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CONTINENTAL CONGRESS  
AT YORK, PENN'A.



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# Continental Congress at York, Pennsylvania

and

## York County in the Revolution

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## PREFACE

THE following pages furnish a careful record of the transactions of Continental Congress, while it held its sessions in York from September 30, 1777 to June 27, 1778. Shortly before the Battle of Brandywine Congress adjourned from Independence Hall to meet at Lancaster, but held only one day's session in that city. Meantime, the British had taken possession of Philadelphia and Congress removed to York.

While in session here for a period of nine months, Continental Congress, with representatives from the thirteen original states passed the Articles of Confederation, received the news of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, issued the first Thanksgiving Proclamation, commissioned Baron Steuben a major general in the American army, and also received a communication from Benjamin Franklin, our commissioner at Paris, that the French government had entered into a treaty to assist the infant Republic of the United States, by sending not only money, but a fleet and an army to aid the Americans in their struggle for liberty. These important facts of general history are told in a connected narrative in this volume.

In addition the work contains an exhaustive account of the part taken by York County in the war for Independence. Attention is called to the article on the Flying Camp, which contained three regiments of troops west of the Susquehanna, who performed valiant services at the battle of Fort Mifflin. No other city of the Union, except Philadelphia, New York and Boston has more interesting associations relating to the Revolution than York, Pennsylvania, and it is the object of these pages to bring out this fact clearly to the student of American History.

York, Pa., April 1, 1914.

G. R. P.





## YORK COUNTY IN THE REVOLUTION.

### CHAPTER XII THE REVOLUTION

First York County Troops—Thompson's Battalion—Expedition to Canada—Sixth Pennsylvania Battalion—Battle of Three Rivers — McClean's Company — Grier's Company—Miles' Regiment—Albright's Company—First Pennsylvania Regiment —Battle of Long Island.

In 1774 the difficulties between the King of England and the thirteen colonies were not adjusted by the appeals made to the King and Parliament. As the result of this condition the first Continental Congress with representatives from the different colonies, met in Philadelphia in September of that year. This Congress sent a declaration of Rights to the King, but it was unanswered. Soon afterward Massachusetts assembled a Provincial Congress and began to form troops and collect military stores to oppose by armed resistance what was termed the tyranny of the English government. Gen. Thomas Gage, who had fought under Braddock in the French and Indian war, was in charge of the British troops at Boston.

On the evening of April 18, 1775, Gage dispatched 800 regulars to Concord, a few miles northwest of Boston, to capture the army stores there.

On their way they found a party of armed yeomanry on Lexington Common. A British officer ordered them to disperse and as they remained motionless his soldiers fired, killing seven men, and then proceeded to Concord. By the time they reached Concord most of the stores had been removed. In a sharp skirmish, the British regulars were defeated, and as they marched back toward Boston, hundreds of farmers advanced upon them, firing from behind walls and trees after the Indian fashion.

The British lost nearly 300 men, and though reinforced, narrowly escaped capture. This was the beginning of the Revolutionary war.

On the 10th of May, 1775, the second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia and on the same day Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, were captured by patriots from the Green Mountains and Connecticut Valley, under Ethan Allen and Seth Warner.

The tocsin of war had now been sounded and American troops began to assemble in the vicinity of Boston. These men had come from farms and workshops and, although untrained as soldiers, were eager for armed conflict with the British foe. Meantime reinforcements had arrived from England. General Gage was succeeded by Sir William Howe, who now commanded 10,000 men, and on June 17 the famous battle of Bunker Hill was fought. Although the Americans were defeated, the moral effect of the battle was in their favor.

At this time the American forces around Boston were composed of undisciplined troops. The news of the conflict at Lexington and Concord soon spread from Massachusetts to Georgia. It aroused a spirit of patriotism that prevailed throughout the country during the entire period of the war. Continental Congress had taken charge of the assembling of troops in Massachusetts to oppose the British forces of Sir William Howe, and now supported active measures for a war against the mother country. On June 14 this body of patriots adopted a resolution that eight companies of trained riflemen from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland and two from Virginia be raised, and as soon as organized should be marched to the army under Washington at Cambridge.

A military spirit had existed in Pennsylvania and the adjoining colonies since the French and Indian war. Companies had been organized in nearly all the centres of

population. The men who composed these companies were trained hunters and skilled marksmen so that when their patriotism was aroused, these sturdy pioneers were quick to respond to the resolution of Congress and the appeals of their fellow-countrymen in New England.

When the news of Lexington and Concord reached the county seat at York it was soon transmitted to every section of York County. A similar spirit pervaded the neighboring counties of Pennsylvania. One of the eight Pennsylvania companies was to be recruited in York County. Each company was officered with a captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, a drummer and sixty-eight privates. The captain was to receive twenty dollars per month; a lieutenant, thirteen and one-third dollars; a sergeant, eight dollars; a corporal, seven and one-third; a drummer the same; privates, six and two-thirds. All were to find their own arms and clothes.

#### FIRST YORK COUNTY TROOPS.

The sturdy yeomanry of this section of Pennsylvania were ready for the emergency. Local militia companies had been organized. At this period there were three armed companies in the town of York. From the militia of the county it was decided to select the requisite number of officers and sixty-eight riflemen to form a company. Recruiting began at Marsh Creek, at Gettys' tavern, now the site of Gettysburg. Some men came from the Monaghan settlement, where Dillsburg now stands, and still another squad was recruited in the southern part of the county. These men, ready to enlist in the cause of American Independence, came to York, where the company was organized with Michael Doudel as captain; Henry Miller, first lieutenant; John Dill, second lieutenant; James Matson, third lieutenant.

On receipt of the instructions of Congress the York County committee, which was made up of such sturdy patriots as James Smith, Thomas Hartley, George Irwin, John Kean, Joseph Donaldson and Michael Hahn, immediately assembled and took steps to prepare the company for the front. Everything was done with the greatest expedition. So many men wanted to enlist that there were more than the officers were authorized to accept.

"I'll take only the men that can hit that nose at one hundred and fifty yards," said young Lieutenant Miller, as he chalked a small nose on a barn door.

Horatio Gates, recently appointed adjutant-general of the army and who had chanced to arrive in York from his home in Virginia on his way to headquarters, decided it would be unwise to refuse the enlistment of such courageous men. "They will make soldiers," he said.

The committee appointed to provide the necessaries for the company did their work so well that in a few days a company of 100 men was completely armed and equipped for the field without a farthing being advanced from the Continental treasury.

"The spirit of the people on this occasion," wrote the local committee of correspondence to Congress, "gave the committee encouragement. The men seemed actuated with the greatest zeal and thought themselves honored in having their names enrolled among the sons of liberty who are to fight for their country and in defense of their dearest rights and privileges. The only uneasiness they feel is that they are not this moment at the scene of action. From the spirit of the soldiers we entertain the most flattering hopes that they will prove servicable to the cause of liberty and reflect honor on this county. The principal people here have caught the spirit of the honorable Congress and in their small circle have done everything in their power to animate their neighbors to stand forth in this day of despotism and resist the arbitrary and unjust measures of Parliament with all the power which heaven has given them. And we have the pleasure to inform you that their labors have not been in vain and that the county is ready to strain every nerve to put into execution any measures which the Congress may judge necessary to our common defense. The officers are men of whose courage we have the highest opinion. The captain has behaved very well on this occasion and has done all in his power by advancing money, etc., to forward the common cause."

It would be interesting to record the entire muster roll of this band of patriots. The official records being defective, all that can be here given are the following:

*Captain,*  
MICHAEL DOUDEL.

*First Lieutenant,*  
HENRY MILLER.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
JOHN DILL.

*Third Lieutenant,*  
JAMES MATSON.

*Corporal,*  
WALTER CRUISE.

*Privates,*

Armor, Robert	Lelap, Daniel
Armstrong, George	Lewis, Abram
Beverly, John	McAlister, John
Bettinger, Christian	McCrary, John
Brown, John	McCurt, John
Campbell, Thomas	Minshall, Joshua
Clark, John	Mill, James
Cline, William	Moore, Edward
Cooper, William	Ramsey, David
Dougherty, George	Russell, William
Douther, John	Shields, Matthew
Evans, Abel	Staley, Jacob
Ferguson, John	Start, Andrew
Graft, Robert	Sullivan, Patrick
Griffith, John	Sweeney, Isaac
Halbut, Joseph	Tanner, Tobias
Kennedy, Richard	Taylor, John
Kennedy, Thomas	Turner, Cornelius

The form of enlistment to which every one of these volunteer soldiers appended his signature before leaving York reads: "I have this day voluntarily enlisted myself as a soldier in the American Continental army for one year, unless sooner discharged, and do bind myself to conform in all instances to such rules and regulations as are, or shall be, established for the government of said army."

According to the diary of Rev. **Leave for Boston.** John Roth, pastor of the Moravian Church at York, Captain Doudel and his company attended religious services at Zion Reformed Church on the morning of July 1st. They listened to a patriotic sermon delivered by Rev. Daniel Wagner, the pastor, who enjoined them "to keep God before their eyes continually and then they would be assured of his guidance and protection." At 1 o'clock in the afternoon, this band of one hundred American patriots started out East Market Street on the long march to join the army under Washington at Cambridge.

In answer to the resolution of Congress for eight companies from Pennsylvania, the recruiting of men took place in the other counties of the Province. One company was raised in Northampton County, commanded by Captain Abraham Miller; one in

Berks County, Captain George Nagel; one in Bedford County, Captain Robert Cluggage; one in Northumberland, Captain John Lowdon; two in Cumberland, which then included Franklin, commanded by Captain James Ross and Captain Matthew Smith. In all, there were nine companies from Pennsylvania, one more than requested by Congress. By order of Continental Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly, they were organized into what was termed by General Washington in organizing the army, "Colonel Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen from Pennsylvania."

### THOMPSON'S BATTALION.

Col. William Thompson, who was assigned to the command of this battalion, was a native of Ireland, born in 1725. He settled in Cumberland County early in life and during the French and Indian war had commanded a company of mounted frontiersmen. When the Revolution opened he was a surveyor residing at Carlisle. The following is the field and staff of this battalion when organized on its arrival at Washington's headquarters:

Colonel—William Thompson.

Lieutenant-Colonel—Edward Hand.

Major—Robert McGaw.

Chaplain—Rev. Samuel Blair.

Adjutant—David Ziegler.

Quartermaster—Frederick Hubley.

Surgeon—William McGaw.

Surgeon's Mate—Christian Reinecke.

Pay Master—David Harris.

Commissary—John Biddle.

Wagon Master—Adam Egle.

The officers of this famous battalion of riflemen were the first after General Washington to receive commissions from Congress, and these patriots from Pennsylvania were the first troops west of the Hudson and south of Long Island to join the American army under the commander-in-chief at Cambridge, Massachusetts. The York riflemen, after crossing the Susquehanna, passed through Reading and Bethlehem, reaching New York before any other Pennsylvania company, and proceeded to Boston, arriving there July 25. At this time there were 10,000 British regulars in Boston under Sir William Howe, and others were on the way from England.

**Washington Takes Command.** Continental Congress was now in session behind closed doors in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. On June 15

Thomas Johnson, a delegate from Frederick, Maryland, and afterward the first governor of Maryland, nominated George Washington for commander-in-chief of the American army. John Adams, in an eloquent speech, seconded the motion, and Washington, who was then a member of Congress from Virginia, was unanimously chosen. He started for Boston on horseback June 21, and, while passing through New York city, June 25, received the news of the battle of Bunker Hill. He arrived at Cambridge July 2. The next day he took formal command, drawing his sword under an elm tree which a few years ago was appropriately marked. At this time there were 14,500 New England troops equipped for duty around Boston, but according to an official statement they had only nine rounds of ammunition to a man. Washington at once organized these raw troops into divisions for drill and discipline, and began to lay siege to the city of Boston.

The arrival of the troops from Pennsylvania was enthusiastically received by the patriots of New England. The evidences of the courage and fortitude of the riflemen from York and their willingness to join in the struggle for American liberty is shown by the following extracts from Moore's *Diary of the Revolution*:

**York Troops in Action.**

July 25, 1775.—Capt. Doudel, with his company of riflemen from York, Pennsylvania, arrived at Cambridge about one o'clock today, and since has made proposals to General Washington to attack the transport stationed on Charles river. He will engage to take the transport with thirty men. The General thinks it best to decline at present; but at the same time commends the spirit of Captain Doudel and his brave men who, though just arrived after a very long march, offer to execute the plan immediately.

July 30, 1775.—Last Friday the regulars cut several trees and were busy all night in throwing up a line of abatis in Charlestown Neck. In the evening orders were given to the York county riflemen to march down to our advanced post in Charlestown Neck, to endeavor to surround the advanced guard and bring off some prisoners, from whom we expected to learn their design in throwing up their abatis in the Neck. The rifle company divided and executed their plan in the following manner: Captain Doudel with thirty-nine men filed off to the right of Bunker Hill, and, creeping on their hands and knees, got into the rear without being discovered. The other band of forty men, under Lieutenant Miller, were successful in getting behind the sentinels on the left, and were within a few yards of

joining the division on the right, when a party of regulars came down the hill to relieve their guard, and crossed our riflemen under Captain Doudel as they were lying on the ground in Indian file. The regulars were within twenty yards of our men before they saw them and immediately fired. The riflemen returned the salute, killed several and brought off two prisoners and their arms, with the loss of Corporal Cruise, who is supposed to have been killed as he has not been heard of since the affair.

August 9, 1775.—The riflemen from York county have annoyed the regulars very much. By a gentleman who left Boston yesterday, we hear that Captains Percival and Sabine of the Marines, Captain Johnston of the Royal Irish, and Captain LeAloine of the train, were killed Monday. Captain Chetwyn, son of Lord Chetwyn, is mortally wounded. The number of privates killed this week we have not heard. The regulars have thrown up a breastwork across the neck at the foot of Bunker Hill to protect their sentries and advance guards.

Frothingham, in describing Thompson's battalion and other riflemen from the south in his "Siege of Boston," says:

"The riflemen from Pennsylvania attracted much attention. They had enlisted with great promptness and had marched from four to seven hundred miles. In a short time large bodies of them arrived in camp. They were remarkably stout, hardy men, dressed in white frocks, or rifle shirts, and round hats, and were skillful marksmen. At a review, a company of them, while on a quick advance, fired balls into circular targets seven inches in diameter at a distance of 250 yards. They were stationed on the lines and became terrible to the British. The account of their prowess was circulated over England."

**A Local Hero.** Corporal Walter Cruise, mentioned in the above extract from Moore's *Diary*, was a member of Captain Doudel's company from York. He was taken a prisoner to the British camp. So many of the officers and privates of the royal army had fallen under the unerring aim of the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia riflemen that Cruise, being one of the first of them to be captured, became the object of their resentment. The British finally sent him to England to be tried on certain charges, where a curiosity had been aroused to see, in his frontier costume, one of the riflemen of whom they had heard such wonderful stories. After a term of imprisonment he was taken before the mayor of London, but that magistrate, finding no crime charged against him, of which he could take cognizance, released

him from custody. Arthur Lee, of Virginia, the secret agent in London for the American colonies, upon hearing of Cruise's release, sent for him and after congratulating him upon regaining his freedom, delivered Cruise a package of papers.

"These papers are of the greatest moment to the liberty of our country. Can I trust you to deliver them safely into the hands of General Washington and the Continental Congress?"

"You can trust me," was the reply.

"Then I will secure a passage for you to Halifax, the nearest and safest route to America. For the cause of American liberty you will guard these papers well, and when you arrive in America, deliver them as soon as possible to General Washington and the Continental Congress. I can promise you that your country will not forget your services."

Wishing him success on his mission, Arthur Lee bade him farewell, and Cruise was soon aboard a vessel bound for America. On his arrival at Halifax, the heroic corporal hastened with his valuable despatches to New York, the headquarters of the American army, where he delivered them safely into the hands of General Washington, who immediately transmitted copies to Continental Congress at Philadelphia, where the news was eagerly received. An impression had been prevalent among the American people that peace commissioners would be sent to adjust the differences between England and the colonies, but instead, the despatches brought by Corporal Cruise informed them that the King intended to send more English troops and to hire German soldiers for the war in America.

Nothing enraged the Americans more than the arrival of this news nor urged them more to declare independence, than this hiring of foreign mercenaries by the British government. At length, in June, a motion was made in Congress by Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." This motion was carried on July 2 and the Declaration of Independence draughted by Thomas Jefferson and revised by a com-

mittee, of which he was a member, was adopted July 4 at Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Thompson's battalion of Pennsylvania riflemen remained with the army under Washington during the summer of 1775, participating in the siege of Boston. Captain Michael Doudel, who commanded the company from York County, resigned his commission on account of ill health and returned to his family at York. Lieutenant Henry Miller was promoted to captain. This battalion was placed in the division of General Charles Lee upon the organization of the American army around Boston. It remained in his command until August 20, when it was transferred to General Israel Putnam, encamped four miles from Cambridge. On August 29, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Hand writes: "Our battalion formed the picket guard of the two thousand provincial troops who on the evening of the 26th of August took possession of Ploughed Hill and threw up entrenchments, and on the morning of the 27th met with its first loss, Private Simpson, of Captain Matthew Smith's company, who was wounded in the leg and died therefrom."

Captain James Wilkinson, who, after the Revolution, became commander-in-chief of the army, joined Thompson's battalion at Boston as a volunteer. In recording the death of Private Simpson, he says: "The young man was visited and consoled during his illness by General Washington in person and by most of the officers of rank belonging to the army. Every exertion by surgeons was made to save him, and his death became a theme of common sorrow in an army of twelve or fourteen thousand men."

An incident now occurred which interested all the Pennsylvania soldiers under Colonel Thompson. An expedition had been planned to invade Canada. The story goes that this expedition was suggested by Benedict Arnold, then considered a skillful soldier, who held the commission of colonel in the army around Boston. One thousand men were to be detached and sent under Arnold through the wilderness of Maine to Quebec. On September 5 the company under Captain

Smith, of Dauphin County, and the company under Captain Hendricks, of Cumberland County, were ordered to parade upon the Boston Common, preparatory to joining Arnold, and they united with his expedition the following week. The story of their experience in this campaign is given in the history of the first expedition to Canada, described elsewhere in this work.

The York riflemen under Henry Miller were disappointed in not having the opportunity of joining Arnold on this expedition, for they already had attained a high reputation as trained marksmen. A trouble had arisen, however, in Thompson's command, for some of his troops, including the York Riflemen, had been lax in discipline, even going so far as to have released some of their companions from the guard house, for which offense they themselves were punished. In order that idleness might not be a bane to them, the commanding general ordered that they should thereafter do all camp duty the same as other regiments. Obedient to the order, a strict discipline was now enforced by the company officers, and a contemporary letter states, "that upon every alarm it was impossible for men to behave with more readiness or attend better to their duty." On the 9th of November, these men, who had already been the first Pennsylvania troops to engage the British in armed conflict, took part in the skirmish at Lechmere's Point, in sight of Boston. In describing this affair the Philadelphia Evening Post of 1775 says:

**Valor of Pennsylvania Troops.** "The British had landed under cover of a fire from their batteries on Bunker, Breed's and Copp's hills, as well as from a frigate which lay three hundred yards off the point. In a high tide it is an island. Colonel Thompson marched instantly with his men, and though it was a very stormy day, they regarded not the tide nor waited for boats, but took to the water up to their armpits, for a quarter of a mile, and notwithstanding the regulars' fire, reached the island, and although the enemy were lodged behind the walls and under cover, drove them to their boats. Loss, one killed (Alexander Creighton, of Ross' company) and three

wounded; British loss, seventeen killed and one wounded."

The next day, according to official reports, Colonel Thompson and his battalion were publicly thanked by Washington in general orders. General Washington's army around Boston was increased in numbers by the arrival of new troops during the winter of 1775-6. Early in March there were indications that General Howe, the commander of the British forces, was making arrangements to evacuate the city, and on the 17th of March the siege of Boston ended, when General Howe set sail with his army for Halifax, in Nova Scotia. It was this incident in American history that gave rise to the humorous expression "Gone to Halifax." After his arrival at Halifax, Howe made arrangements for an expedition against New York City.

Immediately after the departure of the British, Washington took possession of Boston. Believing that the final destination of Howe was New York, he began to move part of his army toward that city, leaving Boston in possession of New England troops. He accompanied his army on the march toward New York.

Colonel Thompson was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general on March 1, and Lieutenant-Colonel Hand was placed in command of the battalion, receiving his commission as colonel from Continental Congress, March 7. During the siege of Boston, Walter Cruise, John Brown and Cornelius Turner, of York County, were taken prisoners. At this time Colonel Edward Hand reported that his battalion was composed of six companies.

**An Historic Banner.** Hand's battalion, which now in official papers was called a regiment, had a standard of "deep green ground, the device a tiger partly enclosed by toils attempting the pass, defended by a hunter armed with a spear (in white) on crimson field, the motto 'Domari Nolo.'" Their uniforms were made of brown holland and Osnaburgs, something like a shirt, double capped over the shoulders in imitation of the Indians; and on the breast in capital letters was their motto, "Liberty or Death."

When Washington discovered that Howe was preparing to leave Boston, he sent

General Sullivan with Thompson's, now Hand's, riflemen with five other regiments to New York. They left Boston on March 14 and arrived at New York March 28. Arrangements had been made for Sullivan to reinforce the expedition against Montreal in Canada, taking the place of Thomas, who succeeded Montgomery after the latter had been killed.

Hand's regiment, in which the **March** York riflemen, under Captain Mil-  
**to** ler, were now serving, was placed  
**Long** under General Israel Putnam, who  
**Island.** had been sent to New York by Washington to take command of all the forces in and around that city and await the expected arrival of the British army from Halifax. April 5, Hand's regiment was moved by order of General Putnam to Long Island, where it remained at a station near New Utrecht during the remainder of April and the months of May and June, doing some good service.

On the 22d of April, 1776, General Washington said in a letter to the President of Congress, "The time for which the riflemen enlisted will expire on the first of July next, and as the loss of such a valuable and brave body of men will be of great injury to the service I would submit it to the consideration of Congress whether it would not be best to adopt some method to induce them to continue. They are, indeed, a very useful corps, but I need not mention this, as their importance is already known to Congress."

Congress had (without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief) passed a resolution, dated April 15, to recruit and re-enlist the battalion and the independent rifle companies attached to it, for a term of two years unless sooner discharged. On the 30th of June, the day when the time of those who did not re-enlist expired, Colonel Hand said in a letter, "Almost all the men discharged today declare that they will stay to know what the fleet will do," meaning the British fleet bringing Howe's army from Halifax to the harbor of New York. On the first of July, 1776, the rifle battalion, recruited and re-enlisted, entered on another term of service as the First Regiment of Pennsylvania in the Continental Line. Pennsylvania troops thus formed the first regiment of the regular army of the United States.

## FIRST EXPEDITION TO CANADA.

Soon after the opening of the war at Lexington and Concord, the conquest of Canada was contemplated by the New England leaders, but Congress was unwilling to adopt measures except such as were purely defensive in character. It was only with reluctance that Congress had sanctioned the garrisoning of Ticonderoga in northeastern New York by Connecticut troops. During the summer of 1775 it was ascertained that Sir Guy Carleton, the Governor of Canada, was about to take steps to recover Ticonderoga, which had been captured by Ethan Allen in May. Congress also learned that the English had intrigued with the Iroquois Indians of central New York to harass the New England frontier and the region along the Hudson River. With this condition of affairs Congress resolved upon the invasion of Canada as a measure of self-defence.

An expedition led by General **March** Richard Montgomery passed  
**to** down Lake Champlain against  
**Quebec.** Montreal. On September 12, Montgomery, with a force of two thousand men, laid siege to the fortress of St. John's, which commanded the approach to Montreal. After a siege of fifty days St. John's surrendered and Montgomery entered Montreal nine days later. Meanwhile Washington, in command of the army at Cambridge, detached one thousand infantry, Morgan's Virginia sharpshooters, and two companies of riflemen from Pennsylvania to advance through the forests of Maine to Quebec. This expedition was in command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, who is supposed to have suggested it. Aaron Burr served on the staff of Arnold in this expedition and at one time acted as a spy in the garb of a Catholic priest. One of the Pennsylvania companies that went with this expedition was recruited in Cumberland County and was commanded by Captain William Hendricks; the other commanded by Captain Matthew Smith, had been raised in the present area of Dauphin County. Both of these companies had served in Thompson's Battalion at the siege of Boston and both contained some York County soldiers. Lieutenant Michael Simpson, who afterward wrote the introduction to Hon.

John Joseph Henry's account of this expedition, was a lieutenant in Captain Smith's company. He resided on the Simpson Ferry property at New Market in Fairview Township.

Arnold's march, which was as difficult as Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, was conducted with great ability, but it was nearly ruined by the misconduct of a subordinate officer, who deserted with two hundred men and the greater part of the provisions. After frightful hardships to which two hundred more men succumbed, on the 13th of November the little army climbed the Heights of Abraham, fronting Québec. As Arnold's force was insufficient to storm the city and the garrison would not come out to fight, he was obliged to await the arrival of Montgomery, who had just taken Montreal.

On the morning of December 31, Montgomery and Arnold made a combined attack on Québec and each came near carrying his point, but in the assault Montgomery was slain and Arnold wounded in the leg. The enthusiasm of the troops was chilled and they were repelled. Captain Morgan succeeded Montgomery in the temporary command but in a violent attack on the British, he and his company were made prisoners. With the failure of this desperate attack passed away the golden opportunity for taking the citadel of Canada. Arnold remained throughout the winter in the neighborhood of Québec and in the spring the enterprise was taken up by Wooster and Sullivan with fresh forces.

**Reinforcements for Canada.** During the fall of 1775 Congress asked that five battalions be raised in Pennsylvania to reinforce the expedition for the conquest of Canada. When these battalions were organized the first was commanded by John Philip De Hass, of Lebanon; the second by Colonel Arthur St. Clair, of Westmoreland county, who had seen service in the British army under Amherst; the third by Colonel John Shea, an Irish merchant of Philadelphia; the fourth by Colonel Anthony Wayne, a surveyor and member of the assembly from Chester county, and the fifth by Colonel Robert McGaw, of Carlisle. January 4, 1776, Congress passed a resolution that a sixth battalion be raised in Pennsylvania, which was recruited west of the Susquehanna. As

York county had no troops yet organized in response to these various calls for the expedition to Canada, James Smith, a practicing lawyer and chairman of the Committee of Safety for York county, wrote the following letter:

James Smith to Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris, Esquires, and the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania.

York, Pa., December 23, 1775.

Gentlemen:—By the last night's post we received the public papers, acquainting us of the resolve of congress touching the raising of four battalions in this province and desiring the committee of safety to appoint the company officers and recommend the field officers of those battalions to the honorable continental congress.

The time limited for the appointment and recommendation being fixed to the second of January it will be impracticable for the members of your committee in this county to attend; in this situation of affairs the Committee of Correspondence for York County hope your board will not think it improper to trouble you on that subject, well knowing that the great cause of American liberty is our primary object and that everything that may tend to forward that glorious cause through whatever channel will not be unacceptable. I am directed by the Committee of Correspondence for this county to write to the Committee of Safety and in the strongest terms to request that the board may please to recommend Thomas Hartley, Esq., to be lieutenant colonel of one of the battalions to be raised in this province and in case that recommendation should take place that the board will please to appoint David Grier, Esq., to be captain; John McDowell, lieutenant; William Nichols, ensign, of one company; Moses McClean, captain; Lewis Bush, lieutenant, and Robert Hoopes, ensign, of another company in the same battalion; and if a third company should be raised in York county to please to appoint Bernard Eichelberger, captain or lieutenant as you may think best.

If the board should think this application not improper in this situation and it should be agreeable to them, the Committee of Correspondence here will exert every nerve in assisting the officers to get their companies filled in the most expeditious manner with the best men and at the least possible expense to the public.

I am

Gentlemen

with great respect

Your most humble Servant,

To Benjamin Franklin & Robert Morris, Esq., and James Smith, Chair of the Com'ee York Co. the Committee of Safety of the Province of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

By the Lancaster post to be delivered as soon as possible.

## SIXTH PENNSYLVANIA BATTALION

William Irvine, a graduate of medicine from the University of Dublin, who settled at Carlisle in 1764, where he practiced his profession until the opening of the Revolution, was appointed to command the Sixth Battalion. Colonel Irvine had served as an officer in the British army in the war between England and France before he came to this country. Thomas Hartley, then a



practicing lawyer at York, was made lieutenant colonel; James Dunlap, major; Rev. William Linn, chaplain; John Brooks, adjutant, and Robert Johnston, surgeon.

Immediately after the receipt of the news from Congress asking for troops from west of the Susquehanna, recruiting began at York, in the lower end of York county, in the Monaghan settlement around the present site of Dillsburg, at Hanover, and in the Marsh Creek country around the site of Gettysburg. In a short time two companies were organized. One of these companies was commanded by Captain David Grier, a member of the bar, who had been admitted to the practice of law at York in 1771. The other was commanded by Captain Moses McClean, son of Archibald McClean, a noted surveyor of York who had assisted in running Mason and Dixon's line.

Colonel Irvine's command, known in history as the Sixth Pennsylvania battalion, was organized at Carlisle in March, 1776. On the 22d of that month Colonel Irvine wrote to John Hancock, President of Congress:

"I am honored with your orders to march my battalion to New York, which shall be complied with, with all possible expedition. Many of the arms are old, and want bayonets and repairs. However, I shall not wait for bayonets, as I hope to be supplied at Philadelphia or New York. I have been obliged to purchase many rifles, but I presume they may be changed for muskets, should the service require it; knapsacks, haversacks, canteens, and many other necessaries which the commissioners promised to forward for my battalion, have not yet come to hand. Though I do not mean to wait for them, yet I think it proper to acquaint you, as perhaps your further orders may be necessary."

A few days later Colonel Irvine left Carlisle with his battalion for the Canada campaign. His command numbered 780 men. The captains of the eight different companies comprising this battalion were: David Grier, Moses McClean, Samuel Hay, Robert Adams, Abraham Smith, William Rippey, James A. Wilson and Jeremiah Talbott.

In accordance with a resolution of Congress each company was to be composed of sixty-eight men, one captain, one lieutenant,

one ensign, four sergeants and four corporals; privates to be enlisted for one year at five dollars per month; each private to be allowed instead of bounty, one felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings and a pair of shoes; the men to find their own arms; the enlisted men to be furnished with a hunting shirt, not exceeding in value one and one-third of a dollar, and a blanket, provided these can be procured but not to be made part of the terms of enlistment.

The Sixth Battalion under Colonel Irvine arrived at Albany May 10, where it joined a part of Wayne's battalion from Chester county. These troops proceeded to Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, where they embarked with General John Sullivan for St. John's. Here they joined the Pennsylvania and other troops, all of which were placed under command of General John Sullivan, a native of Maine, who had held a command under Washington at the siege of Boston. He was one of the eight brigadier generals first commissioned by Congress at Philadelphia. On June 2 he took command of the northern army on the borders of Canada, succeeding General Thomas, of Massachusetts, who had died of smallpox near Montreal. William Thompson, who had been promoted from the command of his battalion of Pennsylvania riflemen to the rank of brigadier general, had been ordered from Boston in April, 1776, to reinforce General Thomas with four regiments which were afterward increased to ten. He met the northern army on its retreat from Quebec and assumed the chief command when General Thomas was sick, yielding it up on June 4, to General Sullivan, by whose orders two days later he made a disastrous attack on the enemy at Three Rivers.

#### BATTLE OF THREE RIVERS.

The story of the battle of Three Rivers is best told in a letter written by Lieutenant Colonel Hartley, of York, to his personal friend, Jasper Yeates, of Lancaster. This letter dated at the camp at Sorel, three days after the battle, June 12, 1776, reads as follows:

"Before the arrival of Colonel Wayne's and Irvine's regiments under the command of General Sullivan, Colonel St. Clair, with

a detachment of seven hundred men, was sent down the river St. Lawrence about nine leagues, to watch the motions of the enemy and act occasionally. General Sullivan's arrival here was at a critical time. Canada was lost, unless some notable exertion was made; the credit of our arms gone and no large number of our American troops to sustain our posts. It was said that the taking of Three Rivers, with such troops as were on it would be of service. A detachment under General Thompson was sent down the river. The corps under Colonel St. Clair was to join it, and if the General thought it expedient, he was ordered by Sullivan to attack the enemy at Three Rivers.

"We left this on the evening of the 5th instant in several batteaux and joined St. Clair about twelve o'clock at night. It being too late to proceed on to Three Rivers the enterprise was postponed until the next night.

"In the dusk of the evening of the 7th we set off from the Nicolette with about fifteen hundred rank and file besides officers. It was intended to attack Three Rivers about daybreak in four places. Thompson landed his forces about nine miles above the town on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and divided his army into five divisions, Maxwell, St. Clair, Wayne and Irvine each commanding a division, and I had the honor of commanding the reserve. Leaving two hundred and fifty men to guard the batteaux, the army proceeded swiftly towards the town. I was to be ready to sustain the party which might need assistance.

"The guards proved faithless and the General was misinformed as to the number of the enemy as well as to the situation of the town. Our men had lost their sleep for two nights, yet were in pretty good spirits. Daylight appeared and showed us to the enemy. Our guides (perhaps traitors) had led us through windings, and were rather carrying us off from the post. The General was enraged at their conduct.

"There were mutual firings. Our people killed some in a barge. Our scheme was no longer an enterprise. It might have been prudent perhaps to retreat but no one would propose it. We endeavored to penetrate through a swamp to the town and avoid the shipping. We had no idea of the

difficulties we were to surmount in the mire, otherwise the way by the shipping would have been preferred.

"We waded three hours in the mud about mid-deep in general, the men fasting. We every moment expected to get through and find some good ground to form on, but were deceived. The second division under Colonel Anthony Wayne, saw a part of the enemy and attacked them. Captain Samuel Hay of our regiment (Sixth battalion), with his company of riflemen, assisted and behaved nobly. Colonel Wayne advanced, the enemy's light infantry were driven from their ground and the Indians in their flanks were silenced.

"The great body of the enemy, **A Furious Fire.** which we knew nothing of, consisting of two or three thousand men, covered with entrenchments, and assisted with the cannon of the shipping and several field pieces, began a furious fire and continued it upon our troops in the front. It was so heavy that the division gave way, and from the badness of the ground could not form suddenly again. St. Clair's division advanced but the fire was too heavy. Part of Irvine's division, especially the riflemen, went up towards the enemy. I understood the army was in confusion. I consulted some friends and led up the reserve within a short distance of the enemy. McClean's and Grier's companies from York county advanced with spirit; McClean's men took the best situation, and within eighty yards of the enemy exposed to the fire of the shipping as hot as hell. I experienced some of it.

"Not a man of McClean's company behaved badly; Grier's company behaved well. Several of the enemy were killed in the attack of the reserve. Under the disadvantages, our men would fight; but we had no covering, no artillery, and no prospect of succeeding, as the number of the enemy was so much superior to ours. Wayne and Allen rallied part of our men, and kept up a fire against the English from the swamp. The enemy, in the meantime, dispatched a strong body to cut off our retreat to the boats, when it was thought expedient to retreat. Our General and Colonel Irvine were not to be found; they had both gone up to the front in a very heavy fire. This gave us great uneasiness but a retreat was neces-

sary. This could not be done regularly, as we could not regain the road on account of the enemy's shipping and artillery, and went off in small parties through the swamp. Wayne and Allen gathered some hundreds together and I got as many in my division as I could, with several others amounting to upwards of two hundred.

"Wayne with his party, and I with mine, tried several ways to get to our batteaux. Wayne was obliged, not far from the river, to march by seven hundred of the enemy. He intended to attack them, but his men were so much fatigued that it was deemed unsafe. The enemy fired their small arms and artillery on our men as loud as thunder. They returned a retreating fire. Several of the enemy were killed and wounded. We came within a mile of where our boats were, but our guard had carried them off. The English had possession of the ground where we landed. Their shipping proceeded up the river, covering parties being sent to take possession of the ferries we were to pass.

"Wayne with his party lay near the enemy. I passed through a big swamp and at night took possession of a hill near the enemy. We were without food and the water very bad. I mounted a small quarter guard, fixed my alarm post, and made every man lie down on the ground, on which he was to rise for action in case of an attack. I slept a little by resting my head on a cold bough of spruce.

"Morning dawned (Sunday, June 9), and I consulted our officers and men. They said they were refreshed with sleep. It was agreed to stand together, that they would support me and effect a passage through the enemy or die in the attempt. A little spring water refreshed us more. The necessary dispositions were made but we had no guides. We heard the enemy within a half mile of us, but no one seemed alarmed so we proceeded and luckily fell in with Wayne's track. We pursued it and overtook him near the river Du Lac. This made us upwards of seven hundred strong and we agreed to attack the enemy if they fell in our way to Bokie (Berthier), opposite Sorel. We were sure they would attempt the fort at Sorel before we could arrive, but as we came up the English left the ferries and drew all their forces back to Three Rivers. By forced marches and surmount-

ing every difficulty, we got up, crossed the river and arrived at Sorel, Monday afternoon, June 10. We brought nearly twelve hundred men back with our party. Many are yet missing, one hundred and fifty or two hundred. Some scattered ones are continually coming in so that our loss will not be so great as was first imagined.

"Colonel Wayne behaved exceedingly well and showed himself a man of courage and a true soldier. Colonel Allen exerted himself and is a fine fellow. Colonel Maxwell was often in the midst of danger. His own division was not present to support him. He was also very useful in the retreat after he joined Wayne. Lieutenant Edie, of the York troops, I fear is killed. He was a fine young fellow and behaved bravely. He approached the enemy's works without dismay several times and remained in the swamp to the last. He was in the second engagement where it is supposed he was killed. Ensign Hoopes of the same company was wounded near the breastworks when I led up the reserve. I cannot say too much of his bravery. He showed the greatest courage after he had received several wounds in the arm. He stood his ground and animated his men. He nobly made good his retreat with me through a swamp nearly eighteen miles long. Several of our regiment were killed. I apprehend between thirty and fifty.

"June 13. Last night a sort of flag of truce came from the enemy. General Thompson, Colonel William Irvine, Dr. McKenzie, Lieutenants Edie and Currie and Parson McCalla (of the First) are prisoners. They were taken up by some of the rascally Canadians in the most treacherous manner."

At the time of the battle of Three Rivers, the British forces in Canada numbering 13,000 men, were under command of Sir Guy Carleton, a noted soldier in the English army, who had been appointed governor of the Province of Quebec in 1772. He had recaptured Montreal before the contest at Three Rivers, where the British troops were commanded by Sir John Burgoyne, the ill-fated officer who, in 1777, surrendered his entire army at the battle of Saratoga. The American forces at the battle of Three Rivers were composed entirely of Pennsylvania troops, with the exception of a small de-

tachment from New Jersey. They fought gallantly against great odds with all the advantages in favor of the enemy. It was the first engagement of the Revolution on American soil fought by Pennsylvania troops. Although they did not succeed, the battle proved again to the ministry and the King of England that the American volunteers, fighting for liberty and independence, were destined to rank in ability and achievement with the trained soldiers of Europe.

After the engagement at Three Rivers and the defeat of Arnold at Montreal, Sullivan began his masterly retreat. He joined Arnold at St. Johns, on the Sorel river, which flows from the mouth of Lake Champlain into the St. Lawrence.

"The rear of the army," says Wilkinson in his "Memoirs," "with baggage stores, reached St. Johns on June 18th, was embarked and moved up the Sorel the same afternoon. After the last boat except Arnold's had put off, at Arnold's suggestion, he and Wilkinson went down the direct road to Chambly for two miles, where they met the advance of the British division, under Burgoyne. They reconnoitered it a few minutes, then galloped back to St. Johns and stripping their horses, shot them. Arnold then ordered all on board, pushed off the boat with his own hands, and thus indulged the vanity of being the last man who embarked from the shores of the enemy. They followed the army twelve miles to the Isle Aux Noix, where they arrived after dark."

The head of Burgoyne's column entered St. Johns on the evening of the 18th, and Philip's advance guard on the morning of the 19th. On the 19th general orders at Isle Aux Noix directed the commands of de Haas, Wayne, St. Clair and Irvine to encamp on the east side of the island.

On the 21st, Irvine's battalion met with another heavy loss, as is detailed by a letter from one of the regiment:

"Captains McClean, Adams and Rippey, Lieutenants McFerran, McAllister and Hoge, and Ensigns Lusk and Culbertson, with four privates, went over from the Isle Aux Noix to the western shore of the lake, about a mile from camp, but within sight, to fish and divert themselves. McClean prudently proposed to take arms with them

but was overruled. Some Indians observed their motions, and while they were at a house drinking some spruce beer, the savages surrounded them, killed Captain Adams, Ensign Culbertson and two privates, whom they scalped in a most inhuman and barbarous manner, and carried off prisoners McClean, McFerran, McAllister and Hoge and two other privates. But a party coming to their relief from camp aided Captain Rippey and Ensign Lusk to make their escape."

The bodies of those killed were brought to the Isle Aux Noix and decently buried by Wayne, who with a party followed the Indians and recovered the batteaux with the bodies.

Isle Aux Noix proved very unhealthy; Wayne had sixty men out of one hundred and thirty-eight taken down with sickness, after their arrival there; and on the 24th of June, de Haas and all his field officers with a number of his men were sick. On the 25th, General Sullivan commenced moving the army to Isle la Motte. Colonel Hartley, with two hundred and fifty men of Irvine's battalion, went by land, scouring the country, traversing disagreeable swamps, destroying on the way the houses, mills, etc., of the traitor McDonald, who had deceived them at Three Rivers.

On June 27th, at Isle la Motte **Gates in Command.** all the army took vessels and came to Crown Point, which they reached on July 1st.

General Gates arrived there on the evening of the 5th, superceding General Sullivan, and on the 7th at a council of war, it was determined to remove the army to Ticonderoga. The battalions of de Haas, St. Clair and Wayne arrived there on the 10th, the Sixth battalion under Hartley remaining posted at Crown Point, where it encamped the balance of the summer and fall, the sentinel regiment of Gates' army. On the 20th Gates brigaded his army, and the four Pennsylvania battalions were constituted the Fourth Brigade, Colonel Arthur St. Clair commanding; Edward Scull brigade-major for the Third and Fourth battalions. August 14th, Hartley's scouts found the British still at St. Johns.

On the 6th of September, Hartley desired General Gates to send to Crown Point, either General Wayne's battalion or the Second and he would defend it with them.

Gates gave him positive orders to retreat if the British reached that point. The British did not come, however, and on the 22d Irvine's regiment was still at Crown Point—one lieutenant colonel, one major, four captains, five first lieutenants, three second lieutenants, five ensigns, four staff, seventeen sergeants, fifteen drums, and four hundred and eighty-six rank and file. On the 11th of October, Hartley still maintained his post, having found in the woods some cannon lost in the French war. With great labor he had roads cut and transported them to Crown Point, and had a battery of six guns ready for the enemy not any too soon, for on the same day the British attacked Arnold's fleet on Lake Champlain, compelling him to retire towards Crown Point. On the 14th Hartley set fire to all the houses at or near Crown Point and retired to Ticonderoga.

The season was too far advanced for the British to make any further progress; after threatening Ticonderoga they retired into winter quarters. On the 18th of November General Gates putting Wayne in command of Ticonderoga, proceeded to join General Washington with the larger part of the army, the three Pennsylvania battalions whose time would expire on the 5th of January, agreeing to remain until they were relieved by other troops. On the 29th of November, the Second, commanded by Wood, numbered four hundred and twenty-six officers and men; Wayne's five hundred and sixty-five; Irvine's five hundred and three.

On the 4th of December, Wayne writes to the Committee of Safety:

"The wretched condition the battalions are now in for want of almost every necessary, except flour and bad beef, is shocking to humanity, and beggars all description. We have neither beds nor bedding for our sick to lie on or under, other than their own clothing; no medicine or other things needed for them. The dead and dying, lying mingled together in our hospital, or rather house of carnage, is no uncommon sight. They are objects truly worthy of your notice."

On the 24th of January, 1777, the Pennsylvania battalions left Ticonderoga with General Wayne for their homes. Irvine's battal-

ion under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hartley reached Carlisle on its return March 15, 1777, where it was re-enlisted for three years or the war as the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line.

Colonel Irvine, of Carlisle, who commanded the Sixth battalion in which the York county troops served, was captured at Three Rivers and carried a prisoner to New York, where he was paroled August 3, 1776, but was not exchanged until May 6, 1778, when he resumed the command of the Seventh Pennsylvania regiment. He took part in various campaigns and was promoted to brigadier general and after the war served as a member of Continental Congress.

William Thompson, who was captured at Three Rivers, had commanded Thompson's Rifle Battalion in front of Boston until he was promoted brigadier-general and joined the expedition against Canada. He was held a prisoner in New York until August, 1776, when he returned to Philadelphia on parole but was not exchanged until 1778. He died near Carlisle in 1781, aged 56 years.

Captain Moses McClean, who was captured by the Indians in this campaign, was held a prisoner of war until March 27, 1777, when he was exchanged. After the war he moved to Ohio and died at Chillicothe, August 25, 1810, aged seventy-three years.

Captain David Grier, who won a brilliant record for gallantry at Three Rivers, was promoted to major of his regiment October 25, 1776. He was made lieutenant colonel of the Seventh Pennsylvania regiment, which he commanded during Colonel Irvine's imprisonment. In September, 1777, he participated in battles under General Wayne and was wounded slightly at Chad's Ford and was also wounded in the side by a bayonet at Paoli. Colonel Grier practiced law after the war and was a prominent citizen of York. He was a presidential elector at Washington's first election. He died in York in 1791.

Lieutenant John Edie, who became a prisoner of war at Three Rivers, was not exchanged until April 10, 1778. From 1791 to 1798 he was editor and one of the owners of the Pennsylvania Herald and General Advertiser published at York, the files of

which paper are in the Historical Society of York county. After the Revolution Lieutenant Edie became brigadier general in the state militia.

Lieutenant Abdiel McAllister, of Grier's company, who was captured at Three Rivers, was the oldest son of Colonel Richard McAllister, founder of Hanover, who commanded the Second regiment in the Flying Camp.

### CAPTAIN MOSES McCLEAN'S COMPANY.

The following is a complete muster roll of Captain Moses McClean's company recruited partly in York county and partly in the present area of Adams county:

*Captain,*  
McClean, Moses.

*First Lieutenants,*  
Eichelberger, Barnet.  
Edie, John.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Hoge, John.

*Ensign,*  
Hoopes, Robert.

*Sergents,*  
Ralston, Robert.  
Smith, John.  
Milligan, James.  
King, John.  
Allison, Robert.

*Drum and Fife,*  
Conner, Patrick.  
Stack, Richard.

*Privates,*

Adair, John	Jayne, Aaron
Allison, Robert	Johnston, George
Acheson, Edward	Johnston, James
Barclay, Joseph	Kelly, Edward
Blain, John	Kennedy, Samuel
Blakely, George	King, Patrick
Brown, John	King, William
Campbell, William	Kincaid, Samuel
Chesney, Thomas	Limerick, Patrick
Cochran, William	Long, Joseph
Conn, John	Lynch, Patrick
Commoly, John	Mahon, Charles
Crawford, Robert	Madden, Timothy
Cunningham, David	Maxwell, James
Cunningham, Patrick	Meloy, Bartholomew
Dill, Thomas	McBride, John
Dingley, William	McDaniel, James
Duffield, Felix	McDonald, William
Dunlap, John	McDowell, John
Evan, William	McFarland, Jacob
Entrican, William	McGee, John
Faith, Alexander	McGonagal, Neal
Gerard, Mathias	McGuan, Patrick
Gibbons, Henry	McKeeder, Owen
Graynor, Thomas	McManery, James
Griffith, David	McWilliams, John
Hall, John	Morgan, Christian
Hargie, John	Mullen, Daniel
Heinerman, Michael	Murphy, Dennis
Hughes, William	Murray, Eneas

Needham, Robert  
Nelson, Thomas  
Nolan, Luke  
O'Hara, Dennis  
Patten, John  
Patterson, John  
Robinson, John

Sample, William  
Shugart, Eli  
Simonton, John  
Sloane, David  
Smith, Patrick  
Sullivan, Peter  
Tibbens, Henry

### CAPTAIN DAVID GRIER'S COMPANY.

Captain David Grier's company came from York, Hanover, the vicinity of Dillsburg and the lower end of York county. Its membership was almost entirely composed of Scotch-Irish. The following is the complete muster roll of the company:

*Captain,*  
Grier, David.

*First Lieutenant,*  
McDowell, John.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
McAllister, Abdiel.

*Ensigns,*  
Nichols, William.  
Hughes, John.

*Sergents,*  
Walker, Andrew.  
Knox, John.  
Jeffries, Robert.  
Hayman, John.

*Corporals,*  
Lawson, James.  
McIlhenny, Felix.  
Lethew, David.  
Tomson, Ezra.

*Drum and Fife,*  
Hamilton, James.  
Wright, Mathias.

*Privates,*

Anguis, William	Hoy, Thomas
Barnes, Patrick	Jackson, Archibald
Baker, George	Johnston, Robert
Bachelder, Ebenezer	Johnston, William
Barry, James	Kelly, George
Beard, Robert	Kelly, Thomas
Brian, John	Leeson, James
Campbell, Archibald	Mason, William
Clemmonds, John	Matthews, Jacob
Conn, Adam	McCall, John
Conner, George	McCoy, William
Conway, Charles	McDaniel, John
Cooper, George	McGowan, Samuel
Corrigan, Cornelius	McKissack, Henry
Davis, David	McMeehan, Michael
Dulany, Thomas	McMullan, James
Dorce or Deis, John	Mealy, Lawrence
Dougherty, Charles	Murphy, Michael
Dougherty, John	Murphy, Dennis
Esson, Alexander	O'Loan, Patrick
Falkner, John	O'Neil, Peter
Frick, John	Pearcy, John
Forsyth, Robert	Price, James
Geddes, Joseph	Quigley, William
Grant, Peter	Redmond, Murtough
Guncager, Charles	Robinson, James
Gyfinger, Charles	Roney, Patrick
Harkins, James	Russel, Joseph
Hickenbottom, Edward	Scullion, Patrick
Hodge, Isaac	Schregh, Peter



THE GLOBE INN. WHERE LAFAYETTE WAS ENTER-  
TAINED IN 1825



FIGURE OF JUSTICE IN COLONIAL COURT HOUSE





Shaw, Archibald	Swartz, Peter
Shaw, James	Taylor, John
Standley, Francis	Trees, Jacob
Shive, Philip	Wade, Joseph
Schultz, Michael	Weaverling, Adam
Seidle, Peter	Welch, Edward
Schneider, John	White, Isaac
Spencer, Edward	Wilkinson, William
Stevenson, James	Wilson, Joseph
Swank, Baltzer	Worley, George
Swartz, George	Wright, Matthias

### COLONEL MILES' REGIMENT.

The next troops to leave York to battle for the cause of independence were led by Captain Philip Albright, a prominent citizen of the county. This company joined Colonel Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, which was organized March 5, 1776, in response to a call of the State Assembly for 2,000 troops to defend Pennsylvania. Colonel Samuel Miles, its first commander, was then a resident of Philadelphia. He had served with credit in the French and Indian War under Braddock, and when peace was declared, was placed in charge of a garrison on the site of Erie. He raised his regiment of 1,000 men and formed them into two battalions within a period of six weeks and rendezvoused at Marcus Hook, on the northeast coast of New Jersey.

At this time the British army under Howe, which had evacuated Boston March 18, had not yet arrived at Long Island.

Colonel Miles drilled and disciplined his regiment for active service in the field and on July 2 he was ordered to Philadelphia, where the regiment was thoroughly equipped. On July 5 he marched with his command to Trenton and from thence to Amboy. July 16 he joined Hugh Mercer, who had been raised to the rank of brigadier-general at the request of Washington, and placed in command of the Flying Camp, composed largely of Pennsylvania troops. The British army was soon to attack New York and on August 10 Miles was ordered to Long Island.

On August 12 Miles' regiment and Colonel Samuel Atlee's battalion of musketry, from Lancaster, were brigaded with Glover's and Smallwood's regiments and placed under the command of Lord Stirling, an English officer who was made a brigadier-general in the American army. Stirling's brigade took an active part in the battle of Long Island, serving under Gen-

eral Sullivan, commanding the left wing of Washington's army. There are no minute details of the part taken by Captain Albright's company of York County troops in this famous battle. The report of Miles, in whose regiment Captain Albright served, will be found interesting.

"On the landing of the British army on Long Island, I was ordered with my rifle regiment to watch their motions. I marched near to the village of Flat Bush, where the Highlanders then lay, but they moved the next day to General Howe's camp, and their place was supplied by the Hessians. I lay there within cannon shot of the Hessian camp for four days without receiving orders from General Sullivan. I was stationed directly in front of the village of Flat Bush, but on the left of the road leading to New York, where the Hessians were encamped. The main body of the enemy, under the immediate command of General Howe, lay about two miles to my left, and General Grant, with another body of British troops, lay about four miles to my right. There were several small bodies of Americans dispersed to my right but not a man to my left, although the main body of the enemy lay to my left. This was our situation on the 26th of August. About 1 o'clock at night Grant on the right and Howe on the left, began their march, and by daylight Grant had got within a mile of our entrenchments, and Howe had got into the Jamaica Road, about two miles from our lines. The Hessians kept their position until 7 in the morning. As soon as they moved the firing began at our redoubt. I immediately marched towards the firing, but had not proceeded more than one or two hundred yards when I was stopped by Colonel Willey, who told me that I could not pass on; that we were to defend a road that led from Flat Bush road to the Jamaica road.

"I made a retrograde march, a distance of nearly two miles through woods within sight of the Jamaica road, and to my great mortification saw the main body of the enemy in full march between me and our lines, and the baggage guard just coming into the road. I had then only the first battalion with me. The second was some distance to the rear, and I directed Major Williams, who was on horseback, to return and order Lieutenant-Colonel Brodhead, of

my regiment, to push on by the left of the enemy and endeavor to get into our lines that way. They succeeded, but had to wade a mill dam, in which a few were drowned. I returned to the battalion and called a council of the officers and laid three propositions before them; first, to attack the baggage guard, endeavor to cut our way through them, proceed to Hell Gate and then cross the sound; second, to lay where we were until the whole had passed us and then proceed to Hell Gate; or third, to endeavor to force our way through the enemy's flank guards into our line at Brooklyn.

**Colonel Miles a Prisoner.**

"The third proposition was adopted, and we immediately began our march, but had not proceeded more than half a mile until we fell in with a body of seven or eight hundred light infantry, which we attacked without hesitation. Their superiority of numbers encouraged them to march up with their bayonets, which we could not withstand, having none ourselves. I therefore ordered the troops to push on toward our lines. I remained on the grounds myself until they had all passed me, the enemy being then within less than twenty yards of us, and by this means I came into the rear instead of the front of my command. We had proceeded but a short distance before we were again engaged with a superior force of the enemy, and here we lost a number of men, but took Major Moncrieffe, their commanding officer, prisoner. Finding that the enemy had possession of the ground between us and our lines, and that it was impossible for us to cut our way through as a body, I directed the men to make the best of their way as well as they could. Some few got in safe, but there were 159 taken prisoners. I myself was entirely cut off from our lines and therefore endeavored to conceal myself, with a few men who would not leave me. I hoped to remain until night, when I intended to try to get to Hell Gate and cross the sound; but about 3 o'clock in the afternoon was discovered by a party of Hessians and obliged to surrender—thus ended the career of that day." Lieutenant William McPherson, of Albright's company, became a prisoner of war and was held by the British for more than a year.

Colonel Miles' regiment, when organized, had 1,000 men, rank and file. Of this number 650 entered the battle of Long Island, in which about 50 were killed and wounded and 159 taken prisoners. Captain Albright's company lost in this engagement in killed, wounded and prisoners, three sergeants and twenty-seven privates. The responsible position held by Miles in this battle is shown in the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Brodhead, of the regiment. On September 5, 1776, he wrote: "No troops could have behaved better than ours in this battle, for, though they seldom engaged less than five to one, they frequently repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and I am confident that the number killed and wounded on their side is greater than ours, notwithstanding we had to fight them front and rear under every disadvantage. I understand that General Sullivan has taken the liberty to charge our brave and good Colonel Miles with the ill success of the day, but give me leave to say, that if General Sullivan and the rest of the generals on Long Island had been as vigilant and prudent as he, we might and in all probability would have cut off Clinton's brigade; our officers and men in general, considering the confusion, behaved as well as men could do—a few behaved badly. Our men are getting very sickly for want of blankets and clothing, having thrown away those they had in the engagement, which I fear they cannot be furnished here."

In this battle Miles' regiment and Atlee's battalion suffered so severely that General Washington ordered the three battalions to be considered as a regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Brodhead until further orders. Both these commands had enlisted for fifteen months to defend the state of Pennsylvania. As they were now with the American army in another state, Colonel Brodhead petitioned the State Legislature at this time to know their military relations, whereupon both commands were turned over to the authority of Congress. On September 19 the three battalions mutinied and appeared on parade under arms. After this two hundred men deserted, about thirty of them were kept back by force. Those who deserted gave as a reason a lack of sufficient clothing, blankets, rations and pay, but the records

seem to show that they had already been paid in continental money, which had greatly depreciated. Meantime, however, a supply of clothing had been sent from Philadelphia.

On October 5, Captain Albright had in his company three sergeants, one drummer and forty-six privates. On the same day the Pennsylvania Council of Safety ordered a re-arrangement of the three battalions, and on the 25th of the same month, ten of the companies of the battalion ceased to exist by being consolidated with others. On the same day Captain Albright's company and six others were ordered to retain their captains. These and the remnants of the other battalions of the state troops followed the fortunes of the Continental army. Part of the regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Brodhead was present at the battle of Fort Washington, November 16. The remainder of the regiment accompanied Washington in the retreat across New Jersey and took part in the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

Late in the year 1776 a difficulty arose between Major Williams, of Miles' regiment, and Captain Philip Albright. The major had made himself obnoxious in many ways to the subordinate officers, with whom he was not popular. Both Williams and Albright explained their differences to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, but the matter was never satisfactorily adjusted, and Captain Albright resigned his commission on January 23, 1777.

The following is the roll of Captain Philip Albright's company after the battle of Long Island, taken in camp near King's Bridge, N. Y., September 1, 1776:

*Captain,*  
Albright, Philip.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Thomson, John.  
Sheriff, Cornelius.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
McPherson, William.  
*Third Lieutenant,*  
Stake, Jacob.  
*Sergeants,*  
Wilson, Thomas.  
Tate, Robert.  
Wiley, James.  
Geddes, James.

*Quartermaster Sergeant,*

Lytle, Andrew.

*Drummer,*

Harden, John.

*Privates,*

Awl, John.  
Barron, Robert.  
Beltzhoover, Ludwig.  
Boned, Andrew.  
Boyd, Alexander.  
Branon, William.  
Brown, John.  
Burk, Michael.  
Busham, Jacob.  
Carlton, Edward.  
Conrad, George.  
Croan, Henry.  
Crookham, John.  
Cuxel, James.  
Duffield, Rachford.  
Ferril, Hugh.  
Fink, Michael.  
Foster, Thomas.  
Glen, Patrick.  
Gobin, Hugh.  
Gordan, James.  
Gearley, John.  
Gregg, John.  
Gregg, Robert.  
Helm, George.  
Helsley, Jacob.  
Hendry, John.  
Hollan, William.  
Hudson, John.  
Hutchinson, James.  
Jacobs, Johnathan.  
James, William.  
Kennedy, Philip.  
Kilean, Michael.  
Kilpatrick, Robert.  
Kilpatrick, William.  
Knee (Karee), Thomas.  
Lead, Conrad.  
Leavingston, Jacob.  
Lutes, John.  
Malseed, Samuel.  
McBroom, Henry.  
McCay, James.  
McChughan, Hugh.  
McCown, Daniel.  
McCown, Patrick.  
McElnay, John.  
McFarlane, James.  
McGinish, Patt.  
McGuire, Bartholomew.  
McNeal, Daniel.  
Morrison, James.  
Myer, Joseph.  
Newman, Jacob.  
Reed, Hugh.  
Rinehart, John.  
Rubart, Adam.  
Ryan, Christian.  
Ryan, Michael.  
Shadow, Henry.  
Smith, John.  
Spangler, Charles.  
Stockdel, Torrence.  
Stuart, David.  
Stump, Charles.  
Sturgeon, Robert.  
Swartz, John.  
Trine, George.  
Wampler, George.  
Wells, Edward.  
Welschance, William.  
Williams, Thomas.  
Woods, Samuel.

CAPTAIN PHILIP ALBRIGHT was a descendant of George Albright, who left the German Palatinate and arriving in this country settled in Philadelphia, and engaged in commercial pursuits. He remained in that city until 1740, when he moved to York, then a part of Lancaster County, in which county he had a number of valuable plantations.

Captain Albright was the youngest of three sons of George Albright, and received his education at York in the school maintained by the German Lutheran Church. Endowed with the usual German thrift, he was able to save enough in succeeding years to purchase the estate of the Rankin family. This property was situated on the Codorus about two miles below York, and consisted of a large flouring mill and plantation. Philip Albright made his home upon his newly purchased plantation, having some years previous married Anna Maria Ursula,

daughter of Johann Daniel Duenckle, a German refugee and aristocrat.

When the tension with Great Britain became keen, there was no more enthusiastic partisan of colonial independence than Philip Albright, and when the preliminary steps were taken looking to the achievement of that end, he was chosen a member of the Committee of Observation, formed at York, December 16, 1774. On March 19, 1776, he was appointed captain of the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania regiment under the command of Colonel Samuel Miles. He followed the fortunes of this regiment under Washington at the battle of Long Island and other engagements around New York and in the Jersey campaign, during the winter of 1776-7. As a result of difficulties with Major Ennion Williams, Captain Albright resigned his command on January 23, 1777. His retirement to private life, however, was of short duration, for on April 5, 1778, while Continental Congress was in session at York, he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Third Battalion of York County Militia, David Jameson, colonel. Five days after the date of his commission, the battalion was ordered out to guard the frontier against hostile Indians, who had committed depredations in the Wyoming Valley, and in central and western Pennsylvania.

At the close of the war, Philip Albright returned to his family, with whom he lived in considerable state and was highly esteemed by his fellows. In 1797, he lost his wife. The same year, in recognition of his services to his country, he was elected to the State Legislature from York County, and served two years. Lieutenant-Colonel Albright died April 2, 1800, "a warm friend of his country," leaving a large estate, and survived by two sons and four daughters. One of his daughters married George Small, father of Philip A. and Samuel, founders of the firm of P. A. & S. Small.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM McPHERSON, who was captured in the battle of Long Island, was a son of Robert McPherson, who served as a captain in the French and Indian war, and commanded a battalion of York County militia in the Revolution. He was born near the site of Gettysburg, December 2, 1757, and at the age of 19 aided in recruit-

ing Albright's company, of which he became second lieutenant. During the hottest of the fighting in the battle of Long Island, Lieutenant McPherson fell into the hands of the enemy and was held a prisoner of war near New York city for one year. After the war he became a prominent and influential citizen of the Marsh Creek country. He represented York County in the State Legislature from 1790 to 1799, except in 1793. During the last year he served in the Legislature, he secured the passage of a bill to divide York County, and organize the new county of Adams, which was accomplished in 1800. He died at Gettysburg, August 2, 1832, at the age of seventy-five years. Lieutenant McPherson was twice married, first in 1780, to Mary Garick, of Frederick County, Maryland, and second in 1793, to Sara Reynolds, of Shippensburg. He was the father of fourteen children. John B. McPherson, one of his sons, was forty-five years cashier of the Gettysburg bank, the oldest financial institution in the county. Hon. Edward McPherson, son of John B. McPherson, was born in 1831 and died in 1895. He was a representative in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, and sixteen years clerk of the national House of Representatives.

#### THE FIRST PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

The First Pennsylvania Regiment was organized in the field at the headquarters of the army at Long Island, July 11, 1776. Most of the membership was composed of re-enlisted men who had previously served one year in Thompson's battalion. The new regiment was placed in the command of Col. Edward Hand, of Lancaster, with Benjamin Chambers, of Franklin County, as lieutenant-colonel, and Rev. Samuel Blair, chaplain. Owing to a controversy James Ross was not appointed major until three months afterward. When the regiment was organized, the nine companies were commanded respectively by Henry Miller, Matthew Smith, Robert Cluggage, James Ross, Charles Craig, James Grier, David Harris, James Parr and James Hamilton. The two companies which had accompanied Arnold's expedition to Canada had returned in time to join the regiment when it was organized.

**Under  
Sullivan  
at Long  
Island.**

This regiment now entered upon a career of drill and discipline preparing for a contest with the British, which was expected to come soon after their arrival at Long Island. General Sullivan, under whom Thompson's battalion had served in front of Boston, had now returned from the expedition to Canada and Captain Miller's company from York, with the First Pennsylvania Regiment, was again placed in Sullivan's command on Long Island. General Howe arrived with 25,000 troops at the entrance of New York harbor early in August, and was accompanied by his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, with a resistless fleet. The American army under Washington numbered less than 10,000. General Israel Putnam commanded 5,000 troops at Brooklyn Heights and Sullivan, under whom the York soldiers were serving, had 4,000 men guarding the roads on Long Island. August 27, Howe, with 20,000 troops, attacked Sullivan. With his great superiority of force he was able to surround the Americans and take more than 1,000 prisoners, including General Sullivan. Had Howe attacked the works on Brooklyn Heights he would probably have met with a bloody defeat: but Bunker Hill had taught him a lesson and he determined to besiege the place instead of assaulting it. When Washington perceived this intention he withdrew the army, taking it across the East River one dark, foggy night in such boats and scows as he could collect. This skillful retreat under the very nose of the enemy was a wonderful achievement.

In the battle of Long Island Hand's regiment took a conspicuous part. Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers, of this regiment, in describing the engagement wrote as follows: "On the morning of August 22 there were nine thousand troops approaching us on New Utrecht plains. The guard alarmed our small camp and we assembled at the flag staff. We found our forces too small to attack the enemy on the plain. A detachment of the regiment under the command of Captain Miller, of York, followed the enemy with the design to decoy a portion of them to follow him. The remainder of our regiment was stationed along the woods near Captain Miller's detachment, which had moved to a point 200 yards from the

British. But they decided not to attack him. Captain Miller then returned to the regiment, which moved along the enemy's flank. Our men now fired and killed several Hessians. Strong guards were maintained all day on the flanks of the enemy and our regiment and the Hessians kept up a severe firing with a loss of but two wounded on our side. We laid a few Hessians low and made them retreat out of Flat Bush. Our men went into the town and brought the goods out of the burning houses.

"The enemy nearly lost their field pieces. We could certainly have taken the cannon had it not been for some foolish person calling retreat. The main body of the foe returned to the town and when our men came back to camp they told of their exploits. Their stories were doubted by some, which enraged our men so that a few of them ran and brought away several Hessians on their backs. This kind of firing by our riflemen and theirs continued until 2 o'clock in the morning of the 26th, when our regiment was relieved by a portion of the Flying Camp, and we started for Fort Greene to get refreshment, not having lain down the whole of this time and almost dead with fatigue. We just reached the fort when the alarm guns were fired. We were compelled to return to the lines, and, as soon as it was light, saw our men and theirs engaged with field pieces.

"At last the enemy surrounded our advance guard, and then a **A Spirited Contest.** heavy firing continued for several hours. The main body that surrounded our men marched within thirty yards of Forts Brown and Greene; but when we fired they retreated with loss. Our men behaved as bravely as ever men did, but it is surprising that with the superiority of the enemy our men were not cut to pieces. They behaved gallantly, and there are but five or six hundred missing of the 2,500 comprising our brigade.

"General Lord Stirling fought like a wolf and was taken prisoner. Colonels Miles and Atlee, Major Burd, Captain Peebles, Lieutenant Watt, and a great number of other officers are also prisoners. Colonel Piper is missing. From deserters we learn that the enemy lost Major General Grant and two brigadiers and many others, and five hundred killed. Our loss is chiefly in prisoners."

Colonel Hand, in his report of the retreat after the battle of Long Island, said: "When it was determined to evacuate Long Island, General Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, told me that Washington had honored him with the command of the covering party and that our regiment was to be employed in that service. He then assigned us our several stations which we were to occupy as soon as it was dark and pointed out Brooklyn Church as an alarm post to which the whole force was to repair and unitedly oppose the enemy in case they discovered our movements and made an attack in consequence. My regiment was posted in a redoubt on the left and in the lines on the right of the great road below Brooklyn Church. Captain Henry Miller commanded in the redoubt."

Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers wrote: "The Pennsylvania troops received great honor by being chosen corps de reserve to cover the retreat. The regiments of Colonels Hand, Morgan, Shea and Hazlett were detailed for that purpose. We kept up camp fires with the outposts stationed until all the rest were over. We left the lines after it was fair day and then came off. Never was a greater feat of generalship shown than in this retreat—to bring off an army of twelve thousand men within sight of a strong enemy, supported by as strong a fleet as ever floated our seas. We saved all our baggage. General Washington saw the last troop cross over."

Writing to his wife, Captain Miller states: "Today, August 4, my company was reviewed by General Washington, but owing to the heavy cannonading up the river his stay was very short."

Again, on the 31st of the same month: "As our regiments were sent only as an advance guard to watch the movements of the enemy and not for the purpose of making a stand where they did, and as they were brought into action by the great spirit which prevailed among the Pennsylvania, Maryland and lower country troops, the result of the battle could not be properly called a defeat. We forced the enemy to retreat three different times from their advanced posts, and their loss was greater than our own. The retreat was conducted in such a manner as would do honor to the

most experienced generals and army in the world; for it entirely disconcerted the designs of the enemy to surround us. I had the honor to be in the rear guard; the sun was up before I left the island. Governor's Island was given up yesterday. We shall leave New York in a few days, for this place is too advantageously situated for the enemy, and the possession of it will not afford them an easy access to the back country."

A contemporary writer states this additional fact: "Captain Miller, in this retreat, was the last man to enter the boat, and that, when they were pushed off and were supposed to be out of danger, a heavy fog hung over them. He stood up, hat in hand, and gave three hearty cheers. This brought on them a heavy volley of musketry."

After Washington had crossed into New York city from Long Island, he placed his army on the east bank of the Hudson in the vicinity of White Plains. He abandoned everything on Manhattan Island except Fort Washington. To defend this strategic point he sent a body of nearly two thousand troops in command of Colonel Robert McGaw, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This officer had been major of Thompson's riflemen, which had marched from southern Pennsylvania to Boston at the opening of the war. Colonel McGaw had won distinction for gallantry at Long Island and had merited the promotion he received upon the recommendation of the commander-in-chief. While presenting a front parallel to that of Howe, frequent skirmishes occurred in which the Americans were entirely successful.

Hand's riflemen followed the fortunes of the army under Washington on the east bank of the Hudson. On October 12 Colonel Hand and his riflemen assisted by Colonel Prescott, of Bunker Hill fame, checked the advance of the British at Pell's Neck, immediately after they had landed from Long Island. October 23 Colonel Hand attacked two hundred and forty Hessian chasseurs near East Chester and routed them. In both these skirmishes Captain Miller and his York County men took a conspicuous part.

At this juncture General Greene, with a small force, garrisoned Fort Lee, upon the

**Captain  
Henry  
Miller's  
Account.**

**Hand's  
Regiment  
in New  
York.**

Palisades on the west bank of the Hudson, nearly opposite Fort Washington. Sullivan, Stirling and Morgan, who had been captured at the battle of Long Island in August, now rejoined the army after being exchanged. General Charles Lee arrived from South Carolina and was placed second in command of the American army around New York. Washington had taken up his headquarters at White Plains, where both armies were concentrating. The Americans were placed in four divisions commanded respectively by Lee, Heath, Sullivan and Lincoln. On October 28 Howe attacked Washington at White Plains, where he lost two hundred and twenty-nine men.

Washington now moved up the river and soon after had five thousand of his men under Putnam cross to the west side of the Hudson into New Jersey at Hackensack. He sent Heath up to Peekskill with three thousand men to guard the entrance to the Highlands, and left Lee at North Castle with seven thousand men. The enemy greatly outnumbered Washington at this time. His entire army was credited with nineteen thousand men, but the term of service of many of them had expired, so that his entire army did not exceed twelve thousand efficient men to oppose twenty-five thousand trained British and Hessian soldiers. At a council of war now held with his generals, Washington decided to retreat across New Jersey, but Congress desired that he should continue to hold Forts Washington and Lee. The officious interference of Congress, an error of judgment on the part of Greene, and the insubordination of Lee, occurring altogether at the critical moment brought about the greatest disaster of the war and came within an ace of overwhelming the American cause in total and irretrievable ruin. The story of the disaster of Fort Washington, where York County lost at least six hundred officers and men, is told in the succeeding pages of this work in an article relating to the Flying Camp.

## CHAPTER XIII

## REVOLUTION—Continued.

The Flying Camp—York County Regiments—Battle of Fort Washington—Washington's Retreat and Victory at Trenton—Battle of Princeton.

In June, 1776, after the British under General Howe had evacuated Boston and were about to threaten New York, Continental Congress issued a call for troops to join Washington's army. These troops, 10,000 in number, were to be enlisted for a term of six months from the organized militia in Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware. Colonel Miles' Rifle Regiment and Colonel Atlee's Battalion of Musketry, state troops already in the field, in all 1500 men, were to be accredited as part of the quota from Pennsylvania, which was expected to raise 6000 men. Maryland was to furnish 3400 and Delaware 600. This body of troops after enlistment and organization became known as the Flying Camp. By request of Washington, his personal friend, General Hugh Mercer, a physician by profession and a soldier by instinct, was selected as commander with the rank of brigadier-general.

General Mercer was a native of Scotland, and in 1747, settled in Mercer. Franklin County, Pennsylvania, at the site of Mercersburg, where he practiced medicine among his Scotch-Irish neighbors. He had served with distinction in the French and Indian war under Braddock, being severely wounded in the shoulder at Monongahela, and received a medal from the city of Philadelphia for his bravery in this expedition. In 1758, he commanded a regiment under General Forbes against the Indians at Fort Duquesne. After the close of the French and Indian war, he practiced his profession at Fredericksburg, Virginia, where he became a close and intimate friend of Washington.

The enlisted men of the Flying Camp under the act of Congress, were required to furnish their own arms, blankets, haversacks and knapsacks. Men, unable to furnish their own muskets, were to be supplied with arms which had been made by order of the Assembly for the use of the militia. The Pennsylvania Assembly adjourned in June,

1776, without completing arrangements for the organization of troops for the Flying Camp. The Pennsylvania Conference, composed of representatives from the committees of safety in the different counties, met in Philadelphia during the latter part of June. This conference considered itself the only representative body in Pennsylvania and made immediate provisions for the enlistment of as many as possible of the 4500 men intended for the Flying Camp. The conference appointed a committee of twelve men representing the different counties of Pennsylvania to devise ways and means for raising the 4500 men, and to inquire into all matters necessary for sending them to the army.

In the apportionment Philadelphia city and county was to furnish 956 men; Bucks County, 400 men; Chester County, 652; Berks, 666; Northampton, 346; Cumberland, 334; Lancaster, 746; York, 400. Colonel Richard McAllister, the founder of Hanover, then in command of a battalion of militia, was a representative from York County on this committee. The Pennsylvania Conference appointed Colonel James Smith, Dr. Benjamin Rush and John Bayard to prepare a draft of an address to the Associators. James Smith was then a practicing lawyer at York and commander of a battalion of militia in this county.

**A Patriotic Appeal.** The address which Smith and his associates prepared is supposed to have been written by this ardent patriot, who shortly after signed the Declaration of Independence. The address reads as follows:

To the Associators of Pennsylvania:

Gentlemen:—The only design of our meeting together was to put an end to our own power in the province, by fixing upon a plan for calling a convention, to form a government under the authority of the people. But the sudden and unexpected separation of the late assembly, has compelled us to undertake the execution of a resolve of Congress, for calling forth 4500 of the militia of the Province, to join the militia of the neighboring colonies, to form a camp for our immediate protection. We presume only to recommend the plan we have formed to you, trusting that in a case of so much consequence, your love of virtue and zeal for liberty will supply the want of authority delegated to us expressly for that purpose.

We need not remind you that you are now furnished with new motives to animate and support your courage. You are now about to contend against the power of Great Britain, in order to displace one set of villains to make room for another. Your arms will not be enervated in the day of battle with the reflection, that you are to risk your lives or shed your blood for a British

tyrant; or that your posterity will have your work to do over again. You are about to contend for permanent freedom, to be supported by a government which will be derived from yourselves, and which will have for its object, not the emolument of one man or class of men only, but the safety, liberty and happiness of every individual in the community. We call upon you, therefore, by the respect and obedience which are due to the authority of the United Colonies to concur in this important measure. The present campaign will probably decide the fate of America. It is now in your power to immortalize your names, by mingling your achievements with the events of the year 1776—a year which we hope will be famed in the annals of history to the end of time, for establishing upon a lasting foundation the liberties of one quarter of the globe.

Remember the honor of our colonies is at stake. Should you desert the common cause at the present juncture, the glory you have acquired by your former exertions of strength and virtue, will be tarnished; and our friends and brethren, who are now acquiring laurels in the most remote parts of America, will reproach us and blush to own themselves natives or inhabitants of Pennsylvania.

But there are other motives before you. Your houses, your fields, the legacies of your ancestors, or the dear-bought fruits of your own industry, and your liberty, now urge you to the field. These cannot plead with you in vain, or we might point out to you further, your wives, your children, your aged fathers and mothers, who now look up to you for aid, and hope for salvation in this day of calamity, only from the instrumentality of your swords.

Remember the name of Pennsylvania. Think of your ancestors and of your posterity.

Signed by the unanimous order of the conference,

Thomas McKean, President.

June 25, 1776.

**Elect Brigadiers.** The formation of the Flying Camp, as directed by Congress, from such of the associated battalions as volunteered for the purpose, required full organization, and a meeting was called at Lancaster, to which the militia of the state were directed to send representatives. This meeting, composed of the delegates from the officers and privates of the fifty-three battalions of Associators, convened on the memorable Fourth of July, 1776, for the purpose of choosing two brigadier-generals. Colonel George Ross was chosen president of the meeting, and Colonel David Clymer, secretary. Colonel Mark Burd, Colonel George Ross and Captain Sharp Dulaney were appointed judges of the election. The election was held and resulted in the choice of Daniel Roberdeau and James Ewing, the former having 160 votes and the latter 85. Upon the announcement of this result, the president immediately declared Daniel Roberdeau commander of the First Brigade and James Ewing commander of the Second Brigade.

Daniel Roberdeau was a native of the



Island of St. Christopher, and became a prominent merchant of Philadelphia. In 1776 he was the colonel of a battalion of Associators. In May of the same year he presided over a public meeting at Philadelphia, which favored the Declaration of Independence. In that year he owned a privateer which captured a prize of \$22,000, which money he turned over to the disposal of Congress. In 1777 he was a leading member of Continental Congress at York.

James Ewing was a citizen of York County, residing on his plantation in Helam township, near Wrightsville. He was then forty years of age. He had served as a lieutenant in Forbes' expedition against Fort Duquesne in 1758. In 1771-5 he was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and at the outbreak of the Revolution became a member of the Committee of Safety for York County.

On July 7, 1776, the pastor of the Moravian Church at York, made the following entry in his diary:

**A Local Diary.** "Strict orders came that all Associators of this county should hold themselves in readiness to march to the front. In the following week they left.

"July 17—Yorktown seems quite deserted on account of the departure for the army of all men under fifty years of age. Our young men had to leave for Jersey. Ernst Schlosser, the three sons of Brothers Rothrock, Brinkman, John Scifer's eldest son, John Hoenrison, and, in short, the most of the others who are under fifty years of age, will have to march off in the next few days. Several of our people, because the town has been so emptied, have in addition to other persons been elected as members of the committee ad interim, with a guard given them day and night, in order to maintain peace and quietness, and give security against the plots of Tories. All business is prostrated, all shops are closed. How many prayers and tears will now be brought before the Lord, by parents for their children, by children for their parents, by wives for their husbands.

"August—Numerous bands of soldiers from Maryland, Virginia, etc., passed through the town.

"September 4—Our town has not remained exempt from the prevailing unrest of the land. None of our communicant

brethren have been compelled to enter the war, and those who were married and had gone to Jersey, have again returned in the first part of the week to their respective homes. The young single men of our society, of whom there are about ten absent, have been drawn into the Flying Camp.

"In the beginning of September, some of those who had gone to the front from here returned. On the 28th of September, 1776, Philip Rothrock returned from a visit to his sons in camp near New York."

**The Organization.** In obedience to the call for militia from Pennsylvania to join the Flying Camp, being formed in the State of New Jersey, five battalions of Associators left York County in July, 1776. These battalions passed through Lancaster and Philadelphia, and then proceeded by water to Trenton and from thence to the headquarters of the Flying Camp at Perth Amboy, arriving there late in July. At this time, other battalions of Associators from Pennsylvania and New Jersey arrived at Perth Amboy, where General Mercer and his brigadiers, Ewing and Roberdeau, began the organization of the Flying Camp, by asking volunteer enlistments.

The Convention of the State of Pennsylvania, on August 12, resolved to add four additional battalions to the Flying Camp. York County being required to furnish 515 men toward making out the number of 2,984, the amount of the four new battalions. On the same day, Colonel George Ross, vice-president of the convention; Colonel Thomas Matlack, of Philadelphia, and Colonel Henry Slagle, of York County, were chosen commissioners to go to the headquarters in New Jersey, to aid in forming the Flying Camp. Before a complete organization had been effected, the British were threatening the city of New York. Colonel Miles' regiment was sent to Long Island, and the newly organized regiments under Swope and McMlister, of York County, were sent forward for active operations in the field.

After the requisite number had been enlisted, General Mercer issued an order, August 19, authorizing the return to their homes of the balance of the associated militia. This patriotic band of soldiers was

organized shortly after the Declaration of Independence, when the political affairs of the State of Pennsylvania were controlled by the Provincial Conference.

The British army under General Howe was arriving on Long Island from Halifax, Nova Scotia, where it had gone after evacuating Boston. New York was in the hands of the Americans and a battle between Washington and Howe was soon expected at Long Island or in the northern part of New Jersey.

### YORK COUNTY REGIMENTS.

York County showed her loyalty to the cause of independence by sending more troops from the militia service than were needed for her quota for the organization of the Flying Camp. Two regiments had been formed from the York County militia. These commands were designated the First and Second Pennsylvania Regiments of the Flying Camp. The officers of the First Regiment were: Michael Swope, colonel; Robert Stevenson, lieutenant-colonel; William Bailey, major. It was composed of eight companies with the following officers:

#### First Company—

Michael Schmeiser, captain.  
Zachariah Shugart, first lieutenant.  
Andrew Robinson, second lieutenant.  
William Wayne, ensign.

#### Second Company—

Gerhart Graeff, captain.  
Daniel McCollom, ensign.

#### Third Company—

Jacob Dritt, captain.  
John Baymiller, first lieutenant.  
Henry Clayton, second lieutenant.  
Jacob Mayer, ensign.  
Daniel Herrington, corporal.

#### Fourth Company—

Christian Stake, captain.  
Cornelius Sheriff, first lieutenant.  
Jacob Holtzinger, second lieutenant.  
Jacob Barnitz, ensign.

#### Fifth Company—

John McDonald, captain.  
William Scott, first lieutenant.  
Robert Patton, second lieutenant.  
Ensign Howe.

#### Sixth Company—

John Ewing, captain.  
William Paysley, ensign.

#### Seventh Company—

William Nelson, captain.  
James Todd, first lieutenant.  
Joseph Welsh, second lieutenant.  
Ensign Nesbit.

#### Eighth Company—

Joshua Williams, captain.  
Jacob Brinkerhoff, ensign.

Soon after the organization, Colonel Swope's regiment, with other commands of Ewing's brigade, was ordered to garrison Fort Constitution, afterward named Fort Lee, situated on the west side of the Hudson River, above New York City. October 8, it contained 37 commissioned officers and staff, 44 non-commissioned officers, and 359 rank and file.

#### The Second Pennsylvania McAllister's Regiment of the Flying Regiment.

Camp, commanded by Colonel Richard McAllister, was composed of eight companies. Six of these companies were recruited out of the battalions of militia which had marched to New Jersey from the various parts of York County, and the territory now embraced in Adams County. These companies were commanded respectively by Captains Nicholas Bittinger, William McCarter, W. McCoskey, John Laird, Samuel Wilson and John Paxton. Two companies from Bucks County belonged to this regiment. McAllister's regiment was at Perth Amboy October 8, 1776, when it contained 41 commissioned officers and staff, 43 non-commissioned officers and 438 rank and file. David Kennedy was lieutenant-colonel and John Clark, who had previously served with the first troops that left York for Boston, was commissioned major.

Meantime, the battle of Long Island had been fought and the British had taken possession of New York City, which then covered the lower part of Manhattan Island. Washington retreated to the northern part of the island and then placed his army on both sides of the Hudson. The enemy held Long Island and Staten Island. General Mercer, commanding the Flying Camp, despatched McAllister's regiment to attack a body of the enemy on Staten Island, October 14. Major John Clark, in his autobiography, says, "In the expedition to Staten Island, I took a stand of British colors of the Twenty-third Light Dragoons.

I commanded the advance of 500 riflemen and the first Hessians taken, or rather Waldeckers, fell into my hands, about sixty."

Soon after the Staten Island affair, McAllister's regiment joined the brigade at Fort Lee. At this time, Major Clark selected 200 men from the regiment to guard the passes opposite White Plains. He fortified his position and laid plans to prevent detachments of Howe's army from passing up the Hudson.

With the same detachment on November 9, at the command of General Greene, Clark was sent to Dobb's Ferry on the east side of the Hudson to protect the landing of a quantity of flour for the American army. With his accustomed sagacity, Clark reconnoitered the situation and discovered that the enemy to the number of about 5,000 were encamped nearby. He reported that in his opinion, the British were laying plans to cross the river and attack Fort Washington, situated in the northern part of Manhattan Island.

Swope's regiment was stationed on the New Jersey side of the Hudson to guard the passes of that stream during the battle of White Plains, fought on the eastern side of the river, below Yonkers. Colonel Robert McGaw, of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, with twelve hundred men, was placed in charge of the defenses of Fort Washington. General Greene, struck with the importance of protecting McGaw, suggested to the commander-in-chief that a portion of the Flying Camp, then stationed on the western side of the Hudson, should cross over and assist Colonel McGaw in defending Fort Washington. This fort was considered a strategic point, and General Howe determined to attack it with a large force. It was one of the most hazardous positions defended by Pennsylvania troops during the entire period of the Revolution. Ten thousand regulars would have been required to successfully perform this duty.

#### BATTLE OF FORT WASHINGTON.

In accordance with Greene's suggestion, Colonel Swope's and a part of McAllister's regiments crossed the Hudson and joined the Pennsylvania troops under McGaw in defending the fort. November 15, the adjutant-general, Colonel Patterson, of the

British army, was sent to summon the garrison in Fort Washington to surrender, threatening at the same time, to "put it to the sword," if the demand was rejected. At this juncture, Colonel McGaw sent the following communication to General Greene:

"A flag of truce came out just now from King's Bridge. The adjutant-general was at the head of it. I sent down Colonel Swope. The adjutant-general would hardly give him two hours for an alternative between surrendering at discretion or every man being put to the sword. He waits an answer. I shall send him a proper one. You will, I dare say, do what is best. We are determined to defend the post or die."

In response to this communication, Colonel Swope, of York, delivered the following remarkable document to the adjutant-general of the British army in accordance with the directions of Colonel McGaw:

"If I rightly understand the purport of your message from General Howe, communicated to Colonel Swope, this post is to be immediately surrendered or the garrison put to the sword. I rather think it is a mistake than a settled resolution in General Howe to act a part so unworthy of himself and the British nation.

"But give me leave to assure his Excellency that, actuated by the most glorious cause of mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

After learning the determination of these gallant Pennsylvania troops, the British decided to make the attack, the following day. Early in the morning on the sixteenth, the enemy's batteries from the eastern side of the Harlem River, opened fire upon the commands of Colonel Baxter, of Maryland, and Colonel Lambert Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, who held positions without the fort.

Meantime General Washington, with Greene, Mercer and Putnam, crossed the river from Fort Lee to the vicinity of Fort Washington, and examined the position of the American troops and reconnoitered the movements of the enemy. These officers then returned to Fort Lee, entrusting the entire command to Colonel McGaw and his heroic band of patriots.

About noon, General Knyphausen, com-

manding the Hessian forces, began a furious attack upon the north. Simultaneous attacks were made by Lord Percy on the south, and Colonel Sterling and General Matthews crossed the Harlem river and moved on the fort from the east. The British drove the Americans from their outposts and soon stood victorious upon the hills overlooking the open fields around Fort Washington. Near the fort severe skirmishes took place and many of the Hessian pursuers were slain. The defense was gallant, but pike, ball and bayonet, used by five thousand men, overpowered the weakened patriots and they were nearly all gathered within the ramparts of the fort, but not until about 1,000 men had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

General Howe sent an order for surrender. Perceiving further resistance to be in vain,

McGaw complied and at half past one the British flag was waving where the Continental banner had been unfurled defiantly in the morning. The entire garrison, numbering nearly three thousand men, surrendered. Washington, standing on the ramparts of Fort Lee with tears in his eyes, saw the garrison in Fort Washington meet its doom, and the American banner torn down and replaced by the flag of England.

When the attack on Fort Washington began about noon of November 16, 1776, Swope's regiment was defending one of the outposts some distance to the southeast. His position was assaulted by the Hessian troops under Knyphausen. Swope's men fought gallantly, but being overpowered by the enemy, were compelled to fall back. In this movement they were flanked by the British and Hessians and forced to surrender. Almost the entire command of 400 York County soldiers became prisoners of war. Jacob Barnitz, a young man of eighteen and a color bearer of the regiment, was wounded in both legs by rifle balls and was left on the field. The attack of the enemy was violent and impetuous, and as they approached the outposts of the fort, the Hessians lost heavily in killed and wounded from the well directed aim of the Pennsylvania soldiers. Colonel McGaw's loss in killed and wounded did not exceed 100 men, but almost his entire command of

3,000 men were compelled to surrender to the enemy.

Colonel Thomas Hartley, in 1779, wrote a letter stating that nearly 400 York County troops, largely from Swope's regiment and partly from McAllister's regiment, had been held in New York and Long Island as prisoners of war; that at the expiration of three years only fifty of the entire number captured had returned to their homes. He made this assertion to prove the loyalty of the people west of the Susquehanna to the cause of American independence, and further claimed that York County had furnished more troops for the army than any other county in the thirteen original states.

These American soldiers were placed in jails, churches, sugar houses and other buildings, and held as prisoners of war for many months, some of them not having been released until three years after their capture. The stories of their treatment if they could be given in detail would rank among the most sorrowful ever recorded on the pages of history. They were given an insufficient amount of food, were obliged to remain in cold, damp rooms without any privileges of outdoor exercise. Many of these gallant sons of Pennsylvania died from the horrors of British prison pens and others contracted diseases from which they never recovered. The treatment of the British and Hessian prisoners by the Americans formed no comparison to the treatment of Colonel McGaw's men while they were held prisoners in New York and Long Island.

Owing to the absence of official documents, a complete record of the casualties in Swope's and McAllister's regiments cannot be given. From various sources of information the following facts have been obtained. Among the prisoners captured at Fort Washington were Colonel Michael Swope, Major William Bailey, Surgeon Humphrey Fullerton, Captains Michael Smyser, Jacob Dritt, Christian Stake, John McDonald, Henry Clayton, Henry Lewis, Lieutenants Zachariah Shugart, Jacob Holtzinger, Andrew Robinson, Benjamin Davis, Lieutenants Clayton, Robert Patton, Joseph Welsh, Ensigns Jacob Barnitz, Jacob Morgan and Jacob Meyer, and Adjutant Howe.

The following soldiers served in Captain

Stake's company and were taken prisoners at Fort Washington: Sergeant Peter Haack, Sergeant John Dicks, Sergeant Henry Counselman, Corporal John Adlum, David Parker, James Dobbins, Hugh Dobbins, Henry Miller, John Stroman, Christian Stroman, James Berry, Joseph Bay, Henry Hoff, Joseph Updegraff, Daniel Miller, Jacob Hake, Jr., Henry Shultz, William Lukens, the mulatto cook.

The casualties of McAllister's regiment as far as could be obtained were the following: Captain McCarter, shot through the breast and died five days after the battle; Captain Nicholas Bittinger, the ancestor of the Bittinger family in York and Adams Counties, held as a prisoner of war in New York for several months; Lieutenants William Young, Joseph Morrison, Hugh King, Shannon, Henry Bittinger, Ensign Thomas Reed, Private Charles Wilson.

The battle of Fort Washington was fought largely by troops from west of the Susquehanna River from York and Cumberland Counties. About one-half of the enlisted men of Swope's and McAllister's regiments were Pennsylvania Germans who fought gallantly before they would surrender the fort to the enemy.

Captains William Scott, John Jamison, Thomas Campbell, Lieutenants Samuel Lindsay, Henry Bear, Joseph Morrison, John Irwin, John Findlay, Godfrey Myers, Matthew Bennett, of York County, were prisoners of war on Long Island, in August, 1778.

Among the soldiers belonging to Swope's regiment, who died in New York prisons, were Sergeants Peter Haack and John Hicks; Privates Hugh Dobbins, Henry Hoff, David Parker. They were buried in Trinity churchyard, New York, in the same hallowed ground in which were interred the remains of Alexander Hamilton and many other noted Revolutionary soldiers. Captain McCarter, of McAllister's regiment, who was mortally wounded at Fort Washington, was also buried in Trinity graveyard.

Benjamin Davis, who served as lieutenant in Captain Smyser's company, was held as a prisoner of war during the whole period of the Revolution. He owned a fulling mill in York County and 186 acres of land. In March, 1781, he applied to the State of

Pennsylvania for a pension, stating in his application that his property had been sold to support his family during his long imprisonment.

John McKinley, of Lower Chanceford Township, the great-grandfather of William McKinley, served in the Sixth Battalion, York County Militia, and marched with it to join the Flying Camp in 1776.

Gerhardt Graeff, a captain in the Flying Camp, was taken a prisoner at Fort Washington, and died in captivity. Almost his entire company became prisoners of war at Fort Washington.

GENERAL JAMES EWING, who commanded one of the divisions of the Flying Camp, was born in Manor Township, Lancaster County, August 3, 1736, of Scotch-Irish ancestry. His father emigrated from the north of Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1734. The son received a good education. During Forbes' expedition to Fort Duquesne in the French and Indian war, he entered the provincial service and was commissioned lieutenant, May 10, 1758. He was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania from 1771 to 1775. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he was on the Committee of Safety for York County, and on July 4, 1776, was chosen one of the two brigadier-generals of the Pennsylvania Associators, out of which was formed the Flying Camp. He commanded one of the divisions of the Flying Camp in the campaign around New York City during the year 1776. In December of that year, when General Washington had planned an attack on the British at Trenton, General Ewing, in command of the Pennsylvania Militia, was stationed at a point a few miles below Trenton. It was intended that his division of troops should cross the Delaware to New Jersey on Christmas night at the same time that Washington was crossing a short distance above Trenton, where the stream was narrow. Owing to the width of the river below Trenton and the floating ice, Ewing was unable to cross until after the victory had been won at Trenton. General Sullivan commanded a body of men near Bristol, and was also unable to cross the river on account of the obstructions. Some days later, both these commands took position in New Jersey and acted as a reserve at the battle of Princeton. After the war,

General Ewing returned to his plantation in Hellam Township, about two miles west of Wrightsville, where he followed the occupation of a farmer. His character, prominence and ability won him recognition at the hands of his fellow-citizens and he was frequently called upon to serve in high positions of honor and trust. Immediately after the war, he was chosen a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and was vice-president of the Council, a position corresponding to lieutenant-governor, from November 7, 1782, to November 6, 1784. The following year he served as a member of the State Legislature, where he was active in securing the passage of laws relating to the material development of the state. The state constitution of 1790 made the Legislature composed of two bodies, Senate and House of Representatives, and from 1795 to 1799, General Ewing represented York County in the State Senate, being one of its most influential members. It was during this period that he became deeply interested in the navigation of the Susquehanna River, advocating the construction of a channel in the centre of the river through the Conewago rapids and extending from Harrisburg to the Chesapeake Bay. When the subject of making Wright's Ferry the seat of the United States government was discussed in Congress, he was one of the strong supporters for the selection of the west bank of the Susquehanna, at Wrightsville, as the place for the national government. General Ewing was a member of the Presbyterian Church and was prominent in the councils of that church. He had served as vice-president of the State during the same period that John Dickinson was president, and when Dickinson College was founded at Carlisle, in 1783, he was chosen a member of the first board of trustees of that institution. He died at his home in Hellam Township, near the Susquehanna River, March 1, 1806, at the age of seventy years.

COLONEL MICHAEL SWOPE, one of the heroes of Fort Washington, was born at York about 1748, son of George Swope, one of the commissioners who laid off York County in 1749. Early in life, Colonel Swope became one of the most influential citizens in the town and county of York. He was elected coroner in 1761; appointed

justice of the peace in 1764; judge of the Orphan's Court in 1767; member of the Pennsylvania Assembly from 1768 until the opening of the Revolution; member of the committee of correspondence at York in 1775, and the same year was chosen major of the First Battalion of York County Militia, commanded by James Smith, signer of the Declaration of Independence. When Smith became a member of Continental Congress, Major Swope was elected colonel of the First Battalion of militia. In the summer of 1776, when the militia was called into active service, Colonel Swope took his battalion to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and at this place recruited from the different battalions of York County militia, the First Pennsylvania Regiment in the Flying Camp, whose history is given in the preceding pages. At the battle of Fort Mifflin, September 26, 1776, Colonel Swope was taken prisoner, together with most of his regiment. He, with other officers, was confined in New York City until June 23, 1778, when he was released on parole. His parole was cancelled by special order on the 8th of August, 1779, and he was required to return to prison in New York, where he remained, with some fellow-prisoners, until he was finally exchanged for a British officer of the same rank, at Elizabeth, New Jersey, January 26, 1781. He then returned to York on foot, a distance of 170 miles. Before leaving prison, the American agent, Lewis Pintard, gave him a large supply of Continental money to pay his expenses on his return home. At this time, Continental money had become almost valueless, and Colonel Swope exchanged seventy-five dollars in currency for one in specie.

Colonel Swope first began business at York as an inn-keeper. In 1783, two years after his return to York from his experience as a prisoner, he was assessed as a store-keeper, with merchandise and real estate valued at 1,119 pounds. He then had a family of five persons. He owned silver-ware to the amount of thirty-two pounds, a pleasure carriage and one slave. In 1782, he was commissioned one of the court justices for York County.

Colonel Swope was first married to Anna Maria, daughter of Casper Spangler, of York. She died sometime before the Revolution. In 1777, when Continental

Congress came to York, his second wife, Eva Swope, rented their home, on the south side of West Market Street, to John Hancock, president of Congress. This building was then known as the President's house, and the rental of it for the use of the president of Congress, was paid by the government. Hancock resigned his office two months after Congress came to York and returned to Massachusetts. In February, 1778, when Baron Steuben came to York to offer his services as an officer in the American army, he occupied the Swope residence for a period of three weeks, with his retinue of attendants. Meantime, he received the commission of a major-general and proceeded to Valley Forge to drill the army in the tactics he had learned while serving under Frederick the Great of Prussia. In 1785, Colonel Swope removed from York to Alexandria, Virginia. After going there, his business affairs at York were conducted by Colonel Thomas Hartley, who disposed of his real estate.

COLONEL RICHARD McALLISTER, who commanded the Second Pennsylvania Regiment of York County Troops in the Flying Camp, was born in 1724. He was a son of Archibald McAllister, who came to America from Scotland in 1732. About 1745 Richard McAllister moved from Cumberland County to the site of Hanover, where he purchased a large tract of land. On February 23, 1748, he married Mary, daughter of Colonel Matthew Dill, who commanded a regiment in the French and Indian war, and whose son, Matthew, founded Dillsburg. In 1750, Richard McAllister was a candidate for sheriff of York County against Colonel Hance Hamilton, who resided near the site of Gettysburg. The election was so close that it was contested and the Provincial authorities commissioned Hance Hamilton. In 1763, Richard McAllister founded the town of Hanover and soon became one of the leading citizens of York County. In 1775 he was elected a member of the Committee of Observation and Safety for York County. In June of the same year he served as a representative in the Provincial Conference, which met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, and in January, 1776, he was a member of the same body. In 1775 he was commissioned colonel of the Fourth Battalion

of York County Militia. During the fall of the same year, he received the commission as colonel of a battalion of Minute Men, formed out of the militia of York County. In July, 1776, when Congress issued a call for ten thousand troops. Colonel McAllister marched with his battalion through Lancaster and Philadelphia to Perth Amboy, N. J. At this point, when the Flying Camp was organized under the command of General Hugh Mercer, he was chosen colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment. Colonel McAllister commanded his regiment in the campaign around New York City and led the expedition to Staten Island. Later in the campaign, Colonel McAllister's regiment took part in the defense of Fort Mifflin, where he lost a large number of troops who became prisoners of war, including two of his captains. In the campaign of 1776 he was present with his regiment, under General James Ewing, stationed below Trenton on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, when Washington captured the Hessians in Trenton on Christmas night.

After the expiration of his term of service in the Flying Camp, in 1777, McAllister returned to his home at Hanover, and in March of this year he was elected by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, county lieutenant. This office required him to see that the six different battalions of the militia in York County, which then included Adams, were drilled and disciplined ready for service in the field when they were required to defend their state against the invasion of the British foe. He was successful in this position and on several occasions issued calls for certain classes of the militia to march from York County to the army under Washington. During the years 1783-84-85-86, he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, which, under the state constitution of 1776 to 1790, was the Executive Body in the state government. During the years that he served in this body, he was also a member of the Council of Censors, whose duty was to look after the interests of the confiscated estates of Pennsylvania Tories. Colonel McAllister early in life took a prominent part in the legal affairs of York County. He was commissioned justice of the peace and justice for the court of common pleas in

March, 1771. He was a member of the first State Constitutional Convention in the year 1776, and on February 17, 1784, became presiding justice of the York County Courts. On June 30, 1791, he entertained President Washington for a few hours while passing through the town of Hanover on his way to Philadelphia. He died at Hanover at four o'clock in the evening, October 7, 1795. His remains were first buried in the graveyard, belonging to Emanuel's Reformed Church of Hanover, of which he was a member and one of the leading contributors during its early history. About 1870 his remains were removed to Mount Olivet Cemetery in the suburbs of Hanover, where they now lie, and on every succeeding Memorial day commemorative services are held at this tomb by the Grand Army Post of Hanover. Colonel McAllister had eleven children. His eldest son, Abdiel, commanded a company in Colonel Irvine's regiment in the first expedition to Canada, in 1775, and during the campaign around Philadelphia took part in the battle of Brandywine, when this regiment was commanded by Colonel David Grier, of York. Archibald McAllister, another son, born 1756, commanded a company in the battle of Germantown, in 1777, and also in the engagement at Monmouth, New Jersey, in 1778. Matthew, a younger son, born 1758, became first United States district attorney of Georgia, judge of the Superior Court of the state and mayor of Savannah during the war of 1812.

Colonel Julian McAllister, one of his sons, commanded a regiment in the Union army during the Civil war.

COLONEL MICHAEL SMYSER, in early days written Schmeiser, who served with distinction as a captain in the Flying Camp, was born in 1740, a few miles west of York. His father, Matthias Smyser, came from Germany in 1731, at the age of sixteen, and when he reached his manhood, became one of the earliest settlers of York County in the vicinity of Spring Grove. Michael Smyser was thirty-five years old when the Revolution opened. He became one of the early citizens west of the Susquehanna to organize in opposition to the English government. He was one of a committee of twelve from York County, who raised money in 1775 to send to the inhabitants of

Boston, when the port of that city was closed by the British. He joined the Continental army as a captain in Colonel Michael Swope's regiment of York County Volunteers, and was captured by the enemy in the engagement at Fort Washington, north of New York City, on the 16th of November, 1776. Several months of distressing imprisonment followed, during which time he was unremitting in his efforts to alleviate the sufferings of others, and bold and animated in the advocacy of his country's cause. After his release and return home, he was elected a member of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania from York County, and from that time to 1790 was seven times re-elected to the same position. From 1790 to 1795 he represented his county in the State Senate, being the first person from York County to fill that position under the State Constitution of 1790. Here his warm attachment to our political institutions enabled him to act with honor to himself and his constituents. After the war, he turned his attention to agricultural pursuits, and kept a tavern a short distance west of York. He died in the year 1810, and his remains are interred near those of his father in the graveyard of the First Lutheran Church of York. He left three sons and four daughters, viz.: Peter, Elizabeth, Sarah, Jacob, Mary, Michael, Susan.

ENSIGN JACOB BARNITZ, who was twice wounded at the battle of Fort Washington, was born at York in the year 1758. He was the son of John George Carl Barnitz, who came to this country about 1745, first settled in Baltimore and later removed to York. Jacob Barnitz grew to manhood in his native town and was a boy seventeen years old when the first troops left York to join the American army at Boston. The same year, he enlisted and trained with the First Battalion of York County Militia under Colonel James Smith, in Captain Stake's company. He marched with the battalion to New Jersey, and when Colonel Michael Swope organized the first regiment of Pennsylvania troops for the Flying Camp, Jacob Barnitz, at the age of eighteen, was made ensign or flag bearer, a commissioned officer with the rank of second lieutenant. He participated in the campaign around New York City, and carried the flag of his regiment when the British



attacked Fort Washington, November 16, 1776. Colonel Swope was commanding the outposts, and when he was driven back by the approaching Hessians in large numbers, the flag bearer was the target of the enemy's balls. While falling back toward the fortifications, Ensign Barnitz was wounded in both legs and left on the field. He lay where he fell during the night and the next day, as the evening closed, a Hessian soldier approached and was about to bayonet him, when a British officer, who chanced to be near, took pity on him and thus saved his life. He was then thrown on a wagon and taken a prisoner of war to New York City, then in the hands of the British, where he remained fifteen months, suffering from his wounds. After his exchange, 1778, he was removed on a wagon from New York City to his home in York. He partially recovered from his wounds, and in 1785 was appointed register and recorder of York County, serving continuously until 1824, a period of thirty-five years. Ensign Barnitz, a name which he always retained, carried a British ball, received at the attack on Fort Washington, for thirty years, but the shattered bone lengthened, and in 1806 he was compelled to undergo amputation.

Soon after the war he married Mary, daughter of Archibald McLean, the noted surveyor of York. Their eldest son was Charles A. Barnitz, an eminent lawyer and member of the Twenty-third Congress. Their second son was Lieutenant Jacob Barnitz, a gallant soldier of the war of 1812, who bore a distinguished part as an officer of volunteers at the battle of North Point. Ensign Barnitz died April 16, 1828, at the age of seventy years, and his remains now rest at a spot north of Zion Lutheran Church of York. Shortly after the close of the war, under act of Congress passed June 7, 1785, he became a pensioner and received up to the time of his death, the sum of \$3,500, as a reward for his valor and patriotism during the Revolution.

The British ball which he carried in his leg from 1776 to 1808 was presented to the Historical Society of York County in 1904 by his granddaughter, Miss Catharine Barnitz.

CAPTAIN JACOB DRITT commanded a company in Swope's Regiment. He was

made prisoner at Fort Washington, and underwent a long captivity. When the lines of the American forces were attacked by the enemy, previous to the capture of the fort, Captain Dritt, with a party of men chiefly from his own company, was ordered in advance to oppose the landing of the British, who came in boats across Harlem Creek, below King's Bridge. He defended his position with great bravery, until, having lost a number of his men, and being nearly surrounded by the Hessians on one side and the British troops on the other, he retreated into the fort with difficulty and was there captured with the garrison. After the war Captain Dritt resided on his plantation in Lower Windsor Township, near the site of East Prospect and was engaged in transporting goods and merchandise in a large ark down the Susquehanna River from its upper waters. He kept up an interest in military matters and about 1800 was commissioned a brigadier-general in the state militia. He lost his life by an unfortunate accident. On December 19, 1817, he crossed the Susquehanna to the site of Little Washington and went to the Marietta Bank, where he obtained five hundred dollars. When he returned to the east side of the ferry, where his son Colonel John Dritt resided, the latter advised him not to cross the river to his home. He was accompanied by a young man named Griffith. They entered a boat which was capsized in the middle of the stream when it came in contact with a large cake of ice. Many fruitless efforts were made to recover the dead body of the old soldier. Three months after the drowning, the body of General Dritt was found lying along the banks of the Chesapeake Bay near the mouth of the Susquehanna, by some colored slaves. The body was identified by some silver shoe buckles which he wore. His remains were interred near the site where they were found.

CAPTAIN NICHOLAS BITTINGER, who commanded a company in McAllister's regiment, and was captured by the British at Fort Washington, was born in Alsace, Germany. He came to America with his parents and became one of the earliest settlers in the vicinity of Hanover. In 1743, he was one of the council for St. Matthew's Church, at Hanover, the second Lutheran congregation west of the Susquehanna.

During a vacancy in the pulpit, Nicholas Bittinger was elected to conduct religious services and read sermons. At the opening of the Revolution, he was chosen a member of the Committee of Safety for York County, and in 1776, upon the organization of the Flying Camp, took command of a company of sixty-eight men. He fell into the hands of the enemy at Fort Washington and was held a prisoner of war for nearly fifteen months. When Captain Bittinger entered the service, he had reached the age of fifty years. His eldest daughter was the wife of John Clark, major of McAllister's regiment. Captain Bittinger accumulated considerable property, and at the time of his death, in 1804, owned several farms a short distance north of Hanover. His remains were buried in the Lutheran graveyard at Abbottstown. Several of his descendants, including the late Rev. Joseph Bittinger and Rev. John Quiney Bittinger, became prominent clergymen in the Presbyterian Church. Hon. John W. Bittinger, president judge of the York County courts, and Dr. Joseph R. Bittinger, of Hanover, are also descendants of Captain Bittinger.

#### WASHINGTON'S RETREAT AND VICTORY AT TRENTON.

At the disaster of Fort Washington on November 16, 1776, York County suffered its severest loss during the entire Revolution. Nearly six hundred officers and men had fallen into the hands of the British and were held as prisoners of war in New York city and at different posts on Long Island. The First Pennsylvania Regiment, in which Captain Henry Miller's York County troops served, had lost heavily at Long Island in August of the same year. Captain Philip Albright's company had its ranks depleted in the same battle.

The defeats of the American army around New York city compelled Washington to retreat across New Jersey in order to defend the city of Philadelphia. Congress became terrified and removed to Baltimore. The term of enlistment of many of the troops from Pennsylvania and New Jersey had expired, and desertions depleted the ranks of nearly all the regiments then in the field. General Charles Lee, second in command, became disaffected toward the commander-in-chief. Washington fell back toward

Philadelphia through Princeton and Trenton, and on December 8 crossed the Delaware with his entire army, numbering about four thousand men of the eleven thousand or more that crossed with him to New York city after the battle of Long Island.

Meantime Schuyler and Gates came down from Central New York with seven regiments and prepared to join him at headquarters at Newtown, Bucks County, a few miles southwest of Trenton. General Israel Putnam was put in charge of the defenses at Philadelphia. At this time in the war, both General Howe and Lord Cornwallis, who had followed Washington to Trenton, decided to return to New York, leaving a small detachment of troops near Trenton, believing that they could resist any attacks of the shattered army under Washington.

During this dark period of the war Washington began to show the military genius and self command that soon made him loom up as the dominating personality of the Revolution. He planned a bold attack to capture the advanced posts of the British at Trenton. The militia of the adjoining states was called out in the dead of winter and in a few weeks he had a considerable army stationed at different posts from a point eight miles above Trenton on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware and down that stream to Germantown, a short distance from Philadelphia. He placed Sullivan at Bristol, a few miles above Philadelphia, with two thousand troops, formerly commanded by General Charles Lee, who had been captured at Elizabeth while on the retreat across New Jersey.

**General Ewing's Command.** General James Ewing, of York County, was put in command of a brigade of Pennsylvania and New Jersey militia with instructions from Washington to guard the Delaware from the ferry at Trenton down the river to a point opposite Bordentown, New Jersey. His force was composed of the remnants of the Flying Camp, which met such heavy losses at Long Island and Fort Washington, and recruits from the Pennsylvania and New Jersey militia. Colonel Richard McAllister, commanding the second regiment of the Flying Camp, was present with Ewing, but having lost heavily in former engagements, now had fewer than three hundred men.

Washington took position nine miles above Trenton at a point where the river is not more than one hundred yards wide. The British army was stationed in a semi-circle with Trenton as the center of the arc.

Washington's plan was, by a sudden attack, to overwhelm the British center at Trenton, and thus force the army to retreat to New York. The Delaware was to be crossed in three divisions. The right wing, 2,000 men, under Gates, was to attack Count Donop at Burlington; Ewing, with the centre, was to cross a short distance below Trenton; while Washington himself, with the left wing, was to cross nine miles above, and march down upon Trenton from the north. On Christmas day all was ready, but the beginning of the enterprise was not auspicious. Gates, who preferred to go and intrigue with Congress, succeeded in begging off, and started for Baltimore. Cadwalader, who took his place, tried hard to get his men and artillery across the river, but was baffled by the huge masses of floating ice, and reluctantly gave up the attempt. Ewing was so discouraged that he did not even try to cross, and both officers took it for granted that Washington must be foiled in like manner.

But Washington was desperately in earnest, and although at sunset, just as he had reached his crossing-place, he was informed by a special messenger of the failure of Ewing and Cadwalader, he determined to go on and make the attack with the 2,500 men whom he had with him. The great blocks of ice, borne swiftly along by the powerful current, made the passage extremely dangerous, but Glover, with his skilful fishermen of Marblehead, succeeded in ferrying the little army across without the loss of a man or a gun. More than ten hours were consumed in the passage, and then there was a march of nine miles to be made in a blinding storm of snow and sleet. They pushed rapidly on in two columns, led by Greene and Sullivan respectively, drove in the enemy's pickets at the point of the bayonet, and entered the town by different roads soon after sunrise. Washington's guns were at once planted so as to sweep the streets, and after Colonel Rahl and seventeen of his men had been slain, the whole body of Hessians, 1,000 in

number, surrendered. Of the Americans, two were frozen to death on the march and two were killed in action.

York  
Troops  
at  
Trenton.

Captain Henry Miller's company of the First Pennsylvania Regiment performed valiant services in this engagement. Most of the men in his command at Trenton were the same soldiers who had enlisted at York in 1775, and marched with him to Boston. In referring to the battle, Captain Miller wrote:

"General Stephen's brigade entered Trenton and routed the Hessians. Washington desired our regiment to lead the advance, which we did. We formed in line of battle and advanced within sixty yards of the Hessians without firing a gun. We moved with such rapidity and determination that we struck them with terror. The enemy grounded their arms, and 919 Hessians surrendered as prisoners of war."

Colonel Miles' Pennsylvania Regiment served in Lord Stirling's brigade and took a leading part at the battle of Trenton in the capture of the Hessians. Miles himself was a prisoner of war in the hands of the British, having been captured at the battle of Long Island, nearly five months before. In this engagement the regiment was commanded by Major Williams. Captain Albright's company of York County troops had lost thirty men, or about half its number in killed, wounded and prisoners at Long Island. The company entered the battle of Trenton with about thirty men, who rendered valiant services in winning this famous victory.

The news of the victory at Trenton spread rapidly. To convince the people of what had happened, the Hessian prisoners were marched through the streets of Philadelphia, and the Hessian flag was sent to Baltimore to hang in the hall of Congress. The spirits of the people rose with a great rebound, the cloud of depression which rested upon the country was lifted, and hope was again felt everywhere. Troops came in from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and the New England men agreed to stay after the expiration of their term of enlistment.

The blow struck by Washington fell heavily upon the British. Even with their powerful army they could not afford to lose a thousand men at a stroke, nor would their

prestige bear such sudden disaster. It was clear even to the mind of Howe that the American Revolution was not over, and that Washington and his victorious army held the field. Trenton must be redeemed and they determined to finish the business at once.

After the defeat of the British at Trenton through the military genius of Washington, Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York, returned in haste to attack the American army. December 30, Washington recrossed the Delaware and took post at Trenton, where he was joined by Cadwalader and Mifflin, each with 1,800 Pennsylvania militia. On the morning of January 2 Cornwallis advanced with 8,000 men upon Trenton, but his march was slow.

As soon as General Washington had procured definite information of the strength and position of the enemy, he sent out, under Brigadier-General de Fermoy, a detachment, consisting of his own brigade, Colonel Edward Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen, and Colonel Hausegger's German battalion, with Colonel Charles Scott's Virginia Continental regiment, and two guns of Captain Forrest's battery, to harass the enemy in every possible way, and to dispute their advance as much as they were able, that the impending battle might be postponed at least twenty-four hours. The Americans posted themselves a short distance south of the village of Maidenhead, with pickets up to the town. The British outposts were about a mile north of Maidenhead. This was the state of affairs on the old Princeton road at the close of New Year's day.

About this time the commanders of regiments on the advance lines of the American army, finding that General de Fermoy had returned to Trenton in a very questionable manner, determined to resist the advance of the king's troops without further orders. About 10 o'clock the first alarm gun was fired by the American videttes. Colonel Hand, with his splendid regiment of riflemen, Captain Henry Miller, of his command being in charge of the skirmish line, conducted the retreat to Trenton. Every place which would even for a few moments give shelter from which to take a steady

aim was taken advantage of and every part of the road was disputed in all possible ways. On one occasion so stubborn a stand was made by the Americans that a check was produced on the British advance. They actually fell back and the patriots carefully pressed toward them. At last, however, the American detachment was driven to the woods running along the south bank of the Shabbakonk Creek, and here a severe skirmish commenced about one o'clock, and a deadly fire was made upon the British forces, throwing them into considerable confusion.

For a long time this conflict was maintained with great vigor, and the battalions of von Linsingen and Block, a part of Colonel von Donop's original command, were drawn up in order of battle, expecting then and there to enter upon the general engagement which they anticipated. For fully three hours the gallant little American force, somewhat protected by the dense woods, harassed the red coats and continually thinned their ranks with musketry and artillery. Right well did they carry out the plan of General Washington to consume the entire day, if possible, in skirmishing and so retard the enemy's advance toward Trenton. Washington was well pleased with the all-day running fight and begged the little party not to yield until compelled to. A battery of British artillery was soon afterward brought into position and made every effort to dislodge the American advance force. Nearly an hour was consumed before the patriot band, unable any longer to sustain themselves, began again to yield the ground and retreat down the Brunswick road into the village, having captured some twenty-five or thirty men during the day. In this way the last determined stand beyond the town was taken, and as the Americans began to retreat, the advance party of the British, about 1,500 men, again commenced their march in column, the main army being still a considerable distance in the rear.

The advance guard of Cornwallis's army pressed on, driving the Americans before them, and killing some, until they arrived at the narrow stone bridge which spanned, with but one arch, the Assumpink Creek. The detachment of skirmishers which all

day long had hovered before and around the enemy, hastily, although with difficulty, crowded through the passage at the bridge scarcely sixteen feet wide. Colonel Hitchcock's brigade protected these weary men as they filed across the bridge and took their places with the main army. General Washington himself was on horseback at one end of the bridge, overlooking the scene, and by his personal exposure inspired his men with courage and confidence. It was then after 5 o'clock and rapidly growing dark. With the light made by the firing, it could be seen that the advance of the king's troops, entirely unaware of the force now before them, had pressed on until they were within range of the American guns. They made three fruitless efforts to reach and cross the bridge, but found further pursuit checked, and were unable to endure the concentrated fire. The effect of this fire upon them was extremely uncertain, and doubtless will never be correctly ascertained, as no mention of loss is made in any British official reports. The loss of the American army was small.

#### BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

Many of the British officers urged a general and renewed attack, but the short winter day was drawing to a close, and Cornwallis decided to wait until morning. Washington had spent the day with stubborn skirmishing, for he had no intention of fighting a pitched battle with his poorly armed men, inferior in numbers to their well-equipped opponents, who had received reinforcements in the morning. He had checked the enemy all day, and he had now the night in which to act, so he set the men to work on entrenchments, lighted camp fires along the river bank, and having convinced Cornwallis that he would be there in the morning, he marched off with his whole army at midnight, leaving his fires burning. By daybreak he was near Princeton, and moved with the main army straight for the town, while Mercer was detached with three hundred men to destroy the bridge which gave the most direct connection with Cornwallis.

Toward sunrise, as the British detachment was coming down the road from Princeton to Trenton, in obedience to Cornwallis' order, its van, under Colonel Maw-

hood, met the foremost column of Americans approaching, under General Mercer. As he caught sight of the Americans, Mawhood thought that they must be a party of fugitives, and hastened to intercept them; but he was soon undeceived.

The Americans attacked with vigor, and a sharp fight was sustained, with varying fortunes, until Mercer was pierced by a bayonet, and his men began to fall back in some confusion. Just at this critical moment Washington came galloping upon the field and rallied the troops, and as the entire forces on both sides had now come up, the fight became general. In a few minutes the British were routed and their line cut in two; one half fleeing toward Trenton, the other half toward New Brunswick. There was little slaughter, as the whole fight did not occupy more than twenty minutes. The British lost about 200 in killed and wounded, with 300 prisoners, and their cannon; the American loss was less than 100. The brave General Mercer died of his wound.

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#### CHAPTER XIV

#### REVOLUTION—Continued.

Campaign of 1777—Battles of Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown—Washington at Valley Forge—York Troops at Monmouth—Major John Clark—General Henry Miller—Hartley's Regiment—Colonel Thomas Hartley.

The American army had been defeated at Long Island and Fort Washington, but through the masterly skill of the commander-in-chief, it had won decisive victories at Trenton and Princeton. In a brief campaign of three weeks, Washington had rallied the fragments of a defeated and broken army, taken nearly two thousand prisoners and recovered the state of New Jersey. By sheer force of military capacity, he had completely turned the tide of popular feeling. His army began to grow by the accession of fresh recruits. Newly organized regiments of the Pennsylvania line joined him in the early part of 1777. These

included the regiments commanded by Colonel Thomas Hartley and Colonel David Grier, of York. Although the term of enlistment of the Flying Camp had expired, their places were taken by regiments of Pennsylvania militia, including several commands from west of the Susquehanna River. Flushed with his victories at Trenton and Princeton, Washington defied the British, and spent the winter in camp at Morristown, near New York City, then held by the British. Even Frederick the Great, of Prussia, the most famous military chieftain of the day, in a public declaration, commended Washington for his successful campaign in New Jersey.

**Enlarging the Army.** Although at one time threatened by the invading foe, Philadelphia still remained in the hands of the Americans. From

December 20, 1776, to February 27, 1777, Congress held its sessions in Baltimore. In consequence of the alarming state of affairs on December 27, three days after assembling in a three-story building on the southwest corner of Baltimore and Sharp Streets, in that city, Congress invested Washington for six months with extraordinary powers. It authorized him to raise and officer sixteen additional battalions of infantry, three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery and a corps of engineers, to appoint and remove officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and take, at a fair compensation, any private property needed for the maintenance of the army.

The British army under Howe remained in New York City during the winter, while Washington continued at Morristown. Early in June, Howe laid his plans for another campaign across New Jersey with the ultimate purpose of capturing Philadelphia. He left New York City with 18,000 men and plenty of boats to cross the Delaware if he reached that stream. Washington, with 8,000 men, left his winter encampment at Morristown and planted his army at Middlebrook, ten miles from New Brunswick. A campaign of eighteen days ensued, consisting of wily marches and counter-marches, the result of which showed that Washington's advantage of position could not be wrested from him. Howe being too prudent to attack Washington, abandoned his plan and returned to New York.

**Howe Approaches Philadelphia.**

Early in the same year General Burgoyne, with an army of 10,000 British and Hessians, was ordered to descend the Hudson to New York and thus separate New England from the other states and divide the country in twain. Washington at first believed that Howe would go to the assistance of Burgoyne, but early in July, leaving 7,000 troops under Sir Henry Clinton in New York, Howe's army of 18,000 men embarked in 228 vessels and put to sea. Just before sailing he wrote a letter to Burgoyne, stating that his destination was Boston and artfully contrived that the letter should fall into Washington's hands. But the American general, believing that he was going southward, placed Putnam in the Highlands with 4,000 men, and with the balance of the army, moved toward Philadelphia, which he anticipated that Howe had determined to capture. July 3, the British army was sighted off the capes of Delaware. Fearing that the river was carefully guarded, Howe moved his fleet up the Chesapeake, and after a sail of 400 miles, arrived at the head of Elk River, near Elkton, Maryland, August 25. On hearing this news, Washington advanced to Wilmington, Delaware. Immediately after landing, Howe issued a proclamation of amnesty, but few of the Americans sympathized enough with the British to give them much assistance.

#### BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.

Meantime Washington's forces were increased by the arrival of 3,000 troops from Pennsylvania and adjoining states. He now determined to offer battle, although he had only 11,000 men to contend with Howe's 18,000 trained soldiers. Brandywine Creek was in the line of march from Howe's position to Philadelphia. Washington placed his army at Chad's Ford, the leading crossing place of this stream. It was here the battle took place September 11, 1777, resulting in a loss of 1,000 American soldiers in killed, wounded and captured. The British loss exceeded that number.

In the battle of Brandywine, Washington placed the center of his army just behind Chad's Ford and across the road. In front of this center, he planted Proctor's artillery,

which was supported by a division of Pennsylvania troops under General Anthony Wayne. Colonel Hartley, of York, had command of the first brigade in this division. Colonel Edward Hand, of Lancaster, having been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, the First Pennsylvania Line, formerly Hand's regiment, was commanded by Colonel James Chambers, of Cumberland, later Franklin County. This regiment had in line at Brandywine many of the same York County troops who had fought under Captain Henry Miller at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton, Miller having been promoted to the rank of major. James Matson succeeded to the command of the company. Michael Simpson, of York County, was captain of another company of this regiment. The Seventh Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Colonel David Grier, served in Wayne's brigade. It contained a large number of York County troops.

Lewis Bush served as major of Hartley's regiment, and some of its captains at Brandywine were Benjamin Stoddard, Evan Edwards, George Ross, Archibald McAllister, Robert Hoopes and James Kenny. Captain McAllister was a son of Richard McAllister, of Hanover, who had commanded the First Regiment of the Flying Camp. Some of the lieutenants of Hartley's regiment in this battle were Andrew Walker, Joseph Davis, Isaac Sweeny, Henry Carberry, James Dill, James Lemon, Martin Eichelberger and William Lemon. Of this list, Dill, Walker and Eichelberger were from York County. At daybreak of September 11, General Knyphausen, with 7,000 troops, drove in the advance of Wayne's division, across the Brandywine at Chad's Ford. General Armstrong, commanding the Pennsylvania militia, occupied the extreme left of Washington's army, and was stationed on cliffs, a short distance south of Wayne's position. General Greene, upon whose staff Major Clark, of York, was then serving, commanded the reserves in support of General Wayne's division. The right wing of the American army, stretching two miles up the Brandywine, was commanded by General Sullivan. Lord Cornwallis, with the left of the British army, crossed the Brandywine in the afternoon a short distance up the stream and came in on Sulli-

van's right flank, when a terrible conflict ensued. The artillery of both armies opened with terrible effect, and the conflict became general and severely contested. Sullivan was slowly pushed back, being overpowered by the large British force, and Deborre's brigade, stationed below him, broke and fled in confusion. The brigades under Lord Sterling and General Conway stood firm. Meantime, Sullivan and Lafayette, unable to rally the fugitives, went to the assistance of Sterling and Conway.

The youthful Lafayette, whom **Lafayette** Congress had just commis-  
**Wounded.** sioned a brigadier-general, now received his first baptism of fire. In order to act more efficiently, he dismounted, and while fighting in the line, was wounded in the leg. At this juncture, General Washington, with the brigades of Greene, Weedon and Muhlenberg, hastened to strengthen General Sullivan, but they did not arrive in time to prevent the retreat. By a skillful movement, Greene opened his ranks and received the fugitives and covered their retreat, checking the advance and kept the enemy at bay until dark.

Late in the afternoon, General Knyphausen crossed the Brandywine at Chad's Ford and made a violent attack upon Wayne's division. Wayne held his position gallantly and with his Pennsylvania troops dealt a terrible blow upon the enemy. Hearing of the defeat of the right wing, his gallant Pennsylvanians who had fought so bravely, were ordered by the commanding general to retreat. In order to protect his men, Wayne left the artillery in the hands of the enemy and fell back to Greene, who protected him from a rout. The militia under the command of General Armstrong, being posted about two miles below Chad's Ford, had no opportunity of engaging the enemy. During the succeeding night, the defeated forces of General Washington retreated to Chester and on the following day to Germantown, where they went into camp.

**Ensign** William Russel, of York County, residing at Abbottstown, lost a leg by a cannon ball in the battle of Brandywine. In this engagement he was the ensign for the Third Pennsylvania regiment, and in 1779 Colonel Henry Miller and Major John Clark

requested the State of Pennsylvania to grant Ensign Russel a certificate due to his merit, and a pension because he behaved as a good and dutiful soldier, and his wound prevented him from receiving promotion. Ensign Russel had served as a private in the first company that left York for Boston, July, 1775.

### THE BATTLE OF PAOLI.

The battle of Paoli, memorable in the annals of history, was one of the most important engagements of the Revolution, in which York County troops participated. It ended in the defeat of the Pennsylvania troops under General Wayne, owing to the superior force of the British. In this battle the troops from west of the Susquehanna suffered almost as severely as those from the same region who fought so bravely in the battle of Fort Washington, which took place in November of the previous year. The Seventh Pennsylvania regiment, commanded by Colonel David Grier, of York, took a very prominent part in this battle. In the Seventh Regiment were the York County companies of Captain John McDowell and Captain William Alexander. The former had succeeded Captain Moses McClean after he became a prisoner of war in the first Canadian campaign, and the latter succeeded Captain David Grier, when he was promoted to the rank of major, in October, 1776.

The First Pennsylvania regiment, which, under Colonel William Thompson, of Carlisle, had won a brilliant record in front of Boston, in 1775, and under Colonel Edward Hand, of Lancaster, at Long Island, Trenton and Princeton, was commanded by Colonel James Chambers, of Cumberland County, in the battles of Paoli and Germantown. In this regiment were the York County volunteers who had marched to Boston under Captain Michael Doudel in the summer of 1775, and later fought with gallantry under Captain Henry Miller at Long Island, White Plains, Trenton and Princeton. The company was now in command of Captain James Matson. Captain Miller had been promoted to the rank of major in the same regiment.

After the battle of Brandywine on September 11, Washington's army fell back to Chester and from thence marched to Phila-

delphia to defend that city from the advancing British under Howe. On September 16, Wayne's division of Pennsylvania troops met a force of the British at the Warren tavern, twenty-three miles southwest of Philadelphia. The American troops began the engagement with an impetuosity characteristic of their commander, but a heavy shower coming up prevented a continuance of the engagement.

Washington now sent Wayne, with 1,500 men and four pieces of cannon, to annoy the rear of the British forces and attempt to cut off their baggage train. General Smallwood, with eleven hundred and fifty Maryland militia, and Colonel Gist, from the same state, with seven hundred men, were ordered to unite their forces with Wayne and act under his direction. After a secret march Wayne, with his Pennsylvania troops, occupied a secluded spot about three miles southwest of the enemy's line. Howe, hearing of this movement for the purpose of cutting off his wagon train, sent General Grey with a considerable force to surprise Wayne and drive him from his position.

"At nine P. M., September 20," says General Wayne, "a farmer living near, informed me before Colonels Hartley, Brodhead and Temple, that the enemy intended to attack me that night. I sent out videttes to patrol all the roads leading to the enemy's camp."

One of the videttes returned and notified the general that the enemy was approaching. General Wayne now commanded all his troops to form, having previously ordered them to lie on their arms, ready for any emergency. Then selecting the First Pennsylvania and the light infantry, he formed them on the right toward which the attacking party was approaching. He remained with this force, but owing to inferiority of numbers, was unable to contend with the impetuous charge of the British, who were ordered to use only bayonets and give no quarters.

At this point in the attack, Colonel Humpton, commanding one of the regiments to the left, failed to promptly obey Wayne's orders. This delay proved fatal and the brunt of the battle fell upon the



Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, under Colonel David Grier. Humpton's regiment now fell back in confusion, the Maryland militia failed to appear. The British troops rushed on the Americans with great impetuosity, and obeying the commands of their superior officers, forced the Pennsylvania troops back at the point of the bayonet. The cry for quarters was unheeded. The British bayonet now did its work with savage ferocity. Wayne had been outnumbered and defeated. The morning sun looked down from clear skies on a scene of butchery, probably unparalleled in American history.

The American loss was not less than three hundred in killed and wounded, many of whom were from west of the Susquehanna. About seventy became prisoners of war. Colonel David Grier, of York, commanding the Seventh Pennsylvania, who was conspicuous for his gallantry in this battle, was twice pierced by a British bayonet.

The news of the disaster, known as the "Massacre at Paoli," brought sadness and sorrow to many homes in York and Cumberland Counties. In a letter from Wayne to General Washington, written the day after the battle, he says, "I must in justice to Colonels Hartley, Humpton, Brodhead, Grier, Butler, Hubley and indeed every field and other officer, inform your excellency that I derived every assistance possible from those gentlemen on this occasion."

Colonel David Grier, who commanded the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment at Brandywine and Paoli, had a brilliant military career during the Revolution. He was the son of William Grier, one of the earliest of the Scotch-Irish settlers who took up lands in the Manor of Maske, near the site of Gettysburg, and was born there in 1742. He received a classical education and during his early manhood removed to York, where he entered upon the study of law with James Smith, who became one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was admitted to the bar in 1771, and began the practice of his profession at York. During the French and Indian war he joined a military company which marched against the Indians on the frontier of Pennsylvania. At the opening of the

Revolution he became an ardent patriot. In the fall of 1775 he recruited a company of sixty men from York County, which was assigned to the Sixth Pennsylvania battalion. This battalion, under command of Colonel William Irvine, took a prominent part in the expedition to Canada. It was present and suffered a considerable loss in the battle of Three Rivers. For his gallantry in action and his military capacity, Captain Grier was promoted major of the battalion, October, 1776. He returned with his command to Carlisle. Later he was assigned to command the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. When the British approached Philadelphia, his regiment was placed in Wayne's brigade, and with it Colonel Grier took a conspicuous part in the battle of Brandywine. At the battle of Paoli, as stated above, his regiment was engaged in the hardest fighting. While leading his regiment, endeavoring to repel the British assault, he was twice bayoneted, receiving wounds from which he never recovered. This disabled him for further military service in the field. After recovering from his wound he was appointed to take charge of the post at York, where he rendered efficient service in the quartermaster's department. After the war, he practiced law at York and became one of the leading citizens west of the Susquehanna. He was elected to the General Assembly in 1783, served as a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and was chosen by the Constitutionals one of the first presidential electors. Colonel Grier died at York, June 3, 1790.

### THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

After the battle of Brandywine, Washington retreated toward Philadelphia and encamped near Germantown, now the northern part of the city. Although he had suffered a serious defeat at Brandywine on September 11, and the division of Pennsylvania troops under Wayne, had been routed at Paoli nine days later, the commander-in-chief was undismayed. Washington's reserve power now asserted itself in a masterly way. Before leaving Philadelphia, Continental Congress had again clothed him with extraordinary powers which he used with discretionary effect. In

obedience to his request, measures were adopted to increase the army. Continental troops serving on distant stations were summoned to his assistance and the militia from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and adjoining states were called out.

Howe, following in pursuit of the American army, took possession of Philadelphia immediately after it was evacuated. Anticipating the approach of the enemy, Congress had adjourned on the 23rd of September to meet at Lancaster on the 27th. Still fearing the danger of an approaching enemy, after holding one day's session at Lancaster, Congress adjourned to York, where it remained nine months, holding its first session September 30th. Meantime Howe's army had taken possession of Philadelphia and part of his forces encamped at Germantown, ten miles north of Independence Hall. Admiral Howe, commanding the enemy's fleet which had brought the British army to the head of the Chesapeake, before the battle of Brandywine, now descended that bay and moved up the Delaware to capture the force below Philadelphia.

Another battle was now imminent near Philadelphia, and the commanding generals for several succeeding days were engaged in manoueuering their armies to obtain an advantageous position. After holding a conference with his generals, Washington determined to attack the camp at Germantown. The morning of October 4 was decided upon as the time for the attack.

The main part of the American army was encamped fourteen miles northwest of the enemy.

On the evening of October 3rd, Washington took up the line of march toward Germantown, moving in person with the divisions under Sullivan and Wayne. The Continental troops of York county were serving under Wayne. On account of the roads being rough, the advance of the American army did not reach the outposts of the enemy until sunrise, and the alarm was quickly given to the British camp. According to the plan of battle, Conway's brigade of Sullivan's division moved on the right flank and General Armstrong with 1000 Pennsylvania militia, moved on the extreme right of the American line for the purpose of attacking the British left, over-

powering it and coming in on his rear. The York county militia served in this command. The divisions under Greene and Stephen flanked by the brigade of McDougal, formed the left of the American line for the purpose of attacking the British right. The New Jersey and Maryland militia moved on the extreme left of the Americans, with the purpose of turning the right of the British line and coming in on the rear. The other brigades under Stirling were held in reserve.

The battle opened by Conway's brigade of Sullivan's division attacking the enemy's picket line. This movement having been already anticipated, was quickly reinforced. Sullivan's entire division moved forward and captured the enemy's baggage and camp equipment. The Continental troops under Greene and the Pennsylvania militia under Armstrong failed to appear at the time expected. Wayne's division was ordered to move toward the British left.

Washington ordered a concentrated attack of all his forces in line of battle.

Although the British regiments were lying behind entrenchments and stone walls, the forces under **Drove the British Back.** Wayne and Sullivan, the centre of the American line, moved forward with impetuosity and drove the

British regulars back to the main force at Germantown. While retreating, the British took advantage of every dwelling house or other building as a defensive fortress to fire upon the advancing American troops. One of these buildings, used with disastrous effect, was the large stone mansion of Benjamin Chew, then chief justice of Pennsylvania. Six companies of the 40th British regiment under command of Colonel Musgrave, threw themselves into this building, barricaded the doors and lower windows and opened a murderous fire on the American troops from the roof and upper windows. After leaving a regiment to guard this house, General Wayne pressed onward and with Sullivan continued the pursuit a mile further through the streets of Germantown, while the reserve under Stirling followed. In this onward movement, Wayne used the bayonet in driving back the British, in retaliation for the massacre at Paoli. Conway on the flank, and Washington, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, bore down after Sullivan, and would have made the day

fatal to the British, had not Colonel Musgrave stationed himself in the Chew mansion. At this place Washington halted with his reserve and called upon Musgrave to surrender, which he declined to do. The British opened fire upon Maxwell's brigade, causing considerable loss of life. The delay brought about by this affair gave Howe in Germantown an opportunity to reform his lines, and after a battle which lasted in all two hours, he defeated the American army. The British loss in this battle was 13 officers and 58 men killed, 55 officers and 395 men wounded. The American loss was 30 officers and 122 men killed, 117 officers and 404 men wounded, and about 50 officers and 350 men taken prisoners.

The cause of this defeat is attributed to the use of the Chew house as a fortification, and the confusion which arose between the divisions of Stephen and Wayne. Owing to a dense fog and the incapacity of Stephen, his brigade fired upon Wayne, mistaking his troops for the enemy. This blunder ruined the battle and gave the victory to the British forces.

The defeat of Washington at Germantown when it was hoped he would win a victory, was a sad misfortune to the cause of American Independence. If he had defeated the enemy as he had done at Trenton and Princeton, the war might soon have been brought to a close.

Congress at York, eagerly awaited the result of this battle. The gloom and despondency which pervaded this body and the entire thirteen states was removed after hearing of the surrender of Burgoyne and his entire army of 6000 men at Saratoga, on October 19, two weeks after the defeat at Germantown.

### MOVEMENTS AFTER GERMAN-TOWN.

After the battle of Germantown, Washington kept himself thoroughly informed concerning the movement of the enemy in and about Philadelphia. Colonel John Clark, of York, who had served with distinction in the Flying Camp, and later as an aide on the staff of General Greene, now acted as chief of scouts for Washington, frequently bringing the commander-in-chief

important information. The weather had already become severe. During the latter part of November, Washington moved with his little army to the village of White Marsh, situated in one of the beautiful valleys of Montgomery county, sixteen miles northwest of Philadelphia. After holding a council with his subordinate officers, he determined to go into winter quarters at this place, unless the danger of the situation required him to find a better location.

Continental Congress was now in session at York, pervaded by the gloom and despondency which had spread throughout the country. While Congress awaited with eager interest the success of the campaign of Gates against Burgoyne, who was then attempting to come down the Hudson, cut the country in twain and join the British in New York, this body also looked with hope and expectation to the important future for the army under Washington and the defence of the forts in the hands of the Americans below Philadelphia.

On December 3, the British army, encouraged by its success at Brandywine and Germantown, moved out from Philadelphia, fifteen thousand strong, to again attack the American forces. General James Irvine's brigade of 600 Pennsylvania militia, in which the battalion from York county served, was ordered to the left of the American line in the vicinity of Chestnut Hill. Irvine engaged the enemy and a lively skirmish ensued. His militia broke ranks at the first fire, owing to the superiority of the enemy's number. In this engagement which lasted but a short time, the British lost twelve killed and wounded. Among the wounded was Sir James Murray, a young officer serving in a regiment of light infantry. While attempting to rally his troops, General Irvine had a horse shot under him, lost three fingers by a bullet, and received severe bruises in the head in falling from his horse to the ground. Irvine was captured with five of his men who were wounded. He was held a prisoner of war in Philadelphia and New York until June 1, 1781. From 1782 to 1793 he was major general of the Pennsylvania militia, vice-president of Pennsylvania and one of the first trustees of Dickinson College.

**The  
Skirmish  
at White  
Marsh.**

There was no further collision between the armies until December 7, when Morgan's Pennsylvania and Virginia riflemen were ordered forward on the right. They were supported by Webb's Continental regiment and Potter's brigade of Pennsylvania militia. Colonel James Thompson from York County, with a battalion of nearly 300 men formed a part of Potter's brigade in this engagement. Colonel David Jameson, with a battalion of about 150 men, was also present. Morgan originally opposed the advance of the enemy commanded by Lord Cornwallis. Four British officers and three men fell before the unerring aim of the riflemen. Webb's regulars and the Pennsylvania militia under Cadwallader, Reed and Potter, took a position in a woods forming the left of the American line. Here they offered a stubborn resistance for a short time. When the British advanced in solid column, the militia opened a severe fire after which the American line broke and fell back in disorder. At this time in the fight, General Joseph Reed, who afterward served as president of Pennsylvania, was entreated by the militia to rally them for action. While attempting to do this, his horse was shot under him, and he narrowly escaped capture. Meanwhile, Washington with his headquarters at White Marsh, was preparing for a general engagement. The severity of winter had now arrived and the British retraced their steps to Philadelphia. Washington was surprised at Howe's prompt retrograde, for the British officers had boasted that they were going to "drive Mr. Washington over the Blue Mountains."

On December 10, a grand foraging party of 3000 men, lead by Cornwallis, came up the Schuylkill and attacked Potter's brigade of 2000 Pennsylvania militia. Three regiments of this brigade behaved gallantly in a sharp contest with the enemy, but were driven across the river by a superior force. In this engagement the casualties were few. After destroying several buildings and obtaining booty, the British returned to Philadelphia, December 16.

On September 6, 1777, five days before the battle of Brandywine, Colonel James Thompson reported in his battalion of York

County militia, then stationed at Wilmington, Delaware, under General James Potter, 1 major, 4 companies, 4 captains, 4 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 4 sergeants, 2 drummers, 2 fifers, and 121 men fit for duty out of a total of 127.

On November 24, at Camp White Marsh, near Valley Forge, Colonel Thompson reported 1 major, 6 companies, 6 captains, 12 lieutenants, 6 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 24 sergeants, 4 drummers, 3 fifers, or 202, fit for duty out of a total of 215.

On the same date, Colonel William Rankin, at White Marsh, reported 1 major, 3 companies, 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 9 sergeants, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, or 78 fit for duty out of a total of 81. Colonel David Jameson, at the same camp, reported 3 companies, 3 captains, 4 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 9 sergeants, or 70 fit for duty out of a total of 75.

On December 22, at the camp near Valley Forge, Colonel Andrews reported 1 major, 5 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 13 sergeants, or 120 fit for duty out of a total of 165.

These militia battalions from York County were a part of the force called out before the battle of Brandywine, but did not take part in that engagement. They were present at the battle of Germantown and the minor engagements at White Marsh and Chestnut Hill, in the militia brigades of Armstrong and Potter.

Some of the casualties in Colonel Hartley's Regiment in the battles of Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown, were: Lieutenant James Dill, Lieutenant James Lemon, Sergeant William Chambers, Sergeant John Rousden, Corporal Anthony Wall, killed; Private George Blakely, wounded and prisoner at Paoli, in Captain Robert Hoopes' company; Privates William Cornwall, George Duke, John Elliott, Joseph Finnemore, James Flin, killed; Philip Graham, killed at Brandywine; Jacob Houts, wounded at Germantown; Christopher Morris and John Shannon, killed; William Price, died of wounds.

**WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.**

No further offensive or defensive movements were made by either army in 1777, and December 17, Washington with an army

of less than 10,000 men, depleted by the recent engagements at Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown, broke camp at White Marsh and took up the march for Valley Forge, near the site of Norristown.

The Pennsylvania Assembly which had moved from Philadelphia to Lancaster and held its sessions in the Court House in Centre Square of that town, was unfriendly to Washington. It assumed to be a patriotic body, but failed to adopt measures to provide its own militia in Washington's army, with shoes, stockings and clothing. As the story goes, although perhaps much exaggerated, the blood stained marks of the Continental troops were observed on the line of movement from White Marsh to Valley Forge. This, however, was an unnecessary condition of affairs, owing either to negligence or disloyalty, for, says a trustworthy authority, quantities of shoes, stockings, clothing and other apparel were lying at different places on the road between Lancaster and Valley Forge. It is claimed that neither horses nor wagons could have been procured to convey them to camp. Congress at York, now recommended to the state legislatures to enact laws giving authority to seize woolen cloths, blankets, linen, shoes, stockings, hats and other necessary articles of clothing for the army, wherever they might be found, and sent to the relief of the soldiers.

On December 30, Congress renewed the authority of Washington, giving him extraordinary powers and further ordered him "to inform the brave officers and soldiers of the Continental army now in camp, that as the situation of the enemy has rendered it necessary for the army to take post in a part of the country not provided with houses and in consequence thereof to reside in huts; Congress approving of their soldierly patience, fidelity and zeal in the cause of their country, have directed one month's extraordinary pay to be given to each; and are exerting themselves to remedy the inconveniences which the army has lately experienced from the defects of the commissary and clothier's department."

After Washington took up his headquarters at Valley Forge some of the Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, re-

mained in camp at White Marsh as a guard to watch the enemy's movements during the winter. On account of age, debility and long service in the French and Indian war and the Revolution, Armstrong asked to be relieved and returned to his home in Carlisle, late in December, 1777. The term of enlistment of some of the battalions of Pennsylvania militia had also expired and they returned home until another call demanded their services in the field.

General Potter, who had served in the Canada expedition and in the campaigns in New Jersey and around Philadelphia, asked to be relieved from the service to turn attention to his business interests in Cumberland county.

January 9, 1778, Colonel John Lacey, of Bucks county, was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general and given the command of a brigade of militia with headquarters at the Crooked Billet Tavern in Bucks county. The object of Washington in sending Lacey there was to prevent the Tories from New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania from taking their produce and grain to Philadelphia and selling them in that city. In this capacity, General Lacey performed an important duty. When Howe discovered the motive in sending the militia into Bucks county, on May 1, he sent a body of troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, commanding a regiment of light infantry, a squadron of rangers and a detachment of cavalry to surround Lacey and his men, and capture them. An attempt was made to attack and surprise the militia force, in the same manner that General Wayne and his brigade had been assaulted in September, 1777, at Paoli. The approach of the British was a surprise, and they nearly surrounded Lacey and his men before they were ready to meet the enemy. It was a night attack, and before the Americans could offer resistance, they endured a formidable assault. In order to protect his entire force from capture, Lacey ordered a retreat, leaving his baggage behind. In this affair the American loss was twenty-six killed, eight or ten wounded, and fifty-eight missing. It is stated on good authority that some of the prisoners were bayoneted and others burned by Simcoe's, Hovenden's and James' Rangers, among whom were loyalists who had joined the British cause. The British loss was small.

About February 7 of this year, one battalion of York county militia, under the command of Major Thomas Lilly, left York to join the force under Lacey. They were delayed by the bad weather and did not reach Crooked Billet until the 23rd of the month.

#### YORK TROOPS AT MONMOUTH.

The British army evacuated Philadelphia on June 18, and began the march toward New York. Howe, who had commanded the enemy's forces at Brandywine and Germantown and during the evacuation of Philadelphia, was succeeded by Sir Henry Clinton. On June 21, Washington left the encampment at Valley Forge and crossed the Delaware at Trenton, determining to strike the enemy at the first opportunity. During the winter, the American forces had been trained and disciplined under the direction of Baron Steuben, a soldier and tactician who came to this country from the court of Frederick the Great. Although the American army had suffered hardships at Valley Forge, the rank and file were in excellent trim. Washington followed closely in pursuit of the British and directed General Charles Lee to move forward and attack the enemy's rear at Freehold, in Monmouth County. Lee at first declined this duty, and Lafayette, with a division of troops composed in part of Wayne's brigade of the Pennsylvania Line, was ordered to hang on the enemy's rear.

Lee, meantime, changed his mind and claimed the authority to lead the detachment, which he was unfortunately permitted to do. He marched five miles in advance of the main army to vigorously attack the enemy. When he arrived within striking distance, Wayne, with 700 Pennsylvania soldiers of the Continental Line, was despatched to attack the left rear. When he approached the enemy, Simcoe's rangers of mounted men dashed upon Colonel Richard Butler's Pennsylvania regiment, but were driven back.

At this juncture, a combined attack was made by the British and the battle of Monmouth was opened. The enemy now became the assailants. Wayne looked around in vain for a supporting column of Americans. It was at this time

in the battle that General Lee had ordered his part of the line to fall back. Dismay and consternation followed, and to prevent defeat, Washington himself rode into the thickest of the fight. After reprimanding Lee, he ordered Wayne to form his regiments in line of battle, and check the assault of the enemy.

Meantime, Washington went to the rear and brought up the main army. One of Wayne's regiments, ordered to the front, was the Seventh Pennsylvania Line, formerly commanded by Colonel David Grier, of York, who had been wounded at Paoli. It was now led by its original commander, Colonel William Irvine, of Carlisle, who had been captured in the Canada expedition and lately released. The other regiments were the Thirteenth Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel Walter Stewart, and the Third, Colonel Thomas Craig. They were aided by a Maryland and a Virginia regiment. These gallant troops held the position until the reinforcements, which made up the second line of battle, arrived. Wayne was stationed in an orchard with a hill on either side. General Greene took position on the right and Lord Stirling on the left. General Knox, commanding the artillery force, planted his guns on the hills to the left, near Stirling's troops, and opened on the enemy. The withering fire of Wayne's command in the centre made a further advance of the enemy impossible. The British grenadiers, endeavoring to pierce Wayne's line, were repulsed. At length, Lieutenant-Colonel Monckton, at the head of the divisions in which were sons of many of the noblest English families who had given tone to fashionable dissipation while Philadelphia was in the hands of the enemy, and Continental Congress at York, harangued his men and led them on the charge. He was repulsed by Wayne and in the attack, fell mortally wounded.

Sir Henry Clinton, commanding the British forces, now attacked the left under Stirling, but was driven back by the artillery. He then attempted to break through the right, but was overpowered by Greene, who was supported by a strong battery. Wayne advanced from the centre and compelled the British to retreat to their first position.

Evening had now arrived, and the

Americans bivouacked for the night near the enemy, who stole away before morning had dawned, and left Washington in command of the field. Thus ended one of the most brilliant victories of the Revolution. It added laurels to the American arms and increased the power and influence of the commander-in-chief.

The First Pennsylvania Regiment at Monmouth was in command of Colonel James Chambers, who had led it at Brandywine and Germantown. Henry Miller, who had left York in 1775 with the first troops for Boston, was major of this regiment. The company of York County troops which had fought at Boston, Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown, were still serving in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, but no muster roll of it for 1778 has been found. In this battle Captain John McDowell commanded Moses McClean's company, and Captain William Alexander, Grier's company, serving in the Seventh Pennsylvania Line. These were the two companies that had marched with Irvine's regiment on the first expedition to Canada, in the winter of 1775.

Jacob Stake, of York, who was first lieutenant of Captain Albright's company in Miles' regiment, commanded a company in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment at Monmouth. James Lang, of York County, who had served as a lieutenant in Atlee's Musketry Battalion, also commanded a company in the Tenth Regiment. Joshua Williams, of York County, commanded a company in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment under Colonel William Butler. Walter Cruise, of York, who was a corporal in Miller's company and had been captured at Boston in 1775, commanded a company in the Sixth Regiment.

The following is the muster roll of Captain John McDowell's company in 1778:

*Captain,*  
John McDowell,  
*First Lieutenant,*  
William Miller,  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Robert McPherson,  
*Ensign,*  
James Milligan,  
*Sergeants,*  
Thomas Gainer,  
Roger Gough,  
Adam Linn.

Edward Atchison,  
George Blackley,  
William Bradshaw,  
Henry Cain,  
William Campbell,  
Thomas Chesney,  
John Connelly,  
Daniel Conner,  
John Donnel,  
Philip Duffield,  
John Dugan,  
John Farming,  
Henry Garman,  
Samuel Gilmore,  
John Hart,  
Robert Hunter,  
James Johnston,  
Matthew Kelly,  
Andrew Kennedy,  
Patrick King,  
Michael Lennogan,

*Corporal,*  
William Manley.

*Drummer,*  
Patrick Conner.

*Privates,*

John McCalloh,  
Francis McDonnel,  
Alexander McDonnel,  
Neal McGunnagle,  
Patrick McKeegan,  
John Milton,  
John Morrison,  
Bartholomew Mulloy,  
Dennis Murphy,  
James Quinn,  
Thomas Riley,  
Michael Shawley,  
Solomon Silas,  
Diggony Sparks,  
Richard Slack,  
George Sullivan,  
Marly Sullivan,  
John Walsh,  
Edward Welch,  
James Welch,  
John Welch,  
Hendrick Winkler.

The following is the muster-roll of Captain William Alexander's Company in 1778:

*Captain,*  
William Alexander.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Samuel Kennedy.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Alexander Russell.

*Ensign,*  
Robert McWheeling.

*Sergeants,*  
William Gray,  
John Smith,  
Joseph Wade,  
Matthew Way.

*Corporals,*  
George Brown,  
James Hamilton,  
Joseph Rawlands,  
Joseph Templeton.

*Privates,*

William Anguish  
James Berry  
John Brannon  
John Bryans  
Patrick Butler  
John Clemonds  
Adam Conn  
Cornelius Corrigan  
William Courtney  
David Davis  
James Donovan  
John Farrell  
Henry Freet  
William Guthrie  
James Harkens  
Richard Henley  
James Hutton  
Jacob Leed  
John McCall  
Thomas McConn  
Patrick McCormick  
John McDonnel  
John McGinnis  
Patrick McGonaghy  
Isaac Moore  
Timothy Murphy  
Patrick Nowland  
James Price  
Patrick Rooney  
John Sommerville  
John Stewart  
William Wilkinson  
George Worley.

The following is the muster-roll of Captain James Lang's Company, which served

in the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment at the battle of Monmouth:

*Captain,*  
James Lang.  
*Sergeants,*  
Daniel McLean,  
Thomas Filson,  
Barry Shields.  
*Corporals,*  
John Smith,  
James Tyre.  
*Drum and Fife,*  
Leonard Toops,  
Andrew Cutler.

*Privates,*

Daniel Powers	John Sulvan
Samuel Green	William Stage
John Smith	John Burnham
John Lockhard	Hugh Bradley
Adam Truby	Bartholomew Berrey
Daniel Hoy	John McCarron
Simon Digby	William Douglass
David Stinson	John Jones
Henry Falls	Robert Holston
James Sharplice	John Sigafuss
Andrew Carvan	David Griffin
John McBride	Edward Butler
Thomas Whelan	Samuel Lessley
Andrew McQuigan	Lawrence Gorman
James Duncan	Abraham Hornick
Robert Hanna	Thomas Borland
	Barney Burnes.

The following is the muster-roll of Captain Jacob Stake's Company which served in the Tenth Pennsylvania Line in 1778 at the battle of Monmouth:

*Captain,*  
Jacob Stake.  
*Sergeants,*  
John Wynne,  
Samuel Edger,  
John Ray.  
*Corporals,*  
Michael Elly,  
Martin Sullivan.  
*Drummer,*  
John Jeffrys.  
*Fifer,*  
Martin Ashburn.  
*Privates,*

John Pierce	Christopher Reily
James McCray	John Chappel
Richard Coogan	William Williams
George Montgomery	Edward Helb
William Short	Rudolph Crowman
Jacob Stillwell	Stephen Falkentine
Nathaniel Webber	Daniel Forker
Timothy McNamara	Patrick Coyle
Charles Fuls	James McLaughlin
John Gettiss	William Grace
William Leech	Benjamin Toy
Lawrence Sullivan	Thomas Moore
Samuel Dickson	Malcolm Black
James Pratt	Patrick Collins
John Funk	Richard Harding
John Stammers	George Webb
	Bastion Maraquet.

### CAPTAIN MILLER'S COMPANY.

The following is a return of Captain Henry Miller's Company, on November 4, 1776. It was then serving in the First Pennsylvania Regiment and formed part of the rear column of Washington's army in the retreat across New Jersey to Trenton, after the defeat at Fort Mifflin. This company, under Captain Miller, took part in the battles of Princeton and Trenton, and when Henry Miller was promoted to major of the regiment, was commanded at Brandywine and Germantown by Captain James Matson. It took part in the battle of Monmouth, and in 1781, still in the First Regiment, marched under Colonel Richard Butler, with Wayne's Brigade of the Pennsylvania Line, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, in October, 1781.

*Captain,*  
Henry Miller.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
James Matson.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
John Clark.

*Privates,*

William Allen	John Line
Robert Armor	Charles Liness
George Armstrong	John McAllister
John Bell	John McCray
John Beverly	George McCrea
Christian Bittinger	John McCurt
Richard Block	Joseph McQuiston
George Brown	James Mill
John Burke	Joshua Minshall
Thomas Campbell	Edward Moore
William Carnahan	James Morrison
John Clark	Patrick Murphy
Robert Conyers	John Patton
William Cooper	Patrick Preston
Thomas Crone	Michael Quin
George Dougherty	John Quint
John Doucher	Andrew Sharp
Able Evans	John Shaven
Thomas Fanning	Joseph Shibley
John Ferguson	Matthew Shields
William Goudy	James Smith
Patrick Graft	Jacob Staley
John Griffith	Andrew Start
Thomas Griffith	Alexander Stevens
Joseph Halbut	Patrick Stewlan
Robert Harvey	Matthew Stoye
John Humphries	Tobias Tanner
Richard Kennedy	John Taylor
Thomas Kennedy	William Taylor
John Leiper	David Torrence
Abraham Lewis	Timothy Winters
	Edward White.

MAJOR JOHN CLARK, who rendered valuable services at the battle of Monmouth, was born in Lancaster County, in 1751, of English ancestry. He obtained his educa-



tion in the schools of his native county and when about twenty years of age removed to York. At the opening of the Revolution, he was a student of law, but his professional studies were interrupted by enlisting in the army. July 1, 1775, he was chosen third lieutenant of the first military company which marched from York and arrived at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where it joined Washington's army. Lieutenant Clark took part with his company in the skirmish with the British at Charlestown, a few days after their arrival at Boston. For gallantry in this affair, he was promoted to the rank of second lieutenant of his company, then commanded by Captain Henry Miller. He served as second lieutenant of Miller's company in the hard fought battle of Long Island, in August, 1776. This company then formed a part of the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line.

Lieutenant Clark was also conspicuous for his gallantry at Flatbush, Long Island. In September, 1776, he was chosen major of the Second Regiment of the Flying Camp, upon the recommendation of General Hugh Mercer. This regiment, composed entirely of York County troops, was commanded by Colonel Richard McAllister, founder of Hanover. October 15, 1776, Major Clark participated with his regiment in an expedition against the British on Staten Island, and in this action commanded the advance with 500 riflemen. He succeeded in capturing 60 Waldeckers or Hessians.

Soon after this brilliant affair, Major Clark moved with his regiment up the west side of the Hudson River and took position opposite White Plains. Here he commanded a detachment of 200 men. With these men he built fortifications to aid in preventing Howe's army from crossing to the west bank of the Hudson.

After the battle of Fort Washington, when the American army retired from the vicinity of New York, Major Clark commanded the rear of the retreating forces, southward over the state of New Jersey. He was present at the battle of Trenton and after Washington's victory at that place, which ended in the capture of Rahl and 1,000 Hessian troops, Major Clark reported that he collected the trophies of victory and held possession of the town,

while the other troops went in pursuit of the enemy.

The following day, December 27, with 200 men, he marched in pursuit of a body of British, commanded by General Stirling and Count Donop, to Hidetown and Cranberry, leaving the British in his rear at Princeton. This was a bold and brilliant dash in the cold weather of midwinter. At the villages of Allentown and Cranberry nearby, he captured a large amount of British stores and provisions, and at Hidetown surprised and took prisoners thirty British officers. This remarkable raid and its achievement won for him and his soldiers from York County the plaudits of his superior officers, when they returned to headquarters near Trenton. Major Clark and his men were commended for their bravery by Washington, Greene and Reed. Washington presented Clark with a British sword that had been captured in battle. Shortly after the battle of Trenton the term of enlistment of McAllister's regiment of the Flying Camp expired. The men were honorably discharged and returned home. Major Clark remained in the service, and was assigned to duty under General Thomas Mifflin, who was reorganizing the Pennsylvania militia then in New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania. He was the only officer present at Crosswicks, near Trenton, in January, 1777, when General Mifflin made a strong appeal to the New England militia to remain one month longer in service. On the following day General Greene dispatched Major Clark on the important duty of discovering the force and movement of the enemy under Lord Cornwallis, then advancing toward Princeton, New Jersey. He soon returned to Greene with the desired information and then aided in forming an advance battle line to meet the approaching British under Cornwallis, at the opening of the battle of Princeton. During the day of the engagement, Clark, as brigade major under Mifflin, did valiant service in directing the artillery into action.

When the American army arrived at Morristown, New Jersey, at the request of Washington he was made chief of staff to General Greene, with the rank of major in the Continental Line. His training as a despatch bearer, and his success in leading reconnoitering parties, made him a useful

officer to General Greene, who, next to Washington, was ranked as the ablest soldier of the Revolution. While making a reconnoissance with a small body of troops to ascertain the position of the advancing British under General Howe, at Brandywine, Major Clark received a wound from a rifle ball passing through his right shoulder. He then returned to his home in York, and after recuperating, joined his command before the battle of Germantown. In this engagement, while leading a small detachment, he took prisoner Captain Speak, of the 37th Light Infantry. Immediately after the battle, with a small scouting party, he moved within sight of the British line in order to ascertain the enemy's loss and if possible, discover the future plan of operations. He accomplished his purpose with great personal danger, and communicated to the commander-in-chief, not only the losses of the British at Germantown, but Howe's plan of movement against the American forces, after the battle. These facts enabled Washington to make such a disposition of his troops as to gain advantage over Howe at White Marsh, a few days later. He also recommended the detachment of Smallwood's brigade of Maryland troops to Wilmington, Delaware, which was re-captured by the Americans. This movement resulted in seizing two of the enemy's ships on the Delaware heavily laden with provisions and munitions of war. For his brilliant achievements at this period, Major Clark received the highest commendation from his superior officers. The wound which he had received at Brandywine now compelled his retirement, and he again returned to his home at York.

In January, 1778, together with Captain Lee, of Virginia, known as "Light Horse Harry" of the Revolution, Clark was called to the encampment at Valley Forge to consult with Washington about a proposed attack on a detachment of Howe's forces then at Darby, or the main body of the army in and around Philadelphia. Both Lee and Clark advised Washington against any winter attack of the British forces. At a council of war a majority of the subordinate commanders present were of the same opinion. In appreciation of his ability as a soldier, Washington now offered to Clark different positions of responsibility and

trust, but owing to the condition of his health, he declined these proffered honors and again returned to York, to recuperate his health. In recognition of what Clark had done while in the army, Washington wrote the following interesting letter to Henry Laurens, then president of Congress, at York:

"Headquarters, Valley Forge, Jan. 2, 1778.

"Sir:—I take the liberty of introducing Major John Clark, the bearer of this, to your notice. He entered the service at the commencement of the war and has for some time past acted as aide-de-camp to Major-General Greene. He is active, sensible and enterprising and has rendered me very great assistance since the army has been in Pennsylvania, by procuring one constant and certain intelligence of the motions and intentions of the enemy. It is somewhat uncertain whether the state of the major's health will admit of his remaining in the military line; if it should, I may perhaps have occasion to recommend him in a more particular manner to the favor of Congress at a future time. At present, I can assure you that if you should, while he remains in the neighborhood of York, have any occasion for his services, you will find him not only willing, but very capable of executing any of your commands. I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

After receiving the letter to Henry Laurens, President of Continental Congress then in session at York, Major Clark was appointed auditor of the accounts of the army under General Washington. He accepted this position February 24, 1778. He served for a period of two years and then returned to his home. When he assumed the duties of this office the Treasury of the United States had but small deposits and Major Clark advanced the sum of eleven hundred and fifty-two pounds of his own money for one of the best teams in America to secure and haul the outfit of the auditors, their baggage and documents belonging to the officers, to the headquarters of the army. During the battle of Monmouth, Major John Clark, of York, was again called to his former position as an aide on the staff of General Greene. Here he again succeeded in endearing himself to his own commander and also the head of the army. It was Clark who had carried the orders for General Lee to make the first attack, and his testimony was used when Lee was afterward court-martialed and deprived of his command.

The battle of Monmouth was the last engagement in which Major Clark participated during the Revolution. Having nearly completed his legal studies before he



GEN. HENRY MILLER



entered the army he was admitted to the bar at York, April 27, 1779, and spent the remainder of his life as a practicing lawyer.

During the second war with Great Britain in 1812, he offered his services for the defence of his country. When the British, under General Ross, approached Baltimore, in 1814, Major Clark proceeded to that city. He presented himself before the military authorities of Baltimore with a letter from James Monroe, Secretary-of-War in Madison's Cabinet, who recommended Major Clark for his ability as a soldier in the Revolution. He then offered General Smith, commanding the forces at Baltimore, to lead the advance and attack the British when they landed at North Point, but the duty had already been assigned to others.

After the defeat of the British at North Point, General Smith tendered his thanks to Major Clark for "the zeal and active services he voluntarily rendered during his stay at Baltimore and in its defence."

He continued the practice of law at York during the remainder of his life. He resided in a large home at the southwest corner of Market and Beaver Streets, which in 1906 was used by Adams Express Company. In personal appearance, he was large of frame, of commanding presence and military bearing. In 1818 he was a candidate of the Federalist party to represent Lancaster and York Counties in the Congress of the United States, but was defeated. After the Revolution, Major Clark was in close and intimate relations with General Washington until the time of the latter's death in 1799.

Major Clark was married early in life to a daughter of Captain Nicholas Bittinger, of Hanover, who commanded a company in the same regiment of the Flying Camp in which Clark served as a major. He had one son, George Clark, and several daughters, none of whom left descendants. The only portrait of the major in existence, except a drawing, was interred with the remains of Julia Clark, his daughter, at her request, in St. John's Episcopal Churchyard. Major Clark died December 27, 1819, at the age of 68, and his remains were buried in St. John's Episcopal Churchyard. He was prominent in the Masonic Fraternity and was a vestryman of St. John's Church.

GENERAL HENRY MILLER, of York, who entered the army as a lieutenant, in 1775, served continuously until the year 1779. He was conspicuous for his gallantry in the siege of Boston, at the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. In all he participated in forty-seven battles and skirmishes with the British during the four years of his military service in the army.

He was born February 13, 1751, at the site of Millersville, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, where his father was a farmer owning a large estate. After receiving a good preparatory education, he went to Reading, where he entered the law office of Collinson Reed, and studied conveyancing. In 1769, he removed to York, where he began the occupation of a conveyancer and continued his legal studies with Samuel Johnson, one of the pioneer lawyers of York County. When the Revolution opened he espoused the cause of the colonists and became second lieutenant of the York Riflemen, a company of 100 trained marksmen from York County, who, on July 1, 1775, began the march to Boston, and joined Washington's army at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on July 25. Here they were assigned to Thompson's Battalion, the first troops south of New York to join the American army during the Revolution. Their reputation for trained marksmanship with the use of the rifle was already well known. The troops who engaged in the battle of Bunker Hill had used muskets.

Two days after the York Riflemen, under Captain Doudel, arrived at Washington's headquarters, at the request of Lieutenant Miller, they were sent out to reconnoiter the position of the enemy at Bunker Hill. This was done with Washington's consent and resulted in the capture of several prisoners, from whom the position and number of the enemy were obtained. Soon after this event, Lieutenant Miller was made captain of his company, and commanded it on the march toward New York. He and his riflemen were conspicuous for their valor at the battle of Long Island and guarded the retreat of Washington's army, which, through a fog, crossed to New York City. Captain Miller, amid a shower of

bullets from the enemy, was the last American soldier to enter the boats.

He participated in the battle of White Plains, and with a detachment from the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, guarded the rear during Washington's retreat across New Jersey. At the battle of Trenton the First Regiment, under Colonel Edward Hand, formed the advance battle line, and during that eventful Christmas night of 1776 was the first to attack the Hessians at their post. After the surrender of 1,000 Hessians at Trenton, Washington re-crossed into Pennsylvania. He then selected Hand's riflemen, with Captain Miller commanding his company, to lead the advance and attack the approaching enemy. In the action which ensued Miller commanded the left wing of the regiment.

At the battle of Princeton, on the succeeding day, these riflemen were conspicuous for their valor and aided in winning a brilliant victory. For his gallantry in action, at the request of Washington, Captain Miller was promoted to major of his regiment, and held this position at the battle of Brandywine. In the battle of Germantown his regiment formed a part of Wayne's brigade, and aided in driving the enemy toward Philadelphia, during the first part of the engagement. Six days after the battle, which resulted in a British victory, Major Miller wrote to his family at York: "We hope to meet them soon again, and with the assistance of Providence to restore our suffering citizens of Philadelphia to their possessions and homes."

During the winter of 1777-8, Major Miller remained in camp with his regiment at Valley Forge. The arduous duties of army life required him to spend part of the winter at his home, recuperating his health. It was during this winter that Continental Congress held its sessions in York, and Washington lay in winter quarters at Valley Forge.

On the march through New Jersey in pursuit of the enemy under Sir Henry Clinton, in June, 1778, Major Miller's regiment formed a part of the Pennsylvania division commanded by General Anthony Wayne. In this, the last battle of the Revolution in which Major Miller participated, he showed the same coolness and bravery that he had displayed on former occasions when he led

his York County Riflemen on to victory. While commanding a detachment under Wayne in the thickest of the fight, his horse was shot by a cannon ball. He quickly mounted another and rode forward, when this horse was killed by a musket ball. Mounting a third, he led his men onward until the British were driven from the field. For gallant and meritorious services at the battle of Monmouth, Major Miller was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment in the Continental Line, but owing to the condition of his affairs at home, as the result of four years' service in the army, he held this position for a short time only and then resigned. He then turned his attention to his business affairs at York. The pay he had received as a soldier, in depreciated currency, did not furnish him means enough to support his family.

In 1780, he was elected sheriff of York County, and served in that position for three years. He represented York County in the State Legislature in 1783-4-5. He was appointed prothonotary in 1785, and in the same year commissioned one of the court justices for York County. He was elected a delegate to the convention which framed the State Constitution of 1790. After the war, he became a brigadier-general of the state militia, and in 1794 was quartermaster-general of the United States army in the Whiskey Insurrection in western Pennsylvania.

General Miller was appointed supervisor of revenue for the State of Pennsylvania by President Washington, and served in the same office under President Adams; but on account of his staunch adherence to the Federalist party, was removed from the office by Thomas Jefferson, when he became President. Although he had reached the age of 63, when the second war with Great Britain began, he tendered his services to the United States government, and was placed in charge of the defence of Fort McHenry. This occurred when the city of Baltimore was first threatened by the English, in 1813. Having still retained his relations to his native state, when the militia was organized he received the appointment of brigadier-general. In 1814, when the British appeared before Baltimore, he served in the capacity of quartermaster-

general and was present at Baltimore with the Pennsylvania troops, which had marched there for the defence of that city. His experience as an officer in the Revolution was of great advantage to the commanding officers at Baltimore, at the time of the battle of North Point and the bombardment of Fort M'Henry. Before retiring from service, General Miller received the commendations of the military authorities of Baltimore and the national government.

He retired to private life, residing on a farm in the Juniata Valley, and in 1821 was appointed prothonotary of the new county of Perry. At the expiration of his term of office, he removed his family residence to Carlisle, where he died April 5, 1824, and was buried there with military honors.

His family consisted of two sons and four daughters. His son Joseph was a lieutenant in the army, and died in the service, while performing his duties as quartermaster at Ogdensburg, during the second war with England, and his son William was a lieutenant in the navy, and died on board the frigate "L'Insurgent," Captain Murray.

His eldest daughter, Capandana, married Colonel Campbell; his second daughter, Mary, married Thomas Banning, a Maryland planter; and his third daughter, Julia Anna, married David Watts, of Carlisle. His fourth daughter, Harriet, died unmarried. There are no descendants of these children now surviving, except those of David Watts and Julia Anna Miller.

#### COLONEL THOMAS HARTLEY'S REGIMENT.

Thomas Hartley, a member of the York County Bar, and a young man of rare attainments, entered the military service in the fall of 1775. Before hostilities had opened between the colonies and the mother country, he had commanded a company of militia from York and vicinity. The fierce conflict at Bunker Hill in June, 1775, stimulated his military ardor. When an expedition was planned against Canada in the fall of 1775, he tendered his services to the cause of American liberty. A regiment composed of eight companies was organized, at Carlisle, from militia in the region now embraced in York, Cumberland, Franklin, Adams and Perry Counties. William Irvine, of Carlisle, was commissioned

colonel of this regiment and Thomas Hartley, lieutenant-colonel, at the age of twenty-seven. The part taken by the regiment in the Canada campaign is told in a previous chapter in this work. After the capture of Colonel Irvine, in Canada, Hartley was placed in command of the regiment and brought it back to Carlisle in March, 1777. Irvine remained a prisoner of war until April, 1778. His command, which at first enlisted for a term of one year for the Canada campaign, re-enlisted, and in June, 1778, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel David Grier, of York, was stationed at Middlebrook, New Jersey, and in September at Trappe, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. It joined Wayne's brigade and took part in the battles of Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown, as told elsewhere in this history.

Thomas Hartley, while in charge of the regiment at Ticonderoga, was commissioned colonel, January 11, 1777. After the regiment reached Carlisle in March of that year, Hartley spent some time at York.

In December, 1776, Congress authorized Washington to raise sixteen battalions of infantry for the military service from the different states then forming the Union. This resolution was adopted two days after the battle of Trenton, which had been a signal victory for the American cause. Two of these battalions were to come from Pennsylvania. For this purpose Thomas Hartley and John Patton, of Chester County, were each commissioned colonel to raise a regiment. In the absence of official reports, it is difficult to give a detailed account of these regiments.

Colonel Thomas Hartley's regiment joined Washington's army, when General Howe landed at the head of Elk River, in September, 1777. All the available American troops were then concentrated in the vicinity of Philadelphia. Hartley's regiment formed part of the First Pennsylvania Brigade in General Wayne's division. In the battle of Brandywine, Colonel Hartley commanded this brigade, which did valiant service in the engagement, and lost heavily in both officers and men. This brigade also took part in the battle of Paoli, fought near Philadelphia, nine days after the defeat at Brandywine, and still under the command of Hartley, participated in the battle of Ger-

mantown, October 4. After Germantown, Hartley's regiment, which originally numbered 600 men from the different counties of Pennsylvania, had in rank and file less than half its original enlistment. Major Lewis Bush was mortally wounded at Brandywine, and Captain Robert Hoopes was killed. Other casualties in this regiment, in the battles of Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown, were: Lieutenant James Dill, Lieutenant James Lemon, Sergeant William Chambers, Sergeant John Rousden, Corporal Anthony Wall, killed; Private George Blakely, wounded and prisoner at Paoli, in Captain Robert Hoopes' company; Privates William Cornwall, George Duke, John Elliott, Joseph Finnemore, James Flin, killed; Philip Graham, killed at Brandywine; Jacob Houts, wounded at Germantown; Christopher Morris and John Shannon, killed; William Price, died of wounds.

After the close of the campaign of the American army around Philadelphia, in 1777, and when at York. Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Colonel Hartley returned with his regiment to York, where it remained in barracks for two or three months as a guard to Continental Congress, then in session here. February 11, 1778, Congress passed a resolution ordering Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, to issue a warrant for two months' pay to Colonel Hartley's regiment, then in York. On the same day another resolution was adopted directing the board of war to aid in recruiting this regiment. On June 17, according to the diary of Rev. John Roth, of the Moravian Church, a part of Hartley's regiment left York for the American camp near Philadelphia, having in charge a number of English prisoners. On June 25, at the request of General Washington, Colonel Hartley reported with his regiment at Valley Forge, just before the American army had left the camp to take the field in New Jersey. A few days later Congress adjourned to Philadelphia, which had been evacuated by the British, then falling back through New Jersey to New York.

**Wyoming Massacre.** In June, 1778, just before Congress left York for Philadelphia, the settlers near Wilkesbarre, in the Wyoming Valley,

in the northern part of Pennsylvania, heard of the approach of a large force of Tories and Indians under Colonel John Butler. An appeal for help was made to Congress as nearly all the able-bodied men were in the Continental army. These hostile bands approached suddenly, when Colonel Zebulon Butler, of the Pennsylvania Line, who was home on a furlough, recruited three hundred men to meet a force three times as large. He met the enemy on July 3 at a fort near the Susquehanna, a short distance above Wilkesbarre, and here occurred what is known to history as the Wyoming Massacre. Only fifty of Zebulon Butler's men escaped. Those who did not fall in battle, when captured were put to death by the bullets of the Tories or the tomahawks of the Indians. The depredations in the Wyoming Valley continued and became so heartrending that all the settlers fled.

The Wyoming Massacre was not the only one in Pennsylvania in the war of the Revolution. Immediately after that of Wyoming, the wild precipitate flight, known as the "Great Runaway," occurred in the valley of the West Branch. All summer the scalping knife and tomahawk had been doing their deadly work there, and when the news of the massacre on North Branch arrived, the West Branch above Sunbury and Northumberland was abandoned by the settlers. Boats, canoes, hogtroughs, rafts, and every sort of floating things, were crowded with women and children. The men came down in single file, on each side of the river, and acted as guards. Sunbury became a frontier town and the site of Harrisburg, Paxtang, and Middletown, were places of resort for the unfortunate refugees. Bedford and Westmoreland counties and the country about Pittsburg were likewise sorely afflicted at this time.

**Hartley Marches to Sunbury.** The massacre of Wyoming, which occurred on July 3, caused serious apprehension to General Washington and Continental Congress. At this time, Colonel Hartley's regiment was with Washington's army in New Jersey, and the remainder performing guard duty at Philadelphia. In accordance with a resolution of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, Hartley's regiment was ordered, on



July 14, to go to Sunbury, in Northumberland County, fifty miles above Harrisburg. At the same time, the Committee of Safety ordered the militia to be called out from the counties of Northumberland, Lancaster, Berks, Northampton, Cumberland and York, in all about 1,800 men. These troops were intended to guard the frontier from the ravages of the Indians and Tories. Four hundred and fifty troops from Berks and Northampton were to repair to Easton; eight hundred and fifty from Northumberland, Lancaster and Berks to go to Sunbury, three hundred from Cumberland and two hundred from York County to join Colonel Broadhead at Standing Stone, the site of Huntingdon.

As the Indians continued to be very troublesome on the northern and western frontiers of Pennsylvania, it soon became apparent to the military authorities that some offensive operations must be undertaken, to punish the savage foe, or the inhabitants of Central Pennsylvania would be in imminent danger.

With this object in view, Colonel **Goes to Tioga.** Hartley, in September, 1778, was sent from Sunbury, by the Board of War on an expedition to Tioga Point, on the headwaters of the North Branch, to destroy some of their villages and break up their places of rendezvous. His expedition was one of the most memorable on record, and proved successful. In October, 1778, after his return to Sunbury, from this expedition, Colonel Hartley wrote to Congress an extended account of it, which reads in part as follows:

"With a frontier from Wyoming to Allegheny, 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 made a stroke at some of the nearest Indian towns, especially as we learned a handsome detachment had been sent into the enemy's country by way of the Cherry Valley, New York. We were in hopes we should drive the savages to a greater distance.

"With volunteers and others, we reckoned on 400 rank and file for the expedition, besides 17 horses, which I mounted from

my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Henry Carbery. Our rendezvous was Fort Muncy, near the site of Williamsport, on the West Branch, intending to penetrate by the Sheshecunnunk path, to Tioga, at the junction of the Cayuga, with the main Northeast Branch of Susquehanna, from thence to act as circumstances might require.

"The troops met at Muncy the 18th of September, and when we came to count and array our force for the expedition, they amounted to only about 200 rank and file. 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. On the morning of the 21st, at four o'clock, we marched from Muncy, with the force I have mentioned; we carried two boxes of spare ammunition and twelve days' provisions.

"In our route we met with **Endures Hardships.** great rains and prodigious swamps; mountains, defiles and rocks impeded our march.

We had to open and clear the way as we passed. We waded or swam the Lycoming Creek upwards of twenty times. I will not trouble your honorable body with the tedious detail, but I cannot help observing that, I imagine, the difficulties in crossing the Alps or passing up Kennebec River to Canada in 1775, 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. In lonely woods and groves we found the haunts and lurking places of the savage murderers, who had desolated our frontier. We saw the huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women and children who fell into their hands.

**Drives the Enemy Back.** "On the morning of the 26th, our advance party of 19, met with an equal number of Indians on the path, approaching one another. Our men had the first fire. A very important Indian chief was killed and scalped and the rest fled. A few miles further, we discovered where upwards of seventy warriors had lay the night before, on their march towards our frontier. The panic communicated and they fled with

their brethren. No time was lost; we advanced towards Sheshcunnuck, in the neighborhood of which place we took fifteen prisoners from them. We learned that a man had deserted from Captain Spalding's company at Wyoming, after the troops had marched from thence and had given the enemy notice of our intended expedition against them.

"We moved with the greatest dispatch towards Tioga, advancing our horse and some foot in front, who did their duty very well. A number of the enemy fled before us with precipitation. It was near dark, when we came to that town. Our troops were much fatigued and it was impossible to proceed further that night. We were told that young Butler, who had led the Tories at the Wyoming Massacre, 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, and that they determined to give us battle in some of the defiles near it. It was soon resolved we should proceed no further, but if possible make our way to Wyoming. We burned Tioga, Queen Hester's Palace or town, and all the settlements on this side. Several canoes were taken and some plunder, part of which was destroyed. Lieutenant Carbery, with the horse only, was close on Butler. He was in possession of the town of Shawnee, three miles up the Cayuga Branch, but as we did not advance, he returned.

"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, and no return but what we could make with the sword. We came to Sheshcunnuck that night. 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 receptacle for all villainous Indians and Tories from the different tribes and states. From this they make their excursions against the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, Jersey, Wyoming and commit those horrid murders and devastations we have heard of. Niagara and Chemung are the asylums of these

Tories who cannot get to New York. On the morning of the 28th, we crossed the river and marched towards Wyalusing, where we arrived that night at 11 o'clock; our men were much worn down and our whiskey and flour were gone.

"On the morning of the 29th, we were obliged to stay till 11 o'clock to kill and cook beef. This gave the enemy leisure to approach. Seventy of our men from real or pretended lameness went into the canoes; others rode on the empty pack horses. We had not more than 120 rank and file to fall in the line of march. Lieutenant Sweeney, a valuable officer, had the rear guard, consisting of thirty men, besides five active runners, under Mr. Camplen. The advance guard was to consist of an officer and fifteen men. There were a few flankers, but from the difficulty of the ground and fatigue, they were seldom of use. The rest of our little army was formed into three divisions. Those of my regiment composed the first, Captain Spalding's the second, and Captain Morrow's the third. 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. In this order we marched from Wyalusing at 12 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 second and third divisions to outflank the enemy, we soon drove them, but this, as I expected, was only amusement, and we lost as little time as possible with them.

"At 2 o'clock a very heavy attack was made on our rear, which **Indian** obliged most of the rear guard to **Attack.** give way, while several Indians appeared on our left flank. By the weight of the firing, we were soon convinced we had to oppose a large body. Captain Stoddard commanded in front and I was in the centre. I observed some high ground which overlooked the enemy. Orders were immediately given for the first and third divisions to take possession of it, whilst Captain Spalding was despatched to support the rear guard. We gained the heights almost unnoticed by the barbarians. Captain Stoddard sent a small party towards the enemy's rear. At this critical moment,

Captains Boone and Brady, and Lieutenant King, with a few brave fellows, landed from the canoes, joined Lieutenant Sweeney and renewed the action there. The war whoop was given by our people below and communicated round. We advanced on the enemy on all sides.

**The Enemy Repulsed.** With great shouting and noise, the Indians, after a brave resistance of some minutes, conceived themselves nearly surrounded, and fled with the utmost haste, by the only passes that remained, and 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 have driven the enemy into the river. From every account, these were a select body of warriors, sent after us, consisting of nearly 200 men. Their confidence and impetuosity, probably gave the victory to us. After they had driven our rear some distance, their chief was heard to say in the Indian language that which is interpreted thus: 'My brave warriors, we drive them, be bold and strong, the day is ours.' Upon this they advanced very quickly without sufficiently regarding their rear.

"We had no alternative, but conquest or death. They would have murdered us all had they succeeded, but the great God of Battles protected us in the day of danger. We had four killed and ten wounded. The enemy must have had at least treble the number killed and wounded. They received such a beating as prevented them giving us any further trouble during our march to Wyoming (Wilkesbarre), which is more than fifty miles from the place of action. The officers of my regiment behaved well to a man. All the party will acknowledge the greatest merit and bravery of Captain Stoddard. I cannot say enough in his favor. He deserves the esteem of his country. Lieutenant 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. Captain Spalding exerted himself as much as possible. Captain 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 regiment were armed with muskets and bayonets. They were no great marksmen, and were awkward at wood fighting. The bullets and three swan shot in each piece made up, in some measure, for the want of skill. Though 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.

**Reaches Wyoming.** "On the third, the savages and scalped three men who had imprudently left the garrison at Wyoming to go in search of potatoes. From our observations, we imagine that the same party who had fought us, after taking care of their dead and wounded, had come on towards Wyoming, and are now in that neighborhood. I left half of my detachment there, with five of my own officers. Should they attempt to invest the place when their number is increased, I make no doubt but they will be disappointed.

"Our garrisons have plenty of beef and salt, though flour is scarce at Wyoming. I arrived here with the remainder of the detachment on the 5th. We have performed a circuit of nearly 300 miles in about two weeks. We brought off nearly fifty head of cattle, twenty-eight canoes, besides many other articles. 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, New York. I have done all I can for the good of the whole. I have given all the support in my power to the 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 Kills to Wyoming. My little regiment with two classes of Lancaster and Berks County Militia, will be scarcely sufficient to preserve the posts from Nescopeak falls to Muncy, and from thence to the head of Penn's Valley."

The report sent to Congress from Sunbury by Colonel Hartley was received with favor both by Congress and the Legislature of Pennsylvania. For his success the executive council of the State extended to him a unanimous vote of thanks. Immediately after sending this letter to Congress, for the purpose of guarding the frontier, he re-

requested that "300 round bullets for three pounders, 300 cartridges of grape shot for the same bore, 1,000 flints, six barrels of powder, a quantity of twine and portfire, a ream of cannon cartridge paper," and some other small articles be sent to Sunbury. He said that they had eight cannon firing three pound balls on the frontier, at Forts Muncy and Antes.

Colonel Hartley remained in the military service on the frontier with Sunbury as his headquarters from October, 1778, until December of that year, when he was elected to represent York County in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Upon his retirement from the military service, Continental Congress, deeming the reasons for his resigning satisfactory, bore testimony of their "high sense of Colonel Hartley's merit and services."

The commissioned officers of Colonel Hartley's Regiment, in June, 1777, were the following: Colonel Thomas Hartley, appointed January 10, 1777; Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan Conner, appointed April 9, 1777; Major Lewis Bush, January 12, 1777; Quartermaster John McAllister, April 17, 1777; Adjutant Robert Ralston, January 16, 1777; Paymaster Thomond Ball, January 15, 1777; Surgeon Jacob Swope, January 15, 1777; Surgeon Tracey, February 5, 1777; Captain Bernard Eichelberger, January 12, 1777; Captain William Nichols, January 13, 1777; Captain Robert Hoopes, January 13, 1777; Captain Benjamin C. Stoddart, January 14, 1777; Captain William Kelley, January 16, 1777; Captain Richard Willson, February 15, 1777; Captain George Bush, March 1, 1777; Captain Archibald McAllister, April 18, 1777; First Lieutenant Paul Parker, January 16, 1777; First Lieutenant James Forrester, January 23, 1777; First Lieutenant Horatio Ross, January 24, 1777; First Lieutenant James Kenny, January 25, 1777; First Lieutenant James Dill, February 5, 1777; First Lieutenant Count De Momfort, March 23, 1777; First Lieutenant Charles Croxall, May 25, 1777; First Lieutenant John Hughes, June 1, 1777; Second Lieutenant Andrew Walker, January 12, 1777; Second Lieutenant Isaac Sweeney, January 23, 1777; Second Lieutenant Henry Carberry, January 24, 1777; Second Lieutenant Martin Eichelberger, January 25, 1777; Second Lieutenant William McCurdy, January 26, 1777; Second

Lieutenant William Clemm, May 26, 1777; Ensign George Hillery, February 1, 1777; Ensign John McBride, February 2, 1777; Ensign James McCalmon, January 24, 1777; Ensign John Manghan, February 25, 1777; Ensign Nachel Dorsey, May 1, 1777; Ensign John Stake, May 26, 1777.

#### COLONEL THOMAS HARTLEY.

Colonel Thomas Hartley was born in Colebrookdale, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1748. His father, George Hartley, of English birth, was one of the early settlers and a leading citizen of Berks County. In his youth, Thomas Hartley displayed strong intellectual endowments. He obtained his preliminary education at a classical school in Reading. In 1766, when eighteen years of age, he removed to York, where he entered upon the study of law with Samuel Johnson, a relative of his mother, and one of the early members of the York County Bar. He was admitted to the practice of law at York in 1769. Although still a young man, he was one of the earliest citizens west of the Susquehanna to espouse the cause of the American colonists when their rights were tread upon by the British crown.

As early as 1774, two years before the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Hartley was chosen first lieutenant of a military company at York, for the purpose of making disciplined soldiers. In the summer of 1775, he was elected lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of York County Associators. He now became an active and zealous patriot and was chosen lieutenant-colonel of a battalion of "Minute Men," selected from the other five battalions of associators in York County. This battalion was ready at a moment's notice for any emergency that might occur between the colonies and the mother country. In the fall of 1775, he joined the expedition to Canada and was chosen lieutenant-colonel of Irvine's regiment, whose history is given in the preceding pages. Upon his return from the Canada campaign, he became lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment. The remaining part of his military career is given above.

After his retirement from the army, he served as a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1779, meantime devoting his



COL. THOMAS HARTLEY



attentions to his law practice at York. He was chosen a member of the Council of Censors, in 1783, to adjust the Revolutionary claims for Pennsylvania. In 1788, he was elected a member of the first Congress. The success of his career in the House of Representatives for a period of twelve years, is given in the chapter relating to the Representatives in Congress from York County.

Although the last twelve years of his life were devoted entirely to his professional labors and to his brilliant career as a representative in Congress, of which he was one of the ablest debaters, he kept up his interest in military affairs, in which he had won distinction during the Revolution, and in 1800, the last year of his life, was chosen by Governor McKean, major-general of the militia within the present area of York and Adams Counties.

Colonel Hartley took part in more than twenty skirmishes and battles during the Revolution. He was noted for military skill and strategy, and always showed great courage in battle. On account of his achievements and his amiable personality, General Washington entertained for him the highest regard and affection. The authorities of Pennsylvania and Continental Congress paid high tribute to his worth as a soldier and to his sterling patriotism, while serving in the army. He was highly esteemed by his fellow-officers with whom he was associated during the war for independence. He died at York, December 21, 1800, at the early age of fifty-two, after having nearly completed his sixth term in Congress.

MAJOR JOSEPH PROWELL, of the New Eleventh Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, and a gallant soldier of the Revolution, was born in York County in 1753. James Prowell, his grandfather, came to America in 1705 with the early Welsh immigration, and settled on the Welsh tract in the northern part of Chester County. The children of James Prowell were Charles, Mary and Thomas. Charles joined a Chester County regiment at the advanced age of sixty years, and was lost, either killed or captured, in the first Jersey campaign, during the Revolution. Mary was married to Richard Buck, in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.

Thomas Prowell, the youngest son and father of Major Prowell, was a prominent farmer and iron manufacturer of Chester County. In 1752, he was married in Gloria Dei, known as Old Swede's Church, in the southern part of Philadelphia, to Rachel Griffith, a Quakeress from Chester County. This ceremony took place shortly after this church was transferred from the Lutherans to the Episcopalians. Many of the relatives of Rachel Griffith migrated with the early Quakers, who settled in Warrington and Newberry Townships. Soon after their marriage, Thomas and Rachel Prowell moved to Warrington, where he purchased a tract of land near the Conewago. They remained in York County about three years, and then returned to Chester County, where the youngest son, Captain William Prowell, was born in 1755. Thomas Prowell died in 1765, leaving an estate of 412 pounds, in Chester County, of which David Thomas and Joseph Coates were executors; and an estate of 336 pounds in York County, of which Robert Nelson and Peter Gardner were executors. His will bequeathed equal shares to his widow and two sons, and named Rev. Owen Thomas as guardian of his son Joseph, and Joseph Coates guardian of his son William.

Joseph Prowell was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, and early in life engaged in the iron business with his brother William. At the opening of the war for independence, he was a member of the Philadelphia Light Horse, afterward known as the City Troop. This famous cavalry company was present at the battles of Trenton and Princeton in 1776.

On January 11, 1777, Joseph Prowell was detached from the City Troop and commissioned a captain in Colonel John Patton's additional regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, composed of men from Chester and Philadelphia Counties. With this regiment he took part, during that year, in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. For his military skill and gallantry in action Captain Prowell was promoted major of his regiment January 1, 1778. On January 13, 1779, Major Prowell was transferred to the New Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, whose command was assigned to Colonel Thomas Hartley, of York. When it was decided to send an expedition, under Gen-

eral Sullivan, against the Indians in the Wyoming Valley, in Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, in New York. Major Prowell commanded a detachment of the New Eleventh Regiment, in all 200 men, to lead the advance. He marched from Easton and reached Bear Creek, about ten miles southwest of Wilkes-Barre, on the night of April 19. It was now thought they were out of danger from the Indians. Major Prowell ordered that officers and men should dress in their best apparel, their arms be newly burnished, and everything be put in order to present a fine appearance upon entering the beautiful Wyoming Valley.

When they reached Laurel Run, four miles southwest of Wilkesbarre, they were attacked by a band of Indians lying in ambush, when Captain Davis, Lieutenant Jones, Corporal Butler and three privates were killed. Owing to this surprise the troops were thrown into confusion. They retreated a short distance and formed in line of battle and succeeded in dispersing the Indians, who fled after a few scattering discharges, and the troops entered the valley to garrison the fort at Wyoming, where the massacre had occurred some time before. After the close of the war Major Prowell became a shipping merchant in Philadelphia, engaged in trade with many foreign ports. On June 4, 1804, he took sick while on board his vessel, which he landed on the Barbadoes Islands, east of the West Indies, and the same day made his will. From this sickness he partially recovered, landed at Philadelphia, and a few days later added a codicil to his will, in his own handwriting: "at the house of my esteemed friends, Captain James Josiah and his estimable lady, near Philadelphia." There he died on April 3, 1805, aged fifty-three years. He was buried with "the honors of war" by the City Troop of Philadelphia.

Major Prowell is remembered traditionally as a bold, daring and fearless officer, and had a romantic history. He participated in the sailors' troubles with the pirates of the Barbary States, and afterward owned large possessions in the Colony of Dernaii. He owned a plantation called "Washington," in the Colony of Berbice, and there assisted the British government to quell an insurrection in 1803. The

executors of Major Prowell's estate were David Lennox, of Philadelphia; Robert and William Pulsford, of London; and John Douglass, of the Colony of Berbice—in each of which places he had possessions.

## CHAPTER XV

### REVOLUTION—Continued.

**The Pennsylvania Line at York—Execution at York—Pulaski's Legion—Armand's Legion—Quartermasters' Posts in York County.**

In February, 1781, Congress resolved to send the Pennsylvania Line to Virginia for the purpose of joining the southern army under General Nathaniel Greene, then retreating northward through the Carolinas, closely pursued by Lord Cornwallis. A detachment of the British army under Benedict Arnold and William Philips had landed at Richmond and was threatening to invade the State of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson was the governor of that state and the Legislature had removed to Charlottesville.

The Pennsylvania Line, now under the command of General Arthur St. Clair, was ordered to rendezvous at York. It was composed of two brigades commanded respectively by Anthony Wayne and William Irvine. The mutiny which had occurred in December, 1780, while the Pennsylvania Line was in New Jersey, had been settled, largely through the influence of General Anthony Wayne, but many of the troops had been discharged and had returned to their homes. Early in January, 1781, six regiments of the Line and Proctor's Artillery, both much reduced in numbers, were stationed at different places in Pennsylvania for the purpose of recruiting. The First Regiment, under Colonel Daniel Broadhead, was sent to York; the Second, Colonel Walter Stewart, to Yellow Springs; the Third, Colonel Thomas Craig, to Easton; the Fourth, Colonel William Butler, to Carlisle; the Fifth, Colonel Richard Butler, to Reading; the Sixth, Colonel Richard Humpton, to Lebanon, and the Artillery, under Colonel Thomas Proctor, to Newtown. Other regiments were stationed at



Fort Pitt, in western Pennsylvania. General Irvine, of Carlisle, who had served with credit in the Canada and New Jersey campaigns, was assigned to superintend the recruiting throughout the State, and General Wayne was ordered to York. At this juncture, Washington wrote to St. Clair:

**Washington's Letter.** "Congress has determined that the Pennsylvania Line, except Moylan's Dragoons, and other troops to the

westward, shall compose part of the Southern Army, and has directed me to order it to join the army in Virginia by detachments, as they may be in readiness to march. You will, therefore, in obedience to the above resolve, put matters in a proper train to carry it into execution with all dispatch possible. You will now, in case circumstances should permit the detachment under the command of Lafayette to proceed down the Chesapeake, not confine yourself to a single battalion of four hundred men, as mentioned in mine of the 22d, but endeavor to send as many as possible by so good and expeditious a conveyance.

"I think it essential that one of the brigadiers should proceed to Virginia with the first detachment that moves, and there be ready to receive and form the remainder as they come on. There may be greater necessity of an officer of rank being at hand, as the Line, from the late disturbances in it, will have lost somewhat of its discipline. General Irvine, being employed in superintending the recruiting business, the duty devolves upon General Wayne. I have written to him on the subject."

In March, Lafayette proceeded from Philadelphia with 1,000 New England and New Jersey troops to Baltimore, whence he moved to Fredericksburg, Virginia. In accordance with instructions, the different regiments of the Pennsylvania Line at their places of cantonment in this state, had been increased in numbers by recruits. Preparations were then made to rendezvous these troops at York. General Anthony Wayne, who had already won distinction as a soldier in several battles of the Revolution and had displayed remarkable skill and strategy in the capture of Stony Point on the Hudson, was ordered to command the first detachment to be sent to Virginia. May 2, 1781, St. Clair wrote to Wayne:

**Ordered to York.** "The parties from the several regiments which are to compose the first detachment, have orders to march from the cantonments to York, the moment the auditors have finished the settlements, respectively. You will, therefore, repair to York as soon as conveniently may be, to make the necessary arrangements and take such measures as may prevent, as much as possible, any delay at that place. You will please to take the command of it upon yourself, and proceed, by the enclosed route, to join General Greene with all the dispatch that the nature of the case will admit of. Should any operations of the enemy render the passage at Alexandria precarious, you are not to consider yourself as bound by the route, but will make choice of such other place to cross the Potomac where it may be done with safety, making as little detour as possible. As several of the squads must pass through Lancaster and there be supplied with provisions to carry them to York, give attention to these matters in your way so as to facilitate their march, and prevent disappointment. I wish you a prosperous journey, and all happiness.

"You will please to favor me with an account of the return of the numbers you march with, and direct the brigade quartermaster to forward a return of the camp equipage and utensils received by him. Let me know, also, what number of arms were sent on to York. If there is any surplus, they may be stored and left under the care of the commanding officer at that place, as also any surplus of blankets beyond that which completes the detachment."

**Recruiting.** The Pennsylvania Line at York, under Wayne, was composed of two hundred men from the First regiment, 120 from the Second, 80 from the Third, 160 from the Fourth, 240 from the Fifth and 160 from the Sixth. Wayne's force was formed into three battalions, commanded respectively by Colonel Richard Butler, Colonel Walter Stewart and Colonel Richard Humpton. Nine officers and ninety men with six field pieces from Proctor's Fourth Continental Artillery were added to the detachment. This, together with recruits received at York, increased his command to nearly a thousand men. It was a long and tedious

business to reorganize the men and procure the needed supplies for the expedition. In the efforts to prepare them for the campaign he was embarrassed by difficulties of the same sort that had been encountered since the beginning of the war. Recruits for the expedition were scarce, the needed supplies were not forthcoming, and the worthless paper which was given to pay his men, it was soon discovered would purchase nothing in the way of the commonest necessities. No allowance being made for the actual depreciation of this miscalled money below its nominal value, there was much discontent on the part of the men to whom it was offered. The result of this renewed attempt on the part of the state to pay its soldiers in nominal money, when it had agreed to pay them in what was real, is clearly expressed in the following letter of Wayne, May 20, 1781:

"When I arrived at York there was scarcely a horse or a carriage fit to transport any part of our baggage or supplies. This difficulty I found means to remedy by bartering one species of public property to procure another. The troops were retarded in advancing to the general rendezvous by the unaccountable delay of the auditors who were appointed to settle and pay the proportion of the depreciation due them, which, when received, was not equal to one-seventh part of its nominal value. This was an alarming circumstance. The soldiery but too sensibly felt the imposition: nor did the conduct or counsel of the inhabitants tend to moderate but rather to inflame their minds by refusing to part with anything which the soldiers needed in exchange for it, saying it was not worth accepting, and that they (the soldiers) ought not to march until justice was done them. To minds already susceptible to this kind of impression and whose recent revolt was fresh in their memory little more was wanting to stimulate them to try it again. The day antecedent to that on which the march was to commence, a few leading mutineers on the right of each regiment called out to pay them in real and not ideal money, they were no longer to be trifled with. Upon this they were ordered to their tents, which, being peremptorily refused, the principals were immediately either knocked down or confined by the officers, who were previously

prepared for this event. A court-martial was ordered on the spot, the commission of the crime, trial and execution were all included in the course of a few hours in front of the line paraded under arms. The determined countenances of the officers produced a conviction to the soldiery that the sentence of the court-martial would be carried into execution at every risk and consequence. Whether by design or accident, the particular friends and messmates of the culprits were their executioners, and while the tears rolled down their cheeks in showers, they silently and faithfully obeyed their orders without a moment's hesitation. Thus was this hideous monster crushed in its birth, however, to myself and officers a most painful scene."

While General Wayne was in York he occupied the building at the northwest corner of Market and Beaver Streets as his headquarters. His troops were encamped on the public common, now Penn Park.

Before he had finished the organization of his brigade, Washington wrote:

"The critical condition of our southern affairs, and the reinforcements sent by the enemy to that quarter, urge the necessity of moving as large a proportion of the Pennsylvania Line as possible, without a moment's loss of time. Indeed I hope before this, by the measures you have taken, all the impediments to a movement will have been obviated. I am persuaded your utmost and unremitting exertions will not be wanting on this and every occasion of serving your country so essentially, that they may be ever crowned with success, that nothing but propitious events may attend you on the march."

May 26, Wayne's corps, much smaller in number than he had anticipated and by no means well equipped, began the march southward from York.

Captain Joseph McClellan, who served in this expedition, kept an interesting diary describing the march from York to Virginia. According to his record, General Wayne and his troops began to march at 9 A. M. of May 26. On the evening of that day they encamped along the hillside in Heidelberg Township, near the present site of Menges' Mills. At daylight on the 27th, General Wayne ordered the drums to beat



THE COOKES HOUSE ON KING'S MILL ROAD, WHERE THE GOVERNMENT RECORDS WERE FIRST DEPOSITED ON SEPTEMBER 30, 1777



HEADQUARTERS OF GENERAL WAYNE, AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF MARKET AND BEAVER STREETS, WHILE HIS BRIGADE WAS EN-CAMPED AT YORK IN 1781



as a signal to take up the march. They passed through Hanover and halted at Littlestown, a distance of fourteen miles. Continuing the march, Captain McClellan says: "We passed through Taneytown, and halted upon the bank of Pipe Creek, being fourteen miles.

"May 29. Marched at 9 o'clock, and encamped about 12 on the south bank of the Monocacy, being fourteen miles.

"The troops took up the line of march at 3 A. M. and encamped on the S. W. of Monocacy, 14 miles.

"May 30. Continued on the ground for the men to wash and clean their arms. Reviewed at 5 P. M. At 7 P. M. we were reviewed by General Wayne.

"May 31. Marched at sunrise; passed through Fredericktown about 8, where there were a number of British officers who were prisoners of war. They took a view of us as we passed through the town. Continued our march to the Potomac, at Noland's Ferry, where we halted some time for the artillery and baggage to cross. The troops crossed in the evening, and halted one mile from the ferry and lay without tents. It rained most of the night. In crossing there were four men drowned by one of the boats sinking. Our march this day was 16 miles, besides crossing the ferry. We crossed the Potomac at Noland's Ferry in bad scows. One sunk, in which one sergeant and three privates of our regiment (First) were drowned."

June 7, with his force reduced to about 900 men as the result of the long march, Wayne arrived at Fredericksburg, where he joined Lafayette, who had a force of 1,200 men. Before Wayne arrived in Virginia, Richmond had been burned by the English under Philips and Arnold. The State Legislature had moved to Charlottesville, the home of Thomas Jefferson, who was then the governor of Virginia. Predatory parties were then scouring this state and Jefferson, at his home, narrowly escaped being captured by a band of the British under Tarleton. Lafayette and Wayne commanded the only American forces then in Virginia. The object of Wayne and Lafayette now was to check the raids of the English detachments sent into

the interior of Virginia intent on robbery and the destruction of military stores.

Meanwhile, Greene had retreated northward through the State of North Carolina, closely followed by Lord Cornwallis. Washington moved southward from the vicinity of New York with 6,000 men and the French fleet arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake. Washington united the forces under Greene, Lafayette and Wayne with his own army, numbering in all 16,000 men, in front of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, while the French fleet closed in behind and prevented the enemy from escaping. The siege and battle of Yorktown followed, and on October 19, Cornwallis surrendered his entire army. This was the last important engagement of the Revolution.

#### EXECUTION AT YORK.

Samuel Dewees was serving as a fifer in Colonel Richard Butler's regiment when it was encamped at York. After the Revolution he resided in Maryland until his death, about 1836. He served as a captain of Maryland troops in the war of 1812 and with his company helped to defend Baltimore against the British, in September, 1814. About thirty years after the Revolution he wrote and published a book describing his experiences in the war of the Revolution. Captain Dewees was a witness to the shooting at York of four soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line in 1781. He describes the unfortunate affair as follows:

"Whilst we lay at Lebanon a circumstance transpired worthy of notice, and which I here record as a prelude to the tragic event at York. A sergeant, who was known by the appellation of Macaroni Jack, a very intelligent, active, neat and clever fellow, had committed some trivial offence. He had his wife with him in camp, who always kept him very clean and neat in his appearance. She was washerwoman to a number of soldiers, myself among the number. She was a very well behaved and good conditioned woman.

"The officers for the purpose of making an impression upon him and to better his conduct, ordered him to be brought from the guard house, which done, he was tied up and the drummers ordered to give him a

certain number of lashes upon his bare back. The intention of the officers was not to chastise him.

"When he was tied up he looked around and addressed the soldiers, exclaiming at the same time, 'dear brother soldiers, won't you help me.' This, in the eyes of the officers, savored of mutiny and they called out, 'take him down, take him down.' The order was instantly obeyed, and he was taken back to the guard house again and hand-cuffed. At this time there were two deserters confined with him. On the next or second day after this, we were ordered on to York, Pa., where, upon our arrival, we encamped upon the common below the town. Our three prisoners were confined in York jail. In a few days after we arrived at York, a soldier by the name of Jack Smith, and another soldier whose name I do not now remember, were engaged in playing long bullets. While thus engaged some of the officers were walking along the road, where they were throwing the bullets. The bullets passing near the officers, they used very harsh language to Smith and his comrade, who immediately retorted by using the same kind of indecorous language. A file of men was immediately despatched with orders to take Smith and his comrade under guard and march them off to York jail.

"In three or four days after these arrests were made, a sergeant of the name of Lilly was offensive. He was a very fine fellow and an excellent scholar, so much so, that much of the regimental writing fell to his lot to do, and for which he received a remuneration in some way. This sergeant having become intoxicated, had quarreled with one or more of his messmates, and upon some of the officers coming around to inquire what the matter was, found him out of his tent. The officers scolded him and bade him to go into his quarters. Lilly having been much in favor and knowing his abilities and the services rendered, was (although intoxicated) very much wounded and could not bear to be thus harshly dealt with and used language of an unbecoming kind to his superior officers. The officers immediately ordered him to be taken to York jail.

"On the next day in the morning we beat up the troop. After roll call, we were

ordered to beat up the troop again. The whole line was again formed, and I think the orders were, for every soldier to appear in line, with his knapsack on his back. I suppose that at this time there were parts of three regiments, in all 800 or 1,000 men lying at York, the whole of which was commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne. The whole body, sentinels, invalids, etc., excepted, when formed were marched to the distance of about half a mile from the camp. Twenty men were then ordered out of the line and formed into marching order and all the musicians placed at their head. After remaining a short time in a marching posture, the order of forward was given. We were then marched direct to the jail door. The prisoners, six in number, were then brought out and their sentence, which was death, was read to them.

"At this time it was thought that none in the line save the officers knew for what the provost guard was detached, but it appeared afterwards that previous to the firing which was the means of launching four out of the six into eternity, the matter of rescuing them was whispered among the soldiers, but they did not concert measures in time, to prevent the awful catastrophe which they meditated, by an act of insubordination upon their part.

"After the sentence of death was read to the condemned soldiers at the jail door, we then marched them out and down below town, playing the 'dead march' in front of them. We continued our march full half a mile and halted on a piece of ground (the Common) adjoining a field of rye which was then in blossom. This was sometime in the early part of May, 1781. After a halt was made, the prisoners were ordered to kneel down with their backs to the rye field fence. Their eyes were then bandaged or covered over with silk handkerchiefs. The officer in command then divided his force of twenty men into two platoons. The whole was then ordered to load their pieces. This done, ten were ordered to advance, and at the signal given by the officer, which was the wave of his pocket handkerchief, the first platoon of ten fired at one of the six. Macaroni Jack was the first shot and instantly killed. The first platoon was then ordered to retire and reload, and the second platoon of ten ordered to advance. When

the signal was again given, Smith shared the same fate, but with an awfulness that would have made even devils to have shrunk back and stood appalled. His head was literally blown in fragments from off his body. The second platoon was then ordered to retire and reload, whilst the first was ordered to advance and at the same signal fired at the third man. The second platoon then advanced and fired to order, at Sergeant Lilly, whose brave and noble soul was instantly on the wing to the presence of the Supreme Judge, who has pledged himself that he will do that which is right. The arms of each had been tied above their elbows with the cords passing behind their backs. Being thus tied, enabled them to have the use of their hands. I ventured near and noticed that Macaroni Jack had his hands clasped together in front of his breast and had both of his thumbs shot off. The distance that the platoons stood from them at the time they fired could not have been more than ten feet. So near did they stand that the handkerchiefs covering the eyes of some of them that were shot were set on fire. The fence and even the heads of rye for some distance within the field were covered with blood and brains. After four were shot, we musicians with a portion of the twenty men were ordered to march and were then conducted up to the main line of the army. After our arrival there, the whole line was thrown into marching order and led to the scene of bloody death. When the troops advanced near to the spot they deployed off into double file and were then marched very near to the dead bodies, as also to those still on their knees waiting the awful death that they had every reason to believe still awaited them. The order was for every man to look upon the bodies as he passed, and in order that the soldiers in line might behold them more distinctly in passing they were ordered to countermarch after they had passed and then marched as close to them upon their return.

"The two deserters that were still in a kneeling posture were rerieved, the bandages taken from their eyes, then untied, and restored to their respective companies."

COLONEL RICHARD BUTLER, of Wayne's brigade, was born in York County, April 1, 1743. He was the son of Thomas and Eleanor Butler, who came from Ireland

to America, and settled "near the Conewago on the west side of the Susquehanna," in the original area of York County. He was educated in the classical school taught by Rev. Mr. Allison in Chester County, and then studied law. In 1764, he served in Bouquet's expedition against the Indians of western Pennsylvania. At the opening of the Revolution, he was chosen major of the Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, and soon after, lieutenant-colonel of Morgan's rifles. He was present with the northern army under Gates at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga in October, 1777, and at the battle of Monmouth in 1778. He soon after became colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment, which he commanded at the battle of Stony Point. He came to York in the spring of 1781, and commanded a regiment of the Pennsylvania Line. In May of that year, he marched with Wayne's brigade to Yorktown, Virginia, joining Lafayette's command at Fredericksburg. While with Lafayette's division near Williamsburg, Virginia, he attacked Colonel Simcoe's rangers, gaining the advantage. After the war, he settled in Carlisle, and in 1788 was member of the State Legislature, from Cumberland County. In 1787, he was agent for the Indian affairs in Ohio, and in the expedition of St. Clair's campaign against the Indians, in 1791, commanded the right wing, with the rank of major-general. When attacked early in the morning of November 4, he repeatedly charged the enemy, received several severe wounds and was finally killed. Butler County, in western Pennsylvania, was named in his honor.

Colonel William Butler, his brother, was lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in the Revolutionary army. In October, 1778, after the destruction of Wyoming by John Butler and the Indians, he conducted an expedition from Schoharie, which destroyed the Indian settlements of Unadilla and Anagnaga.

Thomas, another brother, was born in Pennsylvania, in 1754. In 1776, while studying law with Judge Wilson, of Philadelphia, he joined the army, soon obtained a company, and was in almost every action in the middle states during the Revolution. At Brandywine, September 11, 1777, he received the thanks of Washington on the

field for intrepidity in rallying a retreating detachment. At Monmouth he was thanked by Wayne for defending a defile in the face of a heavy fire, while Colonel Richard Butler's regiment withdrew. After the war he retired to a farm, but in 1791, was made major, and commanded a battalion from Carlisle in Gibson's regiment, under St. Clair, at whose defeat, November 4, he was twice wounded. He became major of the fourth sub-legion on April 11, 1792, lieutenant-colonel commanding the Fourth Infantry on July 1, 1792, and on the reorganization of the army on a peace basis, in June, 1802, was retained as colonel of the Second Infantry, to which he was appointed on April 1, 1802. In 1797 he was ordered by President Washington to expel settlers from Indian lands in Tennessee, and made several treaties with the Indians while in that country. He died in New Orleans, Louisiana, September 7, 1805.

**CAPTAIN THOMAS CAMPBELL**, the son of John Campbell, was born about 1750 in Chanceford Township, York County. His father took up a tract of land at an early day, situated on the "Great Road leading from York to Nelson's Ferry." He was of Scotch-Irish descent, and received the education accorded that sturdy race. He was a farmer by occupation. When the Revolutionary struggle began, he enlisted as a private in Captain Michael Doudel's company, attached to Colonel William Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen, in July, 1775. He served through the New England campaign, and was commissioned first lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, January 3, 1777. He was severely wounded at Germantown, was promoted captain January 1, 1781, and retired from the service January 1, 1783. He was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. Captain Campbell was chosen a delegate to the State Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787; served as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1797 to 1800, and of the Senate from the York and Adams district from 1805 to 1808. He died at his residence in Monaghan Township, York County, January 19, 1815.

The First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line marched with Wayne from York to

the surrender of Cornwallis. This regiment then contained about twenty of the one hundred men that had marched from York to Boston and joined Washington at Cambridge in July, 1775. The muster roll of this company will be found among the succeeding pages.

#### **PULASKI'S LEGION AT YORK.**

Pulaski's Legion, a body of mounted lancers and infantry, was quartered in York in March and April, 1779, coming here after leaving the winter encampment in New Jersey. These troops were commanded by Count Cassimer Pulaski, a Polish soldier, who led the insurgents during an insurrection in Poland. He had ten years' experience as an officer in his native country before he went to Paris, where, in the spring of 1777, he met Benjamin Franklin. Soon afterward he sailed for Philadelphia and became an aide on the staff of General Washington, with the rank of colonel. The first action in which he took part was at Brandywine. When the Continental troops began to yield, he made a reconnoissance with the general's body guard and reported that the enemy was endeavoring to cut off the line of retreat. He was authorized to collect as many of the scattered troops as came in his way and employ them according to his discretion, which he did in a manner so prompt as to effect important aid in the retreat of the army. Four days later, on recommendation of Washington, he was commissioned a brigadier-general and placed in charge of the cavalry. He took part in the battle of Germantown and engaged in the operations under General Wayne, during the winter of 1777-8. The cavalry officers could not be reconciled to the orders of a foreigner who could scarcely speak English, and whose ideas of discipline and tactics differed widely from those to which they had been accustomed, and these circumstances induced Pulaski to resign his command in March, 1778, and return to Valley Forge, where he was assigned to special duty. At his suggestion, which was adopted by Washington, Congress, March 28, 1778, authorized the formation of a corps, composed of sixty-eight light horse and two hundred foot soldiers. This Legion was recruited in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and soon after took part in several



actions in New Jersey. In the engagement with the enemy at Little Egg Harbor, Pulaski was surprised by the British and in a bayonet encounter, lost in killed and wounded forty of his Legion.

In February, 1779, Count Pulaski was ordered to South Carolina to join the army under General Lincoln. He rendezvoused his Legion at York, encamping on the Public Common. Count Pulaski, while here, occupied quarters on the west side of North George Street near Centre Square, and recruited about twenty men from this county. During part of the time that his Legion was encamped at York, the Count was absent. His subordinate officers did not enforce rigid discipline, and some of the troops scoured the country round about, foraging for food and provisions. This brought forth a bitter complaint on the part of the citizens of York and the surrounding country. Colonel James Smith, then a delegate in Congress from York, wrote a letter to the President of Pennsylvania in which he described the misconduct of Pulaski's men. He stated that "they forage indiscriminately and take whatever they want from the poor terrified inhabitants, many of whom, strongly impressed by the terrors of military violence in Europe, submit to the spoiling of their goods and insult to their person without complaining, while others resent it in open clamor and complaint and will soon probably redress themselves."

President Reed drew the attention of the Board of War to the disturbances at York and that body addressed Count Pulaski a letter, which in part reads:

"We have the honor to enclose you a copy of our letter and an extract of another, relative to the conduct of your corps in your absence. We hoped that all such grounds of complaint had long since ceased. But as those mentioned correspond with former reports we cannot avoid giving some credit to them. The complaints are of such a nature as to demand a strict enquiry, at the same time they should lead you and your officers to maintain a stricter discipline in the corps. We do not mean, however, to delay the Legion on these accounts. Its services are wanted at the southward, whither we desire it may be marched with all possible dispatch."

**Killed at Savannah.** During the month of April, Pulaski began the march to South Carolina, arriving at Charleston in May. He was in active service in command of his troops until October, 1779, when he was mortally wounded during the siege of Savannah. He was taken to the brig, *Wasp*, where he died as the vessel was leaving the harbor. His remains were buried at sea. Among the soldiers from York County, who served under Pulaski, were Frederick Boyer, 1778-1783, resided in York County, 1835, aged eighty-seven years; Martin Miller, resided in York County, 1835, aged seventy-one; Edward Smith, died June 26, 1832, in York County, aged seventy-six years.

The banner which belonged to Pulaski's Legion is now in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. It was in that city that he recruited his independent command to the number of 300 men, and on July 29, 1778, he gave a public review of his Legion to the citizens and military authorities of Baltimore.

While recruiting his Legion, Pulaski went to the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem. Upon visiting the Sisters' house he saw their beautiful embroidery and ordered them to prepare a small cavalry banner for his Legion. It was made of crimson silk. Supposing that it had been presented to the Legion by the Moravian Sisters, the noted poet, Henry W. Longfellow, made the incident the subject of a poem, and attempted to make it more effective by the introduction of cowls, altars and censers.

#### ARMAND'S LEGION AT YORK.

Armand's Legion was quartered at York from December 25, 1782, to November, 1783. It was commanded by a noted French soldier, who had served ten years in the *Garde du Corps* of Paris. He came to America, volunteered in the cause of the Revolution, May 10, 1777, when he was commissioned by Congress a colonel under the name of Charles Armand, concealing his rank of Marquis de la Rouerie. Congress authorized him to raise a corps of French soldiers in number not exceeding two hundred. About one-half of his command, however, were Americans. Colonel Armand was a spirited officer and did good service throughout the war. He participated in the

engagement at Red Bank, was with Lafayette in New Jersey, and active in West Chester County, New York, opposing the forces of Emmerick and Barremore, the latter of whom he captured near Kings Bridge, November 8, 1779. In February of the following year his command was incorporated with Pulaski's Legion and both participated in the southern campaign under Gates, whom he severely criticized for his inefficiency at the battle of Camden. In 1781 he went to France to procure clothing and accoutrements for his Legion, returning in time to take part in the battle of Yorktown and surrender of Cornwallis, in October, 1781.

In March, 1783, while he was with his command at York, Congress commissioned him a brigadier-general in obedience to a request of Washington. General Armand was urbane and polished in manner, an eloquent and persuasive speaker, a gallant leader and a man greatly beloved by his men and his superior officers.

After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Armand's Legion, composed of about 200 York Dragoons, accompanied Washington's army to the vicinity of New York. In February, 1782, Armand was ordered to report to General Greene in the Southern Department, and in December of the same year, he came from Virginia to York. While here, he met Colonel Thomas Hartley, with whom part of his Legion had served in the expedition against the hostile Indians in northern Pennsylvania and southern New York. Colonel Armand remained with his Legion for a period of eleven months. Before his departure, in November, 1783, James Smith, Colonel Thomas Hartley, Archibald McClean and others, presented him with the following address:

"Hearing that your Legion is about to be disbanded, and that you will soon return to your native country, we, the inhabitants of York, in Pennsylvania, express to you the high sense we entertain of the strict discipline, good conduct, and deportment of the officers and soldiers of your corps, whilst stationed amongst us for ten months past.

"We return to you our hearty thanks, as well for the service rendered to America in the field, as for the attention you have paid

to the property and civil rights of the people. Be pleased to communicate our sentiments to Major Shaffner, and all your worthy officers, and assure them we shall ever hold them in the greatest esteem.

"We pray that you may have an agreeable passage across the ocean, and that you may receive a just reward for your illustrious actions, performed in support of liberty and the honor of the allied arms."

To these encouraging words Colonel Armand replied:

"I received your polite address of the 18th, and from its impression on my feelings, and of the officers and soldiers of the Legion, I am truly happy in giving you our united and most hearty thanks. If the Legion has observed that good conduct, which merits the applause you give it, I conceive that in so doing, they have only discharged their duty, and obeyed punctually the orders and intentions of His Excellency, General Washington, whose exemplary virtues, talents and honor, must have raised ambition to some merit in those, who, like the corps I had the honor to command, placed all their confidence in him.

"Permit me to say, gentlemen, that soldiers cannot be guilty of misconduct, where the inhabitants are kind to them, also are attached to the cause of their country, and so respectable as those of York. I think it my duty to thank you for the good behavior of the Legion whilst amongst you, for it was encouraged and supported by your conduct towards them.

"I shall only add, that although the greater part of us will shortly return home, the conclusion of the war rendering our longer stay unnecessary, we shall be happy again to join the army of America, if in future our services should be deemed of importance."

There were a number of soldiers in York County who had served in Armand's Legion during the Revolution. Among these were:

John Gottlieb Morris, surgeon, promoted from surgeon's mate, died in York in 1808; Leonard Bamagartel, resided in York County in 1835; John Glehmer, resided at York in 1828; Conrad Pudding, died in York County in 1828, aged seventy-four; Philip Shaffer, resided in York County in 1828; Lewis Shelly, died in York County in 1825; Conrad Stengle, died at York before

1826; Owen Cooley, York, March 25, 1777; John Eurich, York, March 9, 1777; Adam Brandhefer, York, February 26, 1777; John Michael Koch, January 25, 1777, died in York County in 1849.

During the time that Armand's Legion was in York his men were quartered in log houses at the northwest corner of Duke and Philadelphia Streets. One row extended westward on Philadelphia and another north on Duke Street. These properties were then owned by Mr. James Beck.

JOHN GOTTLIEB MORRIS, of Armand's Legion, who settled as a physician in York after the Revolution, was born in Prussia in the village of Redekin, near Magdeburg, in 1754. He received a liberal education and also studied medicine and surgery in one of the higher institutions of Germany. During the latter part of 1776, Dr. Morris came to America, landing at Philadelphia, where, after a careful examination, he was granted a certificate to serve as a surgeon in the Continental army. This certificate was signed by William Shippen, William Brown and other noted surgeons of that day. He was then a young man of twenty-two, and is said to have possessed rare accomplishments. When Armand's Legion was organized, in 1777, Dr. Morris was appointed assistant surgeon to this command. He accompanied Colonel Armand in both his northern and southern campaigns. After the battle of Camden, South Carolina, Morris was made chief surgeon of the Legion, which, in October, 1781, was present and took part in the battle of Yorktown, Virginia, and witnessed the surrender of Cornwallis and his entire army.

At the close of the war, Surgeon Morris settled in York as a physician and druggist. In June, 1784, he married Barbara Myers, of York. Dr. Morris was one of the early members of the Society of Cincinnati, composed of commissioned officers of the Revolution. Charles A. Morris, his eldest son, was a druggist at York for more than half a century. He married Cassandra, the sister of Philip and Samuel Small. At his death, he gave most of his estate to charity and benevolence. Rev. John G. Morris, the second son, was a noted Lutheran clergyman, lecturer and entomologist, and served as president of the Maryland Historical

Society. He was married to Eliza, sister of Dr. Jacob Hay, Sr. He died at Baltimore in 1895, at the advanced age of 92 years. George Morris, the third son, was one of the early coal merchants of York, and died unmarried many years earlier than his brothers.

#### QUARTERMASTERS' POSTS IN YORK COUNTY.

During the year 1778-9, when the Indians and Tories were giving trouble along the northern and western frontiers, posts were established by authority of Congress at Carlisle, York, Hanover, and Marsh Creek, near the site of Gettysburg. Colonel John Davis had been appointed deputy quartermaster-general of the region west of the Susquehanna, with headquarters at Carlisle, which was the distributing point of army supplies for the frontier. Colonel David Grier, who had been seriously wounded at the battle of Paoli, while in command of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, was made quartermaster at York; Captain Alexander McDowell, at Hanover, and Colonel Robert McPherson, at Marsh Creek. There is no complete statement of the different purchases made at these posts during the years named. Some of the original papers have been procured, from which interesting facts have been taken.

On May 14, 1778, Captain William Nichols, assistant quartermaster at York, wrote to Colonel John Davis, that he had sent to Carlisle two small teams and would send another in two days. Captain Nichols states that he had already received \$45,000 for the department at York. On June 2, 1778, Colonel Grier reported the following employes at his office at York: John McPherson, clerk, whose salary was \$60 per month; Robert McPherson, jr., clerk, \$60; Henry Zinn, measurer of forage, \$80; James Shaw and Patrick May, weighers of hay and attendants at the public stables of the government, \$80 each; John Uley, express rider, \$90 and expenses; and Francis Jones, brigade wagonmaster, whose salary is not given. On August 25, 1778, Colonel David Grier received \$12,000 from Colonel Davis for use of the post at York. On September 12, 1778, John Pollock, of York, received 1,000 shingles, a quantity of nails and 820

spikes for use in repairing the government stables at York.

Charles Lukens wrote to Colonel Davis from Washingtonburg to send a team to York for oil and other articles. Captain Alexander McDowell, in charge of the post at Hanover, wrote, on April 30, 1779, to Colonel Davis that pack horses were difficult to procure around Hanover, but that he had purchased nine. Captain McDowell also states in his letter that "the horses that were brought for the army camps to winter at Hanover were looking well and fit for service. Forage is very scarce. Oats and spelts can hardly be bought at any price, owing to a frost during the summer. Rye is scarce and sold at the rate of five pounds per bushel. Oats or spelts are worth at least \$6 per bushel in Continental money." He also asked Colonel Davis to send him \$10,000 from Carlisle if Davis had "plenty of money on hand."

On May 1, 1779, McDowell wrote that he could procure only one team to go to Fort Pitt, as "all the farmers are busy with their summer crops, as the frost had caused the destruction of the previous crops." On May 17, Colonel Davis sent six teams to Colonel McPherson to carry eighty-five barrels of beef and pork to Fort Pitt. On May 28, Colonel Davis ordered Colonel Grier to send from York to the American camp all the horses, also the portmanteaus and pack saddles. Colonel Grier was also to send wagons to Carlisle to convey military stores from that post to Pittsburg. On the same day, Colonel Grier received \$12,000 for use at his post.

On June 4, 1779, Charles Lukens wrote from Washingtonburg to Colonel Davis to procure a team of four horses and a wagon, and send it to Spring Forge, in York County, to purchase "bar iron for the use of the United States." This bar iron was to be hauled to Philadelphia. On July 26, he ordered Colonel Davis to send another team to Spring Forge to procure bar iron for the government. On August 7, Captain McDowell asked the quartermasters' department at Carlisle to send him \$10,000 for use at the post at Hanover. Some time before, McDowell had sent to Carlisle for the army, 216 tar pots for wagons, 104 army canteens, 109 pounds of lashing rope. August 12, Captain McDowell received a

communication from the Board of Treasury of the United States, asking him to forward all vouchers he received for furnishing forage and wood for the use of Burgoyne's army, then numbering about 4,000 men, who were marched through Hanover and camped there for the night, on their way to Charlottesville, Virginia, as prisoners of war, during the latter part of December, 1778.

Colonel Grier's report to the government for the month of August, 1779, showed that he had expended during that month, the sum of 2,634 pounds in Continental money: to Francis Jones, wagonmaster of a brigade, 1,237 pounds; to George Messenope, wagonmaster, 209 pounds; George Moul, for smith work, 215 pounds; John McAllister, for supplies, 151 pounds; Thomas White, wagonmaster, 111 pounds; and to Jacob Probst, for ropes, 75 pounds. The balance was paid in small amounts to different persons for various purposes.

The official report for the month of August, shows that Captain McDowell expended at his post at Hanover, the sum of 1,171 pounds, which he estimated an equivalent of \$3,124, showing that Continental money then was worth about thirty cents on the dollar in specie. Among the items were the following: Colonel Richard McAllister, for seven quires of paper, 15 pounds or \$42; John Hinkel, for smith work, 100 pounds; William Kitt (Gitt), for riding express and expenses, 11 pounds; George Boyer, for 296 pounds of beef, 75 pounds.

September 5, 1779, John McPherson, clerk of the post at York, reported that he had sent to the quartermasters' department at Carlisle, fifty-one pounds of lashing rope, for which he paid fifteen shillings a pound, and 100 halter ropes, which cost seven shillings and six pence each. He thought these prices were high for the articles named, but stated that more ropes and halters could be obtained at York if needed, at these prices.

Quartermaster Grier, at York, November 1, reported the following stores on hand: 3 wagons, 9 reams of writing paper, 50 blank books, 250 yards of linen, 50 bags, 159 canteens, 2 saddles, and 4 horses. In a letter to the quartermaster-general at Carlisle, Colonel Grier wrote that he needed for use at his post in York, a good supply of money for necessary expenditures. He fur-



COL. THOMAS HARTLEY AND WIFE



THE MORAVIAN PARSONAGE



ther stated that he would be required to purchase a large amount of forage to keep some cattle during the winter belonging to the government.

Charles McClure, from the post at Carlisle, ordered two wagons to go to Kennedy's mill, in York County, now near the site of Gettysburg, for the purpose of conveying flour to Carlisle, and corn to Major Smith's mill. In November, 1779, Colonel Grier expended at his post in York, the sum of 517 pounds.

April 7, 1780, four wagons were sent from the post at Carlisle to procure, for the department, thirty-one barrels of flour at Deardorff's mill, in York County, doubtless a mill with that name near York Springs. May 24, Colonel Henry Miller, then serving as sheriff of York County, wrote to the quartermaster at Carlisle that the arrival of twelve merchant vessels at Baltimore caused a decline in the prices of all merchandise in this region. In this letter he stated that much depended upon the results in the south, to which region the British army had then gone, the seat of war having been transferred to South Carolina and Georgia. The troubles with the Indians along the frontier had been brought to an end. In the summer of 1782, the post at York was discontinued. Besides the quartermaster-general, Colonel David Grier, and his assistant, John McPherson, the department at York had in its employ two clerks, two men in charge of the stables, and four persons in the forage department.

John McAllister, acting commissary of issues at York, in June, 1779, was charged with malpractice and peculation in office for having misused provisions belonging to the government. He was accused by Jacob Eichelberger and Major David Jameson, of York, with having fed hogs with flour and good biscuit "at a time when soldiers that were on the march to the army were in the greatest need of flour for rations." McAllister admitted part of the accusation and acknowledged that he had mixed water with whiskey, a part of the government stores in his possession.

Owing to these accusations, the question arose as to continuing the commissary department at York, whereupon Jameson and Eichelberger asserted that York "was a great thoroughfare for troops, particularly

militia in marching from the southward to the main army." They urged that another commissary be appointed instead of McAllister, for "it was thought proper when Congress was here during the winter of 1777-78 to have a commissary of purchases, another of issues, a quartermaster, town major and a physician, which officers have since been continued."

McAllister appeared in his defence before the Supreme Executive Council at Philadelphia, when only part of the accusations were proven. He remained in office a short time and was then removed.

Robert Erwin, who, in 1780, had been sent by William Buchanan, commissary-general of purchases, to take charge of the post at Hanover, succeeded in the purchase of a large amount of supplies in that region. In April, 1780, he had on hand 4,500 pounds of bacon, 4,500 pounds of pork, 10,000 pounds of flour, and 400 gallons of whiskey and an amount of forage which he had purchased for the government.

## CHAPTER XVI

### REVOLUTION—Continued.

British and Hessian Prisoners—The Return of the Prisoners—Camp Security—Sergeant Lamb's Story—Baron Riedesel—A Heroine of the Revolution—Dr. John Connolly.

During the Revolution the British and Hessian prisoners were sent to the interior of the country, a long distance from the scene of war. This was done by order of Congress so that there might be no danger that these prisoners would be set free by raids from the British army. Lancaster, York, Reading, Lebanon, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; Frederick, Maryland; Winchester and Charlottesville, Virginia, were places where large detachments of British and Hessian prisoners were kept for several months and some of them for two or three years. Barracks were erected in all of these towns. They were used as places of confinement and were carefully guarded by the local militia. Officers were frequently quartered in the county jails and other public and private buildings. The York County jail, then situated at the northeast corner of George and King Streets, contained British

prisoners, generally officers, a large part of the time from 1776 to 1780. Temporary barracks were erected on the public common and private soldiers were confined therein, during the early part of the war. The place of imprisonment best known to history in York County was situated in the northwest corner of Windsor Township, near the village of Longstown. At this place a large number of prisoners, part of Burgoyne's army and other soldiers captured in the south, were imprisoned for nearly two years, during the latter part of the Revolution. In 1781, a contagious fever broke out in camp, of which a large number of prisoners died.

The first prisoners brought to York arrived in March and April, 1776. During the summer of 1775, General Montgomery, by authority of Congress, led an expedition for the capture of Canada. It was an ill-fated campaign for this gallant soldier of the Revolution lost his life in an engagement with the enemy in front of Quebec.

In the engagement at St. Johns and Chambley, in the vicinity of Quebec, about 400 British soldiers were captured. They belonged to the Seventh Royal Fusileers and the Twenty-Sixth Regulars, both famous commands which had taken part in several engagements in Europe. When Congress heard of these captured officers and men, it ordered that they be sent to Lancaster. The detachment from the Seventh Fusileers reached Lancaster, December 9, 1775, and the prisoners of the Twenty-Sixth Regiment some time later. Barracks had already been erected in that town and the prisoners placed therein. Some of the officers were quartered in private houses under guard. Strange as it may seem, the wives and children of most of the officers and some of the men, accompanied the army to Canada and were also captured and brought to Lancaster. There were 66 women and 125 children with the prisoners, during the early part of 1776. Early in March, 1776, Congress ordered that one-half the prisoners from the Seventh Regiment be removed to York and the rest to Carlisle.

Among the officers taken to  
**Andre** Carlisle was the unfortunate  
 at Major Andre, then a lieutenant,  
**Carlisle.** who had been captured in

Canada. After his release he returned to the British army and was recaptured near Tarrytown during his alliance with the traitor, Benedict Arnold. He was then executed as a spy. Andre was imprisoned for a considerable time at both Lancaster and Carlisle. In March, 1776, when the officers and men of the Seventh Regiment were ordered to York, there were a few cases of smallpox here. When they heard this news, the officers objected to coming, but some of them were finally brought to York. When it was discovered that smallpox did not prevail to an alarming extent, Congress ordered that one-half the British officers belonging to the Twenty-Sixth Regiment should be removed to York and the rest to Carlisle.

Because the conduct of these  
**First** officers at Lancaster had been  
**Prisoners** reprehensible, they were re-  
 in York. quired to cross the Susque-  
 hanna and they remained in  
 York as prisoners of war for six or eight  
 months, till they were exchanged. A complete list of these officers cannot be given. Among the names revealed are the following: Captains John Strong, James Livingstone, and Andrew Gordon; Lieutenants Laurence Dulhanty, Edward Thompson, Don McDonall and Edward P. Wellington; Ensigns Robert Thomas and James Gordon; Captains Daniel Robertson, of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, and Robert Chase, of the navy.

In July, 1776, a petition signed by nearly all the above-named officers was sent to John Hancock, then President of Congress at Philadelphia. In this petition they complained of ill-treatment and dissatisfaction because they had been separated from their men, who were left at Lancaster. They further stated that they had signed a parole which gave them privileges usually accorded to all officers who were prisoners of war. It seems, however, that they were confined to their rooms at night and this was the main cause of their complaint. Their servants were also taken from them by order of Congress. They asserted that the local Committee of Safety was prejudiced against them. They requested that they be treated as gentlemen and given the freedom usually accorded to prisoners who had signed a parole. They were quartered



in taverns and private houses and if the restrictions as to their movements be continued, they preferred to be imprisoned in the county jail. The real cause, however, that they were not allowed to move about the town during the night was that some British prisoners at Lebanon had escaped in the darkness of the night. The committee at York determined to keep a close watch over these officers so that no opportunities were afforded them to escape, and their requirements were enforced until the officers were exchanged.

#### BRITISH AND HESSIAN PRISONERS.

The surrender of Burgoyne to Gates at Saratoga, October 18, 1777, placed in the hands of Congress, then in session at York, the disposition of nearly 6,000 prisoners of war. Sir John Burgoyne, the famous British general, with a well-equipped army, had passed up Lake Champlain from Canada and down the Hudson, intending to join Sir Henry Clinton at New York City. After two unsuccessful attacks upon the American army, under General Gates, he fell back to Saratoga, where he surrendered his entire army, including his two major-generals, William Phillips and Baron Riedesel. The former had commanded the British troops comprising the right of Burgoyne's army, and the latter the German troops on the left. An official report states that 5,800 troops surrendered at Saratoga, of whom about 2,400 were Germans and the balance British. According to the terms of the surrender, known in English history as the "Convention of Saratoga," the British and Hessian prisoners were to be marched to Boston and from that port sent to England. The British forces were placed under command of Phillips and the Germans under Riedesel, while the entire army on this march was guarded by two brigades of American troops. If any of these prisoners desired to take the oath of allegiance to the American government, they were permitted to desert. About 100 Germans and nearly the same number of British took advantage of this opportunity before they reached Boston. As the prisoners expected soon to be released, strict discipline was enforced and the best of decorum displayed while on this march.

When these prisoners of war reached

Boston, the Hessian troops were quartered on Winter Hill, near Cambridge, in barracks, which had been erected by the American troops during the siege of Boston. The British troops were given rude quarters on Prospect Hill, just outside of Cambridge. The officers, who had signed a strict parole, were treated little better than the private soldiers. They were permitted to find quarters in the small towns and villages nearby. The captured army was supplied with provisions and fuel that were paid for by General Heath, the American commander at Boston, with Continental money, and Congress insisted that Burgoyne should make his repayment dollar for dollar in British gold, worth three times as much. By the terms of the surrender, Burgoyne's troops were to receive pay from the English government and be supplied with provisions paid for by authority of Burgoyne himself. The Continental money at this time being worth only thirty cents on the dollar, a controversy arose about the decision of Congress requiring Burgoyne to pay this obligation in gold coin. Even General Heath, in a letter to Washington, stated, "What an opinion must General Burgoyne have of the authority of these States to suppose that his money would be received at any higher rate than our own."

Congress, anxious to impose conditions not likely to be fulfilled, demanded that General Burgoyne should make out a descriptive list of all the officers and soldiers in his army, in order that if any of them should thereafter be found serving against the United States they might be punished accordingly. As no such provision was contained in the convention, upon the faith of which Burgoyne had surrendered, he naturally regarded the demand as insulting, and at first refused to comply with it. He afterwards yielded the point, in his eagerness to liberate his soldiers; but meanwhile, in a letter to Gates at Albany, he had incautiously said, "The public faith is broken," and this remark, coming to the ears of Congress, was immediately laid hold of as a pretext for repudiating the convention altogether. It was argued that Burgoyne had charged the United States with bad faith, in order to have an excuse for repudiating the convention on his own part.

On the 8th of January, Congress accordingly resolved, "that the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and the troops under his command be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress." As the British government could not give the required ratification without implicitly recognizing the independence of the United States, no further steps were taken in the matter, the "public faith" really was broken and the captured army was never sent home. By the end of the year 1777, about 400 British prisoners on Prospect Hill had deserted, but according to records only 20 Germans escaped.

In March, 1778, General Burgoyne, on account of ill health, was permitted by Congress to return to England. In order to secure his release he was required to make a deposit of \$40,000 in gold or silver, and this money was used for buying food and supplies, to be procured in Rhode Island, for the prisoners. After his capture and release, he changed his sentiments toward the United States. While still a prisoner on parole he entered the British parliament and became conspicuous among the defenders of the American cause.

Meanwhile, a fleet of vessels arrived at Newport from England for the purpose of transporting the troops to their native country, but the fleet had to return without them. Early in April a number of war vessels appeared off the coast of Boston, and as General Heath feared an attack from the enemy, he had the British troops removed from Prospect Hill, fifty-five miles northwest to the village of Rutland, near the present city of Worcester. On account of the difficulty of obtaining provisions for these prisoners, a long discussion arose in Congress, still in session at York, as to what disposition should be made of them. While this discussion was in progress, the barracks at York and Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, were mentioned as suitable places to quarter them. It was finally decided that the British and Hessians should be removed to Charlottesville, Virginia, where the troops could be more readily supplied with provisions than in Massachusetts.

About November 1, General Heath gave orders that the British troops at Rutland under command of General Phillips should march in three divisions to the south. The first division started November 10, and the others in two successive days, under guard of Continental troops and Massachusetts militia. Before the British had left Rutland, they were paid in coin received from Sir Henry Clinton at New York.

The German troops at Cambridge, under an American guard, also began the march in three divisions on November 10, in command of Baron Riedesel, it being arranged that one division was always one day in advance of the other. Before leaving Massachusetts, all the officers had to sign a strict parole not to desert on the march. As many of the British and Hessian officers and some of the private soldiers had their wives and children with them, when they were captured at Saratoga, General Washington ordered that wagons be provided for transporting the women and children to Virginia. The Baroness Riedesel was accompanied by three little children, and her diary describing this trip has been published in the German and English languages.

The German troops had not received money to support them on the march before leaving Boston and no pay was sent them from Sir Henry Clinton. In order to remedy the difficulty, Baron Riedesel returned to Boston, where he secured \$70,000 in paper money on his own responsibility, to aid in moving his troops.

The British troops passed through Massachusetts and Connecticut to Fishkill on the Hudson. In a letter written December 10, at Sherwood's Ferry, on the banks of the Delaware, Lieutenant Anbury wrote:

"General Washington was not without apprehension that Sir Henry Clinton, then at New York, would make efforts to retake us, either by an expedition up the North River, or our march through the Jerseys, and therefore took every precaution to frustrate any plan that might be concerted, for upon the arrival of our army at Fishkill, General Washington moved his army into the middle of the Jerseys and detached a considerable body of troops to escort us, so

very apprehensive was he of a rescue, that to each brigade of ours they had a brigade of armed men, who marched the men in close columns. As to the officers they paid little attention, as we had signed a very strict parole, previous to our leaving New England. Now we have passed the Delaware, the Pennsylvania militia are to guard us and the brigades that escorted us through New York and the Jerseys return to Washington's army." When the British prisoners had reached Sussex in crossing the state of New Jersey, Sir Henry Clinton sent out a paymaster who paid off the troops in British coin.

The three divisions of German troops under Baron Riedesel also crossed the Hudson at Fishkill a few days after the British had passed over. At this place, Washington paid them the compliment of his presence. He also gave them a strong guard lest Clinton should carry out his threat of releasing them by force.

Lieutenant Anbury made the following entry in his journal **Arrive at Lancaster.** after arriving at Lancaster: "In our way hither, we crossed the Schuylkill, over the bridge built by General Washington's army, when they were encamped at Valley Forge. I imagine it was the intention of the Americans that this bridge should remain as a triumphal memento, for in the centre of every arch is engraved in the wood, the names of the principal generals in their country and in the middle arch was General Washington's with the date of the year the bridge was erected. This bridge was built to preserve a communication and to favor a retreat in case they were compelled to quit their encampment. Our troops slept in the huts at Valley Forge which had been constructed by the Americans."

Lancaster at this time was the largest inland town in America, containing a population of nearly 4000. The inhabitants were composed of German and Scotch-Irish. Most of the houses had an elevation before the door and they were entered by ascending high steps from the street, resembling a small balcony with benches on both sides where the inhabitants sat and took in the fresh air and viewed the people passing. The town had considerable trade with Philadelphia and New York. Among

its population were a large number of mechanics. There were three or four churches, and the county court house in Centre Square in which the Pennsylvania Legislature had held its sessions when driven out of Philadelphia the year before. Congress had convened in this building one day in September, 1777, and then adjourned to York. The largest pipe organ in America, which had been made at the town of Litz, was then in use in the First Lutheran Church of Lancaster. Some of the officers who went to see this wonderful piece of mechanism sent descriptions of it to their homes. The manufacturer had made every part of the organ with his own hands. One of the diaries states:

"The organ had not only every pipe and stop that is in most others, but it has many pipes to swell the base which are of an amazing circumference, and they are played upon by the feet, there being a row of wooden keys that the performer treads on."

After bivouacking for the night around the borough of Lancaster, the three divisions of the British troops, commanded by General William Phillips and under a guard of several regiments of Pennsylvania militia, and a detachment of the Continental army, the march was begun to the Susquehanna river, crossing at the present sites of Columbia and Wrightsville. A regiment of the York County militia joined the guard at Wright's Ferry, and Colonel Joseph Jeffries, wagon master for York County, furnished one hundred wagons and teams with which he conveyed into Virginia the women and children and the baggage belonging to both the British and German prisoners. Many of these wagons were afterward pressed into service by the state of Virginia. The advance reached York on December 16. Lieutenant Anbury made the following entry in reference to York:

"After we crossed the Susquehanna, we arrived at York, which **Reach** was sometime the seat of Congress. **York.**

This is reckoned the second inland town in America; it is not nearly so large as Lancaster, but much pleasanter, being situated on the Codorus creek, a pretty stream which falls into the Susquehanna. This town contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, chiefly Germans, inter-

mixed with Scotch-Irish. Here was formerly more trade than in Lancaster, and notwithstanding the troubles, it has still more the appearance of it. As our division came into the town at four o'clock in the afternoon, and marched the next morning, I had but little time to make any particular observations; but in walking about I saw the Court House and a few churches, which are very neat brick buildings, and I remarked the houses were much better built and with more regularity than at Lancaster. Of the two, though York is considerably less than the other, I should give it the preference for a place of residence."

Along the entire line of march from Massachusetts to Virginia the guard of American troops made no special efforts to prevent desertions among the prisoners. Lieutenant Anbury says:

"It was with a view and a hope that the men would desert, that Congress marched us at this inclement season; numbers have answered their wishes, especially the Germans, who seeing in what a comfortable manner their countrymen live, left us in great numbers, as we marched through New York, the Jerseys and Pennsylvania. Among the number of deserters is my servant, who, as we left Lancaster, ran from me with my horse, portmanteau and everything he could take with him. I did not miss him till night, as I concluded he was with the baggage wagons. The next morning I obtained permission from the officer that escorted us, to return in pursuit of him."

Rev. John Roth, pastor of the Moravian church at York, recorded in his diary:

"Dec. 16.—To-night a party of the Convention troops, the Hessians and others captured at Saratoga by Gates, arrived here from New England on way to Virginia.

"Dec. 22.—The Convention troops which arrived here on the 16th and 19th inst. left for the south (Virginia).

"Dec. 24.—Numbers of Convention troops are deserting on account of their being badly treated by their officers. Some of them attended our services and were attentive and earnest."

The first division of British troops numbering 781, arrived in York, December 16; the second division, numbering 873, on the

following day; and the third division, a body of 923, on the evening of December 19. There were in all 2577 British soldiers.

The Germans arrived in York in three divisions. The first came on December 22, and numbered 947. With this body were a large number of women and children, transported on wagons. The last two divisions of German troops passed through York, December 23 and 24, and numbered 935. There were in all 4459 British and Hessian officers and men on this famous march, as prisoners of war, to Virginia.

After leaving York, the prisoners were marched in brigades a distance of fifteen to twenty miles a day. There is a well-founded tradition that the different brigades bivouacked on successive nights along a hillside near Menges' Mills in Heidelberg township, and proceeded the next day through Hanover, halting again for the night near Littlestown, in Adams County. Till they arrived at Frederick, the most delightful winter weather had favored them on the march, but while encamped around that town a heavy snow fell. This was followed by extreme cold weather which made it impossible for the brigades in the rear to cross the Potomac, then covered with floating ice. After they had all crossed that stream, the Virginia roads were almost impassable. The top of the deep snow was a crust but not sufficiently strong to bear the weight of a man, so that the movement from the Potomac to Virginia was the most difficult and distressing part of the march.

The last brigade finally arrived at Charlottesville. Having started from Massachusetts November 10, it required two full months to complete this march of nearly 700 miles. At Charlottesville a rude village was built on the brow of a pleasant ridge of hills, and gardens were laid out and planted. Much kind assistance was rendered in all this work by Thomas Jefferson, who was then living close by on his estate at Monticello, and did everything in his power to make things comfortable for soldiers and officers.

General William Phillips, who was second in command at Saratoga and who had been in charge of the Convention prisoners on

the march to Virginia and while in the barracks at Charlottesville, was allowed to go to New York in the fall of 1779, on parole. While in that city he was exchanged for General Benjamin Lincoln, recently captured at Charleston, S. C. In 1780 Phillips joined Benedict Arnold in an expedition against Richmond. Predatory parties had been sent out in the direction of Charlottesville and fearing that Arnold and Phillips might form an expedition for the release of the prisoners, Congress decided in the fall of 1780 to remove them northward. In the early part of October, the prisoners were marched toward Winchester, in the same manner that they had gone to Charlottesville, two years before. The prisoners were quartered at Winchester for two weeks and removed to Frederick, Maryland, where they were held until Congress decided where they should be taken. At this place they occupied comfortable barracks and the men were allowed many privileges. The officers were quartered in the town and plantations around. On May 31, 1781, these British officers and prisoners witnessed the movement of the Pennsylvania Line through Frederick. On July 31, 1781, tenant Anbury wrote in his journal:

**Move Northward.** "We daily expect to remove from this province on account of the movements of Lord Cornwallis' army, which we understand is forming a junction with the troops landed in Virginia, under the command of General Phillips and General Arnold, and this state is not without apprehensions of a descent being made by the King's forces. Therefore to impede this progress, General Washington has detached two strong bodies, one of Continental troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, and the other consisting of the Pennsylvania Line, under General Wayne. They passed through Frederick last month, and appeared to be mostly Scotch and Irish with a great number of blacks. They were badly clothed, and so extremely mutinous and discontented, that their officers were afraid to trust them with ammunition. I observed that they wore black and white cockades, the ground being the first color and the relief of the other. On inquiring the cause, a very pompous American replied, 'It was a compliment to

and a symbol of affection for their generous and magnanimous allies the French.'"

The British and Hessian prisoners greatly diminished in numbers both by death and desertion while at Frederick. Congress finally decided to remove the prisoners to York and Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. The officers were separated from the prisoners at Lancaster and sent to East Windsor, Connecticut. Brigadier-General Hamilton, in charge of the British troops, expressed great displeasure on account of this separation which, he claimed, was in direct opposition to the agreement entered into at the surrender at Saratoga, three years before.

### THE RETURN OF THE PRISONERS.

The Convention prisoners removed late in 1780 from Charlottesville to Winchester, Virginia, and to Frederick, Maryland, were ordered by Congress in 1781 to be brought to Pennsylvania. The British were to be quartered at York and the Hessians at Lancaster. There were at that time about 3000 of Burgoyne's officers and men held as prisoners of war. Joseph Reed, then president of Pennsylvania, protested against so many prisoners being brought into this commonwealth. In response to President Reed's protest, the Board of War asserted that Congress had not changed its decision and that Pennsylvania should make preparation to guard and sustain the prisoners at such places in Pennsylvania as would be most convenient. At this juncture, Governor Thomas Lee, of Maryland, wrote to President Reed that he had been informed by Thomas Jefferson, governor of Virginia, that the Burgoyne prisoners and other British captured at Cowpens, S. C., were at Winchester, March 12, 1781, on their way to Pennsylvania, and the British prisoners at Frederick, 800 in number, were to be sent to York. On the same day that Governor Lee sent his communication to President Reed, the latter wrote a long letter to the Board of War, in which he stated:

**Reed's Opposition.** We acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 13th inst., calling upon us to prepare a guard of 400 militia and to supply provisions and all other necessities for the convention troops, observing that though the Hon. Congress had directed you to take measures for guarding and supplying these troops after they arrive at their proposed quarters that you have no other means in your power to comply with this direction than by calling on this

state for that guard and those supplies. We are sorry, Gentlemen, to inform you that in the present exhausted state of our treasury we have little prospect of being able to answer your expectations. We have computed the monthly expense of feeding these troops and guards at 8,960 pounds specie per month—the pay of the militia and repair of barracks will also be considerable—which added to the necessary advances daily making for the sustenance of the prisoners already here amounting to 1,000—to the recruiting and support of the Pennsylvania Line daily increasing and wholly within the State, the supply of the Continental Army, the artificers, invalids, mechanics, and other dependencies on Congress, will, we are persuaded, be a burden insupportable. And we must acknowledge freely that we think it very unequal that when there are thirteen states in union all the prisoners should be brought into one. We have always endeavored to comply with requisitions when in our power, but we do not see the least probability of answering present expectations in their full extent. Having already observed to our delegates in Congress, the danger of adding to the dissatisfaction of the inhabitants, especially from the influence of the German officers, we need not touch on that head, though of a very delicate and alarming nature. But in another view the bringing these troops into the state must affect the general interest. Should they cross the Susquehanna we are fully persuaded much the greatest part of them will be in New York in a few months; they will find so many friends and opportunities to convey them thither that unless closely confined no precautions will be sufficient to prevent this evil. Our militia in the country are very badly armed, so that if either through scarcity of provisions, other discontent or impatience of captivity these troops should resolve to serve the enemy and prefer force to desertion we apprehend there is danger of their effecting it. The high price of provisions, of fuel and all other necessaries at Lancaster and York will be an object also well worthy of consideration, the rates of wood and other necessary articles at Lancaster not differing materially from those of Philadelphia. This will be our last representation on the subject which we have thought it our duty to make—that should any bad consequences result we may stand fully acquitted, having declared our opinion that we shall not be able to provide for them with that plenty or guard them in that security which the case requires.

The Board of War then decided that the British officers held at Winchester and Frederick should be "put on their parole" and sent to Simsbury, Connecticut, the German troops should be held at Winchester and their officers put on parole at that place. The British privates and non-commissioned officers were to remain at Frederick for the time being. Colonel James Wood, of the Continental army, who had the prisoners in charge, was ordered by Congress to carry out the plans already made for their disposition. Almost 1,000 unconditional prisoners captured at Cowpens and elsewhere in the south were ordered to the Lancaster barracks and the 3,000 Saratoga prisoners to be retained for a time in Maryland and Virginia. At this time General Philips, of the British army, who had been

exchanged, was then in command of 900 men who had either deserted or escaped from the camp at Charlottesville. With this force he had joined the traitor, Benedict Arnold, in front of Richmond. Lord Cornwallis, with a large British army, was now on his march through the Carolinas toward Virginia in pursuit of General Greene. As the Board of War thought the scene of hostilities in 1781 might be in Virginia, it decided in May of that year that the prisoners held in Virginia and Maryland should be forwarded to eastern Massachusetts. Congress then ordered Pennsylvania to furnish 600 militia, which were to assemble at York, and relieve the Virginia militia and take charge of the prisoners to be moved eastward under the superintendency of Colonel James Wood.

The York County wagon-masters were ordered to have fifty or more wagons at York. Major Bailey, of York, commanded the militia assembled for the purpose of acting as a guard to the prisoners on their eastern movement and under his direction the Virginia guard was relieved and the local militia escorted the prisoners to Lancaster, where they arrived early in June, 1781. The British were placed in the Lancaster barracks and in camps on the public common in that town. It was now decided by Congress to have them remain in Pennsylvania. On June 17, Major Bailey escorted from York two divisions, one of 1,200 German and Hessian prisoners, to Reading, and another composed of 600 privates, 300 waiters and about 300 women and children to Lancaster. On June 27, President Reed, of Pennsylvania, wrote, "The Convention and other British prisoners to the number of 4,000 are now in the State of Pennsylvania." He therefore ordered out the militia of York, Lancaster, Berks and Northampton Counties to guard them on their movement to places where they were to be confined. Colonel Wood, of the Continental army, in charge of the prisoners both in Virginia and after they came to Pennsylvania, wrote, June 30, 1781, that he had received instructions from the Board of War to quarter the British near York and the Germans at Reading, but that he had not received definite instructions as to the exact places

of confinement. President Reed then wrote to William Scott, lieutenant of the York County militia, to mark out a suitable spot, well-wooded and watered for the accommodation of the prisoners to be quartered at York. A place where the prisoners could build huts, surrounded by a picket, was designated. The local militia intended to guard the prisoners, were to receive pay at the rate of three and a half shillings a day in coin. The Continental money was then nearly worthless. On July 28, Lieutenant William Scott, of York County, wrote to President Reed:

**Camp  
Near  
York.**

Agreeable to your Excellency's orders I have found a place for the convention troops to encamp; about four miles and a half south-east of Yorktown, which Colonel Wood had approved as a suitable and convenient place.

I have also called the fourth class of the militia, who have furnished upwards of one hundred men to guard them. Colonel Wood is of the opinion it will require near double that number until the necessary works on the encampment are erected.

I have collected all the arms in York and Hanover, which are not half enough for the guards. Therefore have to request of the Honorable Council to send us arms and ammunition for the use of the guards aforesaid.

The arms which our seven months' men carried to Philadelphia last year (forty-three in number) were delivered up in a house near the bridge on Water Street, where clothing and other military stores were then kept, but no receipts passed for them that I can find.

Colonel Wood has called on me for ten or twelve carpenters and for axes, spades, picks and shovels, for building the huts and pickets. The carpenters and the smiths who make the tools look to me for their pay; have therefore to beg your Excellency's directions in this matter, whether it is a county or continental charge and how and when these people are to be paid and by whom.

On August 2, 1781, Colonel James Wood stated "I have fixed the British troops on good ground, the property of a non-juror, between York and Susquehanna, so as to be very convenient to throw them across the river in any emergency."

### CAMP SECURITY.

The place selected by Colonel Wood as a cantonment for the prisoners was situated in the extreme northeastern part of Windsor Township, a short distance east of the village of Longstown, and on the north side of the road leading from Longstown to East Prospect. At this place the British Convention prisoners to the number of nearly two thousand were brought back from Lancaster in August, 1781. They were required to assist the carpenters employed by the

government in erecting a stockade and in building huts out of wood. This place was known in Revolutionary annals as "Camp Security" and is so designated in the government records.

After the prisoners had arrived at York, Lancaster and Reading, the authorities of Pennsylvania and Continental Congress, as well, thought it possible that the British forces under Lord Cornwallis might raid into Pennsylvania for the purpose of releasing these prisoners.

In March, 1781, General Greene had fought the battle of Guilford Court House, near Greensboro, North Carolina, with Cornwallis, who then commanded 7,000 men. It was an indecisive battle and resulted in Cornwallis moving to Wilmington on the coast of that state. Greene returned to South Carolina and after successive engagements with the enemy, drove them into Charleston and Savannah. Cornwallis sailed to Hampton Roads and selected a defensive position on the James River at Yorktown, Virginia. In August, 1781, a detachment of 2,000 of the troops from the British army under Cornwallis landed on the banks of the Chesapeake near Annapolis, Maryland. Meantime, Washington, with an army of 6,000 men, marched from the Hudson River through eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland to join Lafayette and Wayne, then concentrating near Yorktown, Virginia.

The arrival of the 2,000 troops at Annapolis caused alarm at York, Lancaster and Reading, and the authorities of Pennsylvania called out the militia for defensive operations. Lieutenant William Scott, commander of the York County Militia, put into service 200 light horse, a cavalry squadron, and posted them in a chain west of the Susquehanna, extending from York to Chesapeake Bay. In case the British landed at the head of the Chesapeake these horsemen were intended to convey the news with all possible haste to the cantonments of prisoners at York and the other towns in Pennsylvania. At this period in the Revolution there was considerable excitement in York County and the adjoining sections of the state. Fortunately, the appearance of Washington in Virginia caused a change in the operations of the enemy, who now con-

**Militia  
Called  
Out.**

centrated under Cornwallis at Yorktown, where, in October, 1781, the entire British army surrendered. Later in the year, and during the spring of 1782, detachments of prisoners from the army of Cornwallis were also brought to York and imprisoned in huts erected a short distance east of the stockade in Windsor Township, where about 2,000 of Burgoyne's army were then held, as described above. A description of the prison pens near York, as they were at this period is given in an abstract from the diary of Sergeant Lamb, found further on in this narrative. At this place most of the British prisoners, brought here in 1781 and 1782, remained until the cessation of hostilities was declared April 19, 1783, the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington and Concord.

So far as is known, few Hessians were ever held as prisoners of war within the stockade or the huts of the prison pen in Windsor Township, in 1781-2-3. There were a number of Hessians in York in 1777. The German and Hessian troops, about 1,200 in number, were held as prisoners in Reading, until the close of the war. On February 8, 1783, a letter was sent to General Riedesel, instructing the Hessian and German prisoners to remain in America after they were set free, if they so desired. In pursuance of this letter, a large number of the Hessians who had been captured at Saratoga, Long Island and Trenton, remained in Pennsylvania, where they became industrious mechanics or farmers. Quite a number of them settled in different parts of York County.

Daniel Brubaker, a citizen of Lancaster County, owned the land four and a half miles east of York where the prison pens had been erected. In December, 1781, four months after the arrival of the first prisoners, he sent a petition to General Benjamin Lincoln, of the Continental army and the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, setting forth certain grievances. He stated that he owned 280 acres near York, for which he had paid 1,200 pounds specie. This land had been selected as a place for confinement for part of the British Convention prisoners that had been removed from Lancaster. One hundred acres of this land

had been cleared. The persons employed by the government in constructing stockades and building huts, had cleared thirty additional acres of timber, for which he had received no pay. The guards had also used nearly all the fall rails which enclosed his cleared land. This had deprived his tenant of the Indian corn on the land and the use of his pasture. He further stated that he did not want to say anything against Colonel Wood, who had charge of the prisoners and who regretted the condition of affairs which had come about before that officer had been placed in charge of the prison pens. The petitioner acknowledged that the prisoners could not be removed during the inclement season, yet he requested that all further waste or destruction of the timber or other property on his plantation be prevented.

#### SERGEANT LAMB'S STORY.

Sergeant Roger Lamb, an educated Irishman, who was captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga, wrote a work entitled "Journal of the American War," which was published in Dublin in 1809. He served in a regiment of Welsh Fusileers and after his capture accompanied the British prisoners to Boston, where he remained until they were removed to Virginia. When these prisoners were about to cross the Hudson at Fishkill, on their march to the south, Sergeant Lamb escaped to the city of New York, where he was received with great affability by Major Andre, who was acting as adjutant-general to Sir Henry Clinton, commanding the British forces in that city. In 1781 he served in the Southern army and at the battle of Guilford Court House saved Cornwallis from capture.

In October of the same year he was captured with the British army at Yorktown and soon after he escaped the American guard and fled to Frederick, Maryland, where he was again captured and placed in the barracks in that town with other British officers. After two weeks' imprisonment there, he was sent to Winchester, Virginia, where his own regiment, which had served at the siege of Yorktown, was then quartered in barracks.

"Part of the British troops remained in Winchester until January, 1782," says Sergeant Lamb in his Journal, "when Congress



ordered us to be marched to York, in Pennsylvania. I received information that as soon as I fell into ranks to march off, I should be taken and confined in Winchester jail, as the Americans were apprehensive that when I got near to New York I should again attempt my escape to that place; I was advised by my officers to conceal myself until the troops had marched. I took the hint and hid myself in the hospital among the sick, where I remained until the American guards had been two days on their march with the British prisoners. I then prepared to follow them, but at a cautious distance.

**In Camp Security.** "The troops arrived at York, and were confined in a prison similar to the one at Rutland, Massachusetts, where Burgoyne's prisoners were held in 1778.

"A great number of trees were ordered to be cut down in the woods; these were sharpened at each end, and driven firmly into the earth very close together, enclosing a space of about two or three acres. American sentinels were planted on the outside of the fence, at convenient distances, in order to prevent our getting out. At one angle, a gate was erected and on the outside thereof, stood the guard house; two sentinels were constantly posted at this gate, and no one could get out unless he had a pass from the officer of the guard; but this was a privilege in which very few were indulged.

"About two hundred yards from this pen, a small village had been built by prisoners of General Burgoyne's army, who were allowed very great privileges with respect to liberty in the country. When some of my former comrades of the Ninth Regiment were informed that I was a prisoner in Lord Cornwallis' army, and that I was shortly expected at York, they immediately applied to the commanding officer of the Americans for a pass in my name, claiming me as one of their regiment. This was immediately granted, and some of them kindly and attentively placed themselves on the watch for my arrival, lest I should be confined with the rest of Lord Cornwallis' army. When I reached York I was most agreeably surprised at meeting my former companions; and more so when a pass was put into my hands, giving me the privilege of ten miles

of the country round while I behaved well and orderly. I was then conducted to a hut which my poor loving companions had built for me in their village before my arrival. Here I remained some time, visiting my former companions from hut to hut; but I was astonished at the spirit of industry which prevailed among them. Men, women and children were employed making lace, buckles, spoons, and exercising other mechanical trades which they had learned during their captivity. They had very great liberty from the Americans, and were allowed to go around the country and sell their goods; while the soldiers of Cornwallis' army were closely confined. I perceived that they had lost that animation which ought to possess the breast of the soldier. I strove by every argument to rouse them from their lethargy. I offered to head any number of them, and make a noble effort to escape into New York, and join our comrades in arms; but all my efforts proved ineffectual. As for my own part, I was determined to make the attempt. I well knew from experience, that a few companions would be highly necessary. Accordingly I sent word of my intention to seven men of the Twenty-third Regiment who were confined in the pen, that I was willing to take them with me. I believe in all the British army that these men, three sergeants and four privates, could not have been excelled for courage and intrepidity. They rejoiced at the idea; and by the aid of some of Burgoyne's army, they were enabled under cover of a dark night, to scale their fence and assemble in my hut. I sent word of my intention to my commanding officer, Captain Saumarez, of the Twenty-third, and likewise the names of the men whom I purposed to take with me. As my money was almost expended, I begged of him to advance me as much as convenient. He immediately sent me a supply.

**Escaped From Prison.** "It was on the first of March, 1782, that I set off with my party."

After Sergeant Lamb escaped with his seven companions from prison at York, he went to New York City, where Sir Guy Carleton was then commander of the British troops. After the war he returned to Dublin, where he became a teacher and author, and died in 1830.

### BARON RIEDESEL.

Baron Friederich Adolph Riedesel, who held the rank of a major-general in the English army, commanded 2,400 Brunswick and Hessian troops at the time of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. Both his entire command and himself became prisoners of war on October 17, 1777. General Riedesel was born in Lauterbach, Rhine-Hesse, June 3, 1738. At the time of the surrender he was 39 years of age. Riedesel studied law, but during the Seven Years' War for German liberty served as an aide on the staff of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He acquitted himself gallantly in the execution of an important commission at the battle of Minden. In 1767 he was promoted to the rank of adjutant-general of the Prussian army. Soon after the beginning of the American Revolution, England, having hired of the petty German sovereigns 20,000 troops, of which 4,000 were from Brunswick, Riedesel was given the rank of major-general and placed in command of the Brunswickers. He arrived with his troops at Quebec, Canada, June, 1776. The following year he joined Burgoyne on his unfortunate expedition, in command of all the German troops. Riedesel wrote an extended account of his experience as an officer and a prisoner while in America. This journal was afterward translated into English. He passed through York, December, 1778, in command of his own troops as prisoners on their way to Virginia, and upon his return in 1779 remained here a week with his wife, three children and a retinue of attendants.

After the surrender at Saratoga, some of the English officers were exchanged, but few of the Germans. Riedesel wrote to Howe, at Philadelphia, asking that a corresponding number of German officers be exchanged, including General Specht and Riedesel's own aides. The Baron remained in command of his own soldiers and had them undergo military drill every day while in camp at Winter Hill, after their movement to Boston, even though they had given up their arms at the surrender.

After the prisoners learned that Congress at York had decided not to recognize the agreement at Saratoga, numbers of them deserted. There were, however, more

desertions among the English than the Germans. Congress sent an American named Masserow as a commissioner, to Boston to consult with the British and German officers with reference to their exchange. Riedesel alleges that Masserow accepted bribes; that he received from 50 to 100 guineas each, for recommending to Congress certain officers to be exchanged. It is even claimed by the Baron in his journal that Burgoyne himself courted the favor of the commissioner and through him obtained authority of Congress for his own release by the payment of \$40,000, which was paid in provisions and used for the maintenance of the American troops and British and Hessian prisoners in Massachusetts. By the order of General Howe, ships were sent from Rhode Island laden with flour and meat.

General Riedesel, through Commissioner Masserow, petitioned Congress for permission to send to Canada for the baggage and clothing of his troops, which was granted. During the summer of 1778 the people of Massachusetts, as well as the American soldiers, tried to induce the prisoners to desert. They succeeded best with the British. By the 5th of April, 655 English soldiers, 119 Germans, 41 Hesse-Hanau and 3 Brunswickers had deserted. Up to this time not a single German officer had been exchanged.

In November, 1778, arrangements were made to send the captured troops to Virginia. The American guard for removing these troops was increased by the addition of three regiments of the Massachusetts militia. The light horse and artillery were also increased. In May, American emissaries came into camp and induced many Germans to desert. By authority of Congress circulars were distributed through the camps of the prisoners to encourage both the British and Germans to desert. During the months of April and May the Brunswickers lost 118 men by desertion.

In September a number of German officers were exchanged, among them Chaplain F. V. Melsheimer, of the Brunswick Dragoon Regiment.

After Congress decided not to accept the conditions of the surrender at Saratoga, Sir Henry Clinton, in New York, declared that if the Convention troops were to be treated like other prisoners, they must be supported

by their captors. General Heath, in command at Boston, received orders from Congress at York that the British and German prisoners should be removed to Charlottesville, Virginia, a long distance away from the theatre of war, and to a place where provisions could more easily be obtained. The prisoners were marched from Rutland and Cambridge by the American guard in the following order, starting November 10:

Each nationality formed three divisions, and was attended by an American escort. The first English division, consisting of the artillery, grenadiers, light infantry and the Ninth Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Hill, and the First German division, consisting of the dragoons, grenadiers, and the regiment Von Rhetz under Major Von Mungen, were to start on November 10. The second English division, consisting of the Twentieth and Twenty-first Regiments, under command of Major Forster, and the second German division, consisting of the regiments of Von Riedesel and Von Specht and led by Brigadier-General Specht, were to follow on the 11th. On the 12th the third English division, composed of the Twenty-fourth, Forty-seventh and Sixty-second Regiments, under the command of Brigadier Hamilton, were to follow. The third German division, which was made up of the battalion Barner, the regiment Hesse-Hanau, and Hanau artillery, under Brigadier Gall, were also to march on the same day.

General Riedesel says in his journal:

"The want of money was one of critical importance in our position at that time. All the officers who had money were obliged to lend it for the use of the troops, who in this manner received their pay in hard cash. Those officers who were in need of money had as much furnished them as was necessary to procure horses, etc., for their long journey. Nor was this more than fair, as several months' pay was due them. This arrangement was somewhat of a help, it is true, but not nearly enough to satisfy the demands of all."

When the German troops arrived at Salisbury, Conn., they received \$70,000, which Riedesel had borrowed on his own credit from merchants in Boston. On November 28, the advance of the German

troops arrived at Fishkill, on the Hudson; December 13, they were passing through Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and on the 16th crossed the Schuylkill at Valley Forge. On the 20th they crossed the Conestoga Creek to Lancaster, where they rested one day; on the 22d they crossed the Susquehanna at Wright's Ferry and took quarters for the night at York. On the 24th they arrived at Hanover, where they rested a day, passed through Littlestown on Christmas day and on the 26th halted at Taneytown, Maryland. The other brigades or divisions of British and German troops followed in succession, a day behind the advance.

On New Year's eve, 1778, the German troops first stepped upon the soil of Virginia and on the 15th of January arrived at their place of destination, near Charlottesville, where they remained as prisoners of war from January, 1779, until the fall of 1781. The estimated number of British and German troops who were marched from Massachusetts through York to Virginia, was 4,459. According to this statement about 1,300 had deserted, for the descriptive list shows that 5,800 had surrendered at Saratoga in October, 1777.

In an account of the movement of the troops from Boston to Virginia, William Stone, the biographer of Riedesel, states:

"On this journey General Riedesel and his family experienced much that was disagreeable, and suffered many wrongs from the inhabitants, who were to a man in favor of the cause of freedom. Some of them scarcely would grant a shelter to the weary travellers, even when extreme fatigue prevented them from going a step further, and it would have been still worse for them, had not Madame Riedesel been in the party. By her eloquence and patience, she knew how to move these obdurate people.

"The passage across the Hudson in a miserable skiff in the midst of stormy weather, was attended with extreme danger; and competent judges who afterward heard of it, could scarcely understand how it was that it had been so successfully accomplished. The river having been safely crossed, the party continued their journey as far as the residence of an American colonel, by the name of Osborn, to whom Riedesel had a letter from Gates. They

were received by him in a most friendly manner, notwithstanding he was a great enemy to the royalists, as well as a very blunt man.

**Excitement in Lancaster.** "The fact that General Riedesel did not arrive at Lancaster on the 19th of December, with the troops, was, perhaps, a most fortunate circumstance; for the inhabitants were so enraged against him, that extreme measures might have been provoked by his presence. Among the silly reports that were circulated and believed in those excitable times by the people of Lancaster, was one to the effect that the town of Lancaster and the surrounding country had been presented to the German general, by the king of England, and that the general would soon arrive with his troops to take possession. The excitement was, therefore, great when the German troops arrived; but as soon as the American officers on the escort explained the true position of affairs, and the pitiable condition of Lancaster was seen, many a good citizen of Lancaster wondered how he could have given credence to such a ridiculous rumor.

"Snow had fallen to such a depth that the carriages of the general's party could scarcely move. The coachmen, at times, were obliged to take the horses from the vehicles, and with the officers who escorted the family, ride on in advance, to break a road. The provisions were exhausted, and very often not a particle of food could be had of the inhabitants even for money. Baroness Riedesel and her children actually suffered from sheer want, and this notwithstanding her husband and his officers deprived themselves of everything, that the women and children might be provided for. Captain Edmonson, who, out of love for the children, had accompanied the party, would often ride to the huts, which were a little off the road, and beg provisions of the inhabitants; but he generally returned from a bootless mission.

"Soon after crossing the Hudson, General Riedesel, accompanied by a few of his adjutants, left his family in order to overtake his troops. It is not known definitely where he met them, or indeed if he overtook them at all. Only this much is known to a certainty, that the general waited for his family at Colle, which is distant about two hours

from Charlottesville. Here he had hired a house which he was occupying when Madame Riedesel and the children joined him about the middle of February. The party had been twelve weeks on their way, had crossed six states, and had journeyed six hundred and seventy-eight miles. The house, hired by Riedesel at Colle, belonged to an Italian, who, a few weeks later, moved out of it, leaving it, together with a nice little garden, to Riedesel and his family."

During the summer of 1779, General Riedesel built a house at Colle, which cost him 100 guineas, but his family and he never had the opportunity of occupying it. In September of that year he received word that he would soon be exchanged. After putting the German prisoners in charge of General Specht, by authority of Colonel James Wood, the commander of the American guard, Riedesel left Virginia for New York, accompanied by Major-General Phillips. Soon after his arrival there he was exchanged and by order of Sir Henry Clinton was placed in command at Long Island with headquarters on what are now Brooklyn Heights. At the close of the Revolution, in 1783, he returned to Germany, where he was given the rank of lieutenant-general in 1787. At the time of his death, in 1800, he was commandant of the city of Brunswick.

## A HEROINE OF THE REVOLUTION.

The wife of General Riedesel had a romantic history during the Revolution. She followed the fortunes of her husband and was captured at Saratoga when Burgoyne surrendered. The Baroness kept a diary, which was afterward published in the German language. This journal was translated into English and published in America in 1867. The story of her experience after her capture reads like a romance of the Middle Ages. During her captivity, she twice passed through York and on her return from Virginia spent several days in York with her three little daughters and a retinue of attendants. A condensed story of her experience is herewith given:

The Baroness Riedesel was present at the first engagement at Saratoga and was near her husband in the thickest of the fight. She heard the rattle of musketry, and the boom

of cannon, and when the fighting ended took care of the wounded. After the battle a large calash was built to convey herself, her three children, and her two servants, and in this vehicle she followed the army in the midst of the soldiers, who were merrily singing songs and hurraing with a desire for victory.

"While passing through the American camp in my calash after the surrender," says the Baroness, "none of the American soldiers cast at us scornful glances, even showing compassion on their countenances at seeing a mother with her little children in such a situation. When I approached the tents, a noble looking man came toward me, took the children out of the wagon, embraced and kissed them and then with tears in his eyes helped me also to alight. His tenderness toward my children and myself inspired me with courage. He then led me to the tent of General Gates, with whom I found Generals Burgoyne and Philips, conferring about the capitulation.

"I then learned that this noble man, who led me to the tent, was the American General Schuyler. Schuyler, who had preceded Gates in the command of the American army. Schuyler invited me to dine at his own tent and I then learned that this noble-hearted man was a husband and father. I afterwards met his wife and daughters in Albany. One of his daughters married Alexander Hamilton."

The Baron and Baroness Riedesel moved with the prisoners from Albany to Boston, riding in their calash. They occupied a comfortable home at Cambridge for a year while arrangements were made to remove the prisoners to Virginia.

The cause of this order was the declaration of Sir Henry Clinton, then in command of the British at New York City, that since the Convention troops (those who surrendered at Saratoga) were not acknowledged as such, but looked upon in the same light as ordinary prisoners of war, he was no longer disposed to forward provisions to them, or pay the "exorbitant bills of the Americans," consequently Congress must maintain the prisoners itself. As the country in the vicinity of Boston was very deficient in provisions, the Convention troops were accordingly sent to Virginia, which it

was thought would be better able to furnish the needful supplies.

The keeping of the German colors were entrusted to the Baroness at Cambridge. During the time she remained there she had them concealed within a mattress. The Americans thought they had been destroyed at Saratoga, but some time later this mattress was forwarded to Halifax, and when the Baroness was set free, in 1782, she took the mattress with her to her native land.

"In the month of November, 1778," says the Baroness, "when the prisoners were ordered to Virginia, my husband purchased a pretty English wagon so that we were enabled to travel easily with my three daughters, Gustava, Frederika and Caroline. Gustava entreated Captain Edmonton, one of my husband's adjutants, not to leave us on the way. He gave his promise and faithfully kept it. I traveled with the army on the way to Virginia. An old Yager, who acted as driver, together with the captain guided our vehicle over the almost impassable roads. My provisions and baggage were carried in a wagon which followed the servants. Upon reaching the Hudson River at Fishkill, we lodged at the house of a boatman. After crossing the river and going a distance, my husband, children and both my maidservants remained eight days at the home of Colonel Osborn, a wealthy planter, in order to give our troops time to cross the river, which, on account of the scarcity of boats, was very tedious. Our third stopping place after leaving Colonel Osborn was at the house of a German. At another time we had our quarters for the night at the home of Colonel Howe. Before we crossed the Blue Mountains, in Virginia, we made a further halt of eight days that our troops might have time to collect again.

"Meantime such a great quantity of snow fell that two of our servants were obliged to go before my wagon on horseback in order to make a path for us.

On our journey through Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, we passed through a picturesque country which, however, by reason of its wildness, inspired us with terror. We arrived at Colle, near Charlottesville, in the middle of February, 1779, where my husband, who had gone ahead with our

troops, awaited us with impatient longing. My husband built a large house at Cole, two hours' ride from the prisoners quartered at Charlottesville. The house cost him one hundred guineas. In the summer of 1779, we received word that General Philips and my husband, with their adjutants, had permission to go to New York in order to be exchanged. My husband handed over the charge of the German troops to General Specht. He then proceeded northward with General Philips and I set out to meet him at York, Pennsylvania. Before leaving Virginia, Mrs. Carroll sent me an invitation for me to visit her at her home in Maryland. I determined to accept her courtesies. She resided near the town of Baltimore, which, I was told, was very pretty and inhabited by many amiable families. We remained as her guests eight days and were hospitably entertained.

"While moving toward York, Pennsylvania, from Baltimore, we were overtaken in a forest by a violent thunderstorm. A trunk of a tree broke and fell between the carriage box and the horses. Here we sat fast aground, and could not stir from the place, as none of our servants were strong enough to move the tree from the spot where it had fallen. In the meantime, it thundered fearfully; the lightning struck in several places round about us; and another and larger tree threatened to crush us. I could only urge the servants to disengage us from the jam, but the coachman, who was completely bewildered, assured me it was impossible. At last, my little Gustava, who was at that time only eight years old, said, 'Only unhitch the horses, and put them behind the wagon, and you can draw it backwards.' This suggestion was immediately acted upon, and every one asked the other why that idea had not occurred to them likewise.

**The** "So finally we arrived happily at York, in Pennsylvania, where we  
**Baroness** found my husband, who had  
**in York.** been very much worried about us on account of the vivid lightning. We rode through a magnificent country."

The "Memoirs" of Baron Riedesel says: "Upon reaching York with General Philips, whom he had met on the way, the Baron found that his wife had arrived a few days

before him. After encountering many dangers that brave woman, with her children, had reached the place a few days earlier and had thus had an opportunity of enjoying a little rest, which she very much needed."

"From York," says the Baroness, "we pursued our journey through beautifully cultivated country regions and arrived safely at Elizabeth, New Jersey. We expected to cross over to New York the same evening and be restored to our freedom, but while seated at dinner, an officer from Washington arrived with a letter ordering us to return to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as Congress had refused to ratify the exchange. The eyes of General Philips, who was by nature very passionate, fairly scintillated with rage. In a fit of anger he struck the table with his fist. I was like one petrified and could not utter a word."

In obedience to the order, they returned to Bethlehem, remaining there until the latter part of November, when they were allowed to enter the British lines in New York City. General Riedesel and his wife remained there several months, and March 7, 1780, she gave birth to her fourth daughter. Says the baroness in her diary: "We had intended, in case it had been a boy, to call the child Americus, which we now exchanged for America." General Philips, General Knyphausen and Colonel Wurmb acted as sponsors at the baptism of the child."

#### DR. JOHN CONNOLLY.

Dr. John Connolly, a romantic character in the history of the Revolution, was held a prisoner of war at York for a period of two years. He was born in Lancaster County in 1744, son of John Connolly, a surgeon in the British service in America. His mother was first the wife of James Patterson, the noted Indian trader, at Lancaster, who, after his death married as her second husband, Thomas Ewing, father of General James Ewing, of York County, who commanded a brigade in the Flying Camp. Surgeon Connolly was her third husband. Dr. John Connolly, their son, who was educated as a physician, was a man of vigor and force. When the Revolution opened he became a loyalist, and at the suggestion of Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, went to Boston, where he obtained a colonel's

commission from General Gage, the British commander at that port. Owing to his alliance with Dunmore, who was also a loyalist, Connolly was induced to raise a regiment of Tories and Indians to be known as the Royal Foresters. While passing through Hagerstown, Maryland, with a single companion on his way to the western frontier for the purpose of organizing his command, he was arrested. His captors found in his saddlebags his commission. He was taken to Philadelphia and placed in prison. While passing through York, Connolly recorded in his journal: "On the second day after our capture we arrived at York, where a committee decided that we should be confined in a room in the county jail, in which was a straw bed, little covering and no fire. The new-made soldiers of York were then so fond of fife and drum that they entertained us all night with this music. The next morning, January 1, 1776, we were conducted to the tavern, where our horses had been kept, by a military guard with a drummer beating the Rogue's March. When the guard which brought us here from Frederick started from York, the people of the town and the soldiers ironically complimented us with many wishes of a happy new year. Great numbers of the inhabitants of York rode with us until we arrived at Wright's Ferry, the home of my half brother, Colonel James Ewing, who differed from me in political affiliation, for he espoused the cause of the colonies. At Ewing's request, I was allowed to walk on the ice with him in crossing the Susquehanna. After less than a year's imprisonment in Philadelphia, through my brother, James Ewing, who had become a general in the American army, I was released upon a temporary parole and permitted to go to his home in York County, where I was allowed to go five miles distant for exercise to recuperate my health. Here I was sent in November, 1776, and remained two months, when I was again remanded to prison, but General Ewing again came to my rescue and by his own bond I was, in the spring of 1777, again permitted to live at his home on parole. I continued in this happy situation from April 11 to October 14, 1777. When Congress moved to York, the Board of War, believing that I was plotting against the government, had me placed in

the county jail at York, where I was closely locked up and all the former severity against me renewed. The York jail was so crowded with British prisoners, permanent and transient, that a contagious fever appeared."

Connolly, being a physician, in May, 1778, petitioned Congress, then sitting at York, to relieve him and his associates from this unsanitary condition of affairs. Among the British prisoners who signed this document with Connolly were Richard M. Stockton, Charles Harrison, Asher Dunham, Robert Morrison and Francis Frazer.

Five days later the Board of War, under instructions from Congress, reported that Thomas Peters, deputy commissary of prisoners at York and Carlisle; Dr. Henry, an attending surgeon, and Colonel Pickering, a member of the Board of War, had visited the York jail and found that the statements made by Connolly and his associates were exaggerated. They further mentioned "that Connolly and six British officers occupied two rooms in the jail, one fifteen by twenty feet, and the other nearly as large; that they also had the privilege of the jail yard, which was sixty yards long and eighteen yards wide. This jail is used as a place of temporary confinement for passing prisoners and is not now crowded. There are only nine privates in the jail, and three of them are the officers' servants. The jail is capable of holding one hundred and sixty prisoners. Five of the soldiers have light fevers, common to places of confinement, but their disorders are not contagious or dangerous."

Dr. William Shippen, surgeon-general of the army, while on a visit to York, had examined Connolly during his imprisonment and pronounced him a hypochondriac and not responsible for his statements. This opinion was concurred in by Colonel Pickering and the rest, but Connolly denied these allegations and claimed he was treated unfairly.

After Congress returned to Philadelphia, in June, 1778, Connolly was admitted to parole and sent to that city, but he was afterward remanded to prison, where he remained until nearly the end of the war.

After the close of the Revolution he visited General Ewing upon his plantation. On one occasion, in an unguarded moment,

when seated at the table, he boastfully made the remarkable statement that the British army would yet come down from Canada and conquer the United States. This astounding remark exasperated Ewing, who rose from his chair and seized Connolly by the throat. The two men were separated by the appeals of Ewing's wife. Although holding opposite views during the Revolution and thereafter, there always existed a bond of fraternal union between Ewing and his half-brother. Even as late as 1798, in an attempt to recover land that he owned at the Falls of the Ohio River, Connolly attempted to enlist some army officers in a scheme to capture Louisiana and set up a separate government in the West. The attention of the President of the United States was called to this plot and measures were taken to prevent its execution. Connolly died in Canada at an advanced age. He was an adventurer throughout his whole life.

## CHAPTER XVII

### REVOLUTION—Continued.

#### Committee of Safety—Associators—Biographical—Historical Notes—Muster Rolls—Pensioners.

In the year 1774, when the sentiment spread throughout America in opposition to the British government of the colonies, committees of correspondence and committees of safety were organized. In May of that year, Charles Thomson, by order of the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia, sent out circular letters to the different counties of Pennsylvania, asking for the sentiments of the inhabitants in relation to the attitude of the mother country toward the colonies. This letter also asked that delegates should be chosen from York County to attend a provincial conference to be held at Philadelphia, June 15, 1774.

In response to this letter a meeting was held in York, presided over by Michael Swope, who afterwards commanded a regiment of York County troops in the Revolution. This meeting decided to concur with the sister colonies in any constitutional measures in order to

obtain redress, and recognized the people of Boston as "suffering in the common cause of liberty." It was resolved that every township in York County send delegates to meet in convention on the 4th of July following. A committee of thirteen was then appointed for the town of York. June 28, the Philadelphia Committee of Safety transmitted to the committee of thirteen in York, resolutions passed by the Provincial Conference assembled in State House Square on June 18. This Provincial Conference had recommended that the committees appointed in the different counties or such number of them as thought proper, meet in Philadelphia at the time the Provincial Assembly should convene. On account of the Indian disturbances, John Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, had called a meeting of the Provincial Assembly for July 18. The committees of the several counties thus assembling in Philadelphia at the same time as the Provincial Assembly met, could then frame and prepare such matters for submission to the Assembly as might be thought proper and expedient.

In accordance with this request, James Smith, Joseph Donaldson and Thomas Hartley were sent as deputies from York County to the Provincial Conference, which had been announced to assemble at Philadelphia on July 15, three days before the Provincial Assembly met pursuant to the call of Governor Penn. James Smith was appointed a member of a committee to prepare a petition to the Provincial Assembly to appoint delegates to attend a Continental Congress of representatives from all the colonies in America. This Congress met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, in Carpenter's Hall. Among the members of this illustrious body were George Washington, Patrick Henry, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Jay, and John Rutledge. This Congress agreed upon a Declaration of Rights, and after discussing other measures, adjourned to meet in Philadelphia on the 10th of May, 1775.

On December 16, 1774, the freeholders of York County met at the Court House for the purpose of electing a Committee of Safety, which was composed of one or more representatives from every township in the county. The following is a list of the persons chosen:



Henry Slagle,	Jacob Doudel,
Joseph Donaldson,	Frederick Fischel,
George Eichelberger,	James Dickson,
George Irwin,	William McClellan,
John Hay,	William Cathcart,
Archibald McClean,	Patrick Scott,
David Grier,	Michael Doudel,
David Kennedy,	Michael Bard,
Thomas Fisher,	Casper Reinecker,
John Kean,	Henry Liebhard,
John Houston,	John Maxwell,
George Kuntz,	George Oge,
Simon Coppenhaffer,	John O. Blenes,
Joseph Jefferies,	William Dill,
Robert McCorley,	Henry Banta, Sr., ✓
Michael Hahn,	William Kilmary,
Baltzer Spangler,	William Chesney,
Daniel Messerly,	Francis Holton,
Nicholas Bittinger,	Peter Reel,
Michael Davis,	Andrew Finley,

On December 17, the Committee met at the Court House and organized by electing James Smith, chairman; Thomas Hartley, vice-president; John Hay, treasurer, and George Lewis Lefler, secretary. At this meeting the committee prepared rules for the transaction of business, laid plans for raising money to be sent to the unfortunate people of Boston, whose rights had been trampled upon by the English government, and then adjourned until December 29. On December 22, 1774, a letter was received from the Committee of Safety in Philadelphia requesting that the local committees in Pennsylvania send delegates to a Provincial Convention to be held in Philadelphia, January 23, 1775, in order that these delegates might discuss questions relating to the common defence of the people in Pennsylvania and the other colonies. James Smith, Thomas Hartley, John Hay, George Eichelberger, Joseph Donaldson, George Irwin and Michael Smyser were chosen by the committee to represent York County in the proposed convention. When this Provincial Conference met at Philadelphia, on January 22, they resolved that this Convention heartily approved of the conduct and proceedings of the Continental Congress, which had already held a session.

In April, 1775, James Smith, chairman of the Committee of Safety, addressed a patriotic letter to the committee at Boston and forwarded the sum of 246 pounds for the relief of the suffering people of that city.

The term Associators was applied to patriotic citizens of Pennsylvania who banded together early in the Revolution to

protect themselves against the alleged tyranny of the English government, of which they were subjects. The love of liberty seems to have been inborn with our ancestors before the struggle for independence had begun. Persecutions in Europe had led the Scotch from the north of Ireland, the Germans from the Palatinate, the Pietists from Germany and Switzerland to come to this province because its founder had offered freedom of conscience and a liberal government.

After the close of the French and Indian war, peace and prosperity reigned throughout York, Cumberland, Westmoreland and Bedford, then called the frontier counties, embracing all the region west of the Susquehanna River. Within a few years York and Cumberland had become densely populated, each containing about twenty-five thousand settlers, who were clearing the primeval forests, cultivating the valuable lands and hunting the wild game which was abundant everywhere.

As a result of the Indian incursions and their experience as expert hunters, these sturdy pioneers had become expert riflemen.

When they heard the news from New England and the other colonies that measures would be taken to resist the tyranny of England, our ancestors in York County were quick to respond. Militia companies had been in existence before 1750, and three companies from York County had participated as Provincial troops in the French and Indian war. They had been sworn into the British service to protect their homes against the hostile invaders and finally drove them back to the Ohio Valley.

The military spirit had decreased for several years, until the patriots of York County heard of the difficulties at Boston. James Smith, the leading member of the York Bar, in May, 1774, was sent as a delegate to the Provincial Conference, which was held at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. From the time he had heard of the disturbed state of affairs in Massachusetts, James Smith was one of the foremost in this province to advocate armed resistance against the mother country. He presented his arguments with force and eloquence to the Conference, which, however, adopted conciliatory measures.

**The  
First  
Company.**

Immediately after his return to York, this ardent advocate of American liberty began the organization of the first military company in Pennsylvania for the purpose of opposing British oppression. James Smith was chosen captain of this company; Thomas Hartley, first lieutenant; David Grier, second lieutenant; Henry Miller, ensign. The commanding officer became a signer of the Declaration of Independence and his subordinates all won distinction in the American army. The non-commissioned officers and privates were composed of the leading citizens of the town and county. They met regularly for drill and discipline, being armed with rifles for complete training in the art of war.

Meantime the first Continental Congress had met at Carpenter's Hall, September 5, 1774, and although this body agreed upon a declaration of rights, and sent a petition to the king, it did not urge armed resistance against the mother country. The military spirit, however, was rife throughout York County, which embraced the area now included in Adams, and within a short time other companies of Associators were formed. On February 14, 1775, the local Committee of Correspondence, at a meeting held in the Court House at York, recorded that there were several companies of Associators within the limits of the county engaged in military drill and discipline similar to the one at York. It further stated that the commanding officers were willing to disband these companies if their existence was not agreeable to the committee. James Smith being chairman, declared in open meeting and had it recorded that the committee would not discourage the martial spirit of these Associators throughout York County, but on the contrary reported: "we are of the opinion that said Associators if trained with prudence, moderation and a strict regard to good order, under the direction of a man of probity and understanding, would tend much to the security of this country against the attempts of our enemies."

The news from Lexington and Concord where the British had attacked the militia of Massachusetts, stimulated the military ardor of the Associators in York County, and it reached the highest point of tension

when these patriots heard of the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Immediately after the news was brought to York County, the military company commanded by Captain Michael Doudel, with Lieutenants Miller, Dill and Matson, began the march to join the patriot army under Washington around Boston. The career of this company is told elsewhere in this volume.

The Revolution had now opened and all of the thirteen colonies were in a condition of rebellion. This state of affairs brought about a meeting of the Pennsylvania Assembly, June 30, 1775, which by this time had become a patriotic body. Many of those in favor of the British crown had retired. The Assembly approved the organization of Associators and passed resolutions agreeing in case of invasion to provide for necessary pay of officers and soldiers performing military duty while in active service. It recommended that the Board of Commissioners and Assessors in each county provide a number of muskets or rifles with bayonets, cartridge boxes large enough for twenty rounds, and knapsacks. Three hundred were asked for the County of York. Every county was requested to select a number of Minute Men equal to the number of arms, and to be in readiness upon the shortest notice to march to any quarter in case of emergency.

Saturday of each week was set apart for military drill. The average number of men in a company was eighty, rank and file. The company could not go outside of Pennsylvania without the vote of the majority of the officers and men.

Immediately after the first company of volunteers under Captain Doudel and Lieutenant Miller began the march to Boston to join the army under Washington, the Associators began to organize for defensive operations in case their services were needed. A meeting of the local Committee of Safety and officers of the Associators was held in the county Court House at York, July 28th and 29th, 1775. It was presided over by James Smith. Under the authority of this meeting, York County was divided into five military districts.

The associated companies then already formed in the town of **Battalions Organized.** York and the Townships of Hellam, Windsor, Manchester,

York and Codorus, were organized into the first battalion of York County Associators under the command of James Smith, as colonel; Thomas Hartley, lieutenant-colonel; Joseph Donaldson and Michael Swope, majors.

The second battalion was formed from associated companies in the region of what is now part of Adams County, including the Townships of Cumberland, Hamilton Ban, Straban, Menallen, Mt. Joy and Tyrone, with Robert McPherson, colonel; David Kennedy, lieutenant-colonel; and Moses McClean and Hugh Dunwoodie, majors.

The third battalion was formed from associated companies in Heidelberg, Berwick, Paradise, Mt. Pleasant, Manheim and Germany Townships, with Richard McAllister, colonel; Henry Slagle, lieutenant-colonel; John Andrews and Joseph Jeffries, majors.

The fourth battalion was formed from the associated companies in Chanceford, Shrewsbury, Fawn and Hopewell Townships, with William Smith, colonel; Francis Holton, lieutenant-colonel; and John Gibson and John Finley, majors.

The fifth battalion was formed from the associated companies in Dover, Newberry, Monaghan, Warrington, Huntingdon and Reading Townships, with William Rankin, colonel; Matthew Dill, lieutenant-colonel; Robert Stevenson and Gerhart Graeff, majors.

At this same meeting for the organization of battalions of Associators, under the authority of the

**Minute Men.** Pennsylvania Conference, a battalion of Minute Men was organized with Richard McAllister, colonel; Thomas Hartley, lieutenant-colonel, and David Grier, major. This battalion was composed of five companies, one from each military district of the county. Each company of Minute Men was composed of a captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, an ensign, a drummer and sixty-eight or more privates. These Minute Men were volunteers from the five battalions of Associators, one company from each battalion. The week following this historic meeting in the provincial Court House at York, the different companies were formed and banded themselves together to be ready at a moment's warning to take the field in defence of their rights and liberties.

The Associators and Minute Men of York County who had already subscribed to the voluntary articles of association for defensive purposes, and which were the first prepared in any province or colony in the country, accepted thirty-two articles of association recommended by the Pennsylvania Conference, August 12, 1775. These articles provided for every contingency that might arise to the troops if called into active service. They were read in the presence of each company, after which officers and privates gave their solemn attestation. The preamble to these articles reads as follows:

"We, the officers and soldiers engaged in the present association for the defence of American liberty, being fully sensible that the strength and security of any body of men, acting together, consists in just regularity, due subordination and exact obedience to command, without which no individual can have that confidence in support of those about him that is so necessary to give firmness and resolution to the whole, do voluntarily and freely, after consideration of the following articles, adopt the same as the rules by which we agree and resolve to be governed in all our military concerns and operations until the same, or any of them, shall be changed or dissolved by the Assembly, or Provincial Convention, or in their recess by the Committee of Safety, or a happy reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and the Colonies."

On August 1, Colonel James Smith, commander of the first battalion of Associators and chairman of the Committee of Correspondence and Observation for York County, addressed a letter to the delegates in Continental Congress from Pennsylvania. This Congress had convened in Philadelphia on May 10, on the day when Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been captured by Ethan Allen. As recorded in the Pennsylvania Archives, Colonel Smith asked an opinion as to how the committee should proceed with those citizens who for conscience' sake were opposed to bearing arms. The following day, Michael Swope, of York, who was a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, wrote to John Dickinson, at Philadelphia, president of the Committee. In this letter the writer

reports the success of a meeting held at York in July; he asked that the officers chosen to command the companies of Associators and Minute Men receive commissions, thus giving them proper authority to perform their military duties.

By this time in the history of affairs which brought forth the war for independence there were fifty-three battalions of Associators in Pennsylvania. It must be understood that the incidents herein described took place one year before the Declaration of Independence, when Pennsylvania was still a province and the Assembly not acting under a constitution, which was adopted in 1776, when this province became one of the thirteen original states.

On September 14, the local committee from this county reported to Benjamin Franklin and the Committee of Safety for Pennsylvania, that the number of Associators in York County was 3,349. According to this report there were in July preceding nine hundred non-associators in this county, who were opposed to bearing arms. Meantime some of these had voluntarily joined the military companies and became loyal to the cause of independence. The battalions in York County, according to the committee's statement, did not contain an equal number of men, but none of them had fewer than five hundred. The first three battalions were large enough for regiments. The men appointed to command these companies were generally efficient. The discipline of the companies was not all the same, so this committee suggested if any were to be called into service it would be well to call out those who were best trained in the manual of arms and in military practice.

It will thus be seen that the Associators west of the Susquehanna were preparing themselves for any emergency. The company that had volunteered early in July had already won a record for courage and marksmanship in Thompson's battalion in Washington's army, at Boston.

When it was decided by Continental Congress, in the winter of 1775-6, to send an expedition to invade Canada, two companies were ordered to be recruited for that service from the associated battalions of York County. The response to this call

was prompt. William Irvine, of Carlisle, was commissioned colonel to organize and command the Sixth Battalion of Pennsylvania Volunteers, largely composed of troops from west of the Susquehanna. Captain Moses McClean recruited and commanded one of the companies from York County which joined Irvine's battalion, and Captain David Grier the other. The muster rolls of these two companies and the part taken by these troops in the first Canada expedition will be found in the chapter on that subject in this volume. Thomas Hartley, a member of the York County Bar, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of this battalion. He was then twenty-six years of age.

The remaining troops all over York County continued to practice the manual of arms with their flintlock muskets. They were imbued with the military spirit and continued to prepare themselves to take an active part in the war which had opened with so much energy and defiance to the mother country. Meantime a new Committee of Safety and Observation was elected by a popular vote throughout the county. Only men interested in protecting the rights of the colonies were chosen. There were several members from each of the twenty-six townships. The following are the names:

Michael Swope,	George Brinkerhoff,
James Smith,	John Semple,
Thomas Hartley,	Robert McPherson,
John Hay,	Samuel Edie,
Charles Lukens,	William McClellan,
David Grier,	Thomas Douglass,
Joseph Donaldson,	John Agnew,
George Irwin,	David Kennedy,
John Kean,	George Clingen,
William Lease,	George Kerr,
William Scott,	Abraham Banta, —
George Eichelberger,	John Mickle, Jr.,
Philip Albright,	Samuel McConaughy,
Michael Hahn,	David McConaughy,
David Candler,	John Blackburn,
Baltzer Spangler,	William Walker,
John Houston,	Richard McAllister,
Thomas Armor,	Christian Graff,
John Schultz,	Jacob Will,
Christopher Slagle,	Henry Slagle,
Andrew Rutter,	John Hamilton,
Peter Wolfe,	John Montieith,
Philip Jacob King,	Thomas Lilly,
Zachariah Shugart,	Richard Parsel,
John Herbach,	Charles Gelwix,
William Johnston,	John McClure,
John Spangler,	William Shakly,
James Dickson,	Frederick Gelwix,
Francis Cazart,	John Hinkle,

John Hoover,  
Patrick McSherry,  
James Leeper,  
Joseph Reed,  
Patrick Scott,  
James Edgar,  
Benjamin Savage,  
Andrew Thompson,  
Peter Baker,  
Jacob Kasel,  
John Williams,  
William Mitchell,

Lewis Williams,  
William Rankin,  
James Nailer,  
Baltzer Knertzer,  
Henry Mathias,  
George Stough,  
Daniel Messerly,  
John Nesbit,  
William Wakely,  
John Chamberlain,  
Andrew Thompson,  
Alexander Sanderson.

The British army, after having been driven out of Boston by the Americans under Washington, proceeded to Halifax, Nova Scotia. When Congress heard that this army was about to threaten New York, it asked for 2,000 troops from Pennsylvania. A regiment under Colonel Samuel Miles was organized at Philadelphia. One company was called for from York County. This company was recruited from different battalions of Associators and was placed in command of Philip Albright as captain; John Thompson, first lieutenant; Cornelius Sheriff, second lieutenant; William McPherson, second lieutenant; Jacob Stair, third lieutenant. This company joined the regiment in June and the story of its service is given in the history of Colonel Miles' regiment, found in this volume.

During the first years of the war, many of the patriots of the Revolution were only seeking for what they termed the rights of the colonies, but as England was sending more troops to this country for the purpose of conquering the Americans now in the field, the spirit of independence prevailed throughout the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. On July 4, 1776, by a majority vote in Continental Congress, the Declaration of Independence was adopted. Pennsylvania was no longer a province under the English government. She was in the centre of the thirteen original states, and when the war had ended was the keystone of the arch under which the American troops marched when they were mustered out of service. Philadelphia was to become the first seat of government of the new-born Republic of the United States. The five battalions of Associators in York County continued to drill and discipline more frequently than they had done before Congress had declared the states free and independent. They had company drill at the regular parading ground selected by the captain, and twice a month all the companies of a

battalion met and drilled at one place under the command of the colonel. The war spirit was rife throughout the state of Pennsylvania and in every section of York County.

The climax came when the British threatened to capture the city of New York. Sir William Howe was now in command of the enemy's troops and had received many recruits from across the ocean. In order to supply all protective measures possible, on July 5, 1776, the day after the Declaration of Independence had been voted upon, a committee of Congress held a conference with the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, and the field officers of the five battalions of Associators then organized in Philadelphia. At this meeting resolutions were adopted, urgently requesting that the entire force of Associators in Pennsylvania, in all, fifty-three battalions, "who can be furnished with arms and accoutrements be forthwith requested to march with the utmost expedition" to Trenton and New Brunswick in the State of New Jersey. These troops were to remain in the service until a Flying Camp composed of 10,000 men could be organized in the field, and placed under the command of General Hugh Mercer, a bosom friend of Washington. On the same day, Congress approved what had been done and "recommended to the good people of Pennsylvania to carry their purposes into execution with the same laudable readiness which they have ever manifested in supporting the injured rights of their country." This news was soon brought west of the Susquehanna and circulated throughout York County.

There are no official reports which give the historian the privilege of describing in detail how these five battalions of associated militia from this county congregated at their appointed places and began the march toward Philadelphia and Trenton. Every flintlock musket or rifle available was brought into requisition and given to these patriots who had answered the call of their country for the common defence of the nation, which had just declared its independence.

Michael Swope took command of the battalion which had been drilled by James Smith, who had been elected to Congress, and be-

**Going to the Front.**

came a signer of the immortal declaration. Robert McPherson, who then resided near the site of Gettysburg, marched toward York with the Second Battalion. Richard McAllister, who was also commander of the Minute Men, came with the Third Battalion from Hanover and vicinity. William Smith, with the Fourth Battalion, from the lower end of the county, crossed the Susquehanna at McCall's Ferry and proceeded to Lancaster, where he afterward met the other battalions on the march. William Rankin came from Newberry and adjoining townships with the Fifth Battalion. If they all obtained firelocks and the necessary equipment, there were at least 2,500 professional men, tillers of the soil and tradesmen, who crossed the Susquehanna and began the march to Philadelphia and Trenton in the midsummer days of July, 1776, shortly after the Declaration of Independence had been read in front of the Court House at York.

"On July 7," says the pastor of the Moravian Church in his diary, "strict orders came that all Associators of this county should hold themselves in readiness to march to the front."

In answer to the call for troops, York County responded with the five battalions, the advance reaching Philadelphia July 16. From thence they proceeded to Perth Amboy, near the city of New York, and during the succeeding month two regiments were formed out of these battalions of Associators. They composed the First and Second Pennsylvania Regiments of the Flying Camp, whose history will be found in another chapter of this book.

The Associators who had not enlisted in the Flying Camp in accordance with the act of

**Proof of Patriotism.** Congress, after receiving the pay of troops in the Continental service, were permitted to return home. It seems that a sufficient number had enlisted for the immediate demands of the army. The object in calling the entire militia force of the state for one month had a double purpose. It supplied sufficient men for the Flying Camp, and at that early period proved the courage and patriotism of the Pennsylvania Associators in the cause of independence.

The Associators who returned home kept

up their organizations and continued their military drill and discipline, expecting that they might soon again be called into the service. After the battle of Long Island, which was succeeded by the disaster to the American arms at Fort Washington, the British held New York City. Succeeding these events Washington, with his depleted army, retreated across New Jersey and when Philadelphia was threatened by the invading foe, there was another call for troops. The Pennsylvania Council of Safety requested the Board of War to station more troops for the defence of Philadelphia. The object of this move was not only to protect the city against the invading foe, but to menace the adherents to the Crown known as Tories, who lived in Philadelphia and the surrounding country. It was then ordered that two Virginia battalions, the German battalion, four companies of Marines, and 500 Associators from each of the counties of York, Cumberland, Lancaster and Berks be called into the service and placed under the command of General Stephen for the defence of Philadelphia.

Thomas Wharton, president of Pennsylvania, on December 23, issued an address which appealed to every friend of his country.

**Mifflin at York.** Meantime, General Thomas Mifflin, the "fighting Quaker" of the Revolution, was requested by the State Assembly to make a tour of Pennsylvania. He made speeches in every section of the state, arousing the patriotism of the people by his fascinating eloquence. He came to York and also visited Carlisle. In both of these towns he stirred up so much enthusiasm that an early chronicler was constrained to say "the quota from the back counties was easily raised." In fact the loyalty to the union of states in the interior counties was much more pronounced than in the city of Philadelphia.

This alarming call was the result of the defeat of Washington around New York City and the retreat of his army across New Jersey. The term of enlistment of some of his soldiers had ended. The Flying Camp, which had enlisted for the term of six months, would end January 1, but many of this gallant band of soldiers were persuaded to remain in the service for a longer time. Within a few days, three thousand

Associators from the interior of Pennsylvania arrived in the city of Philadelphia and were placed in command of Cadwalader and Ewing, then guarding the Delaware River from Trenton to Philadelphia. Although not active participants, they were present at Trenton and Princeton, important victories in the American cause.

When it was feared the British would again attack Philadelphia in the spring of 1777, the Supreme Executive Council, in a proclamation of the 9th of April, after stating the causes of alarm and calling upon the people to prepare for defence, used this language:

"This city has once been saved by the vigorous, manly efforts of a few brave Associators, who generously stepped forward in defence of their country; and it has been repeatedly and justly observed, and ought to be acknowledged as a signal evidence of the favor of Divine Providence that the lives of the associated militia in every battle during this just war have been remarkably spared. Confiding, therefore, in the continuance of His blessing, who is indeed the God of Armies, let every man among us hold himself ready to march into the field whenever he shall be called upon to do so."

With the passage and promulgation of the new militia law, the Associated Battalions as such ceased to exist. The days of the Associators had passed away and the Pennsylvania militia came upon the stage of action. It was naturally anticipated that greater thoroughness in discipline would be the result, yet this was never realized. Although the militia served well in the campaign around Philadelphia, September, 1777, yet their duties were afterward chiefly confined either in protecting the frontiers, standing sentinel while the backwoodsman sowed his grain and reaped his harvest, or in guarding prisoners of war. The influence of the Associators was nevertheless felt throughout the contest for independence.

At the next session of the Pennsylvania Assembly, a special act was passed relating to the militia of the state. The act provided for the division of York County into six districts for the purpose of keeping the militia organizations in practice ready for service. Each county of the state was re-

quired to have at least 640 militia, armed and equipped and ready for military duty.

**Militia Organized.** The organization of the county militia was in charge of a lieutenant and in each district a sub-lieutenant was appointed.

This law went into force in March, 1777. Richard McAllister, who had commanded a regiment in the Flying Camp, was appointed lieutenant of York County. Hance Morrison, Robert Stevenson, John Hay, James McCandless and John Carson were appointed sub-lieutenants. It was the duty of the sub-lieutenants to carry out all the provisions of the act and see that at least 640 men in his district between the ages of 18 and 50 should receive the proper military drill so as to be trained in the art of war. All persons enrolled who failed to be present at muster without cause were fined 7 shillings and 6 pence. There were eight companies in a district. Each company was required to drill at least two days each month. The companies met at regular intervals for battalion drill. The militia forces of the state were then placed under the command of Brigadier-Generals John Armstrong, John Cadwalader, James Potter and Samuel Meredith. In June, Armstrong was made the major-general and James Irvine was appointed additional brigadier, in August.

As early as April 25, 1777, President Wharton, by advice of Continental Congress and the Board of War, ordered at least 500 militia from the different counties of the state to rendezvous at Bristol and Chester, to be in readiness for the enemy if they attempted to attack Philadelphia.

On May 1, 1777, Colonel Richard McAllister wrote to President Wharton that he had just finished dividing York County into military districts. It was difficult to raise the quota of 640 men required for each district. He assured Mr. Wharton that he had not lost one hour in organizing the militia, nor would he until the work was thoroughly done. On May 7, President Wharton acknowledged the receipt of McAllister's letter, assuring the latter that he felt confident that he was performing his duty to his utmost ability. He requested that a report of the election of officers for each battalion be forwarded in order that commissions for these officers might be sent

to Colonel McAllister for distribution. As soon as he learned the movements of the enemy, Wharton stated that he would inform McAllister of the condition of affairs, so that he might be able to furnish the quota of men required from York County.

June 14, the Supreme Executive Council of the state sent a circular letter requesting the county lieutenants to forward to the seat of war the militia of the first class, and to have in readiness those of the second class for active service.

July 4, McAllister wrote to President Wharton from Hanover, stating that he had great difficulty in getting the battalions together for military practice.

Some of the officers elected were unsatisfactory and others would not serve. He stated that there was a lack of arms in York County necessary for the troops either for drill or active service in the field, and urged that the state supply the necessary arms. This worked against his ability to forward the troops as rapidly as expected.

On July 28, Continental Congress, upon receiving the news of the movement of Howe's army from New York toward Philadelphia, asked the State of Pennsylvania to furnish 4,000 troops from the organized militia within the state. Each county was requested to send one class of the militia.

It will be seen from these numerous calls for troops the disturbed condition of affairs in Pennsylvania during this crucial period of the Revolution. Most of the militia of York County at this time belonged to the agricultural classes. Some of them were Quakers, who, according to their religion, were non-combatants. Still another class were Germans who had sworn allegiance to the government of England when they settled in York County and other sections of Pennsylvania. When General Howe landed in New York after the battle of Long Island he had offered a general amnesty to all Americans who were willing to adhere to the British crown. There were many Germans serving in the British army at this period, and German emissaries were sent out among the people of that nationality throughout Pennsylvania, urging them to oppose the militia laws. This caused a great difficulty in York and other counties

of the state which contained German inhabitants.

On August 28, 1777, Colonel Richard McAllister wrote to President Wharton that there were dissensions among the Associates in the German townships near Hanover. Two hundred freemen had assembled at one place for the purpose of opposing the draft of the militia for service in the field. He continued by saying that he had lived in peace among these people for twenty years or more, and knew well their customs and habits, but it was very difficult to induce them to take up arms against the country to which they had sworn allegiance. He said that notwithstanding the difficulties he had encountered in the prosecution of his duties as lieutenant of York County, he had marched five companies to the front fully armed and equipped, in answer to the recent call, and would soon have three more companies ready to take up the march for the army. In this letter McAllister stated that in two or three companies all of the men were substitutes, except five or six. He obtained substitutes for the sum of \$40, while in Cumberland County from \$100 to \$110 were paid to induce men to enlist as substitutes.

Early in the summer, Colonel McAllister had received from the State of Pennsylvania the sum of 1,000 pounds for the purpose of carrying on his work and was charged with the same. On August 1, the sum of 3,000 pounds, or about \$15,000, was sent to him. This money was used to equip the soldiers and to buy substitutes to take the places of those who refused to enter the army.

Instead of crossing New Jersey and attacking Philadelphia, as anticipated, General Howe set sail from New York and came up the Chesapeake Bay, landing near Elkton, Md., with an army of 18,000 men. At this alarming period of the war, President Wharton, of Pennsylvania, issued a proclamation to the people of the state which in part reads as follows:

"The time is at length come in which the fate of ourselves, our wives, children and posterity must be speedily determined; General Howe, at the head of a British army, the only hope, the last resource of our enemy, has invaded this state, dismissing his ships and disencumbering him-



self of his heavy artillery and baggage, he appears to have risked all upon the event of a movement which must either deliver up to plunder and devastation, this capital of Pennsylvania and of America, or forever blast the cruel designs of our implacable foe. Blessed be God, Providence seems to have left it to ourselves to determine whether we shall triumph in victory and rest in freedom and peace, or by tamely submitting, or weakly resisting, deliver ourselves up a prey to an enemy.

"The foe is manifestly aiming, either by force to conquer, or by stratagem and stolen marches to elude the vigilance of our brave commander, declining a battle with our countrymen, they have attempted to steal upon us by surprise. They have been hitherto defeated, but numbers are absolutely necessary to watch them on every quarter at once.

"The neighboring states are hurrying forward their militia, and we hope by rising as one man, and besetting the foe at a distance from his fleet, we shall speedily enclose him like a lion in the toils.

"The Council therefore most humbly beseech and entreat all persons whatsoever, to exert themselves without delay, to seize this present opportunity of crushing the foe, now in the bowels of our country, by marching forth instantly under their respective officers, to the assistance of our great general, that he may be able to environ and demolish the only British army that remains formidable in America. Animated with the hope that Heaven, as before it has done in all times of difficulty and danger, will again crown our righteous efforts with success, we look forward to the prospect of seeing our insulting foe cut off from all means of escape and, by the goodness of the Almighty, the Lord of Hosts and God of Battles, wholly delivered into our hands."

At Brandywine and Germantown. The first and second classes of militia had already been called out during the early summer of 1777. After the proclamation had been circulated, the third class had been ordered to the seat of war. Similar calls were made from other counties in the state. They marched to join Washington's army near Philadelphia and were placed

under General Armstrong, who commanded the extreme left of the American army at the battle of Brandywine. Although not actively engaged in the battle, Armstrong and his Pennsylvania militia remained on the heights below Chad's Ford and were witnesses to the battle. After the defeat, Armstrong retreated to Chester and then moved with Washington to Philadelphia. In the battle of Germantown, the Pennsylvania militia took a prominent part. They behaved with gallantry in this engagement as well as in the spirited skirmishes at Chestnut Hill, White Marsh and Crooked Billet Tavern. In the affair at White Marsh, Colonel James Thompson, of Hopewell Township, who commanded a battalion of York County men, was wounded and carried off the field on a horse by General James Potter, then commanding a brigade of Pennsylvania militia.

After the campaign of 1778, which resulted in the victory at Monmouth, New Jersey, the Pennsylvania militia west of the Susquehanna was utilized in guarding the northern and western frontiers from the ravages of hostile Indians, who had been incited by British emissaries to disturb the quietude of white settlers in this region. A battalion of York County militia, in 1779, under command of Colonel Philip Albright, was marched to Standing Stone, the site of Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and quartered there for several months.

When the seat of war was transferred to the South, and Pennsylvania was no longer in danger of invasion by the British, the state militia spent most of their time at home, awaiting the result of the war. When Burgoyne's army was marched from Boston to Virginia in December, 1778, a regiment of York County militia took charge of these 4,500 British and Hessians and marched them to Charlottesville, where they were held for three years. After the return of these prisoners to Pennsylvania, two or three companies of local militia, at stated times, guarded about 1,800 prisoners, kept in a stockade in Windsor Township, four and a half miles southeast of York. In 1781, when Cornwallis moved northward toward Virginia and threatened to land at Annapolis, Maryland, and send a division to release the prisoners at York, Lancaster and Reading, a part of the militia force was

called out and stationed along the west bank of the Susquehanna, under the direction of William Scott, who was lieutenant for York County.

After the close of the war, in 1783, the militia system was in force for more than half a century.

COLONEL JAMES THOMPSON, who commanded the first battalion of York County militia at Germantown and White Marsh, was born in Sadsbury Township, Lancaster County, in 1745. He grew to manhood in his native county and in 1773 was married to Lydia, daughter of Robert Bailey. Soon after his marriage he removed to the southern section of York County, where he engaged in farming. He became prominently identified with the Round Hill Church, in Hopewell Township. Shortly after the opening of the Revolution he appeared before his brother, Andrew Thompson, one of the court justices for York County, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the government of the United States. He served as a lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Line and was promoted for meritorious services. In September, 1777, when the Pennsylvania militia was called into active service to aid in opposing the British army under Howe from its approach to Philadelphia, James Thompson was commissioned colonel of the First Battalion of the York County troops. This battalion was placed in the brigade of Pennsylvania militia commanded by Brigadier-General Potter, and served in the campaign around Philadelphia during the fall of 1777.

Colonel Thompson was severely wounded in an action at White Horse Tavern, near Philadelphia, and was carried from the field by General Potter, on the latter's horse, to the brigade surgeon for treatment. After recuperating from his wound, Colonel Thompson returned to his home in York County, where he served during the next year as purchasing agent for the government. In 1779 he was chosen a member, to represent York County, in the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Sometime after the Revolution he removed to Sadsbury Township, where, in association with his brother-in-law, Colonel John Steele, he built a grist mill and a paper mill on the Octorara Creek. They conducted a

considerable business here for twenty years or more. Late in life, Colonel Thompson removed to the Chester County side of the Octorara, where he died October 3, 1807, at the age of 62 years.

MAJOR JOSEPH DONALDSON, of York County, was a native of the Province of Maryland, born August 16, 1742. He located in the southern part of York County, was an active and energetic Whig, and formed one of the Committee of Correspondence of the County, to succor the Bostonians at the time of the going into effect of the "Port Bill." He was a delegate to the Provincial Deputies, which met July 15, 1774; justice of the peace from 1774 to 1776; member of the Provincial Conference of January 23, 1775; and member of the Convention of July 15, 1776. He was a major of the First Battalion of the Associators of York County, July, 1775, and was in service during the campaign of 1776. On the 8th of November, 1777, he was appointed one of the commissioners to collect clothing for the Continental army. Major Donaldson died at York about 1790. For ten years he was a partner with William Harris in the mercantile business at the southeast corner of Market and Water Streets.

COLONEL HENRY SCHLEGEL (SLAGLE) was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1735. His father, Christopher Slagle, of Saxony, came to Pennsylvania in 1713, and the following year took up a large tract of land on the Conestoga Creek, and built a mill. Subsequently he transferred his interests therein, and removed, in 1737, west of the Susquehanna, locating near the present site of Hanover, now within the limits of Adams County, on Slagle's Run, a branch of the Little Conestoga. Henry was one of four sons, Daniel, Jacob and Christopher, and followed the occupation of his father, a farmer and miller. He was commissioned one of the provincial magistrates in October, 1764, and continued in office by the convention of 1776. In December, 1774, he served on the committee of inspection for York County; commanded a battalion of Associators in 1779; was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and of the subsequent convention of the 15th of July. He was appointed by the Assembly, December

16, 1777, to take subscriptions for the Continental loan; November 22, 1777, acted as one of the commissioners which met at New Haven, Connecticut, to regulate the price of commodities in the states. He represented York County in the General Assembly from 1777 to 1779; appointed sub-lieutenant of the county, March 30, 1780; one of the auditors of depreciation accounts for York County, March 3, 1781; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789-90; commissioned by Governor Mifflin, one of the associate judges of York County, August 17, 1791, and continued as such upon the organization of Adams County. He represented the latter county in the Legislature, sessions of 1801-2. Colonel Slagle died at his residence, near Hanover; his remains were interred in the graveyard adjoining St. Matthew's Lutheran Church. The various offices held by him show conclusively that he had the confidence of the community. He was an ardent patriot, a faithful officer, and an upright citizen.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN HAY, of the Revolution, was born in Alsace, then in France, about 1733. His father, John Hay, was a native of Scotland, who, owing to the religious persecutions, emigrated to the Province of Alsace, subsequently coming to America, bringing with him four sons, who settled in Philadelphia, Northampton, and York Counties, Pennsylvania, and in Virginia. John Hay, of York County, was naturalized April 11, 1760. He was one of the Provincial magistrates; a commissioner of the county from 1772 to 1775; member of the Committee of Correspondence to send aid to the people of Boston in 1774; of the Provincial Convention, June 23, 1775; First Lieutenant in Colonel James Smith's Battalion of Associators, December, 1775; member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenter's Hall, June 18, 1776; and of the Convention of July 15, called by that body. He was appointed sub-lieutenant of the county March 12, 1777; resigning to accept the office of county treasurer in 1778, filling that position almost uninterruptedly until 1801. He represented York County in the Assembly in 1779, 1782, 1783, and 1784. Colonel Hay was the owner of a large tract of land in the immediate vicinity of York,

part of which subsequently became incorporated into the town and known as "Hay's Addition." He died in April, 1810. His son, Jacob, was a corporal in Moylan's cavalry regiment of the Revolution.

COLONEL ROBERT McPHERSON was the only son of Robert and Janet McPherson, who settled in the western portion of York County, in the fall of 1738 on the "Manor of Maske." He was born presumably in Ireland about 1730, and was a youth of eight years when his parents became a part of the well-known Marsh Creek settlement. He was educated at Rev. Dr. Allison's school at New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania, which academy was afterward moved to Newark, Delaware, and became the foundation of the present college at that place. His father died December 25, 1749, and his mother September 23, 1767. In 1751 he married Agnes, the daughter of Robert Miller, of the Cumberland Valley. In 1755 he was appointed treasurer of York County, and in 1756 a commissioner of the county. The latter office he resigned on accepting a commission as captain of the Third Battalion of the Provincial forces, May 10, 1758, serving under General Forbes on his expedition against Fort Duquesne. From 1762 to 1765 he was sheriff of the county, and from 1764 to the beginning of the Revolution was a justice of the peace under the Proprietaries, serving from 1770 as president justice of the York County Court, and was re-commissioned a justice under the first constitution of the state. From 1765 to 1767 he was a member of the Provincial Assembly and in 1768 was appointed county treasurer to fill a vacancy. He was a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, June 18, 1776; and was one of the representatives of York County in 1776, which formed the first constitution of the State of Pennsylvania. At the beginning of the War for Independence he was commissioned a colonel of the York County Battalion of Associators, and during that and the following year he was in active service in the Jerseys and in the subsequent campaign around Philadelphia. After his return from the field he was employed as the purchasing commissary of army supplies for the western end of York County. In 1779 he was one of the three

auditors of "confiscation and fine accounts." From 1781 to 1785 he served as a member of the Assembly of the State. Colonel McPherson was one of the charter members of the corporation of Dickinson College, and continued to act as trustee until his death, on February 19, 1789. His son, William McPherson, served as a lieutenant in Albright's Company, Miles' Regiment, in the Revolution.

COLONEL MATTHEW DILL was one of the first settlers in the vicinity of the present town of Dillsburg. He was of Scotch-Irish ancestry. During the troubles immediately before the French and Indian war, he was one of the five commissioners, one of whom was Benjamin Franklin, appointed to make a treaty with the Indians at the Croghan fort, which was located near the Susquehanna, in the lower end of Cumberland County. He afterward took part in the French and Indian war. In 1749 he was one of the eight justices of the peace, and justice of the Court of Common Pleas of York County. He died before the Revolution. His remains, together with those of many of his descendants, lie in the family graveyard a few hundred yards west of Dillsburg, this county. His daughter married Colonel Richard McAllister.

Colonel Matthew Dill, of the Revolution, was a son of Matthew Dill. In October, 1764, he was appointed justice of the peace and the Court of Common Pleas, under the colonial government, and continued in the same office upon the adoption of the constitution of 1776. He served in the General Assembly in 1777-8-9. During the year 1779 he was appointed sub-lieutenant of York County, to organize the county militia, and on March 30, 1780, was appointed one of the three commissioners to seize the personal effects of Tories in York County. For a short time after the Revolution he was president justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

MAJOR ELI LEWIS, son of Ellis Lewis, who settled in Fairview Township in 1735, was born in Redland Valley, January 31, 1750. In 1775 he became the commander of a company of Associators in Newberry and Fairview Townships. In 1776 he marched with his company to join the Flying Camp. He was captured and held as a prisoner of war in

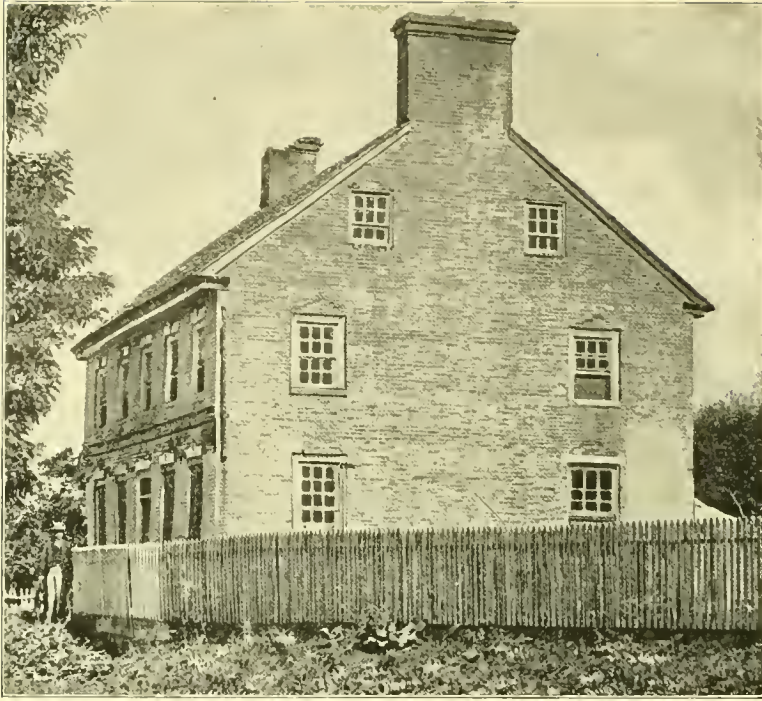
New York City and Long Island for several months.

Major Lewis was a man of education and in 1790, when Harrisburg was a small village, he founded *The Monitor and Weekly Advertiser*, the first newspaper at the state capital.

After General St. Clair was routed by the Indians in Ohio, he printed and published in his newspaper, "*St. Clair's Defeat*," a poem containing literary merit, which was widely copied. In 1798 Major Lewis founded the town of Lewisberry. November 10, 1779, he married Pamela Webster, at Londongrove Friends meeting house, Chester County. Major Lewis died at Lewisberry, February 1, 1807. The remains of Major Lewis and his wife are buried in the Friends graveyard at Newberrytown. The spot has recently been marked by a marble tablet and surrounded by a stone wall. Among their children were Ellis Lewis, who became chief justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania; Webster Lewis, physician at Lewisberry; James, a member of the bar and president of the York bank; Eli, president of the First National bank at York.

COLONEL WILLIAM RANKIN, of York County, of Quaker parentage, was a native of England, his parents coming to this country when he was very young. Prior to the Revolution he was a justice of the peace of the Province, and located near the Susquehanna, in Fishing Creek Valley, York County. Although a member of the Warrington Monthly Meeting, he became at the outset of the Revolution an ardent Whig, and was chosen colonel of one of the York County Battalions of Associators. He was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and of the Convention of 15th of July following. By the latter body he was continued a justice of the peace. The cause of Colonel Rankin's defection has never been divulged, but during the year 1780 he was detected in holding a traitorous correspondence with the enemy, and in March, 1781, he was arrested and thrown into prison. He escaped, however, from the York jail, when President Reed issued a proclamation offering a reward for his apprehension. With his brothers, John and James, who had also turned traitors to the Colonies, he





RESIDENCE OF BALTZER SPANGLER, A PIONEER SETTLER NEAR YORK



FIRST STONE HOUSE IN YORK COUNTY, BUILT IN 1737

went to England, but whether he died in exile, we have not been able to ascertain. His property was partly confiscated, as also that of his brothers, who had large landed estates in York County, although, through the intervention of influential friends, a portion was saved to their descendants who remained in this country. These Tories were all compensated for their losses by the British government.

### HISTORICAL NOTES.

The following items arranged in chronological order, relate to interesting facts and incidents of the Revolution:

In September, 1775, the Committee of Safety for York County, of which James Smith was chairman, sold to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, forty-nine quarter casks of powder, weighing 1,225 pounds, and 3,770 pounds of lead, and a supply of arms and accoutrements, receiving 559 pounds, 6 shillings, 11 pence. At this early date, York contained a depository for munitions of war, for soon after the Pennsylvania Council ordered the local committee to forward to Colonel Samuel Morehead, of Westmoreland County, 500 pounds of powder, and 1,250 pounds of lead, for the use of militia in that county. These transactions took place nearly one year before the Declaration of Independence, when the affairs of the Province, then in a state of rebellion against the mother country, were controlled by the Pennsylvania Council of Safety.

October 12, the local committee sent from the magazine at York, 200 pounds of gunpowder and 600 pounds of lead, to the Committee of Safety for Northampton County. About this time, James Smith notified the people of York County that they should not waste the powder and lead for it would be needed to carry on the war with England.

In December, Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, a member of the Continental Congress, requested the Pennsylvania Council of Safety to supply provisions for the women and children of the British troops, captured at St. Johns, Canada, and give directions for their removal to Reading, York and Lancaster. During the early part of the war, most of the British officers and

many of the privates brought their wives and families to this country.

January 15, 1776, Jasper Yeates, of Lancaster, reported to the Committee of Safety at Work.

Mr. Hough, in York County, for the public service, had been detained on the west side, owing to the floating ice on the river. Soon after the Revolution opened, the gunsmiths began to make firelocks in every section of Pennsylvania, and in April, 1776, the Committees of Safety for York, Cumberland and Northampton Counties were each ordered to send fifty-six flintlock muskets, the same number of bayonets and powder horns to Philadelphia. In June, Colonel William Rankin, of Newberry Township, received 200 pounds, or about \$1,000, for rifles which he sold to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety.

Early in July, ten British prisoners of the company commanded by Captain Campbell were brought to York. These prisoners were fed by Elijah Etting, when they first arrived. He received three pounds, fifteen shillings, for feeding them seven days before they were put in permanent quarters. July 15, Captain James Sterling received \$100 part payment for expenses in marching British prisoners from Burlington, New Jersey, to York.

September 25, Baltzer Spangler and four other persons received in all forty-five dollars for riding through York County to notify the colonels of the militia battalions to march to New Jersey. This was the first general call for the militia of York County to serve in the army. They marched to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, near Long Island, upon which the British army, under Howe, had recently landed.

On September 30, Joseph Donaldson, of York, succeeded Michael Swope as a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety. Colonel Donaldson immediately proceeded to Philadelphia and assumed his duties.

January 13, 1777, York County furnished 4,000 bushels of grain as feed for horses in the continental service. About the same time, Joseph Pennell, assistant commissary-general, reported that owing to the demands for whiskey, by the use of small copper stills, many of the farmers in Pennsylvania were engaged in making this product. He notified the authorities that if the practice

was continued the supply of rye and other grains would not equal the demand. In February, General John Armstrong, then in command of a body of militia in the army, stated that rye and much of the wheat raised in Cumberland, Lancaster and York Counties, in 1776, had been used in distilling whiskey. "This condition of affairs," he said, "is alarming, because in a few months, Pennsylvania may be scarce in bread for her own inhabitants."

The field officers in command of the militia in 1777, were appointed by authority of the State Assembly upon the recommendation of the members from the different counties. The members of the Assembly from York County then were Archibald McClean, Michael Swope, David Dunwoodie, James Dickson, Michael Hahn and John Read. March 11, Thomas Nesbitt paid Michael Hahn, of York, nineteen pounds, seventeen shillings, for scabbards furnished to the militia. At the same time, Michael Eichelberger, of York, received from Nesbitt, five pounds for lodging servants of militia officers at York. Michael Hahn, who had been chosen to the Legislature from York, served as paymaster to the militia in 1776. He was succeeded, September 16, 1777, by Lieutenant William Scott.

April 25, 500 militia from York County were ordered to proceed to the camp at Chester. These troops were drafted in accordance with the militia law. In general orders, June 13, 1777, at Philadelphia, the detachment of the First Maryland Regiment was ordered to parade at five o'clock the next morning and escort prisoners to York. September 5, Richard Peters, secretary of the Board of War, suggested that the county lieutenants of militia for York, Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks and Northampton Counties, furnish a guard for prisoners held in or passing through said counties, and also for guarding government property.

There were Tories in York County, during the Revolution, as well as in other parts of the country. The most stringent measures were adopted by the State Legislatures to check the growth of disloyalty. For this purpose committees were appointed in each county to seize the

estates of the disaffected and confiscate the property. October 21, soon after Congress came to York, William White, Robert Stevenson, James Nailor, Matthew Dill, William Chesney and John Ewing were appointed a committee for York County. November 8, Joseph Donaldson, George Irwin, Thomas Stockton, Frederick Gelwix, Thomas Weems, John Nesbitt, Henry Cotton, Jacob Staley, John Andrews and Robert Smith were appointed commissioners to collect arms and accoutrements, blankets, woollen and linsey-woolsey cloth, linens, shoes and stockings for the army, from the inhabitants who had not taken the oath of allegiance and abjuration or who had aided the enemy.

On October 15, 1777, Jacob Smearly was paid 13 pounds, 15 shillings for making irons for the prisoners of war.

November 19, 1777, the Council of Safety ordered the civil authorities of Cumberland County to provide 126 wagons, and of York County 118 wagons for the purpose of removing government stores to places of safety west of the Susquehanna. This occurred shortly after the battle of Germantown. The demands for wagons from the different townships of York County and from York were as follows: Monaghan, 2; Warrington, 6; Huntingdon, 6; Reading, 6; Dover, 3; Newberry, 6; Manchester, 6; Hellam, 4; York Township, 4; York, 2; Hopewell, 2; Chanceford, 2; Fawn, 4; Shrewsbury, 4; Windsor, 6; Codorus, 6; Heidelberg, 6; Germany, 6; Paradise, 6; Berwick, 4; Mountjoy, 3; Mount Pleasant, 3; Straban, 3; Tyrone, 4; Menallen, 3; Cumberland, 3; Hamiltonban, 3; Manheim, 5.

October 20, Captain Joshua Williams made information before a justice of the peace of York County, charging Stephen Foulke with concealing deserters from Williams' company. Justice Lees discharged Foulke for lack of sufficient evidence.

January 9, 1778, Joseph Jeffries was appointed wagon-master of York County. February 13, Captain Long, commanding militia whose term had expired, was ordered to convey British prisoners from Lancaster to York.

General Washington, who had been given by Congress extraordinary powers, on February 17, 1778, ordered Lieutenant



Thomas Campbell, of Monaghan Township, to return home and recruit one hundred and fifty men for the army. March 22, the Executive Council of Pennsylvania granted an order in favor of Colonel Richard McAllister, lieutenant of York County, for 3,000 pounds, or \$15,000, to be given to William Scott, paymaster of militia of York County. David Watson received 1,500 pounds from the same source, April 10, 1778, for the purpose of purchasing horses in the County of York, for the Continental cavalry. Captain Thomas Gourley, of the Ninth; Captain Nehemiah Stokely, of the Eighth; Lieutenant James McCullough, of the Fifth; Lieutenant Thomas Campbell and Lieutenant Samuel Gray, of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiments, came to York County, in April, to recruit soldiers to fill up the Pennsylvania Line.

Robert Stephenson, James Marlar, William Chesney, Thomas Stockton, and Thomas Lilly were appointed commissioners for York County, under the act of attainder. James Edgar, a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, received 1,000 pounds in May, for the use of David Watson in the purchase of horses. May 20, William Scott, paymaster, received 4,000 pounds to pay the militia then in the service from York County. June 29, two days after Congress left York, a large number of refugees from the western frontier of Pennsylvania arrived in York on the way to Maryland.

August 10, Colonel Albright received from John Hay, sub-lieutenant of York County, 112 muskets for use of a part of his battalion on an expedition against the Indians and Tories in the interior of Pennsylvania. These troops were sent to Standing Stone, now Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

On September 4, Elizabeth Shugart was given a pass into the British lines in the city of New York, for the purpose of visiting her husband, then a prisoner of war on Long Island, having been captured at Fort Washington while serving in Colonel Swope's Regiment, of York County. September 5, Lieutenant James Milligan was ordered to recruit for the Continental army in York County, and for this purpose to receive pay from Richard McAllister, lieutenant of York County.

James Elliot and a detachment of militia were paid 8 pounds for services and expense in disarming Tories, September 15, 1778.

"Ralph," a negro slave belonging to John Rankin, of York County, petitioned the Assembly for his freedom in September, because his master was charged with being a Tory and was then in the British lines at Philadelphia. Ralph claimed his master had freed him sometime before he had gone to Philadelphia. Being unable to prove his assertion, the slave was ordered to be hired out. September 16, Paymaster William Scott received \$20,000 for the use of the militia of York County. Colonel David Kennedy, of York County, one of the commissioners to purchase clothing for the army in the county of York, received \$12,500 for that purpose, October 10.

On February 9, 1779, Colonel Joseph Jeffries petitioned the Council of Safety for money to pay for wagons used in transporting the British and Hessian troops of Burgoyne's army from the Susquehanna River to Virginia. March 22, Colonel Richard McAllister received \$15,000 for the use of William Scott, of York County, paymaster of militia. May 14, York County was ordered to furnish thirty wagons to transport provisions and military stores to troops ordered to the western frontier at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg.

Archibald McClean, of York, who had served as a member of the State Assembly, was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council, July 14, 1779, to receive subscriptions in York County to aid in securing a loan of twenty million dollars for carrying on the war, as authorized by Congress. October 13, the Supreme Executive Council called out three classes of York County militia to guard the frontier and to join the Continental army. The state militia were usually called out for sixty days. On this occasion, Washington desired them to serve one month longer. In answer to this call, an additional bounty was to be received. The officers and privates were to receive eighty dollars in addition to the one hundred dollars provided by a law already passed.

March 30, 1780, William Scott was appointed lieutenant of militia for York

County to succeed Colonel Richard McAllister, who had been chosen a member of the Supreme Executive Council. Captain William Scott was also appointed, April 3, commissioner of purchase for York County, under an act of Assembly recently passed. The office of lieutenant of York County was created by the Assembly in 1776. This officer was required to organize the militia throughout the county in which he lived, and see that the different companies received careful military drill and discipline. He was also required to superintend the calling out of the different classes of militia for service in the field, and, if necessary, was empowered to order a draft if there were not a sufficient number of soldiers to fill the quota as demanded. Captain Scott, also commissioner of purchase at that time, was ordered to purchase fifty tons of hay, two thousand bushels of corn or four thousand bushels of oats, and fifteen hundred barrels of flour, and in accordance with directions from General Washington, was ordered to deposit forty tons of hay, two thousand bushels of corn, one hundred barrels of flour, two hundred and eighty gallons of rum at York.

April 11, 1780, Thomas McKean, then chief-justice of Pennsylvania, wrote the Council, that the sheriff of York County had a prisoner who was charged with guiding the British from Philadelphia to Crooked Billet, in Bucks County, where the Pennsylvania militia were encamped. At this place, in 1778, the British had surprised the militia under General Lacey and routed them. In April, 1780, General Washington recommended that 100 barrels of flour, 1,280 gallons of rum, 40 tons of hay and 4,000 bushels of corn be purchased and placed among the militia stores at York.

May 27, purchasing agents were located in Pennsylvania at the following posts: Philadelphia, Easton, Reading, Lancaster, Sunbury, Carlisle and York. On June 1, Captain William Scott received from the Supreme Executive Council of the State, \$6,500 for the purchase of supplies for the army. Under a special rule, the Pennsylvania militia was to be composed of fifty battalions, of which York County had eight. In June, Major James Chamberlain was appointed wagon master of York

County. Colonel Ephraim Blaine, of Carlisle, grandfather of Secretary of State James G. Blaine, in 1780, as clothier-general, reported that William Scott had succeeded Colonel Henry Miller as assistant clothier-general of Pennsylvania. Miller had been appointed in 1779. John Brooks was then commissary of the government magazine at York.

On June 26, Lieutenant Scott wrote to President Reed that he had the promise of 600 barrels of flour from York County; had purchased 170 sheep, 20 head of beef, but was unable to procure much salt beef and bacon, because they were scarce. These provisions were intended for militia to be marched to the frontier. He also said he could send 100 militia to the front as soon as arms could be procured from Philadelphia. The plans were changed upon the arrival of the French fleet and the expedition to the frontier abandoned.

On July 15, one company of militia from York County was ordered to Bedford, and another to Westmoreland County to aid in guarding the western frontier. Upon the arrival of the French fleet in American waters to aid in the cause of independence, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania ordered York County to provide 500 barrels of flour per month, for a stated time, 500 bushels of forage per month, 25 wagons, 300 horses and 600 militia. These supplies were intended for the soldiers and sailors of the French fleet; the horses and wagons to transport the goods, and the militia to act as a guard in transporting them. The wagonmaster of each county was to allow two work horses to remain on each farm. In September, 1780, the sum of \$12,750 was advanced by the State of Pennsylvania for calling into service a part of the militia of York County sent to the Continental army in the field.

Colonel William Scott wrote, August 1, 1780, to President Reed, that he "paraded one company of volunteers and ordered them to march for Bedford; but they are to set off this evening for Philadelphia under the command of Captain James Mackey, a gentleman who has served several years in our army and was recommended to me by gentlemen of my acquaintance, as one who behaved with bravery. The company consists of fifty men exclusive of officers."

November 20, James Smith, of York, and Henry Wynkoop, of Bucks County, were recommended for appointment as judges of the High Court of Appeals for the State of Pennsylvania. Thomas Armor, Sr., was appointed, November 25, collector of excise for York County.

**Money for Recruits.** On January 30, 1781, Archibald McClean received \$1,500, to aid in recruiting men from York County for the first regiment, Pennsylvania Line, which had been ordered to rendezvous at York. Three months later, McClean was granted \$5,000 to be used in paying bounties to recruits and gratuity, then given to men in service in the Pennsylvania Line.

After 1779 the seat of war had been transferred to the South, where severe battles occurred at Savannah, King's Mountain, Cowpens and other places. The valor of the American patriots called forth demonstrations of joy. General Greene was then in charge of the Southern army. In February, 1781, Archibald McClean wrote from York: "Upon the arrival of the news from the South, a number of us met and subscribed liberally for a 'feu de joy' and also for a prudent treat for the returning soldiers. We also raised a fund to be distributed among those whom we could engage to re-enlist." He further stated about twenty of the returning soldiers had re-enlisted.

March 3, Colonel Michael Swope, of York, and Colonel Henry Slagle, of Hanover, were appointed, under authority of the Supreme Executive Council, to settle with troops of the First and Tenth Regiments of the Pennsylvania Line, then in camp at York. March 14, General James Potter and Mr. Cunningham were appointed by the Supreme Executive Council to confer with the members of Assembly from York County, on the subject of the reception of the British and Hessian troops which were soon to arrive in Pennsylvania from Charlottesville, Virginia, where they had been held as prisoners of war since January, 1779. March 16, Colonel Michael Smyser, Captain Moses McClean, members of the Assembly from York County, and Alexander Lowry, of Lancaster County, held a conference with President Reed, relating to the movement of the British and

Hessian prisoners northward. They discussed the danger that would arise by bringing so large a number, more than 3,000 foreign troops, into southern Pennsylvania.

These troops, however, were brought soon after and placed in prison pens at York, Lancaster and Reading, the officers being sent to Connecticut.

May 16, General Wayne, then in York, in command of the Pennsylvania Line, wrote the President of Pennsylvania asking for sixty head of cattle to be sent within a few days for the use of the Fifth Regiment, which would soon arrive. June 26, William Alexander was appointed paymaster of York County militia to succeed Captain William Scott. Major James Moore was appointed recruiting agent for the Pennsylvania Line at Hanover.

**McPherson's Cavalry.** November 28, Captain William Scott wrote to the state authorities that a company of cavalry had been organized in the western part of York County. Thirty men had enlisted at Marsh Creek and half that number at Hanover. He further stated that they had elected William McPherson, captain; Robert Morrison, lieutenant, and James Gettys, cornet. It would seem that this company was organized for the frontier service, for seven months later, in June 1782, Captain Scott wrote from York: "On Sunday last, I received the orders from Council of May 23, and agreeable to the directions therein contained, have ordered one-half of the Light Horse and four classes of militia of York County to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice. I have also taken an account of the public arms at this town and find sixty-eight unfit for use, which I have ordered to be immediately repaired. The gunsmiths inform me that they will be all finished in a few days." The gunsmiths in York then were Philip Heckert, Ignatius Lightner, Adam Lightner, Jacob Letter, Jacob Welschantz, Joseph Welschantz, Sr., Joseph Welschantz, Jr., and Conrad Welschantz.

December 22, the Supreme Executive Council formed plans for recruiting the regiments of the Pennsylvania Line. This was two months after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in Virginia, and these

troops had returned to their native state. York, Lancaster, Reading, Newtown, and Carlisle were the places of rendezvous for the regiments of these Pennsylvania troops. Colonel Richard Humpton, commanding the Second Regiment, was appointed to superintend this recruiting service.

January 2, 1782, General Lincoln, of the Continental army, reported that General Hazen, commanding the regiment of Continental troops known as "Congress' Own," had been appointed to guard prisoners at York, Lancaster and Reading. The state militia then guarding the prisoners were discharged from the service. February 23, Lieutenant Richard Johnston, of Hazen's Regiment, was directed to march with his company, then at York, to Bedford for the defense of the frontier. Captain William Alexander, lieutenant of York County, was ordered to call out forty men from the militia to guard the British, then in the vicinity of York.

**To  
Guard  
the  
Frontier.**

September 5, 1782, a company marched from York to Fort Pitt, the site of Pittsburg, to guard the frontier. This company was composed of seventy-eight men, rank and file. A wagon also was sent to carry prisoners.

September 9, Captain Alexander was ordered to call into service one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal and fifteen men to guard the prisoners in York. Twenty days later these county lieutenants were instructed that the Continental troops on their return from the western frontier would take the place of the militia in guarding prisoners of war in Pennsylvania. It was then ordered that these lieutenants had no further occasion to call out the militia for frontier service since the British had "called in" the savages and would give no further trouble.

August 5, 1783, Jacob Smyser, of York, wrote to the President of Pennsylvania, "about 200 cattle perished in York County last spring, and the crops for this year failed. If the threatened attempts to enforce collections of taxes be carried out, it will be ruinous to the county. Few individuals will escape going to jail. Money has very little circulation among our inhabitants, as it has in other more fortunate

and more populous sections. The mildew and hail have destroyed many fields of grain this year. Collectors of taxes have already brought goods to York from a distance of twenty miles in order to sell them in this town, but met with no encouragement because no one would bid on the distrained goods out of sympathy for the fellow-citizens from whom the goods had been seized." A few months later a riot occurred in York as the result of tax collectors seizing goods and merchandise from delinquent taxpayers.

July 28, 1784, William Scott reported that there were still in York, belonging to the government, the following: 75 muskets, 20 bayonets, 8 cartridge boxes and 8 canteens.

Owing to the depreciation of the currency and the heavy taxes imposed for carrying on the war, it was often difficult to carry out the provisions of the law and certain officers refused to act. In 1778, George Jacobs, of Paradise, refused to accept a commission as constable of that township. William Park, of Monaghan Township, was charged with non-compliance with the law because he would not serve a summons on one of his neighbors for the collection of taxes. For the same cause Matthias Hollowpeter, of Warrington Township, was indicted. He pleaded guilty and "put himself upon the mercy of his country" because he did not want to distress his neighbors.

**Brought  
News to  
Washington.**

William Lukens, the colored cook, in Colonel Swope's Regiment, in the Flying Camp, was captured at Fort Washington. He soon afterward escaped from his imprisonment and went to Trenton, where he made shoes for himself out of a cartridge box, given to him by a Hessian soldier. When Washington crossed New Jersey from New York, Lukens gave the general the information that Hessians were garrisoned at Trenton. As the story goes, this information was of great value to the American army to lay plans for the capture of 1,000 Hessian soldiers under Colonel Rahl, at Trenton, on Christmas night, 1776. After the war he returned to York, where he lived the remainder of his life.

**A Special Commission.** Owing to the depreciation in the value of Continental currency and the paper money issued by the different states of the Union, during the Revolution, there was a continual fluctuation in the prices of goods and commodities bought and sold. In order to prevent monopolies, to regulate the price of labor, of manufactured products and of internal produce, commissioners were appointed by the legislatures of different states to meet at certain places. On March 26, 1777, the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia appointed commissioners, who, according to arrangements, met in York at the public inn of William White. The delegates who convened here were the following: John Sloss Hobart, Colonel Robert Van Rensselaer, of New York; Theophilus Elmer, Joseph Holmes, of New Jersey; George Henry, Bartram Galbreath, John Whitehill, Richard Thomas, David McConaughy, of Pennsylvania; Caesar Rodney, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Collins, Colonel James Lattamore, of Delaware; Norman Bruce, John Braceo, Henry Griffith, Joseph Sim, of Maryland; Lewis Burwell, Thomas Adams, of Virginia; Thomas Armor, clerk.

These were representative men from the states named and they remained in session eight days. The commissioners could not agree on definite measures. They, however, discussed matters in detail and passed resolutions to be presented to the different legislatures. In November of the same year, commissioners from all of the thirteen original states were appointed to assemble at New Haven, Connecticut, to regulate the prices of commodities. Colonel Henry Slagle, of York County, was one of the representatives of Pennsylvania in that convention.

**Toryism.** At the opening of hostilities, in 1775, the people of Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, were divided in their sentiments as to the prosecution of the war. People of English birth who favored King George were Loyalists. Later they became known as Tories. Those who favored the war for independence were called Whigs. The Quakers, in carrying out their religious beliefs, were opposed to taking up arms against their fellow-men.

In the eastern part of the state, many of this class of people were ranked as Tories. After 1776, very few of them were elected to hold public office. Those who joined the army became the fighting Quakers of the Revolution.

John Webb, an intelligent citizen of Newberry Township, was prosecuted because he had opposed the Provincial Conference of Pennsylvania, a body which succeeded the Assembly, which was in part loyal to the British government. Webb was charged with having threatened Continental Congress and the officers of York County who supported that body. He went so far as to say that "within two or three days he could lay the town of York in ashes."

Kilian Dexinger and Andrew Miller, of Shrewsbury Township, were found guilty of treason, in April, 1779, for having procured names to a paper to agree not to muster with the organized militia of the county. The paper, which they drew up, bound those who signed it to aid in breaking open the county jail for the purpose of releasing those who were imprisoned by the state authorities for not obeying the militia laws.

At the October sessions of court, 1779, Henry Watts, of York County, was indicted for misprison and treason for having said, "Yes, I am a Tory and I acknowledge it. I am an old warrior and one of King George's men. God bless King George! Hurrah! Here is health and happiness to King George and down with the rebels! I'll see King George reign here yet in a short time."

Joseph Smith, of the town of York, in 1780, was found guilty of misdemeanor for asserting that Continental money was worth nothing and the paper money issued by the state no better. He further said to some patriots, "You have only eleven of the thirteen states left and how long will you keep Pennsylvania?"

Christian Pochtel, of Manheim Township, who was offered twenty pounds each, or about one hundred dollars in Continental money, for three oxen, refused the offer, stating that he would not sell for paper money because of its depreciation. He offered to sell them for fifteen pounds in gold or silver. Frederick Leather, of Dover Township, likewise refused to sell

four oxen if he were to receive payment in Continental money. Frederick Young, of Mt. Pleasant Township, now in Adams County, also refused to sell his cattle. These oxen were wanted as rations for the Pennsylvania Line under General Wayne, then encamped at York, before leaving for the campaign against Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia.

Samuel Keller, of York County, May 10, 1781, was found guilty of misdemeanor for saying to other parties that if they could "keep off the rebel collector of taxes for two months, the King of England will conquer the country."

### ROLLS OF ASSOCIATORS AND MILITIA.

At the opening of the Revolution, in 1775, able-bodied citizens of Pennsylvania formed themselves into military companies and were known as Associators. Five battalions were organized in York County. No complete muster roll of these battalions is known to be in existence. A large proportion of them were found by Edward W. Spangler, Esq., and first published in the Spangler Annals, in the year 1896. The original rolls were placed, by Mr. Spangler, in the Historical Society of York County. Printed copies of them will be found in the succeeding pages. After the state constitution of 1776 was adopted, the state militia was organized out of the Associators. Muster rolls of some of the companies from York County serving in the Continental Line appear in the preceding chapters.

The muster rolls of the militia companies which follow were largely furnished by Luther R. Kelker, of the Pennsylvania State Library, at Harrisburg.

The First Battalion of York County Associators was organized in 1775 by Colonel James Smith, and included companies from the town of York and the townships of Hellam, Windsor, Manchester, York and Codorus. This battalion marched, in 1776, to Perth Amboy, New Jersey, where part of its rank and file enlisted in the First Regiment of the Flying Camp, commanded by Colonel Michael Swope, of York. In 1775, Thomas Hartley was lieutenant-colonel and Joseph Donaldson and Michael Swope, majors. The following is a complete mus-

ter roll of seven of the eight companies in 1776:

*Captain,*  
William Bailey.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
John Hay.  
*Privates,*

John Brown,  
Christian Beiding,  
Jacob Barnhart,  
George Beck,  
Wiliial Brown,  
Jacob Baub,  
George Brionn,  
Matthias Crauth,  
Diter Conn,  
William Clem,  
Henry Counselman,  
John Claydt,  
Jacob Crist,  
Abraham Danner,  
Jacob Doudel,  
James Dobbins,  
John Dicks,  
Jacob Daiwele,  
Hugh Dobbins,  
George Erwin,  
Michael Edwards,  
Jacob Entler,  
Diter Furth,  
John Fitz,  
George Frey,  
Philip Grener,  
Christian Greithler,  
John Grever,  
George Gulhiabr,  
Anthony Gyer,  
Jacob Gron,  
Seth Goodwein,  
Philip Gross,  
Jacob Grever,  
Adam Grener,  
Abraham Graufus,  
Thomas Hickson,  
Peter Hauer,  
Philip Heckert,  
Jacob Hause,  
George Haide,  
Peter Hoke,  
Francis Jones,  
George Koch,  
Henry Kiefer,  
Baltzer Kneible,

Abraham Kneisle,  
Christian Kauffman,  
Joseph Klepper,  
Daniel Keiser,  
David Kuff,  
Christour Lauman,  
Frederick Laumaster,  
William Lange,  
Nathaniel Leightner, Jr.  
Jacob Lether,  
Nathaniel Leightner,  
Arthur McMann,  
James MacCamend,  
Paul Metzgar,  
John Mayer,  
Andrew Nonnemacher,  
John Neit,  
John Probst,  
Thomas Rein,  
Andrew Robinson,  
Jacob Sprengle,  
Jacob Sheffer,  
Peter Schlemmer,  
John Schultz,  
Peter Streber,  
Andener Schettle,  
Henry Schultz,  
George Stoll,  
John Shall,  
John Strnhman,  
William Stoot,  
John Schultz,  
Christian Strahman,  
William Thomson,  
Jacob Vallydein,  
Henry Walter,  
Jacob Welshans,  
Adam Wolf,  
Joseph Welshans,  
George Wilt,  
Philip Waldismaien,  
David Welshans,  
John Welsh,  
Archibald M. Williams,  
Frederick Zeigle,  
Gottlieb Zeigle.

*Captain,*  
Charles Lukens.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Christian Stake.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Ephraim Sherriff.  
*Privates,*

Joseph Adlum,  
John Adlum, Jr.,  
John Brown,  
John Blackburn,  
Robert Bailey,  
Charles Barnitz,  
Jacob Barnitz,  
Peter Boos,  
Martin Carman,  
David Candler,  
Isaac Davis,  
Anthony Dougherty,

Martin Eichelberger, Jr.  
John Forsythe,  
George Graham,  
James Gorman,  
Andrew Grobb,  
Jacob Holtzinger,  
Peter Haack,  
Frederick Huber,  
Frederick Houseman,  
Thomas Hancock,  
Thomas Irons,  
Godfry Lonberger,

Henry Myers,  
William McMunn,  
William Nitterfeld,  
Jacob Obb,  
Thomas Prior,  
Robert Patton,  
Robert Paisley,  
David Parker,

James Robb,  
William Skimmer,  
John Shultz, Jr.,  
John Shall,  
John Smith,  
George Test,  
William Vaines,  
John Willis.

George Spangler,  
Lorentz Small,  
Jacob Schreiber,  
Jacob Schneider,  
Rudolph Spangler,  
Stophel Shelley,  
Nicholas Upp,  
John Welsh,

John Werley,  
John Wolff,  
Ludwig Weisang,  
Michael Weider,  
Michael Welsh,  
Frederick Yonce,  
Henry Zimmerman,  
Peter \_\_\_\_\_.

*Captain,*  
→ Rudolph Spangler.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Peter Reel.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
George Shuch.

*Ensign,*  
Christopher Stayer.

*Sergeant,*  
John Fishel.

*Clerk,*

George Lewis Loeffler.

*Privates,*

Henry Bentz  
(son of Philip),  
Henry Brobeck,  
George Beyer,  
Frederick Bickel,  
Valentine Brenneisen,  
Daniel Barnitz,  
Nicholas Brand,  
Weirich Bentz,  
Henry Bentz  
(son of John),  
John Beltzner,  
Frederick Bringman,  
John Counselman,  
George Craft,  
Herman Cookes,  
Martin Crever,  
George Carman,  
Frederick Dambach,  
John Dallman,  
John Detter,  
Hartman Deitsh,  
Philip Entler,  
Philip Gossler,  
Andrew Hertzog,  
Conrad Holtzbaum,  
John Immel.

Christian Ilgenfritz,  
Peter King,  
Conrad Leatherman,  
George Nebinger,  
Luke Rose,  
Joseph Rothrock,  
Jacob Shuch,  
Peter Swartz,  
Christian Sinn,  
John Shall,  
Jacob Schneerer,  
Daniel Spangler,  
Abraham Sitler,  
John Smith,  
Simon Snyder,  
George Snyder,  
Francis Thomas,  
Henry Welsh,  
Joseph Weisang,  
Jacob Wolf,  
Henry Wolf  
(son of John),  
George Wolf,  
James Wallace,  
Henry Wolf, Jr.,  
Matthias Zimmer.

*Captain,*  
George Eichelberger.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Michael Hahn.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Baltzer Spangler.

*Privates,*

Martin Brenneisen,  
Nicholas Bernhard,  
Joseph Boude,  
George Craff,  
James Clerck,  
Jacob Durang,  
Jacob Eichinger,  
Jacob Funck,  
John Flender,  
George Fritzer,  
George Fiarar,  
John Fisher,  
George Geesey,  
Michael Graybill,  
Ludwig Hetrick,  
Finken Imfelt,  
James Jones,

John Kunckel,  
Michael Kopenhafer,  
George Moul,  
Casper Muller,  
Jacob Miller,  
James McCullough,  
John Maguire,  
George Myer,  
Samuel Nelson,  
Jacob Neuman,  
John Pick,  
Jacob Rudisill, Jr.,  
Henry Rauch,  
Anthony Ritz,  
Michael Ruger,  
Jacob Schram,  
Jacob Schenk,

Peter Bentz,  
Jacob Ersmann,  
John Frey,  
John Gristy,  
Jacob Graff,  
Jonas Gastman,  
John Gastman,  
Jacob Gotwalt, Jr.,  
Leonard Heindel,  
George Henry Houser,  
Jacob Herman,  
George Henry Haupt,  
Frederick Heid,  
Philip Hoffman,  
Jonas Herman,  
Nicholas Herrerr,  
Michael Heyd,  
Jacob Huft,  
Andreas Heid,  
Amos Hershey,  
Conrad Insminger,  
John Kreibel,  
Gottfried Konig,  
George Koenich,  
Simon Kopenhafer, Jr.,  
Jacob Kauffman,  
Andreas Kraft,  
Reinhart Klein,  
Peter Lang,  
George Miller, Jr.,  
Henry Noss,

*Captain,*  
Simon Kopenhafer.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Michael Schreiber.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Andreas Shinerd, Jr.

*Ensign,*  
Jacob Gotwalt, Sr.

*Privates,*

Henry Ord,  
Andreas Ritter,  
John Reittinger,  
P. Reittinger,  
John Rentzel,  
Christ Rentzell,  
Jonas Rudisill,  
Philip Rudisill,  
Henry Rau,  
John Schwerd,  
James Schinerd,  
John Schreiber,  
Peter Schultz,  
→ Michael Sprenkle,  
Haus Saal,  
John Schram,  
Jacob Schindel,  
Frederick Schindel,  
James Worle,  
Jacob Worle,  
Philip Wagner,  
William Worle,  
Daniel Worle,  
Jacob Wagner,  
John Wilt,  
Samuel Wilt,  
Valentine Wilt,  
Philip Wintermyer,  
Peter Winterrecht,  
George Winterrecht,  
Philip Weil.

*Captain,*  
Jost Herbach.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Peter Shultz.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Baltzer Rudisill.

*Ensign,*  
Michael Ettinger.

*Privates,*

Daniel Anthony,  
Nicholas Anthony,  
Henry Beyer,  
Christian Bixler,  
Joseph Bixler,  
John Bixler,  
Christian Bixler,  
Jacob Bixler,  
William Becker,  
Jacob Bohn,  
Nicholas Bohn,  
Jacob Bohn, Jr.,  
Stephen Beyer,  
Jacob Beyer,  
John Beyer,

William Bear,  
Conrad Becker,  
Henry Becker, Jr.,  
John Beyerley,  
Peter Elenberger,  
Michael Ettinger,  
Dewalt Gross,  
Samuel Gross,  
Stophel Grinwalt,  
Michael Ginder,  
Conrad Ginder,  
Christian Heit,  
John Heit,  
George Heckler,  
Casper Knaub, Jr.,

Jacob Klingman,  
 Frederick Klingman,  
 Philip Jacob Hoenig,  
 Valentine Kohler,  
 Joseph Kohler,  
 Jacob Knab,  
 George Klingman,  
 William Keys,  
 Valentine Kohlman,  
 Andreas Klein,  
 Christian Leib,  
 Ezra Lichtenberger,  
 George Lichtenberger,  
 Adam Lichtenberger,  
 Kilian Lichtenberger,  
 Michael Loebenstein,  
 George Loebenstein,  
 John Miller,  
 Michael Melhorn,  
 George Miller,  
 Samuel Miller,  
 George Philip Mohr,

Adam Miller,  
 George Ringer,  
 Andrew Roth,  
 John Roth, Jr.,  
 Henry Roth,  
 Michael Ringer,  
 William Rennel,  
 John Reyf,  
 Conrad Snyder,  
 Philip Schweitzer,  
 Paul Storm,  
 Frederick Selcker,  
 Jacob Snyder, Jr.,  
 Adam Schenck,  
 John Seder,  
 Peter Sheaffer,  
 Jacob Schmitt,  
 George Welsh,  
 Jacob Weber,  
 Adam Wilt,  
 Yost Wahl,  
 Jacob Ziegler.

*Captain,*

George Hoover.

*Lieutenants,*Jacob Hederick,  
John Sharrer.*Ensign,*

Frederick Meyer.

*Sergants,*Samuel Glassick,  
Laurence Rohrbach,  
Theobald Snyder,  
Michael Behler.*Corporals,*John Adarmel,  
George Kaltreider,  
Michael Lorick.*Privates,*

Jacob Behler,  
 Jacob Bear, Jr.,  
 George Bortner,  
 Daniel Bear,  
 William Becker,  
 Samuel Brenneman,  
 John Brodbeck,  
 John Bower,  
 Benjamin Brenneman,  
 William Brenneman,  
 Jacob Bear, Sr.,  
 Peter Castello,  
 Helfrey Craumer,  
 Nicholas Dehoff,  
 George Dehoff,  
 Peter Diskin,  
 Abraham Eberhart,  
 Wendel Eberhart,  
 Jacob Eppeis,  
 Frederick Frasher,  
 Adam Foltz,  
 Ulrich Followeider,  
 Jacob Followeider,  
 Frederick Fisher,  
 John Followeider,  
 Peter Gerberick,  
 John Gantz,  
 Jacob Greist,  
 Leonard Girkenhyser,  
 Peter Henning,  
 Ulrich Hoover,  
 Michael Henning,  
 Jacob Houser,  
 George Hampsacher,

George Hoover,  
 John Hoover,  
 Daniel Jones,  
 Theobald Kaltreider,  
 Thomas King,  
 Abraham Keller,  
 Peter Krebs,  
 George Krebs,  
 Ulrich Kneyer,  
 Leonard Kneyer,  
 Samuel Lorick,  
 Conrad Ludwig,  
 Henry Menche,  
 Henry Newcomer,  
 John Ott,  
 Christian Rohrbach, Jr.,  
 Frederick Roadarmel,  
 Jacob Roadarmel,  
 Henry Rohrbach,  
 Nicholas Rybold,  
 William Ruhl,  
 Matthias Rybold,  
 George Rybold,  
 Adam Rybold,  
 Henry Roberts,  
 John Ruhl,  
 Clementz Ruhl,  
 Martin Snyder,  
 George Smith,  
 Martin Sheyerer,  
 Matthias Smith,  
 Jacob Sharrer,  
 Zacharias Shug,  
 Michael Sheyerer.

Henry Skiles,  
 Christopher Snyder,  
 Isaac Varnum,  
 Richard Willart,  
 Nicholas Weyant,

John Werner,  
 Jacob Ziegler, Jr.,  
 Jacob Ziegler, Sr.,  
 Michael Ziegler.

The Second Battalion of Associators was organized in 1775 by Colonel Robert McPherson, of Marsh Creek, and included persons living in the present area of Adams County. Part of this battalion enlisted in the Second Regiment of the Flying Camp, at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, in 1776. The officers at the time of organization, in 1775, were Robert McPherson, colonel; David Kennedy, lieutenant-colonel; Moses McClean and Hugh Dunwoodie, majors. The muster roll of only one company of this battalion was preserved. The rank and file of some of the companies enlisted in the Seventh Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Colonel David Grier.

*Captain,*

Hugh Campbell.

*First Lieutenant,*

William Lowther.

*Second Lieutenant,*

Robert McElhenney.

*Ensign,*

Simon Vanarsdalen.

*Sergants,*Joseph Hunter,  
John Armstrong.*Corporals,*John McCush,  
William Leach.*Drummer,*

John Banta.

*Fifer,*

Andrew Little.

*Privates,*

Arthur Beaty,  
 Hugh McLaughlin,  
 William Duffield,  
 Samuel McManemy,  
 Jacob Smock,  
 Francis Monfort,  
 Benedict Yeary,  
 Henry Little,  
 William Carsman,  
 John McCance,  
 Robert Stewart,  
 Abram Banta,  
 Joseph Weast,  
 John Hope,  
 Benjamin Leach,  
 Robert Barber,  
 James Hutchison,  
 Charles Orr,  
 Robert McGowan,  
 Thomas Orbison,  
 Hugh McWilliams,  
 William McCance,

Jacob Swiser,  
 John Cumingore,  
 Nathaniel Porter,  
 Abraham Brewer,  
 Lawrence Monfort,  
 John Sage,  
 David Casart,  
 John Willson,  
 Charles Timmons,  
 Andrew McKiney,  
 Andrew Shiley,  
 Frederick Shetz,  
 Henry Little,  
 Peter Millar,  
 Andrew Hunter,  
 James Lyon,  
 Nicholas Millar,  
 Patrick Hogan,  
 Farrah Doran,  
 Stephen Giffen,  
 James McCreary,  
 Orbin Wence.

Amboy, September 17, 1776. Mustered then, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 3



sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 34 privates.

Sixteen enlisted in the Flying Camp, 4 on guard, 1 sick absent, 1 sick present, 1 on furlough.

The Third Battalion of Associators was organized in 1775 by Colonel Richard McAllister, of Hanover, who commanded the Second Pennsylvania Regiment of the Flying Camp, in which a large number of his men enlisted at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, in 1776. After the organization of the state militia, in 1777, the Third Battalion was commanded by Colonel David Jameson. Part of this battalion served under Jameson at Germantown, White Marsh and minor engagements in 1777. It was organized in 1775 out of the Associators in the townships of Heidelberg, Berwick, Paradise, Mt. Pleasant, Manheim and Germany.

*Captain,*

Jacob Beaver.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Nicholas Baker.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
John Bare.

*Ensign,*  
George Lefeber.

*Privates,*

Henry Albright,  
John Auber,  
George Auble,  
George Autick,  
Conrad Brubaker,  
Nicholas Bentz,  
Michael Broecker,  
Henry Bear,  
John Byer,  
Henry Byer,  
Jacob Byer,  
William Bradley,  
George Beaner,  
Michael Baymiller,  
John Croan, Sr.,  
John Croan,  
Samuel Christ,  
Jacob Dey,  
Peter Ditty,  
John Dellinger,  
Henry Deethoff,  
Jacob Dellinger,  
John Douchki,  
Michael Dush,  
Nicholas Dey, —  
Ulrich Eleberger,  
John Ebay,  
Frederick Eaty,  
Frederick Fitz,  
Philip Fry,  
John Gohn,  
Philip Gohn,  
Andrew Gilbert, 4  
Philip German,  
Michael Garious,  
Francis Graff,  
George Gause,  
James Hines,  
Adam Heindel,  
Michael Holder,  
Philip Hune,  
Andrew Heins,  
Lorentz Hersinger,  
Laurence Heindel, Jr.,  
Daniel Harkens,  
Henry Heltzel,  
Michael Henry, Jr., ✓  
John Imenheiser,  
Jeremiah Johnson,  
Anthony Keller,  
Aaron Kepsnyder,  
Michael Koffeld,  
Martin Kealer,  
Frederick Lambert,  
Christopher Landis,  
Conrad Lookhoup,  
John Leaphart,  
Frederick Lebeknecht,  
Conrad Lora,  
John Landis,  
Conrad Lever,  
Philip Milhove,  
— Michael Mosser,  
John Mude,  
George Maxfield,  
Charles Means,  
James Murphy,  
Christopher Noble,  
Adam Pauls,  
Laurence Paul,  
George Poff,  
Nathan Phersize,

Michael Peterman,  
Christian Rothfon,  
George Rinehard,  
Henry Ruby,  
Joseph Reh,  
John Rupert,  
John Stair, —  
Peter Steap,  
John Smith,  
Adam Stentler,  
James Strong,  
Conrad Shaeffer,  
Jacob Stakenar,  
Peter Seacat,  
Jacob Stromenger,  
Jacob Strickler,

John Simson,  
Philip Stees,  
Peter Swartz,  
John Shenberger,  
Peter Treckler,  
John Tome,  
Paul Tritt,  
Peter Tritt,  
John Weber,  
Peter Wambach,  
George Woolpack,  
Ulrich Weber,  
Nicholas Young,  
Michael Zimmerman,  
Michael Ziegler,  
Philip —

*Captain,*  
Godfrey Fry.

*First Lieutenant,*  
John Bushong.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
George Spangler.

*Ensign,*  
James Jones.

*Privates,*

John Bush,  
Wier Bentz,  
George Boly,  
Christian Betz,  
Jacob Byer,  
George Bentz,  
Henry Breninger,  
George Brown,  
Nicholas Deal,  
Peter Deal,  
Samuel Detweiler,  
George Deal,  
Jacob Flegler,  
Peter Foust,  
Jacob Freed,  
George Fliker,  
Michael Fishel,  
Henry Greenawalt,  
John Gusler,  
Christian Hogman,  
Frederick Houshill,  
John Immel,  
Henry Jones,  
William Johnston,  
Jacob Keller,  
Michael Kurtz,  
Jacob Koch,  
Conrad Kissinger,  
Yogam Leaman,  
Stephen Landis,  
George Ley,  
Peter Leman,  
Jacob Lehman,  
Jacob Lefeber,  
Andrew Miller,  
Jacob Morks,  
— Daniel Mosser,  
John Minster,  
George Michael Peter,  
Peter Peter,  
Edward Prion,  
John Rode,  
John Rankin,  
Godfry Sumwalt,  
Matthias Stuart,  
Henry Stouffer,  
— William Sprenkle,  
Christian Shewe,  
Daniel Stouffer,  
John Spangler,  
Jacob Speck,  
Jonas Spangler,  
Christian Sipe,  
Philip Spangler,  
Martin Speck,  
Michael Spangler,  
Henry Spangler,  
George Swartz,  
John Stuart,  
James Shaw,  
John Trychler,  
Henry Wissendaul,  
Peter Wolf,  
Martin Weller,  
Abraham Welshans.

*Captain,*  
Peter Forte.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Christopher Stoehr.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Andrew Hertzog.

*Ensign,*  
Jacob Welshance.

*Privates,*

Henry Bouch,  
Henry Booser,  
Henry Bonix,  
Joseph Craft,  
Abraham Danner,  
Peter Dinkle,  
Lawrence Etter,  
Jacob Ereon,  
John Edward,  
Michael Edward,

George Fry,  
George Fritz,  
William Fondorow,  
Jacob Fackler,  
John Good,  
John Goboet,  
Henry Hofe,  
Vincent Infelt,  
Isaac Jones,  
Francis Jones,  
James Kopp,  
Francis Koontz,  
Henry King,  
Daniel Kiser,  
John Kean,  
Nathaniel Lightner,  
Samuel Leidy,  
Frederick Laumaster,  
Godfry Loneberger,  
George Mock,  
William McMun,  
Henry Myer,  
James McCulloch,  
Alexander McKitrich,  
Andrew Nunemaker,  
George Nebinger,  
John Peasley,  
Matthias Pourt,

John Probst,  
Abraham Pick,  
George Peck,  
Anthony Ritz,  
Godfry Ream,  
Thomas Ryon,  
Anthony Rous,  
Peter Rose,  
James Smith,  
Killian Small,  
George Shook,  
— Jacob Sprenkle,  
John Shultz,  
Martin Shreader,  
Philip Shiye,  
Peter Schlimer,  
Frederick Tombach,  
Joseph Updegraff,  
Jacob Updegraff, Jr.,  
Jacob Weaver,  
Adam Wolf,  
William White,  
Frederick Wyer,  
John Wolf, Jr.,  
David Welshans,  
John Welch,  
George Waldimyer,  
Frederick Youse.

Henry Walter,  
John Wolf,  
Ludwig Weisang,  
Jacob Welchance,  
John Williamson,

Michael Welsh,  
John Wiles,  
George Weller,  
Henry Welch.

*Captain,*  
Alexander Ligget.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Robert Richey.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Robert Stuart.  
*Ensign,*  
Peter Fry.  
*Privates,*

Aaron Arsdale,  
Andrew Brown,  
Rendal Cross,  
John Cadge,  
James Cross,  
John Eff,  
Archibald Eason,  
Robert Eakin,  
John Fisher,  
Bernat Fry,  
Conrad Fry,  
Paul Gier,  
David Good,  
Adam Gohn,  
Robert Greenless,  
Conrad Gyer,  
Frederick Hamer,  
Christopher Heindel,  
John Handerson,  
Adam Hindly,  
Alexander Handerson,  
Craft Hermal,  
Jacob Imsweller,  
Jacob Imsweller,  
Richard Jones,  
Peter Koble,  
Alexander Lewis,  
John Lynck,  
Christian Laundes,  
Samuel Laundes,  
Christian Lootz,  
Henry Long,  
William Ligget,  
Henry Myer,  
John Myers,  
James McCavick,  
James McNarey,  
Henry Miller,

Michael Miller,  
Henry McGarrah,  
Samuel McCowen,  
Nathan McCoy, —  
Jacob Neff,  
Melker Ortas,  
Peter Offer,  
Daniel Peterman,  
Christopher Petters,  
John Peterman,  
John Russel,  
Peter Reisinger,  
Henry Reineberger,  
Thomas Robertson,  
James Ross,  
Jacob Ruby,  
John Smook, Jr.,  
Jacob Smook,  
Philip Slifer,  
Jacob Stegner,  
George Smith,  
Martin Slinger,  
Barkley Sayler,  
Stephen Slifer,  
Baltzer Shenberger,  
Andrew Slinger,  
George Tyse,  
Henry Teckert,  
Henry Tyson,  
Benjamin Tyson,  
George Woolbeck,  
Andrew White,  
Philip Wambach,  
Michael Wambach,  
George Wambach,  
Leonard Young,  
William Young,  
Abraham Young.

*Captain,*  
Christopher Lowman.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Ephraim Pennington.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
John Fishel.  
*Ensign,*  
Charles Barnitz.

*Privates,*

John Alifred,  
Henry Bentz,  
Jacob Bahn,  
Martin Breneisen,  
Thomas Beltzhoover,  
Leonard Benel,  
Leonard Bense,  
Andrew Billmeyer,  
Michael Billmeyer,  
Frederick Bringman,  
Valentine Breneisen,  
John Biers,  
Felix Conoway,  
Alexander M. Conagle,  
John Dubman,  
Alexander Donaldson,  
Philip Endler,  
Samuel Fisher,  
Martin Flinchbaugh,  
Martin Flinchbaugh,  
Samuel Fisher,  
Martin Frey,  
Adam Gardner,  
Abram Gravius,  
George Goodyear,  
John Gorgus,  
Philip Greber,  
Philip Heckert,  
Christian Hecketurn,  
Andrew Hoffman,  
Frederick Housman,  
John Hickson,  
George Hope,  
Thomas Hickson,  
Jacob Houck,  
Samuel Koontz,

George Kidy,  
Michael Keller,  
Henry Kyfer,  
Martin Kearman,  
Abram Knisely,  
John Leisser,  
Jacob Letter,  
William Lanius,  
John Myer,  
Conrad Miller,  
— Michael Mosser,  
Conrad Miller,  
— Michael Mosser,  
Jacob Miller,  
Edward McDermot,  
Casper Miller,  
Thomas Owen,  
John Patterson,  
John Pick,  
Thomas Prior,  
Peter Real,  
Peter Real,  
Christopher Slagle,  
George Schlosser,  
Jacob Snerely,  
George Snyder,  
Jacob Shook,  
Jacob Snyder,  
Matthias Sitler,  
Jacob Schram,  
Abram Sitler,  
Peter Shitz,  
Joseph Tott,  
George Test,  
Joseph Updegraff,  
Samuel Updegraff,

*Captain,*  
George Long.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Samuel Smith.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Conrad Keesey.  
*Ensign,*  
Samuel Mosser.  
*Privates,*

Henry Alt,  
Michael Albright,  
Felix Albright,  
Peter Byer,  
John Bushong,  
Michael Bettinger,  
Jacob Bettinger,  
Jacob Blymyer,  
Christian Blymyer,  
Henry Dolman,  
George Ditterheffer,

Henry Dome,  
Bastian Erig,  
Adam Fishel,  
Henry Fisher,  
Frederick Fliger,  
Jacob Fliger,  
Casper Fisher,  
Adam Flinchbaugh,  
Michael Grimm,  
Peter Grimm,  
Philip Grimm,

Yost Getz,  
Jacob Geesey,  
Michael Harnish,  
George Hardline,  
Michael Himico,  
Jacob Inners,  
Yost Kerchhard,  
John Kerchhard,  
Bernard Kousler,  
John Long,  
Felix Miller,  
John Myer,  
William Miller,  
George Neaf,  
Ulrich Neaf,  
Andrew Pefferman,  
Jacob Reman,  
William Rigert,

John Reigert,  
Peter Sprenkle,  
Henry Snell,  
Peter Sims,  
Jacob Sebauld,  
Nicholas Sins,  
Jacob Shearer, Jr.,  
Martin Stook,  
John Shoemaker,  
Michael Sytz,  
Conrad Slientler,  
Christian Shetler,  
Jacob Shearer,  
Abram Swingwiler,  
George Wilhelm,  
Nicholas Waltman,  
Ludwick Waltman.

*Captain,*  
Michael Hahn.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
John Minn.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Thomas Iron (Erion).  
*Ensign,*  
Christian Sinn.

*Privates,*

Frederick Aderhold,  
Jacob Bernhard,  
Nicholas Brand,  
Peter Bear,  
Charles Brooks,  
John Bear,  
George Crait,  
John Collins,  
David Candler,  
Adam Cookes,  
Michael Doudel,  
Jacob Durang,  
Jacob Eichinger,  
Thomas Eaton,  
Jacob Funk,  
John Flender,  
Adam Greber,  
Martin Greber,  
Jacob Gardner,  
John Greber,  
George Gees,  
Christian Herman,  
Ludwig Headick,  
Christian Ilginfritz,  
George Irvin,  
Samuel Johnston,  
John Kurtz,  
Mr. Kenety,  
John Kunkle,  
William Kersey,  
Nathaniel Lightner,  
William Long,  
William Love,  
James Love,  
John Love,  
Conrad Letherman,  
James McLaughlin,  
George Maul.

*Captain,*  
Daniel Eyster.

*Privates,*

John Albrecht,  
Jacob Becker, Jr.,  
Michael Carl,  
Jacob Delong,  
George Drey,

Paul Drey,  
John Eburr,  
Herman Emerick,  
Christopher Foulk,  
George Foulk,

Matthias Frey,  
Carl Geiger,  
Jacob Geiger,  
Christian Gerber,  
George Gerber,  
Christian Griefft,  
Henry Hefner,  
Jacob Hefner,  
Andrew Helwig,  
Abraham Herb,  
Sebastian Herb,  
Christian Hoch,  
Adam Huber,  
George Huber,  
Jacob Hueder,  
Thomas Hunt,  
Peter Kiefer,  
Jacob Langalt,  
Abraham Lemritz,  
Nicholas Lemritz,  
Jacob Long,  
Nicholas Meyer,  
Philip Miller,  
George Oberdorff,  
Herman Oberdorff,  
Jacob Pott,

George Reber,  
Michael Reider,  
Christian Reiff,  
Henry Reiff,  
Christian Reiss,  
Conrad Reiss,  
George Reiss,  
Michael Satler,  
Melchoir Schaum,  
John Scheiter,  
John Schuler,  
Jacob Shaeffer,  
George Shiver,  
John Shiver,  
John Shiver (Shier),  
Philip Shiver,  
Daniel Sowasch,  
Henry Sowasch,  
Valentine Starr,  
Adam Sweiger,  
Casper Weriel,  
Philip Wanemacher,—  
Adam Zidnier,  
Anthony Zidnier,  
Andrew Ziegler,

The muster roll of the Fourth Battalion, organized in 1775, cannot be found. This battalion, composed of Associators from Shrewsbury, Chanceford, Fawn and Hope-well Townships, was originally commanded by Colonel William Smith, with Francis Holton, lieutenant-colonel; John Gibson and John Finley, majors. The following is the muster roll of one company from Shrewsbury Township:

*Captain,*  
Gideon Bausley.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
John Patrick.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Peter Smith.  
*Ensign,*  
Conrad Taylor.  
*Sergeants,*  
John McDonald,  
David Jones,  
John Freeland,  
John Cleek.  
*Corporal,*  
Anthony Miller.

*Privates,*

Jacob Alt,  
John Ball,  
Stophel Baker,  
James Douglas,  
Thomas Foster,  
Conrad Free,  
James Freeland,  
Michael Howman,  
Sophel Heively,  
Adam Hendricks,  
Thomas Hunt,  
Jacob Hedrick,  
John Hendricks,  
Samuel Jones,  
Michael Jordan,  
Nathan Jones,

John Loran,  
James Marshall,  
John Miller,  
Alexander Osborn,  
John Orr,  
Joshua Pearse,  
Nicholas Rodgers,  
Frederick Shinliver,  
Postle Sheeling,  
Thomas Sparks,  
George Sword,  
John Taylor,  
Stophel Wischart,  
George Waltmyer,  
Aquila Willey.

The Fifth Battalion of Associators was organized in the townships of Dover, Newberry, Monaghan, Warrington, Huntingdon and Reading. It was originally commanded by Colonel William Rankin. The following companies served in that battalion:

*Captain,*  
Michael Ege.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Joseph Spangler.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
James Liggit.  
*Ensign,*  
Reuben Fedro.  
*Second Sergeant,*  
Joseph Keeppers.  
*First Corporal,*  
Adam Dantlinger.  
*Second Corporal,*  
Thomas White.  
*Privates,*

John Alsop,  
George Batchler,  
Edward Barton,  
George Conrad,  
William Chapman,  
John Davis,  
George Dashner,  
Thomas Eisenal,  
Michael Fissel,  
Henry Fissel,  
Tobias Heine,  
Frederick Hovias,  
Henry Krone,  
Jacob Lishy,  
Thomas Pussel,  
Thomas Parker,

James Porter,  
Amos Powel,  
John Rose,  
William Smith,  
Andrew Stover,  
John Steiner,  
Peter Steiner,  
Frederick Scepter,  
Casper Stoner,  
Michael Uhl,  
Edward Woods,  
George White,  
Jacob Weston,  
Stophel Weinmiller,  
Stophel Zimmerman.

*Captain,*  
Jacob Biester.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Nicholas Beek.  
*Ensign,*  
George Lafeiber.  
*Privates,*

John Aby,  
George Attig,  
Henry Albrecht,  
John Aber,  
George Aber,  
John Ber,  
Henry Ber,  
Hales Brit,  
Michael Bentz,  
Michael Baymiller,  
Michael Bennet,  
Jacob Beyer,  
Philip Beyer,  
John Beyer,  
Henry Beyer,  
Jacob Berber,  
Peter Breckler,  
James Bruck,  
Conrad Bulhans,  
George Boner,  
Michael Bricker,  
William Critly,  
Conrad Cara,  
John Crone, Jr.,  
John Crone, Sr.,

Nicholas Day,  
Jacob Day,  
Michael Dast,  
John Dauchge,  
Jacob Dellinger,  
John Dellinger,  
Peter Dritt,  
Peter Diete,  
Henry Diethoss,  
Conrad Elleberger,  
John Frey,  
Philip Frey,  
Frederick Fitz,  
Philip Gun,  
Andreas Gilbert,  
Philip Gun,  
John Gon,  
Frantz Graft,  
Michael Garius,  
Michael Henry, Sr.,  
Michael Henry, Jr.,  
Lawrence Hirschinger,  
Matthias Hartford,  
Michael Holder,  
Daniel Herkens,

Anthony Heins,  
James Heins,  
Samuel Heist,  
Adam Hales,  
Lawrence Hales,  
George Hass,  
Adam Handel,  
Lawrence Handel,  
Henry Haltzel,  
Philip Herman,  
John Imsheiser,  
Michael Kaffeld,  
Anthony Keller,  
Martin Kuler,  
Frederick Lambert,  
Christel Landis,  
John Landis,  
Nicholas Leber,  
Frederick Lieberknecht,  
John Libhart,  
Conrad Leber,  
John Muth,  
Jared Mines,  
Jacob Meyer,  
George Maxel,  
Michael Moster,  
James Murphy,  
Philip Mulhof, Sr.,  
Philip Mulhof, Jr.,  
Christof Nagel,  
Michael Peterman,  
George Paff,

Joseph Reh,  
John Rupert,  
Henry Rupert,  
George Reinhardt,  
Christian Rathsbau,  
Peter Stab,  
John Simden,  
Jacob Stagmeier,  
Jacob Strominger,  
John Schmidt,  
Adam Stantler,  
James Shandon,  
Jacob Strickler,  
John Star,  
Conrad Scheffer,  
Peter Sekatz,  
Peter Schwartz,  
John Shenberger,  
James Strang,  
Jacob Thom,  
John Thom,  
Frederick Utz,  
John Weber,  
George Wollbach,  
Peter Wambach,  
George Wachtel,  
Aaron Westsynder,  
John Weil,  
Ulrich Weber,  
Nicholas Young,  
Michael Ziegler,  
Michael Zimmerman.

Captain Martin Shetter, who resided in the vicinity of Lewisberry, York County, commanded a militia company, which served during part of the Revolution. This company belonged to the present area of Newberry and Fairview Townships, in York County, and in 1782, its muster roll was as follows:

*First Class,*  
Andrew Cline,  
Thomas Winry,  
John Weire,  
John Cochenauer,  
Philip Beacher,  
Frederick Weaver,  
George Streine,  
Joseph Cobele,  
Joseph Oren.

*Second Class,*  
George Miller,  
Jacob Bear,  
Ludwig Weire,  
John Hencock,  
Peter Zeller,  
Emanuel Beare,  
John Finch,  
John Hetrick,  
Abraham Shelly.

*Third Class,*  
Abraham Shelley, Jr.,  
Valentine Shultz,  
George Strine, Jr.,  
Frederick Zorger,  
Philip Fetro,  
James Hencock,  
George Mayers,  
Andrew Miller,  
Jacob Heidelbouch,  
Jacob Forney,  
Henry Strine.

*Fourth Class,*  
Andrew Beadman,  
Michael Roessler,  
Jacob Heier,  
Samuel Braton,  
John Thaylor,  
William Rise,  
Henry Bush,  
John Heidelbouch,  
James Hess.

*Fifth Class,*  
Thomas Miller,  
Christian Baumgartner,  
Peter Pence,  
Henry Roessler,  
James Love,  
Matthias Zerger,  
Michael Wagner,  
George Bash.

*Sixth Class.*

Joseph Garretson,	Frederick Stine,
Cornelius Garretson,	Abraham Stine,
Daniel Densyl,	Lorentz Wolf,
Emoss Lewis,	John Colgen,
John Fettero,	John Breneman.

*Seventh Class.*

Henry John,	Herman Sneider,
George Mansberger,	Michael Row,
Peter Densyl,	Jacob Weier,
Michael Coppenhoefer,	Joseph Fettero,
Henry Bauer,	Henry Shultz.

*Eighth Class.*

Jacob Kaplor,	William Barton,
William Winry,	John Mathias,
Jonathan McCreary,	Daniel Brua,
John Hurst,	Peter Miller.
Adam Snider,	

The Sixth Battalion of York County Militia, organized in 1776, was composed of eight companies. It was commanded in 1777-8 by Colonel William Ross, with David Miller as major. The following is a complete list of eight companies from different sections of York County:

*Captain.*

— Laird.

*First Lieutenant.*  
William Reed.

*Ensign.*  
David Steelt.

*Privates.*

Robert Armstrong,	Theophilus Jones,
William Bolentine,	John Lemon,
Benjamin Bifet,	James Lard,
Samuel Bohanan,	John Lewiston,
Jonathon Burgess,	Abram Mickey,
James Breckenridge,	Edward Morris,
James Buchanan,	James Milligan,
William Clark,	Thomas Morris,
Benjamin Cunningham,	George Mitchell,
Alex. Cooper,	John McCandless,
Nicholas Cooper,	Thomas Matson,
John Commins,	Matthias Morrison,
Samuel Cuning,	Samuel McIsaac,
William Carkey,	James McCrone,
William Coloin,	John Major,
Hugh Crawford,	William McLeny,
Thomas Cooper,	Jacob McCulough,
Richard Cord,	Michael McMullen,
John Cooper,	John Neal,
William Cooper,	George Niele,
Patrick Downey,	Theodore Patton,
John Doherty,	Patrick Quigley,
William Davis,	William Rowen,
Isaac Davis,	Jacob Reed,
James Edgar,	William Russel,
Robert Fliven,	James Robinson,
Hugh Faton,	Andrew Rowen,
Samuel Fulton,	Joseph Ross,
Archibald Greeless,	Robert Rowland,
Robert Glenn,	Thomas Steel,
John Glendenon,	William Snodgrass,
William Galougher,	James Sample,
James Galeagher,	Josiah Scott,
James Heirs,	Patrick Scott,
Joseph Henry,	James Sims,
Thomas Hawkins,	John Thomson,
John Halbort,	John Tagert,

Alex. Threw,
Robert Torbert,
John Taylor,
William Thomson,
John Webb,

Hugh Whiteford,
Samuel Willson,
Benjamin Willson,
William Wallace,
John Williamson.

*First Lieutenant.*  
Isaac McKissick.

*Second Lieutenant.*  
John Smith.

*Ensign.*  
Thomas Dixon.

*Privates.*

David Anderson,
John Anderson,
John Bohanan,
John Blosser,
Peter Bryfugle,
Anthony Beaman,
William Boyd,
Henry Cunningham,
Henry Craig,
Robert Carswell,
Stephens Cornelius,
Jasper Clements,
Robert Dixon,
John Duncan,
George Egert,
Nicholas Feeple,
Andrew Fulton,
David Gemmill,
John Griffith,
Evan Griffith,
Henry Householder,
Stophel Hively,
Jacob Householder,
James Hamilton,
Solomon James,
John McIsaac,
James McAllister,
Robert McCay,
James McElroy,

Michael Morrison,
William Melurg,
William Neilson,
John Neilson,
Joseph Nowland,
Martin Overmiller,
James Pegan,
Elisha Pew,
James Purdy,
Patrick Purdy,
David Proudfoot,
Robert Proudfoot,
Andrew Proudfoot,
Samuel Rosborough,
Adam Reed,
John Smith,
William Smith,
Robert Swan,
Robert Straffort,
Jacob Sadler,
Samuel Smith,
James Steel,
Francis Sechrist,
Frederick Satler,
Andrew Thompson,
James Young,
Benjamin Yont,
Jacob Yost.

*Captain.*

Joseph Reed.

*First Lieutenant.*  
Robert Smith.

*Ensign.*  
Samuel Collins.

*Privates.*

Robert Addair,
John Carker,
Philip Conol,
John Duncan,
Aaron Finley,
Samuel Fullerton,
William Fullerton, Jr.,
Robert Finley,
George Henry,
Thomas Kirkwood,
Francis Holton,
James Henry,
William Henry,
William Johnson,
Patrick King,
James Kirk,
Joseph Kellit,
John Lusk,
James Lodge,
Samuel Martin,
John McMillon,
Alexander McAllister,
Robert Martin,
Henry McCormick,

Frederick McPherson,
William Mahlin,
William Martin,
Samuel McMichael,
Samuel Nelson,
Robert Nelson,
William Nichol,
Alexander Orr,
James Paterson,
William Patterson,
Samuel Peden,
David Patterson,
Benjamin Pedan,
James Robinson,
John Robinson,
James Ridgeway,
Hugh Reed,
Samuel Reed,
Rowlen Stevens,
William Tulerton,
Michael Travis,
George Thompson,
John Wallace,
John Williams,

Aaron Wallace,  
Matthias Wallace,  
William Wallace,

John Wallace,  
Moses Wallace.

*Captain.*

Joseph Moffit.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Andrew Warrick.

*Second Lieutenant,*  
Samuel Moor.

*Ensign,*

James Wilson.

*Privates,*

James Agnew,  
Robert Anderson,  
James Anderson,  
Nchemiah Armstrong,  
John Anderson,  
Thomas Balden,  
William Comon,  
Patrick Colwell,  
John Cross,  
Joseph Cross,  
— Conaday,  
William Douglass,  
Patrick Douglass,  
Matthias Ewen,  
Samuel Elliot,  
George Egart,  
William Edgar,  
William Edie,  
William Godfrey,  
David Hart,  
Joseph Harrison,  
James Harper,  
James Hutchinson,  
John Howel,  
Charles Hay,  
Frederick Kross,  
William Ligget,  
John McCulough,  
Robert McDonald,  
Robert McClelland,

Hugh McCutchen,  
John Miller,  
John Marshall,  
Joseph Manifold,  
William Morrord,  
John McKitrick,  
Benjamin Manifold,  
David Manson,  
John Montgomery,  
John McKell,  
Alex. Ramzy,  
John Ramzy,  
Thomas Ray,  
John Richey,  
Peter Roberts,  
William Ramsay,  
Daniel Robb,  
Samuel Roe,  
William Spittler,  
Abraham Cinord,  
John Shinard,  
Andrew Sloan,  
Alexander Thompson,  
John Willson,  
William Willson,  
Samuel Watson,  
James Willson,  
Henry Wert,  
William Willson,  
James Willson.

*Captain.*

John Reppey.

*First Lieutenant,*

John Colwell.

*Privates,*

Francis Andrew,  
George Aurson,  
John Buchanan,  
John Buck,  
William Bohanan,  
John Conor,  
John Cummins,  
John Curry,  
John Dougherty,  
Hugh Dougherty,  
Alexander Fullerton,  
John Fullerton,  
James Greer,  
James Hill,  
John Hogue,  
Thomas Johnson,  
James Lord,  
Samuel Leeper,  
Patrick Masewell,  
John McHarsy,  
William Morrison,  
John Morrison,

David McCulough,  
Alex. McCullough,  
Matthew McCall,  
Andrew McClery,  
William McCullough,  
Robert McGill,  
William McClelland,  
John McClain,  
Moses McWhorter,  
Samuel Pollock,  
James Parks,  
John Ramsey,  
Walter Robinson,  
Samuel Ramsey,  
Patrick Smith,  
Samuel Stewart,  
John Stewart,  
Gavin Scott,  
Robert Stewart,  
Jacob Visage,  
James Woran,  
Robert Zeliss.

*Captain.*

Joseph Reed (Ferryman).

*Privates,*

John Andrew,  
Charles Bradshaw,  
Robert Blain,  
Abraham Barber,  
George Burkholder,  
Alex. Cooper,  
Samuel Caldwell,  
Alex. Downing,  
John Douglass,  
Thomas Duncan,  
James Downing,  
John Elder,  
James Elder,  
Robert Forsythe,  
James Forsythe,  
John Gordon,  
Robert Hill,  
William Hill,  
James Hill,  
John Hill,  
James Jolly,  
Joseph Jackson,  
John Kelly,  
Joseph Kobb,  
William Long,  
Robert McGhee,  
John McKinley,  
David McKinley,  
William McCalough,  
Samuel McClurge,

John McCall,  
Michael McAnulty,  
A. McCulough,  
Thomas Newton,  
James Newton,  
James Perron,  
William Quigley,  
Joseph Reed,  
John Reed,  
John Reed,  
Henry Robinson,  
John Robb,  
Alen Seath,  
Hugh Sprout,  
James Stewart,  
James Spear,  
James Shaw,  
John Stewart,  
Daniel Shaw,  
Archibald Shaw,  
William Smiley,  
Samuel Sprout,  
James Sprout,  
William Wedgeworth,  
Isaac Williams,  
Cornelius Ward,  
William Willson,  
Thomas Willson,  
Robert Walker.

*Captain.*

Thomas McNerry.

*First Lieutenant,*

William Adams.

*Privates,*

Matthew Adams,  
John Arnold,  
William Adams,  
William Adams, big,  
William Adams, old,  
Henry Adams,  
John Armstrong,  
Joseph Allison,  
John Buchanan,  
Jacob Crowl,  
Henry Crowl,  
George Cooster,  
John Cooster,  
Philip Elis,  
George Elis,  
John French,  
Henry Fodd,  
Jacob Gering,  
Thomas Grove,  
Matthew Hunter,  
Adam Heener,  
David Johnson,  
John Koon,  
George Keener,  
Ludwig Keeth,  
Jacob Koon,

Michael Koon,  
Andrew Koon,  
George List,  
James McLaughlin,  
Owin McLaughlin,  
David McNary,  
William McClorg,  
John Murphy,  
John Oolrigh,  
William Owins,  
Richard Pendry,  
Robert Pendry,  
James Porter,  
Nicholas Quigley,  
Adam Quickel,  
William Reed,  
Casper Saylor,  
Nicholas Strayer,  
Jacob Spotts,  
Jacob Sypher,  
Charles Stewart,  
Ceter Stoyler,  
Andrew Stayley,  
John Timmy,  
Jacob Weester,  
Philip Winter.

The Seventh Battalion of York County Militia, organized under the state constitution of 1776, was commanded by David Kennedy, colonel, with James Agnew, lieutenant-colonel, and John Weams, major.

The following is a complete muster roll of this battalion for the years 1777 and 1778:

*Captain,*  
John Myers.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Abraham Bollinger.  
*Ensign,*  
Daniel Hamm.

*Privates,*

Joseph Allender,  
Jacob Abley,  
William Brenneman,  
Jacob Bealor, Jr.,  
Henry Baker,  
John Beigher,  
Benjamin Brenneman,  
Jacob Bealor,  
Samuel Brenneman,  
Joseph Brillherd,  
Martin Barkhymer,  
Helphrey Cramer,  
Jacob Colier,  
Nicholas Dehoff,  
William Frankelberger,  
Ulrich Fulwider,  
George Fenceler,  
Martin Gistwhite,  
Ulrich Hoover,  
John Hoover,  
Michael Hileman,  
Lawrence Hileman,  
Jacob Hofner,  
Henry Kesler,  
Jacob Keller, Sr.,  
George Keller, over age,  
Andrew Miller,  
John Miller,  
George Miller,  
Jacob Miller,  
Peter Noll,  
John Ott,  
Stephen Peter, Jr.,  
Stephen Peter, Sr.,  
Michael Peter,  
John Rudisill,  
Christian Ruble,  
John Rever,  
Rohrbaugh,  
Jacob Rodarmel,  
Jacob Stambaugh,  
Peter Stambaugh,  
John Snell,  
Henry Snyder,  
Harry Strayer,  
Zachary Shoe,  
Francis Stritehoof,  
Philip Stambaugh, Sr.,  
Philip Stambaugh,  
Christian Soabaugh,  
Martin Snyder,  
Henry Shiles,  
George Swartz,  
Daniel Tones,  
John Verner,  
Frederick Waggmen,  
George Warley,  
Harry Warley, Jr.,  
Henry Warley, over age,  
Nicholas Wyant.

*Captain,*  
Thomas White.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Robert Jefferis.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
John Jefferis.  
*Ensign,*  
Alexander Lees.  
*Privates,*

Nicholas Bentz,  
Jacob Byers,  
William Bond,  
George Conrad,  
William Chapman,  
John Dull,  
Hugh Davis,  
George Dashner,  
Adam Dentlinger,  
John Dicke, Sr.,  
Thomas Evans,  
John Everson,  
Henry Frankelherger,  
Matthias Firestone,  
Samuel Freil,  
Henry Fissel,  
Michael Fissel,  
Adam First,  
Francis Huff,  
Philip Fissel,  
Henry Fissel, sadler,  
Wendel Fissel,  
Martin First,  
Christian Hershey,  
Joseph Hershey,  
Joseph Hershey, Jr.,  
John Helzel,  
Tobias Helzel,  
John Hom,  
Henry Horn,  
George Hines,  
Andrew Hershey,  
Peter Hershey,  
Adam Huff,  
Abram Koontz,  
Thomas Hunt,  
Joseph Keepers,  
John Kinkennon,  
Peter Koontz,  
Michael Leckner,  
Jacob Mooler,  
Solomon Mooler,  
Michael McCann,  
Philip Miller,  
Daniel Oaks,  
Thomas Presel,

Christian Pregnier,  
Valentine Runk,  
Peter Rantz,  
John Rose,  
Christian Road,  
John Simmon,  
Philip Senif,  
Frederick Septre,  
Andrew Smith,

Michael Strawsbaugh,  
Jacob Wire,  
Daniel Wertz,  
William White,  
Jacob Wertz,  
John Wertz,  
Frank Wrinkler,  
Christian Young.

*Captain,*  
John Miller.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Peter Smith.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
John McDonald.  
*Ensign,*  
Acquilla Wyley.  
*Privates,*

William Anderson,  
Jacob Alt,  
John Beard,  
Jacob Buzzard,  
Peter Baker,  
Jacob Brillhart,  
Edward Barton,  
Jacob Baker,  
Daniel Bailey,  
Michael Congle,  
John Clink,  
John Dicken,  
George Dommine,  
John Davis,  
Henry Downs,  
Amos Dicken,  
Thomas Dicken,  
George Eisenhart,  
Urias Freeland,  
John Freeland,  
Michael Felter,  
Christian Frey,  
Michael Garveric,  
Adam Hendricks,  
John Hunt,  
Michael Hubley,  
Wendel Horst,  
Isaac Hendricks,  
Godleib Howman,  
Jacob Headick,  
James Hendrick,  
Philip Herring,  
William Hendricks,  
Michael Howman,  
Nathan Jones,  
David Jones,  
John Klinefelter,  
Daniel Kurfman,  
John Keller,  
Lawrence Klinefelter,  
Andrew Krist,  
Joseph Lowbridge,  
Casper Lutz,  
John Low,  
Frederick Miller,  
James Marshall,  
Solomon Nonemaker,  
Alexander Osburn,  
George Peary,  
William Patterson,  
Frederick Rule,  
Sebastian Shilling,  
James Swinney,  
Ulrich Sipe,  
John Shyrer,  
Jacob Seabaugh,  
John Sholley,  
Henry Shaffer,  
Joseph Turner,  
George Waltmyer,  
Ambrose Wilcox,  
Edward Wood,  
Christian ———.

*Captain,*  
Peter Zollinger.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Daniel Amer.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Joseph Baltzley.  
*Ensign,*  
Anthony Snyder.  
*Privates,*

Adam Brener,  
Jacob Bowser,  
Christian Baker,  
Noah Bowser,  
David Baker,  
Valentine Barkhymer,  
Daniel Bowser,  
Henry Baltzley,  
Jacob Bower,  
Abram Bowser,  
Ulrich Bernhard,  
John Bower,  
John Brener,  
Jacob Baker,  
John Brigner,  
Gotlieb Brizner,  
Nicholas Dillow,  
Conrad Dull,  
Philip Emeck,  
Peter Gise,  
Nicholas Goip,  
Wendel Gyer,  
Henry Heiney,  
Ludwig Heiner,  
John Hilder,  
Conrad Haverstock.

George Jacobs,  
Henry Jacobs,  
Philip Jacobs,  
John Kell,  
John Lane,  
Jacob Long,  
Henry Long,  
Patrick McHailey,  
Richard Mummett,  
William Mummett, Sr.,  
John Mummett,  
William Mummett, Jr.,  
Daniel Noel,  
Bloss Noel,  
John Naugle,  
William Philebe,  
Adam Player, Sr.,

Adam Pypher,  
Adam Player, Jr.,  
Peter Prigner,  
Lawrence Rohrbaugh,  
Daniel Reinell,  
Jacob Stifler,  
Jacob Snyder,  
Philip Swisegood,  
John Titto,  
George Tresler,  
John Taylor,  
Christopher Walter,  
Henry Walter,  
Stophel Weymiller,  
Frederick Walter,  
Conrad Walk.

George Emick,  
Jacob Fulwider,  
Andrew Frederick,  
Jacob Funhuver,  
James Flowers,  
John Grow,  
Philip Hileman,  
Jacob Henry,  
Christian Hosler,  
Joseph Hosler,  
Michael Hofner,  
Casper Hildebrand,  
Henry Hildebrand,  
\* Jacob Henry,  
Jacob Kurfman,  
Godfrey Klintinch,  
Felix Klatfelter,  
Michael Klatfelter,  
Christian Klintinch,  
Henry Klatfelter,  
Valentine Lore,  
Peter Low,  
Anthony Leaman,  
Henry Lise,  
Peter Lise,  
Jones Lordon,  
George Low,  
Michael Mitchel,

Christian Michael,  
Emanuel Niswonger,  
George Nyman,  
George Piper,  
John Pope,  
Adam Pope,  
Melchor Pypher,  
Michael Peltz,  
John Quarterman,  
Michael Rose,  
George Sliskman,  
Henry Swartz,  
Bernard Spangler  
(son of Jonas),  
Charles Sliuman,  
Andrew Shietler,  
Michael Shenk,  
Jacob Shaffer,  
Jacob Shyrer,  
John Smith,  
Abram Swartz,  
Jacob Welshans,  
Henry Wideman,  
Jacob Winter,  
George Walter,  
Jacob Ziegler,  
Bernard Ziegler,  
Christopher Zimmerman.

*Captain.*

John Erman.

*First Lieutenant.*  
Daniel Peterman.

*Second Lieutenant.*  
Michael Bush.

*Ensign.*  
George Erman.

*Privates.*

Conrad Alt,  
Philip Appleman,  
Matthew Allison,  
Valentine Armspoker,  
Earnest Alp,  
Jacob Bailey,  
John Brillhart,  
Jacob Brillhart,  
David Byer,  
George Bailey,  
Michael Bush,  
Henry Byers,  
Samuel Brillhart,  
Bernard Blymyer,  
Lawrence Cramer,  
Baltzer Colier,  
John Colier,  
Charles Deal,  
Adam Deal,  
Gilian Dippingier,  
Jacob Earhart,  
Thomas Earhart,  
Michael Erman,  
Henry Frey,  
John Fry,  
Martin Feigle,  
Francis Grove,  
Casper Glatfelter,  
John Grimes,  
Henry Hess,  
Jacob Hildebrand,  
Nicholas Hope,  
Felix Hildebrand,  
Charles Hymes,  
Martin Hart,  
Peter Klinefelter,

Jacob Koffelt,  
John Klinefelter,  
Henry Keller,  
Christian Keller,  
Andrew Low,  
Tobias Miller,  
Edward Musgrove,  
Michael Myer,  
Andrew Myer,  
Christopher Myers,  
John Miller,  
Henry Miller,  
Ulrich Noyer,  
John Olp,  
Frederick Phenice,  
Andrew Peary,  
Nicholas Peary,  
Jacob Peck,  
Christian Rush,  
Abram Rever,  
Lawrence Rose,  
Adam Rose,  
Conrad Swartz,  
David Shaffer,  
Michael Shultz,  
John Shyrer,  
Joseph Sites,  
John Stites,  
John Stively,  
Christian Stively,  
George Seigh,  
Philip Shaffer,  
Thomas Tise,  
Philip Taylor,  
Matthias Trorbaugh.

*Captain.*

George Geiselman.

*First Lieutenant.*  
Frederick Heiner.

*Ensign.*  
Valentine Alt.

*Privates.*

John Byer,  
Christian Brenneman,  
Joseph Bigler,

John Crowl,  
John Dicken,  
George Deal,

*Captain.*

Jacob Ament.

*First Lieutenant.*  
Andrew Parley.

*Second Lieutenant.*  
Nicholas Andrews.

*Ensign.*  
Adam Klinefelter.

*Privates.*

Philip Altland,  
Samuel Arnold,  
John Appleman,  
John Byer,  
Casper Bentzley,  
John Baker,  
John Buse,  
Warne Craver,  
Matthias Craft,  
John Deardorf,  
Peter Deardorf,  
John Fissel,  
Adam Fissel,  
Michael Frederick,  
Peter Flager,  
Jacob Fulgemore,  
Adam Fultz,  
Valentine Grove,  
David Griffith,  
David Griffith,  
Jacob Howry,  
Christopher Hyme,  
John John,  
Valentine Kulp,  
Adam Krist,  
Christopher Kemp,  
Rudy Klinpeter,  
John Kaltrider,  
Philip Krist,  
Christian Linbaker,  
Matthias Mummert,  
John Myer,  
Peter Moore,  
John Nelson,  
Amos Powel,  
Peter Puse,

Ludwig Pope,  
Michael Paulet,  
Martin Rafflesperger,  
George Rudy,  
Jacob Road,  
Abram Road,  
George Road,  
Matthias Stump,  
Klinman Stoutsberger,  
Peter Strine,  
John Stopher,  
Philip Stoofer,  
Henry Spangler  
(Rudy's son),  
Henry Say,  
John Sunday,  
John Sharke,  
Michael Sunday,  
Jacob Stover,  
Henry Spangler  
(Jonas' son),  
Jacob Swartz,  
Bernhard Spangler  
(Rudy's son),  
Philip Shaffer,  
Peter Torn,  
John Tinkey,  
John Trimmer,  
Andrew Trimmer,  
Jacob Tortoiseman,  
Adam Walter,  
Philip Wyland,  
George Wallet,  
Christian Wiest,  
John Wiest,  
Henry Whaler.



*Captain,*  
John Shyrer.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Jacob Headrick.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Frederick Myers.

*Ensign,*  
Jacob Bear.

*Privates,*

George Amspoker,  
John Brodbeck,  
Jacob Bear, Sr.,  
Jacob Bailey,  
George Beck,  
Stophel Brigner,  
George Baker,  
William Baker,  
Jacob Dates,  
George Dehoff,  
Philip Emick,  
Wendel Everhart,  
John Eyerhart,  
Frederick Fisher,  
John Fulwider,  
Frederick Frazier,  
Samuel Glassick,  
John Gauntz,  
Peter Garveric,  
Frederick Hovice,  
Michael Hileman,  
George Huver,  
Peter Hiney,  
Jacob Hess,  
John Howser,  
Peter Krapr,  
Jacob Keller  
(son of George),  
Jacob Kessler,  
Abram Keller,  
Jacob Keller,  
Andrew Kersh,  
John Kline,

Henry William Keller,  
George Krapr,  
John Livingston,  
Henry Mankey,  
Valentine Mickle,  
James Moore,  
James Moore,  
Leonard Myer,  
Henry Nycommer,  
Philip Null,  
George Portner,  
Adam Rypold,  
Nicholas Rypold,  
George Rypold,  
Henry Rohrbaugh,  
William Rule,  
John Rule,  
Ludwick Reighgle,  
Michael Shearer,  
Martin Shyrer,  
Philip Snyder,  
Dewalt Snyder,  
George Smith,  
Mathias Smith,  
Leonard Staker,  
Jacob Stake,  
Henry Williams,  
Jacob Warler,  
Francis Weymiller,  
Sebastian Widman,  
Michael Ziegler, Sr.,  
Michael Ziegler.

After the organization of the militia, in 1777, the following two companies belonged to the Second Battalion, which included men from different sections of York County:

*Captain,*  
Emanuel Herman.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
William Mower.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
John Brodrough.

*Ensign,*  
Herman Hoopes.

*Privates,*

Dietz Amand,  
Jacob Bauer,  
Robert Bayley,  
Jonas Bott,  
Jacob Bushong,  
George Bott,  
Jacob Bott,  
Matthias Detter,  
Gabriel Derr,  
Michael Emlet,  
George Eyster,  
Elias Eyster,  
George Eyster, Jr.,  
Michael Ebert,  
Philip Ebert,

Martin Ebert,  
Christian Ebly,  
——— Ebly,  
Lenhart Ebly,  
John Emig,  
Conrad Eisenhart,  
Christian Eyster,  
Michael Finrock,  
Gottlieb Fackler,  
John Fry,  
George Ferror,  
Stephen Finrock,  
John Gratz,  
Isaac Gartman,  
Isaac Gartman, Jr.,

Abraham Greenawalt,  
John Graff,  
Philip Heiges,  
Jacob Hoke,  
Jacob Herritz,  
John Hoke,  
Andrew Hoke,  
John Hagner,  
Lenhart Holtzapple,  
John Haler,  
Robert Inners,  
John Inners,  
Casper Koren,  
Joseph Kreibel,  
John Kurtz,  
John Kauffelt,  
Valentine Krantz,  
Peter Link,  
Lenhart Lecrone,  
George Lecrone,  
Michael Lau,  
Jacob Meisenkop,  
George Menges,  
Peter Menges,  
Andreas Meyer,  
John Miller,  
Ludwig Moll,  
Simon Nirdmeyer,  
John Oberdorf,  
John Ottinger,  
Jacob Odenwalt,  
Jacob Ottinger,

Henry Ottinger,  
Peter Ottinger,  
John Oldham,  
Valentine Oberdorf,  
Dietrich Ruppert,  
Gottlieb Riger,  
Jacob Roemer,  
Joseph Rothrock,  
George Rothrock,  
Jacob Rudy,  
Adam Rolff,  
John Romer,  
Philip Stell,  
Peter Sprenkel,  
George Sprenkel,  
Isaac Sterner,  
Peter Sprenkle,  
Jacob Schmeisser,  
Henry Shultz,  
Andreas Schneider,  
Matthias Schmeisser,  
Henry Weltzboffer,  
——— Weitzel,  
Peter Wolff,  
Conrad Weigel,  
Martin Weigel,  
Sebastian Weigel,  
Peter Weigel,  
Philip Ziegler,  
Killian Ziegler,  
Jacob Ziegler,  
Peter Ziegler.

*Captain,*

Simon Copenhafer.

*First Lieutenant,*

Michael Schreiber.

*Second Lieutenant,*

Andrew Smith.

*Ensign,*

Jacob Gotwalt.

*Privates,*

*Mustered,*

Philip Benedict,  
Peter Bang,  
Peter Bentz,  
Henry Decker,  
Frederick Ehresman,  
John Frey,  
Jacob Gotwalt,  
George Henry Houser,  
Frederick Haeck,  
Andreas Haeck,  
Jacob Herman,  
John Hearst,  
John Hunrichhouser,  
Nicholas Hantz,  
Simon Kopenhafer,  
Adam Holtzapple,  
Nicholas Krasz,  
Godfrey King,

Reinhart Klein,  
John Kroll,  
George Miller,  
Conrad E. Menges,  
Henry Ness,  
Jacob Ness,  
Henry Ort,  
Henry Rudisill,  
Jonas Rudisill,  
George Romig,  
Peter Schultz,  
Ludwig Shindle,  
John Schran,  
Michael Wentz,  
George Weiterrecht,  
Peter Weiterrecht,  
Valentine Wilt.

*Not Mustered,*

Jacob Ernst,  
Andrew Ginigam,  
Joshua Horten,  
Jacob Huff,  
Andrew Hershey,  
John Herman,  
John Hoffman,  
Christian Kneisley,  
John Kauffman,  
John Kreibel,  
Jacob Kaufman,  
John Nesbinger,

William Rieth,  
Andreas Ritter,  
John Schmidt,  
Yost Stork,  
James Schmidt,  
Philip Wintermoyer,  
Conrad Weikel,  
Nathan Worley,  
Jacob Worley,  
John Willis,  
James Worley,  
Frank Worley.

The following is a muster roll of Captain Archibald McAllister's Company, in 1776, then serving under Colonel Hartley. In the fall of that year Hartley's Regiment joined Washington's army near Trenton, New Jersey. This company, under Captain McAllister, took part in the battles of Brandywine, Paoli, Germantown and White Marsh in 1777, and in 1778, they marched with Hartley's regiment against the Indians on the northern frontier:

*Captain,*  
Archibald McAllister.

*First Lieutenant,*  
Isaac Sweeney.

*Sergeant,*  
John Lesley.

*Drummers,*  
Patrick Commer,  
John Elliot.

*Privates,*

Thomas Bissel,  
Francis Britt,  
George Britt,  
James Burke,  
James Burns,  
John Carduss,  
William Chambers,  
John Clark,  
Robert Clark,  
Adam Clendennen,  
James Crangle,  
Charles Croxel,  
George Cusick,  
James Dill,  
Lewis Denisay,  
Robert Ellison,  
John Falls,  
Henry Gardner,  
Richard Harper,  
William Hayes,  
John Hendrick,  
Thomas Herington,  
Thomas Irwin,  
Thomas Judge,  
Matthias Kellar,  
Dennis Leray,

John McBride,  
John McDonald,  
John McGichen,  
William McGinness,  
Henry McGill,  
John McLean,  
James McManamy,  
Samuel McManamy,  
John Mahon,  
Benjamin Missum,  
Thomas Morrow,  
Cornelius Murray,  
Thomas Nicholas,  
John Page,  
Andrew Patterson,  
Thomas Parker,  
Patrick Roch,  
Paul Terry,  
Robert Thompson,  
Christian Timbrooke,  
Thomas Timpler,  
Andrew Walker,  
Andrew Webb,  
Robert White,  
Frederick Wolf.

Muster roll of the Fifth Company, Third Battalion, York County militia, for the years 1783-4:

*Captain,*  
Peter Trine.

*Lieutenant,*  
John Kneisen.

*Ensign,*  
Peter Messerly.

*Sergeant,*  
Jacob Stauch.

*Sergeants,*  
Adam Hetzer,  
John Wilth.

*Privates,*

Jacob Weigel,  
Charles Mitman,  
Baltzer Ham,  
Andrew Gross.

Daniel Rahauser,  
George Romigh,  
Andrew Coder,  
Joseph Sipe,

Michael Feysler,  
George Croun,  
Thomas Metzler,  
Jacob Zimmerman,  
Casper Bierbower,  
Jacob Bowler,  
Peter Stryn,  
Walter Hughes,  
Peter Thomas,  
William Crage,  
Eliser John,  
John John,  
George Geyer,  
Jacob Hoffman,  
Wendel Gross,  
Jacob Ruthy,  
Michael Gross,  
Alex. Ramsey Cober,  
Nicholas Hoffman,  
George Stauch,  
Michael Bennedick,  
Philip Hoffman,  
Frederick Beck,  
Jacob Huber,  
Michael Welty,  
Jacob Welty,  
Abraham Messerly,  
Philip Bierbower,  
David Ramsey,  
George Ruthy,  
Jacob Leydig,  
Samuel Perck,  
George Reedman,  
Frederick Heck,  
John Bowerway,  
Jacob Herman,  
George Eichholtz,  
Folden Erdel,  
Samuel Clerk,  
Henry Ruthy,  
George Levnninger,  
Christian Heck,

Frederick Eichholtz,  
Adam Guntel,  
Martin Ilgenfritz,  
Frederick Miller,  
John Rothrof,  
Jonas Rothrof,  
Daniel Lebach,  
John Gross,  
Jacob Smith,  
Emanuel Sipe,  
Philip Sipe,  
Jacob Bender,  
George Leyser,  
Tobias Sipe,  
Philip Quickel,  
Anthony Bevenour,  
William Reed,  
Philip Rothrof,  
Jonathan Rauhauser,  
George Huber,  
Philip Miller,  
Henry Gertner,  
Ulrich Derr,  
Jonas Yonner,  
Christian Hamm,  
Matthias Henry,  
Philip Wilty,  
Jacob Gross,  
Jacob Gilbert,  
Jacob Miller,  
George Shettle,  
George Schnellbecker,  
Matthias Eichholtz,  
Andrew Sipe,  
Barnhart Feysler,  
Edward Brady,  
William Ramsey,  
Casper Cundel,  
John Quickel,  
Michael William,  
Henry Bowner.

The official report of the Third Company,  
Fifth Battalion, York County militia, 1780:

*Captain,*  
William Heaffer.

*Lieutenant,*  
Conrad Haverstock.

*Ensign,*  
Martin Berghimer.

*Sergeants,*  
John Dressler,  
Michael Dellow,  
Henry Berghimer.

*Corporals,*  
Philip Hering,  
John Brenner.

*Privates,*

Andrew Young,  
Philip Jacobs,  
Henry Stonesifer,  
Henry Ottinger,  
Jacob Fause,  
Peter Gise,  
George Fans,  
Samuel Arnold,  
Peter Briegner,  
William Mummert,  
Daniel Amert,  
John Dull,  
Peter Heaffer,  
Wendel Gyger,

Abraham Jacobs,  
Ludwig Heaffer,  
John Mummert,  
Jacob Becker,  
Nicholas King,  
Christopher Speess,  
Wendel Henry,  
George Keentzer,  
Henry Jacobs,  
John Hideler,  
Henry Balsley,  
Daniel Bowser,  
Jacob Snider,  
Yost Hiner,

Richard Mummert,  
John Naugle,  
Andrew Haverstock,  
Henry Walter,  
John Bowser,  
Conrad Dull,  
Patrick Haley,  
Philip Haverstock,  
Jacob Dressler,

Jacob Steefer,  
Ludwig Hiner,  
John Lehn,  
Gotlieb Breegner,  
Nicholas Fickes,  
Jacob Bremmer,  
George Ox,  
Abraham Serff,  
Robert Dougherty.

Henry Kuhn,  
John Keller,  
Benjamin Lawson,  
George Bortner, Sr.,  
Jacob Keller Smith,  
Daniel Bear,  
Nicholas Dahoff,  
Frederick William,  
Ludwig Bortner,  
Martin Shyrer,  
Nicholas Ripold,  
Abraham Keller,  
John Werner,  
Henry Wilhelm,  
George Smith,  
George Dahoff,  
Zachariah Shoe,  
George Ripold,  
John Rohrbaugh,  
George Bortner,  
Peter Henig,  
John Gerberick,  
Jacob Noll,

George Huber,  
Matthias Ripold,  
Daniel Stouffer,  
Frederick Fraser,  
Philip Dahoff,  
Henry Abrecht,  
Peter Ollinger,  
Lugwig Rigel,  
Jacob Kants,  
William Ruhl,  
Daniel Gramer,  
Jacob Haderik,  
Frederick Wilhelm,  
Jacob Keller,  
Jacob Ziegler,  
John Eberhard,  
John Gantz,  
Benjamin Walker,  
William Baker,  
David Neal,  
Jacob Kerker,  
Adam Foltz,  
Peter Hah.

The following is a return of the Sixth Company, Fifth Battalion, York County militia, from Paradise Township, September 1, 1781:

*Captain,*  
Andrew Bolly.

*Lieutenant,*  
John Stump.

*Ensign,*  
Philip Wyland.

*Privates,*

Jacob Buss,  
Philip Christ,  
Adam Klinepeter,  
Jacob Amon,  
Nicholas Enders,  
Adam Walter,  
John Kell,  
George Wolled,  
Peter Moore,  
Peter Dewald,  
Valentine Grof,  
John Pawl,  
George Roth,  
David Baker,  
Philip Wolst,  
John Baker,  
Jacob Stover,  
Peter Thorn,  
Philip Shafer,  
Rudolph Klinepeter,  
George Bake,  
Christopher Kamps,  
John Buss,  
John Dierdorf,  
John Trimmer,  
Andrew Trimmer,  
George Rudy,  
John Sherk,  
John Wiest,  
Abraham Roth,  
Casper Goaks,  
Jacob Stover,  
John Fishel,  
Henry Fishel,

Peter Dierdorf,  
Henry Sprenkler,  
Michael Bouser,  
Matthias Mummert,  
John Stoufer,  
Werner Graver,  
Henry Spengler,  
Bernhard Spengler,  
Bernhard Spengler,  
Christian Wiest,  
Christian Linebaugh,  
Jacob Roth,  
Philip Altland,  
Charles Hyme,  
Henry Klinepeter,  
Joseph Sunday,  
John Wide,  
Andrew Sunday,  
Henry Fishel,  
Adam Stover,  
Michael Howry,  
Henry Wahler,  
Jacob Rensell,  
David Griffy,  
John Myer,  
George Wide,  
George Krazingher,  
George Smith,  
Martin Rafflesberger,  
Christian Rafflesberger,  
Peter Trimmer,  
Thomas Louder,  
William Louder,  
Jacob Loser.

Official report of Captain Shearer's Company, Fifth Battalion of York County militia, in 1780:

*Captain,*  
John Shearer.

*Privates,*

Jacob Bear,  
Helfrey Gramer,  
George Krops,  
George Koltriter,  
Michael Shultz,  
Michael Rose,  
Jacob Ziegler,  
Michael Ehrman,  
John Sower,

Frederick Fraser, Sr.,  
Samuel Glasik,  
Deewald Shmider,  
Nicholas Ziegler,  
Adam Ripold,  
George Gross,  
George Amspoker,  
John Brodbek,  
Jacob Shearer,

Return of Captain Thomas White's Company of the Fifth Battalion, York County militia, for the year 1780:

*Captain,*  
Thomas White.

*Lieutenant,*  
Lawrence Helman.

*Ensign,*  
Francis Winkler.

*Sergeants,*  
Edward Woods,  
Christopher Weynemiller,  
Ulrich Barnhard.

*Privates,*

Christian Hershey,  
Joseph Hershey, Jr.,  
Peter Hershey,  
Joseph Hershey, Sr.,  
Nicholas Pence,  
Andrew Pence,  
Michael Fissel,  
Henry Fissel,  
Henry Fissel, Jr.,  
George Conrad,  
Jacob Conrad,  
George Gentzler,  
Michael Miller,  
Philip Stover,  
Peter Marex,  
Peter Ratts,  
Martin Plank,  
Yost Waggoner,  
John Joseph,  
Michael Strawsbach,  
David Griffith,  
Philip Meyers,  
Daniel Shynaman,  
Peter Sander,  
Jacob Wanz,  
John Dicks, Sr.,  
John Dicks, Jr.,  
Martin Foerst,  
Peter Meinhart,

Jacob Marex,  
James Porter,  
Hugh Fulton,  
James Gregory,  
William Blackburn,  
Andrew Hoff,  
Adam Hoff,  
John Kilkanon,  
John Wertz,  
Valentine Runk,  
Joseph Runk,  
Adam Dentlinger,  
John Simmons,  
Leonard Getz,  
Phillip Hoff,  
Peter Wertz,  
Henry Heltzel,  
John Rose,  
Abraham Horn,  
Joseph Wilson,  
John Fricky,  
Elias Wood,  
John Ortman,  
Jacob Lischy,  
George Krone,  
John Hershey,  
Abraham Bollinger,  
Francis Reamer,  
Conrad Mole.

Return of Captain Lechner's Company of York County militia, for the year 1780:

*Captain,*  
Michael Lechner.

*Lieutenant,*  
Henry Kesler.

*Ensign,*  
Henry Karwer.

*Clerk,*  
Christian Roarbach.

*Sergeants,*  
Lorenz Roarbach,  
Jacob Eppley,  
Jacob Stambach.

*Corporals,*  
Daniel Jones,  
Jacob Hefner,  
John Boeler.

*Fifer,*  
Franz Straihthof.

*Drummer,*  
Frend. Fenés.

*Privates,*

Jacob Boeler,  
Henry Skiles,  
Jacob Miller,  
Samuel Brenneman,  
Martin Sneider,  
Henry Stambach,  
Peter Kreps,  
George Werly,  
Stephen Peter,  
John Rever,  
Michael Miller,  
Alexander Lees,  
Adam Miller,  
Abraham Bollinger,  
John Ham,  
Christian Noll,  
Jacob Straihthoff,  
John Myer,  
Ben Brenneman,  
George Fransler,  
Philip Stambach,  
Jacob Wearly,  
Adam Hoffman,  
Daniel Wertz,

Andrew Miller,  
Daniel Ham,  
Christian Huble,  
William Becker,  
Christian Brillhard,  
George Miller,  
Ulrich Huber,  
John Snell,  
Henry Werly,  
Jacob Noll,  
Thomas Harreys,  
John Weaver,  
Jacob Boeler, Jr.,  
Peter Stombach,  
John Kline,  
Lorenz Shultz,  
Thomas King,  
Jacob Kesler,  
John Rudisill,  
William Brenneman,  
John Huber,  
John Miller,  
Christian Hefner,  
Michael Peter,

Peter Weyand,  
Nicholas Weyand,  
Philip Reitz,  
Bernhard Holtzapple,  
Thomas Oldham,  
Andrew Hoke,  
Robert Lewis,  
Matthias Amend,  
Simon Widmeyer,  
Yost Strack,  
Jacob Grofe,  
Michael Cronss,  
Edward Skemp,  
Emanuel Herman,  
Gabriel Derr,  
Matthias Smyser,  
Peter Ottinger,  
Casper Carver,  
Jacob Ziegler,  
Peter Widerecht,  
Henry Cunningham,  
Francis Jones,  
James Dobbins,  
Martin Life,  
Sebastian Weigle,  
Henry Shultz,  
Henry Keifer,  
Andrew Snyder,  
Andrew Weier,  
Philip Hoffman,  
Peter Bentz,  
Jacob Neass,  
George Crantz,  
Adam Hoke,  
Jacob Smyser,  
George Lecrone,  
Henry Weltzhoffer,  
Matthias Miller,  
John Schram,  
Francis Worley,  
John Reisinger,  
Philip Christ,  
Samuel Redinger,  
Elisha Kirk,  
Peter Lau,  
Gottlieb Fackler,  
Martin Ebert,  
Peter Menges,  
Jacob Bott,  
Peter Sprenkle,  
George Bott,  
David Shad,  
Jacob Kauffman,

Jacob Worley,  
John Willis,  
Philip Heltzel,  
Solomon Brown,  
Michael Ebert, Jr.,  
Gottlieb Rieker,  
Peter Lind,  
George Sprenkle,  
Joseph Graybill,  
George Eyster,  
Michael Lau,  
George Eisenhart,  
Martin Wizel,  
John Hoke,  
Stephen Finfrock,  
John Herman,  
Joshua Huddon,  
Michael Sprenkle,  
Bernhard Rudy,  
Peter Wolf,  
Elias Eyster,  
Matthias Detter,  
Diter Rupert,  
James Worley,  
Andrew Hershey,  
Frederick Eichelberger,  
Peter Brenneman,  
Herman Guckes,  
Jacob Franekaberger,  
George Feeman,  
Matthias Keller,  
Matthias Klein,  
Christian Landes,  
Casper Hammer,  
John Jones,  
Daniel Dippel,  
George Meisenkoop,  
George Finck,  
Abraham Borger,  
George Miles,  
John Ebert,  
Nicholas Hentz,  
Everet Herr,  
Anton Weier,  
Philip Wolf,  
Anton Raush,  
Michael Speck,  
Valentine Emig,  
Frederick Huber,  
Jacob Hentz,  
Michael Finfrock,  
Jacob Ottinger.

The following is a muster roll of Captain Reinhart Bott's Company of York County militia, from Manchester Township, 1780:

*Captain,*  
Reinhart Bott.

*Lieutenant,*  
Philip Ziegler, Jr.

*Ensign,*  
Philip Ebert.

*Clerk,*  
Killian Ziegler.

*Sergeants,*  
John Dettemar,  
Jacob Rudy,  
Peter Hoke.

*Corporals,*  
Andrew Ziegler,  
John Ernst,  
Henry Dettemar.

*Privates,*

John Haller,  
John Emig,  
Adam Wolf,  
Frederick Horn,

Michael Bentz,  
Philip Wintermeyer,  
Leonhart Wizel,  
Frederick Leonhart,

Return of Captain Matthias' Company, from Newberry Township, July 1, 1780. This company served in Michael Smyser's Battalion of York County militia:

*Captain,*  
Henry Matthias.

*Lieutenant,*  
George Myers.

*Ensign,*  
Charles Heyer.

*Privates,*

William Mackneley,  
John Stone,  
John Erss,  
Stofel Bower,  
Thomas Winerey,  
John Whyer,  
John Updegraff,  
James Adams,

Thomas Eyeronss,  
Joseph Ruppert,  
George Syds,  
George Bruaw,  
George Miller,  
Conrad Sheffer,  
Martin Shutter,  
Jacob Barr,

Jacob Gotwald, Jr.,  
Henry John,  
Samuel Herd,  
Matthias Sorker,  
Ludwick Whyer,  
Better Meyer,  
John Hunder,  
William Nicholas,  
Andrew Miller,  
Abraham Shelley,  
Valentine Shultz,  
George Strine,  
Jacob Heitelbaugh,  
George Snyder,  
Frederick Sorker,  
Philip Fettrow,  
Amos Lewis,  
James Hengoge,  
Andrew Baitmen,  
Jacob Norberger,  
John Hofmen,  
George Bower,  
Bastian Whyel,  
Frederick Heyer,  
William Updegraff,  
William Bratam,  
Michael Ressler,  
Guy Caneley,  
Jacob Ruppert,  
John Nicholas,  
Philip Bence,  
Michael Fettrow,

Frederick Humel,  
Battereck McMullen,  
John Forey,  
Casper Shetrone,  
Jacob Forey,  
Thomas Miller,  
Andrew Clyne,  
James Karmen,  
Eiven John,  
John Menspoker,  
Joseph Careson,  
Cornelius Careson,  
Daniel Ensol,  
David Ensmenger,  
Christian Bomgerdner,  
Henry Bower,  
Samuel Miller,  
Jacob Stattessman,  
George Menspoker,  
Michael Bollinger,  
Jacob Meyer,  
George Meyer,  
John Bower,  
William Remel,  
Jacob Copler,  
Robert Miller,  
William Winery,  
Frederick Stone,  
Thomas Bonine,  
Jonathan McTarey,  
Samuel Whey.

The following is a return of Captain Wiley's Company, York County militia, for the year 1780:

*Captain,*  
Aquila Wiley.  
*Lieutenant,*  
Adam Hendrix.  
*Ensign,*  
Andrew Smith.  
*Privates,*

James Wilgns,  
John Millar,  
Peter Smith,  
John McDonald,  
Peter Baker,  
Daniel Curfman,  
Christian Keisey,  
James Moor,  
William Wile,  
Michael Clifelter,  
Windel Hisa,  
James Marshal,  
John Keller,  
Jacob Ott,  
George Waltimire,  
Hennary Waggoner,  
George Isahart,  
Thomas Simyard,  
James McTwina,  
John Freeland,  
Jacob Hederick,  
Daniel Bailey,  
John McMahon,  
William Patterson,  
Conrod Free,  
Christian Crouse,  
Frederic Millar,  
Laurane Clifelter,  
Jacob Coler,  
Nehemiah Underwood,  
William Anderson,

Boston Shilling,  
Michael Heman,  
Henry Shaver,  
Henry Downs,  
John Clifelter,  
Jacob Bosard,  
Adam Deal,  
Isaac Hendrix,  
Thomas Arms,  
Solomon Numemaker,  
Jacob Mire,  
Nicholas Rogers,  
Michael Kensler,  
John Beard,  
Adam Lukus,  
Thomas Sparks,  
Chrisley Lipe,  
George Didenhaver,  
Frederick Rule,  
Francis Keiley,  
John Millar,  
Nicholas Millar,  
Charles Waltimire,  
David Waltimire,  
Adam Smith,  
Isaac Low,  
Paul Hivly,  
Gasper Preathaver,  
James Freeland,  
Thomas Hendrix.

A part of the county militia were called out to serve for three months or more at a time to guard British prisoners at York, during the years 1777-78-79, and at Camp Security, the British prison four miles southeast of York, in 1781-82. The following companies served in this capacity:

*Captain,*  
George Long.  
*Lieutenants,*  
Christopher Elefritz,  
John Fischel.

*Sergeants,*  
George Moore,  
Jacob Sprengle,  
John Willard.

*Corporals,*  
Martin Kerman,  
Seth Goodwin,  
Philip Wagner.

*Privates,*  
Forrest McKutchin,  
Luke McLeese,  
Peter W. Naught  
(or McDonough),  
Felix Miller,  
Patrick Oloan,  
David Parker,  
Thomas Ryan,  
Henry Ryschell,  
Jacob Speck,  
Peter Shoemaker,  
John Wilhelm,  
George Wilhelm,  
Philip Wagoner,  
Casper Williard,  
George Zech.

*Captains,*  
Christopher Lauman,  
Daniel Doll.

*Privates,*  
Hamilton Bagley  
John Eichelberger  
Henry Erwin  
Jacob Forry  
Joel Gray  
John Hively  
Stephen Harry  
Jacob Heckert  
Richard Hickson  
Thomas Koontz  
Peter Kurtz  
Abraham Lightner  
Peter Lightner  
John Lafferty  
Philip Miller  
William Mayson  
Dr. Emanuel McDowell  
Thomas McKinsey  
William Norris  
John Strebich  
Dr. Daniel Shefer  
George Stall  
Michael Schreiber  
John Shetly  
Joseph Updegraff  
Jacob Welshans.

John Agnew,  
Jacob Bitner  
Andrew Colboon  
Martin Fry  
Jacob Graybill  
Peter Glossbrenner  
George Giess  
Peter Hess  
Christian Heckendorn  
John Hubley  
John Kock, Jr.  
George Lutman  
Henry Lanus  
Charles Lauman  
Ignatius Lightner  
William Mim  
John Pfleger  
John Philby  
Barny Smith  
Henry Small  
Laurence Shultz  
Clement Stillinger  
Jacob Waltimire  
John Williams  
Jacob Welsh  
John Yous

The following is a muster roll of Captain Samuel Fulton's Company of York County militia, guarding the prisoners at Camp Security, in September, 1781:

*Captain,*  
Samuel Fulton.  
*Lieutenant,*  
Joseph Dodds.  
*Sergants,*  
Alexander Thompson.  
Alexander Smith,  
Ezekiel Sinkey.  
*Corporals,*  
James Cowhick,  
John Patton,  
James Hawkins.  
*Fifer,*  
Godfry Sidle.  
*Privates,*

Samuel Adams,  
Joseph Alison,  
William Adams,  
Thomas Robison,  
Samuel Barber,  
John Beveard,  
Jacob Balsley,  
Christian Branaman,  
Andrew Brown,  
Michael Caricker,  
Valentine Colman,  
William Donaldson,  
Joseph Delinger,  
John Delinger,  
Adam Darron,  
Michael Edwards,  
Frederick Eholes,  
John Freland,  
Michael Flint,  
Michael Fedrow,  
Jacob Freeze,  
John Good,  
David Griffith,  
John Gross,  
Robert Hill,  
Isaac Hendrick,  
Daniel Hair,  
Michael Henry,  
Frederick Humble,  
Mathias Kernes,  
Philip Knop,  
George Lecrone,  
George Linger.

John Murfey,  
William McClellan,  
Jacob McCoullah,  
Andrew Miller,  
Michael Miller,  
John Moser,  
Henry Miller,  
John Owens,  
John Obble,  
Ludwick Ort,  
Robert Penrey,  
James Pollock,  
Peter Pence,  
Elisha Pew,  
Thomas Robison,  
Mandevill Reed,  
John Rodrof,  
John Sineard,  
Michael Simerman,  
William Scarlet,  
Joseph Stroup,  
Peter Strayer,  
Adam Swope,  
Jacob Stigner,  
Adam Shinbarger,  
Jacob Taylor,  
Eldrie Terr,  
Joseph Thompson,  
Stophel Writer,  
Moses Wallace,  
Charles Walmier,  
John Waggoner.

William Mitchell's Company, December 20, 1776, Fifth Battalion, Colonel Matthew Dill:

*Captain,*  
William Mitchell.  
*First Lieutenant,*  
Joseph Elliott.  
*Second Lieutenant,*  
Henry Shaeffer.  
*Ensign,*  
Laurence Oats.  
*Sergeant,*  
John Lewis.  
*Privates,*

Robert Torbett,  
Nicholas Shotto,

William McLaughlin,  
Daniel Williams,

William Cooper,  
John Cooper,  
Brainerd Stroyner,  
Thomas Ramage,  
Alexander White,  
William Sullivan,  
Allen Torbett,  
Thomas White,  
John Hall,

Francis Boggs,  
Patrick Shammon,  
Peter Reeser,  
John Sullivan,  
John Bowie,  
John Williams,  
Benjamin Coble,  
John Sickleman,  
James White.

Joseph McClellan's Company, September 10, 1778, Ninth Pennsylvania Line:

*Captain,*  
Joseph McClellan.  
*Sergants,*  
Daniel Vanderslice,  
Hugh Hearren,  
Samson Dempsey.  
*Corporals,*  
Samuel Woods,  
Christian Young.  
*Drummer,*  
George Stewart.  
*Privates,*

George Alfred,  
Henry Harper,  
George Pention,  
Thomas Sumner,  
Adam Coch,  
Daniel Saliday,  
Daniel Benhart,  
Frederick Raimeck,  
Jacob Powles,  
Laughlin Morrison,  
Thomas Powell,  
Francis Matthews,  
Patrick Rock,  
Andrew Shaffer,  
Robert Eagen,  
James Haines,  
James Young,

James Callahan,  
George Shaffer,  
John Connely,  
Peter Mager,  
John Allison,  
Robert Armstrong,  
John Davis,  
Michael Henderliter,  
George Hister,  
Simon Lauk,  
Samuel Lewis,  
Joseph Parker,  
Thomas Rendals,  
Nathan Roberts,  
Charles Stewart,  
John Stewart,  
Jonathan Thomas.

Isaac Sweeney's Company of the New Eleventh, 1781:

*Captain,*  
Isaac Sweeney.  
*Lieutenant,*  
Septimus Davis.  
*Ensign,*  
William Houston.  
*Sergants,*  
Thomas Wilson,  
John Gray,  
Patrick Clemens.  
*Corporals,*  
Andrew Miller,  
Edward Blake,  
John Smith.  
*Drummer,*  
Robert Hunter.  
*Fifer,*  
John McElroy.  
*Privates,*

George Carman,  
John Edgar,  
William Fields,  
Hugh Forsythe,  
James Hines,

Andrew Kelly,  
Roger O'Brien,  
Valentine Stickle,  
Hugh Swords,  
William Wilson.

John Andrew's Company, April 30, 1779.  
Tenth Battalion:

*Colonel,*  
John Andrews.  
*Adjutant,*  
William Bailey.  
*Quartermaster,*  
Robert Chambers.  
*Sergeant,*  
M. David Beaty.  
*Privates,*

Robert Galbreath,	Joseph Bogle,
John Hout,	Benjamin Whitely,
Christian Freet,	William Stragin,
George Stope,	William Reed,
Philip Hounsley,	John Sarsley,
Nathan Grimes,	John Slammers,
Abraham Houghtailen,	John Hoover,
David Demorest,	Robert Wilson,
Henry Buchanan,	Alexander Bogle,
William Coule,	David Cassat,
Samuel McCush,	William McGrer,
George McCans,	Robert Campbell,
James Wier,	John McCreesy.

The following is a list of York County soldiers who served in the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot:

Michael Long,	Daniel Johnston,
Samuel Crawford,	Michael Jones,
Robert Campbell,	Patrick Kelly,
James Brown,	Robert Keenan,
John Mollin,	John Leonard,
Robert Garret,	Thomas Maltzer,
Ulrich Faulkner,	James Morrison,
William Kerr,	James McLean,
Charles Boyles,	William Welschance,
Robert Magee,	Peter Eversole,
Thomas Collins,	William Morris,
James Berry,	Thomas Stewart,
Jesse Lester,	Felix McLaughlin,
George Sinn,	Edward Larder,
Mathias Crout,	John McNair,
James Robertson,	William Pilmore,
John Kimmins,	Thomas Winters,
Jacob Harrington,	John Gower,
William Williams,	John Callahan,
James McDonough,	James Bradley,
James McIntyre,	Edward Blake,
Thomas McGee,	Daniel Campbell,
John Malone,	Henry Crone,
John McKinney,	Hugh Henley,
Peter Geehan,	Thomas Hamilton,
Samuel Woods,	Frederick Snyder,
Martin Hart,	Michael Wann,
George Corkingdate,	Peter Myers,
John Allen,	Michael Kurtz,
John Summerville,	Samuel Allen,
Edward Butler,	George Albertson,
Patrick Preston,	James Allison,
Timothy Winters,	Hugh Henderson,
Baltzer Barge,	Patrick Ryan,
John Campbell,	Peter McBride,
Edward Fielding,	Thomas Moore,
Evan Holt,	Thomas Katen,
James Dougherty,	William Bradshaw,
John Vandereramel,	James Welsh,
George Young,	Marty Sullivan,
John Whiteman,	Andrew Crothy,
John Unkey,	John Foudler.

The following soldiers from York County served in different commands during the Revolution:

Pennsylvania Artillery—John Bennington, Michael Kyall, John Kelley, James Ryburn, Frederick Leader, John Johnson, Samuel Laughlin, Alexander Martin, George Stewart, William Bergenhoff, Robert Ditcher, Patrick Dixon, James Baker, John Lochert.

German Regiment—Jacob Kremer, Jacob McLean, John Richcreek.

Fourth Pennsylvania Line—Andrew Crotty, George Seittel, John McMechan, Christian Pepret, Andrew Shoeman, John Cavanaugh, William Smith, John Anderson.

Fifth Pennsylvania Line—John Deveney, Anthony Leaman, Adam Shuman.

Sixth Pennsylvania Line—William Brown, Michael Weirich, Joel Gray, Matthias Young, Ludwig Waltman.

Seventh Pennsylvania Line—John Brown.

Ninth Pennsylvania Line—John Tate, ensign; Stephen Stephenson, Adam Davidson, captain; Samuel Jamieson, George Heffelfinger, Samuel Spicer, Leonard Weyer.

Eleventh Pennsylvania Line—Robert McMurdie, brigade chaplain.

New Eleventh Pennsylvania—Martin Bloomenstine, Godlove Shaddow, John Richcreek, Joel Gray, John Snyder, Robert Casebolt, William Brown.

Thirteenth Pennsylvania—Matthew Farney.

State Regiment of Foot—Captain John Marshall, successor to Captain Philip Albright; Robert Sturgeon, Patrick McGinness, William Welschance, John Awl, Joseph Myers, Samuel Woods, Edward Carlton, Terrence Stockdale.

At the Flying Camp, 1776—Captain Peter Ickes, Second-Lieutenant William Young, Ensign Elisha Grady, Christian Quiggle, Jacob Klingman, Patrick Gibson, Henry Beard, Alexander Frew, George Gelwicks, Charles Wilson.

The following is a list of commissioned officers of the York County militia for the years 1777-8-9:

Colonel James Thompson's Battalion at  
Wilmington, Delaware, Sept. 3, 1777.

1st Co., Captains William Dodds, 38 men;

2d Co., Samuel Ferguson, 41 men; 3d Co., illegible; 4th Co., Thomas Latta, 31 men; 5th Co., John Laird, 32 men; 6th Co., Peter Ford, 27 men; 7th Co., John Myers, 18 men.

#### First Battalion, October 1, 1777.

3d Co., Capt. Christian Kauffman, 1st Lt. John Shaffer, 2d Lt. Henry Smith, Ensign Jacob Strehr; 4th Co., Capt. Daniel May, 1st Lt. Andrew Milhorn, 2d Lt. Henry Yessler, Ensign Frederick Spahr.

#### First Battalion.

Col. James Thompson, 1778; Lt. Col. Samuel Neilson, 1778; Henry Miller, 1779; Major James Chamberlain, 1778; William Bailey, 1779.

1st Co., Capt. William Dodds, 1778, John Ehrman, '79; 1st Lt. Nealy, '78, Fred. Weare, '79; 2d Lt. Nealy, '78; Ensign Jos. Dodds, '78, Peter Swartz, '79. Rank and file, 104 men.

2d Co., Capt. David Williams, '78, George Long, '79; 1st Lt. James McNickle, '78, John Korehart, '79; Ensign James Reed, '78, John Smith, '79. Rank and file, 78 men.

3d Co., Capt. John Shaver, '78, Michael Hahn, '79; 1st Lt. Henry Smith, '78, Christian Zinn, '79; Ensign Jacob Miller, '78, Peter Hank, '79. Rank and file, 95 men.

4th Co., Capt. Daniel May, '78, Peter Ford, '79; 1st Lt. Andrew Melhorn, '78, John Jeffries, '79; 2d Lt. Henry Yessler, '78; Ensign Frederick Spaar, '78, Charles Spangler, '79. Rank and file, 89 men.

5th Co., Capt. James Parkinson, '78, Peter Imswiller, '79; 1st Lt. James Fagen, '78, James Cross, '79; 2d Lt. Alexander Nesbitt, '78; Ensign John May, '78, Ulrich Sellor, '79. Rank and file, 206 men.

6th Co., Capt. Benjamin Keable, '78, Michael Kaufelt, '79; 1st Lt. Henry Shaver, '78, Philip Boyre, '79; 2d Lt. Lawrence Oats, '78; Ensign Michael Dush, '79. Rank and file, 75 men.

7th Co., Capt. Francis Boner, '78, Ephraim Penington, '79; 1st Lt. George Robenet, '78, Charles Barnet, '79; 2d Lt. John Schrote, '78; Ensign William Brandon, '78, Gotfry Lenhart, '79. Rank and file, 120 men.

8th Co., Capt. John O'Blainiss, '78; 1st Lt. John Polk, '78; 2d Lt. William Johnston, '78; Ensign Benjamin Beaty, '78. Rank and file, 106 men.

#### Second Battalion.

Colonel William Rankin, '77-8; Lt. Col. John Ewing, '77-8, Moses McClean, '79; Major John Morgan, '77-8, John Edie, '79.

1st Co., Capt. William Ashton, '77-8, Samuel Cabane, '79; 1st Lt. Malachi Steahley, '77, Milkeah Shley, '78, William Hall, '79; 2d Lt. James Elliot, '77-8; Ensign John Crull, '77, John Carroll, '78, John Murphey, Jr., '79. Rank and file, 91 men.

2d Co., Capt. John Rankin, '77-8, Thomas Bigham, '79; 1st Lt. Joseph Hunter, '77-8, William McCay, '79; 2d Lt. John Ashton, '77-8; Ensign Daniel McHenry, '77-8, John Murphey, '79. Rank and file, 88 men.

3d Co., Capt. Simon Copenhafer, '77-8, Robert Bigham, '79; 1st Lt. Michael Shriver, '77-8, William McMun, '79; 2d Lt. Andrew Smith, '77-8; Ensign Jacob Gutwalt, '77-8, John Sheakley, '79. Rank and file, 60 men.

4th Co., Capt. Philip Gartner, '77, Jacob Hiar, '78, James Miller, '79; 1st Lt. John Higher, '77, Adam Barr, '78, James McKinley, '79; 2d Lt. Jacob Comfort, '78; Ensign George Hiar, '78, Barabus McSherry, '79. Rank and file, 66 men.

5th Co., Capt. Emanuel Herman, '78, Thomas Orbison, '79; 1st Lt. William Moneyer, '77, William Momer, '78, Joseph Hunter, '79; 2d Lt. John Rothrock, '77, John Bodrough, '78; Ensign Harman Hoopes, '78, Robert Wilson, '79. Rank and file, 81 men.

6th Co., Capt. John Mansberger, '77-8, James Johnston, '79; 1st Lt. Henry Matthias, '77-8, John McBride, '79; 2d Lt. George Meyer, '77-8; Ensign Jacob Kepler, '77, Jacob Helper, '78, John McBride, '79. Rank and file, 73 men.

7th Co., Capt. Yost Herbach, '77-8, William Lindsay, '79; 1st Lt. Peter Shultz, '77-8, Robert Black, '79; 2d Lt. Baltzer Rudisill, '77-8; Ensign Michael Ettinger, '77-8, Samuel Russel, '79. Rank and file, 50 men.

8th Co., Capt. William Walls, '77-8, Thomas Clingen, '79; 1st Lt. Henry Leepert, '77-8, Joseph Brown, '79; 2d Lt. John Jordan, '77-8; Ensign James Schultz, '77, Jacob Sholtz, '78, John McLean, '79. Rank and file, 56 men.

#### Third Battalion.

Colonel David Jamison, '78; Lt. Col.



Philip Albright, '78. Michael Smyser, '79; Major William Scott, '78, William Ashton, '79.

1st Co., Capt. Jacob Beaver, '78. Rinehart Bott, '79; 1st Lt. Nicholas Baker, '78, George Philip Zeigler, '79; 2d Lt. John Bare, '78; Ensign George Lefeber, '78, Philip Eberd, '79. Rank and file, 106 men.

2d Co., Capt. Gotfry Fry, '78. Henry Matthias, '79; 1st Lt. John Bushong, '78, George Meyer, '79; 2d Lt. George Spangler, '78; Ensign James Jones, '78, Charles Hyer, '79. Rank and file, 65 men.

3d Co., Capt. Peter Forte, '78, John McMaster, '79; 1st Lt. Christ Stear, '78, William Bennet, '79; 2d Lt. Andrew Hartsock, '78; Ensign Jacob Welshance, '78, John Mapin, '79. Rank and file, 66 men.

4th Co., Capt. Christopher Lowman, '78. Philip Jacob King, '79; 1st Lt. Ephraim Penington, '78, Andrew Cross, '79; 2d Lt. John Fishel, '78; Ensign Charles Barnitz, '78, George Wolf, '79. Rank and file, 72 men.

5th Co., Capt. Alexander Ligget, '78, Thomas Goald, '79; 1st Lt. Robert Richey, '78, George Ensminger, '79; 2d Lt. Robert Stewart, '78; Ensign Peter Fry, '78, William Nailor, '79. Rank and file, 75 men.

6th Co., Capt. George Long, '78, Jacob Comfort, '79; 1st Lt. Samuel Smith, '78, George Meyer, '79; 2d Lt. Conrad Keesey, '78; Ensign Samuel Mosser, '78, Elias Gise, '79. Rank and file, 62 men.

7th Co., Capt. Michael Hahn, '78; 1st Lt. John Mimm, '78; 2d Lt. Thomas ———, '78; Ensign Christian Zinn, '78. Rank and file, 75 men.

#### Fourth Battalion.

Colonel John Andrew, '78; Lt. Col. William Walker, '78, William Gillelan, '79; Major Simon Vanarsdale, '78, John King, '79.

1st Co., Capt. John Calmery, '79; 1st Lt. William Hamilton, '78, Samuel Gillelan, '79; 2d Lt. Joseph Pollock, '78; Ensign Adam Weaver, '78, Nathaniel Glassco, '79. Rank and file, 58 men.

2d Co., Capt. John King, '78, Robert Cample, '79; 1st Lt. James Eliot, '78, John Bodine, '79; 2d Lt. Baltzer Tetrick, '78; Ensign William Neely, '78, David Scott, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

3d Co., Capt. William Gilliland, '78, David

Stockton, '79; 1st Lt. Matthew Mitchell, '78, John Riner, '79; 2d Lt. William Kelmery, '78; Ensign Nicholas Glasco, '78, Elisha Gready, '79. Rank and file, 67 men.

4th Co., Capt. Samuel Morrison, '78, Joseph Pollock, '79; 1st Lt. Peregin Mercer, '78, William Hamilton, '79; 2d Lt. John Armstrong; Ensign Stephen K. Giffin, '78, Adam Weaver, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

5th Co., Capt. John McIlvain, '78, Josiah Carr, '77; 1st Lt. John Range, '78, Lewis Vanarsdelin, '79; 2d Lt. Francis Clapsaddle, '78; Ensign James Geary, '78, John Watson, '79. Rank and file, 74 men.

6th Co., Capt. John Stockton, '78, James Elliot, '79; 1st Lt. John Anderson, '78, William Neally, '79; 2d Lt. David Stockton, '78; Ensign Elisha Grady, '78, Thomas Prior, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

7th Co., Capt. Samuel Erwin, '78, Andrew Paterson, '79; 1st Lt. William Houghtelin, '78, Abraham Fletcher, '79; 2d Lt. Henry Forney, '78; Ensign William Reed, '78, William Fleming, '79. Rank and file, 79 men.

8th Co., Capt. Thomas Stockton, '78, James Geery, '79; 2d Lt. Daniel Mentieth, '78; Ensign Andrew Patterson, '78, George Sheakley, '79. Rank and file, 59 men.

#### Fifth Battalion.

Colonel Joseph Jeffries, '78; Lt. Col. Michael Ege, '78, Francis Jacob Remer, '79; Major Joseph Spangler, '78, Joseph Wilson, '79.

1st Co., Capt. John Mayer, '78, Thomas White, '79; 1st Lt. Abraham Bollinger, '78, Lawrence Helman, '79; Ensign Daniel Hum, '78, Francis Winkel, '79. Rank and file, 55 men.

2d Co., Capt. Adam Black, '78, Acquilla Wiley, '79; 1st Lt. William Lindsay, '78, Adam Hendrix, '79; 2d Lt. David Jordan, '78; Ensign Robert Buchanan, '78, Andrew Smith, '79. Rank and file, 60 men.

3d Co., Capt. William McClane, '78, Peter Zollinger, '79; 1st Lt. David Blyth, '78, William Hefer, Jr., '79; 2d Lt. Benjamin Read, '78; Ensign William Hart, '78, Martin Berkhimer, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

4th Co., Capt. David Wilson, '78, Michael Leightner, '79; 1st Lt. Robert Rowan, '78, Henry Kessler, '79; 2d Lt. John Thompson, '78; Ensign John Cotton, '78, John Ham, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

5th Co., Capt. Joseph Morrison, '78, Henry Ferree, '79; 1st Lt. James Johnston, '78, John Snyder, '79; 2d Lt. John McBride, '78; Ensign John Buchanan, '78, Michael Snyder, '79. Rank and file, 59 men.

6th Co., Capt. William Miller, '78, Andrew Paly, '79; 1st Lt. James Porter, '78, John Stump, '79; Ensign Barnabas McCherry, '78, Philip Wyland, '79. Rank and file, 59 men.

7th Co., Capt. Thomas Orbison, '78, George Geishelman, '79; 1st Lt. Robert McElhenny, '78, Andrew Lau, '79; 2d Lt. Joseph Hunter, '78; Ensign Robert Wilson, '78, Valentine Alt, '79. Rank and file, 60 men.

8th Co., Capt. John Paxton, '78, John Shorrer, '79; 1st Lt. James Marshall, '78, Jacob Barr, '79; 2d Lt. William McMun, '78, Helfrich Gramer, '79. Rank and file, 66 men.

#### Sixth Battalion.

Colonel William Ross, '78; Lt. Col. Samuel Nelson, '79; Major James Chamberlain, '79.

1st Co., Capt. ——— Laird, '78, Peter Speece, '79; 1st Lt. William Reed, '78, John Swan, '79; Ensign David Steel, '78, John Snyder, '79. Rank and file, 84 men.

2d Co., Capt. Casper Reineke, '78, William Coulson, '79; 1st Lt. Jacob Rudisell, '78, Christian Keener, '79; 2d Lt. Simon Clear, '78; Ensign Elias Davis, '78, Matthew Dill, '79. Rank and file, 89 men.

3d Co., Capt. Alexander Nesbit, '79, Lt. Charles Brouster, '79; Ensign Henry Dewalt, '78, Lazarus Nelson, '79. Rank and file, 85 men.

4th Co., Capt. Frederick Kurtz, '78, Andrew Willson, '79; 1st Lt. Matthew Baker, '78, James Quigly, '79; 2d Lt. Henry M——; Ensign Charles Vantine, '78, William Buns, '79. Rank and file, 85 men.

5th Co., Capt. Peter Ekes, '78, Francis Boner, '79; 1st Lt. John Mullin, '78, Thomas Black, '79; 2d Lt. Jonas Wolf; Ensign George Harmon, '78, Peter Zeigler, '79. Rank and file, 84 men.

6th Co., Capt. Leonard Yenswene, '78, William Dodds, '79; 1st Lt. John Wampler, '78, Joseph Dodds, Jr., '79; 2d Lt. Jacob Nucomer, '78; Ensign Ludwick Wampler, '78, Adam Guchus, '79. Rank and file, 58 men.

7th Co., Capt. Andrew Foreman, '78, John

Oblanas, '79; 1st Lt. Henry Sturgeon, '78, John Polack, '79; 2d Lt. Richard Parsell, '78; Ensign James McMaster, '78, Benjamin Beaty, '79. Rank and file, 86 men.

8th Co., Capt. Abraham Sell, '78, Daniel May, '79; 1st Lt. Jacob Kitsmiller, '78, Andrew Milhorn, '79; Ensign Charles Grim, '79. Rank and file, 66 men.

#### Seventh Battalion.

Colonel David Kennedy, '78; Lt. Col. James Agnew, '78, Adam Winterode, '79; Major John Weans, '78, Joseph Lilley, '79.

1st Co., Capt. Thomas Latta, '78, Simon Clare, '79; 1st Lt. Robert Fletcher, '78, Frederick Eyler, '79; 2d Lt. Samuel Cobain; Ensign Henry Shultz, '79. Rank and file, 69 men.

2d Co., Capt. Thomas White, '78, Michael Carl, '79; 1st Lt. Robert Geffries, '78, Adam Hooper, '79; 2d Lt. John Geffries, '78; Ensign Alexander Lee, '78, Henry Felty, '79. Rank and file, 57 men.

3d Co., Capt. John Miller, '78, Conrad Shorets, '79; 1st Lt. Peter Smith, '78, Henry Dewalt, '79; 2d Lt. John McDonald, '78; Ensign Quiller Winny, '78, Anthony Hinkel, '79. Rank and file, 60 men.

4th Co., Capt. Abraham Furee, '79, Peter Solinger, '78; 1st Lt. Daniel Amer, '78, Christian Koenzan, '79; 2d Lt. Joseph Baltzler, '78; Ensign Anthony Snider, '78, John Smith, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

5th Co., Capt. John Arman, '78, Henry Moore, '79; 1st Lt. Daniel Peterman, '78, Henry Hohsteter, '79; 2d Lt. Michael Sech, '78; Ensign George Arman, '78, Ulrich Hohsteter, '79. Rank and file, 65 men.

6th Co., Capt. George Geiselman, '78, Andrew Foreman, '79; 1st Lt. Frederick Hiner, '78, James McMaster, '79; 2d Lt. Henry Sumrough, '78; Ensign Valentine Alt, '78, Peter Foreman, '79. Rank and file, 63 men.

7th Co., Capt. Jacob Ament, '78, John Wampler, '79; 1st Lt. Alexander ———, '78, Adam Fisher, '79; 2d Lt. Nicholas Andrews, '78; Ensign Adam Clinepeter, '78, Christian Gehret, '79. Rank and file, 55 men.

8th Co., Capt. John Sherer, '78, Peter Ikes, '79; 1st Lt. Jacob Hetrick, '78, Jonas Wolf, '79; 2d Lt. Frederick Mayer, '78; Ensign Jacob Bear, '78, Alexander Adams, '79. Rank and file, 70 men.

**Eighth Battalion.**

Colonel Henry Slagle, '78; Lt. Col. John Laird, '79; Major Joseph Lilley, '78, David Wiley, '79.

1st Co., Capt. Nicholas Gelwix, '78, James Maffet, '79; 1st Lt. Adam Hoopard, '78, James Patterson, '79; 2d Lt. George Gelwix, '78; Ensign Henry Felty, '78, Alexander Allison, '79. Rank and file, 86 men.

2d Co., Capt. Thomas Manery, '79; 1st Lt. Isaac McKissick, '78, Thomas Gowan, '79; Ensign Thomas Dixon, '78, David Douglass, '79. Rank and file, 62 men.

3d Co., Capt. Umphry Andrews, '79, Joseph Reed, '78; 1st Lt. Robert Smith, '78, Elias Adams, '79; Ensign Samuel Collins, '78, Allen Anderson, '79. Rank and file, 53 men.

4th Co., Capt. William Gray, '78, John Calwell, '79; 1st Lt. James Patterson, '78, John Sinkler, '79; 2d Lt. Humphries Andrews, '78; Ensign William McCulluch, '78, James Logue, '79. Rank and file, 69 men.

5th Co., Capt. James Moffit, '78, Samuel Fulton, '79; 1st Lt. Andrew Warick, '78, Moses Andrews, '79; 2d Lt. Samuel Moor, '78; Ensign Thomas Allison, '78, Thomas Dickson, '79. Rank and file, 64 men.

6th Co., Capt. John Rippy, '78, James Edger, '79; 1st Lt. John Caldwell, '78, John Cample, '79; Ensign John Taylor, '79. Rank and file, 44 men.

7th Co., Capt. Joseph Reed, '78. Rank and file, 59 men.

8th Co., Capt. Thomas McNerey, '78; 1st Lt. William Adams, '78. Rank and file, 54 men.

The following is a miscellaneous list of soldiers from York County who served in the Revolution: Samuel Way, Newberry Township; William Complin, Marsh Creek settlement; Eli Pugh, Warrington Township; Hugh McManus, Monaghan Township, enlisted February 12, 1782; James Brown, Marsh Creek settlement, enlisted February 13, 1782; Matthew Robinson, Bermudian settlement, March 3, 1782; Andrew Guin, near James Moore's mill, in York County, March 3, 1782; James Walker, York County; John McClelland, York County, in the Third Pennsylvania Regiment; John Hanna, near Tom's Creek, April 1, 1782; David Johnston, April 5, 1782; John Callahan, April 8, 1782; Thomas West, Newberry Township, April 23, 1782;

Andrew Graham, Bottstown, June 26, 1782; John Walter, born in Windsor Township; John Hodgskin, York County; Hugh McEllvaney, Tyrone Township, September 2, 1782; William Magahy, born in York County, lived in Cumberland County; William Scarlett, Newberry Township; Robert Miller, York, October 21, 1782; William Johnston, near Michael Edge's iron works; Daniel Gordon, Mt. Pleasant Township, December 12, 1782; James O'Neal, Mannheim Township; John Walker, born in Peach Bottom, last resided near Carlisle, February 22, 1782; Thomas Benson, died in York County in 1808; Jacob Cramer, residing in York County in 1829; Matthew Dill, died on Jersey prison ship; Martin Doll, resided in York in 1829; Thomas Duff, resided in York, 1821; Vincent Imfelt, resided in York County in 1829; William Johnson, resided in York County, 1824; Moses Keys, resided in York County in 1810; John McCowan, resided in York County, 1819; Daniel Messerly, died in York County; Jacob Myer, resided in York County in 1816; Jacob McMillan, resided in Washington Township in 1812; Michael Nagle, died on Jersey prison ship; Robert Peeling, sergeant, resided in York County in 1820; ——— Ryebaker, wounded in service, resided in Dover Township in 1807; William Wilson, died in York County in 1813.

**PENSIONERS OF THE REVOLUTION**

The following is a list of soldiers of the Revolution from York County who belonged to different commands and received pensions under act of 1818:

John Clark, Major, received an annual allowance of \$240, and served in the Pennsylvania Line; he died April 27, 1819, aged 67; Jacob Cramer, private, served in Hazen's German regiment, received an annual allowance of \$96; died May 19, 1832, aged 78. Robert Ditcher, enlisted in the spring of 1777, in the New York Continental Line, in Captain James Lee's company of artillery then in Philadelphia, attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Lamb. He was present and took part in the battle of White Plains, Staten Island, Monmouth, Mud Island and Germantown, and was several times wounded; died January 10, 1832, aged 78. James Hogg served from January

26, 1779, in the First Regiment of Maryland Line, commanded at first by Colonel Smallwood, and afterward by Colonel Stone. His company was at first that of Captain Nathaniel Ramsay, and afterward that of Captain Hazen; died January 3, 1824, aged 79. Frederick Huebner, private, served in Armand's Legion, in the company of Captain Barron, for the term of about three years; died August 17, 1828, aged 76. Jacob McClean, private, served in Colonel Housegger's regiment, called the "German Regiment," in the company of Captain Benjamin Weiser, from July, 1776, until 1779; died February 18, 1824, aged 66. Zenos Macomber, private, served in Colonel Carter's Regiment from May, 1775, until January, 1776, when he enlisted in Colonel Bond's regiment of the Massachusetts Line. Serving in this regiment about two months, he was removed and placed in General Washington's foot guard, where he served until January, 1777, when he enlisted in General Washington's horse guard in which he served three years; died in 1835, aged 77. Conrad Pudding, private, served in Armand's Legion, in Captain Sheriff's company, from the spring of 1781, until the fall of 1783, when the army was disbanded; died April 30, 1828, aged 74. Thomas Randolph, private, served in the Seventh Regiment of the Virginia Line, commanded by Colonel McClellan, in the company of Captain Peasey, from 1775 to 1778; died June 25, 1828, aged 87. Samuel Ramble, private, served in the first Regiment of the Virginia Line, under Colonel Campbell, in the company commanded by Captain Moss, during the last three years of the war; died July 28, 1830, aged 72. Godlove (Dedlove) Shadow, private, served from the spring of 1776, until the close of the war in the regiment commanded by Colonel Moses Hazen, in the company of Captain Duncan; died January 24, 1825, aged 69. Samuel Spicer, private, served in the Tenth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, under Colonel Humpton, in Captain Weaver's company, for about one year before the close of the war; invalid pensioner, received an annual allowance of \$96 from March 4, 1789; died in 1818, aged 81. John Schneider, private, served in Colonel Hartley's regiment, Captain David Grier's company, from November 11, 1775, until the end of one

year and three months. He afterward served in the regiment commanded by Colonel Haren, in Captain Turner's company from the early part of 1777, until the end of the war; died August 11, 1827, aged 76. James Silk, private, served in the Maryland Continental Line; died in 1835, aged 84. John Taylor, musician, enlisted in February, 1778, at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, in the company of Captain John Cummings, and in the Second Regiment of the New Jersey Line, attached to the brigade commanded by General Maxwell; continued in service until October, 1783, when he was discharged near Morristown, N. J. He was at the battle of Monmouth, and at the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown; he served as a volunteer at the storming of Stony Point, by General Wayne, at which he was slightly wounded; died in 1835, aged 77. Michael Weirick, served in the Sixth Regiment of the Maryland Line under Colonel Williams and Colonel Stewart, and in the company of Captain Rebelle, during the last five years of the war; died August 23, 1825, aged 71. Philip Wagner, served in the Virginia Continental Line; died in 1835, aged 90. George Lingenfelder, served in Captain Michael McGuire's company, in Colonel Brooks' regiment, of Maryland, from June, 1780, until the close of the war. At the battle of Brandywine he was severely wounded; died in 1818, aged 59. Humphrey Andrews, enlisted in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on January 26, 1776, for the term of one year, in the company then commanded by Captain James Taylor, in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne. From Chester County he marched by way of New York, Albany, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to Montreal, at which place they met the troops under General Thompson, who were returning from the battle of Three Rivers. He thence returned with his fellow soldiers to Crown Point, where he remained until January 24, 1777, stationed between the two armies of Burgoyne and Howe. Marching to Chester, he was discharged on the 25th of February, 1777. Andrews was engaged in a skirmish with the British in November, 1776. He died in 1818, aged 63. Jacob Mayer, enlisted in York County, served in Colonel Wayne's regiment, in the company commanded by

Captain James Taylor from February, 1776, to the end of one year, when he was discharged at Chester; died 1828, aged 67. Matthias Kraut served in the Tenth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, commanded by Captain Stout, from 1776, to the close of the war. He died in 1818, aged 58. Jacob Kramer, served in the regiment commanded by Captain Housegger, and afterward by Colonel Weltman, in the company commanded by Captain Paulsell, and afterward by Captain Boyer. He served from July 19, 1776, until July 19, 1779. He died in 1818, aged 62.

The following soldiers from York County who served in the Pennsylvania Line, under an act of 1818, received an annual allowance of \$96, and were dropped from the roll under act of May 1, 1820:

John Brown, private, aged 69; Jacob Fitzer, private, aged 74; Abraham Greenwalt, private, aged 62; Anthony Lehman, private, served in the Fifth Regiment, under Colonel McGaw, in the company of Captain Deckert, from February, 1775, to January, 1777, aged 67; David Ramsey, private, served in the First Rifle Regiment, under Colonel Edward Hand, the company under Captain Henry Miller, from July 1, 1775, until June, 1776. Being then discharged, he joined Colonel Harnum's regiment, and was in service until taken prisoner at the battle of Brandywine. He was present and took part in the battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, Flat Bush, at one of which he was wounded in the head; aged 71.

The following soldiers from York County, who served in the Pennsylvania Line, under act of 1818, received an annual allowance of \$96, and died at the dates named:

John Beatty, private, served in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Irwin, in the company of Abraham Smith, from February, 1776, until February, 1777, died August 30, 1829, aged 74; John Jacob Brown (Bauer), private, served in the First Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Chambers, in Captain James Wilson's company, from September, 1774, until the close of the war, died December 2, 1827, aged 82; William Brown, private, enlisted at Philadelphia in the autumn of 1777, for the term of three years, in the company commanded by Captain John Doyle, and the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania

Line commanded by Colonel Hand. He was at the battles of Brandywine, Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, Stony Point and Paoli, at the last of which he received several wounds; served six years and was discharged at Lancaster; died June 12, 1822, aged 77. William Cline, private, served in Colonel Wayne's regiment, in Captain Frazer's company, from December, 1775, to March, 1777; died January 21, 1825, aged 70. Matthias Crout, private, served in the Tenth Regiment, in a company commanded by Captain Stout, from 1776, to the close of the war; died July 22, 1827, aged 67. John Deveney, private, served in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Anthony Wayne, in Captain Robinson's company, from the fall of 1775, until the close of one year, at which time he entered the Fifth Regiment, in Captain Bartholomew's company, in which he served until the close of the war; died February 15, 1827, aged 69. John Deis, private, served in Captain David Grier's company, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Hartley, from March, 1776, until the end of one year; died April 5, 1822, aged 66. Joel Gray, private, served in Colonel Hartley's regiment, in the company of Captain Bush, from October, 1778, until the first of April, 1781; died October 9, 1820, aged 77. John Lockert, private, served in Colonel Proctor's regiment of artillery, in the company of Captain Duffie, from June, 1777, until June, 1779; died June 1, 1830, aged 76. Matthew Liddy, private, died April 24, 1830, aged 87. Christopher New (Nerr), private, served in the Second Regiment, commanded by Colonel Stewart, under Captain Patterson, from April, 1777, until January, 1780; died December 1, 1826, aged 73. John Ohmet, private, served in the Tenth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Richard Humpton, in the company of Captain Hicks, from May, 1777, until the close of the war; died April 16, 1823, aged 65. William Smith, private, served in the Second Regiment, under Captain Watson, from February, 1776, until the close of one year; enlisted in the Fourth Regiment, commanded by Colonel William Butler, in Captain Bird's company; died July 4, 1821, aged 71. Adam Schuman, private, served in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Richard Butler, in Captain Walker's company, commanded by

Lieutenant Feldman, from the spring of 1776, until the close of the war; died May 16, 1823, aged 80. Michael Shultz, private, served in Colonel Hartley's regiment, in Captain Grier's company, from January, 1776, for the term of one year; died February 8, 1834, aged 77. Joseph Wren, musician, served in the Seventh Regiment, in the company of Captain Wilson, from January, 1777, until the close of the war; died July 9, 1827, aged 89. Lewis (Ludwig) Waltman, musician, served in the Sixth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Butler, in the company of Captain Bush, from the fall of 1777, for the term of three years and a half; died August 8, 1822, aged 64. Rhinehart Wire, musician, died July 7, 1827, aged 70. Edward Smith, private, served in Pulaski's Legion, died June 26, 1832, aged 76. Christopher Sype, musician, served in the Pennsylvania Line; died October 2, 1832.

The following soldiers from York County, who served in the Pennsylvania Continental Line, were on the pension rolls in the year 1835, under the act passed in 1818, and received an annual allowance of \$96:

Thomas Burk, fifer, aged 74, served in Tenth Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Hazen, from June, 1778, until 1781; William Bargenhoff, private, aged 87; John Cavenough, corporal, aged 83; Martin Doll, private, aged 79; Jonathan Jacobs, private, aged 70; Peter Myers, private, aged 74; Martin Miller, private, served in Count Pulaski's Legion, in Captain Seleski's company for the term of eighteen months, aged 71; Michael Peter, private, aged 83; Philip Peter Scherer, private, aged 76; Henry Snyder, private, aged 78; Anthony Slothour, musician, aged 83; Valentine Stickel, musician, aged 82; Michael Warner, musician, served in Captain Jacob Bower's company, from October, 1781, until October, 1783, aged 75; Andrew Young, musician, aged 78; Henry Doll, private, served in the First Regiment, under Colonel Stewart, and in the company under Captain Shade, for about one year, aged 78; Frederick Boyer, private, served in the detachment under Colonel Almon, from 1777 to 1779, when he enlisted in a corps of cavalry under Captain Selinski, and under the command of General Pulaski; served in the corps until nearly the whole of it was destroyed, aged 83. John

Michael, private, aged 91; Christian Peperet, served in Colonel Butler's regiment, in Captain Bush's company, from the year 1779 until the close of the war, aged 83.

The following Revolutionary soldiers, residing in York County, were placed on pension rolls March 4, 1831, most of whom received an annual allowance varying from \$20 to \$40:

Jonathan Mifflin, deputy-quartermaster, served in Pennsylvania militia, received annual allowance of \$425; aged 80. Adam Wolf, lieutenant, served in the Pennsylvania State troops, received an annual allowance of \$92, aged 84. John Datamar, ensign, served in Pennsylvania State troops, aged 77. Henry Feltz, ensign and private, served in Pennsylvania militia, aged 76. James Patterson, private, served in Pennsylvania militia, received an annual allowance of \$76, aged 80. Henry Baumgardner, private, served in Pennsylvania militia, aged 76; John Bullock, private, served in Maryland militia, aged 84; George Bailey, private, served in Pennsylvania militia, aged 73; John Baker, private, in Maryland militia, aged 76; Helier Cramer, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 79; Joseph Croft, private, in Pennsylvania State troops, aged 79; James Cross, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 75; Michael Coppenhaffer, private, in Pennsylvania militia; Andrew Finrock, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 77; Henry Geip, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 78; George Goodyear, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 82; Philip Gohn, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 77; Henry Hoff, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 74; Jacob Innois, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 82; John Jacobs, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 80; George Krebs, private in Pennsylvania militia, aged 80; Valentine Kohler, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 79; John Kroan, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 77; Peter Grumbine, private, in Pennsylvania Continental Line, aged 73; Christian Klinedinst, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 76; John Lipp, private, in Maryland militia, aged 88; Nicholas Leber, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 78; Frederick Leader, private, served in artillery and infantry in Pennsylvania Line, aged 74; Philip Miller, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 83; Adam Pope,

private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 68; Daniel Pegg, private, in New Jersey militia, received an annual allowance of \$53, aged 78; Dewalt Rabenstine, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 73; Jacob Rudy, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 83; Matthias Ritz, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 77; John Stroman, private, in Pennsylvania State troops, aged 78; John Schmuck, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 78; Adam Schlott, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 72; Lewis Shive, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 74; Tobias Sype, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 73; John Stabb, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 75; Ludwig Swartz, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 75; George Switzen, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 71; Henry Tome, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 80; Alexander Thompson, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 75; David Waltagmer, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 75; Philip Wambach, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 59; John Welch, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 92; Caspar Zegar, private, in Pennsylvania militia, aged 81.

The following Revolutionary soldiers were invalid pensioners residing in York County:

Thomas Campbell, captain, received an annual allowance of \$240, June 7, 1785; Andrew Johnson, lieutenant, received an annual allowance of \$60, February 15, 1812; Jacob Barnitz, ensign, annual allowance \$120, June 7, 1785; George Benedict, annual allowance \$40, November 22, 1809; John Cavanaugh, private, annual allowance \$20, September 4, 1794; Henry Slotterback, private in Butler's regiment, annual allowance \$60, March 3, 1827.

The following is a miscellaneous list of Revolutionary pensioners:

Robert Peeling, annual allowance \$96, died August 2, 1839; Frederick Stine; Jacob Ginder, served in General Armand's Legion; Dr. William H. Smith, surgeon mate in Pennsylvania Line; Captain George Jenkins, served in Pennsylvania Line; Thomas Henderson, of Peach Bottom Township; Jacob Dondel, served in Pennsylvania Line, died September 21, 1831; Philip Graybill, served in the Second Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, died in 1816; Philip Miller, served in Colonel Gib-

son's regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, enlisted for one year, in 1778; Philip Miller, served in Colonel Stewart's regiment of the Pennsylvania Line; Nicholas James, in 1849, aged 83; John Bryan, served in Armand's Legion until the end of the war, discharged at York; Captain Andrew Walker, served in Colonel Hartley's regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, from 1776 to the close of the war; Captain John Doyle; James Bennett, sergeant in Proctor's regiment of artillery in the Pennsylvania Line, died May 12, 1824.

William Russel, of Franklin Township, ensign in Third Pennsylvania Regiment; Samuel Spicer, private in Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment; Archibald Steel, officer in First Pennsylvania Regiment; John Brown, private in Captain Andrew Irwin's company in the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, under Colonel David Grier; Samuel Mosser, Washington County, private in Armand's Legion; Christian Babst, private, in Armand's Legion; Captain John Wampler, engaged seven months' men in 1780; Barnet Slough, private in Armand's Legion; William Marshall, of York, private Armand's Legion.

The names of the following Revolutionary pensioners were collected from the records of John Morris, a notary public of the Borough of York, and found in the office of Register of Wills of the county: Peter Tims or Tome, a private in Armand's Legion; John Boyle; John Trie, private Captain Bell's Company, Second New York Regiment, Colonel Philip Cortlandt; Peter Christian, private Armand's Legion; John Michael; George Benedict; David Kramer, private Armand's Legion; Ephraim Ferguson, shoemaker, private in Captain Gibson's Company, Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment; Andrew McFarlin, dragoon in Armand's Legion; George Zinn; Thomas Johnson, lieutenant in Colonel Cunningham's Battalion.

Richard Varding, a corporal in Captain Graeff's Company, Colonel Swope's Regiment, March 27, 1782, received from the county by order of the court twenty-five pounds, or about \$125, for services while a prisoner of war on Long Island. He was also allowed the pension of a corporal from the county, beginning from the time of his release on account of his disability.

John Stead, a private in Colonel Hartley's Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, was severely wounded at Paoli. In October, 1782, the court allowed him twenty-five shillings per month on account of disability.

George Stewart, of Windsor Township, must have been one of the youngest soldiers of the Revolution. He enlisted in Captain Porter's company in the lower end of York County, as a substitute, when, according to an official record, he was utterly incapable of carrying a musket. He was sold as a substitute by his master, George Shetter.

Robert Coney, a soldier of the Revolution, was born at York in 1758 and died December, 1860, at his home in Hamilton County, Ohio, at the age of one hundred and two years. He had entered the army under Washington as a drummer at the age of thirteen.

John Purnell, the last survivor of the Revolution from York County, died at his residence on South Street, York, May 22, 1863, at the age of ninety-eight. In 1777, at the age of eleven years, he became a cabin boy on board one of the war vessels of Commodore Paul Jones, the founder of the American navy, and is supposed to have been with that officer when he won the victory over the British off the coast of France. Purnell was a pensioner from the year 1818 to the time of his death in 1863.

### CHAPTER XVIII

#### CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AT YORK

**Samuel Adams' Great Speech—John Hancock's Resignation—Laurens Chosen President—First National Thanksgiving—Articles of Confederation Adopted—Proceedings in 1778.**

In the summer of 1777 General Howe determined to leave New York for the purpose of attacking Philadelphia, the seat of the United States Government. He embarked in July with 18,000 men. Finding that the entrance to the Delaware River was well fortified and that strong defenses had been erected a short distance below Philadelphia, he decided to enter Pennsylvania by sailing up the Chesapeake. Owing to a stormy passage, he did not arrive at the head of the bay until August 25, when he landed at Elkton, Maryland.

At this time General Washington with a small army crossed New Jersey to defend Philadelphia. A resolution of Congress was passed, calling out the militia of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. August 26, John Adams, of Massachusetts, then a delegate in Congress and President of the Board of War, wrote: "Congress has been informed that Howe's army has landed upon the banks of the Elk River. The militia are turning out with great alacrity from Maryland and Pennsylvania. They are distressed for want of arms. Many have no arms and others only small fowling pieces."

Washington now moved his army farther south and on September 11 with 11,000 men, met Howe with his 18,000 British regulars and Hessians at Chad's Ford on the Brandywine, where a desperate battle took place. Washington was obliged to retire from the field, but the defeat was so slight that he was able to detain Howe for two weeks on the march of only twenty-six miles to Philadelphia.

During these stirring times when the sound of the British guns was heard in Philadelphia from the battle of Brandywine, Congress resolved to remove the public records to the interior of Pennsylvania and select another place as a temporary capital of the United States. It was hardly to be expected that Washington with his small force could defeat so large a body of the enemy and on September 14, three days after the battle, John Adams wrote from Philadelphia to his wife in Massachusetts: "Howe's army is at Chester, about fifteen miles from this town. General Washington is over the Schuylkill awaiting the flank of Howe's army. How much longer Congress will stay is uncertain. If we should move, it will be to Reading, Lancaster, York, Easton or Bethlehem, some town in this state. Don't be anxious about me nor about our great and sacred cause. It is the cause of truth and will prevail."

On the same day Congress resolved that if obliged to remove from Philadelphia, Lancaster should be the place of meeting and that the public papers be put in the care of Abraham Clark, one of the members from New Jersey, who was "empowered to procure wagons sufficient for conveying them and apply to General John Dickinson



or any other officer commanding troops in the service of the United States who is hereby directed to furnish a guard to conduct the said papers safely to Lancaster”

September 17, Congress resolved that “notwithstanding the brave exertions of the American army, the city of Philadelphia may possibly by the fortune of war, be for a time possessed by the enemy’s army”

It further resolved to grant to General Washington, commander-in-chief, extraordinary powers for sixty days with the authority to suspend officers of the army for misbehavior, fill vacancies below the rank of brigadier general, and take provisions and other articles, wherever they may be found for the maintenance of the army. He was permitted to pay for these provisions or give certificates for the payment of them, and a pledge of the public credit was given for the future settlement of such certificates.

Early on the morning of September 19, when the members of Congress were in bed, they received word through Alexander Hamilton, then a colonel on the staff of Washington, that the British army was in possession of the fords over the Schuylkill. It was evident that the enemy would be in possession of Philadelphia in a few hours. At this time there were about thirty delegates present from the different states. Having adjourned to meet at Lancaster, this body of patriots to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy, started northward to Bristol, twenty miles north of Philadelphia. The official papers of the Board of War and the Board of Treasury had been sent to Bristol some days before. They were conveyed to Trenton, to Easton and from thence to Bethlehem. The delegates from the different states seem to have proceeded by the nearest route from Bristol and arrived at Bethlehem, a distance of forty miles, September 22. In the evening of the same day John Adams with the delegates arrived from Easton with the official papers guarded by fifty troopers and fifty infantry.

A band of British Highlanders were then imprisoned at Bethlehem. They were ordered to Lancaster and from thence taken through York, to Virginia. Their place of imprisonment at Bethlehem was turned into a hospital for wounded soldiers, brought

there from the battle of Brandywine. General Lafayette, who was also wounded at Brandywine, was taken to Bethlehem where he received surgical treatment. On September 23, many of the delegates attended the children’s meeting in the Moravian chapel. After the services John Hancock took up the service book used by the Moravian pastor, Rev. John Ettwine, and with other delegates, examined it. The pastor explained its use and read that portion for the day containing the words “Whoever is not for us is against us.”

The members of Congress while at Bethlehem signed an official paper authorizing the protection of the property of the Moravians. They were John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Henry Laurens, John Adams, James Duane, Nathan Brownson, Nathaniel Folsom, Richard Law, Eliphalet Dyer, Henry Marchant, William Duer, Cornelius Harnett, Joseph Jones and William Williams.

The liberty bell from Independence Hall in Philadelphia, which rang out independence after the Declaration had been signed, was brought from Philadelphia to Easton and from thence to Bethlehem. Soon afterward this bell, now so famous in the history of our country, was concealed for several months in a Reformed Church at Allentown.

In accordance with the resolution of Congress, when it adjourned at Philadelphia to meet at Lancaster, the members at Bethlehem proceeded to that borough on horseback, arriving there on the evening of Friday, September 26. At this time the Pennsylvania Legislature had moved to Lancaster remaining in session there until June 20 of the following year.

Upon arriving at Lancaster, Congress assembled in the Court House then situated in Centre Square and began the transaction of business. Several important letters were read. One was received from General Gates, then in command of the Northern army near Saratoga. This letter dated September 15, on account of the exciting condition of affairs had been a long time on the way. It was written four days before Gates had won his first victory at Saratoga. A letter of great moment, dated September 23, was received from General

**Arrive at Bethlehem.**

**One Day at Lancaster.**

Washington. This letter was written at Pottstown which was then his headquarters and stated the condition of his army after the defeat of Brandywine, and the need of arms and supplies. A resolution was then passed instructing the Board of War "to cooperate with General Washington in devising and carrying into execution effectual measures for supplying the army with fire-arms, shoes, blankets, stockings, provisions and other necessaries." The condition of affairs around Philadelphia at this period was not encouraging to the Americans. Although Washington was receiving reinforcements there was still danger that he had not a sufficient army to defeat the enemy in a conflict which seemed inevitable. Lancaster was only sixty-eight miles from Philadelphia and scouting parties of the enemy frequently approached the borders of the county in which Congress was assembled. The Pennsylvania Legislature, then about to open its sessions at Lancaster, had begun to grow discouraged and disheartened by reason of the defeat of our army at Brandywine and the capture of Philadelphia by the British. Some of its members were inimical to the cause of independence and others were opposed to Washington as the head of the army.

At the close of one day's session at Lancaster, held on Saturday, September 27, the following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That the Treasury Board direct the treasurer, with all his papers, forms, etc., to repair to the town of York, in Pennsylvania." Immediately after the passage of this resolution, a motion was carried to adjourn to meet at York on the following Tuesday at 10 o'clock A. M.

These illustrious patriots whose acts and deeds have added lustre to the pages of American history, wended their way toward the Susquehanna in order that the broad river might flow between them and the enemy while they transacted the affairs of the infant government at York during the darkest period of the Revolution. They crossed the river on flat boats at Wright's Ferry and proceeded to York. They rode on horseback, except John Hancock, who traveled in a chaise, and Joseph Jones, a member from Virginia, who came here in the private carriage of

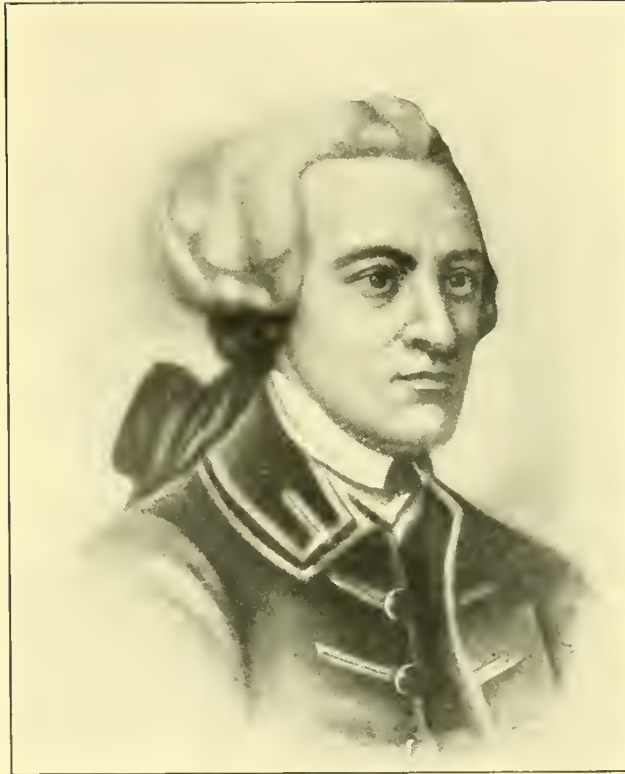
General Washington. The following letter, written upon his arrival here, to the commander-in-chief, tells an interesting story:

York, Pa., September 30, 1777.

Dear Sir: I have your phaeton here, though I was obliged to send for it after I left Philadelphia, being put to route the night I received your letter. The bolt that fastens the pole part of the long reins was lost, some brass nails also gone and the lining much dirtied and in some places torn. I will have these little matters repaired and the carriage and harness kept clean and in as good order as I can, which is the least I can do for the use, though I would rather buy it, if you are not determined against selling it and submit the price to yourself or your friend, Colonel Harrison, who may view it and pay the cash upon demand to your order. The harness I observe is not matched, though the difference is not very striking. Whether these happened at Philadelphia since you left it there or before, you can judge.

When Congress assembled September 30, 1777, in the Provincial Court House, which stood in Centre Square, York, from 1755 to 1841, it beheld the chief cities of the country in the hands of the enemy and the shattered army around Philadelphia retreating before a conquering foe. York contained 286 houses and about 1,800 inhabitants. There were within the town a dozen or more public inns or taverns, as they were then called, at which some of the members with difficulty secured lodging and entertainment. A retinue of attendants, including the troops of cavalry and a company of infantry which had guarded the transmission of the government papers, also found accommodations at public and private houses as best they could. The members or delegates to Congress had been elected by their respective states for one year and received such compensation as the state legislatures provided. The amounts varied from three to eight dollars a day in Continental money, then worth about thirty cents on the dollar. The Board of Treasury, presided over by Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, took up its quarters in the residence of Archibald McClean, at the northeast corner of George Street and Centre Square. It was in this building that Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, distributed during the succeeding nine months, in accordance with the resolutions of Congress, the deposits of the government treasury. The Board of War, presided over by John Adams, of Massachusetts, held its meetings in the law office of James Smith, adjoining his





JOHN HANCOCK

President of Continental Congress when it assembled in  
York, September 30, 1777

residence on the west side of South George Street, near Centre Square. Different committees met in the building at the southwest angle of Centre Square. The members of Congress paid their own expenses while here, except John Hancock, of Massachusetts, the president, who occupied the house of Colonel Michael Swope, on the south side of West Market Street near Centre Square, and his current expenses were paid by authority of the government out of the national treasury.

Daniel Roberdeau, of Philadelphia, who, as a brigadier-general in the army, had captured from the British a prize of \$22,000 in silver and turned it over to the use of Congress, rented a house on South George Street. Several of the members, including John Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Henry Lee, lodged in his house. Other members stopped at private houses and at parsonages occupied by different clergymen of the town.

Congress held a brief session on September 30 and then adjourned until the following morning at 10 o'clock. The controlling power of the nation was vested in one body, and during the whole period of the war, until 1789, transacted the business of the government with closed doors. None but members and a few government officials were permitted to attend the sessions. Congress, however, at this time, could only recommend to the states what should be done. It had no power to lay a tax upon the different states or to order that soldiers should be drafted into the army. At this time the new republic was composed of thirteen independent states. The Declaration of Independence, passed the year before, had not created a perfect union and our fathers had not yet "brought forth on this continent a new nation." The Articles of Confederation, which had been discussed for several months at Independence Hall, in Philadelphia, were now taken up for final passage.

It is interesting to state here that the court house then used as the Capitol of the United States, had been built of brick twenty-two years before. It was 55 feet long and 45 feet wide. The

main entrance, through double doors, led from South George Street. The judge's desk, at which the President sat, was at the western end of the building. Back of this, on a small pedestal, perched a plain image representing a statue blindfolded holding the scales of justice. Two rows of seats for jurors extended along the walls to the left and right of the judge's desk. Several tables and desks rested on the floor within the bar, immediately behind which stood a large ten-plate wood stove with an eight-inch pipe extending upward and then back to the east wall. The rows of seats to the rear of the bar inclined upward to the eastern end of the building. At the rear of the court room was a small gallery reached by winding stairs. There were six windows on each of the sides facing north and south George Street, and four windows each at the east and west ends of the building. Every window contained two sashes and every sash 18 small panes of glass. The second story of the Court House was used for public meetings, entertainments and at times for school purposes. In the original Court House there were only two gable ends, one facing east and the other west Market Street. The gables facing north and south George Street were placed there when the Court House was remodeled in 1815.

A bell had been obtained for St. John's Episcopal Church, on North Beaver Street, a few years before. There was no bellry on this church and no suitable place to hang the bell, so it was hung on a pole in Centre Square and there rung for religious services and for town meetings. When the news of the Declaration of Independence was officially brought to York, James Smith and Archibald McClean ordered that this bell be put in the cupola of the Court House. In response to notification this historic bell was rung loud and long for liberty and independence. After the Revolution this bell was removed to the cupola of St. John's Episcopal Church of York, where it has since been used. A vast crowd of people had assembled in Centre Square and the Declaration of Independence was read amidst great applause.

On Tuesday evening, September 30, John Hancock wrote to General Washington:

**Hancock's Letter.** • General Washington:

York, Pa., 30 September, 1777.

Sir:—Since my departure from Philadelphia, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favors. Congress met on Saturday last at Lancaster and upon consultation it was judged most prudent to adjourn to this place, where we now are and where we can prosecute business without interruption and where your despatches will meet us.

I have just now received by General Gates' aide-de-camp, Major Troup, sundry letters, copies of which I have the honor to enclose to you, by which it appears that our affairs in the northern department wear a favorable aspect and I hope soon to transmit you an account of an issue to the contest in that quarter.

I wish soon to receive the most pleasing accounts from you. We are in daily expectation of agreeable tidings and that General Howe is totally reduced.

I beg leave to refer you to enclosed papers; and am with the utmost respect and esteem, sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN HANCOCK,

President.

Including President Hancock, **Delegates** there were 25 delegates present to on October 3, when they voted **Congress.** on the resolution to refer to General Washington the decision of priority of rank in the army between Baron de Kalb and General Thomas Conway. Their names and the states they represented are recorded in the journals of Congress as follows: Nathaniel Folsom, New Hampshire; Samuel Adams, John Adams, Elbridge Gerry and James Lovell, Massachusetts; Henry Marchant, Rhode Island; Eliphalet Dyer, William Williams, Richard Law, Connecticut; James Duane, William Duer, New York; Daniel Roberdeau, Pennsylvania; Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, Maryland; Benjamin Harrison, Joseph Jones, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Virginia; John Penn, Cornelius Harnett, North Carolina; Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Henry Laurens, South Carolina; and Nathan Brownson, Georgia. Only 11 states voted. New Jersey and Delaware were not represented at this time. According to custom, the votes were cast by states. New delegates arrived at different times during the succeeding nine months. In all there were 67 attending the sessions at York. There does not seem to have been more than 35 present at one time.

October 4, Captain Weaver was voted \$2,000 for the purpose of defraying the expenses of taking a band of British prisoners from Lancaster through York to Virginia. Colonel Richard McAllister, of Hanover, lieutenant for York County, was ordered

by Thomas Wharton, President of the Legislature at Lancaster, to provide thirty men from York County to act as a guard for these prisoners on their march southward.

The commissary-general of purchases was instructed to employ some one to take charge of all the wheat in the several mills near York for the United States. Washington was ordered to make provisions for quartering the troops during the coming winter. News of the defeat of the British at Bennington by General Stark was received and that officer was tendered a vote of thanks. A letter was ordered to be written to General Gates informing him "that Congress highly approved of the prowess and behavior of the troops under his command in their late gallant repulse of the enemy under General Burgoyne at Saratoga." Two companies were raised to guard the government stores at Carlisle. The commissary-general was given the power to seize and press into service wagons, shallops and a store house, within seventy miles of Washington's headquarters. George Eichelberger, who had been appointed deputy quartermaster at York, was voted \$2,500 for the use of his department. He was directed to provide members of Congress with the articles needed for themselves, their servants and their horses at cost. The different state legislatures were recommended to pass laws to punish by death without the benefit of clergy, any person or persons found guilty of burning or destroying government magazines or stores.

**Medal for Washington.** The British entered Philadelphia, September 26, and soon after proceeded to the village of Germantown, six miles north of the city. Washington attacked them on October 4 at daybreak, hoping to push their army against the Schuylkill River and destroy it. The daring scheme almost succeeded, but victory was turned into defeat by a sudden panic among the Americans caused by an accident. It was a foggy morning and one American battalion fired into another by mistake. The news of the defeat at Germantown was brought to Congress by a despatch bearer. Although the report of the defeat was not encouraging, on October

8 it was resolved "That the thanks of Congress be given to General Washington for his wise and well concerted attack upon the enemy's army near Germantown and to the officers and soldiers of the army for the brave exertions on that occasion; Congress being well satisfied that the best designs and boldest efforts sometimes fail by unforeseen incidents, trusting that on future occasions, the valor and virtue of the army will, by the blessing of heaven, be crowned with complete and deserved success." Congress then ordered that a medal of honor be presented to the commander-in-chief.

The second day's session of Continental Congress at York opened Wednesday, October 1. Rev. Jacob Duche, who had served as chaplain, became a loyalist and remained in Philadelphia. Rev. William White, rector of the United Parishes of Christ's, St. Peter's and St. James' Episcopal Churches of Philadelphia, was elected chaplain. He spent part of the succeeding winter in York, occupying rooms at the residence, on North George Street, of Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church. At this time he was 29 years of age. In 1786 he became the first bishop of Pennsylvania. Rev. George Duffield, a native of Lancaster County, and pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, of Philadelphia, was elected associate chaplain. He was then 45 years old and one of the first clergymen in America to advocate the cause of independence. Before coming here he had served as chaplain in the army and for his intense loyalty to the patriotic cause, the British government offered a prize for his capture. While in York he was the guest of Rev. Daniel Wagner, pastor of Zion Reformed Church, who resided at the parsonage on the north side of East King near George Street. Early in life Duffield had been pastor of the Presbyterian churches at Dillsburg and Carlisle.

By resolution Congress now decided that the morning session should begin at 10 A. M. and adjourn at 1 P. M. The afternoon session began at 4 o'clock and continued usually until 10 o'clock at night. The discussions on the momentous questions considered by this body were often carried on

in the form of conversations. Efforts at oratory were rarely attempted. On one or two occasions, Samuel Adams made patriotic speeches like those he had delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, before the opening of the war. The flute-like tones of Richard Henry Lee always interested his hearers and commanded the closest attention. Patrick Henry was governor of Virginia and Thomas Jefferson, a member of the legislature in session at Richmond. Benjamin Franklin, still a member from Pennsylvania, was United States commissioner in Paris, endeavoring to secure the recognition of his government by King Louis XIV of France.

Of the delegates to Continental Congress during the entire period of the Revolution, none were more zealous in legislating for the prosecution of the war than Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts. He was a man of lofty patriotism and unbounded energy. The English government blamed John Hancock and Samuel Adams more than any others for the origin of the war, and a reward of \$25,000 was offered for the capture of either of them. Both Hancock and Adams, if ever captured, were to be denied pardon for their alleged treason to the mother country. With Adams as the leader of Congress while in York, the struggle for liberty was simply a matter of life and death. Success in establishing freedom would send him down to posterity, honored by all future generations; failure pointed to the prison cell and the ignominy of a rebel doomed to the scaffold. Everything seemed dark and gloomy during the early days of October, 1777, and some of the members of Congress were ready to give up the struggle in despair and accept the overtures of peace offered by the British government. About this time John Adams made the following entry in his diary:

"The prospect is chilling on every side, gloomy, dark, melancholy and dispiriting. When and where will light come from? Shall we have good news from Europe? Shall we hear of a blow struck by Gates against Burgoyne? Is there a possibility that Washington may yet defeat Howe? Is there a possibility that McDougall and Dickinson shall destroy the British detachment in New Jersey? If

Philadelphia is lost, is the cause of independence lost?" Then he continues: "No, the cause is not lost. Heaven grant us one great soul. One leading mind would extricate the best cause from the ruin that seems to await it. We have as good a cause as ever was fought for. One active, masterly capacity would bring order out of this confusion and save our country."

The affairs of the new born nation for a time were controlled by a few men, who met regularly in a caucus at the home of General Roberdeau, of Pennsylvania, who lived in a rented house nearly opposite Christ Lutheran Church, on South George Street. Many of the leaders in Congress, including Henry Laurens, Benjamin Harrison, Dr. Witherspoon, Richard Henry Lee, Elbridge Gerry and John and Samuel Adams, lodged in this house. It was here on one October night of 1777, that Samuel Adams called a caucus. After obtaining the views of the different members, some of whom were very despondent, Samuel Adams rose and delivered one of the most eloquent speeches in American history, as follows:

**Samuel Adams' Speech.** "Gentlemen: Your spirits seem oppressed with the weight of public calamities, and your sadness of countenance reveals your disquietude. A patriot may grieve at the disasters of his country, but he will never despair of the commonwealth. Our affairs are said to be desperate, but we are not without hope and not without courage. The eyes of the people of this country are upon us here, and the tone of their feeling is regulated by ours. If we as delegates in Congress give up in despair, and grow desperate, public confidence will be destroyed and American liberty will be no more.

"But we are not driven to such straits. Though fortune has been unpropitious, our conditions are not desperate; our burdens though grievous, can still be borne; our losses, though great, can be retrieved. Through the darkness that shrouds our prosperity, the ark of safety is visible. Despondency, gentlemen, becomes not the dignity of our cause, nor the character of the nation's representatives in Congress. Let us then be aroused and evince a spirit of patriotism that shall inspire the people

with confidence in us, in themselves and in the cause of our country. Let us show a spirit that will induce us to persevere in this struggle, until our rights shall be established and our liberty secured.

"We have proclaimed to the world our determination to die free men, rather than live slaves; we have appealed to heaven for the justice of our cause and in the God of battles have we placed our trust. We have looked to Providence for help and protection in the past; we must appeal to the same source in the future, for the Almighty Powers from above will sustain us in this struggle for independence.

"There have been times since the opening of this war when we were reduced almost to distress, but the great arm of Omnipotence has raised us up. Let us still rely for assistance upon Him who is mighty to save. We shall not be abandoned by the Powers above so long as we act worthy of aid and protection. The darkest hour is just before the dawn. Good news may soon reach us from the army and from across the sea."

The patriotic fervor of the speaker on this occasion, thrilled the small audience and gave them renewed energy in the passage of legislation to aid in carrying on the war.

**Hancock's Resignation.** John Hancock, of Massachusetts, who had served as president of Congress from May, 1775, expressed a desire to retire and visit his home in Boston. He was now forty years of age. After the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770, he was the head of the committee which asked for the removal of the British troops and at the funeral of the slain, he delivered an address so glowing and fearless in its reprobation of the conduct of the soldiery and their leaders as to greatly offend the governor. Hancock was president of Congress when the Declaration of Independence was passed, and the first to append his name to that immortal document. In his youth he had inherited a large fortune from an uncle and at the opening of the Revolution was the most extensive shipping merchant at Boston. His fortune was estimated at half a million dollars, he being probably the wealthiest man in the United States. On account of his ardent patriotism he became a leader in the cause of American inde-



pendence. October 25, 1777, a committee of Congress reported that his accounts had been audited and there was yet due him \$1,392, which was ordered to be paid. As a presiding officer he was dignified, impartial, quick of apprehension and commanded the respect of Congress, but was not popular with all his associates. Later in life he employed his large fortune for useful and benevolent purposes and was a liberal donor to Harvard College. While president of Congress at York, he incurred the displeasure of some of the leading members, including Samuel Adams, who was of an impetuous nature. Going out of the Court House one day, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, suggested to Adams that he should forgive John Hancock for his vanity. Adams, in a fit of rage, quickly responded "Yes, Harrison, I can forgive him and I can forget him." After the war, however, they became firm friends and it is an interesting fact of history that Samuel Adams succeeded in persuading John Hancock to support the ratification of the constitution of the United States, to which he was originally opposed. When Hancock retired from Congress at York, he delivered the following address:

**The  
President's  
Speech.**

"Gentlemen: Friday last completed two years and five months since you did me the honor of electing me to fill this chair. As I could neither flatter myself your choice proceeded from any idea of my abilities, but rather from a partial opinion of my attachment to the liberties of America, I felt myself under the strongest obligations to discharge the duties of the office, and I accepted the appointment with the firmest resolution to go through the business annexed to it in the best manner I was able. Every argument inspired me to exert myself, and I endeavored, by industry and attention, to make up for every other deficiency.

"As to my conduct, both in and out of Congress, in the execution of your business, it is improper for me to say anything. You are the best judges. But I think I shall be forgiven if I say I have spared no pains, expense or labor, to gratify your wishes, and to accomplish the views of Congress.

"My health being much impaired, I find some relaxation absolutely necessary, after

such constant application; I must therefore request your indulgence for leave of absence for two months.

"But I cannot take my departure, gentlemen, without expressing my thanks for the civility and politeness I have experienced from you. It is impossible to mention this without a heartfelt pleasure.

"If in the course of so long a period as I have had the honor to fill this chair, any expressions may have dropped from me that may have given the least offence to any member, as it was not intentional, so I hope his candor will pass it over.

"May every happiness, gentlemen, attend you, both as members of this house and as individuals; and I pray heaven that unanimity and perseverance may go hand in hand in this house; and that everything which may tend to distract or divide your councils be forever banished."

Having retired from his high position as President of Congress, John Hancock started for his home at Boston. He passed through Reading and reached Bethlehem on the evening of November 2, stopping over night in that borough at the Sun Inn, a large stone building still in existence. An entry in a local diary of that date reads: "John Hancock passed through on his way from York to Boston. He was escorted hence by a troop of fifteen horsemen, who had awaited his arrival. From him we learned that our friend, Henry Laurens, had been chosen President of Congress." As New York was in the hands of the British, he crossed the Hudson at Fishkill. At this point he was met by William Ellery, who had been elected a delegate to Congress from Rhode Island. The latter, describing this meeting, records in his diary: "On our way to the Fishkill we met President John Hancock in a sulky, escorted by one of his secretaries and two or three other gentlemen, and one light horseman, returning from Congress at Yorktown. This escort surprised us, as it seemed inadequate to the purpose either of defence or parade. But our surprise was not of long continuance; for we had not ridden far before we met six or eight light horsemen on the canter, and just as we reached the ferry a boat arrived with many more, all making up the escort of President Hancock." Hancock, being re-elected, re-

turned to Congress as a member in May, 1778.

### LAURENS CHOSEN PRESIDENT.

Henry Laurens, who succeeded Hancock as president of Congress, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1724. He had acquired a fortune in mercantile pursuits in his native city, and at the time he was chosen president, was 53 years of age. He visited London in 1774, and while in that city was one of thirty-eight Americans who signed a petition to dissuade Parliament from passing the Boston port bill. He returned to Charleston, and was chosen as member of the first Provincial Conference of South Carolina. In 1776, he was elected a delegate to Continental Congress. Being a man of experience in public and private affairs, he became a leader of Congress soon after he took a seat in that body. When John Hancock determined to resign, Laurens was unanimously elected his successor, November 1, and presided over Congress during the remainder of its sessions at York and until December 10, 1778. In 1779, he was appointed minister to Holland to negotiate a treaty that had been unofficially proposed to William Lee by Van Berckel, pensionary of Amsterdam. He sailed on the packet "Mercury," which was captured by the British frigate "Vestal," of twenty-eight guns, off Newfoundland. Mr. Laurens threw his papers overboard; but they were recovered, and gave evidence of his mission. The refusal of Holland to punish Van Berckel, at the dictation of Lord North's ministry, was instantly followed by war between Great Britain and that country. Mr. Laurens was taken to London, examined before the Privy council, and imprisoned in the Tower, on October 6, 1780, on "suspicion of high treason," for nearly fifteen months, during which his health was greatly impaired. He was ill when he entered, but no medical attention was provided, and it was more than a year before he was granted pen and ink to draw a bill of exchange to provide for himself. But he obtained a pencil, and frequent communications were carried by a trusty person to the outside world, and he even corresponded with American newspapers.

When his son John appeared in Paris, in

1781, to negotiate a loan with France, Mr. Laurens was informed that his confinement would be the more rigorous because the young man had openly declared himself an enemy to the king and his country. It was suggested that if Mr. Laurens would advise his son to withdraw from his commission, such action would be received with favor at the British court; but he replied that his son was a man who would never sacrifice honor, even to save his father's life. Laurens received attention from many friends, among whom was Edmund Burke. Twice he refused offers of pardon if he would serve the British ministry. While a prisoner he learned of his son John's death in a skirmish in South Carolina, and on December 1, 1781, he addressed a petition to the House of Commons, in which he said that he had striven to prevent a rupture between the crown and colonies, and asked for more liberty. He was soon afterward exchanged for Lord Cornwallis and commissioned by Congress one of the ministers to negotiate peace. He then went to Paris, where, with John Jay and Benjamin Franklin, he signed the preliminaries of the treaty, November 30, 1782, and was instrumental in the insertion of a clause prohibiting, on the British evacuation, the "carrying away any negroes or other property of the inhabitants." On his return to Charleston he was welcomed with enthusiasm and offered many offices, which his impaired health forced him to decline. He retired to his plantation near Charleston and devoted his life to agriculture. He died December 8, 1792.

Although Washington had been Gates' defeated at Brandywine and Victory. Germantown, he gave Howe so much trouble that the latter could not send reinforcements to Burgoyne at Saratoga. A force of 3,000 fresh troops from England had been sent up the Hudson from New York on the day the battle at Germantown was fought. They arrived too late to save Burgoyne's army from disaster. He had crossed the Hudson on September 13 and six days later Benedict Arnold attacked him at Bemis Heights and a desperate but indecisive battle was fought there.

The news of this engagement was received by Congress September 30, the day the first session was held at York. It was



HENRY LAURENS

Who succeeded John Hancock as President of Continental Congress, while in session at York



brought by Colonel Robert Troup, an aide on the staff of General Gates, commander of the Northern Army. The letter conveyed by Colonel Troup from Gates to John Hancock, President of Congress, stated the engagement began with a brisk skirmish early in the morning. This drew on the main body of the enemy to support the skirmishers. The action was continued until the close of the day, when both armies retired, with the advantage in favor of the Americans. General Gates said in his report to Congress at York, "The good behavior of the troops on this important occasion, cannot be surpassed by the most veteran army. To discriminate in praise of the officers would be an injustice, as they all deserve the honor and applause of Congress. The armies now remain encamped within two miles of each other. Today I wrote to all the neighboring states and pressing demanded the immediate march of their militia. When proper reinforcements arrive, I hope to give your Excellency more interesting intelligence."

On October 7, Burgoyne **Burgoyne's** risked another battle and was **Surrender.** totally defeated by the American army. He retreated to Saratoga, where he found himself surrounded, and on the 17th he surrendered what was left of his army, nearly 6,000 men, to General Gates. The honor of the victory, however, is due to Arnold and Morgan. Judged by its results, Saratoga was one of the greatest battles of history. It saved New York State, destroyed the British plan of the war, induced England to offer peace with representation in Parliament or anything else except independence, and secured for us the aid of France. A delay of ten days had taken place between the last battle and the surrender, before a convention or agreement for terms of surrender had been made between the two commanding officers. It was finally decided that Burgoyne's army, which became known as the "Convention prisoners," should be marched to Boston. They were afterward divided into small bands, marched southward and held for a long period as prisoners of war in the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. Some of them were kept at Lancaster and York.

### News Brought to York.

Colonel James Wilkinson, a young man of twenty years, who was serving as an aide on the staff of General Gates, was assigned the duty of bringing the news of this brilliant victory and surrender to Congress at York. He left Albany October 20 and reached Easton, Pennsylvania, on the 24th, where he stopped one day. Here he met Dr. William Shippen, the director-general of the hospitals. The following day he proceeded toward Reading, which he reached on the evening of the 27th. While at Reading, he dined with Lord Stirling, of the American army, who had been wounded at Brandywine. One of the guests at the dinner was Major James Monroe, afterward President of the United States, and who was then recuperating from a wound he had received at the battle of Trenton. At this dinner, while in convivial mood, after drinking too much Madeira wine, Wilkinson revealed the plot to remove Washington from the head of the army. This plot was known as the "Conway Cabal." Wilkinson also dined at Reading with General Mifflin, where he met two members of Congress from New England.

Meantime, heavy rains had fallen and the Schuylkill River had overflowed its banks so that the stream, according to Colonel Wilkinson's statement, was impassable and he remained at Reading three days. He arrived at York October 31, but the news of the victory at Saratoga and the surrender of Burgoyne had reached Congress ten days before he came. Military courtesy would have required that General Gates should have communicated this information to Washington, the head of the army, and from that source it should have been transmitted to Congress, but at this early date, he showed his disrespect for his chief. On October 21, according to the journals of Congress, two letters were received by that body giving notification of the surrender of Burgoyne. One of these letters was sent by General Washington from his headquarters near Philadelphia, and the other by General Israel Putnam, from Fishkill, N. Y., so that they were informed of the victory before Wilkinson arrived. The information had been communicated to both Washington and Putnam by Governor Clinton, of New York.

When Wilkinson arrived at York, Hancock had resigned as President of Congress and returned to his home in Massachusetts. Charles Thomson, of Philadelphia, secretary of Congress, acted as President until November 1, when Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, assumed the duties of this office, to which he had lately been chosen. Finding that a change in office had taken place, Wilkinson appeared before Secretary Thomson and presented him the following letter:

**Gates' Report.**

Camp Saratoga, Oct. 18, 1777.  
 Sir:—I have the satisfaction to present your Excellency with the convention of Saratoga, by which his Excellency, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, has surrendered himself and his whole army into my hands, and they are now upon their march for Boston. This signal and important event is the more glorious, as it was effected with so little loss to the army of the United States.

This letter will be presented to your Excellency by my adjutant-general, Colonel Wilkinson, to whom I must beg leave to refer your Excellency for the particulars that brought this great business to so happy and fortunate a conclusion.

I desire to be permitted to recommend this gallant officer, in the warmest manner, to Congress; and entreat that he may be continued in his present office with the brevet of a brigadier-general.

The honorable Congress will believe me when I assure them, that from the beginning of this contest I have not met with a more promising military genius than Colonel Wilkinson, whose services have been of the greatest importance to this army.

I have the honor to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant

HORATIO GATES.

His Excellency John Hancock, Esq.,  
 President of Congress.

**Wilkinson Before Congress.** "By an order of Congress," says Colonel Wilkinson in his "Memoirs," "I appeared before Congress, October 31, where I was received with kindness and treated with indulgence. After having answered sundry questions respecting the relative situation of the two armies before, at and after the convention, the bearing of which in some instances tended to depreciate its importance; I observed that I had in charge sundry papers to be submitted to Congress, which required time for their arrangement, and thereupon I was permitted to withdraw.

"In the course of this audience, I thought I perceived a disposition on the part of two or three gentlemen to derogate General Gates' triumph. I had been questioned as to the practicability of making Burgoyne's army prisoners of war, and had heard it

observed, that it would have been better for the United States if that army had escaped to Canada, where it would have been out of the way; whereas the Convention would merely serve to transfer it to Sir William Howe, and bring Burgoyne's whole force immediately into operation against us on the Atlantic Coast. As unreasonable as these exceptions were, they merited consideration, and I determined to exercise the authority General Gates had given me, and meet them by a message to be prepared for Congress in his name. I consulted two of his friends, Samuel Adams and James Lovell, on the subject, to whom I had letters, who commended the plan, and I made a draft which they entirely approved.

"Having prepared and arranged the documents preliminary to the Convention, with returns of the two armies, and of the ordnance and stores captured, I was again introduced to Congress the afternoon of November 3, by Mr. Thompson, Henry Laurens having been chosen the president, and delivered to that body a message from General Gates."

This message discussed in detail the battle of Saratoga and the surrender of the British army. It was accompanied by various original papers relating to the Convention or agreement between Gates and Burgoyne when they decided upon the terms of surrender.

On November 4, the day after Wilkinson appeared the second time before Congress, he wrote an effusive letter to Gates, addressing him as "My Dear General and Loved Friend." In this letter he bewailed the fact that there was opposition to Gates among the members to Congress. He lamented that he had not yet been honored with any marks of distinction and also stated that he had met Mrs. Gates and her son, Bob, while in York.

A proposal was introduced into Congress two days later to present Wilkinson with a sword. At this juncture Dr. John Wither- spoon, a delegate from New Jersey, in his broad Scotch, dryly remarked "I think ye'd better give the lad a pair of spurs." Another delegate quickly responded "And a whip so that he may bring official news more promptly another time."

Colonel Wilkinson remained in York until November 9. In the meantime he was

made a brigadier-general by brevet. He returned to the Northern army, going by way of Washington's headquarters. Twenty years later Colonel Wilkinson was appointed to the head of the army of the United States.

On November 4, Congress passed the following: Resolved, **Gates Honored.** That the thanks of Congress in their own name, and in behalf of the inhabitants of the thirteen United States, be presented to Major-General Gates, commander-in-chief in the northern department, and to Majors-General Lincoln and Arnold, and the rest of the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful efforts in support of the independence of their country, whereby an army of the enemy of 10,000 men has been totally defeated, one large detachment of it, strongly posted and entrenched, having been conquered at Bennington, and another repulsed with loss and disgrace from Fort Schuyler, and the main army of 6,000 men, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, after being beaten in different actions and driven from a formidable post and strong entrenchments, reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves upon terms, honorable and advantageous to these states, on the 17th day of October last, to Major-General Gates; and that a medal of gold be struck under the direction of the Board of War, in commemoration of this great event, and in the name of these United States, be presented by the president to Major-General Gates.

General Washington was then informed that it was the desire of Congress that the forts and passes on the Hudson be regained. For this purpose he was instructed to retain Gates in the command of the Northern Department. General Israel Putnam, then at Fishkill, New York, with 2,500 men, was ordered to join the main army under Washington near Philadelphia.

On October 31, President **First National Thanksgiving.** Laurens appointed Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, and General Rob-  
erdeau, of Pennsylvania, a committee of Congress to draft a national proclamation of Thanksgiving, the first in the history of the American Republic. This historic

document was written at York by that eminent Virginian, Richard Henry Lee, who less than two years before had moved in Congress, at Philadelphia, that "these United States are and of right ought to be free and independent states," and himself became one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. On November 1 the committee appointed to prepare a recommendation to set apart a day of public thanksgiving, brought in a report, which was taken into consideration and agreed to unanimously. The proclamation is remarkable in language and thought. Besides breathing forth a spirit of lofty patriotism, it also contains a deep and fervent religious sentiment. Following is the proclamation in full:

—"Forasmuch as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God, to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations for benefits received, and to implore such further blessings as they stand in need of; and it having pleased Him in His abundant mercy, not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of His common Providence, but also to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war for the defence and establishment of our inalienable rights and liberties; particularly in that He has been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops and to crown our arms with most signal success. 'It is therefore recommended to the legislature of executive powers of these United States to set apart Thursday, the 18th of December next, for solemn Thanksgiving and praise; that with one heart and one voice, the people of this country may express the grateful feelings of their hearts and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor; and that together with their sincere acknowledgments, they may join in a penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor; and their humble and earnest supplication may be that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please Him graciously, to grant His blessings on the government of these states respectively and prosper the public council of the whole United States; to in-

spire our commanders, both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude, which may render them fit instruments under the Providence of Almighty God to secure for these United States, the greatest of all blessings, independence and peace; that it may please Him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people and the labor of the husbandman, that our land may yield its increase; to take the schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under his nurturing hand and to prosper the means of religion, for promotion and enlargement of that Kingdom, which consists of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. It is further recommended that servile labor and such recreation as at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment on so solemn occasion."

On November 1, President Laurens wrote the following letter to each of the Governors of the thirteen states then in the Union:

York in Pennsylvania, Nov. 1, 1777.

Sir:—The arms of the United States of America having been blessed in the present campaign with remarkable success, Congress has resolved to recommend that Thursday, December 18, next be set apart to be observed by all inhabitants throughout the United States for a general Thanksgiving to Almighty God, and I hereby transmit to you the enclosed extract from the minutes of Congress for that purpose.

Your Excellency will be pleased to take the necessary measures for carrying this resolve into effect in the state in which you reside. You will likewise find enclosed certified copy of the minutes, which will show your Excellency the authority under which I have the honor of addressing you.

I am with great esteem and regard, sir, your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant.

### ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION ADOPTED.

As early as July, 1775, Benjamin Franklin submitted to Continental Congress a draft of Articles of Confederation for the thirteen Colonies. His plan limited their vitality to a time when reconciliation with Great Britain should take place, but if that event did not occur, they should be perpetual. Congress then had no fixed plans for the future and Dr. Franklin's proposition does not seem to have been taken up for discussion at that time. After the Declaration of Independence was passed and signed, in 1776, it was evident that some agreement to bind the states together

more firmly was necessary. It was an easy matter to declare the states free and independent, but it was more difficult to form a perfect union. Congress therefore decided that a committee should be appointed to prepare and properly digest a form of confederation to be entered into by the several states. The committee when appointed was composed of one delegate from each state with John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, as chairman, and through him this committee reported a draft of Articles of Confederation on July 12, eight days after the Declaration had been passed. Almost daily discussions on this subject then took place in Congress until August 20, when the report was laid aside and was not taken up until the following April. Meanwhile several of the states had adopted constitutions and Congress was recognized by the different states as the supreme head in all matters of public finance and plans for the prosecution of the war. During the next six months the subject was debated two or three times a week and several amendments were added. After Congress removed to York and began the vigorous transaction of business, discussions on the Articles were continued almost daily from October 7 until they were passed, November 15. During these discussions, animated speeches were delivered and the conflicting interests of the states were strongly brought into view by the different speakers. After a spirited debate, the Articles of Confederation were voted upon affirmatively. The vote of Congress, passing these Articles, directed that they be submitted to the legislatures of the several states for approval. According to the statement of Daniel Roberdeau, a delegate from Pennsylvania, the Articles of Confederation as passed at York, November 15, were sent to Lancaster to be printed. After they were printed, Congress directed that copies be sent to the speakers of the various state legislatures and laid before them for ratification. They were accompanied by a communication requesting the several legislatures in case they approved of them, to instruct their delegates in Congress, to vote for a ratification of them, which last act should be final and conclusive. This communication was in the form of an urgent appeal for immediate and united action.



and endeavored to show that the plan proposed was the best that could be adapted to the circumstances of all. A committee of Congress, composed of William Duer, James Lovell and Francis Lightfoot Lee, was appointed, November 29, to make a translation of the Articles of Confederation into the French language. This translation was sent to Benjamin Franklin and the other commissioners at Paris, who were endeavoring to secure a recognition of the American Republic by Louis XVI, King of France.

The different legislatures felt the necessity of a firm bond of union between the states, yet they were slow to ratify the Articles. Some of them could not agree on the plan of representation mentioned in the Articles, because under them each state was entitled to the same voice in Congress whatever might be the difference in population.

The most objectionable feature, however, was the plan to determine the boundary lines of the states and the disposition of the unsettled western lands still belonging to England. On June 22, 1778, five days before adjourning at York to meet in Philadelphia, Congress proceeded to consider the objections of the states to the Articles of Confederation and after a careful consideration of them, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, Gouverneur Morris, of New York, and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, were appointed a committee to prepare a form of ratification. They reported the draft the following day and it was agreed to.

**Articles Ratified.** Six states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, claimed that their "from sea to sea" charters gave them lands between the mountains and the Mississippi River, and one state, New York, had bought the Indian title to land in the Ohio Valley. The other six states did not have "from sea to sea charters" and so had no claims to western lands. As three of them, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, held that the claims of their sister states were invalid, they now refused to adopt the Articles unless the land so claimed was given to Congress to be used to pay for the cost of the Revolution. For three years, the land-claiming states refused to be convinced by

these arguments, but the majority of the states had instructed their delegates to sign the Articles by July 9, 1778. At length, finding that Maryland was determined not to adopt the Articles till her demands were complied with, they began to yield. In February, 1780, New York ceded her claims to Congress, and in January, 1781, Virginia gave up her claim to the country north of the Ohio River. Maryland had now carried her point, and on March 4, 1781, her delegates signed the Articles of Confederation. As all the other states had ratified the Articles, this act on the part of Maryland made them law, and on March 2, 1781, Congress met for the first time under a form of government the states were pledged to obey and which was in force until the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, in 1789.

**Printing Press at York.** October 17, Congress decided that the Committee of Intelligence be authorized to take the most speedy and effectual measures for getting a printing press erected in York for the purpose of "conveying to the public the intelligence that Congress may from time to time receive." The chairman of this committee was Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, who, with his associates, completed arrangements for the removal to York of the Hall and Sellers Press, which had been conveyed to Lancaster when Congress left Philadelphia. This printing press originally belonged to Benjamin Franklin, who sold it to Hall and Sellers, publishers of the "Pennsylvania Gazette." This paper, by authority of Congress, was printed at York from the time the press was brought here until June 27, 1778, when Congress returned to Philadelphia. The files of this paper for that period are now in the State Library at Harrisburg.

The Hall and Sellers press, when brought to York, was placed in the second story of the building now standing at the southwest corner of Market and Beaver Streets, occupied by the Adams Express Company. During the Revolution this building was the residence of Major John Clark, a noted soldier who served on the staff of General Nathaniel Greene. Besides printing the Pennsylvania Gazette and a variety of pamphlets and documents for Congress,

Hall and Sellers were authorized to print a vast amount of Continental money.

The first Board of War to direct the affairs of the army, similar to the War Department of today, was appointed in June, 1776. It was composed of John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Harrison, James Wilson, and Edward Rutledge, five members of Congress. This board, with John Adams as president, was continued until 1777. In November of that year, by resolution of Congress, a new Board of War, composed of three persons, appointed to sit in the place where Congress held its sessions. They were not to be members of Congress and Thomas Mifflin, who had just resigned as quartermaster-general of the army, Colonel Timothy Pickering, adjutant-general of the army, and Colonel Robert Harrison, an aide on Washington's staff, were appointed the members of this board. They were to receive two thousand dollars a year. Colonel Harrison, the only personal friend of Washington in the board, declined the appointment. On November 27, Congress decided to increase the number to five members, and elected General Horatio Gates, Joseph Trumbull and Richard Peters.

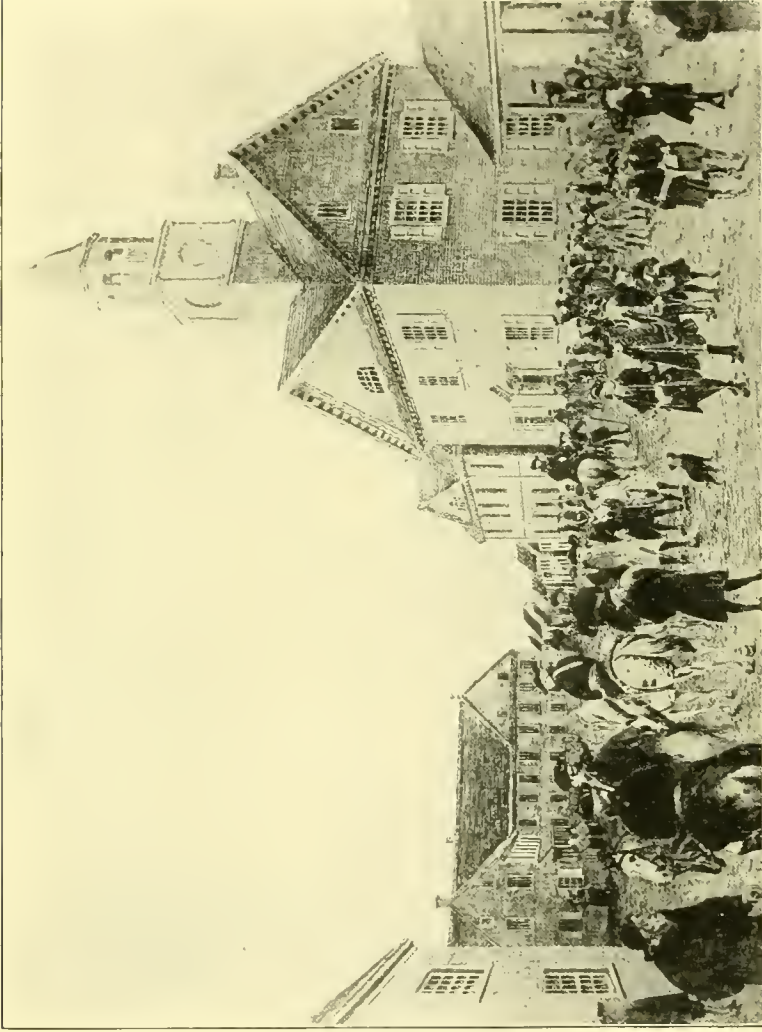
Henry Laurens, President of Congress, then wrote to General Gates, "I have the pleasure of informing you that you have been elected a member of the Board of War and by the unanimous voice of Congress appointed its president, "a circumstance thoroughly expressive of the high sense which Congress entertains of your abilities and peculiar fitness to discharge the duties of that important office, upon the right execution of which the safety and interest of the United States eminently depend." General Gates was allowed to retain the rank and pay of a major-general in the army and was not to be present at the meetings when his services were demanded in the field. The membership was now almost entirely opposed to the interest of Washington, who had not yet loomed up as the dominant personality of the Revolution. The acting members of the Board of War at this time were Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, and Richard Peters, of Pennsylvania, each of whom received two thousand dollars a year. General Gates

came to York in January, 1778, still bearing the laurels of his victory at Saratoga.

Although the Board of Appropriations. Treasury at this period did not have a large fund to its credit, the amount of money distributed by authority of Congress from its vaults and different loan offices during October, the first month of its session at York, exceeded one million dollars. An appropriation of \$352,000 was granted to Thomas Mifflin, quartermaster-general of the army, in accordance with his request of October 14. Of this sum, a warrant on the loan office of the State of Connecticut for \$50,000 was to be sent to the deputy quartermaster-general at Fishkill, New York; one on the loan office of the State of New Hampshire for \$50,000 was to be sent to the deputy quartermaster-general at Hartford, Connecticut; one on the loan office of the State of Virginia for \$50,000 was to be sent to the deputy quartermaster-general at Williamsburg, Virginia; one on the loan office of the State of New Jersey for \$40,000 was to be sent to the deputy quartermaster-general at Easton, and one on the loan office of the State of Pennsylvania for \$60,000. The remaining \$102,000 was to be paid General Mifflin out of the treasury or monies in the hands of the auditor-general.

The Board of War was voted \$300,000 to be sent to the paymaster-general for the use of the army under Washington, near Philadelphia. A warrant for \$200,000 was ordered drawn on the loan office for the State of Massachusetts in favor of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., deputy quartermaster-general, for the use of the army on the Hudson under General Horatio Gates. Other sums advanced by Congress were \$14,000 to Colonel George Morgan for the public service at Fort Pitt, now Pittsburg; \$10,000 to John Baynton, deputy paymaster-general at Fort Pitt; \$3,000 to Ebenezer Hazard, surveyor-general of the postoffice of the United States; \$10,000 by warrant on the loan office of Pennsylvania in favor of William Henry, of Lancaster, for the purchase of shoes and leather and for repairing continental arms; \$10,000 to William Buchanan, commissary-general, to close his accounts; \$20,000 for Continental troops in Georgia, and \$4,000 to George Ross and Company, owners of Mary Ann Furnace, in





ADJOURNMENT OF CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, AT YORK, PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER, 1777, ON THE  
DAY OF THE RECEPTION OF THE NEWS OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER

FROM PEN AND INK DRAWING BY HORACE RONHAM, ESQ.

part payment for cannon balls for the navy. This last item has special local significance. George Ross, of Lancaster, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, owned Mary Ann Furnace. This furnace, situated four miles south of Hanover, had been erected in 1762 and made cannon balls for the American army and navy in considerable quantities.

**Expenses of a Delegate.** In a letter written by Jonathan Elmer, a delegate from the State of New Jersey and dated at York, November 20, 1777, he stated that he would leave York in a few days, after which the State of New Jersey would have no representation in Congress, until new ones were elected by the Legislature. In this letter, he mentions the fact that it cost him 20 shillings, or about \$5.00, a day as expenses while attending Congress. He said it cost him sixty-five pounds to support himself and his horse during the seven weeks he was at York. He further stated that delegates from other states received a salary from five to eight dollars a day.

**Lafayette a Major-General.** On December, 1 1777, Congress passed a resolution requesting that Washington place General Lafayette in command of a division of Continental troops. Lafayette had recently arrived in this country from France for the purpose of aiding the Americans in the war for independence. He had inherited a dislike for the English crown, for his father had been killed in the French army on English soil, before the son was born. Lafayette had left his young wife and two children in France, to come to America. He landed at Charleston, South Carolina. From thence he traveled with a retinue of attendants to Philadelphia, arriving there shortly before the battle of Brandywine. He was only twenty years of age, when Congress, at the request of Washington, promoted him to the rank of major-general in the American army. On the same day that this request was made, Congress ordered that the Committee of Commerce ship with all dispatch, 4,000 hogsheads of tobacco to the commissioners of the United States at the Court of France, to comply with a contract made with the authorities of that country.

This was a busy month for Congress. On

December 1, it ordered that a warrant be issued on Thomas Smith, commissioner of the loan office in the State of Pennsylvania, for \$20,000 in favor of John Gibson, auditor-general of Pennsylvania; that a warrant also be issued on Thomas Smith for \$50,000 to be sent to Dr. William Shippen, director-general of the government hospitals in connection with the army. The same day, Congress ordered that a warrant be issued on Michael Hillegas, treasurer of the United States, with his office at the northeast corner of George Street and Centre Square, for the amount of \$50,000, for the use of Dr. William Shippen, in his department; ordered that \$200,000 be sent to William Buchanan, commissary-general of purchases, for the American army; that \$10,000 be sent to Benjamin Flower, commissary-general of military stores; that \$450,000 be sent to Thomas Mifflin, quartermaster-general of the army; the sum of \$150,000 of this amount from the loan office in the State of New York; and \$100,000 each from the loan offices of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and \$100,000 on the continental treasurer.

**John Adams Retires.** On December 2, the question of the retirement of John Adams from Congress came before that body. He had served continuously as a delegate to Congress since 1775, taking a very active part in all its deliberations. Adams seconded the nomination of appointing Washington as the head of the army, in June, 1775, and made a forceful speech on that occasion. For a time, he was the devoted friend and supporter of the commander-in-chief. At this period in the war he was more inclined to favor the promotion of Gates. Late in November, he wrote to a friend in Boston that the money he received as a delegate to Congress was hardly sufficient to pay his hired man, whom he had engaged to take charge of the affairs of his farm at Quincy, Massachusetts. He had already left York on horseback for Boston before Congress had voted to send him as a special commissioner or rather envoy extraordinary to the Court of France. Benjamin Franklin, who was still a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, was serving on the commission in France in order to secure the alliance of that government in the cause of inde-

pendence. Silas Deane, of Connecticut, had previously been sent to Paris for the same purpose, and Arthur Lee, of Virginia, who had been the secret agent of the United Colonies in England, had also been commissioned to go to France for the same purpose. Communications had frequently been received from Franklin, with reference to the hope of conciliating France in favor of the infant republic. It was now felt necessary that a member of Congress should proceed across the ocean and confer with the American commissioner at Paris. Adams was selected for that position, before he had determined to go to his home in Massachusetts. He states in a letter that after he had mounted his horse at York for his journey home, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, told him that he would presently receive a communication from Congress, asking him to go to France. He knew nothing definite about this matter until one month later, when a courier arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where Adams, as a lawyer, was engaged in the trial of a case in court. This messenger came to the desk where he was sitting, and communicated the news to him. On December 23, he wrote a letter to Congress accepting the appointment of commissioner to the Court of France.

The attitude of Adams toward General Washington as commander-in-chief was not understood. In a letter written from York to his wife, in Massachusetts, shortly after Gates' victory at Saratoga, he said, "if there was any glory to the American army, it could not be attributed to the commander-in-chief."

Before he had completed his arrangements to go to France, he to was called upon by General France. Henry Knox, chief of artillery in the American army, and afterward secretary of war in Washington's first cabinet. In answer to a query concerning his opinion, Adams responded that Washington was an "amiable gentleman." This reply did not satisfy Knox, who was a bosom friend of Washington, and said, "If you go to France as a special commissioner from Congress, you should be an avowed supporter of the commander-in-chief of our army." Before leaving Portsmouth for England, Adams had expressed himself

more favorably toward Washington. By the time he arrived at Paris, Benjamin Franklin had secured the endorsement of the American republic by Louis XVI, of France, who not only agreed to sign a treaty of amity and commerce, but also to send a fleet and army to aid the Americans in fighting for their freedom.

The treasury now had very little money in its vaults and Congress, on December 2, appointed Nathaniel Folsom, of New Hampshire; James Duane, of New York, and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, a committee to make arrangements for securing a loan. Before Adams had set sail for France, Congress decided that he should unite with Franklin in asking the French government to loan the United States \$2,000,000 sterling "on the thirteen United States, for a term not less than ten years." It was then decided to request the legislatures of all the states to make a law for the collection of all colonial moneys and bills of credit issued by the authority of England before 1775, and that it should be exchanged for continental money. The sum of \$3,100 was ordered to be sent to Colonel George Morgan, commanding Fort Pitt, at the site of Pittsburg, which was then threatened by the Indians. Colonel Thomas Butler, in charge of the armory at Lancaster, was voted \$1,800.

On December 3, Congress ordered that \$1,000,000 be issued under the direction of the Board of Treasury and on the "faith of the United States." These bills were to be of the same tenor and date as those issued November 7, 1777, to the amount of \$1,000,000. This money was issued at York under authority of an act of Congress passed at Philadelphia and does not bear the impress of York upon it. The number of 15,384 bills with the denomination of \$3, \$4, \$5, \$6, \$7, each, were issued, and the number of 15,385 bills of \$2, \$8, and \$30 each. On this day, Francis Dana, of Massachusetts; Benjamin Rumsey, of Maryland, and Dr. Joseph Jones, of Virginia, were added to the Board of Treasury. Dana had been transferred to this board from the Board of War. John Gibson was voted \$380 in favor of Lieutenant Allen for conveying \$300,000 to North Carolina. On December 5, Francis Lewis, of New York, arrived and took his seat in Congress. The

sum of \$70,000 was voted to James Mease, clothier-general, for the use of the American army. The sum of \$50,000 was voted to Nathaniel Appleton, commissioner of the loan office of Massachusetts, for the use of the marine department of that state. Joseph Clark was voted \$50,000 in favor of the marine committee of Rhode Island.

On December 8, James Lovell, of Massachusetts, chairman of the committee of foreign affairs, was ordered by Congress to request Silas Deane, one of the commissioners at Paris, to return to America and report to Congress. December 9, President Laurens was ordered to communicate with the legislatures of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina, asking that those states have a full representation in Congress. On September 17, Congress had voted to General Washington, extraordinary powers, for sixty days, shortly before adjourning at Philadelphia. On November 14, these powers were renewed. On December 10, this body urged that Washington should take advantage of all the powers with which he was entrusted, for the purpose of securing provisions and clothing in the region where they were now in camp. The American army was then in camp at White Marsh, fourteen miles northwest of Philadelphia. Thomas Smith, commissioner of the Pennsylvania loan office, was ordered to give the clothier-general \$12,000 for the use of General Wayne's brigade of Pennsylvania troops, who had recently fought so valiantly at Paoli and Germantown.

On December 11, Abraham **Barracks** Clark, delegate from New Jersey, was sworn in as a member of Congress. On this day, Congress voted that barracks be erected in York for the accommodation of troops, "as may be from time to time stationed or detained, either as guards or for the purpose of equipment or discipline." December 12, a letter from President Laurens was read to Congress, in which he asked to be relieved from the office of President because of ill health. No action was taken on this letter and Laurens was persuaded to remain in his office, although he was unable to attend the sessions for several days.

On December 13, Francis Lewis, of New York, William Ellery, of Rhode Island, and

Cornelius Harnett, of North Carolina, were added to the Committee on Commerce. General Thomas Conway, an Irish soldier, who had received military training in Europe, was appointed inspector-general of the army. At the same time, he was raised to the rank of major-general.

From the time Congress came to York, on September 30, to December 16, General Roberdeau, of Philadelphia, was the only delegate present from Pennsylvania. On this date, James Smith, of York, who had served during the year 1776 and had signed the Declaration of Independence, took his seat and was sworn into office. Congress decided to meet twice a day. On December 17, Rev. John Witherspoon, an eminent clergyman of New Jersey, and president of Princeton College, took his seat in Congress. Jonathan B. Smith, another delegate from Pennsylvania, took his seat in Congress.

Colonel Rawlins, of the army, and others appeared before Congress and reported that the American prisoners in the hands of the British, in New York and elsewhere, were being badly treated. It was also reported that Sir William Howe, in command of the British army at Philadelphia, demanded that Congress or the states should furnish the means or provisions for feeding the American prisoners. General Howe had refused to accept continental money for the purchase of provisions. Congress, therefore, asked that provisions be sent and not money.

December 20, an amount of money aggregating \$600,000 was appropriated for the use of William Buchanan, commissary-general of purchases, for the southern, eastern and northern departments of the army, and \$200,000 was voted to the State of Connecticut for purchasing provisions for the soldiers.

There were no sessions from December 21 to December 27, when, on the latter date, a letter from Rev. Daniel Batwell, rector of the Episcopal churches at York, Carlisle and York Springs, was read before Congress. Owing to his declared loyalty to the English crown, he had been arrested, dipped in the Codorus Creek and sent to the county jail. In the letter to

Congress, he claimed that this imprisonment had impaired his health. He wished to be set free on parole and go to his residence at York Springs. Dr. Henry, surgeon at the jail and for the prisoners, testified that Rev. Daniel Batwell "labors under a complication of disorders and that pure air and exercise are absolutely necessary for his recovery." Congress passed a resolution releasing the prisoner and permitting him to go to his farm, providing he would take the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania; or upon his refusal, was allowed to go with his family within the British lines at Philadelphia. Some time later, Mr. Batwell went to Philadelphia, and in the fall of 1778, was appointed chaplain of a Tory regiment, serving in the British army.

Benjamin Harrison, Jr., son of Benjamin Harrison, delegate to Congress, was voted \$50,000 to be used by him, as deputy paymaster-general for the troops of the State of Virginia. Letters received from General Washington, describing the condition of his troops then going into camp at Valley Forge, were placed in charge of the Board of War on December 29. On the following day, Washington was re-invested with dictatorial powers, which had been granted him when Philadelphia was evacuated. Colonel John Williams, of North Carolina, was voted \$5,898, for the purpose of paying the officers and recruits of the several battalions from the State of Virginia, quartered at York, by order of the Board of War. These troops were encamped on the Public Common in the barracks recently erected. They were performing guard duty, during the winter months, while York was the seat of government.

#### PROCEEDINGS IN 1778.

Sessions of Congress opened on January 1, 1778, with uncertain conditions for the year. The British occupied Philadelphia, under command of Sir William Howe; Sir Henry Clinton was in command of the city of New York; Washington was in camp at Valley Forge. The state militia, or at least a large part of it, had returned home, awaiting a future call to active service. Burgoyne's troops, nearly 6,000 in number, were still held as prisoners of war near Boston. During the year 1777, there had

been only one brilliant success to the American arms. This was the capture of the British army under Burgoyne at Saratoga. It was true, Henry Laurens, president of Congress, had issued a national Thanksgiving proclamation during the preceding month, but the condition of affairs was still dark and foreboding. The success of the British at Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli was received with public favor in England.

It was hoped by the patriots of the Revolution that the victory at Saratoga and the capture of 6,000 troops might influence some foreign power to recognize the American government. England and France had been involved in a war which caused embitterment between these nations. It was to Benjamin Franklin and his associates at Paris, that Congress now looked with hope. Could he obtain the support of the youthful King of France, Louis XVI? This was the subject often discussed by the small body of American patriots who were then holding the sessions of Congress in the Provincial Court House at York. Very few tidings had yet been received from Franklin, who had already become a central figure at the Court of King Louis of France. It required several months for communications from him to cross the ocean to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, or Boston, Massachusetts, and from thence conveyed overland across the Hudson at Fishkill, New York, through Bethlehem and Reading to the seat of government at York. Such was the condition of affairs when Continental Congress began its duties in January, 1778. There were then about thirty-two delegates present. All of the thirteen states were now represented.

On New Year's day, the Chevalier de Villefranche, a somewhat noted engineer of France, decided that he would remain in this country. He had served with a corps of engineers in the American army, and was now raised to the rank of major and assigned to duty under the command of Brigadier du Portail. A communication from Baron de Kalb, a German nobleman, who, upon the endorsement of Washington, was created a major-general in the army, was read; also one from Lewis Casimer,



Baron de Holendorff. It was the custom of Congress to pay careful attention to communications from distinguished foreigners and these were referred to the Board of War for appropriate action.

Massachusetts usually had the largest delegation in Congress at York, and on January 1, the credentials of John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert T. Paine, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana and James Lovell were presented to Congress. John Hancock, who had served as President the first month of its sessions at York, did not return until May. John Adams, although re-elected, at this time was on his way as a special ambassador to join the American commissioners at Paris. Benjamin Franklin, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, never attended the sessions at York. During this whole period he was in Paris.

On January 3, the sum of \$200,000 was appropriated for the use of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., as paymaster of the military department embracing New York and the New England States. He was the son of Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, known to history as "Brother Jonathan." During this month long discussions arose in reference to the agreement between Gates and Burgoyne when the latter surrendered at Saratoga. The sum of \$62,000 was appropriated for a quantity of sulphur, saltpetre and lead purchased from Blair McClenachan and James Caldwell, and deposited in care of Leonard Jarvis at Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

January 6, Colonel James Wilkinson, who had brought to Congress the news of the surrender of Burgoyne and his army, was elected secretary of the Board of War. January 7, letters were received from General Washington and General Thomas Conway in reference to a controversy which afterwards terminated in what is known as the "Conway Cabal." On January 8, the sum of \$1,000,000 of Continental money was ordered to be printed under act of Congress passed May 20, 1777. On January 10, a letter was received from General Washington recommending Major John Clark, of York, to the attention of Congress. Major Clark had performed some brilliant feats as chief of scouts in the fall of 1777,

while the British army was in and around Philadelphia.

**Sent to Valley Forge.** On January 12, General Gates, General Thomas Mifflin and Colonel Timothy Pickering were appointed a committee to visit the American army at Valley Forge.

The vessels which had arrived from England to transport the British and Hessian troops to England, were ordered by Congress to quit the ports of Massachusetts. Congress decided to annul the agreement made at Saratoga, and hold the soldiers as prisoners of war. It was further resolved that 1,500 American troops be ordered to guard these prisoners then in camp near Boston until the British vessels had left the port.

On January 13, it was resolved that "General Washington require of General Howe passports for American vessels to transport to Boston provisions for the use of the prisoners of Burgoyne's army, during the time this army shall be detained in Massachusetts."

On January 14, Dr. John Houston, residing east of York near the Susquehanna, obtained a warrant for pay as surgeon of Colonel Donaldson's Battalion of York County militia, serving under General Mercer. The Board of War was voted \$350,000. The sum of \$100,000 was to be sent to Ebenezer Hancock, deputy paymaster-general at Boston, and \$250,000 to his assistant in the state of Rhode Island. At the same time \$750,000 was voted to the Board of War, to be transmitted, \$500,000 to William Palfrey, paymaster-general, and \$200,000 to William Bedlow, his assistant at Peekskill.

On January 15, it was resolved to purchase 30,000 barrels of flour, or wheat equivalent to be ground into flour, and sent in different quantities to the towns of Lancaster, Reading, Bethlehem, Downingtown and Pottsgrove. On January 16, it was resolved to borrow \$10,000,000 on the credit of the United States at an annual interest of six per cent. On January 19, Captain Ephraim Pennington, commanding a detachment of York County militia, appointed as guards to the public stores in the town of York, was issued a warrant for the payment of rations.

**Schuyler's Letter.** On January 20, a letter was read from General Philip Schuyler, asking for a "speedy inquiry into his conduct," while he was in command of the northern army before he was superseded by Gates. Students of history generally accredit Schuyler with having laid the plans for the conquest and capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was removed from his position by a faction in Congress before he had an opportunity to show his military skill.

On January 22, Congress resolved to emit \$2,000,000 of continental currency under act of Congress passed May 20, 1777. On the same day Congress took into consideration an expedition to Canada under a plan proposed by General Gates, president of the Board of War. This plan was to place General Lafayette in charge of the expedition, General Thomas Conway second in command, and John Stark, the hero of Bennington, brigadier-general.

On January 23, a committee of Congress, composed of James Smith, of York; William Ellery, of Rhode Island, and Eliphalet Dyer, of Connecticut, was appointed to take into consideration the wants of the army, as reported by the military committee which had visited Valley Forge. January 28, the auditor-general reported that pay is due Captain Benjamin Williams, paymaster of a detachment of several regiments of Virginia troops, then in York. On January 31, the military committee that visited Valley Forge, reported the necessity of appointing a quartermaster-general for the army. The aggregate amount of money voted to different departments of the army during the last few days of January, was about \$500,000.

**Oath of Allegiance.** On February 3, Congress passed an important measure requiring every officer who held or would hold a commission or office from Congress to take the following oath:

"I do acknowledge the United States of America to be free, independent and sovereign states, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, king of Great Britain, and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him, and I do swear or affirm that I will, to the utmost of

my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the Third, and his heirs and their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of which I now hold fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding. So help me God."

On February 4, Congress resolved to appoint Monsieurs Goy, Pierre, Boichard, Parrison, and Niverd, captains of artillery in the continental army, and receive appointments of that command while in America. On the following day a committee of Congress interviewed these officers, then in York, in reference to promises made by the American commissioners at Paris, concerning their expenses until appointed to service in the army. On February 6, Major John Clark and Matthew Clarkson were appointed auditors for the army under command of General Washington.

**Gates in York.** General Horatio Gates, who had arrived at York, January 19, to take the position as president of the Board of War, took up quarters first in a public inn of the town. On February 11, he asked for an appropriation of \$1,333 to pay the current expenses of his aide-de-camp and secretary. Later General Gates rented a private residence on the north side of Market near Water Street, which he occupied until he left York, in April, 1778.

On the same day, Colonel Hartley's regiment, then acting as guard to Congress, received two months' pay. February 16, it was resolved to print \$2,000,000 of Continental money. On February 26, Congress took up the question of the exchange of prisoners in accordance with an agreement made between General Washington and Sir William Howe, commanding the British army in America. The plan proposed was to exchange "officer for officer, soldier for soldier, citizen for citizen so far as number and rank will apply." It was decided by a resolution that the several states be required "forthwith to fill up by draft from their militia, or in any other way that shall be effectual, their respective battalions of continental troops. All persons drafted shall serve in the continental battalions for their respective states for the term of nine months." During the month of February,



RESIDENCE OF MAJOR JOHN CLARK AT THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF MARKET AND BEAVER STREETS



SAMPLE OF CONTINENTAL NOTE, PRINTED IN 1775, ON THE SECOND FLOOR OF MAJOR CLARK'S RESIDENCE



in various amounts, \$1,325,000 were appropriated for the use of the army.

On March 4, 1778, Congress gave Washington power to "employ in the service of the United States a body of Indians, not exceeding 400." On March 5, the sum of \$2,000,000 was ordered to be issued under the authority of the United States. On March 6, Thomas Scott, member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and James McLean and R. White, delegates from the State Assembly, then in session at Lancaster, waited upon Congress in reference to the establishment of magazines of commissary stores for the army, and also on the subject of the British prisoners in Virginia. On March 10, Peter Shultz received \$548 for transporting the baggage of the York County militia, commanded by Colonel Michael Swope, from York to the army in New Jersey, in July, 1776. On the same day, Martin Brenise, of York, received \$153 for attendance upon Congress, from the first of December, 1777, to the first of March, 1778, at one-third dollar per day, and for ringing the bell, at two-thirds dollar per day. On March 19, owing to the threatened attack of Indians and Tories, 500 Pennsylvania militia were ordered to be sent to Easton, Bethlehem, and Reading, to guard the government magazines.

On March 23, John Spangler, George Pentz and Jacob Lefever received pay for transporting baggage of the Pennsylvania militia, while on the way to the army. Peter Wolf, tavern keeper, of West Manchester Township, received pay for feeding militia passing through York County. March 27, Major John Clark, of York, one of the auditors of the army, received \$800 to pay contingent expenses of his office.

On April 4, \$1,000,000 of continental money was ordered to be printed at York. General Washington was empowered to call out 5,000 militia, from the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to remain in service for such time as he shall recommend. On April 6, Congress voted that the sum of \$50,000 be advanced by the Board of War to Count Pulaski, who had been made a brigadier-general in the American army. Every man who enlisted in his command was to receive \$130, including the bounty money. Each trooper and member

of the light infantry was to receive one stock, one cap, one pair of breeches, one coat, two pairs of stockings, two pairs of gaiters, three pairs of shoes, one pair of buckles, spear and cartridge box. Each trooper was also to receive a pair of boots, a saddle, halters, curry-comb and brush, picket cord, and pack saddle. Count Pulaski came to York in 1778 and partially recruited his legion here, before going south. He was killed soon afterward in an engagement at Savannah, Georgia.

On April 9, the question of Congress removing to some other place was discussed. The following Saturday was set as the time to take into consideration the necessity of going to some more convenient place. The British still held Philadelphia, the State Assembly was in session at Lancaster, and not very friendly toward Congress, so the subject of removal was not further considered.

#### New Issue of Money.

On April 11, Congress voted unanimously to emit \$5,000,000 in bills of credit on the faith of the United States. It was ordered that new cuts be made for striking off and printing them, and that the form of the bills should be as follows:

"This bill entitles the bearer to receive . . . . . Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to a resolution passed by Congress at York, April 11, 1778." This issue is known to the collectors of Continental money as the "Yorktown notes." They are the rarest specimens of Continental money because of the successful attempt to counterfeit them. For this reason Congress ordered a large number of these notes to be destroyed.

It was ordered that the thirteen United States be pledged for the redemption of these bills of credit. The Franklin Press, then in York, by order of Congress, was used in printing Continental money. At least \$10,000,000, under a preceding act, had been printed at York before the act of April 11, 1778, had been passed. At this time paper money had greatly depreciated. It was worth about thirty cents on a dollar. Before the war had ended, in 1783, Congress had issued over \$300,000,000 in Continental money. In 1781 one dollar in silver as a base was worth forty dollars in paper money. In 1783 the paper money was al-

most worthless. The government never redeemed it.

**Hartley's Regiment.** On April 13, Colonel Thomas Hartley was given authority to raise a new regiment from different parts of Pennsylvania.

This regiment was to be organized to march against the Indians and Tories who had been committing depredations in northern Pennsylvania and southern New York.

April 15, Congress ordered that Major-General Gates proceed to Fishkill, New York, to take charge of the American troops at that point, and prevent the British in New York from going up the Hudson. At this period General Gates was still at York as president of the Board of War, having succeeded John Adams, of Massachusetts, as the head of that important body.

On April 17, the sum of \$1,500,000 was advanced to Jeremiah Wadsmith, commissary-general of purchases for the army. On the following day Congress ordered the Franklin printing press, then in York and operated in a building belonging to Major John Clark, at the southwest corner of Market and Beaver Streets, to begin printing \$500,000 of Continental money, in accordance with an act recently passed.

**Overtures From England.** On April 18, General Washington, at Valley Forge, wrote a letter and also sent important documents to Congress. The messenger arrived on April 20.

One of these documents purported to "be the draft of a bill for declaring the intentions of the Parliament of Great Britain as to the exercise of what they are pleased to term their right of imposing taxes within these United States; and also the draft of a bill to enable the King of Great Britain to appoint commissioners with powers to treat, consult and agree upon the means of quieting certain disorders within the said states." President Laurens appointed Gouverneur Morris, of New York; William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, a committee to examine these documents and report to Congress. Upon its report to Congress, this committee stated that it could not decide whether these papers emanated from England or whether they

were prepared for the purpose of deluding Congress, by some schemers in Philadelphia, which was then in possession of the British. The members of the committee, however, persuaded themselves to believe that they were valid documents and came by authority of Parliament, which body would take into favorable consideration the action of Congress upon them. They believed this statement because General Howe "has made divers feeble efforts to set on foot some kind of treaty, during the last winter;" because the British supposed that the "fallacious idea of a cessation of hostilities will render these states remiss in their preparation for war;" because, believing the Americans wearied with war, they suppose "we will accede to their terms for the sake of peace;" that the cessation of hostilities "will prevent foreign powers from giving aid to these states; that it will lead their own subjects to continue a little longer the present war; and that it will detach some weak men in America from the cause of freedom and virtue: because the king, from his own showing, hath reason to apprehend that his fleets and armies, instead of being employed against the territories of these states, will be necessary for the defence of his own dominions. Because the impracticability of subjugating this country being every day more and more manifest, it is to their interest to extricate themselves from the war upon any terms." The committee reported in detail what they termed the weakness and insincerity of the British crown, and concluded its report with a masterly presentation of the question, written in such forcible and elegant English that it is herewith presented:

**Committee's Report.** "From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favorable issue; that they are the sequel of that insidious plan which, from the days of the stamp act down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed, and that as in other cases so in this, although circumstances may force them at times, to recede

from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt, but they will as heretofore upon the first favorable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

"Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans, united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defense of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities and by mutual good offices and affections; do the great cause, for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested, must derive its success from the continuance of that union: wherefore any men or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

"And further, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies or else, in positive and expressed terms acknowledge the independence of the said states.

"And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these states to lull them into a fatal security, to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several states be called upon, to use the most strenuous exertions, to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible and that all the militia of the said states may be held in readiness to act as occasion may require."

The proposition by Parliament to enter into a treaty with the American states at this time is suggestive. France was about to declare war against England. Benjamin Franklin, the American commissioner at Paris, early in March, on behalf of the United States, had already entered into a treaty of Amity and Commerce and a treaty Alliance with Louis XVI, the King of France. He had received the promise that the French would not only recognize that

the United States had the right of belligerency, but would also send a fleet and army to aid in the cause for American independence. Some months later the fleet, under Count d'Estiang, landed on the coast of Rhode Island. Lord North, the prime minister of England, had sent a communication to Franklin at Paris, asking the privilege of a conference with him on the American war. Franklin responded to the emissary, "Tell Lord North that America has already gained her independence."

At this period New York Washington's and Philadelphia were both **Determination.** in the hands of the enemy.

Washington had been defeated at Brandywine and Germantown and his small army was wintering at Valley Forge. There were many Americans originally in favor of independence who had joined the ranks of the enemy. Especially was this the case in New Jersey, a part of New York and eastern Pennsylvania. This led the British emissaries who had been sent to Philadelphia to believe that Washington and Congress would accept overtures of peace. But the general of the army had written to Congress that if peace was then decided upon it would not be lasting. He asserted that he would keep his little army together and fight the British in the mountains of Virginia and Pennsylvania, rather than accept overtures from the British crown at this time in the war. Although there was factional opposition in Congress to Washington and there were many people in the United States who felt like accepting some kind of proposition from England to end the war, the great soldier now exerted his reserve power.

**Planning a Campaign.** General Washington, in camp at Valley Forge, had begun to lay plans for a summer campaign against the enemy, still quartered in Philadelphia. Owing to the failure to make conciliatory terms with Congress, there were evidences that the British would soon leave Philadelphia. The state militia had been called out to join in the campaign of 1778. On April 23, Congress resolved that extraordinary powers vested in General Washington by the resolutions of September 17, October 8 and December 10, 1777, be renewed and extended to August 10, 1778. This gave

him control of the army with authority to remove officers for inefficiency, and promote officers for valorous deeds in military achievements. It was at this period that the star of fame of General Washington began to rise, and so continued until it reached its zenith at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781. Charles Carroll, of Maryland; William Duer, of New York, and John Banister, of Virginia, were appointed a committee to notify Washington of the resolutions of Congress. On April 24, Nathaniel Greene, then quartermaster-general of the army, was voted \$50,000 for his department. The sum of \$30,000 was voted to the state of Maryland to aid in recruiting continental troops.

As the summer campaign was expected to be in New Jersey, it was ordered that the Board of War take the most expeditious measures for transporting provisions and stores from the southern states across the Chesapeake Bay. The states of Maryland and Virginia were ordered to utilize the armed galleys on the Chesapeake Bay in transporting these provisions and stores and that the galleys should be under the command of an officer of the continental line. The sailors of Pennsylvania were ordered to Baltimore for use in manning the galleys.

On April 25, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, presented his credentials and was sworn in as a member. He had served with distinction in the First Continental Congress which assembled in Philadelphia, in 1774. In 1776 he served Jefferson and Livingston, which had drafted the Declaration and presented it to Congress for adoption. He was one of the signers of that document. He was a valuable acquisition to Congress, which, according to a yea and nay vote cast that day, contained twenty-seven members. Roger Sherman lived to the age of seventy-two years, and died while a member of the United States Senate from Connecticut.

On this day important communications were received from General Washington. General Heath, in command of the forces guarding the Saratoga prisoners, then in camp near Boston, reported an agreement which he had entered into with General

Burgoyne in reference to the payment of provisions for the British prisoners of Burgoyne's army. Congress discussed the question, respecting an allowance to army officers after the war. A motion was offered and carried that the officers of the army should be put on half pay. Later in the war, it was decided to give them public lands. Colonel Hartley, in 1785, was given a large tract of land in the interior part of the state, and Colonel Matthew Dill, in the western part of the state. Some officers accepted public lands as bounty and cultivated them, while others never took advantage of this opportunity.

On April 27, Congress showed its appreciation of General Washington by giving him power to call into his council of war the commander of the artillery, General Knox, before making plans for the summer campaign. An appropriation of \$350,000 was made to Ebenezer Hancock, deputy paymaster-general at Boston, for use in his department. Congress ordered the Board of War to give directions to General Heath, in command at Boston, how to bring to the United States Treasury at York, the hard money belonging to the government. This resolution refers to the arrival at Boston of \$600,000 in silver from France. It was the first silver loan of that government to the United States. This money was put in charge of Captain James B. Fry, who had been a member of the famous "Boston Tea Party." The wagon in which this money was brought to York, through Massachusetts, crossing the Hudson at Fishkill, and passing through Bethlehem and Reading, arrived at York in charge of two companies of Massachusetts troops.

On April 28, by a vote of Congress, General Conway was permitted to resign his commission in the army. Congress voted \$50,000 to Major Harry Lee to purchase horses towards recruiting and equipping his cavalry corps. The sum of \$100,000 was appropriated for the benefit of the state of Maryland. April 29, Dr. Nathaniel Scudder, delegate from New Jersey; George Plafer, from Maryland, and Thomas Adams, of Virginia, were elected members of the marine committee to take the places of delegates who were absent. Congress appropriated \$100,000 for the use of Colonel



Baylor, of Virginia, for the purpose of purchasing horses, arms and accoutrements for Major Lee's cavalry. Benjamin Flower, commissary-general of military stores, was voted \$100,000 for the use of his department, and the sum of \$350,000 was voted to Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., paymaster, for the use of his department.

On May 1, a resolution was **Lee Returns** adopted, excusing from the **to Congress.** militia persons employed in manufacturing military stores and other articles for the use of the United States. On this day, Richard Henry Lee, who, in 1776, was appointed chairman of the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence, but on account of the sickness of his wife declined in favor of Thomas Jefferson, arrived in York and again took his seat in Congress. He came with Congress to York in September, 1777, and remained about three months and together with Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, returned to his home. Harrison was one of the ablest men of the body and served on more committees than any other delegate. While in York, he suffered from a disease from which he never fully recovered, and died at the age of fifty-one years. Richard Henry Lee was one of the most eloquent men who served in Continental Congress.

The sum of \$150,000 was appropriated for the use of the state of Maryland. An important resolution was adopted, appointing Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, Gouverneur Morris, of New York, and Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, a committee to report proper instructions to be transmitted to the commissioners of the United States at foreign courts. The marine committee was instructed to procure six of the best and swiftest sailing packet boats, for conveying dispatches to and from France and Spain and the West Indies.

The committee of commerce reported that it had received from the Board of War an invoice of articles, including medicines to be imported from France, for the campaign of 1779. On May 2, Nathan Sellers was given \$164 for making a fine mould to be used in manufacturing paper for bills of exchange and for his expenses in coming to York and returning home. John Dunlap, of Philadelphia, was appointed to continue printing the Journals of Congress in place

of Robert Aitken, Brigadier-General Hand, of Lancaster, who had served with distinction at Long Island and Princeton, and was now in command at Fort Pitt, was relieved at his own request.

## CHAPTER XIX

### CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, Continued

**Alliance with France—Death of Philip Livingston—Baron Steuben at York—Two Plans of Government—The Conway Cabal—Gates-Wilkinson Duel—List of Delegates—Congress Adjourns to Philadelphia.**

The Declaration of Independence made it necessary to seek foreign alliance, and first of all with England's great rival, France. Here Franklin's world-wide fame and his long experience in public life in England and America enabled him to play a part that would have been impossible to any other American. He was thoroughly familiar with European politics. He had learned the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, and his fame as a scientist was known throughout all Europe. He was thus possessed of talismans for opening many a treasure house. Negotiations with the French Court had been already begun through the agency of Arthur Lee, of Virginia, and Silas Deane, of Connecticut. In the fall of 1776 Benjamin Franklin, at the age of seventy, and Thomas Jefferson, at the age of thirty-four, were appointed by Congress as special commissioners to Paris. Jefferson asked to be excused, but urged that Franklin should accept the mission. His arrival, on December 21, was the occasion of great excitement in the fashionable world of Paris. France, at this time, was an absolute monarchy, ruled by Louis Sixteenth, who had succeeded to the throne three years before, at the age of twenty. He had succeeded his grandfather, Louis Fifteenth, who was king of France for a period of fifty years. Louis Fifteenth had succeeded his great-grandfather, Louis Fourteenth, who had reigned over France, as an absolute monarch, for a long period of seventy years.

**Franklin's Popularity.** The court of Louis XVI, when Franklin arrived at Paris, was the most brilliant in French history. Franklin at once captivated this court by his great learning, his plain habits and his fascinating manners. Within a few months after his arrival there, he was the most popular man in all Europe. Even Frederick the Great, the military genius of the continent; Leibnitz, the most distinguished scientist of Europe, and Voltaire, whose remarkable endowments had charmed many an intellectual circle, could not vie with the sage from America in popularity.

Although the French nation was then heavily in debt, and two-thirds of the land was owned by the nobility and clergy, yet through the influence of Beaumarchais, the financial agent of France, and Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs, Franklin succeeded immediately in making a loan from France for the United States to the amount of two million francs, amounting to about four hundred thousand dollars. The following year the sum of four hundred thousand francs was sent across the ocean to aid in the cause of American independence. Besides these amounts the French sent over a gift of nine million francs, or nearly two million dollars, and guaranteed the interest upon a loan from Holland of two million dollars. In February, 1778, the sum of six hundred thousand dollars, in silver coin, sent over by the French government, arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. In all, Franklin had obtained as a loan and by gift a sum of five million dollars for the benefit of the infant republic of the United States.

**A Treaty Signed.** These triumphs at Paris, and the victory of the Americans at Saratoga, when the entire army under Burgoyne became prisoners of war, brought forth the alliance with France. February 6, 1778, a treaty was signed by the King of France, which resulted in American independence. For the successful management of this negotiation, one of the most important in the history of modern diplomacy, the credit is due to the genius of Franklin.

His name now became famous to every citizen of France. His society was courted by the nobility of that country, as well as

by all men of science and literature. His home at Passy, then in the suburbs, but now within the city of Paris, was a constant resort for the most distinguished men of France. About a month later, together with the other two commissioners, he was received by the king with imposing ceremonies. The reception on this occasion was one of the most brilliant scenes ever witnessed in the fashionable circles of Paris. Marie Antoinette, the beautiful and accomplished queen, from this time forth enthusiastically favored the republic of the United States.

**News Brought to York.** There were no cables across the Atlantic at this early day. Even steamships did not plough the ocean yet for half a century, but it was desired to send the news of these treaties to America with

all possible speed. Vergennes, the French minister, ordered that the swift sailing vessel, Mercury, be placed at Franklin's disposal. Simeon Deane, a young man then in Paris, and brother of one of the American commissioners, was entrusted with this important mission. He received the documents, signed by the King of France, and with a letter addressed to Congress, from Benjamin Franklin, and Silas Deane, left the port of Havre and steered for Portsmouth, New Hampshire. He arrived there, after a passage of two months. Reaching Boston he called upon John Hancock, and then proceeded on horseback, crossing the Hudson River at Fishkill, New York. He reached Valley Forge, on the evening of April 30. After holding a conference one day with General Washington, he proceeded on his way westward, crossing the Susquehanna at Wright's Ferry, and arriving in York at 3 P. M. in the afternoon of May 2. This was Saturday. Congress had adjourned for that week. Immediately after Simeon Deane rode through Center Square and stopped at a public inn, at the southeast corner of George Street and Center Square, Martin Brenise was ordered to ring the bell in the cupola of the Court House to call Congress together.

There was great rejoicing among all the delegates, and the people of the town, for the arrival of this news meant even more than the decisive victory of the Americans at Saratoga, and the surrender of Bur-

goyne. Rev. George Duffield, the chaplain of Congress, who preached in Zion Reformed Church the following day, had a large audience, and after offering up a fervent prayer, referred in eloquent words to the cheering news from across the ocean.

On Monday, May 4, the treaty of Amity and Commerce and the Ratified. treaty of Alliance were unanimously adopted by Congress with great enthusiasm. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, were appointed a committee to prepare a form of ratification of the treaties. At the same time a resolution was passed that "This Congress entertain the highest sense of the magnanimity and wisdom of his most Christian Majesty, for entering into a treaty with these United States, at Paris, on the 6th day of February last; and the commissioners, or any of them, representing these states at the Court of France, are directed to present the grateful acknowledgments of this Congress to his most Christian Majesty, for his truly magnanimous conduct respecting these states in the said generous and disinterested treaties, and to assure his Majesty, on the part of Congress, it is sincerely wished that the friendship, so happily commenced between France and these United States may be perpetual."

Simeon Deane was voted \$3,000 in consideration of his faithful execution of a most important trust reposed in him by the commissioners of the United States at Paris.

The following is a copy of the letter which Simeon Deane brought from the American commissioners at Paris to President Laurens and Continental Congress at York:

Passy, February 8, 1778.

Sir: We have now the satisfaction of acquainting you and the Congress that the treaties with France are at length completed and signed. The first is a treaty of Amity and Commerce, much on the plan of that projected in Congress; the other is a treaty of Alliance, in which it is stipulated that in case England declares war against France, or occasions a war by attempts to hinder her commerce with us, we should then make common cause of it and join our forces and councils, etc. The great aim of this treaty is declared to be to "establish the liberty, sovereignty, and independency, absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as commerce;" and this is guaranteed to us by France, together with all the countries we possess or shall possess at the conclusion of the war; in return for

which the States guaranty to France all its possessions in America. We do not now add more particulars as you will soon have the whole by a safer conveyance, a frigate being appointed to carry our dispatches. We only observe to you, and with pleasure, that we have found throughout this business the greatest cordiality in this court; and that no advantage has been taken of our present difficulties to obtain hard terms from us; but such has been the king's magnanimity and goodness, that he has proposed none which we might not have readily agreed to in a state of full prosperity and established power. The principle laid down as the basis of the treaty being, as declared in the preamble, "the most perfect equality and reciprocity;" the privileges in trade, etc., are mutual, and none are given to France, but what we are at liberty to grant to any other nation.

On the whole, we have abundant reason to be satisfied with the good will of this Court and of the nation in general, which we therefore hope will be cultivated by the Congress by every means which may establish the Union and render it permanent. Spain being slow, there is a separate and secret clause, by which she is to be received into the alliance upon requisition, and there is no doubt of the event. When we mention the good will of this nation to our cause, we may add that of all Europe, which having been offended by the pride and insolence of Britain, wishes to see its power diminished; and all who have received injuries from her are by one of the articles to be invited into our alliance. The preparations for war are carried on with immense activity and it is soon expected.

With our hearty congratulations and our duty to the Congress, we have the honor to be, very respectfully,  
etc.,

B. FRANKLIN,  
SILAS DEANE.

#### Further Proceedings.

On May 5, Philip Livingston, a signer of the Declaration, and a member from the state of New York, arrived and took his seat in Congress. The sum of \$200,000 was appropriated for use in paying debts contracted by William Buchanan, late commissary-general of purchases in the northern district, and the same amount in the southern district. On the same day Nathaniel Greene, quartermaster-general, was granted \$3,000,000 for his department. This last appropriation was intended to be used for the campaign in New Jersey, which resulted in the battle and decisive victory at Monmouth. Baron Steuben, then with the army at Valley Forge, was made inspector-general, with the rank of major-general. Although this great German soldier agreed to serve without pay, Congress ordered that his pay was to commence from the time he joined the army and entered the service of the United States.

On May 8, Congress voted \$56 to Captain Philip Albright, of York, for "sundry contingencies for the money press in York." On May 9, it was ordered that \$200 be paid to Charles Gist and James Claypoole toward

defraying their expenses for their employment by the treasurer in superintending the making of paper for loan office certificates and bills of exchange; that \$20,000 be advanced to the marine committee for the use of the navy board in the middle district; that \$24,000 be advanced to the committee of commerce for use in their department.

**The French Sailor.** Captain Landais, of the French navy, appeared in York before the French marine committee of Congress. He came to this country with a recommendation from Silas Deane, which was endorsed by Baron Steuben. He had succeeded in quelling a mutiny on board the vessel *Flammand* and brought the ship safely into an American port. He was voted a sum of money for his services and made a captain in the United States navy. On May 11, Count Pulaski, the Polish nobleman, was voted \$15,000 for the purpose of purchasing horses and recruiting his Legion, then in the field. Colonel Francis Johnson was elected commissary of prisoners to succeed Elias Boudinot, who had retired from office.

On May 14, Ethan Allen, the Connecticut patriot, who had captured *Ticonderoga* on May 10, 1775, and afterward became a prisoner of war, was raised to the rank of colonel in recognition of his loyalty and patriotism. On May 15, a resolution was adopted ordering John Penn, grandson of William Penn, and Benjamin Chew, late chief justice of Pennsylvania for the provincial government, to be released from parole and conveyed without delay into the State of Pennsylvania. Both of these distinguished persons had been charged with disloyalty to the United States government after the declaration of independence.

On May 16, Dr. Jonathan Potts, deputy director-general of hospitals for the middle district, was voted \$100,000 for the use of his department. The committee on foreign relations was asked to report to Congress the changes in or addition to the instructions and commissions "given to American commissioners at the courts of Berlin, Vienna and Tuscany." On May 19, American officers held as prisoners of war, were voted full pay during the time of their imprisonment. On May 20, Rev. Dr. Robert Blackwell was appointed chaplain of General Wayne's brigade of the Pennsylvania

Line. Major-General Mifflin by resolution of Congress was given leave to join the army under the command of General Washington. Although Mifflin had been charged with being a leader in the Conway conspiracy, the magnanimity of Washington was shown in this instance by receiving Mifflin back into his military circle.

By resolution of Congress on May 22, the Board of Treasury was ordered to print \$5,000,000. Dr. Jonathan Elmer, of New Jersey, and Daniel Roberdeau, of Pennsylvania, appeared before Congress and took their seats in that body. On May 26, Congress adopted new rules for the conduct of business at its sessions.

**Marine Committee.** On May 27 important changes took place in the marine committee of Congress. The new members of this committee were Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire; Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts; Gouverneur Morris, of New York; Henry Drayton, of South Carolina. Josiah Bartlett had recently arrived and taken his seat as a delegate from the state of New Hampshire. By profession he was a physician and at the time he arrived in York, he was forty-nine years of age. He is accredited with having been the first physician in America to introduce into this country the practical use of Peruvian bark as a curative drug. Being a man of influence in New Hampshire, he had been chosen a delegate to Congress in 1776. He voted in favor of the Declaration of Independence, and was the second person to sign that immortal document. Dr. Bartlett had been the surgeon in chief of General Stark's army at the battle of Bennington. In 1779, he left Congress to become chief justice of the courts of New Hampshire, and in 1790, under a new constitution, became the first governor of the state. In a personal letter to his family immediately after he arrived in York, Dr. Bartlett described his difficulty in obtaining a good boarding place. He finally secured apartments in a private house on Market Street on the west side of the Codorus.

Congress decided to reorganize the American army in the field and adopted rules and regulations for this reorganization. The committee of Congress who had gone to Washington's army had returned and re-

ported a favorable condition in the affairs at Valley Forge.

June 2, a letter was received from General Gates, who had gone to Fishkill, New York, in April to take charge of the army there. Gates enclosed with this letter communications between himself and General Washington, relative to the recent controversy, known to history as the "Conway Cabal." A few days before this, Gates had fought a duel with Colonel Wilkinson at St. Clair's headquarters on the Hudson River, an account of which is found in the succeeding pages.

A resolution was adopted voting the sum of \$420 to Rev. George Duffield for services as chaplain to Congress from October, 1777, to April 30, 1778. Chaplain Duffield received the sum of \$60 per month as a salary. During the time of his stay in York, he resided in the parsonage house occupied by Rev. Daniel Wagner, pastor of Zion Reformed Church. This house stood on the north side of East King Street, east of Court Alley. June 4, a resolution was adopted that three commissioners be appointed to meet with the Delawares, Shawanese and other Indian tribes at Fort Pitt on July 23, and enter into a treaty with them. One of these commissioners was to be from Pennsylvania and the other two from Virginia.

News had now arrived of the probable evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army. **Howe Returns to England.** General William Howe, who had command of the forces in that city from the time of its capture in October, 1777, was recalled in May by Parliament, and returned to England. Howe first came to America early in 1775, succeeding General Gage as commander of the British forces in America. He commanded the British at the battle of Bunker Hill in 1775, at Long Island and White Plains in 1776, and had defeated Washington at Brandywine and Germantown in 1777. He was charged by Parliament as having spent the winter of 1777-78 in indolence and pleasure, and for this reason was recalled. He was personally popular with many of his subordinate officers. When they heard of his expected departure for England, he was given a brilliant entertainment, memorable in history as the "Meschianza." Many

Tories of Philadelphia took part in this entertainment. Howe was succeeded in command of the British forces by Sir Henry Clinton, an English officer of high rank, who had occupied New York City before coming to Philadelphia.

When Congress anticipated the evacuation of Philadelphia, on June 5, Washington was instructed that when he reoccupied the city, he should institute measures for the preservation of order in the city, and to prevent the removal, transfer or sale of goods or merchandise, belonging to the King of Great Britain, in possession of the inhabitants.

June 6, letters were received by Congress from General Washington enclosing communications which he had received from Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Howe. On the same day, a messenger arrived in York with a communication from Lord Richard Howe, in command of the British navy in American waters, and from General Clinton in charge of the forces at Philadelphia. Accompanying these letters were three acts of the Parliament of Great Britain. These acts offered overtures of peace which Congress was requested to accept. A committee composed of William Henry Drayton, Richard Henry Lee, Gouverneur Morris, John Witherspoon and Samuel Adams, was appointed to repair to the next room and prepare an answer to the letters of Lord Howe and General Clinton. This committee met on the second floor of the provincial court house at York, where they drafted the following reply, a copy of which was sent to Howe and Clinton:

Yorktown, June 6, 1778.

My Lord:—

I have had the honor to lay your lordship's letter, of May 27th, with the acts of the British Parliament enclosed, before Congress, and I am instructed to acquaint your lordship, that they have already expressed their sentiments upon bills not essentially different from those acts, in a publication of the 22d of April last.

Your lordship may be assured, that when the King of Great Britain shall be seriously disposed to put an end to the unprovoked and cruel war waged against these United States, Congress will readily attend to such terms of peace, as may consist with the honor of independent nations, the interest of their constituents, and the sacred regard they mean to pay to treaties.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

HENRY LAURENS, President.

**Peace Commissioners.** On the same day that Congress received these communications from the British officers, three commissioners arrived in Philadelphia on a

fruitless errand for negotiating terms of peace. These commissioners were Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, afterward Lord Auckland, and George Johnston, who before the Revolution had served as colonial governor of New York. As the instructions given to them by the English government had already been conveyed to Congress and their acceptance refused, the arrival of these commissioners accomplished no purpose except to delay for a few days the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British forces under Sir Henry Clinton. However, on June 11, a letter was received from General Washington with a communication from Clinton giving notification of the arrival of the British commissioners in Philadelphia, and asking for a passport for Dr. Ferguson, secretary to the commissioners. This was referred to a committee composed of Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams and Henry Marchant, who made a report on June 13, and the subject was taken up for debate. While the discussion was in progress, a message arrived from Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, with a letter from the British commissioners in Philadelphia. Immediately upon its receipt Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, began to read this letter, which was addressed to "His Excellency, Henry Laurens, the president, and others, the members of Congress." A deep silence prevailed until he arrived at some sentences reflecting upon "his most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI of France, the new ally of the American government." When these offensive words were reached, there was confusion in the hall of Congress and the secretary ordered to discontinue the reading of the communication from the commissioners. At the session held on June 16, after mature deliberation, it was decided that the entire communication should be read before Congress. The subject was then referred to a committee composed of Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams, William Henry Drayton, Gouverneur Morris and John Witherspoon. On June 17 the committee brought in a draught of a letter to be sent to the commissioners, which reads as follows:

Yorktown, June 17, 1778.

Sirs:—I have received the letter from your excellencies of the 9th inst. with the enclosures, and laid

them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, the good and great ally of these states, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent nation.

The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these states to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible.

I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will, therefore, be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce not inconsistent with treaties already existing, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition, will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.

I have the honor to be your excellencies most obedient and humble servant,

HENRY LAURENS, President.

On June 18, Mr. Holker, then in York, petitioned Congress for the payment of 400,000 livres "to persons interested therein, as owners or otherwise concerned in the private vessels of war, Hancock and Boston." This matter was referred to a committee composed of Gouverneur Morris, John Witherspoon and Thomas McKean. On June 19, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, returned to York and took his seat as a delegate in Congress. He had served as president of Continental Congress from the time of its organization until November, 1777. He was the first to append his name to the Declaration of Independence. Letters from Arthur Lee, of Virginia, then a commissioner at the court of France, were received and read. These letters had been written on the 6th, 15th and 31st of January. Another letter addressed to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the United States was received. This letter was written at Paris on January 16, and signed by Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, the other two commissioners of the United States at France. These letters had been written a few days before the king of France had signed the treaty of Alliance and the treaty of Amity and Commerce which took place February 6, 1778.

The alliance with France now having been formed, and a French fleet and army on their way to American waters, Congress determined to aid Washington in preparing vigorous plans for the summer campaign.

A warrant was issued on the treasurer of the United States for \$1,500,000 to aid in prosecuting the war; ordered that \$500,000 be paid to General Nathaniel Greene, quarter-master general of the army; that \$2,000,000 be appropriated for the use of Jeremiah Wadsworth, commissary general of purchases for the army; that \$100,000 be appropriated for the use of Benjamin Flower, commissary general of military stores. On the same day the sum of 8223 livres and \$200 was appropriated for the benefit of General Thomas Conway "as a gratuity for his time and expenses previous to his entering into the pay of the United States and for his return to France." He was also voted \$321, the balance of his account with the United States.

On June 20, news of the greatest importance reached York and was communicated to Congress. A messenger arrived from General Washington reporting that the British army under Sir Henry Clinton had evacuated Philadelphia on the 18th. This news was read in Congress amid the greatest enthusiasm. It was nine months before, almost to the day, that Continental Congress, alarmed by the approach of the British army to Philadelphia, quickly adjourned from Independence Hall to Lancaster, and after spending one day in that town, removed to York. The information that Clinton and his army had left Philadelphia was so gratifying that after a few patriotic speeches made by the leaders in Congress, that body adjourned.

The town of York was wild with enthusiasm. Bonfires were built on the public common; the provincial Court House, in which Congress had held its sessions three-fourths of the year, was brilliantly illuminated in honor of the event. Military companies paraded the streets, preceded by music from the drum and the fife. This so interested the rural folk round about that on that eventful Saturday afternoon, the streets were filled with people. At the lodging places of the delegates to Congress, and at the twenty public inns in the town, the evacuation of Philadelphia was the sole topic of conversation. None of the members had received this news with

greater applause than Samuel Adams and John Hancock, of Massachusetts; Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia; Daniel Roberdeau and James Smith, of Pennsylvania; Roger Sherman, of Connecticut; Francis Lewis and Gouverneur Morris, of New York; Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire, and the dignified and honored president of Congress, Henry Laurens, of South Carolina. In fact toward the close of the sessions at York, all these notable men and several others of equal fame and distinction had been re-elected to Congress and were now holding their seats in that body. Although the entire membership did not exceed thirty-five, there were more men of great eminence present on this occasion than at any time during the preceding nine months.

After the adjournment of Congress, the law office of James Smith, on South George Street, was the centre of interest and attraction. Associated with him while Congress sat in York were twenty-six persons whose names will go down through the ages as immortals of history, because they appended their names to the Declaration of Independence. When that immortal document was signed, the government of the United States was only an experiment. Now the condition of affairs was different. An army fresh from brilliant victories in Europe had defeated the Americans on Long Island and captured the city of New York. The same victorious army under General Howe, a near relative of George III, had sailed from New York, passed up the Chesapeake Bay, and, after defeating the Americans at Brandywine and Germantown, had captured and held the Federal City of the infant republic. The victory at Saratoga, the French alliance, and the notorious conduct of Howe in Philadelphia, had turned the tide of affairs in favor of independence. The Declaration of Independence was now a reality. Even Frederick the Great, then the military genius of all Europe, was not only declaring the praises of Washington as a field marshal, but recognized the eminent statesmanship of the American Congress.

The fact that many of the most important events, during the whole period of the Revolution, occurred while Congress was in session at York, is worthy of special com-

ment and recognition. When that body arrived here during the last days of September, 1777, in the language of one of the most distinguished of its members, "darkness and gloom surrounded our country on every side." Now all the bells of the country were ringing a paean of praise and thanksgiving, and the people of the United States were firm in the hope and expectation that ere long the fathers of the republic and the leaders of the American army in the field, would soon found on this continent, "a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created free and equal." Whatever might be said of the efforts put forth by the American statesmen in Congress during the eventful years of 1777-1778, there was one fact that will always be recorded in the pages of history. They often disagreed on the manner of conducting a campaign. They had frequently opposed Washington's plan of operations, and many of them, before he had risen to eminence as a soldier, had favored his removal from the chief command. But during the darkest period which always comes before the dawn, those illustrious men who legislated for our country during its earliest years, had banded themselves together with one aim and one purpose, and that was to defeat the British troops in America and establish the freedom of the colonies.

On the following Sunday, after the receipt of the news from Washington that the enemy had left the Federal city of Philadelphia, the Court House bell in Centre Square rang with glad acclaim, as also did the bells of the Reformed and Lutheran churches. Rev. George Duffield, then the chaplain to Congress, preached a sermon in the Reformed church. A vast number of people assembled to hear him. The distinguished divine was filled with emotion, but his eloquent and prophetic words were received with such public favor that the audience could scarce refrain from applause. During that eventful Sunday afternoon, as the patriots from the thirteen states met each other on the streets, public inns or at the places where they lodged, congratulations were exchanged.

Rev. Nicholas Kurtz, then the pastor of Christ Lutheran Church, spoke to his congre-

gation in his native German tongue with great impressiveness. When the war opened, Pastor Kurtz was troubled about the oath of allegiance he had taken to the King of England when he arrived in this country, in 1745, but in 1776, his conscience became clear and he was naturalized under the first constitution of Pennsylvania adopted that year. So firm was he in his patriotism, that when Congress came to York, September, 1777, he invited Bishop William White, then the chaplain to Congress, to lodge at his parsonage on North George Street. He also entertained representatives from the French government, and a delegate in Congress from South Carolina. The large audience room of his stone church, on South George Street, was filled to overflowing to hear the eloquent words of their pastor on this occasion. The Germans of York and elsewhere in Pennsylvania had early proved their loyalty to the cause of independence by enlisting in the army. Rev. John Ettwein, afterward for twenty years the senior bishop of the Moravian Church in America, was then a visitor at York to confer with Congress about some affairs relating to the Moravians. He records in his diary that the "daily text (1 Cor. x, 13) came to us with special power, considering the event which has happened in Philadelphia, and the deliverance of this state from the yoke of the British king. Families who fled from Philadelphia, today began to return."

On June 20, Congress ordered that the several boards of Congress should put themselves in readiness to remove from York. It was resolved to emit \$5,000,000 in Continental money. Soon after the first session was held in York, Congress had taken up for consideration the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, which had been passed on November 15, 1777. Congress called upon the delegates present to report what action had been taken by their respective states upon the ratification of these articles. Owing to a controversy which had arisen in the Legislature of Maryland in reference to its western boundaries, the delegates from that state reported that their constituents opposed the ratification of the Articles of Confederation until these difficulties were removed. This was the beginning of a long discussion



which ended in the year 1781, when Maryland was the last state to ratify them.

**Ratifying the Articles.** June 23, Titus Hosmer, of Connecticut, arrived and took his seat in Congress. Josiah Bartlett, from New Hampshire, reported that his state, by vote of the legislature, had ratified the Articles of Confederation. The delegates from New York reported that their state had ratified the Articles with the proviso that the same shall not be binding on the state until all the other states in the Union should ratify them. The delegates of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island reported that the legislatures of their states had found objections to the Articles, and asked amendments, which propositions were decided in the negative by Congress.

On June 24, a resolution was adopted that Congress should adjourn on Saturday, June 27, from York to Philadelphia, to meet in Independence Hall, on July 2. A committee was appointed to take measures for a public celebration of the anniversary of independence, at Philadelphia, on the 4th of July next, and were authorized and directed to invite the president and council and speaker of the Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and such other people of distinction as they should think proper. This committee was composed of William Duer, of New York; John Hancock, of Massachusetts, and John Matthews, of South Carolina. It was resolved "that Congress will, in a body, attend divine worship on Sunday the fifth day of July next, to return thanks for the divine mercy in supporting the independence of these states, and that the chaplains be notified to officiate and preach sermons suited to the occasion."

Colonel Hartley's Regiment, which had served as a guard to Congress for several months, left York for Washington's camp in two battalions, the first going on January 17, and the other on June 24. On June 25, a letter from North Carolina reported that the state had ratified the Articles of Confederation. Richard Henry Lee, Gouverneur Morris and Francis Dana were appointed a committee to prepare a form of ratification of the Articles of Confederation. On the following day, this committee brought in a draught, which was agreed to,

and a resolution was adopted that the Articles should be engrossed and signed before leaving York. This engrossed copy was prepared and brought before Congress, but was found to be incorrect. It was then resolved that another copy be made, which was signed on July 9, at Philadelphia, by delegates in Congress from all the original thirteen states excepting New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina and Georgia. The last two were not at that time represented in Congress.

Martin Brenise, of York, was voted \$45 for attending Congress from the 1st to the 27th of June, and for ringing the bell. John Fisher, the original clock-maker of York, who was also an engraver, was ordered to be paid for renewing two copper plates for loan office certificates, and making two letters in the device of the 30 dollar bills.

A communication from Colonel Michael Swope, of York, was read before Congress. He had been captured at Fort Washington in November, 1776, and was still a prisoner of war.

The day after Congress adjourned at York most of the delegates prepared to leave. They crossed the Susquehanna at the site of Wrightsville, and proceeded over the direct route to Philadelphia. Citizens from Philadelphia and vicinity, who had fled to Lancaster, York and elsewhere when the British entered that city, now returned to their homes. Congress again convened at Independence Hall.

William Ellery, a delegate from Rhode Island, wrote an interesting account of his trip to Philadelphia after leaving York, June 28, 1778. He was accompanied by Eldridge Gerry and Francis Dana, of Massachusetts, and Richard Hutson, of South Carolina. In giving a report of his trip he stated that they went to Philadelphia by way of Wilmington and Chester because all the public inns would be occupied at night by other delegates and people who were returning to their homes in Philadelphia, after that city had been evacuated by the British. They crossed the Susquehanna River at McCall's Ferry. With some other delegates and citizens they celebrated July 4, at City Tavern, Philadelphia.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS, treasurer of the United States during the time that Congress held its first sessions at York,

was born in Philadelphia in 1728, of German parentage. He had served with prominence as a member of the Provincial Assembly, and when hostilities opened with the mother country, in 1775, he was a member of the Committee of Safety of his native city. He was chosen as treasurer of the United States soon after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and held that office until 1789, a period of thirteen years. This trust was one of great responsibility, and his faithful services to his country through those long years of Revolutionary struggle command the admiration of every true American. Possessed of ample means, his devotion to his country stamps him as a pure patriot. In 1780, Michael Hillegas was one of the original subscribers to the Bank of Pennsylvania, organized chiefly for the relief of the government, his subscription being 4,000 pounds. He was one of the original members of the American Philosophical Society, and died on September 29, 1804.

CHARLES THOMPSON, secretary to Continental Congress at York, was born in Ireland, in 1729, and came to America in 1740. He obtained a liberal education and conducted a classical school at New Castle, Delaware. In 1774, he was married to a sister of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, from Virginia, and settled in Philadelphia. The same year he was elected secretary to the first Continental Congress and held that position continuously until the adoption of the National Constitution in 1789. When Congress adjourned from Philadelphia to York, he accompanied that body and was influential in all the legislation passed while in session here. When John Hancock resigned the presidency, Thompson presided over Congress until Laurens was inducted into office. During his long career in the secretaryship, he kept voluminous notes of the proceedings of Congress. These he intended to publish in permanent form, but changed his mind and destroyed all his manuscripts, fearing that the reflections he might cast upon some of the eminent might affect the future history of the country. He was the author of several books and pamphlets, mostly of a religious character. Late in life, he resided at his country home in Lower Merion, Montgomery

County, and died there in 1824, at the age of 95.

#### DEATH OF PHILIP LIVINGSTON.

The death of Philip Livingston, the distinguished patriot and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the saddest event recorded during the sessions of Congress at York. This occurred early on the morning of June 12, 1778. He had been re-elected a delegate to Congress from the State of New York. At this time Livingston's health was in a precarious condition, but Governor Clinton urged that he repair at once to Congress in order to take the place of a retiring member. It seemed necessary that Livingston should make the long journey in his enfeebled condition.

He bade farewell to his family and friends, and started on horseback with a single companion and arrived at York, May 4, 1778. On the following day, Congress received the encouraging news that the King of France had formed a treaty of Amity and Commerce and a treaty of Alliance with the United States. The people of the inland town of York and the distinguished patriots then in session here, were in ecstasy over the news which had been sent to Congress by Benjamin Franklin, the American commissioner at Paris. Livingston joined in this rejoicing and on the same day took his seat in Congress, but the effect of the journey caused a relapse two days later. In his humble lodgings at a village inn he was tenderly cared for by his fellow delegates. There were four members in Congress at that time who were physicians, and with eager interest they watched his condition and rendered all medical aid that was possible. These men were Josiah Bartlett, of New Hampshire; Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut; Jonathan Elmer, of New Jersey, and Joseph Jones, of Virginia.

Henry Livingston, one of his sons, was then serving as an aide on the staff of General Washington, at Valley Forge. A courier was sent in haste to this encampment to notify the son of his father's illness. Colonel Livingston immediately came to York. The ravages of disease had borne hard on the system of his father, and after a lingering sickness of a little more than



PHILIP LIVINGSTON

Signer of the Declaration of Independence, who died and  
is buried at York



one month. Philip Livingston died in the sixty-third year of his age. Gouverneur Morris, another New York delegate then in Congress, three days after Livingston's death, dispatched Governor Clinton, of New York, a letter in which he said in part:

"I am sorry to inform your Excellency and the State of New York of the death of my worthy colleague, Philip Livingston. Almost immediately after his arrival here at York, he was confined to his room with a dangerous malady from which time there seemed to be no chances of recovery. He grew steadily worse and on Friday last, at 4 o'clock in the morning, paid the last debt to nature."

Philip Livingston died of dropsy. His body was taken in charge by **Burial.** Francis Lewis, Gouverneur Morris and William Duer, the other delegates from New York, and buried at 6 o'clock on the evening of the day of his death. The Rev. Dr. George Duffield, then chaplain of Congress, officiated at this sad funeral. By invitation of Congress, the three village pastors were present, Nicholas Kurtz, representing the Lutheran congregation; John Ettwein, the Moravian, and Daniel Wagner, the German Reformed. The entire delegation in Congress attended the funeral, each with crepe around the arm, which, by resolution, they were required to wear for a period of thirty days. The remains of the distinguished dead were buried in the graveyard to the rear of the German Reformed Church, on West Market Street, York, just as the sun was sinking behind the western horizon.

The remains of Philip Livingston lay entombed in the Reformed Churchyard at York, for a period of seventy-eight years. January, 1856, they were removed to Prospect Hill cemetery, a short distance north of York, where they now lie, the spot being marked by a marble shaft, on the face of which is the following inscription:

Sacred  
To the memory of the Honorable  
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,  
Who died June 12, 1778,  
Aged 63 years,  
While attending the Congress of the  
United States, at York Town,  
Penna., as a Delegate from  
the State of New York.  
Eminently distinguished for his talents  
and rectitude, he deservedly enjoyed

the confidence of his country, and  
the love and veneration of his  
friends and children.  
This monument erected by  
His Grandson,  
Stephen Van Renssalaer.

Livingston was born at Albany, January 15, 1716, and was the youngest of four sons. His great-grandfather was a celebrated divine in the church of Scotland and his grandfather, after emigrating to America, came into possession of a large manor on the Hudson. At his death, this manor was inherited by Philip Livingston, father of the signer. Philip Livingston, the son, was gifted with extraordinary mental endowments, and after his graduation from Yale College, in 1737, became a prosperous merchant in the city of New York. He served nine years as an alderman and was a member of the Colonial Assembly during the French and Indian war. At the opening of the Revolution, Livingston became an ardent patriot and was one of the earliest in New York to oppose British oppression and favor the freedom of the colonies. In 1774, he was chosen a member of the first Continental Congress which met at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, and was re-elected to the second Congress which convened at the same place the following year. In 1776, he was one of the fifty-six persons who signed the Declaration of Independence.

On June 14, 1778, the following touching letter was written at York to Dr. Thomas Jones, by Henry Philip Livingston, a son of the statesman, who was the second of the signers to die since they had penned their names to the Declaration of Independence at Philadelphia, July 8, 1776:

I sincerely lament that Providence has made it necessary to address my friends on so mournful an occasion as the present. Oh, for words to soften their distress and lessen the bitter pangs of grief. I feel myself unequal to the duty and utterly at a loss what to say.

My dear friend, have you received my letter of the 11th? It was written with intent to prepare the minds of the family for the melancholy subject of this, and to prevent in some measure the effects of a too sudden impression. Unhappily, my apprehensions were not ill founded, for the disorder was too malignant and obstinate to struggle with.

Must I tell you! My dear father expired early on the morning of the 12th, and was buried the same evening. The funeral was conducted in a manner suitable to his worth and station, being attended by all the military in town, the Congress, the strangers of distinction, and the most respectable citizens.

My dear mother and sister, grieve not immoderately

even at the loss of an excellent husband and parent. Consider that worth and excellence cannot exempt one from the lot of human nature, for no sooner do we enter the world than we begin to leave it. It is not only natural but commendable to regret the loss of so tender a connection, but what can an excess of sorrow avail.

I hope to set off for Hurly in two or three days, and I hope, dear sir, by your influence and consolation to find the family as composed as this distressing event will allow.

### BARON STEUBEN AT YORK.

Baron Steuben, the distinguished German officer, came to York in February, 1778. He was enthusiastically received by Congress and the officers of the army then here. Steuben, who was 48 years of age, had won fame as a soldier in the Seven Years' War, for German liberty, and also had served as an aide on the staff of Frederick the Great of Prussia. He was one of the best trained soldiers of Europe, and the object in bringing him here was to train the American soldiers in the tactics used by the triumphant armies of Frederick the Great. Steuben was induced by St. Germain, the French minister of war, to join the American cause, while on a visit to Paris in the fall of 1777. Although he held high rank in the Prussian army, he entered into an arrangement with the French minister to sail for the United States. Embarking in a French gunboat, under the name of Frank, he set sail from Marseilles, December 11, 1777, and after a stormy passage of fifty-five days, arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, from which town he proceeded to Boston. On December 6, five days after his arrival at Portsmouth, Steuben addressed the following letter to Congress at York:

**Writes  
to  
Congress.**

Honorable Gentlemen:—The honor of serving a nation, engaged in the noble enterprise of defending its rights and liberties, was the motive that brought me to this continent. I ask neither riches nor titles. I am come here from the remotest end of Germany, at my own expense, and have given up an honorable and lucrative rank. I have made no conditions with your deputies in Paris, nor shall I make any with you. My only ambition is to serve you as a volunteer, to deserve the confidence of your general-in-chief, and to follow him in all his operations, as I have done during seven campaigns with the King of Prussia. Two and twenty years spent in such a school seem to give me a right of thinking myself among the number of experienced officers; and if I am possessed of the acquirements in the arts of war, they will be much more prized by me if I can employ them in the service of a republic such as I hope soon to see in America. I would willingly purchase, at the expense of my blood, the honor of having my name enrolled among those of the defenders

of your liberty. Your gracious acceptance will be sufficient for me, and I ask no other favor than to be received among your officers. I venture to hope that you will grant this my request, and that you will be so good as to send me your orders to Boston, where I shall await them, and take suitable measures in accordance.

On January 14, immediately after receiving the letter from Steuben, Congress unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, Baron Steuben, a lieutenant-general in foreign service, has in a most disinterested and heroic manner, offered his services to these states in the quality of a volunteer,

"Resolved, That the president present the thanks of Congress, in behalf of these United States, to Baron Steuben, for the zeal he has shown, for the cause of America, and the disinterested tender he has been pleased to make of his military talents; and inform him, that Congress cheerfully accepts of his service as a volunteer in the army of these states, and wish him to repair to General Washington's headquarters as soon as convenient."

**Letter to  
Washington.** On the same day that Steuben wrote to Congress, he addressed the following letter to Washington:

Sir:—The enclosed copy of a letter, the original of which I shall have the honor to present to your Excellency, will inform you of the motives that brought me over to this land. I shall only add to it, that the object of my greatest ambition is to render your country all the service in my power, and to deserve the title of a citizen of America, by fighting for the cause of your liberty. If the distinguished ranks in which I have served in Europe should be an obstacle, I had rather serve under your Excellency as a volunteer, than to be an object of discontent to such deserving officers as have already distinguished themselves among you. Such being the sentiments I have always professed, I dare hope that the respectable Congress of the United States of America will accept my services. I could say, moreover, were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that your Excellency is the only person under whom, after having served the King of Prussia, I could wish to follow a profession, to the study of which I have wholly devoted myself. I intend to go to Boston in a few days, where I shall present my letters to Mr. Hancock, member of Congress, and there I shall await your Excellency's orders.

Steuben left Portsmouth on the 12th of December, 1777, and set out for Boston, where he arrived on the 14th, and was received as cordially as at the former place. He met there John Hancock, who had just retired from the presidency of Congress, and received Washington's reply to his let-

ter, by which he was informed that he must repair without delay to York, Pennsylvania, where Congress was then sitting, since it belonged exclusively to that body to enter into negotiations with him. At the same time, Hancock communicated to Steuben an order of Congress, that every preparation should be made to make him and his attendants comfortable on their journey to York, and Mr. Hancock himself, with great care, made all the necessary arrangements. Carriages, sleighs and saddle horses were provided, five negroes were assigned to them as grooms and drivers, and an agent to prepare quarters and procure provisions.

Duponceau, the learned Frenchman, who accompanied Steuben to America as his secretary and interpreter, after the Revolution remained in this country, locating in Philadelphia. In 1836 he published the following description of their trip from Boston to York:

"Our party consisted of Baron Steuben and his servant, Carl Vogel, a young lad whom he had brought from Germany, Mr. De Francy, an agent of Beaumarchais, and myself. We traveled on horseback. Notwithstanding the recent capture of General Burgoyne, the situation of the United States at that time was extremely critical. The enemy was in possession of Rhode Island, New York and Philadelphia, with well-organized and disciplined troops, far superior to our own. Our army (if army it might be called) was encamped at Valley Forge, in the depth of a severe winter, without provisions, without clothes, without regular discipline, destitute, in short, of everything but courage and patriotism; and what was worse than all, disaffection was spreading through the land. In this dismal state of things the baron was advised to keep as far from the coast as possible, lest he should be surprised by parties of the enemy or by the Tories, who made frequent incursions into the country between New York and Philadelphia. We, therefore, shaped our course westward, and crossing the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, we employed about three weeks in a journey of 410 miles in all, which at present would hardly require as many days."

They stopped on their way, on **Reaches** Sunday, the 18th of January, at **York.** Springfield, on the 20th at Hartford, on the 28th at Fishkill, on Thursday, the 30th, at Bethlehem, on the 2d of February at Reading, on the 4th at Manheim, and arrived on Thursday, the 5th, at York, and remained here until the 19th of February. In his narrative, Duponceau relates several incidents of their trip to York. Among these is the amusing story of their experience at Manheim, in Lancaster County, where they lodged for the night before coming to York.

"A great number of inns, in towns and countries, bore the sign of the King of Prussia, who was still very popular, particularly among the Germans. I remember that at Manheim the baron, with a significant look, pointed out to me, at the tavern where we dined, a paltry engraving hung up on the wall, on which was represented a Prussian knocking down a Frenchman in great style. Underneath was the following motto:

"'Ein Franzmann zum Preuzen wie eine Meucke.'

"'A Frenchman to a Prussian is no more than a mosquito.'

"The good baron appeared to enjoy that picture exceedingly, and so, no doubt, did the German landlord to whom it belonged."

In a letter written to Baron de **Steuben's** Frank, dated July 4, 1770. **Own** Baron Steuben, from his head- **Story.** quarters on the Hudson, thus describes his visit to York:

"The arrangements of my equipage detained me more than five weeks in Boston, so that I could not set out for York before the 14th of January. I was received there with the most distinguished attentions. A house was reserved for my use, and a guard of honor placed before the door. A day after my arrival, Congress inquired, through a committee of three members, the terms on which I proposed to enter the service. My answer was, that I had no wish to make any arrangements or terms; that I wished to make the campaign as a volunteer, desiring neither rank nor pay for myself, and only commissions for the officers of my suite. This was agreed to by Congress, as I had expected. A resolution of thanks, in the most obliging terms, was re-

turned, with an offer of defraying all my expenses. My officers received their commissions, and even my secretary was gratified with the rank and the pay of a captain.

"I will here observe, that in the military organization of the states, the highest rank is that of major-general. Washington is the oldest major-general, being at the same time invested, in his quality of commander-in-chief, with all the privileges of a general field marshal in Europe. His authority is as unlimited as that of a Stadtholder in Holland can be. The other major-generals, whose number does not at present surpass nine, are the commanders of corps, armies, wings and divisions. General Gates is commander of the Northern army, General Lincoln of the Southern army, and General Sullivan of the forces against the Indians. All are under the orders of the commander-in-chief. The second rank is that of a general of brigade. They are the commanders of brigades, like the major-generals in European armies.

"Upon my arrival in the camp, I was again the object of more honors than I was entitled to. General Washington came several miles to meet me on the road, and accompanied me to my quarters, where I found an officer with twenty-five men as a guard of honor. When I declined this, saying that I wished to be considered merely as a volunteer, the general answered me in the politest words, that 'The whole army would be gratified to stand sentinel for such volunteers.' He introduced me to Major-General Stirling and several other generals. Lieutenant-Colonel Ternant and Major Walker were both appointed by Congress as my adjutant-generals. On the same day my name was given as a watchword. The following day the army was mustered, and General Washington accompanied me to review it."

General Lafayette had left York a few days before Steuben's arrival. General Gates, who had been appointed president of the Board of War, came here on January 19. The fame of Steuben had preceded him to York. He was welcomed and courted by all, and General Gates, in particular, paid him the most assiduous court, and even invited him to make his house his home, which he declined. In a letter written to

John Hancock the day after his arrival at York, Steuben says:

"Please to accept my grateful thanks for all the kindness you have shown me during my stay in Boston. In this very moment I enjoy the good effects of it, having taken the liberty of quartering myself in an apartment of your house in this town. My journey has been extremely painful; but the kind reception I have met with from Congress and General Gates on my arrival here, have made me soon forget those past inconveniences. Now, sir, I am an American, and an American for life; your nation has become as dear to me as your cause already was. You know that my pretensions are very moderate; I have submitted them to a committee sent to me by Congress. They seem to be satisfied, and so am I, and shall be the more so, when I find the opportunity to render all the services in my power to the United States of America. Three members of Congress have been appointed for concluding an arrangement with me tomorrow; that will not take long, my only claims being the confidence of your general-in-chief."

**Interviewed by Committee.** Freiderich Kapp, the biographer of Steuben, in referring to the Committee of Congress appointed to wait upon the Baron, says:

"The committee of Congress mentioned by Steuben, which was composed of Doctor Witherspoon, the chairman, and only person who spoke French, Messrs. Henry, of Maryland, and Thomas McKean, waited upon Steuben the day after his arrival, and demanded of him the conditions on which he was inclined to serve the United States, and if he had made any stipulations with their commissioners in France? He replied that he had made no agreement with them, nor was it his intention to accept of any rank or pay; that he wished to join the army as a volunteer, and to render such services as the commander-in-chief should think him capable of, adding, that he had no other fortune than a revenue of about six hundred guineas per annum, arising from posts of honor in Germany, which he had relinquished to come to this country; that in consideration of this, he expected the United States would defray his necessary expenses while in their service; that



if, unhappily, this country should not succeed in establishing their independence, or if he should not succeed in his endeavors in their service, in either of these cases he should consider the United States as free from any obligations towards him; but if, on the other hand, the United States should be fortunate enough to establish their freedom, and that if his efforts should be successful, in that case he should expect a full indemnification for the sacrifice he had made in coming over, and such marks of liberality as the justice of the United States should dictate; that he only required commissions for the officers attached to his person, namely that of major and aide-de-camp for Mr. De Romanai, that of captain of engineers for Mr. De l'Enfant, that of captain of cavalry for Mr. De Depontiere, and the rank of captain for his secretary, Mr. Duponceau; that if these terms were agreeable to Congress he waited for their orders to join the army without delay."

The committee appointed to interview Baron Steuben, reported to Congress on the following day. The propositions submitted by the Baron were unanimously accepted and soon afterward he proceeded to Valley Forge, where he began strict training and discipline for the campaign of 1778. When he first arrived at the encampment at Valley Forge, he experienced some difficulty because of his lack of familiarity with the English language, but his future career was successful, and the cause of independence owed a debt to him for his achievements in the American army.

When he arrived at York in February he was assigned to quarters in the house previously occupied by John Hancock, when he was president of Congress. The house stood on the south side of West Market Street, three doors west of Centre Square, and was owned by Colonel Michael Swope, who had commanded a regiment of York County troops at the battle of Fort Mifflin, where he and almost his entire command were captured, in November, 1776, and were still prisoners of war in New York City and Long Island. On June 23, Continental Congress approved a bill of \$104 presented by Mrs. Eva Swope, wife of Colonel Swope, for lodging and boarding

Baron Steuben, his two aides and two servants, for thirteen days.

Baron Steuben returned to York in June, 1778, for the purpose of having the duties and powers of his department minutely defined and settled by Congress. He did not tarry here long, however, but on hearing of the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, hastened to join Washington, who was laying his plans for a summer campaign, which resulted in the victory at Monmouth and the transfer of the seat of war to the south.

## TWO PLANS OF GOVERNMENT.

The party conflicts of our Revolutionary leaders were caused by the antagonism between two schools of political thought—the liberative and the constructive. The sole object of the former was to get rid of the British authority in America, which was interpreted to be tyranny. The latter sought to set up in the colonies a constitutional system of co-ordinate legislative, executive and judicial departments in the place of authority of the British government. The liberative school sought to enforce government through congressional committees: the constructive through heads of departments, giving large powers to Washington as commander-in-chief, and to Franklin at the head of the American legation at Paris. The contest between the leaders of the conflicting schools of thought among the Fathers of our Republic was dominant while Congress sat in York and continued until the Federal constitution was framed in 1787.

Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, through his dislike of executive authority in any shape, became the leader of the liberative school in Congress. Through his opposition to the adoption of scientific principles either in war, in diplomacy or in finance, he came more than once near wrecking the cause which he would gladly have given his life to sustain. Even after the war, both Samuel Adams and John Hancock opposed the ratification of a national constitution, but when they finally accepted it as a wise compromise, they were of the greatest public service to the new government. John Adams, during the Revolution, advocated the same policy and principles as his cousin, Samuel Adams.

When peace came, he was one of the most ardent supporters of constitutional and executive authority. Closely allied with these three New England statesmen of this period were Richard Henry Lee and Francis Lightfoot Lee, of Virginia, men of power and influence in Congress.

In the political history of our country, these statesmen were not constructive in their tendencies. They were civilians and it is remarkable that no military man of eminence accepted the principles of government which these men had advocated during the War for Independence.

General Washington by nature and training, both as a **Washington** soldier and a statesman, became a **Leader.** the great leader among those advocating a constructive policy. He declared that war was an instrument of construction of which destruction of English power was merely the preliminary incident. The object he had in view as early as 1776 was essentially different from that of the leaders of the liberative school of Revolutionary statesmen. Washington had not yet loomed up as the dominating personality of the Revolution when the Articles of Confederation were passed by Congress at York, in November, 1777. Between himself and the supporters of the liberative school there was antagonism, until after the former had driven the British army out of New Jersey, in 1778, and achieved distinction on the field of battle at Trenton, Princeton and Monmouth. These victories attracted the attention of all Europe and called forth favorable comment from Frederick the Great, of Prussia. Washington held that war was essential but should be conducted by trained regulars. Adams and his colleagues thought that America could fight the battles for independence with militia, because they had shown so much patriotic valor at Bunker Hill and the siege of Boston. Washington was one of the earliest who favored an alliance with France, the enemy of England. He courted the friendship of the youthful Lafayette and at once gave him high rank in the army. The diplomacy of the war was largely conducted by Washington as the head of the army. In this work he displayed wisdom and forethought to which the French never ceased to pay tribute.

Next to Washington in this line of thought was Franklin, whose mind was eminently constructive, and who for years, as postmaster-general and as colonial agent in London, had acquired the largest experience in American administration of any man then living. Of the same school of thought as Washington and Franklin were Robert Morris, John Lay, Gouverneur Morris, Henry Laurens, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Harrison and Robert R. Livingston. Their opponents argued that Rome enslaved the world by discipline; the Gauls liberated it from Rome's oppression by impetuous zeal. It was the militia of New England, they claimed, who drove back the British regulars at Lexington and hurled back the enemy's onset at Bunker Hill. But in reply to this, Washington and his friends said that Rome succumbed to her own enervation, and that if the untrained farmers who drove back the invaders at Lexington and the half-armed militia who defended Bunker Hill had been fully armed and well-disciplined as soldiers, the British army at Boston would have been forced to capitulate and the war would have been brought to an early close. But Washington still maintained that a war such as the United States then was engaged in could not be sustained by an army made up of militia or volunteers enlisted for a short term of service.

These momentous questions had been frequently taken up in Congress during the early part of 1777. They were discussed with vigor and energy soon after Congress arrived at York. This was the turning point in the political thought of that eventful period.

The defeat of the American **Antagonism** army under Washington at **to** Brandywine and German-  
**Washington.** town, and the success of Gates at Saratoga shortly after Congress arrived in York, intensified the feeling of the liberative school of statesmen in and out of Congress and culminated in serious antagonism to Washington. The attempts to undermine Washington owed their origin to the attitude of certain members of Congress toward him as commander-in-chief. Had it not been for the vigorous opposition of his political enemies, no army rival would have ventured to push forward.

Early in 1777, John Adams declared that he was "sick of the Fabian system," adopted by the head of the army. After President Laurens had issued his proclamation for the national thanksgiving in honor of the victory at Saratoga, Adams wrote from York to his wife in Massachusetts: "One cause of it ought to be that the glory of turning the tide of arms is not immediately due to the commander-in-chief. . . . If it had, idolatry and adulation would have been unbounded." James Lovell, the schoolmaster from Boston, then a delegate in Congress, asserted that "our affairs are Fabiused into a very disagreeable posture," and wrote that "depend upon it for every ten soldiers placed under the command of our Fabius, five recruits will be wanted annually during the war." William Williams, a member from Connecticut, agreed with Jonathan Trumbull that the time had come when "a much exalted character should make way for a general." He suggested if this was not done "voluntarily," those to whom the public looked should "see to it." Abraham Clark, a member from New Jersey, said, "we may talk of the enemy's cruelty as we will, but we have no greater cruelty to complain of than the management of our own army." Jonathan D. Sargent, noted as a jurist and later attorney-general of Pennsylvania, asserted: "We want a general—thousands of lives and millions of property are yearly sacrificed to the inefficiency of our commander-in-chief. Two battles he has lost for us by two such blunders as might have disgraced a soldier of three months' standing, and yet we are so attached to this man that I fear we shall rather sink with him than throw him off our shoulders." Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, agreed with Mifflin that Gates was needed to "procure the indispensable changes in our army." Other delegates to Congress who were inimical to Washington, either by openly expressed opinion or by vote, were Elbridge Gerry, Samuel Adams, William Ellery, Eliphalet Dyer, Samuel Chase and F. L. Lee.

There were other men conspicuous in the affairs of the government and in the army who displayed strong opposition to Washington. Thomas Mifflin, of Pennsylvania, who, at the request of Washington, had been appointed quartermaster-general of

the army, became unsparing in his criticism of his commander. He had served in this position for several months, but owing to some reflections made by Washington upon the management of his department, grew impetuous and resigned his position in the army and was outspoken in his strictures on the management of the campaign which had resulted in the defeats at Brandywine and Germantown.

Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, who filled the position of surgeon and physician-general of the middle district, took occasion to speak of Washington in the most scathing terms. He often dealt in vituperation in making remarks about others. He quarreled with Dr. William Shippen, surgeon-general of the army, and even went so far as to ask for the removal of the latter. This incident brought forth from Washington that the criticism made by Rush against Shippen originated in bad motives. Rush retorted by picturing the army in a woeful condition. He claimed that Washington was controlled by General Greene, a "sycophant," General Knox, the commander of artillery, and Alexander Hamilton, one of his aides, a young man of twenty-one. He further predicted that the war would never end with him as commander-in-chief. Two months later, Rush came to York and resigned his commission in the army. Soon afterward he wrote an anonymous letter to Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, containing bitter sarcasm and scathing reflections on Washington's character and ability as a soldier. The letter was forwarded to Washington, who recognized the handwriting of his antagonist. After reading it, Washington remarked: "We have caught the sly fox at last."

Early in October, soon after Congress assembled in York, a distinguished member from South Carolina, Henry Laurens, a distinguished member from South Carolina, wrote: "General Washington complains of the want of many essential articles for the army. He is the most to be pitied of any man I know. The essentials should have been supplied. If they had been provided some time ago, hundreds, perhaps thousands, of desertions would have been prevented and there would be no British army in Philadelphia."

On October 16, Henry Laurens wrote to his son, then serving on the staff of General Washington: "I am writing this letter with difficulty in the hall of Congress. There is a constant buzzing and confusion about me amongst the delegates. Some of them are asking why General Washington has not demanded supplies of which he claims there is a scarcity, from the people and the Tories? why has he not prevented desertions and kept the British emissaries from entering his camp? The general opinion is that the difficulty arises from the want of discipline in the American army."

The Supreme Executive Council and General Assembly of Pennsylvania, then in session at Lancaster, when they heard, in December, that Washington was about to go into winter quarters at Valley Forge, sent a remonstrance to Congress. Instead of being loyal to the commander-in-chief by furnishing the needed supplies for his army in the field and camp, these bodies clamored against the decimated army taking up quarters for the winter. They claimed that the withdrawal of the American army from the vicinity of Philadelphia would give the enemy opportunity of foraging the region of eastern Pennsylvania and even endangering the safety of the legislature at Lancaster and Congress at York. This would incur a loss of reputation to the cause of independence, prevent the enlistment of the militia for the safety of the commonwealth, affect the raising of taxes, and bring forth a multitude of other evils, civil and military, including submission to the enemy. It was a wild, erratic and impetuous remonstrance unworthy of men claiming to be American patriots. They insisted on a winter campaign and further stated that the inland towns such as Lancaster and York were filled with refugees to such an extent that it was impossible to accommodate soldiers quartered in these places.

In reply to this opposition of the Pennsylvania Legislature, Washington said: "I can assure these gentlemen that it is much easier to draw up remonstrances by their warm firesides than to endure the rigors of winter encampment without sufficient food and clothing on the bleak hills of Valley Forge."

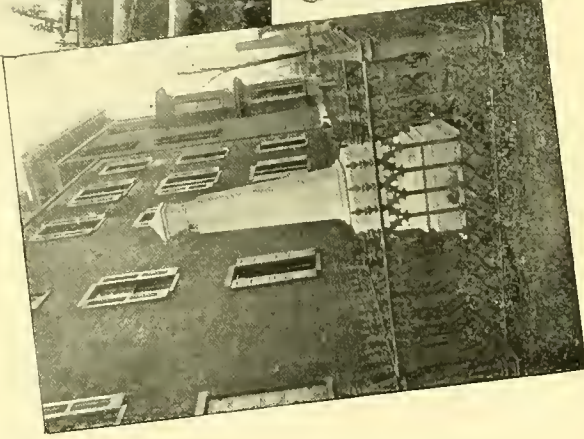
Again he said: "It is easy to bear the devices of private enemies whose ill will only arises from their common hatred to the cause we are engaged in; but I confess, I cannot help feeling the most painful sensations, whenever I have reason to believe I am the object of persecution to men, who are embarked in the same general interest, and whose friendship my heart does not reproach me with ever having done anything to forfeit. With many, it is a sufficient cause to hate and wish the ruin of a man, because he has been happy enough to be the object of his country's favor."

It is related in Dunlap's History of New York, upon the authority of Morgan Lewis, an aide on the staff of General Gates, that in January, 1778, a day had been appointed by the opponents of Washington in Congress for one of their members to move for the appointment of a committee to proceed to the camp at Valley Forge and report adversely to the intents of the commander-in-chief, and that the motion would have been adopted had not the opponents of Washington unexpectedly lost their majority.

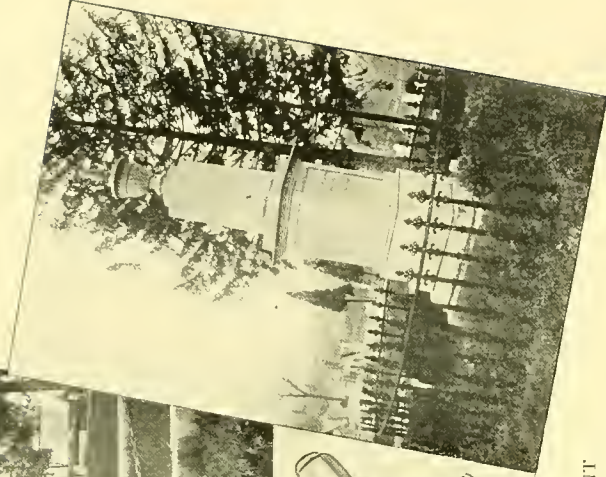
At that time there were five delegates chosen to represent the state of New York in Congress. These men were James Duane, Philip Livingstone, Francis Lewis, William Duer and Gouverneur Morris. Only two of them were present, Duer and Lewis. The former was confined to his bed by sickness and it was thought he would be unable to attend the session of Congress when the vote for the appointment of the committee was to be taken. By a resolution of the legislature of New York the presence of two delegates was necessary to entitle the state to a vote in Congress. Lewis was an active member of the naval board and a correspondent of Franklin, whose war policy coincided with that of Washington. He kept himself thoroughly posted in what was being done by the opponents of the commander-in-chief. In the event of Duer being unable to attend this important session he dispatched a letter to Gouverneur Morris, who was then on his way to York, so that two delegates from the state would be on hand. Says Julia Delafield, the granddaughter and biographer of Francis Lewis:

"Morris was his intimate friend. He





JAMES SMITH'S MONUMENT



PHILIP LIVINGSTON'S MONUMENT



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT

The Smith Monument stands in the Presbyterian churchyard on East Market Street, York. The Soldiers' Monument and the Livingston Monument are in Prospect Hill Cemetery.

wrote to Morris informing him of the emergency, and begging him to come to York at once. Duer sent for his physician, Dr. Joseph Jones, one of the delegates from Virginia, and requested him to have a cot ready to take him to the Court House. Dr. Jones replied, 'If you go you will endanger your life.' 'Will I die before I reach the house?' 'No, but you may die in consequence of the exertion.' 'Then I will go. If you will not assist me, somebody else must; but I prefer your aid.'

"The day appointed by the conspirators to bring forward their motion, Gates, his staff, and Gouverneur Morris arrived at York. They had all been detained on the Lancaster side of the river by the ice that obstructed the channel of the Susquehanna. Morgan Lewis and Morris repaired at once to the quarters of the New York delegates. There they found Francis Lewis with his friend Duer, the latter wrapped in blankets, his cot and his bearers ready to convey him to the Hall of Congress. The arrival of Morris made it unnecessary for him to risk his life. The opponents of Washington, finding that they were outnumbered, did not bring forward their motion."

### THE CONWAY CABAL.

This was the condition of affairs in Congress at York, and throughout the thirteen original states at war with Great Britain at the opening of the year 1778. Washington had gone into winter quarters at Valley Forge and had there commenced the erection of log huts for his soldiers in the camp. Fortunately, for the commander-in-chief and the future destiny of the country, there were strong men in and out of Congress who remained loyal to their chief.

But the contending factions of Congress had brought forth the aspirations of General Gates, the hero of Saratoga, to supplant Washington as the head of the army. Congress had invited him to York to become president of the Board of War. Prominent men believed him superior in military genius to Washington. So much applause caused his head to be turned. His vanity was only excelled by his arrogance, for he had neglected to inform Washington, as was his duty, of the victory at Saratoga before sending his message to Congress.

Washington congratulated Gates upon his victory, but reproved him for not complying with the rules of the army by sending a direct communication to him as commander-in-chief. After the surrender, Gates had declined to quickly send a part of the army to the assistance of Washington, near Philadelphia. Washington sent Alexander Hamilton, one of his aides, and by that means secured the return to the main army of Morgan's Riflemen, who had distinguished themselves at the battle of Saratoga. Had he been re-inforced earlier by these valiant soldiers, it is claimed that Washington might have saved the forts on the Delaware and prevented the British from occupying Philadelphia during the winter. Gates took advantage of the situation and entered into correspondence with General Thomas Conway, General Mifflin and other officers of the army, who were disaffected toward Washington.

Thomas Conway was Washington's traducer to Gates. He was an Irish-French soldier of rank, who unfortunately had been made a brigadier-general in the Continental army. Having made friends of the New England delegates in Congress, it was then proposed by them to advance him to the rank of major-general, which Washington had opposed on the grounds that "his merit and importance exist more in his imagination than in reality." For the moment this was sufficient to prevent Conway's promotion, and even if he had not before been opposed to his commander, he now became his bitter enemy.

Colonel James Wilkinson, an aide on the staff of Gates, had been assigned to the duty of carrying the news of the victory at Saratoga to York, and stopped on the way at Reading, Pennsylvania, where he remained three days. Lord Stirling, an officer in the American army, who had been wounded at Brandywine, had been taken to that town until his recovery. While in a convivial mood, after having drunk too freely, Wilkinson revealed the secrets of the cabal to Major Williams, an aide on the staff of Lord Stirling. This information was communicated to Washington, who sent to Conway the following brief note:

Sir: A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph:—"In a

letter from General Conway to General Gates, he says, 'Heaven has determined to save your country or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it.' I am, sir, your humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

This brought the attention of Washington and his friends to what seemed to be a conspiracy to elevate Gates to the chief command of the army. Conway did not know what answer to make to this startling note. Meantime, General Mifflin wrote to Gates that an extract from one of Conway's letters had fallen into the hands of Washington, and cautioned him to be more careful of his correspondence in the future. The plotters now became seriously alarmed. Washington's curt letter left them in the dark.

Gates replied to Mifflin: "There is scarcely a man living who takes greater care of his papers than I do. I never fail to lock them up and keep the key in my pocket." He then arrived at the conclusion that Alexander Hamilton, who had visited him at Albany, had stealthily ransacked his effects and read his private correspondence. Gates wrote to Washington stating that he understood that some of Conway's confidential letters to himself had fallen into Washington's hands. He then sent a copy of the letter to Congress in order that that body might assist in the discovery of the person who committed this alleged misdemeanor. The purpose of this artifice was to create, in Congress, an impression unfavorable to Washington, by making it appear that he had encouraged his aides-de-camp in prying into the portfolios of other generals. Washington discerned the treacherous purpose of the letter and wrote to Gates: "Your letter came to my hands a few days ago, and to my great surprise, informed me that a copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason, I find myself unable to account; but as some end was doubtless intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of that honorable body should harbor an unfavorable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means to come at the contents of the confidential letters between you and General Conway."

In this letter, Washington further related how Wilkinson had babbled over his cups at Reading and revealed the secret, which had spread consternation among the friends of the commander-in-chief. He had communicated this discovery to Conway to let that officer know that his intriguing disposition was observed and watched. He had mentioned this to no one else but Lafayette. Washington did not know that Conway was in correspondence with Gates, and had even supposed that Wilkinson's information was given with the sanction of Gates and with friendly intent to forearm him against a secret enemy. "But in this," he wrote, in concluding this remarkable letter, "as in other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken."

Had it not been for the treacherous letter of Gates, Wilkinson Blamed. Washington never would have suspected him. Amid this discomfiture, Gates had a single ray of hope. It appeared that Washington thus far had no definite information except the sentence dropped in Wilkinson's conversation. Gates now attempted to make Wilkinson the scapegoat for all, and wrote again to Washington, denying his intimacy with Conway, and declared that he had received but one letter from him. He protested that this letter contained no such paragraph as that of which Washington had been informed. The information that Wilkinson had revealed, he declared to be a villainous slander. In a previous letter to Washington, Gates had admitted the existence of several letters which he had received from Conway. A stinging reply from Washington put Gates in a very uncomfortable position, from which there was no retreat. When Colonel Wilkinson heard of this matter, his youthful blood boiled with rage.

Having been selected as president of the Board of War, General Gates resigned from his command at York of the northern army, then at Albany, and came to York, arriving here January 19. By many of the delegates in Congress he was received with great enthusiasm. The victory which he had won at Saratoga had gained for him temporarily a brilliant reputation as a soldier. He had won the first decisive battle of the Revolution. The surrender of Burgoyne, which



followed, was largely instrumental in securing the alliance with France. The ability of Washington had not yet been discovered by some of the leading statesmen of the country. Men who never had seen Gates were shouting his praise and he received a cordial welcome when he reached the inland town of York, then the capital of the infant republic of the United States. His wife and son had preceded him some time before and had been given the best accommodations that could be afforded them. Gates was called upon, fawned and flattered by his supporters in Congress and by the army officers who were then present in York.

Head of the Board of War. Soon after his arrival, he assumed his duties as president of the Board of War. Associated with him on this board were four men, all supposed to be inimical to Washington as the head of the army. These men were Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Virginia; Richard Peters, of Pennsylvania; General Thomas Mifflin, and Colonel Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut. Encouraged by the flattery he had received, and buoyant with the hope that his name would soon be glittering as the commander-in-chief of the American army, Gates began the duties to which Congress had assigned him. The Board of War was then the directing power of the army, and he aimed to use this influential position which he now held to elevate himself to the highest military position in this country.

When General Gates arrived at York he took up his quarters at a public inn, where he remained two or three weeks. On February 11, a bill amounting to \$1,333 was ordered to be paid by Congress as expenses for himself, his family and his aides from the time of his arrival. Among the aides who accompanied him were Colonel Morgan Lewis, son of Francis Lewis, then a member of Congress from New York; Captain John Armstrong, son of General John Armstrong, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and Colonel Robert Troup, who had brought the news of the first battle of Saratoga to Congress during the previous October. Later Gates rented a house on the north side of West Market Street near Water, which he occupied until he returned to the

northern army at Fishkill, New York, in April.

**Lafayette at York.** General Lafayette, the youthful patriot of France, came to York from Washington's headquarters at Valley Forge, on January 30, 1778, eleven days after the arrival of Gates. Colonel Pickering arrived the same day. During the interim, the subject of supplanting Washington by Gates for the head of the army was an important topic for discussion, among members of Congress in private council and other adherents of Gates, then in York. Lafayette had arrived in America from France, June 14, 1777, landing at Georgetown, South Carolina. He had proceeded to Philadelphia, part of the way in a carriage, which broke down, and the remainder of the distance on horseback. It required him more than a month to reach Philadelphia. He had come to this country for the purpose of joining the American forces, and aid them in fighting for independence. He had inherited a dislike for the British government, for his father had been killed in battle on English soil, before Lafayette was born. When he came to this country, he was only nineteen years of age, and at first received a cold reception from Congress. After he had declared his wish to serve as a volunteer and at his own expense, Congress appointed him a brigadier-general, July 31, 1777. The next day he was introduced to Washington, and the lifelong friendship between the two men was at once begun. Washington received him with great cordiality and for a time he served as an aide on the staff of the commander-in-chief.

At the battle of Brandywine Lafayette received his first baptism of fire and was wounded while gallantly leading a reconnoitering party to find out the position of a division of the enemy. His wound was first dressed by Dr. William Magaw, of Cumberland County, a surgeon in Wayne's brigade. He was conveyed in the private carriage of Henry Laurens, to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he remained two months until he had recovered from his wound. On November 25, in a reconnaissance of General Greene against Cornwallis's position at Gloucester Point, Lafayette, with 300 men, defeated a superior

force of Hessians. In recognition of this service, he was appointed, December 4, to command a division of Washington's army lately under General Stephen, who had been removed for alleged misconduct at the battle of Germantown. Lafayette spent part of the winter at Valley Forge.

**Canadian Expedition Planned.** Soon after Gates became president of the Board of War, that body conceived a plan for the invasion of Canada. They invited Lafayette to York for

the purpose of receiving instructions to take charge of the Canadian expedition, with General Thomas Conway second in command. Washington had disapproved of this expedition, but Congress and the Board of War claimed that with the aid of Stark and his Green Mountain boys, and a small force of regulars stationed at Albany, they could make up an invading army of 3,000 men. On January 24, while still at Valley Forge, Lafayette received a letter from Gates, containing information of his appointment as commander of the Canadian expedition. He refused to accept the appointment until he had consulted Washington, and made it a condition that Baron de Kalb, who ranked Conway, should accompany the expedition. He then came to York for instructions, where he was received with great enthusiasm by Gates and his friends. They laid plans to win his influence and support.

**An Historic Banquet.** A banquet had been prepared in honor of the French patriot. Lafayette was flattered and toasted and a brilliant campaign was predicted. Gates assured him that a large army would be at Albany, New York, ready to march. Lafayette listened with placid composure and equanimity of mind. The fawning flattery which he had received from the intriguers against Washington did not turn his head. Although of an impulsive nature, like most Frenchmen, vanity was not one of his characteristics. He had already avowed his loyalty to the commander-in-chief, for whom he showed the most profound veneration. The ties of affection which linked Washington and Lafayette together in after years had already been formed. He determined not to oppose the views of his commander, whom he had just left at Val-

ley Forge, but in obedience to duty, he had come to York to discuss the plan of invading Canada. The rank to be accorded him by Congress and the Board of War was a promotion, and if this expedition would further the cause of independence, he had decided to take command of the army.

Lafayette now found himself in company opposed to the interests of his friend. The air of the banquet was distasteful to him. After a number of toasts had been offered, General Gates, as president of the Board of War, handed to Lafayette the commission which Congress had voted him on January 23. Deeply impressed with the scenes and incidents that had transpired, the youthful Lafayette accepted his commission of major-general, then with calm dignity he rose from his chair, while breathless silence pervaded the room. All eyes were riveted upon him and the suspense that awaited his action produced a profound impression upon every one present. All that is definitely known of this incident is what Lafayette recorded in his own "Memoirs," published in the French language, some years later. He says:

**Toast to Washington.** "I arose from my chair and referred to the numerous toasts that had already been offered in the interests of the American government and the prosecution of the war. Then I reminded all present that there was one toast that had not yet been drunk. I then proposed the health of the commander-in-chief at Valley Forge. After I had done this, I looked around the table and saw the faces of the banqueters redden with shame.

"The deep silence then grew deeper. None dared refuse the toast, but some merely raised their glasses to their lips, while others cautiously put them down untasted."

It was evident to all the opponents of Washington that their plans had been foiled, for the young soldier had displayed the loyalty to his chief that afterward marked him as one of the most eminent patriots of the Revolution. With a shrug of the shoulders, he stepped away from the table and left the room. He retired to his quarters that night, feeling that he had won a victory and saved the army from the loss of Wash-

ington, whose ability finally succeeded in winning triumph to the American arms in the War for Independence.

Having accepted the commission and received his instructions, Lafayette soon afterward proceeded to Albany to assume his duties as commander of the northern army. When he reached there, he found neither troops, supplies nor equipments in readiness. Instead of 3,000 regulars, which Gates had promised, he found barely 1,200, and these were not equipped or clothed for a march into Canada. The plan of invasion ended in a complete fiasco. The scheme itself was condemned by public opinion. The opposition which Washington had shown to it increased his power and influence in Congress. Lafayette and de Kalb were glad to return to their chief at Valley Forge.

The antagonism to Washington among many delegates to **The Cabal Collapsed.** Congress now declined. Gates continued his work as president of the Board of War, but his influence was on the wane. He remained in York for a considerable time. On April 15, he was appointed by Congress to proceed to Fishkill, New York, and take charge of the army at that point. Very little is definitely known of his career in this position. During the summer of 1778, he retired from the army and repaired to his estate in Berkeley County, Virginia. There were still members in Congress who recognized his military achievements at Saratoga and believed that he possessed ability to command an army. On June 13, 1780, he was recalled from his retirement by Congress and placed in command of the army in North Carolina, designed to check the progress of Cornwallis northward through that state. In the battle near Camden, South Carolina, August 16, he was defeated and his army nearly annihilated. He was soon afterward succeeded by General Nathaniel Greene, and suspended from duty. Thus ended his military career in the Revolution.

At the close of the war, he retired to his estate in Virginia, where he lived until 1790, when he removed to New York City, where, after a long illness, he died, April 10, 1806, at the age of 78 years. General Gates was a man of pleasant address and

cultivated manners. He possessed an interesting personality and a good education. Though having many faults, the chief of which was an overwhelming confidence in his own ability, combined with arrogance and untruthfulness, he had also some noble traits. Before he removed to New York he emancipated his slaves and provided for the support of those who could not take care of themselves.

Mrs. Gates, who spent several months at York, was a woman of rare accomplishments. While here she shared an enviable hospitality, entertaining the friends of her husband, who had achieved distinction by his victory at Saratoga. She was the daughter of James Valence, of Liverpool, England. At her father's death, before the Revolution, she came to this country, bringing with her \$450,000, a wealth which exceeded that of any other woman in America. Their son and only child, Robert, died shortly before the battle of Camden. During the Revolution, Mrs. Gates spent a large portion of her fortune in a lavish hospitality upon her husband's companions in arms, especially those in indigent circumstances. Many Revolutionary heroes were participants of her bounty, including Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish nobleman, who, when wounded, lay six months at her home, nursed by herself and her husband.

#### GATES-WILKINSON DUEL.

At the opening of the war, Gates was an ardent patriot, and was present at York on his way to the army, July 1, 1775, when the first troops were about to march from here to join Washington at Boston. In the spring of 1778, General Gates was forty-eight years of age. Wilkinson was twenty. This trained soldier and his youthful aide had been intimate friends from the opening of the war until the Conway Cabal was discovered by the friends of Washington. In the fall of 1777, when Congress appointed Gates president of the Board of War, he requested that Colonel Wilkinson should be its secretary.

Wilkinson remained with the Northern army on the Hudson for a time after Gates had come to York. The fact that Wilkin-

son, while in a convivial mood, had revealed the Cabal to an army friend at Reading, while on his way to York, in October, with the official papers describing the surrender of Burgoyne, caused an estrangement between himself and his superior officer. When Gates discovered that his secret correspondence with Conway had reached Washington, he tried to shift the responsibility upon Wilkinson.

**Trouble** Early in February, 1778, Wilkin-  
**Brewing.** son, who had been raised to the rank of brigadier-general, received a letter from President Laurens to come at once to York and assume the duties of secretary to the Board of War. He left the military post at Albany, traveled in a sleigh to Reading, and from thence to Lancaster on horseback. Upon his arrival at Reading, for the first time, he heard that Gates had denounced him as the betrayer of Conway's letter. This news was confirmed when he reached Lancaster, where he remained one day. Meantime he sent a messenger with a letter to Gates, in York, charging the latter with impugning his honor. In this letter, he said, "What motive, sir, could induce me to injure you or General Conway? You, my boasted patron, friend and benefactor, he a stranger for whom I entertained favorable sentiments."

The response made by Gates to this letter was offensive in language and widened the breach between the two men. In substance it said Wilkinson could have any satisfaction he desired.

**The** "Immediately after receiving  
**Challenge.** this letter," says Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, "I repaired to York, arriving in that town by twilight on the evening of February 23, to avoid observation. During the night I met my early companion and friend, Captain Stoddert. I recounted my wrongs to him and requested him to bear a message from me to General Gates. He remonstrated against my intention to challenge Gates to fight a duel, and warned me that I was going headlong to destruction. For the first time we parted in displeasure. Soon afterward I met with Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, of the Virginia Line, whose spirit was as independent as his fortune. He delivered to Gates the following note:

"Sir:—

"I have discharged my duty to you and my conscience. Meet me tomorrow morning behind the Episcopal Church and I will then stipulate the satisfaction which you have promised to grant.

"I am your most humble servant,

"JAMES WILKINSON."

This was an open challenge to fight a duel with his old commander. He had determined to defend his integrity and his honor. Gates had charged him with false representations at Reading to Major Williams, an aide to Lord Stirling. These charges he could not endure and he now discovered that he was to be made the scapegoat of the Conway conspirators. So Colonel Ball, in obedience to his request, carried the challenge to the residence of General Gates, on the north side of Market Street, near Water. He was met at the doorway by the general, who read the challenge with evident surprise. This was the age of duelling; if a man would not accept a challenge he was considered a coward. With calm dignity, he responded:

"All right, sir. We will meet tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock."

**The** "He made no reference to the  
**Meeting** kind of weapons to be used nor  
**Place.** the distance. The place designated as the duelling ground was

on the lawn to the rear of the Episcopal Church, near the Codorus Creek. At 8 o'clock on the following morning, Colonel Wilkinson walked down Beaver Street, accompanied by his second, Colonel Ball. They saw General Gates standing on the street in front of the Episcopal Church, in company with Captain Stoddert. Gates was unarmed, for during the night he had decided to meet his former friend on terms of peace. Wilkinson halted a distance away and Stoddert approached him, saying:

"General Gates wishes to speak to you."

"I will meet him on the duelling ground in answer to the challenge which he accepted," said Wilkinson.

Then Captain Stoddert pleaded with the young soldier and begged him to walk down to the church and greet his former chief, who did not wish to fight a duel with a person for whom he entertained the highest regard and affection.

"There is no occasion to fight a duel. Go with me and meet the general standing yonder in front of the church."

A minute later the young colonel, who had brought the news of the victory at Saratoga to Congress, was greeted with a warm clasp of the hand from the former commander of the Northern army, who had received the sword of Sir John Burgoyne and accepted the terms of surrender of 6,000 British and Hessian soldiers at Saratoga, a few months before. It was a striking scene, and doubtless, was witnessed by very few persons, for little mention is made of this incident in the private correspondence of the members of Congress then in York, or in the family traditions of the citizens.

"Come, my dear boy," said General Gates, with tender emotion, "we must be friends again. There is no cause for ill will between us. Conway has acknowledged that he wrote a letter criticizing Washington and has since made harsh statements about him."

After this friendly greeting, **Wilkinson Retires.** General Gates and Colonel Ball and Captain Stoddert behind and walked away together. They engaged in a long conversation about the episode at Reading and their relation to General Stirling and Thomas Conway. Before they separated, it was agreed that Wilkinson would assume his duties the next day, as secretary of the Board of War. In his private correspondence he recorded that when he went to the war office he found General Gates barely civil and that he found Richard Peters and Timothy Pickering, other members of the board, agreeable companions. The coolness of the president of the board made his position uncomfortable, and a few days later he resigned his position and went to Valley Forge, where he personally met Lord Stirling and General Washington and recounted to them his difficulties with General Gates.

The estrangement between General Gates and Colonel Wilkinson, which began at York, in February, 1778, continued for several months. Different statements had been made concerning the conduct of Gates when he failed to meet the challenge made by his opponent at York. After remaining a short time at Valley Forge, Wilkinson returned to the Northern army

on the Hudson. He now held the rank of brigadier-general in the army, but as yet had been assigned to no important duty. After Gates returned to the Northern army, near Kingston, on the Hudson, the two men again met.

The controversy about the Conway Cabal had not been settled. **Wilkinson's Duel.** Wilkinson decided to meet his opponent again on the field of honor and challenged Gates to a duel, which took place near St. Clair's headquarters on the Hudson, September 4, 1778. Captain John Carter, of Virginia, acted as second to Wilkinson, and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish nobleman who was serving as a colonel in the American army, was second to Gates. In the duel flint-lock pistols were used. At the first shot, Wilkinson fired in the air, while Gates' pistol flashed the powder in the pan and did not discharge the ball. They charged their pistols a second time and when the order was given, Wilkinson fired, but Gates refused. When the word was given the third time, General Wilkinson fired but missed his aim and the flint-lock which Gates held again flashed in the pan. The seconds now interposed and the antagonists shook hands. After the duel General Gates signed a certificate to the effect that Wilkinson behaved like a gentleman in the encounter at York. Upon request, Wilkinson refused to sign and deliver up a similar certificate concerning the conduct of Gates at York. Wilkinson then challenged Gates to another duel, but Gates refused, and the two men never became firm friends.

Captain Ball, who was selected as second to Wilkinson for the proposed duel at York, commanded a Virginia company, then encamped at York. Captain Benjamin Stoddert, second to General Gates, commanded a company of Colonel Hartley's Regiment, then acting as a guard to Congress.

**Thomas Conway.** General Thomas Conway, the reputed leader of the conspiracy against Washington, was a native of Ireland, born in the year 1733. He had served for a time in the French army and came to this country at the request of Silas Deane, the American commissioner at Paris. In May, 1777, he

was made a brigadier-general and in the fall of the same year, took part in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Embittered by Washington's opposition to his promotion to the rank of major-general, he began to write anonymous letters to prominent men, criticizing the ability of Washington as commander-in-chief. Conway came to York late in January, 1778. About the same time, Lafayette arrived here to meet the Board of War, and receive instructions regarding the projected Canada campaign. Conway was present at the famous banquet given by Gates in honor of Lafayette. After the plan to invade Canada had ended in a fiasco, Conway lost favor with Congress, and in a fit of passion he resigned his commission, and left the army. Because of his repeated attacks on Washington, he was challenged by General Cadwallader to fight a duel. The antagonists met July 22, 1778, near Philadelphia, and Conway was shot in the mouth, the ball passing through his neck. A few days later he wrote a letter of apology to Washington, disclaiming that he ever conceived a plan for the latter's removal as commander-in-chief of the army. He then returned to Paris and entered the French army. During the French Revolution he was obliged to flee the country. Nothing further is known of him. He is supposed to have died about 1800 in obscurity in the city of London.

#### LIST OF DELEGATES AT YORK.

Continental Congress was first brought together in September, 1774, at Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. From the time of its organization until the Constitution of the United States went into effect, in 1789, it was composed of one body, which elected its presiding officer. John Hancock was president of Congress from May, 1775, until October 31, 1777, when he resigned. He was succeeded by Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who presided over Congress eight of the nine months it sat in York. The delegates were chosen annually by the state legislatures.

Few of the American patriots who organized this legislative body in 1774, believed that its deliberations would result in creating a new nation on the western continent. It first met to adjust the grievances

against the mother country and issued a Declaration of Rights in 1774. This Congress petitioned the King and Parliament, in 1775, and finally passed the Declaration of Independence, in 1776.

When Congress convened at York, September 30, 1777, in the minds of some of its members and many people of the United States, there was little hope that the army under Washington would eventually defeat the British forces in America. At that time, everything was dark and foreboding and the success of the War for Independence seemed doubtful. The patriots who came here, however, continued to legislate for the army and the establishment of the freedom of the United States. While Congress held its sessions in York, it passed the Articles of Confederation, which, when adopted, made the Declaration of Independence a reality. It received the news of the surrender of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga; made Baron Steuben a major-general and sent him to the headquarters of the army to drill the American soldiers in the military tactics used by Frederick the Great of Prussia. It received the news from the American commissioners at Paris that the French nation had entered into a treaty of Alliance with the United States, and would send money, a fleet and an army to aid in the struggle for American independence.

It was during the month of June, 1778, that Congress at York, and Washington at Valley Forge planned the campaign resulting in the victory over the enemy at Monmouth, which transferred the seat of the war to the south.

Continental Congress sat for a brief period at Princeton, one day at Lancaster, about two months at Baltimore, and a short time at Annapolis, but transacted no business at these places of importance to the nation. While in session at York, some of the greatest events in the whole history of the Revolution occurred. This historic importance of York as the temporary seat of the national government has never been fully set forth by historians. In the preceding pages an effort has been made to give in detail the transactions of Congress and the current events during the darkest period of the Revolution, which ended in the dawn of independence. When Congress assem-



*Jas. Smith*

A copy from a drawing formerly in the Emmett collection in New York and now in the possession of the Historical Society of York County. It is supposed to be the only authentic portrait of James Smith in existence.





bled at York, it was composed of no more than thirty members. At stated times, newly-elected delegates arrived, taking the places of those who had returned to their homes. There were never more than forty members present at one time. In all there were sixty-four delegates from the thirteen original states who occupied seats in Congress from the time it came to York until it returned to Philadelphia. Twenty-six of these had, the previous year, signed the Declaration of Independence.

The following is the list of delegates at York:

New Hampshire—Nathaniel Folsom, George Frost, John Wentworth, Dr. Josiah Bartlett.

Massachusetts—Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, James Lovell, John Adams, Francis Dana, John Hancock, Dr. Samuel Holten.

Connecticut—William Williams, Eliphalet Dyer, Richard Law, Titus Hosmer, Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntingdon, Dr. Oliver Wolcott.

Rhode Island—Henry Marchant, William Ellery, John Collins.

New York—James Duane, William Duer, Francis Lewis, Gouverneur Morris, Philip Livingston.

New Jersey—John Witherspoon, Dr. Jonathan Elmer, Abraham Clark, Dr. Nathaniel Scudder.

Pennsylvania—Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, James Smith, Jonathan Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

Delaware—Thomas McKean.

Maryland—Charles Carroll, Samuel Chase, Benjamin Rumsey, George Plater, William Smith, James Forbes, John Henry, Jr.

Virginia—Francis Lightfoot Lee, Richard Henry Lee, John Harvie, Benjamin Harrison, Dr. Joseph Jones, Thomas Adams, John Bannister.

North Carolina—John Penn, Cornelius Harnett, Dr. Thomas Burke.

South Carolina—Henry Laurens, Thomas Heyward, Jr., Arthur Middleton, John Matthews, Richard Hutson, William Henry Drayton.

Georgia—Edward Langworthy, George Walton, Dr. Nathan Brownson, Joseph Wood.

JAMES SMITH, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in the north of Ireland. His father, John Smith, was a well-to-do farmer, but, induced by his brothers, who had previously emigrated to this country and settled in Chester County, he came to Pennsylvania in 1729, and soon afterward settled on the west side of the Susquehanna in what is now York County. John Smith died in the neighborhood of York in 1761. His eldest son, George, studied law at Lancaster, but shortly after his admission to the bar (1740) was drowned in the Susquehanna while bathing. The third son, Arthur, was a farmer, and removed to western Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution. James, the second son, received a liberal education, having been placed under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Alison, provost of the College of Philadelphia. After completing his studies in Philadelphia, he began to read law at Lancaster, where he was admitted to the bar in 1745. He subsequently went to the Cumberland Valley, where he practiced both law and surveying, remaining four or five years, and then settled at York. When the Revolution began, Smith became one of the first advocates of independence. He was chosen a member of the Provincial Deputies, July 15, 1774, and was the author of the "draught of instructions" to the Provincial Assembly. He was a member of the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775; of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776; and of the Convention of the 15th of July following. In 1775 he was commissioned colonel of the First Battalion of Associators of York County, and throughout the Revolutionary struggle was largely instrumental in organizing troops for the patriot army. In 1776 he was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and his name is affixed to the Declaration of Independence. He was re-elected the following year and took his seat while Congress was in session in York. He was elected a member of the Assembly in 1779, and November 20, 1780, commissioned judge of the High Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Executive Council appointed Colonel Smith a brigadier-general of the Pennsylvania militia, May 23, 1782, vice General Potter promoted. He was ap-

pointed one of the counsellors on the part of Pennsylvania in the controversy between that State and Connecticut, February 16, 1784. In the following year the Assembly elected him to Congress, in the place of Matthew Clarkson, resigned, but his advanced age obliged him to decline a re-election. Smith relinquished the practice of law in 1801, and from that period until his death lived in quiet retirement. He died at York on the 11th day of July, 1806. With an uncommonly retentive memory, with a vein of good humor and a fund of anecdotes, his excellent conversational powers drew around him many who enjoyed his sharp wit and lively manners, and made his old age bright and cheerful. James Smith married, in 1752, Eleanor, daughter of John Armor, of New Castle, Delaware. She and two children survived him several years.

During the revolution, James Smith owned and occupied a dwelling house on the west side of South George Street near King. When Congress was in session at York, his home was a place of meeting of the distinguished statesmen who were then serving as delegates and on important committees. His law office, a two-story building which stood on the corner of South George Street and Mason Alley, a short distance north of his residence, was used as

a meeting place of the Board of War, when it was presided over by John Adams, of Massachusetts. In 1805, his law office containing his library, many valuable documents and letters which he received from distinguished men, was destroyed by fire.

James and Eleanor Smith had five children: Margaret, the eldest, was born September 14, 1753, married James Johnson, whose grandson, Dr. William Johnson, for many years was a practicing physician at York. Mrs. Johnson died at York, January 18, 1838. Mary, the second daughter, married James Kelly, a member of the York County Bar, and died at York, September 4, 1793. George, one of the sons, was born April 24, 1769, died unmarried at the age of 32, when his estate was inherited by his brother. Arthur died before he grew to manhood. James, the other son, owned considerable property and died without descendants, leaving his property to his cousins. The remains of James Smith, together with his wife, who died July 13, 1818, and some of his children, were buried in the Presbyterian churchyard, on East Market Street, York.

The public documents which he prepared and the speeches he delivered during and after the Revolution show that he was a man of strong intellect, literary training, and an able lawyer.







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