

CHAPTER XIII

Fort Ligonier from 1763 to 1774—
Further View of Early West-
moreland Settlements

When the news of the battle of Bushy Run reached Lieutenant Blane at Fort Ligonier, he hastened to write Colonel Bouquet, congratulating him on his great victory. A correspondence between the two lasted until Bouquet left Fort Pitt, in January, 1764, and returned to the east. Like a voice from the past, these letters tell of the conditions at Fort Ligonier in the days following the life-and-death struggle at Bushy Run. We shall quote a few in this chapter. On August 18, 1763, Lieutenant Blane wrote Colonel Bouquet:

“When you passed this, I found you so much hur-ry’d that I judged it needless to speak to you about the distress of the Inhabitants that have been detained by me for the preservation of this Post.

“At the beginning of the war, all the Inhabitants wanted very much to carry down their families and effects, but as I was not in a situation to defend the Post, I found it necessary to detain them when they represented to me that by keeping them, they would lose everything they brought up with them and all they had in the World.

“What they then dreaded has turned out to be true. I have therefore to beg you would represent their situation to the General that the poor people may not be ruined by my detaining them here.

“There was likewise a number of Pack Horse men detained at the same time and for the same reason,

whose Horses were carried off by the Indians, which I had got all appraised that no doubt might arise about their Value and numbers. I should be glad to know what I am to do with the owners, as they expect Certificates from me and payment for those Horses they had lost."

Colonel Bouquet, on September 15, wrote from Fort Pitt the following letter to Lieutenant Blane, in which he replies to several letters of the latter:

"I received the 10th instant your letters of the fifth, eighth and ninth, with the return of Ligonier. The King's company observes that you have not given credit for some barrels of flour and a strayed ox, which will of course increase the loss of your stores. However, considering all the circumstances, it will be found very moderate. The garrison must supply themselves with firewood in the best manner they can, as the General does not make any allowance for that article; you might have the trees cut now and hauled in when you have horses, as I find it a saving not to cut it small in the woods.

"Can the inhabitants of Ligonier imagine that the King will pay for their houses destroyed for the defense of the fort? At that rate he must pay likewise for two or three hundred pulled down at this post [Fort Pitt], which would be absurd, as those people had only the use and not the property of them, having never been permitted either to sell or rent them, but obliged to deliver them to the King whenever they left them.

"As to their furniture, it is their fault if they have lost it. They might have brought it in or near the fort.

"What cattle has been used for the garrison will of course be paid for, but what has been killed or taken by the enemy I see nothing left to them but to petition

the General to take their case into consideration. I am very sorry for their misfortune, and would assist them if I had it in my power, but it is really not."

Then, on September 17, Blane wrote Bouquet, giving another picture of condition then prevailing at Fort Ligonier:

"I must beg leave to put you once more in mind of Blankets &c for the Garrison, as well as some Salt, Nails and Chaulk which are all absolutely needful here. I must likewise beg leave to recommend to your particular attention the situation of the Sick Soldiers here; as there is neither Surgeon or Medicine here, it would really be charity to order them up to Fort Pitt.

"I must also beg leave to ask what you intend to do with the poor, starved Militia who have neither Shirts, Shoes or anything else, nor are they to be got here. I am sorry you can do nothing for the poor Inhabitants."

Blane got some of the supplies he so sorely needed; for, on November 5, he wrote Bouquet:

"I have received 72 blankets, most of which are so much eat and cut, but all the care possible shall be taken of them. Captain Ourry left me four horses, two of which won't haul a bit; therefore I shall only feed those that work and change the others with the command. I have already finished a Guard house with a chimney and fitted up one Barrack for 36 to 40 Men upon a pinch, and tomorrow night expect to have a stone chimney finished in another Barrack for 18. In short, I hope to fit up Barracks in the fort for 3 officers and 70 men, and should a greater Garrison be needful, 30 or 40 men will have good accommodations in the Barrack before the upper gate, which is an excellent log house and a very good place for the sick."

In another letter, Lieutenant Blane complained to

his Colonel that he was "heartily tired of this post." Then, on November 24, he wrote more strongly along this line, as follows: "I intend going home by the first opportunity, being pretty much tired of the service that's so little worth any man's time; and the more so, as I cannot but think that I have been particularly unlucky in it." The heart of this energetic officer who had been at Fort Ligonier since the days of the Forbes campaign, was growing weary of soldiering in the wilderness.

In order to furnish convoys for provisions and supplies coming over the mountains to Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt, it was necessary for Colonel Bouquet to organize a provisional militia company from among the traders and other borderers who had taken refuge at the latter post. This company, commanded by Captain Ecuyer, was sent to Fort Bedford. It was a very ill-behaved force, and gave Ecuyer much trouble. Letters from Captain Ecuyer and Captain John Stewart, written from Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier, clearly show this. A letter written by Captain Ecuyer at Fort Bedford, on November 13, 1763, states that Captain Stewart's rear guard had been attacked by Indians, and the whole escort had returned to camp at midnight; that he was obliged to flog two of the militia, one for trying to shoot the sergeant and the other for trying to shoot Ecuyer himself. Ecuyer says that he has been twenty-two years in the service, and has never seen such a troop of thieves and bandits. Then he adds: "Au nom d'Dieu laissez-moi aller planter de choux; c'est dans votre pouvoir, monsieur, et j'en aurai une reconnaissance eternelle." (In the name of God let me go home and plant cabbages. It is in your power to let me go, and I will be eternally grateful for it.)

*Colonel Bouquet Again at Fort Ligonier—
His Expedition of 1764*

Despairing of being able to accomplish anything with these provisional militia, "scum and mutineers of the first order," and also despairing of aid from the colonies, Colonel Bouquet obtained leave to go east and undertake the work of raising enough troops to invade the region west of Fort Pitt.

Bouquet made the preparations for his invasion of the Indian country west of Fort Pitt with his wonted energy and zeal. Finally, on August 5, 1764, Bouquet's forces—parts of the Forty-second and Sixtieth Regiments and the Pennsylvania troops—assembled at Carlisle, Virginia having pleaded inability to raise the troops required of that colony. On August 10, the army marched from Carlisle, and arrived at Fort Loudon, on August 13. Bouquet was detained at Fort Loudon for some time. Here he received a message from Colonel Bradstreet, dated at Presqu' Isle on August 14, acquainting him with the fact that he (Bradstreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawnees, whose chiefs and also Guyasuta met him at that place. Bouquet, however, paid no attention to Colonel Bradstreet's unwarranted action, believing the Delawares and Shawnees were not sincere in their intentions, since their raids were continuing. Here, also, he appealed to the Governor of Virginia to raise the quota from that colony, which was later done, and the Virginia troops arrived at Fort Pitt late in September. In spite of the strictest discipline, about two hundred of the Pennsylvania troops deserted by the time the army reached Fort Loudon, leaving only about seven hundred of these forces. Later two soldiers were shot for desertion, an example which the commander found ab-

solutely necessary. It would seem that some of the Pennsylvania soldiers brought dogs with them "to be employed in discovering and pursuing the savages." At least the Governor and Commissioners "agreed to allow Three Shillings per month to Every Soldier who brings a Strong Dog." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 180.)

At this point, before Bouquet comes over the mountains on his way to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum to recover the captives taken by the Indians, we call attention to the fact that, in the spring of 1764, a white man, David Owens, was guilty of an act of greater infamy than any murder committed by the Indians into whose western strongholds Colonel Bouquet was preparing to advance. Owens, whose father had been a trader among the Delawares and Shawnees, was a corporal in Captain McClean's company. He deserted, and went to live among the Delawares and Shawnees, with whose language he was quite familiar. He married a young Shawnee woman, by whom he became the father of three children. In the spring of 1764, he ostensibly went on a hunting trip along the Susquehanna, being accompanied by his wife, his children, another Indian woman, an Indian boy, four Shawnee warriors, all relatives of his wife. One night the party encamped on the banks of the Susquehanna, a Provincial soldier also being present. In the middle of the night, Owens arose, and, by the dull light of the camp fire, saw that the others were asleep. Cautiously awakening the soldier, he told him to go a short distance from the camp, and lie quiet until he should call him. The soldier complied. Then Owens cautiously removed the weapons from the sleeping warriors, and concealed them in the woods, at the same time reserving two loaded rifles for himself. Returning to the camp,

he cautiously pointed a rifle at the head of each of two sleeping warriors, pulled the triggers and shot them dead. The remaining two warriors sprang to their feet, and, believing they were attacked by a large party of whites, bounded off into the woods. Owens then seized a hatchet and dashed out the brains of his wife, his children, the Indian boy and the other Indian woman. The fiend then sat among the bloody corpses of his wife, his children and comrades until dawn, unmoved by the enormity of his deed and undaunted by the gloom of the forest.

In the morning he scalped all his victims except the children, and then took up his way to the settlements with the bloody scalps, thinking that he had made an acceptable atonement for his desertion. He brought the scalps to Philadelphia, "for a reward." It does not appear that he received any monetary reward for his monstrous act; but his desertion was pardoned, and he was employed as an interpreter in the expedition of Colonel Bouquet to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum, then being planned. On April 26, 1764, Governor John Penn wrote Colonel Bouquet: "Owens takes five scalps with him, which will tell his own story." On that same day the Governor gave Owens a passport to proceed to Lancaster and Carlisle with the letter to Colonel Bouquet, requiring "all persons within this Province to permit the said Owens to pass unmolested on his way to those places, he behaving as becometh to all his Majesty's Liege Subjects." (Pa. Archives, Vol. 4, page 173.) In answer to an inquiry made of Sir William Johnson in regard to Owens' history, the former wrote Governor Penn, on June 18, that "he . . . killed them rather to make peace with the English than from any dislike either to them or their principles." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 190.) We shall meet this monster again

in this chapter. Says Parkman: "His example is one of many in which the worst acts of Indian ferocity have been thrown into shade by the enormities of white barbarians."

Leaving Fort Loudon, Bouquet's army marched over the mountains past Fort Bedford and Fort Ligonier. Near Bedford, a soldier was captured. Just after Colonel Reed's (Reid) detachment had passed Fort Bedford, in the latter part of August, the Indians made a raid near that place, in which they took some horses laden with traders' goods, shot some cattle, and killed Isaac Stimble (Stimmel), an industrious inhabitant of Ligonier, whose lands adjoined the garrison lands of Fort Ligonier. Colonel Bouquet reported the murder of Stimble in his letter of August 25. The army arrived at Fort Pitt on September 17, and soon thereafter a party of Delaware chiefs appeared on the western bank of the Allegheny, pretending to be deputies sent by their nation to confer with Bouquet. After some hesitation, three of them came to the fort, and, after being closely questioned, were unable to give a satisfactory account of their mission. Colonel Bouquet then detained two, Captain Pipe and Captain John, as hostages, and sent the other back to his nation with the message that he proposed to pay no attention to the peace the Delawares and Shawnees had made with Colonel Bradstreet, but would march his army against their towns. He also sent word with this chief that, if two messengers which he proposed to send to Colonel Bradstreet were harmed in either going or coming, he would put Captain Pipe and Captain John to death. The liberated chief faithfully performed his mission. On October 1, two Six Nation warriors came to Fort Pitt, and endeavored to persuade the commander not to march into the Indian country, owing to the smallness of his force and

the lateness of the season. Believing that these warriors were actuated by a desire simply to retard the expedition, Bouquet sent them to inform the Delawares and Shawnees that he proposed to move immediately into their country to chastise them unless they should speedily agree to whatever conditions of peace he should impose upon them.

The Virginia troops having arrived and Bouquet now having an army of about fifteen hundred men, the march was started from Fort Pitt on October 4, the Virginia troops leading the way. The next day, the army passed through Logstown, which was then deserted. On October 6, the army crossed the Beaver River, taking the Indian trail which led to the villages on the Tuscarawas, crossing the headwaters of Little Beaver and Yellow Creeks. By October 15, Bouquet had advanced into the very heart of the Indian country, carrying terror to the bloody raiders of the Pennsylvania frontier. While his army was encamped on the Tuscarawas, on October 16, about midway between King Beaver's Town and Killbuck's Town, in the present Tuscarawas County, Ohio, six Indian chiefs came to Bouquet with the information that all of the chiefs were assembled about eight miles from his camp and both ready and anxious to enter into negotiations for peace. He answered that he would meet them the next day in a bower, a short distance from his camp. Accordingly on the 17th, he marched with nearly all the regular troops, the Virginia volunteers and Light Horse, to the place of council, and stationed the troops in such a manner that they would show themselves to the best advantage.

Here, on October 17 and 20, Bouquet held councils with the chiefs of the Delawares, Shawnees and Mingoes. He made no attempt to spare their feelings, but, on the contrary, boldly and scathingly charged them

with cruelty and perfidy. He refused to take them by the hand or to address them as "brothers," but addressed them as "chiefs, captains and warriors." A brilliant and forceful orator, he painted their cruelties in darkest colors, telling them that he would destroy their villages if they did not return the captives and make peace according to his terms. He had the air of a conqueror, dictating terms of peace. He had the qualities the chiefs respected in both Indians and white men. They knew that the commander who had defeated them at Bushy Run meant every word he said, and thus they were humbled to the dust. "I have brought with me," he said, "the relations of those people you have massacred or taken prisoners. They are impatient to take revenge of the bloody murderers of their friends, and it is with the greatest difficulty that I can protect you against their just resentment, by assuring them that no peace shall be granted you till you have given us proper satisfaction. We surround you on every side. It is consequently in our power to destroy you."

It gives the historian no pleasure to record the fact that the powerful speech of Colonel Bouquet charging the Indians with cruelty and perfidy—one of the bitterest philippics in military annals—was translated to them by the infamous villian, David Owens, who had murdered his Indian wife and Indian children for the purpose of getting into the good graces of the whites. Shortly after the delivery and translation of Bouquet's address, he sent Owens to a Shawnee town some miles from the camp, in order to hasten the delivery of the captives held by this tribe. Loudon relates that, upon Owens' arrival at the Shawnee town, the chiefs and warriors held council as to whether they should put him to death for the murder of his Shawnee wife and children and the relatives of his wife. Two of his wife's brothers

were present. The murderer saved his life on this occasion by telling the Shawnees that, if they killed him, Bouquet would kill them.

The chiefs present at the councils with Colonel Bouquet were King Beaver of the Turkey Clan of Delawares; Custaloga of the Wolf (Munsee) Clan of Delawares; Turtle Heart, a Delaware; Guyasuta of either the Mingo or Senecas; Keissanautichtha of the Shawnees, and many others. At this time New Comer, or Nettawatwes, was the head chief or "King" of the Delaware nation, but he refused to attend the councils, on account of which Bouquet deposed him. However, the Delawares never accepted this action.

At the close of the councils, Bouquet took hostages from the Delawares, Senecas and Shawnees, for the safe delivery of the captives within twelve days at Wakatomica, a short distance below the present town of Coshocton, Ohio. On October 22, in order more deeply to impress the Indians, his army took up the march, thirty-two miles deeper into the Indian country, to a point near the forks of the Muskingum. The army arrived at this place on October 25. It was then decided that the captives should be delivered at this place instead of at Wakatomica, as it was more centrally located.

From October 25 until November 9, messages were sent to the various villages, and captives were brought daily to the camp of Bouquet to the total number of two hundred and six.

These were classed as follows:

Virginians—Males	32
Females and Children	58
Pennsylvanians—Males	49
Females and Children	67
Total	206

On November 9, Bouquet, for the faithful performance of their promises and for the return of the remaining captives, demanded four hostages from the Delawares in addition to Captain Pipe and Captain John, whom he took at Fort Pitt, and that five deputies be sent to treat with Sir William Johnson. The Delawares agreed to this demand. Then for the first time since he marched into the heart of their country, Bouquet took the chiefs by the hand, "which occasioned great Joy amongst them." (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 226.)

On November 12 and 14, Bouquet held councils with the chiefs of the Shawnees. The principal chiefs of this tribe present were Keissanautchtha, Keightughque, (or Cornstalk, also called Tamenebuck), Nimwha and Red Hawk. Red Hawk was the speaker on behalf of the Shawnees. At these councils, he showed Bouquet the treaty which William Penn entered into with the Shawnees, on April 23, 1701, which had been carefully preserved by the Shawnee chiefs throughout the long years and throughout their wanderings from the Susquehanna to the Muskingum and Scioto. (Pa. Col. Rec., Vol. 9, page 230.) Bouquet demanded at these councils that the Shawnees deliver six hostages to him to be kept until the remainder of their captives, about one hundred, were delivered, as many of them were in distant towns on the Scioto and could not be brought at this time, owing to the lateness of the season and to the fact that many of their owners were on a long trading journey to the French. The Shawnees willingly delivered the hostages. They faithfully kept their promise. On May 9, 1765, ten of their chiefs and about fifty of their warriors, delivered to George Croghan, Deputy Indian Agent, at Fort Pitt, the remaining captives, "brightened the chain of friendship, and gave every assurance

of their firm intentions to preserve the peace inviolable forever." Thus "the perfidious Shawnees," as some have unjustly called them, faithfully kept their promise, even after the hostages they had given had escaped.

We call attention to the fact that one of the greatest difficulties Colonel Bouquet had to deal with was the allaying of the minds of the Shawnees. Fearing that he intended to destroy their tribe, they resolved to kill the captives and then flee beyond the Mississippi. They had already assembled many of the captives for the purpose of killing them, when a messenger arrived from the commander stating that he would give them the same terms of peace as to the Delawares. Thus the wholesale massacre of the captives was prevented. Soon, however, one of Bouquet's soldiers was killed some distance from the camp, whereupon the Shawnees, hearing that they were blamed for this murder, once more assembled the captives to kill them, when a second messenger arrived from Bouquet with the word that the Shawnees were not blamed for the murder of the soldier. Thus, again, the lives of the captives were saved.

No pen can describe the scenes when the captives were brought to Bouquet's camp during those October and November days of 1764. Husbands met their captured wives. Long lost children were restored to their parents. Sisters and brothers met, after long separation, in many cases since the autumn of 1755. Many, captured when children, were now unable to understand a word of their mother tongue. Many had married among the Indians and had Indian children dear to their hearts. Indian fathers and mothers had to part with these children, to their great anguish. Indian mothers filled the solitudes of the forest with their wailings for the children they were giving up forever. Indian fathers shed torrents of tears over the surrender

of their children, and pitifully recommended them to the care and protection of the humane commander. Many of the captives had to be bound when delivered to Bouquet, to keep them from returning to their Indian relatives and friends. As the army marched back to Fort Pitt, many an Indian wife followed her white husband with weary footsteps, and many an Indian warrior followed his white wife or sweetheart over the mountains to Carlisle or into Virginia at the risk of his life.

The foregoing qualities in the Indians challenge the esteem of just men. Cruel and unmerciful as they were in war, yet when they took captives for the purpose of adopting them, they treated them as their own flesh and blood, instead of enslaving them. Women and children were treated with a kindness and respect often found lacking among the whites. From every inquiry that has ever been made, it appears that no white woman was ever preserved by the Indians for base motives—that no white woman, adopted by the Indians, needed to fear the violation of her honor.

Bouquet's army, with the white captives, took up the march for Fort Pitt on November 18, and arrived at that post on November 28. On the way, some released captives escaped and returned to the Indians. Among these were Rhoda Boyd and Elizabeth Studebaker. Many of the captives were re-united with their relatives, at Fort Pitt; others at Carlisle, among whom was "Regina, the German Captive." On his way from Fort Pitt to Carlisle, Colonel Bouquet saw Fort Ligonier for the last time.

Partial List of Names of Captives—The Pennsylvania Captives

There has never been a complete list of the captives who were returned by the Indians as a result of Bou-

quet's expedition of 1764. The following is a list of sixty captives, returned to Bouquet at his camp near the forks of the Muskingum and taken by Captain Charles Lewis from that place to Fort Pitt, the list being dated November 15, 1764:

John Wiseman, John Donehoe, Soremouth, Crooked Legs, David Bighead, Clen, James Butler, †Michael Cobble, †Ponter or Wynima, Charles Stormontront, Ebenezer, Mordecai Babson, Henry Bonnett, James, Tommy Wig, Michael Lee, John Huntsman, Solomon Carpenter, John Gilmore, Eve Harper, Mary Campbell, Ann Finley, Mary Cath, Lengenfield, Kitty Stroudman, Betty (black eyes or hair), Eliz. Franse, Peggy Baskin, Mary McIlroy, Sour Plumbs, Christina House, Mary Lowry, Jane Lowry, Susan Lowry, Mary Greenwood, Nancy Davison, Magdalen or Pagothou, Mary Graven, Catherine Westbrooke, Molly Metch, Whitehead, Margaret Yokeham, Mary McCord, Eliz. Gilmore, Eliz. Gilmore, Jr., Florence Hutchinson, Mary Lee, Barbara Huntsman, Susannah Fishback, Margaret Fishback, Peggy Freeling, Peggy Cartmill, Molly Cartmill, Peggy Reyneck, Eliz. Slover, Eliz. Slover, Jr., Mary Lansisco and child, girl with a sore knee.

Another list, bearing the same date, shows the number of captives "supposed to be [left] at the different" Delaware and Shawnee towns on the Muskingum and Scioto, as follows:

At the New Comer's Town, 50; at the New Town, 15; at the Old Town, 7; at Salt Lick Town, 5; at Bull's Head Town, 1; at Grenadier Squaw's Town, 6; thus making a total of 84.

The following list of eighty-two prisoners at the Lower Shawnee Town at the mouth of the Scioto was

addressed to "Colonel Bouquet, Commandant at Fort Pitt," without date, but likely in 1764:

Robert Puzy, John Potts, John Cotter, Samuel Huff, Abraham Ormand, John Freelands and three children and wife, Daniel Cowday, Jacob Good, Dutch John, Thomas Cabe, Gower Sovereign and four children, Margaret Bard and five children, Mary Tringer and two children, Dutch Sarah and three children, Vanny Varnett and five children, Sarah Barnett and one child, Aley Cincade and three children, Mary Burke and two children, Betsey Robertson, Hannah Densy, Betsey Snodgrass, Betsey Medley, a Dutch girl, Nansey Miller, Betsey Jamison, Nely Fulerton, Mary Moore, Susanna Voss, Molly Gould, Jean Macrakin and her sister, Ann Folkison, Wm. Medley, Nansey Ranek and her sister and four brothers, James Stewart, John Guthrey, Lezy Bingiman, John Martin, William Days, Benjamin Robertson's son, Lodick, Soloman Carpenter, Margaret Cartmill, Saley Boyles and brother, Joseph Ramsey, Moly Christopher, Molly Moore.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the Shawnees delivered the remainder of their captives at Fort Pitt, in May, 1765. However, they had already delivered a number of captives at Fort Pitt, in January, 1765. Captain Lewis Ourry, commander of Fort Bedford in 1763 and Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master-General in Bouquet's expedition of 1764, made a list of these captives, and the list was published in the Maryland Gazette of January 31, 1765.

As stated above, the number of Pennsylvania captives returned by Colonel Bouquet was 116. The following is almost a complete list of these captives:

Males—John Jacob Levory. (This was likely John