



"ON THE TRAIL OF WASHINGTON'S ARMY, 150 YEARS AFTER".

By Edward W. Hocker,

Running serially in the Independent Gazette, starting
July 21st 1927.

ON THE TRAIL OF WASHINGTON'S ARMY 150 YEARS AFTER

No. 1

American Army Enters Pennsylvania

He who travels today by swift motor-car over the well built highways of southeastern Pennsylvania, passing through prosperous towns and beautiful rural districts, can scarcely visualize what this region was 150 years ago, when General Washington and his little Continental army were campaigning here, striving in vain to keep the enemy out of the capital of the new and struggling nation.

That period, from the summer of 1777 until the summer of 1778, was the crisis of the nation's struggle for life. Amidst the blessings of 1927 it will be profitable to retrace the steps of the patriots of 1777.

The course begins at Coryell's Ferry, now the borough of New Hope, on the Delaware River, in Bucks County. There the army entered Pennsylvania July 30, 1777. For almost eleven months the southeastern corner of Pennsylvania was the theatre of warfare. Two battles were fought there, in both of which the Americans met defeat. Philadelphia, the capital, fell into the hands of the British, and the American army went through the trial and suffering of its winter on the hills of Valley Forge. Then on June 20, 1778, Coryell's Ferry witnessed the departure of the army from Pennsylvania. But now it was an army that had emerged from its period of trial stronger than ever, and from then on the cause of American independence made steady progress.

Already in the autumn of the preceding year, 1776, Pennsylvania was alarmed by the threatened approach of the enemy. Fleeing across New Jersey, the Americans found refuge on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, in Bucks County. Then the swift dash upon Trenton, the morning after Christmas and the capture of the Hessian regiments, relieved the tension in and around Philadelphia for the winter.

Washington's army passed the winter at Morristown, N. J., the British occupying New York and vicinity.

At times it seemed as though the little band of patriots at Morristown must dissolve. Recruits were few. Enlistments were for short terms in most instances. In March, 1777, the Amer-

ican army could muster not more than 8000 men. General Howe, the British commander, at that time had 11,000 men in the field, and more in the New York garrison.

In Philadelphia the Americans had several thousand men. They suffered severely from smallpox and other diseases during the winter. In June, 1777, John Adams wrote that in Philadelphia upwards of 2000 soldiers had died that year.

Congress fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore late in 1776, when the British were advancing across New Jersey. Not until March, 1777, did Congress venture to return to the capital.

The Militia

Meanwhile the state government had come to a realization of the necessity of making better provisions for the raising of troops. The call upon the state for militia to help Washington's army, in the fall of 1776, had proved the woeful inadequacy of the method of summoning citizen soldiers. The response was insufficient, and those who did respond were not amenable to discipline.

In revising the militia law the Assembly divided the counties into districts, each district being required to enlist from 640 to 680 men, divided into eight companies. For each county and for the city of Philadelphia a lieutenant was named to have charge of the enlistments, he having sub-lieutenants under him for the districts. These officials collected fines from enrolled members of the militia who did not turn out for drills.

The companies elected their own officers. The privates were divided into classes by lot and the several classes were to be called out in their turn, so that all able-bodied men might not be taken away from any district at one time.

Five brigadier generals were named to command the Pennsylvania militia—John Armstrong, John Cadwalader, James Potter, James Irvine and Samuel Meredith.

Enemies at Home

Measures were taken to curb those suspected of spreading doctrines inimical to the United States. All male inhabitants over 18 years of age were required to take the oath of allegiance.

A new state constitution was effective in February, 1777. The governing power rested with the Supreme Executive Council, of which Thomas Wharton, Jr., was president. It consisted of

twelve members—one from each county in the state and one from the city of Philadelphia. The Assembly continued as the lawmaking body. A board of war and a board of navy were also appointed.

Just about the time the American army entered the state Congress recommended to the Supreme Executive Council that certain prominent men whose sympathies were with Great Britain be placed under restraint. As a consequence Governor John Penn, Benjamin Chew, a former chief justice, James Allen, James Hamilton, Edward Shippen, Jared Ingersoll and others were apprehended. Penn and Chew were interned in New Jersey, while some of the others were exiled to Virginia.

Mystified by British Movement

These days toward the end of July, 1777, were fraught with concern for the American leaders because they were unable to determine what the British plans were.

On July 23 the British army, under General Howe, had sailed out of New York harbor. The great fleet had now been gone a week, and nothing had been heard of them. Fearing the destination of the expedition was Philadelphia, Washington slowly advanced south in New Jersey. Yet the British might only be executing a feint in-

tended to draw him away from New York. General Burgoyne, with an army of British and Germans, was moving south from Canada into New York, and it was natural to look for Howe's co-operation with Burgoyne.

On July 28 the Supreme Executive Council notified the county lieutenants that the British fleet of 250 vessels might be expected any day in the Delaware, for they had been seen off Cape May. The lieutenants were directed to call out "all hearty and able-bodied men," and send them to Chester in companies of forty or fifty. Each company was to bring six axes, ten shovels, the necessary blankets and all arms possible. There were no requirements as to uniform. Even in the Continental service uniforms were scarce.

The Bucks County militia was detailed to guard the fords along the Delaware.

That live stock might not fall into the possession of invaders, committees were appointed in the eastern counties to drive the cattle to safe places near the western bounds of Chester County.

Other officials were named in the different counties to impress horses and wagons for the service of the American army. The following were the requisitions sent out on July 31: Philadelphia County, John Moore and others, 400 teams; Bucks County, Henry Wynkoop, 200 teams; Chester County, Isaac Davis, 200 teams; Lancaster County, William Henry, 600 teams; Berks County, Henry Christ, 350 teams; Northampton County, Robert Trall, 250 teams. Thus it was hoped to provide 2000 conveyances.

The presence of nearly 1000 Hessian prisoners in Reading, Lancaster and York added to the concern of the people in those regions, for it was feared they might take advantage of the advance of the British to turn upon their captors. Colonel Morgan wrote from Reading to the Supreme Executive Council that the people of Reading were "very much alarmed" and felt these prisoners

should be taken west of the Susquehanna. Congress recommended to the Supreme Executive Council that additional companies of militia be detailed to guard the prisoners.

On July 31 Congress directed that the militia of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland be immediately called out; and the same day the Supreme Executive Council notified the justices of the peace to send wagons to Philadelphia to remove stores and provisions, while in Chester County—which then included the present Delaware County—the justices were notified to take account of all wheat, flour, grain and other stores within twenty miles of the Delaware River.

Army Crosses Delaware

Having now come to the conclusion that the best thing to do would be to place his army so it could readily defend Philadelphia, Washington moved across New Jersey and, with Greene's division, arrived at Coryell's Ferry the night of July 29.

The troops at once began crossing, and before morning one brigade was on the Pennsylvania side. The following day the crossing was completed.

General Stephen and two divisions crossed at Howell's Ferry, four miles north of Coryell's, while Lord Stirling's troops crossed at Trenton.

General Sullivan's division was permitted to remain behind at the winter camp at Morristown, so that it might be ready to march northward should it transpire that Philadelphia, after all, was not the object of Howe's movements.

Washington was at a loss to understand why Howe should not make some effort to help Burgoyne, who was moving southward through the forests of New York and would certainly be in grave peril if no British reinforcements came to him along the Hudson. Writing to General Gates, in Philadelphia, on July 30, Washington said: "General Howe's in a manner abandoning General Burgoyne is so unaccountable a matter that till I feel fully assured it is so I cannot help casting my eyes continually behind me."

Coryell's was regarded as the best ferry along the Delaware River north of Trenton. It was operated by members of a family whose name it bore and who also conducted an inn on the New Jersey side. On the Pennsylvania side, where the borough of New Hope now is, was the terminal of the York road, opened in 1711. It was the main highway out of Philadelphia in the direction of New York. A ferry was established here in 1719.

Preparations for Campaign

During the halt of a day or two at the ferry the troops were ordered to clean their arms and put them in good condition, and directions were also given that they should likewise clean themselves, for an abundance of water was at hand.

The orders issued to the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, dated July 30, are characteristic of those given to the troops generally. They read: "As we

now have a good opportunity for washing the dirty clothes belonging to the Regiment, the colonel expects no time will be lost in doing the same."

July 30 was Sunday, and the chaplains held service at 5 P. M. that day.

A reprimand was issued to the wagonmasters for carelessness in feeding and managing their horses, in consequence of which, the general orders

declared, "great numbers" of the animals had foundered and died. Further shortcomings of this character were to be punished by dismissal.

March Down York Road

At 6 A. M. on the 31st the army set out from Coryell's Ferry on its march down the York road in the direction of Philadelphia. Men who were incapacitated were left behind at Coryell's, a subaltern from each regiment being assigned to take charge of these men, with a field officer commanding the entire detail.

On the march a messenger met Washington at 9.30 A. M. with dispatches from Congress in Philadelphia advising him that the British fleet, to the number of 228 sail, had been seen at the Delaware capes the preceding day.

Sullivan, with his two brigades in northern New Jersey, was ordered to hasten on into Pennsylvania by way of Coryell's ferry, and word was sent to the Eastern states urging them to send troops to help oppose Burgoyne.

Washington and his aides pressed on to Philadelphia, where they arrived that night. But the army marched no farther than the neighborhood of the Little Neshaminy Creek, in Warwick Township, Bucks County, a place then called Cross Roads and now the village of Hartsville. There the troops camped for the night.

At Philadelphia Washington received the startling information that the big British fleet, which had been hovering about the Delaware capes for some days, had sailed out to sea in an eastward direction. "This surprising event gives me the greatest anxiety," he wrote to General Putnam.

Perhaps after all the venture of the British was only a feint to draw the Americans away from the New York region. General Sullivan's marching orders were at once countermanded, and he was directed to remain in northern New Jersey with his two brigades. Washington was disposed to move his entire army back to New York, as expeditiously as possible.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hoeker)

No. 2

The Camp at Falls of Schuylkill

Having ridden on into Philadelphia on July 31, 1777, while the American army remained in Warwick Township, Bucks County, Washington spent several days inspecting the fortifications along the Delaware.

Meanwhile, after a night's rest in camp, the troops were awakened by the roll of the drums at 3 A. M. on August 1. At dawn they were striking their tents, and soon they were again on the march southward along York road.

General orders issued that day directed officers and men not to go into Philadelphia without a permit, and no permits were to be issued except for business of real necessity. The arms of the guards were not to be loaded, and weapons which were loaded were to be discharged. Officers were instructed to check waste of ammunition.

In anticipation of a camp of some duration, it was directed that "no fences are to be burned on any account," and quartermasters were to provide the wood necessary for cooking. Officers were admonished to protect the inhabitants from insult and their property from plundering.

The march proceeded through Moreland, Abington and Cheltenham Townships, in what is now Montgomery County but was then part of Philadelphia County. Then that region was entirely rural, with a few hamlets clustered about cross-roads taverns, one of the best known being Jenkins' Tavern, where Jenkintown now is. Now all this region is occupied by high type country estates and attractive suburban communities—Willow Grove, Abington, Jenkintown and Elkins Park, while Oak Lane is just within the Philadelphia limits.

Marched Through Germantown
A short distance south of the present city line of Philadelphia, in the locality formerly called Branchtown, and now known as Oak Lane, the army turned west on what is now Church lane, and proceeded through Germantown, camping between Germantown and Falls of Schuylkill, on a plateau overlooking the Schuylkill River and the city of Philadelphia.

Even the trials and hardships of the campaign did not prevent at least one of the soldiers from appreciating the attractiveness of his surroundings here in the camp near Schuylkill Falls. Lieutenant McMichael, of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment, wrote in his diary, "Our encampment was very beautiful."

Here the army remained for a week, while the commander and his associates were trying to learn what General Howe and his British army were doing.

That it was a period of great uncertainty is evident from the orders issued the first day in camp, August 2. All troops were to have two days' provisions ready and be prepared to march. Tents were to be separated from other baggage, for facility in handling.

Incidents in the Camp

The journals of Timothy Pickering, adjutant general, and Lieutenant James McMichael, of the Pennsylvania line, give some details of life in the army at this period that cannot be found in the more dignified official records.

Pickering recorded that the troops were in high spirits on their march down York road.

Lieutenant McMichael made this entry of what was no doubt an agreeable diversion in the camp at Falls of Schuylkill on Sunday, August 3:

"The largest collection of young ladies I almost ever beheld came to camp. They marched in three columns. The field officers paraded the rest of the officers and detached scouting parties to prevent being surrounded by them. For my part being sent on scout, I at last sighted the ladies and gave them to know that they must repair to headquarters, upon which they accompanied me as prisoners. But on parading them at the colonel's marquee, they were dismissed after we treated them with a double bowl of sangaree."

General Peter Muhlenberg, who had been a Lutheran clergyman and whose farewell to his congregation and pulpit when he entered the army as a colonel of a regiment early in 1776 is one of the dramatic incidents of the Revolution, issued this order to his brigade of Virginians on that same Sunday:

"The Rev'd Mr. Tate will perform divine services this afternoon at 5 o'clock; the captains will see that all the men not on duty to attend and behave properly."

Washington at Colonel Hill's
Monday, August 4, Washington joined his army in the camp at Falls,

making his headquarters in the house of Henry Hill.

Mr. Hill was a rich Philadelphia wine merchant, who dwelt here upon a large estate, partly in Roxborough Township and partly in Penn Township. Mr. Hill was a leader in the community, as is evident from the fact that he was a justice of the peace, a member of the original First City Troop, a colonel of a regiment of Associators, or militia, and a member of the American Philosophical Society. In 1780 he subscribed £5000 to the Pennsylvania Bank, which was organized to procure provisions for the Continental army. He was one of the original subscribers to the Bank of North America and a director, and he also served in the State Assembly and in the State Executive Council.

A large and attractive house known as Carlton, on Midvale avenue, west of Wissahickon avenue, which Mr. Hill built in 1780, occupies the site of the house in which Washington made his headquarters. It is possible that some of the walls of the original house were incorporated in the present structure.

While camping here Washington sometimes dated his orders and correspondence "Camp Near Germantown," and sometimes "Roxborough."

Not far from the house of Colonel Hill dwelt Dr. William Smith, provost of the College of Philadelphia, which

later became the University of Pennsylvania. General Stephen had his headquarters in Dr. Smith's house.

One of the officers with the army later had his country home on this camp site. This was Colonel Walter Stewart, commander of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

The army occupied the plateau where the Queen lane filtration plant of the city of Philadelphia is now situated. A monument, consisting of a bronze tablet attached to a granite boulder, which is surrounded by cannon, was erected at Queen lane and Thirty-first street by the Pennsylvania Sons of the Revolution, in 1895, to mark the camp site.

Lafayette Views the Army

Here the youthful Lafayette saw the American army for the first time. He had met Washington several days earlier in Philadelphia and accompanied the commander on his inspection of the Delaware fortifications.

Lafayette's impressions of his first visit to the army are preserved. There were 11,000 men, he wrote, "ill armed and still worse clothed. Many of them were almost naked. They were attired in parti-colored clothes. Most of them wore hunting shirts. Some were attired in long, gray linen coats. "But," adds Lafayette, "the soldiers were fine and the officers zealous; virtue stood in place of science, and each day added to the experience and the discipline."

In the army were troops from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina; and among the officers present whose names have gained a high place in American history were Generals Greene, Knox, Lord Stirling, Maxwell, Wayne, Moylan, Muhlenberg, Weeden, Morgan and Nash.

Washington's Anxieties

A letter which General Washington wrote on August 5 from the camp at Falls of Schuylkill to his brother, Augustine Washington, conveys some idea of the perplexities to which the commander-in-chief was subjected at this time because of the mysterious maneuvers of the British fleet. After

telling of the appearance of the fleet at the Delaware capes and its subsequent disappearance on the 31st, he continued:

"We have remained here in a very irksome state of suspense; some imagining that they are gone to the southward, whilst a majority, in whose opinion on this occasion I concur, are satisfied that they have gone eastward."

"The states have been shamefully deficient in supplying troops," added Washington.

At that time evidently he did not place much hope upon French aid, for he wrote: "I have from the first been among those who have never built much upon a French war." The French, he declared, give only "underhand assistance, supplying arms in trade."

A letter to General Putnam two days later also told of Washington's perplexities. If the British fleet had returned to New York it should have arrived there by this time. He was now beginning to fear the fleet had gone farther east.

(Copyright, 1927, by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 3

The Camp at Falls of Schuylkill

All during the torrid and anxious days of the American army's camp at Falls of Schuylkill, early in August, 1777, the troops were held in constant readiness to march should news come about the British fleet.

The heavy baggage and the boats were sent forward across the Delaware in the direction of New York. The tents were to be taken in separate wagons with the army. Officers were to make arrangements not to encumber themselves with excessive baggage, leaving what they could for later removal.

The soldiers themselves were to be relieved of their heavy packs, the quartermaster general being directed to provide wagons to carry these. "But," added the orders, "these packs are not to be suffered to be loaded with useless trumpery—as from the sizes of many of them there is great reason to suppose is now the case." Officers were to inspect the packs and reject material not deemed essential. This might be rolled separately and collected by the regimental quartermasters.

Surgeons were notified to examine men unfit for field duty and if they were useful for the Philadelphia garrison they were to be sent there. Men with one leg or one arm were adjudged suitable for the Invalid Corps in Philadelphia.

Vexations of a Summer Camp

Some of these provisions for the comfort of the men on the march were prompted by the excessively hot weather that had prevailed for some time.

One consequence of the heat was that the sanitary condition of the camp became exceedingly bad. The orders of Washington and other generals make numerous allusions to this. General Greene warned that a pestilence was threatened by the carelessness of the troops. Fatigue parties were detailed to rectify conditions. A penalty of twenty lashes was to be imposed upon soldiers who continued to disregard the sanitary orders.

There is mention in the orders of the refusal of certain regiments to accept provisions delivered to them. This may also have been a consequence of

the hot weather. Officers were directed to investigate these complaints.

Another cause of perplexity to Washington was the presence of large numbers of women about the camp. In one of his orders he characterized them as "a clog upon every movement," and he recommended the brigade and corps commanders "to get rid of all such as are not absolutely necessary," the admission of more women being "positively forbidden."

Courts Martial

Meanwhile the usual army routine was pursued. The payrolls for July were made out. A general court martial sat on August 4 "near Judge Laurens' quarters, by Schuylkill Falls." A board of general officers met at the quarters of General Stephen to consider various questions. Courts martial were held at Palmer's tavern, at Falls of Schuylkill, and at Leech's tavern, Germantown.

There is also an item in Washington's accounts showing the payment on August 5 of £263, 4s, to Daniel Smith for the use of his tavern.

On August 7 Washington issued an order granting a general pardon to numerous offenders who had been convicted at courts martial.

While at this camp Generals Greene, Wayne, Knox and other officers, at the suggestion of Washington, submitted written opinions as to the best means for defending Philadelphia.

Payday in the army was sometimes accompanied by disorder. When the men of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment received their July pay, on August 7, their commander, Colonel Stewart, cautioned them against quarreling with the Virginians in the same brigade with the Pennsylvanians.

Fences Spared

It was the habit of the troops to pull down fences and to cut standing timber in order to obtain firewood. This was the cause of much annoyance to the civilian population in the vicinity of camps. On coming to the Falls the commander-in-chief warned the soldiers not to cut wood. The regimental quartermasters were ordered to issue a supply of wood necessary for fires.

The results were so satisfactory that at the next camp, in Bucks County, on August 10, Washington, in a general order, wrote thus:

"That few complaints were made for damage done to fences and other property while the troops lay at or near Germantown, has given much satisfaction to the well disposed inhabitants of that neighborhood and such a peculiar pleasure to the General that he thinks it an act of justice to express his approbation of their conduct in a general order."

It is likely that the extreme heat had something to do with the forbearance of the troops, for they were able to get along without campfires to a considerable degree.

Another evidence of Washington's consideration for those whom he was compelled to inconvenience is seen in an item in his financial accounts for August 13 showing the payment of 17s. 6d to Colonel Hill's servants for cleaning his house, which General Washington had occupied during the Falls camp. No payment for the use of the house is mentioned. Probably Colonel Hill's patriotism would not permit him to receive pay for the occupancy of the

house, though such payment was customary.

Army Reviewed

A closing feature of the camp at Falls was a "grand review" on August 8, when Washington reviewed all the troops at noon. The men were directed to have their hair dressed and powdered for the event.

Washington had now decided to move the army slowly toward Coryell's ferry, on the Delaware, for definite news about the whereabouts of the British fleet was still lacking. Furthermore the proximity of the camp to Philadelphia made it difficult to maintain discipline.

So at 4 o'clock on the afternoon of August 8 some of the troops left the camp at Falls. Instead of returning to the York road through Germantown, the march proceeded northward into Whitmarsh. Washington and the last of the troops did not leave the camp until August 9.

Vinegar and Soap Issued

At 5 P. M. on the 8th the brigade commissaries assembled at the market house in Germantown to receive a gill of vinegar for each man in their commands. Vinegar-making was an early industry in Germantown.

Another order to the commissaries required them to issue five ounces of soap for each man weekly. But when no soap was available the commissaries were cautioned not to give money in lieu; while soldiers who sold their allowance of soap were to be severely punished. "Regimental and corps officers are answerable that their men appear decent and clean," the order concluded.

On the March Again

The troops that camped in Whitmarsh the night of the 8th proceeded

leisurely into Upper Dublin, the adjoining township, and there spent the night of the 9th. Extreme heat made short marches advisable.

On the 10th they reached the York road, along which they marched northward as far as the Little Neshaminy. There on the ground where they had spent the night of July 31 the army went into camp.

Here Washington was overtaken by couriers from Philadelphia who brought word that the British fleet had been seen on August 7 off Sinepuxent Inlet, south of the Delaware capes.

Thus it was evident that the British after all had not gone toward the East. The puzzle as to Howe's destination was more complicated than ever.

So Washington resolved to remain in camp here along the Little Neshaminy, in Bucks County, until more news reached him that might guide him intelligently in making his plans.

(Copyright, 1927, by Edward W. Hoeker)

No. 4

The Camp on the Little Neshaminy

A half mile north of the village of Hartsville, on York road, in Bucks County and a little more than 100 yards from the covered bridge over Little Neshaminy Creek, stands an old two-story stone house upon which is a bronze tablet noting the fact that General Washington dwelt in this

house when the American army was hereabouts, in August, 1777.

Washington's accounts show the payment of 15, 5s to Mrs. Moland for the use of this house and the furniture in it.

Most of the troops were encamped upon the hill north of the house. Lord Stirling's division and other commands were along the Bristol road, east of Hartsville.

Immediately across the road from the headquarters was a bulletin board where orders were posted. And here was also the whipping post. Lashes upon the bare back were not infrequently ordered as punishment.

The day after the army went into camp here, August 11, a court martial was held when two Virginians were convicted of desertion and were sentenced to receive "100 lashes on the bare back well laid on." The commander in chief approved the sentence the following day and directed that it be executed immediately.

At another court martial a quartermaster of a troop of horse was found guilty of deserting and stealing a horse, and the sentence in his case, which General Washington also approved, was that he should be seated upon a horse with his face toward the animal's tail, that his coat should be turned wrong side out, and that thus he should be led around the camp and then discharged.

Another case tried in the camp involved fifteen men of Colonel Moylan's regiment of Pennsylvania Light Dragoons who were accused of mutiny and desertion. The court declared them worthy of death but recommended all for pardon. General Washington granted the pardon, which, however was coupled with a reprimand and transfer from the Dragoons to the foot service.

Two other men of the same regiment similarly accused were sentenced to receive twenty-five lashes, but General Washington remitted the penalty, though they were also transferred to the foot service.

Deserters were enlisting in other commands to obtain extra pay. On August 13 a search was ordered in Philadelphia commands and in the galleys on the Delaware for such deserters.

That discipline was far from satisfactory, may be inferred from Washington's general orders of August 21 in which he said: "The general observes with concern many sentries sitting on their posts, a practice no less dangerous than disgraceful."

One of the courts martial, that which sat on August 23, convened at "the meeting house not far from the Cross Roads."

This "meeting house" was the Presbyterian Church founded in 1710 and still standing in a picturesque dell along the Little Neshaminy, near Hartsville.

The church building was also used as a hospital for the army, and several men who died there were buried in the adjoining grounds, though their graves are not marked.

"Cross Roads" was the name used in the orders to designate the settlement now known as Hartsville. The road which here crosses York road is the dividing line between Warminster and Warwick Townships.

On August 22 the officers of General Muhlenberg's brigade were directed to meet "at the tavern at the Cross

Roads" to consider the sutler's prices for liquor.

Another source of trouble is suggested by the fact that a board of general officers sat at General Greene's headquarters to settle the rank of all Pennsylvania field officers.

There is a hint of controversy about rank in the fact that in general orders the wagon masters, who were civilian employes, were warned not to assume the titles of major, captain and the like.

Sanitary conditions were still perplexing, as had been the case at Falls of Schuylkill.

The intense heat continued until August 15, which was recorded as having been the first comfortable day that month.

Timothy Pickering, adjutant general, noted in his journal: "Such continual melting weather is unknown in New England."

The weather was such that it moved Lieutenant McMichael to attempt verse in his journal. This is what he wrote under date of August 16:

"Since we came here for to encamp,
Our mornings have been very damp.
But at noonday excessive warm,
And like to do us all great harm."

Upon arriving at the camp, August 10, General Muhlenberg directed the men of his brigade "to fix booths before their tents to shelter them from the heat."

On the 12th General Washington issued orders to the brigadier general to adopt rigid measures with regard to sanitation. Quartermasters who were negligent in this regard were to be placed under arrest. The neglect in the Falls camp, the order continued, "caused it to become a public nuisance and a public reproach, to the great discredit of the army, which is in fact not less injured in health than in reputation by such uncleanness and offensive smells."

A measure adopted in the interests of the health of the troops was to have them strike tents at 10 o'clock on the morning of the 16th, clean the site of the camp, permit the wind and the sun to help in the purification and then pitch the tents again in the afternoon.

The ensuing day, because the ground was wet, the quartermaster general was directed to distribute straw for the tents.

The health of the troops probably was also considered in the issuance the same day of "a gill of rum or other spirits" to each non-commissioned officer, soldier and wagoner.

The lack of uniforms fostered slovenliness. Colonel Walter Stewart sought to bring about greater neatness among his men of the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment. In orders dated August 15 he expressed concern "to see the regiment appear on the parade so very dirty." The captains were directed to hold each sergeant accountable for a squad of men, and no man was to appear upon parade or guard without a uniform of some kind, and he was to be close shaved, and his hands and face were to be well washed and his hair powdered. If he failed in any of these matters he was to be placed under arrest, and after the guard was relieved he was to be brought to the front of the regiment, where he was to receive twenty lashes.

Evidently the disposition to go foraging also manifested itself, for on August 13 General Washington requested General Muhlenberg "to order a guard

over Mr. Miller's oats, to consist of a sergeant and ten men."

The disappearance of a pair of silver mounted pistols with screw barrels belonging to Major Nicholas, of the Tenth Virginia Regiment, resulted in the posting of a notice that a "handsome reward" would be paid for the return of the pistols, "and no questions asked."

Here in the camp along the Little Neshaminy General Lafayette entered into active service with the army. The ardent young Frenchman, then only 20 years old, had arrived in Philadelphia in July, and offered Congress to serve with pay in the army.

Congress was then deluged with applications from foreign soldiers of fortune who sought high posts and good pay in the service of the United States. The youthful Lafayette, however, was of a different stripe from the great majority of the soldiers from across the Atlantic, and his offer was at once accepted. He paid a visit to the army in camp at Falls of Schuylkill, then remained in Philadelphia some days longer, after which he made his way out York road to the American camp in Bucks County.

From the Neshaminy camp Washington wrote on August 17 to Benjamin Franklin, in Paris, urging that he discourage foreigners from coming to America with the expectation of obtaining high rank in the army.

Two days later he wrote to Benjamin Harrison, a member of Congress, for an explanation as to Lafayette's status—whether he were to be an honorary or active major general. He probably had much hesitancy about accepting such a youth for so high a post. Lafayette had asked Washington to commission two aides de camp for him.

Harrison's reply was that Congress considered Lafayette's appointment as honorary, and Washington was not bound to give him a command but could follow his own judgment in the matter.

Lafayette was therefore assigned to duty on Washington's staff. He lived with the commander at his headquarters.

In later years Lafayette treasured a painting of this house on York road, near Hartsville, where he had joined the army. The painting remained in his family after his death, and it was exhibited in Chicago in 1893, at the World's Columbian Exposition.

Count Pulaski joined the American army about the same time.

No doubt it was the arrival of these officers that caused Washington to incorporate the following in general orders of August 13:

"Two sober honest lads who are to talk French are to be sent to headquarters this afternoon at 8 o'clock. General Muhlenberg will send one from his brigade, and General Scott another, if to be found in their brigades: One orderly sergeant from each brigade to headquarters forthwith."

(Copyright, 1927, by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 5

From Bucks County Into Delaware

The August days were passing in the American camp on the Little Neshaminy, in Bucks County, and still no word came as to what General Howe and the British army were doing. But cheering news did arrive of Stark's victory over the Hessians at Bennington, Vt.

To the north the British, with the

German auxiliary troops, under General Burgoyne, were advancing southward in New York. Some bands of Indians had attached themselves to this invading army, and their savagery was spreading terror among the frontier settlements of New York. With the special purpose of meeting this condition Washington detached a force of 500 skilled riflemen, under Colonel Morgan, from his command, and sent them to join the American army in New York opposing Burgoyne.

These men, chosen from the entire army, were assembled at Trenton, whence they set out on their long march to the upper Hudson Valley of New York. Skilled in backwoods fighting and the best marksmen of the country, Washington was confident that they would be a "counterpoise to the Indians."

Puzzled by British

Still lacking news of the destination of the long absent British fleet, a council of war was held to consider what course should be taken. The prevalent opinion was that the British were going to the South, probably to Charleston, and it would be unwise to try to follow them overland.

A movement of the army to the North was contemplated, when on August 22 word came that the British fleet, numbering more than 200 ships, had appeared in Chesapeake Bay.

Their purpose was more or less of a puzzle. If they were bound for Philadelphia, it was difficult to understand why the long round-about voyage to the Chesapeake was undertaken, involving, as it must, much suffering for the men and horses confined in the ships during those sultry summer days.

Nevertheless it was now clear that the American army must be moved southward to be in a position to defend Philadelphia, the nation's capital.

General Sullivan's division, which had remained at Hanover, N. J., was directed to join the main army, while General Francis Nash and his North Carolina brigade, together with Colonel Thomas Proctor's artillery regiment of Pennsylvania militia, which were at Trenton, were to embark on boats and sail down the Delaware to Chester.

Then, on August 23, the army broke camp on the Bucks County hills and marched down York road toward Philadelphia.

Alarm in Philadelphia

With the receipt of positive news in Philadelphia that the British fleet was sailing up Chesapeake Bay, Congress was in a turmoil of anxiety.

Now not only was the capital in danger but it was likely the enemy would also strike at the different depots of supplies in interior Pennsylvania. Stores were hastily removed from Lancaster and York to places farther distant.

One thousand Pennsylvania militia had assembled at Chester, occupying all available houses. These men came from Chester, Berks, Lancaster and Cumberland counties. They had been at Chester since August 16, and when day after day elapsed without news from the British the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania petitioned Congress that some of the militia might be dismissed as they were needed to work on their farms.

But when the British began to land their troops, more militia were ordered to Chester, the force finally numbering 1800. General John Armstrong was in command.

Some Philadelphia militia were sent to Downingtown, and troops from the

western part of the state rendezvoused in Lancaster.

Congress recommended that Pennsylvania and Delaware disarm the disaffected. As a consequence the houses of some of Philadelphia's foremost citizens, mostly Quakers, were searched for writings regarded as treasonable, and nearly a half hundred arrests were made. Some took the oath of allegiance and were released. Others were interned in Virginia until the ensuing April.

Camp at Nicetown

The main body of the Continental army, which left its camp in Bucks County, on August 23, marched down York road into Philadelphia County, and camped that night below Germantown, at Nicetown, Washington spending the night at Stenton, the country-seat which James Logan, secretary to William Penn, had built early that century. Stenton, which still stands, near Wayne Junction, is one of the notable colonial houses of Pennsylvania. The property now constitutes a city park.

While at Stenton Washington arranged to have the army parade through Philadelphia the next day—Sunday—to allay the fears of the patriotic inhabitants and to overawe the Tories. He issued detailed instructions about the march in order to make the best display possible under the circumstances.

All baggage was sent around the city, while every man that could be mustered was required to join the procession down Front street and out Chestnut street to the Schuylkill River. Any private who left the ranks was to receive thirty-nine lashes, and the order added:

"The drums and fifes of each brigade are to be collected in the center of it and a time for the quickstep played, but with such moderation that the men may step to it with ease, without dancing along or totally disregarding the music, which has been too often the case."

March Through Philadelphia

At 4 o'clock the next morning the army left Nicetown, and a few hours later passed through the city.

Amidst the bewildering variety of accoutrement displayed, an effort was made to maintain uniformity in at least one particular namely, that every man wore a sprig of green in his hat.

Washington, accompanied by Lafayette, rode at the head of the line, and then followed the divisions of Greene, Stephen, Lincoln and Lord Stirling, about 10,000 men in all.

Crossing the Schuylkill, the army marched down Darby road, through Chester, and crossed the state line into Delaware, encamping on the hills about Wilmington.

There Washington made preparations to endeavor to halt the advance of the British army, which had landed from the vessels at the head of Chesapeake Bay, in Maryland. Head of Elk was the name given to the region at that time. In later years it has been called Elkton.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

The Army in Delaware

While the American army was marching to Wilmington, Del., late in August, 1777, the British were debarking 17,000 troops from the ships in which they had been cooped since the middle of July. Notwithstanding the heat endured on the crowded vessels and the shortage of water, which made it necessary to throw some horses overboard as they sailed northward in Chesapeake Bay, General Howe, on landing, wrote that his men were "surprisingly healthy."

General Howe, commanding the British land forces, and his brother, Lord Howe, commanding the fleet, had concluded to approach Philadelphia from Chesapeake Bay rather than from Delaware Bay and river because they were led to believe that the obstructions which the Americans had placed in the river would interfere seriously with their progress up the Delaware. Hence their long detour to Chesapeake Bay had been the cause of the protracted uncertainty to which the American leaders were subjected.

The British landed at Turkey Point, on Elk River, Md. General Howe at once published a "declaration" offering a pardon to "rebels" who should return to the British allegiance and promising protection to the people who remained in their abodes.

The American army encamped on the high land southwest of Wilmington, in the neighborhood of Red Clay Creek and as far as Newport. There were about 11,000 men in camp.

Washington made his headquarters in a house on Quaker Hill, in Wilmington, the hill being so named because of an old Quaker meeting house standing there. The headquarters house was removed long ago, but the site is marked by a bronze tablet attached to a dwelling on West street, between Third and Fourth.

Washington's account books note the payment on August 27 of \$63, 12s to George Forsyth, of Wilmington, for lodging.

Assembling the Militia

Caesar Rodney had been assembling the Delaware militia near the Head of Elk, and he had a force of about 400. They pressed into service all the teams available and carried away most of the provisions and food supplies, so that little fell into the hands of the British.

Caesar Rodney was the great patriotic leader of Delaware's people. His ride from Dover to Philadelphia, in July, 1776, to cast the deciding vote in the Continental Congress for the Declaration of Independence, rivaled the ride of Paul Revere as a stirring and momentous episode of American history. Delaware has memorialized Rodney with a fine equestrian statue in Wilmington.

Washington directed the Delaware militia, in conjunction with the militia of Maryland, to harass the enemy whenever possible, disable mills, withdraw vehicles and pick off stragglers. They were also asked to provide thirty or forty guides for the army.

The Pennsylvania militia, to the number of 3000, from Chester and Lancaster Counties, also joined the army, under command of General Armstrong.

To endeavor by personal observation to learn the enemy's strength and intentions. Washington, on August 26

and 27, made a daring reconnoissance. In the company of Generals Greene, Weedon and Lafayette, he rode across Delaware, until he was within sight of the British lines. That night the four officers spent in a farm house two miles from the enemy.

The Stars and Stripes in Battle

Barricading occurred in the neighborhood of Newport, Iron Hill and Red Clay Creek, and some prisoners were taken.

A conflict at Cooch's Bridge, Del., on September 3, has attained some prominence in history because of the claims made that there the Stars and Stripes were first carried in battle. A monument has been erected at Cooch's Bridge declaring such to have been the fact.

However, this assertion has been disputed. One contention is that the Stars and Stripes, approved by Congress on June 14, 1777, were first flown over Fort Stanwix, N. Y., on August 3 of that year. Other historians say the flag was not carried in battle until the battle of Brandywine was fought, on September 11. A late investigator has repudiated all three of these versions and insists there is no evidence that Revolutionary soldiers carried the officially approved emblem before 1781.

The conflict at Cooch's Bridge, or Iron Hill, resulted when 1700 Americans sought to bar the British advance. But the enemy appeared in such force that the Americans had to retire, losing forty killed and wounded. The British burned Cooch's mill.

Washington at this time organized a corps of light troops, consisting of 100 from each brigade, who, by their rapid movements, were expected to harass the enemy.

Troublesome Problems in the Army

Washington sought in vain to compel the commissaries to provide the troops with hard bread. He reprimanded them for giving the soldiers flour, with which they had to make their own bread. This was found to be wasteful and also injurious to the health of the men, for the kind of bread most of them made was hardly digestible. But after a few days the commander found it expedient to announce in general orders that it was impracticable to provide hard bread.

The general orders also allude with regret to charges that American soldiers had plundered residents of the neighborhood, even though they were allied with the American cause.

On September 5 sutlers were warned not to encourage drinking by the soldiers, and regimental commanders were directed to punish those who drank to excess. "Many soldiers," the general orders read, "make a practice of getting drunk regularly once a day."

Meanwhile the German auxiliary troops with the British army busied themselves gathering up cattle and horses. On September 3 Lieutenant General Knyphausen's reports showed he had collected 509 head of horned cattle, 1000 sheep and 1000 horses, but he found less than half the horses fit for work.

Into Pennsylvania Again

For two weeks the opposing armies lay within eight or ten miles of each other. Seeing that he was not favorably stationed to endeavor to intercept Howe's progress toward Philadelphia, Washington, on September 9, moved his forces northward, across the Penn-

sylvania line, taking post south of the Brandywine Creek at Chadd's Ford.

This ford was one of the main highways toward Philadelphia, and by controlling it Washington hoped to prevent the progress of the foe toward the capital.

In the house of Benjamin Ring, on the Baltimore road east of Chadd's Ford, Washington established his headquarters. The house still stands, and has long been a privately conducted museum, which many tourists visit.

Benjamin Ring waited five months for compensation for the occupancy of his house. February 7, 1778, while the American army was at Valley Forge, there is an entry in Washington's accounts of the payment of £22, 10s to Benjamin Ring, of Brandywine.

Here on the banks of the Brandywine on September 11 was fought the battle which decided the fate of Philadelphia.

Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 7

The Battle of the Brandywine

Immediately following the American army's change of position in September, 1777, from Delaware into Pennsylvania, at Chadd's Ford, on Brandywine Creek, the British also moved northward, across the Pennsylvania line, and took post near Kennett Square.

On the 11th a force of 4000 or 5000 German troops, under General Knyphausen, attacked the Americans at the ford. Supposing that here the issue of the day would be decided, Washington massed his troops to prevent the crossing of the Brandywine by the enemy.

But the British attack was merely a feint. While it was in progress Lord Cornwallis, with a large part of the British army, made a wide detour westward and northward for the purpose of crossing the Brandywine and gaining the rear of the American army.

There were numerous fords along the stream, and American militia detachments were detailed to guard several of these fords north of Chadd's ford.

Cornwallis' forces continued northward, past the point where the Brandywine divides into two forks. They found Trimble's ford, on the West Branch, unguarded. Here they crossed and continued on to Jefferis' ford, on the other branch of the Brandywine, two miles west of the present borough of West Chester. Here also they encountered no opposition in crossing.

Not until Cornwallis had gained the left bank of the Brandywine was he discovered by anyone sufficiently interested in the American cause to make an effort to warn Washington of the peril.

Thomas Cheney, a justice of the peace, rode at breakneck speed across country and brought Washington news of the plan to entrap him and his army.

All the while the battle had continued at Chadd's ford and apparently the Americans were successful in preventing the effort of Knyphausen's forces to cross.

The Fight at the Meeting House

Washington now hastily dispatched reinforcements northward toward Birmingham Friends' Meeting house. Cornwallis, from Osborne's Hill, south of West Chester, saw the Americans

hastily forming to give him battle. Looking through his field glasses he is said to have remarked: "How well those rebels form!"

Soon the battle raged about the old meeting house of the Quakers, one of whose principal tenets is abhorrence of war. But the Americans could do little more than prevent the defeat from developing into a rout.

Between the meeting house and Dillworthtown the Virginia brigades of General Muhlenberg and General Weedon held back the British advance long enough to permit the main body of the Americans to escape. At one time Muhlenberg's brigade alone opposed all of Cornwallis' army. The former parson led his men in desperate hand-to-hand bayonet fighting and was so close to the British lines that he was readily recognized by his antagonists.

Lafayette, serving as a volunteer, was shot in the leg while endeavoring to rally the Americans, and Count Pulaski evinced his capacity as a leader by the brilliant work of his 300 cavalymen. A terracotta monument marks the place where Lafayette fell, and a tall shaft in his memory stands at the burial ground adjoining the meeting house.

Eleven thousand Americans were engaged in the battle, while the British force numbered 15,000. The Americans lost about 1000 in killed, wounded and prisoners, while the British loss was given as 578.

The Legend of Lord Percy

One of the numerous picturesque but unverified legends of the American Revolution is that which tells about Lord Percy's participation in the battle of the Brandywine.

The story goes that as he came upon the field with the British army he declared he had seen this spot in a dream and knew he would meet his death there. He was killed in the battle, the legend continues. And there are neighborhood traditions which identify the place of his burial.

Yet those who seek dispassionately to separate myth from truth in American history declare there is no evidence that any Lord Percy fought with the British at Brandywine. The records of the British war office contain no such name among the British officers of Howe's army. The death of so conspicuous a nobleman undoubtedly would have been officially reported. Yet there is no such report. Furthermore the Lord Percy of that period died in 1817 and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

Some investigators have been willing to grant that perhaps one of the numerous illegitimate children of an Earl Percy fought in the battle.

Markers and Memorials

The old meeting house about which the battle waged still stands. Within its walls many of the wounded found refuge.

Bronze tablets mark the notable sites of the battlefield, having been placed there by the Chester County Historical Society and the Pennsylvania Historical Commission. Numerous efforts have been made to convert the battlefield into a state park and thus assure its preservation, but so far these endeavors have been in vain.

The British remained in possession of the field the night of the 11th, while the American army retreated toward the Delaware.

From Chester late that night Washington transmitted his report of the battle to Congress.

After the Battle

Large numbers of the American wounded fell into the hands of the British. The efforts of their surgeons

were taxed to take care of their own wounded, so General Howe permitted Washington to send Dr. Benjamin Rush, physician general, and a number of other American surgeons within the British lines to attend to the wounded American soldiers.

The night after the battle General Howe sent a detachment of British into Wilmington. John McKinley, president of Delaware, was taken prisoner at midnight in his home, and a sloop was filled with loot seized in the town. The following day a large detachment of British troops occupied Wilmington, many of their men wounded at Brandywine being brought there. Two British men of war took position before the city.

At Trappe, in the Perkiomen Valley, nearly twenty-five miles from the battlefield, dwelt the father of General Peter Muhlenberg, the Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the famous Lutheran pioneer. On September 11 he wrote in his diary that he had "heard hard and long continued cannonading." The following day, learning of the defeat of the American army and the likelihood of British invasion, he closed his record thus:

"Now, Pennsylvania, bend the neck and supplicate the Lord thy God."

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 8

Consequences of the Brandywine Battle

After the defeat at Brandywine, September 11, 1777, the American army moved in the direction of Chester, spending the night near that place.

Washington and his staff arrived in Chester at 11 o'clock that night. They went to a tavern, where Adjutant General Timothy Pickering wrote the dispatch to Congress recounting the events of the day. After some emendations of an optimistic character by Washington, the missive was forwarded.

Just where this dispatch was written has been a matter of some controversy. A tablet on the Washington House, in Chester, declared that here Washington stopped that night and wrote the message. However, Pickering wrote that they made their stop at Withy's tavern, and on a visit to Chester, about 1807, he identified this tavern, known as the Columbia Hotel. It was not the place known in later years as the Washington House. The Columbia Hotel was removed about a half century ago.

Ashmead's History of Delaware County says that after sending the dispatch to Congress Washington spent the night at the house of John McIlvain, in the present village of Lelperville.

Again in Camp at Falls of Schuylkill!

On the 12th the army marched to Darby and then crossed the Schuylkill on the one bridge at Philadelphia, continuing the march to the former campground near Falls of Schuylkill, on the present Queen Lane reservoir site.

Meanwhile alarm and anxiety spread throughout Philadelphia and the adjacent country.

On the day of the battle at Brandywine the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania ordered all stores closed in Philadelphia, and every man capable of bearing arms was directed to report for duty at 2 P. M.

More militia were ordered out in Pennsylvania.

The battalions of Colonels Heister, Corsey, Antes and Dean were to ren-

devious at Swedes ford, where Norristown now is. This was one of the principal fords on the Schuylkill, and it was expected that the British would seek to cross there in their endeavor to take Philadelphia.

Redoubts were thrown up at the

ford, and Colonel Bradford was asked to send two or more twelve-pounders to this "important pass."

Every able-bodied man in Berks County was notified to turn out. Those who had no arms were to bring axes, spades and entrenching tools. Three battalions from this county were ordered to join the force at Swedes ford, and two other battalions were to march to Philadelphia.

The fourth and fifth classes of the Bucks County militia and the fifth and sixth classes of the Philadelphia city militia were all summoned for service, as well as additional classes from York, Lancaster, Northumberland and Chester counties.

Boats in the Schuylkill were hauled on land. The money and papers in the public loan office and the books of the State Library were taken to Easton.

Liberty Bell Removed

On Sunday, September 14, Colonel Flower was directed to employ carpenters and take down the bells of all public buildings in the city.

On the 18th the Liberty bell and the chimes of Christ Church were loaded upon farmers' wagons and conveyed out through Germantown and Chestnut Hill and thence over the Bethlehem road to Allentown, arriving there on September 24.

In Allentown the bells were concealed in the cellar of Zion Reformed Church, where they remained in safety until the following year.

Meanwhile such of the wounded of the American army as could be moved were taken in wagons to Ephrata, Lancaster County, or to Bethlehem, on the Lehigh River. In both of these places were great community buildings which were adapted for hospital purposes.

Ephrata was the home of the celibate Seventh-day Brethren, who had built large wooden community houses which still stand, though the community was discontinued long ago.

The Wounded in Bethlehem

In Bethlehem the Moravians had their chief settlement, and there, too, were large structures used for schools and for the homes of the different groups of members.

To Bethlehem General Lafayette was taken, to recover from the effects of his wound, under the ministrations of the Moravians.

The journals of the Moravians tell of the bringing of the wounded to Bethlehem. The Moravians protested against the occupancy of their buildings, but they were told that they must accommodate themselves to meet the situation.

Already on September 7 a group of British prisoners were transferred from Reading to Bethlehem.

On the 16th thirty-six wagons arrived with American stores that had been moved from French Creek, Chester County, upon the approach of the British.

The following day came thirty-eight more wagons carrying sick and wounded soldiers. More wagons with similar burdens arrived every day for some time.

The Moravians vacated their Single Brothers' House, the men resident there taking up their abode in the

Moravian communities at Nazareth and elsewhere. The house then became the main military hospital. Some of the wounded were also placed in the Sun Tavern.

Lafayette arrived on Sunday, the 21st. In the interval since the battle, on the 11th, he had been in Bristol, in Bucks County. General William Woodford accompanied Lafayette to Bethlehem. Quarters were found for Lafayette in a private house, and he remained there for a month.

Hospital at Ephrata

Peter Miller, known as Father Jabez, was the prior of the Ephrata community in 1777. He was the successor of Conrad Bessel, the founder, under whose leadership the brotherhood had prospered for many years. Miller was one of the learned men of his day, the friend of Thomas Jefferson and a member of the American Philosophical Society. At Jefferson's request, it is said, Miller translated the Declaration of Independence into all the European languages.

Tradition says about 200 men wounded at Brandywine died at the Ephrata cloister. Camp fever broke out in the hospital, as it did in most of the other military hospitals of that time, and it created great havoc. Dr. Harrison, one of the surgeons, died of the fever.

The hospital was continued until the spring of 1778, when 300 survivors left to return to the army.

The dead soldiers were buried in the cemetery on Mount Zion, the name which the brethren had given to a hill on their grounds. For years the only marker at the graves was a board with an inscription in German telling that the remains of many soldiers rested there.

In 1843 residents of Ephrata formed an organization to place a memorial at the graves of the Revolutionary soldiers. The cornerstone of a monument was laid September 11, 1845, Governor Francis R. Shunk making an address in English and German.

Two persons were present who had personal recollections of the hospital at the cloister in 1777. One was Miss Hannah Scott, of New Brunswick, N. J., daughter of a surgeon at the hospital. She was 12 years old when she spent the winter of 1777-8 with her family at Ephrata. Another in the assemblage was Jacob Angus, then 80 years old, who was a resident of the cloister in 1777 and remembered the bringing of the wounded to Ephrata in army ambulances and wagons with shelves on each side.

More than a half century elapsed before the Ephrata monument was completed. The monument association maintained its organization, but not until the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1901 appropriated \$5000 for the monument was it possible to complete the work begun in 1845.

A granite obelisk thirty-nine feet high was reared on Mount Zion, and it was dedicated on May 1, 1902, addresses being delivered by Governor William A. Stone, former Governor Robert E. Pattison, H. A. Stober and General John E. Roller.

Preparing for Another Battle

Back at its old campground at Falls of Schuylkill, following the battle of the Brandywine, the American army spent Sunday, September 14, in cleaning arms and equipment. Ammunition was issued to provide forty rounds for every man. It was realized another battle would probably have to be fought for the defence of Philadelphia.

On this day Washington in general

orders thanked the army for its valor at Brandywine.

Furthermore Congress showed its appreciation by presenting the army with thirty hogshead of rum. Washington directed that each officer and man should receive one gill daily as long as the supply lasted.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)
No. 9

The Paoli "Massacre"

After two days' rest in the camp at Falls of Schuylkill, the army, on September 15, 1777, marched up along the south bank of the Schuylkill River as far as Matson's ford, where Conshohocken now is. There the troops crossed, the water being up to their waists.

They marched southwestward to the junction of the Swedesford road with the old Lancaster road, at Warren Tavern, north of where the town of Malvern now is.

Here Washington hoped to interpose his force between the British and Philadelphia, and preparations were made for battle.

Rain Prevents a Battle

The British army remained in the neighborhood of the Brandywine field after the battle, but on the 16th the main body of the British, under General Cornwallis, marched northward by way of the Turks Head Tavern, now West Chester, and Goshen Meeting House, toward the Lancaster road.

Here, between the Warren and White Horse taverns, northwest of the present town of Malvern, on the afternoon of the 16th some fighting occurred between detachments of the two armies. Nine Americans were killed, a captain was wounded and a cannon and thirteen prisoners fell into the hands of the British.

A severe rainstorm swept over the two armies and dampened the ammunition of the Americans so that they were compelled to leave the field, moving to Yellow Springs.

Yellow Springs, now known as Chester Springs, was a popular resort for "taking the waters" in early days, certain springs in that locality being highly esteemed for their medicinal value.

Here the troops arrived at 10 P. M. amidst a beating rain. No tents were at hand, for the wagons with the tents and baggage had been detached from the army when a battle seemed imminent, and they had not accompanied the troops on their march to Yellow Springs.

An unusual thing about the rainstorm of September 16 is that it received mention in Washington's financial accounts. An entry for that day tells that Washington paid "Mr. Malin" \$7.10s "for the use of his house and trouble (rainy day)."

Once more Washington's consideration for those he was compelled to inconvenience is indicated. The sum paid was more than the amount usually given for one day's occupancy of the house, but no doubt Washington realized what the women of the household thought of the way he and his staff "tracked up" the interior with their muddy boots.

At French Creek

The next day, the 17th, the army continued its march eight miles farther west, to Warwick Furnace, on French Creek, a depot of supplies, in the Welsh Mountain region and within a few miles of the Lancaster County border.

There cannon and ammunition had been manufactured, under the direction of Peter DeHaven, and powder and other supplies were stored there. With the landing of the British it was feared the depot was in danger. Suspicions that the Tories of the vicinity might make an attack led to an appeal to the Supreme Executive Council for a military guard early in September.

The troops were greatly fatigued on their arrival at Warwick Furnace, flooded creeks adding to the hardships of the march.

The lack of clothing had become disturbing. On the 15th, while at Buck Tavern, Washington had appealed to the Supreme Executive Council of the state for blankets. But the Council replied that it had no authority to seize blankets, whereas the general did have such power, and, anyway, scarcely any blankets remained in Philadelphia. The Council suggested that it would probably be easier to locate blankets in Chester County than in Philadelphia.

The British also suffered many inconveniences because of the heavy rains and the deep mud and flooded creeks. There were few houses or barns in which the soldiers could seek shelter. Many of them suffered from fever and ague.

Night Attack on Wayne's Force

From the American camp on French Creek General Anthony Wayne was detached on September 17, with 1500 men, to go back to the neighborhood where a battle had narrowly been averted and cling close to the enemy, harassing them in any way possible and endeavoring to cut off their baggage trains. The purpose was to retard the progress of the British to the Schuylkill while the Americans were recouping their energies.

The following day the British moved eastward on the Swedesford road into Tredyffrin Township, Chester County, camping in the neighborhood of Howellville and Centerville.

Wayne meanwhile had established his camp four miles to the west, close to the present borough of Malvern. He endeavored to keep his position a secret from the enemy, but the British

soon learned where he was, being informed, it is said, by residents of the neighborhood.

Here Wayne was in a country with which he was familiar, for his home was but three miles to the southeast. The house still stands, on Sugartown road, near Paoli. Seven generations of the Wayne family have dwelt within its substantial stone walls.

Wayne thought the time propitious for a general attack upon the British and wrote to Washington urging such an undertaking.

Information that the British contemplated an attack upon him reached Wayne. The night of the 20th his men lept upon their arms, and the camp was prepared for defence. Notwithstanding this, a British detachment, under General Gray, suddenly overwhelmed the Americans, and amidst the darkness and confusion Wayne's force suffered severely.

General Gray had with him two regiments of infantry, two troops of dragoons and a battalion of light infantry. It is said the flints were previously removed from the muskets of the soldiers so they would be under the necessity of making a silent attack with the bayonet and the saber.

Little effectual defence could be offered, but Wayne managed to rally the greater part of his force and retreat to

the White Horse tavern, on Lancaster road, losing eight wagonloads of his baggage and a quantity of arms and munitions.

In the conflict 150 Americans were killed and wounded. The British loss was reported as eight killed.

Farmers of the neighborhood the following day buried the bodies of fifty-three of Wayne's men found lying about their campground.

The Paoli Memorials

Because of the nature of the attack and the savage use of the bayonet, together with the allegations that wounded men were ruthlessly slain, the affair was termed the Paoli Massacre.

Paoli was then the nearest village, three miles away. Malvern has since come into existence in the immediate vicinity of the scene of the conflict.

Two monuments now mark the scene, and the ground, comprising twenty-three acres, is public property. It was set apart in 1817 as a parade ground for the military organizations of Chester County; but after the reorganization of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, in the seventies, it was no longer required for such purposes, and finally, in 1904, the Chester County court gave the Paoli Memorial Association custody of the grounds.

In 1817 the Republican Artillerists of Chester County erected a monument to mark the place where the victims of the conflict were buried. This is one of the oldest monuments of the Revolutionary War. In the course of years it was badly defaced by visitors, who shipped off pieces of the stone as souvenirs. Now relic-seekers are kept at a distance by an iron fence.

Alongside the memorial are two cannon which were recovered from French Creek at Warwick Furnace, in 1856. These weapons were cast at the time of the Revolution and were sunk in the Creek upon the approach of the British.

A second monument on the Paoli ground, much larger than the first, was erected in 1877 at the time of the centennial observance. At that time Wayne MacVeagh was the orator, and Governor John F. Hartranft participated in the celebration.

Maintenance of the grounds has been made possible by an appropriation of \$10,000 from the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1905, and another appropriation of \$15,000 in 1919.

For many years there was an annual commemoration of "Paoli Day" on the grounds.

Colonel Humpton, an officer in Wayne's detachment, lodged charges against Wayne that he had failed to adopt adequate precautions against a surprise. A court martial was held some weeks later, when the matter was fully reviewed, with the result that a complete vindication was accorded to General Wayne.

Retreating from the scene of the attack, Wayne rejoined the main body of the army, which had crossed the Schuylkill River at Parker's ford, on September 19, entering into what was then Philadelphia but is now Montgomery County.

Washington feared the British had designs upon the American stores at Reading, and he endeavored to take post where he would be able to move either toward Reading or Philadelphia, as occasion warranted.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

The British Enter Philadelphia

After the American forces, under General Washington, had crossed from the south to the north bank of the Schuylkill at Parker's ford, September 19, 1777, they marched to the Ridge road, the main highway from Philadelphia to Reading. Along this road they camped from Trappe southward as far as the neighborhood of the village of Evansburg, south of Perkiomen Creek.

Washington's thought apparently was to try to guard the fords along the river as far as Swedes' ford, now Norristown, where Pennsylvania militia was stationed.

On the 21st Washington was at the house of James Vaux, near the Schuylkill at Fatland ford, observing the movements of the foe, on the south side of the river.

There is a tradition that Washington spent the night there, and that General Howe was a guest at the same house the following night. Sometimes the story is modified to limit the stay of the two officers to a single mealtime.

The only entry of payments in Washington's account books about this time is for September 19, when the commander breakfasted at Mrs. Kennedy's, at Fatland ford, and paid her £3, 10s for "sundries and trouble caused."

Dr. Muhlenberg's Diary

At Trappe, or Providence, as the township was named, lived the Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, the famous pioneer minister of the Lutheran church, whose church still stands as one of the notable religious landmarks of America. During nearly all his life in America Dr. Muhlenberg kept a journal. The original manuscripts are now in the Krauth Memorial Library, at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mount Airy, Philadelphia.

Dr. Muhlenberg's entries at the period when both armies were in the neighborhood of his home and it seemed that a battle might be fought at Trappe are interesting and illuminating.

The wife and child of his son Peter, who had vacated his pulpit in Virginia to become an officer under Washington, were then living with Dr. Muhlenberg.

On September 12 wagons conveying the Philadelphia Quakers suspected of disloyalty to Virginia passed through Trappe.

Several hundred baggage wagons of the army encamped near Trappe on the 15th. They had been sent thither when a conflict seemed imminent between the two armies in Chester County. The firing which was expected to open that battle was heard at the Muhlenberg home, and the journal mentions the heavy rains of the 15th, 16th and 17th.

On the 19th the Americans, after crossing the Schuylkill, appeared at Trappe, Dr. Muhlenberg making this entry in his journal:

"We had news that the British troops on the other side of the Schuylkill had marched down toward Providence, and with a telescope we could see their camp. In consequence of this the American army, four miles from us, ordered the Schuylkill breast high and came upon the Philadelphia road at Augustus Church.

"His Excellency, General Washington, was with the troops in person, who marched past here to the Perkiomen.

"The procession lasted the whole night, and we had numerous visits from officers, wet breast high, who had to march in this condition the whole night, cold and damp as it was, and to

10
bear hunger and thirst at the same time. This robs them of courage and health, and instead of prayers from many we hear the dreadful national evil, curses."

On the 20th the women of the Muhlenberg family baked bread twice and distributed it and other food among the sick and feeble in the army. Fugitives from Philadelphia also claimed the hospitality of the minister.

Dr. Muhlenberg and his family were urged to flee as it was expected that the vicinity of their home would become the scene of a battle. Henry E. Muhlenberg, a son, with his wife and child, who were staying at Trappe, did conclude to continue their journey some miles farther, to New Harover. Dr. Muhlenberg wanted his sickly wife to accompany the son's family, "but she was not to be persuaded," says the journal, "but would rather live, suffer and die with me in Providence."

The British Cross the Schuylkill

Some of the Pennsylvania militia were quartered in the neighborhood of Trappe during this period, but on September 22 the main body of the army moved westward and went into camp on the hills northeast of the present borough of Pottstown, in New Harover, Frederick and Pottsgrove Townships. The same day the sick were sent on to Reading.

Thus the way was left open for the British to cross the Schuylkill to the north side and march toward Philadelphia, which they promptly did.

Washington's move westward seems to have been prompted by the fear that the British would try to take Reading, where the Americans had large stores. When part of the British army advanced westward on the south bank of the Schuylkill as far as Phoenixville, this tended to confirm Washington's fears.

There was considerable sickness from fever and ague among the British, following the long continued rains.

While they were still in Chester County, south of the Schuylkill, the British made raids on the American powder mills, at French Creek, which were burned, and on the American stores at Valley Forge, where they seized 3800 barrels of flour, soap and candles, twenty-five barrels of horse-shoes, several thousand tomahawks, kettles, entrenching tools and twenty hogshhead of rum.

The mention of the tomahawks recalls that some Indians were with the American forces, though there is also evidence that certain battalions of riflemen carried tomahawks.

The forge which gave the name to the region along Valley Creek, destined a few months later to assume a prominent place in American history, was burned by the raiders. The American guards fled in haste over the Schuylkill when the British appeared.

A party which Lord Cornwallis sent out in search of horses confiscated 150 round about Newtown Square. Cattle were also sought, but the reports were that few were found, they having evidently been driven off by the farmers upon the approach of the army.

On September 22 and 23 the British army crossed the Schuylkill to the north side at Gordon's ford, now Phoenixville, and Fatland Ford, at Valley Forge.

Upon fording the river the British army was halted for an hour to permit the men to dry their clothes.

Then the march was resumed, and at 3 P. M. on the 23d the army went into camp along Ridge road at Norrrington, now Norristown. The camp stretched for two and a quarter miles along the

high road, extending to within a half mile of Swedes' ford, at the lower end of the present borough of Norristown.

The American militia abandoned their entrenchments at Swedes' ford, and two of their eighteen-pound cannon fell into the hands of the British. The cannon were not even spiked, indicating the precipitous flight of the militia.

Here the British also captured four wagohs containing ammunition and liquor intended for the American army.

On the march to Norrrington General Howe's men set fire to the tavern of Colonel Archibald Thompson, west of Norrrington, where the village of Jeffersonville now is. Colonel Thompson was an American militia officer.

The home of another militia officer, Colonel John Bull, at Norrrington, became General Howe's headquarters.

Captain Montresor, of the British army, wrote in his diary on September 24: "The Township of Norrrington is very rebellious. All the manufactures about this country seem to consists of powder, ball, shot and canñon, fire arms and swords."

The Foe in Germantown

On the 25th the British marched in two columns toward Philadelphia by way of Germantown road, entering Germantown at 11 A. M.

The following day Lord Cornwallis, with two battalions of British troops, the Hessian Grenadiers, dragoons and artillery, took possession of the city of Philadelphia.

Congress, realizing that the enemy would take the capital, adjourned on September 18, to meet at Lancaster on the 27th. From Lancaster Congress moved to York, Pa., where its sessions were continued during the time of the British occupancy of Philadelphia.

American Army at Pottsgrove

The American army remained at Camp Pottsgrove, on the hills near Pottstown, from September 22 to 26. Where Washington had his headquarters during that time is not altogether certain. Sometime it is said he was at the house of Colonel Thomas Potts, a militia commander, which house in recent times has been the Mill Park Hotel. But it has also been asserted that the commander stayed with the family of Colonel Frederick Antes, another militia commander, in Frederick Township.

Washington's accounts show the payment of £5, 10s on September 26 to "William Antin," which may mean William Antes.

Lack of shoes and clothing was seriously felt in the army, foreshadowing the dire suffering of the ensuing winter. On the 22nd Washington sent his aid, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, to Philadelphia to "procure from the inhabitants contributions of blankets and clothing materials to answer the purpose of both."

Pennsylvania's Indifference

Washington apparently was in a mood of dejection about this time, for, following the reverses at Brandywine and Paoli, the enemy had captured the capital of the new nation. It was on the 23d that Washington wrote the often quoted letter in which he accused the inhabitants of this part of Pennsylvania of being disaffected "to a man."

The letter was dated "At Camp Pottsgrove," and was addressed to the President of Congress. It explained that Howe's army had made the passage of the Schuylkill and had entered Philadelphia without opposition from the Americans because Washington could not obtain the least intelligence

about the movements of the foe from the people living in the region.

Evidence that the commander in chief was not unduly pessimistic may be found in a letter which Timothy Pickering, adjutant general of the American army, wrote at Camp Pottsgrove on September 25. He addressed his brother in these words:

"Here we are in fact in an enemy's country. I am told upwards of 65,000 men are enrolled in the militia of Pennsylvania. Yet we have not 2000 in the field, and these are of little worth and constantly deserting."

He said militia were arriving from Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey, but added that "no militia can be more contemptible than those of Pennsylvania and Delaware."

Pickering was amazed that the people of Pennsylvania did not rise to block Howe's march. Such indifference to the presence of an enemy could not have occurred in New England, he declared, adding: "I rejoice that I can call that my country."

Furthermore, he charged that the people of Pennsylvania were extortioners, refused to accept the paper money of the nation and would not even supply the wounded with provisions except for coin. As a consequence the surgeons had to carry supplies of provisions from the army to the wounded.

Nevertheless the American commander and his officers had not abandoned the thought of making another attack upon the British, even though the foe was in possession of Philadelphia.

No. 11

The Battle of Germantown

From its Pottsgrove camp the American army on September 26 was moved several miles eastward, going into camp on both sides of Perkiomen Creek in the region where the borough of Schwenksville now is. This was the upper terminus of the Skippack road, which afforded a direct approach to Germantown, where the British army was then in camp.

Some 7000 Continental troops arrived at the Perkiomen by 4 P. M. The militia, numbering perhaps 2000, remained at Trappe, on the main road from Philadelphia to Reading, north of Perkiomen Creek.

An old chronicler relates, regarding the camp at Schwenksville, that before night all the fences had been pulled down and used for firewood, the farmers' hay and straw disappeared and their fowls were seized, all but a few old hens, too tough to eat.

The region was then known as Pennypacker's Mills, because of a flour mill and a fulling mill operated there by members of the Pennypacker family.

Former Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker had his home in the old Pennypacker house during the later years of his life. He held that the house was General Washington's headquarters at the time of the encampment. Other historians have said that Washington lived at the house of Henry Keely, on the hills a mile west of Perkiomen Creek. That house no longer stands.

On the 28th the army at Pennypacker's Mill received the news of the defeat of Burgoyne's British and Hessian forces at Stillwater, in New York, by the Americans under General Gates.

It was a Sunday, and Washington, in announcing the good news, ordered that at parade at 4 P. M. a gill of rum

be served to each man in celebration of the victory and a salute of eighteen pieces of artillery be fired.

The same day there was a council of war to discuss the advisability of attacking the enemy. The decision was against an immediate attack, but it was agreed that the army should be advanced farther eastward.

General Smallwood came into camp about this time with 1700 Maryland militia. Other re-enforcements were also reported to be near at hand and it was thought advisable to wait until every available man was in the ranks.

The Camp at Skippack

On the 29th the army left the camp on the Perkiomen and marched eastward until the next stream was reached—Skippack Creek, a confluent of the Perkiomen. Here a new camp was established, some three miles from the former one.

The camp was in the neighborhood of where Skippack pike crosses Skippack Creek, south of the village of Skippack.

The house of Joseph Smith, on the east side of Skippack road, south of the creek, was the headquarters of the commanding general. The house no longer stands. For the use of the house Washington paid Smith £2, 5 shillings on October 2, and he also paid Smith £11, 19 shillings, 6 pence for "sundries."

Preparations for Battle

Three days were spent in the camp along the Skippack. Then the army again advanced three miles southeastward, into Worcester Township, encamping near the twenty-first milestone on Skippack pike, south of the village of Center Point.

British letters which had been intercepted gave Washington information that General Howe had detached part of his force at Germantown to attack American fortifications along the Delaware, below Philadelphia. Now it was felt that the time was at hand to make an attack. The decision of the generals to do so was unanimous.

The militia was moved from Trappe to join the main body of the army at Worcester, on October 2.

On the 3d the men were directed to prepare cooked provisions for three days, to provide themselves with forty rounds of ammunition each, and to see that their flints were in good order.

At 8 P. M. the troops were paraded. They were instructed to leave their packs, blankets and everything except arms, accoutrements, ammunition and provisions in camp. Their food they were to carry in their haversacks, or if they did not possess haversacks then they were to take it in their pockets.

The March to Germantown

Campfires were kept burning, so that their glare might lead the enemy's observers to conclude the army was spending the night at Worcester. Twenty men not equal to a long march were detailed from each brigade to remain in charge of the camp and the baggage.

Thus equipped in light marching order the army set off soon after dark.

According to Washington's orders, the greater part of the army proceeded down Skippack pike. The divisions of Wayne and Sullivan had orders to move on the Manatawny road, which probably was the present Germantown pike.

Nearly two-thirds of the army, under command of General Greene, were directed to make a detour to the east and approach Germantown along what is now Limekiln pike. Greene and his detachment, after following the Skippack road to its junction with the

Bethlehem road, in Whitemarsh, turned off on Church road, at St. Thomas' Church, and thus made their way to Limekiln road.

At Chestnut Hill the Pennsylvania militia filed off to the right to Ridge road and marched down Ridge road.

The British Position

Germantown, the ancient settlement of Francis Daniel Pastorius and his German immigrants, extended along Germantown road for a distance of three miles. The British army was encamped in a line running at right angles across Germantown road, with the center in the heart of the village, at the Market Square.

The left wing extended along School lane, from Market Square to the Schuylkill, at Falls of Schuylkill, with

the Hessian auxiliary forces at the extreme left. General Knyphausen, the Hessian commander, had command of the left wing.

The right wing lay along Church lane, from the Market Square to the neighborhood of Wingohocking Creek. Here was Lukens mill. Nearby the British had a small redoubt.

It was Washington's plan that Greene's troops should fall upon the British right wing and drive it toward the center, while at the same time the Pennsylvania militia attacked the Hessians over near the Schuylkill, and the American right wing, under Washington, made its advance down Germantown road, against the British center.

The story of the confusion that ensued in the endeavor to carry out this intricate plan on a foggy morning is well known.

Failure of Eastside Attack

The several commands of Greene's wing failed to co-operate. Some apparently did not get into action at all. Others came into collision with troops of the wing under Washington.

Colonel Walter Stewart's Pennsylvania regiment, in Greene's command, captured the small British redoubt at Lukens' mill with little loss.

A Virginia regiment of Greene's command captured a British battalion on Kelly's hill, near the present Chelton and Magnolia avenues. But the captors set up such a huzza to celebrate their triumph that they brought upon them a large force of British from the right wing and were themselves captured and immured in the German Reformed Church at Market Square.

Fighting Along Germantown Road

The right wing of the Americans, under Washington, attacked the British pickets at Mount Airy at 5 A. M. and captured them or drove them in. These advanced pickets were posted at the Allen house, where the Lutheran Theological Seminary now is.

A little farther on toward Germantown at Mount Pleasant was a regiment of British Light Infantry. They offered stubborn resistance, but soon had to retire before General Sullivan's attack. The Light Infantry fell back upon the Fortieth Regiment of the British line, at the present Upsal street, nearly a mile farther down the road.

The advancing Americans were too strong for the two regiments to withstand. However, Colonel Musgrave, of the Fortieth, took about 120 of his men with him into the house of the Chew family, nearby. They barricaded doors and windows, and the heavy stone walls of the house made it a veritable fortress.

At the Chew House

While Sullivan's troops pursued the fleeing British down into Germantown,

below the Chew house, Washington directed an attack upon the little force of British in the Chew house. Cannon were planted in a field opposite the house and trained upon it, but their fire had little effect. Assaults upon the house resulted in heavy loss for the Americans, while the British suffered little.

Evidently the British were not expecting an attack, though it is said they had been warned. General Howe hastened up from his headquarters at Stenton, the Logan house, below Germantown. It is said he gave orders for a retreat to Chester.

However, only two regiments of the British had been in action so far. Now the British left wing was swung around to bring it out into Germantown road and trap the Americans.

The fighting had been carried on behind fences and stone walls, at the rear of the houses along Germantown road. Sullivan, on the west side of Germantown road, and Wayne, on the east side, had penetrated into the upper part of Germantown, the former as far as Washington lane and the latter as far as High street.

Wayne's horse was killed and the general received two slight injuries, his left foot being bruised by a spent ball, while another bullet grazed his left hand.

The Retreat

Now the power of the British resistance was making itself felt. The firing in the rear at the Chew house disconcerted the Americans. Nothing was heard of the left wing. The pall of fog and smoke made misunderstanding and confusion easy.

After four hours' fighting the order to withdraw was given.

The retreat was conducted in an orderly manner, without loss of artillery. Nearly all the wounded were taken with the army.

The British pursued as far as St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh.

The Pennsylvania militia, on Ridge road, were the last Americans to leave the field. They had successfully carried out the duty assigned to them of capturing the bridge over Wissahickon Creek and of keeping the Hessians engaged so they might not go to the aid of the British in Germantown.

The Losses

The American loss was 152 killed, 521 wounded and 400 captured, making a total of 1073.

General Francis Nash, commander of a North Carolina brigade, was mortally wounded in the battle, and he died several days later. His aid, Major Witherspoon, was killed by the cannonball that struck Nash.

The British lost 71 killed and 450 wounded, or a total of 521. The highest British officer who fell was Brigadier General James Agnew.

Germantown, though now closely built up, still has some landmarks of the battle. Chief of these is the Chew house, still the home of the Chew family.

Some other old houses along Germantown avenue bear the marks of cannon balls fired in the fighting.

The grave of Major Witherspoon is in the burial ground of St. Michael's Lutheran Church, and a stone in the Upper Burial Ground, Germantown avenue, north of Washington lane, marks the graves of several officers and men who fell in the battle. Virtually all the other soldiers who sacrificed their lives in the battle rest in unidentified graves.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

Perkiomen and Towamencin Camps

It was a weary and exhausted throng of men who threw themselves down to rest on the Perkiomen hills the night of October 4.

They had left their camp on the Me-thacton Hills, in Worcester, at dusk the preceding night, had marched twelve miles that night, then for five hours they had fought amidst the fog in the streets and back yards of Germantown. Retreating they covered not only the twelve miles to their old camp, in Worcester, but continued eight miles farther, to the Perkiomen, where the borough of Schwenksville now is.

Notwithstanding their weariness, some of the soldiers did not halt even when they had crossed the Perkiomen. For on October 5 parties of horse were directed to go ten miles "above camp" to gather in fugitives.

When the army was thereabouts for several days late in September the troops were camped along both sides of the stream. But now they made sure to put the Perkiomen between them and any possible pursuers. Most of the army went into camp on the hills a mile west of the creek.

An old mill—not the one of Revolutionary times, however—still stands, on the lower bank of the Perkiomen, opposite Schwenksville, where stood the grist and oil mills, operated in the eighteenth century by members of the Pawling and the Pennypacker families. At the times of the Revolution the region was called either Pennypacker's Mills or Pawling's ford.

A stone marker commemorating the camp stands at the fork of the roads near the mill. The Historical Society of Montgomery County placed it there in 1897.

Burial of Those Who Died from Wounds

But no marker of any kind indicates the burial places of the scores of American soldiers who died here of their wounds.

The army carried nearly all the American wounded along on the retreat from Germantown. Wounded officers were cared for in farm houses round about the region. Churches were turned into army hospitals. St. James Episcopal Church, Evansburg; Augustus Lutheran Church, Trappe, and St. John's Lutheran Church, Center Square, were thus used.

On the hill west of the Perkiomen, where the main camp of the army was established, was a log building, used for school and church purposes. Later it developed into Keely's Church. Here, tradition says, was the main hospital.

In the fields of the vicinity the men who died there were buried. Two hundred wounded were brought to the camp at Pennypacker's Mills, according to the accounts handed down in the neighborhood, and most of them died.

The burial of the dead is mentioned in the journal of the Rev. Dr. Henry M. Muhlenberg, of Trappe, under date of Monday, October 6, thus:

"Yesterday the main American army had returned to about five miles from our house, to one side, where they buried their dead and fired a volley for each one, which we heard distinctly, as it lasted a long time."

Preparing for Another Battle

Immediately, with a view toward preparation for another battle, Wash-

ington directed that the men in camp be employed in cleaning their arms and making cartridges, until each man had forty rounds.

On the 5th Washington forwarded his official report of the battle of Germantown to Congress. In this he explained that the chief cause of the misfortune experienced was the fact that because of the fog the men mistook their associates for the enemy. The troops were not dispirited, he declared. They lost no artillery in the battle. One piece that was dismounted was loaded into a wagon and brought away.

"Upon the whole," Washington concluded, "the day was rather unfortunate than injurious."

Returns Dog to Howe

About the same time Washington entered into a correspondence with General Howe, the British commander, first to deny Howe's charges that the Americans were causing needless distress by destroying mills and then to send back a dog which had fallen into the hands of the Americans at Germantown. This dog wore a collar bearing the name of General Howe.

Washington's letter about the dog is dated October 8, and reads thus:

"General Washington's compliments to General Howe—does himself the pleasure to return to him a dog which accidentally fell into his hands and by the inscription on the collar appears to belong to General Howe."

The Pennypacker House

General Washington had his headquarters in the house at Pennypacker's Mills for at least part of the time of the army's stay here. Some writers, however, have asserted that his headquarters were at the house of Henry Keely, on the hills west of Schwenksville.

The Pennypacker house became notable during the early years of the present century as the home of Samuel W. Pennypacker, governor of Pennsylvania and an authority on Pennsylvania history. He reconstructed the house and filled it with his remarkable collection of antiques and books. His erudition enabled him to bring forward so much documentary evidence of Washington's occupancy of this house that little has since been heard in support of the other theory.

Incidents in the Camp

The army was strengthened on October 7 by the arrival of 500 Virginia militia and some troops from Maryland.

That day a committee of six members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends arrived in camp, having been appointed to visit the commanders of both armies and present the "testimony" of the Society of Friends against war and to explain the attitude of the

Friends as pacifists. After hearing them Washington sent them to Pottsgrove to be detained there a few days, so they might not be able to carry with them to Philadelphia any late news regarding the American army.

Washington's endeavor to maintain religious services in the army is observable in orders issued October 7, to the effect that as regular divine services on Sunday were not always possible the chaplains should meet and agree upon a method of conducting such services at other times.

At Towamencin

It was now decided to move the army to a new camp, somewhat nearer the British lines but also farther north-

ward, on the Sunnyside road, in Towamencin Township. The route of march was down the Skippack road to the village of Skippack and then north on the Forty-foot road. This road joins the Sunnyside road at the ancient Towamencin Mennonite Church, a mile north of Kulpsville.

The camp, occupied from October 8 to 16, comprised a tract of 300 acres. Timber and fence rails began to disappear at once upon the arrival of the troops.

General Washington made his headquarters in the house of Frederick Wampole, on the Sunnyside road. The house was removed in 1881.

Upon vacating the house Washington paid Wampole £28, 5 shillings, 4 pence "for the use of his house and the trouble caused."

As the weather became colder the lack of shoes in the army was an increasingly bothersome problem. The commissaries were directed to save the skin from the head and legs of bullocks, and the commanding officers were to select men who could make moccasins of these skins.

There were not enough cartouch boxes, and Colonel Crawford was instructed to provide horns and pouches to carry ammunition. Arms, ammunition and accoutrements were to be inspected daily.

To prevent waste of ammunition orders forbade the wanton firing of guns. There was one notable offender, and a sergeant and a file of men were detailed "to catch the villain who is thus wasting ammunition and alarming the camp."

Death of Officers

Several officers died at the Towamencin camp from wounds received at Germantown. One of these was General Francis Nash, commander of a North Carolina brigade. He was the highest ranking officer whose life was sacrificed in the battle.

He was buried, with military honors, on October 9 in the grounds of the Towamencin Mennonite Church.

A monument erected in 1844 through the efforts of John Fanning Watson, the pioneer local historian, marks the grave of General Nash and also those of Major John White, of Philadelphia; Colonel Boyd and Lieutenant Matthew Smith, of Virginia.

October 10, the day after General Nash's funeral, John Farnden was hanged after having been found guilty of desertion. A detail of sixty men from each brigade attended the hanging.

Thanks and Good News

A committee from Congress visited the camp in Towamencin to present the thanks of Congress for the bravery, which the army had displayed at Germantown.

Cheering news as to General Gates' success at the second battle of Stillwater, in the defeat of General Burgoyne's army on October 7, was imparted to the army on October 15. The subordinate commanders were admonished that the congratulatory orders were to be "distinctly read" in each brigade. This was to be followed by the discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery.

Every suggestion of encouragement for the American cause had to be utilized to the utmost, for suggestions of discouragement abounded.

The Duche Letter

Some who had espoused the American cause when the war opened had now become convinced that the war was hopeless and it would be advisable to take advantage of peace terms pro-

posed by General Howe, since he was more friendly toward the Americans than many of the other British leaders.

One of those who had undergone such a change of sentiment was the Rev. Jacob Duche, of Philadelphia, who had been chaplain of the Continental Congress. He induced Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, of Graeme Park, in Horsham, a woman of high social standing, to carry a letter to General Washington, urging the American commander to come to terms with the foe. Mrs. Ferguson visited the camp at Towamencin on October 15 and delivered the letter.

General Washington reproved her for countenancing Mr. Duche's appeal, and directed her to tell the writer that if he had known what the letter contained he would have returned it unopened. He transmitted the letter to Congress, characterizing it as being of a "very curious and extraordinary nature."

Troubles With the Militia

A letter which General Armstrong, commander of the Pennsylvania militia, wrote from "Towamencin" October 14 reveals some of the troubles he was encountering in endeavoring to maintain the state's quota of militia.

He declared there had been a "very infamous falling off of the militia which may with great justice be called desertion." The men enlisted for short terms, usually six weeks, but often they did not serve out even this brief term, the urge of conditions in their families or on their farms calling them home. Armstrong said that his force in the Pennsylvania command never exceeded 3000.

Military service had become so unpopular that the price of substitutes was advanced to £50 for two months.

A source of grievance among the militia, according to Armstrong, was that a daily distribution of liquor had been promised to them, but Wash-

ington would not permit this after September 1. Since then they had been receiving rum only about once a week.

However, Armstrong looked forward to another attack upon the British, and meantime, he said, the Americans were "tormenting their picquets and moving nearer them." General Potter's brigade of Pennsylvania militia was sent into Chester County to annoy small parties of the enemy sent out on foraging expeditions on the Lancaster road.

From the headquarters in Lancaster the Pennsylvania Council of Safety again appealed to the militia to come to Washington's aid.

The army remained in Towamencin until October 16. The British were now making preparations to attack the American forts on the Delaware. To endeavor to distract them, Washington decided to move nearer to Philadelphia. The new camp ground chosen was in Worcester Township, where the army was on October 2 and 3, just before the battle of Germantown.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 13

The Camp in Worcester

Worcester Township, in Montgomery County, five miles northwest of Norristown, was the scene of the American army's camp from October 16 to 21.

The camp was located on the west slope of the Methacton

Hills, in the neighborhood where the army had been on October 2 and 3, immediately preceding the battle of Germantown.

Washington made his headquarters in the house of Peter Wentz, where he had been at the time of the army's previous stay.

The Wentz house still stands—a well preserved specimen of the better type of farm houses of colonial times. It is on a road running northeast from Skippack pike below Center Point, and is almost unknown to sightseers.

In the wall of the house is a stone bearing the date 1758 and a four-line verse in German invoking divine blessing upon the dwelling.

Peter Wentz lived there when Washington was a guest. He was a leader in the community. The name of the family is preserved in the nearby Wentz's Reformed Church, which Peter Wentz helped to establish.

Since 1794 the Schultz family have owned the property. The present occupant is Isaac K. Schultz.

Tradition says Washington had a room on the first floor and another immediately above on the second floor. The lower apartment was his dining room. In the adjoining kitchen Washington's meals were prepared by his own cook. When the cook was absent the kitchen was kept locked, to guard against the possibility of poison being placed in the food.

A huge stone watertrough alongside the house attracts attention. It is as big as a bathtub and is cut out of a single block of stone. How long it has been there no one now knows.

Washington's financial accounts show payments to Peter Wentz on two different days.

On October 4, £2, 10 shillings was paid "for butter and vegetables." This was the day of the battle of Germantown. Washington had left the house the night before, with the army, in the advance upon Germantown. Presumably on the retreat he stopped at the Wentz house long enough to pay the bill and gather up his belongings before proceeding on to the Perkiomen region.

On October 19 there was a payment of £7, 13 shillings, 5 pence to Peter Wentz for food and £1, 2 shillings, 6 pence "extra for trouble."

No payment is noted for "use of the house," as was customary at other houses which the commander occupied. It may be inferred from this that Peter Wentz was patriotic enough to give the use of his house without charge.

The first order issued in the new camp at Worcester directed the regiments to continue making cartridges every day and turn them in to the commissary of military stores.

Daily drills were to take place in movements necessary in a "woody and inclosed country."

Pleading for Recruits

Again General Washington endeavored to stir Pennsylvania into providing more men for the army. He wrote on October 17 to President Wharton, of the Supreme Executive Council of the state, in Lancaster, urging that Pennsylvania at least meet its quota of 4000 militia, and if possible exceed it. Washington expressed amazement that Pennsylvania was less energetic in supplying recruits than New York and New Jersey.

The brief terms of the militia who had enlisted in August were expiring, and few were coming in to fill up the ranks. Even the Pennsylvania regiments in the Continental line were

never more than one-third full, and now they did not reach that mark.

"I assure you, sir," continued Washington in the letter, "it is a matter of astonishment to every part of the continent to hear that Pennsylvania, the most opulent and populous of all the states, has but 1200 militia in the field at a time when the enemy are endeavoring to make themselves completely masters of and to fix their winter quarters in her capital."

Washington believed that if the American fortifications along the Delaware River were strengthened, so that the British could gain no communication with the ocean, Howe would soon evacuate Philadelphia. He appealed for troops to send to these fortifications.

Some of the New England states and also Virginia had resorted to the draft to keep the ranks of their regiments full. Washington suggested that Pennsylvania do likewise. If all the states adopted the draft, said Washington, it would not be deemed a hardship.

The day after forwarding this letter General Washington asked General Armstrong, commander of the Pennsylvania militia, to visit President Wharton, in Lancaster, to endeavor to agree upon measures for strengthening the army.

The same day the war office of the federal government also appealed to President Wharton to send militia into Chester County to seize clothing, blankets and provisions belonging to Tories, who were said to be in "great numbers," and were accused of supplying information and provisions to the enemy.

The Supreme Executive Council, in Lancaster, complied with the request and included Lancaster along with Chester County, instructions being given for the confiscation of arms, accoutrements, blankets, shoes and stockings belonging to those not loyal to the United States.

Good News from New York

October 18 witnessed a scene of jollification in the camp in Worcester, for on that day came the news of the surrender of General Burgoyne's British army at Saratoga on October 14.

The chaplains were directed to prepare discourses to be delivered to the troops at 5 P. M. that day. Following

this it was ordered that thirteen pieces of artillery should be discharged, and there was to be a "feu de joy," with blank cartridges or powder in every brigade and corps, beginning at the right of the line and continuing to the left.

Tradition says one of the salutes was fired so close to the headquarters of the commander that the glass in the window panes of the house was broken.

An intimation of the feelings aroused by Burgoyne's surrender may be found in a quaintly worded letter which General Armstrong forwarded on the 18th to President Wharton. The news of the victory, he wrote, "was but a little lower than that which is evangelical and from the same source."

Another incident in the camp at Worcester was no doubt a matter of gratification to Washington. General Lafayette here rejoined the army, from which he had been absent since he was wounded at the battle of the Brandywine. Rest and treatment in Bethle-

hem had restored him so that he was now able to ride a little, though his wound had not yet entirely healed.

Courts Martial Held

A recognition of the power of the press is contained in the verdict of a court martial at Worcester. Two captains were ordered cashiered. One was accused of cowardice. His offence, the court decided, was to be published in the newspapers about the camp and in his state. Washington approved the findings of the court.

A court of inquiry which had been in session since October 12 made its report on the 16th. It was required to investigate the conduct of General Sullivan at the battle of Long Island, in August, 1776. The verdict acquitted Sullivan of charges of unsoldierly conduct and declared the misfortunes of the battle were not his fault.

Still endeavoring to approach gradually nearer the enemy, the army left Worcester on October 21 and proceeded down Skippack road five miles into Whitpain Township, where a new camp was established.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 14

Struggle to Control the Delaware River

General Washington's gradual approach to Philadelphia, in October, 1777, was prompted by the desire to give whatever aid he could to the American commands that were holding the fortifications on the Delaware River below Philadelphia.

The Americans had two forts on the river—Fort Mifflin, on the Pennsylvania side, and Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the New Jersey side. A chain of obstructions had been threaded through the channel of the stream, between the two forts and also farther down the stream, at Billingsport. Three hundred men manned each of the forts.

In addition the Americans also had a fleet of armed galleys propelled with oars, and with these boats they caused much annoyance to the British along the river front in the lower part of Philadelphia.

On October 6 the British began investing Fort Mifflin. There were frequent clashes and much firing, but the little garrison held out manfully.

In October the army under Washington moved first to Towamencin, then to Worcester and finally, on October 21, to Whitpain, where it was now within fifteen miles of the main body of the British in Philadelphia.

Harassing the British

Though he realized that the odds were against him in a battle with the enemy, Washington saw the necessity of maintaining a threatening attitude to the north and west of Philadelphia so that a strong force would not be available for service against the Americans along the Delaware, south of the city.

Occasional bodies of Americans were sent out to harass the British.

On October 17 the Thirteenth Pennsylvania Regiment and the Second and Fifth Virginia Regiments marched from the camp at 4 P. M., proceeding south on Skippack road as far as "White-marsh Church," now St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, at the junction of Skippack and Bethlehem pikes. There the troops built large fires, and then returned to camp. Evidently the sole

purpose was to cause alarm among the British in Philadelphia.

Again on the 23d a party of Americans went on a foray toward the enemy's lines, going down Germantown road as far as Rising Sun, driving in the British pickets and taking some prisoners.

At the same time another force under General McDougall was to make an attack upon the enemy's outer lines on the west side of the Schuylkill River. McDougall found the British lines evacuated.

Appeals for More Troops

In an endeavor to comply with Washington's pressing demands for more militia, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, in Lancaster, sent out a circular letter to the counties, calling out two more classes of militia and citing the "animated example of the eastern states."

Besides the two specified classes of the militia, volunteers were also urged to enlist. The instructions concluded thus: "N.B.—You are to send no more than a proper proportion of officers to the number of men."

President Wharton, of the Council, in communicating this action to Washington, added that he feared to urge more men to come out for service because of the lack of arms. Washington had previously specified that the militia were to bring arms and blankets with them, as he could not supply either.

Germans Repulsed at Fort Mercer

But instead of deterring the British from action against the American forts, the approach of the Americans seemed to stimulate them into action. They were beginning to feel the effects of a lack of communication with their source of supply by water, while at the same time whenever their parties made an incursion into Pennsylvania for provisions they ran great risk of attack and capture by the wily bands of Americans who closely watched all the roads into the city.

On October 22, the day after the Americans went into camp in Whitpain, a force of 2000 German auxiliary troops, under command of Count Donop, crossed the Delaware River and attacked the Americans in Fort Mercer. Repeated assaults failed, and the Germans retired with a heavy loss. More than 150 were killed, including Count Donop.

The site of Fort Mercer is now government property, and a granite monument, sixty feet high, erected in 1906, by the State of New Jersey, commemorates the valorous defense of the little body of Americans under command of Colonel Christopher Green.

British Ship Augusta Blown Up

With the purpose of co-operation with the Germans on the land, some vessels of Lord Howe's British fleet in the Delaware endeavored to force their way through the obstructions in the channel at Billingsport. Four of them succeeded. But the American galleys attacked them vigorously and compelled them to retreat.

The largest of the British ships, the *Augusta*, carrying sixty-four guns, grounded. Twelve American galleys attacked her on October 23. The ship burst into flames and blew up with a terrific roar, two officers and sixty men being killed.

The detonation was heard in the American camp in Whitpain, and at first it was thought the magazine in either Fort Mifflin or Fort Mercer had blown up.

Thomas Paine was walking along the road between Germantown and White-

marsh, on his way to the American camp, when the explosion occurred about 11 A. M. "We were stunned," he wrote, "with a report as loud as a peal from a hundred cannons at once, and, turning round, I saw a thick smoke rising like a pillar and spreading from the top like a tree."

The hulk of the *Augusta* rested in the Delaware River until 1876, when it was raised and towed to the shore at Gloucester, N. J., where it was exhibited as one of the features of the Centennial year.

The Camp at Whitpain

The Whitpain camp was east of Skippack road and between Broad Axe and Blue Bell. Some of the troops were also stationed in the neighboring township of Upper Dublin.

Washington's headquarters were at the house of James Morris, known as Dawesfield. It still stands on a road running from Skippack pike to Morris road, north of Butler pike and a mile southwest of the borough of Ambler. Abram Dawes, father of Mrs. Morris, built the house in 1736. It is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. George J. Cooke. Mrs. Cooke is a direct descendant of Abram Dawes.

A room in the north wing was Washington's office. Some of the furniture which he used is still in the house, including the bedstead in which he slept.

Court Martial of General Wayne

The most important incident at this camp was the trial of General Anthony Wayne by court martial, as a result of the defeat of his command at Paoli, in September. Colonel Humpton had charged Wayne with neglecting to make proper disposition of his troops at Paoli. The court was in session from October 25 to 30, General Sullivan presiding.

By the unanimous verdict of the court Wayne was acquitted with the highest honor. Washington promptly approved the finding.

Wayne in his defence declared the troops were under arms when attacked and were not surprised. An old man in the vicinity had warned him that he might be attacked, whereupon he posted additional pickets. One of these encountered the advancing British and gave the alarm in the American camp.

Pennsylvania Criticised

Again in one of his letters Washington criticised the lack of enthusiasm for the war among Pennsylvanians. Writing to Landon Carter from Whitpain on October 27, Washington deplored the "disaffection of the greater part of the inhabitants of this state, the languor of others and internal distraction of the whole."

The officers of the Pennsylvania line also recognized that Pennsylvania was not doing what it should toward supplying troops. They addressed the Assembly of the state on October 30, complaining of the defective militia regulations and the high payments made to substitutes in the militia service, which discouraged enlistments in the regiments of the regular line. Thirteen officers of the First Brigade signed this statement, the name of Anthony Wayne standing first.

Another measure directed toward filling up the ranks was a proclamation by Washington offering full pardon to deserters who would return to

army before January 1.

Incidents in Camp

At the same time a reward of \$10 was offered for every deserter brought into camp, and in addition the captor was to receive a shilling a mile for traveling expenses.

One deserter who was captured was sentenced to die. He was a mattress in Colonel Crane's regiment of artillery. Not only had he deserted but the military court found he had attempted to join the enemy. The execution of the sentence was set for October 26, at noon, and sixty men from each brigade were ordered to attend. General Washington granted the accused man a respite until October 31, and on that day he was pardoned.

A council of war was held October 29 to consider an attack on the British in Philadelphia. It was deemed inadvisable to take the offensive, but the decision was in favor of moving somewhat nearer to Philadelphia and also to draw twenty regiments from the victorious northern army which no longer faced a foe.

At this time the Continental force fit for duty numbered 8312 men, while there were about 3000 additional men in militia commands with the army.

On November 1 Washington wrote to the president of Congress that he hoped to attack the British but he was hampered by lack of ammunition, shoes, clothing and other supplies.

In accordance with the decision of the council of war the army left Whitpain on November 2, and went into camp in Whitmarsh and Upper Dublin Townships, three miles farther east.

No. 15

The Camp at Whitmarsh

For nearly six weeks, from November 2 until December 11, the American army was encamped at Whitmarsh. It was the longest period which the army spent at one point during the Pennsylvania campaign, excepting only the winter camp at Valley Forge.

The Whitmarsh region, lying in Montgomery County, just north of the Philadelphia border, is now dotted with attractive country estates and wide-spreading country clubs. There still remain some of the farm houses which stood there when the soldiers of Washington dwelt here in huts and tents.

One such house is that in which Washington had his headquarters. It is some distance off the beaten track of travel along Bethlehem pike and Skippack pike, on a road running southeast from Camp Hill station, on the Reading Railroad's Bethlehem Branch.

The headquarters building is now the home of Mr. and Mrs. Radcliffe Cheston, Jr. Mrs. Cheston is the daughter of Mrs. Alexander Van Rensselaer, the owner of this and much other property in the neighborhood. The noted Van Rensselaer estate, known as Camp Hill Hall, crowns the slope which derives its name from the American army's camp hereabouts 150 years ago.

George Emlen lived in the house when General Washington made it his headquarters. It was probably the largest house in the neighborhood of the camp. The main structure was thirty-five by eighty feet in dimensions, the front facing Sandy Run, a confluent of Wissahickon Creek. There were wings for the kitchen and the servants' quarters, as was customary

in early times at the homes of families of wealth.

The wings were removed long ago, and so was the hip roof. After Mrs. Van Rensselaer bought the property, in 1909, many other alterations were made.

This is commonly called the Whitmarsh camp. In reality the camp was in three townships, extending from Whitmarsh into Springfield and Upper Dublin. The headquarters building is just over the line in Upper Dublin.

The Old Redoubt

One outstanding memento of the camp is an earthen redoubt, east of Bethlehem pike and south of the village of Fort Washington. Though private property, the owners for a century and a half have spared the remains of the redoubt when cultivating the surrounding farmland.

Ever since 1886 a flag flying from a 100-foot pole in the midst of the old fort has attracted the attention of the traveler on Bethlehem pike.

On the ramparts of the fort the people of the neighborhood assemble every Memorial Day, to participate in ceremonies conducted by the American Legion and other organizations.

At the side of Bethlehem pike, near the fort, is a granite marker indicating the historic importance of the site. The Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution erected this stone in 1891, that having been one of the earliest endeavors to mark Revolutionary sites in southeastern Pennsylvania.

The encampment extended from Bethlehem pike eastward along the high land bordering Sandy Run, as far as Fitzwatertown and the Limekiln pike.

Militia Hill, west of Bethlehem pike, most of the surface of which is still forest land, suggests by its name that there the militia were encamped.

The old fort is on Fort Hill. Farther on is Camp Hill, where the Van Rensselaer home is. St. Thomas' Episcopal Church, often mentioned in orders and correspondence of 150 years ago as "Whitmarsh Church," occupies Church Hill.

Park Project

Pennsylvania has set on foot an endeavor to convert at least part of the Whitmarsh camp ground into a public park. The plan is to extend Fairmount Park along Wissahickon Creek from the Philadelphia line to the old fort in Whitmarsh. In 1913 the State Legislature appropriated \$50,000 to begin the work. One hundred and sixty-six acres of land, mostly consisting of woods in the Militia Hill region, was acquired. The Legislature of 1927 made an additional appropriation of \$300,000 for the extension and development of the park.

British Retire from Germantown

By the time the Americans came to Whitmarsh, in November, 1777, the British had withdrawn well within the limits of the city of Philadelphia as it then existed.

Though they were victors at the battle of Germantown, on October 4, they realized much difficulty would be involved in holding a line so far out from the city, for Germantown, now part of the city, was then a township separated from the city by five miles of farmland.

Hence soon after the battle the British troops vacated Germantown, and the army was concentrated in the city. Fortifications were built from the Delaware to the Schuylkill River,

along the northern borders of the city, near where Callowhill street now is.

Nine or ten miles intervened between the British lines and the new camp of the Americans at Whitmarsh. This was debatable territory which details from both armies invaded at times.

On November 9 Washington publicly commended Captain Craig, of Colonel Moylan's regiment of horse for capturing seven British dragoons and seven other soldiers, with their horses, arms and accoutrements.

Preparing for an Attack

Immediately upon moving the army from Whitpain down to Whitmarsh, on November 2, lines of earthworks were thrown up in front of the army, and abatis was constructed as an additional protection against attack.

Further evidence of Washington's preparations for any eventualities is seen in his orders for November 3. All the troops were to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice, and brigade commanders were to engage guides familiar with the country.

On the 9th it was ordered that all men were constantly to be supplied with two days' provisions.

To obtain forage for horses Colonel Clement Biddle, acting for the Pennsylvania government, sent forage masters to the farms round about the camp with directions to take a supply from each, but to leave enough for the farmer's horses. For what was thus taken receipts were given and payment was to be made later at the following rates: Good hay, £7, 10s a ton; wheat, 8s, 6d a bushel; oats, which were scarce, 7s, 6d a bushel; rye, 7s, 6d a bushel; buckwheat, 4s, 6d a bushel.

Life in the Camp

Having comfortable quarters and evidently looking forward to a stay of some length of time in the neighborhood, General Washington on November 7, informed the officers of the army that, as he had been without his baggage since the army left Falls of Schuylkill, in September, he had been unable to receive company in the manner he wished, but nevertheless he desired the generals, field officers and brigade majors of the day to dine with him in the future at 3 P. M. daily.

There was also an endeavor to provide the men with some of the comforts lacking on the march. A postoffice was opened at Edward Hopkins', "near Farmer's mill, by the great bridge." Farmer's mill was on the Wissahickon, near St. Thomas' Church. The announcement of the opening of the postoffice concluded thus: "The postmaster has paper to sell at the price he gave for it."

Renewed efforts were made to correct the unsoldierly appearance of the troops so far as that was possible in view of the lack of uniforms. Orders of November 9 called upon men on guard duty to be shaved and to have their hair combed and their faces washed, while their clothes were to be made as neat and clean as possible.

Officer as well as men were the subject of criticism and accusation.

A court martial which sat for three days to hear charges of drunkenness while on duty, preferred against Brigadier General Maxwell, made its report on November 4, acquitting General Maxwell.

Conspiracy Against Washington

It was about this time that General Washington discovered the conspiracy in which some of his generals were in-

volved in an endeavor to place General Gates in Washington's place as commander-in-chief of the army. Brigadier General Conway was the leader in this plot, which is known in history as the "Conway cabal."

To show Conway that he was aware of what was going on, Washington on November 9 addressed to him a letter reading thus:

"Sir:—A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph: 'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates he says: "Heaven has been determined to save your country or a weak general and bad counselors would have ruined it."'

"I am, sir, your humble servant.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 16

Sally Wister's Story of Revolutionary Days

So much of suffering and privation and all things unpleasant marks the story of the American army's movements in Pennsylvania in 1777, that it is a happy relief to catch a glimpse of fun and romance amidst war's grim clamor. A Quaker maiden who experienced those trying times while living close to the army camps in Whitpain and Whitmarsh wrote down a record so teeming with vivacity, so replete with the enchantment of young girlhood, yet so keen in its insight into the foibles of mere man in military garb, that it possesses perennial charm and preserves pictures of the life of that day such as are revealed scarcely anywhere else.

When the Revolution opened Daniel Wister was a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia who had a country home in Germantown, on Germantown avenue, opposite Queen lane. In the fall of 1777, when the fortunes of war went against Washington's army and it was evident that any day Philadelphia might fall into the hands of the British, Daniel Wister took his family out into the country, to stay with relatives, the Foulkes, in Gwynedd.

The Foulke house then consisted of the central part of the present country home of Edgar J. Pershing, at Penlynn. It is about two miles north of the site of the Whitpain camp, in October, and a little farther from the Whitmarsh camp, in November, 1777.

Mrs. Hannah Foulke's family consisted of herself and three children—her son, Jesse, who operated the Foulke mill, and her daughters, Priscilla and Lydia. The Wister family comprised, besides the father and mother, four daughters and a son. Sally, the oldest, was in her seventeenth year.

In Philadelphia Sally Wister's dearest chum was Deborah Norris, one year older. Facing a long period of separation when she went to Gwynedd, Sally Wister began to record her experiences as though she were penning a letter to Deborah Norris, and she commenced her journal on September 25, 1777, the day when the British army entered Germantown.

Saw the Army March By

Here is what Sally Wister wrote, October 21, when the army came to Whitpain:

"As I was lying in bed Liddy came running into the room and said there was the greatest drumming, filing and rattling of wagons that ever she heard. What to make of this we were at a loss. We dressed and downstairs in a

hurry. The British had left Germantown, and our army was marching to take possession. Sister Betsy and myself and George Emlich went about half a mile from home, where we could see the army pass. Thee will stare at my going, but no impropriety in my opinion, or I would not have gone. We made no great stay, but returned with excellent appetites for our breakfast."

Later in the day the journal continues:

"Two genteel men of the military order rode up to the door: 'Your servants, ladies,' etc., and asked if they could have quarters for General Smallwood. Aunt Foulke thought she could accommodate them as well as most of her neighbors. One of the officers dismounted and wrote 'Smallwood's Quarters' over the door, which secured us from straggling soldiers. After this he mounted his steed and rode away. When we were alone our dress and lips were put in order for conquest, and the hopes of adventures gave brightness to each before passive countenance."

General Smallwood, who thus made the Foulke house his headquarters, commanded a brigade of Maryland troops. He arrived in the evening and was introduced, along with his retinue, comprising Captain Furnival, Major Stoddert, Mr. Prig, Captain Finley and Mr. Clagan. In addition, there were also Colonel Wood and Colonel Line.

Interested in Major Stoddert

About Major Stoddert centers much of the interest of the journal. Just how far the attachment of Sally Wister and Major Stoddert for each other went, is one of the secrets of the eternal years. But that there was an attachment the pen of the sprightly Quaker chronicler strongly intimates. Undoubtedly Sally Wister was something of a flirt, as is apparent in her comments upon the various officers whom she met; but when she writes about Stoddert it is possible to detect a vein of sincerity not akin to flirtation.

"I at first thought the major cross and proud," she writes, "but I was mistaken. He is about 19, nephew to the general, and acts as major of brigade to him; he cannot be extolled for the graces of person, but for those of the mind he may justly be celebrated; he is large in his person, manly and an engaging countenance and address."

A day or two later she determines to dispel the major's bashfulness, and she finally inveigles him into conversation.

Several pages farther on she reports progress, for the major gains enough courage to ask her to sing for him. This, however, turns out to be a joke on both of them. Lydia Foulke had told the major that Sally was an accomplished singer; whereas Sally confesses, "my voice is not much better than the voice of a raven."

But the joke had a happy sequel. "We talked and laughed for an hour. He is very clever, amiable and polite. He has the softest voice—never pronounces the 'R' at all."

Soon the major is "more sociable than ever," and "he shone in every subject he talked of."

A Firstday Walk Along the Wissahickon
Wartime altered not the ancient and honorable custom of utilizing Sunday as a day for young people of opposite sexes to become better acquainted. On a certain First day early in November the journal tells this story:

"After dinner Liddy, Betsy and thy smart journalizer put on their bonnets

determined to take a walk. We left the house. I naturally looked back; when behold, the two majors—Major Stoddert and Major Letherberry—seemed debating whether to follow us or not. Liddy said: 'We shall have their attendance,' but I did not think so. They opened the gate and came fast after us. They overtook us about ten pole from home, and begged leave to attend us. No fear of a refusal.

"They enquired where we were going. 'To Neighbor Roberts's. We will introduce you to his daughters, you us to General Stevens.' The affair was soon concluded, and we shortened the way with lively conversation. Our intention of going to Roberts's was frustrated; the rain that had fallen lately had raised Wissahickon too high to attempt crossing it on foot. We altered the plan of our ramble, left the road and walked nearly two miles through the woods.

"'Tis nonsense to pretend to recount all that was said; my memory is not so obliging; but it is sufficient that nothing happened during our little excursion but what was very agreeable and entirely consistent with the strictest rules of politeness and decorum.

"I was vexed a little at tearing my muslin petticoat. I had on my white whim, quite as nice as a Firstday in town. We returned home safe."

As the army moved from Whitpain down into Whitmarsh, early in November, Major Stoddert, along with the other officers, had to depart from the Foulke house—which was not to the liking of either Major Stoddert or Sally Wister.

"The major looks dull," reads the journal, and "he spoke very low as he said, 'Good-bye.'"

But a few days later the major returned sick, having been attacked by a fever. "He looked pale, thin and dejected, too weak to rise," is Sally's record.

As might be expected, he soon recovered, but which proved the more potent remedy—the medicine with which Aunt Hannah dosed him or the sympathetic presence of the girl who previously had cured him of bashfulness—the journal does not tell.

A Famous Practical Joke

During the period of convalescence Sally and the major were implicated in a practical joke that made both armies laugh.

A paymaster in the American army named Tilly had taken up his abode with the Foulkes. The journal intimates that he was given to boasting of his own bravery, he being described as "a wild and noisy mortal," though "bashful when with girls." Another thing against him was that he played the flute.

On the night of December 12 someone knocked at the door of the house, and a message was sent in summoning the officers. Tilly was in the lead as they passed out, when he almost collided with what in the darkness appeared to be a red-coated British soldier. At the same time a voice demanded, "Is there any rebel officer here?"

Then Tilly—in the language of the journal—"darted like lightning out of the front door, bolted the fence, swamps, fences, thorn hedges and plowed fields no way impeded his retreat."

After everyone had had time to enjoy the situation Major Stoddert brought Tilly back. He was subjected to a flood of sarcastic solicitude about his safety, to which he replied with a

comprehensive invitation to the crowd to take up their abode in the domain of his satanic majesty.

Finally, though, he joined in the laughter, accepting the joke-naturedly. Then they showed him the cause of his alarm. It was a life-size figure of a British grenadier painted on wood.

This figure is still in the Wister house in Germantown. Tradition says Major Andre painted it for the theatrical productions which the British soldiers gave in the Southwark Theatre, in Philadelphia. Just how it found its way to Gwynedd is not clear, the only explanation in the journal reading thus:

"We had brought some weeks ago a British grenadier from Uncle Miles's, on purpose to divert us. It is remarkably well executed, six foot high and makes a martial appearance. This we agreed to stand at the door that opens into the road (the house has four rooms on a floor, with a wide entry running through), with another figure that would add to the deceit. One of our servants was to stand behind them; others were to serve as occasion offered."

The Uncle Miles, from whose house the figure was procured, was Colonel Samuel Miles, who then lived at Spring Mill.

The day following the perpetration of the joke on Tilly, Major Stoddert left the Foulke house, and, so far as is known, he and Sally Wister never again saw each other. Major Stoddert married and lived the life of a country gentleman in Maryland, and died when but 34 years old from diseases due to the hardships of the war.

The Winter at Penllyn

All winter long, while the main body of the army was at Valley Forge, detachments of troops frequently passed through Gwynedd, and the officers were entertained at the Foulke house. One of these officers, Captain Alexander Spotswood Dandridge, of Virginia, began to establish himself as a member of the family by offering to kiss Priscilla Foulke, then 33 years old, and wound up by proposing marriage to Sally Wister, notwithstanding that he admitted he was then engaged to Tacy Vanderin, daughter of the miller at the mouth of the Wissahickon.

The captain, writes Sally Wister, got her "very gentlest refusal."

Finally on June 20, 1778, with the news of the British evacuation of Philadelphia, the journal closes, as the Wister family prepare to return to their city home.

Sally Wister never married. She died at Grumblethorpe, the Wister home in Germantown, in 1804, at the age of 43 years.

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)
No. 17

Rev. Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg's Journal

Besides Sally Wister another observer was writing a daily journal telling what he saw during the time the American army was moving through the territory north and west of Philadelphia, in the autumn of 1777. This other chronicler, the Rev. Dr. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, famous leader of the early Lutherans, whose home was at Trappe, of course looked upon what was transpiring from a different angle from that of the young Quaker maiden in Gwynedd. More mature and far more serious, he saw the sadness and destructiveness of war, and he saw,

too, that a new nation was in the midst of its struggle for life.

During nearly all his busy life in the ministry, Dr. Muhlenberg kept a journal in which he made a full record of his work and experiences. These manuscript journals, written in German, are now in the Krauth Memorial Library, at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mount Airy, Philadelphia.

These valuable documents have been used to some extent by historians, but they have never been translated and printed in full and made generally accessible. Parts of the journals for 1776 and 1777, relating to the affairs of the Revolution, were translated by Dr. Heister H. Muhlenberg, of Reading, and printed in 1853, but copies are now hard to locate.

War Brought to His Doors

Trappe is some twenty miles distant from Whitemarsh, where the army was encamped in November, 1777, but the place was within the range of the going and coming of military forces and, being on the main road from Philadelphia to Reading, Dr. Muhlenberg was well informed of what was occurring. Besides, his son, General Peter Muhlenberg, took occasion to visit his parents whenever opportunity offered.

Here are some entries from Dr. Muhlenberg's journal for November and December, 1777:

"Saturday, Nov. 1—Had a visit from Mr. Gorman, a large sugar refiner in Philadelphia, where he formerly lived, but he now has his family in this vicinity. The British have turned his extensive buildings into a hospital. I borrowed a half-bushel of salt from my son Fred. A bushel costs already £15.

"Monday, Nov. 3—On Friday and Saturday several regiments left the American camp for the fortifications on the Delaware below Philadelphia, as a reinforcement. From which we conclude the British ships of war have not yet taken those works, in spite of their great exertions and the great quantities of bombs and cannon balls fired at them. Yesterday we heard a violent cannonading and bombardment in that vicinity, and today there comes a flying rumor that the American galleys and gunboats and other small vessels have taken another British ship of war. If the British take the forts they can remove the sunken chevaux-de-frize without any obstruction, clear the channel and open the desired communication with New York, and be supplied with provisions and ammunition in abundance.

Conditions at Barren Hill

"Tuesday, Nov. 4—An old man had been fifty miles on foot to Barren Hill to get a certificate of baptism of his son, whom I had baptized there in 1762, and returned from there back to my house. All young men of 18 years must go into the field with the militia; those under 18 are exempt, but must show proof of their age. The old man yesterday saw St. Peter's Church, on Barren Hill, and found to his sorrow that it was used as a stable for horses by a portion of the American army camped in the vicinity. A short time previous the British army had been there and taken from the people their horses, oxen, cows, sheep and hogs, so that but little was left for the American army. Toward evening there came two respectable English women and asked for lodgings. The tender creatures escaped on last Sunday from Philadelphia and had, in the space of two days, traveled twenty-six miles on foot, waded two streams,

Skippack and Perkiomen, and were going to Reading in search of their husbands. We gave them a bed, but had no tea or coffee to give them, to which they have been accustomed. They said they had never in their lives gone so far on foot.

"Friday, Nov. 7—Cold weather. This morning I had a visit from an Indian who came from the American camp and was going to Shamokin, as now their hunting season commences. He had served three years in the campaigns of the American army as a volunteer. * * * Toward evening a man arrived with a chaise and a distinguished lady, who was a stranger here, and had got wet crossing the Schuylkill. No one was willing to give them lodging, and there are at present no taverns. I sent them to a good neighbor, who received them and gave them horsefeed, of which I had none, or I would have kept them myself very willingly.

"Sunday, November 16—I went to Augustus Church; held divine service and preached on the text for the day, viz., Matthew 24:15. The audience was attentive, for many things are more easily comprehended owing to the present times of which formerly they had no knowledge or experience. The most eloquent speaker may describe famine in the most vivid manner to persons who have just made a full meal, without their sympathizing and feeling it as much as if they felt the pinching of hunger in their own persons. In the evening we had numerous calls from acquaintances of the upper country who had served their two months in the militia and were on their way home to their families and were cold, hungry and thirsty.

Visited Germantown

"Wednesday, Nov. 19—My son Fred returned today from Germantown; he cannot say enough about the destruction there. It is said that about forty women escaped from Philadelphia yesterday and the day previous, on account of the scarcity of food.

"Friday, Nov. 21—Bought 500 pounds of hay for our cows for £3. Hay is already so scarce that it is bought by the pound, and is difficult to get, and winter has just commenced. It seems as if a portion of the American army would go into winter quarters in this vicinity, as the quartermaster general has been busy about here today.

"Saturday, Nov. 22—At noon had a visit from Baron L, quartermaster general and engineer. We treated him to a German sausage we had just made. In the evening between 6 and 7 o'clock we saw a high column of fire toward Philadelphia which lasted three hours. The quartermaster general had planned and built a bridge over the river at Matson's ford [Conshohocken]; he says there was another battle yesterday between the Americans and British at a fort on the Delaware.

"Monday, Nov. 24—We heard an explanation of the flame which we saw on Saturday evening, viz., that the British had burned sundry valuable houses between Philadelphia and Germantown.

"Wednesday, Nov. 26—Visited by a fugitive who resided about three miles from Philadelphia but has lost his property. He says that the Delaware River is now clear and that about 200 British ships have now reached the wharves.

"Friday, Nov. 28—Last evening we had very brilliant northern light. Today I hear with sorrow that the British

are landing their sick from the ships and have taken our two churches for hospitals; divine worship can therefore not be continued. At night we had to receive four soldiers and give them lodgings.

Sunday, Nov. 30—First Advent Sunday. The rain still continues. I had promised for the past week to have service in Augustus Church this Sunday, God willing; but as it rained the roads were muddy and the water high, supposed no one would come, but learned that a few were collected. A good friend lent me a horse, and I rode to the church and held the Advent service with much satisfaction to those assembled.

Used Cellar to Store Army Provisions

Monday, Dec. 1—In the evening Commissary Robert Dill came from the American camp and said he had heard that we had the largest and best cellar in the vicinity, and as he was obliged to store up provisions for the winter, desired leave to use our cellar. I could not refuse, as it is a duty to serve friends and enemies whenever we can.

Tuesday, Dec. 2—Today there came twelve wagons from the American camp and brought articles to be lodged in our cellar.

Saturday, Dec. 6—Today a number of soldiers from the American camp have passed through here on their way home to Virginia, as they say their time is out. In the evening we were overrun with militia from the American camp going home to Lancaster County; they have a baggage wagon with them and would not be put off. So we had to admit them. We cleared the large room for them, where, after eating supper, they slept on the floor. Late at night came a wagon master, Mr. John Rowan, who had a letter to Robert Dill, Esq., in whose absence I was to open it. I remained up the greater part of the night, as long as the bitter cold would admit.

Sunday, Dec. 7—Second Sunday in Advent. At break of day our guests departed and thanked us politely for the shelter. (One of them stole something.) The wagon master, John Rowan, took a hog head from the cellar, by order. Today Pastor Voigt preached in Augustus Church. It was a restless day for the rest of us because the commissary came with six wagons to take provisions for the army from our cellar. Three barrels still remain.

Experiences With Wagon Train

Monday, Dec. 8—We were obliged to receive the wagon master general and his deputy, with their horses; and our barn was filled with marauders who understand helping themselves when begging does not answer.

Tuesday, Dec. 9—At dawn my smithshop was taken possession of and fifteen smiths are at work.

Wednesday, Dec. 10—The army wagons and their escorts are still lying around here and are gleaning the remaining wood, hay, oats, etc.

Thursday, Dec. 11—Last night at 1 o'clock an express came from camp with orders for the wagons and their guard to go down to camp. An hour afterward the noise and confusion commenced, and whatever divers animals of prey could pick up, such as hay and oats, was carried along. * * * In the afternoon from 3 to 6 o'clock several hundred wagons came back, with their escort and encamped about here. In the evening my sons Fred and Henry and Pastor Buskirk came to our house. They had been to Germantown, and had seen the destruction there; the poor inhabitants wander about naked

and hungry and complain of their situation. I am informed from all sides the the British and Hessian officers have marked me out for vengeance and threaten to capture me by their hussars at the first opportunity. I don't know how I have offered and what these Caribees can find to devour on my old ribs. All advise me to fly; but where?—with a sickly wife and myself old and feeble and when every family can scarce bear its own burden in these expensive times. Lord guide me on the way."

(Copyright 1927 by Edward W. Hocker)

No. 18

Incidents of the Whitmarsh Camp

From the time that the British army took possession of Philadelphia, in September, 1777, until the middle of November, the endeavors of General Howe were directed toward opening a passage to the sea for British ships. So long as the Americans held the Delaware River below Philadelphia, the British were virtually cooped in a beleaguered city.

Fort Mifflin, the American fort on the Pennsylvania side, was systematically invested October 6. Almost every day the fort was bombarded. Its little garrison suffered severely, both from the fire and from lack of provisions.

But the Americans held out until November 15. Then, after a terrific fire from the enemy continuing for five days, the survivors of the garrison made their escape, abandoning the fort to the British. The Americans lost 250 killed and wounded in the siege of the fort.

Now the position of the American post on the New Jersey side, Fort Mercer, was rendered perilous. The assault of the German troops had been successfully repulsed in October. Following the fall of Fort Mifflin, Lord Cornwallis took a large British force into New Jersey.

Some American regiments were sent from the camp at Whitmarsh into New Jersey to endeavor to aid the garrison at Fort Mercer. General Greene was in command of the American operations in New Jersey.

On November 17 Cornwallis took the American fortifications along the Delaware at Billingsport. Then, by order of General Greene, Fort Mercer was destroyed and vacated, on November 20, and the following day Cornwallis took possession of the ruins.

Now the British could clear the Delaware of the American obstructions, and ere long the British ships could approach the city without difficulty.

Most of the American troops on duty in New Jersey now returned to the Whitmarsh camp.

Attack on British Considered

In view of the need of taking troops out of Philadelphia to keep open the line of communication on the Delaware, the advisability of making an attack upon the British was considered in the American camp. There was a council of war on November 24 for the discussion of the matter, but it was inconclusive.

Washington then asked the several generals to write their opinion and submit it the following day. Eleven officers opposed an attack and four favored an attack. The four who

wanted to fight were Stirling, Wayne, Scott and Woodford.

Toward the end of November reinforcements arrived at Whitmarsh from the northern army. This welcome addition comprised 5500 men, including the brigades of Poor, Warner, Patterson, Learned and Glover, Morgan's Riflemen and four additional regiments.

But the British were also receiving reinforcements, so that Washington gained little appreciable advantage.

About this time Washington and Howe had an interchange of correspondence. It began with Howe's demanding better treatment for British prisoners in American hands. He declared some of these prisoners were "loaded with irons," and he threatened retaliation unless such practices were discontinued. Washington replied, denying the charges and asserting that American prisoners in Philadelphia were being starved.

Lack of Shoes

Now that cold weather was coming the troops at Whitmarsh experienced a foretaste of the distress that was to be their lot during the winter following at Valley Forge.

There was a lack of shoes. General Washington on November 22 offered a reward of \$10 for the best substitute for shoes made of rawhide. Whether the reward was paid is not known now.

A few days later the general urged "any gentlemen of the army" to give information as to where shoes, stockings and leather breeches might be obtained in quantity.

To add to the troubles it was found that careless butchers were damaging the hides of cattle killed in the camp. The commissaries received instructions to correct this, as the hides were wanted for making footwear.

Up to the end of November the troops had not yet received their September pay, but it was announced that the money was expected any hour.

Lacking money some of the men were tempted to sell the clothing that was issued to them, notwithstanding most of the troops were poorly clad. Officers were directed to make a weekly inspection to keep a watch on the clothing issued and to punish those who sold their clothing.

The clothing of sick and wounded soldiers also disappeared mysteriously. They would go to the hospital well clothed and when discharged they had no clothing. An order required officers to correct this defect, keeping record of the clothing of men committed to the hospitals and delivering the arms and accoutrements of sick men to the regimental quartermaster.

Caring for the Sick

The Friends Meeting House at Buckingham, Bucks County, was converted into an army hospital, and on November 15 it was directed that sick soldiers be sent there from the Whitmarsh camp. On the 20th, however, came another order that no more sick were to be sent to Buckingham, the meeting house evidently being filled to its capacity.

Dr. Tenny, of General Varnum's brigade, was appointed to act as surgeon general on November 25. "The surgeons are to apply to Dr. Tenny for sulphur for their regiments," the order continued.

A few days later there was further evidence of the effort to protect the health of the troops. A return was

to be made of all officers and men who had not had the smallpox.

Officers on Trial

Several officers were tried or subjected to courts of inquiry on different charges at the Whitmarsh camp.

Joseph Chambers, who had been commissary in General Greene's division, complained that Colonel Josiah Parker had ordered a sergeant and a file of men to flog Chambers. Colonel Parker admitted that he had done so. The court found that Parker's action was illegal and reprehensible.

Major Ross was tried on the charge of having left his arms on the field of battle at Germantown on October 4. He was acquitted with the highest honors.

The most important court martial at Whitmarsh involved the case of General Stephen, who was accused of "un-officerlike behavior in the retreat from Germantown, owing to inattention or want of judgment."

There had been much recrimination among the officers about the battle of Germantown. Censure was dealt out in many directions. Stephen suffered most severely. The records indicate, however, that the accusation before the court related only to his conduct on the retreat and not to any blunder in the action, though he is sometimes held responsible for bringing about defeat by permitting his division, which was with the American left wing, to collide with General Wayne's command, in the right wing.

The court martial in the case of Stephen, General Sullivan presiding, heard testimony for several days, and then rendered a verdict finding Stephen guilty as accused and adding that he had been frequently intoxicated since he had been in the service. The sentence was dismissal from the service, and this sentence General Washington promptly approved.

Soldiers Who Became Famous

November 20, the same day that the Stephen court martial returned its verdict, Lieutenant John Marshall was appointed deputy judge advocate general of the army. The judge advocate general was the legal officer of the army. Whether Marshall had any part in the trial of Stephen is not recorded. In later years Marshall rose to high place in the legal profession and was chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. His biography of Washington is a standard work on that subject.

At the same time James Monroe—later President of the United States—was appointed aid de camp on the staff of General Lord Stirling.

Another important assignment was the appointment of General Lafayette to command the division which had been under General Stephen.

Evils attending prolonged camp life made themselves manifest, as is evident from orders issued on November 24 to suppress tipping houses near the camp. They had been opened by "divers of the late sutlers and some of the inhabitants," so the order declared. The general threatened to seize the liquor that was being offered for sale and he declared his intention of "banishing the sutlers from the army."

Military Activities

Minor military movements were frequent. On November 15 the troops were directed "to be ready for duty at a minute's warning." On the 24th it was ordered that all the troops were to be ready to march at 7 o'clock the next

morning, but this order was countermanded and followed by instructions to prepare to march on short notice and to have three days' supply of provisions ready at all times.

Arms were to be put in the best condition, an order of November 28 directed. Men whose guns were loaded were to draw the load or discharge it "the first fine day at 11 o'clock." To prevent waste of lead the charges were to be fired into a bank of earth and the lead reclaimed.

Scouting parties were warned not to seize horses or cattle or other property of inhabitants of the neighborhood. "Great and enormous abuses" had been committed along this line, the order continued.

A number of horses that had been captured were ordered sold at public auction on November 22, the proceeds to be divided among the captors.

Pickets were forbidden to build fires, and that they might not suffer from the cold they were to be relieved hourly.

That such precautions were justified was shown a little while later when General Howe moved his army out from Philadelphia with the hope of overwhelming the American forces at Whitmarsh, a hope which was destined to fall far short of realization.

No. 19

A Battle Planned But Not Fought

Early in December, 1777, the stage was all set for another battle in the Pennsylvania campaign of the American Revolution.

Both the American army, in camp at Whitmarsh, and the British, in Philadelphia, had been strengthened. Through accessions from the northern army, Washington could now muster about 14,000 Continentals and 2700 militia. But they were ill equipped and lacking in almost everything essential to the making of an effective fighting force.

The British commanders were aware of this. So a plan was formulated by General Howe and his officers to attack the Americans at Whitmarsh with the hope of inflicting a decisive defeat upon the "rebels" in one quick stroke.

However, the Americans kept a close watch upon the activities of the foe. Small parties of the Continental forces frequently made incursions into the "no man's land," between the two armies, and sometimes the British retaliated, ravaging the country to the north and west of Philadelphia.

On one occasion Washington went down into Germantown, six miles south of the American camp, and visited the Chew house, about which the battle of Germantown had been fought, on October 4. From the roof of the house, with the aid of his field glasses, the American commander sought to study conditions within the lines of the British and along the Delaware.

British Army at Chestnut Hill

At 1 o'clock on the morning of Friday, December 5, 1777, the main body of the British army, to the number of 12,000, left its cantonments in Philadelphia, and marched out through Germantown to Chestnut Hill, arriving there by daybreak.

Captain Allan McLane's American horsemen discovered the advancing British below Germantown and hastily sent warning to Washington, at Whitmarsh.

So confident were the British that a

swift blow could be struck, involving disaster to the Americans, that they took with them no tents nor baggage and only two days' supply of provisions.

But as the British halted on the heights at Chestnut Hill and the officers surveyed the American lines, on the chain of hills a mile or two to the north, they were forced to the conclusion that it would not be an easy matter to dislodge Washington from so advantageous a position. Wagon trains were thereupon sent back to the city for more supplies.

Conflicts Occur

Six hundred Pennsylvania militia attacked the British left, but were driven back, and their commander, General Irvine, was wounded and captured.

The British proceeded up the Bethlehem road, and turned to the right north of Flourtown, occupying the woods on the hills.

Thus the armies lay during Saturday, December 6. On Sunday the 7th, the British moved eastward as far as Limekiln road, below Edge Hill, forming in three lines for battle. Grey's brigade of the British advanced, and a skirmish occurred with some American forces, the Americans being driven back.

More of the British went forward, and at sunset Morgan's riflemen, of the American army, left their entrenched camp and attacked the British right near Edge Hill. Sharp fighting followed, but Morgan was forced to withdraw his command.

That night the British officers held a council of war and decided it would not be feasible to attack Washington's position. The retreat to Philadelphia began at once, screened by blazing campfires, and by Monday night all of Howe's army was again safely in the city.

The fighting extended over a territory of about one and a half square miles. According to the official reports, the Americans lost eighty-four killed and wounded, and the British loss was twenty-eight killed, sixty-four wounded and thirty-three missing.

The Story of Lydia Darragh

One of the numerous debatable points of Revolutionary history concerns the question as to how General Washington received word of the contemplated attack of the British. It is evident that Washington had some information of the plans of the enemy, for ample preparations were made for an attack. Entrenchments were thrown up and abatis was constructed in front of the lines.

The favorite account as to how Washington was warned is that Lydia Darragh, a Philadelphia Quaker, walked out to the camp at Whitmarsh and told Washington of the contemplated attack. Many historians, however, class the Lydia Darragh story with the pleasant fiction that has been woven about many historical characters.

The usual version of the story is that certain British officers were quartered in the house of Lydia Darragh, in Philadelphia; that she listened at the keyhole while these officers discussed plans for an attack upon the American camp at Whitmarsh; that on the pretense of going to Frankford for flour she made her way to the American lines, demanding to see Washington,

and, when taken before him at his headquarters, revealed the purpose of the British, thus enabling the Americans to prepare themselves and re-

pulse the attack that followed.

The tale cannot be substantiated from official records. But that is no proof that it is false, for Washington would not be likely to make official mention of anyone who brought him information, since the informant would thus be branded as a spy in the eyes of the enemy.

Washington's report to Congress says that "from a variety of intelligence I have reason to expect that General Howe was preparing to give us a general action."

Some information regarding the warning conveyed to Washington is found in the journal of Elias Boudinot, American commissioner general of prisoners at the time of the Whitmarsh encampment. One day while he was dining at the Rising Sun tavern, on the Germantown road, below Germantown, "a little, poor looking, insignificant old woman" whom he does not name brought him a needlebook in which, after much search, he found concealed a piece of paper bearing information of General Howe's plans for an attack upon the American camp. Boudinot wrote that he conveyed this information to Washington.

Preparing for Winter Quarters

Winter was now at hand, and it was evident that the campaign was at an end. Winter quarters for the army had to be found. Whitmarsh was too close to the British and the region lacked the natural protection that might be found farther inland.

Even before the attack by the enemy the question of establishing winter quarters received consideration at a council of war on November 30. Three sites were proposed: the hills west of the Schuylkill River, the territory between Reading and Lancaster and the region about Wilmington, Del.

The decision was made to move the army to the hills on the west side of the Schuylkill. Accordingly on December 11 the troops vacated the Whitmarsh encampment, which they had occupied for six weeks, and set out on the march toward the Schuylkill.

No. 20

Gulph Mills and Valley Forge

Even when the soldiers of the American army vacated their huts and tents in the camp in Whitmarsh, where they had spent six weeks, the exact site of the winter quarters had not been determined, though it was known that it was to be somewhere amidst the chain of hills west of the Schuylkill, where the army would have the benefit of natural shelter and be able easily to establish itself in a strongly fortified position. Furthermore the location would be about twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, where the British were in possession, so that the enemy would not find any great extent of Pennsylvania open to its foraging parties.

The main body of the American army moved north on Skippack road on December 11, 1777, to its intersection with the road now known as Butler pike, at the old village of Broad Axe. Here the army turned southwest, the purpose being to cross the Schuylkill at Matson's ford, now Conshohocken.

While the army was leaving Whitmarsh General Washington issued instructions to gather up all the sick sol-

diers who were in private houses in the neighborhood of the camp and take them to army hospitals. The principal army hospital was in Reading, and thither most of the suffering soldiers were conveyed, a "careful subaltern" being detailed from each brigade to accompany the sick men on their journey.

British Force Appears

At Matson's ford a bridge had been constructed of wagons to permit the army to cross. Sullivan's division made its way to the south side of the river, but encountered a force of British on that side.

Fearing the British were prepared to oppose the crossing, Sullivan's command was withdrawn from the south bank of the river and the bridge was destroyed.

The army then moved westward along the north bank of the Schuylkill to the next good crossing—Swedes' ford, at the lower end of the present borough of Norristown. This ford had been the scene of military preparations the previous September, when Pennsylvania militia were rendezvoused there and threw up earthworks to resist the expected attempt of the invading British army to cross there.

It transpired that the British on the south bank of the Schuylkill at Matson's ford were only a foraging party who were as much surprised to encounter the Americans as the Americans were to see the British. They came in conflict with General Potter's brigade of Pennsylvania militia, in Lower Merion, and the militia retired before the British, the latter pursuing as far as Matson's ford. Lord Cornwallis was in command of the British detachment. It did not linger at Matson's ford, but soon returned to Philadelphia.

In Camp at the Gulph

When the American army arrived at Swedes' ford the night of December 11 no provision had been made for a crossing. The army went into camp on the north bank of the river for the night, and work was begun on the construction of a bridge of wagons at the ford and a raft bridge below the ford.

The night of Friday, December 12, the army began crossing the river on the two bridges. Arriving on the south bank the march was taken up to the Gulph region, two miles south of the river.

The locality is now known as Gulph Mills. It was called the Gulph from the earliest time because of the deep cleft made in the hills where Gulph

Creek flows through on its way to join the Schuylkill. A mill was erected in the locality in 1747, and was a landmark until recent times.

On the roadside at Gulph Mills is a great boulder bearing a bronze tablet commemorating the army's camp in this locality. The marker was erected in 1893 by the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

The highway running through the cleft in the hills is the old Gulph road, from the Bryn Mawr neighborhood northward to Valley Forge. A picturesque feature is the "hanging rock," projecting over Gulph road. Here also is a bronze tablet, telling that in 1924 the site of the rock was presented by Mrs. J. Aubrey Anderson to the Valley Forge Historical Society. There had been talk of removing the rock to widen the road, but a protest was made, and it was hoped that by placing the rock in the custody of the Historical Society

its preservation would be assured.

Arriving at the Gulph the soldiers of the American army had to seek refuge in barns or amidst the masses of rock or else build huts, for the wagon train carrying the tents had not arrived, and it did not arrive until December 16.

A Surgeon's Diary

A picture of conditions in the Gulph Mills camp is found in the diary of Dr. Albigeance Waldo, a surgeon in a Connecticut brigade. Even amidst the distresses of his condition Dr. Waldo's sense of humor did not forsake him, for he writes that "the Gulph seems well adapted by its situation to keep us from pleasures and enjoyments of this world or being conversant with anyone in it. It is an excellent place to raise the ideas of a philosopher beyond the glutton thoughts and reflections of an epicurean. It cannot be that our superiors are about to hold consultation with spirits infinitely beneath their order—by bringing us into the utmost regions of the Terraqueous Sphere. No, it is, upon consideration, for many good purposes that we are to winter here."

Then he proceeds to enumerate the "good purposes," such as plenty of wood and water, few families to steal from, warm hillsides upon which to erect huts, and an incentive toward heavenly-mindedness because the soldiers at the Gulph would be "like Jonah in the belly of the great fish."

Thursday, December 18, according to the direction of Congress, was observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. That day Dr. Waldo had a roast pig for supper.

The formal observance of the day consisted of religious services conducted by the chaplains in the different commands.

A court martial was held in the camp at the instance of General Potter to try certain of his militiamen who were accused of ignominiously throwing away their guns in their flight before Cornwallis' force on the 11th. Several of the militiamen were convicted and publicly whipped.

To Valley Forge

On the 18th, the day of thanksgiving, General Washington issued orders designating Valley Forge, six miles farther up the Schuylkill Valley, as the site of the winter camp and giving explicit directions for the building of the huts for the soldiers upon arrival at Valley Forge.

The following day, December 19, the army marched over Gulph road, from Gulph Mills to Valley Forge. There upon the hills south of the Schuylkill, was established the camp that is outstanding in American history for the suffering which the men endured during the winter. This camp the army occupied until the following June.

Thus from week to week the movements of Washington and his men have been traced, from the time they entered Pennsylvania, at the end of July, 1777, through the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, to the end of the campaign for that season. Here the present pursuit of the trail of Washington's army comes to an end.

*Completed Dec 1st
1927*