

THE DESTRUCTION



OF HANNA'S TOWN

PART I

By James B. Richardson III



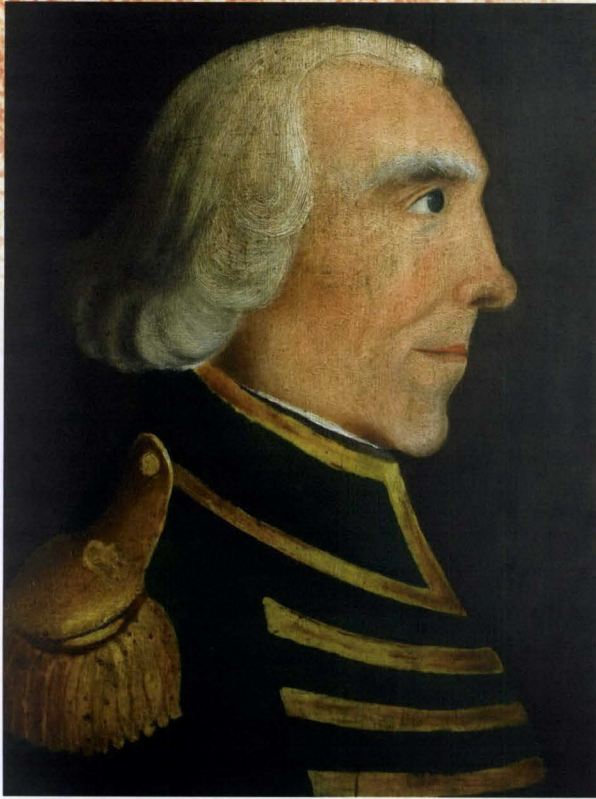
Reconstructed homes at Hanna's Town.

Mark McConaughy

TWO HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

have passed since that fateful Saturday on July 13, 1782, when Hanna's Town, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, was attacked and burned by a combined force of Seneca and British. Much has been published on the attack and its aftermath from the American side, but little has been revealed about who conceived and led it.

In 1970, I directed a University of Pittsburgh archaeological field school at the site of Hanna's Town, discovering the location of Charles Foreman's tavern and home—one of only two of the 30 or so log dwellings left standing after the town's burning. In the process of placing the archaeological record within the history of Hanna's Town (the first county seat and court of justice west of the Alleghenies), I was able to identify the leaders of the attacking forces, and over the past 37 years have continued research on the individuals who were responsible for the most devastating attack in Western Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary War.¹



Portrait of Lieutenant Colonel Butler, commander of Butler's Rangers and deputy superintendent of the Six Nations Indian Department at Fort Niagara. Courtesy of the Niagara Historical Society & Museum

Setting the Stage

"The shot heard 'round the world" at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775, began America's eight-year-long struggle for independence from British rule. The news of this electrifying battle soon reached Westmoreland County where the inhabitants convened a meeting at Hanna's Town on May 16, 1775, resulting in the now-famous Hanna's Town Resolves. This Western Pennsylvania declaration of independence was in support of their brethren in Massachusetts to throw off the yoke of British dominance.

Lexington and Concord also energized Sir John Johnson, the son of, and Sir Guy Johnson, the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of the Northern District of the British Indian Department, to hold the Mohawk Valley in New York for the British against increasing pressure from the rebels. Sir William Johnson kept the Iroquois

Confederacy allied with British interests through diplomacy, his military leadership, and his influential consort, Molly Brandt. He held his position from 1746 until his death on May 11, 1774, at a major Indian council at his home, Johnson Hall.

Sir Guy Johnson, who succeeded his uncle as superintendent of the Indian Department, garrisoned his home with loyalists, drawing the ire of the rebel's Albany Committee of Correspondence. Soon realizing it was futile to continue holding the Valley, Sir Guy left his home at Guy Park and headed for British-controlled Montreal with 120 loyalists (including the staff of the Indian Department) and 90 Mohawks on May 31, 1775. One of the loyalists in his retinue was John Powell, blacksmith and

farmer. Sir John Johnson, who had inherited his father's 170,000-acre estate with its 1,000 tenants, held on for another year, but when General Phillip Schuyler led a rebel force to seize him, Sir John left Johnson Hall for Montreal. He was accompanied by John Butler of the Indian Department, the great Mohawk leader Joseph Brandt (Thayendanegea), and 250 loyalists. Included on this May 19 journey was Robert Lottridge, Jr., a tailor.²

A month later, Sayenqueraghta, a renowned Seneca war chief, convened at the Iroquois town of Onondaga in central New York, where the Iroquois Confederacy discussed their participation in the war between the rebels and the British. Attending the council were leaders and warriors of all the Iroquois Nations except the Mohawks. Simon Girty had been sent by George Morgan of the Continental Indian

Department at Fort Pitt with a peace belt to ask the Six Nations Iroquois to remain neutral in this growing conflict. The council reaffirmed their neutrality and sent a message of friendship to Morgan, designating Sayenqueraghta to go to Fort Niagara to demand that Major Butler, a deputy superintendent of the Indian Department, recall the Iroquois under his influence.

On July 6, 1776, at a council at Fort Pitt, the Seneca chief Kayashota (Guyasuta), known for his many military exploits in Western Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion, echoed Sayenqueraghta's attempts to keep the Confederacy neutral as the Revolution unfolded. Yet, despite these pledges of neutrality, six years after the council at Onondaga, Sayenqueraghta formulated and led the attack on Hanna's Town, accompanied by Kayashota and captains John Powell and Robert Lottridge, Jr., who both had joined the Indian Department after their escape to Montreal.³

Hanna's Town at the Time of the Attack

Westmoreland County was established out of Bedford County on February 26, 1773, with Hanna's Town as its county seat, holding its first court session on April 6, 1773. By 1775, Hanna's Town rivaled Pittsburgh in size, consisting of over 30 log dwellings, three taverns, a jail, and Fort Reed. In its nine years of existence, Hanna's Town was the center of law and justice for this vast region. During the Revolution, it epitomized the patriotic response to the rebel cause, sending hundreds of its citizens to battles in the east and sustaining offensive pressure and a defensive stance against the British and their Indian allies in the west.

There is no existing plan of Hanna's Town, but there have been a number of attempts to determine its layout—much based on speculation. The 1896 Steele plan was an excellent attempt, for it placed the

houses along the edges of Forbes Road, which traveled through the settlement. However, in 1984, Robert J. Fryman and John T. Eddins of the University of Pittsburgh conducted an archaeological testing program at Hanna's Town. Using information from previous archaeological investigations at the site and the careful reading of existing deeds to property, they developed the best plan to date.

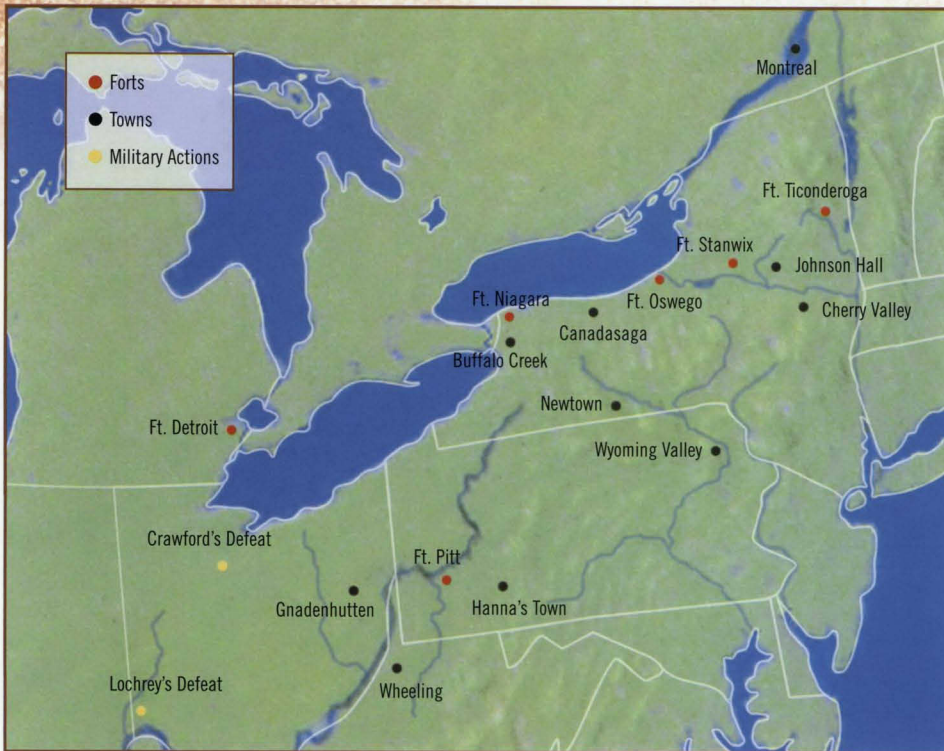
The 357-acre town was founded by Robert Hanna, who sold lots to settlers pouring over the Alleghenies. The extant deeds reveal that these lots were 60 feet wide and 140 or 240 feet in length. Hanna mandated the minimum size of the log cabin houses, stating in two deeds that they should be at least 18-foot square, many of which had two stories. In the deeds, there are named streets such as Main (Forbes Road), the current road that bisects the archaeological site of Hanna's Town. Thompson Street was 140 feet from and parallel to Main Street, which places it in front of Fort Reed's main gate. Fort Reed, 60 feet wide and 140 feet in length, became the key to reconstructing the town plan, as it mirrored the exact measurements of the lots sold by Hanna. Using the fort as one lot, the excavated concentrations of artifacts throughout the site, and the location of Foreman's tavern, Fryman and Eddins made a major breakthrough and were able to lay out the town plan of house lots and out lots on the north and south side of Main Street. There are also east/west streets, such as Penn's Street and Strawberry Alley, whose locations are not precisely known. This layout reflects the appearance of Hanna's Town at the time of the attack in 1782.⁴

The only protection the inhabitants had at the time of the assault was a stockade fort, later named Fort Reed. The earliest fort was built in 1774 as the result of the conflict over land claims between Virginia's Governor Dunmore and the Shawnee. Although not



Sir Guy Johnson, superintendent of the British Indian Department for the Northern District during the Revolutionary War. Standing behind him is Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill). Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

MAP OF FORTS, MILITARY ACTIONS, AND TOWNS DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (USING MODERN STATE BOUNDARIES)



party to this debate, the Pennsylvanians were nonetheless apprehensive the turmoil would spill over into the Hanna's Town region, especially since the Virginians held Fort Pitt. Many residents fled eastward over the Alleghenies, while others erected forts and blockhouses for the protection of their families.

There are records indicating that forts may also have been built or rebuilt on this same site in 1776 and 1777, and that in 1781, this fort was dismantled and re-erected in another location. This relocated fort was the 1781 stockade, named Fort Reed, after Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Council of Pennsylvania from 1778-1781. Fort Reed, discovered through archaeological research, was made of vertical posts to form a stockade, with two bastions and a store house. Even as flimsy as this fort must have been, cannons would have been necessary to break down its defenses.⁵

From Bad to Worse: The Western Pennsylvania Frontier in 1781 and 1782

The beginning of the Revolution saw the British northern forts and their Indian allies in New York, Ohio, and Michigan poised to attack the rebel settlements in Pennsylvania, western Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky. It was from Fort Niagara that many of the raids into Western Pennsylvania by the British and their Iroquois allies were mounted. Not only was there a detachment of the 8th Kings Regiment of Foot and other regular regiments at Fort Niagara, but Major John Butler, deputy superintendent of the Six Nations Indian Department, was authorized by Sir Guy Carleton in 1777 to raise a battalion of eight companies of rangers to be stationed at Fort Niagara. This battalion became known as Butler's Rangers. The Indian Department personnel (also commanded by Butler), their Indian allies, and Butler's Rangers conducted raids throughout the upper Ohio Valley and elsewhere.⁶

Fort Pitt had been abandoned by the British in 1772 and was later reoccupied by Virginia troops in 1774 during "Dunmore's War." The Continental Army, under General Edward Hand, took control in 1777 and Fort Pitt became its Western District headquarters. Fort Pitt was pivotal in protecting the farming population in the upper Ohio Valley and ensuring that vital river communication routes remained open to western Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, and south to New Orleans. A series of small forts, blockhouses, and fortified houses were established throughout southwestern Pennsylvania and western Virginia for the defense of the population.

The British policy was twofold: maintain military pressure on the Ohio Valley to deny foodstuffs to the eastern armies and draw Continental troops to the defense of the region taking forces away from the major conflicts in the east. This also had the effect of keeping potential recruits tied down in militia units in offensive and defensive operations in the west. The 8th Pennsylvania regiment was formed in 1776 in Western Pennsylvania to protect the region from attack, but in 1777, the 8th was ordered to join Washington's forces in the east, not to return to Fort Pitt until March of the next year. There was also a fractious relationship between the commanders of Fort Pitt and local militia. The disputes varied from how to counter the incessant attacks by the British and their Indian allies, their access to military supplies, and how the Continental Army's Indian allies should be treated.

In the minds of the militia, who were bearing the brunt of the attacks, "the only good Indian was a dead Indian," allies or not. This discord between the militia and the commanders of Fort Pitt continued throughout the war. In 1780, militia officers Joseph Brownlee, William Guthrie, Joseph Erwin, and Matthew Jack led a contingent from Hanna's Town intending to murder 40

friendly Delaware at Fort Pitt. They were prevented by Colonel Daniel Broadhead, commander of Fort Pitt from 1779-1781, who guarded his Indian allies with Continental troops. There was such an uproar by the local militia and politicians against Broadhead, that he was removed by General Washington. In November 1781, Brigadier General William Irvine was appointed to succeed him. Irvine found the fort in disrepair and the unpaid garrison mutinous.

Since 1777, there had been increasing requests by the Iroquois for the British to mount a joint attack on Fort Pitt, but time and again they were rebuffed. The British realized that even if Fort Pitt was taken it would be difficult to maintain a garrison, for their supply lines would have been stretched to the breaking point. The importance of Fort Pitt cannot be underestimated as the western bulwark against the British and their Indian allies' attempts to wrest the western theater from the rebel forces.⁷

In 1781 alone, 2,945 warriors in 64 war parties attacked the rebels in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. On August 26, 1781, Colonel Archibald Lochry (the county lieutenant) and 100 men from Westmoreland County, on the way to join George Rodgers Clark for an attack on Fort Detroit, were ambushed by Joseph Brandt, and all were killed or captured. In a letter from Irvine to Washington on December 2, 1781, Irvine said, Lochry's annihilation "threw the people of this country into the greatest consternation and almost despair, particularly Westmoreland County, Lochry's party being all the best men of the frontier."⁸ On March 7, 1782, Colonel David Williamson led a militia force to the town of Gnadenhutten, Ohio, where they brutally murdered 96 peaceful Moravian Delaware, two-thirds of them women and children.

This barbaric act was in response to the murder of William Wallace's wife and

children a few days earlier on Raccoon Creek. The returning militia attacked the friendly Delaware on Kilbuck Island near Pittsburgh, killing 30 who had remained loyal to the Continental cause. The militia rejoiced in their "victory" at Fort Pitt, auctioning off the loot from Gnadenhutten and waving scalps. They also sold shaving strops made of the skin of the slaughtered Delaware from Kilbuck Island.

A few months later on June 4-6, Colonel William Crawford, a former justice of the Westmoreland County court, with 485 militia from Washington and Westmoreland Counties, was routed by a British and Shawnee force on his way to attack the Indian villages at Sandusky. This loss of so many militia officers and men from Westmoreland County further weakened the defense of the region on the eve of the Hanna's Town attack. As revenge for the Gnadenhutten massacre, Crawford was tortured to death.⁹

The Attack

In 1782 there were only two raids into Pennsylvania; western Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky took the brunt of the Indian and British offensive operations. The first was on April 15, when a force of Butler's Rangers and Indians led by Lieutenant Robert Niles of the Indian Department attacked a blockhouse on Bald Eagle Creek in central Pennsylvania. The other took place on July 13 when Hanna's Town was destroyed by an overwhelming force of Seneca and a small British contingent.¹⁰

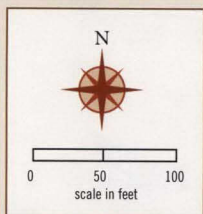
The database for reconstructing the details of the attack are scant, for there are few firsthand accounts from Hanna's Town participants immediately following the attack. There exist only three letters by Michael Hufnagle, present at Hanna's Town during the attack, that briefly discuss the destruction of the town.



A private in Butler's Rangers uniform, illustrated by Lieutenant Charles M. Lefferts.

Collection of the New-York Historical Society

HANNA'S TOWN LOT PLAN ADAPTED FROM FRYMAN AND EDDINS



Foreman's tavern excavation
pits are pictured here with
artifacts found at the site.

- A) Detail: Spoon handle with initials of Charles and Sarah Foreman. B) Creamware tea cup. C) 1778 Charles III Mexican coin.**

Photos courtesy of author



Hanna's Tavern reconstruction.
Mark McConaughy



Fort Reed reconstruction.
Mark McConaughy

Huffnagle, a lawyer, was a justice of the Westmoreland County court as well as a captain in the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment from 1776 to 1778. The day after the attack, he wrote from Hanna's Town to General Irvine at Fort Pitt saying:

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 were 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 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 (Miller's Station). 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.¹¹

On July 17, Huffnagle sends word to Irvine from Hanna's Town providing further information on the attack:

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 our parties out since and 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 a dozen horses for the inhabitants here.

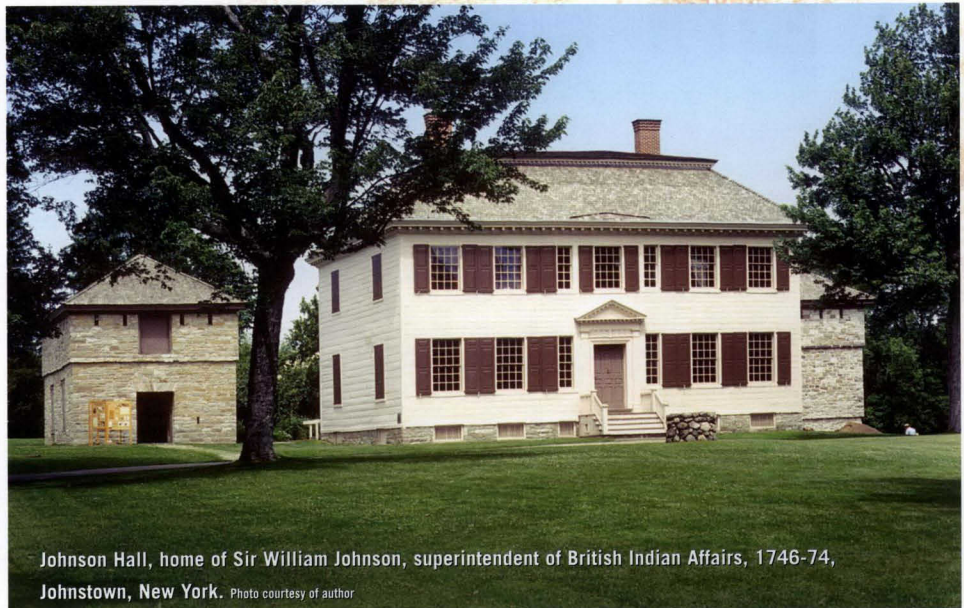
Last Sunday morning, the enemy attacked at one Freeman's farm upon Loyalhanna, killed his son and took two daughters prisoner. From the best account they have killed and taken twenty of the inhabitants hereabouts and burn and destroy as they go along. I am much afraid that the scouting parties stationed at different posts have not done their duty. We discovered where the enemy had encamped and they must have been there for at least ten days; as they had killed several horses and eat them six miles from Brush Run and right on the way to Barr's fort.¹²

Huffnagle also writes from Fort Reed at Hanna's Town on July 17, to William Moore, president of the Supreme Executive Council in Philadelphia saying:

I am sorry to inform your excellency, that last Saturday, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Hannastown was attacked by about one hundred whites and blacks [Indians]. We found several jackets, the buttons marked 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. Hannastown and Fort Miller, in a short time were reduced to ashes, about twenty of the inhabitants killed and taken, about one hundred head of cattle, a number of horses and hogs killed. Such wonton destruction I never beheld – burning and destroying as they went. The people of this place behaved bravely; retired to the fort, left all a prey to the enemy, and with twenty men only, and nine guns in good order, we stood the attack until dark.¹³

The Hufnagle letters provide the bare details of the attack, but other eyewitness accounts written some 50 or more years later greatly amplify the historic record. Judge Richard Coulter obtained information from persons who were present at the attack and published an 1836 article in the *Pennsylvania Argus*. It is from this newspaper account, the pension applications of Elizabeth Brownlee and others, and Hufnagle's correspondence that historians have reconstructed the events.

The attacking force is said to have been 100, but was between 250-300 as related below. The attackers had been discovered by a reaping party 2-1/2 miles north of Hanna's Town who spread the alarm. The residents took refuge in Fort Reed with only nine or so guns, probably having left their arms in their homes while fleeing in haste to the fort. Several Indians were killed or wounded, one by Charles Foreman. One of the two casualties was 13-year-old Peggy Shaw who was shot saving a young boy and later died of her wounds. Reinforcements arrived that night, and by dawn the next day the Seneca and British had begun their journey with their captives and loot back to Fort Niagara.



Johnson Hall, home of Sir William Johnson, superintendent of British Indian Affairs, 1746-74, Johnstown, New York. Photo courtesy of author

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.

The devastating human toll occurred 2-1/2 miles away at Miller's Station (also referred to as Miller's blockhouse or fort) where a wedding had taken place. Elizabeth Hanna, the wife of Robert Hanna, and her daughter Jane along with Elizabeth Brownlee and her infant daughter Jane were captured. Once the identity of Elizabeth's husband Joseph Brownlee was discovered, the Indians who knew of his hatred for them killed him and his son, whom he was carrying. The final toll came on Sunday, when a party attacked Freeman's farm on Loyalhanna Creek, killing his son and capturing his two daughters. In the eyewitness accounts, only Elizabeth Brownlee Guthrie in her pension applications mentions one of the leaders of the attack—Robert Lottridge.¹⁴

In the later histories of Westmoreland County and Western Pennsylvania, the loyalists Alexander McKee, John Connolly, Simon Girty, and the Seneca chief Kayashota are fingered as the instigators. George D.

Albert, author of *History of the County of Westmoreland*, says, "We have not been able to find who was the leader of the Indians and renegades in the invasion and the true story will perhaps never be found out." John N. Boucher, author of *Old and New Westmoreland*, states, "It will probably never be certainly known who commanded the Indian forces at Hannastown. It was more likely Guyasutta on the part of the Indians, and Connolly ... on the part of the Tories, although his presence has never been proved."¹⁵

The correspondence of General Frederick Haldimand, who was the governor and military chief of the northern theater—stretching from Quebec to Michigan—and his various commanders, reveals the names of the leaders of the Hanna's Town attack. A synopsis of his letters and reports in the British Museum archives were published in *The 1886 and 1887 Report of the Canadian Archives*, leading me in 1973 to both the leaders as well as the rationale behind the attack. 🌀

IN PART II, WE'LL LEARN
MORE ABOUT THE PLAYERS IN
THE ATTACK.



A reenactment group of Colonel John Proctor's Independent Battalion, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, parades at Fort Pitt in downtown Pittsburgh. Photo courtesy of author

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I remain indebted to the late Jacob L. Grimm, a Research Associate of the Section of Anthropology, Carnegie Museum of Natural History and the former director of the Hanna's Town excavations, who asked me to direct an archaeological field school at Hanna's Town in 1970. In 1974 I had a National Endowment for the Humanities Grant to investigate who the leaders were that attacked Hanna's Town. I traveled to the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa and for the first time, the four main leaders of the attack, Sayenqueraghta, Khuyshta, Captain Robert Lottridge, Jr., and Captain John Powell were finally identified. I am truly indebted to Paul L. Stevens, whom I corresponded with in 1990 about information on the above leaders of the attack. In response to my query, he sent me the two manuscripts devoted to the experiences of Captain Robert Lottridge, Jr., and Captain John Powell during the Revolution, which I relied heavily upon in writing this paper. Roma Kennedy and Jill Sybalsky, both direct descendants of Robert Lottridge, Jr., and members of the United Empire Loyalists Association of Canada, also provided valuable information on their ancestor. I wish to also thank and acknowledge Thomas S. Abler, Bruce Antliffe, Ronald J. Dale, Timothy Dubé, Barbara Graymont, and Corrado A. Santoro, who in 1990-91, aided me in seeking out archival sources and references used in this paper.

¹ George D. Albert, *History of the County of Westmoreland*, (Philadelphia, 1882), 138-153. George D. Albert, *The Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, (Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1896), vol. 2, 294-296, 299-324. John N. Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland*, (New York, The American Historical Society Inc., 1918), 401-418. Edgar W. Hassler, *Old Westmoreland: A History of Western Pennsylvania during the American Revolution*, (Pittsburgh, J.R. Weldin and Co., 1900), 176-181. James B. Richardson, III, "The Excavation of Foreman's Tavern: A Lesson in Frustration and Interpretation," paper presented at the *Conference on Historic Archaeology*, Washington, D.C. ms., (1971), 1-14. James B. Richardson, III, "Who Attacked Hannastown," *Spaas* (Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology Allegheny Chapter) *Speaks* 11(2), (1975), 3-5. James B. Richardson, III, "Who Were Those Guys?," paper presented at the *Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology*, ms., (1991), 1-14. James B. Richardson, III, and Kirke C. Wilson, "Hanna's Town and Charles Foreman: The Historical and Archaeological Record," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 59(2), (1976), 153-184. C. Hale Sipe, *The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania*, (Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1929), 665-671.

² Robert S. Allen, "The British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America," *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* 14, (Ottawa, 1975). Robert S. Allen, "The Chain of Friendship: A Short History of the British Indian Department and the Frontier in North America," *Military Collector and Historian*, 29 (3), (1977), 111-113, 140. R. Arthur Bowler and Bruce G. Wilson, "John Butler," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography 1771-1800*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979), vol. 4, 117-120. René Chartrand, "Notes on the Uniforms of the British Indian Department," *Military Collector and Historian*, 29 (3), (1977), 115-

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³ Thomas S. Abler, "Kaien'kwaahnton" (Sayenqueraghta), in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography 1771-1800*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979), vol. 4, 404-406. Thomas S. Abler, "Kayahsota," (Guyasuta), in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography 1771-1800*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979), vol. 4, 408-410. Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1972), 100-102. Phillip W. Hoffman, "Simon Girty: His War on the Frontier," in *The Human Tradition in the American Revolution* edited by Nancy L. Rhoden and Ian K. Steele, (Wilmington, Delaware, SR Books, 2000), 221-240. Richardson and Wilson, 163-167.

⁴ Albert 1896, Steel map between, 320-321. Verna Cowin, *Archaeology and History: Hanna's Town Field Report*, Westmoreland Archaeological Institute and Westmoreland County Community College Continuing Education Division, Publication 1 (1984). Robert J. Fryman and John T. Eddins, *Settlement Boundaries and Lot Placement at Old Hanna's Town*, Westmore-

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⁵ Albert, (1896), 233-245. Boucher, 220-221. Edward H. Hahn and Anna L. Warren, "The Hanna's Town Fort," *Westmoreland County Historical Society Newsletter* (July 1988), 1-3. Richardson and Wilson, 168-169.

⁶ The Indian Department at Fort Niagara was also known as the Six Nations Indian Department and it was commanded by Major John Butler, later promoted to Lt. Colonel in 1780. At full strength, the Niagara Indian department in 1782 consisted of 7 captains, 14 lieutenants, and an ensign. Attached to the department was a detachment of Foresters consisting of 2 sergeants and 42 privates. This support group for the 22 officers served in the field, carried dispatches and goods to Indian towns, manned boats for transport of troops and goods and provided firewood. The captains were placed in charge of their Indian allies, which were formed into 7 companies. The captains and lieutenants were stationed not only at Fort Niagara but also in Indian settlements where they provided both logistic and military support to their allies. In 1777, Major General Guy Carleton, governor of British Canada, authorized Major John Butler to form a battalion consisting of 8 companies of rangers. By spring of 1780, Butler's Rangers were at

full strength, each company consisting of a captain, a lieutenant, 3 sergeants, 3 corporals and 50 privates for a total of 464 troops. An additional 2 companies were raised and in 1781 making it a regiment which had 590 rangers. Although mainly headquartered at Fort Niagara, they were also stationed at Carleton Island, Fort Oswego and Fort Detroit. In 1783 there were 469 rangers at Fort Niagara. Over the course of the 8 years of their existence, less than 900 men served in Butler's Rangers. Due to deaths, sickness and other circumstances, Butler was hard pressed to field more than 200-300 rangers, but even as small a force as Butler's Rangers were, they were a formidable fighting force, especially when combined with the Indian Department's Indian allies. Cruikshank. Mary B. Freyer, *King's Men: Soldier Founders of Ontario*, (Toronto, Dundurn Press, 1980), 129-140, 161, 167, 177. Haldimand Papers, B101, 183-184; B110, 89; 21827, 353. Glenn F. Williams, *Year of the Hangman: George's Washington's Campaign Against the Iroquois*, (Yardley, Westholme, 2005), 58-59.

⁷ Albert, (1896). John A. DeMay, *The Settlers Forts of Western Pennsylvania*, (Apollo, Pennsylvania, Closson Press, 1997). Boucher, 328. Louise P. Kellogg, editor, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio 1778-1779*, (Wisconsin, Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916), vol. 20. Louise P. Kellogg, editor, *Frontier Retreat on the Upper Ohio 1779-1781*, (Wisconsin, Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1917), vol. 24, 290. W. Stephen McBride, Kim A. McBride, and Greg Adamson, *Frontier Forts of West Virginia*, (Charleston, West Virginia, West Virginia Division of Culture and History, 2003). Leonard Sadosky, "Rethinking the Gnadenhutten Massacre: The Contest for Power in the Public World of the Revolutionary Pennsylvania Frontier," in *The Sixty Years' War for the Great Lakes 1754-1814*, edited by David C. Skaggs and Larry L. Nelson, (East Lansing, Michigan State University, 2001), 187-214. Sipe 1929, 610-611. John B. B. Trussell, Jr., *The Pennsylvania Line: Regimental Organization and Operations, 1776-1783*, (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1977), 106-108. Edward G. Williams, "Fort Pitt and the Revolution on the West-

ern Frontier," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 59 (1), (1976), 1-37; 59 (2), (1976), 129-152; 59 (3), (1976), 251-287; 59 (4), (1976), 379-444.

⁸ Consul Willshire Butterfield, *Washington-Irvine Correspondence, the Official Letters*, (Wisconsin, Madison, David Attwood, 1882), 77. Graymont 1972, 245 on the 1781 war parties.

⁹ The British contingent at Crawford's defeat consisted of Butler's Rangers led by Captain William Caldwell and Captain Matthew Elliot of the Indian Department in combination with the Shawnee, led by Alexander McKee, a Deputy Superintendent of the Indian Department at Fort Detroit. Both McKee and Elliot, along with Simon Girty had fled to Fort Detroit in 1778 from Fort Pitt. Parker Brown, "Crawford's Defeat": A Ballad," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, (1981), 64 (4), 311-327. Parker Brown, "Reconstructing Crawford's Army of 1782," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, (1982) 65 (1), 17-36. Parker B. Brown, "The Battle of Sandusky," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, (1982), 65 (2), 115-151. Parker B. Brown, "The Fate of Crawford Volunteers Captured by Indians Following the Battle of Sandusky in 1782," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Society Magazine*, (1982), 65 (4), (1982), 323-340. Consul Willshire Butterfield, *An Historical Account of the Expedition against Sandusky under Col. William Crawford in 1782*, (Cincinnati, 1873). Freyer, 166-167, 170-173, Graymont, 1972, 245. Barbara A. Mann, *George Washington's War on Native America*, (Westport, Connecticut, Praeger, 2005), 144-145, 156-166, 170-174. Larry L. Nelson, *A Man of Distinction Among Them: Alexander McKee and the Ohio Frontier 1754-1799*, (Kent, Ohio, Kent State University Press, 1999), 117-119, 123-126. Sadosky, 187-213.

¹⁰ Albert (1882), 138-148. Albert, (1896), 290-324. Butterfield, 250-254, 381, 383. Cruikshank, 104. Freyer, 170. Richardson, 1975, 1991. Richardson and Wilson, 1976. Haldimand Papers, 21762, 26 on Bald Eagle Creek. Harold A. Thomas, "A Lonely Historic Grave," (Joseph Brownlee). *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 48 (2), 176-183. For Elizabeth Brownlee's pension applications see Anna L. Warren, *A Captive's Tale: The Story of Elizabeth Brownlee Guthrie, Westmorelanders*, Series C, No. 2 (1977). Anna L. Warren et al., Westmoreland in the Revolution: Eyewitness Accounts by Those Who Served, *Westmorelanders*, Series C, No. 3, Part 1, (1981); No. 3, Vol. 2 (1984); No. 3, Vol. 3 (1985). Anna L. Warren, The Burning of Hanna's Town, Part 1, *Westmoreland History*, 6 (2), (2001), 31-46; Part 2, 6 (3), (2001), 41-51.

¹¹ Albert, 1896, 308. Butterfield 381.

¹² Albert, 1896, 308-310. Butterfield, 383-384.

¹³ Albert, 1896, 310-312.

¹⁴ Albert, 1896, 299-324. Boucher, 265-268. Hassler, 176-181. Warren, 1981, 1984, 1985, 2001, Part I and Part II. See Agnes Sligh Turnbull, *The Day Must Dawn*, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1942) for a fictionalized account of Hanna's Town, especially 452-470 for the attack, which is based upon historic documentation.

¹⁵ Albert (1882), 147. Boucher, 416.



A reenactment group of the
8th Pennsylvania Regiment at Fort Pitt.

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