

Letters Relating to Colonial Military Hospitals in Lancaster County

By GEORGE L. HEIGES

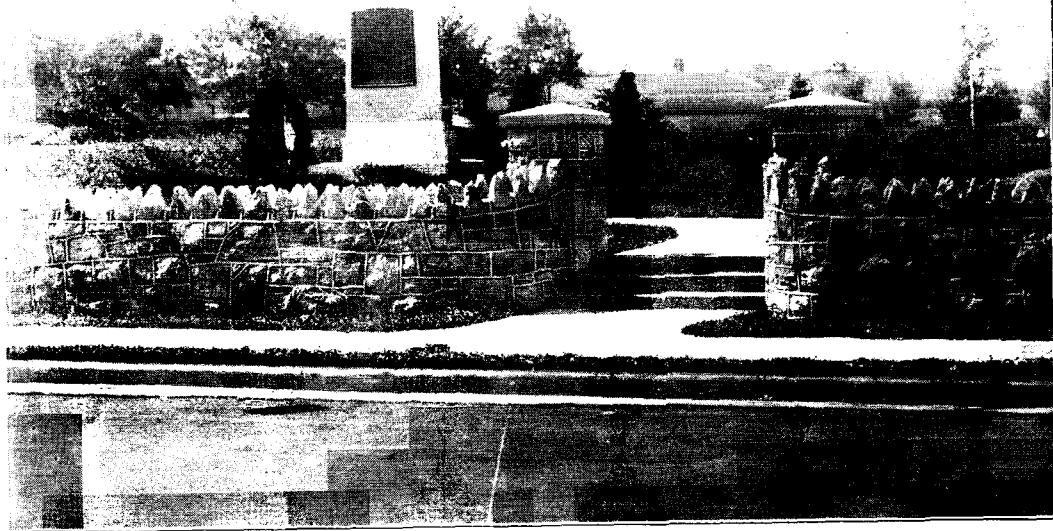
IN THE archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society there are several collections in which may be found letters which give us some very definite information about military hospitals in Lancaster County during the Revolutionary War. The Jonathan Potts Collection is particularly rich in such letters; and because of this, it seems appropriate to first tell you something about Jonathan Potts. He was born in the year 1745 at Colebrookdale (Popodickon) in Berks County, Pennsylvania, and as a youth attended school at Ephrata. When nineteen years of age, he went with Benjamin Rush to Edinburgh, Scotland, where both young men began the study of medicine. Potts returned to this country when he received information that his fiancée was seriously ill. Her name was Grace Richardson, and after her recovery she became Mrs. Potts. Jonathan Potts upon his return to America continued the study of medicine in the College of Philadelphia, from which institution he received the degree of Bachelor of Medicine. He then began practicing in the town of Reading, and by the time the Revolutionary War came along he was a successful practitioner. In 1776, he provided medical care for the troops and military prisoners quartered at Reading, and in the same year he petitioned Continental Congress that he be taken into the army. His petition was approved, and he was sent with the expedition to Crown Point to assist in eradicating smallpox, which just then was taking a heavy toll of lives among the soldiers. The efforts of Dr. Potts were appreciated for Congress passed a resolution which recited that "the unremitted attention shown by Dr. Potts and the officers of

the General Hospital in the Northern Department to the sick and wounded under their care is a proof not only of their humanity but of their zeal for the service of the United States." In 1777, Dr. Potts was appointed Deputy Director General of the Hospitals of the Northern Department, and then transferred to the Middle Department as a Director General and Purveyor General of Hospitals. During this period he made the town of Reading his headquarters; and it is to this period of Dr. Pott's career that the letters, which we will use, pertain. The Potts letters in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania fill four large volumes and all of them were written to Potts from doctors, apothecaries and commissary officers in the medical service of the Continental Army, and therefore relate almost entirely to medical matters.

The Director General of The Military Hospitals reported on November 24, 1777, that the number of sick, wounded and convalescent soldiers in hospitals was 4,167, and that hospitals were located at Princeton, Burlington, Trenton in New Jersey, Buckingham Meeting House, North Wales, Skippack, Easton, Allentown, Reading, Bethlehem, Manheim, Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and Baltimore in Maryland. Thus, it appears that the first military hospitals to be established in Lancaster County were at Lancaster and Manheim. In December of the same year, the Director General again reported on hospitals and stated that the hospitals at Burlington, Trenton, Buckingham and Skippack had been closed, and new ones had been opened at Ephrata, Rheimstown, Lititz, War- rick and Shaeferstown in Pennsylvania.

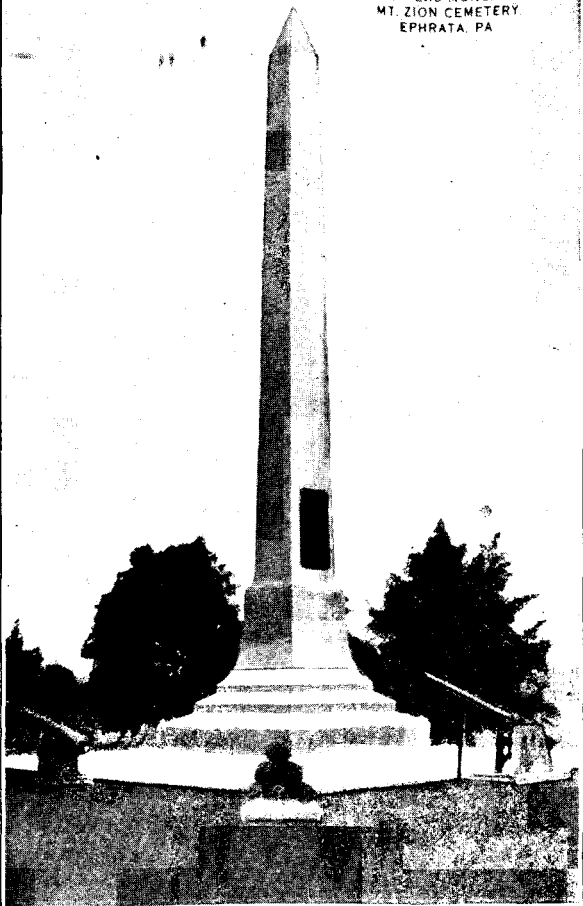
It is well known of course that the hospital at Ephrata was established in the Cloisters of the Solitary Brethren, and that the hospital at Lititz was organized in a three-story building owned by the Moravians. Information concerning both of these hospitals has not been lacking, and at both Ephrata and Lititz monuments mark the sites of burying grounds where Continental soldiers were reverently interred.¹ About the other hospitals in Lancaster County, we do not know as much. Of the one at Manheim, we have only this brief record from the published history of St. Paul's Reformed Church. "During the pastorate of Rev. John Conrad Bucher, sometime between 1775 and 1779, the church was used as

¹ Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol. 23, p. 5, and vol. 51, p. 127.



Monument to the memory of One Hundred and Ten Soldiers of the Continental Army who died in the Lititz Military Hospital, between December 19, 1777, and August 28, 1778, and are buried on this plot. Erected by the United States Government in 1892.

SOLDIERS MONUMENT
MT. ZION CEMETERY,
EHRATA, PA



Monument at Mount Zion, Ephrata
Erected to the memory of Continental Soldiers
Who Died in the Cloister.
(For further description, see vol. 51, opposite p. 128)

a soldier's hospital." From the letters which we will present, it appears that at Manheim, in addition to a hospital, there was also maintained a medical storehouse. The hospital at Warrick (Warwick) was in the Lutheran Church building at Brickerville, and in the published history of Emanuel Lutheran Congregation of that village we read: "A large plot of ground, although unmarked, is held sacred as the burial place of a number of Continental soldiers who died while being cared for in the old church building."

Manheim and Reamstown

The earliest letter which has come to light in which is found any reference to a Lancaster County hospital is one written in January of 1778 by Robert Morris, the Signer, from his temporary home at Manheim. It was written to John Brown, Secretary of the Marine Committee at York. This letter is now in the archives of the Historical Society at Philadelphia.

Manheim

Jan 19, 1778

. . . . Should Col. Fielding Lewis send up some Medicine for me in a Waggon from Fredericksburg to York, get the Waggon to come on if you can as the Medicines are much wanted here by the Hospital. If the Waggons refuse either hire others or let me know as soon as possible. . . .

The earliest dated letter in the Potts Collection relating to the hospitals in Lancaster County is one written at the Reamstown Hospital on March 6, 1778, by Dr. Solomon Halling of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment. Apparently in charge of the hospital at Reamstown, he wrote as follows to Doctor Potts.

Rheimstown, March 6, 1778

Sir:

By the bearer of this, you will receive according to your order, a Report of the sick, with Returns of the Stores and Medicines for Use of the Hospitals in this place.

I have also sent a Return of the cloathing as I did not know but that might be necessary.

I hope This may afford satisfaction.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant.

SOLOMON HALLING

Among the Potts letters is an inventory of hospital stores at Manheim on March 7, 1778, and signed by Hugh James, Hospital Commissary General. The inventory is made on two sheets of paper.

No. 1

Acct of Hospital Stores at Manhime

March the 7th 1778

1 Pipe & halfe of Madirea Wine

2 Barrels of Port Wine

220 Gallons of Molasses
 3 Hogsheads & one third of Spirits
 250 lb. of Coffee
 3 Barrels of Salt
 7 Do. of Herrings
 15 Barrels of Sweat Oil
 3 Tierces of Rice
 250 Shirts
 170 Pair of Stockings
 36 pair of Over Hawls
 10 Blankets

(Signed)

H. James Comss : G 2

No. 2

Acct of Stores at Manheim
 in hands of Banet & Co.
 27 Tierces Sugar
 12 quarter Caskes P. Wine
 77 Tierces Port Wine (3,234 gallons)

The Lititz Hospital was put in operation by Dr. Samuel Kennedy in December, 1777. He was succeeded by Dr. Henry Latimer in January, 1778, when Dr. Kennedy was sent to Yellow Springs (Chester Springs), where a large building had been erected to serve as the medical headquarters of the Valley Forge Encampment. In February, 1778, Dr. William Brown also took up his residence at the Lititz Hospital. A native of Scotland, Dr. Brown received a degree as Doctor of Medicine from the University of Edinburgh in 1770. Coming to this country, he settled in Alexandria, Virginia. Upon the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, he was made Surgeon of the 2nd Virginia Regiment and subsequently was appointed Surgeon General of the Middle Department. In 1778, he was advanced to be Physician and Director General of all hospitals; and it was while holding this rank, and while located at Lititz, that he prepared a pharmacopoeia—the first of such works in America—for the Military Hospitals of the Continental Army. Dr. Brown resigned from the Army in 1780 and returned to the practice of medicine in Virginia, where he died in 1792. He lies buried in the graveyard of old Pohick Church near Alexandria.³

At Lititz on March 11, 1778, Dr. Brown wrote this very interesting letter to Dr. Potts:

² A pipe represented 12.6 gallons, a tierce is one-third of a pipe, a hogshead is one-half of a pipe.

³ Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol. 50, pp. 36-38.



Moravian Brethren House at Lititz, built in 1758, and commandeered by General George Washington in 1777, for use as a military hospital.

Leititz, March 11th, 1778

Dear Sir:—

Before you receive this, Dr. Shippen will have delivered you a list of Stores and medicines which we were of opinion would be wanted for the use of the Hospitals during the present year. The lists were chiefly made out by me, and at a time when my head was very unsteady and confused from the weak state in which the fever had left me. I have therefore no doubt but I have omitted some necessary articles. I have since recollected some and dare say there are more which I hope you (knowing them to be necessary) will add when they occur to you, or present themselves during your search for the rest. At present, you will oblige me by adding to The List.

- 3 doz Boxes Small Apothecaries Weights & Scales
- 3 doz Bolus Knives
- 3 doz Spathulas
- 2 doz large Weights and Scales (the latter may be made of Wood for the use of Commissaries to issue Sugar by weight)
- 2 doz Marble Mortars of One pint & Pestles
- 2 doz Measures from $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. to 1 quart
- 6 doz Earthern Vessels (deep) with handles from 2 quarts to 2 gall. for boiling Decoctions or 2 doz Copper Do. of one gallon for the purpose
- 1 doz. Bed Pans for the use of very weak Pts. that cannot set up
- 2 doz. Spades or Shovels
- 2 doz Axes
- 6 doz Delft Ware Tiles for mixing Boluses as our Hospital is very defective in this article at present & we are often much at a loss what shift to make for want of them. Let me request you to add the above articles to the list immediately when you receive this letter before it falls aside. I am

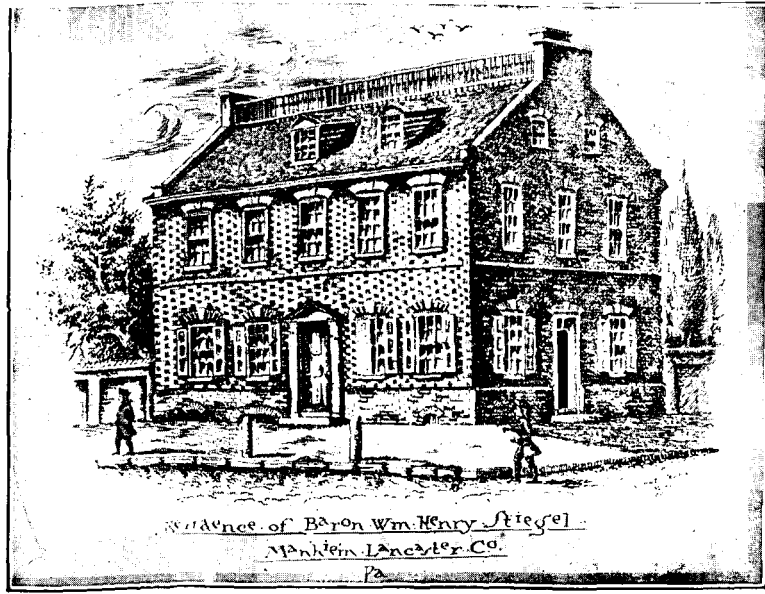
Your most obed. & hbl servt.

W. Browne

P. S. I beg leave to add one thing more, that I do not think we are upon a right plan as to procuring Lint from the Moravian sisters; and as far as I see, those two houses at Bethlehem and this place are the largest and principal sources from whence we may expect supplies of that necessary article which is used in our hospitals in such large quantities. I think if a particular Person at each place was employed & money put into his hands, perhaps 3 or 400 dollars at a time, to receive and pay ready money for the Lint as fast as they make it, and at the same time to urge them to that business the effect would be great. At present they are careless about it. At this place I believe have entirely left off making any because there is no one to receive it and pay for it. I don't know how it is at Bethlehem. If you think proper to adopt this mode, I would recommend Dr. Allison to be employed upon that purpose at this place, whom you will probably see passing through Reading shortly, as he is gone to Burlington to bring his family and Mr. Horsefield, Apothecary of Bethlehem who was formerly employed for the like purpose by Dr. Shippen and collected a large quantity of Lint from the sisters.

Yours.

W. B.



House built in 1763 by Henry William Stiegel, famous glass manufacturer. Residence of Robert Morris and family, 1777-78.

Matthew Irvine, a Pennsylvanian, was a Surgeon's Mate in Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion, July to December, 1775, and then Surgeon of Lee's Battalion of Light Dragoons. It was while serving in the latter outfit, that Dr. Irvine wrote to Dr. Potts, and while the letter was written from the town of York, it interests us because of the reference to hospital supplies at Manheim.

York, March 22, 1778

Dear Doctor:-

I have been ordered here by Doctor Brown, to take care of the sick that are here now and those of the northern troops that may be left here on their march to join his Excellency. The sick at present are but few in number but I am ill enabled to do much for them, wanting both medicines and necessaries. To attain these articles, I directly on my arrival dispatched a waggon to Manheim but numberless accidents hath prevented his Return so speedily as I could have wished—bad roads—the highness of the River & so I have ordered some bunks to be got ready. Your instructions how far I should proceed I would gladly receive as soon as possible.

Matt Irvine

The name of Joseph W. Shippen who was a brother of Dr. William Shippen, Jr., does not appear in the "Historical Register

of Officers of the Continental Army, 1775-1783," but he most surely was serving the Medical Department of the Continental Army in some capacity, else he would not have written as he did from Manheim:

Manheim 24th March 1778

My dear Sir

Yours of the 23rd Inst. I this moment received by the Hands of Capt. Whitman and agreeable thereto have paid him Thirty Thousand Dollars and taken his receipt for the same.

I have spoken to James' son to send on the Rice to Allentown but he informs me the Waggon's are all off but as soon as they return will send on the Rice. The return of the Officers are below tho not perfect as some are dead, some resigned and new ones appointed — And the pay of some altered. Formerly they stood thus.

D. G - 6 Ds	Jun. Surg. a2Doll	Mates a ?
Will Shippen	Sam. Edmiston	Abs. Baerd
A. D. G. - 3 Ds.	Sam. Finley	Mat. Barnes
Thos. Bond	Sol. Halling	Sam. Bloomfield
James Craik	Dan. Tunifer	John Cowell
M. Bloomfield	John Keehmle	John Chapman
P. & S. Gen. - 5 Ds.	Tho. Marshall	Fras. Corcoran
Ben. Rush - resigned	Fred. Otto	John Davis
W. Brown	Thos. Park	Eather
Senior Surg. 4 Ds.	Stephen Raney	Evans
Fras. Allison	Ebenezar Smith	Robt. Henry
Geo. Glentworth	John Smith	Jacob Hall
David Jackson	Will. Smith	John Hall
Fred. Kuhn	John Yampert	John Hyman
Sa. Kennedy	Will. Frisby	Newell
And. Leiper	James E. Finley	John Otto
Henry Latimer	John Witherspoon	Jos. Pitney
Moses Scott	Wm. Farmighousen	Will. Ramsay
Barns. Binney	Jacob Ehrenzeller	Fred. Rittleman
Fred. Phyle	Peter Yarnall	John Rodgers
Will Smith		John Scott
Jas. Tilton		Sharp
Bodo Otto		Benj. Stockton
David Cowell		Geo. Somerville
Jos. Harrison		John Spener
James Fuller		Gilbert Tinnent
Sam. Duffield		Jacob Tobin
		Wilson Waters
		Lewis Willson
		John White
		Lud. Wirtenberg
		Wilmot
		John VanDusen

The above is an imperfect return as there are many alterations since it was made out.

I am sorry for my *poor Mares* misfortune as she is a favourite of mine—pray do not let her be neglected. Your horse is as well as the convenience of our Stable will admit of. We are sadly disappointed in Boards to do up the Stable and fence in the Yard—pray do not stay away from here the limited time mentioned in your letter of 6 or 8 days. The Book you have

omitted sending me as it is much wanted—pray send it as soon as you can.

I would press Capt. Whitman to dine with me but was engaged to dine with Bache before I recd. your polite letter. I think he would chuse rather to be dispatched than stay and take the Fragments of Yesterdays Dinner after a Company of 14 Ladies & Gentn. I had the Honor of Mrs. Morris & Mrs. Bache's Compy. with our Lancaster Guests.

I could write a Vol. but must dispatch Capt. Witman. Adieu God Bless you and believe to be most sincerely

My dear Doctor

Your most ob.

Joseph W. Shippen

In this letter we see an interesting mingling of official matters and personal affairs. The headings above the list of officers in the Medical Department refer to the various ranks and the salary accorded to each: Director General, 6 dollars a day; Assistant Directors General, 3 dollars a day; Physician and Surgeon General, 5 dollars a day; Senior Surgeons, 4 dollars a day; Junior Surgeons, 2 dollars a day. Mates were paid \$1.50 a day. Rations were allowed in addition to the salaries.⁴

During the period that Philadelphia was in British hands, and Congress was meeting at York, Robert Morris and his family, as well as Richard Bache and his family and Dr. William Shippen, Jr., Physician General, lived at Manheim. The Morris family lived in the well-appointed house which had been built by Henry William Stiegel, while the Bache family occupied a fine brick house across the street (where the Manheim National Bank now stands). With this brief explanation, the allusions of Joseph Shippen to the Morris and Baches at Manheim will be understood. In case the reader may not remember, Mrs. Bache was Sarah (Sally) Franklin, only daughter of Benjamin Franklin.⁵

Dr. John B. Cutting of New York was Apothecary of the Hospitals of the Eastern Department from the 10th of July, 1777, to August 9, 1779, and was then appointed as Apothecary in the Middle Department, where he served until June of 1780. In March, 1778, Dr. Cutting wrote two letters from Manheim to Dr. Potts; and the contents of these letters once more lead us to believe that at Manheim was maintained a medical storehouse which supplied hospitals over a wide area:

⁴ The dollar in common use in the British colonies was the Spanish peso (piece of eight) and worth approximately eight shillings.

⁵ Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, vol. 34, p. 121.

Manheim March 25th 1778

My dear Sir;

I arrived here yesterday from Carlisle in consequence of directions received from Dr. Shippen. I should be obliged for your particular orders by the earliest opportunity as the Dr. refers me to you for them in future. The Waggon for Fredericksburg I dispatched under the care of Mr. Henderson one of my mates, with the most pressing orders to make the greatest possible haste. I obtained with some difficulty the oyl and Sulphur from the Military Stores Department tho there was a *demur* for want of the original orders from Gates and the War Board; and as to workmen none can be spared from the more important business of preparing Magazines of Death for this Campaign, especially as many of the men are going off daily, the time being expired for which they were enlisted; so that we shall be obliged to hire carpenters or not get our necessary repairs compleated. By our general Return of Medicines, you will readily see the deficiencies of this Department. Cantharides and the Ol. Vitriol are two articles which there is a pressing demand for at present. As to Volatile Salts, I expect a fine parcel manufactured at Carlisle tomorrow by a Waggon in which your Negro Wench was ordered to come hither. I have partly agreed with Dr. McC. for a tolerable house at Seventy Pounds per annum. but the bargain is not certain. I shall know his answer in a few days. We are in want of thirty Reams of Wrapping Paper immediately. I beg to have a line from you as soon as possible. My best compliments to Mrs. Potts, Col. Bird &

I am, Sir, in haste, Yours

John B. Cutting

Manheim March 30th, 1778

My Dear Sir;

W. Shippen just favored me with an extract from your letter of the 28th to him desiring that the Medicines for Camp may be hurried on. All the Articles that we have in Store are now ready to put on board the Waggon; excepting the want of cags (kegs) to contain the Liquids might move forward tomorrow. These I have procured here and expect to have them finished by the middle of the week. I inclose you a List of the Articles which I think should be forwarded to compleat the Regimental Chests. You will readily see how deficient we are in several of the Capitals, particularly Salts, Cantharides & Ol. Vitriol; and when we have dispatched this Invoice to Camp, many other articles will be lacking, I assure you. That you may have a memento before you, I have made out a list of medicines that are now or will soon be loudly called for by the Military Hospitals. Paper, Twine, Square Snuff Bottles are so essentially necessary to take with us, to fit up the Regimental Chests that I wish your order to buy them at Lancaster immediately & also a line to Mr. Secretary to get cash to pay for them, unless you expect to be here tomorrow. I never heard what Place in the Vicinity of Camp has been chosen for our temporary Medicine Shop nor with what quantities the Regimental Surgeons are to be supplied, when we get there how many Chests there were to be allowed to each Brigade or whether every Battalion is to be supplied with one. These and several other things I beg for particular directions concerning which I doubt not you will give me soon, either in writing or verbally. I am, Sir, with my best compliments to Mrs. Potts and your family.

Your most obed.

J. B. Cutting

Andrew Craigie (1743-1819), who was born in Boston, was a well-known apothecary in that city. In 1775, he was appointed by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to take charge of the medical stores in the city of Boston, and in the very same year was made Apothecary-General of the Continental Army, an office which he filled until the end of the war. Mustered out of the army in 1783, he then entered into business as a wholesale apothecary. Apart from his career as an apothecary, most Americans know of Dr. Andrew Craigie as the man who purchased in 1791 the house in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which had been the headquarters of George Washington during the campaign in the Boston area. Later, this same house was purchased by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and here most of Longfellow's later poems were written. It is no wonder, therefore, that the Washington-Craigie-Longfellow house is one of the historic homes of America. Several letters from Craigie in the Potts Collection have interest for us, and the first one that we will present was written from Chestertown, Md., by Dr. Craigie.

Chestertown-April 4, 1778

My dear Director:-

..... I have this day received a Letter from Messr. Lux & B informing me the Waggon's were arrived, but to their great surprise with only two packages of the Medicines, the others being seized near Williamsburg for the use of Virginia State. Those arrived contain but a very small share of any of the articles mentioned in your list & I believe none of the Bark & Cantharides. I shall immediately proceed to Baltimore and examine those two packages & if good, send them on to Manhime, provided the price is agreeable.

A Craigie

The Famous Dr. Craik

Closely associated with George Washington through his entire career was Dr. James Craik. This famous medical man was born in Scotland in 1730, and came to this country with British troops, and apparently had his first military assignment in this country as Surgeon of the Fort at Winchester, Virginia. In 1754, he marched with twenty-two year old George Washington and his small army from Virginia to the Allegheny wilderness to combat the claims of the French, and there to share in Washington's defeat at the Battle of Great Meadows. Again in the year following, 1755, he was with Washington in Braddock's ill-fated expedition to the same wilderness area. Here, Dr. Craik attended the dying Braddock. In this same year, he became Chief Medical Officer to

George Washington, Commander of the Virginia forces. In 1777, Washington selected Dr. Craik as Physician and Surgeon of the Middle District, and in 1781 Congress made him Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army. His last office in the Army was that of Physician General, 1798-1800. On December 14, 1799, Dr. Craik attended George Washington in his last illness; and the only published work of Dr. Craik deals with that sad incident.

To Dr. Potts, on a day in April, 1778, went this letter from Dr. Craik, written at Manheim:

Dear Sir:-

On my way to Manheim I visited the Yellow Springs and Red Lyon Hospitals which I found in excellent order, and have but few sick at present. However as the Army is becoming more sickly, we may soon expect they will be full. Doct. Fallon gave me the enclosed list of stores wanted. What you see mentioned arrived; came while I was at Yellow Springs in a Waggon. Whether the quantity of Wine required is not rather too much at a time, you will be the Judge. You'll please have them sent off as soon as possible. You see they are in want of a Steward. If you have any in your eye you may send one, if not let me know and I shall look out for one. Doctor Shippen requests that you will have wine laid in at Manheim for the Hospitals at Lancaster and Leititz immediately as they are in immediate want. I suppose you have heard that the Council have broke up without settling an Exchange of Prisoners. However it is expected they will meet again shortly. When the Army moves it is more than probable there will be at least a Thousand sick to go immediately to Hospitals. It would be necessary therefore that I should know the Hospitals that you would choose to receive them and the number each will take that I may know where to send them. Tomorrow morning, I shall set off for Headquarters where I shall be ready to receive your Commands—and

Yours respectfully

Dear Sir

Your most obed, hum. Servt.

Jas. Craik

Manheim
April 7, 1778

William Bell, whose identity is unknown, but who may have been a merchant in Lancaster during the Revolutionary War, or one of the Philadelphia merchants who fled the city in 1777, wrote to Dr. Potts from Lancaster as follows:

Lancaster, April 22, 1778

Doctor Potts

Dear Sir:-

By the Bearer, you will Receive one quarter Chest of Tea and two Bbls of Lime Juice which I hope will Please. I have got five casks of Lime Juice besides the two now sent, should be glad to know where you would chuse them sent or if you will send for them. I shall deliver the tea agreeable to the Directions you gave me.

William Bell

Dr. Craigie, Apothecary General of the Continental Army, had his headquarters and his laboratory at Carlisle. From there

he wrote to Doctor Potts on May 1, 1778, told of the lack of necessities and offered one suggestion which if followed would have supplied the Army Medical Department with the bottles so badly needed. "We are destitute of almost everything necessary for Regimental Chests, among the rest, of bottles—give me leave to urge the propriety of setting the Glass Works at Manheim agoing." The glass works referred to, was of course the Stiegel Glass House at Manheim which was closed at the time Dr. Craigie wrote because of Stiegel's financial failure.

Ephraim Blaine, a Pennsylvanian, is first heard of as being in charge of the Commissary of the 8th Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776. He was made Commissary of Supplies for the Continental Army in 1777, then Deputy Commissary General, and finally Commissary General of Purchases. On May 2, 1778, while at Valley Forge camp, he wrote a letter to Dr. Potts which has much interest for Lancaster Countians:

Camp Valley Forge
May 2, 1778

Sir:-

Your favor of the 27th April have received and am exceeding sorry I cannot comply with your Order respecting Meat. Beef Cattle are so scarce that it is almost out of my power to support the Army from day to day, nor is it any part of my duty to furnish the Hospital tho I have done it and have never refused when provisions were plenty; or to spare in the Neighbourhood of Camp. You have many persons engaged to furnish the necessary provisions wanting for your department which if they paid proper attention to, might accomplish, and the applications of your people to me, when they cannot procure it from those you have appointed for that purpose. Lancaster County can produce good veal and mutton, with some young Cattle, sufficient to supply an Hospital of 2500 men. If you expect any assistance from me (which cannot be before the Month of June) you will dismiss all those persons who you have appointed to purchase and on which account the price of provisions have been raised Ten P cent, and call upon me for what provisions you want for the Hospital, or any article I can purchase in the Middle Department, which shall be supplied regular according to your demand, or so far as I can procure it. Inclosed you have an Order to Major Edwards at Grubbs Works, who will furnish you with flour for Leditz, Ephrata and Shefferstown Hospitals, and Matthias Slough at Lancaster will afford you Flour for that place, and what small Beer he can procure. When the Commissary General returns to Camp and I have the Opportunity of seeing you, will adopt some mode of your being regularly supplied. Shall be at Lancaster and Yorktown next week where I hope to see you and have some further conversation on that subject. Am with esteem, Sir

Your most Obed. Servt
Eph. Blaine D.C.S.

Doctor Potts
Purveyor General of the Hospital
Lancaster

Dr. Thomas Bond, Sr., (1712-1784) was born in Maryland, studied medicine under Dr. Alexander Hamilton of Annapolis, completed his education in Paris, and in 1734 began the practice of medicine in Philadelphia. To him belongs the credit of actually establishing Pennsylvania Hospital, although the idea of the hospital was one of the brain children of Benjamin Franklin. Dr. Bond gave the first course of clinical lectures in the United States, and at the age of sixty-four, volunteered his services to Continental Congress. A Director General in the Medical Department of the Continental Army, he wrote the following letter from Manheim to Dr. Potts, which was carried by a certain C. Craig:

Dear Potts:

I have been to York and by steady attention to the Lords of the Treasury I got a Warrant for 100,000. The cash cannot be obtained till next Saturday. With great difficulty I procured leave from Blodget, Gen'l Green's aid, to let Mr. Hillegas give me 12,000 for the present necessity & to keep the Devil out of your pocket. Out of that sum p. (per) Bearer I send you 8 sheets 240 dollars each. I gave Craigie the Apothecary 4000 more. I shall see you as soon as I get the Balce (Balance). Tomorrow I go after Mease at Lancaster.

Yours
Thos. Bond

Manheim
May 17, 1778
Dr. Potts

Among the Allison (Dr. Francis Allison) papers deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are three which originated at the hospitals of Lititz and Lancaster.

- No. 1 Returns of the Sick and Wounded in Lititz Hospital in January 1778—by regiments
Total number of patients 173
Signed by Francis Allison
- No. 2 Returns of the Sick and Wounded in Lititz Hospital December 10, 1777—by names
Total number of patients 40
Signed by Dr. Allison
- No. 3 A Return of the Wounded Belonging to Different Regts. & of their respective Companies in Lancaster
11th October 1777

Note—The reverse of the sheet when folded reads as follows:

Lancaster Oct 11, 1777
List of Wounded of
Gen'l Wayne's Div.
at Paoli

From another source we learn more about the hospitals in Lancaster County. This additional source is the diary of Rev. James Sproat, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and in March, 1778, appointed to the post of chaplain for

the hospitals of the Middle District. Concerning Rev. Sproat, John Adams wrote this after hearing him preach in his Philadelphia church, "He uses no notes, opens his Bible, and talks away." As a chaplain, Rev. Sproat visited the hospitals in Pennsylvania, and from his diary, also deposited in the Pennsylvania Historical Society archives, we extract some entries which refer to Lancaster County.

Visiting Lancaster Convalescents

April 16th, 1778 (Reading)—Lodged the night in Mr. McIlhanies. This day rode to Rheims Town where I supposed there was a hospital—very wet and poor entertainment. Met with Capt. Collens from Rhode Island.

April 17th—Rode five miles to Dunker Town—visited and prayed with all the sick—preached in the hospital. Dr. Scott is the Senior Dr. here; a worthy man.

April 18th—Rode twelve miles to Shaffers Town. Visited the hospital and preached in the Dutch Church where all that were able to attend were paraded, and attended in good order—lodged with Dr. Glentworth—genteely treated—here met with Gen. McIntosh. Lords Day—had some time by myself. Then rode from Shaffers Town to Leditz twelve miles. Dined with Dr. Allison who is the Senior Dr. here. Visited the hospitals—prayed with the sick, at 3:00 o'clock preached to the convalescents—Monday rode to Lancaster in company with Mr. Mackey, one of the Council, father to Dr. Allison's spouse. Dined at Dr. Jackson's—visited the hospital. Prayed in five or six different departments—very much fatigued.

Tues—April 21st—Preached in ye Barracks to all the Convalescents that were able to attend—Lodged at J. B. Smith's—dined at Mr. Harbinsons—drank tea at Mrs. Rhea's—saw many of my Philadelphia friends.

Wednesday 22—Preached in the forenoon in the Presbyterian Church of which Mr. Woodhull is the minister. Mr. W. preached in the afternoon.⁶ About 203 persons in this hospital.

April 23rd—Rode to Mr. Woodhulls—lodged there—very kindly treated.

April 24th—Rode to Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Smith at Pequea—neither of the gentlemen at home. This day rode to Mr. Carmichael's—lodged there, but he was not at home.

June 15th, 1778 . . . fed our horses—Then rode to the —— & dined at the Tavern with Mr. William Rodger—Rode to —— Harmers, paid for John's Bord and Schooling at Pequea—to Mr. Woodhulls—fatigued—kindly received.

Tuesday, June 16—spent the day at Mr. Woodhull's very agreeably.

June 17th—Set out for Lancaster in company with Messrs. Woodhull & Tennent—dined at Mr. Purdies, called to see Mrs. Rhea, Capt. Harsh and some others, drank Tea at Mrs. Harbinson's. Lodged at Mr. J. B. Smith's—Mrs. Smith very agreeable.

June 18th—Breakfasted at Mr. Harbinson's—called to pay compliments to Mr. Hancock—called at Mrs. Rhea's, Mr. Tagerth, Capt. Harsh, who kindly kept my horse—rode to Manheim—dined with Mrs. Shippen and old Dr. Shippen—genteely treated—Mrs. Shippen paid me 240.00 dollars but could not settle with respect to rations. Rode to Lititz—put up at Dr. Francis Allison's—spent the evening at Dr. William Brown's, the Physician General—lodged with Dr. Allison.

June 19th—This morning had a little time to myself—wrote a little—had a comfortable night, Bless the Lord for his mercies—O for God's assist-

⁶ Rev. John Woodhull was the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Lancaster.



Emanuel Lutheran Church, built 1805, and Cemetery. The former church, at this site, served as a military hospital, and here Continental soldiers were buried. The large, flat stone in the foreground marks the grave of Elizabeth Huber, first wife of Henry William Stiegel.

ance in my duty to the hospital—today—Preached in the afternoon to the hospital—Dined with Dr. Brown. This afternoon detained by the rain—Saturday rained all day, could not go out. Dr. Allison and his wife generously kept me and my horse. This evening Mr. Mackey one of the Council, father to Mrs. Allison came and brought me the second confirmation of the Evacuation of the City by the enemy.

Lord's Day June 21st—Had no place for retirement—Rode to Dunker-town—no Hospital here now—had some hesitation whether to put up or ride to Reading, there being but Mennonites here & having no place of Retirement—Thought it duty to go to Reading.

The Doctors Disagree

There is one other source of information concerning the colonial military hospitals in Lancaster County, and that is some newspaper items in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 1780. These items are the aftermath of an unpleasant feud which developed between Dr. William Shippen, Jr., on one hand and Dr. Benjamin Rush and Dr. John Morgan on the other. These three physicians were the leading medical men of Revolutionary Philadelphia, and all had received their training at The University of Edinburgh, and had been close professional friends. The story of the feud, of course, has no place in this essay, and it will only be sketched briefly, so that the newspaper items which follow will be understood.

Dr. Morgan was selected in 1775 to be the Director General and Chief Physician of the Colonial Military Hospitals as successor to Dr. Benjamin Church. Dr. Morgan improved the medical service and apparently did a good job but nevertheless charges were made that the department was being run inefficiently, and so Congress dismissed Dr. Morgan in 1777. He was succeeded as Director General and Chief Physician by Dr. Shippen, Jr.; then Dr. Morgan became suspicious that Dr. Shippen in some way was responsible for his dismissal. Taking the next step, Dr. Morgan made serious charges against Dr. Shippen in his conduct of the hospitals, and in these charges he was joined by Dr. Rush, Physician General of the Hospitals of the Middle Department, who avowed that the entire medical service of the Colonial Army was in a deplorable condition.⁷ The charges were brought to the attention of General Washington who referred the matter to Congress with the result that both Dr. Shippen and Dr. Rush were ordered to appear before Congress on January 29, 1778. Dr. Shippen explained his management of the hospitals to the satisfaction of Congress, whereupon Dr. Rush resigned from the service; and then continued to inform both General Washington and Congress concerning Shippen's shortcomings; and in this he was helped by Dr. Morgan.

Dr. Shippen was eventually called to trial by a court martial which convened at Morristown, New Jersey, on March 15, 1780. The president of the board, which court martialed Dr. Shippen, was General Edward Hand, who himself had been a physician in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, before he had gone into the Continental Army. The Court met intermittently until June 27, and on that day the court acquitted Dr. Shippen on the four charges lodged against him, which were (1) Fraud in selling hospitals store for his own use, (2) adulteration of hospital wines, (3) neglect of hospital duty, (4) scandalous practices unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.

Dr. Rush and Dr. Morgan, after the acquittal of Dr. Shippen, then decided to present the case to the American people through

⁷ In 1778 Dr. Rush wrote this book for the use of the Army:

"Directions / For Preserving / The Health of / Soldiers / Recommended to / The Consideration of the / Officers / Of the Army of the United / States" / By Benjamin Rush, M. D. / Published by Order of the Board / of War / Lancaster : Printed by John Dunlap / In Queen Street."

the columns of the *Pennsylvania Packet*. In the issue of September 2, 1780, Dr. Morgan wrote that "A court martial has passed a cold and unanimous sentence, by which Dr. Shippen is partially, I may say, dishonorably acquitted." He goes on to tell of the original charges made by him and Dr. Rush, and states that "In my next number I shall produce depositions of witnesses in support of the charges."

The charges then were aired in the issues of the *Pennsylvania Packet* until November 11. Among other charges was one that "two pipes of Madeira wine were sold about the latter end of the year 1777 from the hospital magazine at Lancaster to Henry Deninger, tavern-keeper at Conestoga Creek. . . . Dr. Frederick Kuhn deposed that wines were brought to Lancaster by a brigade waggon master and deposited with other hospital stores in Mr. Bausman's cellars (which were taken for that use) and that when he was sick himself, he sent for some of the wine, and used of it, and considered of it, and confiscated it as public property."

"Dr. John Kuhn deposed that all the stores in Mr. Bausman's cellars, being for some time put under his care, in the year 1777, and being called upon to make returns of the same, from time to time, including the wines and spirits, as public property, and never was told by Dr. Shippen that they were not. So, he deposed that two pipes of what he thus returned as public property were afterwards sold as private property, and further deposed that for many months during the greater part of the time he had the charge of the sick at Lancaster, they were not allowed any wine, spirits, etc., who being brought low by disease, suffered and died for want of them,⁸ being forbidden by Dr. Shippen to make use of them for the sick, and although there were plenty of hospital stores in Mr. Bausman's cellars."

Dr. Shippen was also charged with "keeping no regular books and accounts, with proper checks and vouchers for the expenditure of public monies and hospital stores and neglecting & refusing to pay just and reasonable hospital accounts and misusing the persons who applied for settlement."

"Phillip Eppright deposed that he acted for some time as

⁸ Formerly, wine and whisky stood high as effective medicinal agents. Now, wine (*Vinum*) whisky (*Spiritus Frumenti*) and Brandy (*Spiritus Vini Gallici*) have been deleted from the United States Pharmacopoeia.

steward and Commissary to the General Hospital at Reamstown and paid out considerable sums of his own money in support of the sick; that he drew up his accounts in a proper and regular manner and called several times for his money on Dr. Shippen at Manheim, to no purpose, not being able to obtain payment of his account, altho no objection was or could be made against the charges as improper or unjust, and that when in the following year, the hospitals were moved down the country, and Dr. Shippen was gone to Philadelphia, he was obliged to undertake three journeys to Philadelphia before he was able to get his account settled, so that besides the loss of time and fatigue he underwent, he expended as much money in looking after his pay before it was discharged as the account came to."

Dr. Tilton, a Senior Surgeon deposed that after he had been ill at Princeton in November, 1777, "it was the 18th of February following before he was well enough to undertake a journey, but having obtained leave, he then set out for the State of Delaware, that having business with the Director, he went around by way of Manheim, whereby he had an opportunity of passing through most of the hospitals in Pennsylvania When at Ephrata in Lancaster County, he passed through the hospital, and made this observation; that the larger house turned into an Hospital for the accommodation of the sick was ill chosen, being cut up into small monkish cells, that would admit of but little ventilation, and learned that Dr. Harrison, a valuable Surgeon had died there sometime before of a putrid fever; that at Lititz, another hospital, he found the Physician General, Dr. Brown, just emerging from the putrid fever, and had not yet gone abroad; that at Lancaster, Dr. Jackson, Senior Surgeon, who had lately presided at the hospital there was ill of the putrid fever and told the deponent that he had been obliged to send to Manheim for wine."

John Hambright, Esq., deposed that "sometime in the winter toward the month of March, 1778, being then as now a member of the honourable Council of the State of Pennsylvania and at that time a resident of Lancaster where the Council sat, certain sick and wounded soldiers came to his house and complained exceedingly of their suffering very much from the neglect and mismanagement in the General Hospital at that place, into which they had been received as patients; and urged him as one of the Coun-

cil to come and behold what a shocking condition they were in at the hospital, that he might judge of their miserable situation; that he thereupon went to view the hospital approach and entry covered with nastiness air close and putrid everything filthy and loathsome patients cried out with one voice that they had been much neglected wounded declared that they had not been dressed for two days, some for three days, and some for four days no suitable nourishment."

Thomas Aug. Lloyd deposed that "he with other wounded soldiers was after the Battle of Brandywine ordered to the Hospital at Lancaster and that the weather being extremely cold to people circumstanced as they were, being most of them more than half naked, and without finances, tho in a long-established hospital; nor were they accommodated with straw or any substitute, without he gives that name to the bare floors; on which some sitting, some lying, they passed the night for six weeks, without vegetables, save what they begged or bought." Lloyd in his deposition stated that in the month of November, 1777, the sick in the Lancaster hospital increased to the number of 500.

"Joseph Kimmel, an inhabitant of Ephrata deposed that a great number of sick soldiers were brought to that town about Christmas, 1777, in open waggons in the night time, almost naked; many of them without shoes, stockings, or blankets to cover them. neither were they accompanied by nurses or other attendants, and left there by the waggoners, without orders what to do with them; that the sick crept into his and his neighboring homes in a piteous condition, affecting to humanity, and intreated to be saved from perishing; that many died from the effects of the journey."

Henry Bear, miller at Ephrata deposed that "he received a number of the sick into his own house and family, whose fever proved infectious; that his father, John Bear, and his mother, Helena Bear, caught the infection from them and died of it: that his wife was also seized of the same fever; that the disorder spread through the neighborhood, and proved fatal to a great number of all ages."

In the issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* for November 11, 1780— the last of the depositions furnished by Dr. Morgan having been published in the issue of October 21 Dr. Shinnen gave notice

that he would answer Dr. Morgan. In the issue of November 11, he made this statement, "I have been called before a court martial by the malice of a displaced and angry man I have been acquitted. . . . The malice and wickedness of these men (Morgan & Rush) will appear from the following declarations on oath, of sundry reputable witnesses, which I will give in the next paper."

Together with the declarations which Dr. Shippen inserted in the *Pennsylvania Packet* as part of his defense, he also made this statement:

"I have never denied, for it was unavoidable, that there were many sufferings in the hospitals after the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, but the witnesses brought by my enemies proved when cross-examined, that they were not owing to my neglect, to a deficiency of stores or to a want of surgeons, commissaries, nurses, medicines, or other things that I ought and could supply. They arose partially from a want of clothing and the covering necessary to keep the soldiers clean and warm; articles that at that time were not procurable in the country; they were also partially due to the fact that our army was raw, unused to camp life, exposure, fatigue, discipline and great hardships; from their being obliged to fly before an enemy in a cold and inclement season and (under such circumstances) the sick and wounded were moved great distances in open wagons. In December, 1777, I was ordered by General Washington to remove all of the sick from New Jersey and the vicinity of camp into Lancaster County, when scarce a waggon was to be had from the quartermaster or flour from a commissary. Notwithstanding all these distressing circumstances, it was effected with little loss, and by the uncommon care and attention of the hospital officers. The consequences were not near as fatal as was feared and expected."

Dr. Shippen also submitted two letters which were written to him when the agitation by Doctors Rush and Morgan began. The first was written from Manheim by Senior Surgeon David Cowell:

Manheim, April 15, 1778

This is to certify that I never knew any wine or other stores to be adulterated in the hospital department since I had the honor to be in it, which has been ever since the 28th of September 1776 to the present date, and that Doctor Shippen's order to me has been to let the sick have everything I judge necessary.

David Cowell
Senior Surgeon

The second letter was written by no less a person than Peter Miller, Superintendent of the Monastery of the Solitary Brethren at Ephrata. That Dr. Shippen valued this letter of testimony from Peter Miller very highly is evident from the introduction which he sent to the *Packet* with the letter. Shippen's introduction and Peter Miller's letter follow:

"Certificates and affidavits have been produced from the good people of Ephrata, concerning the sufferings of the sick when first carried to that place in 1777, but not one instance of my neglect of duty, and their opinion of me and my conduct may be learned from the following letter of the revered

Mr. Miller, the head of that Society, authenticated before a Magistrate and written without my solicitation on hearing I was accused before Congress."

Respected Sir:—

As by your direction, the winter before last a large hospital was established at Ephrata, to which we have submitted without reluctance, being indebted to bear a proportionate share in the calamities of the present war: I should sooner have acknowledged your favor of protection, without which we should have been in no condition to weather out that storm. Indeed all circumstances did then join to make the situation of the sick comfortable. Your vigilance in visiting the same as often as necessity called for it; a constant supply of medicines and refreshments by your order were sent from Manheim which your deputies the senior doctors have applied with a peculiar care and scrupulosity; a plentiful market, constantly kept by the neighbors, of veal, milk and other articles necessary to recruit the strength of poor soldiers; a good government kept by the Senior doctors Messieurs Scott and E. Smith in which vices attending a soldier's life were suppressed; and a harmonizing spirit prevailed among the doctors, officers and privates of said hospital on one, and our community on the other side. The winter season was spent comfortably and many hours with edification of spirit. Consider farther with what regularity things were conducted, the care taken for the sick, the equity observed in all dealings, I must say to the praise of the senior doctors and your person, that they merited your approbation, and you the full confidence of the conscript fathers. Should your labor not turn out to general satisfaction, remember that very critical circumstances commonly attend such officers which often traverse even the most sanguine hopes and successes, of which the public cannot be sufficiently acquainted. Si satisfactum est conscientiae, non opus est, ut fatis fiat opinionibus hominum.⁹ I conclude by recommending you under the wings of divine protection and remain, respected Sir:

Your humble servant

Peter Miller

Ephrata

The airing in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the charges against Dr. Shippen, and Dr. Shippen's defense came to an end in December, 1780; and the Rush-Morgan-Shippen feud becomes a closed book as of that year and month. Also, as no letters or newspapers dated after that time have come to hand to add any additional information to our present knowledge of Lancaster County Military Hospitals, here is where the story must needs come to an end.

⁹ "Since his conscience is satisfied, it is not needful that he commit his fate to the opinions of men."