

# Lancaster County and Valley Forge (During the Revolution)

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## I. Principles of the Revolution.

WE CANNOT form, even the faintest conception of the grandeur and exalted nobility of the Immortals of the Revolution, unless we fully understand the nature and philosophy of the Revolution, the divine principles out of which it grew, the foundation of eternal truth upon which it rested, the civil, political and religious liberty with which it incarnated our race of political slaves then living here, which it also guaranteed to millions everywhere, henceforth to be born; and the renaissance of inalienable human rights and blessings which it brought to America and to the world, to stand fast forever.

Fired and supported by the purpose of rescuing, not the colonies only, but the great brotherhood of humanity, as a whole, from a hideous form of government boasting a divine right in Kings and an unquestioning subjection in the people, these Immortals of the Revolution aimed not at Civil War, nor Rebellion; but rose, in true dignity, to Revolution, and through it, reached Liberty.

After 150 years have defined and demonstrated the results, revealed the ultimate objects and purposes of Independence and the destined course, thus far, of the Nation which was the instrument of the movement 150 years ago, we clearly see, now, that the contest, fed and fired by the spirit of '76, was not a Civil War; it was not a Rebellion against ruling powers merely as rulers; it was not an onslaught to dismember a Kingdom; it was not a struggle to prevent the spread of an empire,—it was not any of these.

It is true the attack was waged specifically upon England—Great Britain; but that was so because England was the logical and predestined representative of a type of government that was to be doomed in America. The movement was not Rebellion; it was Revolution. The struggle was never called a Rebellion. It was not revolution simply against a nation, against a country. It was revolution against a tyrannical political philosophy, against a false and belittling conception of the mass of humanity, against a defiance of human rights, against a violation of the decree of High Heaven itself proclaiming that man is created in the image of God.

The enemies, these "Immortals" fought, were those in all corners of the world, who denied the rights, the privileges and the immunities of self government. The struggle was a mortal conflict of two opposing philosophies of the rights of Man—man, subject or citizen—man, slave or self-governing—man, serf or sovereign, in a nation. It was war to decide, ultimately, which philosophy should prevail, sovereignty in a constitution,—sovereignty in parliament or sovereignty in the people, and only supremacy of law in a constitution. And our "Immortals" of yore decided, declared and decreed, that supremacy of law may reside in a constitution but sovereignty must forever remain in the people alone.

Thus, the Revolution changed the world and the course of history for a century and half. It freed man from sanctioned political slavery and gave him a god-like stature. It tore off the rags of a subject and revealed him in the Grecian beauty of a citizen; and in the crown of his citizenship it placed the three glorious gems of civil, religious and political liberty. And all the world beheld his glory. A hundred nations since then, molded their political manhood after his pattern and a hundred more in this century and a half

have tried to discard the rotten rags of royalty so that mankind might rise from subject of Kings to citizens of nations and be subject only to their God.

The Revolution restored, wherever its seeds have fallen the lost dignity of man over all the earth and shed happiness and hope like a great new-risen sun, upon peoples everywhere, great and small. In the triumph of self-government, which it has achieved, and the constitutional system of a great free people which it brought forth and who have become, in ability, purpose and power; the greatest of all nations, through the forces for good set free by the Revolution, we now understand that when measured by all the blessings which it has made possible;—the American Revolution, Independence, and Constitution of Government, form the greatest event of this world since the birth of Christ, or at least, since the Reformation.

We of Lancaster County, here today assembled, on the hallowed hills of Valley Forge, acting, I trust by the consent, at the wish and by the will of all the people of that old empire county of the Keystone State, and representing them all, do well to commemorate the part that our County played here, on these sad acres, one hundred and fifty years ago. Though a century and a half have elapsed since then, every thought of Lincoln's Gettysburg address applies to this place also. Here that address was born; here its truths were adopted into the heart of man. But it remained unpublished through many weary years of travail, trouble, torture and tempest, before it should be pronounced to a world, awaiting the decision of a torn and anguishing nation. The holy sacrifice of Valley Forge, became the text of the sermon of Gettysburg by the savior of a nation, drawing inspiration from the founder of that nation.

We can easily conceive that the great soul of Washington here (with the daily dead and dying all about him and the yellow spots of graves ever increasing) often breathed in prayerful devotion the same thoughts that Lincoln later uttered at Gettysburg. We can feel that Washington many times said—

"We have brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great war testing whether this nation can long endure. We are here on a great gloomy encampment field of that war, battling and testing against bitter distress and disappointments and against blighting elements, whether the gratitude and patriotism of a people will sustain the conflict and we are dedicating this field as the last resting place of those who here in hunger, disease and death gave and are giving their lives that this nation might live. They have dedicated and are dedicating this ground to liberty; nothing can add to it nor subtract. It is for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

And coming down from Washington to our day, it surely is for us to be dedicated to the unfinished work which those who suffered and agonized and starved and died here, so nobly advanced—it is for us, to be dedicated to the work remaining, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion and that we highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain.

Here on this solemn field lie the unknown and unmarked dead by the hundreds, mouldering a century and a half. Out of an army of ten thousand here, recruited by some thousands more during the winter of 1777 and 1778, many hundreds, far over one thousand at least, died; and scores of them were our own of Lancaster County. They are our hallowed dead, they are our Immortals of the Revolution—here they are lying about us. Others who suffered here, others who fought on the far flung fields of the war from Quebec to Florida, who died on those fields and others who came back home to

our county and elsewhere to die, are our Immortals of the Revolution also. We humbly commemorate their deeds, honor their memories, and dedicate ourselves today to the principles and patriotism for which they died.

We are here, with hearts full of those emotions and our minds set on those purposes. It is our humble office today to rescue from oblivion and to draw out from under the mantle of years thickening over their graves, their names and the part they played the glorious cause.

In Washington's army of ten thousand or more, who encamped here, December 19, 1777, augmented by a system of recruiting all winter and further increased by militia accounting for a total of perhaps thirteen thousand different men during the winter, many in the natural order of life died and were buried everywhere hereabout. But these soldiers were sick and run down, poorly clothed and weakened for two months before arrival here and many arrived here wounded. When here they lacked food and clothing miserably. They sickened and died rapidly. Burial became so numerous that the funeral squads were reduced to a minimum so that there could be found in that vast ten thousand men enough who could be released from other duty to bury the dead.

Our County had several hundred soldiers here that winter and it seems certain at least half a hundred of our own lie here, with their comrades, sanctifying this ground and helping in their centuries of silent influence, to hold the soul of America secure, forever. Here, architraved by solemn stately trees; roofed by the pure-blue dome of sky; lit with living stars by night; bright, glorious and golden with the celestial beams, at morning, noon and eventide, beams in summer filtering in witchery through the fine tracery of tremulous leaves, here in all that splendor and glory, is the greatest abbey of America. In that Abbey, where all the air a solemn stillness holds, they rest, our Immortals. Nature reared that Abbey. Man's hand durst not do it. Nameless, they have lain down with the great of the earth; they are kin and companion with the conquerors of all ages. Unmarked, they sanctify every nook and corner of this great cemetery. There are none of common clay here, under this sod; they are all Immortals.

## II. The Sufferings of Valley Forge

The suffering here as described in the records was dreadful. December 24th there was no beef or bread and the country was drained of food also. The soldiers had no meat for a week. Flour was exhausted.<sup>1</sup> The distress was beyond description. December 26, about two thousand had to retire naked, 2800 had no shirts to wear.<sup>2</sup> Washington declared if flour and fat cattle are not provided the army must be disbanded. Roberdeau declared he could shed tears of blood for the conditions, and he exclaims, "For the Lord's sake let us exert lively effort to save our country." In February Wayne stated,<sup>3</sup> "Some hundreds of our poor worthy fellows have not a single rag of a shirt, but are obliged to wear their waist coats next their skin to sleep; our men are falling sick in numbers every day, contracting vermin and dying in hospitals in a condition shocking to humanity and horrid in ideal; for God's sake procure a quantity of clothing for me, if you must strip the Dutchmen for them." At the same time Col. Butler said of his troops.<sup>4</sup> "I acquaint you with the distressed state of the regiment. They are totally naked for body clothing and not a blanket to seven men.<sup>5</sup> I have been obliged to use the tents as substitutes for blankets to keep them from the inclemency of the season at night.<sup>6</sup> February 15, Washington said, for four days the men have had no meat. They are on the point of dispersing. No authority can keep them together. Forage for horses is gone, we shall soon not have a horse left."<sup>7</sup> A day or two later Lee wrote, "All prospect of keeping the army together is at an end, and you may expect any moment to hear of its disso-

1—Volume 6 Pa. Arch. (hereafter cited A.—Vol. 6, etc) 128-60; 2—A. Vol. 6, p. 134; 3—Do. 251; 4—Do. 252-3; 5—Do. 253; 6—Do. 263; 7—Do. 277.

lution. When the army disbands, as it must in a few days, many will join the enemy." Congress declared, February 21st, "We must relieve the army under Washington, now reduced to the last extremity for want of provisions and food and forage."<sup>8</sup>

The same day Walter Stewart of the 13th which contained the remnants of three Lancaster County regiments wrote, "My poor fellows are in a most deplorable situation at present, scarcely a shirt to one of their backs and equally distressed for the other necessities; but they bear it with patience."<sup>9</sup>

Roberdeau wrote February 21st, "I address you to the most distressing and alarming deficiencies of commissaries' supplies which threatens the dispersion of our army—under God the salvation of our cause now depends on the assembly. Supplies, especially meat, forage, wagons and immediate conveyance must be had. A moment's delay will be our ruin."<sup>10</sup>

March 3, the Council of Pennsylvania declared, "The want of provisions and forage in our army is alarming, there must be forwarded to camp, meat of every kind and forage to meet the wants of our brave troops exposed to every hardship in this inclement season."<sup>11</sup>

March 7, Washington wrote that the army made a peculiar claim to the exertions of this state. It was owing to this state that Valley Forge was selected, "Where with unparalleled patience they have gone through a severe and inclement winter unprovided with any of those conveniences and comforts which are usually the soldiers lot after the duty of the field is over," and he adds in post script, "Our suffering in camp for want of food, forage and wagons is beyond all description."<sup>12</sup>

March 17, Wayne wrote to the Council at Lancaster, "You may rest assured that nine out of ten deaths and desertions in this army are owing to dirt and nakedness."<sup>13</sup>

And again on April 10, he wrote, "I wish your excellency to order the recruits to be clothed and appointed before they leave Lancaster, as they can't be supplied here—my men are tolerable with regard to shoes, stockings and hats, but are wretchedly provided in all other particulars. As to shirts I do assure your excellency that there are near one-third of my men that have no kind of shirt under heaven and scarcely a man in the division with more than one nor have I been able to draw any during the whole winter. For God's sake endeavor to do something for us. The season is now arrived that requires every attention to keep the troops healthy and nothing will be more conducive to it than clean linen. You will pardon me for dwelling so long on this subject, but upon my soul I cannot help it. My feelings as a man are so much hurt by the complainings and miseries of the poor fellows who have no shirt at all that I can have no peace of mind until they are provided."<sup>14</sup>

Is it not truly correct to say that these men are "Immortals of the Revolution?"

April 16, Wayne wrote again to President Wharton and said he is enclosing returns of the two brigades under his command. He said, "the sick men in camp contained in the return are laid up for want of clothing. There is scarcely one of them has a shirt. I shall order a return of the whole line made next week."<sup>15</sup> Wayne's two brigades consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th and 11th Regiments of Pennsylvania Line; the remainder of the line consisting of the 3rd, 6th, 9th and 12th Regiments were the Third Brigade under Conway, and there was also the German Regiment. The 13th ceased to exist. This makes it plain that there were literally thousands of soldiers there in the Pennsylvania forces alone without clothing. What would be the story if we knew also the condition of the troops of the ten other states? Two of the thirteen did not have any troops at Valley Forge.

8—Do. 284; 9—Do. 285; 10—Do. 295; 11—Do. 329; 12—Do. 387; 13—Do. 387; 14—Do. 408; 15—Do. 410.

May 4th, Wayne made a return of all the thirteen regiments of Pennsylvania at Valley Forge and shows that the total was 2664 needing 4736 to complete the commands. He says the chief part of those returned as sick present, is for want of clothing, being too naked to appear and that the officers in particular are in a most wretched condition.<sup>16</sup> With this wretched situation before him Washington was stoically preparing to drive Howe's army of 25,000 soldiers out of Philadelphia.

### III.—Lancaster County's Military Contribution

The earliest Lancaster County troops to march into battle in the Revolutionary War were the companies of James Ross, Matthew Smith and Henry Miller. Ross' company was raised in and about Lancaster, Smith's in north-western and southern Lancaster County and in now Dauphin County and Miller's in Lancaster County, generally. Smith's company was sent in December, 1775, through the snows of Maine and Canada to the siege of Quebec and fought there under command of First Lieutenant Archibald Steele, of Drumore. William Simpson of this company was shot opposite Boston, August 27, his being the first life given by Pennsylvania for Independence.<sup>17</sup> He was of Lancaster County as it was then, but the place, Paxtang, is now in Dauphin County. James Warner, a soldier, took sick on the march in the wilderness of northern Maine and was left behind; but not alone. His faithful and beautiful wife, Jemima, marched with him all the way from the Susquehanna and ministered to him in his 2 or 3 days illness, of which he died, when the brave woman pillowed his head on a clump of sod at the foot of a large tree, slung his powderhorn and knapsack about her body, shouldered his rifle and marched on alone, through the deep snow to Quebec.<sup>18</sup> Truly she was and is our own Mollie Pitcher. In this company appeared the names of Steele, Boyd, Cunningham, Snodgrass, Bell, Black, Campbell, Dixon, Daugherty, Elliot, Fitzpatrick, Griffith, Harris, Henry (John Joseph) Higgins, Hoffman, Kennedy, McCarter, McGinnis, McKonkey, McMullen, Marshall, Miller, Moore, Nelson, Nagel, Randolph, Reynolds, Rowland, Simpson, Stewart Taylor, Ryan, Thompson, Warner, Wheeler, Wilson and Young.<sup>19</sup>

James Ross' company was sent to Boston and joined Washington's army there in the late summer of 1775. At Lechmere Point, near Boston, Nov. 9, Alexander Creighton, of Earl Township, was killed, the first life of present Lancaster County given for Independence.<sup>20</sup>

In this company appear the familiar Lancaster County names of Ross, Hubley, Zeigler, Anderson, Barnett, Brown, Collins, Connelly, Creighton, Carpenter Burk, Decker, Denlinger, Eagle, Fortney, Galbraith, Gibbons, Grimes Hamilton, Grubb, Hoover, Lutz, Maloney, Miller, Morrison, Newcomer, Newman, Porter, Reese, Shaffer, Smith, Thompson, Weaver and Welsh.

Henry Miller's company was raised in the summer of 1776; and it, as well as Ross' company, was sent to the Battle of Long Island.

In it appear the Lancaster County names of Allen, Armstrong, Bell, Burke, Campbell, Clark, Cooper, Daugherty, Evans, Furgeson, Murphy, Patton, Groat, Griffith, Harvey, Kennedy, Lewis, McAllister, McRea, Null, Minshall, Moore, Morrison, Stephens, Shields, Smith, Taylor White and Winters.<sup>21</sup>

Smith's company lost a dozen or more killed at Quebec and most of the rest were captured, but paroled August, 1776, and re-entered the War.

Capt. James Chambers, another Lancaster County man, also had a company in action early in the War. These companies later went under our famous Gen. Edw. Hand and were known as Hand's riflemen. After their term expired they re-enlisted and became part of the First Regiment of Pennsylvania, in the Continental Line and in that Regiment in 1777, took prominent part in the Battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli; then win-

16—Do. 476; 17—Evans & Ellis Hist., Lans. Co. (hereafter cited E. & E.) 40; but also see pp. 33-69; 18—Second Ser. Pa. Arch. (hereafter cited II Pa. Arch., etc.) Vol. 15, p. 99n; 19—E. & E. 42; 20—Do. 43-45; 21—Do. 46.

tered at Valley Forge; marched out from there with Washington in June, 1778, and fought in the Battle of Monmouth.

Many of them also followed the later fortunes of war to the end, in the south, with Wayne and other leaders.

Conspicuous among the Lancaster County soldiers at Valley Forge were the two battalions of riflemen under Col. Miles and the battalion of musketeers under Col. Atlee organized early in the War. They formed one unit. There were three full companies of soldiers in the command raised in Lancaster County. These were the company of musketeers, under Capt. Abraham Dehuff, the company of riflemen, under Capt. Peter Grubb and the company of riflemen under Capt. Thomas Herbert. The last named was raised in Leacock and Salisbury Townships. There were also a considerable number of Lancaster County soldiers in two other companies of the command—those in Captain John Murray's and Captain John Marshall's Companies.<sup>22</sup> In July, 1776, there were 867 riflemen and 406 musketeers in the command, including officers. They were in the thick of the battle of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776, and hundreds of them were captured, including Miles. A large number were killed and wounded also.

After this misfortune, only enough of them were left of the three battalions to make one; and it was called the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot.<sup>23</sup> It was put under command of Col. Broodhead. This regiment, including as it did, the Lancaster County men in it, consisted of two rifle companies and eight musket companies and in the course of the war, fought in the Battles of Brandywine Sept. 11, 1777, and Germantown Oct. 4, of same year. Their losses were not heavy in these battles. The total strength was now 537, about one-third of the original strength.<sup>24</sup>

The regiment was now taken into the Continental Service as the 13th Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line under Col. Walter Stewart, and as such reached Valley Forge as part of the American army of about 10,000 soldiers.<sup>25</sup> There they remained till their term expired July 1, 1778. Those who remained of the 13th Pennsylvania then were combined with the second Pennsylvania Regiment.<sup>26</sup>

The third Pennsylvania Regiment was also at Valley Forge. Its officers complained of the conditions there—Jan. 4, 1778. John Brisban, of Leacock Township, Lancaster County, raised a company in 1776 and it was joined to the third, but he resigned in Sept. 2, 1777, shortly before Brandywine; his company remained in the command.<sup>27</sup> The other company officers were John Gross, Chas. Seitz, Wm. Chambers, John Evans, Geo. Ross, Wm. Bradley and others, among the privates are the names, Adams, Allen, Amer, Bayard, Bayley, Blair, Bradford, Byers, Campbell, Crawford, Cummings, Deamer, Dautz, Farlow, Ferguson, Fritz, Graham, Green, Hambleton, Hand, Hammond Henry, Hughes, Jones, McCormick, McGuigon, McNabb, Miller, Montgomery, Moore, Oniel, Overholzer, Pemberton, Quin, Reed, Rogers, Ross, Sloan Stewart, Sutton, Thomas and Weaver.<sup>28</sup>

The Brisban Company was part of the second Pennsylvania Battalion, under St. Clair and it fought at Lake Champlain, on the St. Lawrence and then at Ticonderoga and Crown Point and at the end of January, 1777, moved into Pennsylvania and what remained of the battalion then were joined to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment.

There were also Lancaster County men in John Marshall's Company of the Third. It was raised mostly in now Dauphin County.

The main body of the Regiment was made up of New Jersey troops.<sup>29</sup> Its Col. Thos. Craig, Lt. Col. Rudolph Bunner and its Major John Holings

22—Fifth Series Pa. Arch. (hereafter cited V. Pa. Arch.) Vol. 2, p. 251-255; 23—Do. 255; 24—Do. 312; 25—Do. 255; 26—Do. Vol. 3, p. 707; 27—E. & E., p. 49; 28—Do. 50; 29—

on Jan. 4, 1778, joined in the complaint against the conditions they were enduring at Valley Forge. After leaving that place they fought in the Battle of Monmouth, where Lt. Col. Bunner was killed.<sup>30</sup>

The fourth Pennsylvania Regiment was in part made up of the third State Battalion, which enlisted for one year to December 9, 1776. Col. John Shee, Capt. Joseph Hubley, Ensign Jacob Weaver were then all of Lancaster County. One company, that of Joseph Hubley, was composed of Lancaster County men. The battalion fought in New York, at Long Island and at Fort Washington.<sup>31</sup> They lost heavily at the latter place and many were taken prisoners. The remnant then were put into the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment in United States service. The remnant of the Lancaster County Company went with the battalion. Thos. Boude was a Lieutenant and Dan. Broadhead a Lt. Colonel in the Regiment. Adam Hubley was also connected with it some time. The Third State Battalion on its return from Fort Washington was the nucleus of the Fourth Regiment.<sup>32</sup> The Regiment fought at Germantown, wintered at Valley Forge and later fought at Monmouth. A large number of the Miles and Atlee Battalion officers were officers of the Fourth.<sup>33</sup> A considerable number of Lancaster County men were with this Regiment at Valley Forge. There were not many Lancaster County men in the Fifth and Sixth and Seventh Regiments, when the regiments wintered at Valley Forge.

Our Thomas Boude was first lieutenant, our James Taylor a captain and our Persifer Frazer, a lieutenant colonel, in the Fifth. Frazer was taken prisoner at Brandywine.<sup>34</sup>

In the Sixth Regiment was Lieutenant Stewart Herbert transferred from the 12th Pa. Regiment July, 1778, but he was at Valley Forge as an officer of the Twelfth. The troops of the Sixth were, mainly, New Jersey men.<sup>35</sup>

The Seventh Regiment was made up of the Sixth State Battalion, which battalion was raised in Cumberland County, except two companies raised in York County.

These three Regiments were at Valley Forge as the complaint of their officers dated Jan. 4, 1778, shows.<sup>36</sup>

The Eighth Regiment contained no bodies of Lancaster County troops, but had a sprinkling of them. James Ross, however, was a Lieutenant Colonel, but resigned after Brandywine; James Cunningham was a Captain till January 1778; Michael Hoffnagle was a Captain, but only till January, 1777.<sup>37</sup> These are all of the Lancaster County personages of the Regiment. The Regiment was at Valley Forge, but none of its officers joined in the complaint of Jan. 4, 1778.

The Ninth Regiment was also made up largely of New Jersey troops. Its Colonel in July, 1777 was George Nagel. Matthew Smith of Paxtang was a Major. It wintered at Valley Forge.

Under authority of Congress of Sept. 16, 1776, the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment was raised.<sup>38</sup> The line officers were commissioned Dec. 4, 1776, and it immediately took the field and fought at the battle of Princeton, Jan. 3, and Bound Brook, N. J., April 13, 1777, and afterwards at Brandywine, Paoli and Germantown. It also wintered at Valley Forge and recruited.<sup>39</sup>

Lancaster County had a considerable quota of men in this regiment; and they suffered at Valley Forge with the others.<sup>40</sup>

The Pennsylvania Archives inform us that "the tenth owed its permanent organization and efficiency to the business qualifications and soldierly ability of its Lieutenant Colonel Adam Hubley."<sup>41</sup>

There was one complete company of Lancaster County boys in this regiment, that of Capt. Jacob Weaver. He raised that command as an inde-

30—Do. 201; 31—V. Pa. Arch., Vol. 2, p. 124; 32—Do. Vol. 2, p. 124; 33—Do. 1030; 34—Heitman's Hist. Register, etc.; 35—II Pa. Arch., V. 3, p. 170 and Heitman; 36—Do. 201; 37—Heitman; 38—V. Pa. Arch., Vol. 3, p. 467; 39—E. & E. 56a; 40—V. Pa. Arch., V. 3, p. 467; 41—Do. 467.

pendent company and became its captain Jan. 13, 1777. It was annexed to the Tenth Nov. 7, 1777, and so remained during the days of Valley Forge. Weaver retired in January, 1781. There were a large number of Lancaster County boys in the companies of Capt. Jacob Stake, Capt. Thos. Herbert, previously of Atlee's Battalion and in the company of Capt. John Steele of Drumore.<sup>42</sup> Known Lancaster County soldiers in Weaver's Company were Peter Robb, Anthony Bausman, Henry Wenger, John Shisman, Richard Burk, John Stewart, Andrew Hook, Jacob Daubenberger, Nicholas Hougendobler, John Williams, Jacob Laucks, Hugh Edmiston, Richard Burnham, Nicholas Geiger, Joseph Swartz, Geo. Peiffer, James Berry, James Travelier, Michael Swalm and William Richardson. These seem to have been recruited in Lancaster while the army was at Valley Forge.

Other Lancaster men in his company during the Valley Forge days were Ludwick Coile, John Blainy, John Davis, John Eicholtz, Mathias Groats, Geo. Laudersmith, Thos. Latta, Brig Wallace, Nicholas Koile, Sergeant Michael Eberly, Fred Kautz, Ludwick Cramer, John Beck, Zach. Hile, Casper Shatzer, Francis Shover, Philip Michael, Mark Coile, Christ Nagle, Sam'l Spier, John Mack and Michael Altick.<sup>43</sup>

Some of its Lancaster County officers in addition to those already mentioned were Capt. Geo. Calhoun, Cap. Lt. Robert Patton, 1st Lts. Michael Everly, John Hambright, Wm. Feltman, Edward Cowan and Henry Small, Quarter Masters, and Ensign Sam'l Boude.<sup>44</sup>

A private, Pat. Collins, was sick at "Valley Forge" and 2nd Lt. Peter Shiles or Skiles was wounded at Brandywine. Capt. Shade was sick at Lancaster, John Steele, wounded at Brandywine.<sup>45</sup>

The Tenth Regiment suffered at Valley Forge with the others. On Feb. 10, 1778, when affairs were at the worst, Lts. Benj. Carpenter and David Zeigler were sent to Lancaster to recruit.<sup>46</sup> In December 23, 1777, Capt. James Long of the 10th and others complained that Lancaster refused to send clothing, and Jan. 4, 1778, the misery and suffering are shockingly detailed in a remonstrance dated Valley Forge signed by 21 of the Colonels, Lieutenants and Majors of every one of the 13 Pennsylvania Regiments except the eighth, Lt. Col. Adam Hubly and Maj. James Grier signing for the 10th.<sup>47</sup>

The Eleventh, called the Old Eleventh Regiment of Pa., had only a short career, but a glorious one. It fought bravely at Brandywine and lost heavily. It also fought at Germantown and April 3, 1778, after it wintered at Valley Forge, it was incorporated into the Tenth Regiment.<sup>48</sup>

Lancaster County names do not appear in its meagre muster rolls. Samuel Smith lost his left leg at Brandywine and Binkly Worrall, lost his right leg at Germantown according to the records. John Booth is mentioned as a private, he lived in Lancaster in 1813.<sup>49</sup>

Geo. Ross was a first lieutenant and afterwards a captain, and another Geo. Ross, an Ensign; Samuel Conyngham was a lieutenant. The regimental officers joined in the complaint against condition at Valley Forge Jan. 4, 1778.<sup>50</sup> After the new Eleventh was created there was Lancaster County material in it. There were Capt. John Steel, Adam Hubly, Lt. Colonel and others.

The Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment was raised in the Counties of Northampton and Northumberland, by authority of Congress the latter part of 1776. With the 3rd, 6th and 9th it was taken into Thos. Conway's Brigade. In the Battle of Brandywine it lost heavily. At Germantown, as part of Conway's forces it was in the leading attack on the British left wing. It "was in the hottest of the fight, losing heavily in men—it wintered with the

42—E. & E. 56; 43—E. & E. 57; 44—9 Col. Rec. 65; 45—V. Pa. Arch., Vol. 3, pp. 473-483 and 508; 46—II Pa. Arch., V. 3, p. 173; 47—Do. 201 and 205; 48—II Pa. Arch., V. 10, p. 743; 49—Do. 748-752 and 753; 50—Do. 201.



rest of the army at Valley Forge and at Monmouth it was nearly destroyed.<sup>51</sup> July 1, 1778, it was combined with the Third.

One of the companies of this Twelfth Pennsylvania Regiment was commanded by Stephen Chambers of Lancaster County.<sup>52</sup> Another officer was Lieutenant Stewart Herbert, who recruited part of a company in Salisbury and adjoining townships in Lancaster County. He became its first lieutenant while the regiment was suffering at Valley Forge in Jan. 9, 1778. He was promoted to the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment when this regiment was combined with the Third in July, 1778.

The Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental line we have already noticed briefly. It was created by taking the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot into United States service late in November, 1777. It went out of existence by being combined with the Second Pennsylvania Regiment July 1, 1778. As we have stated before, the Regiment of Foot itself was made up of the remnants of Miles's and Atlee's rifle and musketry battalions out of which as a nucleus the Fourth Pennsylvania, also, was created.

The record of the Miles and Atlee three battalions is so glorious that even though we cannot say how many of those brave troops of 1776, of the three Lancaster Company in them to wit—Capts. Peter Grubb, Thos. Herbert and Abraham Dehuff and of Marshall's and Murray's Companies, continued in service in 1777 through Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge and Monmouth, yet some knowledge of who those brave fellows of Leacock, Salisbury, Lancaster Boro and other parts of Lancaster County were, should be given to this presence today.

In Capt. Peter Grubb's Company we find the names—Baker, Bowman, Boyle, Brown, Butt, Campbell, Chambers, Crawford, Cramer, Dale, Eichelberger, Elliot, Greaves, Grove, Hall, Helm, Henderson, Henry, Hull, Johnson, Kennedy, Kline, Logan, Long, Lutz, McAfee, McConomy, McCormick, McDonald, McNeal, Messersmith, Miller, Newman, Powell, Robinson, Ross, Scott, Schreiber, Scott, Schott, Sell, Smith, Springer, Stewart, Stone, Wolfe, Weyland and Young.

We must particularly mention Jeremiah Miller, whose wife, Betty, accompanied him and Nov. 27, 1776, escaped from the enemy at Brunswick soon after the Battle of Long Island.<sup>53</sup> This woman's presence also calls to mind that fact that in the company of Joseph Erwin in one of the Miles regiments, a soldier named Peter Geyer, had with him his wife, Mary, who acted as washerwoman for the Company, and his eleven-year-old son, John Geyer, who was a drummer. Both Geyer and his son were wounded at Germantown<sup>54</sup> and the three wintered at Valley Forge. They were of Hannastown, Westmoreland County. They were discharged at Valley Forge Jan. 1, 1778.

In Thos. Herbert's Company from Leacock and Salisbury, we find the name of Bacon, Barry, Bennett, Blair, Dickson, Daugherty, Everhart, Gallagher, Gaughly, Gerhart, Kelly, Ketz, Kryder, Lyon, Martin, McLaughlin, Miller, Moore, Ryan, Sheetz, Wagner, Walker, Weaver, Wilson and Yeager.

In Abraham Dehuff's Company we find Appley, Arter, Baylor, Becker, Balsbach, Brand, Brumgard, Decker, Echoltz, Fox, Franciscus, Frey, Keller, Kelly, Kuntz, Layman, Mentzer, Messersmith, Musketness, Powell, Oswald, Seckmiller, Shaffer, Stevenson, Sullivan, Wentzel, Wilay, Wilson and Wiseman.

Similar names appear in John Marshall's Company, raised it is said, in Hanover Township, now in Dauphin Co., and in John Murray's Company, raised in Paxtang, in both of which a considerable number of Lancaster County men were enlisted.<sup>55</sup>

It is said in Volume 2 of the Fifth Series of the Pennsylvania Archives, Page 332 that John Marshall's Company of one of the Miles' Rifle Regiments or Battalions was raised in Hanover Township, now Dauphin County. But the diary of one of its Sergeants, James McMichael, found in Volume 15 of the record series of the Archives, p. 195, makes it certain that it was raised, partly, at least, in Drumore Township. He says under date of May 27, 1776, "After Captain Marshall's Company formed at the crossroads, Drumore Township, Lancaster County, we all marched at three o'clock and arrived at Colonel Thompson's at 6, where we remained for the night." He then tells about going by Fagg's Manor to Welch's Tavern and to Marcus Hook, where they joined Miles' Regiment May 30th, had morning parade and "went through our manouevers and evolutions with great applause." He continues telling of all the events and experiences till reaching Valley Forge. His diary continues to May 6 and details something of the celebration by the soldiers, of the Treaty of Alliance with France.<sup>56</sup> Col. Thompson's is now Green Tree.

An inspection of the names of the soldiers of John Marshall's Company also shows they are Drumore men. Among the names are: John Clark, Stephen Hannah, James McMichael, Timothy Douglas, James Cresswell, John Campbell, James Burk, John Chambers, David Crowley, Peter Donnelly, Barnet Dougherty, Thomas Douglas, James Duffy, Hugh Gallagher, Joseph Lewis, Archibold Lindsay, Samuel McClure, Charles McCollister, James McCormick, Jos. McCullough, Robert McFadden, John McKinley, Wm. McNeal, John Nelson, David Ritchey, Jonathan Sterrett, James Steel, James Steen, John Taylor, James Wasson, Daniel Whittaker, John Wilson and Thomas Wilson.

These are distinctly Drumore names. Then, too, why should the Company be travelling through Drumore from Dauphin County to Marcus Hook, when the good and well established roads were farther north?

These privates can be traced through the battles of Long Island and Fort Washington, some to Brandywine and Germantown, some to the 13th Regiment and some to a discharge at Valley Forge.

There is no difficulty to trace many of them into the successor single regiment, the Pennsylvania Regiment of Foot under Col. Walter Stewart, into which a large part of the remnants of the three Battalions were merged. Stewart, later, took his regiment intact, as we have seen, into the United States service, as the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment and wintered it at Valley Forge.

Among the officers were the following Lancasterians: Jacob Rieger, Surgeon; Thos. Boyd, Second Lieutenant; James Anderson and Samuel Evans, Sergeants; James McMichael, Sergeant; Peter Grubb, Captain; John Carpenter, Abraham Smith and Wm. Ware, Lieutenants; John Ashton, Jacob Bower, Wm. Moore, Peter Boyle, Benj. Crawford, and Everett Thomas, Sergeants; Christ Reinhold and Michael Miller, drummer and fifer; Jac. Eicholtz, Quarter Master; Robt. Caldwell, Lieutenant; James Sutter, Ensign; Wm. Evans, Hugh Cain, James Forbes, John Thompson, Andrew Druckenbread, Geo. Shoffner, Michael App, Christ Kuntz, Martin Forry, Philip Becker, John Reilly, Sergeants. Corporals, Drummers and Fifers; Robt. Caldwell, Peter Schaffner, Lieutenants; and Peter Grub, Thos. Herbert, Abraham DeHuff, Francis Murry and John Marshall, Captains.

The German Regiment also contained one Lancaster County Company, which with it wintered at Valley Forge. It was the company of Captain Geo. Hubley and he remained its Captain 1776 to 1779.<sup>57</sup> Bernard Hubley was a 1st Lieutenant in the Regiment from 1776 till he was promoted to Captain February, 1778.<sup>58</sup> David Diffenderfer was an ensign. John Weidman and Marcus Young were first lieutenants.<sup>59</sup>

Some of the privates were John Marsh, Phil. Gillman, Jos. Mast, Jac. Sherrich, Phil. Schander, Geo. Francis, Henry Herrgood, Patrick Higgins. Other members of the Regiment were: Phil. Gleim (wounded at Germantown), Sergeant John Weand, Capt. Fred Wilhelm, Christ Coon, John Kochendirfer, Jacob Miles, Michael Roop, Jacob Shearch and Henry Sybert. The record states that these were men of Lancaster.<sup>60</sup>

The Regiment fought at Germantown, where, we have seen, Philip Gleim was wounded; and afterwards in the Battle of Monmouth, one of these battles before and one after the winter at Valley Forge. This, with other records, prove it was at Valley Forge.<sup>61</sup>

In August, 1778, the Regiment had a muster roll of only 316 men. Captain Hubley's Company was worn down to 22.

One of the most spontaneous and enthusiastic out-pourings of Lancaster County troops in the Revolutionary War was that aroused by the appearance of Lord Howe at the head of Elk River on his way to capture Philadelphia in the fall of 1777. The local commands of the Flying Camp poured forth their troops. When in August, 1777, the British Fleet had landed Howe's Army north of Elk River, ready to move on Philadelphia, all the available troops of Lancaster and other eastern counties were called out to march and join Washington. Lancaster sent forth large numbers. The Lancaster County Battalions of Col. Alexander Lowry, Col. James Watson and Col. Philip Greenawalt were hurried on and fought in the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown. Since the purpose of these battalions was to save and rescue Philadelphia, it is almost certain they remained at Valley Forge augmenting the forces, which were to, and did, rescue Philadelphia the next spring. Their soldiers were Lancaster County boys and numbered about 1500.<sup>62</sup>

The records disclose that the following Lancaster County commands were sent out to join Washington's Army, which had before it, as time afterwards revealed, Brandywine, Germantown, Paoli, Valley Forge and afterwards the victory of Monmouth.<sup>63</sup>

Col. Mathias Slaugh's Battalion was called, in which mention is made of Capt. Jacob Glatz's Company. The other commands in the Battalion were: Captains Fred Sigler, Jacob Krug, Jasper Yeates, Barnard Zimmerman, Nathaniel Page and Jos. Wright.<sup>64</sup>

Col. George Ross' Battalion was sent forward and with it were the companies of Captain Peter Hoffnagle and Andrew Graeff.

James Crawford's Battalion also went forward. Rev. John Woodhull, D. D., pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Lancaster was its chaplain and went with it.<sup>65</sup> The other commands in the battalion were Capts. Robert Buyers, James Mercer, Michael App, James Krug, John Groff, Geo. Francis, Peter Schaffner, Christian Petrie, Wm. Davis and Adam Wilhelm.

Col. Bartram Galbraith's Battalion also went to the rescue. Capt. Robert Craig's Company and Captain Pedan's Company are both mentioned as taking part in action. A short muster roll of Robt. McCollin's Company officers give the names of lieutenants—Mathew Haves and David McQueen; Ensign Thomas McCollen; and Corporals Andrew Hunter and James Kelly.

Col. Thomas Porter's Battalion went to Washington's support. In it Captain Wm. Ross' Company is mentioned and also Captain Thomas Morrison's Company, Capt. John Boyd's Company, Capt. John Eckman's Company and Captain John Patton's Company are noted as marching to the front in this battalion.

Col. John Ferree's Battalion also hurried to Washington's support. Captains John Roland, Jacob Carpenter, Alexander Martin, Martin Bowman, Robt. McKee, Andrew Bean and John Withers all are mentioned as in the march with their Companies, under this battalion.

60—Do. pp. 408-409-785 and 826 to 832; 61—Do. 785; 62—E. & E., 58; 63—Do; 64—Do.; 65—Do. and V. Pa., Vol. 7, p. 457.

Col. Peter Grubb's Battalion went to the front also. Mention is made of Capt. Aex. Martin's, Captain Henry Weaver's, Captain Adams' and Captain Morgan's Companies, in the bills for their mileage rations, etc., while marching.

Col. James Burd's and Col. Timothy Green's Battalions, in what is now Dauphin County moved forward also; and several companies of these commands are mentioned as being with the expedition.

Paul Zantzinger also commanded a company of the Flying Camp; so did Capt. John Evans of the 8th Battalion, Captain Wm. Parry and Capt. John Jones.

All these commands and troops started from Lancaster County in the memorable Autumn of 1777. The brave and efficient commands of Miles and Atlee had gone a year before them. But all of them met at Brandywine and Germantown. How many of them returned home after Germantown and how many were permanently incorporated into the Washington Army, at least incorporated till after Valley Forge and Monmouth, we do not now know. None of them except Miles and Atlee were then in the Regiments of the Pennsylvania line. But since they were called to defend and then rescue Philadelphia, many of them must have been under Washington at Valley Forge, to take part in the advance on Howe in Philadelphia, which he was planning and preparing for all winter. One thing is certain, they were all Lancaster County troops.

I have also mentioned the fact that Colonels Lowry, Watson and Greenawalt had their Lancaster County Battalion in action before the alarm of the fall of 1777 called out the battalions I have just now mentioned. Thus, by the date of Brandywine and Germantown, Lancaster County had thousands of men in action on the field.

The following detached commands of Lancaster County men were at Valley Forge: Captain Andrew Porter's Company of Drumore;<sup>66</sup> Capt. Michael App's Company, which also fought at Germantown;<sup>67</sup> Capt. James F. Moore's Company of the State Regiment of Foot;<sup>68</sup> Capt. John Steel's Company of Drumore; part of Proctor's Artillery; part of Moylan's Cavalry; Thos. Boude's Company; Capt. Alexander Bogg;<sup>69</sup> Capt. Wm. Steel, who had seven sons in the service; Col. James Porter of Watson's Battalion.<sup>70</sup>

In the dark days of 1776, Congress determined that 16 additional regiments should be organized by the several United States. Pennsylvania organized two of them. They were John Patton's and Col. Hartley's additional regiments. These also fought at Germantown, a considerable number of Lancaster County men were in them. Peter Grubb became a Captain in Patton's. This Regiment was almost wiped out at Germantown. Hartley's Regiment, too, lost heavily at Brandywine and Germantown. It was also through the New York campaign. It was, later, made the new Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment. Both wintered at Valley Forge. The new Eleventh Regimental officers signed the complaint against conditions at Valley Forge, Jan. 4, 1778.<sup>71</sup>

#### IV. Lancaster County's Civil Loyalty and Spirit

That a war-sustaining spirit and a wholesome determination to overwhelm England were alive in Lancaster County while Washington wintered at Valley Forge is shown by many incidents, even though a large, wealthy and powerful element in our county discouraged the cause.

Dec. 31, 1777, a petition signed by leading Lancaster citizens was presented to the Assembly, declaring that there was great disappointment that an army of 10,000 has not tried to take Philadelphia from the enemy, nor to bottle Howe up, in that city and that no signs of doing so were shown, though

66—Vol. 6 Pa. Arch, 574; 67—V. Pa., Vol. 2, p. 42; 68—Do. 954 and 851; 69—Do. 41; 70—E. & E., 188 and 793; 71—II Pa., Vol. 3, p. 201.

the Schuylkill was frozen over. It laments that no preparations are being made to drive Howe out. The petition, therefore, demanded that the Assembly call the whole strength of the state into the field. It is signed by 48 of our then prominent citizens. Among them were Dr. John Woodhull, Christopher Marshall, Wm. Henry, Geo. Ross, Stewart Herbert, Robt. Cunningham, John Brisbane, Robert Thompson, Wm. Montgomery and others of similar character.<sup>72</sup>

Great necessity for such move to replenish the army is shown in the fact that at that time a return of the recruits needed to complete the quotas from the states put the number at 30,500 men. Pennsylvania alone needed 4,700 to complete her 12 battalions. The remnant of about 8,500 at Valley Forge required at least half of that 30,500, to fill up the decimated ranks—the army then being only about 33 per cent effective.

As to Militia, Washington, at Valley Forge wrote to Council, April 11, 1778, that Congress has empowered him to call for 5000 militia from Pennsylvania, Maryland and New Jersey, but that, much as his army stands in need of reinforcements, he would not call upon the state militia till absolutely necessary, and that he would make demand on Pennsylvania for 1000, including those then in the service of General Lacy.<sup>73</sup>

Lancaster County had an intimate relation to Valley Forge in another way. It was a great base for supplies. Since pitiable was the condition at Valley Forge, Lancaster sent hundreds of wagon loads of food and forage there. At one time she alone had six hundred wagons in service. But Lancaster and Valley Forge were very closely linked, also became during that dreary winter, Lancaster was the seat of the state government. There her council and legislative assembly sat and there too the chief executive of the state, called the president, resided. There the committee of safety held forth and all the State Boards of Civil and military government and the high court of the state, as well as military courts.

As far as Pennsylvania soldiers at Valley Forge were concerned, all state business was done in Lancaster. The greater number of commands left from, halted in, met in or passed through Lancaster and were reviewed there.

The correspondence relating to the conduct of War, while the seat of operations was in this state from Dec., 1777, to the end of June, 1778, all centered there and hundreds of great men met in our modest boro. The capitol of the nation was just across the Susquehanna at York and the conferences and military business between the said state and national capitol, touching Valley Forge and the Army were incessant and several volumes of the state administration at Lancaster are today among the most cherished Archives of our state and nation.

## V. Conclusion

And now to these immortals, to these glorious dead, here under this sod, unknown, unnamed, unmarked, who marched from Lancaster County, here to Valley Forge, by the winding way, the bloody route and trail of war, and here gave up their lives so that America newborn and frail, might live, be great, blessed and powerful in the earth, and might hold the torch of liberty aloft to light the common people of all nations into the path of true freedom—a path leading to national happiness and the blessings of self-government in which, the people, though they make their government the supreme law of the land, still keep themselves sovereign over and above all law which they have ever enacted, all constitutions they have ever ordained and established and above all rulers whom they have set in power and authority over them,—to these immortals of our own, let us promise to hold fast to their faith and to be worthy of their sacrifices for us.

As those of our own, here at Valley Forge, laid down their lives for these blessings, and as those who went from here to other fields of glory and there died and as those who went home from here and laid down their lives there on the beautiful acres of the great county of Lancaster for the same blessings,—and as all of these so dedicated their lives to an unfinished task by so dying, in the cause,—so let us and all the living, now dedicate our lives by living for the same cause and as Lincoln counselled at Gettysburg—by living for and dedicating ourselves to the great task remaining before us, so that neither now nor at any time hereafter shall government of the people, by the people and for the people, ever perish from the earth.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.

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