

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

In thumbing over "Rupp's History of Lancaster County" several weeks ago for, perhaps, the five hundredth time, I once more came upon the General Wayne letters, printed on pages 412 to 420. Like a good many more persons, I had never questioned the fact that as they bore the name of Mountjoy at their head they were



GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

written at the town of that name in our own county. It was not until the paper of Mr. Samuel Evans, on "Colonel James Crawford," was read before this society that a light dawned upon the question, and I determined

to investigate the matter thoroughly for my own satisfaction. I think I have done so, and I will attempt to show that General Wayne's brigade was never in winter quarters in this county, either at Mount Joy or elsewhere, and that the belief that it was was largely the result of a confusion between two places with the same name, widely separated, and only one of which was known to the persons who were discussing the question out of which this misconception arose.

Major General Anthony Wayne—"mad Anthony," as the histories have it, and as the American people have always delighted to call him—was one of the three Generals which the Quaker element contributed to the Revolutionary War, and one of the two born Generals, besides the Commander-in-Chief, who did gallant service in that struggle of the centuries. No General in the Continental army rendered his country better service. At the Brandywine, at Paoli, at Germantown, at Valley Forge, at Monmouth, at Stony Point and at Yorktown, whether in victory or disaster, he was the Chevalier Bayard of the American forces, the knight without fear and without reproach; and whenever his plumed crest was seen amid the gleam of bayonets and the roar of battle, there the fight raged most furiously and the dead lay thickest.

But it is not the purpose of this brief paper to present to you the military or civil career of this skilful soldier, true patriot and wise statesman. The eloquent pen of history did that long ago, and to-day we can neither add nor detract from that proud record. I, therefore, return to the main purpose of this paper.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, Rupp was the writer who first gave currency to this statement concerning Wayne. He publishes six letters, the first bearing date of Decem-

ber 28, 1777, and the last that of April 8th, 1778, with the name Mountjoy in the headline of five of them, and the words "Camp Mount Joy" in the remaining one. Evidently Rupp thought he had made a very important find when he discovered these letters among the unpublished archives of the State at Harrisburg. Concerning them he says: "When General Washington took winter quarters, General Wayne encamped in this (Lancaster) county, in Mount Joy township, where his men endured no small degree of suffering, as appears from the following letters from the General to his excellency, Thomas Wharton, Esq., at Lancaster." He was a careful historian, and nothing that he had ever seen bore out the seeming evidence of the headlines of these letters. Yea, more. He appears to have been fearful their accuracy, or, perhaps, even their existence might be questioned, so he carefully fortified his position by the following letter from the then Secretary of the Commonwealth. Here it is:

Secretary's Office,

Harrisburg, October 11, 1843.

Mr. I. D. Rupp.

Sir: Your letter of the 9th instant was received, and, in reply, I would inform you that it appears from the letters you mentioned that General Wayne "had" his camp at Mount Joy, in Lancaster county, during the winter of 1777 and 1778.

Very respectfully yours,

CHAS. M'CLURE.

You will observe Secretary M'Clure is not very positive. He says: "It appears that Wayne had his camp in this county." It may be, he had doubts, but the letters seemed to furnish evidence he could not overcome.

Even the veteran Dr. Egle fell into the same trap so innocently, but skillfully, laid by Rupp, and we find him saying in his "History of Pennsylva-

nia" that "General Wayne's command was encamped during nearly the whole winter and spring (of 1777-78) at Mount Joy, Lancaster county, assisting in securing supplies of provisions for the army at Valley Forge."

I have not had time to investigate how many more writers have perpetuated this error, nor are further researches on this point required. The fact that it has remained uncontradicted for nearly half a century is the strangest part of it.

The extreme improbability of the statement should from the beginning have led to a more careful investigation. No fact of the Revolutionary War is better remembered than the midnight assault on his forces at Paoli, on September 20, 1777, and his brilliant conduct at the battle of Germantown in the following month of October. It is also well known that when General Howe occupied Philadelphia in August, of 1777, the entire American force was concentrated in that neighborhood. The enemy numbered 19,530 men and the patriot forces 11,800. Not one brigade, nay not a company, could be spared and none were absent but the few who were away on special duties. How extremely improbable, therefore, to suppose that Wayne, with his eight regiments, composing two brigades, had been detached at this critical moment to occupy a village of no strategic importance, eighty miles distant, while all the rest of Washington's army lay on the watch, only twenty miles from the British forces. Such a thing is as inconceivable from a military point of view as it is at variance with all the well-known facts. What was there for him to do at Mount Joy, Lancaster county, nearly a hundred miles from the nearest enemy, and he ever foremost in the fray? Common sense as well as military science suggests that his place was by the side of his chief,

and the fact is that he was there continuously from the time he joined Washington's army in the Jerseys about May, 1777, until Howe abandoned Philadelphia in the summer of 1778.

Again, if he, with his two brigades, was encamped during the entire winter of 1777-8 at the hamlet of Mount Joy, in this county, does any sensible person for a moment suppose no physical evidences of the fact would remain? Such a large body of men would select a favorable location and throw up suitable fortifications, earthworks, redoubts, etc. Then, too, it would have been well nigh impossible to have lived under canvas during that inclement winter, destitute of suitable clothing as they were. They must have occupied some barracks or built huts, as was the usual custom. But who ever made such a claim? Where are the evidences of huts or barracks, of redoubts, trenches and earthworks? It is simply impossible that some remains of such works would not survive until the present hour, had there been such. Even tradition, that gossip of the ages, is dumb when this encampment of 2,000 or more men at Mount Joy is concerned. The army records of Valley Forge relate all too truly the story how insufficient food, inadequate clothing and camp diseases resulting from exposure sent hundreds of heroes to nameless graves. It is the story of every army long in camp. But has man ever seen or heard aught of such a thing in Mount Joy? Where is the graveyard where these unknown patriots sleep their last sleep? The people of Mount Joy would to-day direct the tourist to the sacred spot. But they do not, for neither history, tradition nor the men of ancient days have preserved such cherished memorials.

Once more, had Wayne at any time marched his brigade to Mount Joy, he must have come through Lancaster. Here he would have been captured as

surely as fate. In this very town of Lancaster there lived at that time the diarist Christopher Marshall, who daily noted even the most trifling war news in his "Remembrancer." Every body of importance that comes along and many that are unimportant find places in his pages. The arrival of troops and their departure is noted. Nothing escapes him. What the English never succeeded in doing, Marshall would certainly have done, had Wayne put in an appearance—that is, captured him and given him a place in his most excellent book.

But I think it can be clearly shown from the very letters themselves, I mean those dated at Mountjoy, that they were not written in this county. The opening paragraph in the first one reads: "I was favored with yours of the 12th (December, 1777) instant, but the enemy being then out, prevented me from acknowledging it sooner." This most certainly alludes to the various foraging and other expeditions Howe kept sending out, and which had to be looked after. As none of these ever came up as far as Lancaster, how could Wayne have been on the lookout for them? In the same letter occurs this passage: "His Excellency (General Washington) is also informed that Governor Henry, of Virginia, has ordered on clothing for the troops of that State, which he expects every hour." Unless Wayne had been in daily communication with the Commander-in-Chief how could he have known these things?"

In the Mountjoy letter, dated February, 1778, Wayne writes to General Wharton as follows: "Enclosed is a list of the officers sent on the recruiting service from my division, who, you will see by the within instructions, are directed to wait on your Excellency for recruiting orders." If Wayne had himself been on the spot his recruiting officers could have been put to work at

once, and by himself, instead of being sent to the Governor, at Lancaster.

In the letter dated March 27, 1778, from Mountjoy, of course, he says: "It's at last concluded to throw the Pennsylvania troops into one division, after reducing them to ten regiments, which, I believe, will be as many as we can fill." Such an important step could only have been done at headquarters, and after due consultation and deliberation. In the same letter he says there is a rumor in camp that the English have evacuated Rhode Island and are drawing all their forces to a focus. Had Wayne been at Mt. Joy, in this county, such news must have reached the Governor, at Lancaster, before it did Wayne, and there would have been no use in his sending it.

On April 10, 1778, he writes to the Governor: "Agreeably to your desire, I have 'ordered up' an additional number of recruiting officers." A little further on in the same letter he adds: "I wish Your Excellency to order the recruits to be clothed and appointed before they leave Lancaster, as they can't be supplied here, the sixteen additional regiments, and the Carolina troops, being ordered to be supplied previous to any others." Common intelligence will readily see that the writer could not have been in Lancaster county when he wrote the above words.

The internal evidence supplied by these very Mountjoy letters is so clear and decisive that it cannot be successfully disputed. It will be seen that up to this time I have presented only negative evidence that Wayne's Brigades were never encamped in the town of Mount Joy. I have abundant positive evidence to the same effect, which I now proceed to give.

The six Wayne letters quoted by Rupp, and dated at Mountjoy, are not the only ones written by him and dated at that place. Some are to be found

in the Colonial Records, and many are quoted by Dr. Charles J. Stille in his "Life of Wayne." I shall now quote from some of these and also from letters to him, written by others, while he was at Valley Forge, as well as from Dr. Stille's excellent work itself.

Lancaster at this time was not only the largest town in the State, after Philadelphia, but the richest, and, along with the country around it, was the main source of supply for the army. Nearly all the clothing for the Pennsylvania line was made here. Officials were continually at work securing cloth and linen and leather, and having them made up for the use of the soldiers in the camp. Here is a letter from Commissary Lang, who was on such duty at that time. It is dated at Lancaster, on February 28th, 1778:

"Hon'd Sir: You cannot Conceive how uneasy I am from want of Instructions from Council concerning the Sending necessaries to Camp for the troops. You can now be furnished with 300 pairs of shoes more. . . . Some shirts and stockings and Good Breeches are in my possession, on which I await your Orders and their Leave. Pray send a receipt for the 301 pairs you got of Mr. Henry, along with your first order, and oblige, Sir.

Your Most Obedient Servant,

JA'S LANG.

The Hon'bl Anthony Wayne, Esq'r,
Brigadier General, at Camp, near
Valley Forge.

Here we have a business letter sent to him at the Camp at the very time the Rupp letters located him in Lancaster county.

In all the letters of the time, and the histories, we find Valley Forge spoken of as the "Camp," the words Valley Forge being not frequently used. In a letter from Wayne to Mr. Richards Peters, Secretary of War, dated at Mt. Joy, on February 8, 1778, he begins.

"On my arrival in Camp;" he had evidently been away on foraging duty.

Another letter from Wayne to Col. Bayard, dated Mt. Joy, March 28, 1778 (one of the Rupp letters is dated the day previous, March 27), directs Bayard "To proceed Immediately to Lancaster and call on Wm. Henry, Esq., there, for the arms, etc., mentioned in the two Brigade Returns. 'You will also forward to Camp' all such clothing as may be provided for the Use of the Officers and Soldiers of the Penn'a. Line. As soon as you can Effect this Business, you will Return to Camp, taking care to forward all such Recruits belonging to the Penna. Line as may be in Lancaster, first providing them with their proper Uniform, Arms, and Accoutrements."

In a letter to Secretary Peters, from Mount Joy, on April 12, he says: "At present the Enemy far outnumber us—and unless speedy supplies arrive—We shall not long retain this Ground."

On March 4 he writes to General Washington from Haddonfield, N. J., that hearing that the enemy, in small parties, were collecting cattle and forage in that vicinity, he made a forced march to cut some of them off. He describes at great length how, with General Pulaski, Col. Ellis and Capt. Boyle, he drove the various detachments back into Philadelphia; adding, "I shall begin my March for Camp tomorrow morning."

On June 17, Washington called a council of war as to the expediency of attacking Philadelphia. Wayne was present, and his judgment was adverse to the contemplated step. On the following day he gives his views to Washington in a long letter dated at Mount Joy.

Believing that the English were about to evacuate Philadelphia, Lafayette was sent to Barren Hill, about half way to the city. The enemy laid a trap to surprise and capture his 2,500

men, and were nearly successful. Wayne describes the event with great minuteness a few days later in a long letter to Colonel Delany, dated at Mount Joy on May 21.

I shall now leave Wayne's own letters and quote from a number of independent authorities his whereabouts and his acts at the time the Rupp letters locate him in Lancaster county. Dr. Stille, in his "Life of Wayne," says: "The army having gone into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Wayne was soon obliged to turn his attention to a very essential part of a General's duty, that of providing suitable clothing for his men and recruiting their numbers diminished by sickness and desertion. His correspondence (part of which has been quoted) during the terrible winter of 1777-78 shows how constant were his efforts to compass these two objects.....Such were the destitution and nakedness of the troops at Valley Forge that Wayne himself purchased the cloth for the articles his men most needed, hoping to have the garments made up in camp." I may say, Wayne himself came to Lancaster during the latter part of January, 1778, and went also to York on this mission, but his brigades were not with him, and his trip occupied but a few days.

Marshall records in his diary on February 27, 1777, as follows: "News is.....General Wayne is gone with his brigade and four pieces of cannon into Billingsport." A week later he adds: "Accounts to-day are that General Wayne, in the Jerseys, attacked a foraging party of General Howe's there, killed several, took a number of prisoners, 250 head of cattle, which, with 300 head he had collected, he sent unto Head Quarters."

In the "National Cyclopaedia of American Biography" I find this paragraph: "During the encampment at Valley Forge, in the winter of 1777-78,

Wayne contributed greatly to the comfort of the patriot army by numerous successful foraging expeditions."

In a well-known book, "Washington and the Generals of the Revolution," I find this: "It became necessary to obtain supplies from a greater distance, and to combine with the operations that of preventing the enemy from converting to his own use the substance so much wanted by the Continental army. General Wayne was assigned to this duty, which was commenced about the middle of February, in very severe weather, and carried into very complete effect in the district of country extending from Bordentown to Salem, in New Jersey, then within the limits of the enemy." It will be seen from the foregoing that there is a large amount of concurring evidence to show that General Wayne was at Valley Forge during the entire period of the army's encampment there, save when on short foraging expeditions, or trying to secure supplies of clothing for his soldiers.

On May 18, the Supreme Executive Council of the State, sitting at Lancaster, had a letter before it, from General Washington. The Commander-in-Chief urged the necessity of a supply of arms for General Wayne's Division, and requested that about 300 stand, with bayonets fitted to them, be sent him. Council ordered "that 300 Musquets & Bayonets belonging to this State be sent to His Excellency, General Washington, for the Pennsylvania Troops in General Wayne's Division."

In "Bean's History of Montgomery County," on page 168, is the following: "A camp was established for some days (after the battle of Germantown) on the Gulf Hills, fourteen miles distant from Philadelphia, where the army remained until the 18th, when it retired to Valley Forge, going into position with the right resting upon the

base of Mount Joy, near the acute angle of the Valley Creek, the left flank resting upon and protected by the Schuylkill river, about one-half mile below Fatland Ford, or Sullivan's Bridge."

This history gives with much detail the assignment of all the fourteen brigades which at that time composed the army. I will quote another extract: "The extreme right of the line, commanding the approaches from the Southwest, was held by Brigadier General Charles Scott, of Virginia, upon whose left Brigadier General Wayne, commanding the Pennsylvania line, was placed; then in succession from right to left came the brigades of General Enoch Poor, of Massachusetts; General Ebenezer Larned, Gen. John Patterson, of Massachusetts; General George Weedon, of Virginia, who connected with General Peter Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, holding the extreme left of the line resting on the Schuylkill at a point near where the village of Port Kennedy is now located."

In Lossing's "Our Country" I found this paragraph: "The little army at Valley Forge had not only suffered great privations in camp, but were subjected to attacks upon their feeble outposts and detachments sent out for food and forage, by parties sent from Philadelphia. Among the most active of these was a corps of American Loyalists, called the Queen's Rangers, led by Major Simcoe, and numbering about 500 men. In February these went into New Jersey to capture Wayne, who was there, gathering up horses and provisions." (Vol. 1, pp. 980.)

Now, if Wayne was up here at Mount Joy at that very moment, why was Major Simcoe looking for him in New Jersey?

The hundredth anniversary of the encampment at Valley Forge was cele-

brated with much ceremony on December 28, 1877. A noted Philadelphia orator, Henry Armit Brown, delivered the oration. I make room for a single extract: "And who are the leaders of the men whose heroism can sanctify a place like this?.....These are the huts of Huntingdon's Brigade of the Connecticut line; next to it those of the Pennsylvanians, under Conway. Beyond Conway, on the hill, is Maxwell, a gallant Irishman, commissioned by New Jersey. Woodford, of Virginia, commands on the right of the second line, and in front of him, the Virginian, Scott. The next brigade in order is of Pennsylvanians, many of them men whose homes are in the neighborhood, Chester county boys, and Quakers from the valley, turned soldiers for their country's sake. They are the children of three races—the hot Irish blood mixes with the colder Dutch in their calm, English veins, and some of them—their chief, for instance—are splendid fighters. There he is at this moment riding up hill from his quarters in the valley. A man of medium height and strong of frame, he sits his horse well, and with a dashing air. His nose is prominent, his eye piercing, his complexion ruddy; his whole appearance that of a man of splendid health and flowing spirits. He is just the fellow to win, by his headlong valor, the nickname of 'The Mad.'Pennsylvania, after her quiet fashion, may not make as much of his fame as it deserves, but impartial history will allow her none the less the honor of having given its most brilliant soldier to the Revolution, in her Anthony Wayne."

A Wayne anecdote at Valley Forge will be allowed at this place. I found it in Futhey and Cope's "History of Chester County." While the army was lying there a well-known farmer of the valley went repeatedly to General Wayne to complain of depredations

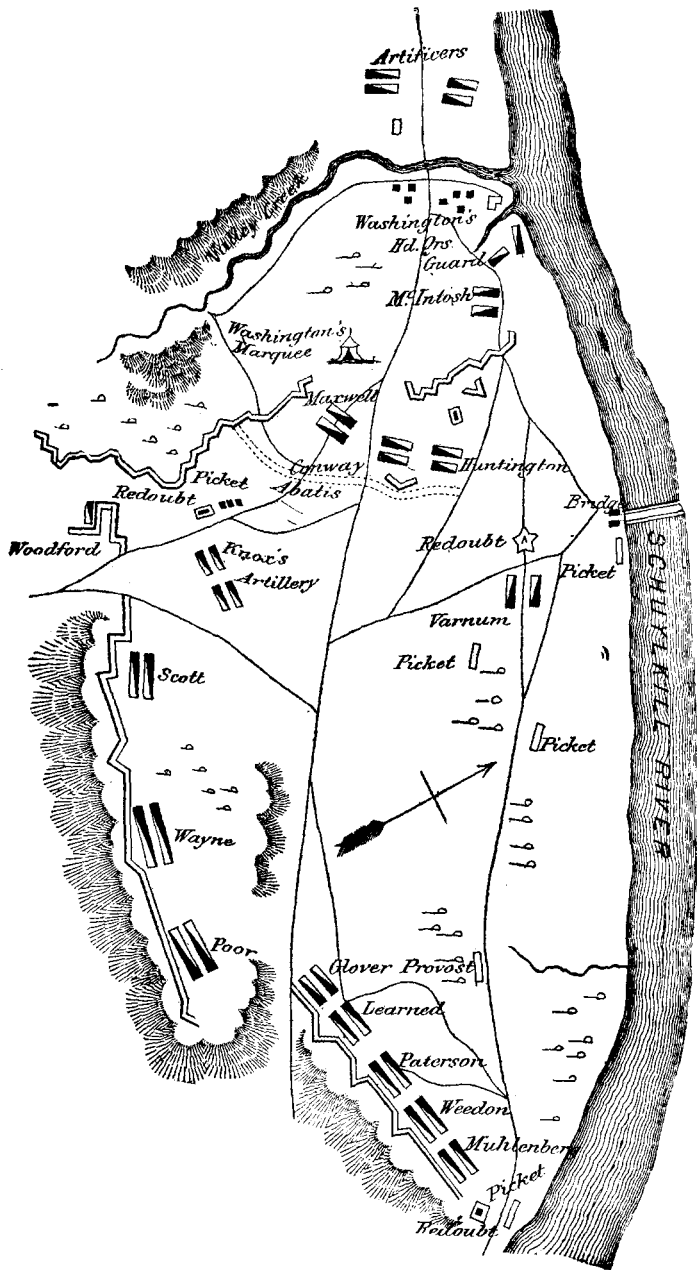
committed by the soldiers on his property. Wayne, annoyed by these frequent visitations, and unable to prevent the men from straggling away from camp, said to the complainant one day, in irritation: "Well, d—n 'em, shoot 'em. Why the devil don't you shoot 'em?" A few days afterward the farmer found one of these marauders calmly milking one of his cows. He returned to his house, got a gun and shot and killed him. He was arrested and tried by a court-martial, and only escaped with his life by pleading Wayne's hasty, unintended advice.

Finally, something about the camp at Valley Forge and Mount Joy. About twenty miles from Philadelphia, up the Schuylkill river, is a deep and rugged valley, formed by the debouchment of Valley creek into the Schuylkill. It is known as Valley Forge.

The flanks of this valley were mountainous and wooded, easy of defense, and there General Washington, after the fearful repulse at Germantown, decided to go into winter quarters when General Howe occupied Philadelphia.

I have found four maps of the Valley Forge encampment; one in "Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution;" a second in Futhey and Copes' "History of Chester County;" a third in Volume 14 of the Second Series of Pennsylvania Archives, and a fourth in the recently-issued Register of the Sons of the Revolution. The first three are comparatively modern, while the last was made by a French engineer near the time of the encampment itself. They vary in no essential particular. The one here given is from the Colonial Records.

That was perhaps the most gloomy period of the Revolution. Never before had the fortunes of the patriot cause and army been in such a perilous plight. The commissary department was badly managed. Upon several occasions the beef supplies were ex-



Map of the Encampment at Valley Forge, showing the location of all the brigades and forces of the Continental Army. The wooded hill, where the brigades of Poor, Wayne and Scott are located, was known as Mount Joy.

hausted, without any others being in sight. The Quartermaster's Department was equally deficient. Shoes, blankets and clothing were all wanting. General Washington in a letter from the camp says: "For some days there has been little less than a famine in camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest, three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery that they have not ere this been excited to mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms of discontent, however, have appeared in particular instances."

Along those ridges and on those hills, the army encamped on the 19th of December. The weather was too cold for tents and it was resolved to build a sufficient number of huts or cabins of logs. This was done. These quarters were sixteen by fourteen feet in size, and intended to accommodate twelve privates, while each General had one to himself and a limited number of officers were assigned to others. It assumed the order of a regular military camp. The whole was surrounded on the land side by strong entrenchments, and a number of redoubts were built at strategic points. The Schuylkill river ran along the rear of the camp, making it secure in that direction. A bridge was thrown across it to facilitate communication with the other side.

With that thriftiness characteristic of William Penn, he had as early as 1683 caused his Surveyor General to survey 5,000 acres in the angle formed by the debouchment of Valley Creek into the Schuylkill, which was named Mount Joy Manor, and given to Letitia Penn. The Mount Joy about which we have been writing took its name from this manor. There was also a Mount Joy forge on Valley Creek, a few miles

above Valley Forge. The iron works which gave the name to the locality were built in 1757 by the Potts family and were long owned by them. The encampment was about two miles long, and was partly in Chester and partly in Montgomery counties. The headquarters of Wayne, Lafayette, Knox, Poor, Woodward and Scott were in Chester, while the remainder of the army was in Montgomery. General Washington had his headquarters in the Potts mansion; General Wayne his in a stone house owned by a Mr. Walker, which is still standing.

There is absolutely no evidence to show that Wayne's brigades were ever encamped in this county. That theory rested on the headlines to many of his letters, which Rupp, having no knowledge of Mount Joy Hill in Chester county, mistook to mean the town of the same name in this county, and the evidence here submitted of the long believed fallacy dispels it beyond even the possibility of a doubt.

Since completing the foregoing, it occurred to me to examine the account of Mount Joy township given in Ellis & Evans' History of Lancaster county. Somewhat to my surprise I there found the following: "In Rupp's History of Lancaster county, it is stated that Gen. Anthony Wayne, with his army, spent the winter of 1777-78 in Mount Joy township, and several letters from the celebrated 'Mad Anthony' to Gov. Thos. Wharton, dated at 'Mount Joy,' are presented as proof of the assertion. Other writers have fallen into the error through their blind following of Rupp and lack of original investigation, and it has become a popular belief that the General and his forces spent a winter encamped somewhere in the township. There is, and was, literally nothing on which to base this supposition, except the fact that Wayne's letters were dated 'Mount

Joy,' and that fact amounts to nothing at all in the way of proof when we bear in mind that there was another Mount Joy in the vicinity of Valley Forge, at which it was very natural the gallant officer should be, and where, as a matter of fact, he was. That Wayne and his forces should have been so far from the seat of war as Lancaster county, and remain there through a whole winter, is manifestly absurd."

Author: Diffenderffer, Frank Ried, 1833-1921.

Title: General Wayne in 1777-1778 / by F. R. Diffenderffer.

Primary Material: Book

Subject(s): Wayne, Anthony, 1745-1796.
United States--History--Revolution, 1775-1783.
Pennsylvania--History--Revolution, 1775-1783.

Publisher: Lancaster, Pa. : Lancaster County Historical Society,
1898-99

Description: [185]-202 p. : ill. ; 23 cm.

Series: Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society ; v. 3,
no. 8 & (

Call Number: 974.9 L245 v.3

Location: LCHSJL -- Journal Article (reading room)

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