

the whites, and was frequently employed by the provincial officers to carry messages and to act as interpreter. It is also related that an Indian family occupied a wigwam on the farm of Jacob Kohler, remaining there until as late as 1742, when the last of the Delawares were compelled to remove from this region to the valley of the Wyoming.

Still it was a common custom for Indians from the north to pass down the valley, and to wander very much as they chose through the country when the races were at peace. They brought game and peltries into the larger towns, and purchased the few articles they needed for their forest-life. But after the second pronounced outbreak of atrocities they came no more.

The scattered inhabitants in what is now Lehigh County happily escaped the Indians' wrath in 1755, when its weapons, the tomahawk and torch, fell so murderously and mercilessly upon the settlements in Northampton and Carbon Counties, resulting in the massacre of the Moravians¹ in the limits of the latter, and many murders elsewhere. As to the causes which led to these hostilities, the dissatisfaction arising from the "Walking Purchase" treaty of 1737, which we have briefly described, has by the majority of historians been ascribed the greatest influence, but it seems also as if the victory of the Indians over Braddock a short time previous must have operated powerfully as a stimulus to arouse race hatred and incite murderous desire.

The establishment of peace by the treaty of Oct. 26, 1758, gave a sense of security to the white settlers throughout the country, which deepened as time elapsed, and no evil deeds were committed until five years later, when it was dispelled with a shock. The conspiracy of the great and powerful Pontiac, who had emissaries among all of the tribes, craftily awaking and exciting their slumbering anger and savage desire for blood, perhaps had something to do with the outbreak here in Lehigh County in 1763. The local offense of the whites does not appear to have been sufficient in itself to have brought the hatchet down as it fell here. Indeed, the Germans who were massacred in Whitehall, and whose houses were burned, seem to have been entirely innocent, and to have treated the Indians always with the utmost kindness. The immediate cause of the butchery was a small sin committed by persons with whom the Whitehall settlers had no connection, though there were not wanting others, outrageous in character, which may be regarded as indirect causes of the bloody work.

Concerning these general provocations and the murders which followed we have quite minute and unquestionably correct information from several sources,² from which we deduce our narrative.

¹ See chapter of Indian history in the Carbon County department of this work.

² The principal ones are the printed account by Joseph J. Mickley, read on the anniversary of the massacre at a family gathering, and an article by Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, published in the *Guardian*.

Heckewelder (in an account which he states in a foot-note "is authentic") says that some friendly Indians, who had come to Bethlehem in the summer of 1763 to dispose of their peltry, upon returning to their distant home stopped at John Stenton's tavern,³ eight miles above Bethlehem, where they were very shabbily treated, and upon leaving which in the morning they found themselves robbed of some of the most valuable articles they had purchased. They returned to Bethlehem, and lodging their complaint with a magistrate, were given a letter to present to the landlord, in which he strongly urged that the Indians' property should be restored. But when they delivered the letter, they were told to leave the house, if they set any value on their lives. This they did, knowing that they had no other alternative. At Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, they fell in with some other Delaware Indians, who had been similarly treated, one of them having had his rifle stolen from him. The two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress, "and this they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English."

So much for the incident which seems to have been the immediate cause of the Whitehall murders. But it appears that there was another occurrence soon after this which exercised a more marked influence on the events of the future. Of this Loskiel gives the following account:

"In August, 1763, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation in Wechquetank,⁴ came on a visit and did all in their power to disquiet the minds of the brethren respecting the intentions of the white people.⁵ A woman called Zippora was persuaded to follow them. On their return they stayed at the Buchkabuchka⁶ over night, where Capt. Wetterholt lay with a company of soldiers, and went unconcerned to sleep in a hay-loft. But in the night they were surprised by the soldiers. Zippora was thrown down upon the threshing-floor and killed; Zachary escaped out of the house, but was pursued, and with his wife and little child put to the sword, although the mother begged for their lives upon her knees."

This Capt. Johann Nicholas Wetterholt, who came to this country in 1754, had been commissioned a captain in the French and Indian war. He resided in 1762 in Heidelberg township, Lehigh Co., and his name was on the tax-list again in 1764. His presence at the Gap with a company of soldiers in August, 1763,

³ In Allen township, Northampton County.

⁴ Wechquetank was a place settled by the Moravians in Lizard Creek Valley, Carbon Co.

⁵ This is one of the several small facts on which we base the theory that the Indian murders on the Lehigh were attributable to the inflamed condition of the Indian mind in consequence of Pontiac's conspiracy.

⁶ The name given by the Delawares to the Lehigh Gap. The word implies, according to Heckewelder, "mountains butting opposite each other."

can only be accounted for on the ground that he was on his way to or from Fort Allen, in Carbon County, where a small force of men had been retained since the close of the Indian war.

The outrageous act of the soldiers at the Gap was very likely brought about by one of Capt. Wetterholt's lieutenants, Jonathan Dodge, a most bitter hater of the Indians and as bloody a scoundrel as the country contained, a man who seemed to be possessed of a diabolical love of murder, and happiest when he could make it most hideous. He was not only hated by the Indians, but ultimately execrated by his soldier associates.¹ If not responsible for the atrocious murders at the Gap he was for many others, and his conduct greatly exasperated the usually peaceable Delawares.

Dodge's despicable acts, which made him troublesome to the soldiers and obnoxious to the people, are fully proved by testimony from himself and others. Concerning a most dastardly attack upon some friendly Indians who were on their way from Shamokin to Bethlehem, Dodge himself wrote to Timothy Horsfield (Aug. 4, 1763) as follows: "Yesterday there were four Indians came to Ensign Kerns.² . . . I took four rifles and fourteen deerskins from them, weighed them, and there was thirty-one pounds." And then he continues that after they left "I took twenty men and followed them, . . . then I ordered my men to fire, upon which I fired a volley on them. . . . Could find none dead or alive." One might judge from the frank tone of this letter that Horsfield, the commander of the Northampton County military, approved of that truly soldierly kind of warfare. Jacob Warner, a soldier in Capt. Nicholas Wetterholt's company, stated that when he and Dodge were searching for a lost gun, about two miles above Fort Allen, they saw three Indians painted black. Dodge fired upon them and killed one. Warner also fired, and thought that he wounded another. The Indians had not fired at them. The scalp of the dead Indian was taken and sent to Philadelphia.

Dodge was charged on the 4th of October with striking Peter Franz, a soldier, with a gun and seriously disabling him, and also with ordering his men to lay down their arms if the captain blamed him for taking the Indian's scalp. Capt. Wetterholt wrote to Horsfield: "If he (Dodge) is to remain in the company not one man will remain. I never had so much trouble and uneasiness as I have had these few weeks, and if he continues in the service any longer I don't purpose to stay any longer." On the 5th of October Dodge was put under arrest and sent in charge of Capt. Jacob Wetterholt to Timothy Horsfield, at Bethlehem, but it is probable that he escaped with nothing more than a reprimand, for he was with

Capt. Jacob Wetterholt and his detachment on their way to Fort Allen on October 7th.

This party under Capt. Jacob Wetterholt (who was a brother of Nicholas, and a resident of Lynn township) arrived and stopped on the night of October 7th at the tavern of John Stenton, in the Irish Settlement, about a mile north of Howertown, in Allen township, Northampton Co. Capt. Wetterholt was a good and brave soldier. His courage could perhaps be accounted for by his belief that he possessed the power of making himself invulnerable (*kugelfest*),—that is, that he could not be killed by a gunshot or any blow in battle. He was well aware that the Indians intended when they had opportunity to revenge themselves for the wrongs they had suffered at the hands of the whites, and he was fully cognizant that they had a burning feeling of hatred against this tavern and its occupants on account of bad treatment received there, and still he selected it as his lodging-place for the night, and committed the unsoldierly blunder of posting no sentinel. Perhaps his superstitious confidence led to this fatal mistake.

The night deepened, and as the hours passed stealthy foes, as ferocious as wild beasts, as cunning and noiseless as serpents, gathered about the fated house. Had the Indians prowling in the forests needed any other provocation than the memory of the wrongs they had received here for falling upon the people of that house, it would have been afforded by the knowledge that it sheltered the hated Lieut. Dodge. But he and Stenton and all the inmates of the tavern slumbered on undisturbed by any intimation of peril.

In the early morning of the memorable 8th of October, during the gray dawn that precedes the full light of day, the door was opened by the servant of Capt. Wetterholt. A rifle flashed and the man fell dead in the doorway. Capt. Wetterholt and Sergt. McGuire were also fired upon and dangerously wounded, while John Stenton was shot dead.

Lieut. Dodge made a terrified appeal for help to Timothy Horsfield, sending the following letter (which we copy *verbatim*):

"JOHN STENTONS, Oct. the 8, 1763

"MR. HORSFIELD, Sir, Pray send me help for all my men are killed But one and Capt. Wetterholt is most Dead, he is shot through the Body, for god sake send me help

"These from me to serve my country and king so long as I live.

"Send me help or I am a dead man

"this from Lyut Dodge

"Sergt meguire is shot through the body—

"Pray send up the Doctor for god sake"

The news of the disaster reached Bethlehem while it was yet early day, and the messenger creating a panic as he went, many people flocked to that town as the nearest place of safety. As the news spread others came in terror-stricken from all the country between Bethlehem and the scene of the murders, and also from the Saucon region.

A few soldiers who were at Bethlehem were sent out immediately to bury the dead and bring in the

¹ Dodge had been sent from Philadelphia by Richard Hockley to Lieut.-Col. Timothy Horsfield, with a letter dated July 14, 1763, recommending him as "very necessary for the service."

² Where Worthington now is.

wounded.¹ Among the latter was Capt. Wetterholt, who died the next morning at the "Crown Inn."² Timothy Horsfield, on receiving the news, informed Lieut. Hunsicker at Lower Smithfield, and urged him to the utmost vigilance in defending the frontiers.

Five days after the attack at Stenton's the following account of it was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, a paper published by Benjamin Franklin, who probably wrote this relation from details sent to the Governor by Horsfield:

"On Sunday night last an express arrived from Northampton County with the following melancholy account,—viz., that on Saturday morning, the 8th inst., the house of John Stenton, about eight miles from Bethlehem, was attacked by Indians, as follows: Capt. Wetterholt, with a party belonging to Fort Allen, being at that house, and intending to set out early for the fort, ordered a servant to get his horse ready, who was immediately shot down by the enemy, upon which the captain, going to the door, was also fired at and mortally wounded; that then a sergeant attempted to pull in the captain and shut the door, but he was likewise dangerously wounded; that the lieutenant next advanced, when an Indian jumped upon the bodies of the two others and presented a pistol to his breast, which he put a little aside, and it went off over his shoulder, whereby he got the Indian out of the house and shut the door; that the Indians after this went round to a window, and as Stenton was getting out of bed shot him, but not dead, and he, breaking out of the house, ran about a mile, when he dropped and died; that his wife and two children ran down into the cellar, where they were shot at three times, but escaped; that Capt. Wetterholt, finding himself growing very weak, crawled to a window and shot an Indian dead, it was thought, as he was in the act of setting fire to the house with a match, and that upon this the other Indians carried him away with them and went off. Capt. Wetterholt died soon after."

When the Indians had glutted their vengeance as far as lay prudently within their power at Stenton's, they attacked the inmates of a number of other houses, and the hatchet and torch did terrible work. Turning toward the Lehigh, the first house they came to was that of James Allen. This they plundered of everything that they coveted, and then destroyed all that they could not conveniently carry away. Proceeding onward toward the river, they next came to Andrew Hazlett's, not half a mile from Allen's. Hazlett attempted to fire upon them, but his flint or powder was poor, and his gun would not go off. He was shot down by a number of the band, his wife seeing him fall and die. She fled with her two children,

but was quickly overtaken by a couple of the fleet-footed Indians, who sank their tomahawks in her head. Her children were treated in a similarly barbarous manner, and they were left for dead. The woman lived, however, for four days, and one of her children completely recovered. Another man beside Hazlett was in the house, and he too was killed. Then the house was fired, and as the logs crackled the murderous band went whooping and yelling on toward the next house, that of Philip Kratzer, where they found no victims for gun or knife or axe, the family doubtless having heard the shots at Hazlett's and fled. The torch was applied to the humble home, and they then passed on to the Lehigh, which they crossed at a place still called "the Indian Fall," just above Siegfried's Bridge.

It was subsequently believed that when the Indians crossed the river they intended taking vengeance on a storekeeper in the neighborhood with whom they had quarreled, but they failed to find the way. When they crossed in true Indian file, they were seen by Ulrich Schowalter, who then lived on the place now owned by Peter Troxel. He was working at the time on the roof of a building which stood upon a considerable elevation of ground, and had a good opportunity to see and count the Indians, whom he found to number twelve. Probably he was the only person who saw the approach of the Indians, for it must be borne in mind that the greater portion of the country was at that time covered with forest.

The fierce nature of the savages had been aroused but not sated by the butcheries they had already performed on this beautiful autumn morning, and they were ready to vent their wild passion on whomever they found. On reaching the farm of John Jacob Mickley, in Whitehall, they came upon three of his children, Peter, Henry, and Barbary, running about in a field and gathering the chestnuts that the frost had dropped from the trees. The eldest of these children was eleven years old, the second nine, the youngest seven. No doubt they were full of glee in their nut-gathering, but their innocent joy and mirth was suddenly changed to terror as the dark forms burst from the adjacent wood and rushed upon them. Little Barbary could run but a few steps when she was overtaken and knocked down with a tomahawk. Henry ran and reached the fence, but as he was climbing it an Indian threw a tomahawk at his back which it is supposed killed him instantly. Both of these children were scalped, but the little girl in an insensible state survived for twenty-four hours. The oldest boy, Peter, reached the woods safely, and concealed himself between two large trees which stood close together in a little thicket. There he remained without making any noise until, hearing screams at a neighboring house, he knew the Indians to be there and the way open for his escape. Leaping from his hiding-place, he ran with all his might by way of Adam Deshler's to his brother, John Jacob Mickley,

¹ The detachment of soldiers who performed this duty was under command of Lieut. Jonathan Dodge, who escaped the massacre. He was paid \$8. 9d. on October 11th for this service.

² George Wetterholt, who was sheriff of Lehigh County, and a well-known citizen of Allentown, was his grandson.

to whom he conveyed the melancholy tidings.¹ The members of the Mickley family who were at the house escaped attack, it is believed by reason of their owning a huge and ferocious dog which had a particular antipathy to Indians.

Passing by Mickley's house, the Indians came to that of Nicholas Marks, whose family seeing them coming had made their escape. The house was fired. At Hans Schneider's, near by, the household was surprised, and father, mother, and three children ruthlessly slaughtered. Two daughters who had attempted to escape were overtaken and scalped, but subsequently recovered.² Another daughter was carried away as a captive, and her fate was never known. It was the screams from the terrified people at the Schneider house which were heard by the boy, Peter Mickley, in his place of hiding.

Their bloody work being done, the Indians left with all possible haste in the direction of the Blue Ridge.

A further account of these murders is afforded by a letter from Bethlehem to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, dated Oct. 9, 1763:

"Early this morning came Nicholas Marks, of Whitehall township, and brought the following account, viz.: That yesterday just after dinner, as he opened his door, he saw an Indian standing about two poles from the house, who endeavored to shoot at him; but Marks shutting the door immediately, the fellow slipped into a cellar close by the house. After this said Marks went out of the house with his wife and an apprentice-boy,³ in order to make their escape, and saw another Indian, who tried also to shoot at them, but his gun missed fire. They then saw the third Indian running through the orchard, upon which they made the best of their way, about two miles off, to Adam Deshler's place, where twenty men in arms were assembled, who went first to the house of John Jacob Mickley, where they found a boy and a girl lying dead, and the girl scalped. From thence they went to Hans Schneider's and said Marks plantations, and found both houses on fire, and a horse tied to the bushes. They also found said Schneider, his wife, and three children dead in the field, the man and woman scalped; and on going further they found two others wounded, one of whom was scalped. After this they returned with the two wounded girls to Adam Deshler's, and saw a woman, Jacob Allenman's wife, with a child lying dead in the road and scalped. The number of Indians they think was about fifteen or twenty. I cannot describe the deplorable condition this poor country is in; most of the inhabitants of Allen's Town and other places are fled from their habitations. Many are in Bethlehem and other places of the Brethren, and others farther down the country. I cannot ascertain the number killed, but think it exceeds twenty. The people of Nazareth and other places belonging to the Brethren have put themselves in the best posture of defense they can; they keep a strong watch every night, and hope by the blessing of God, if they are attacked, to make a good stand."

The house of Adam Deshler, here referred to, is a substantial stone structure, still giving unmistakable evidence, by its heavy walls and other peculiarities, that it was built to serve other purposes than those of

an ordinary farm domicile.⁴ This house was built by Mr. Deshler in 1760. Adjoining the stone structure upon the north was a large frame building, in which twenty soldiers might be quartered and a considerable quantity of military stores kept. The frame building passed into decay early in the present century, and was razed to the ground. During the Indian troubles this place was a kind of military post, furnished gratuitously by Adam Deshler, who was one of the most liberal and humane men in the region.⁵

Many of the settlers in the upper part of the county fled to Allentown (then Northampton) for safety. The people of that place were poorly prepared to defend themselves in case of an attack, but they did the best thing possible under the circumstances,—that is, they organized a company and sent for arms, as will appear from the following letter, written two days after the murder, to Governor Hamilton.

"NORTHAMPTON,
"THE 10TH OF THIS INSTANT OCTOBER, 1763.

"To the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Cent, and Sassex on Delaware.

"As I, Joseph Roth, of Northampton Town, church minister, of this eighth instant October, as I was a-preaching, the people came in such numbers that I was obliged to quit my sermon, and the same time Cornel James Bord was in the town, and I, the aforesaid minister, spoke with Cornel Bord concerning this affairs of the Indians, and we found the Inhabitance had neither Gons, Powder nor Lead to defend themselves, and that Cornel Bord had lately spoke with his honour. He had informed me that we would assist them with Gons and ammunition, and he requested of me to write to your honor, because he was just setting off for Lancaster, and the Inhabitance of the Town had not chose their officers at the time he set off. So we, the Inhabitance of the said Town, hath unanimous chose George Wolf, the bearer hereof, to be the Captain, and Abraham Rinker to be the Lieutenant.

"We whose names are under written promise to obey to this mentioned Captin and Lieutenant, and so we hope will be so good and send us 50 Gons, 100 lb. Powder, and 400 lb. Lead, and 150 stans for the Gons.

"These from your humble servant, remaining under the protection of our Lord Saviour Jesus Christ.

"JACOB ROTH, Minister.

"The names of the company of this said Northampton Town:

"George Wolf, Captin.	Leonard Abel.
"Abraham Rinker, Liet.	Tobias Dittes.
"Philip Koogler.	Lorenz Hank.
"Peter Miller.	Simon Brenner.
"Jacob Wolf.	John Martin Doerr.
"Simon Jagundaacker.	Peter Roth.
"George Nicholas.	Franz Keffler.
"David Deshler.	Jacob Mohr.
"Martin Froelich.	Abraham Savitz.
"George Lauer.	John Schreck.
"Daniel Nonnemacher.	George S. Schneff.
"Peter Schab.	Michael Rothbrock."
"Frederick Schachler.	

¹ Peter Mickley lived a number of years with his brother from this time, and removed to Bucks County, where he died in the year 1827.

² A bill for the relief of these girls was passed by the Assembly in 1765, by which the sum of £41 3s. 8d. was appropriated to discharge the bills brought against them by the surgeons who dressed their wounds and saved their lives.

³ George Graff, afterwards of Allentown. For biographical note see chapter on that city.

⁴ The old stone house, which was a place of refuge in troublous Indian times, is in a good state of preservation and still inhabited. It stands upon the north bank of Coplay Creek, in Whitehall township, upon a farm owned by D. J. F. Deshler, of Allentown.

⁵ Facts concerning Adam Deshler and his family appear in the history of Whitehall township. It will be seen by reference to the chapter of Indian history in the Carbon County department of this work that Deshler furnished large quantities of provisions for the provincial forces in 1756, 1757, and 1758.

That the military company was not of very much utility upon its organization will appear from an extract from one of Col. James Burd's letters to the Governor, dated Oct. 17, 1763. He says, "I arrived here (Lancaster) on Monday night from Northampton. I need not trouble your Honor with a relation of the misfortune of that county, as Mr. Horsfield told me he would send you an express and inform you fully of what had happened. I will only mention that in the town of Northampton (where I was at the time) there were only four guns, three of which unfit for use, *and the enemy within four miles of the place.*" From other sources we learn that the one gun in good condition was the property of David Deshler.

Fortunately there proved to be no necessity for the company or for guns. The feeling of alarm, however, extended much farther than Allentown. Bucks County had early sent succor to her northern neighbor, one company of mounted men coming into the hostile country within twenty-four hours, and two others speedily following. Companies were quickly organized in various parts of Northampton County. Louis Gordon, of Easton, was captain of one, and Jacob Arndt, who had removed from Bucks County, of another.

The Governor was thoroughly alarmed at what he supposed to be a general uprising of the Indians, and appears even to have been concerned for the safety of Philadelphia. On the 15th of October he called the attention of the Assembly to the murders in Northampton County in an earnest message, in which he urged that immediate attention be given to the subject of providing means for the protection of the frontier settlements. He said,—

... "I have received well-attested accounts of many barbarous and shocking murders and other depredations having been committed by Indians in Northampton County, in consequence whereof great numbers of those who escaped the rage of the enemy have already deserted, and are daily deserting their habitations; so that unless some effectual aid be speedily granted them, to induce them to stand their ground, it is difficult to say where their desertions will stop or to how small a distance from the capital our frontier may be reduced.

"The Provincial commissioners and I have, in consequence of the resolve of the Assembly of the 6th of July last, done everything in our power for the protection of the province pursuant to the trust imposed on us; but as our funds are entirely exhausted, and even a considerable arrear becomes due to the soldiers and others employed by the government for their pay, which we have not in our power to discharge, it seems impossible that the forces now on foot can be longer kept together without a supply is speedily granted for that purpose.

"I therefore, gentlemen, in the most earnest manner recommend to your immediate consideration the distressed state of our unfortunate inhabitants of the frontier, who are continually exposed to the savage cruelty of a merciless enemy, and request that you will in your present session grant such a supply as, with God's assistance, may enable us not only to protect our own people, but to take a severe revenge on our perfidious foes by pursuing them into their own country; for which purpose there prevails at present a noble ardor among our frontier people which, in my opinion, ought by all means to be cherished and improved." ...

The Assembly acted promptly, passing on Oct. 22, 1763, a provision "that the sum of twenty-four thousand pounds be granted to his Majesty for raising, paying, and victualling eight hundred men (officers

included), to be employed in the most effectual manner for the defense of this province."

The inhabitants having become thoroughly aroused and watchful, and the government having taken prompt and efficient measures, it was no longer within the bounds of practicable possibility for the Indians to invade the territory below the Blue Ridge, but they continued for a number of years—in fact, as late as 1780—to commit murders in the country just north of the mountains, some of which, having occurred in Carbon County, are related in this volume.

CHAPTER III.

LOCAL AFFAIRS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Raising of Troops—Manufactures for the Army at Allentown—Distressed Condition of the People.

WHEN the Revolutionary war opened the people of Lehigh, then an integral portion of old Northampton, with which its history of that period is inseparably merged, had enjoyed more than a decade of peaceful and prosperous years, which afforded a happy contrast with those intervening between 1755 and 1764. The farmers, who had so long lived in a state of fear and disquietude, had, on the establishment of peace after the atrocities of 1763, bent all of their energies to the improvement of their land and their homes, giving only that modicum of attention to public affairs which the interests of the State demand from good citizens. But when the inexorable flow of events operating on public opinion showed that the crisis of war with the mother-country was inevitable, the martial and the patriotic spirit of these quiet and usually undemonstrative people was awakened, and their thoughts were given to the one absorbing topic of the times.

The feeling that existed in the province is shown by the expressions of the convention which was held in Philadelphia Jan. 23–28, 1775. Following is an extract from the resolutions adopted: "But if the humble and loyal petition of said Congress to his most gracious Majesty should be disregarded, and the British administration, instead of redressing our grievances, should determine by force to effect a submission to the late arbitrary acts of the British Parliament, in such a situation we hold it our indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America."

Northampton was represented in the convention which thus enunciated the independent principles of the people by George Taylor, John Oakley, Peter Kichline, and Jacob Arndt.

The war that was to last seven years opened with the battle of Lexington upon the 19th of April, 1775, and the battle of Bunker Hill was fought on the 17th of the following June. Washington was placed at

the head of the army. Pennsylvania took prompt action toward raising the four thousand three hundred men apportioned to the province, and made appropriations for their support. Northampton County was as fully aroused as any portion of the province, and quickly organized a company of soldiers, each man enlisting receiving a bounty of three pounds (\$8.00).

This company, of which Thomas Craig was captain, was composed almost entirely of Northampton County men, and there were many from that portion which is now Lehigh. The company formed a portion of the Second Pennsylvania Battalion,¹ of which Col. Arthur St. Clair (afterward major-general) was the commander.

Following is the roll of Captain Craig's company :

- Captains.
- Craig, Thomas, com. Jan. 5, 1776 ; pro. lieutenant-col. Sept. 7, 1776.
Bunnen, Rudolph.
- First Lieutenants.
- Kachlein, Andrew, com. Jan. 5, 1776 ; disch. June 21, 1776.
Dunn, Isaac Budd, com. July 4, 1776.
- Second Lieutenants.
- Craig, John, com. Jan. 5, 1776 ; pro. Nov. 11, 1776 ; subsequently capt. in Light Dragoons, 4th Cavalry.
Armstrong, James, com. Nov. 11, 1776.
- Ensigns.
- Park, Thomas, com. Jan. 5, 1776 ; disch. June 20, 1776.
Dull, Abraham, com. Oct. 25, 1776.

¹ The Second Battalion was raised under authority of a resolution of Congress dated Dec. 9, 1775. The field-officers of the battalion were Col. Arthur St. Clair (afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary army), Lieut.-Col. William Allen (promoted from captain in the First Battalion), and Maj. Joseph Wood. The adjutant was George Ross. On the 16th of February, 1776, the secret committee of Congress was directed to furnish Col. St. Clair's battalion with arms, and to write to him to use the utmost diligence in getting his battalion ready, and to march the companies as fast as they were ready, one at a time, to Canada. On the 13th of March Lieut.-Col. Allen had arrived in New York, and embarked some of the companies for Albany, and received an order from Gen. Stirling to direct the rest of the companies to proceed to New York, where quarters would be found for them. On the 12th of April, 1776, five companies of the Second Battalion were at Fort Edward, N. Y., on the Upper Hudson River, where they remained until the 19th, when they were ordered to Fort George, whence they moved northward by way of Lake Champlain into Canada. The other companies of the Second came up, and on the 6th of May, Lieut.-Col. Allen with the battalion had passed Deschambault, and was within three miles of Quebec, where he met Gen. Thomas with the army retreating from Quebec. On the 7th, at a council of war, at which he was present, it was determined that the army should continue the retreat as far as the Sorel. Thomas with the army left Deschambault on the 13th, and was at Three Rivers on the 15th with about eight hundred men. On the 20th, Gen. Thomas was at Sorel, and the same day issued an order to Col. Maxwell to abandon Three Rivers, which he did, and with the rear of the army reached Sorel on the 24th. From Sorel, Col. St. Clair's battalion with other troops turned back and proceeded to Trois Rivières, on the St. Lawrence, where, on Saturday, the 8th of June, a severe battle was fought, resulting in the defeat of the American force, which retreated up the St. Lawrence, and reached Sorel on the 10th. On the 14th the British general, Burgoyne, reached that place, the Americans having evacuated it only a few hours before, and moved up the Sorel River to St. John's, at the foot of Lake Champlain. From there the retreat was continued to Isle aux Noix, and thence to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, which last-named place the Second Battalion left, Jan. 24, 1777, and moved southward to Pennsylvania, the enlistment of the men having expired. Subsequently many of them enlisted in the Third Regiment of Pennsylvania.

- Sergeants.
- Marshall, Robert, app. Jan. 7, 1776 ; disch. July 13, 1776.
Smith, Peter, app. Jan. 15, 1776 ; pro. Nov. 11, 1776.
Horn, Abraham, app. Jan. 5, 1776.
Dull, Abraham, app. Jan. 19, 1776 ; pro. Oct. 25, 1776.
Shouse, Christian, app. July 13, 1776.
Carey, John, app. Oct. 25, 1776 ; disch. Nov. 21, 1776.
McMichael, John, app. Nov. 21, 1776.
- Minor, John, app. Jan. 13, 1776, drummer.
Gangwer, George, app. Jan. 13, 1776 ; fifer ; reduced Oct. 11, 1776.
Fuller, Stephen, app. Oct. 11, 1776, fifer.
- Corporals.
- Shouse, Christian, app. Jan. 15, 1776 ; pro. July 13, 1776.
Carey, John, app. Jan. 5, 1776 ; pro. Oct. 25, 1776.
Byel, Peter, app. Jan. 17, 1776.
Powelson, Henry, app. Feb. 11, 1776.
McMichael, John, app. April 8, 1776 ; pro. June 21, 1776.
Shearer, Robert, app. April 12, 1776.
Sweeney, James, app. Nov. 21, 1776.
Mon, Samuel, app. July 12, 1776.
- Privates.
- Ackert, John.
Assur, Anthony.
Byel, Jacob.
Bowerman, Peter.
Boyer, John.
Branthuwer, Adam.
Crane, Josiah.
Crist, Butler.
Cunningham, Alexander.
Daily, Peter.
Darling, John.
Darling, David.
Davenport, Jacob.
Davis, Evan (Cookstown, Tyrone Co., Ireland ; enl. Jan. 7, 1776 ; missing since battle at Three Rivers, June 8th ; paroled Aug. 9, 1776).
Davis, John (missing since battle at Three Rivers, June 8th).
Diel, Daniel.
Dobbs, Thomas.
Docker, John.
Evans, Evan.
Fleck, Peter (wounded).
Foult, Daniel.
Freedley, Henry.
Gangwer, George.
Grimes, Samuel (missing since the battle of Three Rivers, June 8, 1776).
Groob, Philip.
Hans, Leonard.
Hindman, John.
Birkie, William.
Hochman, Ludwig.
Horn, Frederick.
Hubler, John.
Huntsman, George.
Jost, Martin.
Kautzman, Nicholas.
King, Charles.
Kuns, George (died Aug. 6, 1776).
Kuns, Michael.
Labar, Leonard.
Labar, Melchior.
Man, John.
Man, Lawrence.
McMichael, John (pro. April 8, 1776).
Miller, Christian.
Miller, Matthias.
Mengas, Conrad.
Minon, David.
Mock, John.
Morey, Robert.
Mon, Samuel (pro. July 13, 1776).
Nagle, Leonard.
Ney, Samuel.
Phass, George.
Powels, Jacob.
Prang, Stophel.
Ramsey, Thomas.
Rusarch, Conrad.
Reyley, Daniel.
Richards, Jonathan.
Riuker, Abraham.
Rogers, Timothy.
Shaffer, Thomas.
Shannon, John.
Shearer, Henry.
Shearer, Robert (pro. April 12, 1776).
Smith, Peter.
Smith, Philip.
Standley, Peter.
Stinson, David.
Stern, George.
Sweeney, James (pro. Nov. 21, 1776).
Thompson, James.
Wilson, Robert.
Wise, Jacob.
Yiesly, Felty.

When the news of the Declaration of Independence reached Easton it was determined to make a public demonstration, which was accordingly done upon the 8th of July. Capt. Abraham Labar's company paraded the streets, with fife and drum loudly resounding and colors flying, and the citizens assembled in the court-house to hear their townsman, Robert Levers, read the Declaration.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British under

Howe, in March, 1776, Washington, apprehending that New York was the objective-point of the enemy, moved there with the whole of his army except a small force sufficient to garrison Boston. But his entire army was lamentably insufficient, and Congress resolved to reinforce the commander-in-chief with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, ten thousand of whom were to form the "Flying Camp." Of this militia the quota of Pennsylvania was six thousand. The matter of the quotas of Pennsylvania and of the different counties was also considered at the conference of the committees of the province, held at Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, from June 18th to the 25th, 1776, to which the delegates from Northampton County were Robert Levers, Col. Neigel Gray, John Weitzel, David Deshler, Nicholas Depue, and Benjamin Depue. At this session of the conference the following resolutions were passed concerning the organization of the troops:

"Resolved, unanimously, That this conference do recommend to the committees and associators¹ of this province to embody 4500 of the militia, which, with the 1500 men now in the pay of this province, will be the quota of this province, as required by Congress.

"Resolved, unanimously, That the 4500 militia recommended to be raised be formed into six battalions, each battalion to be commanded by one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major; the staff to consist of a chaplain, a surgeon, an adjutant, a quartermaster, and a surgeon's mate, and to have one surgeon-major, one quartermaster-sergeant, a drum-major, and a fife-major, and to be composed of nine companies, viz.: eight battalion companies, to consist of a captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and sixty-six privates each, and one rifle company, to consist of a captain, three lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, one drummer, one fifer, and eighty privates."

The establishment of a permanent provincial government, and the holding of a convention for the purpose of forming the same, were also considered. A resolution was passed providing that all who were entitled to vote for representatives in Assembly should be permitted to vote for delegates to the convention after taking the test-oath of allegiance (should it be required). The judges of election were vested with power to administer the oath. Monday, the 8th of July, was appointed as the time for holding the election.

Northampton County was divided into four election districts, as follows:

The First District.—Easton, William, Lower Saucon, Bethlehem, Forks, Mount Bethel, Plainfield; to be held at Easton.

The Second District.—Northampton, Salisbury, Upper Saucon, Upper Milford, Macungie, Weissenberg, Lynn, Whitehall, Heidelberg; to be held at Allen's Town.

The Third District.—Allen, Moore, Chestnut Hill, Towamensing, Penn, Lehigh; to be held at Peter Anthony's.

The Fourth District.—Hamilton, Lower Smithfield,

Delaware, Upper Smithfield; to be held at Nicholas Depue's.

It will be observed that the whole of the present county of Lehigh, except Hanover, was included in the second district. The judges of election for this district were David Deshler, George Breinig, and John Gerhart.

The quota of Northampton towards the formation of the Flying Camp was three hundred and forty-six, of which number, it is said, two hundred came from the territory now comprised in Lehigh (though that estimate is probably too high). We learn from the *Bethlehem Diary* that on the 30th of July, 1776, "one hundred and twenty recruits from Allentown and vicinity" passed through that place on their way to the "Flying Camp in the Jerseys." Some of these men joined the company of Capt. John Arndt, of Baxter's battalion, which early in August joined Washington's army on Long Island, and participated in the battle which ensued there on the 27th of that month, and which resulted so disastrously to the colonial troops. The company suffered severely in this engagement, and also in that at Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776. Following is the roll of the company as taken at Elizabethtown the day after the battle:

Capt. John Arndt.	2d Lieut. Peter Kichline.
<i>Sergeants.</i>	
Robert Scott.	Philip Arndt.
<i>Corporals.</i>	
Elijah Crawford.	Peter Richter.
	Jacob Kichline.
<i>Privates.</i>	
Daniel Lewis.	Alexander Sylleman.
John Middagh.	Henry Onangst.
John McFerren.	Adam Yohe.
Robert Lyle.	James Ferrill.
Jacob Wagner.	Conrad Smith.
Samuel McCracken.	George Essig.
Henry Fatzinger.	John Kestler.
Michael Kehler.	Valentine Yent.
Henry Wolf, Jr.	Michael Diehl.
Isaac Shoemaker.	John Yent.
Daniel Sehler.	James Symonton.
Christian Stout.	Jacob Miller.
Benjamin Depue.	Michael Kress.

Names and rank of those killed or taken prisoners on Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776:

<i>Sergeants.</i>	
Andrew Heister.	Andrew Koifer.
<i>Privates.</i>	
Thomas Sybert.	Peter Kern.
Jacob Dufford.	Anthony Frutchy.
Richard Overfield.	Peter Lehr.
Joseph Stout.	Philip Bosh.
Jacob Weidknecht.	Peter Fress.
Martin Derr.	Barnet Miller.
George Fry.	Abraham Peter.
Matthias Steittinger.	John Harpel.
Henry Bush, Sr.	Lawrence Erb.
Peter Beyer.	

Names and rank of those killed or taken prisoners at Fort Washington, Nov. 16, 1776:

¹ The term "associators" was adopted to designate those who subscribed to the test-oath of allegiance to the provincial government, as prescribed by resolution of Congress. Those who did not take this oath were called "non-associators."

1st Lieut. Joseph Martin.	Drummer, John Arndt.
3d Lieut. Isaac Shimer.	Fifer, Henry Allshouse.
<i>Privates.</i>	
John Wolf.	Frederick Wagner.
Christian Rodt.	Samuel Correy.
James Hyndshaw.	Henry Frez.
John Ross.	Henry Bush, Jr.
Jacob Andrews.	Henry Straup.
John Bush.	Isaac Koon.
Conrad Bittenbender.	Christian Harpel.
Paul Reiser.	Joseph Minim.
John Shuck.	Henry Weidknecht.
Isaac Berlin.	Jacob Traunfeeter.
Frederick Rieger.	Adam Weidknecht.
Jacob Engler.	Adam Bortz.
Lewis Collins.	George Edinger.
Joseph Keller.	Christian Harpel.
William Warraud.	Jacob Kreider.
Fred. Wilhelm.	Joseph Chass.
Henry Wolf, Sr.	

Washington, after the disastrous battle of Harlem Heights, retreated across the North River, and the army marched rapidly through the State of New Jersey by way of Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, and Trenton, making none but brief and necessary halts until Pennsylvania soil was reached. The Delaware was then relied upon to check the progress of Cornwallis' pursuing forces. The General Hospital had been located at Morristown, N. J., but this retreat made it necessary to remove it within the contracted lines of the army. The town of Bethlehem, in the estimation of the commander-in-chief, was the most advantageous location, being well situated and healthful, and far enough removed from the front to be practically secure from the enemy. In pursuance of Washington's wish, John Warren, general surgeon to the Continental Hospital, sent to Bishop Ettwein, spiritual and temporal head of the Moravians, the following communication:

"According to his Excellency General Washington's order, the General Hospital of the army is removed to Bethlehem; and you will do the greatest act of humanity by immediately providing proper buildings for its reception."

The express bearing this notification arrived in Bethlehem Dec. 3, 1776, and one of the principal buildings was immediately vacated and put in readiness for the sick and wounded who were expected. When the first two hundred and fifty human wrecks of war arrived, they were made as comfortable as possible under the circumstances. They were entirely destitute of provisions, and it was three days before any arrived. During that time the benevolent Moravians supplied them with food gratuitously.

The Moravians at Bethlehem and elsewhere never turned a deaf ear to the cries of distressed humanity. Their position, as regarded the belligerents in the war of the Revolution, was one of strict neutrality, in full accordance with their long-established principles, but they were suspected in some quarters to be in sympathy with the British. One of the men high in their councils said, "It is our desire to live at peace

with all men. We wish well to the country in which we dwell. Our declining to exercise in the use of arms is no new thing, nor does it proceed from certain considerations, being a fundamental principle of the Brethren's Church,—a point of conscience which our first settlers brought with them into this province. We never have, nor will ever, act inimically to this country; we will do nothing against its peace and interest, nor oppose any civil rule or regulation in the province or country wherein we dwell. On the other hand, we will submit ourselves in all things in which we can keep a good conscience, and not withdraw our shoulders from the common burden."

Not only were these people under the suspicion of many of the settlers in Northampton County, but there was a feeling of animosity against them on the part of some of the officers and soldiers of the American army. It was therefore with a feeling of some alarm that they saw troops encamped opposite Bethlehem on the night of Dec. 17, 1776. For some reason, which does not clearly appear, the division of Gen. Lee, then, however, under the command of Gen. Sullivan, after crossing the Delaware in the retreat from Fort Washington, had moved up the Lehigh as far as the Moravian town. Gen. Lee had been captured at Basken Ridge, N. J., and he had been heard to say at the time that if ever he had opportunity to do so he should sack the town of Bethlehem, for he believed the Moravian people inimical to the American cause, and in some mysterious way responsible for his being made a prisoner. If the citizens of Bethlehem, however, had any serious fears, they were soon dispelled, for Gen. Sullivan showed himself to be their friend, and uninfluenced by the all too-prevalent hue and cry against them. Gen. Gates, too, who happened to be at the town, entertained a very high regard for the Moravians.

While the chief centres of operations and of interest in Northampton County were Bethlehem and Easton, Allentown (then called Northampton), although a comparatively insignificant hamlet of about three hundred and fifty population, was a place of some importance historically, as we shall show, and was frequently mentioned in the official correspondence of the times.¹ A considerable number of the Hessians taken prisoners by Washington at Trenton, on Christmas, 1776, were brought here and kept for a time in tents. According to the testimony of an old citizen,² the camp was in the northern part of town, probably where Gordon Street now is. Some of these mercenaries settled down here and became free citizens, being very willing to give up soldier-life when they had opportunity. At a later period of the war other prisoners were brought to Allentown, and also some of the American soldiers who were sick or wounded, to be nursed. In this contingency

¹ Pennsylvania Archives.
² From the Allentown Friedensbote.

the only church in town was temporarily converted into a hospital.

In the summer of 1777 it appears that Allentown was the centre of operations for the formation of a wagon-brigade. John Arndt, Esq., of Easton, writing under date of July 9th, to Thomas Wharton, president of the Supreme Council, says, "On June 26th, as many of us as could assembled in Allentown, and elected Conrad Kreider, of Allen township, wagon-master." On July 5th, Kreider reported that there were in the county five hundred and fifty wagons. In this same year the bells of Christ Church, Philadelphia, were brought here for concealment¹ when the British took possession of the city, and the *Bethlehem Diary* says that the wagon conveying them broke down in the street at that place.

The *Bethlehem Diary* of Feb. 10, 1777, says, "We have been informed last week that certain militia in the neighborhood of Allentown have expressed threats towards Bethlehem and its inhabitants." This threat was doubtless made because of the reputed Tory, or at least non-resistant, spirit of its people. It was by reason of the same feeling on the part of the Americans that they refused to have the laboratory for the manufacture of cartridges remain in Bethlehem, and removed it to Allentown, Sept. 23, 1777. After this removal works were also established here for repairing arms, making saddles, and other articles needed by the military. These works, as we shall duly make it appear, were quite extensive. One Capt. Stiles was in charge of the stores, tools, and arms, and orders upon him for various quantities of the different articles in his possession were frequently given to officers needing them by Col. Benjamin Flowers and others.

The extreme rigors of the Revolution were felt among the workmen at Allentown, as they were by the American soldiers and artisans employed in that war almost everywhere. Under date of Feb. 17, 1778, John Wetzell, lieutenant at Allentown, wrote to the president of the Executive Council at Lancaster, "My duty demands that I should give news to you of a new order received yesterday, viz., in relation to shortness of rations issued to military workers and saddlers, the same having created such great unrest among the workmen that they concluded to give up work. A conversation with David Deshler and Fred. Hagener made them more content. The sub-lieutenants have received many arms to be repaired, and received yesterday four hundred muskets, and more are expected daily. The quartermaster writes that he wants a large quantity of repaired guns, because he is expecting new militia every day, as well as militia of this county, which is to be fully equipped. We have decided to allow former rations until we receive further instructions. Our department is now in good order, and is increased every day, so that I entertain

the hope to obtain the necessary workmen to finish our labor."

"P.S.—The rations which at present are issued are 1½ pounds of beef, 1½ pounds of bread, also flour and vegetables, ½ pint of rum or whiskey, wood, soap, and candles."

Lieut.-Com. Cornelius Sweers, of Lebanon, writing to Wharton, May 4, 1778, says, "On investigation of the stores at Allentown, I found certain barrels and chests containing sail-cloth. Since we are in immediate need of this article, I asked Capt. Stiles for the same, which he said could only be surrendered on an order of the Council. I flatter myself that you will give this order, as Gen. Washington needs the same for ordnance wagons, etc."

The quantity of arms and stores repaired and in readiness at Allentown was reported by Sub-Lieut. Fred Hagener to Wharton, May 7, 1778, as follows:

"800 muskets and bayonets with scabbards.

550 bayonet belts.

750 haversacks.

45 shot pouches.

18 powder flasks.

400 knapsacks.

75 blankets.

25 tents.

140 camp kettles.

31 rifles (in John Tyler's possession).

150 muskets (could be ready May 20).

"These guns and arms are in good condition, and we will do our best to make others ready and serve our country."

On July 20, 1778, Richard Peters, in the name of the War Office, informed the Vice-President of Pennsylvania that "the condition of affairs on the borders was of the most alarming nature, but that the War Office had done everything in its power to serve out military stores." At that time the State had at least twelve thousand stands of arms at Allentown awaiting orders to be issued to the militia. This serves to show that Allentown was at this period extraordinarily active in the cause of liberty. Its people, and those of the surrounding country, were almost without exception intensely patriotic.

Among the most actively patriotic citizens of the county of Northampton were David Deshler,² of Allentown, and Capt. John Arndt,³ of Easton, both of whom advanced money to the provincial government when the public treasury was empty, and that too at a time when the prospect of its being returned was not very bright. They both labored with unflagging zeal to promote the welfare of the public cause and to fill the quota of the county, as required by the acts of Congress and the Provincial Assembly. We have already exhibited proof of Deshler's great influence

² He was the son of Adam Deshler, of Whitehall, who acted as commissary for the Provincial troops in the Indian war beginning in 1755. (See chapter on the city of Allentown.)

³ Capt. John Arndt, after passing through the disastrous campaign of 1776, returned to Easton, crippled and broken in health from the wound he had received in the battle of Long Island and from the hardships he had passed through. Notwithstanding, he declined to ask for the pension which the law would have given him.

¹ Rupp, quoting R. B. Wright, Esq.