

Lancaster County in Province, State and Nation

(A Bi-Centennial Review)

III. Lancaster County In The French and Indian Wars

(CONTINUED)

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THE defeat of Braddock caused consternation in Lancaster. The Penna. Gazette of Oct. 30, 1755, in an item from Lancaster says there was great alarm there, that 10 days earlier it was rumored scalping was going on at Harris's Ferry, that friendly Indians were acting suspiciously, that the Lancaster Court House Bell "has been ringing almost ever since, to call the inhabitants to some consultation for their safety" and that "about 100 men have already gone up to Harris's Ferry out of Donegal and adjacent places." And at another place in the paper it is said that the women and children in the back parts of Lancaster and Berks Counties "are all coming to townships that are settled and some have flocked into Lancaster town."

In the issue of November 20th it is said that a report was afloat that 1,500 French and Indians had burnt Lancaster to the ground and were driving the inhabitants into captivity. The militia of New Castle County and Maryland were called out to meet the said Indians who were reported as marching on into Maryland and Delaware. Six hundred of the militia started and recruits fell in all along the way until it appeared several thousand would have gathered together by the time Lancaster County was reached. But the rumors of burning Lancaster and of the invasion were false.

The remainder of 1755 was spent in and about Lancaster in organizing and arming for emergency. In reply to the appeals for arms there were sent to northwest Lancaster County to James Galbreath and John Carson 75 guns, 3 casks of powder and 300 pounds of lead. (*A. vol. 2, p. 392*). Patriotic meetings to organize and recruit men were held throughout Lancaster County at this time. (*E. and E. 30*). Some of these Lancaster forces were sent to Northampton. Samuel Miles, later of great Revolutionary War fame, says he was in a company commanded by Isaac Wayne, father of Anthony Wayne. Among the officers were Alex Culbertson, Jas. Wright, Rev. Thos. Barton and Hans Hamilton. (*5th A. vol. 1, p. 31*). But Lancaster needed troops nearer home. In October, Edward Shippen, at Paxton, said the enemy were expected there at any day and the inhabitants were greatly discouraged and abandoning the farms; that the Indians were cutting

them off; that 1,500 Indians besides the French were on the march against them; that people were cutting port-holes in their houses to shoot from and that many thousands of bushels of corn were stolen. (*6 C. R. 655*).

About the end of October, reports and letters received from Lancaster County stated that matters were in the utmost danger, that Governor Hamilton proposed to go instantly to Lancaster town to do all in his power to help raise troops and give them military commissions. Sundry petitions from the most respectable persons of the counties of Lancaster, York, Chester and Cumberland setting forth the dismal conditions were received and in response many companies were formed. (*Do. 670*).

Early in November 1,500 French and Indians were reported on the way from western Pennsylvania, determined to cross the Province by way of Harris's Ferry and Lancaster on to Philadelphia; and new terrors were aroused thereby. (*6 C. R. 673*). Several very respectable citizens signed this declaration. It was also asserted that this body of French and Indians intended to take winter quarters in Lancaster. (*Do.*)

November 1, several prominent Lancaster citizens, among them Geo. Ross, Joe Shippen, Jr., Robt. Thompson and others—petitioned the governor advising of the melancholy and distressed situation of the Lancaster County inhabitants; that not half of them are armed and that those armed had not enough ammunition. They beg arms and ammunitions for those who are willing to defend their families, "and this bleeding country" and they declare, "Unless some supplies are speedily sent to oppose the progress of the enemy, we in Lancaster, as well as many others, must shortly evacuate our places of abode." (*A. vol. 2, p. 450*). Three days later, Lancaster County made another appeal through Edw. Shippen of Lancaster saying that "the people of this county are very willing to join in repelling the invaders, but are without order and many want arms. There are five companies now in this town from the lower end of this county, etc., besides those belonging to the town." (*Do. 463*). November 6, Ed. Shippen, at Lancaster, writes that about "1000 men in arms, have gone up from Lancaster to Harris's Ferry within two days and this morning Governor Hamilton is going to meet them—but before the army would move Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Wright were obliged to promise to bear the charge." (*Do. 472*).

About this time the inhabitants of Leacock Township made an application for arms to use on the frontier and three of them were a committee to carry the request to Secretary Peters at Philadelphia. Peters sent them to Franklin. Franklin wrote a note and sent them with it to Peters saying that if enough arms can be spared for use by inhabitants of "a township so far within the

settlements" they will be paid for, if used on the frontier. Peters answered that the "three inhabitants of Leacock" brought the letter and that the governor will do his best for the public service. (*Do.* 467). These affairs about Lancaster and Harris's Ferry seem to have excited the Philadelphians, for they represent to the assembly that defense should be provided for, at once, since now that over 1000 families have been killed in a swath of murder and desolation across the Province and it has reached a point within 100 miles of Philadelphia, something ought to be done. (*Do.* 485).

As the year 1755 closed the feeling at Lancaster is shown in a letter written by Emanuel Carpenter, Adam Simon Kuhn and Conrad Weiser in which they say, "The people are so incensed against . . . the governor and assembly that we are afraid they will go down in a body to Philadelphia and commit the vilest outrages. They say they would rather be hanged than be butchered by Indians . . . the poverty some are in is very great. We sent 70 men to the mountains in Berks County and the same number to the back parts of Lancaster County." (*Do.* 511). Evans & Ellis history states (*p.* 30) that the people of Lancaster and the back counties actually went to Philadelphia and took the dead bodies of the murdered inhabitants and hauled them about the streets with placards announcing that they were victims of the Quaker policy of non-resistance . . . that they placed the dead bodies in the door-way of the House of Assembly and a large threatening mob surrounded the building. Here, we again see one of the reasons why Lancaster County and parts west, were the real theatre and headquarters of the war. When the assembly would not act Ben. Franklin himself sent arms and ammunition to the Lancaster County frontier and other sections. For this they and the governor accused him of trying to take the government out of their hands. (*6 C. R.* 739). The Leacock Township incident, above referred to, was one of the occasions when he did this because of the necessity of the act.

The spirit of Lancaster, determined and demanding that the assembly take measures to protect Pennsylvania is shown in a letter written November 22, 1755 by the governor to Thos. Penn, in which he says he must sign the Militia Bill, in order to avoid the resentment of the mob, though it will contribute nothing to the defense; and then he says that a mob from the back counties (Lancaster, etc.) will be in Philadelphia and 500 'Dutch' from Reading will be with them, to demand laws for immediate defense. (*6 C. R.* 741). Companies of soldiers for defense were forming. Early in December Geo. Reynold's Co. of Lebanon Township and Henry Wagoner's Co. of Bethlehem with Abraham Hubley lieutenant of Lancaster County, were formed. (*Do.* 753). All this

was very necessary because by the end of December, Indian massacres along the Susquehanna and farther east, in Berks County were happening. (*Do.* 766-7).

By the beginning of 1756 Lancaster was the active western base of manouvres. (*Do.* 776). The governor wrote from there, after managing further fortification building on the frontiers, and reported that 300 men in 4 companies were guarding the west side of the Susquehanna. He reached the town of Lancaster by way of York. (*3 A.* 8). He planned to proceed to Reading to pacify the Dutch mob and then to go to Conestoga to assure the Indians of safety. (*6 C. R.* 776).

The situation was so acute here that the governor summoned his associates and held a council at Lancaster (*7 C. R.* 7), with the Conestoga Indians, where the Indians displayed with pride the treaties made years earlier with Penn and his sons, etc. A few days later the Conestogas and some representatives of the Six Nations from Schuylkill went to Philadelphia and said they were afraid the Dutch would kill them. (*Do.* 47). Such was the nervous tension, it was planned to move them to Harris's Ferry under care of John Ross and Justice Thompson. It was feared the Six Nations and Conestoga young Indians would quarrel if both lived in the manor of Conestoga, as first proposed. (*Do.* 59 and 61).

In the spring of 1756 the terror that had gripped western Pennsylvania became general farther eastward and a great body of the inhabitants of the back counties planned to meet at Lancaster, march to Philadelphia and force the government to pass laws which they had prepared. The meeting was set for April 16. The governor felt this was so serious that he laid it before council, assembly and the supreme court. The assembly said they had voted ample money and further, they warned the people of Lancaster and other counties, of the great danger they were in by rebelling against constituted authority and threatening violence and insurrection, particularly as by certain acts of Parliament, in force here "these unhappy subjects" may incur severe penalties. (*Do.* 90 and 91).

In May the governor reported that the inhabitants of the frontier counties, to the westward, distressed by the cruel savages, lost a great number of their people, and were driven eastward until York and Cumberland Counties and the Susquehanna River were the frontiers; and that the "most considerable" of their inhabitants had laid the matter before him. (*Do.* 120). He further reported that the French were about to send great armies here and make America the seat of the war. (*Do.* 121).

The military spirit was gaining and the governor, again in Lancaster, struggling with the war strain upon that nerve center at the time, wrote the governor of New York of the new Mili-

tary Act and the New York governor congratulated him on our new law at last passed, for "regulating the forces and subjecting them to military discipline." (*Do.* 123).

To complicate matters England passed an Act of Parliament and began to order the money we should raise to help fight the war. This was one of the first instances of England insisting on American taxation without representation. (*Do.* 134).

In June, England passed an act to appoint a number of German, Swiss and "Dutch" protestants to be officers of a regiment to be called the "Royal American Regiment," and ordered that the governor and assembly of Pennsylvania hire the indentured servants of Pennsylvania Dutch farm-hands to enlist in it, believing they would be willing to serve under officers of their own nationality. Many Lancaster County Dutch servants did enlist as the names show. (*Do.* 178). Provision was made to pay these farmers for loss of servants. These "foreign settlers in America" were to be commanded "by officers of their own country," who had served as officers and engineers and such were engaged and commissioned by Parliament to come to Pennsylvania and raise and command the "Dutch, Swiss and German" forces here. (*Do.* 180).

By August Cumberland County was evacuated, and York County citizens appealed to the governor for protection, saying all protection and safety had vanished, the best fort was burned and the men who defended it carried into captivity; the enemy could easily come on and take provisions for many thousand men and carry hostilities even down into Philadelphia. They demanded protection and particularly that the recruits, then raised in the Province for the "Royal American Regiment," be forthwith sent to their relief here on the Susquehanna, while provincials then in pay may go to avenge the bleeding cause. (*Do.* 233 and 234). Lord Loudon wrote about the same time that as England was sending over the officers of this Royal American Regiment of four battalions, he expected the colonies would supply the levies of the regiment (*Do.*)

Rev. John Steel, of Lancaster County, had a company of soldiers in Cumberland County and said the county was in miserable condition. (*Do.* 241). About the same time a witness testified that whereas a year before Cumberland County had 3000 men fit to bear arms that then (September, 1756) there were not 100 left. (*Do.* 242). Evans and Ellis History tells us Rev. John Steel was a Lancaster County man (*p.* 33).

Great number of troops were now being raised at Lancaster and York as it was reported to the governor at conferences he held with a number of the principal inhabitants of each county on his return from Carlisle. He said they were forming themselves into companies and were under officers duly commissioned.

He said he persuaded them to meet every day under arms to go through exercises and to go to defend Cumberland County. (*Do.* 294).

October 15, 1756, Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, wrote to the governor that in obedience to the governor's advice a meeting of the inhabitants of this Boro (Lancaster), was appointed at the Court House at noon to formulate a plan to march to Col. Armstrong in Cumberland in case he was attacked; but the meeting was not very successful. (*Do.* 294).

Excitement grew more intense in Lancaster in 1756. In October of that year David Jameson wrote from Western Pennsylvania to Edward Shippen, at Lancaster, for the information of the gentlemen and militia of Lancaster County, that some of the Six Nation Chiefs came there and reported 1000 Indians about Tioga, with a body of French to attack the Fort and with a large body of Delaware Indians at North Branch were headed for the inhabited parts of Pennsylvania to go on to Lancaster and Philadelphia (*3 A.* 8). At this time the Associated Companies of Lancaster County Militia were the companies of Capts. John Allen, Samuel Anderson, Hugh Patrick, Moses Irwin, Wm. Steel, Samuel Simpson, Andrew Work, Alexander Scott and James Anderson, having under them 545 men, the companies ranging from 50 to 80 privates—in all 9 companies. No names of privates are given. The names of the 9 lieutenants and 9 ensigns are, with said captains, a lustrous honor-roll of our country. (*Do.* 21). We also had soldiers in the Royal American Regiment (*Do.* 44). Among them, Samuel Clifford tells of Indian outrages. We had men in the three battalions of the Pennsylvania Provincial Battalion, consisting of 7 companies of foot (*Do.* 61). In the Augusta Regiment of Pennsylvania, we had Ensigns Samuel Atlee and Samuel Miles, two glorious names in the Revolutionary War 20 years later, at the head of Lancaster County's Riflemen and Musketeers respectively, who went through the Revolutionary war as a combined command till it was almost shattered to shreds, only a few scores of soldiers left of over 1500 (*Do.* 98).

The year 1757 opened with new efforts to raise troops. Lord Loudon met the several Governors of the Colonies and Pennsylvania was required to raise 1400 troops (*7 C. R.* 469) and 200 more for defense of South Carolina (*Do.* 470). The New Pennsylvania Militia Act was passed and required that lists be made of every male in the Province between 17 and 55 years of age, they to be formed into companies of not less than 60 or over 100 (excepting servants and non-resistants) and all to be armed and drilled (*3 A.* 120).

The next important event of the year was that of again attending to the nervous Indian situation. The friendly In-

dians at Harris's Ferry were moved to Lancaster. About 200 were brought here and camped two miles from town in order to keep them sober. (7 C. R. 479). The Delawares and some chiefs of the Six Nations were also to meet here for a treaty conference. (Do. 481). The Indians gathered here, asked the Indians gathered at Reading to join them at Lancaster. (3 A. 149). The main object was to get the savage Delawares to come back. Croghan sent 3 chiefs on horseback to Philadelphia, under escort, with a speech demanding a meeting at Lancaster. (7 C. R. 484). The demand was acceded to and an Indian Treaty was arranged for at Lancaster. (Do. 487-8 and 506). The meeting was held at the Court House and nine tribes were present. The Delawares and Shawnes desired to fight the friendly Indians. (Do. 517 to 22). They contended their hunting grounds were ruined. (Do. 540). While the treaty was in progress, Indian outrages were happening in Derry, and the people sent a demand to Lancaster for protection. (3 A. 159). Letters from Lancaster were sent to the governor detailing the "merciless murders by Indians" and that he must bring the Delawares, Shawnes and Six Nations together in conference to renew harmony and get their allegiance pledged anew. (Do. 160). And thus the treaty was held. The Southern Indians sent word to the Conference that they would fight for the English (7 C. R. 526). In the end the Six Nations again proved faithful and promised to compel the tributary tribes to help the English from New York, Ohio, Virginia and the Carolinas. The treaty was then continued at Easton with other tribes. (Do. 680).

The Indian question settled, the raising of troops for the Western War went on. Twenty-five companies of foot in Pennsylvania were arranged to be raised. (Do. 788). At the same time recruits for the Royal American Regiment, made up of our Pennsylvania German-Swiss or "Dutch," were being raised. In September two battalions were ordered to march to Carlisle by way of Lancaster to re-inforce Col. Stanwix. On reaching Lancaster 200 were to march to Reading. It was ordered that at or about Lancaster the troops, for their farther march, were to be provided with and accompanied by 16 wagons with 4 horses and to be supplied with wood and straw. Their schedule was to march from Trenton, September 10th, reach Philadelphia the 13th and rest, the 14th, arrive at the Sign of the Wagon on the 16th, the Sign of the Hat the 17th, reach Lancaster the 18th and rest the 19th and arrive at Carlisle the 22nd of September. (3 A. 266-7).

Some local patriots in the forces of 1757 were James Patterson, Captain. (5th A. vol. 1, p. 85). Sam'l J. Atlee, Commissary. (Do. 90). John Steel, Chaplain, Second Battalion; Thos. Barton

Chaplain, Third Battalion, and John P. De Haas, Adjutant of Third Battalion. (*Do.* 132). Thus ended the year 1757.

As the year 1758 proceeded the prominence of Lancaster in the French and Indian War was evident. Gen. Forbes' operations, which were to end successfully in the fall, against the French and Indians at the head of the Ohio, in part began here in our county. Writing to the governor in March, Forbes urged that the Pennsylvania troops be able-bodied, capable of enduring fatigue—their fire-arms be of the best—and that we send as many carpenters and ax-men as possible. He ordered the roads from Lancaster to Williams' Ferry on the Patomac be widened and repaired. He proposed assembling the regulars and the Pennsylvania troops at Conegachieque in April. He ordered that as our men on the Susquehanna are used to hunting, they be formed into companies.

He warned the governor that a great number of wagons and horses would be needed. Lancaster County was the chief source of them. Quarters for the Regulars were demanded also and this made a serious situation shortly afterwards, in Lancaster (*8 C. R.* 59-61). He also demanded a Pennsylvania contribution of 50 light horses and an account of what provincial troops we had. The assembly agreed to repairing of the Lancaster road and the collecting of troops, etc. (*Do.* 65). Early in April John St. Clair, serving under Forbes, demanded a quick line of messenger service and of efficient communication across Pennsylvania and that two good horses be kept ready at all times, at all the stations along the line from Trenton to York, and on to Carlisle and Winchester. Lancaster was the most prominent of these stations. (*Do.* 71). About this time in retaliation for Quaker indifference at Philadelphia, Lancaster, as well as Chester and Bucks Counties, became very lax in paying the Penn quit rents. (*Do.* 78). Forbes complained that "the Assembly have dallied so long that it is almost too late to get real help from Pennsylvania in the proposed expedition." The governor also warned them and told them they plan to make this campaign as inactive as the former one. This inactivity greatly angered the people of Lancaster, as they felt again all the weight of the Indian outrages on the Susquehanna. (*Do.* 81-83). Berks County was also distracted and Reading and other Berks County citizens begged speedy reinforcements to check and overcome the ravages of the savages, etc. (*Do.* 99). To meet the Reading appeal the governor asked General Forbes to divert to that place, some of his forces, intended for Fort Du Quesne. He promised to send 100 of the Royal Americans to Reading, but they were "sickly" and thus he sent some to the new provincials, instead. (*Do.* 110).

Prior to Forbes' activities Col. James Burd with Captain

Hambright, set out from Lancaster on Thursday, February 16, 1758, to visit our local and the other Pennsylvania troops, between the Susquehanna and the Delaware Rivers, maintaining the line then holding back the French and Indians of the northwest, out of the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania. He reached Barney Hughes tavern about Donegal that night, then went on the next day to Harris's Ferry and at 2 P. M. found Lieut. Broadhead and Lieut. Patterson and Commissary Galbraith there and 20 men—then on to Fort Hunter. He saw Capts. James Patterson and Davis there with 80 men and found that from Hughes at Donegal supplies, powder and lead were being shipped. The garrison consisting of two companies were reviewed. Then he proceeded to Swatara, where appeals for better protection were made to him. He inspected the garrison and went to Fort Hunter and back. In the Swatara region there were many local soldiers, but supplies were low. He proceeded to Reading. Capt. Morgan's company were defending there. More troops were needed and flints and all kind of ammunition. He then went over the mountain where Capt. Weatherhold was stationed; then to Fort Allen, the top of Blue Mountains—on to Nazareth and to the Delaware River, 100 miles above Philadelphia. The great snow and extreme cold wore out his horses, at that place. He next went to Easton 35 miles down the river, then to Bethlehem and finally on to Philadelphia. His report was that supplies of all kinds were low, there was insubordination, lack of training, etc., etc. (*3 A. 352*). He arrived at Philadelphia on March 10th, 1758. He held some Indian conferences at Bethlehem and at other points.

Burd was major in command of the Augusta Regiment at the very beginning of the year, (*Do. 326*), the main body of which was at Fort Augusta, in January, and detachments of which he placed at the points he reviewed in February and March, as just stated. The regiment consisted of 8 companies. James Patterson wrote a short, interesting journal of his ranging about Fort Hunter (*Do. 331*). He was a Strasburg man and in the Revolutionary War, was in command of the 5th Penna. Regiment, in which Dr. John Woodhull, then the minister of our Presbyterian Church, was chaplain.

The distribution of the Pennsylvania Troops in January, 1758, is shown in vol. 3 of the Penna. Archives *p. 336*, wherein it appears there were posted east of Susquehanna eight companies. The officers of them included James Hughes, Geo. Craighead, Jac. Orndt, James Patterson, Samuel Humphries, John Weatherhold, Jos. Armstrong, Patrick Davis, Chas Broadhead, Wm. Work, John Kennedy, and also John Steele chaplain of the 2nd Battalion. (*Do. 336-7*). Many Lancaster County soldiers were in these defensive commands. The detachments commanded by the men

above mentioned were stationed at the places which Col. Burd speaks of on his tour of inspection. (*Do.* 339). The places held by these troops in February are shown in the above mentioned volume, page 340 and at page 341. The distribution of the entire 23 companies (consisting of 1,274 provincial soldiers) of the said line and their stations are, there, also set out.

At this point, our county had Indian diplomacy forced on it again. This was a usual spring and summer complaint. In May 1758, Edw. Shippen wrote that the Conestoga Indians were going to leave their town. They might become spies, turn to the French and reveal our situation. He says Mr. Ross, of Blue Rock, (in Manor Township), brought the news. The Indians' complaint was that they were destitute, without clothes and shoes,—naked; that they were called to Philadelphia and had to go bare-footed; were promised clothes but the governor broke his word; that they were not allowed to hunt deer. Thus they were forced to go into the wilderness and were going a little beyond Fort Augusta. They had no faith in getting help from Lancaster any more than from Philadelphia, and some were determined to go and help the French. (*8 C. R.* 113). Some Cayugas were cooperating with these Conestogas. (*Do.* 116). It was learned that the Six Nations, together with all the tribes they controlled, were going to make demands for enlarged boundaries of hunting grounds, of the French first and then the English and they would fight with which ever side gave them the best bargain (*Do.*). A conference was held and the Indians all agreed to stay with the English after informing our Commissioners that the Six Nations had invited the various small tribes to meet them for "caligh wanarum" which meant "big talk" or "matters of great consequence." (*Do.* 119).

Forbes' big movement on Fort DuQuesne during the spring and summer of 1758 was in active preparation and by fall, it consisted of about 9,000 men. (*Swinton's History* 104). The names of nearly all of James Patterson's company were those of our Lancaster County Scotch-Irish. (*5th A vol. 1, p. 116*). The men of Capt. John Nicholas Weatherholt's company at Heidelburgh Township, Northampton County were born in Germany, and were of the Pennsylvania Regiment. (*Do.* 118 and 128). This regiment consisted of three battalions, each of 16 companies. The governor was colonel of the First Battalion, James Burd, of the Second and Hugh Mercer, of the Third. (*Do.* 128). The names of the soldiers are not given but several Lancaster County officers were in said battalions.

The First and Second Battalions had each a troop of light horse with them. John Steel was chaplain of the Second; Thos. Barton of the Third and John Philip DeHaas its adjutant. (*Do.* 132).

Lancaster County men were mostly in the Third. Capt. Robert Boyd of the First Company had Daniel Boyd as lieutenant and James Culbertson as ensign. (*Do.* 130). He recruited several Lancaster County men. (*Do.* 133 and 150).

Capt. Chas. McClung of another company of the same battalion raised all his company in Leacock, Salisbury, Bart and Earl Townships, Lancaster County. Pat. Craighead was his lieutenant (*Do.* 172).

In May, 1758, a return of 23 companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment shows that eight were Lancaster County companies. They were those of Captain John Hazlet's Company at Chestnut Level; Capt. John Singleton's Company, who marched to Harris Ferry; Capt. Robt. Boyd's Company in Sadsbury, 5 miles from John Miller's; Capt. Chas. McClung's Company in Leacock (Pat. Craighead, lieutenant), Matthew Patton, ensign; Capt. Adam Reid's Company, of Swatara; Capt. Ludwig Stone's Company, of Lancaster Boro, his lieutenant, Cunningham; Captain John Clark's Company, in Lancaster Boro (Sam Postlethwaite, lieutenant, and George Aston, Jr., ensign), and Capt. John Montgomery's Company, then 8 miles south of "Bishops," 40 miles from Philadelphia. Each company had 53 private soldiers or a total of 424. All of these companies were of the Third Battalion, except Haslet's and Singleton's, who were in the Second. (*Do.* 174.) As this return included 23 companies only out of 48, of the Regiment, we may conclude that there were perhaps 4 or 5 more Lancaster County companies in the entire Regiment. (128 and 130). All the officers including the captains, lieutenants and ensigns of the Regiment are named in the last cited volume pp. 177-185. Ensign Hugh Hall is noted as of "a reputable and good family of Lancaster County." (184). A brigade of wagons of Lancaster County was with the Second Battalion. (*Do.* 180). The Battalion went with Forbes to Fort Du Quesne, and at least, our two Lancaster County Companies in command of Capt. Hazlett and Capt. Singleton, were with it. Samuel Miles was the brave captain of Lt. Col. Lloyd's Company. (*Do.*) In the new levies were two Lancaster County captains, Moses Irwin and John Allison. (*Do.* 185 and 6, also p. 57).

Captains Ludwig Stone, of Lancaster, and John Clark, of Mill Creek, were selected at Lancaster by a meeting of the principal men of the boro. Secretary Peters wrote to Ed. Shippen saying that in compliment to Lancaster County two captains' commissions were made out, one for a German Company and one for an Irish company of the inhabitants of Donegal, etc. (3A, 389). Accordingly Ludwig Stone, of Lancaster, was selected by said meeting as the "fittest person of the county" to raise the German company and "John Clark, of Mill Creek" was decided on as "a very suitable person" to raise the Donegal-Derry Scotch-Irish company. Both

men accepted. (*Do.* 394). Capt. John Montgomery was another Lancaster County captain who was to raise a company and march it to Lancaster to be reviewed; but he was commissioned late and June 6th wrote he had 40 men recruited and very soon would have his company filled and would bring it to Lancaster for review, as he was ordered to do by Major Thos. Lloyd, of the Second Battalion. (*Do.* 411). He appears, as we have said before, as having a company in the Third Battalion. (*5A, Vol. 1, p. 130*).

June 19 Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, wrote to the Governor that arms, accoutrements, etc., for Captain Reed's Company were expected to reach him soon and he would send them forward at once, and also that similar outfits were wanted for Stone's, Boyd's, Clark's, Montgomery's and Reid's companies, as well as for seven companies over Susquehanna. He also said, all the companies marching through Lancaster behaved well, except that Capt. Boyd's Company refused to march away without blankets. (*Do.* 427). Thus, we see that all these new levies to go to General Forbes were marched on from Lancaster without equipment, which however, was to follow.

And now Lancaster was to see its first military spectacle of imposing martial grandeur. Forbes' Army was to march through the town. Peter Miller's newspaper states (*3A, 440*) that General Forbes left Philadelphia on June 30th and the Highlanders were the last to march. The Gazette of June 17th, says of the Highlanders that "the novelty of their dress and manly and warlike deportment, etc., were really a fine sight."

John Miller, who says he lives at a "religious place now" on the eastern border of Lancaster County at "Church Hill," where he built a new house, in which he then lived, "opposite St. John's Church at Pequea on the same rising ground the church is built"—wrote to Secretary Peter, July 11, 1758, that "the troops are all passed and in high spirits and none ever marched this road that gave more or indeed half as much satisfaction to the inhabitants as the Highlanders did." Capt. Young called on him as he went up. A messenger with orders to Gen. Forbes lodged over night at Miller's. (*Do.* 455).

We have no chronicles, except perhaps a newspaper item in the Gazette or some other paper, of Forbes' going through Lancaster. Major Francis Halkett, of Forbes' army, however wrote from Carlisle that they arrived there in five days, from Philadelphia, since which time Forbes had been doing a great deal of riding and walking, reviewing and forming provincial troops. He took a detachment of 15 men from each of the 48 companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment for protection of the frontiers and to keep communication open and clear, westward to Raystown. Halkett said, "day after tomorrow," July 11, they would march again;

that "the light horse is trash." This he wrote to Secretary Peters. (*Do.* 450). July 12, Jas. Young wrote from Carlisle that all was nuzzle there—most of the forces gone, the train of wagons about to start, the rendezvous to be at Raystown, and that many of the new officers behaved very badly. The general will go in a couple of days. (455). As Forbes went westward he commanded supernumerary provincial forces along the line to fall in till he had about 9,000 men of all classes. (*Do.* 470 and 480). Our Capt Montgomery and his 62 men were with him. (*Do.* 480). Nearly all of the Fort Augusta troops were taken in. The Carlisle provincial troops also were taken in. (483). The friendly Indians were ordered to wear a broad yellow band around their heads or arms for recognition. (*Do.* 487). Many of the soldiers were sick because of heat and bad water, etc. Halkett also wrote that "the wagons and pack horses are on the way west of Carlisle, the train of artillery has left and the 350 Highlanders and the light horse troops are in the rear and are about starting from Carlisle, etc., (*Do.* 489). Onward all to the great rendezvous at Raystown."

Our home troops, under Captains Montgomery, Stone, Clark and Boyd, that is, detachments of them were part of the garrison of Fort Augusta, August 1, 1758, (*3 A.* 503). And they were also there September 1, (*Do.* 513), part of Col. James Burd's regiment. By the middle of August the army at Raystown consisted of 2,500 soldiers and 1,400 road builders. Col. Washington's 400 soldiers were awaited here. (*Do.* 510). October 3, John Armstrong, at Raystown, reported to Secretary Peters the situation. He says that since their "quixotic expedition," he knows the east will be perplexed about their fate and "God knows what it may be. The troops are not dismayed. The general is weak but determined to proceed. The road is open to within 15 miles of Fort Duquesne. About 4,500 soldiers are yet fit for service. The number of the enemy is unknown. Virginia is chagrined at the opening of the road through Pennsylvania instead of farther South. The order of march and line of battle are now under consideration. About 300 wagons are on the road. Everything is high priced and dear. Money goes like old boots. The end of the month will be the critical hour." (*Do.* 551). Small detachments of Boyd, Stone and Montgomery companies, 47 men in all, were still guarding Fort Augusta, December 1. (*Do.* 570).

The finances of the provincial troops again came up. The governor said the 25 old companies and the 23 new companies of the Pennsylvania Regiment would cost 26,000 pounds. (*8 C. R.* 226). These 23 new companies were those we have noticed heretofore of which eight were Lancaster County companies. (*5th Pa. Arch.* vol. 1, page 174, also 128 and 130).

Amid all these troubles victory crowned the provincial and

English forces on November 24th. Forbes' letter of the 26th was read in Council, December 11th. Forbes said the French abandoned and burned the fort and next day, he, Forbes took possession. The enemy escaped down the Ohio in boats and also marched down by land to the forts and settlements on the Mississippi. "This prodigious tract of country is rescued and the French expelled and the Indians reconciled," he declared. He sent at once for the heads of the Indian tribes, to make new treaties with them. He needed 200 Pennsylvania provincials with 400 of Maryland and Virginia troops to protect the country during the winter, so as to enable him "to fix this noble, fine country to all perpetuity under the dominions of Great Britain." He asked that barracks be put in good repair for wintering the soldiers and officers and for Col. Montgomery's battalion of 1,300 men and four companies of the Royal Americans and the rest of the provincial troops, after such a long tedious campaign (*Do.* 232). He sent the new levies to Carlisle and asked the governor to clear them (*Do.* 234).

James Burd, at Loyal Hannah, wrote of the victory that when our troops were 10 miles away the French blew up their fort and rendered the works useless. He asked instructions about recruiting his battalion. He said he would march down with the general and with Bouquet. (*Do.* 235). The Governor and Council of Pennsylvania decided that a Thanksgiving Day be proclaimed and October 28, 1758, was decided upon and published in 150 proclamations sent to ministers of all denominations (*Do.*).

The governor in his message to the assembly reporting the success said among other things that victory was "an event which has been purchased at considerable expense, but when the consequences are coolly weighed of suffering the French to lay the foundations of our future slavery by possessing themselves of and fortifying the back parts of his majesty's colonies on this continent and to keep open a communication between their settlements from Canada to the Mississippi - - - this conquest could not have been too dearly bought." (*Do.* 237).

He also said under Divine Providence against great hardship and insufferable difficulties our forces conquered by their great courage; and that the good efforts of our Indian treaties with Ohio Indians expressly the last one at Easton keeping them neutral were also an indispensable factor. (*Do.* 237). The great advantage will also be felt, said he, by all the colonies but none so much as the province whose inhabitants have been most exposed to the incursions and cruelties of the French and their allies. The governor discharged all the companies which were enlisted for this campaign only; but in deference to General Amherst's desire held they should remain in service for 1759. There was much back pay due them. (*Do.* 239). It was agreed "to con-

tinue 1,400 old troops in pay" for next year's campaign. ((Do. 240).

There was no little difficulty about the wagons in the Forbes' campaign. The Second Division of those from Berks County left Reading to go to Philadelphia in June to load army stores which made 56 good, strong wagons from Berks County in the service, each with four good, strong horses. (3 A. 428). In July John Miller wrote to Peters that he (Miller) is accused of not doing his duty in getting wagons. It is not true. He said a good many horses died drawing wagons in this service; and he had horses and could drive a gang of them where wanted. (Do. 455). Miller wrote in September that the upper parts of Lancaster County were advertised to meet at once at two certain places to collect wagons, that he would attend as an officer and if wagons were not freely given would press them by warrants—that he expected soon to have all the wagons asked for. He noted that Lancaster County was daily getting wagons filled up and sending them off (Do. 545).

Forbes, however, complained early in September that provisions were very short at the magazine. Most wagons loaded only 1,400 pounds and took one-third more time than necessary. If the inhabitants who have wagons were not obliged to furnish a sufficient number of them - - - the expedition could not go forward, nor could he maintain the ground he was then master of. He said six months before, he commanded the magistrates to get wagons to transport provisions and the response was poor. (8 C. R. 167).

Those who furnished the wagons were however great sufferers. Many teams sent out in the Forbes' expedition were destroyed and the horses and pack-horses died from over-burdens and exposures and most of the returned ones were useless and all the owners were unpaid for a long time and the farmers lost heavily, in the expense they incurred to fit the teams out besides losing their horses and wagons. This was especially so in Lancaster County. In addition to this soldiers were now over-running the county as the Indians did before, taking possession of private houses for shelter, food, etc. (8 C. R. 282). Wagons now wanted to transport the troops home could not be had, because those used for the campaign purposes were not paid for (Do. 284).

Lancaster suffered acutely because of inadequate provisions for the returned soldier. In April, 1759, the assembly said in a message to the governor and council that the distressed situation of the citizens of Lancaster Boro called them to remonstrate to the governor. Troops and officers forcibly quartered soldiers on private citizens of Lancaster, committed great outrages, seized and dispossessed people of their homes, assaulted them, compelled them to pay vast sums for quarters or receive the troops into their families though the magistrates offered them billets in other places;

and quarters in the Lancaster barracks were empty. There were commodious barracks near Philadelphia, but they refused to lodge anywhere except in or near Lancaster.

General Amherst declared in reply to the complaint of Lancaster's ill usage that the discharged soldiers must have proper quarters at proper locations and that the reason Lancaster suffered thus was that the barracks were not in condition and not even provided (8 C. R. 285).

The assembly further remonstrated that the loyal and affectionate zeal of the inhabitants of the boro and county of Lancaster to the Crown was shown in giving their utmost aid toward carrying on the western expedition which indispensibly helped to gain success; that the said boro and county voluntarily furnished more than half of the wagons required for supplying the king's troops with provisions for which the deputy quarter-master general declared they merited the thanks of the assembly; that without this large supply of carriages the western expedition must have failed and many ill consequences attended the military operations in these parts. (*Do.* 330).

All this treatment made it difficult to get wagons for 1759. Gen. Stanwix secured only 17 from Bucks County, 14 from Lancaster County, and 6 from Carlisle (*Do.* 344). The serious problem of 1759 was to hold what was secured in 1758. The French and some of the Indian tribes were determined to fall upon this fort (now Fort Pitt) in the wilderness and retake it. Gen. Stanwix exclaimed "For God's sake pass a law as you did last year for light horse, wagons, etc" (*Do.* 373). Again he wrote to the general "I am sorry to acquaint you that after my utmost endeavors - - - I cannot get sufficient wagons to transport necessary provisions for maintenance of the army under my command. *The County of Lancaster, our chief dependence, is the most backward now and Bucks and Chester have given us only nominal assistance by sending us only impressed wagons unfit for service by weakness of horses and carriages.*" (*Do.* 376). He further said that, exclusive of the great supply of provisions necessary for troops, horses and drivers, there have constantly been hundreds of Indians fed at Pittsburgh. His circular and prices to be paid are really a pathetic appeal. (*Do.*).

The new levies were not paid nor the First and Second Battalion, since August, 1758. (*Do.* 427). The new levies were discharged at Lancaster, each with a certificate of four months' back pay (*Do.*).

The position Lancaster County held in the distributive demand for wagons, horses, etc., is shown in General Stanwix's advertisement of May 4, 1759, in which he demanded from Philadelphia, 80 wagons; from Chester County, 66; from Bucks County,

64; from York County, 50; from Berks County, 60; from Northampton County, 30; from Cumberland County, 30; from Lancaster County, 200. Each wagon was to load at the grand magazine at Carlisle; they were to be paid for at different places—those of York, Cumberland, Bucks and Lancaster Counties at Lancaster. (*3 A. 628*).

December 8, 1759, General Stanwix wrote saying the fort was repaired and held by 300 Provincials, half Pennsylvanians and half Virginians, and by 400 troops of the First Battalion of the Royal American Regiment. (*Do. 694*). A slightly different summary appears in vol. 8, Colonial Records, p. 314. General Stanwix says, "all the new levies shall be ordered immediately to Lancaster, where I hope, the pay-masters will settle with them and very soon afterwards he will order down the remainder of the two old battalions to garrison the posts of Pennsylvania's communication line from Pittsburgh to Fort Augusta. "The remainder of the First Battalion of Royal American Regiment I sent to Lancaster, which will be four weak companies, where I expect to get a good number of recruits. I lay before you the distressed conditions of this part of your (the governor's) regiment, that helped to form the winter garrison at Pittsburgh; 150 men have only 50 blankets and 100 blankets will be necessary to save their lives." (*Do. 693-4*).

The Pennsylvania Regiment of three battalions was a splendid army itself, even though small. In its command, it had 3 colonels, 5 lieutenant colonels, 4 majors, 62 captains and 56 lieutenants of companies. Captains John Haslett, John Singleton, Robert Anderson, Geo. Craighead, Samuel J. Atlee, Chas. Broadherd, James Patterson, John Clark, Samuel Postlethwaite, Samuel Miles, Robt. Boyd, Samuel Price and Ludwig Stone were Lancaster County men, and so were eight or ten companies of privates under them. Many of the lieutenants of companies were also of Lancaster County. (*5th A. vol. 1, p. 264*). Among the new levies, as we have seen, were those of John Haslett, John Singleton and Robt. Boyd. (*Do. 295*).

In the winter of 1759 and 1760 several companies of the "Regulars" were in winter quarters at Lancaster. (*8 C. R. 447*). The Province owed 91,728 pounds for pay to soldiers, etc., at 6 pounds per year per man. (*8 C. R. 458*); and it was proposed to raise 2,700 men for the campaign of 1760, further increasing the burden. (*Do.*).

About the end of 1759 Stanwix berated the Assembly for discharging the soldiers, stating that, he sent to Lancaster all the levies who could be discharged and no more and he proposed to assemble the Pennsylvania troops again in the spring to assist in constructing extensive works so necessary at Pittsburgh, for securing the safety of the provinces of Maryland and Virginia.

The few Royal Americans he says he "sent down to Lancaster to recruit not to be disbanded;" that he has "ordered Capt. Slawser, who has command of the few Royal Americans in Lancaster to march, immediately, a number of men from there to the garrison at Juniata and Fort Bedford as soon as he arrives" he has "ordered the garrison now at those places to be cleared and broke up." He also ordered all the Pennsylvanians on the west side of the mountains, to wit: of Pittsburgh, Weatherholt, Fort Legonier and Stony Creek "to march to Lancaster to be paid and broke up." (3 A 696). The commands of the Pennsylvania Regiment for 1760 appear in 5th Series Pa. Arch. vol. 1, p. 311.

In 1761, one of Col. Burd's companies left Lancaster in May to march to Pittsburgh; they were mostly all Scotch-Irish (*Do.* 317), also John Little's company so marched. (*Do.* 319).

This discussion of the events incident to the French and Indian War may properly close with a brief notice of the great Indian Treaty at Lancaster in August, 1762 (8 C. R. 773) at which 557 Indians were present. The western Indians and the northern Indians were present. Some of the sessions were held in the Court House, some in the "old" Lutheran Church, some at John Hambright's and some at Col. Slauch's house. The result was to bind a much larger circle of many more distant Indian tribes under treaty and strong union with the English to prevent the French getting a fresh hold on them. The sessions continued a month and the minutes of them cover 50 pages of the records. It was to hold, seal and secure to us, the hard-earned fruits of the French and Indian War that the treaty conference was held. Col. Burd, still at Fort Pitt, was to receive prisoners brought to him in consequence of the treaty of Lancaster. (*Do.* 776-7).

General Forbes, the commander of the expedition of 1758, died March 11, 1759, and was buried with military honors in Christ Church, Philadelphia, Pa., on the 14th. A full account of the procession appears in the Pennsylvania Gazette of March 15, 1759. (3 A. 579).

IV. Lancaster County in the Pre-Revolutionary "Inter-Bellum"

In this, the fourth section of our general subject, we mean to study Lancaster County during the period between the French and Indian War and the Revolutionary War. The most important element of our study will be the investigation of Lancaster County's changing attitude toward Great Britain in that period. It will be interesting to examine the rise, locally, of the new consciousness, brought about by the experiences of the war in which our county took so prominent a part. The reactions of that war quickly entered into the being of the people. They began to in-

investigate both their political and their industrial relations to the Mother Country. As this period proceeded, new experiences were constantly being brought into our local provincial life, in common with those of all other parts of infant America. We shall see how the change in attitude, from "humble submission" to that of self assertion gradually possessed our people, during that period.

Immediately after the close of the French and Indian War, by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (as soon as the question of what part of its cost America should pay, came up) in many quarters of our land the position taken was that, Great Britain had concluded "an ignominious" and "humiliating" peace in not compelling conquered France to pay the cost. Our local attitude on this phase of the question is most interesting.

When the demand was made on us by Great Britain that we keep up armies and military preparation and furnish supplies to support both English and American forces for campaigns during years of peace, as England planned, our local people refused to furnish money, arms, soldiers, wagons or supplies for the purpose.

When in 1765 the Stamp Act was declared to be in force here, our local authorities ignored it. The courts and other agencies of our local government were carried right on without the use of stamps; and local officers who quailed before the task and refused to make returns and reports without the use of the required stamps, were punished by our local judges.

When the navigation laws and other measures of Great Britain worked hardship upon various parts of America near or distant, sympathetic action was promptly taken here and support was sent to those who suffered under British tyranny.

By the end of this period, when the first measures of the Revolution were framing, our local people had worked up a war morale; had perfected a war machine; and had organized and concentrated a war-imbued military force who took the field in far-off Boston, in frozen Quebec and in other centers of the holy cause, and with their patriotic brethren fired the opening shots of the Revolution.

With this introduction of the section of our review, next to be discussed, we must close this paper. When it shall be the pleasure of this Society to have the general subject resumed, the future installments will be gladly furnished.

(To be continued)

NOTE: In the citation of source material, used in this and the preceding pamphlet, "C. R." indicates Colonial Records; "A", Pennsylvania Archives, and "2 A"...."5 A", etc., Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives, Fifth Series, etc.

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