 pewter plates 1 platter & 3 earthen plates The occupation of the Declarant is that of weaving & his family residing with him consists of his wife Hannah aged 48 years Catharine his daughter aged 14 years & Elizabeth 12 years & Anna aged 7 years old all whom an dependent on the declarant for Jonathan Burwell

Jonathan Burwell was born circa 1760, a son of Ephraim Burwell and Mary Harrman. Some genealogical sites claim that Jonathan was born in the town of Somerset, Pennsylvania. That would have been impossible because the town was not laid out until the year 1795, the same year that the county of Somerset was erected out of Bedford County. The region that became Somerset County, within which the town was established, was Brothers Valley, formed in 1771 within Bedford County. There were some Euro~Americans

settling in the region that would become Brothers Valley Township, but they were few because between 1760 and 1765 Pontiac's Rebellion was raging, and few settlers stayed in the region. Neither Ephraim Burwell, Jonathan's father, nor Jonathan appeared in any of the tax assessment returns from 1771 to 1783.

Jonathan Burwell married Hannah Van Gordon. Hannah was born in 1772 at New York. The couple gave birth to: Ephraim, born 28 January 1791; Rachel, born 1794; Eleanor, born 1796; Phebe, born 1798; John, born 1800; Catherine, born 1808; Elizabeth, born 1810; Sarah, born 1811; Anna, born 1813; and Jerusha Weltha, born 24 April 1823. Jonathan died in February 1829 at Allen, in Union County, Ohio. Hannah died in 1840 at Madison, Ohio.

Ephraim Burwell (son of Jonathan), died in January 1862 at Paulding County, Ohio.

Phebe Burwell (daughter of Jonathan), died in 1860.

John Burwell (son of Jonathan), died in 1881 at Texas.

Elizabeth Burwell (daughter of Jonathan), married William E. Curl. William was born on 12 June 1814. The couple gave birth to: Phebe A., born 1837; Eliza J., born 16 September 1838; John B., born 1840; Susannah, born 21 February 1841; Samuel, born 1843; Samantha, born 1845; and Nancy Spurgeon, born March 1850. William died on 27 December 1857 at Rush, in Champaign County, Ohio. Elizabeth died in 1860 at Ohio.

Phebe A. Curl (granddaughter of Jonathan), died on 7 September 1879 at Woodstock, in Champaign County, Ohio.

Eliza J. Curl (granddaughter of Jonathan), died on 17 January 1919 at Rush, in Champaign County, Ohio.

John B. Curl (grandson of Jonathan), died on 19 February 1908.

Susannah Curl (granddaughter of Jonathan), died on 15 April 1910 at Harrison, in Paulding County, Ohio.

Samuel Curl (grandson of Jonathan), died on 6 April 1862 at Tennessee.

Nancy Spurgeon Curl (granddaughter of Jonathan), married Thomas Johnson. Thomas was born October 1843 at Ohio. The couple gave birth to: William A., born 1868; David H., born October 1871; Alice Lavina, born 6 August 1872; John R., born June 1875; Lee, born August 1875; Cordelia, born 25 September 1878; Jessie S., born April 1884; and Benjamin Franklin, born 27 July 1885. Thomas died on 17 February 1901 at Antwerp, in Paulding County, Ohio. Nancy died on 15 April 1910 at Payne, in Paulding County, Ohio.

Sarah Burwell (daughter of Jonathan), died at Illinois.

Jerusha Weltha Burwell (daughter of Jonathan), died on 3 February 1881 at Hittle in Tazewell County, Illinois.

Jonathan Burwell died in February 1829 at Allen, in Union County, Ohio. Hannah died in 1840 at Madison, Ohio.

Henry Craton

[Noted as captured then killed per John N. Hubbard]

Like Sergeant Ebenezer Green, Henry Craton (*variously*, Carton) was noted as 'dead' in the roster of Captain Thomas Robinson's Company, transcribed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*. His gruesome death by musket fire was described by Moses Van Campen, and

therefore Craton's death is generally accepted as having occurred after being taken captive.⁴⁷⁰ [See page 212 regarding Henry Craton's death.]

James Henderson

**[Noted as wounded, captured then killed
per John N. Hubbard]**

According to John N. Hubbard, in his *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Major Moses Van Campen, a Surviving Soldier of the Revolution*, James Henderson "had been wounded in the battle, by a ball which struck his left hand, as it was raised for the purpose of firing, and cut off four of his fingers."⁴⁷¹ Henderson was taken captive and in their march north, he was killed. Van Campen passed by Henderson at one point, and saw two warriors standing near him. Van Campen stated that he "did not go far before he heard a noise like the sound of a tomahawk entering the head, and in a few moments saw the two Indians, who had been standing by Henderson, ran along by bearing a scalp, and carrying a hatchet dripping with blood."

Elijah Hunt

[Noted as captured per pension application]

Elijah Hunt's service and participation in the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek was described by an affidavit of Moses Van Campen in his pension application made on 22 September 1831.⁴⁷² Hunt was then a resident of Ingham County, Michigan. Van Campen stated:

Moses Van Campen of the village of Danvill, in the County of Livingston of State of New York, being duly Sworn Sayeth that he was a Lieutenant In Captain Thomas Robinson's Company of Infantry of the Pennsylvania Line in the war of the Revolution, and that Elijah Hunt of the Town of Carlton, County of Orleins was a Soldier in Said Company Inlisted some time in the Year 1780 to serve during the war, and did so Serve till in April 1782 at which time the said Elijah Hunt was taken prisoner by the Indians with this deponent on the bald Eagle Creek, then in the County of Northumberland State of Pennsylvania, and this deponent further Saith that the Said Elijah was retained a prisoner in the hands of the Indians till after the ratification of the treaty between the United States & Great Britain.

The name *Elijah Hunt* was recorded on the State Tax return for Muncy Township in 1786.

Richard Stewart

[Noted as captured then killed per John N. Hubbard]

In the book *Sketches of Border Adventures* by Van Campen's grandson, John Hubbard, the captivity and killing of Richard Stewart and John Wallace is mentioned in just two sentences. Speaking of the immediate aftermath of the engagement, Van Campen said: "*The Indians, thus becoming masters of the ground, came up and took possession of the prisoners and their arms, after which they began to dispatch those that had been wounded. Two of Van Campen's men, Wallace and Stewart, were killed with the tomahawk, immediately before him.*"⁴⁷³

John Wallace

[Noted as captured then killed per John N. Hubbard
and only killed per Pennsylvania Archives]

In a *Supplemental List of Pennsylvania Soldiers in the War of the Revolution* included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*, the name of John Wallace was included along with the notation of: "*served in Captain Thomas Robinson's company of rangers, and killed in an engagement on Bald Eagle Creek in 1782.*"⁴⁷⁴ There is no mention of his having been taken as a captive during the battle and later killed. That detail is derived from the recollections of Moses Van Campen and told to his grandson as noted in the excerpt above for Richard Stewart.

.Lieutenant Moses Van Campen ~ Biographical Sketch

As has been seen in the text for this section, the primary, and in fact the only source of the information for the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek came from the narratives and recollections of Moses Van Campen. Although he spoke at length on his experiences while in captivity, his comments on the engagement itself were rather minimal. In fact, if the researcher didn't have access to his narratives, one would not even guess that there was any sort of engagement at Bald Eagle Creek from the pension application.⁴⁷⁵ In his very lengthy pension application, his mention of the incident amounted to: "*the last of March, the opening of the Campaign of 1782 we was all ordered to our respective Stations, I marched Robinson's Company to Northumberland, and Entered upon the laborious duty of protecting the frontiers of the Said County on the 16th day of April 1782 I was taken prisoner by the Indians, and Surrendered to the british at Niagara ...*"

In the full application filed on 7 October 1844 he stated:

On the 8th day of April 1780 I was commissioned as ensign of Captain Thomas Robinson Company of Infantry Pennsylvania line, on the 10th day of February 1781 I was promoted and commissioned as Lieutenant of Said Company, and as we had the

british to fight on our sea board, Indians and Tories on our frontiers, Robinson' Company was stationed for the protection of the frontier Settlements of Northumberland County Pennsylvania, in November 1781 our Company was ordered to reading Berks County State of Pennsylvania, Where we was joined by three Companies, two of them of the pennsylvania line and one of the Congress regiment So called, and if my recollection is correct they was commanded by Cptains Walker. Kaneday and a Lieutenant Cadey, And a Maj^r Bowen Commander in Chief, I was Selected to do the duty of Adjutant in which Capacity I served from the first of December 1781 to the last of March 1782, 4 months, we had during that time the guarding of 700 Hessians taken prisoners with Genl Burguine; the last of March, the opening of the Campaign of 1782 we was all ordered to our respective Stations, I marched Robinson^s Company to Northumberland, and Entered upon the laborious duty of protecting the frontiers of the Said County on the 16th day of April 1782 I was taken prisoner by the Indians, and Surrendered to the british at Niagara, from thence I was Sent to Montreal from Montreal to Quebec, in the month of November a british fleet Sailed from Quebec to New York, I was Sent with that fleet to New York, in March 1783 I was Exchanged and joined my company at Northumberland On or about the 1st of April 1783 Robinson Company was ordered to Wyoming, Wilksberry fort Now in Luzern County, together With a Company Commanded by Captn Schrawden Where I was again Selected to do duty of Adjutant in which office served till in November 1783, 7 months in the Whole Eleven Months ~ peace was declared ad our army was discharged.

For the foregoing Service of Eleven months as adjutant I now claim an Increase of pension from \$820 to \$893.33/100 per Annum to Commence on the 4th of March 1831 under the Act of June 7th 1832, and to Continue during my natural life, which I am Informed, that Service Entitles me to, and request that a Certificate may be Issued Accordingly and Made payable to me at Albany New York.

On 7 January 1836, Moses Van Campen had applied for a pension in which he noted the history of Robinson's Company:⁴⁷⁶

I Moses Van Campen aged seventy nine years on the twenty first day of January instant do upon oath testify and declare that I entered the service of the United States on the eighth day of

April seventeen hundred and eighty and that I served from last mentioned date as Lieutenant in the Company commanded by Captain Thomas Robinson which company was one of five raised in Pennsylvania in the last mentioned year for the war and detached for the frontier services ~ the said five companies were raised under a Resolution of Congress which Resolution likewise entitled them to the same pay, rations and every emolument which the officers of the Continental line were entitled to and the five companies aforesaid were placed under the command of the officers respectively of the Counties for which each was raised respectively, the Company of the said Captain Robinson being under the Command of Colonel Samuel Thinter who bore the Title of Sub-Lieutenant of Northumberland County Pennsylvania ~ the Commissions of the officers according to my best recollection were signed Joseph Reed President and directed that the officers should serve within or without the said State of Pennsylvania and that the Commission should continue in force until revoked by this or any other succeeding Supreme Executive Council I further declare that I was honorably discharged on the sixteenth day of November seventeen hundred and eighty three ~ I further declare that I have never received a warrant for the Bounty Land promised to me on the part of the United States, nor have I ever assigned or transferred my claim in any manner whatever: therefore

Know all men by these presents that I Lieut^m Moses Van Campen aforesaid do hereby constitute and appoint John P. Duval to be my true and lawful attorney for me and in my name to demand and received from the Secretary of War of the United States a warrant for the quantity of Land due to me as aforesaid & my said Attorney is hereby fully authorized and empowered to constitute & appoint one or more substitutes or attornies under him for the special purposes above expressed ~

It might be pointed out, as noted elsewhere in this volume, that Van Capen was apparently mistaken on how the militia system functioned. A company of Rangers raised within a county was not officially part of the Continental Line. He therefore was not entitled to any bounty land because that was only available to Continental Line soldiers. And, although he probably was frustrated, his requests for such bounty land were turned down. On 2 September 1828, the Treasury Department responded to Moses' application with the statement: "*The Revolutionary records in this office furnish no evidence whatever in relation to the services of Lt. Moses Van Campen of the Pennsylvania Line.*" Then again on 7 January 1829 the Treasury Department gave this response to another request: "*It doesn't appear by the records of this office that Moses Van Campen as an officer of the Penn^a line ever received or entitled to bounty land of the United States.*"⁴⁷⁷

Moses Van Campen's name was included on the list of men who lost their arms (*i.e.* weapons) at Bald Eagle Creek.⁴⁷⁸

Van Campen's encounter with fellow prisoner Horatio Jones was described in an affidavit sworn to by Jones on 8 October 1830.⁴⁷⁹

I Horatio Jones of the town of Genesee in the County of Livingston and State of New York being by me duly sworn deponeth and saith that in the month of April or thereabouts in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and eighty two the said deponent then being a prisoner with the Seneca Tribe of Indians and being at a place called the Pigeon Ground in what is now called the county of Alligany in this state was called upon by the Indians to examine a prisoner which they had then recently taken. this deponent thereupon repaired to the place pointed out where there were a large body of the Seneca Indians probably as many as five hundred in number and in the midst of them this deponent found Moses Van Campen with whom this deponent has been acquainted for more than thirty years past and was directed by the said Indians to make an examination of the said Moses Van Campen. he accordingly made such inquiries of Van Campen as were dictated by the Chiefs and interpreted the same to the Indians with answers given. that prior to such examination this deponent had heard of the said Van Campen having some time before been taken a prisoner by the Indians on a branch of the Susquehanna River and of his having in company with two other prisoners effected their rescue by attacking and killing several of the party and disarming & dispersing the remainder. and this deponent further saith that at the time he was called upon to take the said examination of Mr. Van Campen he understood and it was there talked about amongst the white prisoners that the said Van Campen was the person who had rescued himself and killed his captors and this deponent was under great apprehensions that the Indians would get information of the fact that Van Campen was the person above alluded to. this deponent used some necessary precautions to prevent their suspicious. and further this deponent says that shortly after the said Van Campen was delivered as this deponent then understood to the British and the Indians then found that he Van Campen was the person that had rescued himself and destroyed his captors and this deponent further saith that it was then currently reported & believed by the prisoners & Indians that the Indians had [illegible] the said Van Campen of the British and made great efforts to obtain him with the intention of making him a sacrifice to their vengeance. and further it was then currently

understood that the British had to secrete the said Van Campen so or to prevent the Indians from killing him ~ and this deponent further saith that he was told at the time of first seeing the said Van Campen a prisoner at the Pigeon Ground that the said Van Campen was an officer and as such had command of a party of men of the American forces who had partly been destroyed and the rest with the said Van Campen taken prisoner. this deponent further saith that this was then fully believed and publicly understood and that the examination of the said Van Campen was because he was the commander of the party and the examination related ti the situation of the country and conditions of the frontiers. and further this deponent saith not. Horatio Jones

Moses Van Campen was born on 20 January 1757, the oldest of seven sons of Cornelius Van Campen and Wyntie Depuy. He married Margaret McClure. Margaret was born circa 1761. The couple gave birth to: Mary, born before 10 October 1784; Anna, born before 29 October 1786; Priscilla, born before 15 September 1789; Elizabeth, born before 3 April 1792; and Lavina, born before 3 March 1794. Margaret died in 1816. Following Margaret's death, Moses married Mary Stout. Mary died in February 1845. Moses died on 15 October 1849.

Mary Van Campen (daughter of Moses), married George Lockhart. George was born in 1783. The couple gave birth to: Margaret; Alfred, born 1806; Moses Van Campen, born 30 April 1808; James, born 30 July 1810; John, born 1812; Joseph, born 1817; and Mary, born 1820. George died in 1852. Mary died in 1864.

Moses Van Campen Lockhart (grandson of Moses), married Elizabeth Karr. The couple gave birth to: Edbert; James J.; and George. Elizabeth died on 15 August 1872. Moses died on 4 August 1887.

James Lockhart (grandson of Moses), married Henrietta Woodruff. The couple gave birth to one child. James died in August 1886.

John Lockhart (grandson of Moses), married Mary Martha Dey. The couple gave birth to: George, born 20 February 1849; John died in 1870.

Joseph Lockhart (grandson of Moses), married Anna Karr. The couple gave birth to Kate.

Mary Lockhart (granddaughter of Moses), married Henry White Crandall. Henry was born on 26 September 1817. The couple gave birth to: Grace L., born 21 October 1848; Mary B., born 31 August 1854; Frances E., born 4 July 1856; and Sarah A., born 26 November 1861. Henry died in 1900.

Anna Van Campen (daughter of Moses), married Alvin Burr. The couple gave birth to: Moses, born circa 1822; and Harriet.

Moses Burr (grandson of Moses), married Elizabeth Robinson.

Harriet Burr (granddaughter of Moses), married John Olmstead.

Priscilla Van Campen (daughter of Moses), married Samuel Mulholland. The couple gave birth to: Sarah; and Mary.

Sarah Mulholland (granddaughter of Moses), married Frederick Landers.

Mary Mulholland (granddaughter of Moses), married Frank Lewis.

Elizabeth Van Campen (daughter of Moses), married Robert Hubbard Jr. Robert, a preacher in his adult life, was born on 7 December 1782. The couple gave birth to: John Niles, born 27 August 1815. Robert died on 24 May 1840.

John Niles Hubbard (grandson of Moses), married Margaret McDougal. Margaret was born 13 August 1822. The couple gave birth to: Robert William; Margaret Maynard, born 20 December 1852; Endress, born circa 1854; Edward, born circa 1856; and John Niles Jr., born circa 1862. John died on 16 October 1897.

Lavina Van Campen (daughter of Moses), married Samuel Southworth. The couple gave birth to: Margarete.

Margarete Southworth (granddaughter of Moses), married ~~~~ Miles. Margarete died in September 1887.

. ***The Rangers Who Participated And Lived***

Mr. Barkley

[Participated per Pritts]

A ‘Mr. Barkley’ was noted as accompanying Esquire Culbertson to Fort Muncy in the spring of 1782, where they met with the company led by Lieutenant Moses Van Campen. The only man by the name of Barkley, or any of its variations, who served in the Northumberland County Militia was Private George Barkly, who served in Captain William Hepburn’s Company. The assumption might be made that Barkley was a civilian because his name is given as ‘Mr. Barley’ in Joseph Pritts’ narrative, *Incidents of Border Life*. The simple fact that Moses Van Campen did not know that Barkley was in the militia is inconsequential.⁴⁸⁰

There is no mention of Mr. Barkley in Van Campen’s narratives apart from his accompanying Culbertson and others to Fort Muncy.

There also is no proof that Mr. Barkley survived the engagement ~ as well as no proof that he was killed during it. Any assumption about his fate would simply be a guess.

The 1778 tax assessment return for Muncy Township (in which Andrew Culbertson was recorded) included the name of George *Bartley*. It is possible that the name was either confused by Moses Van Campen when he told his narrative to Joseph Pritts, or Pritts transcribed it incorrectly.⁴⁸¹

Leonard Croninger

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. Leonard Croninger’s name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁸²

Leonard Croninger (*variously*, Creninger, Croninser) was recorded as a resident of the region of Northumberland Country that became, in 1813, the county of Union. He appeared

there in 1781 and after the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek, he appeared as a resident there into 1786 and 1787.

Leonard S. Croninger, a son of Leonard Croninger and Elizabeth Deichman, was born on 29 March 1758 in the region of central Pennsylvania that would, in 1785 become the town of Derrstown (later Lewisburg). Leonard married Maria Barbara May. Maria was born on 12 April 1769. The couple gave birth to: Catherine, born 1796; Jacob, born 6 March 1797; Mary Magdaline, born 17 October 1799; Susannah, born 19 August 1802; Margaret, born 29 March 1805; Leonard J.; born 9 July 1809; George, born 13 November 1813; and Henry, born 1815. Maria died on 31 October 1859. Leonard died on 12 September 1831 at Church Hill, in Juniata County, Pennsylvania.

Catherine Croninger (daughter of Leonard), married ~~~~~ Brandt. Catherine died in September 1850 at Peoria County, Illinois.

Jacob Croninger (son of Leonard), married twice. His first wife's name is not known, but between them was born a son, John Hench on 17 May 1823. After his first wife's death, Jacob married Sidney Wilson. Sidney was born on 1 March 1814. Sidney died on 3 July 1891. Jacob died on 26 August 1891.

John Hench Croninger (grandson of Leonard), married Martha Huntsinger. John died on 5 November 1919 at Indianapolis, in Marion County, Indiana.

Mary Magdaline Croninger (daughter of Leonard), married Jacob Kepner. Jacob was born 14 January 1900. Mary died on 13 January 1881 at Burlington, in Carroll County, Indiana. Jacob died on 24 February 1885 at Barrow Station, in Carroll County, Indiana.

Susannah Croninger (daughter of Leonard), married ~~~~~ Wischaupt. Susannah died on 14 November 1877 at Turbett Township, Juniata County, Pennsylvania.

Margaret Croninger (daughter of Leonard), married ~~~~~ Hench. She died on 28 March 1893.

Leonard J. Groninger III (son of Leonard), married Winney Piper. Winney was born on 8 February 1811 at Ohio. The couple gave birth to: Annetta A., born 9 November 1847; and George I. Leonard died on 13 October 1873 at Wabash County, Indiana. Winney died on 8 July 1897.

Annetta A. Groninger (granddaughter of Leonard), died on 10 April 1852.

George I. Groninger (grandson of Leonard), died on 27 January 1843.

George Croninger (son of Leonard), died on 1 June 1869 at Rock Creek, Carroll County, Indiana.

Henry Groninger (son of Leonard), married Priscilla Monow. Henry died on 1 June 1869 at Camden, in Carroll County, Indiana.

Andrew Culbertson

[Escaped alive per Pritts]

Andrew Culbertson bore the title of *Esquire* and his name appears variously as 'Squire Culbertson'.

According to Joseph Pritts in his *Incidents of Border Life*, published in 1838, Pritts claimed: "*It was a hard-fought battle; Esquire Culbertson and two others made their escape;...*".⁴⁸³ That statement came from Moses Van Campen. It is curious that Van

Campen, who was marched away from the site of the engagement as soon as it was over as a captive of the British and Senecas, would have known that Culbertson and two others escaped as the fighting was taking place. He possibly heard that detail after he returned from his own captivity, or he might indeed have seen Culbertson and two other men leaving the action as it was occurring. The information of three men escaping does not appear in any published record.

Referring only to Moses Van Campen's narratives, the researcher would assume that the Mr. Culbertson that he noted as the catalyst for the Northumberland County Militia being at Bald Eagle Creek on the morning of 16 April was simply a 'gentleman' and nothing more. The fact of the matter was that Mr. Culbertson ~ Andrew ~ was a notable figure in the region. According to the 1892 *History of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania*.⁴⁸⁴

It is likely that Culbertson while aiding in the pursuit of marauding Indians into Buffalo or White Deer valley ~ for we first hear of him as having located a tract near the present town of Lewisburg ~ had entered Mosquito valley by the path over the mountain, and descended it to the mouth of Mosquito creek; and, noticing the natural advantages which the stream presented, he purchased the tracts, on which warrants had already been laid, and took up the adjoining ones to effect a permanent settlement. It is not positively known that he was thus actuated, but such a conclusion appears reasonable from the fact that he located there about 1773, and soon after erected a saw mill and started other improvements. He was driven away at the time of the "Big Runaway " and his improvements destroyed. When peace was restored Culbertson returned, took up the adjoining land, and with increased energy proceeded to make improvements. He erected a saw and grist mill, and built a spacious dwelling for his family, a little distance from it a distillery, and a few years later a mill for expressing nut and linseed oils.

The saw mill was a plain log building, and its supply of water was received from a dam in the creek, nearly a mile away, conducted through a race about two feet wide and two feet deep, which was excavated by Andrew and William Hepburn. The mill stood on the river bank about twenty rods east of his dwelling. At a later date Culbertson tore down the log mill and erected a larger one on the same site. The power was an overshot wheel twenty-one and a half feet in diameter. The mill was standing in 1957, when it was torn down by Solomon Moyer and a new mill, with modern improvements, built on the same site. This third mill has also served its time during one generation, and is now being torn down and its heavy timbers removed. Moyer also enlarged the old mill race, making it eight feet wide and four feet deep.

Charles Whitehead, of DuBoistown, who settled there in 1848, says that he obtained the information regarding Culbertson's original log mill from the old men of that time.

These improvements were of great advantage to the settlers, and the name of Culbertson was on the lips of every one for forty miles around. The little log saw mill, with its flutter wheel, "up and down saw," could probably cut 1,000 to 1,500 feet per day, which enabled him to supply the settlers with what "bill stuff" they wanted at that time. And the second and larger mill met the increasing demand. The grist mill, built soon after the Revolution, stood on the river bank where the old mill race falls into the river. It was a very solid two-story frame structure, resting on a high and strong foundation of stone, and was weatherboarded. The wall touched the water's edge, and canoes could be paddled up so close that bags of grain were hoisted into the mill by means of a rope. The mill contained two run of stones and made good flour. The power was an overshot water wheel, and received its supply of water from the same race that furnished the saw mill. Culbertson's mill became famous, because the stream of water which drove it never failed, and when other mills were unable to run, it steadily jogged along and ground all grists that came. Canoes laden with grain came from far up and down the river; the Indian path over the mountain from White Deer was "brushed out" so that horses carrying grists of grain could pass over it and return. This caused it to be called "Culbertson's path," a name by which it is known to this day. The old grist mill was accidentally destroyed by fire in the spring of 1850, by a spark blown from under a kettle on the river bank where some women were engaged in washing. Thus was a historic land mark removed, to the great regret of the older people of that time.

When Culbertson settled here walnut timber was so abundant that he built a fine stable out of that material for his horses, which continued to stand long after his death.

Culbertson's old mansion still stands and is an object of much curiosity. It must have been a grand affair in its day, for it is yet spacious and pleasant at the end of a century. It was built about 1796; is two stories high, of hewed logs, sawed oak joist 3x8, and the flooring yellow pine fastened down with wooden pins. The rafters are hewed and covered with shaved shingles. The dimensions of the main building outside are twenty-seven feet six inches by thirty-three feet, and inside it contains three rooms and a spacious hall on each floor. An immense chimney built of

stones picked up in the fields extends from the cellar up through the roof, though of late years the portion above the roof has been replaced by brick. There is a large open fire place in each room and one in the cellar. The kitchen is 22x23 feet, and also has an immense stone chimney with a fire place in the cellar and one on the first floor. This structure is but one story high with a loft. The door hinges in the building are of the T strap pattern and were made by a blacksmith. The windows have nine lights in the lower and six in the upper sash. No nails were used in the floors, doors, and other parts of the building ~ wooden pins alone taking their place.

This was on account of their great cost at that time. The old log mansion was "sided up" by Jacob Hinkle in 1835, for the second time, and plastered inside for the first time. Other improvements have been made to it from time to time, but the main building is the original and stands there today, weather beaten and scarred as a relic of almost forgotten times.

"Culbertson's," in those days, was a popular place of resort. The settlers would bring their grists to the mill and wait for them to be ground, meanwhile patronizing the distillery and playing games. In winter time the young people from Jaysburg and the country round would gather there to attend social parties and enjoy the hospitality for which the place was noted.

On 13 August 1776, the members of the Committee of Safety for the county of Northumberland were reported. The three men chosen for Muncy Township were Mordecai McKinney, James Giles and Andrew Culbertson.⁴⁸⁵

A convention was held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania on 4 July 1776. Participants to the convention were, as noted in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*:⁴⁸⁶ "At a meeting of the Officers and Privates of 53 Battalions of the Associators of the Colony of Pennsylvania...on due Notice to choose two Brigadier-Generals to command the Battalions and Forces in the said colony ~" Although the frontier county of Bedford did not have any representatives at that convention, the frontier county of Northumberland did. In attendance from the 'Battalion under Col. Plunkett' were the Officers: Major John Brady and Lieutenant Mordecai McKinney and Privates: Paul Geddis and Andrew Culbertson.

Although his name was not followed by the notation of 'Robinson's Rangers' on the list of "Soldiers Who Received Depreciation Pay As Per Cancelled Certificates On File In The Division Of Public Records, Pennsylvania State Library" it still appears on that list along with the men chosen by Moses Van Campen in April 1782.⁴⁸⁷

In 1777 Andrew Culbertson was elected as a Justice of the Peace by the residents of Muncy Township.⁴⁸⁸ He was indeed well known in that region.

Andrew Culbertson was born in the year 1731 at East Caln, in Chester County, Pennsylvania. He was a son of John Culbertson Jr., and Elizabeth Rogers. Andrew married Jeannette Boyd. Jeanette was born in 1737 at Sadsbury, in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

The couple gave birth to: William, born 15 April 1765; John, born 31 July 1767; Elizabeth, born 1769; John Boyd, born 1770; Andrew Jr., born 25 December 1772; James, born 1774; Samuel, born 1776; Mary, born 1780; and Jeanette Boyd, born 16 October 1783. Andrew died on 14 March 1797 at Williamsport, in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. Jeannette died in 1802.

William Culbertson (son of Andrew), married Mary Culbertson. They gave birth to Andrew Columbus, born 20 June 1795. William died on 11 November 1843 at Edinboro, in Erie County, Pennsylvania.

Andrew Columbus Culbertson (grandson of Andrew), married ~~~~~ and gave birth to W. C.

John Culbertson (son of Andrew), died on 9 May 1769 in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Elizabeth Culbertson (daughter of Andrew), married Matthew Wilson. Elizabeth died in 1791.

John Boyd Culbertson (son of Andrew), died on 12 September 1836 at Champaign, Ohio.

Andrew Culbertson Jr., (son of Andrew), died on 19 December 1847 at Washington, in Erie County, Pennsylvania.

Mary Culbertson (daughter of Andrew), married James Cummings. They gave birth to Andrew Boyd. Mary died on 18 August 1832.

Jeanette Boyd Culbertson (daughter of Andrew), died on 18 September 1864 at Armstrong County, Pennsylvania.

James Dougherty

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. James Dougherty's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁸⁹

James Dougherty's name was included in the tax assessment return for Trubet Township in 1782. He then, in 1785, appeared in the return for Muncy Township.

Ebenezer Green (Private)

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. Ebenezer Green's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁹⁰

The name of Ebenezer Green was recorded on the 1782 tax assessment return for Turbit Township as both a 'Resident' and as a 'Single Freeman'.⁴⁹¹ Since the tax collector often copied the return during the fall of the year before its date (so that he'd be ready in the spring to go out and collect the taxes), the fact that both men by the name of Ebenezer Green appear on the return simply notes that in the fall of 1781 both men were living. Unfortunately, the 1783 tax assessment is not available to check if one or the other failed to show up on it.

In 1786, the name of Ebenzer Green was recorded on the State Tax assessment for Washington Township.

Adam Hempleman

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. Adam Hempleman's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁹²

Adam Hempleman's name (as *Hempelman*) appeared on the tax assessment return for Mahoning Township, Northumberland County in 1786 and then for Chillisquaque Township, Northumberland County in the year 1788.⁴⁹³

Joshua Knapp

[Participated per pension application]

Joshua Knapp's name was recorded on the 1783 Supply Tax return for Muncy Township. He was also recorded in the 1785 tax assessment return for Muncy Township, Northumberland County.⁴⁹⁴

Joshua Knapp applied for a pension on 6 August 1833. He noted his participation in the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek but did not mention his having been wounded or captured.⁴⁹⁵

In his pension application, Joshua Knapp described his service as:⁴⁹⁶

The Said Joshua Knapp being so sworn as aforesaid doth depose and Say that as near as he can recollect some time in the month of May in the year 1779 he enlisted as a private into the State Troops of Pennsylvania ~ that at the time of his enlistment he resided in the Township of Salisbury in the County of Northumberland, and State of Pennsylvania ~ that he enlisted into a Company having the following officers to wit; Captain Thomas Robertson, Lieutenant Moses Van Campen, Ensign Thomas Chambers and Orderly Sergeant William Doyle ~ that Said Company was raised for the purpose of resisting the aggresions and preventing the inroads of the Indians in said County Northumberland ~ that it was thus engaged, and remained in Said County for the term of two years and nine months, and that during all that time this deponent was with Said Company, and engaged in actual service, and attended to my Private business ~ This deponent thinks said Company was attached to no Regiment or Battalion, but was commanded exclusively by the Officers of the same.

This deponent saith that during the time of his service different detachments of Said Company were engage in

Skirmishes with the Indians in two of which this deponent was engaged ~ that in one of these encounters the Indians and a few whites ~ British and Tories ~ took Freeland's Fort, and fifteen out of the company were Killed, and at another the Indians took fifteen prisoners, including the Said Van Campen, and Killed five ~ that said Company during the Said time was stationed at no particular place, but was in different parts of the County...

Michael Lamb

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. Michael Lamb's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁹⁷

An entry was recorded in Will Book 1 of the Register and Recorder's Office of the Northumberland County court house.⁴⁹⁸ It noted:

Be it remembered ~ Michael Lamb dec'd ~ That on the 28th day of November, Dom. 1783, Letters of Administration Were in due & Common form of law, Committed to Christian Storm, of all and Singular the goods & Chattles rights and Credits of Michael Lamb Deceased, Who post in Securities, Benjamin Miller & William Charters.

William McGrady

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

William McGrady's name was recorded on the 1781 tax assessment return for Turbut Township. In 1785, his name was recorded on the tax assessment return for Bald Eagle Township.

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. William McGrady's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁴⁹⁹

William Miller

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. William Miller's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁵⁰⁰

In the year 1784, on 23 July, William Miller purchased a tract of four hundred acres of land in Northumberland County.⁵⁰¹

Jonathan Pray

[Lost weapon at Bald Eagle Creek]

According to the records of the *Pennsylvania Archives*, eleven men had reported that their arms (*i.e.* weapons) had been lost at Bald Eagle Creek. The only way that a man could report his arms lost would be if he survived the incident. Jonathan Pray's name was on the list transcribed on page 336 of the second volume of the Sixth Series.⁵⁰²

Jonathan Pray's name was recorded on the return for State Tax in Derry Township in the year 1787.

• • • • • *The Sources*

The book, *Mirror of Olden Time Border Life*, published in 1849, was originally published in 1838 under the title, *Incidents of Border Life*. The book consists of a number of 'narratives' of individuals and their exploits on the West Branch of the Susquehanna River written by the subjects or their relatives.

The chapter titled "Narrative of Lieut. Moses Van Campen, During the War of the Revolution" was written by Van Campen himself.⁵⁰³ This volume was perhaps the most accurate narrative of the battle, having been given by the commanding officer of the party of the Northumberland County Militia. Unfortunately, being autobiographical in nature, very little space is expended in a description of the battle itself. The narrative is concerned more with the personal experience of Mr. Van Campen after he was taken captive than with the details of the engagement.

In the year 1842, a book was published by John N(iles) Hubbard, the grandson of Moses Van Campen. John was a son of Moses' daughter, Elizabeth. The book, *Sketches of Border Adventures in the Life and Times of Moses Van Campen, A Surviving Soldier of the Revolution* was comprised of the narratives told by Van Campen to his grandson. According to Hubbard's introduction: "*The materials of this memoir have been gathered almost entirely from him who is its subject, and the credibility of those facts which rest entirely upon his own authority none will question, who are acquainted in the least with his character.*"⁵⁰⁴ Moses Van Campen was nothing if not vain and conceited.

Excerpts of Moses Van Campen's narratives were transcribed in the volume, *Historical View of Clinton County, From its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, published in the year 1875. In the *Introductory Sketch of the Early History of the County*, two portions of Van Campen's narratives from the book, *Incidents of Border Life* were reproduced.⁵⁰⁵

The *History of Centre and Clinton Counties, Pennsylvania* was published in 1883. The *History* was authored primarily by John Blair Linn and published by Louis H. Everts at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.⁵⁰⁶ Like the earlier *Historical View of Clinton County*, this volume quoted from Van Campen's narrative that had been included in the *Mirror of Olden Time Border Life*, etc.

In June 2015, Dr. Ted Bainbridge posted an essay titled *The Battle of Bald Eagle Creek* on the website of the Clinton County Genealogical Society.⁵⁰⁷ Dr. Bainbridge's well-researched opus relied heavily on Moses Van Campen's narratives.

Destruction of Hannas Town

. **An Incident On 13 July 1782**

*“Hannastown, the county seat of Westmoreland, was destroyed by Indians on Saturday, July 13, 1782. This was the hardest blow inflicted by savages during the Revolution within the limits of the Western Pennsylvania settlements.”*⁵⁰⁸ Thus started Chapter XXVI in the 1900 publication titled *Old Westmoreland, A History of Western Pennsylvania During the Revolution*.

The attack on Hanna’s Town, while singularly devastating to the local inhabitants, was essentially one in a string of similar British-orchestrated Seneca attacks on the settlers of the Pennsylvania frontier that included the previously mentioned Phillips Rangers Massacre, the Engagement of Frankstown and the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek.

A report of the incident at Hanna’s Town was made the following day by Michael Huffnagle, Westmoreland County Prothonotary, to Brigadier General William Irvine.⁵⁰⁹ On Sunday, the 14th of July, Huffnagle wrote to the commander of the Western Department headquartered at Fort Pitt from the small fort that was spared from burning.

Hannastown, July 14, 1782.

Dear Sir:—At the request of Major Wilson, I am sorry to inform you that yesterday about two o’clock, this town was attacked by about one hundred Indians, and in a very little time the whole town except two houses was laid in ashes. The people retired to the fort where they withstood the attack, which was very severe until after dark when they left us. The inhabitants here are in a very distressed situation, having lost all their property but what clothing they had on.

At the same time we were attacked here, another party attacked the settlement. “What mischief they may have done we have not been able as yet to know; only that Mr. Hanna, here, had his wife and his daughter Jenny taken prisoners. Two were wounded ~ one out of the fort and one in. Lieutenant Brownlee

and one of his children with one White's wife and two children were killed about two miles from town.

This far I wrote you this morning. The express has just returned and informs that when he came near Brush Run the Indians had attacked that place, and he was obliged to return. If you consider our situation, with only twenty of the inhabitants, seventeen guns and very little ammunition, to stand the attack in the manner we did, you will say that the people behaved bravely. I have lost what little property I had here, together with my papers. The records of the county, I shall, as soon as I can get horses, remove to Pittsburgh, as this place will in a few days be vacated. You will please to mention to Mr. Duncan to do all he can for the supplying of the garrison until I shall be able to get a horse, having lost my horse, saddle and bridle.

As can be seen from his letter, Michael Huffnagle was aware of only five people having been killed, two wounded and two taken captive when he wrote to General Irvine the day following the attack. He seemed more concerned that the Amerindian attackers had destroyed so many houses and left the people destitute than about the human cost. But his concern for the village's destruction was not unjustified.

. **Hanna's Town**

More about the loss of lives will be noted later; the significance of the village will be mentioned first. The destruction of the houses was lamented by Mr. Huffnagle because Hanna's Town was, as noted by C. W. Butterfield (the collector/publisher of General



William Irvine's correspondence), "the first collection of houses between Bedford and Pittsburgh dignified with the name of town"⁵¹⁰ To the settlers of the hills and valleys west of the Laurel Ridge and east of the

Forks of the Ohio, Hanna's Town was the place where civilization existed in the frontier. Destruction of the buildings represented an attack on civilization itself.

The small fort and two adjacent buildings were saved from the conflagration. One of those two buildings not destroyed in the burning of the town was the court house ~ housed in the tavern of the village's namesake, Robert Hanna.⁵¹¹ Robert Hanna, an Irishman, was first

recorded on the tax assessment returns in the year 1773 in Fairfield Township, Bedford County. It should be noted that the returns would be written out during the fall or winter of the year preceding the date of the document. Robert Hanna's name would have been physically recorded in the fall or winter of 1772 when the region that would become Westmoreland County was still part of Bedford County. Following the conclusion of Pontiac's Rebellion in 1766, large numbers of new settlers established their farmsteads along the old Forbes Road. Bedford County was erected on 9 March 1771, and the region stretching westward to the boundary of the province was defined by townships at that time. It would take a year for the tax assessors at Bedford to travel through the countryside west of the Allegheny Mountain to compile a list of the settlers. So, although Robert Hanna and his neighbors might have cleared the land and erected their homes at any time during the six year period between 1766 and 1772, their names were not recorded until the last year of that period.

The impetus for settlers to seek the creation of their own county was often instigated by the tax collectors. They had to literally travel, usually on foot and horseback, up and down the valleys, stopping at each house to collect the taxes. It did not take long, though, for many of the settlers themselves to desire their own county because in order to vote on local elections and conduct any legal business, they had to travel to the court house. When they resided within thirty miles of the court house, a trip there might take two days travel ~ one way. It was not terribly arduous. A trip that would take (one way) four or five days, though would have been a hardship. So almost as soon as Bedford County was erected out of Cumberland, the people who had settled west of the Laurel Mountain range started to think about forming their own county.

Many of the residents of the region that would become Westmoreland County were caught between identifying as Virginian residents or Pennsylvanian residents. Having originated in Virginia and moved northwestward along the route of Braddock's Road, many of the new settlers did not respect Bedford County's jurisdiction over them.

Speaking of Bedford County's jurisdiction over the region west of Laurel Mountain, the author of the *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania*, published in 1882 stated:⁵¹²

Although it was subdivided into townships, and had justices appointed, yet its authority was feebly asserted and scarcely obeyed. Most of the settlers shunned it, and those about the Turkey Foot and Redstone and all the disorderly settlers of the Fayette region laughed it to scorn and derided it. Even official surveys slackened, and settlers coming in along the Braddock road squatted without right, and occupied where they pleased, only keeping off the location of prior settlers. Based upon the uncertainty whether they were in Pennsylvania or in Virginia, and fostered by demagogues, by "bloody law," and by the wishes and desires, antipathies and prejudices of these, they had pretexts enough not to conform to the laws of the Province. " When the

back line comes to be run," said they, "if we are in Pennsylvania we will submit." There could be no other government but that of Pennsylvania, and these people were very desirous, therefore, that the running of the line be deferred to an indefinite period.

The region’s self-imposed alienation from the court at Bedford County contributed to the importance its settlers placed not only upon Hanna’s Town but also on the court house that Robert Hanna permitted to be held in his tavern.

Robert Hanna had opened a ‘public house,’ or tavern, along the Forbes Road about twenty miles northwest of Fort Ligonier. The settlement that grew up around Hanna’s tavern naturally became known as *Hanna’s town*. Butterfield claimed that the village at no time contained more than thirty buildings, all log cabins ~ all flammable if set to the torch. Granted, some of the buildings were, in the words of Judge Coulter: “*aspiring to the name of houses, having two stories, of hewed logs.*”⁵¹³ At the time of the 1782 attack, the village of Hanna’s Town was about the same size as Pittsburgh.

Westmoreland County was erected on 26 February 1773 and part of the Act by which it was created stated that the courts should be held in Hanna’s tavern until a suitable court house could be built. Accordingly, on 6 April 1773, a Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace was conducted in the log cabin tavern of Robert Hanna. The courts would be held in Robert Hanna’s tavern until and including the October Sessions of 1786, after which the court house at Newtown (present-day Greensburg) was constructed and used as the seat of Westmoreland County.

As noted above, on the second Saturday in July 1782 an attack on the village of Hanna’s Town resulted in the near-total destruction by fire of the town. Michael Huffnagle did not specify if the ‘two houses’ that he noted were spared *included* the fort or whether they were *in addition* to the fort. If it were the former, it would suggest that all the buildings except for the fort and two adjacent structures were destroyed. If the latter were what Mr. Huffnagle meant, it would indicate that he meant ‘two residences’ in addition to the fort were spared. James B. Richardson III, writing of the archaeological study he directed in 1970, was of the opinion that Huffnagle’s statement was indeed the latter situation. He advocated that the fort (Reed), Hanna’s Tavern and the home/tavern of Charles Foreman were the only survivors out of the thirty buildings that made up the town.

Despite the virtually total destruction of the village, the court house that had been conducted in Hanna’s tavern for nine years prior would continue to be conducted for four more years before being relocated.

. ***The Amerindian Attackers***

On 5 August 1782, a Lieutenant Colonel in the British army, John Butler wrote to Captain Robert Matthew, Governor Haldimand’s secretary:⁵¹⁴

Sayengaraghta and his Party are returned from war, after burning and destroying Hannah’s Town And the Country for

seven or eight miles round it; this Settlement were about 30 miles below Fort Pitt, on the Road to Philadelphia, they kill'd between three and four hundred Head of Horn'd Cattle, 70 Horses Hogs & sheep innumerable, and brought away to their Villages 70 Horses and 2-two Cows ~ Also killed 15 of the Enemy and took 10 Prisoners.~

All the news Papers that Capt. Powell could collect, have inclosed them for His Excellency's perusal;~

I impatiently wait your Answers to the many things already wrote upon.~

The 'Sayengaraghta' mentioned in Butler's report was a Seneca chief. He lived about five miles from Fort Niagara at a place called 'Five Mile Meadows.' The Mohawk dialect of the Iroquoian language provided the name Sayengaraghta. The Seneca name for this individual was 'Gayahgwaahdoh.' The name Sayenqueraghta translated either as 'disappearing smoke' or 'old smoke' in the English language. It was noted by historian William C. Bryant that the Seneca chief wrote his own name as 'Sakayenkwaraton'.⁵¹⁵ He was a son of Cayenquaraghta, of the Turtle clan. Sayenqueraghta participated in the Albany Congress in 1754. On 9 July 1754, as part of the seven-man contingent of Senecas (of the eleven Amerindian nations involved) he signed his name as 'Sakayenquaraghto'.⁵¹⁶ In 1764 he succeeded Tagechsadu / Takeghsatu as the chief sachem of the Eastern Senecas. He also was one of the Six Nations' representatives to sign the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768.⁵¹⁷

Sayenqueraghta was noteworthy in assisting the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson in capturing Fort Niagara from the French in 1759. His loyalty to the British, in lockstep with the Seneca nation, naturally continued after the French and Indian War into the years of the Revolution.

C. Hale Sipe, in his *Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, made no mention of Sayenqueraghta. Instead, he stated that it was solely Guyasuta, a maternal uncle to the famous Cornplanter, who led the Seneca incursion against Hanna's Town in the summer of 1782.⁵¹⁸ The original documents maintained in the British Archives do not mention Guyasuta at all in relation to the Hanna's Town incident.

Guyasuta was another name for Kayahsota. Historian, James B. Richardson III stated that Guyasuta accompanied Sayenqueraghta to Hanna's Town and "probably was his [Sayenqueraghta's] second in command..."⁵¹⁹ Guyasuta is best known for his support of the Ottawa sachem, Pontiac and his 'rebellion' which incidently was known variously as the Pontiac-Guyasuta War. Guyasuta was also known for escorting then-Colonel George Washington to the French at Fort Le Boeuf in 1753.



Edgar W. Hassler, in *Old Westmoreland: A History of Western Pennsylvania During the Revolution*, stated that: “*The largest predatory band consisted of more than 100 Seneca warriors, under the command of Guyasuta, and about 60 Canadian rangers. Most of the white men were dressed and painted as Indians. This was the force that attacked and destroyed Hannastown.*”⁵²⁰ This is the only source to claim that the Senecas were accompanied by any ‘white men’. Being named “Canadian rangers’, it is probably that few readers properly translated that name into ‘British troops.’

Richardson, in his article in the *Western Pennsylvania History* magazine, included two other Seneca warriors as participants in the attack on Hanna’s Town: Honayewus (or Honanyawus) and Dah-gah-non-do. The ‘English’ name for Honayewus was ‘Farmer’s Brother.’ George Washington, after the American Revolutionary War, was known to the Amerindians as ‘Great Farmer’ and it was from Honayewus’ relationship with Washington that he gained the epithet, Farmer’s Brother. In 1798, Honayewus participated in the council held at Genesee River, New York and was one of the signers of the Treaty of Genesee on 15 September 1797 and also the Treaty of Buffalo Creek on 30 June 1802. Dah-gah-non-do was variously known by the English name, Captain John Decker.

• • • • • ***Prelude To The Attack***

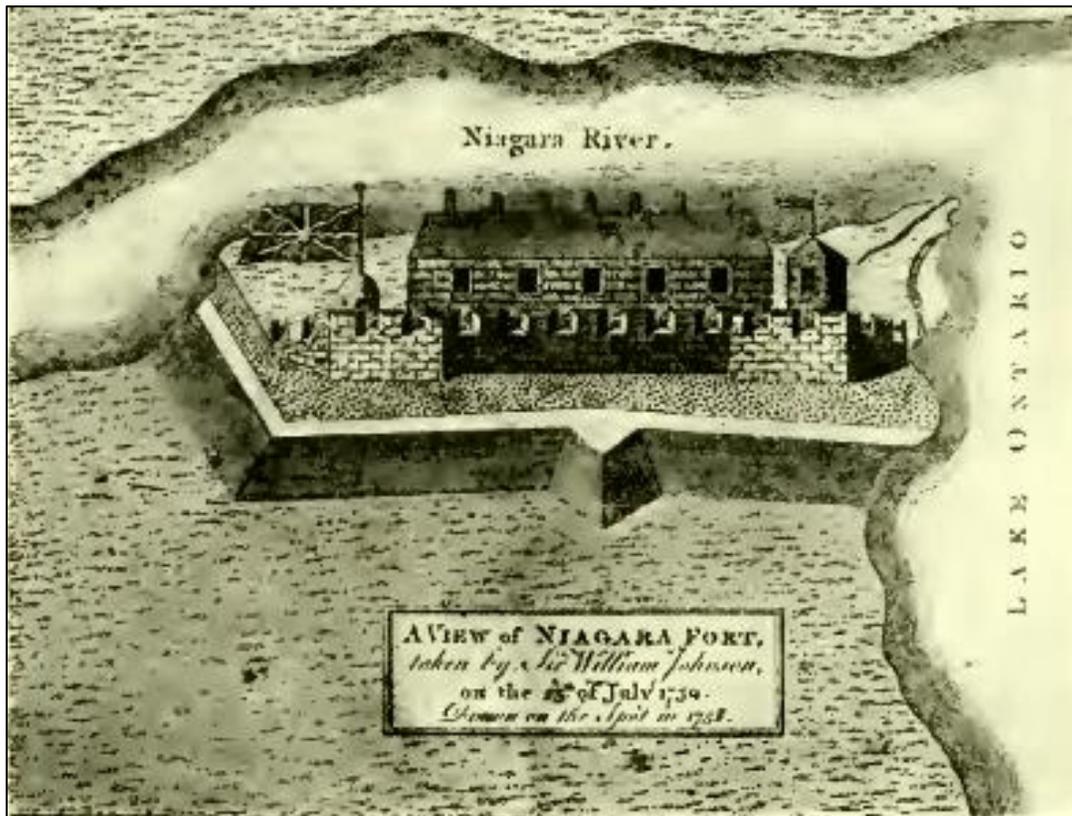
As early as the beginning of March, the authorities in Westmoreland County were bracing themselves for a season of Amerindian incursions. On 8 March 1782, Michael Huffnagle wrote to President Moore from Hanna’s Town.⁵²¹ In that letter, Huffnagle noted that “*The Savages last Sunday three Weeks took into Captivity two Families upon Raccoon & Short Creeks below Pittsburgh.*” He emphasized the urgency of obtaining arms and ammunition from the Pennsylvania authorities. He stated that when Colonel Lochry had embarked on his expedition ‘down the River’ he had taken the best and most of the ‘public arms.’

On the 8th of May, Dorset Pentecost (previously a Justice of the Peace of Bedford County and future Judge of Washington County) wrote to Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council President Moore from Pittsburgh.⁵²² He noted that during the week before, “*some mischief was done near Hanna’s Town...*” He also noted that at about the same time sixteen people had been killed throughout the region around Pittsburgh by the Amerindians.

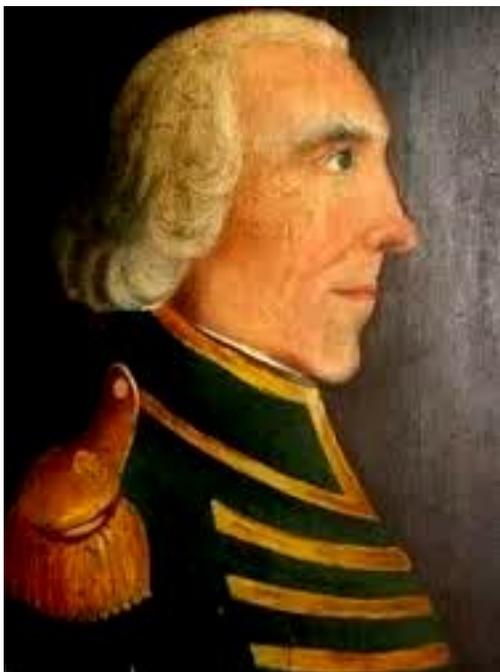
To the north, Sir Guy Johnson attempted to keep the Seneca sachem, Sayenqueraghta from striking out on his own. The British wanted to control the Western Theatre of the War, and the Seneca chief was too much of a risk. In May 1781, British Brigadier General H. Watson Powell warned Governor Haldimand of the Seneca’s anxiousness to attack the Pennsylvania settlements near Fort Pitt.⁵²³ In a letter dated 28 May 1781, Powell stated:

In consequence of the movement of the Rebels towards Sandusky, Skianquerakta had determined to proceed directly with 200 Warriors into the neighborhood of Fort Pitt in order to make of a Diversion and Captain Brant is likewise very desirous to go to Oswego with another large body, and as they are so much

determined upon these two ~~~~~ and I thought they might be more usefully employed in that way there lying idle in their villages I have not approved it.



The ‘movement of the Rebels towards Sandusky’ probably referred to Colonel Daniel Brodhead’s expedition into the Ohio Valley in April 1781, which resulted in the destruction of the Delaware village of Coshocton.



On 15 June 1782 at Fort Niagara, General Powell wrote again to Governor Haldimand. In that letter Powell stated that “*Shenandrachta is gone with the same number towards Fort Pitt and the two parties are supposed to be composed of as good warriors as were ever employed.*”⁵²⁴ The Seneca warriors taken southward by Sayenqueraghta would have numbered around two hundred. The ‘same number’ referred to in the letter was the number of warriors sent out from Fort Detroit against the Americans in what was known as Crawford’s Expedition of 25 May to 12 June 1782. Powell’s letter to Haldimand indicated

that he had sent along a return of Colonel Butler’s forces, but that return is not to be found in

the British Archives at this time. Consul W. Butterfield, in his *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782*, gave the number of two hundred ‘Delawares’ in the invading combined British and Amerindian party.⁵²⁵ A “considerable force” of Butler’s Rangers were sent out of Fort Detroit to assist the Amerindians.⁵²⁶

On the first of June, Colonel John Butler was at Fort Niagara, and on that day he wrote to Governor Haldimand. In that letter he noted that “*The Seneca Chief Sayenqaraghta with about 250 warriors set off yesterday with an Intention to cut off a Village near Fort Pitt.*” In a footnote to that statement, Butler added: “*As the party is large have thought proper to order Capt^s. Powell & Lottridge, two Lieuts and three Voluntiers with some Forresters to accompany them. Lieu^t Will^m Johnston I have sent on a Scout that way sometime ago for Intelligence as the Indians report a new Road is making to the Ohio and a number of Men assembling at Fort Pitt.*”⁵²⁷ In addition to his scouts, Colonel Butler was kept abreast of the American rebels’ activities by prisoners taken in on raids. A letter to Butler from Captain Johnston dated 30 June 1782 stated:⁵²⁸

I now send you Lewis Williams, a rebel soldier who deserted from Fort Pitt the 11th instant, and arrived here the 20th. He says there are 300 men in that Fort, which is much out of repair. That the Rebels expect the British Troops to take post at La Beouf, in order to send from thence an expedition against Fort Pitt ~ That he with five other men and an Indian (called White Eyes) were sent on discovery to La Boeuf ~ That desertions happen frequently owing to ill treatment, being in want of cloathes, often scarce of provisions and having rec^d no pay for there four years past. He confirms the defeat of the rebels by Cap^t Caldwell at Sandusky. The General’s Aide de Camp was in the action with 500 chosen men & volunteers who acknowledge their loss to be 100 men. They are all much disheartened at this affair ~ and they have no Troops on the Frontiers, except at Fort Pitt.

Oscar J. Harvey published a history of Wilkes-Barre, in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania in 1909. Although the region discussed in that book encompassed primarily Northumberland and Northampton Counties, certain individuals discussed therein became involved in the Hannas Town incident. One of those individuals was the Seneca sachem, Sayenqueraghta. Harvey claimed that the Seneca chief set out with about 250 warriors and fifty British soldiers (assumed to have been ‘Rangers’) “*under the joint command of Captain Powell and Sayenqueraghta.*”⁵²⁹

As noted above, the narrative presented by Oscar Harvey stated that the incursion was a ‘joint’ effort by the Seneca sachem and ‘Captain Powell’. James B. Richardson III, in his article published in the Fall, 2007 issue of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* stated that “[Robert] Lottridge and [John] Powell were in Montreal as witnesses in Sir Guy

Johnson's fraud case from November 5, 1781, returning to Fort Niagara in May 1782, just in time to be sent with Sayenqueraghta to attack Hanna's Town."⁵³⁰



A number of authors have claimed that Captains John Powell and Robert Lottridge Jr., led the Amerindians on this incursion, but the letters and reports do not support those claims. It must be remembered that Colonel Butler's comment to his superior was that he "*thought proper to order Capt^s. Powell & Lottridge... to accompany them*". He didn't say that he thought it proper for the two Captains to lead the Seneca warriors. Those two British Captains might have indeed accompanied the party, but they have not been acknowledged as having led the party. In most of the British documents, the only person mentioned leading the warriors was the Seneca sachem Sayenqueraghta.

In a similar line of thought, in a letter to Governor Haldimand written at Fort Niagara on the 10th of July, General H. Watson Powell stated that '*Skyanquraghta's Party*' would "*probably cooperate with Captain Caldwell's*"⁵³¹ It begs the question of why General Powell did not call the party by the name of either of the British Captains. Even Colonel John Butler, in a letter to Robert Mathews, Haldimand's secretary, on 5 August, stated: "*Sayengaraghta and his Party are returned from War after burning & destroying Hannah's Town...*"⁵³² Reviewing the other three major incursions into the Pennsylvania frontier, in the case of the Phillips' Rangers Massacre in 1780, Lieutenant John Dochstедder's return with prisoners was noted as: "*Lieut Dochstедder is just arrived after having reduced a rebel Block House*".⁵³³ Then after the Engagement of Frankstown in 1781, led by the British officer, Lieutenant Robert Nelles, the party's return was noted by the statement: "*Lieut. Nelles's Letter with an account of his success since which he arrived at this place,*".⁵³⁴ The British leader of the British/Seneca force at the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek was not named in a letter or dispatch, but then, neither was the Amerindian; the documentation on that incident is sparse all around. What this all leads to is the suggestion that what was intended as another *British-orchestrated and led Seneca raid* devolved into, and was ultimately acknowledged only as a *Seneca raid*.

Sayenqueraghta led his band of Seneca warriors south from the vicinity of Fort Niagara in late June 1782. As noted previously, the exact number of warriors is not known and estimates have run from two hundred to five hundred. Colonel Butler's letter to Haldimand at the beginning of June stated that: "*The Seneca Chief Sayenqaraghta with about 250 warriors set off yesterday...*" so that number will be assumed to be close to accurate.

Very few of the available narratives of the incident have provided the route by which the raiders came into Westmoreland County. The narratives tend to either start with the warriors once they were in the vicinity of Hanna's Town, or their origin in the Genesee Valley is mentioned only briefly, perhaps to differentiate them from Amerindians originating in the Fort Detroit region. The general route by which the Senecas came to Westmoreland County was probably the same one they followed the previous summer when Lieutenant Nelles brought the Seneca party to the Frankstown region ~ at least for the first leg of the journey. They no doubt would have travelled south through the Genesee Valley, crossing the Genesee River and then followed the Niagara Trail through the Chautauqua Valley. They probably made their way to the Canisteo, following it to connect with the Tioga and then the Pine Creek. A short distance on Pine Creek would have brought them to the West Branch of the Susquehannah River. Unlike the previous summer, though, this time they would have followed the West Branch nearly to its headwaters south of the Canoe Place (*i.e.* present-day Cherry Tree, along the eastern boundary line of Indiana County). From there they could have

followed the Indian path called the Cherry Tree Portage southward to Two Lick Creek. The Cherry Tree Portage path would have connected them to the Catawba Path. The Catawba Path travelled through Loyal Hanna (*i.e.* Ligonier). The Cherry Tree Portage path also connected to the Conemaugh River via the Blacklick Creek.

It is possible that the war party could have travelled the entire way from the Cattaraugus Valley to Westmoreland County by the Catawba Path. That celebrated trail started in the Cattaraugus Valley near the present-day city of Olean, New York and extended the whole way into the Carolinas. But the route by way of the West Branch of the Susquehannah was mostly by waterways, and would have been easier to travel without tiring the warriors.

The biographical sketch on the life of Sayenqueraghta that was included in the *History of Wilkes-Barre* stated that “[the Senecas led by Sayen queraghta] *proceeded southward into Pennsylvania, and on July 12th crossed the Allegheny River and entered Westmoreland County.*”⁵³⁵ In order to have ‘crossed the Allegheny River’, the party would have had to have been to the west of that waterway. The route outlined above, travelling by way of the West Branch of the Susquehannah and Cherry Tree Portage, lay quite a distance to the east of the Allegheny River. But the fact of the matter is that the route by way of the Catawba Path also lay to the east of the Allegheny. Travelling by either route would mean that the Senecas would not have to cross the Allegheny River at any time. It would appear that Mr. Harvey, when he composed that biographical sketch, subscribed to the tradition that all of the Amerindians who invaded the Pennsylvania frontier came from Fort Detroit. He apparently did not have access to the British Archives in which every reference to Sayenqueraghta was found in letters and reports out of Fort Niagara.

It might be noted, though, that the Two Lick Creek, Blacklick Creek and Conemaugh Rivers all lay to the north of the village of Hanna’s Town. The Conemaugh, in turn is a tributary of the Kiskiminetas River, which is itself a tributary of the Allegheny River. So technically, if the Amerindians approached the village from the northeast and crossed over either the three named waterways, they would indeed have crossed the waters of the Allegheny River.

The book *Old Westmoreland* provided a somewhat definite, yet vague description of the Senecas’ route: “*It [the Seneca war party] descended the Allegheny river, partly in canoes and partly on horseback along shore, to a point a short distance above Kittanning, left the canoes on the river bank and marched overland into the Westmoreland settlements. While the expedition was at its bloody work, many of the canoes worked loose and floated down the river.*”⁵³⁶ The author of that chapter possibly believed that its readers would not question his very brief description of the route. There just exists one problem. Kittanning is located quite a distance north of Hannas Town and there are no waterways that connect the two locations nor did there exist any *Indian* paths linking the two locations. It seems somewhat illogical that the raiders from Niagara would take the circuitous route that going by way of Kittanning would require them to take. And if they, as the author claimed, simply ‘marched overland’ they would, for the most part, have been travelling through dense forests. Also, this narrative does not account for the biography of Sayenqueraghta in the *History of Wilkes-Barre*’s statement that the war party crossed over the Allegheny River into Westmoreland County.

. **One Hundred Whites & Blacks**

Sir,

I am sorry to inform your Excellency, that Last Saturday at two O'Clock in the afternoon, Hanna's Town was attacked by about one hundred Whites & Blacks. We found several Jackets, the buttons mark'd with the King's eighth Regiment. At the same Time this Town was attacked, another party attacked Fort Miller, about four Miles from this Place. Hanna's Town & Fort Miller in a short Time were reduced to Ashes, about twenty of the Inhabitants kill'd and taken, about one hundred head of Cattle, a number of horses and hogs kill'd. Such wanton destruction I never beheld, burning and destroying as they went. The People of this Place behaved brave; retired to the Fortt, left their all a prey to the Enemy, & with twenty Men only, & nine guns in good order, we stood the attack 'till dark. At first, some of the Enemy came close to the Pickets, but were soon oblig'd to retire farther off. I cannot inform you what Number of the Enemy may be kill'd, as we see them from the Fortt carrying off severals.

The situation of the Inhabitants is deplorable, a number of them not having a Blanket to lye on, nor a Second Suit to put on their Backs. Affairs are strangely managed here; where the fault lies I will not presume to say. This Place being of the greatest consequence to the Frontiers, to be left destitute of Men, Arms & ammunition is surprising to me, although frequent applications have been made. Your Excellency I hope will not be offended my mentioning that I think it would not be amiss that proper inquiry should be made about the management of the Public affairs in this County; and also to recommend to the Legislative Body to have some provision made for the Poor distressed People here. Your known humanity convinces me that you will do every thing in your power to assist us in our distress'd situation.

I have the Honor to be your Excellency's most obt. Hble. Servt., MICH. HUFFNAGLE.

The foregoing report of the destruction of Hanna's Town to the officials at Philadelphia was made by Michael Huffnagle to William Moore.⁵³⁷ William Moore had succeeded to the position of President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania upon the death of Joseph Reed on 15 November 1781.

Huffnagle wrote his letter from 'Fort Reed' without an actual date. The fact that he noted that the incident occurred 'last Saturday' would suggest that it had been written between the 14th and the 20th of July 1782. Assuming that it had been written as late as the 20th, Mr.

Huffnagle would have had up to five days to acquire (and contemplate) the information he presented in the letter.

Like the questionable date, the location from which Huffnagle wrote has been a point of contention with historians. According to George D. Albert in Volume II of *Frontier Forts of Western Pennsylvania*, the fort at Hanna's Town was not noted by the name of 'Fort Reed' in any contemporary documentation and therefore some narratives on the destruction of the town have simply referred to it as the 'Hanna's Town Fort'. Other historians have assumed that Michael Huffnagle meant 'Rugh's Blockhouse' (variously, 'Rook's Blockhouse') and the way he wrote it on the original letter might have been misread by those historians as 'Fort Reed.' The author of *Frontier Forts* concluded that the fort in the village of Hanna's Town was indeed named Fort Reed.⁵³⁸

A curious detail of Michael Huffnagle's letter is seldom, if ever, discussed. It will be noticed that in the first sentence he stated that "*Hanna's Town was attacked by about one hundred Whites & Blacks.*" It should first be noted that the *traditional* concept of the skin color of Amerindians being 'red' was not something that was widespread during the time of the Revolution. The earliest reference to the Amerindian's skin being 'red' appeared in print no earlier than the 1720s, and the combination of the word 'red' with the word 'skin' might date as recently as the first half of the Nineteenth Century.

Historians sometimes make a major mistake when they interpret the actions of people in the past; they interpret those actions according to their own current experiences and cultural beliefs. Not to disparage the scholarship of James B. Richardson III, but simply questioning his viewpoint, I would suggest that he interpreted the name 'whites' to refer to Euro-Americans and the name 'blacks' to Amerindians in this case more from his own Twentieth and Twenty-First Century perspective and experience than from a standpoint of the residents of western Pennsylvania in the 1780s. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the use of the term, 'whites' to refer to people who were primarily European in ancestry began to appear in the Seventeenth Century, but did not gain widespread use until much later. It was initially a term used to designate 'Christian' or 'English' from the indigenous peoples. So although Richardson would readily interpret 'whites' as non-colored people, one should not assume that that is how Michael Huffnagle did. Likewise, why Mr. Richardson would equate the term 'blacks' with Amerindians without explanation is questionable.

The Amerindian attackers whom Huffnagle referred to as 'white' Amerindians were no doubt the Amerindians we all know about through actual historical study and *traditional* perception. But the notion of 'black Indians' is somewhat unusual. Perhaps the strangeness of such a name ~ suggesting that Amerindians could be 'black', *ergo* of African descent is not an idea that is commonly considered. Nevertheless, certain Amerindian nations bear physical features that belie an African origin. The Cherokee and Mohawk are two such nations. Joseph Brant was known to have encouraged the intermarriage of his fellow Mohawks with Africans newly arrived on the North American shores as slaves or as runaways.⁵³⁹ And in fact, it has been conjectured that peoples from the African continent had traversed the Atlantic Ocean much earlier than the emigrants from the Asian continent via the Bering land bridge. The offspring of those African immigrants are known by anthropologists as *Paleoamerican blacks*. Despite not having appeared in the writings and

teachings of popular history, it would seem that Paleoamerican blacks were quite common in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century. While the Mohawks might have encouraged the intermarriage of blacks and Amerindians, perhaps other Nations were known to not have. The Senecas might have been a Nation which did not encourage the intermarriages and might have been referred to as 'white' Amerindians.

Ramit Plushnick-Masti, in a review of Richardson's articles stated that: "*Realizing they could not stop him, the British commanders at Fort Niagara attached to Sayenqueraghta's contingent of 300 warriors another 20 or so of their own men, Richardson said.*"⁵⁴⁰ His suggestion was that when Huffnagle noted that "*Hannastown was attacked by about one hundred whites and blacks...*" he was speaking of 'English/Europeans' and 'Indians'.

I would offer a different viewpoint on the subject. In regard to Michael Huffnagle's statement that the town was attacked by about one hundred "*Whites & Blacks*", he might have been stating that the town was being attacked by Senecas (Whites) and Mohawks (Blacks); the two tribes being allied Iroquois and both being allies to the British. It was usual for Senecas to be involved, since the British at Fort Niagara were located just north of the Seneca homeland. As the British moved southward, they easily picked up Seneca warriors to participate in the raid. The Mohawks, being located farther east, were less common to attack western Pennsylvania.

On 30 July from Pittsburgh, David Duncan wrote to Mr. Cunningham, a member of the Council representing Lancaster County.⁵⁴¹

Dear Sir, I have taken the Liberty of Writing you the Situation of our Unhappy Country at present. In the first place, I make no doubt But you have heard of the bad success of our Campaign against the Indian Towns, and the Late stroke the savages have gave Hannastown, which was all Reduced to ashes except two Houses, exclusive of a small Fort which happily saved all that were so fortunate to get to it. There were upwards of Twenty kill'd and taken, the most of Whom were Women & Children. At the same time, a small Fort four miles from thence was taken, supposed to be by a Detachment of the same Party. I assure you that the situation of the frontiers of our County is truly alarming at present, and worthy our most serious Consideration.

On the 25th, General William Irvine also wrote to President Moore.⁵⁴² The tone of his letter seemed optimistic that the town would spring back into existence.

Sir, The destruction of Hannas Town put the people generally into great confusion for some days; the alarm is partly over, and some who fled are returning again to their places; others went entirely off. I have got the Lieutenant of the County and others prevailed on to encourage some of the Inhabitans to re-occupy Hannas Town, by keeping a Post or small Guard there.

. ***The Afternoon Attack***

In the afternoon of Saturday, the 13th of July, a group of settlers were working in a meadow known as O'Connor's Fields. They were cutting and harvesting the crops of Michael Huffnagle.⁵⁴³ about a mile or two north of the village. Around two o'clock that afternoon a number of Amerindians were seen moving about in the general direction of the workers. A narrative written by Judge Richard Coulter fifty-four years after the event, and published in the *Pennsylvania Argus* at Greensburg in 1836, stated that: "*When the reapers had cut down one field, one of the number who had crossed to the side next to the woods, returned in great alarm, and reported that he had seen a number of Indians approaching.*"⁵⁴⁴

As soon as the Amerindians were noticed, the settlers fled toward the town. They headed for the safety of the stockade fortification there. According to the book *Old Westmoreland*: "*About 60 persons, men, women and children, were in the village that day, and most of these fled into the stockade without pausing to save any of their goods. Huffnagle and a few other men rescued the bulk of the county records and carried them safely into the fort.*"⁵⁴⁵ Since the Hannas Tavern, in which the Westmoreland County Court was held, is said to have stood adjacent to the fort, it would not have been far to carry those records. But it was very necessary to keep them safe inside the stockade fort instead of in any structure not able to be defended.

A majority of the village's residents, being now crowding into the stockade fortification, discussed what was to be done about the invaders. It was proposed that a few men should reconnoiter to ascertain the actual number of warriors and whether they were still headed toward the village. James Brison, David Shaw and two other young men volunteered to go on the mission. Also volunteering was Captain Jack (Matthew Jack). While the four young men headed out on foot toward O'Connor's fields, Captain Jack took a horse and made a circuitous route toward the fields.

Captain Jack arrived at the fields and saw the warriors, as Judge Coulter said "*mustered*" there. As soon as they caught sight of the Captain, they gave chase. On his way back to the fort, the Captain met the four young men whom he warned to turn around and flee. For his part, being on horseback, the Captain headed to spread the alarm throughout the settlement to anyone who had not already taken refuge in the fort. At about a mile and quarter east of Hanna's Town, Captain Jack found the Love family. Taking Mrs. Love onto his horse behind him, Captain Jack continued toward the fort. Mr. Love apparently mounted his own horse and joined Captain Jack. Apparently the Love's had two children because the narrative stated "*The four made all speed for the town.*"⁵⁴⁶

It must be remembered that David Shaw, James Brison and two others were on foot. They ran toward the town as fast as their legs could carry them. Shaw made straight for his father's house. He found it deserted and assuming that his family had headed into the fort, he turned to join them there. The Senecas had followed on the heels of the four but did not stage an attack directly on the fort. They assumed that they would surprise the townspeople, but when they found the houses abandoned, they went through the village looting and then setting all of the buildings on fire. Shaw had to backtrack a bit to get to the fort from his father's house, and according to Judge Coulter's narrative, "*he turned and saw the savages, with their tufts of hair flying in the wind, and their brandished tomahawks, for they had*

emerged into the open space around the town, and commenced the warwhoop.”⁵⁴⁷ Shaw raised his rifle and fired toward a ‘stout savage’. The bullet found its mark and the warrior lunged forward to his death while Shaw was able to make it to the safety of the fort.



The townsfolk within the fort resolved to save their ammunition in case it became the object of the Iroquois’ anger. It has been estimated that there were only fourteen or fifteen rifles in the townspeople’s hands. Coulter’s narrative noted that although the greater part of the town was within rifle range of the fort, the defenders’ fire was saved.

The only Euro-American victim of the attack on the town was Jennet Shaw, a young girl who fell prey to a bullet that found its way through a space between

the stockade’s upright logs. At least that’s what Judge Richard Coulter stated in 1836 when he compiled a narrative (supposedly) from eyewitness accounts. When James B. Richardson III compiled his study of the attack, he stated that “*One of the two casualties was 13-year-old Peggy Shaw who was shot saving a young boy and later died of her wounds.*” Despite implying throughout his own article that the one accurate account of the incident was Judge Coulter’s, Mr. Richardson confuted the judge’s information. Although Mr. Richardson supplied extensive footnotes for much of the information in his own article, this point was one of the ones which was not sourced.⁵⁴⁸ Then, despite suggesting that he had found additional information to prove Coulter wrong, Mr. Richardson did not supply or even suggest the name of the ‘second’ victim.

According to George D. Albert, the young girl named Peggy (*i.e.* Margaret) Shaw was the sister of David Shaw. His narrative identified the child that Peggy was saving when she fell victim to the bullet as another girl: “*After they had gone into the fort, and while yet all was confusion, and each one appearing to be interested in his own personal safety, a little child had crept unnoticed towards the picketing of the stockade. Peggy Shaw seeing it ran to fetch it back. This was under the random fire kept up by the savages. As she stooped to gather it into her arms a bullet struck her in the right breast and penetrated her lung. She did not die suddenly, as is supposed, but lingered for some two weeks...It is said that the*

*child she saved by her own death lived and grew to womanhood, but the identity is lost in the number who have been so designated.”*⁵⁴⁹

According to John N. Boucher in his *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, “When they saw that they had failed to surprise the town, and that the scalps must be fought for, if gained by them, they gave forth a prolonged, indescribable Indian yell, resembling the cry of an infuriated wild beast in torture, the recollection of which alone caused those who had escaped to shudder with horror, long years afterward. The Indians then took possession of the houses and cabins in the town, in full view of the fort. Clothes and household goods were thrown into the streets. Some of the bolder Indians arrayed themselves in these clothes, and, brandishing knives and tomahawks, danced in full view of the fort, though at a safe distance from it.”⁵⁵⁰ One of the warriors, though, who found a resident’s military coat “paraded himself so ostentatiously that he was shot down.”⁵⁵¹ The warrior shot by Shaw and this man were the only Amerindian fatalities. It should be noted that James B. Richardson III stated that “Uniform jackets of the 8th Kings Regiment were found at Hanna’s Town, possibly cast off by Indians to better loot garments since it is unclear if members of the 8th were present or if they were among the volunteers.”⁵⁵²

The Hannas Town residents who had taken refuge in Fort Reed waited to see if the Amerindians would launch an attack on the fort. They, of course, did not have any idea of what the raiders would do next. There is never any established and uniform procedure that attackers follow. So while we have 20/20 vision in hindsight, and know what transpired from the letters and reports of these incidents, the participants were probably paralyzed in a state of fear.

On Wednesday, 17 July, Michael Huffnagle wrote to General Irvine, telling him that a party had gone out to reconnoiter and check on the Senecas on Monday, two days after the attack.⁵⁵³ As the letter below indicates, the party of sixty townsfolk discovered where the warriors had camped. From the evidence they found at the campsite, it appeared that the Seneca warriors might have been there up to ten days, and that they were there most of Sunday, the day after the attack. They found that the Senecas had killed nearly one hundred head of cattle and horses ~ eating some of the horses while they stayed in their camp.

Hannastown, July 17, 1782,— 4 o'clock, P. M.

Dear General:— I just this moment received yours by the soldier. I should have sent you an express on Saturday night, but could get no person to go, as the enemy did not entirely leave us until Sunday morning. A party of about sixty of our people went out last Monday and found where they were encamped within a mile of this place. And from the appearance of the camp they must have staid there all day Sunday. We have had parties out since and find their route to be towards the Kiskiminetas and that they have a large number of horses with them. They have likewise killed about one hundred head of cattle and horses and have only left about half a dozen horses for the inhabitants here.

Last Sunday morning, the enemy attacked at one Freeman's

upon Loyalhanna, killed his son and took two daughters prisoners. From the best account I can collect, they have killed and taken twenty of the inhabitants hereabouts and burn and destroy as they go along. I take the liberty of mentioning if a strong party could follow that they might still be come up with them; having so much plunder and so many horses with them, I imagine they will go slow. As for the country rousing and following them, I am afraid we need not put any dependence on it; as several parties, some of thirty, others of fifty [men], would come in on Sunday and Monday last and stay about one hour, pity our situation, and push home again.

I am much afraid that the scouting parties stationed at the different posts have not done their duty. We discovered where the enemy had encamped and they must have been there for at least about ten days; as they had killed several horses and eat them about six miles from Brush run and right on the way towards Barr's fort. This morning about four miles from this place towards the Loyalhanna one of the men from this fort discovered four Indians whom he took to be spies.

I have mentioned to the inhabitants the subject of making a stand here. They are willing to do everything in their power if assistance could be given them. It will take at least fifty men to keep a guard in the garrison and guard the people to get in their little crops, which ought to be done immediately; otherwise, they will be entirely lost. By a small party that returned last evening, I am informed from the different camps they saw, there must at least have been about two hundred of the enemy; and from the different accounts we have from all quarters, it seems that they had determined to make a general attack upon the frontiers.

Sheriff Jack has been kind enough to let me have a horse; to-morrow morning, I shall set out, and in a few days shall supply you with some whisky and cattle. I have just this moment been informed that Richard Wallace and one Anderson who were with Lochry, made their escape from Montreal and have arrived safe in this neighborhood. As soon as I shall be able to procure what intelligence they have, I shall inform you.

P. S.— The inhabitants of this place having lost what provisions they had, they made application to me to supply them with some. I had a quantity of flour and some meat. I took the liberty of supplying them and hope it will meet with your approbation; and when I shall see you [you can] give me particular directions for that purpose.

. **.....Attention Turns To Miller's Settlement**

About one third of the party broke off and headed toward Miller's settlement about three miles away. John N. Boucher, in the *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*, had estimated that the original number of the warriors was one hundred and fifty. He then estimated that about fifty of that total left for Miller's. Boucher also noted that it was after the third of the warriors left that then and only then did the remaining one hundred warriors set fires throughout the village.⁵⁵⁴ George D. Albert, in his book, *History of the County of Westmoreland, Pennsylvania* concurred that the actual destruction of the town did not occur until after the party split up. He also was of the opinion that the fort and two houses were spared from the fire. He noted that the war party not finding any settlers to massacre, they talked loudly and excitedly to one another (probably arguing as to what their next move should be) and that "*When the consultation was ended, a body of Indians and renegades started off in the direction of Miller's. The number of this pack is variously estimated, some placing it at forty or fifty, and it is not probable that it was less than the first number. But for those that remained at the town there was still some occasion for gratification left, and running up and down with a concerted action at the same time, they set fire to the town at a number of places. No obstacle was in the way of the fire, and the favoring wind made by the fire itself was so propitious that the cluster of houses was soon ablaze, and in a short time the town was reduced to ashes, with the exception of the fort and two houses nearest to it and covered by it. One of these houses was Hanna's.*"⁵⁵⁵

The place called 'Miller's settlement' or variously 'Miller's Station' was also known as 'Miller's Blockhouse'. It centered around the two-story log house built by Captain Samuel Miller. The structure, being called a 'blockhouse' was perhaps the sturdiest and most substantial building in the neighborhood, and perhaps it was surrounded by a stockade wall. It no doubt was a place of refuge for the local settlers to go to in times of danger. Samuel had died four years before the attack in 1782. His widow had remarried. Andrew Cruickshanks owned the farmstead in 1782. Despite Mr. Cruickshank's marriage to Samuel Miller's widow and despite his coming into ownership of the property, the house would continue to be called the Miller house or blockhouse.

According to Albert's narrative, there were over a dozen families at the Miller/(Cruickshank) house on the afternoon and evening of 13 July 1782.⁵⁵⁶ The account by Judge Coulter described a wedding ceremony that had been conducted at the Miller house on the day before the attack.⁵⁵⁷ Both accounts agreed that there were nearly thirty people at the house on Saturday.

Judge Coulter stated that the people occupying the Miller's station included the unnamed members of the wedding party, Mrs. H~~~~ and her "*two beautiful daughters*" and Joseph Brownlee and his family. George Albert didn't agree with the validity of the wedding story. In his narrative, he stated "*It has long been credited that a marriage festival was being celebrated at Miller's on that particular day of the incursion, and that some of the party collected there were brought together by this occasion. There seems, indeed, to be good authority for this, but yet with very attentive research and after some exertion in this particular we must conclude that there still remains a doubt on this narration.*" The only people that he identified as being at the Miller house on 13 July 1782 were the two daughters

of Robert Hanna, Captain Joseph Brownlee, Reverend Power and of course Mrs. Cruickshank and her children.

John Boucher provides us with the names of the wedding party ~ assuming that it did in fact take place on that Saturday in July 1782.⁵⁵⁸ James Duncan, who Boucher described as “*a young man of superior looks and bearing*” and Mary Courla, described as “*a young Scotch girl who was long afterward written of as a very lovely and beautiful woman*” had both been fleeing eastward from an Amerindian incursion into their farmsteads “*farther west than Westmoreland*”. Boucher’s narrative would suggest that when the families of these two love-birds reached Hanna’s Town, they believed that they were now safe enough to tie the knot.

The members of the Duncan and Courla families were relaxing at the Miller house after the wedding ceremony. Some local men spent the afternoon mowing hay in the surrounding fields. Various residents of Hanna’s Town who had made their way to Miller’s settlement (unaware that a wedding would be held) were visiting with the Cruickshank family. Suddenly the people heard the Senecas let out a war-whoop. In the words of Judge Coulter “*like a clap of thunder from a cloudless sky...*” the sound shook the settlers’ world. Many of the settlers escaped from the scene fleeing to the east. Not all were so fortunate as to escape. The people inside the Miller house were taken captive by the warriors before they could escape. Brownlee and his wife, the Duncan newlyweds and the Cruickshanks were stopped by warriors arriving at the front door. Some of the warriors chased the fleeing settlers and caught many of them. When nearly thirty captives were gathered together, the warriors went through the Miller house and adjoining buildings and plundered what they desired before setting fire to the house. They tied the men’s hands behind their back and forced all of the prisoners to carry the burdens. Before leaving, the Amerindians killed all the livestock on the farm including hores, cattle, hogs, sheep and even dogs. The warriors and their captives then started on their journey northward to Fort Niagara.

Neither Coulter, Boucher nor Albert mentioned what the British officers (Powell and Lottridge) and their red-coated troops were doing while the Senecas were taking the Westmoreland residents captive. In the other major cases we have reviewed, the British allowed the Amerindians to plunder and kill as they wished ~ apparently not desiring the warriors to turn their wrath upon them.

Joseph Brownlee had served in the American Revolutionary War as a Lieutenant in the Eighth and the Thirteenth Regiments of the Pennsylvania Line. He was married to Elizabeth Guthrie. Joseph also served in a company of independent Rangers. Many historians have confused Joseph with John Brownlee who served in the same companies as Joseph. John was living in 1814 as evidenced by a pension application he filed. When his enlistment was over, Brownlee returned home to his family at Hanna’s Town. A noted ‘Indian fighter’, Brownlee was well known to the Amerindians in the western frontier region of Pennsylvania. At first the warriors did not realize that one of their prisoners was a famous ‘Indian fighter.’

As the Seneca’s and their prisoners started off, one of the women in the group ~ possibly Robert Hanna’s wife ~ said “*Captain Brownlee, it is well that you are here to cheer us up!*” Hearing that, a couple of the warriors talked among themselves. Then, one of them came up behind Brownlee and as he momentarily bent forward to allow the child he was carrying on his back to get a better hold, the warrior raised his hatchet. In a second the hatchet was brought down and into Brownlee’s skull. In the words of Harold A. Thomas, writing an

article for the Greensburg Historical Society: “*Brownlee fell dead and the child rolled over him. As it was scrambling to its feet the Indian killed it in the same way. A woman near by screamed and fell swooning to the ground. She met with the same ill fate, the Indians doubtless mistaking her for Mrs. Brownlee. Mrs. Brownlee, on account of her daughter, was compelled to witness these barbarous deeds in the silent agony of despair.*”⁵⁵⁹ It might be remembered that at the beginning of this chapter a letter was written by Michael Huffnagle to General Irvine on the day after the attack. In that letter, Huffnagle stated “*At the same time we were attacked here, another party attacked the settlement. “What mischief they may have done we have not been able as yet to know; only that Mr. Hanna, here, had his wife and his daughter Jenny taken prisoners. Two were wounded ~ one out of the fort and one in. Lieutenant Brownlee and one of his children with one White’s wife and two children were killed about two miles from town.”* One of the children that was killed would have been Brownlee’s son who was about three or four years old, while the second was probably Mrs. White’s.

The Amerindians (presumably in the company of the British troops) made their way to a campsite along the Crabtree Creek northeast of Hanna’s Town. It is assumed that they planned to attack the fort during the following morning.

Judge Richard Coulter stated that around nightfall a group of ‘*thirty yeomen, good and true*’ assembled at a farm (*i.e.* George’s) near Miller’s settlement.⁵⁶⁰ They were determined to head to the fort standing in the ruins of Hanna’s Town and provide help to the people taking refuge there. Where they had come from is not known. Perhaps Coulter meant to imply that they were farmers from the region surrounding Hanna’s Town. Coulter stated that the rescue party “*set off for the town, each with his trusty rifle, some on horseback and some on foot. As soon as they came near the fort the greatest caution and circumspection was observed. Experienced woodsmen soon ascertained that the enemy was in the crab-tree bottom, and that they might enter the fort. Accordingly, they all marched to the gate, and were most joyfully welcomed by those within.*”⁵⁶¹ As has been noted by some recent historians, the narratives included in the two Westmoreland County history books, by George Dallas Albert and John N. Boucher, were based heavily on Judge Coulter’s narrative. They embellished the Coulter narrative with details that may or may not have been accurate. In regard to the ‘rescue party’ Boucher’s *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania* noted.⁵⁶²

The men assembled at George's are said to have fired all their guns at once to arouse the neighborhood. About forty men gathered there by dark. All were bent on rescuing the prisoners in the fort. The night fortunately brought dark clouds and rain which favored the rescuing party. Only about thirty of them were able to go to the relief of the fortress. Suspicions of cowardice were hinted for long years afterwards, concerning some who failed to accompany them. Of these thirty, many were on horses and all were armed.

Michael Huffnagle, despite being rather descriptive of everything happening around Hanna's Town that weekend, made no mention of anyone arriving to help the settlers. In fact, no letters coming out of Hanna's Town mentioned a rescue party.

The reader might recall that on 17 July Michael Huffnagle wrote to General William Irvine. That letter, written four days after the attack was pretty detailed. During those four days, Mr. Huffnagle had time to watch things calm down somewhat and to check with all eye-witnesses to corroborate one person's account with another's. In that letter no relief party of thirty to forty came riding up to save the fort. Instead, Mr. Huffnagle stated that "*A party of about sixty of our people went out last Monday and found where they were encamped within a mile of this place....*" He did not state that the rescue party that arrived somewhat triumphantly at the gate of the fort had 'ascertained' that the attackers were encamped along the Crab-Tree Creek. Also that Monday would have been the 15th, and just two days after the attack. Apparently the people felt comfortable enough to permit a group leave the safety of the fort to reconnoiter the region.

The prisoners taken at Miller's settlement, and now being held by their captors in a camp along the Crab Tree Creek were not allowed to relax. The warriors chose one of the men, painted his body with black stripes and tied him to a tree. He would eventually be tortured. The warriors then formed two lines brandishing their tomahawks and sticks and the men prisoners were forced to run the gauntlet between them. The women were even forced to run. The men were beaten pretty hard and even the women were handled roughly with at least one (Miss Freeman) who had red hair, which the Senecas hated, having her skull cracked by the blow of a tomahawk. The warriors' enjoyment in torturing their prisoners was interrupted by sounds coming from the fort, so they dispensed with a lengthy brutalizing of the man tied to the tree and simply killed him with a single hatchet blow.⁵⁶³

The narratives state that the Senecas and their British partners stayed in their camp along Crab Tree Creek over the evening and night of the 13th. The assumption is that they contemplated attacking the fort the following morning. The Hanna's Town residents likewise believed that their fort would be attacked early Sunday morning. According to Judge Coulter, they decided to try to deceive the invaders into thinking that a large force was massing to repel any attack that might be made against the fort. The art of deception was first suggested in print in the year 1531 by Machiavelli. In Chapter 40 of the *Discourses on Livy*, Machiavelli wrote: "*Although the use of fraud in any action is detestable, yet in the combat of war it is praiseworthy and glorious. And a man who uses fraud to overcome his enemy is praised, just as much as he who overcomes his enemy by force.*"⁵⁶⁴

Flute and drum musicians began to play military tunes and they continued through the night. There were perhaps a dozen horses that had escaped the original attack on the town. Men mounted them and began to ride back and forth over a plank bridge adjacent to the fort. Groups of men marched back and forth across the bridge also to simulate troops being paraded in preparation of an attack. The deception worked. Soon after midnight, the Senecas got their captives on their feet, loaded them up with their tents, supplies and plunder and headed northward with Fort Niagara as their destination. Boucher stated that they made their way between the present-day locations of Congruity (Church) and Harvey's Five Points and then across the Kiskiminetas where Apollo now stands.⁵⁶⁵

Ephraim Douglass was a resident of Westmoreland County in the 1770s and 80s. While at Fort Pitt, Douglass was a jack-of-all-trades, working variously as a carpenter, blacksmith and clerk. He served as a Quartermaster in the Eighth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line and later as an Aide-de-camp to Major General Benjamin Lincoln. On 13 April 1777, just four months after joining the army, he was taken captive by the British at the Battle of Bound Brook, New Jersey. He spent three years as a prisoner. After his release, Douglass rejoined the Patriots forces and served as the Assistant Commissary at Fort Pitt. Being fluent in the Amerindian languages, Douglass was sent on a mission in the Ohio Country, returning in May 1782.



On the 26th of July, Ephraim Douglass wrote to William Moore, the President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council in 1781 and 1782. His letter summed up the Destruction of Hanna's Town:⁵⁶⁶

“My last contained some account of the destruction of Hannastown, but it was an imperfect one — the damage was greater than we knew, and attended with circumstances different from my representation of them. There were nine killed and twelve carried off prisoners, and, instead of some of the houses without the fort being defended by our people, they all retired within the miserable stockade, and the enemy possessed themselves of the forsaken houses, from whence they kept a continual fire upon the fort from about twelve o'clock till night, without doing any other damage than wounding one little girl within the walls. They carried away a great number of horses and everything of value in the deserted houses, destroyed all the cattle, hogs, and poultry within their reach, and burned all the houses in the village except two; these they also set fire to, but fortunately it did not extend itself: so far as to consume them; several houses round the country were destroyed in the same manner, and a number of unhappy families either murdered or carried off captives — some have since suffered a similar fate in different parts — hardly a day but they have been discovered in some quarter of the country, and the poor inhabitants struck with terror thro' the whole extent of our frontier. Where this party set out from is not certainly known; several circumstances induce the belief of their coming from the heads of the Alleghany or toward Niagara, rather than from Sandusky or the neighborhood of Lake Erie. The great number of whites known by their language to have been in the party, the direction of their retreat when they left the country, which was toward the Kittanning, and no appearance of their tracks, either coming or going, having been

discovered by the officer and party which the general ordered on that service beyond the river, all conspire to support this belief.”

A party of about sixty men went out to check on the invaders two days after the attack according to Michael Huffnagle’s letter of 17 July to General Irvine. They searched as far as the Kiskiminetas River, but the Senecas and their British allies and the prisoners were already far beyond.

• • • • •**The Aftermath**

By Monday, 15 July 1782, the incident that would become known to history as *the Destruction of Hanna’s Town* was ended. Of the thirty or so buildings that had made Hanna’s Town the largest village between Fort Pitt and its surrounding town at the Forks of the Ohio and Carlisle in the east, only three remained standing. The small fort called Fort Reed, the house / tavern of Charles and Sarah Foreman and the house / tavern of Robert Hanna (which served as the Westmoreland County Court House).

General William Irvine wrote to President Moore on 25 July from his office at Fort Pitt:⁵⁶⁷

“Sir, The destruction of Hannas Town put the people generally into great confusion for some days; the alarm is partly over, and some who fled are returning again to their places ; others went entirely off. I have got the Lieutenant of the County and others prevailed on to encourage some of the Inhabitans to re-occupy Hannas Town, by keeping a Post -or small Guard there.

Inclosed is duplicates of the attestations of all the men enlisted here ; the success in Recruiting was so bad, and the men also ordinary, that I thought it most prudent to desist several of those Enlisted turned out to be Deserters, one in particular from our own line, who I instantly Executed, which I hope will deter others. Perhaps before Winter some few better men may be got. Mr Hoofnagle informed me he had provided some provision (on a Contract with Council) for a Ranging Company and some Militia ordered by Col. Cook and being in an extreme pinch for Cash, applied to me; and as there was no immediate purpose the Recruiting money could be applied to, I let him have one hundred & thirty-seven pounds. He promised to bring me your Excellency's order or replace the money, neither of which has been done. I beg to have your Excellency's pleasure in the matter, that in case you should not think proper to place it to his account and give me Credit, I may immediately look to him for it.

*The remainder shall be either kept till a proper time to begin Recruiting again or disposed off as you think proper to direct.
I have the honor to be, With great Respect, Sir,
Your Excellency's Most Obedient Humble Servant, W^m IRVINE.”*

Some town residents rebuilt their homes, but the town was doomed. More than anything else, it was doomed by the construction of a new road. It was constructed between Bedford and Pittsburgh. The new road’s course ran approximately three miles south of the ruins of Hanna’s Town. Newtown was laid out along the new road and 1786 the Court House of Westmoreland County was relocated there. It would officially reopen in January 1787. Newtown’s name would later be changed to Greensburg.

With most of the region’s traffic diverted away from Hanna’s Town, the land that was once covered by houses, barns and other buildings was reclaimed by nature and became covered by grasses and other plants.

The Westmoreland Historical Society worked with the County to purchase one hundred and eighty acres in 1969. The purpose was to recreate a number of the town’s original structures. The museum complex that was constructed is located about a mile to the southwest of the current Hannastown, both of which are located to the north of US Route 119 (*i.e.* the New Alexandria Road) which follows somewhat the path of the new road that bypassed the town in 1786 and accelerated its demise.

Historic Hanna’s Town, constructed by the Westmoreland Historic Society, has come to include a rebuilt Hanna’s Tavern, a Revolutionary Era fortification with log stockade walls, three log houses relocated from other sites in Westmoreland County and a wagon shed to house an 18th Century Conestoga wagon. The Westmoreland Historical Society was moved to the Historic Hanna’s Town complex in 2019. At that time a new Westmoreland History Education Center was opened. The Center includes a library, exhibit gallery, a museum shop and a room to be used as a classroom.

. ***The Sources***

The earliest account of the destruction of Hanna’s Town was found in a newspaper article published in 1836 at Greensburg.⁵⁶⁸ The article, written by Judge Richard Coulter, was first published in the *Pennsylvania Argus* (variously titled: *Greensburg Argus*) sometime in 1836. The original newspaper article was reprinted by Sherman Day in his book *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, published in 1843. The article, like most of the other sources, said very little about the actual incident. It dwelt moreso on the adventures of the captives.

Sadly, as is so often the case with historical narratives, Mr. Coulter did not indicate where he got his information for his article. Being written fifty-four years after the incident, a ten year old would have been sixty-four when he would have related his experiences with the judge. A twenty year old would have had a more accurate recollection of his experience, but at seventy-four years of age when he would recount his memories of the event, his memory of the incident might have been a bit fuzzy. Of course a thirty year old would have had a more lasting memory of his experience ~ but at the same time, the accuracy of his

recollection as an eighty-four year old, when telling the judge about his experience, might have been less reliable.

The *History of the County of Westmoreland* was published in 1882.⁵⁶⁹ In that volume, George Dallas Albert commenting on the destruction of Hannastown stated: “*From an imperfect narrative and from many conflicting accounts we have collated the facts which can be taken as authentic, and which we believe are substantially correct.*”⁵⁷⁰ Later historians would note that Albert’s narrative basically followed Judge Coulter’s.

In 1882 the correspondence between George Washington and Brigadier General William Irvine was published. C. W. Butterfield (*i.e.* Consul Willshire) published the letters in the book titled: *Washington ~ Irvine Correspondence: The Official Letters*. Throughout the letters between the two generals are other correspondence to William Irvine. Also other letters, related to the primary subject correspondence are added in the extensive footnotes.⁵⁷¹

Edgar W. Hassler published *Old Westmoreland, A History of Western Pennsylvania During the Revolution* in the year 1900. It did not contribute much additional information to the already existing literature.⁵⁷²

John Newton Boucher produced the *History of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania* in 1906. The three-volume set included many biographical sketches. While following Judge Coulter’s narrative primarily, Boucher interjected a few new details. Rather than referring to the incident, like most other historians, as ‘the destruction of Hannastown’, Boucher named it the *Hannastown War*.⁵⁷³

Oscar Jewell Harvey published his book, *History of Wilkes-Barre, Luzerne County, - Pennsylvania*, in 1909. As noted in the text, despite the fact that the scope of the book was the Northumberland region, Harvey had occasion to mention other places and people who were part of the Luzerne County city’s history. A short biographical sketch of Sayenqueraghta was included in a footnote. The fragment of the Seneca sachem’s life in which he led the destruction of Hanna’s Town was noted.⁵⁷⁴

C. Hale Sipe, in 1931, basically transcribed certain sentences from *Old Westmoreland* for his section titled “*Guyasuta Burns Hannastown*” in Chapter XXVIII of his book, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*.⁵⁷⁵

In April 1965, Volume 48, Number 2 of *Western Pennsylvania History*, the publication of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society, included an article by Harold A. Thomas. Titled *A Lonely Historic Grave*, the article narrated the experience of Joseph Brownlee on the 13th of July 1782. It also includes notes on the finding of Mr. Brownlee’s grave by the article’s author.⁵⁷⁶

In 2007, James B. Richardson III, a professor of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, published a two-part article in the Summer and Fall, 2007 issues of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, a publication of the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society. The articles, titled “*The Destruction of Hanna’s Town*” and “*Who Were Those Guys?*” were the product of his nearly four decades of study of the incident. In the articles, Richardson provided a lot of auxiliary information on the life of the Seneca sachem Sayenqueraghta.⁵⁷⁷

The Wyoming Massacre

21

[Note: The Wyoming Massacre has been studied and discussed in great detail in many other volumes, so there is no need for such detail here. But I would be remiss in not providing at least a summary history of the incident in this volume. The incident was another example of the British orchestration of Amerindian and Tory incursions against the Patriot settlers of the Pennsylvania frontier. Taking place in 1778, it was also the first highly publicized example.]

The Wyoming Valley is one of the many valleys defined by the profusion of mountain ranges making up the Appalachians. The Wyoming Valley in particular is located in the northeast corner of the state of Pennsylvania. It stretches from the northeast in present-day Wayne County to the southwest in Columbia County. The major part of the valley lies in Lackawanna and Luzerne Counties.



The name ‘Wyoming’ is derived from the Seneca Iroquoian word *M'cheuwami*, meaning ‘large flats’ or ‘great meadows’. Prior to their removal to the Genessee River valley of New York state, the Seneca occupied this region. The North Branch of the Susquehanna River, that flows through the Wyoming Valley was called the *M'cheuweami-sipu*, or ‘river of the extensive flats.’⁵⁷⁸

In the year 1778, the Wyoming Valley fell within a region occupying the horizontal band between the 41st and 42nd latitudes: lands claimed by both Pennsylvania and Connecticut. It would not be until 1786 that Connecticut would give up her claim to the land. The dispute is described in detail in *Documents Pertaining to the Connecticut Settlement in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania*, which fills Volume XVIII of the Second Series of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*.

The Tory Expedition to Kittanning in the spring of 1778 was the only one recorded to have taken place within the southcentral region of Pennsylvania, and it ended without injury to Patriot families. In the northern portion of the state the residents were not so lucky. The Wyoming Valley was the scene of a massacre by British led Amerindians and Tories.

. ***An Overview Of The Massacre***

On 30 June 1778, British Colonel John Butler led a combined force into the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. That force consisted of British provincials and Tories (known as the Tory Rangers) along with their Amerindian allies ~ Iroquois warriors from the nations of Seneca, Cayuga, Tuscarora, Onondaga and Lenape. Their numbers vary according to the person telling the story. George Peck, in his book, *Wyoming: Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures*, claimed that the British/Tory force numbered four hundred and that there were upwards of seven hundred Amerindians.⁵⁷⁹ Mark M. Boatner, in his volume *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, claimed that the British / Tory force numbered five hundred and seventy-five. The Seneca and Cayuga warriors, according to Boatner numbered five hundred.⁵⁸⁰

Mohawk sachem Thayendanegea, known more commonly as Joseph Brant has historically been claimed to have led the Amerindians into the Wyoming Valley. That was found to be incorrect by historian William L. Stone and published in his 1838 book, *Life of Joseph Brant ~ Thayendanegea*. The Amerindians were actually led by Gi-en-gwa-tah (He who goes in the smoke).⁵⁸¹

The Amerindians held a personal grudge against those settlers which stretched back to the 1760s, and they were only too eager to join the Tories. The settlers received word of the advancing war party and prepared to meet them in battle. Colonel Zebulon Butler, a Continental Line officer who happened to be at home at the time quickly assembled a force of about 360 men, mostly Connecticut Militia, to meet the Amerindians and Tories. Peck noted that the Patriot force consisted of “two hundred and thirty enrolled men, and seventy old people, boys, civil magistrates, and other volunteers.”⁵⁸² [It should also be noted that Zebulon Butler was not related to John Butler despite their common surname.]

A fortification known by the name of Forty Fort (previously, Kingston Fort) was chosen as the Patriots’ headquarters. To that fort went the women, children and aged men for their safety. Also arriving at Forty Fort were at least five commissioned officers of the

Continental Army. At a point farther northeast, along the north side of the Susquehanna River sat Fort Jenkins. Between Fort Jenkins and Forty Fort stood Fort Wintermoot, a Tory stronghold.

The prelude to the confrontation started early in the morning of 3 July, as the British-led Amerindians and Tories invading the valley were noticed at Fort Jenkins. That garrison was captured in an attack in which four Patriots were killed and three taken captive. Word of the invasion spread southwestward to Forty Fort. The Patriots there held a council to decide whether to search out the invaders, or to stay at the fort. At around one o'clock that afternoon, the small Patriot army marched out of the fort and headed up the valley prepared to confront the invaders. They marched about two miles northeastward along the Susquehanna River.

The British and Amerindian force had set fire to another fortification in the valley named Fort Wintermoot. That fort was a Tory outpost built primarily by Tories from the province of New York on the banks of the Susquehanna River in the vicinity of present-day Exeter. The British burned Wintermoot so that the Patriots would believe that they had evacuated the valley, burning the fort as they left. The Patriot army established a line of battle near the smoldering ruins, between the present-day Valley Street and Schooley Avenue. The British line faced the Patriots while their Amerindian allies flanked them from hiding places on the right along the bank of the river and on the left in a swamp. For just over a half hour, the two forces shot at each other. The Patriots held their line until the Amerindians flanking them started to gain the advantage. The flanking fire from the left caused the Patriot line to begin to falter. Colonel Nathan Denison commanded the Patriots' left and he gave the order to one company to turn so as to directly engage the Amerindians in the swamp. His command was to "*fall back.*" Other companies mistook the command and maneuver as a retreat and they, in turn began to leave their positions. The Patriot leaders attempted to rally their line, but it was too late.

A general rout was underway and in the confusion, scores of the Patriots were mowed down by the enemy muskets and tomahawks. The Amerindians rushed forward to prevent the Patriots from reaching the safety of Forty Fort.



Many of the Patriots fled eastward intending to swim across the Susquehanna to Monocacy Island. Their path to the island was through grain fields, and like a harvest, they were cut down in large swathes. Others hesitating for a minute before jumping into the river were likewise killed in droves. Even those who made it to the island were hunted down there and massacred.

Benson J. Lossing, in his *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, described some of the tortures that captured Patriots had to endure.⁵⁸³

Captain Bidlack was thrown, alive, upon the burning embers of Wintermoot's Fort, where he was held down with pitchforks until he expired! Prisoners were arranged in circles around large stones, and, while strong Indians held them, they were dispatched with a tomahawk. One of these stones, called Queen Esther's Rock, is pointed out to the curious. It is upon the old river bank, about forty rods east of the main road, three miles above Forty Fort...Around it sixteen prisoners were arranged in a circle, and each was held by a savage. A half-breed Indian woman, called Queen Esther, assumed the office of executioner, and, using a maul and tomahawk alternately as she passed around the ring, singing the death-song, deliberately murdered the prisoners in consecutive order as they were arranged. The time was midnight, and, the scene being lighted up by a large fire burning near, she appeared like a very fury from Pandemonium while performing her bloody work. With the death of each victim her fury increased, and her song rose clearer and louder upon the midnight air. Two of the prisoners (Lebbeus Hammond and Joseph Elliot), seeing there was no hope, shook off the Indians who held them, and, with a desperate spring, fled to a thicket, amid rifle-balls and tomahawks that were sent after them, and escaped.

Describing the incident in his book, *Border Wars of the Revolution* William L. Stone claimed that Doctor Thatcher recorded in his *Military Journal* that “*One of the prisoners, a Captain Badlock, was committed to torture, by having his body stuck full of splinters of pine knots, and a fire of dry wood made around him, when his two companions, Captains Ransom and Durkee, were thrown into the same fire, and held down with pitchforks till consumed.*”⁵⁸⁴

Every single company's Captain was killed in the course of the battle. The dead included twenty militia officers (one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, ten Captains, six Lieutenants and two Ensigns) and three Continental Line officers (Colonel Durkee, Captain Hewett and Captain Ransom). According to Boatner, all but about sixty of the Patriots were killed. Colonels Zebulon Butler and Denison also survived. While Butler took his wife and fifteen Continental Line soldiers and headed to Wilkes-Barre, Denison led the survivors back to Forty Fort. According to Peck, one hundred and forty men survived the ordeal. He also noted that the British and Amerindians lost only sixty total.

Waiting along the river and in the fort were the women and children of the slain Patriot men. The survivors of the fight made their way southward too, reaching their families and refuge at Forty Fort by nightfall.

After that day of fighting, the Patriots at Forty Fort, now under Colonel Nathan Denison, surrendered to John Butler. The articles of capitulation read:⁵⁸⁵

Capitulation Agreement

Made and completed between John Butler, in behalf of his majesty King George the Third, and Colonel Nathan Denison of the United States of America:

Art. I. It is agreed that the settlement lay down their arms, and their garrison be demolished.

Art. II. That the inhabitants occupy their farms peaceably, and the lives of the inhabitants be preserved entire and unhurt.

Art. III. That the Continental stores are to be given up.

Art. IV. That Colonel Butler will use his utmost influence that the private property of the habitants shall be preserved entire to them.

Art. V. That the prisoners in Forty Fort be delivered up.

Art. VI. That the property taken from the people called Tories be made good; and that they remain in peaceable possession of their farms, and unmolested in a free trade throughout this settlement.

Art. VII. That the inhabitants which Colonel Denison capitulates for, together with himself, do not take up arms during this contest.

(Signed), John Butler, Nathan Denison

On the 5th, the fortification's gates were opened and the British Colonel and Seneca chief came to take possession of it and the Patriots' weapons. The Amerindians behaved themselves, so to speak that day. But on the 6th, they began to plunder the goods from the fort's inhabitants. Their very presence kept the agitation of the women and children at a high level. Large numbers of the recently widowed women, terrified of the Amerindians who now filled the fortification, began to flee from the fort taking little but the clothes they were wearing and their children with them. Although Colonel John Butler had ordered his Amerindian allies not to inflict any injuries on the civilians, he could not control them. Then the second phase of the massacre started. The Amerindians captured many of the fleeing women and children in the swamp known as the 'Shades of Death' and began to torture them on the spot. They also chased down fugitives who had taken flight from Fort Wilkes-Barre through the 'Shades of Death' swamp. Whether accurate, stories were told of fires being kindled and captives roasted alive by being forced into the midst of the conflagration at the point of pitchforks. Those stories might actually have been exaggerations based on the narrative of Captain Bidlack at the Wintermoot Fort. Scalps from two hundred and twenty-seven settlers were taken as trophies.

Homesteads of any remaining settlers in the Wyoming Valley were destroyed and those remaining settlers were forced to leave the region. Most of them, having originally come from Connecticut, headed back in that direction. The Tories and their savage allies laid waste to the entire valley, destroying the town of Wilkes-Barre in the process. Even after Colonel John Butler removed his troops from the valley, the Amerindians remained to

terrorize and plunder any remaining settlers. The plundering and burning of houses continued for a couple weeks after the battle.

According to Lossing, it was in August that any militia returned to the valley.⁵⁸⁶ Under the date of 3 August 1778, Lossing noted that Captain Simon Spaulding, commanding a company of troops made up of remnants of two companies that took part in the battle on 3 July: Robert Durkee and Samuel Ransom, arrived back at the valley.

When the enemy had left the valley, sapulding marched hither, and took up his quarters at Wilksebarre Fort, which he strengthened. Other means for the defense of the valley were adopted, and a few of those who had fled returned, with the hope of securing something that might be left of all their desolated possessions. Some of them were waylaid and shot by stragglers Indians and Tories. There was no security; throughout that fertile valley fire was the only reaper, and the luscious fruits fell to the earth ungathered. Even the dead upon the battle-ground lay unburied until the autumn frosts had come; and when their mutilated and shriveled bodies were collected and cast into one common receptacle of earth, but few could be identified. That sad office was performed by guarded laborers, while parties of the enemy, like hungry vultures, scented their prey from afar, and hovered upon the mountains, ready to descend upon the stricken settlers when opportunity should offer.

Mark Boatner pointed out that it was not until 22 October that the dead were finally buried in a common grave.

. ***Intelligence Of The Massacre***

The initial report sent out from the Wyoming Valley alerting the provincial authorities of the massacre was a letter sent from Fort Augusta on 4 July by Lieutenant Samuel Hunter.⁵⁸⁷ At the time that Lieutenant Hunter wrote the letter, the massacre had not actually occurred but seemed imminent.

The Bearer of this Letter carries with him Dispatches and Intelligence of the most alarming and serious Consequence; by his accounts, Wioming will not long be able to oppose the Rapid progress of the Enemy, in that Case we cannot say when the will stop, and Lancaster County must soon tell their Ravages.

Two days later, Benjamin Patterson, Captain of the First Company, First Battalion of the Northumberland County Militia, arrived at Easton, in Northampton County at the confluence of the Lehigh and Delaware Rivers. He reported that the Settlement at Wyoming had been

cut off and that another party of the enemy was at ‘Cushietung’ on the Delaware River. Cushetunk was settled in 1755 by settlers from Connecticut making it the first Connecticut settlement in the contested lands. On the 8th, a letter came into the hands of the Northampton County Lieutenant, John Wetzel. The letter was from Colonel Jacob Stroude of the Northampton County Militia’s Sixth Battalion. Stroude informed them that a party of Amerindians and ‘whitemen’ were marching on the settlements along the Delaware River. They had been discovered at *Lahawaxin* (Lackawaxen) and that they were moving toward Shaholy. Stroud also stated that “*By the bests Information we Received we Learn that Wyoming is Finally Destroy’d...*”⁵⁸⁸

On 12 July 1778 a letter was sent to Colonel Curtiss Grubb from Garbers Mill.⁵⁸⁹ The letter from Abram Scott, John Lee, William Foulks, John Garber and William Sagers stated:

By Express we received yours dated 10th Inst, to Col. Hunter, and as the Express says he was informed Col. Hunter was at Harris’s Ferry turned back, which we made bold to brake open, wherein you desire an account. The Inhabitants of Northumberland County are all fled but a few men that make a stand with Col. Hunter at Sunbury. The Wyoming Men Turned out of their fort and gave the Indians Battle. There was about 400 Men in the action and but about 60 got off. This account we have from a Lieutenant and number of officers that were in the action. The Indians have killed several at the mouth of the Wariour Run on the West Branch, The Inhabitants in the upper part of our County are coming down... There are 6 Wounded men at this Place from Wyoming.

Walter N. Butler, the son of Colonel John Butler, and the Captain of a Corps of Rangers, denied that any massacre took place at all in the Wyoming Valley. In a letter that he sent to Brigadier General Clinton from Niagara on 18 February 1779 he stated:⁵⁹⁰

We deny any cruelties to have been committed at Wyoming, either by whites of Indians; so far to the contrary, that not a man, woman, or child was hurt after the capitulation, or a woman or child before it, and none taken into captivity. Though, should you call it inhumanity, the killing men in arms in the field, we, in that case, plead guilty.

Additional Depredations

Apart from the foregoing incidents in which British-led Amerindian war parties engaged local militia units, a number of ostensibly unrelated incidents in which Euro~American settlers were attacked occurred throughout the Pennsylvania frontier.

The earliest of the 'Indian' incursions into Bedford County of the Revolutionary War period took place in November 1776. By that time there were no permanent Amerindian residents of the region that was established as Bedford County in 1771. The Shawnee had been pushed to the west, into the Ohio Valley while the Iroquois remained to the north in the Genessee region of the Province of New York.

Edward Bell, writing in his *Memoirs* in 1840, stated: "*I think it was late in the month of November 1776 that the Indians come in to Frankstown Settlement and kill^d a man named Hammon & in Morrisons Cove at the same time the(y) kill^d Ullerey & some others...*"⁵⁹¹

As has been noted elsewhere in this volume, tax assessment returns were usually prepared in the fall or winter of the year preceeding the year-date of the return. So a tax assessment return bearing the date 1776 would have been prepared in the fall or winter of 1775. The actual tax collection would have taken place in the spring of the year. So in this case, if the men by the name of Hammon and Ullerey were killed circa November 1776, they would probably appear on the tax assessment return for the year 1776 but not for 1777 and after. In Bedford County, the return for 1777 is not extant. It likewise is not included in the published *Pennsylvania Archives* so it might be assumed that it was either lost before the majority of the county documents were sent to the archives at Harrisburg ~ or ~ it was never taken, possibly due to the danger with Amerindian raids in that year. The latter situation probably did not exist because even if the tax collector did not physically travel around to collect the taxes, the return itself should have been written out during the prior fall or winter. If the documents intended to be used during the tax collection were not actually used, they would bear the names of the residents, inmates and single freemen who were believed to still be residing in the county's townships ~ those names would simply not be marked off as paid.

No man by the name of Hammon or any variation of it was found in the tax assessment returns to be residing in Frankstown Township, or the region from which it was formed in 1775 (Barree and Bedford Townships) prior to November 1776. Nor was there any man by the surname or any variation of it who obtained a warrant to purchase land in the region. There were two men by the name, but the one, James Hammond, warranted land on the south side of the Youghengeny River in October 1772 and the other, David Hammond,

warranted land in May 1773 at the forks of the Clearfield Creek.⁵⁹² Neither of the tracts would have been located within Frankstown Township, Bedford County. If the man killed by Indians was a squatter who had not warranted the land on which he settled, there is practically no way to determine his actual name.

In regard to the man named 'Ullerey' there was only one man by that surname to appear in the tax assessment returns prior to 1776: Daniel. That man, though, continued to appear in the assessments for years after 1776, suggesting that he was not killed at the end of 1776.

The Morrisons Cove, extending along the west slope of Tussey Mountain from Blair County to Bedford County, fell under the jurisdiction of Bedford Township when it was formed within Cumberland County in 1767. When Frankstown Township was formed in 1775, the Cove fell under its jurisdiction.

It must also be noted that the name 'Ullerey' was often written as 'Woolery' and that is how the name appears in the tax assessment returns for Bedford County in the 1770s. *Danel Wollery* was recorded on the Bedford Township tax assessment return for the year 1774. In 1775, the name of *Daniel Woolery* was recorded on the Bedford Township return. The first return for Frankstown Township was made out in 1775 also, and some of the residents recorded under the new township were also recorded under the old township. For that reason we find *Daniel Wolorey* recorded under Frankstown in addition to the Bedford Township listing. No tax assessment return for any township in Bedford County exists for the year 1777 as noted above. Although certain townships were included in 1778, no return exists for Frankstown Township for that year. The next return for which the residents of Frankstown Township were recorded was 1779. In that year *Daniel Woolery* was recorded. It would appear that Daniel was definitely not the man by the name of Ullerey claimed by Edward Bell as having been killed in November 1776 by the Indians if he was still living in 1779.

Keeping in mind that Bedford County was erected out of Cumberland County on 9 March 1771, if any man having the surname Ullerey, or any variation of it, had taken out a warrant for lands on the frontier, his application for the warrant would appear in the dockets for Cumberland County prior to 9 March 1771 and Bedford County after that date.

A check of the indices for the land warrant applications revealed three warrants within the time frame of 1750 to 1795 in first Cumberland and then Bedford Counties. A warrant was granted to Stephen Ulrick for one hundred acres of land in Frankstown Township on 12 December 1785. One was granted to Samuel Ulrick for two hundred acres in Frankstown Township on the same date as that of Stephen. Then a warrant was granted to John Ulrey for one hundred and sixty-nine acres on 24 July 1795.⁵⁹³

Since no men by any surname similar to Ullerey other than Daniel were recorded on the tax assessment returns or granted land warrants prior to November 1776, we will have no way to determine who it was that Edward Bell claimed to have been killed by Indians.



The year 1777 is often called ‘*the year of the hangman*’. The name comes from a game that was popular in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: *Hangman*. The game was simple. Played between two people, the first would think of a word and the second would guess the word by naming letters in succession. If the letter was to be found in the word, it would be written in the proper place. But if the letter guessed was not to be found in the word, a line of a stick-figure man would be drawn dangling from a gallows pole. The gallows pole was drawn at the numeral ‘7’. Someone noticed that the year, 1777 looked like a row of gallows poles and so it became known as the year of the ‘hangman.’ The coincidental aspect of the year 1777 was that it saw the start of a major offensive thrust by General Washington against the British holding New York and then Philadelphia. It was also a year of increased Amerindian incursions all along the frontiers from New York to Virginia.

. ***Incidents In Westmoreland County
Spring 1777***

Westmoreland County during the 1770s was depopulated by many of its residents having fled to the east side of the Laurel Mountain and even to the east side of the Allegheny Mountain. The number of Amerindian incursions into the county of Westmoreland, though, was perhaps not as great as those made into Bedford or Northumberland Counties. The reason for such an unusual situation might be found in the identification of the Amerindian nations who conducted their raids and their routes into the frontier regions.

It should be noted that many, if not most local historians have clung to the *tradition* that the primary reason for the Amerindian incursions into the Pennsylvania frontier was the displacement of the ‘indigenous’ Amerindian population by the influx of the Euro~Americans.⁵⁹⁴ That influx was made possible by the so-called *sale* of Amerindian lands, and the *tradition* states that during the major treaty negotiations, the Iroquois took the lead in those negotiations and they sold lands that actually were claimed by the Shawnee and the Lenni Lenape (*aka* Delaware). As a result, the Shawnee and Lenni Lenape were angered and felt cheated at the loss of their lands. They (*i.e.* the Shawnee and Lenni Lenape) should have taken their anger out on the Iroquois, but instead took out their anger on the Euro~Americans who benefitted from the treaties. While that traditional story is convincing

at first glance, it is not completely factual. The Amerindian war parties that made incursions into the Pennsylvania frontier were not primarily Shawnee or Lenni Lenape. They were overwhelmingly Iroquois of the Seneca Nation and therefore according to the precepts of the *tradition*, they had no reason to be upset with the Euro~American settlers.

Early historians may not have had access to the records maintained in the Canadian Archives and therefore they may not have been aware of the extent to which the British controlled the actions of the Amerindians. Attributing the many incursions to the fact that the raiding parties were motivated by the influx of Euro~Americans was simple, but unfortunately wrong.

A secondary reason for a difference in the number of incidents between Bedford and Westmoreland Counties may have been the source of the war parties. The war parties that came into Bedford County were primarily, if not totally, Senecas out of the Genessee Valley of New York. They followed the waterways and valleys cutting through and between the mountain ranges comprising the Appalachians. The Senecas that made incursions into Bedford County were goaded on by the British out of Fort Niagara. The war parties that came into Westmoreland County were also primarily the Senecas from the Genessee Valley who followed the West Branch of the Susquehannah and Allegheny Rivers into the valleys west of the Allegheny Front. Some of the raiding parties into Westmoreland County came from the Ohio Valley encouraged by the British out of Fort Detroit.

. ***The Capture Of Andrew McFarlane***
14 February 1777

An incident occurred within the bounds of Westmoreland County in the spring of 1777.⁵⁹⁵ Near the Amerindian stronghold of Kittanning, Andrew McFarlane operated a trading post. McFarlane had been commissioned as a Lieutenant in the Westmoreland County Militia, serving under Captain Samuel Moorhead. McFarlane and a unit of Rangers were assigned to guard supplies at Kittanning, a job he would do while operating his trading post.

In February of 1777, there were only two men besides McFarlane at his trading post. On 14 February, two British subalterns, probably Lieutenants, along with two Iroquois and two Chippewas Amerindians sent out of Fort Niagara appeared on the bank of the Allegheny River opposite to McFarlane's trading post. They called out to McFarlane to bring a canoe across the river to them. Thinking that they simply wanted to trade, McFarlane rowed across the river as his wife and several others watched.

As soon as he reached the opposite shore, Andrew McFarlane was grabbed by the Amerindians and taken captive. He was taken to Quebec and kept there until his brother effected his release. In the autumn of 1780 McFarlane was exchanged and was able to return home. Upon his return, he opened a new trading post on Chartier's Creek in present-day Allegheny County.

. ***The Capture Of Fergus Moorhead***
March 1777

Fergus(un) Moorhead (a great⁶-uncle of the author of this volume) took his wife Elizabeth (Thompson) and three children from their home in Franklin County and moved to a site in Westmoreland County in May 1772.⁵⁹⁶ In so doing the Moorhead family would become the pioneer family in the region that would become Indiana County. The actual location on which the Moorhead family initially homesteaded is where the Borough of Indiana stands today. They later moved farther west to make their permanent home.

On 16 March 1777, Fergus Moorhead and a man by the surname Simpson were returning from a visit to Kittanning where Moorhead's brother, Captain Samuel Moorhead was stationed. They were travelling on the Kittanning Path when they were ambushed by a party of Amerindians. The exact location of the attack was near Blanket Hill in present-day Armstrong County. Simpson was killed in the fray and after the warriors scalped him, they led Moorhead off toward the north. He was taken to Quebec and put into captivity by Sir Guy Johnson at Fort Niagara.

Archibald Lochry wrote to Thomas Wharton, Jr., President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council on 20 May 1777.⁵⁹⁷

On my arrival On the forth of April I found this County [Westmoreland] In a Confused situation. The Alarm of Simpsons Being Kill'd and Moorhead Being Missing Struck such Terror On the Minds of the People that the fruntears Waire Entirely fled Into the Hart of the Settlement and a greate Numbers Over the Mountains. In Order to Put a stop to the Peopels Entirely Evacuating the Cuntery I Ventured to Raise Sixty Men and Stationed them On the frontears Between twolicks and the Mouth of Kiskamentus In fore Divisions under the Command of Two Captains and Two Lieut^s, Which Covered that frunteir so Well that the People are In general Gon Back to their Plantations and fell to their Leabours. I flatter Myself When your Excellency is Enform^d What Bennifit these Raingers Hass Been to this Destres^t fruntier, you Will Not Hesitate One Moment In Allowing them to Be Paid By the State ~ they are Engag'd for two Months if Not sooner Discharg^d By Bregedear Genneral Hands Order and Promised the same Pay and Rations of Continantal Troops. Which if your Excellancy Will Please to Alow the favour Will Be Ecknowledged By the fruntears In general and In Peticular.

For nearly a year (eleven months) Fergus Moorhead was imprisoned at Quebec. He was treated worse by the British than by the Amerindians who had taken him captive, despite the fact that he was forced to run the gauntlet by the warriors.⁵⁹⁸ After Fergus' capture, Elizabeth took the children back to Franklin County where she stayed until his release. Fergus joined

them there upon his return. Then, in 1781, the family once more moved back to the Westmoreland County frontier. Arriving back in the region of present-day Indiana County, Fergus and some other families who had taken up residence in that place built a blockhouse style fortification near Moorhead's cabin. It therefore was named Moorhead's Blockhouse.⁵⁹⁹

. ***The Devereux Smith Letter***
24 March 1777

Arthur St. Clair, Colonel Aeneas Mackay and Devereux Smith were three individuals residing in the county of Westmoreland in the mid to late-1770s who were 'magistrates and agents of the Penns.'⁶⁰⁰ While the inhabitants of the frontier were agitated and panicked by the growing threat of Amerindian incursions, these three and other 'agents of the Penns' went throughout the land urging the people to make a stand. The three mentioned individuals gave personal assurances towards payment to those men who would form into companies of Rangers.

On 24 March 1777, Devereux Smith, a Justice of the Peace and Indian Trader, wrote a letter from Hanna's Town to Colonel John Montgomery and Jasper Yeates, Commissioners for Indian Affairs for the Middle Department.⁶⁰¹ He described the various incidents that had recently taken place in Westmoreland County.

Gentlemen: You have Long since been acquainted of Andrew Macfarlane, Esquire, is being taken Prisoner the 14th of February at Hatharings. From that date to the 17th or 18th of this Instant, Captin Moorhead was under necessity of staying at that Post with a small Party of Milica to Gard the Stors, &c., When he Was relieved by an officer and about 25 Men of the Milica, to whom he Delivered up the Stors, &c.; and was on his return to this Settlement to Recrut, when he found one Simpson killed and Scalpt, a hors shot by him, & Captin Moorhead's Brother Who was in Company with sayed Simpson a missing. Supposed to be taken prisnar. Whas found by the Dead Corps, a War Bullet, a Tommoake & a beevan Pouch containing a Written Speech, a Cobby of it you have inclosed. You have also inclosed a Letter from Colonel Morgan Which was sent to this Place Late Last Night by Express. The above Simpson & Captin Moorhead's Brother Left Kattanning the 16th, whas found the 18th about 10 miles from Thar, near Blankit Hill. Captin Moorhead being obliged to Stay so Long at Kattanning & Luttent Facfarline being Prisnar almost a total stop to the Recriting sarvis of his Company. And the Calling of the Westmoreland Battalon & Milica as left this county very bare of Men and arms, and you both well no the Milica of thi County are not to be Depended on

When at home; therefore from the present appearance of things, if som speedy steps are not taken for ower Relief, Eithar by the Honorable Congree or Gentelmen in authority in ower Government below, This infant Contery Sartinly will fall a victim to British tirants & Mercyless Savages.

. **The Donnelly Massacre**
19 June 1777

Felix Donnelly is believed to have married Charity Maguire. They had two sons. The eldest, Thomas was born circa 1760. The birthdate of the younger son, Francis, is not known.

On 19 June 1777, Felix Donnelly and son, Francis along with Bartholomew Maguire and daughter, Jane were on their way to Fort Standing Stone. At Big Spring, two miles west of Standing Stone, they were attacked. Donnelly and his son were killed, but Maguire and his daughter made their escape to the fort.⁶⁰²

Due to increased Amerindian incursions, the local settlers made their way to Fort Standing Stone for safety. They would remain there for a couple of days while Bedford County Militia Rangers investigated the region for evidence of any continued Amerindian presence. If none was found, the settlers would head back to their own homes.

On the 19th of June, heeding the call that had gone out that there was danger nearby, Felix Donnelly and his son, Francis and Bartholomew Maguire and his daughter, Jane were on their way to the fort from their homes near the mouth of Shaver’s Creek. Jane was at the head of the party on horseback and leading a cow while the men’s horses were laden down with belongings.

At a point near what was known as the Big Spring [possibly referring to Cold Spring in Oneida Township at the present time], the small group was fired upon by Amerindians hiding along the trail. The young boy, Francis Donnelly, was killed instantly and began to fall off the horse he was riding. Felix grabbed the boy’s body as it fell. It is probable that he did so in order that the Amerindians would not be able to gain Francis’ scalp. Mr. Maguire came up alongside to offer what help he could to the father. Just then the Amerindians jumped out from their hiding places. As was their custom, they probably let out bloodcurling yells at the same time that they fired another volley from their muskets. A bullet grazed Maguire on the one ear, but he escaped any additional injury. Donnelly, on the other hand, was hit by a bullet. The father fell to the ground still clutching his dead son’s body.

Some accounts claim that when the bullet grazed his ear, Bartholomew’s body leaned forward, causing the horse to take off, passing his daughter in the process. Jane was startled by the sound of musket fire, but she could not get away quickly. A warrior grabbed Jane’s dress in order to take her captive, pulling her down off the horse. The dress tore and Jane was able to escape his clutches. Jane, in her frightened state, grabbed hold of the cow’s tail. That in turn frightened the cow, and it took off at a run, pulling Jane with it. Whether true or not, the local *tradition* stated that the cow, pulling Jane along behind, stampeded past Bartholomew on his horse.

According to an article that appeared on page seven of the 17 September 1926 issue of the *Huntingdon Daily News*: “*Rushing to the river’s edge and meeting her father who called she grabbed a hold of his leg and the stirrup and was safely carried across the river out of reach of the savages.*”

The second page of the *Daily News* for 8 November 1924 included an article that actually gave more ‘first-person’ information on the incident. The author of the article, David B. Weaver of Saxton, claimed that the particulars ~ even to the extent of providing quotes from the persons involved ~ were given to him by the husband of Jane Maguire’s granddaughter.

According to David Weaver’s article, when Francis Donnelly was shot, he was riding on a woman’s side saddle and he did not fully slide out of the saddle. Instead, his body was caught between the ‘horns’ of the saddle. As Felix rode forward to take the boy from his horse, ‘Grandfather McGuire’ called to him “*for heavens sake, come on or you will be next.*” Felix answered him with “*For God’s sake I can’t leave my boy here to die.*” The article continued:

At this moment the Indians fired the second time killing Felix Donnelly, and the shot fired at McGuire hit his ear and passed through his whiskers. Now McGuire rushed his horse ahead after his daughter Jane. History says he passed his daughter Jane, without seeing her. This would seem unaccountable but in those early days trails frequently separated and after some distance came together again and, very likely, this was the case for this trail for when McGuire came to the river he failed to find his daughter and on looking back over the trail he was horrified to see Jane, a hold of the cow’s tail, coming at a furious rate, with the Indian following with Jane’s petticoat in one hand and the tomahawk in the other hand, trying to strike Jane down.

McGuire waited at the water’s edge until Jane and the cow got to the river. Then calling to his daughter, ‘Jane let go and come here.’ This she did. But time was too precious and he had no time to take her on his horse but Jane seized his leg and stirrup and was trailed through the river by holding onto his leg and stirrup.

By this time the Indian had reached the river and, seeing that he had failed to get Jane’s scalp, shook the petticoat up in the air defiantly, turned on the trail back to the other Indians.

Now in the above version of this massacre, I had from the lips of Mary Dowlin, the eldest daughter of Jane (McGuire) Dowlin and, of course her own mother gave her the facts, as I have stated.

In the meantime, the Amerindians proceeded to scalp Felix and his son, Francis. They were interrupted by some other ‘white’ men who were nearby and heard the yells and musket fire. On their approach, the Amerindians themselves fled into the forest.

A search party was gathered together upon the arrival of the Maguires at Fort Standing Stone, but the band of Amerindians could not be found.

Eventually, Jane Maguire married a man by the name of Richard Dowlin. They homesteaded along the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River in an area that would be taken over by the Raystown Lake. There they gave birth to four children: Mary, Elizabeth, Nancy and William. Elizabeth married David Mountain and it was from their daughter's husband that the 1924 newspaper article came. When she died in 1839, she was buried on the farmstead. Although her husband's death date is not known, it is assumed that he was buried beside Jane. Then when the creation of the lake threatened the property, their bodies were reinterred in the Yocum Cemetery at Hesston.

Before progressing, it might be noted that in 1755 another massacre had taken place in this region. Hans Peter Sheaver, who had settled near the mouth of the stream that would come to bear his name, was found decapitated. His head was never recovered. It also was never proven to have been Amerindians who killed Peter.

. ***The McCleary and Carnahan Massacres***
August 1777

On 24 July 1777, Brigadier General Edward Hand wrote a letter to Thomas Wharton, the President of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council.⁶⁰³ He noted: "*From the inclosed papers your Excy will be able to inform a tolerable idea of the disposition of the Indians...*" General Hand noted that in addition to the particulars noted in the papers, two men had been murdered on the 'Allegeny' River about twenty miles from Fort Pitt.

One of the 'inclosed papers' was from 'Captain John Killbuck' to Colonel Morgan sent from Cuchaghunk on 7 June:⁶⁰⁴

Brother, We know not yet that our Unkles the Wyandots have started from home, six days ago we sent two of our young men to Wandooholes Town to tell them to come here, that we wanted to speak to them; as Capt. White Eyes and Wingeman are gone to you to consult with you, when we hear from you at their ret'n we shall send again to the Wyandots.

Brother, This is to let you know that a party of Wapanaws, Mohickons, and Munsies are gone to strike you, Pluggy's son is the Captain of them, the whole of them is nine men.

Brother, They did not come by our Town, if they had we would have stopped them, but they went past & they intend to call at none of our Towns, but to go on & cross the Kittanning & go on the waters of Turtle Creek, where the people are a living thick and not afraid, so we beg of you that you will let your children know of it.

Captain John Killbuck, more commonly known simply as Killbuck was a famous Delaware (*aka* Lenni Lenape) chief whose Amerindian name was Gelelemend.⁶⁰⁵ He was the Chief Counsellor of the Turkey clan, the Unalachtigo. Upon the death of Captain White Eyes, Gelelemend became the leading sachem of the Delawares in western Pennsylvania. Both White Eyes and Killbuck were friendly to the Americans who came to settle in the frontier. The Munsies, noted in the letter, were the Wolf clan, and the most warlike of the Delaware tribes. They sided with the British during the American Revolutionary War. The reference to the Munsies and others supporting the British crossing the Kittanning (or Great River) and going on to the Turtle Creek region referred to the vicinity of Hanna's Town.

Another of the 'inclosed papers' provided details of the massacre of Thomas McCleary. According to a letter from Captain Samuel Meason, "*Yesterday between the hours of five and six o'clock in the afternoon as a few of Capt. Vanmeter's Comp^y were fishing about half a mile from this fort [Fort Henry] up Wheeling Creek; a certain Thomas McCleary & one Lanimore being some distance from the others, were fired on by a Party of Indians to the Number of 6, 7, or 8 guns... Lanimore and others gave the alarm. I went to the place and found Tracks but difficult to ascertain the number of Indians. McCleary's shoe being found which he wore when he rec'd the wound, we presently found him killed & scalped, he had run about 300 yds, from the Creek.*"⁶⁰⁶

A blockhouse was constructed on lands owned by Adam Carnahan about eleven miles northwest of Hanna's Town, the original county seat of Westmoreland County. The site was near the Amerindian village known as Kiskiminetas Old Town. The Old Town was located on the west bank of the Kiskiminetas River opposite to the present-day borough of Saltzburg.

During August 1777 a group of six or seven men were reaping oats about six miles west of Carnahan's Blockhouse.⁶⁰⁷ One of the reapers took aim at a deer and it took off into the adjoining forest. The man followed the trail of the wounded deer and noticed an Amerindian there along with evidence of others. The man returned to the oat field and warned the others of what he had seen. They all headed to John McKibben's large fortified log house, which was three to four miles away from the Carnahan's Blockhouse, and therefore closer to them. They then sent word to Carnahan's to warn them of the incursion.

A scouting party was sent out the following day and although they found signs of where the Amerindians had been the day before, they failed to discover any at this time. The warriors had not left the area, though. While the settlers were huddling in fear at McKibben's, the Amerindians were plundering their houses.

Robert Taylor and David Carnahan had gone to McKibben's to share information. On their way back the two Westmoreland County settlers discovered a party of fourteen Amerindians making their way apparently toward the Carnahan fortification. Taylor and Carnahan raced to the blockhouse and arrived there just in time to beat the warriors.

To get a better shot at the Amerindian warriors, John Carnahan opened the door. He was instantly shot and had to be dragged back in to get the door shut once again. The fight continued until darkness overtook the region, and the Amerindians decided to leave, taking some of the settlers' horses with them.

. ***The Tull Family Massacre***
Autumn 1777

The township of Napier in Bedford County is noted for one of the more famous local Amerindian massacres of Euro~American families. Known as the Tull's Hill Massacre, the incident took place in the autumn of 1777.⁶⁰⁸ Incursions into the Euro~American settlements by the Amerindians were increasing during that time. When the alarm was given by a neighbor, families would grab up any infants or toddlers and make their way to Fort Bedford. If some local settler had constructed his house or an out-building to serve as a fortified structure, the neighbors might take shelter there. For the families who lived in the vicinity of Tulls Hill, the eight mile distant Fort Bedford was the closest such fortified structure. For whatever reason, in the autumn of 1777 when an alarm went out among the settlers, the Tull family chose to remain at their farm.

There are no contemporary accounts of the massacre that took place on the Tull farmstead; the earliest account comes from the year 1834, nearly sixty years after the fact. The names of the family have long since been forgotten and no man by the surname, Tull, was listed as a resident prior to the massacre. His name does not appear on the tax assessment returns for 1774 to 1776, and no tax assessment return exists for 1777. The first appearance of the name of any 'Resident' by the surname of Tull in Bedford County was in the Ayr Township tax assessment return of 1779. Adam Tull appeared in that return. Three years later Richard Tull appeared in the 1782 tax assessment return for Bedford Township. So it is not possible to know with any certainty what the father's given name was.

The Tull parents are believed to have had ten children: nine daughters and one son. In 1777 the son is claimed to have been away – possibly serving in the American Revolutionary War. A man by the name of Richard Tull, possibly the Richard who would appear in Bedford Township in 1782, had joined the Bedford County Militia in 1775 and was enlisted in Captain Richard Brown's Company of Riflemen. Brown's Company went to Massachusetts to assist other militia companies to relieve the British siege of Boston. When the Continental Line was established, Captain Richard Brown's Company became integrated into the Pennsylvania Regiment of Rifle. At the conclusion of major hostilities with the surrender of the British at Yorktown in 1781, Richard Tull apparently returned to Bedford County, settling in what was then Bedford Township.

In regard to the massacre incident itself, as already noted the Amerindian incursions were increasing and on one particular day in 1777, the actual date now long forgotten, the alarm went out through the countryside that a band of warriors had been sighted nearby. Most of the families fled to the safety of Fort Bedford and after a few days some of them ventured out and back to their farms. One of them was a Mr. Williams. The only man by that surname who resided in Bedford Township, of which Tull's Hill was a part in 1776, was James Williams. Mr. Williams and his son went back to their farmstead about three miles west of Tull's Hill to sow flax seed for the next year's early spring crop. According to the single narrative that exists, Williams and his son were at their farm for about a week and when they were finished with their work they began the journey back to the fort, probably to get the rest of the family to return home. As they approached the Tull farmstead they

became aware of an ominous column of smoke and discovered that it was from the Tull's house that had been burned to the ground and was still smoldering.

Historian Sherman Day gave a description of what happened next: "*Upon a nearer approach, the son saw an object in the garden, which by a slight movement, had attracted his attention, and looking more closely, they found it was the old man just expiring.*"⁶⁰⁹ He continued: "*At the same moment, the son discovered on the ground near him an Indian paint bag. They at once understood the whole matter, and knowing that the Indians were still near, fled to the fort.*" The last sentence provides an important point in the narrative. Initially, one might assume that the Tull family were attacked and massacred at the time that the alarm went through the countryside that the Amerindians were coming into the region, which was a few days previous. But the father must have been fatally attacked only a few hours ~ or even just minutes ~ before Williams and his son came upon him. That would indicate that the two Williams men were very lucky that the Amerindians had passed them up and instead attacked the Tull family. At least that would have been the case if the Amerindians came from the west, passing the Williams farm and falling upon the Tull family farther east. But apparently the Amerindians came down from the north on the Warrior Path from Assunepachla to Maryland, taking the western branch which led toward the Glades. That route would have brought the Amerindians to the Tull farmstead before the Williams farmstead. And so the suggestion that "*the Indians were still near*" was probably very accurate. They might even have been close enough to see the Williams father and son inspecting their recent handiwork.

Mr. Williams and his son reached Fort Bedford later that day and reported the Tulls had been massacred. On the next day a group of men went out to further investigate the situation. The narrative of the incident does not tell us if the group that left Fort Bedford that morning thought that they would be a rescue force – or if they feared that they were just a retrieval force. What they found when they arrived at the Tull farmstead was every member of the family killed and scalped. The mother was found with her infant baby in her arms. The rest of the daughters were found throughout the field surrounding the house, apparently murdered as they fled. Only one of the daughters showed evidence of having been burned prior to being killed. A website commenting on the incident provided the additional detail that the baby exhibited evidence that it had been held by the feet and its head bashed against a fence. The website suggested that that had been done because the Amerindians didn't want to be encumbered with taking the baby with them. That detail does not appear in the earlier narrative, so its veracity is questionable. Sherman Day also suggested that the incident had taken place early in the morning "*when all were in the house, and thus became an easy prey to the savages.*" That suggestion may very well be accurate because many of the massacres of Euro~Americans by Amerindians took place in the early morning. By catching the family in the morning, unprepared for it, the attack would have been easier for the Amerindians. Also, the Amerindians might have started their attack by setting the house on fire, hoping to cause more confusion for the family. The evidence of at least one family member having been burned might be an indication that such was the manner in which the Tull family were attacked.

. *The Earnest Massacre And The Saga Of Indian Eve* ***Autumn 1777***

The massacre of Adam Henry Earnest and the captivity of his wife, Eve was detailed in a small book by Emma A. M. Replogle.⁶¹⁰ Her small book, *Indian Eve and Her Descendants ~ An Indian Story of Bedford County, Pennsylvania* was published in 1911.

Adam Henry Earnest (*variously*, Ernst) was born circa 1740, presumably in the eastern part of the Province of Pennsylvania. His name appeared for the first time in Bedford County in the year 1772 *Adam Arnist* was recorded on the tax assessment return for Bedford Township. In that return Adam was listed as an ‘Inmate’. The category of ‘Inmate’ referred to tax paying renters. They did not have a house built for themselves, so they resided with another family until they could build their own houses. And while they resided with that other family, they would pay their own share of the taxes. Adam appeared again in the 1775 return with his surname being spelled ‘Arnist’. Then in the 1776 return for Bedford Township, Adam was recorded as *Adam Arnst*. On 5 April 1775 Adam purchased a tract of two hundred acres of land from George Funk.⁶¹¹ The tract was in the region known as the ‘Dutch Corner’ since many German and Swiss Euro~Americans had settled there. No return existed for the year 1777, but then in 1778 the name was recorded as *Adam Erniest*, and he was included in the ‘Resident’ category, suggesting that the family house had finally been constructed. The name of *Adam Ernest* was recorded as a Resident in the 1779 Bedford Township tax assessment return. Finally, in the 1781 tax assessment return for Bedford Township, the name of *Adam Earnest* was recorded, but a line was drawn through it to denote that the resident was no longer there.

Adam Henry Earnest was, for many years, believed to have been married to *Eve Imler*. Recent research has corrected that. Adam Ernst married Eva Catharina Hillebartin on 28 November 1757 at the Augustus Lutheran Church in the village of Trappe, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.⁶¹² Eva (later to be known as ‘Eve’) was born in 1740 at York County, Pennsylvania. The couple gave birth to six children: George, Mary, Jacob, Johannas, Henry and Mike according to Mrs. Replogle. But note: It is very doubtful that the baby was referred to as ‘Mike’ by the family. Names such as ‘Mike’ are modern conventions of abbreviating names such as *Michael*, which people in the 1700s seldom did.

No actual record of the attack gives the exact date, and Mrs. Replogle’s narrative simply says “*one autumn morning*”.⁶¹³ On that autumn morning two neighbor men had come to the Earnest farm to help Adam make rails by splitting logs. They were in the Earnest cabin having breakfast when they heard the sound of an owl hooting. It was claimed that one of the men noted that they would probably not get much work done that day because if the owls were hooting, it meant rain was coming. The fact of the matter was that it was not owls hooting that they heard, but rather Amerindians signaling to each other.

In an instant after they heard the sound of the owl hooting, a band of Amerindian warriors burst into the Earnest home. The neighbor men were killed almost instantly. The names of those two neighbors are not known. It is amazing that no other family residing in the Dutch Corner ever reported their men having been massacred on an autumn morning in 1777. In regard to Adam Earnest, Replogle stated that he was killed as he reached for his gun

over the door. The warriors scalped all three men and then turned their attention to Eve and the children.

When the warriors burst through the cabin door, Eve raced up the steps or ladder to the loft where she knew that the older children should still be. With the noise of the ruckus below, the children couldn't be expected to still be asleep. In fact, when the attack began, George, at fifteen years of age, was awake and having his wits about him his first instinct was to grab his own gun and help defend his family. The gun was out of George's reach, near the far window. He climbed out the window that he was closest to and tried to reach in the other window for his gun. One of the warriors saw him engaged thusly and shot at him. The boy had the presence of mind to pretend that he had been hit. He dropped to the ground and ran off. Emma Replogle phrased it as: "*and made his escape in his shirt.*" Perhaps her audience in 1911 understood what she implied by the statement. In the 1770s men and older boys wore nothing but their shirts to sleep. A man's shirt at that time was longer than a shirt today. Their bottom edge would have reached nearly to their knees. When tucked into their breeches, they functioned as shirt and underwear at the same time. So when Replogle pointed out that George made his escape 'in his shirt' she was suggesting that his primary motivation was to escape rather than to worry about being dressed.

Eve roused Mary and Jacob and helped them to crawl out of the window and onto the roof. Mary, called Molly, jumped to the ground and ran to safety through a meadow. Jacob is said to have slid off the roof and hid in a patch of what Mrs. Replogle called 'smart weed'. Another name for smartweed is knotgrass. The plant grows into bushy plants and could very likely serve as a suitable spot in which a small child could hide. The boy later said that when they drew near he could see the whites of their eyes.

Johannas also escaped, but how he did so was not known for certain. A resident of Woodbury, George Kauffman, claimed to be a descendant of one of the men at the Earnest home that morning. His story was that the father, Adam Earnest, upon hearing the sound of the warriors attempting to break into the house had jumped up to block the door from opening. He called for Eve to hand him his axe. Before he could get it in hand, the door was thrust open and the warriors began to pour into the cabin. The man leaped over the warriors and made his escape before they knew what was happening. Although his story was plausible, the detail of the man who made his escape could not have been Adam Henry Earnest, since he is known to have been killed. It is possible, though that it was Johannas.

Seeing her older children safely out of the house, Mrs. Ernst gave the warriors all of her attention. They were busy cutting a coverlet off the family's loom. While the warriors were preoccupied with the taking the weaving off the loom, Eve noticed her husband's and another of the scalps having been dropped onto the floor. She stealthily pushed them behind a chest with her foot. Finally getting the coverlet cut off the loom, the warriors discovered that the scalps had dropped from their belts, so they proceeded to search for them. Eve had hid them well and the warriors could not find them. This they interpreted as an ill omen and feared evil would befall them if they stayed much longer. They ordered Eve to gather her remaining children ~ five year old Henry and two year old Michael ~ and head out from the cabin.

Mrs. Replogle stated that the Amerindians took their captives north along the Warriors Path (probably the one connecting Assunepachla (Frankstown) with the Cumberland Gap)

until they reached the Kittanning Path. Eve and her sons, Henry and Michael were marched to Kittanning and then on to Fort Detroit. Perhaps it was Eve Earnest's experience of being taken to Fort Detroit where she was 'sold' to the British that induced local historians to assume that all captives were taken to Detroit.

Eve Earnest's experiences during the march westward, her captivity at Fort Detroit and her subsequent liberation and trip home were narrated upon her return. She was held captive for nine years. At the beginning of the journey, Eve carried her baby, but of course the child's weight added a burden to her. When she would beg for a rest, a warrior would grab the child by its feet and threaten to strike it against a tree. He didn't complete the action but the threat lingered. Eve was lucky that her captors did not force her or the boys to run the gauntlet. Henry, being five years old, was liked by the warriors so they taught him to shoot a bow and arrow and other things. And Henry liked the attention he received. When the party finally arrived at Fort Detroit, they readily gave Eve and the baby to the British, but they wanted to keep Henry with them. A British officer tricked them into giving up the child by handing them a glass of whiskey with a silver coin in it. While they were dazzled by the shiny coin in the liquor, the boy was grabbed and handed through the fort gate to the mother.

During the time that Eve was kept at Fort Detroit, she worked to pay off a ransom set on her. It was said that she could earn a dollar by scrubbing an officer's floor. She also engaged in sewing while in captivity. Saving what she could, by the time she was released she had saved enough to purchase a pony. She, and possibly the boys from time to time, rode that pony back to Bedford County. They came home by way of Pittsburgh where they paused a short while.

The exact date on which Eve and the boys arrived back at their old home was never recorded. Emma Replogle simply stated that she was held captive for nine years. Taken captive in 1777, that means that she was held until 1786. The British released all their prisoners in 1783 as part of the terms of the Treaty of Paris that officially ended the American Revolutionary War on 3 September 1783. No historian has ever questioned why Eve Earnest remained at Fort Detroit three years after being released. It is possible that she fell in love with one of the British officers and chose not to leave when the end of the War had been declared.

After Eve Earnest arrived back home she was known as '*Indian Eve*', a nickname that spawned folklore that she was an 'Indian' herself. She found out that after she had been taken, the surviving children had taken refuge at Fort Bedford. They retained ownership of the family home apparently. Eve's son, George had married one of Conrad Samels' daughters and Eve became acquainted with him. Eve and Conrad would eventually marry.

. ***The Dunkard Massacre***
November 1777

According to a variety of secondary sources, there were thirty 'Dunkards' killed in one day by raiding Amerindians. The story of this massacre is a powerful one, but the details have been questioned (primarily due to a lack of actual details).

The reader should first be aware of what is meant by the name 'Dunkard.' The Dunkards were a religious denomination who had their roots in the Church of the Brethren.⁶¹⁴ The

Church of the Brethren formed in 1708 with a group of eight Christians under the leadership of Alexander Mack at Schwarzenau, Germany. Initially referring to themselves as ‘New Baptists,’ the members of this Protestant sect who immigrated to the North American colonies became known as ‘German’ Baptists. The name was officially changed to German Baptist Brethren in 1871, but since the denomination believed in immersion as the proper method of baptism, the German word for dunking: *Tunker* was commonly used. From the word *tunker* was derived the names: Dunker and Dunkard.

The large number of Swiss and Germans who moved into the Morrison Cove of Bedford County included many Dunkard families. But such a large massacre surely would be noticed and reported on by someone in the region ~ if not the County Lieutenant, John Piper. Not much is known about the massacre. William P. Schell, an early Bedford County historian was respected for his knowledge, but he was not averse to embellishing his narratives ~ without providing sources of his information. Like so many early historians, Schell expected his readers to accept whatever he stated simply because he stated them. The way that Schell presented this information was to say: “*In 1777 a large number of Dunkards were killed in Morrison's Cove; 30 in one day. They refused to make any resistance, only saying, "God's will be done."*”⁶¹⁵ It is amazing that Schell knew what the Dunkards stated in the face of certain death. It is unfortunate that Schell knew what they said but not who they were. It will be seen in the following that Mr. Schell, in 1907, got his information from U. J. Jones’ 1855 writings. [In fact, Jones gave the German phrase “*Gottes wille sei gethan*”⁶¹⁶, which Schell translated for his readers.] Neither Schell, nor Jones before him noted that there were any survivors to the massacre to reveal what they said at the time. The question must be asked: How does a large population suddenly disappear from the face of the earth but no record of that disappearance actually show up in the tax assessment returns for Frankstown Township, Bedford County? How could thirty people just disappear both from the community and from history without anyone ~ other than two historians ~ apparently giving it a second thought?

A major problem with this account is that it seems to have originated with Uriah J. Jones. He made the statement: “*The Great Cove, now known as Morrison's, commences at Pattonville, in Bedford county, and ends at Williamsburg, on the Juniata ~ bounded by Dunning's and Lock Mountains on the west, and Tussey Mountain on the east.*”⁶¹⁷ But Jones was wrong. The valley that was known in the 1700s as the ‘Great Cove’ was located to the east of Sideling Mountain in present-day Fulton County.

There had been an Amerindian incursion into the valleys (*i.e.* coves) farther to the east in 1755, which Jones might have confused with the Morrison Cove. That earlier incident will be discussed first.

Prior to the year 1755, many Swiss and German settlers began to take up residence in the valley (or cove) lying to the east of Sideling Mountain to the south of McConnellsburg, Fulton County, Pennsylvania. The region was part of the lands purchased in 1754 by Pennsylvania’s General Assembly from the Shawnee and Delaware Amerindian nations in what was known as the Albany Purchase. Five years earlier the authorities at Philadelphia had ordered the removal of all Euro~American settlers in the north end of the Great Cove because the Amerindians had complained of their settlements on lands to the west of the Susquehanna River not yet purchased by treaty. That removal became known as the ‘Burnt Cabins’ incident.⁶¹⁸

The movement of families across the Susquehanna River, into the western regions that had not been formally purchased from the Indians began around 1740. At various times, the provincial authorities of the Colony of Pennsylvania would make an appearance at the settlements to inform the settlers of their trespass and get them to move back across the river. In 1750 the Indians remonstrated to the provincial authorities that there were many families residing in Tuscarora Path Valley, the Valley of Aughwick and the Big (or Great) Cove. Of these, the Big Cove was located within the bounds of what would become Bedford County (*i.e.* in the present-day Fulton County).

A group of sheriffs, under the direction of Richard Peters, the secretary of the province, and Conrad Weiser, an Indian interpreter, set out on 15 May, 1750 to investigate the Indians' claims of the settlements. They were instructed by the provincial authorities to expel all of the settlers. This they did by announcing their mission and convicting the settlers as trespassers on the Amerindian lands. They compelled the settlers to give bonds for the immediate removal of their families and possessions, and to appear at the next term of court. They then proceeded to burn the log cabins to the ground, thereby giving the name of 'the burnt cabins' to both, the incident itself and the region in what is today the northern boundary of Fulton County.

The names of the heads of the families that settled in the Big Cove, and who were evicted from their homesteads in 1750 were: Samuel Brown, James Campbell, William Carrell, William Dickey, Andrew Donaldson, James Downy, John Jamison, Robert Kendell, John MacCollin, Alexander MacConnell, William MacConnell, John MacMean, John Martin, John McClelland, William Millican, Roger Murphy, Hans Patter, William Shepperd, Robert Smith, Charles Stewart, James Wilson and John Wilson.

A Letter from Conegochieg, dated the 3rd ult. mentions, that Peter Shaver, an old Indian Trader, and two other Men, in the Tuscorora Valley, have been killed by the Indians, and their Houses, &c. burnt.

Another Letter from the same Place, dated November 3, says, That the People in the Great Cove are in the greatest Distress imaginable, nothing being to be seen but Houses burning, most of their Cattle shot down, and the Roads full of the unhappy Sufferers, flying with their Children to save their Lives, many of them having nothing to subsist on, no Bed to lie upon, nor hardly any Clothes to defend them from the Cold, being obliged to leave every Thing behind them, or run the Risque of being murder'd by the merciless Savages.

The following is said to be a true List of the People murdered and missing in the Great Cove, viz.

Elizabeth Galloway, Henry Gilson, Robert Pew, William Berryhill, and David M'Clellan, murdered.

Missing, John Martin's Wife and five Children; William Galloway's Wife, two Children, and a young Woman; Charles Stewart and Wife, and two Children; and David M'Clelland's Wife and two Children.

William Fleming and Wife were taken Prisoners, but made their Escape. Fleming saw one Hicks killed and escaped.

Missing from Conegochieg, the Widow Jauden, and a young Woman.

Extract of a Letter from Winchester, November 2, 1750.

Apparently, the Burnt Cabins incident did not deter the Euro-Americans from homesteading in this region. Rather than continue attempting to remove the settlers, the provincial authorities took advantage of the Albany Congress in 1754 to convince the Amerindians to sell them another tract of land. Although the actual purpose of the Albany Congress was to discuss Benjamin Franklin's proposal for the British colonies to function

together as a union, the Pennsylvania delegates saw the opportunity to increase that colony's size. As soon as the Albany Purchase was made known, homesteaders poured into the region

that was increased by Cumberland County's boundary being moved farther west to the Allegheny Mountain.

There was a problem with the transaction though. The Pennsylvania delegates had entreated with the Iroquois Six Nations. The treaty angered the Shawnee, Delaware and Monsey nations who were the actual inhabitants, or at least users of the region. Rather than fight with the Iroquois who had sold the land out from under them, the Shawnee and Delaware chose to take their anger out on the Euro~American settlers.

Reports were received by the provincial authorities in the fall of 1755 that a party of Indians had committed a great massacre of settlers in the Great Cove. On 01 November 1755 a party of about one hundred Shawnees and Delawares swept through the Great Cove. They destroyed twenty-seven homesteads, killed much of the cattle on the farms and murdered or captured forty-seven families. The raid took place in the Great Cove, the Little Cove and the valley of the Great and Little Tonoloway Creeks.

An item was included in the 13 November 1755 issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* announcing the incident and listing the murdered settlers as: William Berryhill, Elizabeth Galloway, Henry Gilson, ~~~~~ Hicks, David McClellan and Robert Pew.

Taken prisoner in the incident were: William Fleming and his wife. Missing were William Gallways' wife, two children and a young woman, John Martin's wife and five children, David McClelland's wife and two children and Charles Stewart's wife and two children. Also missing from the Conococheague region, farther to the east, was the Widow Jauden and a young woman.

U. J. Jones separated the details of the 1755 incident from the supposed 1777 massacre of thirty Dunkards, but he attributed both of them to the Morrison Cove in present-day Blair County.

In regard to the latter event, Jones stated:⁶¹⁹

The first Indian depredations of the Revolution in the Juniata Valley were committed in November, 1777. A large body of Indians ~ not less than thirty ~ armed with British rifles, ammunition, tomahawks, scalping-knives, and all other murderous applicances they were capable of using, came into the settlement with the avowed intention of gathering scalps for His Britannic Majesty's officers at Detroit. Their coming was not unlooked-for, but the settlers were unprepared for them. The constant rumors afloat that a large body of savages, British, and Tories, were coming, struck the people with so much panic that there was no effort made to give any such force as might come a warlike reception, but their energies were concentrated in measures of defence.

The first Indian depredators, or at least the greater portion of them, were seen at a camp-fire by a party of hunters; and if the proper exertions had been made to cut them off, few other outrages would have followed. The supposition is that there were

two parties of about fifteen each, who met at or near Neff's Mill in the Cove . . .

In the text cited above, Uriah J. Jones presented a preamble to a narrative about the massacre of thirty Dunkard settlers in the Morrison Cove. That subsequent narrative linked the sequence of events previously presented by Edward Bell in regard to the incidents involving Hammon and Ullerey with the massacre of the Dunkards. Jones followed the foregoing by stating: “*On their way thither, the one party killed a man named Hammond, who resided along the Juniata, and the other party killed a man named Ullery...*”⁶²⁰ It must be remembered that Mr. Bell’s *Memoirs* stated that: “*I think it was late in the month of November 1776 that the Indians come in to Frankstown Settlement and kill^d a man named Hammon & in Morrisons Cove at the same time the(y) kill^d Ullerey & some others...*”⁶²¹ If we are to give Jones’ narrative any consideration, it must be assumed that the Amerindians spent an entire year engaged in that single incursion, starting in November 1776 and ending in November 1777. Jones was clearly confused, not only by the location of the Great Cove, but by the facts of three massacres that he was attempting to link together. He continued by stating.⁶²²

The alarm was spread among the inhabitants, and they fled to the nearest forts with all dispatch; and on this first expedition they would have had few scalps to grace their belts, had the Dunkards taken the advice of more sagacious people, and fled too; this however they would not do. They would follow but half of Cromwell’s advice: they were willing to put their “trust in God,” but they would not “keep their powder dry.”

U. J. Jones displayed his background as a writer of fiction by waxing poetic in quoting Oliver Cromwell. But as with the information on this incident, he was also wrong about Cromwell’s quote. It hasn’t been proven that Oliver Cromwell ever spoke the quote to which he was attributed. The maxim “Trust in God and keep your powder dry” was attributed to Cromwell, but it first appeared in print in William Blacker’s 1834 poem *Oliver’s Advice* and may have originated with that author.

In the end, although Jones gave us a Cromwellian non-quote, he could not provide even one name of the thirty Dunkards who were supposedly massacred in the Morrison Cove in November 1777. Nor can anyone provide any names of the victims because the incident was never recorded in any manner in the public record.

. ***The Neff Incident***

Two of the Amerindians who went into the Morrison Cove and killed the Dunkards there stopped at a grist mill on their way back to the Kittanning Path. It was noted above that the two parties of fifteen or so warriors met at Neff’s Mill before proceeding farther. The mill of Jacob Knave was located in present-day Blair County in the vicinity of the borough of

Roaring Spring. The spring which gave the town its name was a well known natural water feature that was no doubt visited by the Amerindians passing through the region over many decades. The spring's flow has been estimated at nearly eight million gallons per day; as it rushed forth out of the hillside, it was said to make a sound that could be heard for many miles around. Jacob Neff took advantage of the constant and full flow of water to power his grist mill.

The Neff incident was one of the few encounters between Euro~American settlers and Amerindians in which the settler was not killed or taken captive.

The name of *Jacob Nave* was recorded on the 1775 Frankstown Township tax assessment return as an Inmate, or tax-paying renter. In 1779, the Frankstown Township return included the names of both, Jacob Knave Sr., and Jacob Knave Jr. Although the name 'Neff' did not appear on any tax assessment return, subsequent generations used that variation.

Jacob Neff was a Dunkard, but unlike their generally pacifistic nature, he kept a musket at his mill and was not against using it when necessary for his survival. The two Amerindians who lingered behind while the rest of the party headed north consisted of a young warrior and an older man. Neff had set the wheel in motion when he noticed the two 'lurking' as U. J. Jones stated.⁶²³ He quickly got his gun and aimed it at the two Amerindians. The bullet found its mark in the older man. The younger warrior immediately started toward the mill in the fever of retaliation. Neff ran out the back door and headed up over a hill behind the mill still clutching his now-empty musket. The warrior was carrying a musket too, which he fired in Neff's direction. The shot missed, but the discharge signaled to Neff that the young warrior would need to reload his musket before he could fire it again. So that gave Neff the opportunity to reload his own weapon. As Jones described the situation:

They stood face to face, not forty yards apart, on open ground, where there was no possible chance of concealment. The chances were equal: he that loaded first would be victor in the strife, the other was doomed to certain death.

As both men drew their ramrods to push the ball and powder tight in the barrel, Neff drew his just slightly faster than the warrior. So Neff succeeded in getting his musket ready to fire before the Amerindian. As Jacob Neff aimed his musket at the young warrior, the latter, realizing his predicament, began to jump around in an effort to confuse Neff's aim. He paused just long enough for Neff to fire. The bullet tore through the young warrior's head.

Jacob Neff did not stay long at the mill. He possibly assumed that other warriors might have heard the musket fire and would come to see what was happening. Jones did not explain why Neff would make such an assumption. Settlers probably shot deer, rabbits and other game all the time, so a musket shot heard a mile away would be nothing out of the ordinary. Nor did Jones state that Jacob Neff was aware that the two Amerindians were part of a larger band of warriors. Jones started his narrative out by saying: "*He had gone to his mill in the morning without any knowledge of Indians being in the neighborhood...*"

In any case, the narrative continued that Neff left for the nearest settlement, sounded the alarm and escorted a group back to his mill. They found it burned to the ground, or as Jones described it: "*a heap of smouldering cinders and ashes...*" Such a statement suggests that it

was quite a while till Neff made his way to the ‘nearest settlement’ and back. It would take hours for a large mill structure to burn to ashes. In 1777, the nearest settlement to the Neff mill would have been the Morrison Cove, but if that is where he headed, Neff would not have been able to rouse a group of men to accompany him back to the mill. The next nearest settlement would have been Frankstown, nearly ten miles distant to the north. The trek to Frankstown and back would have taken the greater part of a day to complete. That could explain why the mill structure was completely destroyed by the time Neff returned to it.

The thing that isn’t so easily explained by the suggestion that Neff traveled to the Frankstown settlement is the fact that Neff would have needed to travel over the same path that the Amerindian party would also need to travel if they were headed toward his mill. They should have met. The only path from the site of Neff’s mill where the present-day borough of Roaring Spring stands to the Kittanning Path, the warriors’ supposed route, was through the McKee Gap connecting onto the Warrior Path between Frankstown and Cresaptown.

When Jacob Neff and the group he assembled arrived at the site of his mill, they didn’t find any bodies. The suggestion presented by U. J. Jones is that the Amerindians set fire to the mill, retrieved the bodies of their fallen comrades and then headed off again on their way northward.

. ***Incidents On The Blacklick Creek And The
Conemaugh River ~ Autumn 1777***

Blacklick Creek flows through Indiana County, Pennsylvania. As a tributary of the Conemaugh River, it forms from the merging of the North Branch and the South Branch.

During the autumn of 1777, a number of murders were committed by Amerindian war parties in the valley drained by the Blacklick Creek. A number of Euro~American settlers were also taken captive.

Lieutenant Samuel Craig, who resided near the town of New Alexandria, was riding to Ligonier on 1 November 1777.⁶²⁴ He was heading there to obtain salt. Along the western slope of Chestnut Ridge, Craig was ambushed. According to Sipe, his fate was never known: he was either killed or taken captive. Rangers found his horse lying dead near the trail. She had eight bullets in her body. If Craig had been killed, there would have been no reason for the Amerindians to take his body with them. Sipe stated that no trace of the soldier was ever found, so he was no doubt taken captive and traveled from the scene of the ambush under his own power. They would have scalped him and taken just the scalp to prove they had killed him. Taking a dead body with them would have been a needless expenditure of energy and time for the Amerindians.

C. Hale Sipe also provided a narrative about an attack on Fort Wallace.⁶²⁵ Fort Wallace was built circa 1774 on the farmstead of Richard Wallace, located about a mile south of the present-day borough of Blairsville, in Indiana County. In the 1770s, Wallace’s farm was situated between Forbes Road and the Conemaugh River. Sipe stated that the attack on Wallace’s Fort had been made by “*a band of Senecas led by a Canadian*”. Apparently their leader ~ the unnamed Canadian ~ was killed and the attack ended with the Amerindians being repulsed. At the same time, a neighbor, Major James Wilson heard gunfire and

grabbed his own musket to investigate. He found a neighbor of his lying dead at his cabin. The neighbor's head had been cut from the body. Whether the killing of Wilson's neighbor and the attack on Fort Wallace were connected is not made clear in Sipe's narrative.

On 2 November 1777, a man by the name of William Richardson was killed and scalped within three miles of Fort Ligonier. Close by, two men were killed and a woman was taken captive.

On 4 November 1777, Westmoreland County Lieutenant, Archibald Lochrey wrote a letter to Thomas Wharton, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council:⁶²⁶

Honored Sir, The Distressed situation of our Cuntery is such, that we have no Prospect But Disolation and Distruction, the whole county On the North side of the Rode from the Alegany Mountains to the River is all Kept Close in forts; and can get no subsistence from their Plantations: they have made application us requesting to be put under Pay and Receive Rations, and as we could see no other way to keep the People from flying and Leeting the Cuntery be evacquaited we were Oblidged to adpt them measures (Requesting your Excellancy to give the necessary orders to enable us to put them in Execution if these very Measures Is Not adopted I see no other Method that can secure the People from giving up the Cuntery, there People while they support these fruntear Posts are certainly serving the publick) & Certainly cannot Continue Long so to do unless supported by the Publick. Lieu' Col. Charles Campble and fore other Persons is maide Prisoners on the waters of Blackleigs Creek, fore other men kill'd and scalped near the same pleace one man kill'd near Wallaces fort on Cunnomoch, Eleven other Persons Kill'd and Scalped at Palmers fort, Near Logonear amongst which is Ensign Woods at the Pleace where Col. Campble was maid Prisoner fore raskely Proclamations was Left by the Savages from the Governor of Detroit Requesting all Persons to come to him, or any other of the Garrisons occupied by His Majesties Troops and they should Receive Pay & Lodgings as they rank with us, every Private Person for encouragement to have 200 Acres of Land. In short there is very few Days there is not some murder committed on some part of our fruntears (if your Excellancy would Please to adopt our measures and give the necessary orders for Putting them into Execution: I Hoop with Divine assistance we shall be able to Hold the Cuntery till we are Enabled by the more Effectual Measures that Is Carring an Expedition In their Cuntery) we have likewise Ventured to erect to Stockaide forts at Logonear & Hannahs Town at the Public expense with a Store House in each to secure Both Publick and Provate Property in,

and Be a place of Retreat for the Suffering fruntears In case of needessity which I flatter myself will meet with your Excellancys approbation, and Beigs Leave to subscribe Myself.

One of the ‘raskely Proclamations’ alluded to was issued out of Detroit on 24 June 1777 by Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. Hamilton, the commandant at Fort Detroit, and serving under Quebec Governor Frederick Haldimand, was known as the *Hair Buyer* due to his policy of offering a payment in specie for Indian scalps brought in to Fort Detroit. The *Offers of Protection by Proclamation of Gov. of Detroit, 1777* stated:⁶²⁷

By virtue of the power and authority to me given by his Excellency S^r Guy Carton, Knight of the Bath, Governor of the province of Quebec, General and Commander in chief, &c, &c, &c.

I assure all such as are inclined to withdraw themselves from the Tyranny and oppression of the rebel committees and take refuge in this Settlement or any of the posts commanded by his Majesty’s Officers shall by humanely treated, shall be lodged and victualled, and such as are off. In arms and shall use them in defence of his majesty against rebels and Traitors till the extinction of this rebellion, shall receive pay adequate to their former stations in the rebel service, and all common men who shall serve during that period, shall receive his majesty’s bounty of two hundred Acres of Land.

The letter noted “*Lieu^t Col. Charles Campble and fore other Persons is maide Prisoners on the waters of Blackleigs Creek*”.

[*Note: Despite the spelling, suggesting ‘Black Legs’ Creek, the writer might have meant to write ‘Blacklick’ Creek. The Blacklegs Creek flows north of the borough of Saltzburg and empties into the Kiskiminetas River. The Blacklick Creek flows about ten miles southeast of Saltzburg, and empties into the Conemaugh River. The author of *Old Westmoreland*, Edgar W. Hassler believed that the incidents described happened closer to the Blacklick Creek.*]

Charles Campbell, John Gibson, Gibson’s brother and a man named Dixon accompanied Randall Laughlin from Fort Wallace to his farm on the Blacklick Creek on 25 September to retrieve a couple horses.⁶²⁸ The horses had escaped the pasture fence and apparently returned to their own pasture as horses tend to do. Laughlin and the other four men headed to the Laughlin farmstead and found the horses had indeed made their way back to the farm. The men arrived at Laughlin’s and decided to prepare a meal before starting back to the fort. While engaged in getting something to eat, the five settlers were attacked by Amerindians, believed to be Wyandots. The narrative given in the book, *Frontier Forts* stated that the Amerindians were accompanied by a ‘Frenchman.’ The veracity of such a strange statement cannot be known at this time removed, but it seems rather odd in light of the French being allies of the American rebels and traditional enemies of the British.

The leader of the Amerindian party warned the settlers that if they resisted they would be burned up in the cabin. The five men were promised to be spared death if they allowed themselves to be taken prisoner. Knowing that they could not escape either death or captivity, the settlers chose the latter. The warriors led their captives to Quebec.

The narrative in the *Frontier Forts* stated that the captives “were then taken through the wilderness to Detroit, thence to Montreal, thence to Quebec.” The author of the article on Wallace’s Fort stated it as: “They were taken to Detroit by way of Sandusky and thence to Montreal thence to Quebec.”⁶²⁹ The traditional ‘fact’ that captives were all taken to Fort Detroit may be in error, though. The Wyandot, variously known as the Huron, were an Iroquoian-speaking tribe from the region lying between Lakes Ontario and Huron and north of Fort Detroit. They were not specifically one of the Six Nations that comprised the Iroquois Confederacy. They aligned themselves with the British, and they would naturally have taken their captives toward their homeland, so that would have been, as noted, through Sandusky to Fort Detroit. The part of the narrative that simply does not make sense is the disposition of the captives after being taken to Fort Detroit. There would have been no reason to transport the captives to Montreal / Quebec.

Captives were retained at Detroit and there is no evidence that prisoners were transferred from one site to another simply as a matter of course. High ranking officers, though, were often transferred when in the process of being exchanged for captive British officers. Of the five men taken at Blacklick Creek in September 1777, only Charles Campbell was an officer. In fact, Campbell was a Colonel in the Westmoreland County Militia and also served as a Sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County at the time of his capture.

According to the narrative given in *Frontier Forts*, Charles Campbell kept a journal of his captivity. He claimed to have been taken on 25 September 1777 and that by 14 September 1778 he came in sight of Cape Ann (Massachusetts) and arrived at Boston that same night. Campbell made his way from Boston to Pennsylvania and got home in about six weeks. If he had been an actual prisoner of the British at Quebec, his arrival in Pennsylvania by way of Boston would have been fantastical to say the least. According to C. Hale Sipe, who repeated the narrative in his book *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, Campbell, Laughlin, Dixon and the Gibson brothers were held in captivity until being released in 1788.⁶³⁰

Of the rest of the atrocities noted in Lochrey’s letter: the four men killed along the Blacklick Creek, the one man killed near Wallace’s Fort and the eleven killed at Palmer’s Fort, that is about all that is known. Most of their names have been lost to history.

C. Hale Sipe attempted to identify the incidents described in Lochrey’s letter.⁶³¹ In the summer and autumn of 1777, settlers in the southern part of present-day Indiana County, then Armstrong Township, Westmoreland County, forted at Palmer’s Fort across the Conemaugh River in Fairfield Township. A man by the name of George Findley left the fort with an apprentice boy. They returned to Findley’s farmstead near the present-day town of Cramer to care for the livestock. The two were attacked by Amerindians and although the boy was killed and scalped and Findley was wounded, he was able to make his escape. He gained the safety of Palmers’s Fort. A few days later, a party of settlers went to the scene of the attack, found the boy’s body and buried it.

A family by the surname Campbell, though not of Colonel Charles Campbell's relation, lived in the vicinity of the present-day Cook Township, Westmoreland County. The family consisted of the parents, three sons: Robert, William and Thomas, three daughters: Polly, Isabella and Sarah, and an infant. One day in July 1777 while the father was away, the three boys were working in the field. A party of Senecas attacked the boys and took all three captive. They then went to the Campbell house and killed and scalped the mother and her baby. The girls were also taken captive and the party began their trek northward. Only a mile from their home the youngest girl, having difficulty riding on the horse on which she had been put, was killed. The Iroquois had no compunction about killing any captive who might slow them down. The five remaining siblings were taken to British-held New York City. The two girls were released in 1781. Robert escaped from captivity in 1782 and William was exchanged at the end of the War. They both returned to their home in Westmoreland County. Thomas never returned home; whether he died while a prisoner is not known.

The eleven "*other Persons Kill'd and Scalped at Palmers fort*" were described by Sipe as having been the victims of a raid by the Seneca sachem, Guyasuta. Palmer's Fort was located along the Conemaugh River's south bank between the Laurel Hill and Chestnut Ridge. From the attack made in October 1777 the only name of the victims that we have is that of Ensign Woods.

Mr. Sipe noted that the vicinity of Palmer's Fort was also the site of the murder of two children and two others being scalped. He did not state whether the two children who were scalped were alive when the deed was done. It would seem that they were still alive otherwise Sipe would have stated that there were four children killed and two of them scalped. Sipe apparently obtained his information from Volume II of the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*. In that volume, a journal believed to have been maintained by Robert Galbraith while he was at Fort Ligonier stated: "*Octr 22nd, About five O'clock P.M., news was brot that about two hours before the Indians had kill'd two Children & scalp'd them, two more they scalp'd alive within 200 yards of Palmer's Fort.*"⁶³²

The narrative as presented by C. Hale Sipe also noted that at about the same time, the autumn of 1777, three men were killed and an undisclosed number of others taken captive a few miles from Ligonier.

. ***Thomas Smith and George Woods***
Letter of 27 November 1777

Although presented previously, in the section *Prior to 1780: The Indian Incursions*, the letter sent by Thomas Smith and George Woods to the Pennsylvania General Assembly might be reviewed again at this point.

In the fall of 1777, contemporary with the previously noted Amerindian incursions and massacres, Thomas Smith and George Woods sent a letter to Thomas Wharton Jr., President of the Pennsylvania General Assembly.⁶³³ Smith and Woods were members of the Bedford County Committee of Correspondence. On 27 November 1777, the letter that Thomas Smith and George Woods sent to President Wharton stated that the situation in Bedford County was "*truly deplorable*" due to the 'Indian War' that was raging on the frontier.

The present situation of this County is so truly deplorable that we should be inexcusable if we delayed a moment in acquainting you with it, an Indian War is now raging around us in its utmost fury. Before you went down they had killed one man at Stony Creek, since that time they have killed five on the Mountain, over against the heads of Dunning's Creek, killed or take three at the three springs, wounded one and kill'd some Children by Frankstown, and had they not providentially been discovered in the Night, & a party went out and fired on them, they would, in all probability, have destroyed a great part of that settlement in a few hours. A small party went out into Morrison's Cove scouting, and unfortunately divided, the Indians discovered one division and out of eight killed seven & wounded the other. In short, a day hardly passes without our hearing of some new murder, and if the People continue only a week longer to fly as they have done for a week Past, Cumberland County will be a frontier. From Morrison's, Croyls' & Friend's Coves, Dunning's Creek & one half of the Glades they are fled or forted, and for all the defence that can be made here the Indians may do almost what they please. We keep out ranging parties, in which we go out by turns; but all that we can do that way is but weak and ineffectual for our defence, because one half of the People are fled, those that remain are too busily employed in putting their families and the little of their effects that they can save and take into some place of safety, so that the whole burden falls upon a few of the Frontier Inhabitants. For those who are at a distance from danger have not as yet offered us any assistance, we are far part of a larger from blaming the officers of the Militia because they have not ordered them out, for if they had they really can be of little or no service, not only for the forgoing reasons, but also for these, not one Man in ten of them is armed, if they were armed your are sensible and take the country through there is not one fourth Man that is fit to go against Indians, and it might often happen that in a whole Class there might not be a single Person who is acquainted with the Indians ways or the woods, and if there should be a few good Men, and the rest unfit for that service, those who are fit to take the Indians in their own way could not act with the same resolution and spirit as if they were sure of being properly supported by men like themselves. The Consequence would be that the Indians, after gaining an advantage over them, would become much more daring and fearless, and drive all before them. A small number of select Men

would be of more real service to guard the frontiers than six times that number of People unused to arms or the woods. It is not for us to dictate what steps ought to be taken, but some steps ought to be taken without the loss of an hour. The safety of your country, of your families, of your Property, will, we are convinced, urge you to do every thing in your Power to put the Frontiers in some state of defence. Suppose there were orders given to raise about 100 Rangers, under the Command of spirited officers, who were well acquainted with the woods and the Indians and could take them in their own way. They could be raised instantly, and we are informed there are a great number of Rifles lying in Carlisle, useless, altho' all the back Country is suffering for the want of arms. It was a fatal step that was taken last winter in leaving so many guns when the Militia came from Camp, about this place especially, and all the country near it, they are remarkably distressed for the want of Guns, for when the Men were raised for the army you know we procured every Gun that we could for their use, the country reflect hard on us now for our assiduity on those occasions, as it now deprives them of the means of defence. But this is not the only instance in which we bear reflections which are not deserved. The safety of our country then loudly called on us to send all the arms to the Camp that could be procured, and it now as loudly calls on us to entreat that we may be allowed some as soon as possible. As also some ammunition, as that which was intrusted to our care is now almost delivered out to the officers who are fortifying, and what remains of it is not fit for rifles. We need not repeat our entreaties that whatever is done may be done as soon as possible, as a day's delay may be the destruction of hundreds.

We are in haste, Gentlemen, your most obedient, humble servants, GEORGE WOODS, THOMAS SMITH.

Despite the fact that the letter was primarily one of the Bedford County Committee of Correspondence pleading for men, rifles and ammunition, it provides information on the state of the raging 'Indian War' and its most recent victims.

In the foregoing letter, the name 'Stony Creek' referred to a major tributary of the Conemaugh River draining the northern part of present-day Somerset County.

The statement that five Euro~Americans had been killed 'on the Mountain, over against the heads of Dunning's Creek' would refer to the Allegheny Front. The 'heads of Dunning's Creek' would refer to Rocklick, Barefoot, Bobs, Wallacks and Georges Creeks in the present-day Bedford County townships of West St. Clair, Pavia and Lincoln. Those five creeks flow eastward off of the Allegheny Front in the northwest corner of present-day Bedford County and converge to form Dunning's Creek. That waterway, in turn flows

southeastward to eventually empty into the Raystown Branch of the Juniata River at the Narrows east of Bedford Borough.

The name ‘Frankstown’ referred to the vast township named for Frank Stephens’ trading post in present-day Blair County. In the year 1775, when Frankstown Township was formed out of the northern third of Bedford Township and the western half of Barre Township, it encompassed the region of the whole of present-day Blair County along with a portion of present-day Bedford County. In this letter, the reference might more precisely have meant in the vicinity of the village that grew up around the trading post. Stephen’s trading post was located to the east of the present-day county seat of Hollidaysburg.

The name ‘Morrison’s Cove’ referred to the valley lying between Dunning and Tussey Mountains in the east side of present-day Blair County and extending southward into Bedford County. The name ‘*Croyl’s Cove*’ referred to present-day Snake Spring Valley in Bedford County directly south of Morrison’s Cove. ‘*Friend’s Cove*’ referred to the valley between Evitts and Tussey Mountains in the southeastern corner of present-day Bedford County.

The ‘three springs’ referred to the region of present-day South Woodbury Township in Bedford County, just to the northwest of the Loysburg Gap.

And finally, the name ‘*the Glades*’ referred to the southern part of present-day Somerset County.

Now, not only are the statistics of the victimized settlers of interest in this letter. Of special interest is the statement that of the two divisions of Bedford County Rangers (in the letter called ‘*a small party*’ that went “*out into Morrison’s Cove scouting*’) the one, consisting of eight men, fell prey to the Amerindians and all but one of the men were killed, and the eighth man was wounded. It is unfortunate that the names of the Rangers who were killed in that engagement and where they engaged with the Amerindians in the Morrison Cove were not stated and no longer remembered.

. ***The Death Of Samuel Adams
December 1777***

There were no fortifications of note within the region lying between the Allegheny Mountain to the east and the Laurel Mountain to the west during the American Revolutionary War. That region which would, in 1795, be erected as Somerset County, was part of Bedford County during the War. The northern half would be removed in 1804 to form Cambria County. Conemaugh, on the site of the present-day city of Johnstown, was an Amerindian village situated on the Amerindian trail that would come to be named the Kittanning Path. Conemaugh was located within the bounds of Quemahoning Township, formed out of Brothers Valley Township in Bedford County in 1775. The families that settled in that vicinity would travel along a section of the Kittanning Path across the Allegheny Mountain nearly fifty miles to take shelter in Fort Bedford if necessary. Euro-American settlers fleeing danger might also take shelter at Fort Fetter if they went by other paths across the Allegheny.

In December of 1777, it was to Fort Bedford that a group of settlers from Conemaugh travelled.⁶³⁴ Samuel Adams, a man by the name of Bridges and one by the name of Thornton

led the party of refugees. The man named Bridges was probably John Bridges, a resident of Quemahoning Township in 1776. An essay produced for the Historical and Genealogical Society of Somerset County was published as a book by the author Kenneth W. Davis. Despite having most of his information footnoted, Davis gave the names of the party as Samuel, Solomon and Rachel Adams, John Bridges and Thomas Cheny and the man known only by his surname: Thornton, but did not note where he got them.⁶³⁵ Samuel Adams, Thomas Cheny and John Bridges were all noted as Residents of Quemahoning Township in 1776. How long they spent at Fort Bedford is not known, but after a certain time they believed the threat of Amerindian attack to have lessened and resolved to head back to their homes to retrieve some of their property.

The party accomplished their mission without incident and were beginning their return trip to Fort Bedford and their families. One of the men's dogs turned and headed back to the settlement. Bridges and Thornton told the others to remain where they were, and they would return shortly after they caught the dog. They went a short distance when all of a sudden from the sides of the trail a body of Amerindians emerged and grabbed hold of them to take them.

The other men guessed that something had befallen their two comrades and they headed back to find them. Reaching the spot where Bridges and Thornton had been taken captive, the body was fired upon by the Amerindian warriors. Although none were hit in that initial volley, they scattered and fled. Only Samuel Adams took cover behind a tree and returned fire upon the warriors. He fired his musket simultaneously as one of the warriors. The bullets struck their targets and both men fell dead on the spot.

In 1781 the name of John Bridges was recorded on the tax assessment return for Bedford Township. If that man was the same John Bridges who had been taken captive in December 1777, upon gaining his freedom from captivity, he might have decided to live closer to Fort Bedford rather than in Quemahoning Township.

• • • • • ***The Wells Incident***
Fall / Winter 1777

James Wells resided in Quemahoning Township, Bedford County in the 1770s. His name was recorded as a resident on the 1779 tax assessment return for Quemahoning Township. James was the only man by the surname of Wells to reside there. Sherman Day related an incident that happened to a man named Wells in the vicinity of Conemaugh and about the same time as the murder of Samuel Adams: December 1777.⁶³⁶

Although Wells was not killed, he came very close to it. Having taken refuge at Fort Bedford at some time prior to the fall, by that time he desired to go back to his farm to gather in the crops. Six or seven men and as Sherman Day called her 'an Irish servant girl to cook' accompanied Wells over to the Conemaugh settlement. They also took an old plough horse along with them. The return home and harvesting of the crops went along well without incident. Eventually they achieved their purpose and resolved to go back to Fort Bedford the following day.

During the night, Wells experienced two successive dreams that seemed like omens. The first dream was that his family was attacked by a bull that gored them to death. The second

dream found him ready to shoot a deer. When he cocked his musket, the mainspring broke. When he got awake he immediately grabbed his gun to check it. As he cocked it, the spring broke, convincing him that his dreams had been prophetic.

Wells roused the rest of the men and the young girl. She was put on a horse and sent from the house at once and the men gathered their things to leave as soon as possible also. Similar to the Adams, Bridges and Thornton incident, a dog that Wells had along with him took off, heading back to the farmstead. As Wells chased after him, five Amerindians emerged from the bushes lining the path. Their approach startled Wells and he began to run in the direction of his companions (who had by that time hid themselves along the path). The narrative presented by Day stated that the Amerindians all fired their muskets at him, but despite being hit by numerous bullets, he was not seriously harmed.

Wells continued his flight, followed by the Amerindian warriors, and he even overtook the young girl on horseback. Despite the absurdity of doing so, Day stated that “*She quickly understood his danger and dismounted instantly, urging him to take her place, while she would save herself by concealment.*”⁶³⁷ How Wells and the girl found the time to have this exchange ~ with the Amerindians hot on his trail ~ is anyone’s guess. Also, if Wells and the girl had enough time to discuss the need to trade places, then to actually trade places ~ for the girl to dismount and Wells to mount the horse ~ and for the girl to successfully conceal herself in the underbrush, why didn’t Wells have enough time to simply hide himself?

In the end, the Amerindian warriors again caught up with Wells and fired at him. One of the musket balls went through his hip and lodged in his groin. It did not kill him, but he suffered for months thereafter according to the narrative. He was still recorded as a resident on the 1782 Quemahoning Township tax assessment return.



. ***The Pennsylvania Frontier in 1778***

A popular idiom (*i.e.* a group of words with a meaning that is not deducible from the meanings of the individual words) is ‘*get a rise out of.*’ The phrase is used to describe one group doing something that will cause another group to react ~ usually in an excitable way. Young people will wear clothes that will annoy older people just ‘*to get a rise out of them.*’ Young boys will ‘*get a rise out of*’ young girls by pulling on the girls’ hair. In many cases, the individual Amerindian attacks on Euro~American settlers during the American Revolutionary War were made simply to get a rise out of the local militia. They wanted the militia to leave the relative safety of a fort to scout for them so that they could ambush and kill large numbers of those militia.

There were essentially no Amerindians residing within the bounds of Bedford County by the mid-1770s. But many local history buffs, in order to emphasize the historical Amerindian presence in Bedford County, cite the number of physical features and locations bearing Amerindian names or anglicized names associated with Amerindians, such as the Allegheny Mountain, the Juniata River, Shawnee Cabins, and Tuckahoe Valley and the wealth of Amerindian artifacts found at archaeological sites in the region. They are not incorrect, but they are not entirely accurate in the point they try to make. The Amerindians from whom the names and artifacts were obtained had been inhabitants of this region from a couple hundred to a couple thousand years ago ~ not from the 1730s to the 1770s.

Although there were some Amerindian villages scattered throughout this region shortly before the arrival of the Euro~Americans, by the time that those Euro~Americans did arrive and began to make settlements (*i.e.* the 1730s through the 1770s) none of the villages were still inhabited with the exception of a couple located to the west along the Allegheny River. As will be seen in the following, the village of Kittanning was one of those still inhabited into the 1770s. The Shawnee and Delaware Amerindians who had once inhabited the hills and valleys of Bedford County had moved farther west into the Ohio Valley by the time of Pontiac’s Rebellion in the 1760s. Only a few notable individuals remained in the region, such as Logan who resided in present-day Blair County in the valley that bears his name. Most, if not all accounts involving Amerindians after 1765 refer to them coming across the Allegheny Mountain, or southward through Tuckahoe and Logan Valley. The majority of the

Amerindians who came into the frontier of Pennsylvania after that time did not reside here, and that might have been what made their incursions so shocking to the recently arrived Euro~American settlers.

The situation in the frontier regions of Pennsylvania as the year 1778 began was similar to the previous year. And as has been the case so often, the number of men available along with the amount of arms and ammunition was sorely lacking. On 20 January 1778, Colonel John Piper wrote to President Wharton:⁶³⁸

I would Beg Leave to Enform, that on my Return from Councill the Distressing Situation of our fronteers oblidge me to Call upon the Sub l^t to Consult upon measures to prevent our fronteers from Being Entirely Evacuated, when we wire oblidge to Adopt the following measures, viz: to Give orders to Raise 30 men for the defence of the Settelmt called the Gleads, 40 men for the Senter division, Encluding Bedford, thirty men for Frankstown, and the same number for Sinking Valley, and thirty men to Guard the Inhabitants of Harts Log Settelmt and Shavers Creek; the urgent Call for these men, and the Exorbitant Prices of all articles, Lay^d us under the necessity of augmenting their Pays to five Ponds Pr month, the men to Be engag'd for the space of nine months, unless sooner dischargd. These People Have Repeatedly applyd to me, praying their Situation to Be Layd Before Councill, and Assureing Councill of their determinations to make a Stand ~ if they meet with this necessary Assistance, they Likewise Pray that a Suitable Person may be Apointed to Lay a Small Store of Provision at each Post to Suply Scouting Party, or other troops who may be Employd as Guards. If these measures are aproven by Councill the People will Stand, and if Rejected, I have the Greatest Reason to Believe, that upon the first alarm from Indians A great Part of our County will Be Left desolate. These measures we Have Adopted is by no means to be understood as acting against Authority, But in Compliance with the order of Councill, of the 9th of December, and the Situation of our County Renders it impossible to Call the People out in Classes; these Considerations I Beg Leave to Lay Before Councill, and Refar to Col. Davis for further Enformation.

. **The Tory Expedition To Kittanning**

Although not an incursion or act of depredation in and of itself, the Tory Expedition to Kittanning was an attempt by local residents to goad Amerindians to attack their neighbors. Unlike Loyalists who remained loyal to Great Britain and refused to swear oaths of

allegiance to the rebellious colonial governments, Tories undertook guerilla tactics of fighting and made attempts to bring harm or death to their 'rebel' neighbors.

*An ACT declaring what shall be treason, and what other crimes and practices against the state shall be misprision of treason.*⁶³⁹

WHEREAS it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of every state, to prevent, as much as possible, all treasonable and dangerous practices that may be carried on by the internal enemies thereof, and to provide punishments in some degree adequate thereto in order to deter all persons from the perpetration of such horrid and dangerous crimes: Therefore,

II. Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, That all and every person and persons (except prisoners of war) now inhabiting, residing, or sojourning within the limits of the state of Pennsylvania, or that shall voluntarily come into the same hereafter to inhabit, reside, or sojourn, do owe, and shall pay allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania.

III. And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, belonging to or residing within this state, and under the protection of its laws, shall take a commission or commissions from the King of Great Britain, or any under his authority, or other the enemies of this state, or the United States of America; or who shall levy war against the state, or government thereof; or knowingly and willingly shall aid or assist any enemies at open war against this state, or the United States of America, by joining their armies, or by enlisting, or procuring or persuading others to enlist for that purpose, or by furnishing such enemies with arms or ammunition, provision, or any other article or articles, for their aid or comfort; or by carrying on a traitorous correspondence with them; or shall form, or be anywise concerned in forming, any combination, plot or conspiracy, for betraying this state, or the United States of America, into the hands or power of any foreign enemy; or shall give or send any intelligence to the enemies of this state for that purpose; every person so offending, and being thereof legally convicted, by the evidence of two sufficient witnesses, in any Court of Oyer and Terminer, shall be adjudged guilty of high treason, and shall suffer death; and his or her estate shall be, and is hereby declared to be, forfeited to the commonwealth, except such parts thereof as the Judges of the Court, wherein such conviction may be, shall order and appropriate to the support of such traitor's children, or wife and children (if any) as to them may appear sufficient, until the same shall be otherwise regulated by

act of General Assembly.

IV. And be it further enacted, That if any person or persons, within this state, shall attempt to convey intelligence to the enemies of this state, or the United States of America, or by publicly and deliberately speaking or writing against our public defence; or shall maliciously and advisedly endeavor to excite the people to resist the government of this commonwealth, or persuade them to return to a dependence upon the crown of Great Britain; or shall maliciously and advisedly terrify or discourage the people from enlisting into the service of the commonwealth; or shall stir up, excite or raise tumults, disorders or insurrections, in the state, or dispose them to favour the enemy; or oppose and endeavor to prevent the measures carrying on in support of the freedom and independence of the said United States; every such person, being thereof legally convicted, by the evidence of two or more credible witnesses, in any Court of General Quarter Sessions, shall be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and shall suffer imprisonment during the present war, and forfeit to the commonwealth one half of his or her lands and tenements, goods and chattels.

V. And be it further enacted, That all offences, by this act declared misprision of treason, shall be cognizable before any Justice of the Peace of the city or county where the offence was committed, or where the offender can be found; and every Justice of the Peace within this state, on complaint to him made, on oath or affirmation of one or more credible person or persons, shall cause such offender to come before him, and enter into a recognizance, with one or more sufficient surety or sureties, to be and appear at the next Court of General Quarter Sessions for the said city or county, and abide the judgement of the Court; and in the mean time to be of the peace and good behaviour toward all people in the state, and for want of such surety, the said Justice shall commit such offender to the common goal of the said city or county: And all persons charged, on oath or affirmation, with any crime or crimes, by this act declared to be treason against the state, shall be dealt with, and proceeded against as in other capital crimes is by law directed.

Passed 11 February, 1777 Recorded in Law Book vol. I. page 79.

In the year 1777 the General Assembly of the state of Pennsylvania, like the governing bodies of many of the other twelve states, passed legislation declaring those who would plot and work against the newly proclaimed United States of America to be guilty of treason, or *misprision of treason*. The phrase ‘misprision of treason’ meant that an individual knew of another individual plotting to commit a treasonable act and kept it secret.

Those individuals adjudged to be guilty of this treason were known by two names: Tory and Loyalist.

The name: *Tory* came from England's past. Charles II had, in 1660, returned from exile to take the throne of England following Oliver Cromwell's Puritan reign as the Lord Protector of Great Britain. During Cromwell's reign, the peoples' belief in the infallibility of the monarchy had been damaged ~ to a point where it could never again be fully repaired. The power of the Parliament had changed over the years, and although Charles' supporters felt that his restoration to the throne would bring a return of the old system of government, they were badly mistaken. After two decades, the people were not content anymore to be ruled directly by a single individual who held the strings of the government in his hands. The Parliament could only be convened and discharged by order of the king, and had virtually remained the same throughout the duration of the Puritan revolt (giving it the name of the Long Parliament). With the restoration of the Stuart line to the throne, it was time for a change. That change came about partially as a result of King Charles II's sympathy for the Catholic Church. A certain faction of the Parliament favored the Church of England and wanted to force the king to their views; they became known as the Whigs. Another faction, led by the Earl of Danby, was in support of the king. The pro-king faction became known as the Tory party. This Tory party gained and lost power over the years as it struggled with the Whig party for primacy in the government of Great Britain, and was in power between the years 1760 to 1770. Because the Tory party was synonymous with the governing body of Great Britain, the colonists attached the name, in a somewhat derogatory manner, to those who remained loyal to that nation.

The American colonists who remained loyal to the mother country were not all cut from the same piece of fabric. Besides the Tories there were those who were known as Loyalists. The difference between the two pro-British groups lay in the extent of their radical ideas and actions. The name of Loyalist could be given to basically every individual who supported either a return to the arms of the mother country or at least a reconciliation and compromise. Most of them did not want a war and they believed that some sort of compromise could be worked out to avert bloodshed. Quite a number of Loyalists were pacifists who fled from their homes when the actual fighting began; they truly felt that the independence movement was wrong and that they should not associate with it. It was a smaller number of the loyal British subjects who advocated the use of extreme measures to force their "errant brothers" back in line.

The Tories did not want any compromise, they wanted to remain British subjects and felt that their neighbors who spoke of independence should be eradicated.

The word *Tory* comes from the Middle Irish word *tóraidhe*, which translates as 'outlaw'. It descended through the Gaelic Irish word *toir* meaning 'pursuit' to the Irish *toruighe*, which translates as 'plunderer'. Unverified sources claim that the word was in use as early as 1566. But the first verified source, according to the Oxford English Dictionary comes from 1634. That source noted that the Tarrenteen tribe of Amerindians questioned any seafarers to arrive at their lands in present-day Maine if they were the "*King Charles his Torries*."

The word *tory* progressed from a simple word for 'outlaw' to the name assigned to insurrectionary fighters when it found widespread usage during the English Civil Wars referring to the Irish peasants who rebelled against Oliver Cromwell's conquest of Ireland.

Forty years later, the name would be applied to Irishmen who fought guerilla style on the side of King James in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1688. Through the Jacobite Risings, the name *Tory* was given to the supporters of the Roman Catholic James II/VII (*i.e.* Jacobus). Thirty years after the Rising of 1745, the name resurfaced when American Colonists loyal to Great Britain attacked their neighbors who advocated liberty and independence.

Through all the conflicts in which the name was applied, it referred to people who carried out unconventional, guerilla tactics against their neighbors. Those tactics included raids, ambushes and sabotage.

It is estimated that at the time of the American Revolution the free population in the colonies amounted to just over 2 million. Of that figure a half can be assumed to have been female and a half of the balance can be assumed to have been males under the age of eighteen, leaving roughly 500,000 free males of the age who could have taken up arms and served in the Patriot armies. The fact that the Continental Congress had difficulty raising an army of even 25,000 at any time tells us that there were more Loyalists than we might wish to acknowledge. To get an idea of where this large Loyalist population resided, we can look at the statistics of the compensation paid by the British government to Loyalists after the war. Of 2,248 families receiving compensation, 941 came from the state of New York, followed in descending order by 321 from South Carolina, 226 from Massachusetts, 208 from New Jersey, 148 from Pennsylvania, 140 from Virginia, 135 from North Carolina and 129 from Georgia.⁶⁴⁰

Although the figures given above reveal only the number of families who were actually compensated by the British government, they can be regarded as indicative of the larger population. The rich, landed gentry of New York did not want to see their wealth pulled out from under them, and tended to contribute to the large Loyalist population of that state. This, though, was not true of the Virginian gentry, almost all of whom favored independence. The fact that the city of New York was held by the British for the entire duration of the war contributed to that state's Loyalist camp. Many Loyalist families from other colonies made their way to the environs of New York City to be under the protection of the British army. In almost all the states, the Anglican religion furnished a great share of Loyalists. In Pennsylvania, the Quakers tended to fill the Loyalist ranks. In some cases nationality determined on which side of the line one might stand; the Scots and Irish hated the English with such a passion that very few of them were Loyalists. On the other hand, many emigrant Germans, who had no prior quarrel with the English, would remain loyal to the country that had given them refuge from the troubles in their own homelands. There were also what could be called 'personal grudges' which induced some colonists to form Loyalist communities. In the Carolinas the hill-country Loyalists who fought against their Patriot neighbors were not fighting so much against the idea of independence as they were against the low-country planters who had caused them hardships during that region's Regulator uprising.

Generalizations regarding what type of people chose to remain Loyalist are not hard to make although there are some very notable exceptions. Large landowners tended to remain loyal to the Crown, but exceptions such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson prove that the distinction between Loyalist and Patriot wasn't drawn entirely on economic lines. Merchants and professionals filled the Loyalist ranks primarily because they would have

more to lose than the simple farmers. A farmer could continue farming whether Britain or America ruled. The merchants and professional men might not see their livelihoods continue if a political change would take place. It should also be noted that the poorer folk tended to become Patriots because they had less to lose, and more to protest against than their richer neighbors.⁶⁴¹

In Pennsylvania, we cannot arrive at an exact number or location of the Loyalists, but as noted above we can make some general assumptions. As mentioned previously, many (but of course not necessarily all) of the Quakers remained loyal to Britain. Because a major concentration of Quaker families resided in the vicinity of the city of Philadelphia, we find that region to have sheltered many Loyalists. But then, Philadelphia was the largest city in America at that time; we would expect to find a coincident large number of all groups of people in that region where there was more of everything. It must be remembered that Pennsylvania, in the 1770s was heavily settled in the southeast, but only sparingly in the western, central and northeastern frontier regions. The majority of the early settlers of the frontier were Scottish and Irish (and very often mixtures of the two, such as the Ulster Scots). Their inbred hatred for the English virtually assured the frontier of being Patriot in sentiment. There were some instances in which Tories evacuating their homes in the east took up homesteading in the frontier regions of Pennsylvania.

Nearly every state experienced the organization of Loyalist regiments within their bounds. In the state of Pennsylvania at least one regiment of soldiers, the Pennsylvania Loyalist Regiment, was raised. As a general rule, Loyalist regiments were raised by the Americans rather than, as one might assume, by the British. In fact, British support, maintenance and reward for the Loyalist regiments were practically nonexistent. It has been estimated that approximately 50,000 Loyalists served, without recognition, in the aid of the British during the war.⁶⁴²

In the center of Pennsylvania, in the northern part of the county of Bedford (now Blair), there resided some Tories. On 04 May 1778, following an unsuccessful attempt by the resident Tories to launch a murder spree on or about 23 April 1778, Col. John Piper wrote to Thomas Wharton (President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania) to inform the state government of the local Loyalist activities:⁶⁴³

Sir: An affair of the most alarming nature (and as I believe altogether unprecedented) has happened lately in a Corner of this County and which I could not think myself justifiable in not communicating to the Honorable the Supreme Executive Council of this State. Tis as follows: a Number of evil minded Persons, to the amount of thirty-five (I think), having actually associated together, marched away toward the Indian Country in order to join the Indians, and to conduct them into the Inhabitation, and there united kill, burn and destroy Men, Women and Children.

They came with a Body of Indians near or at the Kittannings, and in conferring with them, they, the Indians, suspecting some design in the white People, on wch one of their Chiefs shot one

Weston, who was the Ring-leader of the Tories, and scalp'd him before the Rest, and Immediately (as if Divine Providence ever attentive to Baffle and defeat the Schemes and Measures of wicked Men) the rest fled and dispersed.

A very considerable number of the well affected Inhabitants having, as soon as their combination and march was known, pursued them and met five of them, and yesterday brought them under a strong Guard to the County Gaol.

They confess their Crime and Intention of destroying both Men and Property; as these People thus in open rebellion are so numerous, there is great Reason to believe them as a part of a greater whole in some dangerous confederacy with the Common Enemy either at Phila or Detroit.

Therefore it was as well my own Opinion as that of a Number of the Principal Inhabitants met for that purpose, that the Honorable Council be immediately requested to order in their Wisdom such relief as may appear to be most expedient, either in removing those Prisoners to some Place of greater security, or else order Commissioners for their immediate and speedy Trials, wch last wou'd be the most grateful to the Country, who are extremely incensed against them, and think the prosecution wou'd be more easily effected where the Evidence is on the spot, and perhaps give an immediate Check to so openly avowed Rebellion.

In the county of Westmoreland, at a little Fort called Fort Wallace, within some sixteen or twenty miles of Fort Ligoneir, there were nine Men killed, and one man, their Captn, wounded last week; the Partys of Indians was very numerous, so that between Indians (and the still more savage) Tories, there backward Counties are in real distress.

Did you, the reader, notice the statement: “*They confess their Crime and Intention of destroying both Men and Property; as these People thus in open rebellion are so numerous, there is great Reason to believe them as a part of a greater whole in some dangerous confederacy with the Common Enemy either at Phila or Detroit.*”? It would appear that even at the time it was occurring, the Bedford County authorities believed that the local Tories were working in conjunction with the British.

J. Simpson Africa, in the *History of Huntingdon & Blair Co's, Pennsylvania*, stated that the Tories had planned to gain the Indians' cooperation at Kittanning, after which they would make their way eastward. They would divide the Tory/Indian forces at Burgoon's Gap; half would march through the Cove and Conococheague Valleys and the other half through the Juniata Valley. They would meet at Lancaster, having killed everyone in their path. General Roberdeau notified John Carothers, the Lieutenant of Cumberland County, of the situation. In a letter he sent from Standing Stone on 23 April 1778, General Roberdeau

stated that one of the Tories, a man by the name of Hess (John Hess, no doubt) had been captured, and that a confession revealing the plan had been forced out of him. In his letter to John Carothers, General Roberdeau stated: "*The insurgents from this Neighborhood, I am informed, are about thirty, one of them (Hess) has been taken & confession extorted, from which it appears that this Banditti expect to be joined by 300 men from the other side of the Aleganey; reports more vague, mention 1000 Whites & Savages....I have been informed by the most credible in this neighborhood, that strangers, supposed to be from Detroit, have been this winter among the Disaffected Inhabitants, & have removed with them.*"⁶⁴⁴ Despite the exaggerations, such as the number of savages and Tories who were massing in the western regions of the state, the confession was useful in alerting the Patriots of the problem.

In an example of how information passing from one person to another sometimes gets distorted, Lieutenant Carothers wrote a letter to President Thomas Wharton the very next day. Speaking of Sinking Valley and Bald Eagle, Carothers stated: "*the fronteers in those parts have been greatly alarmed of Late by a number of Tories who have Banded together, threatning vengeance to all who have Taken the Oath of Aleigance to the States. ...Col. McLevy, of Bedford County, came there express himself with and account, that a body of Tories, near 320, in and above Standing Stone, had collected themselves together & Drove a number of the inhabitants from Standing Stone Town.*"⁶⁴⁵

On 27 April 1778, Lieutenant Carothers again wrote to President Wharton from Carlisle:⁶⁴⁶

You have enclosed a True copy of General Roberdeau's Letter, Dated Standing Stone, 23^d Instant, which contains a more perfect account of the insurrection in those parts than I was able to give council in my former Letter. The back inhabitants are prodigiously Distresse, not knowing when those Vilians may bring down the savages to murder their families. How far those alarms may prove True cannot yet be known. There are many Disaffected persons gon out of the parts, but where or for what purpose we cannot tell; several have been known to purchase rifle guns, who always refused to turn out in the Militia. The Council, upon the perusal of the General's Letter, will be able to know what is necessary for me to Do in the matter. The classes ordered to do Duty there, cannot turn out for want of arms; I have sent up 100 arm, which was all I had in my possession, which, with 24 the general took with him, is all they have to trust to, & they only Muskets, which are not sutable for scouting parties in the woods, when it is well known the Tories are well armed with good rifles. I could purchase some few Muskets here, but the prices are so extraordinary high that I Dare not venture. I wou'd be glad to have the council's Directions if I am to purchase Muskets or rifles, & what prices I ought to give.

The Supreme Executive Council of the province of Pennsylvania soon began to feel that the situation was becoming urgent enough to be brought to the attention of the Continental Congress. So on 2 May 1778, The Council sent a letter to Henry Laurens, then President of the Continental Congress. In that letter it was noted:⁶⁴⁷

Application was made by this state, early in the late winter, in behalf of the western settlers of Pennsylvania, then distressed by the inroads & murders of savages, set on by the Governor of Detroit. It was then understood that the Honorable Congress had taken the Case of these frontier people into their consideration, & employed Commiss^{rs} to enquire of & provide for their protection. Relying on the attention of Congress, I beg leave to forward to you, as inclosed, Copies of Letters just received from the Western Counties, displaying the repetition of these ravages of Indians, who lay still thro' part of the winter, till very lately; and General Roberdeau opens the Idea of a further & very dangerous correspondence between the Commandant at Detroit & disaffected persons among us, some of whom he says have suddenly disappeared, & expected to be joined by others, to associate with Indians & others sent by the Enemy to scalp the Inhabitants & break up the Settlements. Further evidence of such a design appears from the Letter of John Proctor, Esquire, of Westmoreland, in the going off of Alex^r M^cKee & the others from Fort Pitt. In their distress, the people very naturally apply to Council. Council recollect that the Commiss^{rs} of Congress, sent to the Ohio, are fully impowered to call out the Militia of Bedford & Westmoreland Co. Orders now go to the Lieutenants of Cumberland & Northumberland to embody & furnish as many as the Exigency may require.

The letter was received by the delegates meeting in Continental Congress at Philadelphia on Monday, 4 May, and promptly sent to the Committee for Indians Affairs.⁶⁴⁸ The entry simply stated: "A letter, of the 2, from the council of Pennsylvania, was read, with sundry papers enclosed. Ordered, That an extract of the said letter, relative to money, be referred to the Board of Treasury, and the letter, with the papers enclosed, be referred to the Committee for Indian Affairs."

It would seem that something would be done, at least by the Committee for Indian Affairs, to assist the people of Bedford County to counteract the destructive incursions by the Senecas and the self-destructive intrigues of its Tory residents. But that was not to be the case. The Committee directed its entire attention on the Iroquois war parties being sent out of the Ohio Valley by Henry Hamilton at Fort Detroit. While the suppression of Amerindian attacks from the west was indeed necessary to alleviate the hardships of Westmoreland County, it did little to help Bedford County, since most of the incursions into central

Pennsylvania were coming out of Fort Niagara and the Tory irritation was not even taken into account.

“*An Account of some of the first settlers of the Juniata in Huntingdon County, collected from the first settlers themselves, by Samuel Caldwell*” commented on this Tory attempt to join forces with the Indians at Kittanning.⁶⁴⁹ According to this manuscript (included in J. Simpson Africa’s *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*), individuals from Path, Amberson’s, Tuscarora, Canoe, Hare and Sinking Spring Valleys rendezvoused at a place on Brush Mountain near Union Furnace.

The catalyst for their decision to act in the spring of 1778 may have been that the occupation of Philadelphia by the British under General Sir William Howe during the previous autumn. They might have figured that that action offered the possibility of Pennsylvania falling entirely to the British, albeit if some of the King’s loyal subjects joined with the local Amerindians to give assistance to the British army.

A miller who operated his grist mill in Path Valley was Henry McGee. His name is variously found in records as McKee or Magee. The emigrant from Ireland was known to his neighbors as an avid Tory. He was even called ‘an incorrigible Tory.’⁶⁵⁰ Whether the idea to undertake an expedition to the Amerindian town of Kittanning to incite the warriors there was entirely McGee’s is not known with any certainty. Most accounts agree though, that the initial organizer of the Tories was McGee.

One researcher, Frederic A. Godcharles disagreed with the majority of historians in that he believed that the organizer of the Tories in the region was John Weston. Godcharles described John Weston as “*a bold, lawless man, half farmer, half hunter, half civilized, who lived with his wife and brother, Richard, in a crude mountain cabin.*”⁶⁵¹

The thirty-one men who joined together to incite the Amerindians at Kittanning included the following:⁶⁵²

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| James Armstrong | Dominick McNeal |
| John Armstrong | Robert Nixon |
| Samuel Barrow | James O’Neal |
| James Bridges | Adam Potmercer Jr |
| John Campbell | Adam Potmercer Sr |
| William Campbell | Peter Potmercer |
| Peter Dailey | William Right |
| James DeLong | Peter Shaver |
| Edward Giddons | John Shillings |
| Jacob Hare | William Shillings |
| Michael Hare | Andrew Smith |
| William Humpson | John Stilwell |
| Cornelius Hutchison | John Weston |
| Joseph King | Richard Weston |
| James Little | Jacob Yost |
| Henry McGee | |

The list of the men involved in the plot was provided to Robert Galbraith by John and James Armstrong while they were under arrest at the Bedford County Gaol. Galbraith noted that the list was certified by him on 2 August 1778.

The men that McGee gathered together in the Path Valley and Amberson's Valley to its north were John Campbell, William Campbell, James DeLong, Edward Giddons, Cornelius Hutchison, Joseph King, James Little, James O'Neal and William Right. As the group passed into the Tuscarora Settlement, brothers James and John Armstrong, Dominick McNeal, Robert Nixon, Andrew Smith and John Stilwell joined them. From the vicinity of Standing Stone, Samuel Barrow, James Bridges, Jacob Hare, Michael Hare, William Humpson, Adam Potmercer and his sons, Adam Jr and Peter Potmercer, Peter Shaver, and Jacob Yost headed to the rendezvous point on Brush Mountain. They passed through the gap at Waterstreet and entered Sinking Spring Valley where they were joined by brothers John and Richard Weston. Along the way, Peter Dailey and John and William Shillings joined the Tory party.

From the rendezvous point on Brush Mountain, the party traveled via the Kittanning Path to the Indian village of Kittanning. Located in present-day Armstrong County, Pennsylvania, the important Amerindian village was named from the Delaware word *kittan*, meaning 'great river' and the locative ending *ing*, signifying 'at the'.⁶⁵³ The town of *kittan-ing* was located along the great river which is how the Amerindians referred to the Ohio River and its major tributary, the Allegheny. The Delaware village of Kittanning was settled prior to 1730, but it was completely destroyed on 8 September 1756 by a 'British' army led by Colonel John Armstrong and its Amerindian inhabitants scattered. At the time of its destruction, there were upwards of four hundred people living there. The site remained unoccupied by either Amerindians or Euro-Americans until 1774.⁶⁵⁴ On 6 August 1774, Governor John Penn directed that a town be laid out in the Proprietary Manor of Kittanning so that it might provide traders and others a place to reside in the wilderness. The site was occupied by Westmoreland Militia troops in the spring of 1777. At the time it was said that there were only a few cabins at the site. On 14 September 1777, Captain Samuel Moorhead received notice from General Hand: "*Being convinced that, in your present situation, you are not able to defend yourself, much less render the continent any service, you will withdraw from Kittanning, bringing everything away portable, leaving the houses and barracks standing.*"⁶⁵⁵

A fortification, named Fort Armstrong would be constructed at the site of present-day Manorville, two miles south of present-day Kittanning in June 1779, a year after the aborted Tory expedition. But in the spring of 1778, there was neither Patriot fort nor a re-established Amerindian city in the vicinity of Kittanning. Whether the site was occupied off and on for short periods of time by Amerindian raiding parties is not known. It is possible that word had been received by the inhabitants of Bedford and Cumberland Counties that Amerindians were beginning to re-inhabit the site of the village in late-1777 and early-1778. Perhaps that is the reason for the Tories in south-central Pennsylvania to assume they could gain allies there. As will be seen below, Richard Weston, after being captured, stated: "*That in their progress, they were met by Indians...*"⁶⁵⁶ He did not specifically say that the meeting was within the bounds of a village.

John Weston, who had been elected as the Tory party's captain, and Jacob Hare entered the village alone and met with the Indians in an effort to encourage them to attack and massacre settlers residing on the Juniata River. Prior to this incident, neither Weston nor Hare appeared in any roster of Bedford County Militia, but Caldwell's account named Weston as 'Captain John Weston' and 'Lieutenant Jacob Hare'.⁶⁵⁷ If those military ranks were simply assumed by Weston and Hare, perhaps they had great expectations for success in this expedition ~ presuming that they would form their own militia in a post-Pennsylvania, indeed a post-Bedford County world.

With the rest of the Tories waiting a short distance from the village, Weston and Hare entered the village under a flag of truce. The Amerindians were at first receptive to the idea. They were in the process of beginning to escort the body of Tories into the Amerindian village, when the tribe misunderstood the reason why the white men did not immediately lay down their guns (as they expected them to do out of tribal custom). The Amerindians became alarmed and shot Weston. As they retreated into the village, the Tories fled from the area and returned to the region east of the Allegheny Mountain range.

The Tory Expedition Fails

According to Caldwell's narrative, the Tory conspirators had devised a secret signal using a flag to denote which houses the Amerindian invaders should avoid as they carried death through the valleys of central Pennsylvania.⁶⁵⁸ The wives of a couple of the Tories divulged the secret to their Patriot friends to spare them from massacre. And the secret could not be kept.

Having gotten word of the Tory attempt, scouts from Bedford County scoured the region, and waited for the Tory/Amerindian invasion. John Carothers (Cumberland County Lieutenant from 20 August 1777 to 2 October 1779), sent a letter to President Wharton dated 27 April. He informed Wharton that: "*The back inhabitants are prodigiously Distressed, not knowing when those Vilians may bring down the savages to murder their families. How far those allarms may prove True cannot yet be known. There are many Disaffected persons gon out of the parts, but where and for what purpose we cannot tell; several have been known to purchase rifle guns, who always refused to turn out in the Militia.*"⁶⁵⁹

The invasion, of course didn't happen. Instead, the demoralized Tories began to trickle back into Bedford County in small groups. A narrative was included in the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania* which stated that one of the small groups obtained food from a home in Canoe Valley by deception.⁶⁶⁰

One party, consisting of four or five, suffering from hunger, went to the house of Matthew Dean, near Lowry's fort, in Canoe Valley, having one of the number tied with hickory withes, and said to Mrs. Dean (she and a servant-man only being at home), "We have been out after the damned Tories for several days, being out of provisions, and are nearly starved. We have one of the rascals tied, and want to take him before a justice of the peace, but cannot go farther without something to eat." Mrs.

Dean, deceived by this statement, gave them all the bread she had, and set about baking cakes on a griddle, which the Tories devoured before they were half baked. They also gave a share of the food to the pretended prisoner, saying that "it would not do to let the poor devil starve, although he ought to be hung." After they got out of sight of the house the prisoner was released from his bonds, and they told the servant, Kelly, to return home. It is not known where this party went, but it is supposed they passed on to the eastern counties.

Although such narratives make for interesting reading, when viewed critically, they appear slightly absurd. Why any of the Tories, who were near their own homes when they were in Canoe Valley, needed to obtain food from one of their neighbors ~ risking detection and capture ~ is a mystery. And why they released the supposed 'prisoner' from his bonds before, rather than after, telling the servant, Kelly to return home is odd. They apparently assumed that he would not alert anyone that Mrs. Dean and himself had been tricked.

The waiting Bedford County authorities succeeded in capturing six of the Tories. They were taken to the jail in the town of Bedford and held there (although they were eventually pardoned through the intercession of friends). It might be remembered that when Horatio Jones (who had been captured during the Engagement of Frankstown on 3 June 1781) applied for a pension, he stated that before the spring of 1778 he had been "*employed in guarding the Tories who had been imprisoned in Bedford Jail...*" [See page 169.]

The Capture Of Richard Weston

Richard Weston, a brother of John (the leader of the Tory group), was captured on his return to Bedford County's environs. On the 27th of April 1778, Richard Weston was sent to the Carlisle (Cumberland County) jail, to await the decision of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. General Daniel Roberdeau, who had just arrived at Sinking Spring Valley to construct a fortification to protect lead miners, sent a letter to President Wharton on that date in which he noted: "*I send Richard Weston, under guard, to Carlisle Jail, to wait your orders; he is conducted by Lieut John Means, of the Militia. The inhabitants are hunting the other Insurgents, and hope they will all be taken, but wish any other the trouble of examining them, as my hands are full.*"⁶⁶¹

Richard Weston was interrogated about the Tory expedition and gave the following deposition.⁶⁶²

That John Weston, his brother, asked him if he would go out to hunt. That he had heard at the Standing Stone that a company of men were going to join the English and the Indians, and his informant was Benjamin Elliot, in conversation with Francis Cluggage. That he refused to go hunting and that brother John and wife both came and entreated him to go, and he was prevailed

on. That last Thursday was a week he set off with his said brother, and the same evening was led by his brother to a company of men whom they met in the woods in Sinking Spring valley, viz., Samuel Berrow, Jacob Hare, Michael Here, Peter Shaver, Peter Daly, Adam Portmerser, Peter Portmerser, and old Portmerser, the father of Adam and Peter, ----- McKee, James Little, John Campbell and William Campbell, William Hamson, James Armstrong, John and William Shilling, and others, whose names he does not remember, making in the whole, with his brother and himself, the number of thirty-one. That McKee, Jacob Hare, and Samuel Berrow, In particular, urged him, with a promise of three hundred acres of land, to pick the same where he pleased, if he would go with the company to Kittanning to join four or five hundred English and Indians, and to return to Fort Pitt, Frankstown, and Sinking Valley, to kill the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms who were in any kind of fort or place of defense, and all others of any sex or age who attempted to escape or elude their search. That if he refused to join said company he would be hung or banished to the Bay of Honduras, if the English prevailed over this country. That he went with the company over Allegheny Mountain. That in their progress, they were met by Indians, and that one of them shot his brother, and another of them scalped him. That after his brother was shot, McKee pulled a letter out of his pocket which he had got from an English officer in Carlisle goal, and with this letter displayed a handkerchief, crying peace, peace, brothers, but that the savages ran off without giving attention. That he immediately returned, with McKee, Jacob and Michael Hare, Little, Adam Portmerser, Peter Portmerser, William and John Shilling, Peter Shaver, William Hamson, and one or two more whose names he does not know. That he parted with some of them at the foot of Allegheny, and with some others in Sinking Valley, all of whom declared they would never return home or surrender themselves, but go to Baltimore, and wait the arrival of the English fleet. That he came and surrendered himself to Capt. John McDonald at Edward Beaty's. That McKee informed the company that he understood a number of English were to join the savages, and about the 10th of next month to come down upon this State. That he was informed by his brother, John Weston, that John Hess was to meet and join the company. Examination taken April 27th, 1778.

That he heard Zebediah Rickets, now a prisoner, say if he knew how to leave his family he would go away, to avoid taking the oath prescribed by the State.

Examination of Michael Warrick: That he lodged in Jacob Rowlers house last Saturday night; that a little before day he was awoke by the barking of dogs; that he heard soon after a person knocking at the door, and called said Rowles wife by name repeatedly, and asked if her husband was in the house; that she awoke her husband, who went out of doors and remained some time, returned and went to bed; that he awoke John Vansant.

Examination of John Vanzant: That he asked Jacob Rowler who called him out, who answered he was not out.

Michael Warrick and Jacob Rowler were two men whose names were not included in the list of Tories who went to Kittanning. Although they didn't participate in that affair, the two men were implicated as Tories or at least as harboring Tory sympathies.

Richard Weston was apparently kept in prison for a number of years following his capture. On 23 February 1784, John Morris, Master of the Rolls for the State of Pennsylvania, submitted "*An Alphabetical List of all Persons Attainted of High Treason, in Pursuance of the Treason Laws for the State of Pennsylvania*" to the Supreme Executive Council.⁶⁶³ The word 'attainted' refers to a person being 'subject to attainder' and 'attainder' refers to the forfeiture of land and civil rights suffered as a consequence of a sentence of death for treason or felony. The list that John Morris submitted to the Council included notations for anyone whose sentence had been acquitted. The name of *Wiston, Richard, yeoman, of Franks Town, Bedford Co.* was included in the list. There was no notation of Weston having been acquitted, so it can be assumed that he had to serve out his sentence for treason. Weston's name was the only one of the Sinking Valley Tories to be included in the list.

The Fate Of The Other Tories

Not much is known of the fate of the rest of the Tories who escaped death at Kittanning, but what little is known is as follows. Henry McKee, the ringleader of the group that went to Kittanning, disappeared into history. Jacob Hare was not so lucky. His appearance in Path Valley, in Franklin County was broadcast among the inhabitants. They turned out en masse to give him their own form of frontier justice by cutting both of his ears off close to his head. According to the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*, his punishment was for all of the people of the region who had suffered or died at the hands of the Tories and their Amerindian allies.⁶⁶⁴ Hare later moved to either Ohio or Kentucky where he is believed to have become a minister.

We know, from Richard Weston's deposition only what Richard Weston wanted us to know. It is possible that he knew more about the local situation than he stated. It is also possible that some of the men who participated in the Tory Expedition to Kittanning in 1778 might have established a secretive network of communication. And it is possible that in the coming years, they might have extended communication to the British at Fort Niagara. From Weston's deposition we know that some of the Tories were already in communication with the British. At one point Weston stated: "*That after his brother was shot, McKee pulled a*

letter out of his pocket which he had got from an English officer in Carlisle goal...” Although he did not disclose the subject of that letter, it might be surmised that McKee thought that the letter would reassure the Amerindians at Kittanning that the Tories’ intentions were aligned with their own in regard to striking at the Patriot settlers of the frontier regions.

U. J. Jones, in his habit of fabricating historical events stated that “*Cluggage was extremely anxious to have Weston and his command overtaken and punished, and for this purpose he tendered to Captain Thomas Blair, of Path Valley, the command of all who wished to volunteer to fight the tories.*”⁶⁶⁵ Thomas Blair was indeed a Captain in the Bedford County Militia, but neither Thomas Cluggage nor Robert Cluggage had the authority to ‘tender’ command of anything to another Captain. There exists no evidence that Thomas Blair ever did anything in regard to ‘fighting’ the Tories.

A resident of Huntingdon County, William Wilson, is claimed to have participated in the Bedford County Militia’s search for the Tories.⁶⁶⁶ In a statement made in 1845 to ‘Judge Joseph Adams’, he noted:

I was along with the scout that went in pursuit of the tories across the Allegheny; thirty or forty started the next morning after we heard it; expected to overtake them in Tuckahoe, but they were gone; we pursued them across the mountains on the Kittanning path, as far as Clearfield; we had no provision and were obliged to return, but we met a recruit or reinforcement with some bacon; some of our men united with them and continued the pursuit; about two weeks gone; we were about one hundred strong, we sent out spies, some of whom were killed by the Indians; but we missed the tories; Weston, their leader, was killed at Kittanning, and his men scattered and returned to the settlements by different routes and eluded us. Our provisions were exhausted several days before we returned, and our men suffered much from hunger, some had to be carried in on horses, and became so weak that the least trip would throw them down, but all succeeded in reaching Frankstown, except those killed by the Indians, and recovered from the fatigue. In about two weeks some of the tories returned to our county, were arrested and sent to Bedford, but were pardoned or acquitted.

Writing on various matters, including what to do with the Tories who had been taken prisoner at the end of April, Thomas McKean sent a letter on 27 May 1778 to George Bryan, the Vice-President of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania:⁶⁶⁷ “*It may be well to make examples of some of the most wicked of the prisoners in Bedford, as soon as practicable; but when I reflect on the Savages having scalped eleven women & children, within five miles of the town of Bedford; that the people must be all in arms; that these criminals might escape...*” It is quite possible that the “*eleven women & children, within five miles of the*

town of Bedford” referred to the Tull family massacre. That incident, it might be remembered, took place in the autumn of 1777.

Who all, of the Tory group, were caught and held for trial has not been recorded. Nonetheless, it is known that some prisoners were held in the Bedford jail and their trial was held on 29 September 1778.⁶⁶⁸ Unfortunately the Bedford County Quarter Session and the Court of Common Pleas dockets for the period from July 1778 and April 1789 are no longer extant. Whether they were stolen or simply lost over the years is not known. The only thing that can be said of the Tories who were caught and jailed is what William Wilson is claimed to have told Judge Adams in 1845 ~ that those arrested were pardoned or acquitted.

On 30 October 1778, the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council issued the following proclamation for the purpose of declaring the Tories guilty of High Treason:⁶⁶⁹

Whereas, The following named persons, late and heretofore inhabitants of this State, that is to say: ...And Richard Weston, Yeoman; now or late of the Township of Trunkston, & Jacob Hare, Michael Hare & Samuel Barrow, Yoemen; all now or late of the Township of Barree; all now or late of the County of Bedford: ... have severally adhered to, & knowingly & willingly aided & assisted the Enemies of this State, & of the United States of America, by having joined their Armies within this State...

We, the Supreme Executive Council aforesaid, by virtue of certain powers & authorities to us given by an Act of General Assembly entitled "An Act for the attainder of divers Traitors, if they render not themselves by a certain day, & for vesting their Estates in this Commonwealth, & for more effectually discovering the same, & for ascertaining and satisfying the lawful Debts & claims" thereupon, Do hereby strictly charge & require the said ... Richard Weston, John Hare, Michael Hare, Samuel Barrow ... to render themselves respectively to some or one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, or of the Justices of the Peace of one of the Counties within this State, on or before Tuesday the fifteenth day of December next ensuing, & also abide their legal trial for such their Treasons, on pain that every of them, the said ...Richard Weston, Jacob Hare, Michael Hare, Samuel Barrow ... not rendering himself as aforesaid, & abiding the trial aforesaid, shall from and after the said fifteenth day of December next, stand & be attainted of High Treason, to all intents & purposes, & shall suffer such pains & penalties, & undergo all such forfeitures, as persons attainted of High Treason ought to do.

And all the faithful subjects of this State are to take notice of this Proclamation, & govern themselves accordingly.

An interesting point should be made regarding the Tory Expedition to Kittanning. U. J. Jones fabricated much of his 'history' and he did not waste much space in his books on footnotes. The serious researcher cannot verify the 'facts' as presented by Jones as a result. Some of his 'facts' were probably based on actual information he acquired from the people he claimed to have talked to and who supposedly told him the stories that he wrote down. In regard to the Tory Expedition to Kittanning, Jones noted that groups of the Tories often met at the house of John Weston in Canoe Valley. Jones noted: "*These meetings were frequently attended by tory emissaries from Detroit, who went there advised of all the movements of the British about the lakes...*"⁶⁷⁰ Although that idea can't be confirmed by any actual record or document, it is exactly what the author of this volume has surmised ~ that the Tories in this south-central Pennsylvania region were in contact and 'in cahoots' or conspiracy with the British at Fort Detroit and Fort Niagara.

On 26 April 1778, three days after the failed meeting with the Amerindians at Kittanning, Colonel John Proctor of Westmoreland County wrote to Thomas Wharton, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council.⁶⁷¹ In his letter, Colonel Proctor stated: "*Sir, I am able to inform you that Capt. Alexander McKee with seven other vilans is gon to the Indians, and since there is a serj't and twenty od men gon from Pittsburgh of the Solders. What may be the fate of this County God only knows, but at Prisent it wears a most Dismal aspect.*" On the 2nd of May, the Council responded to Proctor by stating: "*The information you give respecting Cap. McKee, & the Serjeant, & twenty odd men, joining the Savages, is realy alarming. I am however not without hope, that Congress, who Council have written to on the subject, will take some spirited measures to chastise the insolence of the savages, as will make those People sorely repent their having joined them.*"⁶⁷²

Compounding the lack of concern on the part of the provincial authorities and high-ranking officers of the Continental Army was a general opinion of the frontier inhabitants that they were partly to blame for their situation. A letter sent on 19 May 1778 from Timothy Pickering Jr., of the War Office to General George Washington stated: "*...in addition to the barbarous savages the disaffected inhabitants [i.e. Tories] are a terror to their neighbours, and that some of them mingle with the indians in committing those horrid cruelties.*"⁶⁷³ He went on to say: "*The inhabitants appear, many of them, to be a wild, ungovernable race, little less savage than their tawny neighbours; and by similar barbarities have in fact proviked them to revenge...*"

James Dunlap wrote from Hopewell to Jonathan Hoge on 22 June 1778. He started his letter by noting that Hoge might have received a bit of misinformation: "*Before this reach you you will perhaps hear of 4 persons being killed, one wounded, & 8 Captivated between the Standing Stone and Col. Chegages. Though this, which came by express, was found to not be true, yet the people, even in the path Vellay, who was Colected in bodays, is so panick struck that they return trembling to their houses.*"⁶⁷⁴ He then noted the tendency of the inhabitants to 'turn Tory': "*Their fears are greatly increast (& well they may) by the want of arms, there not being more than every Tenth man arm'd, and the greater part of those such as Wou'd Turn their arms against us, shou'd the Enemy be permitted to advance... And numbers of them having left their habitations were supos'd to be join'd to the Savages, Cannot fail to increase the aprehesion of the well affected.*"

. ***The Eaton Capture***
April 1778

The narrative of the Eaton family massacre was presented by Uriah J. Jones in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*.⁶⁷⁵ As with most of Mr. Jones' narratives, he spoke in generalities regarding dates. For this incident Jones stated that “*a short time previous to the Weston Tory Expedition...*” a young man by the name of Loudenslager was shot by a party of Amerindians and Jacob Hare, a local Tory.⁶⁷⁶ The significance of that incident was to set the time period in the absence of an actual date. The young man by the name of Loudenslager was shot while heading to Fort Standing Stone where Major Robert Cluggage was enlisting a company to work at the Fort Roberdeau guarding the lead mine workers. Jones then stated that “*On the same day, the same party that shot Loudenslager went to the house of Mr. Eaton...*”⁶⁷⁷ The Tory Expedition to Kittanning embarked on 23 April 1778, so for Loudenslager to have been shot a short time previous, it could be assumed that the day he was shot would have been 22 April or a day or two earlier. By coincidence, General Roberdeau wrote a letter to John Carothers from Standing Stone dated 23 April in which he stated that Cluggage had enlisted ten men for an escort to the lead mines fort in Sinking Spring Valley. So both references would point to the incidents of Loudenslager being shot and the Eaton family attacked on a day or two before the 23rd of April 1778.

All that was known about the Eaton incident was that the husband and father was away from the house at the time. The Amerindian and Tory party came to the house and took Mrs. Eaton captive. Also taken were two children. The attackers then set fire to all of the buildings at the farmstead.

The buildings were still burning when Mr. Eaton returned home. He rushed to Fort Standing Stone and raised a search party. But despite their efforts, they failed to locate the mother and children. They searched for a week, but found no evidence of Mrs. Eaton and her children. A few years later, a group of skeletons was located and the remnants of clothing still clinging to the bones confirmed them as being the Eatons.

Elsewhere in this volume it has been conjectured that the local Tories possibly gave information to the raiding parties of British-orchestrated Amerindians. It would appear that this incident gave proof to that suggestion.

. ***The Massacre Of The Fort Wallace Garrison***
28 April 1778

A party of Senecas came southward into Westmoreland County in the spring of 1778. They crossed over the Conemaugh River and proceeded into the southern part of Armstrong Township (which is Derry Township at the present time).

On 4 May 1778, Colonel John Piper wrote to Thomas Wharton:⁶⁷⁸ It might be remembered that the letter was written to inform the President of the Supreme Executive Council about the attempt made by the Tories in Bedford County to recruit the Amerindians to attack the rebel settlers. The last paragraph provided information on the incident that took place near Fort Wallace.

In the County of Westmoreland, at a little Fort called Fort Wallace, within some sixteen or twenty miles of Fort Ligonier, there were nine Men killed, and one man, their Captn, wounded last week; the Partys of Indians was very numerous, so that between Indians (and the still more savage) Tories, there backward Counties are in real distress.

Colonel Piper was not the only one who commented on the incident. On 13 May, Archibald Lochrey, who was closer to the scene, also wrote to President Wharton:⁶⁷⁹

On the 28th Aprile the Indians came into the Settlement at and about Wallace's Fort, Attacted 20 of our men, which was Reconnoitering the Woods, and Killed 9 of our Men, & Wounded Capt. Hopkins Slightly, and we lost 9 Guns.

In short, I am sorry to Inform you that the Frontiers of this County is more Distressed by Reason of this Last Srimmage than they ever were before, as by appearance there was a larger Body of the Enemy than ever before appeared at once, and with much more Vigour; the Great Road is not the Frontier, and being Disappointed in their Expectations of an Early Campaign into the Indian Country, I am sorry to Inform you that I doubt a General Evacuation of the Posts on the Frontiers (Fort Pitt only Excepted), on the first or next appearance, or Attct of such a Body of the Enemy...

Captain Hopkins was John Hopkins, the Captain of the 1st Company, 1st Battalion of the Westmoreland County Militia. In 1777, Hopkins' company consisted of two Lieutenants, one Ensign, two Court Martial Men and fifty-five Privates. He took a small platoon of soldiers out to range through the forest in search of a party of Senecas who were reported to be in the region.

A man rode into Fort Wallace and announced that he had come through the woods where he passed two men and a woman fleeing from Amerindians.⁶⁸⁰ He warned that the three settlers might already have been overtaken by the warriors chasing them. Captain Hopkins gathered together about eighteen or twenty men to serve as a platoon to go out ranging. The platoon had gone about a mile and one-half when they were ambushed by a party of Amerindians. How many Amerindians were involved is not known. Edgar W. Hassler, the author of *Old Westmoreland*, stated that the Militia were ambushed by "a superior force of savages in the forest" therefore there would have been more than twenty Seneca warriors.⁶⁸¹

A battle between the two forces began and almost immediately the Westmoreland County Militia began to move toward the fort. The firefight continued the whole way back to the fort. In the fight Captain Hopkins was 'slightly wounded'. The Captain never filed an

application for a pension, so the extent of his slight injury cannot be known. Nine of the militia men were killed in the fray while four of the warriors were killed.

The only other Westmoreland man for whom we have a name was Ebenezer Finley.⁶⁸² His name was remembered because he supposedly lagged behind while trying to load his musket on the run. In his hurry to make up for lost time, he bumped his elbow into the shoulder of a fellow militia man. Right at the exact moment, that fellow militia man received a blow to his skull by a Seneca warrior's tomahawk. According to Hassler: "Thus young Finley saved himself by sacrificing the life of another..." Hassler got his narrative ~ and his disparaging attitude toward Ebenezer Finley ~ from a book published in 1854 by the Presbyterian Minister, Joseph Smith: *Old Redstone*.

Joseph Smith's original narrative provided additional information to explain Ebenezer Finley's actions. He first noted that the young man's gun would not "go off" and that he stopped momentarily to "pick his flint and fell behind." A warrior was seen to be levelling his gun at Finley. At that instant the warrior was shot dead. Smith noted: "*Being fleet of foot, he soon was abreast with one of his companions; and in passing round the root of a tree, by a quick motion of his elbow against his companion's shoulder, succeeded in passing him...*" By the use of the word 'succeeded,' it would appear that Smith was suggesting that the elbow to shoulder movement was intentional on the part of the young man in order that he would pass his companion. Smith also added that a man by the name of Moor was standing on a bridge in the vicinity and watched the militia men and Senecas passing by. Moor saw Finley's situation "*and by his well-directed fire again protected him, and enabled him to pass the bridge.*"

So picture this. The Westmoreland County Militia and a party of Seneca warriors are firing back and forth at each other (with the warriors also striking the militia men with tomahawks) and they are all moving through the forest toward Fort Wallace. The militia men are in a retreat to the safety of the fort. The Senecas are chasing the militia men in order to kill as many as possible. And standing on a bridge, watching this violent movement going past him is Mr. Moor, who chooses to save the life of young Ebenezer Finley with his well-directed musket shot. And although the well-directed musket shot enabled the young man to pass the bridge, apparently none of the Seneca warriors chose to strike at Mr. Moor. Ignoring the movements of any of the other militia men, Joseph Smith then noted the remainder of Ebenezer Finley's race to the fort. He noted that the young man made many twists and turns and even doubled back around to avoid the warriors who were sometimes before him and sometimes behind him. Ultimately, Ebenezer Finley succeeded in reaching the safety of Fort Wallace.

. ***Murders On The Bald Eagle Creek***
8 May 1778

Arthur Buchanan, Colonel in command of the Fifth Battalion of the Cumberland County Militia, wrote a letter to George Stewart, Sub-Lieutenant of Cumberland County.⁶⁸³ The letter was dated 9 May 1778 from Old Town, Juniata. It is possible that the reference was to 'Aughwick Old Town', the settlement that had grown up around George Croghan's Fort

Shirley in present-day Huntingdon County. The letter gave details of two fatalities on the Bald Eagle Creek in Penns Valley.

Buchanan had received a letter from Captain George Bell that stated that Simon Vaugh had been killed on the 8th at the house of Jones Davis, along the Bald Eagle Creek. Robert Moor had delivered the letter to Colonel Buchanan. Traveling through Penns Valley, on his way to deliver the letter, Mr. Moor stopped at the house of Jacob Stanford to obtain some feed for his horse. At the house, Moor discovered the dead body of Stanford. No one else was around. As far as Robert Moor knew, either the rest of the family had fled or they had been taken captive.

Colonel Buchanan continued his letter: *“We are Likely to be in great Distress, numbers of the inhabitants have fled Down here, & more are on the way. I sent Six men as Spyes to the Kittanning, one of whome only returned, who says they were fired upon by 100 Indians, & he only escaped. Sir, please send by Express to Lieutenant Carothers for a supply of Amunition & arms, rifles only will Do, to enable us to make a Stand against these Savage enemies. All the arms & amunition I have sent up to the Guard, at Sinking Spring Valley & Bald Eagle.”*

Colonel Buchanan did not provide information on where his small detachment of spies was attacked by the one hundred Amerindians. It could have happened in the vicinity of Kittanning or anywhere east of that village along the portion of the Indian trail known as the Kittanning Path. The important thing to note in this instance is that the party of Amerindians was very large. It was thereby in keeping with the size of the parties of Senecas from the Genesee Valley of the province of New York being sent out by Sir Guy Johnson.

The consequence of the attack on the Stanford family was explained in an ‘express’ that Colonel Buchanan received on 11 May 1778.⁶⁸⁴ Buchanan wrote to Lieutenant John Carothers on that day. He stated that he had just received an express from Major Miles in which it was noted that on the previous Friday, Jacob Stanford, his wife and their daughter had been *“inhumanly killed and scalped”*. A son, about ten or eleven years of age, was missing. In the same letter, Buchanan made the suggestion that the attacks on Vaugh, the Stanford family and others might have been the work of Amerindians or Tories or both. He stated *“The Express informs me that the Savages ravidge all Parts of our Frontiers in a very public Manner. I need mention Nothing to you of the Tories, as they meet with too much Encouragement to cease from their barbarous Practices.”*

. ***Captivity Of The Harmon Brothers***
Spring 1778

Stahlstown is located about eight and one-half miles southwest of Ligonier in present-day Cook Township, Westmoreland County. Donegal is about four miles farther southwest of Stahlstown. It is located in present-day Donegal Township, Westmoreland County. Williams Blockhouse was situated midway between Stahlstown and Donegal.

A family by the name of Harmon resided near the blockhouse in the 1770s. Their farmstead was located along the Four Mile Run. The family consisted of the father, mother and three sons: Andrew, John and Philip.⁶⁸⁵

Mr. Harmon, along with three neighbors were returning home during the summer of 1777. They were attacked by Amerindians and three of the party were killed in the ambush.

The fourth rode off, but his lifeless body was found the next day. When cold weather arrived, Mrs. Harmon and her three sons spent the winter at the Williams Blockhouse.

During the following summer of 1778, a neighbor's horses got into the Harmon's field and were eating the grain that was sprouting. To chase the animals out of the field, Mrs. Harmon sent her sons, Andrew and John. A party of Senecas watched the two boys and when the opportunity presented itself, they attacked and took them captive.

The Harmon brothers were taken northward by way of the Allegheny River to its headwaters. As they were being forced along, the boys recognized their father's tobacco pouch held by one of the warriors. They apparently cooperated with their abductors because when they reached the Senecas' homeland in the Genesee Valley of New York they were adopted into the tribe. Not every captive male was killed by the Amerindians. When a warrior was killed, the warrior's mother had the right to take possession of any captive she pleased. The captive thusly became a substitute for her fallen son.

About a year after their abduction and ultimate adoption by the Senecas, John died. Since nothing was ever told of John having been tortured to death, it is to be assumed that he died naturally. Andrew, on the other hand, was kept by the Senecas for two years. Then he was sold to a British officer, supposedly for a bottle of rum.⁶⁸⁶ Andrew was taken to London and kept there as the British officer's servant for another two years. Finally at the conclusion of the American Revolutionary War, he was exchanged and returned home and reunited with his mother.

. ***Atrocities In Penns Valley***
11 May 1778

Penns Valley is located between Nittany Mountain to the north and Seven Mountains to the south in what is present-day Centre County. In the 1770s and 80s, Penns Valley fell under the jurisdiction of Northumberland County. It was one of the regions hit hard by Amerindian incursions.

On 17 May 1778 Colonel James Potter wrote to Major General Armstrong from 'Upper fort penns Valley':⁶⁸⁷

Our Savige Enemys continue to murder and Scalp and Captevet. I am informed by Col. Long that on the Eleventh Instant there was a few famleys Coming to Locomon, ascorted by a party under the Command of Col. Holsterman, the were attacked by 12 Indinnes who Killed six of them and six more was a missing about the same time, there was three men Killed at Loyalsack. He furder Informs that some time ago there was twenty persons Killed on the North Branch, and one Taken presser who has made his escape, and says that the Indians are determind to Clear the two Branches of Susquhannah this moon. If there not something dun to put a stop to these murders soon, this Cuntrey will be entirely given up to the saviges. We have two forts in this

Valley and are determined to stand as long as we are supported, But if we have not men sent to assist us, we are too few in number to make a stand; the Barer Major Myles is going to the Lieutenants of your County applying for some men, if he Cannot obtain them, he will go to the Council; if he has to go, I request the favour of you to write by him to the Council, Requesting a supply of men for this pleace, the circumstances of his Countrey is truly Lementable, I want for words to Describe it to you, the people are many of them Very pore, and Bread at such a high price, god Knows what the Consequences will be.

. **The Hicks Murder**
12 May 1778

Levi Hicks was recorded on the Barree Township tax assessment returns for the years 1771 and 1775. He was listed in the ‘Inmates’ category, meaning that he was essentially a tax-paying renter. He resided with a resident family while he constructed his own home and paid his own share of the taxes. Levi did not appear on the return for 1776 and no returns are extant for the years 1777 and 1778.

Jacob Bebough (variously Bebout, Bebault), appeared in Barree Township as early as 1770. He and a brother constructed and operated a tub-style grist mill on the east side of the mouth of Spruce Creek, where it empties into the Little Juniata River. The site was in what is present-day Franklin Township, Huntingdon County. The lands at the mouth of Spruce Creek were warranted on 4 June 1762, but not patented until “*many years afterwards.*” That information comes from the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*.⁶⁸⁸ It implies that Jacob Bebough warranted the land, but such information does not appear in the warrant registers of Pennsylvania. During the Revolution, the mill was owned and operated by Levi Hicks.

Levi and his two younger brothers, Gersham and Moses, came to take up residences in Bedford County after being held in captivity by the Amerindians for a number of years. Levi apparently married an Amerindian woman, a half-breed as she was described.⁶⁸⁹ The younger brothers resided in the vicinity of Water Street to the south. Levi and his wife had several children. It is assumed that because of his wife being partly Amerindian the Hicks believed that they would be immune to Amerindian attack. In many cases, an interracial marriage between an Euro~American man and an Amerindian woman resulted in the family being spared during an incursion. Whether for that reason or not, Levi was said to ignore warnings given by his neighbors.⁶⁹⁰

Levi Hicks was killed on 12 May 1778. Ignoring the warnings that Amerindians were in the area, Levi headed to his mill that morning. According to the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties*, Levi started his mill and then returned to his house to eat breakfast. He also got a needle and thread to mend a pair of moccasins, which he began to do when he got back to the mill. Levi’s wife followed him to the mill and as he sat in the doorway mending the moccasins, he heard a rustling sound outside. Leaving his wife behind in the mill, Levi

headed out to take a look around. In an instant, a musket fire rang out and Levi fell dead, shot through the heart.

Levi's wife ran out when she heard the sound, and apparently finding her husband dead, she ran down to the river. She crossed it and fled to Lytle's Fort. On the way, the woman met a local settler and attempted to tell him what had happened. Apparently, her grasp of the English language was not very good and it took some effort to make him understand. When at last he did understand what she was telling him, he turned and sped back to the fort to enlist a party to go in search of the killers. He could not persuade anyone to head out on a scout; they wanted to wait until the next day. Perhaps they resented the fact that Hicks would not bring his family to the safety of the fort and now they were being asked to risk their own lives to go out in search of his murderers.

In the meantime, the half-breed wife of Levi Hicks noticed that her ten year old son had followed her. Mother and son made their way to the fort and waited for the next day to arrive.

On the 13th, a party was gathered together to scout through the woods. Instead of finding the raiding party of warriors, the scouts found Levi's lifeless and scalped body. In the house, the men found a small girl, scalped but alive. Blood covered her head and face and she was nearly incoherent from fright. The men discovered from the child that the Amerindians had found her at her father's side, knocked her out and left her for dead after cutting a patch of hair from her head. Two other children were in the house and an infant was in its cradle. It was said that the girl lived a number of years, but became feeble-minded due to her skull being fractured in the attack.

. ***Incursions Into Northumberland County
16, 18, & 20 May 1778***

Three men were in a field putting in a crop around mid-May.⁶⁹¹ The farm in which they were working was located near the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek where it empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River (present-day Lock Haven). Amerindians attacked them on the 16th of May and killed and scalped all three.

On the 18th of May, a family consisting of the father, mother and one child were attacked along Pine Creek and although none of the three were killed, they were all taken captive.

Along the Lycoming Creek, which empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna near present-day Williamsport, a house was attacked on 20 May. The people present at the house at the time included two men and seven women and children. None of the nine were killed; all were taken captive.

Samuel Wallis owned perhaps the largest amount of land in the region near present-day Muncy, Lycoming County, encompassing the confluence of the Muncy River and the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. At a time when few settlers owned more than a few acres, Wallis acquired over 7,000 acres. In 1769 Wallis built a large stone mansion on the property. That large stone structure would become a place of shelter to which local settlers would flee for safety. If the historian, Carl Van Doren is to be believed, Samuel Wallis was no Patriot. Van Doren actually suggested that Wallis was a Loyalist who fabricated erroneous maps to be supplied to General Sullivan so that his Expedition would be thrown into confusion.⁶⁹²

Wallis, as Doren noted, had been in communication with General Howe during the British occupation of Philadelphia. In any case, Wallis' house was claimed to have been a refuge to which local settlers fled when an Amerindian raid came through the valley. At some time between the 20th and the 26th of May an incursion was made into the region and in the words of Lieutenant Samuel Hunter in a letter he sent to Thomas Wharton: "*Yesterday there was an Express from Muncy, informing me of three familys, Consisting of Sixteen in number, being killed and taken away from Loyalsock, about six miles above Sam. Wallis's; there was but two of them found killd, as the Enimy had set fire to the Houses. It has so alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree that they are all fled to Samuel Wallis's, where they intend to make a stand until the militia of those two lower Battalions marches up to their assistance.*"⁶⁹³

. **The Plum Tree Massacre**
10 June 1778

The dangers which confronted the settlers on the frontier were described in vivid detail by Colonel Peter Hosterman of the 3rd Battalion of the Northumberland County to Colonel William Winter. The '*Intelligence from Northumberland Co.*' was sent on 10 June from Munsey Farm (30 miles Northumberland Town).⁶⁹⁴ In his letter, the Colonel described an attack by Mohawks and Tories led by Joseph Brant.

Joseph Brant was born in the Ohio Valley in 1742. Most sources state that he was born there while his Mohawk parents were on a hunting trip.⁶⁹⁵ Some sources claim that his grandparents were from the Huron nation who were adopted into the Mohawk nation, after being taken captive by the Mohawk. It gave Joseph a portion of Huron ancestry.⁶⁹⁶ The child born to the 'Christianized' Peter and Margaret Tehonwaghkwangeraghkwa was given the name Thayendanega⁶⁹⁷ (meaning 'two sticks of wood bound together'). His father died when Joseph was three or four years of age. His mother returned to the Mohawk homeland soon thereafter and it was there that she married a man by the name of Brant and Joseph took that name as his surname.



The New Purchase of 1768 brought lands that would become Bedford and Northumberland Counties into the Province of Pennsylvania. The New Purchase treaty, also known as the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, would also bring problems. Part

of the boundary line was stated as the *Tiadaghton River*. The problem was that the Amerindians believed that that river was one known today as the Lycoming River which empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River just west of the present-day city of Williamsport. The Euro-Americans, though, believed that the name referred to Pine Creek, which empties into the West Branch to the west of the present-day borough of Jersey Shore. Jersey Shore is roughly fifteen miles west of Williamsport. The difference in the land mass was substantial.

The Pennsylvania provincial government accepted the claim by the Amerindians that the boundary was defined in part by the Lycoming River. That did not deter Euro-Americans from settling as far west as Pine Creek. The Northumberland County Court would not recognize those settlers' claims and in fact considered them to be trespassing on the Amerindian lands. Therefore, the settlers living outside of the provincial authority also found themselves outside of the provincial protection. The interloping settlers banded together under the name of the Fair Play Men. As Colonel Peter Hosterman's letter described, the Amerindians did not take kindly to the families settling on lands they felt were still theirs.

Nothing material happen'd since station'd ~ rainy weather ~ scouts out and no Discoveries till this day ~ Col Hosterman with Capt. Reynolds & a party of 13 Men set off for Antis's Mill with ammunition for that place & the Big Island; when they had got as far as Loyal Sock (five miles from this place), And had just cross'd the Creek, they heard a firing & yells, they judg'd it To be 3/4 mile up the Creek, they push'd on to the firing as fast as they Cou'd, But when they came to the place where they thought the firing was, the Party supposed the Indians had seen them & gave a stroke for every man in the party, as they heard a noise resembling a stroke on a Hollow Tree several Times repeated, this noise was still further off, they went on to Thompsons about a Mile from the place they first heard the firing, they decided to surround the House, when they arriv'd there they found the Barn on fire (it contained grain in The Sheaff), the house untouch'd, they found Thompsons powder Horn (with a Bullet hole through it) near the House, saw several mockasen & shoe tracks, but Cou'd not find Thompson, Shoefelt, or Wikoff, these three were the men at the House. Just before they came to the house they heard two death Hollo^s & one that they Took to be a prisoner Holloo after, after this they heard the Indians and then heard no more of them, after the party had Examin'd the house & about the field for Thompson and the rest & cou'd not find them they March'd to Lycoming. This firing at Thompson's began between 2 & 3 o'clock & lasted about 3/4 of an hour, our People had a very ugly swamp to cross through which took them near a Quarter of an hour, & this depriv'd them from being up time

enough to succor Thompson, they suppos'd from the yells that the Indians gave they were about 14 in number, same day Peter Smith his wife & 6 children, Wm. King's wife with 2 children, Michael Smith, (Michael Campbell & David Chambers, belonging to Capt. Reynolds Company) & ~ Snodgrass & ~ Hammond being 6 men, Two Women & Eight Children were going with a Wagon to Lycoming, when they were near to Loyal Sock, John Harris, (son to old Sam^l Harris) who had heard the whole firing met them and told them off it, and desir'd them to return, as to go forward was dangerous, But Peter Smith said that firing wou'd not stop them, Harris came here and Smith went on, Upon Harris' Information a party of 15 push'd to the Place the firing was heard, when Smith with his Wagon & party had got within 3/4 of a mile of Lycoming the Indians fired at them at the first fire Snodgrass fell dead being shot through the Temple, the Indians fired on them at first two guns, then Immediately three set up the shout and advanced running to the Wagon, our men as soon as they saw them (for they did not see them Till they receiv'd the 2 fires) Tree'd & return'd the fire, a little Boy & A girl made off about this time, the Indians Closed in very fast & Endeavoured to surround them, this occasion'd our men to flee as fast as they cou'd, all but Campbell, who was seen fighting at close Quarters with his Rifle and the Indians Gun was found broke to pieces, before they were out of sight of the wagon they saw the Indians attacking the women & Children with their Tomahawks, the number of Indians, Chambers thinks to be about 20, this affair began just before sun down, the boy that Escap'd pushed to Lycoming & Informed the men there of what had happen'd they went of Immediately, but mistaking the Intelligence the boy gave they went to the river, to the place the men liv'd as they Imagin'd it was the Canoe That was attack'd, in the meantime Capt. Hepburn with the party That left this came across the dead bodies of Snodgrass & another, but it being dark they cou'd not distinguish who they were, they went to Lycoming where they met the other party, they waited to the next day as it was too late to do any thing that night. June 11th, the parties went down & found the bodies off the following person Viz., Peter Smith's wife, sot through, stab'd And a knife left by her, & scalped, Wm. King's wife Tomahawk'd & Scalp'd, she was sitting up this morning but Lean'd on her husband when he came to her, and Expir'd Immediately, she appear'd sensible but cou'd not speak, a Little girl kill'd & scalp'd, a boy the same, Snodgrass shot through the head, Tomahawk'd & Stab'd, &c.,

Campbell shot in the back, Tomahawk'd, Stab'd, Scalp'd and a knife left in him, they took off his rifle but took nothing but trifles out of the Wagon; they found a coat of the Indians & a Cartridge made up of best Cartridge paper, the Indians made use of buck shot as one was sticking in the wagon & one in the arm of one the dead; as the parties that went out yesterday had not return'd & no Intelligence from them the people at Munsey And here, grew uneasy & sent off a party between 20 & 30, under Capt. Shaffer, these men when they came to the house of Thompson Examin'd it & all about, at length found him and Shoefelt the out side of a field among some pine grubs, Thompson was shot through the left shoulder & scalp'd, They lay but a little distance apart, they were so near Thompson when they shot him that his Jacket was Burn'd. Wikoff is suppos'd to be taken prison^r, he was about 16 years old, 6 guns was heard Above Ferguson's at 8^o Clock A.M.

As can be seen in the letter, Peter Smith, his wife and six children were heading up the Lycoming River and a number of others had joined them on the journey.⁶⁹⁸ Rachel, the wife of William King and their two daughters, Sarah and Ruth joined the Smith family. William was away at the time and had asked her to stay put at their farmstead. Five other men: Michael Smith, Michael Campbell, David Chambers, a man named Snodgrass and a man named Hammond joined the party.

Firing was heard in the distance as the party reached Loyalsock Creek. They were met by John Harris who tried to persuade them from proceeding any farther into the frontier region. Harris was unsuccessful.

The Smith party continued on their way and very soon were ambushed by a party of Mohawks. According to Thomas Baird of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, the Mohawk party was led by Joseph Brant.⁶⁹⁹ It was just before sundown when the Mohawks fired on the settlers. Two volleys of musket fire killed Snodgrass immediately. Some of the men took off running as the Amerindians surrounded the party and began to strike them with their tomahawks. It appeared that there were possibly twenty warriors attacking Smith's party.

It should be noted that the path on which the Smith party was traveling led through a plum orchard. Settlers who had gone before the Smith party had widened the path by cutting down some of the plum trees, piling the brush along the side of the path. Behind those brush piles the Amerindians had hid to lay their ambush.

The Euro~American families who had settled on the lands which were contested between the province of Pennsylvania and the Amerindians who claimed it was theirs became known as the 'Fair Play Men'. The name was applied to the settlers because being outside of the province of Pennsylvania, they were outside of the province's laws. They created their own quasi-government with its own laws that they believed would be fair to all. Three men were elected each years to serve as 'commissioners' whose decisions were the laws. New settlers could not move into the Fair Play lands unless approved to do so by the commissioners at the time. If a 'settler' was absent from his claimed property for more than six weeks, he lost

claim to it. According to the book *A Picture of Lycoming County*:⁷⁰⁰ “The decisions of the Fair Play Men were final. Anyone disregarding their verdict was placed in a canoe, paddled down the river to the mouth of Lycoming Creek, and set adrift with orders not to return. The justice of their decrees was never questioned. This was due to the high character and sense of honor of the men who administered them. Unfortunately no written records of their transactions exist. One reason advanced for their failure to keep records is that they were not friendly to the English Crown and did not wish to put anything in writing that might be used against them at any future time.”

As a result of the Plum Tree Massacre and other Amerindian and Tory incursions, the Pennsylvania Provincial authorities urged the Fair play Men, *i.e.* the Euro~Americans who had settled in the unpurchased lands west of the Lycoming River, to leave the region. In what was known as the *Big Runaway*, the ‘Fair Play’ settlers streamed east and southward into Northumberland County. Many of them took refuge in Fort Augusta (near the present-day borough of Selinsgrive).

. ***The Donaldson Massacre***
11 June 1778

Just one month after Levi Hicks was murdered, another family residing near the mouth of Spruce Creek in the part of Bedford County that became present-day Huntingdon County fell victim to Amerindians. The story of the Donaldson family’s capture and massacre was told by Uriah J. Jones and repeated in J. Simpson Africa’s *History of Huntingdon & Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*.⁷⁰¹

Moses Donaldson showed up as a resident of Barree Township in 1771. His farmstead was in Harts Log Settlement, near John Hart’s trading post which was located in the vicinity of present-day Alexandria. The Harts Log Settlement was located along the north bank of the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. From the mouth of Spruce Creek, it was almost due south as the crow flies. That region fell under the jurisdiction of Barree Township from its formation in 1767 until Frankstown Township was formed in 1775.

Another resident of the Harts Log Settlement in 1776 was James Little. Jones and Africa (probably just repeating Jones) stated that he was “*a man by the name of Lytle*”. No man was recorded on any of the tax assessment returns as ‘Lytle’ and James Little was the only close variation. Perhaps James Little’s surname was pronounced with the long ‘i’ sound. In any case, Lytle wanted to have a fortified structure built on his land to serve the local residents. The log structure that was therefore built became known as ‘Lytles’ Fort’ or simply as ‘Lytle’s.’ It was constructed in the year 1777.

Moses Donaldson and some other neighbors wanted the fortification built on his own land. The majority, though won out and the fort was built on Lytle’s land. Donaldson refused to take refuge at Lytle’s when the need arose.

Moses Donaldson took his family to Fort Standing Stone at present-day Huntingdon in the spring of 1778 when warnings of Amerindian incursions rose. In early June, the threat seemed to be lessened and the Donaldson family returned to their farm.

Then, on the 11th, word spread throughout the settlement that a young girl had been out retrieving some cows near the mouth of Shaver’s Creek where it empties into the Juniata

River. She claimed that she saw at least five Amerindians. In his way of embellishing his narratives with information that have no way of being verified, Jones stated: "*The five Indians were considered the advance of a large party; otherwise they might readily have been cut off by a dozen resolute men.*"⁷⁰² The settlers headed either to the safety of Fort Standing Stone and Lytle's Fort.

Moses Donaldson got his family into their canoe and headed downstream on the Juniata River toward Standing Stone. When the Donaldson family arrived near the mouth of Shaver's Creek they found a number of canoes and the soldiers who were traveling in them. The soldiers were transporting lead from Fort Roberdeau in the Sinking Spring Valley of present-day Blair County. Although records do not exist to prove it, the lead was probably transported on wooden barges down the river. The barges would have been maneuvered using long wooden poles.

The point where Moses Donaldson intended to rendezvous was near a neighbor by the name of Anderson with whom Donaldson had business. It was said that he risked the safety of his family simply to purchase a jug of whiskey. Feeling that they were safe in the presence of the soldiers, Donaldson made the decision not to advance further toward the fort at Standing Stone. Leaving his wife and two children in the canoe along the bank, Moses and his oldest son, who was ten years old, headed to Anderson's house.

About a half hour later, the ten year old son headed back to the canoe. In an instance of fortuitousness, as he came upon the site he saw Amerindians grabbing his mother and siblings and taking them away. The boy hurried to a nearby tavern where he found twelve soldiers. Despite his entreaties for them to search for his mother's abductors, they did not believe him and refused to head out into the forest on a scouting expedition. The boy gave up on the soldiers and headed to Anderson's house to tell his father.

Moses hurried to the landing on the river where he had left his wife and two sons only to find the boy's story true. He was immediately distraught and his thoughts shifted in a flash from acquiring a jug of whiskey and getting his family back. He headed to the tavern and begged the soldiers to go with him to search for the captors and their captives. The soldiers being too drunk to care insisted that a search be postponed until the following morning. Moses could do nothing to convince them otherwise.

Mrs. Donaldson, who was pregnant at the time, and the other two children could not be found over the next few days when a party composed of some of the soldiers and local residents finally formed a search party. A child's bonnet was found to the northwest, near the mouth of Spruce Creek, indicating which direction the Amerindians had taken their captives. Unfortunately, Mrs. Donaldson and the two younger children were not found alive. A few years later, two men (Thomas Johnston and Peter Crum) were "*hunting in the Spruce Creek Valley, several miles above its mouth...*" There they "*came upon a camp of friendly Indians, where an old Indian woman was engaged in boiling maple-sugar.*" The old woman told them that she wanted to show them something. She led the two hunters about a mile farther upstream where she showed them an adult skeleton and two child skeletons. The hunters conveyed the information to Moses Donaldson, who claimed the skeletons as his long lost wife and young children.

Unfortunately, the actual identity of the skeletons was questioned since another mother and children (Eatons) had disappeared from Brady Township and their remains had never

been found. The truth of what had happened to the Eaton mother and children would forever have remained a mystery had not a local weaver come forward to identify a scrap of material found with the skeleton. Upon seeing the scrap of material, the weaver confirmed that he had made the cloth for Mrs. Donaldson. The identification of the piece of material was an example of Eighteenth Century forensic investigation.

. ***Additional Massacre In The Lycoming Valley***
14 June 1778

Just four days after the Plum Tree Massacre, a party of Amerindians made an additional raid into the Lycoming Valley. Various known as the Lycoming Creek Valley, the waterway enters the northern boundary of Lycoming County. In fact it forms part of that boundary between it and Tioga County and flows southward to empty into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The present-day city of Williamsport, the county seat of Lycoming, stands at the mouth of the Lycoming Creek. The Lycoming Creek Valley is the closest major valley to the east of the valley cut by the Pine Creek. The Pine Creek waterway was part of the primary route of the British-led Seneca raids into the heart of the Pennsylvania Colony.

According to the information contained in a letter (from Colonel Cookson Long of the Fourth Battalion of the Northumberland County Militia to General James Potter) and then sent by General Potter to George Stewart, sub-Lieutenant of Cumberland County, a party of a dozen warriors attacked a group of settlers traveling southward through the valley toward the settlement of the name *Licomon* (probably present-day Williamsport).⁷⁰³ Despite being escorted by the militia under Colonel Hoskman, the party was attacked. Six of the settlers traveling in the party were killed and two were missing.

On the same day (14 June), three men were hunting for cattle that had gotten loose in the vicinity of Loyalsock (in present-day Lycoming County). The men hunting for the cattle were attacked and were murdered.

An Amerindian by the name of Seninghoning, who was taken prisoner, later informed the Northumberland County militia that a party of twelve Indians had committed the murders. Seninghoning declared that his fellow warriors intended to “*com Down & Murder all that is on the East & west Branches of Sescquanaha...*”. Potter stated that he planned to send Seninghoning to Colonel Hunter, but that one of the militia men shot the Amerindian while he was sleeping and killed him.

Around the same time, nearly twenty people were killed along the North Branch of the Susquehanna River. A settler taken prisoner by the attacking party of warriors made his escape and informed the militia of what he heard. He stated that the ‘Nording Indians’ were determined to destroy both branches (*i.e.* of the Susquehanna River). The name *Nording* is not a tribal name. It possibly referred to ‘northern’ Indians.

. ***The Attack On The Ulery Sisters***
July 1778

Two miles south of Ligonier resided a family by the surname Ulery.⁷⁰⁴ Although the parents' names are not remembered, the three daughters in the family were Julian at twenty years, Elizabeth at eighteen and Abigail at sixteen.

On a day in July 1778, the three sisters were in the field raking hay. A party of Amerindians attacked the girls and they ran for the house. The two older sisters could run faster than Abigail. When they reached the house, without their younger sister beside them, they assumed that she had been captured. Therefore Julian and Elizabeth raced into the house and quickly closed and barred the door.

With his two oldest daughters safely inside, Mr. Ulery raised his musket and shot through the door. The bullet made its way through the wood and found its mark in the body of one of the attacking Amerindians. The man who was struck was only wounded and he and the others broke off the attack. The warriors had apparently seen that there were three girls originally, but they lost track of the one in their mad dash to get the two heading to the house. They returned to the field to look for the third girl, but could not locate her. Abigail had hid as the warriors ran past her, and then she moved into the forest beside the house to find a better hiding place.

Finding an uprooted tree, Abigail crawled in the depression and covered herself with leaves. The Amerindians searched for the girl, but the one that had been wounded by the father was in too much agony to continue. The others decided it would be better to get him back to their own camp. They headed up over a hill by the Ulery farmstead. A fresh grave was discovered a short time afterwards and it was believed to have been that wounded warrior who was buried there. Abigail made her way home after the warriors had left.

Julian and Elizabeth went back to the field to continue their work the following day. Once again they were attacked by Amerindians, possibly the same party that had attacked them the day before. In order to be successful this time, the warriors made sure to get between the girls and the house. The girls struggled but could not free themselves.

In an odd twist, the Amerindians gave the girls new moccasins to wear. That was a detail of the narrative that had not been included in other narratives. It was a detail that begs the question of whether the Amerindians carried extra moccasins on every incursion that they made or if this party of warriors just happened to have them with them on this raid.

Moreso dragged than walking, the two sisters were led along a nearby stream. Their contrariness forced the warriors to demand of them to choose to either cooperate or meet their deaths. The girls fought all the harder. The warriors had had enough and drawing their tomahawks they struck the two sisters and scalped them.

The Amerindians left the bodies lying where they fell and hurried on their way. Then deciding not to leave the good moccasins on the feet of two dead settlers, the warriors returned to the site to retrieve the shoes. They found Elizabeth gaining consciousness and having sat up to lean against a tree. One of the warriors finished the deed by sinking his tomahawk into the girl's skull. Julian had also begun to gain consciousness, but had the instinct to lay still as if dead and she was spared additional blows. Julian recovered but her scalp never fully healed.

. ***The Murder Of John Gulliford
Summer 1778***

John Gulliford and his family resided in Frankstown Township as 1778 began.⁷⁰⁵ He had cultivated 200 acres in the Tuckahoe Valley. Accordig to U. J. Jones, his farmstead was located in the vicinity south of present-day Bellwood. He cleared fields a short distance to the south in the vicinity of preset-day East Altoona where the Blair Furnace was constructed.

During the spring, as the frequency of Amerindian attack increased, John took his family southward to Fort Fetter. They waited there for a few weeks and eventually the alarm decreased. As in so many cases, when the threat seemed to subside, John decided to head back to his farm to see how his crops were doing. He never returned to the fort for his family.

John Gulliford was found lying dead on his doorstep, killed by a musket shot. Apparently he was coming out of his house when an Amerindian or Tory mortally wounded him. Two neighbors found Gulliford's body and reported that he had not been scalped. Possibly to prevent that from happening at some later time, the two neighbors (whom U. J. Jones named simply as 'Coleman and Milligan') buried the body immediately.

In the 1779 tax assessment return for Frankstown Township, an entry in the 'owner of cultivated land' category was 'Widow Gulliford.'

. ***Additional Incursions In 1778***

On 13 May, from Westmoreland, Archibald Lochry, the county's Lieutenant, sent a letter to President Joseph Wharton at Philadelphia. He noted an engagement in which Westmoreland County Militia was involved with the Amerindians.⁷⁰⁶

On the 28th Aprile the Indians came into the Settlement at and about Wallace's Fort, Attacted 20 of our men, which was Reconnoitering the Woods, and Killed 9 of our Men, & Wounded Capt. Hopkins Slightly, and we lost 9 guns.

In short, I am sorry to Inform you that the Frontiers of this County is more Distressed by Reason of this Last Scrimmage than they ever were before, as by appearance there was a larger Body of the Enemy than ever before appeared at once, and with much more Vigour; the Great Road is now the Frontier, and being Disappointed in their Expectation of an Early Campaign into the Indian Country, I am sorry to Inform you that I doubt a General Evacuation of the Posts on the Frontiers (Fort Pitt only Excepted), on the first or next appearance, or Attact of such a Body of the Enemy. ...

Colonel John Proctor provided some additional information on the encounter in his own letter to President Wharton on 15 May. He noted that: "since my last we had a smart

scrimmage with the Indeans, we had nine Kild and sum wounded, four of the enemy ware Kiled, our Peple ware obliged to quit the field being over Powered by a superior number..."⁷⁰⁷ In the same post, Colonel Proctor commented on the local Tories: "A *number of torys had laid a plot to destroy the fort at Pitsburg but were detected and sum of the Principal men are takin and in Confinement, whitch I hope will be Executed in a few dayes.*"

The Great Road was the name given to the Forbes Road cut in 1758 during the Forbes Expedition from Carlisle to the Forks of the Ohio and Fort Duquesne / Pitt. As soon as the military campaign was finished, and the main bulk of the British Army returned east, Euro~Americans began to homestead along the road. It afforded them a ready-made avenue through the forests. It also provided a route by which the Amerindians could travel in their raids.

On 19 May (following the Tory Expedition to Kittanning), forty-one inhabitants of Dublin Township, in the east side of Bedford County that would, in 1787, become part of Huntingdon County, sent a letter to the Pennsylvania General Assembly.⁷⁰⁸ The letter was intended to impress upon the legislators the gravity of the situation in the frontier in order to obtain help.

*The Inhabitants of Dublin Township, To the honourable Assembly,
the Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania:*

We, your humble Petitioners, deeply impressed with a sense of danger to which we are exposed by the Indians, beg leave in a suppliant manner to lay our case before you, praying that in your deliberations, you may endeavour to adopt proper measures for our safety and protection. You are no doubt informed that the Savages have already begun to murder and destroy the property of the inhabitants upon the frontiers of this State; that those who have escaped their barbarities, fearing least they may also fall a prey into their hands, are flying to the more secure parts of the Country. As this is the case, what are we to expect but in a short time to lie open to all cruelties they are now obliged to suffer; our lives to be taken away in the most inhuman manner, our property to be wantonly destroyed, and ourselves and our families reduced to the greatest distress. These are the dangers to which we look forward with fear and anxiety, and these are the dangers against which we pray that in your wisdom you w'd make the speediest and most effectual provision. Besides, should the cruelties of the savages extend as far as us, you must know that we are not capable of ourselves to make adequate resistance; we must flie, and leave those who are now more remote from danger, exposed to all that inhumanity which we now dread, before the danger reaches us. We will chearfully contribute all the assistance in or power to the present sufferers; but should we ourselves become the sufferers, many circumstances will concur to hinder us from

exerting ourselves effectually for that purpose. Farther, what will be the consequence of the savages ravaging the country and driving the inhabitants before them without any opposition, We shall shortly be deprived of the common support of life, nor have any secure retreat to w'h we may flie for protection. Hence it appears that the sooner we put a stop to their progress, it will in many respects turn out to our greater advantage. We would not pretend to dictate to your wisdom, any particular plan necessary in the present exegency, but only pray in the most suppliant manner that you would seriously consider our situation and proceed in the speediest manner against the evils that now threaten us. Neither do we lay these considerations before you to awaken in you the feelings of humanity. We apprehend you are sensibly affected with the view of our distressed situation, and will at all times act for the good of the people, whose sentiments you are supposed to speak. We only mean to shew you that as we are a part of the whole, so the whole must be rendered more weak in proportion to the loss we or any other part may sustain. Your hearkening to the voice of our petition, and endeavouring to give us the speediest succour in your power will increase our obligations to confess ourselves to be ever bound in duty to pray.

Just the day before, the 18th, a group of fifty-five residents of Path Valley in neighboring Cumberland County sent their own 'memorial' to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council:⁷⁰⁹

Memorial of the Inhabitants of Path Valley
The Humble Petition of the subscribers, the Inhabitants of ther above mentioned Valley, Humbly Sheweth:
That we your Petitioners, Labour under the Greatest anxiety posseble at this present time, for our Malitia has received orders for four Classes to be in readiness to march Immediately to Camp. The Indians (or rather the tories) is Murdering our Neighbours close by us, no futher off than Bedford, and what active men is of use here is Entirely Defenceless, for want of arms and amunition. We earnestly request and beg, that the Worthy Council may take our Distressed Circumstances under their wise Consideration, and Contribute to our assistance by sending us some quantity of Rifled guns and amunition. Likewise to order our Malitia back against the Indians, for nothing appears to us more probable than if our men is marched to Camp our Women and Children will fall a sacrifice to Savage Cruel Barbarity. As there was of Late a Number of wicked tories Joined in a Combination, and went to

Conduct the Indians Down to Murder the whigs (as they call us) here, but was Disappointed by a Supernatural Cause. Some of said party if taken, the rest is sculking in the mountains, and thought to be the Murderers of these people Near Bedford, and their Leaders is not taken as yet. They will bring the Indians on us if in their power. What moves us to supplicate for rifles is, because m'skets is of very little use in the woods against Indians. We hope a sensible feeling of our gloomy aspect, and the safety and security of our distressed Country and Interests, will move you to grant, with all possible speed, our Humble requests; and your petitioners shall, as in Duty bound, Ever pray, &c.

Memorials / petitions similar to the foregoing were submitted to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council on 21 June by inhabitants of Bald Eagle Township, Northumberland County and on 29 June by inhabitants of Fannet Township, Cumberland County.

“The Indians, excited by the Emissaries of the British King, have made some incursions into the western & northwestern parts of this state. Northumberland County, in particular, has felt the beginnings of their horrid ravage & cruelty, & the evil threatens to spread.” So wrote George Bryan to Colonel William Gibbon from Lancaster on 19 May 1778.⁷¹⁰

On 26 May 1778, Lieutenant Samuel Hunter wrote to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from Sunbury. In that letter he noted that:⁷¹¹

Since I wrote Council last there is frequently Expresses comeing to inform me of Savages killing and Captivaiting tha Back inhabitants. The 16th Inst., nigh the mouth of Bald Eagle creek, there was killed and scalped by the Indians three men that was putting in a spring crop, and on the 18th Inst., nigh Pine Creek, there was a man & woman & child taken Prisoners, and on the 20th Inst., there was two men and seven women and Childern taken from one House near Lycoming creek ~ they took them all Prisoners, and Yesterday there was an Express from Muncy, informing me of three familys, Consisting of Sixteen in number, being killed and taken away from Loyalsock, about six miles above Sam. Wallis's; there was but two of them found killd, as the Enemy had set fire to the Houses. It had so alarmed the inhabitants to such a degree that they are all fled to Samuel Wallis's, where they intend to make a stand until the militia of those two lower Battalions marches up to their assistance ...

Lieutenant Hunter continued his letter by noting that he had given orders for every man who had been provided with weapons to stay ready to respond if necessary. But he also

noted that it was a difficult thing to get them to turn out because their own families were in danger and they felt compelled to stay close to safeguard them.

Too upset to let the matter languish, Lieutenant Hunter sent a letter to John Hambright, a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, then convened at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He wrote from Fort Augusta in Northumberland County, at the site of present-day Sunbury, the county-seat of Northumberland County and where the waters of the West and North Branches of the Susquehanna Rivers merge:⁷¹²

We are Really in a Meloncoly situation in this County at present, the back inhabitants has all Evacuated their habitations and Assembled in different places; all above Muncy to Lycoming is come to Samuel Wallises, and the People of Muncy has gathered to Captain Bradys, all above Lycoming is at Antis's Mill & the mouth of Bald Eagle Creek, all the inhabitants of Penn's Valley is gathered to one place in Potters Township, the Inhabitants of White Dear Township is assembled at three Different places, and the Back settlers of Bufaloe is come down to the River, Penn's Township likewise has moved to the River, all from Muncy Hill to Chilisquake has assembled at three Different places, Fishing Creek and Mahoning Setlement has all come to the River side; as you are acquainted with the Country makes me mention this, to think what a pannick prevails in this County; it is really Distressin to see the inhabitants flying away and leaving their all, Especially the Jersey people, that came up here this last Winter and Spring, not one stays, but sets of to the Jerseys again; the People in General is Discouraged that I am afraid we will not be able to make proper stands against the Enemy, unless we get more assistance from some other quarter; there was number of the Inhabitants with me to day, to consult in Regard of Petitioning Congress for some Companys to be stationed here and properly supported, for as the generality of the settlers is poor they cannot subsist long in case they are obliged to keep so many of the Militia on Duty, as there is at this time three Classes, which takes the chief of all the arms, so that there is not enough left to supply them that guards the Women and Children.

Colonel James Potter, in a letter to Mr. Stewart on 17 June from 'Kishcockquilysh', copied a letter he had received from Colonel Long to General Potars which stated:⁷¹³

Sir, 14 of this instant alarming account from Licoman, Concerning a few inhabittance who taking their Station at Covinghavings & ware Returning to Licoman with an ascort of Militia, under the Command of Coll. Hoskman, who ware

atackted By twelve Indians, six of our People were killed & two Mising; there ware also the seam Day, at Loyal Sock, three Men killed that weare hunting Catel; we had some time ago an Indian prisenaar who had Come Down, Seninghoning, who informs of those twelve Indians who did the Murder, he also informed me of Numbar who are Detarmeded to com Down & Murder all that is on the East & west branches of Sescquanaha; I intended to heave sent him Down to Col. Hunter, in order to satisfy him, but an Eavel Disposed person Belong to a lower Gorason shot him as he ware Sleeping in the gard Houce; we are also in Formed of twenty Parsones killed on the North Brentch of the River, together with a prisinor that Mead his Easceape who gave information that the Nordring Indians Are Fetarmeded to Destroy Both Brenches in this Mon...

In the last paragraph of the letter, Colonel Long added information suggesting a possible incursion southward into the valleys leading to Frankstown:

There weare a party of Capt. Pealear's Men in the Nitany Valy this Day & Brings in an account that the Discovered Numbar of tracks Leading Down Logan's gap, the tracks weare quight fresh & to Apearance to be upwards of thirty in Numbar.

Logan's Gap, or Logan's Narrows is a gap in the Bald Eagle Ridge or Mountain through which the Kishacoquillas Creek flows. [The gap is currently named Mann Narrows.] It is located in the boundary between present-day Huntingdon and Mifflin Counties. The Nittany Valley runs down the center of Centre County, bounded on the east by Bald Eagle Mountain. The northern end of Bald Eagle Mountain is located at Lycoming County while the southern end serves as part of the boundary between Blair and Huntingdon Counties. The Bald Eagle Path, an Indian trail, traveled along the foot of the western slope of Bald Eagle Mountain. Passage through Logan's Gap in 1778 would have allowed Amerindian incursions into Cumberland County by raiders using the Bald Eagle Path.

On 23 June 1778, General John Armstrong described the situation on the frontiers in a letter to George Bryan, the Vice-President of the Pennsylvania General Assembly.⁷¹⁴

Sir, From the apparen inroads of the Indians on the Western frontiers of this State & that of Virginia, Instigated, as they have been, for the peculiar purpose of subjugating the United States, I had expectations, & still have that Congress wou'd take up this matter in a general or Continental point of view, from which apprehension & the allarming nature of the thing, I took the liberty, some three or four Weeks ago, to throw out a few

promiscuous thoughts to the Delegates of this State, in Congress, submitting to their prudence what farther use shou'd be made of them, (a Copy of which I intend you with this) bnt have not learn'd whether those hints came to their hands.

That the Indian depredations are still increasing is beyond a doubt, & the devastation of Country now much greater than when I wrote the delegates, altho' of the particular murders I have not heard, since those related in General Potter's letter, sent you by Major Myles, only that a woman & two children were missing, & one man wounded at the head of Kishacoquillis Valley. I cannot yet learn, with certainty, whether there is any Indian Town in reasonable reach, on either Branch of the Susquehanah, but think it probable there must, if so, such Town or Towns might be readily destroyed, without much previous preparation; and one or at most Two hundred Men sufficient for any of these. Shingaclamoose (if now inhabited) is but a few days march above the great Island. However expedient a vigorous attack on their Towns may be, so near is the Harvest, and of so much importance to the future support of the people and army that I'm inclined to think we must for the present be content to act on the defensive, for the reaping & gathering in of the Harvest; yet so extensive is the Frontier, even on this side the Alleghany Mountain, and so inadequate the measure that it's distressing, even in idea, altho' the best that the nature of the case will admit. The Inhabitants must agree to reap, &c., in such associated bodies as may be practicable, with guards appointed to cover them, whilst others, if to be spared, will Patrole behind them, or from one settlement to another. I conceive that all the Militia you can at this season of the year well draw from Lancaster & York Countys, with a small part of Cumberland, will not be sufficient to cherish & support the back parts of Cumberland, Northumberland & Bedford Countys; so that there may be a necessity of drawing some from Chester & Berks also. Yesterday Lieut. Sharp, of Shareman's Valley, told me he thought that in the space of one month Carlisle must be the frontier of this part of the Country, and that many Familys are actually fled in, I know to be fact. Yet it is equally true that various false reports are propagated, & that many have fled too hastily & without just occasion. So that on the whole a notice to such Militia as the Council may think proper, to hold themselves in readiness on a sudden Call, may for the present be sufficient.

There is still another method to be taken that might contribute much to stimulate the frontier Inhabitants to their own defence & the protection of their property. That is a farther distribution of

Arms and ammunition among them, in the back Battalions of the three Counties mentioned above; whether this is in your power is matter of doubt, perhaps the Board of War cou'd assist you.

I shou'd be faulty in not informing you that a report prevails here that our people are in quietness at Fort Pitt, and some Indians coming into that place to a Treaty. The authority I cannot well give. I am, Sir,

In regard to the victims that he mentioned as “a woman & two children were missing, & one man wounded at the head of Kishacoquillis Valley...” the woman was the wife of the Reverend David Eaton. The Eatons resided in present-day Brady Township, Huntingdon County. Their farmstead was located west of a gap in Standing Stone Mountain. The ultimate fates of the woman and one child are not known, but the other son, Joseph, escaped and wound up in Ohio. The wounded man was thought to be a local settler by the surname Slagle who, according to a tradition, was just passing through the gap on his way to have grain ground at Pridmore’s Mill. Despite Armstrong’s assumption that his injury was related to the incursions by the Amerindians, Slagle claimed to have been shot by local resident Jacob Hare. He died before reaching help.⁷¹⁵ [Note: The details of this incident are very similar to the incident of the capture of a Mrs. Eaton and one child in April 1778. Whether it is in fact the same one cannot be determined for certain. See page 320.]

John Armstrong decided that the delegates meeting in Continental Congress should be apprised of the situation in the frontiers. To that end, he sent a letter to them:⁷¹⁶

Gentlemen, From a consideration of the Indian incursions on the Western frontiers of Virginia & Pennsylvania, the consequences whereof must readily attract the common attention, I had designed to have address'd a few lines to Congress on that interesting subject, but the suspence arising from our expectations of the departure of the British Enemy on the one hand (in which case part of the continental army could be spared to operate to the West) and on the other, the difficulty of Raising new troops adequate to the purpose, has obliged me to postpone that letter, and adopt the present method of laying before you such thoughts as have occurred to me on that occasion either to be suppressed or farther improved as your prudence will direct. The number of people Kill'd on both sides the Alleghany I have not learned, on this side and near the Centre of this State they are said to be near forty persons Under the present depredations many families with such of their effects as they can carry off are already moved from their habitations, and the farther devastation of Country truly alarming, as beside the great distress of these sufferers if generally drove in with their stock from beyond the Kittany mountain, as was the case last war, their weight will prove an over burthen to the

interior parts, even at this clement season of the year. From the great extent of our frontier, and the Indian mode of war nothing truly salutary nor permanent can be expected from our acting on the defensive. Experience and the nature of things puts this proposition beyond a doubt, a chain of patrole will yield some degree of support to the interior inhabitants and a few incidental advantages have resulted from that measure, but in a mountainous and covered Country of large extent it is generally impracticable and fruitless, it remains therefore that an immediate attack on their several towns is the only method under God of bringing to an early period this desolating and barbarous War, and not less than three different bodies of men should march at once or near the same time, upon the occasion, one from Shamokin or Sunbury, to proceed up the Susquehanna to a certain small town, the name of which I have not yet learned, but where the perpetrators of some of the late murders are said to reside. Two from Fort Pitt of greater force each than the former, to proceed against such of the Towns beyond the Allegany river as may be thought most proper; these last by taking different routes or at least appearing to do so, will divert the Savages and thereby prevent their general junction, yet always to be within supporting distance of each other, and may act separately or in conjunction as prudence & Inteligence shall direct. I shou'd consider the space of three or four days march not out of supporting distance, provided the intelligence be good. The Indians may evacuate their towns & suddenly flee off, this they have in their power as well as to fight or let it alone at pleasure, but their huts and corn fields must remain, the destruction whereof greatly affects their old men, their women, and their children, whose complaints on these alarming occasions has a native tendency to abate the ferocity of the Warriors, and reduce them to terms of better behaviour. In case our regular Troops cannot seasonably be spared for these purposes, instead of waiting to raise new Regiments in my opinion a number of the militia in the back County's of Virginia, Maryland & Pennsylvania, Ought to be taken into service for the Campaign under their present Officers, or such others as they may chuse, these in aid of some Continental Troops, the whole under the command of General McIntosh, whom it's said is appointed to that Department, may be able to prevent that series of Indian Ravages that otherwise is too likely to obtain. In the apprehension of some people Fort Detroit should rather be the object, & an Expedition immediately formed against that Fortress, I am of a very different Opinion for reasons so obvious as at present prevents my giving you the trouble of reading them.

Enclosed I send you a list of the several & most noted Indian towns within tolerable reach of Fort Pitt, their respective distances from that Post, general situation & reputed strength, Taken from good authority. And am Gentlemen, with great respect your very humble servt, J. A.

Through the summer and fall of 1777 and into the spring of 1778, many of the Euro-American settlers of Westmoreland and Bedford Counties fled from their homes and sought safety in Cumberland County. By mid-July 1778, the incursions by the Amerindians on the frontiers both in the west and northeast of Pennsylvania had increased to such an extent that a number of the inhabitants of even Cumberland County had moved eastward. On 12 July Matthew Smith, newly elected as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council from Lancaster County, wrote to George Bryan, Vice-President of the Council from Paxtang.⁷¹⁷ Of significance in his letter, as follows, he noted the dire news that the Blue Mountains had become the new boundary of the *frontier*.

I am this Moment arrived at Mr. Harris's Ferry, & Just now Behold the Greatest Scenes of Distress I ever saw, the Numerous poor Ran away from their habitations & left their all, & several familys have lost part, kill^d & scalp^d; on the Retreat the most Cruel Butcheries Ever known is practiced, wounded and others thrown into fires while yet living; the Inhabitants, however, as much distressed, the Wioming people are undoubtedly, by the last Acc^{ts}, entirely Defeated; Northumberland county is Evacuated, not more than one hundred men with Col^o Hunter at Sunbury; the Blue Mountains is now the frontier, & I am afraid Lancaster county shortly will follow the Example of the other county; the Stores at Carlisle is something very considerable ~ I Doubt not their Object is to Destroy that place. I am inform^d there is not that Care taken that should be, I think it would be Necessary to appoint some Careful Officer at that place that would Do the Duty more punctual.

This party is large, have Col^o Butler at their head, 100 Regular Troops at first, about the same Number of Tories, but is Encreas^d to two or three times that Number, Seven hundred Indians all arm^d in a most formidable manner Every one of them, Exclusive of Guns and Tomahacks, as usual; Each one hath a large Spontoon, and as soon as Engag^d Rushes on in a most dreadful manner; it is said they have field pieces or Swivels, & a Number of light Horse.

It is the Earnest Request of all friends to their Country, as well as your Humble Serv^t, that something shall be done in y^e Greatest hast; be pleas^d to send an Order for what arms is Ready

at Lancaster & Hummelstown, also for Amunition, & I shall Exert Every Nerve in forwarding matters to the spot the men shall Collect.

At Hummelstown on the 12th of July, Peter De Haven, a Lancaster County gunsmith who operated a powder mill (factory) on the Swatara Creek, wrote to Colonel Timothy Matlack of the Fifth Rifle Battalion of the Pennsylvania Line.⁷¹⁸ He also described the situation in Lancaster County as the refugees from the frontier poured southward and eastward.

This Day there was 20 or 30 families passed throug this town, sum from Buflo vallew and from Sunsbary, & sum familys from this side of Peters mountain, Yomin is taken & most of our People have left Sunbary, and are Coming down; those People inform us that there is 200 Wagons on the Road Coming Down in a Day or two. I was this Dy at Mr. Elders Meeting, after Sarmant Col. Clark & Col. Rodgers Maid a Parpatick to the inhabitants for to Turn out about 100 Men as Volunteers; they Agreed to Call the Betallions to Gether on Tusday to see what Number of Men would turn out; they applied to me for sum Arms, which I Promis to Let them have 50 or 60 with your Consent, as it was so Distressing, & you was so fir of that I Could not get an order from you. I should be Glad to know, the first opportunity, if you Don't think it will be Prudent to Move the Factory to French Crick or to Philad^a, or to sum other Place wher you May think More Safe, if our Enemy should be admitted to Come Lower Down: it won't be in My Power to Get one Wagon to Move Aney of our arms & tools from that Place, so I should be Extremely Abledge to you if you would Lay it before the Counsyl, & send up My Directions how I shall act, & in so Doing you will very much Abledge your Friend & Humble Servant.

William Maclay also wrote to Timothy Matlack on 12 July from Paxton, noting: “*I never in my Life saw such Scenes of distress. The River and the Roads leading down it were covered with men, women and children, flying for their lives...In short, Northumberland County is broken up... Wioming is totally abandoned...*”⁷¹⁹

Two years before the massacre of Captain Phillips’ Rangers, during the summer, an Amerindian incursion into the Woodcock Valley, southwest of Standing Stone took the life of one man.⁷²⁰ George Elder was recorded as a resident of Hopewell Township in 1775. U. J. Jones, who included the narrative of Elder’s death in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, stated that Elder’s death occurred at Coffey Run.

Jones claimed that Mr. Elder was killed and scalped as he was returning to his home in the company of Richard Shirley. That Richard Shirley was no doubt the one who would enlist under Captain William Phillips and meet his death in the Woodcock Valley. Jones also

stated that his lifeless body was found the following day by a party of Rangers scouting through the forests. Jones did not explain why Shirley did not report the murder, leaving it up to a scouting party to find Elder's body. But then Jones, despite noting that Elder was traveling with Richard Shirley, also said "As there is no living witness who was present, the circumstances connected with his massacre are merely traditionary."⁷²¹

Another incident occurred in Westmoreland County in 1778 although the exact date, even the month, is not known at this time.⁷²² Fort Wallace has already been mentioned. Another fortified structure, Fort Barr, was located in the Derry settlement about five or six miles from Fort Wallace. Amerindians had been spotted in the region, and the men garrisoning Fort Barr heard musket firing in the direction of Fort Wallace. Major James Wilson headed toward Fort Wallace with a contingent of forty men. They came within sight of Fort Wallace. About five hundred yards from the fort was a bridge over a deep gully which you had to cross to get to the fort.

Wilson's men must have fired upon the Amerindians who were besieging Fort Wallace because the warriors turned upon them. The narrative of the incident presented by C. Hale Sipe did not state that any of Wilson's men were killed or wounded at that point in the battle. It was noted that several of the Amerindians were killed on the bridge and that some were thrown over its edge into the gully.

Major Wilson decided to retreat back to Fort Barr and his men fought a running battle with the Amerindians. During the retreat back to Fort Barr, only two men were killed. They were Alexander Barr and Robert Barr Jr, sons of Robert Barr.

. ***The Death Of William Moore***
August 1778

A man, William Moore and a boy of fourteen years, George McCartney, resided in the Scotch Valley of present-day Blair County.⁷²³ In August of 1778 two horses went missing and Moore and McCartney went in search of them. They traveled southward toward Fetter's Fort (in the vicinity of present-day Wye Switches). They failed to locate the horses that had got away and so after a short visit with the garrison at the fort, they set off to return home.

The path that the two took on their return trip went to the west of present-day Hollidaysburg. They apparently were not too concerned about meeting up with any Amerindians. Incursions into that part of Bedford County had been rather low compared to other areas. At a point about one half mile west of where Hollidaysburg would come to stand, which would have still been somewhat close to Fort Fetter, the two Euro~Americans were ambushed by an Amerindian. Although U. J. Jones, in telling the narrative, did not note if Moore and McCartney were on horseback or on foot, it would appear that they were travelling on foot. No mention of their horses was made, so it can be assumed that they were walking. They came upon a brush pile ~ which Jones called "a pile of driftwood".⁷²⁴ The Amerindian fired on the two and the bullet struck Moore. Entering his back, the bullet travelled through the heart and he fell dead into the brush through which he was attempting to pass.

McCartney began to run when the shot rang out. The Amerindian turned his attention on the boy. He gave chase with his tomahawk in hand. McCartney cocked his musket as he ran.

In a bold move, McCartney came to a stop, turned around and aimed his musket at the man chasing him. The Amerindian ducked behind a tree to take cover and McCartney followed his example.

The Amerindian began to load his musket. He rammed the powder tightly into the barrel and as he withdrew the ramrod, it slipped from his hand and fell on the ground. The warrior, in his hurry to retrieve the ramrod, did not take care to stay concealed. His posterior protruded from behind the tree, and McCartney fired. The ball struck the Amerindian in the buttocks and he screamed and took off at a run, dropping his musket in the process.

The boy, McCartney hurried back to Fort Fetter. He alerted the garrison of the incident and a group of them grabbed their arms and headed out to search for the warrior who had engaged him and Moore. A trail of blood led them northward, but they lost that trail when they neared Gap Run. When they reached that vicinity, they discovered evidence of an encampment of a large party. They followed the Kittanning Path a short distance farther. Failing to discover any Amerindians, the party returned to Fort Fetter.

The body of the warrior who had killed William Moore (and who was in turn mortally wounded by McCartney) was found some time later. It was found by a Mr. Hileman hidden in some brush along the Kittanning Run. He had apparently attempted to hide his body so that if he died, his body would not be discovered and possibly defiled by the Euro~Americans.

It should be noted that C. Hale Sipe gave certain alternative information regarding this incident.⁷²⁵ In the book, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, he stated that it was William Moore's son, James, who went with George McCartney in search of horses that had wandered off. According to Sipe's narrative the two were attempting to cross Beaver Dam Creek on some driftwood that had accumulated at one point. That would explain why Jones used the term 'driftwood' in his narrative.

. ***Armstrong's Opinion About Niagara***

It seems that many of the local county officials ~ and perhaps even many Bedford County residents themselves ~ did not perceive that the Amerindian incursions were raids encouraged and orchestrated by the British. They, at least, seldom made mention of any such notion in any of their letters. It is possible that of those local authorities who did believe that the British were encouraging the incursions, they might have assumed that it was a somewhat passive encouragement, like the difference between supplying arms and ammunition rather than directing their movements. Observers distant from the frontier seemed to be more proactive in understanding what the British were doing behind the scenes. George Bryan, from his headquarters at Lancaster on 21 May, wrote to Lieutenant Samuel Hunter, Lieutenant of Northumberland County that: "*The present attack of the Savages is doubtless concerted by our European Enemy, who avow in the face of the world, the employment of such horrid Allies.*"⁷²⁶

The British might have told their Amerindian allies that a raid and the killing of a few settlers would help them (the Amerindians) to regain lands they had given up by treaty. From that point of motivation, it was no doubt the Amerindians themselves who organized their warriors into war parties.

As can be seen from the above, the general belief was that the raids were coming primarily out of Fort Detroit and the Ohio Valley. It might be remembered that Colonel John Piper in his letter of 4 May 1778 to Thomas Wharton stated: *“They confess their Crime and Intention of destroying both Men and Property; as these People thus in open rebellion are so numerous, there is great Reason to believe them as a part of a greater whole in some dangerous confederacy with the Common Enemy either at Phila or Detroit.”*⁷²⁷ The Shawnee, an Algonquian speaking nation who once inhabited the frontier region of Pennsylvania, had been pushed westward into the Ohio Valley. The general assumption by the new Euro~American settlers in the Pennsylvania frontier might have been that any and all of the warriors making incursions into Bedford County would logically have been the displaced Shawnee. Granted, some raids did indeed come from the Ohio Valley. But the Bedford County settlers at the time probably had no idea that the Seneca, an Iroquoian speaking nation, were coming southward out of the Niagara / Erie region in as great or greater numbers as from the west.

Following the disastrous massacre in the Wyoming Valley, General John Armstrong wrote to Henry Laurens (who had succeeded John Hancock as the President of the Continental Congress) to express his opinion about the source of the Amerindian incursions. His letter was sent from Carlisle on 22 July 1778.⁷²⁸

Detroit has by many been call'd the source of all our Indian Ravages, no Doubt that Place has contributed to these, but is it not more probable that the Agents of the British King, Successors of Sir Wm. Johnston, diabolically wishing to distinguish themselves at this peculiar Crisis ~ who directs the Indian Measures, from the delusory and lying Speeches, dictate and compose the Indian presents, the Time and Place of Distribution, &c. That these, with the Authority and Sanction of the Governor of Canada, may with much more Propriety be considered as the Origin of our Indian Mischief in the present Conflict. Witness the Accounts of the Onidas to General Washington, who live far from Detroit, and the late Depredations on the east Branch of the Susquehannah, chiefly if not wholly from that Influence in the Circuit of Niagara and Johnston Hall.

General Armstrong held the strong conviction that the British were pulling the strings, so to speak, of the Amerindians of the Genessee Valley.⁷²⁹ He wrote a letter two days later to Pennsylvania Vice-President George Bryan. In that missive, he stated:

There is some reason to believe that the whole of the Indian tribes have not yet taken up the Hatchet against us, or are not become vigorous, otherwise the effects would have been more obvious, but that every exertion they have made, and in particular, the heavy blow at Wioming, is the plain result of

British virulence no one can doubt, the expedition being planed, commanded, and in part, executed by whites, their emissaries from the neighborhood of Niagara or Johnston Hall. It is also natural to suppose the excursion is at the expense of Britain, & the plunder promised to the savages, which among other reasons induces me to believe they are for a short time returned to their own country, where, in all probability, they will soon make up one or more partys for the like purpose...

I'll reiterate my basic thesis for this book. Although there could be some exceptions, the bulk of the Amerindian incursions into the frontier regions of Pennsylvania (Bedford, Westmoreland and Northumberland Counties) were not random actions. They were raids orchestrated and in many cases actually led by the British army out of Fort Niagara. It is possible, though not readily provable, that the local Tories participated in the raids by providing information on militia locations and numbers.

. ***The Attack On The Reapers***
8 August 1778

Colonel Thomas Hartley wrote to the Board of War on the 9th of August 1778 to relate a number of facts of which he had received notice regarding the previous day's events near 'Loyal Sock'.⁷³⁰ His letter noted that a group of fourteen 'Reapers and Craydlers' had been attacked by roughly thirty Amerindians of the Mingo tribe. The Mingoes were a tribe made up of merged Senecas and Cayugas who had moved to the Ohio country in the mid-1700s. The name was derived from the word *mingwe*, which was an Algonquian name for the Iroquois Federation. The name 'Craydlers' used by Hartley referred to men who used the type of scythe that had an attached 'cradle' to scoop up the grain as it was cut.

Colonel Hartley stated:

A Corporal & four men of my Reg^t, with three Militia, were ordered above Loyal Sock about two miles, to Guard 14 Reapers & Craydlers, who were also armed, to cut the grain of an unhappy man, who had his wife and four children murdered by the Indians. On Friday they cut the Greater part of the Grain, & intended to have completed the whole next morning; four of the Reapers improperly moved off that night. The rest went to work in the morning; the Craydlers, four in number, by themselves, near the house; the Reapers some what Distant. The Reapers, except young Mr. Brady, placed their Guns round a tree. Mr. Brady thought this wrong, & put his gun some little distance from the rest. The morning was very foggy. About an Hour after Sunrise the Reapers & Sentry were surprised by a number of

Indians under cover of the Fog. The Sentry retired towards the Reapers; the Reapers, all except young Mr. Brady began to retire immediately. Mr. Brady made towards the Riffle; he was pursued by three Indians, & within a few rods of it was wounded by a shot; he ran for some distance & then fell. He rec^d another wound wth a spear, was Tomyhawked and scalped in an Instant. The sentry fired his Gun, but was soon after, shot down, as also a Militia man. Another Militia man is missing, supposed to be killed. The Craydlers, on hearing a Hollow, assended an emmenence, & saw part of this unhappy attack. The Indians, in a few seconds after, left the Field. The Corporal & three Men, who were with the Craydlers, propos'd to make a stand, but the others thought it Imprudent. Young Mr. Brady, who is an exceeding fine young Fellow, soon after rose and came to the House. A worthy man of the name of Mr. Jerome Veness, ventured to remain with him & cover'd his wounds; the other Craydlers, being acquainted with the Country, dispersed and fled towards Wallaces; the Corp^l & three men pushed right down the road. At Loyal Sack they were fired upon by a Party of Indians; they returned the fire. The Indians Fled & the Soldiers retook two horses from them, which they carried to Wallaces. Cap^t Walker, upon recei^s notice, immediately marched after the Enemy, but they had gained too much Time; they had retired to the mountains. Capt Walker crossed after Mr. Brady in a Bier; he is now here, but there is very little hope of his recovery. There were ab^t 30 Indians, and were supposed to be Mingoes. Tho' few men were lost in the above attack, yet we may observe & infer that too much caution cannot be used in a war with these savages. That Bravery & steadiness is of use. The Firmness & Friendship of Mr. Veness does him great Honor.

. ***The Hartley Expedition To Destroy Tioga
September / October 1778***

At the end of September 1778, an expediton against the Amerindians along the Tioga River was launched by Colonel Thomas Hartley. The name *Tioga* was derived from the Iroquois word *Da-yo-o-geh* as spoken by the Seneca who resided in the region bordering along the Tioga River, a tributary of the Chemung River, which is itself a tributary of the Susquehanna River.

Thomas Hartley was born in 1746 in Berks County, Pennsylvania. His early education ed to his becoming a lawyer and in 1774 he was elected to serve as Vice-President of the Committee of Observation for York County. On 15 July 1774, Hartley represented York County as a deputy to the Provincial Conference. On 23 January 1775 Hartley also

represented York County at the Provincial Convention.



Thomas Hartley was commissioned as First Lieutenant in Captain James Smith's Company of Associators of York County in December 1774. In 1775 Hartley was advanced to the position of Lieutenant Colonel of the First Battalion of the York County Militia. When, in 1776, George Washington was authorized to establish sixteen regiments of infantry, Thomas Hartley was given the command of one.

In July 1778 Colonel Thomas Hartley was instructed to take his regiment to Fort Augusta (where the present-day city of Sunbury is located at a short distance downstream from the mouth of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River). He was then to push northward along the Chemung and Tioga Rivers to force out the Amerindians and Tories inhabiting the valleys which had been attacked on 3 July in what was known as the Wyoming massacre.

Colonel Hartley came to Fort Muncy in early August.⁷³¹ He had a force of nearly seven hundred men. They consisted of one hundred men from Colonel Hartley's own independent regiment, 220

Lancaster County Militia, 170 Berks County Militia, 100 Northumberland County Militia and between sixty and seventy 'six-months men' belonging to Captain Murray's Company. They proceeded to rebuild the fort and according to a letter Colonel Hartley sent to the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council on 1 September:⁷³²

Since my last to the Council I have been out with several Detachments up the West Branch ~ tho' we are not certain we killed a single Indian; it would have been in our Power several Times since I came up here had we had some Horse. The Barbarians have frequently appeared in open ground & do fairly

out run the most of white men. From my little observation I am clearly convinced of the utility of Horse, for however sagacious the Indians are, they cannot always chuse their own ground. The Horsemen should be armed with a sword, two Pistols & a short Rifle; the latter would be necessary to intimidate the Enemy, & the Soldier might occasionally act on Foot. I have wrote to the Board of War to send an officer & 12 Horse here; I hope they will comply.

Captain Walker has been so industrious at Muncy as to have completed all the Earth and Fasine Works, & nearly all the Stockade. I never saw as much work done by so few men in so short a time.

We have a four Pounder mounted here; if we had four Swivels to place in the Bastions the Place would be very secure with a small Garrison. It is to be remarked that since this Work has been begun, no Person has been killed within our Line of Posts.

I most earnestly wish that you would send up twelve Swivels for the County; in Case the withdrawing of the Militia they will be essentially necessary.

I am inducing the People to put in some Fall Crops. Several are returning to their Habitations, but with great Diffidence.

Yesterday morning three German militia, without arms and without Permission, went out of the Fort at Muncy to dig some Potatoes within sight of the Garrison; they were immediately attacked by one white man and some Indians. The Enemy discharged all their Pieces at once ~ one militia man fell and was scalped, one ran of; The other one was seised, and had a Tussel with a stout Indian, but was rescued by the Troops. One Cottner was killed, & one Capt. Martel was wounded on the 23^d of August near Muncy.

Several Indians and Tories have appeared about Wioming. One Family has been killed 15 miles on this side of it, & two near the Garrison. My Detachment from Northampton County is arrived there by this Time, but I am told their Cloaths are all torn by the woods; they are in the utost want of Hunting Shirts and woolen overhalls or Leggins. I hope 200 of each will be sent up immediately. No medicine has yet arrived ~ the militia are very sickly.

On 8 October 1778, Colonel Hartley submitted a report of his expedition to the delegates assembled in Continental Congress at Philadelphia.⁷³³ He started his report by stating: “*With a Frontier from Wioming to Allegany, we were sensible the few regular Troops we had could not defend the necessary Posts. We thought (if it were practicable), it would be best to draw the Principal part of our Force together, as the Inhabitants would be in no great danger*

during our absence. I make a stroke at some of the nearest Indian towns, especially as we learnt a handsome detachment had been sent into the Enemy's Country, by the way of Cherry Valley. We were in hopes we should drive the Savages to a greater distance. With Volunteers and others we reckoned on 400 Rank & File for the expedition, besides 17 Horse, which I mounted from my own Regm^t, under the Command of Mr Carbery.”

Colonel Hartley brought his regiment northward to Fort Muncy, where he assembled his troops to push on toward the Amerindian village of Tioga. He noted in his report that the object and intention of his expedition was “at the Junction of the Cayuga, with the main North-East Branch of Susquehannah. From that point, the army would “act as circumstances might require...” The army would head toward Tioga by way of the ‘Sheshecununk Path’ according to Hartley. Colonel Hartley was referring to the ‘Sheshequanink Path’ which was variously known as the Lycoming Path because for most of its length, it followed the route of the Lycoming River.

Rendezvousing at Muncy on 18 September, Colonel Hartley realized that he had a mere two hundred rank and file troops to march in the expedition. He noted that: “We thought the number small, but as we presumed the Enemy had no notice of our Designs, we hoped at least to make a good Diversion if no more, whilst the Inhabitants were saving their grain on the Frontier.”

At four o’clock on the morning of the 21st, the army under Colonel Hartley moved out of Fort Muncy. Sunrise in that part of Pennsylvania in late September is just before seven o’clock. It can be assumed, therefore, that the army got started three hours before sunrise. According to Hartley’s report, each man carried two boxes of spare ammunition along with twelve days worth of provisions.

The weather was terrible as the expedition got under way; Colonel Hartley noted the ‘great rains’. In addition, the terrain they encountered was rather formidable. It was very mountainous and the ‘prodigious swamps’ and ‘Defiles & Rocks’ made regular marching difficult. Hartley noted that “we had to open and clear the way as we passed”. Although it was probably an exaggeration, Hartley stated that the army had waded or swam across the Lycoming River “upwards of 20 Times”. The Colonel likened his difficulties to Hannibal crossing the Alps during the Second Punic War: “I imagine, the Difficulties in Crossing the Alps, or passing up Kennebec, could not have been greater than those our men experienced for the Time. I have the Pleasure to say they surmounted them with great Resolution and Fortitude.” Hartley participated in Benedict Arnold’s expedition to Quebec in 1775, during which Arnold’s army traveled partly up the Kennebec River ~ to which he alluded here.

It might be noted here that I tend to be somewhat analytical when I write, meaning that I rely on the actual words of the participants to tell the story. I make every attempt not to allow my own perceptions and life experiences to color my viewpoints. Other so-called historians as authors are not so objective. Some feel that in order to keep the reader engaged, they need to interject their own opinions and they sprinkle little bits of superfluous information, which they claim as ‘artistic license,’ throughout the objective facts. Such was the case of Louise Welles Murray in her book, *A History of Old Tioga Point and Early Athens*. Taking Colonel Hartley’s own forty words: “In our Rout we met with great Rains & prodigious swamps, Mountains, Defiles & Rocks impeded our march, we had to open and clear the way as we passed. We waded or swam the River Lycoming upwards of 20 Times.”,

Murray produced the one hundred and ninety-one paragraph: *“The path they were to take, always difficult, presented unusual obstacles. For a number of years it had been but little used, and was so overgrown with brush and obstructed with fallen timber as to be hardly discernible, constantly requiring a considerable force with axes to clear the way and make it passable even for experienced woodsmen. Their march fell upon the period of the equinoctial storms, rain fell almost every day. Their clothing was soaked, every bush and twig they touched let down a shower upon them; the frequent swamps were filled with water, compelling them to wade knee-deep in the ooze and mire. The creek (Lycoming), with its rapid current swollen to unusual depth, they were compelled to wade, sometimes breast-deep, no less than twenty times. The way lay over high mountains, up whose narrow paths they were compelled to climb on their hands and knees, down precipices of slippery rocks; their clothing constantly wet, and compelled to sleep upon the ground soaked with water; this three days’ tramp up the Lycoming was enough to appall the most courageous ~ yet not a man flinched or hesitated.”*⁷³⁴

Traveling through the forests, Hartley’s regiment discovered, along the way, *“the Haunts and Lurking Places of the savage Murderers who had desolated our Frontier”*. He noted finding huts in which the Amerindians had dried and prepared the scalplocks of helpless women and children who had fallen into their hands. In that Hartley might have been wrong because women and children, while being taken into the Amerindian communities, would hardly have been scalped. He no doubt found the scalps taken off the heads of men who had fallen during attacks.

The first skirmish of the expedition took place on the morning of the 26th. An advance party of nineteen soldiers met a party of warriors of roughly equal size. The soldiers fired first and in that first volley, a very important ‘Indian Chief’ was killed and scalped. The action horrified the warriors and they immediately fled. Although it is not a subject commonly discussed by historians, the Euro~Americans also sometimes scalped their Amerindian foes when they killed them.

Colonel Hartley noted that when they had progressed just a few miles further along the path, they came across a site where he determined that a large party of Amerindians ~ upwards of seventy, as he estimated ~ had encamped the night before. He assumed that they had fled when they received word of the coming of the army. The army was quickly pressed onward towards ‘Sheshhecununk’ and upon arriving there, although Hartley made no mention of any engagement, fifteen warriors of the Amerindian party were taken prisoner. From those prisoners, Hartley discovered that a soldier had deserted from Captain Spalding’s Company while that company was at ‘Wioming’. That deserter had warned the Amerindians in the Lycoming Valley that Hartley’s expedition was on its way to invade their homeland.

Colonel Hartley’s force arrived at Tioga on the evening of the 26th and being very fatigued from the march, they established a camp to rest. The day’s activity was not finished though. The Colonel reported that: *“We took another Prisoner, upon the whole Information, we were clear the savages had Intelligence of us some days ~ That the Indians had been towards the German Flats ~ had taken 8 scalps & brought of 70 oxen intended for the garrison of Fort Stanwix ~ That on their Return they were to have attacked Wioming and the settlements on the West Branch again ~ That Col Morgan nor no other Person had attempted to penetrate into the Enemy’s Country, as we had been given to understand, and*

that the Collected force at Chemung would be upwards of 500, & that they were building a Fort there. We also were told that young Butler had been at Tioga a few Hours before we came ~ that he had 300 Men with him, the most of them Tories, dressed in green ~ that they were returned towards Chemung, 12 Miles off, & that they determined to give us Battle in some of the Defiles near it.”

During the next day, 27 September, the army burned the Amerindian village of Tioga along with ‘Queen Hester’s Palace’ and all of the settlements in the region. Plunder was taken, including several canoes. The plunder not taken along by the army was destroyed so that the Amerindians, should they return, would not have anything to return to. The name ‘Queen Hester’ referred to Esther Montour, a lady of both Amerindian and Euro~American ethnicity. It was Queen Esther who, on 3 July 1778, during the Wyoming Massacre, had sixteen captured soldiers positioned around a large flat rock whom she personally killed by smashing them on the heads with her tomahawk. [See page 267.] The ‘palace’ Hartley spoke of was described by Robert Covenhoven (who is said to have destroyed it) as a “*long, low edifice, constructed with logs set in the ground at intervals of ten feet, with horizontal hewn plancks or puncheons neatly fitted into grooves in the posts. It was roofed or thatched and had some sort of a porch or other ornament over the doorway.*”⁷³⁵

British Major John Butler was believed to be at the town of Shawnee, three miles ‘up the Cayuga Branch’. The town of Shawnee was located within the present-day Plymouth Township of Luzerne County. Colonel Hartley noted that ‘Mr. Carberry’ (*i.e.* Captain Henry Carbury) with his cavalry troops came close to where Butler’s troops were but since Carbury did not press on, Butler removed his troops from the immediate region.

Colonel Hartley understood that he was pressing his luck the farther he advanced. He noted in his report that: “*The Consternation of the Enemy was great, we pushed our good Fortune as far as we dare, nay, it is probable the good countenance we put on saved us from destruction, as we were advanced so far into the Enemy’s Country & no return but what we could make with the sword.*”

The army arrived at Sheshequanink during that night of the 27th. Colonel Hartley noted: “*Had we had 500 Regular Troops, and 150 Light Troops, with one or two Pieces of artillery, we probably might have destroyed Chemung, which is now the recepticle of all villainous Indians & Tories from the different Tribes and states. From this they make their Excursions against the Frontiers of N. York, Pennsylvania, Jersey & Wioming, & commit those horrid Murders and Devastations we have heard of. Niagra and Chemung are the assilums of those Tories who cannot get to New York.*” The army spent the bulk of the 28th marching toward Wyalusing. They arrived there around eleven o’clock that night. Hartley noted that his men were wore out from the march and that their whiskey and flour was completely used up. The army stayed at Wyalusing until eleven o’clock on the 29th while they killed and cooked beef. Although the pause was necessary to refresh his troops, Hartley might have harbored the thought that Butler’s British troops and the Senecas working with them would able to advance closer toward them. To get the army moving was imperative.

Roughly one hundred and twenty rank and file got in line to continue the march while seventy went by way of the canoes (as Colonel Hartley stated: “*from real or pretended Lameness*”). Some others made their way riding on available empty pack horses. The

Colonel outlined his line of march as: "*L' Sweeny, a valuable officer, had the Rear Guard, consisting of 30 Men, besides five active Runners under Mr Camplen. The advance guard was to consist of an officer & 15. There were a few Flankers, but from the Difficulty of the ground & Fatigue, they were seldom of use.*

The rest of our Little army was formed into three Divisions, those of my Regm^t composed the first, Cap^t Spalding's the 2^d, Cap^t Murrow's the 3^d. The Light Horse was equally divided between front and Rear. The Pack Horses and the Cattle we had collected, were to follow the advance guard." As such, Hartley's Expedition advanced for about an hour, at which time a series of small encounters foreshadowed the larger confrontation about to occur.

In this order we moved from Wyalusing at twelve o'clock, a slight attack was made on our Front from a Hill, half an Hour afterwards a warmer one was made on the same quarter, after ordering the 2^d and 3^d Divisions to out Flank the Enemy, we soon drove them, but this, as I expected, was only amusement, we lost as Little time as possible with them.

At two o'clock a very heavy attack was made on our Rear, which obliged the most of the Rear guard to give way, whilst several Indians appeared on our Left Flank. By the weight of the Firing we were soon convinced we had to oppose a Large Body.

Cap^t Stoddard commanded in Front, I was in the Centre; I observed some high ground which overlooked the Enemy, orders were immediately given for the first & 3^d Division to take Possession of it, whilst Cap^t Spalding was dispatched to support the Rear Guard. We gained the Heights almost unnoticed by the Barbarians, Cap^t Stoddert sent a small Party towards the Enemy's Rear; at this critical moment Cap^{ts} Boone & Brady, & L' King, with a few Brave Fellows, landed from the Canoes, joined Mr. Sweeny, and renewed the action there. The War Hoop was given by our People below and communicated round, we advanced on the Enemy on all sides, with great shouting & Noise, the Indians after a brave resistance of some minutes, conceived themselves nearly surrounded, fled with the utmost Haste, by the only Passes that remained, & left ten dead on the ground.

Our Troops wished to do their duty, but they were much overcome with Fatigue, otherwise (as the Indians imagined themselves surrounded), we should drove the Enemy into the River.

From every account these were a select body of warriors, sent after us, consisting of near 200 Men. Their Confidence and Impetiosity probably gave the victory to us.

The leader of the Amerindians attacking the army's rear was heard to call out to his warriors: "*my Brave Warriors we drive them, be bold and strong, the day is ours, upon this they advanced very quick without sufficiently regarding their Rear.*"

Colonel Hartley's troops sustained four dead and ten wounded in the engagement. It was estimated that Butler and his Amerindian force had three times those numbers.

The march to Wyoming, encompassing more than fifty miles was resumed. The enemy was apparently so beaten that they did not give the army any further trouble as it continued northward. There were no other engagements with the British/Seneca parties except for the killing and scalping of three soldiers on 3 October when they left the safety of the fort apparently to gather potatoes nearby.

In his official report to the Congress, Colonel Hartley praised the officers and troops under him:

The officers of my Regiment behaved well to a Man. All the party will acknowledge the greatest merit and Bravery of Cap^t Stoddert, I cannot say enough in his Favor, he deserves the Esteem of his Country.

M^r Carbery with his Horse, was very active, and rendered important services 'till his Horses were fatigued.

Nearly all the other officers acquitted themselves with Reputation.

Cap^t Spalding exerted himself as much as possible.

Cap^t Murrow, from his knowledge of Indian affairs, and their mode of Fighting, was serviceable. His Men were Marksmen and were useful.

The men of my Reg^t were armed with Muskets & Bayonets, they were no great marksmen, and were awkward at wood Fighting. The Bullet and three swan shot in each Piece made up, in some measure, for the want of skill.

Colonel Thomas Hartley and a portion of his Expedition returned to Sunbury by the 5th of October. The Colonel noted: "*I arrived here with the remainder of the detachment on the 5th, we have performed a Circuit of near 300 miles in about two weeks. We brought of near 50 Head of Cattle, 28 Canoes, besides many other articles.*"

Half of the Expeditionary force, under the command of five officers, was left at Wyoming. They proceeded to rebuild Fort Wyoming (which had been destroyed in the Wyoming Massacre a month earlier). [Note: The site of Fort Wyoming was where Northampton and River Streets intersect in the present-day city of Wilkes-Barre.] Colonel Hartley was confident that the garrison would have plenty of beef and salt to sustain them, although he admitted that there was little flour available. Hartley spent a few days composing a report that he sent to the delegates assembled in Congress on the 8th. He made a few suggestions to the Congress as to how he felt the frontier should be handled:

Tho' we were happy enough to succeed in this Action, yet I am convinced that a number of Lighter Troops, under good officers, are necessary for this Service... I would respectfully propose that the Congress would be pleased to send a Connecticut Regiment to Garrison Wyoming as soon as possible, it is but 120 miles from Fish Kills. I have done all I can for the good of the whole. I have given all the Support in my Power to that Post, but if Troops are not immediately sent, these Settlements will be destroyed in Detail. In a week or less a Regiment could march from Fish Kill to Wyoming.

My little Regiment, with two Classes of Lancaster and Berks County Militia, will be scarcely sufficient to preserve the Posts from Nescopake Falls to Muncy, and from thence to the Head of Penns Vally.

The Hartley Expedition paved the way for the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 against the Tories and the Iroquois. In that campaign, approximately forty Amerindian villages and crop stores were destroyed.



. ***Reed Attempts To Get Troops***

The frontier was somewhat quiet over the winter of 1778/79. But in the spring, the depredations began all over again. While the frontier was being kept in uproar by the Amerindians, a discussion began between Joseph Reed, the President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and General George Washington. Reed apparently was of the opinion that the Continental Army should assist more in the defense of the Pennsylvania frontier than it could. Washington, being the bureaucrat that he was, was of the opposite opinion that the states should be supplying more troops to increase the Continental Army despite the fact that many of the able bodied and armed men had already joined the army and that the ones left on their farms needed to defend those farms.

On 27 March 1779, Joseph Reed sent a letter to the Lieutenants of the various counties of Pennsylvania. The letter commented on several conferences he had attended with the Committee of Congress [*i.e.* the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia] regarding the defense of the frontiers. The plan agreed to in the conferences included the following.⁷³⁶

“A very respectable Force, which has been stationed for some Time at Schohary, in the State of New York, under Gen. Hand, is ordered over to the Frontiers of Northampton & Northumberland, and will, as far as an stationary Force can do, afford ample Protection to those two Counties. It is also concluded to raise 5 Companies of Rangers, making 380 Men in the whole, to whome such Encouragement will be given as we hope will raise the Men without Difficulty. The Commander in Chief has also ordered Col. Rawlins’s Regt now at Frederick Town, in Maryland, guarding the British Prisoners, to march to Fort Pitt, & to be stationed at Kittanny or other suitable Place to cover the Frontiers of Westmoreland & Bedford.”

He added: *“In the mean Time we have ordered Detachments from the Militia of ~~~~ to march with all Expedition for the immediate Protection of Bedford & Westmoreland.”*

On the 30th of March, President Reed sent a letter to the County Lieutenants of Lancaster, York and Cumberland Counties in an effort to coax them to help their western brethren. He stated in that letter:⁷³⁷

The unhappy State of our Frontiers which have been already struck and are threatened with further Ravages by the Indians & Tories, demands our utmost Exertion and Attention. We have the fairest Prospects that in the Course of the Summer the Savages will receive such effectual Chastisement as will once more restore Peace & Comfort to that distressed Country. Some of the Continental Troops will be sent forward, & it is concluded to raise 5 Companies of Rangers. But in the mean Time Protection is necessary, which can only be given by the Militia. We therefore direct you that immediately upon the Receipt of this you call upon the Batallions of the post, in the Tour of Duty, for ~~~~ Men, if the Number cannot be furnished by one Class, the Militia Law is to be strictly pursued, the Delinquents fined & so proceed to the next Class, as many bad Consequences have ensued from a different Course; if one Class does not furnish the Men required, you will proceed to the next, & so on, till the Number is complete. When they are thus furnished you are to see them equipp'd, in the best Manner that Circumstances will admit, & direct them to be march'd to ~~~~ where the County Lieutenant will muster them, and from him they will receive Directions where to take their Station for the Defence & Protection of our distressed Brethren on the Frontiers. The Plan of the Enemy is now to distress us on the Coast & Frontiers, in order probably to effect by their Cruelty & Barbarity, what they cannot by the force of Arms, and as this will probably be the last Effort we hope if vigorously & effectually defeated, Peace will soon be established, on honourable Terms. Our Expectations of a Visit from the Enemy, from New York, are too well grounded to leave any Preparation unmade for our Defence, & furnish an unanswerable & we hope satisfactory Reason against detaching from the Militia of the Counties bordering on the Sea, and indeed if we do from the Ignorance of the Woods & the Mode of Fighting they would probably only consume the Provisions of the Country without affording any useful or effectual aid.

The Counties laying between being in entire safety from these Attacks, will we trust cheerfully step forth, & on our Parts we shall endeavor that every Thing necessary be provided. The great Destruction & Waste of Arms by the Enemy as well as otherwise, will make it absolutely necessary, that the most diligent search be

made, & that every one possessed of Arms make Use of them as a supply cannot be obtained from this.

We trust from the Zeal & Alacrity you have shown, you will exert your whole Weight Influence & Care in doing the Business effectually.

No sooner was the ink dry on the promise to supply troops to help Pennsylvania's frontier than General Washington was calling on the state to furnish additional troops to the army. On 19 April he sent another letter to Joseph Reed.⁷³⁸ He stated:

“Upon estimating the force necessary to be employed in the intended expedition, [of sending soldiers to the Wyoming Valley of Northumberland County] so as to give the most probable assurance of success, I find, that it will require more troops than can possibly be spared from the Continental Army, without weakening our main Body to that degree . . . I am therefore under the necessity of making application to the State of Pennsylvania for the aid of six hundred Militia, including the Companies of Rangers, to continue in service, three Month's from the 1st June if the laws or any power vested in the Executive Council will authorize the calling them out for so long a time. They must come provided with Arms, as, from the exhausted State of the Continental Magazines, they cannot be supplied from thence.”

He added:

“I imagine the Western Militia will be called out upon this service. They are infinitely to be preferred on many accounts, but particularly from their being used to the Indian mode of War, which is apt to make very fatal impressions upon Men not acquainted with that kind of Enemy.”

Joseph Reed replied to General Washington in late April (possibly the 24th) to clarify the State's position.⁷³⁹

“The Law [i.e. Militia Regulations] does not allow of keeping the Militia out longer than 2 Months at one Time, nor have we the Power of prolonging it on any Pretence whatever. As to bringing their Arms, it will generally be impracticable; we must endeavor to supply them in some Way or other. Your Excellency must recollect, that in 1776 & 1777 when the Militia were

discharged, their Arms were ordered to be left; they have never been replaced, nor have the People had an Oportunity to procure new ones ~ hence, whenever the Militia are called upon there is a general & real Difficulty which we are endeavoring to supply as fast as possible; but unfortunately we have to combat a principle of Peculation too prevalent, that of carrying off the Arms when furnished by the publick, a Circumstance which keeps us very needy, & is attended with many bad Consequences. I should mislead your Excellency if I promised a Term of Service longer than 2 Months, & to call out the Militia of these Frontier Counties at this Time, would defeat one principal Benefit extended to them, viz.: the giving them an Oportunity to sow & plant, without which they must leave their Teams for Want of Bread, be the Issue of the Expedition ever so successful.”

President Reed was emphatic about the state’s need:⁷⁴⁰ *“No State has suffered so much upon its Frontiers as this has, & if the Depredations continue this Year, the present interior Parts will be the Frontier; and as we have so great a Portion of the Continental Burthen, both in Men & Service, your Excellency will, I am sure, think with us, that we are entitled to a proportionate Attention... the Pennsylvania Troops are drawn off on each side, especially towards New York...”*

Washington gave President Reed’s concerns a somewhat cursory acknowledgement.⁷⁴¹ He responded with a letter on 27 April: *“It gives me much pain to find by your letter of the 26th, that there is not a better prospect of aid from the Militia of your State in the intended Indian expedition. The drawing out the militia into service will no doubt interfere with the culture of the lands, and it were to be wished it could be avoided, But the reduced state of our regiments and the little apparent probability of augmenting them will not allow me to prosecute a vigorous offensive operation to the Westward, wholly with Continental troops, without weakening the main army so much as to put every thing to the hazard this way.”*

Needless to say, the results of Joseph Reed’s and George Washington’s negotiations for more troops to defend the frontiers of Pennsylvania were not as fruitful as hoped. Bartrem Galbraith, the Lieutenant for Lancaster County, wrote to President Joseph Reed on 5 May 1779.⁷⁴² In that letter he noted: *“In consequence of your late orders sent me, for the Raising of fifty of the Militia men of this County, to be set to Bedford, I have called upon the Class in rotation of four Battalions, & from the returns made me find only thirteen privates willing to march...”*

. ***The Notorious Tory, Simon Girty***

Girty was one of four sons of Simon Girty the Elder, an immigrant from Ireland. Simon Girty the Elder and his wife Mary (*nee* Newton) had arrived at Philadelphia in 1730. The family moved to the west side of the Susquehanna River and established a trading post on the tributary, Sherman's Creek. Their son, Simon was born in 1741. In May 1750 the Pennsylvania authorities ordered the removal of the families who had settled on unpurchased



Amerindian lands west of the Susquehanna. The family's home was burned in the famous 'Burnt Cabins' incident.

Simon Girty the Elder became involved in an argument with a man by the name of Samuel Saunders, a rival trader. They duelled and Simon lost his life. Three years later, Mary married John Turner, said to be Simon the Elder's half-brother.

As the French and Indian War progressed, John Turner moved his family to Fort Granville along the Juniata River in present-day Mifflin County. The family thought that they were safe at the fort,

but on 2 August 1756 a force of fifty-five French soldiers and one hundred Leni-Lenape warriors attacked the fort. The commandant of the fort, Captain Ward, had taken the majority of his troops out on a scouting mission. The ranking officer was killed in the attack and the command of the garrison devolved to John Turner. Faced with a hopeless situation, Turner surrendered to the French and Indians. The defenders and their families were marched to Kittanning.

The Girty/Turner family, like all the others were divided up and each of the boys were taken to live with different tribal families. Simon, at the time being fifteen years of age, was taken into the tribal family of Guyasuta. Girty lived with Guyasuta for seven years and he grew to prefer the Amerindian way of life over his Euro-American life.

On 14 November 1764, Simon Girty was returned to the British in a prisoner exchange. Having learned the Iroquoian language ~ in fact eleven dialects ~ the young man became employed as an interpreter. He was the lead interpreter at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768 (which resulted in the province of Pennsylvania gaining the 'New Purchase' tract of land).

When the American Revolutionary War broke out, Girty initially sided with the American rebels. Eventually he changed his mind and became a Tory. He stuck around Fort Pitt and became involved in Tory activities with Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott.

On 29 January 1779 at Fort Pitt, General Lachlan McIntosh wrote a letter to Colonel Archibald Lochry, the Lieutenant of Westmoreland County. He noted that some of his men had been attacked by the Tory, Simon Girty and a party of Amerindians.⁷⁴³

I am Just informed that Capt. Clark, of the 8th Pennsylvania Regem^t, who was sent to Command an Escort to Fort Laurens, as he was returning with a Sergeant & 14 Men, three miles this side of that fort, was attacked by Simon Girty & a party of Mingoese, who killed two of our men, wounded four, & took one prisoner.

I am also informed that a large party of the same people are set off to strike the Inhabitants about Ligonier & Black Leg Creek, & send you this Express to inform you of it, that you may acquaint the neighborhood, & be upon your Guard.

Simon Girty moved to Canada after the War and died in 1818.

. **Depredations In Westmoreland County**
Spring 1779

On 26 April 1779, George Reading (sub-Lieutenant of Westmoreland County) was at Fort Ligonier writing to Joseph Reed, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council.⁷⁴⁴ He noted that earlier on that day, Amerindians had come into the region where they killed one man and took one man prisoner. He noted that another man was missing, but not definitely known to have been either killed or taken captive. The welfare of two families living close to the fort was not known, but there were not enough men at the fort to be sent to check on them. Reading noted that there were only eight men and boys guarding the fort.

According to the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, the Senecas who came into the Ligonier Valley in April 1779 were at least one hundred strong.⁷⁴⁵ Their target in this raid was Fort Hand, located three or four miles south of the Kiskiminetas River and about fourteen miles northwest of Hannastown. The fortification was constructed near a large log structure owned by John McKibben and the refuge of local settlers prior to the fort being constructed. The garrison at Fort Hand was commanded by Captain Samuel Moorhead. The *Frontier Forts* author noted that the Amerindians attacked Fort Hand by first attempting to kill two men who were plowing a field close to the fort. The men made it into the safety of the fortification, but their horses and oxen were killed. In fact, the Senecas killed all of the livestock that they found outside of the fort. The musket wielding Amerindians began firing on the fort. Certain of their shots passed through cracks in the fort's walls. One such shot hit and killed Phillips McGraw who was occupying a sentry box. A second man, later in the fight, was also hit and died of his

wounds while in that same sentry box. Those two were the only deaths in the fight. The Senecas remained outside of the fort all night long and into the next morning. The author of the chapter in *Frontier Forts* stated: “*The Indians stayed all that day and the ensuing night, and left the next morning, probably fearing the neighboring settlements would come in force to the relief of the fort.*”⁷⁴⁶ They very well might have been waiting for the garrison to capitulate. As has been seen in so many instances, the Senecas tended to prefer to attack a garrison after it left the safety of a fort. They did not seem to care much for laying siege to a fortified enemy. During the night the Seneca warriors set fire to the McKibben house which had been abandoned upon their approach that morning. The *Frontier Forts* narrative stated that “*There were many whites with the Indians who now taunted the fort people...*”

C. Hale Sipe commented on the same incident, but he stated (without referring to any particular source) that three men defending the fort were struck. He claimed that only one of the three actually died. He gave the name of the second man to be struck by a musket ball flying through the crack of the sentry box as a McCauley. Sipe’s version of the story was more precise in regard to the Euro~Americans who accompanied the Senecas. He noted that “*At midnight, they set fire to John McKibben’s barn near the fort, and the Tories among them cried: ‘Is all well now?’*”⁷⁴⁷

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Lochry wrote to President Reed from Hannastown on 1 May 1779. He told of recent incursions by bands of Amerindians.⁷⁴⁸

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter concerning our Forlorn Frontiers, and we are happy to hear Council intend to afford us assistance in the day of calamity and distress.

Previous to the arrival of your Excellency's Letter, the Inhabitants, with the approbation of General McIntosh, fell upon a mode to raise two Companies immediately. These Companies are nearly compleat, and as the appointment of the officers was left to myself, I transmit you a list of them, and I trust Council will put them on an equal footing as the other temporary troops expected here.

The Savages are continually making depredations among us; not less than forty people have been killed, wounded or captivated this Spring, and the Enemy have killed our Creatures within three hundred yards of this Town.

You desire sir, in your letter, if the Inhabitants on the frontiers would desire a reward on Indian scalps. ~ I have consulted with a number on this head, who all seem of opinion that a reward for scalps would be of excellent use at this time, and would give spirit and alacrity to our young men, and make it their Interest to be constantly on the scout.

A threatenng Cloud seems hanging over our heads ~ a few days ago the Savages surrounded Fort Hand, and in general,

they come against us in such large bodies that it is almost in vain to make head against them.

Another incident that occurred near Fort Ligonier in the spring of 1779 involved the capture of Charles Clifford.⁷⁴⁹ Clifford and his family, lived about two miles from Ligonier along Mill Creek. On 22 April, Mr. Clifford and his two sons were working in their field when the father noticed the horses had ambled away. Leaving the sons at their work, Mr. Clifford went along the Forbes Road leading toward Laughlintown in search of the horses.

Within a short distance, Mr. Clifford was ambushed by five Amerindians hiding behind a fallen tree. Although C. Hale Sipe referred to the hiding place as “*behind a log*” he probably meant a tree. It would have had to have been a rather large log behind which five Amerindians could lay hidden. In any case, the Amerindians fired on him, but Clifford was hit only by shrapnel as one of the bullets splintered his gun and the pieces cut his face. By using the word ‘splintered’ Sipe apparently meant the gun’s wooden stock. Mr. Clifford’s wounds bled profusely down his face, but otherwise he was unharmed.

The Amerindians apparently believed that for the man to survive the explosion of his gun without him being killed was a sign that he was protected by the ‘Great Spirit’ and they caused him no further harm. Instead they took him captive. The party met up with another group of about fifty-two warriors who had also captured an Euro-American man by the name of Peter Maharg and were likewise heading northward toward Quebec. The journey took them six weeks to reach the British. C. Hale Sipe stated that he was “*carried to the Seneca region on the headwaters of the Allegheny*” and then on to the British. He meant that he was first taken to the Genessee Valley region of present-day New York State. The fact that he was not taken directly to the British suggests that the Seneca warriors might have intended to keep him rather than deliver him to the British. Sipe stated that he was eventually taken to the British at Montreal, but in actuality he was probably delivered to Sir Guy Johnson at Fort Niagara, who later transferred him to the prison at Isle Montreal. Charles Clifford was exchanged and returned to his Westmoreland County home two and one-half years later.

. ***Depredations In Northumberland County
Spring 1779***

As with Westmoreland County, Amerindian incursions were increased in the spring of 1779 throughout Northumberland County. Lieutenant Samuel Hunter wrote a letter to President Joseph Reed from Fort Augusta on 27 April. He noted a battle between Seneca attackers and the Militia from Fort Jenkins.⁷⁵⁰

Sir, Yours of the 27th of last month, and the 14th Inst., with a sum of money I Rec^d, and likewise the appointments of Cap^t McIlhatten, Lieu^{ts} Arthur & Dougherty, for Raiseing a Company for nine months. Arthur has declined serveing, Captain

McIlhatten & Dougherty is not come to the county, so that I do not know whether they will serve or not, but if they all decline serveing, there may be others found in the County may answer the Ends intended.

I am Realy sorry to inform you of our present Disturbances; not a day but there is some of the Enemy makes their appearances on our frontiers. On Sunday last, there was a party of the Savages attack'd the inhabitants that lived near Fort Jenkins, and had taken two or three familys prisoners, but the Garrison being aprais'd of it, about thirty men turned out of the Fort and Rescued the Prisoners; the Indians Collecting themselves in a body, drove our men under Cover of the fort, with the loss of three men kill'd & four Badly Wounded; they burned several houses near the Fort, kill'd Cattle, & drove off a number of Horses. Yesterday, there was another party of indians, about thirty or forty, kill'd and took seven of our Militia, that was stationed at a little Fort near Muncy hill, call'd Fort Freeland; there was two or three of the inhabitants taken prisoners; among the latter is James McKnight, Esq^r, one of our Assemblymen; the same day a party of thirteen of the inhabitants that went to hunt their Horses, about four or five miles from Fort Muncy was fired uppon by a large party of Indians, and all taken or killed Except one man. Captain Walker of the Continental troops, who commands at that post, turned out with thirty four men to the place he heard the fireing, and found four men kill'd and scalped, and supposes they Captured y^e Remaind^r. This is the way our Frontiers is harressed by a cruel Savage Enemy, so that they cannot get any Spring crops in to induce them to stay in the County. I am afraid in a very short time we shall have no inhabitants above this place, unless when General Hand arrives here he may order some of the Troops at Wyoming down on our frontiers, as Coll. Hartley's Regiment, our two months men, and what Militia we can turn out, is Very inadequate to Guard our County. Suppose the few Virtious inhabitants does all in their Power to mintain their Ground, yet all will not do without some more Assistance, till such times as y^e Expedition is Carry'd on.

I am certain Every thing is doing for our Relief, but is afraid it will be too leat for this County, as its impossable to prevail on the inhabitants to make a stand, uppon account of their Women and Childer. I am Reflected uppon Very much by some of the inhabitants that has leatly sufered, for Assureing them of Relief very soon and to Endeavour to stand untill such times as the Expedition was Carry'd on against the Indian Towns. Our case is

Really deplorable and alarming, as we are surrounded by a Cruel savage Enemy at this present time, and Our County on y^e Eve of breaking up, as I am informed at the time I am writeing this, by two or three Expresses that there is nothing to be seen but Disolation, fire & smoak, as the inhabitants is Collected at particular places, the Enemy burns all their Houses that they have evacuated.

I would beg leave to inform you we are at a loss for medicines in this County, for our poor Wounded men, and Doctor Benjamin Alison, who has always attended the Militia of this County, boath in the Camp & here, his Medicen is Consumed that he had of his own, and I am certain he never has been allowed any thing but his pay as Surgeon; he has leatly lost his case of Surgeons instruments, and there is none in this County; this I make mention of, as I do not know where to apply.

As Lieutenant Hunter noted, in one incursion that happened just the previous day (26 April) when a band of thirty or forty Amerindians attacked a small fort named Fort Freeland, seven of the Militia were either killed or taken captive. Also taken captive in that attack on Fort Freeland was a Northumberland County delegate to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, James McKnight.

Freeland's Fort would again be attacked in July and that incident will be noted later in this volume.

It should also be noted that on the same day as the attack on Fort Freeland, a group of thirteen of the inhabitants had gone out from nearby Fort Muncy to hunt for their horses and all but one was killed or taken captive. The point to be noted here is that the settlers who fell victim had gone to retrieve horses that had wandered off. There were so many instances in which that is what the victim was doing when attacked by an Amerindian. Very few fortified posts, especially individual houses that had been fortified by the construction of a stockade fence around it, were large enough to provide stable space for horses. The horses had to be kept in an adjacent pasture and despite a fence often got out. The forts popularized by television shows, such as the Daniel Boone series, and other 'Western' movies, usually showed many people and their horses and wagons in spacious forts the size of a football field. That simply was not the reality of the 1770s.

On 15 May, William Lyon wrote to George Bryan, the Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council.⁷⁵¹ Lyon informed Bryan of two incidents that had happened in Northumberland County just that spring. According to that letter, a party of fifteen or seventeen Amerindians moved down the south side of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River and killed John Sample and his wife in the Buffalo Valley. A party also attacked a fort near the property of Samuel Wallace. Although the exact number was not known, it was believed that between twelve and fifteen settlers were missing or killed.

. ***The Breckenridge Family Attack***
June 1779

It might be remembered that a letter from George Woods to Thomas Urie, dated 4 July 1779, expressed the desolation of the Bedford County frontier.⁷⁵² That letter, transcribed in full in the section titled: *Prior to 1780: The Indian Incursions*, noted: “last Saturday was a week, a man and his daughter, of the name of Brikinridge, in wood Cock valley, was kild & Scalpt by the Indeans.”

According to U. J. Jones, who included a narrative of the Breckenridge family’s attack in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, the Breckenridge family lived three miles southwest of McConnelstown on the road from Huntingdon to Bedford.⁷⁵³ The only individual to be named on a tax assessment return during the 1770s was Mary Breckenridge who resided in Air Township in 1773. Perhaps the family noted by George Woods and U. J. Jones simply were missed on the tax assessments.

According to U. J. Jones’ narrative, the incident took place in July 1779. According to George Woods’ letter dated 4 July, the incident took place a week prior to the previous (last) Saturday. It could not have happened in July. So it should be stated more accurately that it occurred near the end of June 1779.

While outside of their home, the father was shot by Indians. The family’s two sons, John aged eighteen and James aged sixteen, had gone looking for a horse that had got loose. The oldest daughter, a girl of fourteen, was near the springhouse. The mother was busy in the kitchen with her chores and minding their three year old daughter and infant. The father was also in the house busy when they heard a scream from outside.

The Breckenridge daughter, while churning in the springhouse, was surprised by five Amerindians. Before she could do anything to save herself, she screamed at the top of her lungs, the girl was surrounded and grabbed by the five warriors and killed.

The girl’s scream alerted Mr. Breckenridge and fearing for the safety of his daughter, the father had come out of the house and headed toward the springhouse. Before he could reach it, he was struck by the ball fired from the musket by one of the Amerindians. He fell dead in the yard.

Also hearing the scream and instinctively knowing what it meant, the mother grabbed the baby out of its cradle. Holding it tight to her breast and grabbing the hand of the youngster, the mother headed out of the cabin and escaped into the woods. Although she headed toward Standing Stone, she lost her way in the forest and wandered aimlessly for the day and night. The three-year-old complained of being hungry and so the mother laid the baby down and began to gather rye kernels to feed the older child. In so doing the mother wandered quite a distance away from where she had laid the baby.

The two older sons came home and found their father and sister dead and their mother and two youngest siblings gone. They feared that their mother and siblings had met the same fate as their father and sister. The brothers made their way to Standing Stone and told their tale. A party set out the following morning for the Breckenridge farmstead. They found the father and daughter’s lifeless bodies, but more importantly they found tracks that the mother had left indicating that she had went from the house. Following those tracks the search party found her exhausted but still alive body some distance away. She was at the edge of the field

of rye and along with the three-year-old was cowering in fear of the Amerindians returning. In her anguish, the mother was so out of her mind that she could not remember where she had laid the infant. She and the child were taken to Fort Standing Stone and after resting over night she recovered enough to tell the people there that the baby was in the rye field wrapped in her undergarment. Another party went out in search of it and the baby was discovered alive despite having been left alone and unfed for nearly two days. Jones' narrative stated that the baby was safe except for its "*entire face was fly-blown*". That condition referred to flies having infested the skin and laid eggs under the skin which would develop into larva. They would grow into flies under the skin and later emerge as full-grown flies. Although it was not a life-threatening condition, the skin would probably be left pock-marked.

The eldest son, John Breckenridge, became a Presbyterian preacher and was believed to have moved to Kentucky where other Breckinridge relatives had taken up residence.

. ***Isolated Pockets Of Survival ~
The Jacob Schmitt Family***

In the spring of 1779 the tax collectors for Bedford County rode their horses up and down the valleys of the county stopping at each house to collect that year's taxes. They carried with them the tax assessment returns that they had written out during the previous winter when they weren't gathering their own harvests in. They copied the previous year's return for the coming year. In this case, they copied the 1778 returns to produce the 1779 returns. As they traveled up and down the valleys (and in a few cases up into the hills), the tax collectors made notations on their returns. In 1779, the tax collectors wrote many notations on the returns. The most common notations to be written on the 1779 returns were either *absant* or *vacant*. Those two notations referred to the families who had fled from the region due to the many Amerindian incursions. There were one hundred and sixty-three residents recorded for Frankstown Township. That newly created township encompassed the entire region of present-day Blair County along with a portion of the northern part of present-day Bedford County. Of the one hundred and sixty-three residents, eighty-one of them ~ or a full one-half ~ were noted on the return as *absant* or *vacant*.

Despite the dire statistics of the families fleeing from the region, there were a few instances here and there of families that survived intact and safe. Those families which survived without having to flee might simply have been lucky. But some of them avoided being massacred for another reason. The family of Jacob and Rosanna Schmitt is a good example of survival by integration.⁷⁵⁴

Henrich Schmitt, a resident of Lebanon Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and father of nine children, died in 1774. His will was filed in the Lancaster County Court House in 1775. In Henrich Schmitt's will, it was noted that his son Jacob was to receive the plantation and tract of land "*Situate at the Pine Ford in the said County being the same land whereon my Said Son Jacob now lives Containing about Three Hundred Acres with the Appurtenances To hold to him my said Son Jacob his Heirs and Assigns forever he paying for the same the Sum of Eleven Hundred pounds lawful money...*" In view of the fact that it was stipulated that Jacob would be required to pay £1,100 to the estate in order to

take possession of the tract on which he was then living, it does not seem surprising that he did not remain there after the death of his father. That would have been a sizeable amount of specie to come up with all of a sudden.

Jacob Schmitt's name appeared for the first time in Bedford County when he was recorded on the tax assessment return for Frankstown Township in 1775. No marriage for Jacob Schmitt was recorded in the church registers for Lancaster County, and in fact no marriage between a man named Jacob Schmitt and a woman named Rosanna could be found in any of the records for any of the counties in Pennsylvania. It is possible that Jacob came into Bedford County as a single man and married a lady from this region soon after he arrived. The Jacob Schmitt family eventually consisted of the parents, Jacob and Rosanna and two sons, Jacob Jr and Jacob Peter and a daughter, Agnes Elizabeth.

The Jacob Schmitt family homesteaded at the foot of Blue Knob, one of the mountains forming the Allegheny Front. Their farmstead was situated at the head of the South Dry Run which flowed eastward to empty into the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. South Dry Run grew from six or seven springs on the Schmitt farmstead. The site he chose was situated fifteen miles (or a day's journey) west of the village of Frankstown, thirty miles (or two days' journey) east of Conemaugh and thirty-five miles (or two days' journey) north of Bedford. Although not identified as being on a major route, it would have been located along an Amerindian path between Conemaugh (present-day Johnstown) and Frankstown. The site was also just one mile west of one of the trails known as the Warriors' Path connecting Bald Eagle and Bedford. When Amerindian incursions became commonplace throughout Bedford County, the Schmitt homestead could not have been missed.

The amazing thing about the Jacob Schmitt family is that they did not flee from the region as the Amerindian incursions increased in number and intensity into the year 1779. And all the while that other families were being massacred and taken captive, the Schmitt family apparently continued to live unmolested in their frontier home.

With the prevalence of DNA testing in the 21st Century, the author of this volume, Larry Smith, a great⁵-grandson of Jacob and Rosanna, had his genetic record tested. The results showed that a small percentage of his DNA was, in fact, American Indian. It confirmed his assumptions that Jacob might have married an Amerindian after he arrived in this frontier region.

What this discussion brings us to is the proposition that some of the families that escaped massacre while remaining in this frontier region might have been able to do so because they had integrated with the Amerindians and were therefore spared being attacked by them.

. ***Captain Brady's Encounter***
May 1779

Captain Samuel Brady served under Colonel Daniel Brodhead at Fort Pitt in the spring and summer of 1779. When he was nineteen, Samuel and his brother James were taken by their father Captain John Brady to Boston to assist in the lifting of the British siege of that

city. Samuel later enlisted in the Continental Line. Samuel served as a scout while deployed on the Pennsylvania frontier under Colonel Brodhead and the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line. At some time in May (a fortnight prior to June 24th) Samuel Brady, then a Captain, was sent out to investigate word of a mother and her four children having been massacred. Colonel Brodhead gave a report of Captain Brady's encounters in a letter to Joseph Reed, the President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council:⁷⁵⁵

About a fortnight ago, three Men which I had sent to reconoitre the Seneca Country, returned from Venango, being chased by a number of Warriors who were coming down the Kiver in Canoes; they continued the pursuit untill they came to this side Kittanning, and the White Men narrowly escaped. A few Days after they returned, Captain Brady, with twenty white Men and a young Delaware Chief, all well painted, set out towards the Seneca Country, and the Indian warriors proceeded towards the Settlements. They killed a Soldier between Forts Crawford & Hand, & proceeded to Saweckly Settlement, where they killed a Woman & her four Children, & took two Children prisoners. Captⁿ Brady fell in with seven Indians of this party about 15 Miles above Kittanning, where the Indians had chosen an advantageous situation for their Camp. He, however, surrounded them, and attacked at the break of Day. The Indian Captain, a notorious Warrior of the Muncy Nation, was killed on the spot, and several more mortally wounded, but the woods were remarkably thick, and the party could not pursue the villains tracks, after they had stopped their wounds, which they always do as soon as possible after receiving them. Captain Brady, however, retook six horses, the two prisoners, the Scalps & all their plunder, and took all the Indians Guns, Tomahawks, Match Coats, Mocksins, in fine every thing they had except their Breech Clouts. Capt'n Brady has great Merit, but none has more distinguished Merit in this enterprize than the young Delaware Chief, whose name is Nanowland (or George Wilson.) Before Capt'n Brady returned, Lieut' Hardin set out with a party of eleven choice Men, and I am certain he will not return without Scalps or prisoners from the Seneca Country.

. **The Attack On Freeland's Fort**
July 1779

An attacking force came into the region drained by the West Branch of the Susquehannah River in July 1779. The force consisted of roughly one hundred British troops under the command of a Tory, Captain John McDonald and two hundred Seneca warriors led by a 'veteran brave' named Hiokoto.⁷⁵⁶ The attack was triggered by the threat of an invasion by Continental forces. General George Washington had directed General John Sullivan to embark on a campaign against the Amerindians comprising the Iroquois Confederacy of the Six Nations. On 31 May 1779, General Washington gave instructions to Major General John Sullivan:⁷⁵⁷

Sir: The expedition you are appointed to command is to be directed against the hostile tribes of the six nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents. The immediate objects are the total distruction and devastation of their settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible... I would recommd that some post in the center of the Indian Country should be occupied wth all expedition, with a sufficient quantity of provisions; whence parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner; that the country may not be merely overrun but destroyed.

The Amerindian incursions into Northumberland County in the summer of 1779, including the attack on Freeland's Fort, could be viewed as preemptory strikes.

A narrative of the attack on Fort Freeland was supplied by Mary V. Derickson to the editor of the *Pennsylvania Archives* for inclusion in Volume XII. She was born on 10 February 1779 and therefore was just a baby when the incident of which she told actually occurred. Her information would have come from tales she was told as a child by those who experienced the attack on the fort.

In 1773 a number of families from Essex County, New Jersey, Jacob Freeland's being one of them, came into the valley drained by Warrior Run Creek.⁷⁵⁸ Freeland built a mill on that waterway and because everyone needed their grain to be ground into flour, the mill became a focal point of the surrounding region. When the American Revolutionary War started, the people desired to build a stockade fortification to which they could flee if danger drew close. Around 1778 Jacob Freeland and his neighbors constructed a stockade wall nearly twelve feet high around his two-story log house. [J. F. Meginness stated that the fortification was built in the year 1775.⁷⁵⁹] This 'fort' provided safety to the local settlers despite the fact that it did not possess any cannon or other defensive equipment.

At 9:00am on 21 July 1779, as a number of the men of the settlement were in the field tending to their corn, a party of Amerindians attacked them. In an instant three men lay dead: Isaac Vincent, Jacob Freeland Jr., and Isaac Freeland. Two others, Benjammin Vincent and Michael Freeland, were taken captive. Daniel Vincent was able to escape and outrun them, gaining shelter by jumping over the log stockade wall.

Colonel Samuel Hunter wrote to Colonel Mathew Smith of Lancaster County on the 23rd. Hunter was then at Fort Augusta, located where the city of Sunbury stands at the present time. His description of the depredations taking place that summer included a brief comment about the attack at Fort Freeland.⁷⁶⁰

We have Realy Distressing times at present in this County Occasioned by the late Depredations committed by the Savages on our Defenceless Frontiers, Immediately after the Evacuation of Fort Muncy, the Indians began their cruel murders again ~ the

3d Ins^t they killed three men and took two Prisoners at Lycoming ~ the eighth Inst., they burned the Widdow Smiths Mills & killd one ma, 17th Ins^t, they killd two men, and took three Prisoners from Fort Brady, the same day they Burned Starrets Mills & all the Princeable Houses in Muncy Township, the 20th Ins^t, they killd three men at Freelands Fort, and took two Prisoners, them sticking so close to this County after the Continentall troops has marched to Wyoming, has intimidated the people so much that they are Realy on the Eve of deserting the County intirely as there is no Prospect of any assistance, that the People on the Frontiers Could get their Harvists put up, I thought the army marching Even to Wyoming would Draw the attention of the Savages from us, but I think it never was worse than at present, and without some Reinforcements is sent to this County soon from some of our neighboring Countys its not probable the little Forts we have at Freelands & Boons can stand long, suppose I never see the People of this County behave more spirited then they do at present, suppose Reduced to a few, I have Just arrived after being on a Scout along Muncy Hill & we made a great discovery where the Savages had been along the Frontiers & taken off a number of Horses.

On the same day, the 23rd of July, John Vancampen wrote to President Reed to tell him that he had received “Entelligence”⁷⁶¹ pertaining to various activities of the Amerindians invading Northumberland County. They killed twenty head of cattle and all of the horses owned by Morgan Desheay. His intelligence told him that they were encamped at Willes Mill.

On the 28th of July, Colonel Hunter again wrote to Colonel Smith imploring him for reinforcement troops from Lancaster County, Northumberland’s neighbor to the south.⁷⁶²

This Day, about twelve o’Clock, an Express arrived from Capt. Boon’s mill, informing us that Freeland’s Fort was surrounded by a party of Indians, and Imediately after that another Express came, informing that it was Burned and all the Garrison Either killed or taken prisoners; the party that went from Boon’s See a Number of Indians & some Red Coats walking Round the Fort (or where it had been) after that there was a fireing heard off towards Chilisque, which makes us believe that the Savages is numerous, and party is going off from this Town & Northumb^d to y^e Relief of the Garrison at Boon’s, as there is a number of Women and Children; there was at Freeland’s Fort fifty Women and Children, and about thirty men and God knows what is become of them; by this you may know

our Distress'd Situation at this present time. General Sullivan would send us no Assistance, and our Neighbouring Countys has lost the Virtue they were once Possessed of, or otherwise we would had some Relief before this time; this I write in a Confused manner, as I am Just marching of up the West Branch, with the party we have Collected.

N.B. Rouse ye inhabitants there or we are all Ruined here.

The reader should have taken notice to the statement in that letter that the party that went from Boon's saw a number of Indians "& some Red Coats" walking around the smouldering fort.

Francis Allison Jr., described the situation around Freeland's Fort to President Joseph Reed in a letter also written on 28 July:⁷⁶³

At the particular Request of Col. Hunter, I inform you that Freeland's Fort, the most advanced Post on the frontiers of the west Branch, had on Wednesday last three of the Garrison killed & scalped, (one only shot) within sixty Yards of the fort, & two made prisoners; their Number of Indians appeared to be upwards of thirty in the open View of the Garrison. Relief was sent immediately from Boon's Fort & the two Towns, & additional force was left behind to y^e assistance, notwithstanding which, they attacked them this morning, & by Intelligence received from persons of credit, sent out as spies, they had surrounded the fort, were walking carelessly around it, & the Gates were thrown open. This Account arrived by Express from Maj. Smith at twelve o'clock, wince when Mr. Trigg, sent by Cap^t Nelson, informs y^e other spies had seen The Forts and Barns in Ashes, the mill still standing, & the Indians appeared very numerous, among whom were some Red Coats, supposed to be Regulars ~ that thirty-four men had turned out from Boon's Fort, to Relieve Freeland's Fort, of whom there is not the least intelligence.

The Garrison of Freeland F. consisted of thirty-two men, fourteen of whom were nine months men, & had in it upwards of forty women & Children. The situation of this County is truly alarming, & deplorable to the last degree. The Continental Garrisons formerly posted here are all drawn off, except a serj^t Guard, & by accounts received very late last Night from Wioming, they need not expect any Protection from Gen. Sulivan, "he seems quite regardless of the melancholy Situation of these unhappy people." If any Relief can possibly be afforded it should be given instantly, otherwise the Towns of Northumberland & Sunbury must be the Barriers.

Again it was mentioned that ‘Red Coats’ were seen among the Indians. They were assumed to have been ‘Regulars,’ meaning actual British soldiers rather than Loyalists.

Other accounts of the attack were sent in letters written on the 29th to William Maclay, Prothonotary and Clerk of Courts for Northumberland County by Colonel Samuel Hunter and by John Buyers, a Justice of the Peace and Quartermaster for the Northumberland County Militia. Hunter noted that a party of thirty men under Captain Hawkins Boone left the fort of the same name intending to aid the men at Freeland’s Fort. Before they could reach Freeland’s Fort, its garrison had surrendered. The men from Boon’s Fort were ambushed, surrounded and a brisk firing commenced. Thirteen of the rescue party were slain in the fight, including Captain Boon.

The narrative given by Mary Derickson stated that the second attack on, and capture of Freeland’s Fort took place on the 29th, but the letters sent on the 28th would suggest it happened on that date. The narrative given by Meginness in his book, *Otzinachson* , possibly derived from the Derickson account, also gave the date of the attack as the 29th.

According to the Derickson narrative, at daybreak Jacob Freeland Sr., was going out of the stockade and was just passing through the gate when he was shot. According to the Meginness narrative, an elderly man, James Watt, went out of the fortification to look for his sheep. As he drew close to the nearby stream an Amerindian named John Montour jumped out of the underbrush and attempted to grab hold of the man and take him away. Watt resisted and called out for help. To quiet him, the warrior struck and killed him with his tomahawk. The warrior was starting to scalp the old man when he himself was shot in the back. Not killed, the wounded Amerindian ran off. Both narratives resulted in the incidents sparking the firefight between the British and Senecas and the Northumberland County residents.

The fight did not last too long. The defenders had little ammunition and the British did not want to prolong the fight, so at 9:00am Captain McDonald raised a flag of truce and called on the Northumberland County residents to surrender their fort. The terms that McDonald gave, and which the people accepted, was for all those able to bear arms would be taken as prisoners but that the women, children and elderly men would be free to leave. The fortification would be open to plunder. Some of the people did not want to accept those terms, but eventually, by noon they agreed to the terms. The women, children and older men headed to Fort Augusta near the village of Northumberland, about eighteen miles away, and reached that destination by nightfall. The prisoners were led northward to Fort Niagara.

On 4 August, Samuel Hunter, the Northumberland County Lieutenant, wrote to president Reed to give his summary of the incident at Fort Freeland.⁷⁶⁴

I am sorry to inform you that this County has sufered very much leatly by the Ravages of a Cruel Savage Enemy; ye 26th of last month there was a large party made their appearance at Fort Freeland, to the amount of between three and four Hundred, Indians, Torys, & some Regular Troops, under the Command of one Capt. McDonald; they surrounded the small Garrison, and fired very smartly for some time, which was Returned by the men in ye fort, when McDonald Hoisted a white Flag, & one John

Little that was in the Garrison went out with another ; they met a little Distance of and concluded on Articles of Capitulation, that all who bore arms in the Garrison was to Surrender prisoners of War, and the Women and Children to be at liberty to go off unmolested.

There was in the Garrison at the time Twenty Six men & fifty Women and Children, who is all come safe in; the firing at Freelands was heard at Boons Mill, about seven miles Distance, where a number of the inhabitants had collected. Captains Boon and Kemplen marched of with thirty four men to reinforce the Fort at Freelands, but was met a little ways on this side by a number of the Savages, who surrounded them imediately; our men behaved with great bravery for some little time, but being overpowered by numbers was almost cut to pieces ; our loss there was fifteen kil'd & two Wounded ; among the Dead is Cap^t Boon & Cap^t Saml. Dougherty, two Very Good men.

Upon this Alarm, all the inhabitants above this came into Northumberland & Sunbury, where we put ourselves in the best posture Possable for to stand our Ground and defend the two towns in case the Enemy advanced ; in consequence of this sudden alarm, I sent of an Express to General Sullivan, informing him of our situation, and Requesting some few of his Troops to assist us in the dangerous state we were in at that time, but he did not think it expedient to send any, which you will see by the inclosed Cobby of his letter to me, his Reasons for not Complying with my Request.

The Enemy is gone over Muncy Hill, by the best inteligence we have from Partys we keep out, and has Plundered and burned the Country withra ten or twelve miles of Northumberland Town on the West Branch ; there is a number of familys that is Realy in Distress, haveing nothing left them to subsist uppon. I have ordered these Rations for some little time, untill I hear from Council. We Expect to have as Good as two Hundred or more Volintiers from Paxton & Hanover here this night, (and a number of them the princiaple people in these two Townships) and intends makeing up a party of four Hundred men to pursue those Plunderers and Endeavour to Retake our Horses and Cows they have along, which is a great Quantity.

General Sullivan marched from Wyoming last Saturday with the Whole Army, Except a Small Garrison left there, and if this does not draw of the Attention of the Enemy from our Quarter, we Cannot pretend to stay here without some assistance of Troops being stationed for the imediat defence of the County, as the best of our men is engaged in the Boat Service, and gone out with the Army, which Weakens this County much.

The British and Amerindians then proceeded to ravage the countryside around Freeland's Fort. In the end a total of one hundred and eight Euro~American settlers were killed and/or taken captive.⁷⁶⁵

. **The Attack On James Cook**
1 July 1779

James Cook was one of Captain Alexander Patterson's 'expresses,' meaning that he served as a deliverer of the mail and dispatches. On 1 July 1779, Patterson wrote to President Joseph Reed to tell him of Cook's near murder as he was returning from Wyoming that afternoon.⁷⁶⁶

This will inform you of the most singular event that perhaps you ever met with. One of my Expresses, (Viz,) James Cook on his return from Weyoming this day, about the middle of the afternoon, in the Swamp was fired upon by the Indians & Tories he supposes between Thirty & Fifty Shot. One Shot went thro' his Canteen, one thro' his Saddle, one thro' his Hunting Shirt, one was shot into his Horse. Two Indians or Tories being yet before him, both discharged their Pieces at him, threw down their Firelocks with a determination to Tomahawk him advanced within Eight Yards of him, at which Time he, with a Bravery peculiar to himself, fired upon them, killed one of them on the spot and wounded the other, notwithstanding he threw his Tomahawk at the Express, missed him, but cut the Horse very deep upon the Shoulder. He got hold of Cook, thought to get him from his Horse, tore his Shirt, which is stained much with the Indian's Blood; the Horse being fretted by his Wound raised upon his hind Feet, Trampled the Indian or Torie under him, who roared terribly, at which time Cook got clear; the other Indians on seeing him get off, raised the Whoop as if all Hell was broke loose. He supposes he rode the Horse afterwards near four Miles, but by the loss of Blood began to Stagger, when he alighted, took off his Saddle & Letters, ran about a Mile on foot, where he fortunately found a stray Continental Horse, which he mounted & rode to this Place.

It is easy to account for his getting the Horse as there are numbers of them astray about the Swamp. Mr Cook's Firelock was loaded with a Bullet & Nine Buck shot, & the Indians being close together when he fired is the reason why the one might be killed and the other Wounded.

From a Perfect knowledge of the mans Sobriety, Integrity and Soldierism, no part of this need be doubted.

. **The Holliday Family Massacre**
3 August 1779

A narrative was included by U. J. Jones in his *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley* about an incident that took place to the south of the present-day Borough of Hollidaysburg in 1781. Despite the fact that the incident has become one of the most widely known and notable events of the Revolutionary War period for Blair County, Jones was not correct in his date.

According to Jones' narrative, in the summer of 1781, William Holliday, along with his daughter, Janet and sons, Patrick and Adam had taken refuge at Fort Roberdeau when word of marauding Amerindians spread throughout the region.⁷⁶⁷ The Hollidays resided in the vicinity of present-day Hollidaysburg at the foot of the mountain on which the 'chimney rocks' project, so why they would have travelled the nearly twenty miles to Fort Roberdeau in the Sinking Spring Valley rather than taking refuge at the nearby Fort Fetter or even Fort Holliday is anyone's guess. Perhaps the two fortified structures nearby had little room to house any neighboring settlers. It is known that Fort Fetter was, in that summer, being garrisoned by a Cumberland County Militia company. In any case, the Hollidays spent a short time at Fort Roberdeau and then in August they left and headed back to their farm to gather in their crops. William probably felt safe in doing so because in the middle of July he and his two sons had done the same thing and on that trip they encountered no harm.

After gathering his first load and taking it into the barn, William had returned to the field with the sledge and was still seated on the horse when a friend by the name of McDonald came by on horseback and stopped to talk. Suddenly between eight and ten Amerindian warriors appeared in the field and shot the two sons instantly. They also shot out from under him the horse on which William was sitting. McDonald jumped from his horse and ran toward the Indians calling out "*Brother, brother*" to them. Instead of respecting the signal of nonresistance, the warriors took McDonald captive and shot again toward William and Janet. William jumped up onto McDonald's horse and tried to grab and pull Janet up behind him. The Indians were upon the two before he could get his daughter onto the horse and their shrieks frightened the horse. It took off at a gallop and all that William could do was look behind him and see the Amerindians subduing his poor daughter. The warriors fell onto the girl and killed her with blows from their hatchets.

Through the evening and night Mr. Holliday wandered over Brush Mountain. He arrived disheveled and out of his mind at Fort Roberdeau the following day. Failing to get a sensible answer out of the man in order to know how to react, a party of fifteen men headed out from the fort. They made their way southward. When they arrived at the Holliday farm, the search party found the three children lying dead and scalped in the field.

According to the narrative presented by U. J. Jones, McDonald returned from the Miami Valley to find himself ostracized by all his neighbors. Jones claimed that McDonald was believed to have committed an act of cowardice by trying to surrender to the warriors. According to Jones, Mr. McDonald was forced to leave the region because of the neighbors' taunting.

An article that had been published on 14 August 1779 in the *Pennsylvania Packet* was recently discovered by Robert Emerson, the Executive Director of the Old Fort Niagara Museum. Titled "*Extract of a letter from Bedford dated August 14, 1779*", the article stated:⁷⁶⁸

I have dismal news to tell you of our poor old friend William Holliday's family. On Tuesday, the 3d instant, as the old man, his two sons and daughter, and one M'Donald were returning home from hawling hay, they were fired upon by a party of Indians; ~

Adam was killed; Patrick ran off about 40 yards, and was shot through the head; M'Donald alighted, and ran to the Indians; the old man from his horse fired at the Indian scalping his daughter, but missed him, on which five of them fired at him at fifteem (sic) yards distance, but missed him and shot his mare through the neck ~ before she fell, she ran away with him out of their sight, and providentially at that moment M'Donald's horse came up, and stood till Mr. Holliday got on him and carried him off. Next day they went to Morrison's Cove, and killed Houser's family; and on the 11th they shot at young Dunlap on Dunning's Creek. A scout went out after them, but could not come up with them.

The loss of that valuable officer, his son, who fell in the battle of Brandywine, bravely fighting in his country's cause, Mr. Holliday bore with the patriotism of an antient Spartan, and the resignation of a Christian; but this stroke will, I am afraid, soon bring his grey hairs to the grave. You know how many remarkable risques he has ran, and what pains he has taken to keep Frankstown settlement together, and how often he has implored the Lieutenant to keep a small party there, which would not only have saved the lives of his children, but also have afforded protection to a great part of the country.

The article clearly notes that the incident occurred on the 3rd of August 1779 rather than in the year 1781. It also confirms the basic details given by U. J. Jones despite the fact that he added unverifiable 'first-person' details as he was prone to do.

U. J. Jones claimed that his narrative was derived from the recollections of octogenarian Michael Maguire. Although the name of the other man was given as 'M'Donald' in the newspaper account and repeated as 'McDonald' in Jones' narrative, the name appears to be a mistake according to the Bedford County public records. No man by that name was recorded on any of the tax assessment returns for Bedford County. If McDonald was a neighbor of the Hollidays, he should have appeared on the Frankstown Township assessments, but his name was not recorded. There was, though, a man by the name of Patrick McDaniel recorded on the 1781 return for Frankstown Township. McDonald / McDaniel was said to have been taken "to the Miami Valley."⁷⁶⁹ The Miami Valley is the valley through which the Miami River, in present-day Ohio, flows. Jones probably was suggesting, as many historians of his day, that all of the Amerindian raids came from the region surrounding Fort Detroit. Public documents reveal the actual facts. On 7 June 1819, a pension was issued for Patrick McDaniel who resided in Adams County, Ohio when he died in 1835.⁷⁷⁰ The pension application stated:

Patrick McDaniel aged seventy six years come before me Joshua Callett President Judge of the seventh Circuit of the Court of Common please of the State of ohio an he being duly

sworn according to law deposite and saith that he enlisted into the army of the United States under Captain Robert Cluggage in the first Rifle Regiment commanded by Colonel Hand in the spring of 1775 that he was before Boston until removed to New York when he was engaged in most of the Battles on Long Island and in the vicinity of New York and ~~~~ at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton and Princeton. That ~~~~ after having leave of absence on furlough he was returning to camp when he was taken at Franks town valley now called Huntington by a party of Indians who killed four of his companions and carried him into Canada where he remained until after the peace and returned to New York and landed up the North ~~~~ at Dobb's Ferry in the winter of 1783 or 84...

The pension application confirms that it was not 'a man named McDonald' who was present with William Holliday and his three children when they were attacked. Instead, it was Patrick McDaniel. Also it confirms that after being captured, the Amerindians did not take him to the Miami Valley of the Ohio Territory, but rather to Canada, *i.e.* Fort Niagara. McDaniel probably moved to Ohio after his release from imprisonment at Canada ~ but he made no mention in his pension application that his neighbors had forced him to leave.

. **The Hausser Massacre**
4 August 1779

According to a footnote in the *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*, in November 1777, a party of Amerindians came into the Morrison Cove and attacked the farmstead of Martin Hausser (variously, Houser). The Hausser family resided along Plum Creek in the vicinity of present-day East Sharpsburg in Taylor Township, Blair County.⁷⁷¹ The warriors killed Martin Hausser Sr., and a son, John. Another son, Martin Jr., and a sister, Rachael were taken captive, apparently to Fort Detroit, where Martin was held by the British for two or three years and Rachael for seven years. The mother, Elizabeth (*née* Hess) Hausser escaped by hiding. She is believed by some accouts to have remained on the farmstead to take care of the family's cattle.⁷⁷² Some accounts claim that she was away, visiting with a relative at Pittsburgh. Jacob, another son of Martin and Elizabeth also escaped. Jacob was claimed to have traveled to Hagerstown, Maryland.

This story, filtered through *family tradition* has as many variations as the number of people perpetuating it. One family researcher claimed that the raid occurred in 1789 ~ many years after the threat of Amerindian attack had passed.

The article from the 14 August 1779 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* quoted above for the Holliday family massacre noted that after that incident, the Indians went into the Morrison's Cove and massacred 'Houser's family' the next day.

. **August Murders In Bedford County**
August 1779

Two days after the Hausser family was attacked, Captain Thomas Cluggage wrote to the Supreme Executive Council from Fort Roberdeau to state that while he was away at Carlisle on business, he had received word from his brother, Robert that there were many intruders in the Bedford County region. He noted that *“I think from the accounts of my Bruther, that the Number of the Enemy in those parts must be Large... This Moment there is Twelve men arived, and with them and what Can be Speared from this garrison, I Will march Emadietly to morrison's Cauve.”*⁷⁷³

On the 24th of August, Joseph Reed, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, wrote to John Jay, then President of the Continental Congress. His letter was to inform the delegates in Congress that a number of companies of Rangers had been raised in Pennsylvania for the defense of the frontier. He noted that two companies had gone, under the command of Colonel Broadhead *“on an expedition against Some Indian Town up the Allegany”* and that *“One other Company is at Bedford, where thirteen persons were lately murdered.”*⁷⁷⁴

. . . . **Evidence Of Amerindians Found In Bedford County**
September 1779

Thomas Smith, Prothonotary and Clerk of Courts for Bedford County sent a letter to Joseph Reed and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania on 15 September. In that letter he informed the President and Council of measures established in Bedford County to better safeguard the residents:⁷⁷⁵

Gentlemen, Colonel Martin, one of the Sublieutenants of Bedford County, on his leaving Town lately, sent a few Lines to me, informing me that when the Indians made the late incursions into that country, he thought himself under an indispensable obligation to call out a few of the Militia and Station them in such places as to afford the utmost protection to the few Inhabitants yet remaining in that almost desolated Country, that such a small number could do by ranging along the Frontiers & meeting each other at Stated Times & places and communicate their discoverie to each other. That he was happy to find that this mode gave great encouragement to the People...

The ranging routines newly suggested in the foregoing letter would not be instituted too quickly. Only two days later, Captain Richard Delapt, Thomas Anderson, Michael Feather, Henry Wertz, Jacob Saylor, John Graham, Jacob Thersh, Thomas Hay and William Eules signed the letter directed to President Reed and the Council (noted previously).⁷⁷⁶

This Day arrived here capt. Samuel Paxton, with twenty-one Men, who had been out at Frankstown on a Tour of Militia Duty, by order of colonel James Martin; the capt. reports that during his stay at that Place, which was about sixteen Days, He, with some of his Men, ranged the Woods at least ten Miles around the Fort. And last Week he discovered at the Head of Frankstown Waters in the Allegany Mountain, a Rendezvous Place the Indians have had for some time past; there was erected ten Bark Houses in their Way, each of which would do for three to sleep under, it appeared that three of the said Shades or Houses had been occupied about three or four days before. We mention this as one circumstance of our Fears; We understand that Colonel Broadhead has destroyed the Indian Towns in the Forks of Allegany, and we think it a great thing; but at the same Time we lie exposed here, and from the nature of Indians they look for revenge, and of course we must be the first Victims of their Rage, as we lie nearest and most convenient to them. We are also without Powder to enable us to defend ourselves, even if we had Men, and such Backwardness appears in some of our officers, that we dread the Consequence. We hope your Excellency and the Honourable council will take the Premises into consideration, and send such relief as you may think most proper for the safety of this part of the Commonwealth.

The ‘Head of Frankstown Waters in the Allegany Mountain’ would have been located in present-day Freedom and Greenfield Townships, Blair County. A number of creeks, including Beaverdam Creek and South Poplar Run in Greenfield Township and Polecat Run and South Dry Run in Freedom Township, form in the foothills of the Allegheny Front and flow east and northward to merge into the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata River. As noted above, in the section titled *Isolated Pockets of Survival*, the family of Jacob and Rosanna Schmitt resided at the head of South Dry Run in present-day Freedom Township, Blair County. Although it is possible that the Amerindians did not bother the Schmitt family due to Rosanna possibly being of Amerindian blood, it is doubtful that the group of bark huts mentioned in the letter were constructed adjacent to the Schmitt farmstead. The Schmitt family were very isolated for the decade from 1774 to 1785 with no neighbors closer than Frankstown (15 miles to the east) Conemaugh (30 miles to the west) and Bedford (35 miles to the south). If the ten bark houses had been located near the Schmitt farmstead the fact would surely have been mentioned in the letter. They were more than likely located at the head of one of the other three forest streams that flowed down the eastern slope of the Allegheny Mountain.



. ***The Start Of 1780***

British induced Amerindian incursions into the Pennsylvania frontier slackened off a bit as 1780 dawned due, primarily, to the weather. The winter of 1779-80 was an unusually harsh winter. C. Hale Sipe claimed that it was “*perhaps the severest in the history of the United States.*” He noted that “*By February the snow lay four feet deep in the woods and on the mountains of Pennsylvania...*”⁷⁷⁷ That may have been a little bit of an exaggeration, but it wasn’t too far off. Historical weather data has shown that the winter of 1779-80 was indeed harsh. Weather historians noted that the winter of 1779-80 was the only winter in the history of the nation during which New York City’s surrounding waters froze and stayed frozen for up to five consecutive weeks. It was known as a ‘*Hard Winter*’ in which throughout the month of January, the temperature did not rise above 32 degrees Fahrenheit and went as low as minus-15 degrees.⁷⁷⁸ The blanket of snow at Philadelphia reached three feet deep, so it is conceivable that the snow in the frontier regions was at least that deep. “*The cold weather continued without intermission from December 1779 to March 1780.*”

The harsh weather might be seen as having been a good thing for the frontier settlers. They had little else to guard them against Amerindian attack. On 9 January 1780, Colonel Archibald Lochry informed Joseph Reed and the Supreme Executive Council that the companies of Rangers who were supposed to be defending them had been removed from their defence. Writing from Hannas Town, Lochry wrote: “*The two ranging Companies were stationed at the Kittaning and Fort Crawford, at mouth of a Creek called Pucatees Creek, on the Allegheny River, which posts were well calculated to cover the Country. Col^o Brodhead, for some reasons best known to himself, and without consulting me or any of the Gentlemen of this County ordered both Companies to Fort Pitt.*” He continued, “*The principal People in this County, and more particularly on the frontier, begin to be alarmed at his conduct in stripping that part entirely of troops, and laying it open to the excursions of the savages*”⁷⁷⁹

If it were not for the bitter weather inhibiting the Seneca’s movements, the frontier might have been more greatly devastated. On 30 March, the Reverend John Hackenwelder wrote to Colonel Brodhead from the vicinity of the Amerindian village of the Coochocking (variously, Cooshocking):⁷⁸⁰

We have heard nothing at all this whole winter what the Enemy are about, the snow being so deep, & the weather so continually cold has, I suppose, prevented this; but this day I am informed that three young fellows, two Delawares & one Wyandott, have turned back from a body of warriors consisting of twenty-six men. They inform that five or six Companies of warriors are gone out: two parties of Wyandotts towards Beaver Creek, & the others down this River. The Half King, it appears, is at the head of one of the parties, & Neeshaws (a Mohican) heads a party of Muncies & Delawares. It is also reported here this day, that the Shawnese & others are gone to fight with the Army at the Big Bone Lick ; likewise that the Wabash Indians are all gone to war.

We here intend to leave this place intirely in about two weeks, & move nearer to Gnadenhutten.

. ***Murder And Captivity On Racoon Creek***
12 March 1780

The incursions by Senecas from the Genessee Valley were greatly curtailed as a result of Sullivan's Expedition and the harsh winter. In their absence, Wyandots from the Ohio Valley came into the western frontier. A party of Wyandot warriors attacked five men and six children along Racoon Creek, near the mouth of Reardon Run. Colonel Daniel Brodhead at Fort Pitt wrote a letter to President Joseph Reed on 18 March. He stated that "*I am Sorry to inform you that the Savages have already begun their hostilities last Sunday morning at a Sugar Camp upon Raccoon Creek five Men were killed & three lads & three Girls taken Prisoners. It is generally conjectured that the Delawares have struck this blow and it is probable enough but it is possible it may have been done by other Indians.*"⁷⁸¹

The identity of the five men who were killed and the six children who were taken captive is not conclusive. C. Hale Sipe, in his volume *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania* claimed in one sentence that the 'white persons' were Tucker and Turner men from Allegheny County and Foulkes from Washington County. He followed that sentence with one in which he identified the children as George Foulkes, Elizabeth Foulkes and Samuel Whittaker.⁷⁸² Assuming that Colonel Brodhead was accurate, there were five men, so how many were Tuckers, how many were Turners and how many were Foulkes is not known. And again, assuming Colonel Brodhead's assertion that three boys and three girls were taken, Sipe provided names for only two of the three boys and only one of the three girls. Then, he provided a footnote of information from the *Warner's History of Allegheny County*. The original stated:

"The last Indian outrage affecting the people of this section occurred about 1780. The four children of William Turner, two

sons and two daughters, and a Mr. Fulks left their home in the spring of the year and went over into what is now Beaver county to make maple sugar. They completed preparations for their stay, and had remained several days, when a party of Indians appeared. George Turner was killed upon the spot. Fulks might have escaped but for the fact that he was followed by a white dog which barked incessantly. He was overtaken and also killed without further parley. The party then set out with the two girls, Betsey and Polly, and their remaining brother, William Turner. The latter died after a short time, but the girls survived the hardships of the journey, and reached a British post in the northwest, where they were ransomed.”⁷⁸³

So what does the combining of the two groups of information tell us? Regarding the five men who were killed during the ambush, the only one for whom we have a definite name is ‘Mr. Fulks.’ In addition to Mr. Fulks, there could have been one man by the name of Tucker and three by the name of Turner or three by the name of Tucker and one by the name of Turner. In regard to the children, the *Allegheny County* history actually named two boys and two girls: George and William Turner and Betsey and Polly Turner. That seems pretty clearcut. But Sipe named two boys also: George Foulkes and Samuel Whittaker and one girl: Elizabeth Foulkes. The three girls who were taken captive, then would have been Betsey Turner, Polly Turner and Elizabeth Foulkes. But we have an extra boy since we have the definite names of George Turner, William Turner, George Foulkes and Samuel Whittaker.

David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary at Tupaking in the Ohio Territory wrote to Colonel Brodhead on 2 April 1780.⁷⁸⁴ He wrote:

“Of the Murder Committed on Racoon Creek I herd nothing Before I Received your letter. About Eight days Before we heard of a Company Warriors Being Tracked, which Came from Towards the Wiondots Towns, But we did not learn what Indians they was; they must Be Either Mingoes or Munzus, or of the Wisndoughalends Gang. I have not herd of any hostile Thoughts among the Cooshocking Indians yet...But Yesterday we heard that a Party of Warriors, among which was the well known Munzey Washnash, have attacted a Boat in the River, Killed Three men, & have Taken Twenty One Men, Women & Children, Prisoners, & Likewise the whole Boat, no Doubt this action will Encouriage Them to do more Mischief...”

Mr. Zeisberger added a postscript on his letter and added: *“After I wrote the above I had mor full Intiligence. The Murder on Racoon Creek was Committed by the Wiondots & the Other on the Begg River By the Munsies, which is a True account.”*

One of the females taken in the attack was a girl of eighteen years, Catherine Malott. Catherine is notable as having later married the Tory, Simon Girty.⁷⁸⁵

. **Northumberland Struck
Spring 1780**

Sullivan's Expedition against the Seneca homeland in the summer of 1779, while resulting in great devastation to that Amerindian nation, did not completely annihilate them. During the spring of 1780, Seneca warriors swept into the Wyoming Valley for a second time.⁷⁸⁶ They arrived in numerous parties of just a few warriors each.

The first Euro-American to fall prey to the raiding warriors was Lebbeus Hammond. His name might be remembered from the narrative of the first attack on the Wyoming Valley settlers in 1778. In Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, it was noted that during the incident in which the half-breed Indian, Queen Esther was executing prisoners, two of the captives escaped. Those two prisoners were Joseph Elliot and Lebbeus Hammond. [See page 267.]

Now, on 27 March 1780, Lebbeus Hammond was taken captive once again. An hour after Hammond was taken, Thomas Bennett and his son, who were working in a field on their farmstead near the village of Kingston, were captured. William Miner, writing of the second attack in 1845, stated that the party that took Hammond and the Bennetts consisted of only six warriors. The party established a camp about twelve miles north of the valley and during the 28th they crossed the Susquehanna River and headed northward to Meshoppen in present-day Wyoming County. Miner noted that while they were heading north they met two separate parties of Amerindians and Tories. One of those local Tories was perhaps recognized by Hammond and Bennett because Miner stated that "A man by the name of Moses Mount whom they knew..." was curious about the situation of the settlements in the valley.

When the party encamped for the second night, Mr. Bennett built a fire. Since he was elderly, the Amerindians probably felt that he was harmless and did not need to be tied. He took advantage of his freedom to plot an escape plan. After eating their meal of venison, the warriors lay down to sleep. They had Hammond and Bennett's son tied between them. One older warrior stayed awake to guard over the prisoners. He had laid down his spear and was occupied in cleaning the remaining meat off the deer's head when Bennett grabbed up the spear. Quickly thrusting the weapon into the old warrior's side, Bennett jumped up and cut his son's and Hammond's bonds. The three prisoners then grabbed up tomahawks lying nearby and sunk them into the sleeping warriors' skulls. In the moment of action, four of the warriors were killed, one wounded and one escaped unharmed. Hammond and Bennett and his son returned southward to their homes with the Amerindian weapons and blankets "as trophies of their brilliant exploit."

The other war parties killed or took captives throughout the valley over three or four days. On the 27th, a man by the name of Asa Upson was killed at Hanover Green, a village eventually merged into Wilkes-Barre at its southwest end. On the 28th, two unnamed men making sugar about eight miles downstream of Wilkes-Barre were attacked. One was killed

and the other taken captive. Fifteen year old Jonah Rogers was taken on the 29th. He was located in the south end of the valley.

The Van Campen family residing at Fishing Creek was attacked on the 30th by a party of ten warriors. The father of Moses was killed along with Moses' brother and uncle. Moses Van Campen and a boy by the name of Pence were taken captive. The warriors took their two captives northeastward, passing through the village of Huntington Mills. At that location the war party encountered a four man scouting party under Captain Franklin. The two parties shot at each other and two of Franklin's men were wounded. The warriors continued on their way. In the evening the party came upon a British deserter, Abraham Pike and his wife. They took Pike captive and after 'painting' Mrs. Pike and her child, they were sent 'into the settlements'. The party crossed the Susquehanna River at the mouth of the Tunhannock Creek. When they reached a point within fifteen miles of Tioga Point, on 3 April, the party set up a camp. Tioga Point was near the present-day town of Athens, Bradford County, near the Pennsylvania / New York border. By luck, when the Amerindians laid down with five on each side of the prisoners, a knife dropped on the ground and Moses Van Campen was able to place his foot over it without it being detected. Around midnight, Van Campen figured that the warriors were all sleeping, so he cut his own bonds and then those of his fellow captives. They then picked up all of the muskets and placed them off to the side out of reach, and taking the remaining tomahawks, they dispatched many of the Amerindian warriors. Two of the warriors were wounded and perhaps three of the others escaped. A raft was quickly constructed and the free captives made their way down the rivers. They arrived back at the Wyoming Valley by the 5th of April.

On the 31st, seven or eight person were taken within two miles of Fort Jenkins in present-day Columbia County. The fortification was the construction of a stockade wall around the house of 'Mr. Jenkins'. It was located along the north bank of the North Branch of the Susquehanna River midway between the present-day towns of Bloomsburg and Berwick.

Samuel Hunter wrote to President Reed on 2 April 1780 to inform him of the attacks:⁷⁸⁷

Sir, The Savages have made their appearance on our Frontiers in an Hostil manner. The Day before yesterday they took seven or eight Prisoners, about two miles above fort Jenkins, and two Days before that Carryed off several People from about Wyoming ; this has struck such terror to the poor scattered Inhabitants of this County, that all the settlers above this will be in the Towns of Sunbury and Northumberland before two Days. Our case is Realy Deplorable, and without some speedy assistance being Ordered here, I am afraid the County will break up intirely, as the German Regiment that's stationed here is no ways adiquit to Grant us the Necessary Releife Required, and as for calling out the Militia of this County its impossable to Expect it in the present sircumstances the inhabitants is Reduced to; for if they Miss Geting spring Crops put in the Ground for the support of their familys they have nothing that can induce them to

stay, Except Council would Order some of the Militia from our Neighbouring Countys, to Act in Conjunction with the few Continental Troops thats here, and without something like this is done to Encourage the People, I dred the Consequences that may Enssue.

The case is Quite altered with us till what it was this time Twelve month; we had a prity Good Fort Garrisoned at Muncy, of Continental Troops, Bradys Fort and Freelands, with our Owen inhabitants, but now we have but about fourty or fifty at Montgomerys, and thirty at Fort Jenkins, the latter of which was not able to spare men enough out of the Garrison to pursue the Enemy that Carryed of the Prisoners, suppose there was not above thirty Indians and Torys in the party, and a prity Deep snow had fallen the night before, which they could be easily tracted. I am sorry to mention this, as I have seen the time, within this three years past, that we could turn out some Hundred of Good Woodsmen, but now the case is altered, as our County is Quite Drained of our Best men. I hope to have a favourable answer to this by the Bearer, as it would Encourage the Drooping spirits of a poor Distressed Frontier County; in the mean time I would be Desirous of your Particular Orders in Regard of Embodying the Militia of this County, suppose I have issued out Orders already for that purpose, but your Orders would Enable me to procure Provisions for any party we can have stationed out on our Frontiers.

Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Weltner wrote to the Board of War on 9 April 1780.⁷⁸⁸ He enclosed a deposition of Peter Bens who had been taken captive on the 29th of March and had made his escape along with three other captives. He noted that another three prisoners had escaped their captors by killing two and wounding three of the Amerindians. They not only escaped but succeeded in taking six rifles, a sword and two tomahawks with them. Weltner also noted that “*I have this moment received an express from the West Branch about twelve miles from this Town that the Indians have killed and scalped one man and two Children, took one woman prisoner, but she happily made her escape from them in the night.*”

**... Amerindian Incursions In The Midst Of
Intercolonial Turmoil
April 1780**

Augusta County was erected in Virginia’s frontier region in 1738. It encompassed the region from which most of the present state of West Virginia was formed in 1861-63. Augusta County’s western boundary was claimed by the Virginia Colony to extend

indefinitely westward. It therefore encompassed the region that would become the state of Kentucky. But more importantly for settlers of the Pennsylvania frontier was the fact that Virginia claimed that Augusta County extended northward to the Allegheny River with an eastern boundary that lay along the summit of Laurel Hill. It therefore contained all of Westmoreland County as it was erected in 1773 out of Bedford.

Euro-American settlers believing that they were Pennsylvania residents began to move into the region around Fort Pitt and the Forbes Road as soon as Forbes' Army left in 1759. The problem was that Euro-American settlers believing that they were Virginia residents also began moving into the region. As soon as Westmoreland County was erected on 26 February 1773 a court house was established at Hannas Town. At the time, the Virginian settlers, if they required legal assistance, had to travel to Staunton, between one hundred and fifty miles (from the closest point) and two hundred and fifty miles (from the farthest point). Virginia did not establish courts in the region that was referred to as the District of West Augusta until 1776. In that year the district was divided into three counties: Ohio, Monongalia and Yohogania. Within the bounds of present-day



Pennsylvania, the county of Yohogania encompassed the largest land mass, occupying the region of present-day Westmoreland, Allegheny and portions of Fayette, Beaver and Washington Counties. Monongalia County encompassed present-day Greene and portions of Fayette and Washington Counties. Ohio County covered only a slender region at the western boundary of Washington and Greene Counties.

Claims of Virginia ownership in Ohio, Monongalia and Yohogania Counties was short-lived. Created in 1776, they would exist only four years. Pennsylvania and Virginia agreed to extend the Mason-Dixon Line (which survey had been halted at Dunkard Creek, near present-day Mount Morris, Pennsylvania in October 1767). In 1780 the two Provinces agreed to use the Mason-Dixon Line as the dividing boundary by extending it. It was extended thirty-one more miles westward in 1784.

You can't have two systems of legal jurisdiction in the same region and not have problems. And problems they did have. Officials of each of the provinces harassed officials of the other. The quarrelling between the provinces did not stop the Amerindians from attacking the settlers.

Colonel Daniel Brodhead wrote a letter to Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania from his post at Pittsburgh on 27 April 1780.⁷⁸⁹ In that letter, Colonel Brodhead informed Reed that:

“I am glad to hear of the four Companies voted to be raised by the authority of the State for the Defence of the frontier, and as I flatter myself the Eastern parts of the State are at present freed from apprehensions of Danger, so I hope these Companies when raised will be ordered to this District, where the Enemy are remarkably hostile. Between forty & fifty men, women, & Children have been killed & taken from what are now called the Counties of Yoghaganian, Monongalia, & Ohio since the first of March, but no damage has yet been done in the County of Westmoreland.”

Although his statement appears contradictory, Brodhead might have been noting that the forty or fifty people “killed & taken” were settlers residing in communities identifying as Virginian as compared to those who identified as Pennsylvanian.

. Incursions Of Amerindians Into Bedford County Spring 1780

A letter was sent by Major Robert Cluggage to Colonel John Piper on 30 May 1780.⁷⁹⁰

Huntingdon, May the 30th, 1780.
S^r, I make free to Write you Concerning the difficulty of the Time^s in those parts at Present which ought to be the Concearn of Every good man. A party of men from Cumberland and from those parts was Marched out to Wayley the Gaps of the aligenia Mountain Before we arived from your house when they went to the new gap above Frankstown the Found that a small party of the Enemy had Returned that Rout sume days Before the got there and had Taken with them a number of horses, yet still we supposed a part of the Enemy to be left behind which we have found to be true by the Discovery of William Phelaps. Last Friday where he had a Noble Chance of twoo indians Near the Threespring’s at Aughweek had it not been for one of his Children that was with him which he was Doubtfull w^d have Falen into there hands if he had a fired on them, he Emadiatly Alarmed the Neighbours the Raised a party and pursued them for sume Miles Came to their Fire where the had Roasted a turkey and was just gon the indeans seamed to hed towards Pregmor’s mil when the party Lost thire Tracks a

Discovery has be made lately at Captⁿ Simontons, from those Discoverys we may draw this Conclution those are spys a makeing a proper Discovery of the Contery and when Reinforced I am doubtfull will Make a Heavy stroak if not timely prevented Comberland County have showed a deal of spirit on This Last Ocation to do Every thing in their power they ar willing to keep out a scout Constant and Run there Chance for pay if the could be found in provitions Squ^{re} Brown proposes to find Flower Salt and Whiskey there is Nothing but Meet a Wanting, the People of this place ar much Dissatisfyed about the Stoars Being Moved the purtest against Leting them go, what the Consequence will be I Canot tell as the party is not as yet arived. M^r Gil Breath and his party have Extraordinary hard Duty on account of Guarding thir Provitions such a Distance and haveing only 4 pack horses I think that by applying to M^r Smith, the might be some horses procured, sume Baggs is Likewise much a wanting, if the cannot be procured in that Line I think you w^d be Safe in giving orders to Lire sume for one trip or twoo. I am informed that there are some Beef Catle at Bedford I think twoo or three Drove Down by this Guard that is going up w^d Save a grait deal of Trouble, I hope that post in Sinking Valley may be Defended as it is of Essential service in case men should wayley the Gaps of the aligenia as it is handy for the men to Receive sume assistance from I hope you will not Fail in doeing Every thing in your power as the times is Despert I think it will be Justifiable Before god and man to Take dispert measures, I think it w^d not be a mis to send down sume money to sume Carefull person to be laid out for meet or flower in Case of Needeasiety pray spare no pains in haveing an Express sent to Philadelphia with a full ac^t of the State of this County. I have Directed sixteen men of a guard for Huntingdon which is to do proper Duty as inlisted troops and in Case of Misbehaveing to be punished as the same I hope the will have your approbation, any orders you send, send it in Writeing and keep a Copy of the same. Every thing that is in my power to assist you in at this Critical time is at your service. I Remain your Friend and well wisher, ROBT. CLUGAGE. N. B. I Drew out Capt^{ns} Johnsons and Clugages pay Rolls for there time of Service and was obliged to mentions Sumes to Satisfy them as the intend to have them Judged at the Next Coart. I Took Recp^t on the Back of there pay Rolls for the Money Payed. R. C.

The observant reader probably noticed the name of ‘William Phelaps’ in the foregoing letter. The reference would have been to Captain William Phillips, who only two months later would become engaged in a battle with Seneca warriors led by British Lieutenant John

Dockstедder in the Woodcock Valley. According to this letter, Captain Phillips and his children apparently were passing through the forests along the Aughwick Creek in present-day Huntingdon County where they came upon two Amerindians. Phillips aroused some neighboring families and raised a search party to try to track down the two warriors. They were not successful.

The observant reader would also have noticed that Major Cluggage believed that the two Amerindians spotted by Captain Phillips may have been “*spys a makeing a proper Discovery of the Contery.*” He may not have known it, but he was perhaps foreseeing the tragedy to befall Captain Phillips and his company just forty-seven days in the future.

On 3 June 1780, Colonel John Piper wrote to Joseph Reed, mentioning that nearly twenty settlers had been either killed or taken captive: “*I mentioned in My Last by Gennerall St. Clair, that the Indians Had Made an Incurtion into this county, which to our misfortune is More Generall than I at that time supposed, there Being upwards of twenty People Killed and taken, the consequence is that the Settlements adjacent to where the Murders were Done is Abandoned... Spies or at Least those who are Suspected to be spies, have Been Discovered in Diffrant Parts...*”⁷⁹¹ It is unfortunate that the twenty People mentioned by Colonel Piper were not named and their place(s) of death or capture had not been identified.

. ***The Prisoners’ Intelligence***
9 April 1780

A number of men taken prisoner in Northumberland County by the Amerindians during the fall of 1779 escaped from their captors. They made their way to Fort Augusta at the town of Sunbury in early April. From Sunbury, William Maclay wrote to the Supreme Executive Council on the 9th of April to inform the Council on what the prisoners told. He noted that “*A Number of Prisoners, who were taken by the Indians, and carried near Tioga, are just come in...*” They told the authorities of Northumberland County that they had risen up against their Amerindian captors, killing some and dispersing the rest in order to effect their escape. They then stated that while in captivity they obtained the following information.⁷⁹²

That one hundred Indians left Niagara last Fall. That they rec'd as much Cloathing as they wanted, each man four Blankets, when they came about Tioga, they found Fat Cattle which they killed, and built Themselves Houses. They gave the Prisoners some of the Beef which was very Fat. That these hundred Indians all set off to war, when they did. (N. B. we know only of three Parties having been down on this County, all of whom by the best Accounts, amount to about forty.) That they expected Col. Brant with one hundred & fifty "Warrriors every day. That as soon as the Leaves were green five hundred and fifty Indians would strike at different Places between Schenectady and Fort Pitt. That the British at Niagara, paid them fifty shillings for a Scalp & five pounds for a Prisoner. That Three Towns were left untouched, by

Gen^l Sullivan, one of them a very large one: The Prisoners spoke to them of Peace, they said some Mohawks had mentioned it to them But they would make none.

Mr. Maclay also informed the Council that Colonel Hunter had just notified him that a fourth party of Amerindians had struck his plantation the previous night at nine o'clock. Samuel Hunter's farmstead was located along the West Branch of the Susquehanna River about fifteen miles from Fort Augusta. In the attack a man and a child had been killed and a woman was taken captive. Maclay stated: "*And while the English continue to supply the Indians at Niagara, pay them and support them as at Present, Peace with the Indians (in my opinion) is unattainable.*"

. *The Burning Of Benjamin Gilberts' House & Mill*
25 April 1780

Northampton County was, prior to 1752, the north end of Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The county, when it was erected out of Bucks County on 11 March 1752 encompassed the region lying between the Kittatinny and South Mountains. The region is occupied by the present-day counties of Carbon, Lehigh, Monroe, Northampton, Pike, Susquehanna and Wayne Counties. Its location in the northeast corner of the state kept it, for the most part, safe from the dangers of British, Tory and Amerindian incursions during the American Revolutionary War. The massacre of twenty-three persons at John Stenton's, James Allen's and Andrew Hazzlitt's homes on the morning of 8 October 1763 was the only incident of an Amerindian incursion recorded in Northampton County until 1780.

Nicholas Kern, a Lieutenant of the Fourth Battalion of the Northampton County Militia wrote to Samuel Ray, the County Lieutenant, on 27 April 1780. He noted that he had just returned from a scout and found *Benjamin Gilberts'* house along with his grist and saw mills engulfed in fire.⁷⁹³ The house of Benjamin Peirts was also on fire. He had been informed that Benedick Sneider and his son had been taken captive on the 15th, and that fifteen people had been carried off as prisoners on the morning of the 25th. The militia were unable to overtake the raiders and their captives.

. *The Sanders Family Massacre*
May 1780

The Raystown Branch of the Juniata River travels northward through the Woodcock Valley and empties into the main body of the Juniata River at a point about three miles southeast of the present-day Borough of Huntingdon.

According to U. J. Jones, a family by the surname Sanders resided near the mouth of the Raystown Branch in the year 1780. As was noted in the chapter on the massacre of Captain Phillips' Rangers, Benjamin and William Sanders were the only individuals who appeared as residents of Bedford County in the 1770s and 80s. Benjamin was recorded in Hopewell

Township and William was recorded in Bethel Township: neither of which encompassed the region in which the Raystown Branch empties into the Juniata River.

According to Jones' narrative, the Sanders family were seated around the dinner table when five '*savages bounded in, and killed Sanders, his wife, and three children.*'⁷⁹⁴ Jones noted that 'an Englishman and his wife' happened to be at the Sanders' house at the time. They proclaimed that they were loyal to King George III ~ apparently believing that the Amerindians, who were siding with the British, would be lenient toward them and spare their lives. The 'Englishman and his wife' were taken captive and marched to Montreal.

. ***Massacre At Grozong's Mill***
16 May 1780

Jacob Groshong owned and operated a grist mill in the Buffalo Valley of Northumberland County which he built between 1776 and 1779. Jacob was known as French Jacob; perhaps it was his ethnic background. His name appeared as *Grozong* in a contemporary letter.

On 16 May 1780, Amerindians attacked French Jacob's mill.⁷⁹⁵ Grist mills tended to be places where numbers of settlers would be found because everyone had to go there from time to time. On the 16th, there were four local settlers: Jno. Forster, Jr., James Chambers, Samuel M'Laughlen and George Eytzwiller at the mill. Sipe gave the last noted man's surname as *Etzweiler*. He also claimed that they comprised a 'patrol of Continental soldiers.'⁷⁹⁶ The warriors killed those four men, but they only succeeded in grabbing one of the men's scalps. A fifth man at the mill, William Fisher, was going into the mill as the Amerindians began firing. His foot slipped and he fell forward through the door just as a bullet intended for him sailed past where his head would have been, had he not fallen forward.

Two neighbors were alerted by the sounds of musket fire and reacted to them.⁷⁹⁷ Christian Shively was threshing his grain when he heard the sounds. Fearing attack, he hurried to get his family hidden near the creek. He rolled a couple logs to the creek bank and lashed them together to make a raft. Onto the raft he placed his wife and two children and floated them safely away. Henry Pontius also heard the sounds and grabbed his rifle. He mounted his horse and headed for the mill, which was the direction from which he thought the sounds came. He arrived just as the warriors were leaving.

Matthew Smith wrote on 18 May 1780 to President Joseph Reed from Northumberland Town.⁷⁹⁸ Smith had been a Major in the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line. In the spring of 1778 he was elected to serve on the Supreme Executive Council from Lancaster County. On 11 October 1779, Matthew Smith was elected Vice-President of the Council. He resigned shortly after and on 4 February 1780 Matthew gained appointment to Prothonotary of Northumberland County. His letter to Reed stated: "*I am unhappy Enough to Inform you the Savage Enemy have on the 16th Inst., made a Stroke on the Inhabitants of this much Distress'd County at Buffaloe Valley. At French Jacob Grozong's Mills four Men kill'd...*"

Matthew Smith noted that when the neighboring settlers heard the musket shots, they formed a search party to track the Amerindians down. They were not successful in overtaking them the warriors.

. ***Depredations Near Ligonier
Late May 1780***

On the 1st of June, Colonel Archibald Lochrey, Lieutenant of Westmoreland County, wrote to President Joseph Reed to inform him of the situation in Westmoreland County.⁷⁹⁹ Writing from Twelve Mile Run, west of Ligonier, he noted that three parties of “*the Savages*” had come into the region. Just two miles from Ligonier, a band of warriors had taken five persons captive. The grist mill of a man named Laughlin was burned. No record of a ‘Laughlin’s Mill’ appears in any historical record of the Ligonier region, but it might have been located in the village that now bears the name Laughlintown. The village was originally called ‘Laughlin’s Plantation’ and although there are no waterways which one would think could power a grist mill, overshot mills did not require fast flowing and powerful streams.

Also, two men were killed and one was wounded near “*Brushy Run*” according to Lochrey. There exists no waterway by the name of Brushy Run, but there does exist a Bushy Run, a tributary of Brush Creek. Perhaps Lochrey was referring to Bushy Run. It was along Bushy Run, in the vicinity of present-day Harrison City (northwest of Greensburg) that the Battle of Bushy Run was fought during Pontiac’s Rebellion. In that engagement fought on the 5th and 6th of August 1763, a British force led by Colonel Henry Bouquet engaged with a party of Amerindians composed of Delaware, Huron, Mingo and Shawnee warriors. The British were victorious and relieved the garrison of Fort Pitt. Lochrey also noted that two men were killed near Brush Creek on Braddock’s Road. C. Hale Sipe, in his *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, stated that the killing of the two men along Braddock’s Road, was near Turtle Creek.⁸⁰⁰

In his letter of 1 June, Colonel Lochrey also informed President Reed that he received a packet “*with proclamations offering a large premium for Indian Prisoners, Scalps, or Tories in arms with them...*”⁸⁰¹ That statement recalled a prior statement made in a letter sent on 11 April by President Reed to Colonel Jacob Stroud of Northampton County. In that letter, Reed stated that the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania was prepared to offer “*1500 Dollars for every Indian or Tory Prisoner taken in Arms against us & 1000 Dollars for every Indian Scalp...*”⁸⁰² There exists no evidence that anyone ever claimed the ‘bounty’ money.

. . . ***Incursions Into The Valleys Of Northumberland***

The attack on French Jacob Groshong’s mill on 16 May has been discussed above. His was not the only site to be attacked in the region of the Buffalo and Brush Valleys of Northumberland County. A number of incursions occurred in Northumberland County throughout the spring and summer of 1780.

On 8 April 1780, the family of David Couples was attacked in their home on Redbank Run. David was killed and scalped. The two children were also killed and scalped. Mrs. Couples attempted to escape but was captured by the Amerindians. They headed northward with her and made camp at White Deer Mills. Despite the fact that one of the warriors laid down on her dress so that if she made any move he would be wakened, she was able to escape.⁸⁰³

Around 10 June “*An Indian Prisoner was taken... by one of the Inhabitants about ten Miles up the North Branch and conducted to Sunbury Jail.*”⁸⁰⁴ That was reported by Lieutenant Colonel Ludwick Weltner in a letter to President Joseph Reed. He also noted that at about the same time a Mr. Lewis was killed in his own house about seven miles from Sunbury on the road leading to Reading. Additionally, Mr. Currey was shot off his horse and his wife was taken captive about seven miles “*up the North branch*”. It was raining hard that night that she was captured, and because of it, she was able to escape her captors. Colonel Weltner was of the opinion, despite these incidents, that there were not many Amerindians on the frontier “*as my Scouts in Company with some Volunteers is reconnoitering all the Country for forty Miles up, from the North to the West branch, and made little Discoveries...*” He noted that one officer and five volunteers had scouted up the West Branch “*better than one hundred Miles*” and they had discovered “*nothing but old Encampments and old Indian tracks*”.

Colonel Samuel Hunter wrote to President Reed on the 27th from Sunbury.⁸⁰⁵ He also commented on the murder of Mr. Lewis although he did not state his name: “*...there has been no murders Committed since y^e 12th Ins^t that there was one man Killed and his son taken Prisoner about seven miles from this on the Reading Road...*”

A family by the name of Allen was attacked on 14 July where they lived at the mouth of Buffalo Creek.⁸⁰⁶ Mr. Allen and the family’s three children were killed. Mrs. Allen was able to escape, but forever after would have lived with the vision of the Amerindians killing her youngest child by striking its head against a tree.

Baltzer Klinessmith was killed on the 14th of July at his farmstead near Dreisbach Church in the vicinity of present-day Lewisburg, Union County. Klinessmith’s two daughters, Elizabeth and Catherine were taken captive. The warriors with their two captives headed northward. When they reached a spring to the north of present-day New Berlin, they left the two girls in the keeping of an older warrior and heading down Dry Valley. In due time the warrior fell asleep and Elizabeth was able to get ahold of his tomahawk. She motioned for Catherine to run and buried the blade into the warrior’s skull. At just that time, the other warriors came back, and seeing the girls fleeing, they gave chase. A rifle shot met its mark in Catherine’s shoulder, but the girls escaped recapture.

. **... The Dean Massacre**
Fall 1780

During the fall of 1780 the Dean massacre took place in Canoe Valley.⁸⁰⁷ Before proceeding it should be noted that some sources claim that the incident took place in 1778. Matthew Dean was living in the fall / winter of 1778/79. His name appeared on the 1779 Tax

Assessment Return for Frankstown Township, Bedford County. Matthew Dean served as a Justice of the Peace in 1778.

The Dean family consisted of Matthew, his wife Rebecca and six children: John, Samuel, Margaret, Rebecca, Elizabeth and an infant daughter. Mrs. Dean was expecting their sixth child.

Although the exact date is not known, the incident supposedly occurred on an autumn Monday. On Sunday evening Captain William Simonton and his wife and eight year old son, John visited with the Deans. U. J. Jones claimed that the conversation included talk of Amerindians being seen in the Sinking Valley but Mr. Dean dismissed it as just rumor and therefore there was no cause to be concerned. When the visit came to an end and the Simontons prepared to leave, John did not want to go. Mrs. Dean agreed that the boy could stay overnight with her children with Mrs. Simonton promising to return for him the following morning.

On the following morning Matthew, his two sons and two oldest daughters went out to prepare a field for sowing rye. As the morning progressed, the father wandered off to shoot some pigeons he noticed in the woods nearby. As he was thus engaged, Matthew looked in the direction of his farmstead and noticed smoke rising above the trees. Gathering his children, Mr. Dean rushed toward his house which he assumed had simply caught fire as many log cabins were prone.

Mrs. Simonton had started to travel to the Dean farmstead to pick up her son, John when she also noticed the rising smoke. Fearing for her neighbor, Mrs. Simonton began to run toward the Dean house.

Mrs. Simonton was the first to reach the Dean house. Although the house was fully engulfed and anyone still inside would have been lost, Mrs. Simonton noticed one of the younger girls lying on the porch steps. Thinking that the child might still be alive and simply passed out, Mrs. Simonton headed forward to get her away from the burning structure. She momentarily thought that the child had a red bandana wrapped around her head. As Mrs. Simonton stepped onto the boards comprising the steps, she found that they were wet with blood and realized that what she had mistaken for a red bandana was actually the child's head where she had been scalped. It became evident that the death of the child and the fire were the result of an Amerindian attack.

Frantically, Mrs. Simonton search for John but was unable to find him. Captain Simonton had been at a grist mill at Waterstreet when news arrived of the fire. He hurried to the Dean farmstead just as the charred bodies of Mrs. Dean and three children were being removed from the smoldering ruins.

News was sent to Fort Standing Stone of the disaster and a search party was organized. The group searched the region round about, but no trace of John Simonton or any of the other Dean children was ever found.

John the son of William Simonton had been taken captive. Many years later he was discovered residing near Cattaraugus in the Genessee Valley of New York. When the War of 1812 called for recruits to serve in the armies heading to the Great Lakes, three of Captain William Simonton's other sons found themselves in the Genessee Valley. Two men in the army from Waterstreet heard stories about a white man that was living as an Indian among the Seneca there. They found him and noticing that he resembled the Simontons, they asked

him his name. "John Sims" was the reply. They asked him if he would want to meet relatives. The young man was overcome with anxiety about possibly meeting kin, but his Seneca wife pulled him away and refused to allow him to meet his brothers, fearing that he would be tempted to leave her and return to his Euro-American family.

According to Tarring S. Davis' history of Blair County, "*Dean's house was razed to the ground and Mrs. Dean with three of their children and a son of the Simonton's died as a result of the raid.*"⁸⁰⁸

A stone monument erected to honor the Dean family gives slightly different information in regard to those killed in the fire/massacre. The monument contains the inscription: "*Rebecca, wife two children Samuel and infant daughter massacred by Indians October 1780, Matthew, Husband died April 1781 and is buried in Hartslog Cemetery. Four children John, Margaret Means, Rebecca Caldwell, and Elizabeth Caldwell escaped the massacre. Dedicated September 9th, 1909.*" The monument stands in the Old Keller Reformed Church Cemetery located in Catharine Township right on the boundary line between Blair and Huntingdon Counties.

. The War Comes To Northampton County 1780

As was noted in the section above, titled *The Burning Of Benjamin Gilberts' House & Mill*, the county of Northampton, had been safe from incursions somewhat because of its location. That all changed in April 1780.

On 6 May, Colonel Michael Lyndermood, of the Fourt Battalion of the Berks County Militia, wrote a letter to President Joseph Reed.⁸⁰⁹ His letter was intended to inform the Supreme Executive Council that Northampton County was being threatened by the Amerindians out of western New York:

I beg leave to lay the distressed Situation of the Inhabitants over the blue Mountains before you and the Honble Council, several Families have already moved together on the Waters of Little Schuylkill, they are within about 15 Miles of Gnadenhuth, where some of the Inhabitants have been Murdered, and this Settlement is nearer to Susquehanna than that the Savages fell on in Northampton County, and of Course more liable to an Invation. They have therefore Applied to me to Lay their Critical Situation before your Honble Board, and to request an order to Col. Morgan, the Lieutenant of the County, for some Arms and Amunition to be delivered out to those who are too poor to furnish themselves, from the Public Stores now in Reading, they given Security for the safe return of the same. Those People are allready Imbodied, and if tolarably Supported, are determined to defend themselves and property, until a better relive can be given them.

The Inhabitants of Northumberland are still defending themselves, and if by proper Assistance can be kept from removing, I hope the Savages will be prevented to come in small parties into our Settlements, which otherwise will be undoubtedly the Case.

On 22 June 1780, a petition of the inhabitants of Penn, Tomension and Chestnut Hill Townships was submitted to Northampton County Lieutenants Petter Burkhalter and John Hayes Jr. The petition asked that more guard posts be established on its frontier.⁸¹⁰

The Pettition of the inhabitants of Penn Tomension & Chesnut Hill townships, Humbly Sheweth:

That Whereas the Melittia that was granted by order of the Honnourable the President and Council!, for the Protection of the fronteers against the Indians, under the command of Cor'nl Karn, & as their times is nearly expired we begin To Dread the Consequences of a creuel savage enemy, which will have it in their Power, not only to Kill, Captivate and drive the Poor inhabitants, But totally destroy our Harvest, Which, added to our other Distresses, will not only hurt the Commonwelth but encourage them. We find by experience, the Meathod & Activity of our Melittia officers has repulsed the enemy twice at Diferent Posts, though very weak, & saved the people from Death & Captivity, and other distinction to the publick. Now we Earnestly employe & humbly Besetch, that we may have other Gards Stationed on our fronteers before or emediately when the present ones times does expire, as it is impossable for any person to look upon. Himself only to Stand as a Candidate who shall be taken first: after Our Posts is broke up; & as for the seven months men that is now raised To Garde a fronteer upwards of one hundred miles, must be certainly Enefectual to the Security of the good people of these townships; it is Now our earnest desire you may take the primices into a Seriouise consideration, & grant us such relievf as is consistant to justis & in your power ; But if you cannot answer our Prayer, We Desire this Pettition to be laid before his Excellency the President & Councill, as we are in duty Bound, shall ever Pray.

From Reading on the 1st of September, Dennis Leary, Captain of the Marines wrote to William Moore, the Vice President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council.⁸¹¹

I think it my Duty to inform you that On Sunday last I was

alarmed with an account of an attack made by the Indians at a House about a mile from my Post on Schuylkill. I immediately marched thither with four Men and Buried the man of the House and two Children who lay dead, and a little Girl having been carried off by the Indians, The Day following I went in Pursuit of the Enemy with ten men and was the same Day joined by Capt. Baity and the next Day by Colonel Lintemuth with about 50 men betweeen them, With these we have scoured the Woods 'till yesterday noon when we came down to Reading.

Since the first attack a House & Barn have been burned on little Schuylkill, & two Horses taken a little Boy Son of one Shurr is also missing since Tuesday last.

When we came down we left about sixty men at the Different Settlements for whose Subsistance we are accountable.

I must therefore beg the assistance of Council in forwarding such Supplies of men & provisions as will be necessary for defending the post where we are, at least, if not the rest of the Frontier.

There is still a matter to be mentioned which seems a little extraordinary. On Sunday a man and his wife came to join us at the post and the man pretending to be a Carpenter we received them, a few Days after it was discovered that his name was not John Hamilton (as he first called himself) but Niel Tye and his wife sent me a message desiring I would take Care of myself as he was determined to scalp me, On this I had them bro't to Reading where the man is now in Goal.

On the 13th of September John Vankemp wrote to President Reed from Lower Smithfield to tell him that a family residing on the banks of the Delaware River about nine miles 'above' Lower Smithfield had been attacked on the 11th.⁸¹² The head of the family was Emanuel Gonsaile. Four Amerindians attacked the Gonsaile home and took Emanuel and a 'serving man' captive. Although they plundered the house, they did not kill anyone. The wife and (an unspecified number of) children were unmolested

On 17 September, Colonel Samuel Rea wrote to President Reed to inform him of the general situation in Northampton County:⁸¹³

We cannot but with concern inform you of the Situation of the Frontier of this County. Having had Sundry alarms & small parties of the Enemy having made incursions into the remote parts of it who plundered & burnt several Houses we thought it our indispensable Duty to send out a party of men as a Scout which consisted of forty one men part Militia & part of the Volunteers under the Command of L. Moyer the second L. of the

Volunteers of this County to make such Discoveries as they could, and examine into the Reasons why a Number of Families on the Enemies Borders remain on their Farms without Molestation or apprehension and give us information of the same, who accordingly marched from Canaudenhutten (a small old Moravian Town Situated behind the blue Mountains on the west Branch of Delaware) on the Eighth Inst. and were attacked on the Eleventh at the Nusquepeck by a party of whitemen & Indians who had the advantage of the first fire on our men which obliged them to retreat. The Enemies loss we cannot ascertain but the wounded & missing of ours, amount to twentythree, four of the former and Nineteen of the latter. On the fifteenth a Number of Militia & Volunteers to the amount of onehundred or upwards marched with a Design of burying the Dead & making such observations as might lead to a Discovery of the Enemies Number or Design. We have called on Our Delinquents & find them far inferior to the Number necessary for the Defence of so extensive a Frontier, We therefore request that your honourable Board would be pleased immediately to issue your order for calling one class of the Militia throughout the County to be stationed for two Months as a Guard on the Frontier & as we are nearly Destitute of ammunition pray that you would be pleased to furnish us with a sufficient Quantity for that Purpose at least four or five hundred weight of Powder and Lead in Proportion for which we will be accountable. The first Quantity sent up was distributed among the Frontier inhabitants & the last given to the seven Months men. We know not what immediate Demand there may be for ammunition & would be grieved should a request therefor be made with which we could not comply.

On 20 September, Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Balliet wrote to President Reed to “acquaint your Excelency of the Distrissed and Dangerous Situation of our frontier Inhabitants, and the Misfortune Happened to our Volunteers stationed at the Gnaden Hutts.”⁸¹⁴ Balliet noted that intelligence had been received that “a Number of Disaffected Persons lived near the Susquehannah at a place called the Scotch valley, who have been suspected to hold up a correspondence with the Indians, and the Tories in the country.” A party had set out on the 8th of September for the Scotch Valley to see if they could confirm the news. On the 10th, at noon, the party was attacked as they approached within eight miles from the Scotch Valley settlement. As Colonel Balliet described it, the party was attacked by: “a large Body of Indians & Torys (as one had Rid hair).” Perhaps Balliet figured that if one of the invaders had ‘red’ hair, he must have been Scots-Irish ~ and therefore a Tory. There was a stereotype at that time that all of the Tories in Pennsylvania were Scots-Irish. The number of the attacking force was estimated by some at forty, while others estimated twice that number. The party searching for the invaders were dispersed by the invaders and

in the ten days between the attack and the 20th of September when Stephen Balliet was writing his letter, only twenty-two out of forty-one had come in. Several of the men who came back in were wounded. Lieutenant John Moyer had been taken captive in the attack. He made his escape though and returned to Wyoming.

One hundred and fifty men from Colonel Balliet's battation and the battalion commanded by Colonels Kern and Giger were tasked with heading back to the Scotch Valley to bury the dead. Balliet noted that: "*On the 15th we took up our line of march (want of amunition Prevented us from, going Sooner) on the 17th we arrived at the place of action, where we found Ten of our Soldiers Dead, Scalped, Striped Naked, & in a most cruel & Barborous manner Tomehawked, their threads Cut, &c. &c. whom we Buried & Returned without even seeing any of these Black alies, & Bloody executors of British Tirany.*" Balliet also noted that some of the attacking Indians and Tories had suffered casualties. Even though their bodies had been carried away (to avoid being scalped and therefore prevented from entering their version of Heaven), Balliet noted that they had "*found the grass & weed Rimarkably beat down...*"; that being evidence that bodies had been there.

On the 24th of October, Colonel Samuel Rea again wrote to President Joseph Reed from Mountbethel, Northampton County (located to the northeast of present-day Easton).⁸¹⁵ In that letter Colonel Rea noted: "*Col. Baliort informs me that he had Given Council a relation of the killed and wounded he had found Burned near Neskipeki as he was at the place of action his Accts must be as near the truth as any I could procure, tho since that Time Lieut. Myers, who was taken by the enemy in that unhappy action hath made his escape from the savages & reports that ensign Scoby and one Private was taken with him and that the party consisted of 30 Indians and one white savage, that they had 13 Scalps along with them that several of them were wounded & suposes some killed.*"

. Northumberland County In The Fall Of 1780

Colonel Matthew Smith began a letter to President Joseph Reed, by stating that a petition being carried to Reed along with his letter would have been signed by many more of the inhabitants of Northumberland County if the Amerindians were not launching so many raids into the region. His letter of 18 August 1780 noted that the latest incursion had been made "*far within the Frontier, as low as Middle Creek & within Eight Miles of this place... [Sunbury].*" The people, according to the Colonel, were more discouraged than he had ever seen them. They were 'somewhat exasperated'. He then practically apologized for the tone of the petition being harsh and beligerent, but he blamed it on the "*heat & inadvertence of a Distress^d People, Rather than the Sentiments of a Cooler Hour.*"⁸¹⁶

Tories operating in Northumberland County were described by Thomas Hewitt in a letter to President Reed on 29 August 1780:⁸¹⁷

Inclosed you have the Coppy of Henry O'Neil's Deposition, taken Before me in the presence of a Number of the respectable Inhabitants of North^d County, which Evidently shews the Dismal situation of this County from the Number of Disaffected persons

in it. The Deposition of Henry O'Neil, together with the former Conduct of a Number of the Inhabitants of Catawisse and the places adjacent, forms a Long Chain of Circumstances, that they held & always holds a Correspondence with the Enemy, who, from their situation, being surrounded with Mountains on the one side, and the North East Branch of Susquehanna on the other, Gives them an Opportunity of holding a treasonable Correspondence with the Enemy without Discovery; they have lived peaceably at home in the most Dangerous times, Negroes and other suspected Strangers being frequently seen among them. Every Incursion the Enemy has made into this County and all the Disaffected families in this fly there for protection, whilst the well-affected are obliged to Evacuate the County, or shut themselves up in Garrison. By the Confession of Ellis Hughes, he went up to Wyoming with a flagg when the Enemy was in possession of that place ; by the Confession of Casper Reaney, Duncan Beeth and Others, that they were sent to Niagara; by David Fowler and Others, the Inhabitants of Catawisse and Fishing Creek; The Indian that Came in a peaceable manner to that place Last Spring; together with many more Sircumstances which might be produced.

On or about the 10th of September an estimated one hundred British and Amerindians attacked Fort Rice in present-day Union County.⁸¹⁸ Fort Rice was located along Buffalo Creek about twelve miles upstream from the mouth of the creek where it empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The reports that had spread throughout the Buffalo Valley of Northumberland County claimed that there were three hundred invaders. In a letter that he sent to President Reed on 18 September, General James Potter stated that: “*I found by the speys that had been sent out that the enemy were not so numerus as at first was apprehended they then Reported them to be about one Hundred.*”

General James Potter reported to President Reed and the Council that on the 10th, when he found out that there were not as many British and Amerindians as previously claimed, he discharged the Cumberland County volunteers. The next morning, Potter marched with the remaining one hundred and seventy men toward Fort Swarts ‘up’ the West Branch. Potter met up with Colonel John Kelley who was at the mouth of the ‘Whitdeer’ Creek with a force of eighty men. The White Deer Creek empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River near present-day Watsonstown in Northumberland County. It was decided that the combined army would proceed the next day along the Moncey Hill with Huntingtown as the destination.

Three spies, or as Mr. Potter spelled it “*speys*”, had been sent out by Colonel Kelley on the 10th to scout upstream along the West Branch. After two days they had not returned. It was assumed that they had either been killed or taken captive. Rather than wait any longer for the spies, Potter and Kelley decided to continue on their way. They resolved to proceed up the West Branch to meet any invaders coming into the Butler Valley. Most of the men

who were inhabitants of that valley were serving as volunteers in Potter's and Kelley's forces. The two leaders decided to take their respective armies on either side of the river. They had not gone very far when the spies returned. They reported that none of the enemy had been found further up the West Branch.

As General Potter stated: "*I then sent orders to Col. Kelley to Joyn me which he did Immediately we then changed our rout and sett off for Huntingtown...*" That evening, the 13th, an express arrived to inform the General that enemy invaders had been spotted in the neighborhood of Middle Creek, a tributary of Penns Creek in present-day Snyder County.

On the 14th Colonel Kelley with his Butler Volunteers and Colonel Purdey with his militia headed back to the region in the vicinity of the mouth of White Deer creek. Potter took the remaining one hundred and ten volunteers farther upstream of the West Branch. He intended to go to the site of where the enemy had lodged on their initial raid into the region a couple days before. His reasoning was that since the attackers had killed only one man and taken only one prisoner, they probably would return to that stopover place to regroup for another attack. The Northumberland troops advanced nearly opposite to Wyoming and not coming across any of the Amerindian invaders, General Potter made the decision that it would be in vain to go any farther.

General James Potter described the situation in his letter to President Reed on 18 September and at the end of that letter he added the postscript:⁸¹⁹

Since I wrote the above I am informed by Capl Robeson that a large bodey of the Enemy crossed the Moncey Hill near one Eveses and went up the Moncey Creek so that it is leekly that the Number that was down amounted to near 300 men there Baggage was seen by a few men that was out from fort Rice before they attacked it which discovery prevented the fort from being surprised they carred of a larg number of Cattle and Horses with them.

Three days after General Potter wrote his letter, Colonel Samuel Hunter wrote his own letter from Sunbury to President Reed. He confirmed and clarified some of General Potter's information.⁸²⁰ Hunter stated that the enemy had made their appearance into the region on the 6th of September. They headed toward a small fort on the headwaters of Chillisquaque Creek, a tributary of the West Branch of the Susquehanna River, that Colonel Weltner's troops had erected named Fort Rice. The fort, roughly thirteen miles from Fort Augusta / Sunbury was then being garrisoned by twenty militia men after the German Regiment marched off.

The enemy, which Colonel Hunter did not identify between British, Amerindians or Tories, attacked the fort around sundown on the 6th. The garrison returned the attackers' fire "*with spirit*" causing the attackers to withdraw a little. During the night, those attackers began to set fire to a number of houses and stacks of grain. It was September and the grain was just being cut and stacked in the fields. Destruction of the grain would be as harmful to Euro~American settlers as killing them outright.

One hundred men had been raised by Colonel John Kelley and they marched to the relief of the garrison of Fort Rice, arriving there on the 7th. When Kelley was apprised of the intelligence that there might be upwards of two hundred and fifty to three hundred of the enemy, he made the decision to wait for reinforcements before proceeding. Colonel Hunter sent a messenger to Colonel Purdey “*on Juneate*” since Hunter had heard that Purdey was marching to the frontiers of Cumberland County. Purdey responded to the call by hurrying to Fort Rice with one hundred and ten militia troops along with eighty volunteers. Shortly after, General Potter arrived “*from Camp*” and took command of the combined forces. Due to having received intelligence that the number of the enemy did not exceed one hundred and fifty, General Potter discharged the volunteers.

General Potter led his force toward and then along the Muncy Hill. The information given to him about where the enemy were to be found was confusing and their tracks were not discovered until the 13th. Potter followed those tracks for a distance of about fifty miles. Not being able to find the enemy, the General returned to Sunbury with his army, arriving there on the 17th.

On 18 September, a small party of Amerindians appeared along the West Branch about fourteen miles above Sunbury. They killed one man and wounded another and killed their two horses which were still hooked up to a plow.

A postscript to the whole affair was that on 28 September Lieutenant Jacob Creamer, William Campbell and two men by the name of Grove, in an encounter with Amerindians about one hundred and fifty miles from Sunbury along the West Branch, were rewarded by taking two scalps.

The last incident recorded for the year 1780 for Northumberland County was an attack on the Harvey family near the town of Wyoming that took place on the night of 6 December.⁸²¹ Thomas Conely confessed to Matthew Smith, Prothonotary of Northumberland County, that he had come from Niagara with a raiding party. The party consisted of twenty “*Whites*” and five Amerindians. They took the Harveys family near Wyoming captive. The captives included six men and boys and two girls. They sent back one of the girls after they had been led some distance from their home.

On the night that the Harveys family was taken, Thomas Conely deserted from the raiding party. Conely told Smith that the Indian named Thonop set out with thirty warriors from the region around Wyoming intending to strike through the ‘Forks’ killing all of the settlers they encountered. Thonop instructed his warriors to kill and not take any prisoners.

The party out of Niagara intended to join with Thonop’s warriors but they disagreed about the taking or killing of prisoners. Being the start of December, the creeks and rivers were high and full of ice, inhibiting movement. The two situations worked together to prevent the raiding from becoming worse than it actually was.

On the 7th of December 1780, the following statement was recorded at the garrison of Wyoming.⁸²²

This day Came to the Post Thomas Connelly a Deserter from a Party of the Enemy of Twenty white men and five Indians who left Niagaria Twenty Two Days before they Arrived here, he Says

he is Originally from Ireland is 20 years of age Came to this Country in 1772 and has been a Servant to one Thomas Williams an Indian Trader, most of the time among the Indians, But his Time was out with his Master about a year ago he then engaged in the Rangers Service with Tory Butler, he says that the Post of Niagara is Commanded by Gen^l Powell who took that Command in Feb'y Last the Number of Troops of whitemen consists of about Six Hundred Including the Rangers ~ the Indians are Very Unsteady Sometimes Near Two Thousand Men Women & Children who all Draw Rations; that in Octr. Last the Ontario a new Ship of 20 Guns was lost on the lake Col^o Boston with about 350 Men of the 34th Reg^t who were Going to Canada all Perished ~ he also Informs that about Two Months ago John Monture, One of the Indian head warriors, was Killed near this Post By a Small party that Came Across them from Wyoming as they was on their Return from Fort Allen, and that before he Engag'd in the British Service he has lived at Detroit and says that Detroit is very thick Settled with Inhabitants, about forty miles in Length, favourable Inclin^d towards the Country but dar'd not appear open in it, that they have built a New fort there, and the Garrison Consists of about 300 Commanded by Cap^t Bird.

He Says that Butler & Brant had Return^d to Niagara from their Expedition to the Mohawk River and Johnson was Gone Down to Canada and Did not come that way.

. Westmoreland County As 1780 Drew To A Close

Ten men were killed on 11 August 1780 by a party of Wyandot Indians above the Forks of Cheat. According to Colonel Daniel Brodhead in a letter to Joseph Reed, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, that incident was “*all the mischief that has been done of late.*”⁸²³ He followed that statement with: “*The Enemy have lately killed & taken near four hundred Men, Women & Children, from Licking Creek, near Kentucke, and it's probably their next attempt will be against this part of the Country...*”

On 5 September, Colonel Brodhead reported to President Reed that “*Yesterday the Indians Killed two men on Robeson's Run in what is called Yoghagania County, and fired at two Soldiers who were going to Wheeling in a Canoe, one of them is wounded but both have escaped.*”⁸²⁴ The Colonel also noted that he had been informed that Colonel Clark destroyed two of the Shawnese towns, during which they killed six men and one woman.

At the end of the year, Colonel Brodhead informed President Reed about a Delaware war against the Seneca in a letter written from Fort Pitt on 8 December. The letter also mentioned a woman and two children having been taken captive “*from Westmoreland County*”⁸²⁵ It was concluded that they were probably murdered shortly after having been taken.



According to James B. Richardson III, a professor of anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh, during the year 1781 the Seneca (apparently instigated by the British at Fort Niagara) led sixty-four raids against the Euro~American settlers in Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio.⁸²⁶ They involved about 2,945 Amerindian warriors. Whether those figures are accurate is not certain. Even if they are inaccurate by 50%, the fact is undeniable that there were many raids orchestrated and led by the British in their attempt to disrupt the peace of the frontier. And as has been suggested, the British possibly kept the frontier in disruption in order to draw the Continental Army's attention from the eastern theatre of war.

. ***Incursions Into Northumberland County
Spring 1781***

A raiding party of five warriors came into the farmlands along Spruce Run in White Deer Township in the part of Northumberland County that would, in 1813 become Union County.⁸²⁷ They took Captain James Thompson and Margaret Young captive. Thompson made an unsuccessful attempt to secure their freedom when, on the second night of their captivity, he smashed a heavy stone onto the forehead of one of his captors. The blow did not kill the warrior and he came out of his sleep with a loud yell. The commotion awoke the other warriors. C. Hale Sipe stated that the young captain had thrown the rock aside quickly and the four other warriors prevented the injured one from dispatching the captain. According to Sipe, the other four thought that Thompson had hit their brother warrior with his fist and they ridiculed him for being so injured by a mere blow of the fist. It might be more logical to assume that Thompson's life was spared because being a captain, the warriors figured they could get some reward from the British at Fort Niagara for him. The British would not give anything for a dead captain.

Following his failed attempt to escape, the warriors made sure to prevent a future attempt. For the next five nights before they went to sleep, the warriors would force Captain Thompson to lie with his back to the ground and his arms outspread and tied to stakes pounded into the ground. The party arrived at the mouth of Towanda Creek seven days after taking their captives. The warriors ordered Thompson and Young to gather firewood. Thompson kept moving farther away from the campsite pretending to gather firewood. He

finally reached a point where he felt safe to make a run for it. Taking off into the forest, he outran the warriors and made his way southward. Near where the present-day town of Milton stands, Captain Thompson found an abandoned canoe and set off down the Susquehanna River.

Prior to his escape, Captain Thompson urged Margaret Young to accompany him. She told him to go without her and remained back when he fled. The Amerindians took her to Montreal and gave her to an old squaw who later sold her to a man who coincidentally was Margaret's cousin. After the War, Margaret returned to her home in Northumberland County where she died.

In the same region and at the same time that Captain Thompson and Margaret Young were taken captive, Amerindians took John Shively captive. And in the same raid two children, George Rote, aged twelve years, and his sister, Rody, aged fourteen years, were taken near the site of Mifflinburg.⁸²⁸

In April a number of attacks were made on families residing in the Buffalo Valley. On 6 April, a Friday, a band of Amerindians attacked an elderly man and his son and daughter. The boy was killed and scalped and the girl was grabbed by one of the warriors as the man fought off other warriors with a stick. A neighbor, Colonel John Kelley, and other neighbors heard the sound of the attack and came to see if they could help. Their arrival startled the warriors. They let go of the girl and fled. They even were so startled that they dropped and abandoned some blankets that they had in their possession.⁸²⁹

Two days later, on Sunday the 8th, a man by the name of Darmes was attacked within five miles of Sunbury. Four women and a number of children were in the Darmes house on that day. Strangely, despite the fact that the man was killed, the women and children were spared and not even taken into captivity.⁸³⁰

Also on 8 April 1781, the farmstead of Captain Joseph Solomon was attacked.⁸³¹ The Solomon farm was located about five miles from the town of Northumberland that was located near the confluence of the North and West Branches of the Susquehanna River. As his pregnant wife escaped into the forest, Mr. Solomon was taken captive. Mrs. Solomon, perhaps because of the excitement of the ordeal, gave birth to her first child that night as she hid in the wooded area. A servant girl climbed up into a garret area and closed a trap door which prevented the warriors from taking her.

A second party of Amerindian warriors was met after the party with Solomon had travelled four days. In that second party was a warrior known as Shenap. He knew Captain Solomon and called him 'Solly'. Shenap is claimed to have told 'Solly' that he would not be hurt while they were together. Later a third party of warriors was met. A captive by the name of Williamson was with that party. The warriors thought that it would be a good time to have the two captives run the gauntlet. Williamson refused to run and he was immediately beaten to death. Solomon, on the other hand took off at a fast pace between the two lines of warriors. The few blows that landed on his body were not enough to cause him lasting harm. Captain Joseph Solomon was held captive for a short time before being exchanged. He then returned home to Fishing Creek.

According to a narrative by John Blair Linn, a family residing in Chappell Hollow, in the part of Northumberland that would eventually become Union County, was attacked in April

1781. David Emerick (*variously*, Emrick) lived here with his wife and four children on a tract of two hundred and eighty acres.

On an April day in 1781 a neighbor named Henry Bickel had come to help Emerick roll some logs.⁸³² The Amerindians attacked and killed Bickel first. They took Emerick captive and led him to the house. The warriors entered the Emerick log cabin, plundered it and forced the wife and children to march away with them. As was the habit of the Amerindian warriors, they forced the family to carry their own belongings which they, the warriors, claimed as plunder. After going a short distance, Mr. Emerick weakened by the load he had been forced to carry, sat down on a log and refused to go any farther. In reply, one of the warriors sunk his tomahawk into the man's head, killing him. At about the same time, annoyed at the crying of the couple's baby, the savages pulled down a sapling, sharpened the end of it, impaled the baby on it and then let go of the sapling. The baby's body was flung through the air and lost to the mother who was no doubt hysterical at the horror of losing her husband and her infant so horribly. The rest of the family were forced to proceed through the forests. Only one daughter died on the journey northward to captivity at Niagara. The exertion of being forced to walk apparently caused her to die from excessive bleeding from the nose. Although the narrative did not tell how many daughters there were, the mother and all the other daughters were said to have married Seneca warriors. In later years, Mrs. Emerick and her Amerindian husband came southward to settle accounts. Mrs. Emerick had grown to enjoy the Amerindian lifestyle better than her previous Euro~American life.

. ***Northumberland County Incidents***
Summer 1781

The summer of 1781 in Northumberland County was punctuated by the murder of John Tate and the attempted murder of Catherine Storm.⁸³³ John Tate lived 'a few miles above Northumberland' where he grew flax. A number of men along with Tate were harvesting the flax during the summer of 1781. A party of Amerindians came to the field after the men had gone into Tate's house for dinner. They waited a while, but decided to check the house. The men had left the house and had gone a different direction, but the warriors didn't realize that had happened. When they arrived at the house, the only people they found there were a young woman named Catherine Storm and another woman engaged at spinning. The warriors lost no time, knocking Catherine over with a tomahawk and scalping her. The other woman was able to make her escape while the Amerindians were busy killing Miss Storm. The warriors, believing that they were finished with Storm, headed back out into the field. They found Tate and killed him. What happened to the 'other men' who were supposedly helping Tate was not revealed in the narrative given by J. F. Meginness.

Unknown to the Amerindians who attacked her, Catherine Storm had not been killed by their tomahawk blows. Nor did the scalping of her actually result in her death. She may have lost a lot of blood, but she survived the attack. She was said to have fully recovered and lived for many years after, but no hair ever regrew in the spot where she had been scalped.

C. Hale Sipe quoted Meginness's narrative in full in his own book, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*. He also added the statement that "Linn in his 'Annals of Buffalo Valley'" noted that the father of "these girls" was David Storm. He apparently was one of the other men

who were helping Tate in the field. According to Sipe, David Storm rushed toward the house and there met his death at the hands of the warriors. He shut the door behind him, but the warriors kicked it in and were able to enter and kill him.⁸³⁴

Another incident took place in the summer of 1781 in Northumberland County. On a Sunday, the 9th of June, a party of twelve warriors attacked a blockhouse in the Hanover settlement.⁸³⁵ The Hanover settlement was located about three miles from Wilkes-Barre. A man by the name of Lieutenant Roswell Franklin was apparently at the blockhouse at the time it was attacked. Hearing the commotion at the small blockhouse, a group of men from the fort at Wilkes-Barre headed in its direction. They found blood on the ground where some of the attacking warriors must have been hit before fleeing. Nothing additional was heard from the Amerindians until the 14th when they attacked Lieutenant Crain near the Wilkes-Barre fort. He was able to wound one of the warriors. Then, on Friday, 7 September, the settlement at Hanover was again attacked. Two sons of Lieutenant Roswell Franklin, Arnold and Rosewell, were taken captive. A search party led by a man simply known as Captain Michael went in search of the boys, but they could not be found.

The last notable incident during the summer of 1781 occurred at the far eastern end of Northumberland County. A road led from Wyoming to the Delaware. Along that road, in the vicinity of the present-day town of Stroudsburg, a man by the name of Larned was attacked and killed.⁸³⁶ His son, George was also killed and the two bodies were scalped. The Amerindian attackers carried off George's wife and four month old infant. Soon they decided they did not want to worry with the baby. The warriors gained their sobriquet, 'savages' by dashing out its brains. John Larned, a brother of George, was able to kill one of the warriors, but they made their escape with Mrs. Larned.

. ***The Attack On Klingensmith's Blockhouse***
2 July 1781

The 'Klingensmith's Blockhouse' was the fortified home of Philip Klingensmith. He resided in the Brush Creek settlement in present-day Penn Township, Westmoreland County. Fort Klingensmith, as it was also known, was the scene of an attack in July. Colonel James Perry, a delegate from Westmoreland County to the Constitutional Convention on 14 July 1776 wrote a letter to Joseph Reed, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council. The letter dated 2 July 1781 described recent events:⁸³⁷

Sir, Understanding that an Express is going to Philadelphia from Col. Lochry, I shall just inform you our Country is in the utmost Confusion at present, about three weeks ago one James Chambers was taken Prisoner about two miles from my House; last Friday two young Women were killed in Ligionier Valley and this Morning a small Garrison at Philip Clinglesmiths, about eight miles from this & four or five miles from Hannas Town, consisting of between twenty and thirty men Women & Children was destroy'd, only three made their Escape, the Particulars I

cannot well inform you as the Party that was sent to bury the Dead are not yet Returned, and I wait every Moment to hear of or perhaps see them strike at some other Place, that Party was supposed to be about seventeen, and I am apt to think there are still more of them in the Settlements. Our Frontiers are in a very deplorable situation, being so extensive that the State Company under Capt Sherer and the few yet rais'd on the Continental Establishment, tho' posted as advantageously as possible to make Discoveries, yet the Parties are so small that they are no able to oppose a Large Body when they do discover them. We have long wish'd for a Campaign to be carried into the Indian Country, which alone under Providence can give us ease in this Quarter, & which might be accomplished without any great Expense was Government to give proper Encouragement, and send some small assistance. Some of your Officers in this County are much discouraged, and their Influence weakened by Complaints made to your Honourable Board by some of our last elected members which I fear was rather out of Mallice to the Persons complained of than from any sufficient Cause, or out of Design to serve their Country. I should be sorry to debilitate the Influence that any of our Members might have with your Honourable Board; but I should be happy in seeing every Officers Conduct candidly examined before he is condemn'd.

The letter, written from (apparently his home) along Big Sewickley Creek, detailed three individual incidents of Amerindian incursion into Westmoreland County. The first noted that “*about three weeks ago one James Chambers was taken Prisoner about two miles from my House...*”. The second incident noted that “*last Friday two young Women were killed in Ligionier Valley...*”. The third incident happened on the morning of the day on which Perry wrote his letter. He noted: “*a small Garrison at Philip Clinglesmiths, about eight miles from this & four or five miles from Hannas Town, consisting of between twenty and thirty men Women & Children was destroy'd, only three made their Escape...*”. Perry noted that the number of the party of Amerindians who made the attacks was about seventeen.

Although we have only a few narratives of the depredations against the Euro~American settlers of Westmoreland County in the year 1781, the inhabitants were in a heightened state of alarm. Early in the spring of 1781, on 17 April, Colonel Archibald Lochry expressed his concerns to President Reed in a letter when he said: “*Our Country is worse depopulated than ever it has been. I have got a few militia to support the Frontiers, but am doubtfull I cannot keep them long on duty for want of Provisions; our situation at present seems very deplorable, and if the savages were acquainted with our weakness, they may very easily drive the people over the Yohogania.*”⁸³⁸ Lochry illustrated the situation by noting that “*The Savages have begun their hostilities, since I came from Philadelphia they have struck us in four different places – have taken and killed thirteen persons with a number of horses and*

other Effects of the Inhabitants; two of the unhappy people were killed one mile from Hannastown.”

. A Petition Of Penn Tomension and Chusnuthill Townships Of Northampton County 1781

A petition signed by inhabitants of Penn Tomension (Penn Forest and Towamensing in present-day Carbon County) and Chusnuthill Township (Chestnuthill in present-day Monroe County) was sent to the Supreme Executive Council on 5 January 1781.⁸³⁹ The petition, like so many other similar petitions submitted to the Council during these troublesome times, requested assistance in their defense. They began their petition with thanks for prior assistance: *“Whereas, by Reason of the incursions of the Savages upon these Defenceless frontier inhabitants Though has been well Garded both by Milittia And seven Months men as could be Expected from such small bodyes from Time to time for which We Return our Kind & Sinceer Harty Thanks To his Excellency the President, for the Speedy and Ready relievf that was Given to us by calling out the Milittia and other assistance in time of Need...”* Then to describe their circumstances, the thirty-two petitioners stated that: *“We have lost since the tenth of April last [1780] thirty-seven Persons Killed & Captivated, four Dwelling houses, a Grist & saw mills all Plundered And Burnt, and a number of horses Carried of by the enemy...”*

. The Attack On Pomeroy’s Fort Spring 1781

On the 2nd of April 1781, Colonel Archibald Lochry had just returned from burying a man at Colonel John Pomeroy’s fortified house. The man had been killed and scalped by a party of Amerindians who had also taken another man captive. The party also plundered the Pomeroy house of everything. Arriving back at Twelve Mile Run, Colonel Lochry wrote to Colonel Brodhead to tell him of the matter.⁸⁴⁰

Pomeroy’s Fort was located in the ‘Derry Settlement’ of Westmoreland County about a half mile from the present-day Millwood Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad. It was near another fortified house known as Barr’s Fort.

On the 1st of April, Colonel Pomeroy and a few of his hired men were working in his field.⁸⁴¹ A party of Amerindians fired upon them, killing one man instantly. Two of the hired men took off running toward Barr’s Fort while Pomeroy fled to his own house. James Barr and James Wilson got onto their horses and headed to Pomeroy’s aid. From a distance at the summit of a hill, Barr and Wilson could see several Amerindians moving about the Pomeroy house. Barr and Wilson crept close to the house and when they saw the chance, they ran into the house. They found Pomeroy and his wife in the loft firing at their attackers. They were using two muskets. The wife, Hannah was loading a spent musket while her husband fired a newly loaded one. The parents had hid their children under the house’s oak flooring, so they would not get in the way or in danger.

Eventually, the Amerindians gave up and broke off the attack on the Pomeroy house. When there appeared no further danger, the Pomeroy's and their children along with Barr and Wilson left the house and headed to Fort Barr, which they apparently believed would be safer. On the following day, Colonel Lochry and a detachment visited the house, finding it empty of all belongings. They found the body of the hired man in the field and buried him.

. The Attack On The Old Irishman And His Family
6 April 1781

Northumberland County, in the spring and summer of 1781 was the scene of numerous Amerindian, and possibly combined British and Amerindian, incursions. General James Potter wrote to President Joseph Reed on the 12th of April to inform him of some recent events.⁸⁴² During the three weeks between 22 March and 12 April, "*the enemy has maid five different strokes on our frunteers...*" according to Potter.

One of the attacks was made against an old 'Irishman' and his two children, a son and a daughter. It happened on the 6th of April, apparently near Sunbury (Potter did not mention the exact location in his letter). In the attack, the son was shot and killed and the daughter was taken captive. The old man, using a stick "*nobley defended himself against one of the Indiane who had a tomhack...*" The old man forced the attacker to drop his weapon. At the time, Colonel Kelley was at a house close by. Upon hearing the musket fire at the Irishman's cabin, Colonel Kelley and a few of the neighbors rushed to help. The attacking party left go of the girl and fled. In James Potter's words: "[the arrival of Colonel Kelley and others] *obledged the enemy to retreat leving the young woman, there prisoner and our brave old Irishman and his stick behind them and all there Blankets...*" In their haste, the now fleeing attackers "*they out Run Col. Kelley and his party and got off as usile.*"

On 8 April 1780, a party of Amerindians attacked the house of "*Durmes*" located about five miles from Sunbury. The attack came during the evening. The Amerindians burst into the house and immediately "*they Shot Dunn and Tooke one Captn Solomon's a Prisner...*" Whether Mr. Potter meant to say that they shot the head of the family, Mr. Durmes, or if he had made an error in noting that it was the house of Durmes as compared to Dunn is not known. He did note that there were four women and a number of children in the house at the time of the attack. The Amerindians plundered the house of everything that was "*Vallibel*". The women and children were neither harmed nor taken captive in the incident.

. General Washington's Concern About Fort Pitt
25 April 1781

Seldom did it seem that the leaders and authorities were listening to the petitions and pleadings for assistance made by the 'boots on the ground.' But General George Washington sent a letter to Joseph Reed from his headquarters at New Windsor on 25 April 1781 in which he urged the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council to bolster forces at Fort Pitt.⁸⁴³

General Washington started his letter by noting that he had received intelligence which he had come “*thro’ a good channel...*” implying that he trusted the validity and accuracy of the information. The ‘intelligence’ stated that:

Colonel Conolly with his corps to proceed to Quebec as soon as possible to be joined in Canada by Sir John Johnson with a number of Tories and Indians said to amount to three thousand. This route to be by Buck Island Lake Ontario and Venango. And his object is Fort Pitt and all the adjacent posts. Conolly takes with him a number of Commissions for persons now residing at Pittsburg and several hundred men at that place have agreed to join to make prisoners of Colonel Brodhead and all friends of America. His (Conolly's) great influence in that Country will it is said enable him to prevail upon the Indians and Inhabitants to assist the British in any Measure.

General Washington footnoted the number of three thousand as “*The number must be exaggerated.*” Even if the possible number of Tories and Indians was exaggerated, it did not negate the fact that there were many Tories in the frontier regions who were more than ready to align themselves with the Amerindian nations.

The man named in Washington’s letter was *Dr* John Connolly who had resided along the Ohio River and moved to the vicinity of Fort Pitt in 1774. There, he met with various Amerindian sachems to convince them to support the British King. Suspected of Tory sympathies and actions, Connolly was imprisoned in 1775 and held until 1780.

General Washington stated, in another letter that he sent on the 25th (to Brigadier General George Rogers Clark), that his sources had informed him that “*there are several hundred persons now in the neighborhood of Fort Pitt who are to join him.*”⁸⁴⁴ In a third letter that he sent on the 25th (to Colonel Daniel Brodhead), the General stated that “*he [Connolly] expects to be joined by several hundred disaffected in the Neighborhood of Fort Pitt...*”⁸⁴⁵

General Washington ended his correspondence with Colonel Brodhead by stating: “*I have communicated this intelligence to Congress as an additional motive to their taking measures to have a competent supply of provision thrown into the Garrison.*”⁸⁴⁶

. An Incursion Into The Province of New Jersey April 1781

At the end of April, a party of Amerindian warriors made an incursion into Northampton County in order to move into the Province of New Jersey.⁸⁴⁷ The party made their way into and through Northampton County and crossed over the Delaware River in the early hours of 25 April. Two women settlers, whose names were not recorded, were taken captive. Then the party attacked the house of Joseph Jacobs. Jacobs was killed in the attack along with two other men who were at the cabin. The Amerindians took Mrs. Jacobs captive.

The party of warriors, with Mrs. Jacobs in tow, headed toward the house of Captain Shymer. Although the warriors were able to break into house, they were met with fierce opposition by Captain Shymer and his family. Although they were able to grab one of the Shymer's 'Negroes', they made no further advance and therefore fled from the house. In the attack a side building and barn were set ablaze. Captain Shymer and a few men chased after the fleeing warriors and when they reached the bank of the river, under a hail of musket fire from the settlers, the warriors released two of the women and the 'Negroe.'

The party of warriors made it across the Delaware and during the 26th, as they passed through Northampton County, they set fire to two houses and caused what destruction they could, which included driving away twenty head of cattle.

In their haste, the party of warriors dropped a knapsack in which was a letter from a Captain Colwell to Captain [Joseph] Brant. The letter communicated orders from Colonel Butler. Colonel Samuel Rea wrote to President Joseph Reed on the 29th to inform him of these events and he noted that "*By all appearance they intend a heavy stroke at this time.*"

Nicholas Dupui (one of the earliest settlers of the Minisink Valley in what is present-day Monroe County), along with John Chambers and Jacob Stroud (Colonel of the Sixth Battalion, Northampton County Militia), wrote to President Joseph Reed on the 27th of April.⁸⁴⁸ They expressed their concerns that it "*Appears that the Enemy is formable, & is Determin'd to cut off the Inhabitants on the River Delaware, & our Weak situation renders it Impossible to withstand a great Number...*". They felt that if the news they had received of an impending incursion was made public, their part of the "*Contry would be Emediately Evacuated...*".

Colonel Rea may not have received a letter sent to him by John Chambers and Jacob Stroud from Fort Penn on the 28th, prior to him sending his own letter to Reed. Stroud and Chambers wanted to inform Rea of the events in New Jersey.⁸⁴⁹

We have Just received Information by Express, that the Enemy have last night taken three men in Minisink, new Jersey, near Delaware; and in Pennsylvania oposite, they have taken Possession of Mr. Wills' Mills, and is Grinding the Farmers' Grain, which by that and different other accounts, seems to confirm our former Information. They have killed and drove of Morgan Desha's horses and Cattle They bid defiance to all the Strength Jersey and this State can raise. The Militia gather very slow here, which gives us reason to think that, without some assistance, all Minisink must Either be Evacuated or fall an Easy prey to the Enemy. The Enemy lays about Wills' Mills, on both sides of the river. Pray, don't make light of the matter, and send an Express to Council as Quick as Possible, Informing them of the situation of the frontier. Please to send us a supply of flints, Ammunition and Arms, but especially flints and Ammunition, to be hurried up here with all speed; this late account Confirms to us our former accounts Concerning the Enemy is an undouted

certainty, and we rely upon you not to fail in Sending Immediately to Council.

The ‘Minisink’ that Chambers and Stroud spoke of refers to the valley through which the upper Delaware River flows. The Minisink encompassed present-day Sussex and Warren Counties in New Jersey and Pike and Monroe Counties in Pennsylvania.

President Joseph Reed, on 1 May, responded to the letter he had received from Nicholas Depui, John Chambers and Jacob Stroud.⁸⁵⁰ He noted that he had received their letter of the 27th “*advising of the Irruption of the Indians, & sundry Papers, intimating a much more extensive attack than usual...*” Perhaps because of the closeness of the Minisink Valley to ‘civilization’, President Reed seemed to suggest that the fears being expressed by the settlers of the valley and the authorities of Northampton County were a bit exaggerated. He stated that he had laid before the Supreme Executive Council all the papers they had sent and they “*sympathize with you in the Distress of the Country. At the same Time we think from many Circumstances appearing on the Papers, that they do not deserve all the Credit which has been given. We do not apprehend the Enemy will bring Field Pieces into an open Country where they can be of no Use; but on the other Hand must be highly prejudicial. Nor do we think it improbable that the Letter respecting Butler & his Party may have been contrived to Spread a Pannic thro' the Fronteers, & call off the People from their Labour at a buisy Season.*”

Notwithstanding their doubts as to the extent of the danger, the Council agreed to send ammunition and £1,000 for use in “*incouraging Scoutin parties rewarding for Scalps & Prisoners, supplying the militia & other Troops on the Fronteers with such Necessaries as cannot be procured in the ordinary Way...*” President Reed further added that if the ‘Enemy’ should make any further incursions into their region, the people should “*Stockade the most defencible Houses, & collect as many Families as can conveniently reside there, & by all means encourage Scouting Parties...*” In ending his letter to Depui, Chambers and Stroud, President Reed invoked the Biblical sentiment that ‘God helps those who help themselves’ when he wrote: “*we must recommend you to your own Exertions, & the Blessing of Providence which will help those who are earnest to help themselves...*”

. Miscellaneous Incursions Into Bedford County 1781

John Michael Piper was born on 30 December 1729 at Kilmore, County Down, Ireland. He immigrated from Ireland and arrived at North American prior to 1770 when he married Catharine Elizabeth Lusk at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. He joined the local militia and was commissioned to the rank of Colonel. In 1776 he served as the Colonel of the First Battalion of the Bedford County Militia. Then on 12 March 1777, Piper was named as the County Lieutenant for Bedford County. He would remain in that position until 21 November 1780, at which time he was replaced by George Ashman.⁸⁵¹

John Piper and his family had settled in the region of Cumberland County that would become Bedford County as early as 1768. His name appeared on the tax assessment return

for Colerain Township in that year. Colerain had been formed the previous year within Cumberland County and the first tax assessment taken for the new township was at the end of 1767 and bore the date of 1768. Piper's farmstead was located in the north end of Colerain Township and would eventually be located within the jurisdiction of Hopewell Township in Bedford County. The Piper house was said to have been fortified, and as has been previously noted, that probably referred to it having a substantial fence or wall constructed around it to prevent direct access to the house and something behind which defenders could stand to shoot their muskets at any intruder.

On 4 May 1781 a man, woman and two children were murdered and one man taken prisoner within a mile of Colonel John Piper's fortified homestead.⁸⁵² The incident was reported to President Joseph Reed on 19 May by Ashman.⁸⁵³ Despite the rank and importance of Colonel Piper, Colonel Ashman apparently did not bother with obtaining too many details. The family who lived within a mile of the Pipers surely would have been known by name to Piper, who should have reported it to Colonel Ashman.

An incident took place in the Sinking Spring Valley in which the Lead Mines Fort, *i.e.* Fort Roberdeau stood. Jacob Roller Sr., resided near the north end of the valley near the Arch Spring in present-day Tyrone Township. His house was fortified and known as Fort Roller during the American Revolutionary War. One of his seven sons, Jacob Jr., resided in the valley also. Another resident of the Sinking Spring Valley was Mathias Beebout whose death would be linked to Roller's because they occurred on the same day by the same Amerindian raiders.

Two versions of the incident were published. Historian C. Hale Sipe stated that Jacob Roller Jr., "*was hunting in the eastern part of Blair County, possibly Tyrone Township...*" when he was shot and scalped.⁸⁵⁴ U. J. Jones disagreed with that storyline. Jones' narrative stated that in the fall of 1781, three Amerindians "*came down from the mountain...*"⁸⁵⁵ Jones made a point of noting that the warriors avoided the elder Roller's house, as if they knew it would be defended fervently. Whether that was the case can never be known. First-person narration was a common feature of Jones' fiction-influenced writing. Jones then stated that the warriors continued on southward through the valley. They found Mathias Beebout at his farm and promptly tomahawked and scalped him before heading back north. Beebout was discovered the next day, bloodied from the loss of his scalplock, but still alive. In his weakened state he was unable to tell anything about the attack. Mr. Beebout apparently died shortly after being found because Jones followed his sentence about the scalped man's discovery with the sentence: "*The bodies of both [Roller and Beebout] were taken to the fort and buried...*"⁸⁵⁶

Returning to the narrative by Jones, it was noted that after attacking Mathias Beebout, the warriors who had come down from the mountain headed back north to the farmstead of Jacob Roller Jr. They probably were not trying to find his farmstead specifically. Jones noted that "*He was murdered and scalped while at work in his corn-field.*"⁸⁵⁷ Roller's family was at his father's house at the time, leaving him alone, and the fact of finding a man alone, in his field was probably the reason that he, like Beebout, was chosen to be the victim. Jones stated that the men who found the slain man's body the next day were able to deduce from the footprints left in the ground that Roller's attackers were two men and a boy "*between twelve and fourteen years of age...*" Whether that was actually recounted by someone who

participated in the incident or whether it sprang from the imagination of Uriah J. Jones cannot be known for certain.

Jacob Roller Jr., was found in the cornfield with his head brutally, or as Jones stated, “*shockingly*” mangled and with the left side of his chest “*gashed with a dozen cuts and stabs made with a sharp scalping-knife.*” The stabs on his chest apparently were quite clean if their appearance suggested that they had been made with a ‘sharp’ knife. A dull knife would have produced jagged cuts.

As noted above, the search party carried Roller’s body to the fort. Jones apparently meant that the two scalped men’s bodies were taken to Fort Roller to be buried. Why they were not just buried on their own properties is anyone’s guess. It is possible that, as many patriarchal homesteaders had family graveyards on their properties, in which not only their immediate, but their extended families’ members would be buried, the intention of the Roller family might have been to have all of their children and their families buried at the parent’s farm graveyard. Jacob Roller Sr., might have instructed the search party to bring any bodies discovered back to his farmstead for burial.

On 28 June 1781, President Joseph Reed sent a letter to Colonel Abraham Smith, the Lieutenant of Cumberland County.⁸⁵⁸ He stated that an order was enclosed with the letter which was intended to call out one class of the Cumberland County Militia “*to relieve the poor Inhabitants of Bedford, who are in the reatest Distress*”.

. ***The Lerne Family Massacre***
July 1781

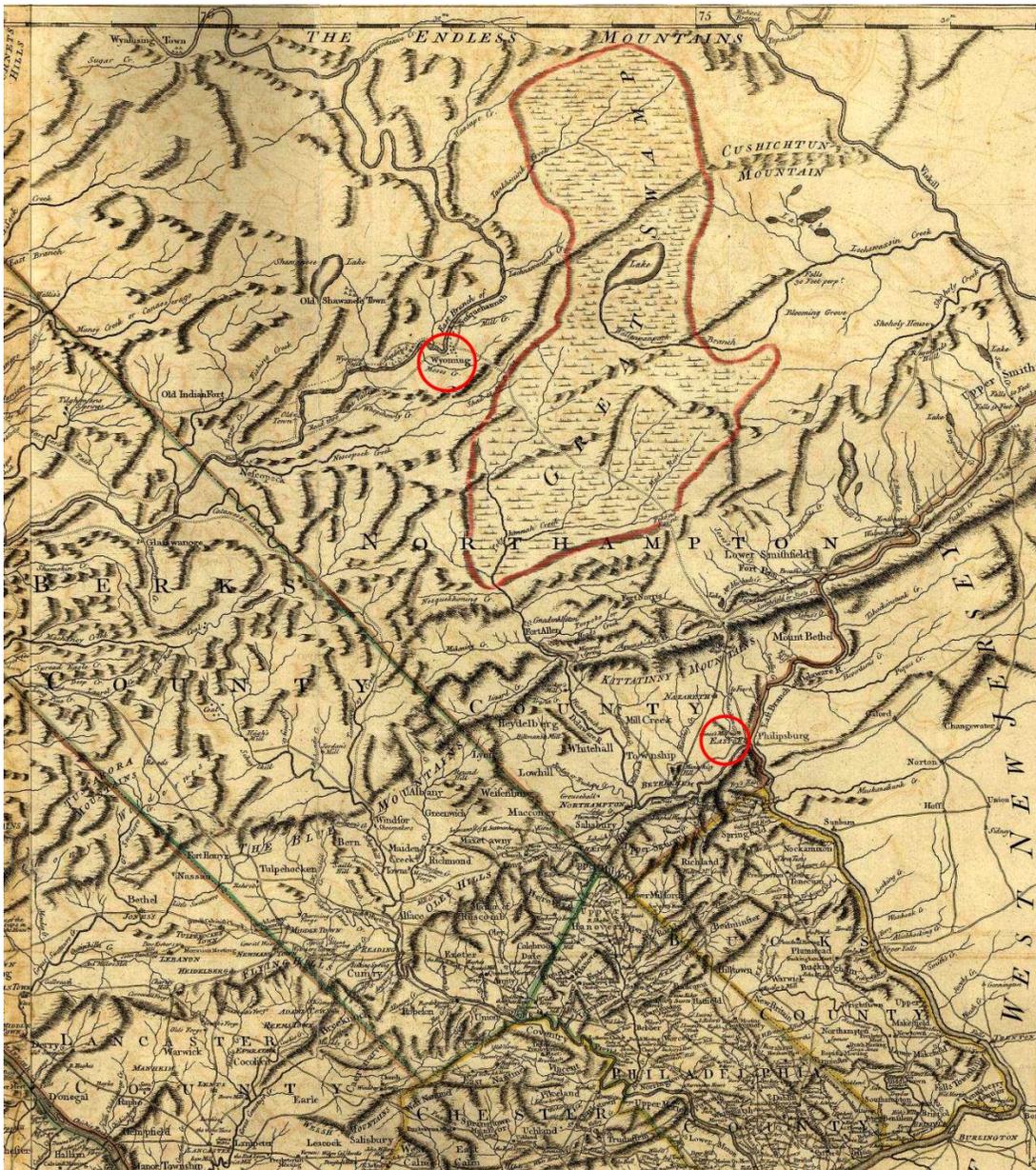
On about the 3rd of July 1781, an attack was made on a family residing in the vicinity of present-day Tannersville, to the northwest of Easton, the county seat of Northampton County.⁸⁵⁹ George Lerne was in the meadow near the farmstead mowing grass when he was attacked by a party of four Amerindians. He attempted to make it to the safety of the house but was cut down and immediately scalped. George’s father John Lerne Sr and his brother John were working in a nearby field of rye. Two of the warriors attacked the father and son. John Lerne Sr fired his musket at the warriors, but missed his mark. He, in turn, was fired at and hit. Despite his injury, the father began to run and the Amerindians took after him. The son, John Jr., watched his father being overtaken and subsequently scalped. The son also saw one of the warriors crouching in the rye field as if he was working on his musket. John raised his own musket and shot the warrior through the head. Then he ran off to hide.

The Amerindian warrior that John Lerne shot through the head was a Seneca known as Edsky who resided at the Indian town of Chemung, in the valley of the Chemung River, a tributary of the Susquehanna. Edsky began to style himself as Jacob Strowd around 1776.

The party that attacked the Lerne’s farmstead plundered the house and carried off George’s wife, Margaretha and infant daughter, Susanna. They were taken a distance from the farmstead and then both were killed by their captors. Perhaps they were not cooperative with the warriors and were put to death to quiet them.

The *Great Swamp* encompassed a large region in northeast Pennsylvania during the latter half of the 1700s. It was located within the present-day counties of Luzerne, Lackawanna, Wyoming and Susquehanna and stretched from the Kittatinny Mountain to the south and the

Endless Mountains to the north. It was to the Great Swamp that the party of warriors were headed after attacking the Lerne family.



Between the Amerindian village of Pechoquealin (present-day village of Shawnee on Delaware) and Wyoming (present-day city of Wilkes-Barre) lay the Pechoquealin Path. For a portion of its length, the path traveled through the Great Swamp. Intersecting with the east-west Pechoquealin Path near the present-day village of Bartonsville was a path stretching from that point southward to the town of Easton on the Delaware River. That north-south path traveled through the Wind Gap in the Blue Mountain (the easternmost mountain in the Appalachian Range within Pennsylvania) and was later known as Sullivan's Road for its use in the Sullivan's Expedition.

The party of Amerindians who attacked the Lerne family were headed for the Great Swamp, presumably to travel farther on to the Amerindian villages in the vicinity of Wyoming.

Colonel Jacob Strowd with a detachment of men pursued the warriors. When they reached the edge of the swamp, one of Strowd's men ventured into it and whistled "*in the Indian Fashion*". He was answered by the Amerindians who possibly believed that it was their comrade encountered by John Lerne. They might not have known that Lerne shot that warrior in the head, and thought he had caught up to them. The warriors were in the process of collecting wood to make a fire.

At about the same time that the soldier was making contact with the warriors by whistling, Strowd's men tapped a ten gallon keg of Whiskey. They promptly got drunk and began to make noise. The party of warriors heard the ruckus in the distance and leaving everything they had taken as plunder from the Lerne's house, they hastened to flee. The detachment of soldiers tracked the warriors for a distance but did not catch them. It was said that only two sets of footprints were found eventually. The conjecture was that when the father John Lerne had fired at his attackers and supposedly missed hitting any of them, that he actually had hit one of them and that warrior may have died after they had passed through the Great Swamp.

On 4 July 1781 from Fort Penn, a letter signed by Colonel Robert Levers was sent to President Reed.⁸⁶⁰ It recounted the details of the incident and added a few additional details:

I arrived home last Evening from the Scout after the Indians. John Lerne and George Lerne & his Wife & child are killed & scalped, and John Lerne, Junr, has shot & killed an Indian. On Tuesday about Eleven o'clock, I received the alarm, and I collected as many men as I could in haste, and got Lernes and started from thence about three o'clock, and followed their Track till dark night, and found that they had entered into the Great Swamp; and it being dark, we could not follow the Track, and so we marched to a small distance from the Swamp, and there lay till morning, and started after them again on the Tracks as soon as it was light; and we found the Place where they had stopped that night, about two or three hundred yards in the Swamp, among the Laurel & Thicket and it seems they discovered us after them, and they started from thence, and left two Horses they had taken from George Lerne, and one scalp which they had taken off John Lerne, & sundry Plunder they had taken from them ; and of their own, one Blanket, Four matchcoats, one Hoppice, one Fur cap, and sundry other articles. But they getting in the Swamp & leaving the Horses, we could not make out to follow their Tracks, as they scattered & turned so much among the Laurel and Logs and Thickets, that we were obliged to quit the Pursuit.

What was more distressing than the Amerindian attack was the fact that Colonel Jacob Strowd, whom the settlers of Northampton County relied on for their safety, was belligerent toward some of the settlers. In a letter sent by Colonel Levers to President Reed on the 8th of July, he noted: *“These Families, there is too much reason to fear, have unhappily fell a Sacrifice to malicious Resentment; Frequent application had been made to Col. Strowd for a Guard, by the late unhappy John Lerne, whose Place is so situated that it is certainly a proper Post, and he was as often refused; and, as the deceased some time past told me himself, because Col. Strowd asserted he was a Tory, and he only wanted men there to have them destroyed, and on which Account John Lerne, in his Life Time, brought an action of Slander against Col. Strowd.”*⁸⁶¹ Colonel Levers further intimated to President Reed an additional claim against Strowd: *“On the 30th June, when Col. Chambers was with me, he produced to me a Paper directed to him, & delivered as he said, by one Mr Denis [?] to him; the Paper contains a Number of Charges against Col. Strowd, and I have taken the Liberty to enclose a Copy; and I was desired to put Col. Strowd under Arrest. It occasioned me much Uneasiness of mind, and I declined the matter, telling Col. Chambers I was young in office, the Military duty never having engaged much of my Thoughts; and that as it was well known I had an unfavorable Opinion of Col. Strowd, which however well grounded, my Interference at such a time might rather be injurious, and frustrate my design, which was rather to cement different Parties, than divide; nevertheless, I would take a Copy of them, and if upon strict Enquiry, I should find the Charges well grounded, I would transmit them to your Excellency and sollicit advice and Instructions from you on matters of that Nature. What has since happened, has made me conceive it to be my duty to represent the Whole to Council without Reserve.”* President Reed responded to Colonel Levers’ letters on 10 July. He noted that *“We are sorry to hear of the late Irruption of the Savages, & the more so as it is highly probable from your State of the Matter that had the Militia been properly posted the Lives of those poor Victims might either have been saved or fully revenged.”*⁸⁶² President Reed additionally stated that the Supreme Executive Council felt that a Court Martial should be held to determine if Colonel Strowd’s conduct was actionable. The question was whether Jacob Strowd truly believed that certain of his neighbors, such as John Lerne, were Tories or if the power of his position as a Colonel of the militia had, so to speak, ‘gone to his head.’ The affair with Colonel Jacob Strowd in 1781 was just one instance illustrating the difficulty the Euro-American settlers struggled with in identifying who was a rebel Patriot and who was a Tory or other British sympathizer among them. That determination was not always black and white. Unfortunately, while any person in a leadership position was engaged in an ethical struggle, the lives of his fellow settlers were endangered.

. ***The Massacre Of Peter Crum***
August 1781

Late in the summer of 1781 George Jackson was living along the left bank of the Little Juniata River which flows through the north end of the Sinking Spring Valley and merges with the Frankstown Branch and later the Raystown Branch to form the Juniata River.⁸⁶³ Mr. Jackson heard a noise in his cornfield. Peering through the night’s darkness he thought that he could make out the figures of two men in the field. He let loose his two dogs, a hound and

a bulldog. For nearly ten minutes the two dogs barked at the intruders and then returned to the house. Jackson could see that the bulldog's skull had been wounded as if struck with a tomahawk. Although he was not physically harmed himself, it was near his farm that another settler would be killed.

George Jackson first appeared in Bedford County when his name was recorded on the 1776 Hopewell Township tax assessment return. His name appeared as *George Gazen* on the 1781 tax assessment return for Huntingdon Township.

Concerned about the dogs' barking, Mr. Jackson headed back into the house to retrieve his musket. Returning onto his porch, his silhouette was lit by the light inside and the two Amerindians took off running with the hound in pursuit. Although it could have turned out much differently, Mr. Jackson avoided harm that night.

The last massacre in Bedford County in 1781 was the murder of Peter Crum in August.⁸⁶⁴ He rented the 'Minor Tub Mill'. U. J. Jones recounted the narrative of his massacre and other than noting that Crum was a 'near neighbor' of George Jackson, he did not state exactly where the tub mill was located. Jackson, as noted above, resided along the Little Juniata River, so it can be assumed that the tub mill which Peter Crum rented was located along that waterway. The Little Juniata is a sizeable river but tub mills were usually operated on small mountain streams which formed waterfalls. In a tub mill, the vanes were attached to the bottom of a tub which held the grindstones. The tub would be positioned at the base of a waterfall. The splashing water would hit the vanes and turn the tub and therefore the grindstones directly. Tub mills tended to be very small constructions due to the manner of their operating. Where the Little Juniata River formed waterfalls sufficient to operate a tub mill is not known. U. J. Jones provided the reader with a lot of details, but seldom much substance.

According to Jones' narrative, a little before daybreak, Crum started out for the mill which was some distance away from his home. He set the mill going and then raised a net out of the stream. He had placed it there the night before to snare fish. Sure enough there were a number of fish in the net, so he strung them and with the string of fish in his left hand and his rifle over his right shoulder, he headed to his house for breakfast. When he had gone about a mile below the mill he heard a rifle blast and looking in its direction he noticed two Amerindians on the hillside. Dropping his fish to check the priming in his rifle's pan, it was then that he noticed that his right thumb was bleeding, evidently shot through. The blood saturated the powder in the pan, rendering it unusable. As he was struggling to reprime the musket, the two warriors ran toward him. One was carrying the rifle and the other was carrying a war club.

Before he knew what was happening, Peter Crum felt a sharp pain in the back of his head. The warrior carrying the war club had gotten behind him and struck him sharply on the skull. Crum fell to the ground as the warrior kept striking him until his head was horribly mangled. The warriors scalped him and took off.

Jones claimed that Crum's body was found; face down about two hours later with his rifle by his side. Then Jones added a detail that seems a bit far-fetched. He stated that the war club was lying across Crum's body. Although it makes for a noble image, it is hard to believe that an Amerindian warrior would leave his war club behind simply for the emotional effect it would have on other Euro~Americans.

The narrative stated that a group of local men pursued the two Amerindians, but they always stayed ahead of them and out of rifle range. Jones closed out his narrative by stating that the warriors “*carried in triumph to the British garrison at Detroit the last scalp taken by the red men in the Juniata Valley.*” It did not matter that neither Jones nor the supposed search party would know where the warriors were headed. Jones, like most historians of the Nineteenth Century assumed that all of the incursions came from Detroit, unaware that most of the raids into the Juniata Valley were made by the Senecas of the Genessee Valley south of Fort Niagara.

. ***The Killing Of Mrs. Stock***

Selinsgrove is a borough in present-day Snyder County (originally part of Northumberland County when it was erected in 1772). It borders on the west bank of the Susquehanna River about six miles south of where the West Branch empties into it. The town lies on the site of the Penns Creek Massacre during the French and Indian War. That incident was the first of many raids against Euro~American settlers committed by the Delaware under the instigation of the French on 16 October 1755. The Penns Creek Massacre was the impetus for the erection of Fort Augusta where present-day Sunbury is located.

The date is not recorded but four sons of the Stock family (variously, Stuck) were working in the fields one day and one of them was ploughing.⁸⁶⁵ The father was working in another field. Ploughing was normally performed in the spring, so the incident must have happened during the spring or early summer at the latest. A party of perhaps thirty Amerindians appeared. The party had with them a captive ‘white’ boy. They headed for the Stock son who was ploughing and killed him. Still ignoring the other three sons, the warriors went to the house. There they found Mrs. Stock, her daughter-in-law and a number of children. Mrs. Stock grabbed a pole used for rowing a canoe and attempted to fend off the warriors. She was eventually overtaken and killed. Two children were killed at the same time as Mrs. Stock.

The warriors plundered the Stock house and carried off the daughter-in-law. When they reached the woods, they killed the girl and scalped her. She apparently fainted from the ordeal and they did not want to keep dragging her along. Her body was not found for several days when some dogs discovered it.⁸⁶⁶

Mr. Stock, upon arriving home and seeing the scene of murder and desolation, called upon his neighbors to go in search of the raiders. Michael Grove, Peter Pence and John Stroh volunteered to go. They searched northward along the Susquehanna and found the warrior party encamped along the North Branch. Grove was fearless and got close enough to see their rifles stacked around a tree. All of the warriors except three were asleep. Those three were reliving the attack on the Stock family. Grove watched until those three warriors also fell asleep, then he crept back to where Stroh and Pence were waiting. After informing them of the situation, Grove led the other two toward the camp. Stroh and Pence made straight for the rifles while Grove began striking the sleeping warriors with his own tomahawk. Several of the Amerindian warriors were killed in the melee. Sipe opined that the rest of the warriors

believed that a large force was attacking them and fled into the forest. The fleeing warriors even forgot to secure the boy that they held captive, allowing him to gain his freedom.

. *Incursions Into The New County Of Washington*

On 28 March 1781, the county of Washington was erected out of Westmoreland County. It was the first county to be removed from Westmoreland and initially included the entire southwest corner of the state. In 1783 Greene County would be removed from Washington's southwest corner.

On the 27th, while the region was still Westmoreland County, a woman by the name of Mrs. Walker was taken captive by Amerindians. Her home was located on Buffalo Creek. Mrs. Walker had the good fortune to escape her captors.⁸⁶⁷

The eight members of the Boice family were taken captive on the 1st of April and supposedly carried to the '*Indian towns west of the Ohio*'.⁸⁶⁸

Twenty Shawanese warriors attacked Miller's blockhouse on a Sunday morning.⁸⁶⁹ The blockhouse was located on the Dutch Fork of Buffalo Creek in present-day Donegal Township. At the time the blockhouse was occupied by an old man, two younger men and several women and children. The old man was Mathias Ault. The women and children included Ann Hupp, wife of John Hupp and their four children, Margaret, Mary, John and Elizabeth; and the family of Edgar Gaither. Frederick Miller, eleven year old son of Jacob was also at the blockhouse that day.

A colt had strayed from the enclosure and early that morning the two younger men, Jacob Miller Sr., and John Hupp Sr., left the blockhouse to search for the horse. As they passed where the warriors were hidden, the Amerindians jumped up and easily dispatched Miller and Hupp. After relieving the two of their scalps, the warriors surrounded the blockhouse, threatening the inhabitants. The women kept the warriors at bay until three men, Jacob Miller Jr., Phillip Hupp and Jacob Rowe, showed up to help them. Somehow the three men made their way into the blockhouse. The Shawanese warriors made no headway against the blockhouse and so they eventually withdrew.

During the month of September, once again a number of horses had strayed from the Miller's blockhouse enclosure and needed to be rounded up.⁸⁷⁰ Captain John Jacob Miller, the owner of the fortified house and Frank Hupp and Jacob Fisher went in search of them. By nightfall they had reached the house of Jonathan Link along the right bank of the Middle Fork of the Wheeling Creek. Mr. Link invited the men to spend the night at his house. Hupp and Fisher bedded down on the ground floor while Mr. Link and Captain Miller climbed up into the loft. Link's dog started barking in the middle of the night and continued until dawn. Although the men were not aware of it, the dog had sensed the presence of a party of Shawnee who had surrounded the cabin.

When dawn broke Frank Hupp and Jacob Fisher arose and left the cabin to wash up at a spring near the house. They were immediately fired on by the hiding warriors. Fisher was immediately killed. Hupp was mortally wounded but was able to get into the house and started to climb to the loft to warn Miller and Link. As Hupp died the warriors burst into the house and took Miller and Link captive. They also dragged Hupp's body outside where they proceeded to scalp him.

The two captives were held by a number of the warriors while the rest proceeded along Buffalo Creek. They came to the house of Presley Peake close by. Mr. Peake was taken captive along with William Hawkins and a man named Burnett. This band broke into two parties with one going to the house of Edward Gaither and the other to the house of William Hawkins. The Gaither family had headed to the safety of Miller's blockhouse, leaving their cabin empty. At the Hawkins house the Amerindians found a daughter, Elizabeth who was too sick to escape and was soon taken captive. The rest of the family had fled to the apparent safety of the surrounding woods. Mrs. Hawkins hid with an infant, William Jr., in the high grasses and stuffed her apron into the baby's mouth to prevent its cries from betraying them. The warriors walked right past where she lay hidden and did not notice her and the babe. William Hawkins and his daughter, Elizabeth, Presley Peake and Mr. Burnett were taken back to where Miller and Link were being held. The entire group then headed, according to C. Hale Sipe, toward the Shawnee villages in the Ohio Valley. Before going too far, Mr. Burnett, Presley Peake and William Hawkins were killed. The rest walked till they came to the Big Wheeling Creek. They camped there overnight.

While the party was encamped along the Big Wheeling Creek, Captain Miller chewed through his bonds and made his escape, leaving the others to their own devices. Miller headed back to the blockhouse and rounded up a group to take care of the bodies of Hupp and Fisher at the Link cabin.

Jonathan Link and Elizabeth Hawkins were marched to the Ohio Valley where the girl became the wife of a Shawnee 'chieftain' according to the Sipe narrative. Jonathan Link was said to have been brought back to his farmstead in Washington County, where he was shot dead.⁸⁷¹

. ***The Bedford County Frontier Quiets Down***

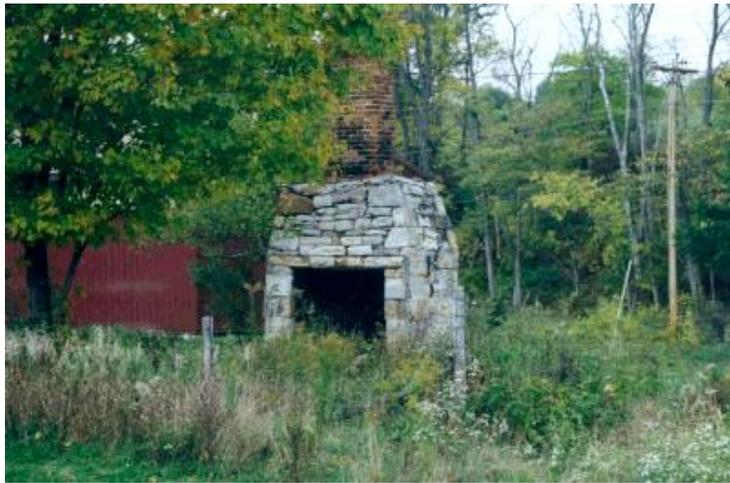
On 12 September 1781, Colonel Abraham Smith wrote to President Reed to let him know that: "*I take the opportunity to inform your Excellency that the Class of Militia of this County ordered to Bedford is just Returned home the Inhabitants of that County met with no Disturbance from the Savages during the time they were there nor for a Considerable time before they went, only one man that was killed, and no Signs of any Since being in these parts.*"⁸⁷² The Cumberland County Militia Colonel might simply have been observing that the Amerindians were stopping their raids because the winter season was coming on. The tribes of the Haudenosaunee nation did not exist solely to attack Euro-American settlers. Although they readily acted upon the bidding of the British Army when asked to attack the frontier settlements, the warriors more readily followed their own tribal customs.



. ***Incidents At Fort Piper In Bedford County***

A *List Of Soldiers* was published in the Fifteenth Volume of the Second Series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*.⁸⁷³ The list was subtitled *Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statements of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journal of Assembly*. Two names associated with Bedford County were included in that list: John McFarron and Jacob Plumb.

John McFarron was noted as “killed by the Indians at Piper’s Fort in 1782.” Jacob Plumb was noted as “wounded and taken prisoner at Piper’s Fort in 1782.” It is unfortunate that neither man’s pension applications are extant. Whether they were involved in the same incident cannot ever be known. Despite it having



occurred near Piper’s Fort, Colonel John Piper made no mention of it in any letters.

Piper’s Fort, variously known as Fort Piper, was not a blockhouse itself. It was John Piper’s house that had been ‘fortified’ for the safety of the Piper family and their neighbors. The ‘fortification’ process was probably similar to most others in which a strong fence was built to surround the house with a buffer space through which an attacking party could not easily pass. The only remnant of the ‘fort’ still extant is the hearth and a small portion of the chimney.

Fort Piper was located about fifteen miles northeast of Fort Bedford at the north end of Black Oak Ridge in Yellow Creek Valley. The commission to locate the frontier forts of Pennsylvania claimed that Colonel John Piper moved into this region circa 1771 and that about 1777 he “began the construction of a log fort...”.⁸⁷⁴ The report of the commission did

not say that he ‘completed’ that log fort, nor is there any evidence that such a log fort ever existed, at least in a completed state. The report of the commission also noted that “*some time after this*”, Piper built a substantial stone house, and that it was that stone structure that came to bear the name of ‘Fort Piper’. More specifically, the report stated: “*The old stone house was the refuge of the early settlers, within the palisade...*” It might be assumed that John Piper might have started to construct a log fortification, but perhaps felt that his time and energy and whatever available logs he could gather would be better utilized to build a strong ‘palisade’ or stockade wall around his already substantial stone house.

. **1782 Incursions Into Washington County**

Colonel Thomas Scott of the newly created county of Washington, in the southwest corner of the Province of Pennsylvania, wrote a letter to William Moore, President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council on 20 February 1782.⁸⁷⁵ He stated that “*I am Told this day that the Indeans have made sundry depredations on the frontiers of thie Country, during the last open spell of weather, particularly on Racoon Creek, and up the Monangohela. I think at a place called Buckhanan, I fear this is the beginning of more than usual Calamity.*” Colonel Scott was speaking about the attack on and the murder of John Fink. Mr. Fink was murdered on 8 February “*near Buchanan’s Fort on the upper Monongahela*” according to C. Hale Sipe.⁸⁷⁶

The actual location of Buchanan’s Fort is questionable. The *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Fontier Forts of Pennsylvania* by Montgomery did not identify any defensive sites named Buchanan or any variation of that name.

Two days after John Fink was attacked, Robert Wallace’s family was attacked in Hanover Township. C. W. Butterfield, in his volume of correspondence between George Washington and William Irvine, stated that the incident took place on the 17th of February.⁸⁷⁷ Mr. Wallace was not home at the time of the attack. His wife, Mary, and three children were taken captive. The family had two sons, one (unnamed in the narratives) ten, Robert, three and an infant daughter. The Amerindians, claimed by Sipe to have been “*most likely a band of Shawnees*”⁸⁷⁸ took the captives northward along the Mahoning Path through present-day Beaver County, Pennsylvania. Sipe simply called it “*the Indian trail leading through Beaver County*”.

During their trip toward the Ohio Valley, the warriors killed Mary and her infant daughter. They scalped the bodies and then impaled the mother’s naked body on a sapling. The mutilated corpse of the infant was tossed near the mother’s.⁸⁷⁹ The older son died soon thereafter, but the younger one, Robert, survived the ordeal and was sold to the Wyandot (variously known as the Huron) whose homeland was along the north shore of Lake Ontario.

Mr. Wallace was said to have arrived home to find his wife and children missing, the house wrecked and all the furniture destroyed. His cattle had all been shot and lay throughout the yard around the house. He raised the alarm throughout the settlement, and a search party was gathered late into the night. The party set out early the next morning, but a snow having fallen, they could not locate the tracks of the raiders.

At about the same time as the Wallace attack, John Carpenter, a settler on Buffalo Creek at the Dutch Fork, was taken captive by a party of six Amerindians: four Wyandot, or Huron

and two Moravian Indians (*i.e.* Lenape who were Christianized and also known as the Munsee).⁸⁸⁰ Carpenter was taken to the Amerindian villages located along the Tuscarawas River in the Ohio Valley. He was taken to St. Duskie [Sandusky] and on the morning of the second day he was sent to get some horses and was able to make his escape. Mounting one of the horses, he made his way back to Fort Pitt by way of Fort McIntosh on the Ohio River. The report that Carpenter gave to Colonel Gibson at Fort Pitt was published in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 16 April 1782. His report provided a few more details of his experience:⁸⁸¹

A man of the name of John Carpenter was taken early in the month of March, in the neighborhood of this place. There had been several warm days, but the night preceding his capture there was a heavy fall of snow. His two horses which they took with him, nearly perished in swimming the Ohio. The Indians, as well as himself, suffered severely with the cold before they reached the Moravian towns on the Muskingum. In the morning after the first day's journey beyond the Moravian towns, the Indians sent out Carpenter to bring in the horses which had been turned out in the evening, after being hobbled. The horses had made a circuit and fallen into the trail by which they came the preceding day, and were making their way homeward. When he overtook the horses and had taken off their fetters, as he said, he had to make a most awful decision. He had a chance and barely a chance, to make his escape, with a certainty of death should he attempt it without success; on the other hand the horrible prospect of being tortured to death by fire, presented itself, as he was the first prisoner taken that spring; of course, the general custom of the Indians of burning the first prisoner every spring, doomed him to the flames. After spending a few minutes in making his decision he resolved on attempting an escape, and effected it by way of Forts Laurens, M'Intosh, and Pittsburg. If I recollect rightly, he brought both his horses home with him. This happened in the year 1782...

General Irvine wrote to his wife on 12 April 1782.⁸⁸² He had arrived back at Fort Pitt two weeks earlier and found that some major events had taken place. Those events included the attack by one hundred and sixty Washington County men against the Moravian Indian villages on the Tuscarawas River. They descended on the village of Gnadenhuetten where they discovered one of the Amerindian women wearing the dress that had been taken off the body of Mary Wallace. The sight infuriated the Washington men, many of whom wanted to execute all of the Amerindians. Colonel David Williamson, who was leading the Washington County settlers, asked his men if they would agree to take the Moravian Indians to Fort Pitt for justice, but the majority of them voted to slay them right then and there.

On the morning of Friday, 8 March, the Amerindian men were led into the cooper's shop in the village. There they were beaten to death with hatchets and mallets. The Amerindian women and children were taken to the church and there they were likewise killed. In all, forty men, twenty women and thirty-four children met their deaths at the hands of the Washington County men. Only two young boys escaped the massacre, one by hiding and the other by feigning being dead. General Irvine told his wife:⁸⁸³

Things were in a strange state when I arrived. A number of the country people had just returned from the Moravian towns, about one hundred miles distant, where, it is said, they did not spare either age or sex. What was more extraordinary, they did it in cool blood, having deliberated three days, during which time they were industrious in collecting all hands into their churches (they had embraced Christianity), when they fell on them while they were singing hymns and killed the whole. Many children were killed in their wretched mothers' arms. Whether this was right or wrong, I do not pretend to determine.

Things were still in greater confusion nearer home [meaning nearer Fort Pitt]; for, on the morning [of March 24th] before my arrival here, a party of militia attacked some friendly Indians, who were not only under our protection but several actually had commissions in our service ~ at the very nose of the garrison, on a small island in the river ~ of whom they killed several, and also made prisoners of a guard of continental troops, and sent Colonel Gibson a message that they would also scalp him. A thousand lies are propagated all over the country against him, poor fellow, I am informed. The whole is occasioned by his unhappy connection with a certain tribe, which leads people to imagine, for this reason, that he has an attachment to Indians in general. However false this reasoning may be, yet no reasoning will or can convince people to the contrary.

People who have had fathers, mothers, brothers or children, butchered, tortured, scalped, by the savages, reason very differently on the subject of killing the Moravians [that is, the Moravian Indians], to what people who live in the interior part of the country in perfect safety do. Their feelings are very different. Whatever your private opinion of these matters may be, I conjure you by all the ties of affection and as you value my reputation, that you will keep your mind to yourself, and that you will not express any sentiment for or against these deeds;~ as it may be alleged, the sentiments you express may come from me or be mine. No man knows whether I approve or disapprove of killing the Moravians.

I called a meeting of most of the principal militia officers. They were convened here last Friday. After long conferences, which lasted near two days, they parted seemingly pleased with the plans I proposed to adopt for the protection of the country and promised they would support me. I have also been fortunate enough to suppress the mutinous disposition of the troops without blood-shedding. From all this, you will make yourself easy respecting my present safety.

Some people are killed and some taken, by the Indians, in almost every quarter. I lost five of my men, a few days since, who were wood-cutting and carelessly laid down their arms to load the wagon, when a party rushed on them. This was at a fort we have thirty miles down the river.

The fort where five of Irvine's men were 'lost' was Fort McIntosh. The fort had been constructed in the fall of 1778 by General Lachlin McIntosh in an effort to establish a single strong fortification along the Ohio River, below the mouth of Beaver creek.⁸⁸⁴ A number of smaller supply depots had been constructed throughout the region in years past. None of them would have been able to stand against a major attack by the British and Amerindians. Fort McIntosh was constructed of hewn logs in the shape of an irregular square.

Of the five men noted by General Irvine, two were killed during the attack and the other three were taken captive to Lower Sandusky.⁸⁸⁵ There they were forced to run the gauntlet. Sipe, who gave certain of the details of this incident, did not mention what happened to the three soldiers after running the gauntlet.

Before leaving this discussion of depredations that took place in the southwesternmost corner of the state of Pennsylvania, the murder of five individuals should be mentioned. According to a letter sent by H. H. Brackenridge to Archibald Loudon (who was writing his book of *Indian Narratives*, he had thought about including certain stories in his own books but had neglected to. He noted that "A short time after I went to the western country in the spring of '81 many particulars occurred of Indian barbarity on the frontier..."⁸⁸⁶ Other historians, such as C. Hale Sipe assumed that he was referring to the year 1782 rather than '81. Brackenridge stated that Adam and Andrew Poe had an encounter with Amerindians. He also noted that "Within three miles of Pittsburg on the Ohio bank, on this side three fine boys of the name of Chambers, were murdered in a corn-field..." In addition to those two 'incidents' Brackenridge made mention of the massacre of part of the Walker family, of which more will be stated below.

. ***The Incident At Walthour's Blockhouse***
April 1782

The incident that took place at Walthour's Blockhouse, variously Walthour Station, some eight miles west of present-day Greensburg in Westmoreland County, was noted in many volumes. It was included in *Washington ~ Irvine Correspondence*, 1882 (pages 384 to 389),

Old Westmoreland, 1900 (pages 170 to 175), *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, Volume II*, 1916 (pages 363 to 370) and *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, 1931 (pages 657 to 658). The narrative apparently originated by being published in the year 1877 in the first volume of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.⁸⁸⁷

On 26 July 1782, Ephraim Douglass wrote to General James Irvine. Following comments regarding the Hannas Town destruction, Douglass wrote:⁸⁸⁸

Being in a communicative strain I resume my pen at a late hour of the night, to tell you (a) story, the novelty of which, if (it) has nothing else to recommend it, will excuse it.

He then continued with the narrative of the incident at Walthour's Blockhouse:

Some three months ago, or thereabouts, a party of Indians made a stroke (as it is called in our country phrase) at a station distinguished by the name of the owner of the place, "Wolthower's (or as near as I can come to a German name), when they killed an old man and his sons, and captivated one of his daughters. This massacre was committed so near the fort that the people from within fired upon the Indians so successfully as to wound several and prevent their scalping the dead. The girl was carried to within about six miles of this place, up the Alleghena River, where her bones were afterwards found with manifest marks on her scull of having been then knocked on the head and scalped. One of the Indians who had been wounded in the leg, unable to make any considerable way and in this condition deserted by his companions, after subsisting himself upon the spontaneous productions of the woods for more than thirty successive days, crawled into this village in the most miserable plight conceivable. He was received by the military and carefully guarded till about five days ago, when, at the reiterated request of the relations of those unfortunate people whom he had been employed in murdering, he was delivered to four or five country warriors deputed to receive and conduct him to the place which had been the scene of his cruelties, distant about twenty-five miles. The wish, and perhaps the hope of getting some of our unfortunate captives restored to their friends for the release of this wretch, and the natural repugnance every man of spirit has to sacrificing uselessly the life of a fellow-creature whose hands are tied, to the resentment of an unthinking rabble, inclined the General to have his life spared, and to keep him still in close confinement. He was not delivered without some

reluctance, and a peremptory forbiddance to put him to death without the concurrence of the magistrate and most respectable inhabitants of the district; they carried him, with every mark of exultation, away. Thus far, I give it you authentic; and this evening, one of the inhabitants returned to town, from Mr. Wolthower's neighborhood, who finishes the history of our pet Indian (so he was ludicrously called) in this manner: that a night or two ago, when his guards, as they ought to be, were in a profound sleep, our Indian stole a march upon them and has not since been seen or heard of. I may, perhaps, give you the sequel of this history another day; at present, I bid you good-night; my eyes refuse to light me any longer.

On 4 August 1782, Ephraim Douglass wrote again to Irvine from his post at Pittsburgh:⁸⁸⁹

Dear Sir : To continue my narrative ~ our pet Indian is certainly gone; he was seen a day or two after the night of his escape very well mounted, and has not since been seen or heard of; the heroes, however, who had him in charge, or some of their friends or connection, ashamed of such egregious stupidity, and desirous of being thought barbarous murderers rather than negligent blockheads, have propagated several very different reports concerning his supposed execution, all of them believed to be as false as they are ridiculous.

The man by the name of 'Wolthower' was actually Christopher Walthour. His 'blockhouse' was located, as noted in the opening sentences of this section, in the Brush Creek Valley, about eight miles west of present-day Greensburg and therefore about ten miles west of Hannas Town. It was also about a mile and a half east of the present-day borough of Irwin.

On one morning in April 1782, five men were working in a field adjacent to the blockhouse. A man by the name of Willard, the son-in-law of Christopher Walthour, was one of them. An unstated number of his sons were working there with him. Mr. Willard was the "old man" noted in Ephraim Douglass's letter. A party of Delawares attacked the workers. Mr. Willard and a couple of his sons were killed in that attack and his daughter, who had carried water to the workers, was taken captive. She would be killed by the blow of a tomahawk and scalped not far away as the party traveled along the Allegheny River.

After killing Mr. Willard, a minor chief of the Delawares known to the Euro~American settlers as 'Davy' bent over to scalp him. As he did so, he was shot through the leg by one of the men holding the blockhouse. The party escaped with their sixteen year old captive. Davy with an injured leg could not keep up with the rest of the warriors. He was eventually abandoned by them. About thirty days later he "*crawled into this village [Pittsburgh] in the most miserable plight conceivable.*" Davy was conveyed to Fort Pitt where he was confined.

According to C. Hale Sipe, Mary Willard, the mother of the captive and slain daughter, appeared at Fort Pitt to request that Davy be given up to the Brush Creek Valley settlers so that they could decide his fate.⁸⁹⁰ General Irvine refused her request. The Willard daughter had not been discovered at the time of Mrs. Willard's request and General Irvine believed that he could use Davy as an exchange for her. Shortly after the meeting between Mary Willard and General Irvine, the daughter's body was found. A delegation of Brush Creek settlers now approached the General at Fort Pitt to obtain custody of Davy. Their intention was to have the Delaware warrior burned at the stake.

General Irvine reluctantly released Davy into the hands of the Brush Creek settlers. They took him and initially placed him under guard, but those guards having got drunk, were in a deep slumber and Davy saw his chance to escape. As Ephraim Douglass noted in his continuance of his original letter: "*our pet Indian is certainly gone; he was seen a day or two after the night of his escape very well mounted, and has not since been seen or heard of*".

Ephraim Douglass added the information below, regarding the increase in Amerindian incursions, to his letter of 4 August to General James Irvine.⁸⁹¹

The Indians appear at length to have taken up the business of killing us in good earnest ~ within this week they made an attempt (happily a fruitless one) within a mile and a half of this place, upon a number of people ~ whites and slaves at work in the cornfield of a gentleman living in town ~ they were pursued without success. Since this they have been frequently seen in our neighborhood and have killed several within a few miles of us. The General has had so many alarming accounts by expresses from Washington county of the numbers and probable designs of the Savages at or toward Wheeling, that this morning he marched in person with so many of his regulars as he thought prudent to take from the defence of this post in order to join a body of Militia or volunteers assembled for the purpose. With these he means to make a tryal of the spirit of the Indians, and from the complexion of the commander and forwardness of the troops, I think he will push them hard if they stay his arrival. The number of the enemy is estimated at about one hundred. The Gentleman who first viewed them and made this computation was Major McCulloch, a militia officer of invincible spirit and acknowledged enterprise. On his first discovery of them they had not yet crossed the river ~ he returned to a neighboring fort from whence he wrote letters to apprise the country and at the same time communicated it the County Lieutenants. Still desirous of keeping a strict watch upon their motions, he returned towards the river with his brother and some others accompanying him. In his way he came upon the track of some of the enemy who had crossed the river and having penetrated some distance into the

country were now on their return; in all probability they had discovered McCulloch's party, for having with their usual artfulness made a double upon, and way-laid their own track, they fired upon them undiscovered, and the unfortunate Major lost his life, justly regretted by all who know his character; the rest of the little party fled, but not till the brother of the unfortunate had shot the Indian who attempted to scalp him. About the same time two young men were fired upon in a canoe almost within sight of Wheeling, Milnes and Smith, the latter wounded in the flesh of his thigh, the other's thigh broken by one of thirteen balls that entered his body and limbs; they were both alive when the accounts came away. Every new day produces events worse than the past, besides a thousand false and groundless reports attended with all the evil consequences to the defenceless and terrified inhabitants that the reality of them could produce; our settlements are almost every day contracted and every new frontier more timid than the last. I have determined to be down before the end of this month, but in present state of alarming incidents I cannot prevail upon myself to leave the country; I wish to see the issue. In the mean time I will endeavor to give you the best account of our affairs that the confusion inseparable from a perpetual state of alarm will permit me.

. **Cumberland County's Fear Of Incursions**
5 April 1782

Mifflin County was erected in September 1789 out of the northernmost point of Cumberland County. And the township of Armagh was established in 1770 in the northernmost region of present-day Mifflin County while it was still part of Cumberland County.

On 5 April 1782, William Brown, on behalf of himself and other inhabitants of 'Armdagh' Township, sent a petition to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.⁸⁹² His petition expressed the fears that the people residing in that part of Cumberland County ~ which was not generally considered part of the 'frontier' ~ that they might become victims of Amerindian incursions. The petitioners hoped to convince the Council to appropriate ammunition for their use.

*The memorial of William Brown of Armdagh Township, in the County of Cumberland, on Behalf of himself and the Inhabitants of said Township, respectfully showeth:
That the said Township of Armdagh is, at this Time, the*

nearest Frontier to the Indians in that Quarter, and is quite exposed to the Incursions of the Savages, no Troops whatever being stationed among them. That the Season of the Year is now nearly come when Indian Hostilities may be expected ; your memorialist therefore humbly prays that some support may be sent out to that defenceless frontier. Your memorialist scarce expects that any of the State Troops can be spared from their present Stations for this purpose, but begs leave to offer his opinion that a Company of Militia ordered up to that Quarter would at this Time answer very valuable purposes to that Frontier, in restoring some degree of Confidence to the Inhabitants, as giving them an earnest of the attention that will be paid to them. Your memorialist would further beg leave to observe that a Quantity of ammunition lodged at some proper place, to supply the Inhabitants in case of any emergency, is, in his Opinion, a measure absolutely necessary. All which Considerations are humbly submitted to the Hon'ble Council.

It is possible that because of the somewhat constant influx of settlers from the more distant frontiers, carrying with them tales of panic and actual life and death experiences, the people residing in the more civilized regions experienced a sort of ‘contact panic’.

. ***The Capture Of Nicholas Shrively***
6 April 1782

On the morning of 6 April, Nicholas Shrively was ‘fothering’ his cattle. That meant that he was feeding them hay and straw. Mr. Shrively’s farm was near Smith’s Fort. The name, ‘Smith’s Fort’ was another name for Fort Swatara since it was commanded by Captain Frederick Smith. The fort was located on the Swatara Creek, along the south slope of the Blue Mountain in present-day Union Township, Lebanon County. In April 1782, Lebanon County was Lebanon Township, Lancaster County.

Within the hour after learning of the attack on the Shrively farm, Captain Henry Shoemaker set out in pursuit of the party of warriors with a detachment of twenty men.

John Van Campen sent a letter commenting on this incident to the new President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, William Moore.⁸⁹³ Van Campen was writing from Lower Smithfield Township in then-Northampton County. He stated in a postscript to the letter that “*The party of Indians Discovered ~ Six in Number.*”

As noted in the previous section, even the inhabitants of the ‘civilized’ southeast corner of Pennsylvania began to find their lives threatened as the year 1782 unfolded. This incident took place on the south(east) side of Blue Mountain, the most easterly mountain in the Appalachian range.

. ***The Attack On The Franklin Family***
7 April 1782

Rosewell Franklin and his family resided in the Hanover settlement, a few miles from Wilkes-Barre in the part of Northumberland County which would, in 1786, become Luzerne County.

Rosewell Franklin served as the 1st Lieutenant in Captain John Franklin's independent company of militia. The company that Captain Franklin raised in the Wyoming Valley was claimed by the state of Connecticut, but the members of the company associated themselves with Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. Rosewell Franklin, Jr., served as a private in the company according to a roster from 1780.

It might be remembered that during the summer of 1781, two sons of Lieutenant Rosewell (*aka* Roswell) Franklin were taken captive. One of the two sons captured in that raid was Rosewell Jr., and the other was Arnold. Neither son was found or heard from after the capture. The parents had four children in addition to those two.

Charles Miner, in his *History of Wyoming*, provided a narrative of the attack on the Franklin family in April 1782.⁸⁹⁴ The 7th of April fell on a Sunday, and on that date a party of thirteen Amerindians burst into the Franklin home. The occupants there at the time, Mrs. Franklin and her three children and an infant were all taken hostage. The Amerindian attackers also set fire to the structure, which burnt to the ground.

A group of eight neighbors, led by Serjeant Thomas Baldwin, started out in pursuit of the raiders. The search party followed on the raiders' trail at least sixty miles. When they arrived at a ford across a stream at Wyalusing, they could tell that the raiders had not crossed over. The search party continued on and near Asylum in present-day Bradford County, they determined that the raiders would come their way. They prepared a sort of breastworks to shield themselves when the inevitable fight came about. The Amerindian party did indeed approach, but realizing that a trap had been set for them, they skirted around the breastwork and began to ascend a hill to the east. The two parties began to fire at each other.

In the midst of a brief skirmish, the three children, a boy and two girls, escaped from their captors and made it safely into the arms of the search party. Mrs. Franklin was not so lucky. She was shot and her baby was grabbed from her arms. The Amerindian who grabbed the baby lifted it onto his shoulder as the party fled away ~ possibly to prevent being shot at by Serjeant Baldwin's men.

Serjeant Baldwin and Oliver Bennet were both injured in the fight. The Amerindians sustained six deaths.

. ***Ambush Of Captain Overmeier's Company***
6 May 1782

Present-day Limestone Township is located along the southern boundary of Union County which was formed out of Northumberland County in 1850. In 1781 when the region was an unoccupied part of the Buffalo Valley, some soldiers in Captain George Overmeier's

Company, the Sixth Company of the Fourth Battalion of the Northumberland County Militia were ranging through the fields when a party of Amerindians ambushed them.⁸⁹⁵

Two of the members of Captain Overmeier's Company, one named Lee and the other Rezner (variously, Razoner), were killed in the engagement that followed. A third, Edward Tate was wounded by being shot through the foot. Tate attempted to flee despite his injury. He concealed himself behind a fence and one of the warriors came to the spot, looked over the fence, but failed to see Tate lying there.

Captain Overmeier's wife later told the story that the bodies of the two slain men were brought to her house. She washed them before they were buried in the graveyard at Dry Run.

. ***The Corbly Family Massacre***
12 May 1782

The massacre of the family of the Reverend John Corbly took place in present-day Greene County. The Corbly family resided in the vicinity of Garard's Fort, about ten miles southeast of the present-day town of Waynesburg. On the Sunday morning of 12 May 1782 the Corbly family was walking toward the Goshen Baptist Church where John was the pastor. As the family walked the short distance from their home, Mrs. Corbly revealed to the pastor that she did not have the Bible which he thought she would be carrying. As his wife and five children continued on, Reverend Corbly returned to the homestead to get his Bible and then attempted to catch up with his family.

Watching the Corbly family were a party of Amerindians on a peak commonly named *Indian Point*. Seeing the pastor headed back to the family homestead, the warriors descended the hill and crossed over Whitely Creek. They traveled through a ravine and came up behind the mother and children. Mrs. Corbly and three of the children were killed outright. The other two daughters, Delilah and Elizabeth were scalped but survived.

Three years later, Reverend Corbly wrote a letter to a friend, Reverend William Rogers of Philadelphia. He described his family's experience on that May morning:⁸⁹⁶

The following is a just and true account of the tragical scene of my family's falling by the savages, which I related when at your house in Philadelphia, and you requested me to forward in writing.

On the second Sabbath in May, in the year 1782, being my appointment at one of my meeting-houses about a mile from my dwelling-house, I set out with my dear wife and five children, for public worship. Not suspecting any danger, I walked behind two hundred yards, with my Bible in my hand, meditating; as I was thus employed, all of a sudden I was greatly alarmed with the frightful shrieks of my dear family before me. I immediately ran, with all the speed I could, vainly hunting a club as I ran, till I got within forty yards of them. My poor wife, seeing me, cried to me to make my escape; an Indian ran up to shoot me. I had to strip,

and by so doing, outran him. My dear wife had a sucking child in her arms; this little infant they killed and scalped. They then struck my wife at sundry times, but not getting her down, the Indian who had aimed to shoot me ran to her, shot her through the body, and scalped her. My little boy, an only son, about six years old, they sunk the hatchet into his brains, and thus dispatched him. A daughter, besides the infant, they also killed and scalped. My eldest daughter, who is yet alive, was hid in a tree, about twenty yards away from the place where the rest were killed, and saw the whole proceedings. She, seeing the Indians all go off, as she thought, got up and deliberately crept from the hollow trunk; but one of them espying her, ran hastily up, knocked her down and scalped her; also her only surviving sister, one on whose head they did not leave more than an inch round, either of flesh or skin, besides taking a piece of her skull. She and the before-mentioned one are still miraculously preserved, though, as you might think, I have had, and still have a great deal of trouble and expense with them, besides anxiety about them, insomuch that I am, as to worldly circumstances almost ruined. I am yet in hopes of seeing them cured; they still, blessed be God, retain their senses, notwithstanding the painful operations they have already, and must yet pass through. At the time I ran round to see what was become of my family, and found my dear and affectionate wife with five children all scalped in less than ten minutes from the first outset. No one, my dear brother, can conceive how I felt; this you may well suppose was killing to me. I instantly fainted away, and was borne off by a friend, who by this time had found us out. When I recovered, oh the anguish of my soul! I cried, would to God I had died for them! Would to God I had died with them! O how dark and mysterious did this trying providence then appear to me!...

. **Dispatches From The Frontier**
May 1782

*“The Indians are murdering frequently, last Friday night two men were killed on the frontiers of this County, and about a week before I got home fourteen persons were killed & Captured in Different parts, and last week some mischief was done near Hanna's Town, but have not learnt the particulars.”*⁸⁹⁷ From Pittsburgh, on 8 May 1782, Dorsey Pentecost, a lawyer and land speculator, wrote to William Moore, the President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council describing what he knew about recent Amerindian depredations in the southwest corner of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Pentecost also mentioned the “*late excurtion to Kushacton*”, referring to the dominant Lenape village in the Ohio Valley: Coshocton, around which the smaller villages of Gnadenhutten, Salem and Schoenbrunn clustered. That “*late excurtion*” referred to the massacre of 96 Moravian Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten between the 6th and 8th of March 1782 by Westmoreland County Militia led by Lieutenant Colonel David Williamson. Dorsey Pentecost stated that: “*Perticularly respecting the late excurtion to Kushacton, that affair is a subject of great speculation here some condemning, others applauding the measure, but the accounts are so various, that its not only Difficult, but almost, Indeed Intirely Impossible to ascertain the real Truth, no person can give Intelligence but those that were along, and notwithstanding there seems to have been some difference amongst themselves, about that business yet they will say nothing, but this far I believe may be depended on that they killed rather deliberately the Inocent with the guilty, and its likely the majority was the former, I have heard it Insinuated that about thirty or forty only of the party gave their Consent or assisted in the Catastrofy.*”⁸⁹⁸

Bernard Dougherty sent his own letter to President Moore on 13 May from Standing Stone Town (present-day Huntingdon, in Huntingdon County).⁸⁹⁹ He noted: “*a Company of Cumberland Militia, Consisting of thirty five Men, arrived here yesterday on their way to Frankston Garrison, where they are to be joined by Capt. Boyd's Ranging Company, the People in the Frontiers of this County are mostly fled from their Habitations; also it is strongly rumoured here that depredations have been Committed in Penn's Valley, and that upwards of twenty of the Militia have fallen; as yet nothing material has happened in this County, but we are afraid a stroke will be made next Moon Light...*” The deaths of twenty militia troops were not recorded elsewhere, so that part of Dougherty’s letter is questionable.

Robert Levers wrote to President Moore on 10 July from Easton, in which he noted: “*The extent of the frontier of this county [Northampton] on the north side of the Kittochtinny mountain to the upper settlements in Minesink is above one hundred miles and as all last summer & fall as well as this spring there were continual alarms, and real appearances of Indians (tho happily no mischief perpetrated, except one lad killed and scalped this spring not two miles from Capt. Shrawder's post)...*”⁹⁰⁰

. ***The Death Of Jameson And Chapman***
8 July 1782

The Hanover settlement in the present-day county of Luzerne was the scene of another Amerindian attack (in addition to the attack on the Franklin family previously mentioned).

On 8 July 1782 two Jameson boys, John and his younger brother, Benjamin were traveling with another young man, Asa Chapman along the road from the present-day city of Nanticoke to Wilkes-Barre.⁹⁰¹ Charles Miner, in his *History of Wyoming*, claimed that the incident occurred on the 3rd of July.⁹⁰² Miner’s 1845 narrative is close in time to the actual incident. Stewart Pearce’s *Annals of Luzerne County* was written in 1866.

When the three young men arrived in the settlement and were riding opposite to where the German church, named by Miner as the ‘Hanover meeting house,’ would come to stand eight Amerindians fired on them from a place of concealment. Although Miner stated that “*As they came opposite the Hanover meeting house, Jameson exclaimed, ‘there are*

Indians.’” Pearce did not. He simply noted that as soon as the warriors opened fire on the young men, Jameson fell from his horse and was scalped. Miner then stated that as soon as the firing started, John Jameson did not even have time to turn his horse around. He suddenly was hit by three rifle balls and fell dead.

In the meantime, Benjamin Jameson, being at the rear, had time to turn his horse and take off to safety. Asa Chapman, in the middle position, had time to turn his horse, but before he could spur his horse to gallop away, he was struck by the musket fire. The wounded man held on to the saddle as the horse bolted off. Now it should be noted that at the time of the American Revolutionary War the saddles in use by Euro~Americans were the traditional *English* saddles. They did not have a so-called saddle-horn nor even a prominent pommel. Asa Chapman would have had to have grabbed tightly on any piece of leather he could grab as his horse galloped away.

Charles Miner did not state where he was met by Captain John Franklin, but he did note that Captain Franklin tried unsuccessfully to care for his wound. He stated that “*Capt. Franklin cut out the ball, but it had done its office, and he presently expired.*” Pearce stated that his horse carried him into Wilkes-Barre. C. Hale Sipe, on the other hand stated that it was Lieutenant Rosewell Franklin who got the musket ball out of the wound.⁹⁰³

. ***The Attack On Freeman’s Settlement***
14 July 1782

In mid-summer 1782 a party of Seneca warriors led by their sachem, Sayen queraghta and his Seneca clansman, Guyasuta, attacked the village of Hanna’s Town in Westmoreland County. [See pages 238-263.] On the following day, 14 July, the warriors with a large number of captives in tow, arrived at Freeman’s settlement.

Freeman’s settlement was located to the northeast of Hanna’s Town, along the Loyalhanna Creek. The exact location is not identified today, but it possibly was located in present-day Salem Township. It should be noted that the use of the word ‘settlement’ in the name would have referred to the farmstead owned by a family of the surname Freeman. In 1773 the only individual of the surname Freeman who appeared in any tax assessment return for Westmoreland County was Gazzaway Freeman. Gazzaway’s name was recorded in the ‘Single Freeman’ category of the Fairfield Township return.

According to the letter written on 17 July 1782 by Michael Huffnagle to General Irvine: “*Last Sunday morning, the enemy attacked at one Freeman’s upon Loyalhanna, killed his son and took two daughters prisoners.*” The ‘enemy’ noted in Huffnagle’s letter was believed to have been Guyasuta.⁹⁰⁴

Mr. Huffnagle noted that a party of sixty militia went out in search of the attackers of Hannas Town. Although they did not find them, they did find that the Amerindians had killed about one hundred head of cattle and horses, leaving only about six horses alive.

At about the same time of the attack on the Freeman family, an attack was made against settlers at Brush Creek to the west. No settler was harmed, but livestock were killed and some farm buildings were set afire.⁹⁰⁵

. **The Peck Family Massacre**
8 August 1782

Rays Cove is located in present-day East Providence Township in Bedford County. It lies along the west side of Ray's Hill. An incident took place late in the period of the American Revolutionary War within Bedford County. On 8 August 1782, five days short of a full month after the destruction of Hanna's Town, an Amerindian party attacked a family residing quite 'deep' in Bedford County.

On 19 August, Bernard Dougherty, the Lieutenant Colonel of the Third Battalion of the Bedford County Militia wrote a letter to William Moore, President of the Supreme Executive Council for Pennsylvania.⁹⁰⁶

I beg leave to lay before your Excellency and the Honorable Council, the present Situation of the County of Bedford : On the eighth of this Inst. were found killed and scalped about eighteen Miles on this side of the Town of Bedford, and within half a Mile of the great Road one Peck, his wife and two Children, his House burnt, and another who lived there is missing and thought to be taken away; the enemy penetrating so far into the very heart of the Country has struck a general Panick, and the People are mostly fled. On my Coming down I had occasion to pass thro' the settlements of Brush Creek, Tonolowas, Licking Creek and the Big Cove, and most of the People were either gathered at Different places, gone or going away into Maryland, Virginia or Conegocheague, however on my crossing Tuscarora Mountain leading from the Coves to Conegocheague, I met several Families returning into the Coves.

I must likewise inform your Excellency that there are several Stations occupied at present in the County of Bedford, by the Bedford Pennsylvania Company of Rangers, and the Bedford County Militia, to wit Frankston, Heads of Dunnings Creek, Fort Piper, the Town and Environs of Bedford, and along the River Juniatta and some other inconsiderable small parties at other Stations, in all about one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty, that there is not above one week's provisions for their subsistence, and, that it was not possible for me to have got more having not a penny to purchase with, and if there is not a speedy supply to those stations they will of Course be evacuated, and as sure as Frankston, Fort Piper, Dunning's Creek posts or any one of them are evacuated, I am of Opinion Cumberland County will become the Frontier, because these are the most Material stations in the County, and if it is heard once that any of them are deserted the whole of the Country to which they are a frontier

will immediately fly.

The other Frontier Counties are equally distressed by every report that I can hear.

I had almost forgot informing your Excellency that the noted Girty has for some years past threatened the Town of Bedford with destruction, in like manner as he has that of Hannah's Town, he has effected his design on the later, and how soon he may effect a similar Destruction on the former I know not, but I am greatly afraid he has it in Contemplation ; This Information I thought myself under an absolute necessity of giving to your Honorable Board.

As the first paragraph of the letter reveals, the family of 'one Peck' (*i.e.* he, his wife and two children) was massacred, the bodies were scalped and the house was burned down. A fifth member of the household was missing and believed to have been taken captive. The head of the Peck household was George Peck. Blackburn, in his *History of Bedford and Somerset Counties* stated, without source information, that the Peck family moved into Rays Cove about the year 1770.⁹⁰⁷ The earliest that George Peck's name was recorded on any tax assessment return for Bedford County was the year 1774 for Bethel Township. Bethel Township occupied the southern half of the region that would become present-day Fulton County. His name was next recorded as a 'Resident' on the 1779 tax assessment return for Colerain Township, which suggests that the family moved northward between 1775 and 1778. His name was then, in 1781, recorded on the Providence Township return. The following year, his name also appeared on the Providence Township return, but the entry was noted as *George Peck Estate*.

A narrative about the incident was included in the *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania* in which it was claimed that the family were "*English people, ignorant, and, of course, superstitious.*"⁹⁰⁸ They supposedly had been told by their fleeing neighbors that if they made a circular line in the earth around their house, the Indians would not be able to harm them. Apparently they did that, but the result clearly proved it to be ineffective.⁹⁰⁹

George Peck engaged in milling with a tub mill set in the stream now known as Tub Mill Run.⁹¹⁰

The Peck family, consisting of the above mentioned parents and two children, was joined by a Mr. Stam (variously, Stem). No such name appears in any tax assessment return for Bedford County. It might be assumed that the 'fifth' member of the Peck household, who was this Mr. Stam.⁹¹¹

During the forenoon of the 8th of August, the family was attacked by a small band of Amerindians. According to Blackburn's narrative, the warriors "*came up from the direction of Fort Littleton...*". Throughout his small volume, Blackburn basically copied the information presented in the Waterman, Watkins' 1884 history of Bedford County. This incident was one of the few narratives in his book in which Blackburn deviated from Waterman. He not only stated that the Amerindian invaders came 'up' (meaning 'west') from Fort Littleton, but that they came "*crouching and creeping through the thick under*

wood...”⁹¹² In Blackburn’s narrative, the crouching and creeping ‘Indians’ let out a ‘savage warwhoop’ and attacked and scalped the familie. In his narrative, Blackburn stated that Mr. Stam escaped and fled into the woods, but that his dead body was found the next day.

The Peck family massacre was the last recorded Amerindian incursion into Bedford County.

. **Major John Lee’s Family Attacked**
13 August 1782

In 1857, J. F. Meginness published his book *Otzinachson*, subtitled *A History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna* in which he included the attack on the family of Major John Lee.⁹¹³ Despite the fact that Meginness mistakenly identified Lee as Sergeant Lee who had been killed at Fort Ross in October of that same year, his narrative was the only one to describe the incident of the attack on the Lee family.

It was claimed by Meginness that the Amerindians hated John Lee because he had cheated them in a trade. They were just biding their time till they could get their revenge against him. The Lee family resided in Dry Valley, located along the south side of Shamokin Mountain from Buffalo Valley. The Lee family settled in what is a present-day village name Winfield, in Union Township, Union County.

According to Meginness *“Towards the close of a fine summer day, probably in 1781, a party of savages entered the Valley, and proceeded in the direction of his [Lee’s] house. Not*



*far distant from where he resided, they passed an elderly man and woman sleeping in the woods, but so intent were they on surprising Lee, that they did not molest them, for fear of raising an alarm.”*⁹¹⁴

To begin with, Meginness got the year of the incident wrong. And secondly, the entire scenario of an elderly couple sleeping in the woods, which the warriors did not molest for fear of raising an alarm seems to be a contrived means to emphasize that the warriors came towards Lee’s house as stealthily as they could. An elderly man and woman would probably have been easy to kill in their sleep and would probably not have raised much alarm at all.

A party of sixty to seventy Amerindian warriors broke into the Lee house when the family was entertaining some guests.⁹¹⁵ One of those guests, a young woman, Katy Stoner, quickly ran up the stairs and hid behind the chimney. She survived the massacre because the warriors did not discover her hiding place. John Lee’s head was split by a tomahawk and he was immediately scalped. John Walker, an elderly guest, met the same fate. Also

tomahawked in the attack were a lady named Mrs. Claudius Boatman and her daughter. The daughter was struck but did not die from her wound. Lee would not actually die until after their fate was discovered by a search party and he was transported to Fort Augusta. And then at that place, and in great agony, Lee died.

The attack on the Lee house resulted in seven settlers killed and six taken into captivity by the Amerindian warriors.

John Lee's wife, their son Thomas and a smaller child, Eliza, were taken captive. Two daughters, Rebecca and Sarah were also in the group taken captive in the raid.⁹¹⁶ They were led along what Meginness called the *Great Path* northward. The path known by that name alone was located between Pittsburgh and Detroit. Meginness might have meant the *Great Island Path* which stretched between Sunbury and Lock Haven. Meginness stated that they then crossed over the White Deer mountains and came to the river. The Great Island Path does indeed cross over the south end of White Deer *Ridge* south of Williamsport. And after crossing over that ridge and continuing northward the party would have come to the West Branch of the Susquehanna River.

At some point in the push northward, in a wooded area, Mrs. Lee was bit by a rattlesnake. Her leg swelled up and she had great difficulty keeping the pace that the warriors insisted she maintain. When they reached the mouth of Pine Run, the injured woman sat down on the ground and refused to continue farther. One of the warriors, bearing a musket, came up behind her, positioned the muzzle of his gun at her head and fired. The resulting explosion tore the top of her skull off. Another warrior grabbed up the young child she had been leading and 'dashed' it against a tree. Not waiting any longer, the party quickly continued on their way just ahead of the search party. They crossed over the river and proceeded up through the valley called the Nippenose Bottom.

Robert Lee, another of John's sons, arrived home after the attack. And seeing the devastation but not his mother and siblings, he realized that they must have been taken captive. He hurried to the village of Northumberland where the North Branch empties into the West Branch of the Susquehanna River. The young man was able to convince Colonel Hunter at Fort Augusta to gather a party of about twenty men to go in search of the Amerindian attackers. The search party first went to the Lee house and assessed the situation there. Then they quickly headed off for the warriors and their captives. When they were above Lycoming Creek, they caught sight of the Amerindian party.

Colonel Hunter continued on and they came upon the body of Mrs. Lee with her brains lying close by. In the same manner that the death of Henry Craton during the Battle of Bald Eagle Creek was described, the spilled contents of Mrs. Lee's skull was described in Meginness's narrative: "*When Colonel Hunter and his men came up to where the body of Mrs. Lee laid, it was yet warm, and the brains were smoking!*" The child was not dead despite the ordeal it had experienced.⁹¹⁷

The search party led by Colonel Hunter crossed the river and continued on up through the Bottom. They went as far as Antes Gap before deciding to give up the chase. They would have had to have made their way through a swampy region and they feared they would be ambushed more easily so they turned back. When they got back to the spot where it lay, they buried Mrs. Lee's body. Then they continued on to the Lee farmstead where they buried the individuals who had fallen there.

The boy, Thomas Lee, was held by the Amerindians until 1788. In that year, John arranged for the release of his brother and Thomas was delivered to John and his friends at Tioga Point. The boy had grown so fond of the Amerindian way of life that his brother and friends had to restrain him by tying him up to make the trip home. They got to Wilkes-Barre and as soon as the canoe in which they were riding came ashore, the boy jumped out and ran off. He was soon recaptured and eventually returned to the ways of the Euro~Americans.

. ***The Attack On The Dillows
Summer 1782***

Hanover Township occupies the northwest corner of Washington County. In 1782 the region was part of Smith Township. The courses of Harman’s Creek and Raccoon Creek were used as parts of the boundary of Hanover Township when it was separated in 1786.

Before 1780, a man by the name of Michael Dillow made a settlement along a tributary of Raccoon Creek and gave it the name of Dillow’s Creek.⁹¹⁸ The stream would later be known as Fort Dillow’s Run. The region was in the region disputed between Pennsylvania and Virginia. Under Virginia, the land fell under the jurisdiction of Monongalia County in the District of West Augusta. And it was from Virginia that Michael Dillow obtained his tract of land.

By 1782 a man by the name of Matthew Dillow was residing on the property. C. Hale Sipe must have assumed that Michael and Matthew were the same man because he noted: “*Matthew (Michael) Dillow and his son, John...*”⁹¹⁹ The name ‘Matthew’ was never a substitute for the name ‘Michael.’ It is possible, though, that the man who settled along the tributary of Raccoon Creek had Matthew as his given name and Michael as a middle name; in other words, Matthew Michael Dillow. Boyd Crumrine, in writing his *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania* gave the name of ‘Michael’ in one spot. It is possible that Crumrine simply made an error and mis-typed ‘Michael’ in that one spot when he meant to type ‘Matthew’.⁹²⁰

The narrative as presented by George D. Albert stated that Matthew Dillow and his son, John were working in a field near the homestead in the summer of 1782. A party of Amerindians attacked the two, killing the father and taking the son captive. They secreted the father’s body behind the log of a fallen tree. They then started off with their young prisoner in tow. After being kept captive for a while by the Amerindians, John was released and made his way back to his home on Dillow Creek.

Friends of the Dillow family gathered upon John’s return and questioned him about his father. They had never found a body and therefore must have assumed that he too was kept captive by the Amerindians. John recounted his story, telling of his father’s body being secreted behind the fallen tree. They searched and indeed found Mathew Dillow’s bones behind the log. The man’s remains were buried near the fort.⁹²¹

John Dillow eventually built himself a cabin on land homesteaded by his father.

. ***The Capture Of The Walker Children***
September 1782

Gabriel Walker’s cabin was located in the present-day Collier Township in Allegheny County near Robinson’s Run. It was in the vicinity of where the present-day borough of Carnegie stands. The Walker family consisted of the parents and seven children, one of them an infant.

A party of about twenty-five Amerindian warriors made their way through the region and determined to attack the Walker cabin on a September morning.⁹²² Some neighboring settlers had come to visit the Walkers around the same time, so the warriors waited till they left before making their attack. The visitors left and five of the children went out into the field to work. An apprentice boy, William Harkins, joined them. The warriors launched their attack and took the five Walker children captive. Two miles away stood the fortified house of James Ewing, variously called the Ewing Blockhouse. The Amerindians attempted to capture the Harkins boy, but he outran them and headed for the Ewing Blockhouse.

William Harkins arrived at the blockhouse and reported the incident. Arriving at the fortified structure at about the same time were both Gabriel Walker and his wife. The mother, carrying her infant and taking another young child in hand, she had hid in the high weeds behind the house and then made her way to the blockhouse. The family of Isaac Walker had been warned by Harkins as he passed their house, and they too were able to flee to the safety of Ewing’s Blockhouse.

The Amerindians, after setting fire to the Walker house, set out to make an assault on Ewing’s Blockhouse. They were stopped by the arrival of a party of militia under Captain Joseph Casnet from the Miller’s Run area. The raiders’ response was to kill two of the Walker sons, aged eight and twelve in view of the blockhouse and their parents. They then headed off with the Walkers’ other son and two daughters in tow. They headed into the Ohio Valley. When they crossed the Ohio River near Logstown, a search party comprised of fifty settlers caught up with them. In the fray that followed, one of the warriors was killed and another injured.

When the American Revolutionary War ended, the three Walker children were released and they returned to their home in southwest Pennsylvania.

. ***Women Carried Into Captivity***
Autumn 1782

Throughout the Pennsylvania frontier during the autumn of 1782, Amerindians made incursions and took a number of women captive.

Wolf’s Fort, the fortified homestead of Jacob Wolf, stood in the present-day Buffalo Township, Washington County about five miles west of the village of Washington. It is best known for an incident that occurred, as C. Hale Sipe noted “*probably in 1782.*”⁹²³ A lady by the name of Priscilla Peak (variously, Peck) was sick. Having a fever, she was confined to her bed. A party of Amerindians attacked the Peak home and in the melee that followed Priscilla was encouraged to try to escape. A family member threw a quilt around her and

helped her get out of the house. In her weakened state, the lady reached a pig-sty where she paused to catch her breath. One of the warriors caught up with her and as she stopped, he grabbed her by the hair and scalped her ~ alive. Priscilla made her way to Wolf's Fort and she got the care she needed to recover from her illness. Her head also healed but hair never grew on the spot. Ever after the woman wore a black cap.

At another time, two residents of Washington County, a Miss Christianna Clemmens and Lydia Boggs, found safety at Wolf's Fort.⁹²⁴ Lydia Boggs was the daughter of Francis Boggs, a settler about one mile northwest of Taylortown in present-day Buffalo Township. During an Amerindian attack, the two women outran their attackers and reached the safety of Wolf's Fort. At a later time Lydia was taken captive and conveyed across the Ohio River into the Ohio Valley. Somehow she escaped from her captors and returned to her home in the western frontier of Pennsylvania. She rode her horse into the raging waters of the Ohio River to cross it.⁹²⁵

C. Hale Sipe recounted the attack on and capture of two other young ladies, residents of Huntingdon County. He gave their names as Miss McCormick and Catherine Ewing.⁹²⁶ The girl's name was given as Katherine in the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*.⁹²⁷ U. J. Jones gave the Ewing girl's name as Elizabeth.⁹²⁸ Miss McCormick was probably the daughter of Robert McCormick, who fortified his house no doubt by constructing a defensive stockade wall around it. The McCormick and Ewing girls were attacked between Shavers Creek and Stone Valley, according to U. J. Jones. C. Hale Sipe stated that it was near McCormick's Fort and not far from Neff's Mills, about ten miles northeast of the village of Alexandria. Mr. Huston Ewing, the nephew of Katherine Ewing related the incident as told to him by his aunt, that the attack on the two girls took place on the Ewing farm adjacent to the fortified McCormick property.

On 23 June 1845, William Ewing, a brother of Miss Ewing and then at the age of eighty years, related a narrative of his sister's capture to Judge Joseph Adams, a collector of tales of local history. William Ewing stated that the attack on his sister occurred on 14 October 1781. It is possible that after sixty-three years and he being only seventeen years of age at the time, Mr. Ewing simply got the year wrong. In any case, he stated:⁹²⁹

The Indians took my sister a prisoner and a daughter of Mr. McCormick and attacked my brother Alexander on the road near our house by three Indians. Two of whom shot at him and wounded him in his thigh and raised the war whoop and shouted as if a dozen or more were present and chased him into our lane and two more shot at him but missed him. My brother James ran out with his gun when we heard the first shots and saw the Indians chasing his brother, but did not think of shooting until the Indians were gone. My brother Alexander was wounded through the front part of the thigh in front of the groin, which was healed in a few weeks.

Huston Ewing told his narrative as related to him by his aunt, Katherine, that she was taken to Montreal and held there for a short time before an exchange of prisoners was

effected.⁹³⁰ From Canada, she was taken to Philadelphia. From there she made her way westward to her home. In regard to the fact that Miss Ewing was ‘carried’ to Montreal by her Amerindian captors we can conclude that those captors were Seneca warriors from the Genessee Valley working, no doubt, under the direction of the British at Fort Niagara.

Miss McCormick’s adventures were not as well known as Miss Ewing’s. All that was known about her fate was that as soon as her father became aware that the two girls had been taken, he set out in search of his daughter. According to the information presented in the *Frontier Forts* volume, “*He immediately started after her on horseback and after a long and weary journey, by paying a heavy ransom secured her. He found her in an Indian family where she was treated as one of them...Miss McCormick was given to an old Indian woman who happened to take a fancy to her, and wandered about until found by her father.*”⁹³¹ The implication is that Mr. McCormick did not find his daughter in just a few days. For her to have been treated ‘as one of them’, she would have had to have spent more than just a few days in their presence. U. J. Jones fills in the empty space with the statement that: “*They then travelled for seven days, through sleet, rain, and snow, until they reached the lake, where Miss McCormick was given as a present to an old Indian woman who happened to take a fancy to her.*”⁹³²

. ***The Attack On Rice’s Blockhouse***
13 September 1782

Rice’s Blockhouse was located on the ‘Dutch Fork’ of Buffalo Creek roughly twelve miles east of where it empties into the Ohio River. In the autumn of 1782, Rice’s Blockhouse became the object of a British-led Amerindian attack.⁹³³ The attack was initially against Fort Henry located on the site of the present-day city of Wheeling, West Virginia.

Captain Pratt led a force of forty or fifty British soldiers from Butler’s Rangers out of Fort Detroit and enlisted the assistance of between two and three hundred warriors from the local Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee and Wyandot tribes led by George Girty, the brother of Simon.

On the 11th of September the attackers laid siege to Fort Henry and kept up a barrage against a force of perhaps forty local settlers under the command of Colonel David Shephard. The siege lasted until the 13th. Despite the fact that the settlers defending the fort were running out of ammunition, they were relieved by a force of seventy militia under Captain John Boggs.

The siege of Fort Henry was described in a letter written on 17 September by Ebenezer Zane to General Irvine:⁹³⁴

On the evening of the 11th instant, a body of the enemy appeared in sight of our garrison. They immediately formed their lines round the garrison, paraded British colors, and demanded the fort to be surrendered, which was refused.
About twelve o'clock at night, they rushed hard on the pickets in order to storm, but were repulsed. They made two other

attempts to storm before day, but to no purpose. About 8 o'clock next morning, there came a negro from them to us and informed us that their force consisted of a British captain and forty regular soldiers and two hundred and sixty Indians. The enemy kept a continual fire the whole day. About ten o'clock at night, they made a fourth attempt to storm to no better purpose than the former. The enemy continued around the garrison until the morning of the 13th instant, when they disappeared. Our loss is none. Daniel Sullivan, who arrived here in the first of the action, is wounded in the foot.

I believe they have driven the greatest part of our stock away, and might, I think, be soon overtaken.

According to the Washington County historian, Alfred Creigh, “*The Indians, being defeated at Wheeling, resolved to strike a severe blow in the country, and hence about one hundred warriors marched to Rice's Fort...*”⁹³⁵

The Reverend Joseph Doddridge’s narrative of the event, published in 1870, stated that after their failure to take Fort Henry, the Amerindians held a council to decide their next course of action.⁹³⁶ He also stated that two ‘white’ men had lived for many years with the Amerindians who attacked Fort Henry and that they deserted from their warrior brethren after those warriors held the council. Apparently one of the ‘deserters’ told local settlers of the plan to attack somewhere else in the Pennsylvania frontier region.

The source of Doddridge’s narrative was, no doubt, a letter from the County Lieutenant of Washington County to General William Irvine. On 15 September, James Marshel, the County Lieutenant of Washington County referred to the two ‘deserters’ when he wrote to General Irvine:⁹³⁷

You may depend upon it as matter of fact that a large party of Indians are now in our country. Last night I saw two prisoners [deserters from the enemy] who made their escape from Wheeling in time of the action, and they say the enemy consists of two hundred and thirty-eight Indians and forty rangers, the latter commanded by a British officer; that they attacked Wheeling fort on Wednesday night and continued the attack until Thursday night, at which time the above deserters left them. That fort, they say, was the principal object of the enemy; but it appears both from their account and the enemy's advancing into the country that they have despaired of taking it. The deserters say that shortly before they left the enemy, that they had determined to give up the matter at Wheeling, and either scatter into small parties in order to distress and plunder the inhabitants, or attack the first small fort they could come at. The latter, I am this moment informed, is actually the case; that they have attacked

one Rice's blockhouse, on what is called the Dutch fork of Buffalo, and it's to be feared it will fall into their hands...

From settlers in the town of Washington, Jacob Miller, a resident of the vicinity of Rice's Blockhouse, heard the tale. He immediately set off eastward to his home where he spread the alarm.

Boyd Crumrine, in his 1882 *History of Washington County, Pennsylvania*, stated that "The fact that the Indians were advancing eastward from Wheeling was known at Rice's fort about half an hour before the savages made their appearance, the intelligence having been brought by Jacob Miller, who learned the news at the house of Dr. Moore, near Catfish, and rode with all possible speed to notify the people at the threatened point, and to take part in the defense."⁹³⁸ Arriving at Rice's Blockhouse, Miller found it garrisoned by five local settlers: George Felebaum, Peter Fullenweider, George Lefler, Jacob Lefler, Jr., and Daniel Rice. Since there had not been any incursions in the region for quite some time, the settlers had become a little relaxed. A number of the other men of the region had left for Hagerstown to make some trades, leaving only the five mentioned to keep guard.

The attack by the Amerindians was described in the earliest narrative of the incident, written by Alexander S. Withers in 1831:⁹³⁹

The place against which the savages directed their operations, was situated on Buffaloe creek, twelve or fifteen miles from its entrance into the Ohio, and was known as Rice's fort. Until Miller's return, there were in it only five men; the others having gone to Hagerstown to exchange their peltries for salt, iron and ammunition. They immediately set about making preparations to withstand an assault; and in a little while, seeing the savages approaching from every direction, forsook the cabins and repaired to the blockhouse. The Indians perceived that they were discovered, and thinking to take the station by storm, shouted forth the war whoop and rushed to the assault. They were answered by the fire of the six brave and skilful riflemen in the house, and forced to take refuge behind trees and fallen timber. Still they continued the firing; occasionally calling on the whites to "give up, give up. Indian too many. Indian too big. Give up. Indian no kill." The men had more faith in the efficacy of their guns to purchase their safety, than in the proffered mercy of the savages; and instead of complying with their demand, called on them, "as cowards skulking behind logs to leave their coverts, and shew but their yellow hides," and they would make holes in them.

The firing was kept up by the savages from their protected situation, until night, and whenever even a remote prospect of galling them was presented to the whites they did not fail to avail

themselves of it. The Indian shots in the evening, were directed principally against the stock as it came up as usual to the station, and the field was strewed with its dead carcasses. About ten o'clock of the night they fired a large barn (thirty or forty yards from the blockhouse) filled with grain and hay, and the flames from which seemed for awhile to endanger the fort; but being situated on higher ground, and the current of air flowing in a contrary direction, it escaped conflagration. Collecting on the side of the fort opposite to the fire, the Indians took advantage of the light it afforded them to renew the attack; and kept it up until about two o'clock, when they departed. Their ascertained loss was four warriors, ~ three of whom were killed by the first firing of the whites, ~ the other about sundown. George Folebaum was the only white who suffered. Early in the attack, he was shot in the forehead, through a port-hole, and instantly expired; leaving Jacob Miller, George Lefflor, Peter Fullenwieder, Daniel Rice and Jacob Leffler, junior, sole defenders of the fort; and bravely and effectually did they preserve it, from the furious assaults of one hundred chosen savage warriors.

Soon after the Indians left Rice's fort, they moved across the hills in different directions and in detached parties. One of these observing four men proceeding towards the fort which they had lately left, waylaid the path and killed two of them on the first fire. The remaining two fled hastily; and one of them swift of foot, soon made his escape. The other, closely pursued by one of the savages, and in danger of being overtaken, wheeled to fire. His gun snapped, and he again took to flight. Yet more closely pressed by his pursuer, he once more attempted to shoot. Again his gun snapped, and the savage being now near enough, hurled a tomahawk at his head. It missed its object, and both strained every nerve for the chase. The Indian gained rapidly upon him and reaching forth his arm, caught hold of the end of his belt. It had been tied in a bow-knot, and came loose. ~ Sensible that the race must soon terminate to his disadvantage unless he could kill his pursuer, the white man once more tried his gun. It fired; and the savage fell dead at his feet.

On Saturday, 14 September 1782, the force of about one hundred Amerindian attackers fired upon the blockhouse but to no avail. They continued their siege until two o'clock the following morning. While sustaining the loss of four warriors, their only success was the death of one settler defender, George Felebaum. They killed many more cattle than people. They did succeed in causing destruction by setting fire to the large barn situated thirty to forty yards away from the blockhouse.

It might be recalled that Washington County Lieutenant Marshal wrote to General Irvine [shown here] on the morning of the 15th to alert the garrison at Fort Pitt of the invasion. That



same day, General Irvine wrote back questioning whether he should or should not send troops out.⁹⁴⁰ In his letter in response to Lieutenant Marshal, the General stated: “*I received your favor of this date, and am under some difficulty to determine what is best to be done. I am prepared for marching to any point at a moment’s warning. If the enemy should advance in force into the country, the repelling them will, beyond a doubt, become clearly a duty; but, on the other hand, if I do not go to the general rendezvous at the time appointed, every body who may assemble there and not find me, will immediately disperse; and if I should order the rendezvous to be postponed but one day, they will not obey a second*

summons in any time. Upon the whole, either the expedition must be given up entirely, and make an object of these rascals altogether, or we must keep going on with the expedition, at least, till the matter can be clearly ascertained whether the enemy are advancing or retreating...”

Abraham Rice, the owner of Rice’s Blockhouse, experienced his own adventure on 14 September 1782.⁹⁴¹ He had set out for Lamb’s Fort, about four miles away, to convince some of the settlers there to follow him back. As soon as Jacob Miller had arrived with the news that a large party of warriors were advancing eastward, Abraham Rice had headed off for reinforcements. Before he had gone very far he could hear the Amerindian assault on his blockhouse. Apparently he doubted that he would be able to help his own neighbors and friends if he continued on to Lamb’s Fort, he turned to head back. He shouldn’t have. He was discovered by a party of Amerindians who wounded him by musket shots. Although badly injured, Rice made it to the safety of Lamb’s Fort.

After his wounds had been cleaned and dressed, Abraham Rice led twelve men back to his own fortification. They approached the blockhouse late in the evening but still were able to discern the large party of warriors attacking it. Ten of the reinforcements deserted Rice, leaving only two men to assist him. As the three drew nearer, an Amerindian warrior noticed them and gave an alarm to the rest of the tired and weary attackers. Crumrine, in his narrative surmised that perhaps the warriors thought that a much larger force was coming as reinforcements to the five settlers defending the blockhouse. Shouts went back and forth among the warriors, apparently calls to retreat, because they soon left off the siege and retreated westward into the forests.

When Sunday the 15th dawned, a group of nearly sixty settlers gathered at Rice’s blockhouse and then set out in pursuit of the Amerindians. They searched for two or three miles but found none of the warriors. The search was halted. It should be added that as they

headed back to their homes in the Ohio Valley, a small party of the Amerindians came upon four settlers. They fired at each other and two of the settlers fell dead while one of the warriors was killed.

The attack on Rice's Blockhouse has been heralded as the last incursion into the western frontier of Pennsylvania by a large party of Amerindians. Since it was a secondary part of the original attack on Fort Henry, Virginia, it could also be considered to have been the last British-led Amerindian attack into the Pennsylvania Frontier.

. ***Incursions Into Northumberland
County At The End Of 1782***

On 26 October 1782, Colonel Samuel Hunter, the Lieutenant of Northumberland County, wrote a letter to James Potter, the Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council between November 1781 and November 1782. In that letter, Hunter recounted a number of Amerindian attacks which took place in Northumberland County during the month of October.⁹⁴²

I am sorry to Inform you that the Savages still continue their cruel Hostilities against the Inhabitants of this County. The 8th Inst. the Enemy Wounded one man at Wyoming, And took Another Prisoner, the 14th they Killed and scalped an old Couple on Chilisque, (the name of Martin) about one mile and a half from Col. James Murray's, and took three young Women Prisoners, being all the family that was in the House. This old Couple being Man And Wife, I saw Laying Killed and scalped, And was one that Helped to Bury them. The 24th Inst. They Killed and scalped Serj. Edward Lee of Captain Robison's Company, and took one Rob^t Caruthers Prisoner, about two miles from Fort Rice. Captain Robison with a party of his Company sett off in Pursuit of the Enemy and I hope May come up with them.

This is the way we are served by these Perfidious Enemy after all the Assurances that his Excellency, General Washington, Rec^d of the British permitting no more partys of the Savages to be sent out Against the Frontiers. It appears very Like a scheme of General Carleton to put a stop to our Expedition, Which I wish had gone on, As it Certainly would put a stop to the Enemy from Committing Any Hostilities this Fall on the Frontiers. Those Last Murders deter the Inhabitants much from going back to their places till the Winter setts in, As they can have no Confidence in any Intelligence of the British that a stop will be put to the savages this fall from Committing their Usual Barbaritys, And further as The Militia that was serving their Tower of Duty in this

County, from Berks, their times are Expired, and the Company of Militia from Cumberland County and the Chief of Robison's Six Month's Men will be free some time Next Month, so that there will be but about forty of Captain Robison's Men to do Duty, And Let them be ever so Alert it cannot be Expected that Numbers could give Confidence to the poor People in Going back to their Places, As Martin's family that Were Killed and Taken had only gone back to their Own place a few Days before this happened them.

I expect the Orders I Rec^d from Council the 27th Ult., will Not be binding upon Me in Regard of our Militia. I think the Inhabitants of Wyoming a Little Premature in Petitioning his Excellency, General Washington to Remove the Troops from there, but I am Certain they have some Scheme in it, as the tryal is soon to come on between Connecticut and this State they want no Troops there. As for further Inteligence I Refer you to the Bearer, Col. William Cook.

The attacks detailed in Samuel Hunter's letter started out with one man being wounded at Wyoming on 8 October. His name was not revealed by any of the historians of the region. At the same time another man was taken captive. His name is not known either.

The second attack was made on the 14th. Hunter's description was that: "*the 14th they Killed and scalped an old Couple on Chilisque, (the name of Martin) about one mile and a half from Col. James Murray's,*" J. F. Meginness stated that the home in the Chilisque settlement that was attacked was that of John Martin. According to Meginness's narrative, John Martin and his wife were "*barbarously murdered*" by "*a small body of savages.*"⁹⁴³ Meginness also noted that two young women and a little, seven year old girl were carried off. In their case, Colonel Hunter supplied information to identify them. He noted that the attackers "*took three young Women Prisoners, being all the family that was in the House.*" Apparently the three captives were members of the John Martin family.

On 28 October, Samuel Hunter was deposed by Jonathan Buyers. In the deposition, Hunter stated that he was "*present and see the Corps of John Martin and his wife who was killed and scalped by the savages on the Frontiers of Sd. County the 14th of October 1782 and that there was three young Women taken prisoners the same Day which there is no act. Of as yet and further sayeth not.*"⁹⁴⁴ Three days later Captain Thomas Robinson wrote to Vice-President James Potter to inform him about the 'three young Women'.⁹⁴⁵ The one was a girl seven years of age and the other two were described simply as young women.

The third attack came on the 24th when two men, sent out from Fort Rice on a spy mission, were ambushed. In the fight that followed, one of the men, named Edward Lee, was killed and the other, named Robert Caruthers, was taken captive. As noticed in Colonel Hunter's letter, "*The 24th Inst. They Killed and scalped Serj. Edward Lee of Captain Robison's Company, and took one Rob^t Caruthers Prisoner, about two miles from Fort Rice.*" Captain Robinson's letter noted that the party of Amerindians that ambushed Lee and Caruthers possibly numbered eleven.

Although not mentioned by Colonel Samuel Hunter in his letter to Vice-President Potter, another incident took place in Northumberland County during October 1782.⁹⁴⁶ Near where the present-day town of New Berlin stands, a family by the name of Klinesmith was attacked. Mr. Klinesmith and his sons were working in the fields at the time. The Amerindians carried off Betsey, a sixteen year old daughter and a fourteen year old daughter. With the girls along with the plunder from the house, they headed toward the north. Reaching a spring they paused. Leaving the two girls with an older warrior, the rest of the attackers headed back to find the Klinesmith men. Apparently they desired some scalps to carry as trophies.

After the younger warriors had left, Betsey motioned to the older warrior that she wanted to gather some branches to cover a bag of flour that had been plundered from the Klinesmith house. Little fearing that a young girl would have the nerve to cause any trouble for him, the warrior allowed her to take a tomahawk to cut some branches. Sitting at the foot of a tree, the old warrior lit his pipe and took his immediate attention off of Betsey. Pretending to be simply cutting branches, Betsey got into position behind the old man. Before he knew what was coming, Betsey had sunk the tomahawk into his skull.

The younger warriors found Mr. Klinesmith and his sons along with some other neighbors working in the field and figured they were too numerous to attack. They were returning to the spring when they heard the old warrior yell out in agony. The girls fled just as the younger warriors appeared in sight and a chase ensued. The younger girl was hit by a musket ball. It entered her shoulder and exited through her breast. The strike dropped her and she fell next to a log, under which she was able to roll enough not to be noticed. The warriors jumped over her as they leaped over the log and missed her. Betsey, in the meantime, was a swift runner and she led the warriors on a long run. In a bit of luck, her father and the men working in the field heard the fracas and came to the rescue.



. ***Nearing The End Of The Atrocities***

“The winter of 1782-83 was spent in comparative quiet by the settlements, the Indians being convinced by this time that the cause of the British, who had instigated and supported them, was hopelessly lost.”⁹⁴⁷ The statement in the 1889 *History of Allegheny County Pennsylvania* revealed the general disposition of the frontiers after news of the British defeat at Yorktown spread throughout the colonies. That statement also reveals that earlier historians knew that the Amerindian incursions and depredations along the Pennsylvania frontier were orchestrated ~ or as here stated, *instigated* by the British. One wonders why historians later forgot that important detail. Perhaps it was not so much forgotten as suppressed. Historians of the mid to late Nineteenth Century were only interested in the New England and Southern theatres of the War; they did not want to waste much energy and attention to anything that happened on the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier and the Ohio Valley. Over time, all of the incidents which had been perpetrated by the Amerindians would be grouped together and dismissed simply as ‘the Indian wars’.

One of the factors that contributed to fewer Amerindian raids, as the year 1783 dawned, was the imminent cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the Colonies. There was no justification for Governor Haldimand to continue the harassment of the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia as peace talks were being conducted. And if the British were not heading out, picking up Seneca warriors enroute to raid, those Seneca warriors may not have been motivated to raid on their own. Their participation in the raids, as noted in the excerpt quoted above, tended to be instigated by the British.

Another of the factors that might have contributed to the lessening of Amerindian incursions by 1783 might have been the general acceptance of the response to the alarm of invaders. The unrelenting alarms experienced by the frontier families, over the past seven years, that an incursion was impending or actually happening might have forced them (if even unknowingly) to become better prepared.

According to Joseph Doddridge, in his *Notes on the Settlement and Indian Wars*, his, and every other frontier family, like the proverbial ‘well oiled machine,’ sprang into action at the notice of an incursion. That action was well rehearsed because of the number of times it had to be done.⁹⁴⁸

...I well remember that, when a little boy, the family were sometimes waked up in the dead of night by an express with a report that the Indians were at hand. The express came softly to the door, or back window, and by a gentle tapping waked the family. This was easily done, as an habitual fear made us ever watchful and sensible to the slightest alarm. The whole family were instantly in motion. My father seized his gun and other implements of war. My stepmother waked up and dressed the children as well as she could, and being myself the oldest of the children I had to take my share of the burdens to be carried to the fort. There was no possibility of getting a horse in the night to aid us in removing to the fort. Besides the little children, we caught up what articles of clothing and provision we could get hold of in the dark, for we durst not light a candle or even stir the fire. All this was done with the utmost dispatch and the silence of death. The greatest care was taken not to awaken the youngest child. To the rest it was enough to say Indian and not a whimper was heard afterwards. Thus it often happened that the whole number of families belonging to a fort who were in the evening at their homes were all in their little fortress before the dawn of the next morning. In the course of the succeeding day their household furniture was brought in by parties of the men under arms.

Following the defeat at Yorktown, the British curtailed their campaigns on the North American continent. That included their ‘campaign’ to keep the frontiers in disruption. The reduced British involvement in attacks on the settlements of the frontier lessened, but did not completely eradicate, the Amerindians’ hunger for aggression against the Euro-American settlers. Even without British instigation, the counties of Washington and Westmoreland experienced a few Amerindian incursions during the spring of 1783.

On 29 March 1783, Lieutenant Jonathan Cummings wrote to John Dickinson, President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.⁹⁴⁹

I had the honour of receiving your Excellency's Instructions of the 11th of December last in pursuance of which I inclose a Return of the state of the Company for this Present Month. I have not had it in my Power to send any Earlier. I could wish to have had your Excellency's Instructions in what manner to have made these Reports, as I may perhaps be deficient in matter of form. That part of the Company which is now present were on furlow the Months of January and February last on account of the scarcity of Provisions, &c. The Savages had already began their

cruel Incursions on the Frontiers ; last Week they killed two and took two prisoners about ten Miles from this Place near Brushy Run. I could not learn what number there was of the Enemy. I only hear of four that were discovered. They were so bold as to Endeavour to break open the House, but were bravely repulsed by one Man and one Woman who were within, but without any arms or weapons of Defence. One of the Indians attempted to push his Gun in at the Door, which those on the inside of the Room seized and broke, upon which the Indians left them. The Inhabitants of the Frontiers seem more discouraged this Spring than they have been, having flattered themselves with the most sanguine hopes of peace, which hopes they now think are Frustrated.

Lieutenant Cummings' letter referred to the murder of James Davis and his son when it mentioned "*last Week they killed two...*". Edgar W. Hassler, in his book, *Old Westmoreland*, stated that "*Four Indians appeared at a clearing in the valley of Brush creek, killed James Davis and his son in a field, took two other men captive and tried to break into the cabin, which was defended by a woman and an old man.*"⁹⁵⁰

Colonel William Parker wrote to President Dickinson on the 5th of April from Washington County. He stated that "*The expectation of Peace gave the Inhabitants of the Western Frontiers hopes of being eased of the calamities of war, at least for some time;...*"⁹⁵¹ But he followed that statement with the statement that "*it is our great mortification the savages have began anew their depredations.*" Parker informed Dickinson that on the 27th of March, raiders had taken a Mrs. Walker and her son captive. The two were able to escape and Mrs. Walker stated that there were two separate parties of Amerindians invading the region. Parker concluded his letter by itemizing five incidents that had also contributed to making the settlements uneasy: "*Two days after [29 March] there were two men taken prisoners at Weeling—the day following, a man was wounded on Short Creek. The 1st of April they took the Wison Boice and Family consisting of eight persons, and a Man was killed the day following, near Washington County, Court house. Same time two Indian Rafts were seen on the Ohio, between Weeling and Grave Creek.*"

Edgar W. Hassler, in his *Old Westmoreland*, cited the letter from Parker to Dickinson to note that in the incident in which Mrs. Walker was taken captive with her son, they were just two of a dozen who were taken captive within a mile of the Washington County seat on Chartiers Creek. In that incident, according to Hassler, one man was killed. After Mrs. Walker and her son effected their escape, the rest of the captives were carried to the Shawnee towns on the headwaters of the Big Miami River.⁹⁵²

A letter from Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Bayard, commanding at Fort Pitt, to General William Irvine dated 5 April commented on a few of the incidents noted above among others. The last sentence expresses the surprise felt by so many settlers on the frontier when word of the British capitulation was spread.⁹⁵³

About ten days ago I received an express from Waltour's giving me an account of the Indians killing James Davis [and] his son, and taking two prisoners about half a mile from that fort. The 31st of March, Mr. Zane writes by express that one man was found killed and scalped and another taken prisoner at Wheat's Narrows on Wheeling creek. An express came to me last night from Col. Shepherd giving an account of six persons being killed, six wounded and five made prisoners within seven miles of Catfish. This moment I was informed by a man from the widow Myres' that one Thomas Lyon who lived about four miles from her house was yesterday killed and scalped. The certainty of Indians being about, killing and taking prisoners, is now beyond doubt, and has induced me to send this express. I should have done it before, but could not altogether rely on the accounts given me. I dare say the account will to you be unexpected, as it really was to me, and seems so to the country people, who can scarcely believe it yet, having heard so much of a peace and Indians being called in.

The end to the period of incursions came on 6 July 1783 as a result of the 'peace mission of Ephraim Douglass.' The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, on 4 April, requested that the delegates assembled in Congress commit to sending an envoy to the Indian nations to inform them of the settlement of the War. Dickinson's letter stated:⁹⁵⁴

The particular Circumstances of this state render an attention to Indian affairs indispensably necessary; and as the present time seems in several Respects favorable, for obtaining a final and advantageous settlement of all Differences, We earnestly desire that you will use your utmost Exertions in Congress, to prevail on that Honorable Body to adopt without Loss of Time the most effectual measures, for making Peace with all the Indian nations.

Receiving no response from Congress to that letter, Dickinson sent another on the 29th of March:⁹⁵⁵

Council wrote to you some time ago, desiring that you would endeavour to have the most effectual measures speedily adopted by Congress for making Peace with the Indian nations. Having lately received advices that about forty Inhabitants of this State have been killed and taken by them, & having good Reason to be assured, that these Hostilities will be continued along the Frontiers, we think it our Duty earnestly to repeat our Request.

Perhaps the United States might appear more respectable to those nations at a Treaty to be held with them after the Delivery of Niagara & Detroit tolls by the British; but, in the meantime, we hope such steps may be taken, as may be the means of saving many lives, and preventing great Calamities. We wish Congress would be pleased to consider, whether it might not have a good effect upon the Indians, to inform them by authority, that Peace has been made with Great Britain, the articles of which are now carrying into Execution; that the Back Country with all the Forts is thereby ceded to us; that they must now depend upon us for their Preservation and, that unless they immediately cease from their outrages, & remain quiet till we can hold a Treaty with them at Niagara or Detroit, we will instantly turn upon them our armies that have conquered the king of Great Britain, and now have us other Enemies to employ their Valour, and extirpate them from the Land where they were born and now live: But, that if they behave as they ought to do, they shall be treated not only justly, but friendly. Such Intelligence as this with the advance of a proper Reinforcement to Genl. Irvine at Pittsburg, & the Exertions of the Troops under his Command, might put a stop to the cruelties of the savages, or at least prevent their becoming more extensive.

After deliberation on Dickinson's letters, the delegates assembled in Congress approved the following Resolution and issued it on 1 May 1783:⁹⁵⁶

Resolved, That the Sec'y at War, take the most effectual measures to inform the several Indian Nations, on the frontiers of the United States, that Preliminary articles of peace have been agreed on and Hostilitys have ceased with Great Britain, and to communicate to them that the forts within the United States and in possession of the British troops will speedily be evacuated, intimating also that the United States are disposed to enter into friendly treatys with the different tribes and to inform the hostile Indian nations, that unless they Immed^y cease all hostilitys, against the Citizens of these states and accept of these friendly proffers of peace. Congress will take the most decided measures to compel them thereto.

Ordered, That the Sec^y at Warr, transmit the proceedings of Congress herein with copys of President Dickinson & Gen^l Irwine's letter to the Comm^r in Chief & the Comm^{rs} for Indian affairs in the Northern departm^t.

. ***The End Of The Atrocities***

Major Ephraim Douglass was commissioned to undertake the mission. He left Fort Pitt on 7 June with the intention to meet with Captain Pipe, the chief sachem of the Delaware at their principal village on the Sandusky River. With Douglass went Captain George McCully and a servant. The three men would later be joined by others enroute. Captain McCully kept a journal.⁹⁵⁷



The small group, with their packs and baggage on their backs while they rode on horses, crossed over the Allegheny River around 9:00am on Monday morning, the 9th of June 1783. They headed westward following an old Indian path to Fort McIntosh south of Logs Town. The path had not been used much in recent years and the bushes were overgrown making the going rough at first. The small group arrived at Fort McIntosh by evening and stayed overnight there. They left there at two o'clock the next morning and traveled twenty-four miles before stopping along the Yallow Creek. Despite being rained on all night, the group were again on their way by seven o'clock. That day they traveled twenty-nine miles. That would be their experience throughout their whole expedition. The description of their travels on Tuesday, the 10th, as written by Captain McCully in his journal was the following:⁹⁵⁸

Tuesday 10th from the great quantity of rain last night we were much wetted, yet moved at 7 O'clock, and crossed many small branches of sandy creek ~ and one large, known to the traders by the Name of Namahshulin Creek and in five miles Gained Tuscorarrie River which we found to be very high and rising very fast. Though be carrying our provisions and Baggage on our Backs, we, on our horses got everything over safe. Halted on the west bank to refresh. After an hours halt, moved on passed Fort Lawrence and came to the fork of the road leading one to Ols Landing, and the other to Sandusky. Here we were at a loss, the roads entirely disappearing, and it was some time before we could determine what to do. At length, agreed to keep up Sugar Creek with a view of falling into the road that leads from the Moravian Town, and accordingly moved on, crossed Sugar Creek and passed through a large plain, which was followed by a long swamp, at the end of which we ascended a steep hill and

continued along a ridge of fallen timber which was very fiddicult to pass. In 3 or 4 miles we came to Black Water Creek, which we crossed, and soon fell in on the Beech Run where we found traces of the road and encamped for the night. Our general course today West, the land, water and timber good, in all 27 miles.

At sunset on Saturday, 14 June, the group encamped along one of the tributaries of the Sioto River. They no sooner got settled in for the night than an Amerindian called out to them. Douglass returned the greeting and welcomed the Amerindian to their camp. When he arrived, the warrior was shocked to see that the camp was that of Euro~Americans. Douglass and McCully assured him that they were on a peace mission and they would do him no harm. Two additional Amerindians arrived and were welcomed too. In McCully's words



they all “*spent the evening very sociably together.*”⁹⁵⁹ Douglass convinced the Amerindians to accompany the group on their mission. They would come in handy to serve as ambassadors and translators.

By the morning of 16 June, the party (now consisting of Douglass, McCully, the servant and three Amerindians) arrived within ten miles of ‘*Deleware Town*’ on the Sandusky River, near the mouth of that river where it empties into the west end of Lake Erie. One of the warriors was sent on ahead to announce their purpose. He was favorably received and the party was greeted with a small arms salute and an escort to the ‘*King’s House*’. The person they called the ‘king’ was known by the name *Captain Pipe*. He was addressed as: *His Majesty King Pipe*. Pipe’s Delaware name was *Hopocan*.

Captain Pipe addressed the party: “*As you are come from the great Council of America, I suppose you bring us some news. Now brothers with this string (wampum ~ which was half black and half white) I take the briars and thorns from your feet, and legs, I wipe the sweat from your faces and bodies, the dust from your eyes, and the dust from your ears. I remove the fatigue and palpitation from your hearts, and place them straight in your bodies in their most easy and natural position.*”

Captain Pipe was favorable to ending hostilities, but he vowed not to sign and peace treaty until Douglass had talked to the Wyandot and Shawnee since they had been the tribes who took up the hatchet first and simply drew the Delaware into the fight. According to McCully's journal, the chief stated: "*I tell you again brothers, it is good you are come but whatever you have to say I desire you will first deliver it to our Uncles the Wyandotes, and then to the Shaunezes, our grandchildren, and afterwards to us, accompanied with a string half black and half white.*"⁹⁶⁰

Major Douglass expressed his intention to meet with the Wyandot chief, the Half King Dunquat, but the Delaware chief informed him that the Wyandot chief and the Shawnee chief were both at Fort Detroit. George McCully's journal stated that a party of the Wyandots had, in the meantime, arrived at the Delaware Town. The Delaware chief announced to Douglass: "*We are now, brothers, all present whom we have any reason to expect shortly, as most of our men are out hunting... The Chief of the Wyandotes is at Detroit and we can't tell when he may return.*"

On the 12th, two Delaware warriors arrived from the 'Shaunizes' bearing a message they received from the Loyalist Mathew Elliot calling on four chiefs from each tribe to come to Fort Detroit, carrying with them the hatchet they had received to strike Americans. His intentions were not made clear in the message. On the 24th two Wyandot warriors arrived bringing news that a number of different tribes had rendezvoused at the Shaunizes town. They included the Chicasaw, Cherikee, Chuckta, Coweta and Musco. Some of them had come from Florida. The Chuckta numbered nearly five thousand warriors.⁹⁶¹

During Douglass' and his party stay at Delaware Town, a number of Euro~Americans who had been taken captive by Amerindian war parties were permitted to visit and speak to them. The stories they told of their captivity were not ones of complete hardship. On Wednesday the 25th of June, Douglass was visited by two traders, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Dawson. The traders brought with them several '*of our people who had been made prisoners by the Wyandote tribe of Indians...*' They told of how their captors had permitted them to live with the traders and work for them. The traders paid them for their labor.⁹⁶²

The expedition got underway again on 30 June. Captain Pipe with Major Douglass and his party set out at 11:00am. After traveling twenty miles through mostly swampland, they made camp. McCully wrote in his journal for that day that he "*suffered exceedingly from the assaults of the moschetoos...*" He noted that they were the largest and greatest number of them that he ever saw.

On the third of July, the party met up with Mathew Elliot when they drew near to the Miami River, a tributary of the Ohio River. The Loyalist had once been friends with Ephraim Douglass when they served at Fort Pitt. At this meeting, Douglass discovered that Arent Schulyer DePeyster, the commandant of Fort Detroit had sent Elliot to inform him that an audience with the sachems of the local tribes would not be permitted. Elliot also informed Douglass that he was to serve as an escort for Douglass' party to Fort Detroit.⁹⁶³ The party arrived at the major British fortification on 4 July 1783.

Douglass found out that a great council of numerous tribal leaders was planned for the sixth. Douglass, of course, was disappointed because the fort's commandant would not permit him to hold council with the Amerindians. The reason given by Major DePeyster for not allowing Douglass to entreat directly with the Amerindian sachems was that "*until he*

was authorized by his Superiors in Command, he could not consent that any thing should be said to the Indians relative to the boundary of the United States; for though he knew from the King's Proclamation that the war with America was at an end, he had had no official information to justify his supposing the States extended to this place, and therefore could not consent to the Indians' being told so; especially as he had uniformly declared to them, that he did not know these Posts were to be evacuated by the English."⁹⁶⁴ DePeyster objected to certain of the language which Douglass used in his letter of introduction.⁹⁶⁵ According to Hassler in his book, *Old Westmoreland*, DePeyster told Douglass that "It would never do to allow the Indians to be told that the King of England had been compelled to make peace." The insinuation that Douglass made that the Amerindians should be told that "the British had agreed to evacuate Detroit" was also objected to by DePeyster.

Major DePeyster was not completely against Douglass' mission. As noted above, a great council of the sachems was planned for the 6th of July at Fort Detroit. Attending the council would be sachems and chiefs of eleven tribes (according to Douglass' list with their current names in parentheses): the Chipewas (Chippewas), Delawares, Kickaboos (Kickapoos), Miamis, Ottawas (Ottawas), Pienkishas (Piankeshaws), Pootawaotamies (Pottawattamies), Senecas, Shawneze (Shawnees), Oweochtanoos (Weas) and Wyandots or Hurons. Although he did not allow Douglass to attend the council and speak for himself, DePeyster addressed the council and told them why Douglass had come to Detroit. He confirmed to them that peace had indeed been declared between Great Britain and the new United States. He also informed them that the British could no longer fund their war raids into the American settlements.

Major Douglass was encouraged by DePeyster to head eastward along the north shore of Lake Erie (*i.e.* through present-day Ontario, Canada) to Fort Niagara to try to persuade that fort's commander to arrange a meeting with the Amerindian nations.⁹⁶⁶ The commandant of Fort Niagara at the time of Douglass' peace mission was Brigadier General Allan Maclean, who had previously been in charge of the garrison at Montreal. The party arrived at Fort Niagara on the 11th, having left Detroit on the morning of the 7th.

Even as Ephraim Douglass was undertaking the officially sanctioned peace mission to the British and their Amerindian allies, there were individuals and groups attempting to thwart any peaceful resolution to the conflict. Douglass noted in his report to Congress that Maclean "lamented that mischievous people among us took too much pains to alarm the minds of the Indians in this quarter, by inventing and propagating speeches, which the Indians were taught to believe came from persons in power among the Americans. In proof of this he produced the proceedings of a Council lately held with the Indians, which contains an alarming speech said to have been sent to them by General Schuyler."⁹⁶⁷ The following letter detailed the Council held by the Six Nations of which General Maclean spoke. The letter was obtained by Ephraim Douglass and transmitted to General Philip Schuyler on 2 August 1783.⁹⁶⁸ The participants at the council from Fort Niagara were the British Lieutenant Colonel John Butler; three British Lieutenants, William Bowen, John Dochstedder and Jacob Servos; a Mr. (Richard) Wilkinson, secretary; and Mr. N(icholas) Stephens, interpreter. The only Amerindian who was noted as a participant in the letter was Abeel, a Seneca chief.

A Council held with the Chiefs & Warriors of the Six Nations & their Confederates at the Council Fire kindled at the Onondago Settlement, Iosioha, July 2d, 1783.

Present. Lieut. Coll. Butler.

Lieutenants, Bowen, Docksteder, Jacob Servois.

Mr. Wilkinson, Sec'y. Mr. N. Stephens, Interpreter.

Abeel, a Seneca Chief, spoke as follows: Brothers, Two of our young men (Oneidas,) went from their Village without the advice of any of our Chiefs, to Canawarohare (a Village settled by some Oneidas who have acted in favor of the Americans during this war) as a visit to their relations & acquaintances. Shortly after their arrival 40 of the Americans came to the same Village & informed they were on their way to view the 6 Nation Indian's Country & to build a House at Onondago for Gen. Schuyler. Next morning the Chiefs came and saluted the two young men in the usual manner, after which they expressed their sorrow that the Chiefs of the Six Nations did not attend a Council with Gen. Schuyler last spring, agreeable to his request. They then reported Gen. Schuyler's speech in Council as follows : Brothers, "I am directed by Congress to call you together & inform you that Peace is at last agreed on between the Kings of Great Britain, France, Spain and the Americans. The great spirit above has helped & given us success, & with the assistance of France have conquered the King of England. We are now Masters of this Island & can dispose of the lands as we think proper or most convenient to ourselves. That the King of England can never hereafter make the least claim to any part of it. At the commencement of this war many of our People left us, some went to Niagara & others to different places where the King's troops lay ; these people have forfeited every part of their lands & property to us for so doing, which must be a convincing proof that we are the conquerors. At that time I requested the Six Nations to lay still & not interfere in this war; but no attention was paid to my advice, they therefore are now in the same situation with those people who left us, their lands forfeited in the same manner. As we are the Conquerors we claim the lands & property of all the white people as well as the Indians who have left & fought against us. We enquired of the King what he intended to do for the Indians, as we expected that he would have been very particular about them. He being the person who should have considered their situation; but the King answered, What can I do? Nothing! You have conquered me therefore do with them what you please."

However, it is not yet so bad with the Indians, as they can move across the Lakes, those parts still belong to the King. I desire you (the Oneidas) to acquaint the Chiefs, &ca., of the six Nations with what I have now said, and that they have no assistance to expect from either the King or Congress in future. All the upper Posts are now our property, and I expect to go in a short time to speak to the six Nation Indians, & should they not meet & give me full satisfaction between this place & Fort Stanwix on my way up I shall then prepare myself as a Warrior, proceed thro' their Country to humble their pride, & make them my prisoners, &ca. I shall look upon the Oneidas & Cayagas in a more favorable light than the other Nations, as two of the Cayagas have been with me during the war. The Six Nations must not by any means whatever, be stopt by Col^l Butler, & should he at any time fall into our hands, he undoubtedly will be hanged."

When this speech was delivered to Brigⁿ Gen^l M^cLean, he contradicted it flatly & declared to the Six Nations, that it was false & fabricated by some designing bad people ~ That he could assure them, such a speech never had been made by Gen^l Schuyler, & that he never authorized any other person to make it for him ; and he (Brigadier Gen^l M^cLean) could assure the Six Nations, the he did not believe the United States had any intention of driving the Indians out of their Country, that being a measure contrary to their own interest, & that they were not to believe such idle stories, but shut their eyes against such designing bad people; To listen only to what he would tell them, & he should always tell them the truth.

The 'Onondaga Settlement' mentioned in the letter was located just south of the present-day city of Syracuse, New York along the Onondaga Creek, the major tributary of Onondaga Lake. The reader might also recognize a name encountered earlier. The 'John Dochstedder' noted as a participant at the council was the same Lieutenant Dochstedder who led the party of Senecas into Bedford County resulting in the capture of Captain William Phillips and his son and the massacre of ten Bedford County Rangers.

Although he was not permitted to speak to the Amerindians meeting in Council, Ephraim Douglass was able to speak personally to the Mohawk sachem, Thayendanega, known to the Euro~Americans as 'Captain' Joseph Brant. Although Maclean did not want Douglass to speak to any of the Iroquois sachems, Brant had requested this, so Maclean was compelled to allow it. In his report to Congress, Douglass noted that "*we had a conversation on the subject of the Indians' Lands ~ Brant insisted that they would make a point of having them secured before they would enter into any farther or other Treaty.*"⁹⁶⁹ He then noted that later that evening he "*had a good deal of friendly argument with him on the subject...*"

General Maclean wrote a letter to DePeyster while Douglass was at Fort Niagara. The letter suggested that the Fort Detroit commander check into accusations made by Douglass

about “murders committed by the Western Indians in the course of the last spring...”⁹⁷⁰ Maclean allowed Douglass to read the letter which instructed DePeyster to forbid the Indians in his region “in the most positive manner...” of being guilty of future misconduct. In the letter Maclean also suggested that DePeyster order the tribes to immediately deliver up any prisoners that they had taken during the spring. Maclean suggested that DePeyster make known to the warriors that if they continued with their raiding, killing and capturing the American settlers, the British troops would join the Americans to punish them. Maclean then urged Douglass to return home; there was nothing more for him to gain there at Fort Niagara.

For all their congenial posturing, the two British commanders were deceitful toward Douglass. While expressing agreement with Douglass’ mission, DePeyster and Maclean communicated back and forth ridiculing and deriding the American diplomat behind his back. Major DePeyster wrote to General Maclean from Detroit on 7 July.⁹⁷¹

Now that the Missionaries from Congress are embarked and on the point of their departure, I will mention a word to you in Private.

I have shewn them every civility consistent with my duty, during their stay at this place ~ and I have great reason (from the cheerful appearance in the countenances of many as well as their expressions, and the odd notions put into the heads of the Indians) to be happy that they are embarked. Perhaps you may think it best they may return by Lake Champlain, but in case it should be otherwise. I will be glad of your particular directions how you wish I should behave to them on their return here.

However great Enthusiasts (those Missionaries as they call themselves) may be, and however willing to risk martyrdom in the American cause, still it would bring an eternal slur upon me, should any drunken Indian, or any one whose suffering have been too great to have allowed him to listen to my council, do them an ill turn, considering the vast tract of country betwixt this and Fort Pitt, besides on the other hand they would have an opportunity of delivering their message to the Indians, which they were prevented doing on their way hither by reason of the Chiefs being on their way to Detroit ~ That the intent of their Journey is known amongst the Indians, I make no doubt, but as it could not be signified in form, and answers received, they are not much advanced, and matters may still remain doubtful. You, Sir, are the properest judge of this affair, and I sincerely wish the steps I have taken may meet with your approbation ~ Detroit is by no means a place for American Deputies to reside in until His Excellency's final orders are received.

Although he had not yet received the Fort Detroit commander's letter of the 7th, General Maclean wrote to DePeyster on the 8th of July in response to an earlier missive.⁹⁷² His opinion of Ephraim Douglass is noticeably dismissive.

I am favored with your Letter of the 29th June, enclosing the copy of a Letter from Ephraim Douglas to Capt. Elliott of the Indian Dept ~ Ephraim is a suspicious name, I therefore am glad you have sent to bring him to Detroit, for we really cannot be too much on our guard against these designing knaves, for I do not believe the world ever produced a more deceitful or dangerous set of men than the Americans: and now they are become such Arch-Politicians by eight years practice, that were old Matchioavell alive, he might go to school to the Americans to learn Politics more crooked than his own; we therefore cannot be too cautious. It is something very extraordinary that Mr. Douglas should attempt to assemble the Indians under your nose, and even write for one of your own principal Indian Managers to come & write wait upon him with one of your Interpreters, without taking the least notice of you. I should apprehend his first step ought to have been to come to Detroit and produce his Credentials to you. The Americans being now Independent States will say, they have a right to send Ambassadors or Emmissaries to whom they please, without our consent ~ no doubt they may to all nations that we know of but in the present case, with respect to our Indians, I am of a different opinion, it being clearly an exception to the Rule ~ The Indians get this day from the King's Stores the bread they are to eat to morrow, and from his magazines the clothing that covers their nakedness; in short, they are only our allies, but they are a part of our Family; and the Americans might as well (while we are in possession of these Posts) attempt to seduce our children & servants from their duty and allegiance, as to convene and assemble all the Indian Nations, without first communicating their intentions to His Majesty's Representative in Canada ~ These are my sentiments, and I shall not alter them till I am otherwise instructed by the Commander in Chief; and if any such person as Ephraim Douglas comes to assemble the Six Nations I shall certainly bring him in here & keep him till I send for Instructions to General Haldimand.

Mr. Douglas must be a curious fellow truly, in writing to Capt. Elliot that he may assure the Indians, that they have received from any other Quarter, but through him is without the sanction or authority of the United States ~ He dows not know

then, that I had a Letter from General Washington on that subject, and another Letter from General Lincoln President of the Board of War of the United States, wrote by the express order of Congress ~ His ignorance of these matters would make me imagine that he is an arch imposter.

On 17 July 1783, Brigadier General Allan Maclean wrote to his superior, General Frederick Haldimand.⁹⁷³

Sir: I have the honor herewith to transmit to your Excellency Copies of two Letters from Major DePeyster, which letters will inform you of the Proceedings of the Major, respecting the Commissioners of Congress to the Indian Nations. On the Evening of the 10th these Commissioners arrived here, where they were treated with every kind of civility and freedom, excepting that of communicating their Instructions to the Six Nations, that being a matter beyond my reach, without first having your Excellencys orders ~ Indeed the nature of thee Instructions was such as, in my humble opinion, rendered them improper to be communicated to the Six Nations, while we remain in the possession of the Upper Posts, Except your Excellency should order the contrary ~ Mr. Douglass appears to be a shrewd, sensible man, but he has conducted himself while here with Propriety, yet I found it would be impossible to detain him and his companion here, to wait for your Excellency's Instructions, or the arrival of Sir John Johnson (as either of these events were uncertain) without their having opportunities of frequent intercourse with the Indians as Mr. Douglas speaks several different dialects of the Indian Nations, and notwithstanding all my attention Captain Brant had a conversation with them, but it was of his seeking and not theirs; I therefore found it necessary to let them go, after remaining here six days and I sent a Batteau with serjeant and seven of the King's men and 84th [Regiment] to conduct them to Oswego, sober good men; they went off Perfectly contented with their reception here. I also enclosed for your Excellency's Information a copy of Mr. Douglas's Instructions and also a copy of a Resolve of Congress upon which these Instructions are founded, and I request that I may honored be with your commands, to direct me how I am to act. I had some conversation with Mr. Douglass, and he candidly confessed, that part of his instructions had much better been omitted; I had almost told him they were insolent; but I thought it was best to be moderate.

Mr. Douglass and his companion Capt. McCully left this on the 16th, at one o'clock, at Twelve I received a Letter from him, and at one I sent him an answer; copy of his Letter with my answer I have the honor, to transmit to your Excellency ~ had I proposed to these Commissioners to go to Canada I am convinced they would have accepted of the offer, but I did not think it was proper or necessary at this time to give your Excellency that trouble, as they had no authority for that purpose. Upon the whole I have endeavored to act in this Business as I thought best for His Majesty's Service, and I am not without hopes that both Major Depeyster's conduct and my own, will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

The report filed by Ephraim Douglass on 18 August 1783 follows.⁹⁷⁴

In obedience to the instructions you honored me with on the 5th of May last, I have used every endeavour in my power to execute in the fullest manner your orders, and give effect to your wishes; and though I have not had all the success I at first hoped, I flatter myself the following report will not only shew that I have attempted all in my power, but that essential good consequences may justly be hoped from my endeavours to obey your Commands.

On the 7th of June, I left Fort Pitt and travelling about two hundred miles by the old trading path, arrived on the 16th at the Delaware & Huron settlements on the Sandusky River, but before I reached the Villages I fell in with two young Delawares who had known me formerly, appeared rejoiced to see me, and conducted me to the principal Town of that Tribe. Captain Pipe who is the principal man of the Nation, received me with every demonstration of joy, welcomed me in the most friendly manner and treated me with greater Civility than is usual with them in time of profound Peace. In a speech of gratulation which he delivered on my arrival, he felicitated me and my Companions on our safety through a long & dangerous wilderness, and himself, on seeing his brethren of the United States once more enter his door in a peacable and friendly manner; but told me, as his Nation was not the principal one, nor had voluntarily engaged in the War, it would be proper for me first to communicate my business to the Hurons and Shauneze, and afterwards to the Delawares. That he had announced my arrival to the Hurons, and expected such of them as were at home would very shortly be over to see and welcom me. This soon happened as he had

expected, but as none of their Chiefs were present, I declined speaking publickly to them, knowing that I could receive no authentic answer, and unwilling to expend unnecessarily the Wampum I had prepared for this occasion. I informed them for their satisfaction of the peace with England, and told them that the United States were disposed to be in friendship with the Indians also ~ desired them to send for their head men, particularly for the Half King who was gone to Detroit; to send also to the Shauneze and such of the Six Nations and Delawares as live on the Miami River, and that when these were all present, I would deliver to them publickly the particulars of the business I was charged with.

They all readily agreed to this proposal, and returned to their homes apparently very well satisfied: but the Hurons nevertheless failed sending to Detroit, partly thro' the want of authority in the old men present, and partly through the assurances of the Wife of the half King who was confident her Husband would be home in two Days, and therefore a journey which would require six or seven was altogether unnecessary.

The Pipe sent away for those on the Miami agreeable to his promise, and learning that Mr. Elliot, one of the agents in the Indian Department resided with the Shawneze, and must necessarily be acquainted with my coming, I wrote to him by the Pipe's Express, requesting him to concur with our Messenger in communicating to the Shawneze, that I was charged with a Message from the United States and desired them to attend as soon as possible I also gave him an invitation to be present if he could make it convenient. Though I promised to myself very little from this Letter, I knew it could do no possible harm ~ and though I did not hope he would give himself any trouble to serve me, I thought the possibility that the compliment of it might prevent his opposition worth the trouble of writing it.

On the evening of the 18th, a runner arrived from the Miami with intelligence that Mr. Elliot had received dispatches from Detroit announcing the arrival of Sir John Johnson at that place ~ that in Consequence, the Chiefs and Warriors were desired to repair thither in a few Days, where a Council would be held with them. They were also directed to take with them the War or Tomahawk Belts, which had been delivered to them by the King to strike the Americans with. This was an intimation which had been long expected but never till now received; for though they had been repeatedly forbid to continue at War against the Americans the Tomahawk had still remained in their hands,

which is a deviation from the ancient Customs of the Indians, and therefore the more astonishing to them.

I perceived that this invitation would necessarily draw off a number of the principal men, but determined to wait the return of our Messenger before I would take any further resolution, and in this suspense I continued till the evening of the 22d, when he returned with speeches from the Chiefs in that Quarter, imparting that they had made every preparation for coming agreeable to our requests to hear what I had to say to them, but just when they were ready to mount their Horses, they were stopped by the arrival of ten men who preceded a body of sixty other Southern Indians coming upon business from the Nations North and East of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. That in consequence of their coming they would be obliged to delay their visit to us for a few Days, but would not fail to come so soon as they heard the business of these people, could not however determine how soon.

The intervention of this unexpected delay, the uncertainty where it would end ~ the anxiety of the Sandusky Indians to obey the summons from Detroit, the absence of the Half King who was now no longer expected till after the Treaty there, and the certainty of receiving no answer when he was not in Council, induces me to yield to the importunity of the Pipe, and attend to his representations. He pressed me to accompany him to Detroit, assuring me that it would be useless to wait the coming of the Indians from the Miami, that they would spend their time in useless Counseling there till the Treaty at Detroit would come on, and that if I even could assemble them I could obtain nothing from the Interview ~ That if the Half King was present he would not undertake to give me an answer without consulting the Chiefs of the Huron Tribe at Detroit, and that these would determine another without first asking the advice of their Father the Commandant.

Finding that I had little to hope from continuing at Sandusky, and likely to effect as little by visiting the Miami if my Horses had even been able to have performed the Journey I determined to proceed to Detroit by the nearest route, though I began to be doubtful I should not succeed in my wishes there; determined however to leave nothing unattempted which promised even a probability of success. ~ I concurred with the Pipe in a message to the Miami Indians, desiring that rather than wait to hear the dispatches of these Southern Indians, they should advise them to continue their Journey to Detroit where they would certainly

meet the Six Nations, to whom their business must be ultimately delivered, as the Deputation in consequence of which they had performed so long and difficult a journey, had originally proceeded from them ~ We desired them to send us an answer in three days what Resolution they would take and when we should meet them where the roads unite, that we might go together to Detroit.

We waited till the 29th in hopes of receiving an answer but none came, 'tho we had several Messages, some intimating that they could not come over to us, and desiring the Hurons & Delawares to attend at the Shawnese Towns ~ other accounts said the Chiefs of that Nation were gone to Detroit.

We now made every preparation for our departure, but fearing I might not again have so good an opportunity, I made use of this to give the Pipe every information respecting my business, and to explain to him the Preliminary Articles of peace, which I found had not only never been communicated to them by authority, but that the accidental information they had occasionally received had been in some respects contradicted by the Officers of the Crown; particularly that part which related to the evacuation of the posts on the Lakes.

I left Sandusky on the 30th accompanied by the Pipe and two other Indians in addition to my former Companions, and travelled onwards to Detroit till the afternoon of the 1st of July when we were met by M^r Elliot and three other persons from that place, whom the Commandant had dispatched for the purpose of conducting us thither. The Indians who had left the Towns after my arrival, had given the intelligence at Detroit, and the Letter I had written to M^r Elliot had also been carried there by some of those from the Miami. In consequence of this Col. Depeyster had sent M^r Elliot to me with a Letter No. 1.

I was now nearly half way from Sandusky to Detroit, and could neither take or alter a resolution in consequence of this Letter, but continued my journey with my new Companions ~ till the 4th when I arrived at Detroit, where I was received with much politeness and treated with great Civility by the Commandant, to whom I delivered your Letter, shewed your instructions and pressed for an opportunity of communicating them to the Indians as soon as might be. He professed the strongest desire of bringing about a reconciliation between the United States and the several Indian Nations, ~ declared that he would willingly promote it all in his power; but that until he was authorized by his Superiors in Command, he could not consent that any thing

should be said to the Indians relative to the boundary of the United States; for though he knew from the King's Proclamation that the war with America was at an end, he had had no official information to justify his supposing the States extended to this place, and therefore could not consent to the Indians being told so; especially as he had uniformly declared to them, that he did not know these Posts were to be evacuated by the English. He had no objection, he said, to my communicating the friendly offers of the United States, ~ and would cheerfully make known to them the substance of your Letter to him.

In the morning of the 5th, I received an intimation from Colonel Depeyster, through Captain M^cKee, that it was his wish I would go on to Niagara, so soon as I had recovered from the fatigue of my journey. In consequence of this I waited on him in the afternoon, and pressed with greater warmth than yesterday, the necessity of my speaking to the Indians and receiving an answer from them. I pressed him to suffer me to proceed on my business without his interference, and offered him my word that I would say nothing to them respecting the limits of the States, but confine myself to the offer of Peace, or choice of War, and the Invitation to Treaty. He would not retract his resolution without further orders from the Commander in Chief, and I was obliged to submit however unwillingly: But must do him the justice to acknowledge that he made every offer of civility and service, except that which he considered inconsistent with his Duty.

On the 6th I attended the Council which Colonel Depeyster held with the Indians, to which he had yesterday invited me. After delivering his business of calling them together, he published to them your Letter and pressed them to continue in the strictest amity with the Subjects of the United States, ~ represented to them the folly of continuing hostilities, and assured them that he could by no means give them any future assistance against the people of America.

At this meeting were the Chiefs of Eleven Indian Nations, comprehending all the Tribes as far South as the Wabash. They were Chipewas, Otawas, Wyandots or Hurons, Shawneze, Delawares, Kickaboos, Oweochtanoos, Miamis, Pootawotamies and Pienkishas with a part of the Senecas; most of whom gave evident marks of their Satisfaction at seeing a subject of the United States in that Country. They carried their civilities so far that my lodging was all day surrounded with crowds of them when at home, and the Streets lined with them to attend my going abroad; that they might have an opportunity of seeing and

saluting me, which they did not fail to do in their best manner, with every demonstration of joy.

On the morning of the 7th I took my leave of Colonel De Peyster, after having received more civilities from him than the limits of this report will suffer me to enumerate; but not 'till I had the honor of writing to you by my Guide, whom I directed to return to Fort Pitt so soon as the Pipe should be ready to return to Sanduskey on whom I depended for his safe conduct thither, and to provide one to accompany him to Fort Pitt.

I arrived at Niagara on the 11th, was introduced to General Maclean who was prepared for my coming, delivered him Colol. De Peyster's Letter and was received with every mark of attention but he declined entering upon any business this Day.

In the morning I waited again on the General at his request. He asked for my Instructions which I produced, and afterwards, at his request, the Resolve of Congress alluded to. He expressed an earnest desire that the Indians should live in peace with the United States, declared that he had most effectually put a stop to all hostilities, and had already given you this Information, ~ that he would be answerable for their future good conduct provided they were not molested by us ~ regretted that he had not at present such information from below as would justify his concurring with me, or even permitting me to call the Indians together ~ that he had every reason to expect Sir John Johnson very soon, who he supposed would bring such instructions as would remove every difficulty, ~ that however he considered the purport of my message anticipated by the pains which had been taken to dispose the Indians to peace, which appeared to be the grand object of Congress.

In case Sir John did not arrive in two or three days as he expected he proposed to me the alternative of continuing downward to the Commander in Chief or of furnishing him with Copies of my Instructions and the Resolve of Congress which he would transmit to him for his orders thereon. He lamented that mischeivous people among us took too much pains to alarm the minds of the Indians in this quarter, by inventing and propapating speeches, which the Indians were taught to believe came from persons in power among the Americans. In proof of this he produced the proceedings of a Council lately held with the Indians, which contains an alarming speech said to have been sent to them by General Schuyler. At my request he gave me a Copy of it with his own remarks at the bottom No 2.

In consequence of this speech and his assurances to the

Indians, the six nations had sent to that part of the Oneida Tribe which had remained in the interest of the States, forbidding them to bring any future messages, but such as were written or otherwise visible in Belts or Strings. That they would be glad to hear in this manner whatever the United States had to say to them.

Colonel Butler the Superintendant at the post was sent for and corroborated every thing that the General said of the peaceable disposition of the Indians, unless they were compelled to a contrary conduct by the Americans seizing on their Lands which both asserted the Six Nations would never quietly submit to. They recommended the measure of Congress sending some person to give them assurances respecting their Lands, if it was their intention to leave them to the natives, and the General offered to promote it with all his Interest, to be answerable for the safety of the Commissioners and also engage for the Indians good behaviour and willingness to meet the Commissioners of Congress at any place after receiving such assurance.

Captain Brant came from the Mohawk Village to see me and was introduced by the General, in whose presence we had a conversation on the subject of the Indian's Lands ~ Brant insisted that they would make a point of having them secured before they would enter into any farther or other Treaty. In the evening I had a private conference with him at his own request in which I explained to him in the most circumstantial manner every thing relating to my business with the Indians and had a good deal of friendly argument with him on the subject, too long to insert here.

On the evening of the 18th, I received a note from the General requesting a Copy of my Instructions &c., to send to the Commander in Chief to facilitate business. No. 3. I sent him word that he should be obeyed, and early in the morning began to execute my promise, but before I had finished copying them, I received a verbal message that he wished to see me at his quarters. I finished the Copies and waited on him with them.

He informed me that he had sent for me to show me the Copy of a Letter he was writing to Colonel De Peyster. It contained instructions to that Gentleman in consequence of my representations of the murders committed by the Western Indians in the course of the last spring, and since by his account, they had been positively forbid to be guilty of any such outrage. He pressed Colonel Depeyster very earnestly to examine minutely into this affair, ~ to forbid the Indians in the most positive

manner to be guilty of such future misconduct, ~ to order them to deliver up immediately such prisoners as they had captured through the spring into the hands of himself or his officers, ~ and further to tell them that if they did not desist from these practices the British Troops would join the Americans to punish them.

He afterward read me the Copy of a Letter which he had written you in answer to yours by Mr. Bull, Not doubting that this Letter is in your possession, I only mention it as it was the introduction to an address to me containing the same sentiments, which ended in an intimation that I might return home as soon as I thought proper, that whenever I pleased he would furnish me with a Boat & men to carry me to Oswego, would afford me every other assistance in his power and write to Major Ross the Commandant at that place to give me every assistance I should require.

I soon concluded that this invitation to leave the place arose from the importunacy of the Indians to hear publicly the message which my coming had promised them, and his refusing permission to Captain Brant to take me on a visit to the Mohawk Castle convinced me of the justice of this conclusion,

I employed such arguments as I expected would be most likely to prevail on him to permit me to speak to the Chiefs publicly before my departure, and answered (as I thought) all his objections, one of which was to that part of my instructions which said the King had been compelled to make peace, which he said would convey to the Indians the Idea of his being conquered, and might induce them to an insolence of behaviour that would become disagreeable to him and perhaps injurious to the service. To remove every exception on this head I offered to suppress the word compelled but he avoided giving me any direct answer to this proposal, ~ insisted much on the pacific disposition of the Indians, again pledged himself for their behaviour; assured me of their desire to cultivate the friendship of the Americans, and declared that he was authorized by the Chiefs to tell me so. He then informed me that previous to my arrival the Chiefs had applied to him to write to his Excellency General Washington on their behalf with offers of friendship, and regretted that he had not such orders as would justify him in doing it, especially before the Superintendant General had made the proper communications to the Indians on the part of the Crown.

Frustrated in every attempt to obtain a public audience of the Indians and receive their answer to your message. I wrote to General Maclean on the 16th for his refusal in writing (No. 4)

which he immediately gave me (No. 5) and on the same day I set off for Oswego, after having experienced from General Maclean every species of polite attention, except that which duty as well as inclination bid me most wish for and every civility from his Officers, and from the Officers in general at all the Posts I had occasion to visit.

Sensible how difficult it is to say just enough on any subject, I am afraid I have protracted this report to too great a length and yet I suppressed so many remarks and conversations which were interesting at the time, that I am also afraid I have not been sufficiently explicit. I have confined myself to bare recital, without any commentary of my own, to avoid the imputation of obtruding opinion where it might be considered my duty to relate facts existing abstractedly. But I will hope your forgiveness for saying that the assiduity of the British Commanders to restrain the Indians from hostilities still wanted the visit which by your command I have made them, to satisfy the Indians that they had nothing to fear from the enmity of the States. They are now convinced from my risking such a journey through their Country and from the communications I have made to them individually on my way, not only of our friendly Sentiments toward them, but also of our confidence in theirs, which must in some degree beget a similar confidence in them. And though I bring no public answer from the Chiefs, owing to the motives of duty or policy which opposed it. I think myself sufficiently authorized from the many opportunities I had of learning their Sentiments, both from themselves and the Whites who are in their confidence, to assert that I know them to be heartily tired of the war and sincerely disposed to Peace.

The frontiers were slow to get back to ‘normal’ ~ that is, the normal in pre-1777 days. William Todd, Joseph M’Garraugh and William Jack, Commissioners of Westmoreland County, wrote a letter to John Dickinson.⁹⁷⁵ (John Dickinson had become the President of the Supreme Executive Council on 7 November 1782.) In that letter, the commissioners stated that “*the Inhabitants dare not Venture, as yet, to their Places, near one Half of the County being Evacuated, and it will not be in our Power to get a Just Return of the Lands...*”

A Report on Indian Affairs was submitted to the United States in Congress Assembled dated 15 October 1783. The authors of the Report were Mr. Duane, Mr. Peters, Mr. Carroll, Mr. Hawkins and Mr. A. Lee. In the Report it was stated:⁹⁷⁶

Resolved, that a convention be held with the Indians residing in the Northern and Middle departments, who have taken up arms against the United States, for the purpose of receiving them into the

favour & protection of the United States and of establish boundary lines of property for separating & dividing the settlements of the Citizens from the Indian Villages and hunting grounds; & hereby extinguishing as far as possible all occasion for future Animosities, disquiet & contention; that first, & as a preliminary, it shall be required that all the prisoners of whatever age or sex among these Indians shall be delivered up.

The Report continued:⁹⁷⁷

Thirdly, that as the Indians notwithstanding, a solemn treaty of neutrality with Congress at the commencement of the war, notwithstanding all the advice and admonition given them during its prosecution could not be restrained from acts of hostility & wanton devastation, but were determined to join their arms to those of Great Britain, & to share their fortunes, so consequently with a less generous people than Americans, they might be compelled to retire beyond the Lakes, but as we prefer clemency to rigor, as we persuade ourselves that their Eyes are open to their error & that they have found by fatal experience that their true interest & safety depend upon our friendship; as the country is large enough to contain & support us all, & as we are disposed to be kind to them, to supply their wants and partake of their trade; we from these considerations & from motives of compassion draw a veil over what is passed, and will establish a boundary line between them and us, beyond which we will restrain our Citizens from hunting and settling & within which the Indians shall not come, but for the purposes of trading, treating or other business equally unexceptionable.

The Six Nations ceded to Pennsylvania the lands in the northwest corner of the present-day state in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in October 1784. The treaty effectively ended the depredations, but sporadic attacks on Euro~American settlers continued into the late 1780s.

The last attack by the Amerindians on a Euro~American on Pennsylvania soil happened on 22 May 1795.⁹⁷⁸ Four men were traveling from LeBoeuf (present-day Waterford) to Presqu'Isle (presenty-day Erie) on that date when a party of Amerindians attacked. One of the men, Ralph Rutledge, was killed and scalped by the attackers. The attack might have been an act of retaliation for the murder of a family of friendly Amerindians on 7 May on the Allegheny River near Franklin in present-day Venango County.

Postscript

For so long, local Pennsylvania historians have viewed the many Amerindian incursions into the frontier regions of Pennsylvania during the years of the American Revolutionary War as just so many random raids. The primary storyline that was pushed by those historians was that the Amerindian parties consisted of tribes who had been pushed out of the lands purchased by the Pennsylvania government ~ first the Penn Proprietaries, and later the Provincial Council. The assumption has been made that warriors from those displaced tribes returned to wreak havoc, death and destruction out of personally experienced anger.

It is quite possible that some of the incursions were indeed the result of vengeance for perceived wrongs, but the tribes that had occupied the Pennsylvania frontier, primarily the Shawnee, had moved westward to the Ohio Valley on their own. In the case of Bedford County, encompassing the hills and valleys between the Sidling Hill and the Laurel Mountain, the Amerindian inhabitants had moved westward long before the coming of any Euro~American settlers.

During the 1770s and '80s, the central-Pennsylvania region of hills and valleys was not occupied by villages so much as by hunting and annual migratory paths.

Invariably, when speaking about any particular raid into Bedford County, the statement would be made that the war parties “*came over the mountain*” or “*came out of the mountain*” which suggested that the Amerindians who were attacking Euro~American settlers were residing in the Allegheny or other nearby mountains in the Appalachian ranges. The fact of the matter was that raiders coming southward from Fort Niagara would follow the main waterways, including the Genessee and Susquehanna Rivers, but the last leg of their journey would consist of crossing the Allegheny Mountain. The raiders coming eastward from Fort Detroit would likewise follow the Ohio and Monongahela Rivers with the last leg of their journey consisting of crossing the Allegheny Mountain. The settlers only knew that last leg of the raiders’ journeys and assumed they were coming either over or out of the ‘mountain.’

A secondary storyline that has persisted in the writings of historians is that all of the captives taken by the raiding parties were taken to Fort Detroit. The assumption has refused to go away that all of the Amerindians who made incursions into the frontier of Pennsylvania came from the Ohio Valley. Very few narratives ~ apart from the ones generated in Northumberland County ~ suggested that the Iroquois inhabiting the Genessee Valley of present-day New York State would venture southward.

In spite of those two storylines, there was a third one that was often stated by the men who served in the militia or local and state governments during the War, but which apparently was forgotten by early historians. That storyline was that since there were no local Amerindians to wreak havoc on the Euro-American settlers, the British would bring them in from outside the region. Of the three storylines, the third was the one that was true.

I have already in my letter to you of the 5th inst. hinted that the time might possibly come when the King, relying upon the attachment of His faithful Allies, the Six Nations of Indians, might be under the necessity of calling upon them for their aid and assistance in the present state of America.

The unnatural rebellion now raging there calls for every effort to suppress it, and the intelligence His Majesty has received of the Rebels having excited the Indians to take a part, and of their having actually engaged a body of them in arms to support their rebellion, justifies the resolution His Majesty has taken of requiring the assistance of his faithful adherents the Six nations.

It is therefore His Majesty's pleasure that you do lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against His Majesty's rebellious subjects in America, and to engage them in His Majesty's service upon such plan as shall be suggested to you by General Gage to whom this letter is sent accompanied with a large assortment of goods for presents to them upon this important occasion.



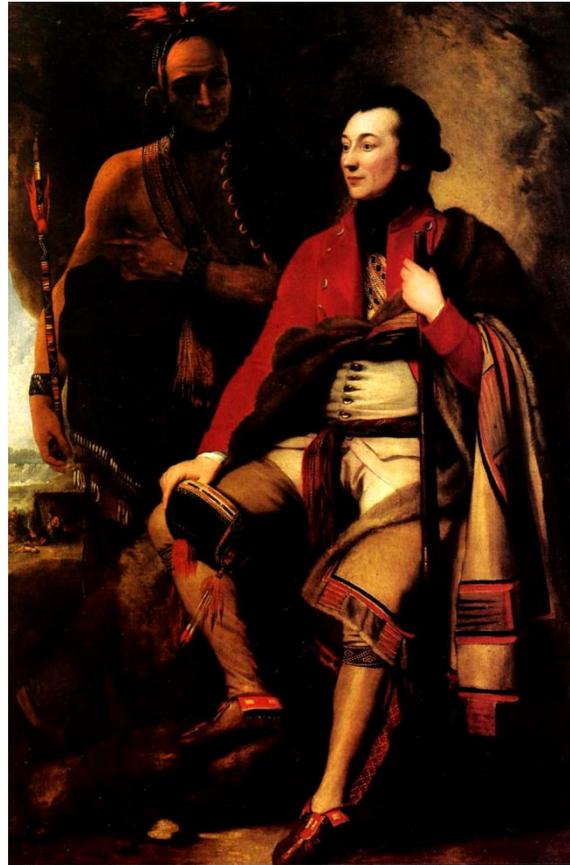
William Legge, the Second Earl of Dartmouth (left) was the Secretary of State for the Colonies between August 1772 until November 1775. He wrote the letter transcribed above to Colonel Guy Johnson (below) on 24 July 1775.⁹⁷⁹

Guy Johnson understood the nature of the Amerindians and knew how to obtain their cooperation. He also knew that the Amerindians' cooperation was conditional. Johnson wrote to Lord George Germain on 12 March 1778 in which he noted that: "*Indians, with small bodies of Troops are often exposed to what appears to them as very discouraging difficulties, in which cases they cannot be expected to keep together like British Troops, nor can they ever do so after*

the beginning of October, because of the Hunting season. They do not adopt the same ideas of Bravery, neither can they feel so much interest in our cause as Britons do, but in all other respects, they afford much security to an army, and strike a Terror into the Enemy..."⁹⁸⁰

As noted previously, George Bryan, the Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council stated, in a letter written from Lancaster to Colonel William Gibbon on 19 May 1778, “*The Indians, excited by the Emissaries of the British King, have made some incursions into the western & northwestern parts of this state.*”⁹⁸¹ Just one voice in the conversation, Bryan stated what many others probably believed: that Great Britain was stirring up anti-Colonial sentiment among the Indian nations and creating animosities that might not have been there before, or at least not as intense as they might have previously been.

Vice-President Bryan stated, in a letter to Lieutenant Samuel Hunter dated 21 May 1778, that it was his opinion that: “*The present attack of the Savages is doubtless concerted by our European Enemy, who avow in the face of the world, the employment of such horrid Allies. It is manifestly made in concert with the invaders of the eastern side of our state.*”⁹⁸²



The British-led Seneca incursions on the settlements in the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontiers constituted, essentially, a separate and unique war within the scope of the greater American Revolution. Despite the generally accepted assumption that the surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown was the absolute end of the Revolutionary War, the fact of the matter is that the threat of war did not end exactly in October of 1781. The British continued to occupy New York City until November of 1783. They likewise held major outposts in the western frontier past 1783, such as Fort Detroit, which was garrisoned by British troops throughout the duration of the War and until the year 1796. It seemed that the British couldn't quite come to grips with the idea that they lost control of the colonies.

The raids launched upon the settlements on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were intended to disrupt the peace and calm of the region and break lines of communication between the Atlantic seaboard and the Ohio Valley. If the British had succeeded in disrupting communications and travel between Pittsburgh and the eastern counties of Pennsylvania in the summers of 1777 through 1781, a more concerted effort might have been directed by the British toward achieving what they had attempted previously with the invasion of Pennsylvania. In that campaign they had planned to divide the colonies by driving a wedge into Pennsylvania from the east. By severing the communications and trade between New England and the southern colonies, the British had hoped to destroy the unity between the rather disparate regions.

The intention of the British isn't just a fanciful theory. A letter to Sir Guy Carleton dated 26 March 1777 from Lord George Germain to Whitehall was previously quoted (page 24). That quoted letter is more fully transcribed here:⁹⁸³

Sir ~ In the consideration of the measures proper to be pursued in the next campaign, the making a Diversion on the Frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania by Parties of Indians conducted by proper Leaders as proposed by Lieut Governor Hamilton, has been maturely weighed.

That officer writes in his Letter to the Earl of Dartmouth dated at Detroit the 2^d of Septem^r last, that he had then with him Deputies from the Ottawas, Chippawas, Wyendoth, Shewanese, Senecas, Delawares, Cherokees and Ponattonstarmies. That their inclination was for War and that it was with much difficulty he had restrained them from Hostilities, which he thought it his duty to do, finding by a Letter from you dated the 19th July, that you had sent back some Ottawas, who had offered their service, desiring them to hold themselves in readiness next Spring.

There can be little doubt that the Indians are still in the same Disposition, and that they will readily and eagerly engage in any Enterprize in which it may be thought fit to employ them, under the direction of the King's officers; and as it is His Majesty's Resolution that the most Vigorous Efforts should be made and every means employed that Providence has put into His Majesty's hands for crushing the Rebellion and restoring the Constitution. It is the King's command that you should direct Lieutenant Governor Hamilton to assemble as many of the Indians of his District as he conveniently can, and placing a proper person of their head, to whom he is to make suitable allowances, to conduct their Parties, and restrain them from committing violence on the well affected inoffensive Inhabitants, employ them in making a Diversion, and exciting an Alarm upon the Frontiers of Virginia and Pensylvania, and as there is good ground to believe there are considerable numbers of Loyal Subjets in those Parts, who would gladly embrace an opportunity of delivering themselves from the Tyranny and Oppression of the Rebel Commitees; It is His Majesty's Pleasure that you do authorize and direct Lieut. Governor Hamilton to invite all such Loyal Subjects to join him, and to ensure them of the Same Pay & allowance as are given to His Majesty's other Corps raised in America and that such of them as shall continue to serve His Majesty untill the Rebellion is Suppressed, and Peace restored, shall each receive His Majesty's Bounty of 200 acres of Land.

These offers, it is to be hoped, will induce many Persons to engage in the Kings Service, which may enable Lieut. Governor Hamilton to extend his operations as to divide the attention of the Rebels, and oblige them to collect a considerable force to oppose him which cannot fail of Weakening their main army & facilitating the operations directed to be carried on against them in other Quarters and then bring the War to a more Speedy [illegible] and restore those deluded people to their former state of happiness, and prosperity, which ate the favourite wishes of the Royal Breast, and the great object of all his Majesty's Measures.

Footnotes

1. Harold L. Peterson, *The Book of the Continental Soldier*, The Stackpole Company, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1968, pp 61-62.
2. *ibid.*, pp 25-26.
3. English Oxford Dictionary, Etymological history of the word 'town'.
4. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records*, Volume III, Theo. Fenn & Co., Harrisburg, 1852, pp 450, 459, 463.
5. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series*, Volume I, Harrisburg Publishing Company, Harrisburg, 1906, p 372.
6. *ibid.*, p 371.
7. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records*, Volume VI, Theo. Fenn & Co., Harrisburg, 1851, p 141.
8. *ibid.*, pp 147-160.
9. *ibid.*, p 372. –Also, Samuel Hazard (ed.), *Pennsylvania Archives, Series I*, Volume II, Joseph Severns & Co., Harrisburg, 1852, p 14.
10. *ibid.*, p. 372.
11. *ibid.*, p 372.
12. Huntingdon Bicentennial Historical Booklet Committee, *Huntingdon Bicentennial*, The Jos. F. Biddle Pub. Co., Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, 1967, p 1.
13. George P. Donehoo, *Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, Gateway Press, Baltimore Maryland, 1995, pp 2, 75, 113.
14. Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania*, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1993, pp 49-54, 142-147.
15. Larry D. Smith, *Bedford County, Pennsylvania ~ Two and One-Half Centuries in the Making*, Bedford County Historical Society, Bedford, Pennsylvania, 2020, pp 30-33.
16. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives, Colonial Records*, Volume VI, Theo. Fenn & Co., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1851, p 120.
17. Website, *Wikipedia* for *Norman Conquest of England and Hundred Years War*, at the url addresses: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norman_conquest_of_England –and- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hundred_Years%27_War.
18. Information on the French and Indian War and Forbes Expedition is derived from Larry D. Smith, *Bedford County, Pennsylvania ~ Two and One-Half Centuries in the Making*.
19. *The Definitive Treaty Of Peace And Friendship Between His Britannick Majesty, The Most Christian King, And The King Of Spain*, printed by E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763, pp 3-31.
20. *The London Gazette*, Number 10354, 1763.
21. Louis M. Waddell (ed.), *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Volume VI, The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1994, pp 243-244.
22. *ibid.*, p 246.
23. *ibid.*, p 278.
24. *ibid.*, p 286.
25. *ibid.*, p 298.
26. *ibid.*, p 309.
27. *ibid.*, pp 410-411. *Note:* The 'Christopher Diven' noted in the report was no doubt actually Christopher 'Dibert'. The name Dibert has variously been given as 'Divert' and 'Diver'. The Dibert *family tradition* claims that John Dibert, the father of Christopher and *his* wife, rather than Christopher's were massacred along with seven of their children in 1732. There exists no public documentation to corroborate that family tradition. Neither does the Dibert historians provide any information about Christopher and his family of wife and six children being massacred in 1763. The Dibert family tradition states that Chistopher Dibert/Diver died in 1757. How he could have also died in 1763 is a mystery to science. Apparently the Dibert *family tradition* may be in error.
28. *ibid.*, p 430.
29. *ibid.*, pp 503-504.

30. *ibid.*, p 301.
31. Website, *Pontiac's War*, at the url address: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Pontiac%27s_War#cite_note-95](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pontiac%27s_War#cite_note-95) .
32. William R. Nester, *'Haughty Conquerors': Amherst and the Great Indian Uprising of 1763*. Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 2000, p 279.
33. Samuel Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VI, Joseph Severns & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1854, p 3.
34. *ibid.*, pp 39-40.
35. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XI, Theo. Fenn & Co., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1853, pp 382-383.
36. *ibid.*, p 410.
37. *op cit.*, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VI, pp 524-525.
38. *ibid.*, p 536.
39. Unpublished letter maintained in the collection of Fort Roberdeau Museum.
40. *op cit.*, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume III, pp 241-242.
41. Samuel Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VII, Joseph Severns & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1854, p 534.
42. *op cit.*, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume III, pp 355-356.
43. *op cit.*, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VIII, pp 297-298.
44. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1966/1994, pp 182-183.
45. Website, *Guy Carleton, 1st Baron Dorchester*, at the url address: [https:// en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Guy_Carleton,_1st_Baron_Dorchester](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guy_Carleton,_1st_Baron_Dorchester) .
46. Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives by Douglas Brymner, Archivist 1885*, Maclean, Roger & Co., Ottawa, 1886, pp 237-238. [Note: Within the Haldimand Papers collection, this item is included in *Letters from Lord G. Germain and Others to Sir Guy Carelton 1776-1779 B.38. ~ B.M. 21698.*]
47. *op cit.*, Brymner, p 267 [Note: Within the Haldimand Papers collection, this item is included in *Register of Letters from Sir Guy Carleton 1776 to 1778, Vol., 2, B.40 ~ B.M. 21700.*]
48. *ibid.*, p 267.
49. *ibid.*, p 267.
50. *op cit.*, Boatner, p 184.
51. Website, *Frederick Haldimand*, at the url address: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Haldimand .
52. Website, *Guy Johnson*, at the url address: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ Guy_Johnson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guy_Johnson) .
53. Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume I, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Washington, D.C., 1848, p 867.
54. Peter Force (ed.), *American Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume VI, M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Washington, D.C., 1846, p 764.
55. *op cit.*, Hale, unnumbered p 3. Note: This paragraph originally appeared in C. Hale Sipe's *The Indians Wars of Pennsylvania*, Originally published 1931 Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Second Edition, Wennawoods Publishing, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, 1998, pp 508-509.
56. Elizabeth Arthur, "Hamilton, Henry," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed May 9, 2019, at the url: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hamilton_henry_4E.html .
57. Samuel Hazard, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VIII, Joseph Severns & Co., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1853, p 167.
58. *ibid.*, p 176.
59. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XII, Theo. Fenn & Co., Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1853, p 632.
60. Website, *The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies*, at the url address: <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/dian/dianretn5.htm> .
61. *Haldimand Papers, Musters Rolls, Accounts etc., relating to the Corps of Royal Americans, n.d., 1776-1785*, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21827, Volume B-167-2, p 407.
62. George H. Harris, *The True Story of Hoc-Sa-G-Wah Prisoner, Pioneer and Interpreter ~ The Life of Horatio Jones*, published as an article in Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Volume VI, Frank H. Severance (ed.), Buffalo, New York, 1903, p 392.
63. *Haldimand Papers, Register of Correspondence of Genl Haldimand With Col. Guy Johnson 1779-1783*, Presented by Will. Holdomand Esqr, Jan 1857, Mus. Brit. 21766. British Library, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21766, Volume B-106, pp 53-57.
64. John B. Linn and William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume III, pp 239-240.

65. op cit., Jones, pp 270-277, 437-438.
66. Winona Garbrick (ed.), *The Kernel of Greatness*, Himes Printing Co., Inc., State College, Pennsylvania, 1971, pp 177-178.
67. J. Simpson Africa, *History of Huntingdon and Blair Counties, Pennsylvania*, Louis H. Everts, Philadelphia, 1883, p 239.
68. op cit., Bell, p 4.
69. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Prothonotary, Oaths of Allegiance, transcribed in the 1930s by Helen (Hill) Greenburg, but since lost.
70. PA Historic & Museum Commission, PA State Archives, RG-4 *Miscellaneous Accounts, Including Records of Transactoins Involving the Commonwealth and the United States, 1782-1809, United States Account Ledger, B, Nos. CII-DCLXXXVII*, pp 610-611.
71. op cit., Jones, p 272.
72. op cit., Baughman, p 10.
73. Peter Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume I, published by M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, Washington, District of Columbia, 1837, pp 542-543.
74. op cit., Kent, pp 35-36.
75. op cit., Jones, pp 272-273.
76. In all lists of the participants, beginning with U. J. Jones' narrative, the name of 'M. Davis' is included. A search of men by the surname Davis who were in the Bedford County Militia revealed that only one, Morgan Davis, had a given name beginning with the letter 'M'. The name appears in only one record, a list of Bedford County Militia who received depreciation pay in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 230.
77. The name of Joseph Roberts was not included in U. J. Jones' narrative. A pension application was filed in Huntingdon County by Agnes Berry, the widow of Joseph Roberts. She stated that her husband had been killed on 16 July 1780 while serving as a Private in Capt. William Phillips' Company in the Woodcock Valley.
78. The name of 'P. Sanders' was included in U. J. Jones' narrative. The given name of 'Philip' was suggested by C. Hale Sipe in the speech that he gave at the 1933 marker dedication. In the transcript of his speech, a question mark (?) was included, signifying that although he was stating the 'P' no doubt referred to the given name of 'Philip,' he could not prove it. The name of Philip Sanders does not appear in any roster of the Bedford County Militia, nor does the name appear in any tax assessment return for Bedford County during the years of the American Revolutionary War.
79. As with P(hilip), the name of 'T. Sanders' was included in U. J. Jones' narrative. The given name of 'Thomas' was suggested by C. Hale Sipe in the speech that he gave at the 1933 marker dedication. In the transcript of his speech, a question mark (?) was included, signifying that although he was stating the 'T' no doubt referred to the given name of 'Thomas,' he could not prove it. The name of Thomas Sanders does not appear in any roster of the Bedford County Militia, nor does the name appear in any tax assessment return for Bedford County during the years of the American Revolutionary War.
80. op cit., Baughman, p 22.
81. ibid., p 22.
82. ibid., p 22.
83. David Ira Foster & Jon D. Baughman, *Trials and Tribulations ~ An Account of the Early Settlement of the Broad Top Area*, Youth For Progress, Saxton, Pennsylvania, p 6.
84. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume III, pp 241-242.
85. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Hopewell Township 1779.
86. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Hopewell Township 1775, 1776 and 1779.
87. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Frankstown Township 1779.
88. William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series, Volume XXIII, p 347.
89. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, pp 55,56.
90. *Haldimand Papers, Register of Correspondence of Genl Haldimand With Col. Guy Johnson 1779-1783*, Presented by Will. Holdomand Esqr, Jan 1857, British Library, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21766, Volume B-106, pp 31-33. Accessed via UNB (University of New Brunswick) Reel #47.
91. *Haldimand Papers, Register of Correspondence of Genl Haldimand With Col. Guy Johnson 1779-1783*, Presented by Will. Holdomand Esqr, Jan 1857, Mus. Brit. 21766. British Library, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21766, Volume B-106, p 371. Accessed via UNB (University of New Brunswick) Reel #47.
92. James D. Hostetler, *Massacres Across Pennsylvania*, AMK Press, 1998, p 64. According to his footnotes, Mr. Hostetler primarily utilized U. J. Jones' narrative, but he also took certain liberties with the facts in order to

- make his own narrative a little more interesting. Jones never said that the white men's dress and mannerisms made it obvious that the two of them had been adopted by the Indians.
93. op cit., Baughman, p 16.
 94. op cit., Bell, pp 5-6.
 95. op cit., Baughman, p 10.
 96. Thomas Lynch Montgomery (ed.), *Report of the Commission To Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, Second Edition, Wm. Stanley Ray, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1916. Two Volumes.
 97. op cit., Waterman, Watkins & Co., pp 330-331.
 98. op cit., Foster & Baughman, p 5.
 99. op cit., Foster & Baughman, p 6.
 100. Larry D. Smith, *Mother Bedford and the American Revolutionary War*, Closson Press, Apollo, Pennsylvania, 1999, p 112.
 101. ibid., p 449.
 102. op cit, Baughmen, p 10.
 103. op cit., Jones, p 273.
 104. op cit., Foster & Baughman, p 6.
 105. ibid., p 6.
 106. Charles Morse Stotz, *Outposts of the War for Empire*, Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005, p 137.
 107. N. Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, Neill and Company, Edinburgh, 1789. –Also, *Note*: U. J. Jones, ostensibly using Edward Bell's *Memoirs* also referred to the Bedford County Militia involved in this incident as Captain Phillips' Scout ~ op cit., Jones, p 271.
 108. op cit., Jones p 268.
 109. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book M-3, p 290.
 110. op cit., Baughman, pp 11-12.
 111. op cit., Jones, pp 272-273.
 112. ibid., p 273.
 113. David B. Weaver and Samuel B. Stoler, *The Bedford Gazette*, newspaper article: *Sons of American Revolution Look Up Site of Massacre*, issue of 30 July 1915, p 4.
 114. op cit., Jones, p 273.
 115. op cit., Sipe, unnumbered p 3.
 116. op cit., Jones, p 273.
 117. ibid., Jones, p 275.
 118. op cit., Sipe, unnumbered p 4.
 119. op cit, Kent, p 36.
 120. Ron Morgan, *The Daily News*, newspaper article: *Indian Massacre Noted; Many Accounts Listed*, issue of 2 July 1980, p 9.
 121. op cit., Jones, p 275.
 122. op cit., Weaver and Stoler, p 4.
 123. Russel Headley (ed.), *The History of Orange County, New York*, Van Deusen and Elms, Middletown, New York, 1908, p 26.
 124. op cit., Baughman, p 15.
 125. Peter Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, Volume II, M. St. Clair Clark & Peter Force, Washington, 1839, p 93.
 126. op cit., Sipe, unnumbered p 6.
 127. op cit., Jones, p 276.
 128. op cit., Baughman, p 15.
 129. ibid., p 19.
 130. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VIII, pp 488-489.
 131. ibid., p 491.
 132. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume VI, p 273.
 133. op cit., Jones, p 272.
 134. Ron Morgan, *The Daily News*, newspaper article: *Remains Of 7 Rangers Discovered By Workers*, issue of 7 July 1980, p 3.
 135. op cit., Bell, pp 5-6.
 136. Chris McHenry, *Rebel Prisoners at Quebec 1778-1783*, p 24.
 137. ibid., p 278.
 138. Pennsylvania Revolutionary War *Return of Prisoners* files,

139. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Issue 1534 of 16 October 1782, p 3.
140. *United States Account Ledger B*, Nos. CII-DCLXXXVII, Record Group-4, Miscellaneous Accounts, Including Records of Transactions Involving the Commonwealth and the United States, 1782-1809, p 610-611 [Copy obtained from the PA State Archives, 350 North Street, Harrisburg, PA 17120-0090, PA Historic & Museum Commission.]
141. Waterman, Watkins & Co., *History of Bedford, Somerset and Fulton Counties, Pennsylvania*, Chicago, 1884, p. 93.
142. Thomas Lynch Montgomery, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 236.
143. Website: *Genealogy.com*, at the url address: <https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/gartrell/429/> . The information on that website was noted as having come from the book, *The Gartrell/Gatrell Ancestry of Colonial Maryland*, by Randall A. Haines.
144. *1790 US Census*, p 123, column 3.
145. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume VI, pp 392, 403, 419, 437.
146. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, pp 172, 187.
147. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume VI, p 64.
148. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 683.
149. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, pp 299, 301, 303, 305, 308, 309.
150. Website: *Ancestry.com*, at the url address: <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/11570594/person/-107466613/facts>. In 1976, the Bonner-Sollenberger American Legion Post 456 of Williamsburg, Pennsylvania placed a bronze grave marker from the Veterans Administration on a gravesite that they claimed was that of Elijah Phillips. The gravesite is located on the property once owned by William Phillips and currently owned by the Biddle family. William F. Keagy, Commander of District #21 and the Graves Registration Officer, claimed to have researched it and identified it as that of Elijah Phillips. Unfortunately, Mr. Keagy did not feel that it was necessary to disclose what proof he had to make the claim, and he died in 2016.
151. Website: *Ancestry.com*, at the url address: <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/53045954/person/140066566606/facts> .
152. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 533.
153. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume VII, pp 197, 205, 210, 214, 439, 704, 723, 747, 750, 774,
154. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 56.
155. Website: Shirley Family Association, at the url address: <http://www.shirleyassociation.com/NewShirleySite/NonMembers/UnitedStates/Lineages/Williambranch14.html>.
156. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series,, Volume IV, p 533.
157. op cit., Sipe, unnumbered p 9.
158. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 504.
159. op cit., Sipe, unnumbered pp 9-10.
160. ibid., Sipe, unnumbered p 9.
161. *History of St. Bartholomew's Roman Catholic Parish*, Wilmore, Pennsylvania, 1909, p 13.
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163. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania State Archives, Records of the Land Office, RG-17, *Warrant Registers, 1733-1957*, {Series #17.88}, *Bedford County Warrant Register*, p 174. –Also, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania State Archives, Records of the Land Office, RG-17, *Patent Index, P Series (P-1 to P-19), 1781-1794*, {Series #17.154}, *P18*, p 229. –Also, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau of Archives and History, Pennsylvania State Archives, Records of the Land Office, RG-17, *Copied Surveys, 1681-1912*, {Series #17.114}, *C-173*, p 123.
164. Jon Baughman, *Soldiers give accounts of Phillips Rangers' massacre, Part IV*. Newspaper article: *Bedford/Blair County Shoppers Guide*, issue of 10 June 2006, p 21.
165. Larry D. Smith, *Bedford County, Pennsylvania ~ One and One-Half Centuries in the Making*, in-progress, pp 39-40.
166. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Barree Township 1774.
167. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Frankstown Township 1775.
168. Bedford County Court House, Bedford, Pennsylvania, Archives, Loose papers, Tax Assessment Returns, Frankstown Township 1779.
169. Milton Scott Lytle, *History of Huntingdon County in the State of Pennsylvania*, William H. Roy, Publisher, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1876, p 95.

170. Peter Force, *American Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, p 32.
171. *ibid.*, pp 43-44.
172. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book A-1, pp 236-238.
173. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book B-1, pp 454-458.
174. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book C-1, p 362.
175. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 Pennsylvania*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1908, p 123.
176. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book D-1, pp 434-435.
177. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book D-1, p 527.
178. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book E, p 398.
179. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book E, p 462.
180. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book E, p 454.
181. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book E, p 425 and Deed Book E, p 428.
182. Huntingdon County Court House, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, Register and Records Office, Deed Book F-1, p 116.
183. Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania Court House, Register & Records Office, Book F-1, pp 23-24.
184. Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania Court House, Register & Records Office, Book F, p 395.
185. Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania Court House, Register & Records Office, Book G-1, p 293.
186. Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania Court House, Register & Records Office, Book H-1, p 166.
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210. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, pp 152-153.
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213. op cit., Hoenstine, p 23.
214. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume VI, pp 410-412.
215. op cit., Jones, p 305.
216. op cit., Jones, p 303.
217. op cit., Hoenstine, p 21.
218. op cit., Africa, p 48.
219. *Haldimand Papers, Register of Correspondence of Genl Haldimand With Col. Guy Johnson 1779-1783*, Presented by Will. Holdomand Esqr, Jan 1857, Mus. Brit. 21766. British Library, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21766, Volume B-106, pp 53-57. Accessed via UNB (University of New Brunswick) Reel #47.
220. *Haldimand Papers, Register of Correspondence of Genl Haldimand With Col. Guy Johnson 1779-1783*, Presented by Will. Holdomand Esqr, Jan 1857, Mus. Brit. 21766. British Library, MG 21, Additional Manuscript 21767, Volume B-107, p 234. Accessed via UNB (University of New Brunswick) Reel #47.
221. op cit., Harris, p 392.
222. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
223. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XII, pp 622-623.
224. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XI, pp 743-744.
225. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 109.
226. ibid, pp 95-96.
227. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XI, pp 743-744.
228. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 95.
229. ibid., p 109.
230. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, pp 231-254.
231. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
232. op cit., Jones, p 306.
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234. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 92.
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237. op cit., Harris, p 393.
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239. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files (NARA microfilm publication M804, 2,670 rolls). Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
240. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
241. op cit., Harris, pp 389-390.
242. op cit., NARA microfilm publication M804, Application of Horatio Jones, dated 27 January 1834, first unnumbered page.
243. op cit., Harris, pp 389-390.
244. ibid., p 390.
245. ibid., p 390.
246. Newspaper, Wellsville Daily Reporter, Article: *History, Life Of Chief Shongo Told By Town Of Alma Historian*, issue of Friday March 24, 1972, p 2.
247. Newspaper, Altoona Mirror, Article: *Many Area Sites Are Tied To Nation's Early History*, issue of Friday June 23, 1978.
248. op cit., Harris, pp 390-391.
249. ibid., p 392.
250. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.

251. op cit., Harris, p 392.
252. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, p 192.
253. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, pp 202-203.
254. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
255. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, pp 152-153.
256. op cit., Harris, p 394.
257. op cit., Hoenstine, p 23.
258. *ibid.*, p 24.
259. op cit., Jones, pp 306-307.
260. op cit., Harris, p 388.
261. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
262. John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington*, Volume 14, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1936, pp 186-188.
263. op cit., Harris, p 394.
264. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
265. *ibid.*, p 394.
266. *ibid.*, pp 24-25.
267. op cit., Harris, p 394.
268. op cit., Jones, p 307.
269. *ibid.*, p 307.
270. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
271. op cit., Harris, p 394.
272. op cit., Hoenstine, p 24.
273. *ibid.*, p 24.
274. Although it might be repetitive, it needs to be emphasized that none of the actual first-hand accounts of the engagement (*i.e.* the pension applications) described the sequence of events of the engagement. Horatio Jones' narrative was a third-hand account. The first-person tense of Harris' narrative almost convinces the reader that it is the actual words of Horatio Jones. And in our desire to hear the voice of someone who actually experienced the engagement, we may momentarily forget that Harris got his information from Jones' son-in-law, B. F. Angel and not Jones himself. The only other sources of the incident were the undocumented narratives written by Uriah J. Jones and Floyd G. Hoenstine written in 1856 and 1940 respectively. There is no way of knowing, therefore, what actually did happen. In the absence of actual first-hand accounts, the historians filled in the blank spaces with their, often stereotyped ideas of the reality.
275. op cit., Jones, p 307.
276. *ibid.*, p 308.
277. op cit., Hoenstine, p 25.
278. *ibid.*, p 25.
279. op cit., Harris, p 394.
280. *ibid.*, p 395.
281. *ibid.*, pp 396-7.
282. *ibid.*, 397.
283. op cit., Jones, pp 307-308.
284. It cannot be emphasized enough that Floyd Hoenstine noted various injuries on the rest of the men known to have been wounded, but he provided no sources for his information. A check of pension applications reveals that although David Beates, Abraham Bodle, Hugh Means and Adam Wimer applied for pensions, none of them noted where they were injured. For Floyd Hoenstine to provide information not stated by the actual men involved is reckless historical research. Hugh Means' injury was noted on a "*List Of Soldiers ~ Militia, Flying Camp and Rangers from Pennsylvania who were applicants for State annuities, giving residence at the time, with statement of service during the Revolution. Taken from the Journals of Assembly.*" *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XV, p 768.
285. George P. Belden, *Belden, The White Chief; or Twelve Years Among the Wild Indians of the Plains*, C.F. Vent, Cincinnati and New York, 1870, p 139.
286. op cit., Jones, p 308-309.
287. *ibid.*, p 307.
288. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, p 192.
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290. op cit., Harris, pp 394-395.
291. op cit., *Haldimand Papers*, 21766 and 21767, Volume B-107, p 234.
292. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, p 202.

293. op cit., NARA microfilm publication M804.
294. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 520.
295. op cit., Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files.
296. ibid.
297. Peter S. DuPonceau, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XVI, 1853, p 71.
298. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XV, p 769.
299. op cit., Harris, p 398.
300. Bedford County Court House, Orphan's Court, Loose papers.
301. John Franklin Meginness, *Otzinachson; or, A History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna*, Henry B. Ashmead, Philadelphia, 1857, p 287.
302. op cit., Harris, p 400; -Also, op cit., Hoenstine, p 26. *Note:* No man by the surname Ross, associated with Bedford County, appears in any of the published *Pennsylvania Archives*.
303. op cit., Meginness, pp 286-287.
304. ibid., p 287.
305. op cit., Hoenstine, p 26.
306. op cit., Harris, pp 398-399.
307. ibid., p 399.
308. ibid., p 399.
309. ibid., p 399.
310. ibid., p 404.
311. ibid., p 406.
312. ibid., pp 406-407.
313. op cit., Whisker, p 146.
314. *Haldimand Papers, Letters from Officers Commanding at Niagara 1781*, Mus. Brit. Add. Mss. 21761. (B-101), British Library, MG 21, H-1447, Image 103.
315. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, pp 108, 109. -Also, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, p 743.
316. ibid., p 743. -Also, op cit., Hoenstine, p 35.
317. op cit., NARA microfilm publication M804.
318. Any document can possess errors. The transcriber can make error in transcription of original documents, and the writer of the original document could make an error. Therefore it must be assumed that the document transcribed in the published *Pennsylvania Archives*, Volume XI, page 743 is in error.
319. *1745-1880 History of Indiana County, Penn'a*, J. A. Caldwell, Newark, Ohio, 1880, pp 415-416.
320. ibid., p 743.
321. ibid., p 743.
322. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 108.
323. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 503.
324. Bedford County Court House, Orphans Court, unnumbered Docket and Page, entry of 14 February 1786.
325. ibid.
326. op cit., Hoenstine, p 25.
327. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 108. -Also, op cit., Jones, pp 307-308.
328. op cit., Jones, pp 307-308.
329. ibid., p 245. -Also, op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, pp 108, 109.
330. Information on the descendants of Joseph Martin derived from public trees on Ancestry.com
331. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, pp 245.
332. ibid., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, pp 504, 776.
333. Bedford County Court House, Orphans Court, unnumbered Docket and Page, entry of 10 August 1786.
334. James B. Whisker, *Bedford County (Pennsylvania) in the American Revolution*, Closson Press, Apollo, Pennsylvania, 1985, p 146.
335. Information on the descendants of Henderson Murphy derived from public trees on Ancestry.com
336. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, p 744.
337. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 109.
338. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 504.
339. Bedford County Court House, Orphans Court, unnumbered Docket and Page, entry of 14 February 1786.
340. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XVI, p 148.
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342. ibid., p 487.
343. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, p 744.
344. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 95.

345. op cit., Hoenstine, p 29.
346. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XV, p 763.
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348. National Archives; Washington, D.C.; *Compiled Service Records of Soldiers who Served in the American Army During the Revolutionary War*; Record Group Title: *War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records*; Record Group Number: 93; Series Number: M881; NARA Roll Number: 839.
349. Information on the descendants of Stephen Goble derived from public trees on Ancestry.com
350. Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M246, 138 rolls); War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, Record Group 93; National Archives, Washington. D.C.
351. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 109.
352. op cit., National Archives, *Compiled Service Records*.
353. ibid., p 95. –Also, op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XV, p 768.
354. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XII, pp 622-623.
355. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Volume XI, pp 743-744.
356. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 80.
357. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 776.
358. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Colonial Records, Volume XIII, p 168.
359. op cit., Hoenstine, p 50.
360. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 92.
361. ibid., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume II, pp 484, 486, 488.
362. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume III, pp 675, 680.
363. op cit., Meginness, p 286.
364. *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume IV, p 503.
365. Bedford County Court House, Orphans Court, unnumbered Docket and Page, entry of 7 February 1786.
366. *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume VII, p 702.
367. op cit., Whisker, p 146.
368. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series, Volume V, p 80.
369. op cit., *Pennsylvania Archives*, First Series, Volume IX, pp 733-734.
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