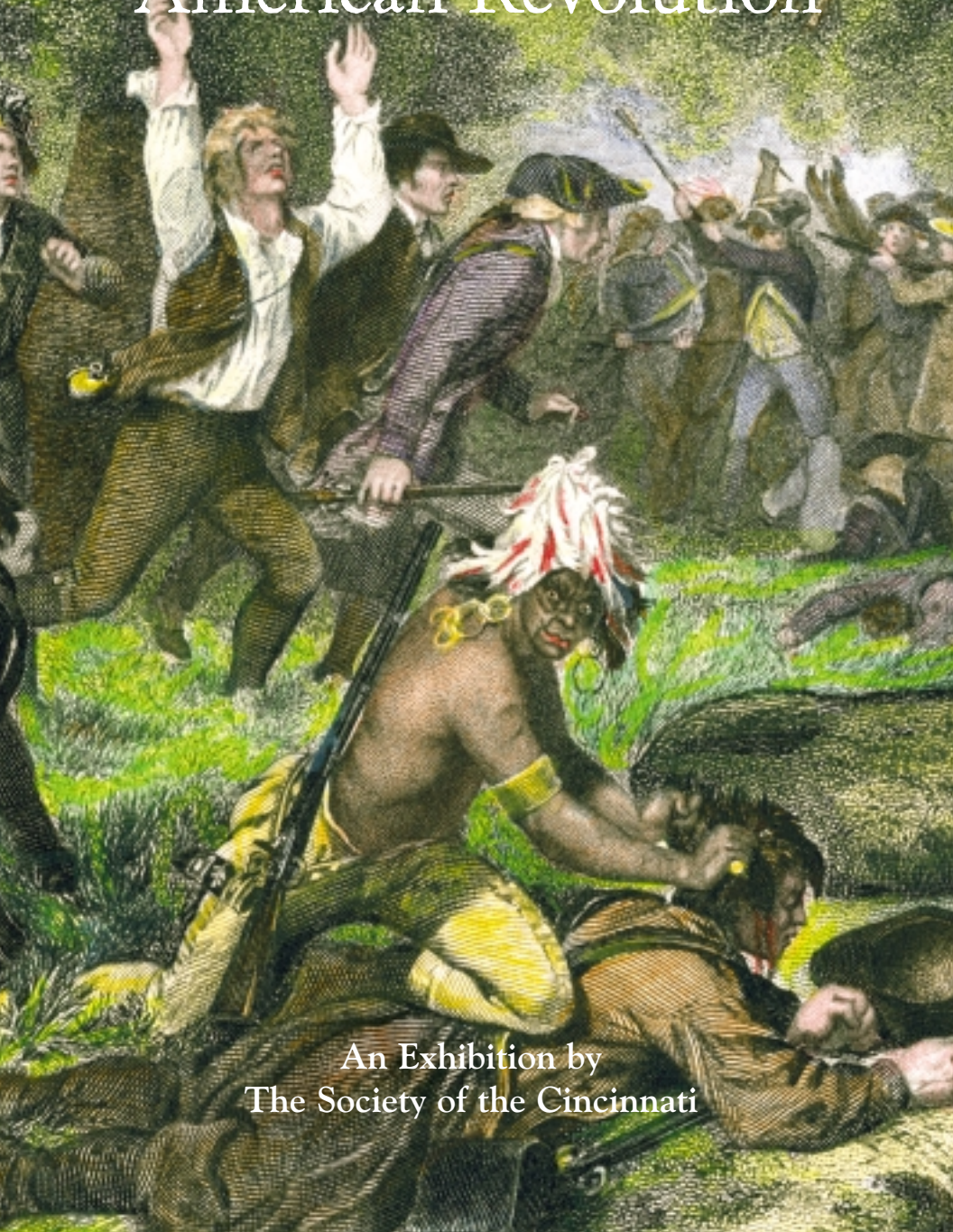


Pennsylvania in the American Revolution



An Exhibition by
The Society of the Cincinnati

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Anderson House
Washington, D.C.
October 22, 2005–April 8, 2006

This catalogue has been produced in conjunction with the exhibition *Pennsylvania in the American Revolution* on display from October 22, 2005, to April 8, 2006, at Anderson House, the headquarters, library and museum of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, D.C. The exhibition is the ninth in a series focusing on the contributions to the American Revolution made by the original thirteen states and the French alliance.

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Text by Emily L. Schulz.

Cover illustration: *Massacre of Wyoming*, ca. 1859. See page 18.

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We hath no object more in View, than
with unshaken firmness to adopt,
and pursue, every salutary and prudent
measure which may have a tendency to
secure the enjoyment, and continuance, of
that Freedom, which, by the Laws of God
and Nature, we are entitled to and ... to
carry on with proper Vigour, the measures
necessary for the establishing and maintain-
ing the Freedom of this, and the United
States of America.

— Pennsylvania General Assembly
to George Washington
February 5, 1777



Frontispiece of Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, 1785. See page 37.

INTRODUCTION

Pennsylvania was the most diverse and relatively peaceful American colony in the eighteenth century. Its first European settlers arrived in the early seventeenth century from Sweden, Finland, the Netherlands and the German states, primarily to harvest the lands' riches and establish trade with the region's native peoples. To these mercantile aims, William Penn (1644–1718) added a religious one when he convinced King Charles II of England in 1681 to grant him 45,000 acres on the Delaware River for a “Holy Experiment,” a set of communities built around Quaker teachings. Penn’s “Holy Experiment” attracted additional English, Scots-Irish and German settlers to lands already inhabited by Susquehannock, Lenape, Shawnee, Seneca and Tuscarora Indians. Pennsylvania, which originally included the three counties of Delaware, remained the personal property of the Penn family until the American Revolution. Aside from occasional conflicts with local Indians, Pennsylvanians did not experience war until the French and English battled over the Ohio Valley in the French and Indian War of the 1750s and 1760s. Severe economic depression, expanding settlements and increasing tensions with local Indians ushered in a decade of economic and political upheaval in Pennsylvania, as well as in the rest of the American colonies.

Pennsylvania’s support for the Revolution did not come as easily as its place in history may suggest. The province’s ruling elite—prosperous Quakers who resided in the eastern counties and had strong ties to the Crown—slowed Pennsylvania’s participation in the growing rebellion but could not ultimately prevent it. A group of educated young men who adamantly argued for independence, including Thomas Paine and Benjamin Rush, inspired common Pennsylvanians through pamphlets and speeches to believe in and work for the patriot cause. Across the province, farmers, merchants and laborers formed committees of correspondence and safety, raised volunteer militia companies, provided soldiers for the Continental army and produced food and weapons for the American war effort. Pennsylvania’s Continental soldiers, formed into eighteen regiments, fought the

British in each of the thirteen states and Canada.

As eight long years of war came to an end in 1783, Pennsylvania's Continental officers joined over two thousand other veterans to found the Society of the Cincinnati. Its members, who established fourteen constituent societies in the original thirteen states and France, banded together in this "one Society of Friends" to honor the achievement of American independence and "perpetuate ... the remembrance of this vast event."

TOWARD REVOLUTION

Pennsylvania lagged behind the other American colonies in resisting British policies. As the colonial crisis escalated in the 1770s, the province's conservative Quaker leaders, who dominated the Pennsylvania Assembly, continued to show little support for colonists' efforts to oppose the mother country. In 1774 Governor John Penn refused to call the assembly in a failed attempt to prevent its members from electing delegates to the First Continental Congress. The following spring the assembly failed to respond to the war's first battles at Lexington and Concord. The conservatism of Pennsylvania's traditional leaders left an opening for the province's more radical residents to steer Pennsylvania toward Revolution. Gradually, Pennsylvania's counties began to act, but their representatives in the Continental Congress continued to drag their feet.

The debate over American independence intensified in the late spring and early summer of 1776. Anticipating a vote on the issue, the Pennsylvania Assembly instructed the province's delegates to the Second Continental Congress to oppose independence, a mandate that brought four thousand people to the State House yard in Philadelphia in protest. Two weeks later, Virginia delegate Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution declaring that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The Pennsylvania delegation, a severely divided group led by Benjamin Franklin, initially voted against independence, along with the South Carolina delegates,

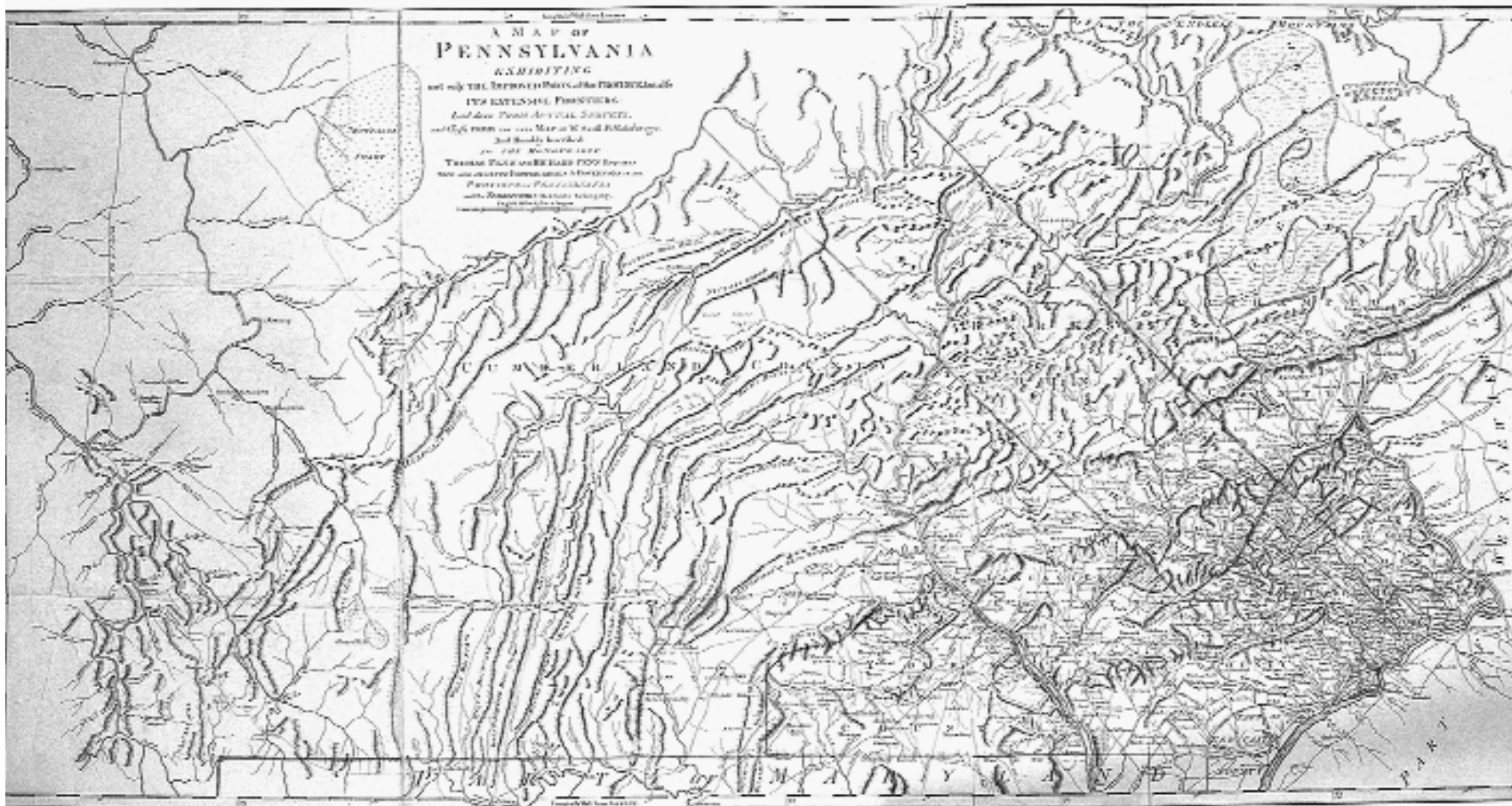
during the first vote on the resolution on July 1, 1776. The next day, Pennsylvania's delegates reluctantly followed the other colonies to declare America's separation from Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence was read for the first time on July 8, 1776, in Philadelphia, where battalions marched and bells rang into the night. Two months later, the state convention adopted Pennsylvania's first constitution, a remarkably democratic document that represented the last political step toward revolution.

William Scull (fl. 1770–78). "A Map of Pennsylvania Exhibiting not only The Improved Parts of that Province, but also Its extensive Frontiers." London: Printed for Robt. Sayer & J. Bennett, 1775.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

On the eve of the Revolution, Pennsylvania's eleven counties covered three hundred miles from the Delaware River to the Forks of the Ohio and were home to almost 300,000 residents. This map, though the most accurate of its time, includes only eight of these counties, delineated by hand-colored borders in yellow, green and blue. The province's population was centered in its oldest three counties—Bucks, Philadelphia and Chester—which were settled primarily by Quakers. Pennsylvania's youngest and most remote counties—Bedford, Northumberland and Westmoreland—were carved out of the western and northern frontiers of Cumberland and Northampton counties in the early 1770s and do not appear on this map.

William Scull, a native of Pennsylvania and the son of prominent surveyor and cartographer Nicholas Scull, distinguished himself with this monumental work, an expanded version of his 1770 map of Pennsylvania. The 1775 map, engraved and printed in London, includes more details of the province's sparsely-settled frontiers. This updated map proved useful during the Revolution to invading British troops, as well as speculators looking to develop Pennsylvania's land.



**Jan Pieter Kreuse (fl. 1770?), Amsterdam, Netherlands.
Pocket watch of George Clymer. ca. 1770. Silver.**

Gift of W. B. Shubrick Clymer, Society of the Cincinnati of the State of South Carolina, 1971

George Clymer (1739–1813), a prosperous Philadelphia merchant, signed the Declaration of Independence as one of Pennsylvania's nine delegates to the Second Continental Congress. Clymer became active in Philadelphia politics in 1769 and quickly came to advocate independence. During the Revolution he served on Pennsylvania's committee of safety (1775–76), attended the state's constitutional convention (1776) and was a delegate to the Continental Congress (1776–77, 1780–82). After the war he retired from his mercantile business but did not give up politics. He signed the U.S. Constitution in 1787 and served a term in the first U.S. House of Representatives (1789–91). Clymer's last public role came as one of the commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty with the Cherokee and Creek nations in the South in 1796. This elegant pocket watch, made by Dutch craftsman Jan Pieter Kreuse around 1770, indicates the wealth and status that Clymer had achieved even before the Revolution.



Four-pence note. Philadelphia: Printed by John Dunlap, 1777.

Library Mason Fund Purchase, 1993

As the American colonies assumed their independence, the newly formed state governments attempted to standardize financial transactions and raise money for the war effort by issuing paper currency, which also served as symbols of their freedom. The Pennsylvania Assembly authorized the state's first issue of paper currency in March 1777. The bills in this issue, including this four-pence

note, introduced the arms of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in place of references to Great Britain. The notes also display the common threat "To Counterfeit is Death" in an attempt to halt the practice of copying paper currency. This four-pence note is signed by Levi Budd to indicate its authenticity.

The Society of Friends. A Testimony given forth from our Yearly-Meeting, held at Philadelphia, for Pennsylvania and New-Jersey ... Philadelphia, 1777.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The tensions between patriots and loyalists that existed in each state was complicated in Pennsylvania by its prominent Quaker population, a largely pacifist and neutral group centered in the oldest three counties surrounding Philadelphia. The Quaker faith—which emphasized an "inner light," pacifism and spiritual equality—emerged in mid-seventeenth-century England as an alternative to the harsh Puritan religion. The Revolution threw Pennsylvania's Quaker community into turmoil, as the group disowned members who participated in the war on either side. At the same time, Pennsylvania's government imprisoned in Philadelphia or exiled to Winchester, Va., some Quakers who refused to take an oath supporting the patriot cause. This broadside, which was posted and distributed publicly, both denies accusations that Quakers had "evidenced a Disposition inimical to the Cause of America" and asserts their commitment to peace:

We think it necessary publicly to declare, that we are led out of all Wars and Fightings by the Principle of Grace and Truth in our own Minds, by which we are restrained either as private Members of Society, or in any of our Meetings, from holding a Correspondence with either Army; but are concerned to spread the Testimony of Truth and the peaceable Doctrines of Christ.

DEFENDING THE COMMONWEALTH

Pennsylvania's communities began preparing for war as early as 1774. Counties and towns established committees of correspondence to consider the growing crisis and raised volunteer companies of soldiers, known as associators, to prepare for the possibility of war. In June 1775 the Pennsylvania Assembly formalized the colony's preparations by establishing a committee of safety to coordinate the defense of the province and the provisioning of its soldiers. The Militia Law of 1777 replaced volunteer associators with mandatory militia units, which were charged with defending Pennsylvania and suppressing civil disorder for the duration of the Revolution.

Pitched battles and political wrangling characterized the war in southeastern Pennsylvania. Hostilities centered around the defense of Philadelphia, the American capital, which the British sought to capture in the fall of 1777. Over a series of engagements at Brandywine, Germantown and Paoli, the British army repeatedly defeated Washington's troops and would occupy Philadelphia through the winter of 1777–78, while the Continental army camped nearby at Valley Forge. In response to the British invasion and occupation, the Continental Congress retreated to Baltimore, then Lancaster and York to avoid the enemy, while Pennsylvania's patriot government attempted to suppress the influence of Philadelphia's loyalists. After the British evacuated Pennsylvania in June 1778, the main focus of the war shifted to New Jersey before turning south.

On Pennsylvania's western and northern frontiers, the Revolution complicated existing struggles that would linger after the war's end. Settlers in western Pennsylvania received little protection during the Revolution. They were forced to fend off Virginians, who competed for their land, and Iroquois, Shawnee and Delaware Indians, who retaliated for western expansion with raids, such as the one that destroyed Hannastown in 1782. In the Wyoming Valley in northeastern Pennsylvania, where a significant loyalist population lived, similar battles occurred over competing land claims by Connecticut and Pennsylvania settlers and local Iroquois Indians.

**Matthew Albert [Matthäus Albrecht] Lotter (1741–1810).
“A Plan of the City and Environs of Philadelphia.”
[Augsburg]: Published by Matthew Albert Lotter, 1777.**

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Throughout the eighteenth century Philadelphia was the political, economic and cultural center of the American colonies and the new United States. Its thirty thousand inhabitants also made it the largest city in British North America. Philadelphia's residents benefited from markets, hospitals, museums, libraries and other institutions. At the same time, the city's poor and middling residents struggled with rampant poverty and crime.



This colorful city plan charts the streets in Philadelphia, bound by the Delaware River to the east and the Schuylkill River to the west. Outside the city, the plan locates nearby towns, such as Germantown and Derby in Pennsylvania and Gloucester in New Jersey, as well as the region's network of roads. It also includes an "Elevation of the State House," now known as Independence Hall. Matthäus Albrecht Lotter derived this plan from one that famed British cartographer William Faden had drawn and engraved in London earlier the same year. Similar versions were also published in Paris and Nuremberg during the American Revolution.

[Pennsylvania] Committee of Safety. *Rules for Establishing Rank or Precedence amongst the Pennsylvania Associators.* Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Miller, 1775.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The Quaker province entered the Revolution without an established militia. After the Continental Congress directed all men aged sixteen to fifty to join local militia companies in July 1775, Pennsylvania's Committee of Safety distributed this pamphlet to encourage and regulate the raising of volunteer companies in counties and townships throughout the province. These companies became known as associators, "united in this general Association for defending our Liberties and Properties, under the sole denomination of Americans." The associators differed from militia units by their voluntary nature; service in a state militia was mandatory for men of certain ages. Although primarily entrusted with protecting the province from invasion and insurrection, the Pennsylvania Associators were called upon to fight alongside the Continental army in New Jersey and New York.



Jean Victor Dupin (b. 1718) after Claude Louis Desrais (1746–1816). *Le Général Reed, Membre du Congrès, Président et Commandant en chef de l'Etat de Pensilvanie.* Paris: Esnauts et Rapilly, [ca. 1779–83].

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

As proprietary rule quietly came to an end in Pennsylvania during the summer of 1776, the state's constitutional convention met in Philadelphia to draft the commonwealth's founding document. Joseph Reed (1741–85), memorialized in this French engraving, was

Pennsylvania's longest-serving Revolutionary War governor, holding the office from 1778 to 1781. During his three terms, Reed faced more internal political divisions and economic decline than invading British troops. In 1780 he presided over the passing of a law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania, the first state to take this step.

The title of this engraving was inspired by the additional positions that Reed held during the Revolution as lieutenant colonel of the Pennsylvania Associators, adjutant general of the Continental army and delegate to the Continental Congress. French and English publishers distributed numerous images of Reed through the remainder of the eighteenth century, revealing the popularity of American subjects in Europe.

William Faden (1750?-1836). "Battle of Brandywine in which The Rebels were defeated ..." [London]: Published according to act of Parliament by William Faden, 1778.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

In August and September 1777, George Washington scrambled to position American troops between the British army and the American capital, although Washington was unsure which path Gen. William Howe's forces would take. After landing at Head of Elk, Md., just south of Wilmington, Del., 15,000 British soldiers marched north and clashed with Washington's Continentals, including seventeen of Pennsylvania's eighteen regiments, at Brandywine Creek south of Philadelphia. This map locates the terrain and columns of soldiers involved in the battle, designating British, Hessian and American troops by red, blue and yellow, respectively. The British inflicted 1,200 casualties during the battle, but allowed the American army to retreat north. Howe ultimately outmaneuvered Washington and the city fell to the British two weeks later.

Account of expenditures and receipts of John Crawford. December 3, 1777–June 9, [1778].

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

During the winter of 1777–78, while British troops occupied Philadelphia, the Continental army encamped at Valley Forge less than twenty-five miles away. American soldiers received food and supplies through individuals such as John Crawford, the purchasing commissioner for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This page, chronicling Crawford's activities over six months, reveals that some of the horses, weapons and other goods that he received were taken from the enemy or otherwise smuggled out of Philadelphia.

Unknown artist, possibly William Verstille (1757–1803). *Barnabus Binney* (1751–87). Late 18th century. Watercolor on ivory.

Gift of Emily V. Binney, 1955

Massachusetts native Barnabus Binney joined the Continental army as a hospital surgeon in 1776, shortly after receiving a medical degree from the College of Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. Binney, depicted in civilian clothes in this miniature portrait, possibly served at the hospital at Yellow Springs, the primary hospital during the Valley Forge encampment and the only hospital built for



Continental army soldiers. The Yellow Springs Hospital, named Washington Hall, was erected on General Washington's orders in 1778 and operated until 1781. Its three stories could accommodate nearly two hundred patients and offered clean, healthy surroundings—a rare situation in Revolutionary War hospitals. This portrait of Dr. Binney may have been painted by William Verstille, a miniaturist working in Philadelphia during the 1770s and 1780s. Having settled north of Philadelphia after the war, Dr. Binney became an original member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827). *A Representation of the Figures exhibited and paraded through the Streets of Philadelphia, on Saturday, the 30th of September, 1780.* [Philadelphia, 1780].

Gift of Mrs. A. Clarke Walling, 1971

Philadelphia of the middling and lower sorts took the lead in Pennsylvania's revolution after hostilities broke out at Lexington and Concord in 1775. These artisans and



laborers spread news of their activities through newspapers, broadsides and prints, such as this one celebrating the capture of traitor Benedict Arnold near West Point in New York. Arnold was well known in Philadelphia, having commanded the American troops in the city for one year following the British evacuation, but was not well loved by patriots for his affinity for the loyalist community. Drawn by Charles Willson Peale to “keep up the spirit of the times,” this print dramatizes a parade in which Philadelphians dragged through the streets and burned a two-faced effigy of Arnold. A description of Arnold's treason appears below the drawing, which includes patriot observers, Arnold and the devil in the foreground and, in the background, a scene of Arnold fleeing West Point to the safety of British ships.

Henry S. Sadd (fl. 1840–50) after Thompkins H. Matteson (1813–84). *Benjamin Franklin (1706–90). ca. 1848.*

The Walter P. Swain Jr. Memorial Collection

Benjamin Franklin, depicted in this color engraving published fifty years after his death, symbolized the interests and achievements of both the Pennsylvania Assembly and the Continental Congress. Though born in Boston, Franklin devoted most of his adult life to Pennsylvania politics. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1751 and twice served as president of the state government (1775–76, 1782–85). He also left a legacy of social and cultural institutions in Philadelphia, including the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and the city's first fire company. On the national stage Franklin argued for American independence as early as the 1750s. He contributed greatly to the final achievement of independence, having served as a colonial agent, Continental Congress delegate, signer of the Declaration of Independence, negotiator of France's entrance into the war and commissioner tasked with settling peace in 1783. This nineteenth-century engraving shows the scientist and statesman surrounded by the tools of his crafts.

**“A New and General Map of the Middle Dominions
Belonging to the United States of America.” London:
Published by [Robert] Laurie and [James] Whittle, 1794.**

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

American Indian nations, British and French forces and American colonists had long recognized the strategic importance of the fork of the Ohio River, shown at the center of this map. The confluence of the Allegheny, Monongahela and Ohio rivers, now the center of the city of Pittsburgh, had become the gateway to unsettled lands to the west and the Mississippi River to the south. During and after the Revolution, Fort Pitt provided the American army with a headquarters for operations on the frontier and local settlers with hope for protection from Indian attacks.

Originally drawn by American cartographer Lewis Evans in the 1740s, this map was revised and published eighteen times between 1755 and 1814. Evans’s map was titled “A general Map of the Middle British Colonies, in America” and was accompanied by an essay on the region, both published by Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia. Some of the subsequent publications, including this 1794 example, were termed pirated editions because engravers updated the original plate but failed to revise all of its details. An odd mix of features resulted. For example, this map includes Kentucky, which achieved statehood in 1792, yet maintains a border between Pennsylvania and New York that had not been recognized since the colonial era.



Fort Pitt powder horn. 1773–76. Cow or ox horn.

On loan from Margie and Gordon Barlow, Swoope, Va.

This Revolutionary War powder horn, a practical device for storing loose gunpowder, bears engravings that illustrate the struggle between soldiers and American Indians that took place on the western Pennsylvania frontier. Drawings of churches, forts, animals and Indians surround the words “Liberty or Death,” “Fort Pit” and “Fort Detroit,” as well as the names “John McBride” and “Alexander Hamilton”—the latter of no relation to the more famous first secretary of the treasury. These local soldiers likely engraved the powder horn between 1773 and 1776 near Fort Pitt, a remote outpost where only 150 people lived during the Revolution.

**[Westmoreland County Committee of Safety].
“Application from the Committee of Westmoreland.”
August 6, 1776.**

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Founded in 1773, Westmoreland County was the youngest and most remote of Pennsylvania’s counties on the eve of the Revolution. The primarily Scots-Irish and German residents of this “Infant Settlement” centered at

Hannastown lived on the western edge of Pennsylvania. Sparked by the alliance forged during the summer of 1776 between the British and the Iroquois nations just north of the Pennsylvania frontier, Westmoreland County's Committee of Safety pleads in this three-page letter with the "Parental State," referring to the Continental Congress, for protection from impending raids by Tories and pro-British Indians. With "A Large Number of young People gone into the Service ... which will Naturally weaken and Lessen our Numbers," these county officials appeal to the delegates for companies of soldiers to guard the frontier and supplies, particularly arms and ammunition, for those settlers who were left to protect the county. Even in their desperation and fear, these patriotic Americans reassure the Continental Congress that they "shall Cheerfully Answer all Calls from Congress Generalls or Government Ever Supposing they are Best Acquainted with what would be most Expedient for Our Safety" and express "the Greatest Confidence of your Goal for the Good of the Continent in General."

**Unknown American after Alonzo Chappel (1828–87).
Massacre of Wyoming. New York: Johnson, Fry & Co.,
ca. 1859.**

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Along Pennsylvania's northern frontier, the Revolution compounded struggles among settlers over control of the Wyoming Valley. Beginning in the 1750s, Connecticut residents spilled out of the overcrowded state into northeastern Pennsylvania and began to consider the Wyoming Valley as Connecticut land. Pennsylvania residents moved into the isolated region in the 1760s, sparking clashes with the Connecticut settlers that would last for almost twenty years. This nineteenth-century engraving depicts, in the artist's romanticized view, one of the most violent encounters, a battle known as the massacre of Wyoming, which pitted five hundred

Iroquois Indians and Pennsylvanians against two hundred Connecticut militia soldiers in July 1778. In one of the greatest ironies of the American Revolution, the Pennsylvania settlers turned to anyone they could for help, and received it from Tories and pro-British Indians. Pennsylvania's claims on the land ultimately won out in 1787, when Congress ruled that the Wyoming Valley belonged to the commonwealth.

**Lawrence Myers. "A Return of the Corps of Foot
Commanded by Capt. John Paul Schott." Wyoming, Pa.,
October 21, 1779.**

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

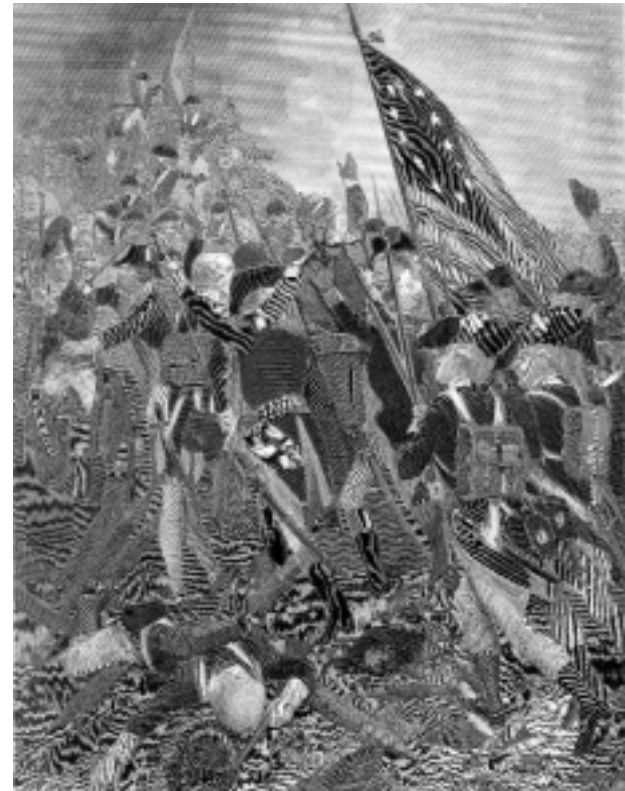
To protect both Connecticut and Pennsylvania settlers from attacks by nearby Iroquois Indians, the Continental army stationed Capt. John Paul Schott's independent company and two other units in the Wyoming Valley in late 1779. The pro-British Indians in the region raided Wyoming settlements not just because of their wartime allegiance, but also to push the Americans off of what they considered to be their land. This return for Captain Schott's company during its service in the isolated area counts the unit's forty-three soldiers by rank. Captain Schott, who was trained as a soldier in his native Prussia during the Seven Years' War, settled in the Wyoming Valley after leaving the American army in 1781 and adopted the Connecticut side of the struggle for control of the region. He became an original member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

FIGHTING FOR A NATION: THE PENNSYLVANIA CONTINENTAL LINE

Two months after the battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the Continental Congress took the bold and dramatic step of creating America's first national army from the soldiers gathered outside Boston. Through the end of the year Congress directed each of the colonies to raise regiments for the Continental army, a force led by Gen. George Washington and tasked with meeting the invading British army wherever it marched. The Continental army leaned heavily on Pennsylvania for soldiers, beginning in June with the recruitment of the renowned Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion. The Pennsylvania Continental line, which included eighteen regiments at its peak, took shape later in the year. Initially, recruitment was focused in Philadelphia and the surrounding three counties, but, over the course of the war, Pennsylvania extended its recruitment to gather the most ethnically diverse Continental line in the army. The state also furnished many of the army's leaders, including Brig. Gen. Edward Hard, Brig. Gen. William Irvine, Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair and Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne.

Leaving the state regiments and local militia to defend the province, Pennsylvania's Continental soldiers marched through each of the thirteen states and Canada in the service of their country. These Continentals participated in the campaign for Quebec, early engagements in New England, the defense of New York and Philadelphia, the New Jersey campaigns, action against the British and Iroquois nations in upstate New York, the victory at Yorktown and lingering conflicts in Georgia and the Carolinas. One of Pennsylvania's units, the Eighth Continental Regiment, was raised in an attempt to protect the province's frontiers from both Indian and British attacks.

Despite its vigorous beginnings and extensive service, the Pennsylvania line's numbers declined in the 1780s due to expiring enlistments, scarce food and supplies and a debilitating mutiny. By the middle of 1781, over half of its soldiers had left the army and returned home. Three provisional regiments, all that remained of the Pennsylvania line, limped through the



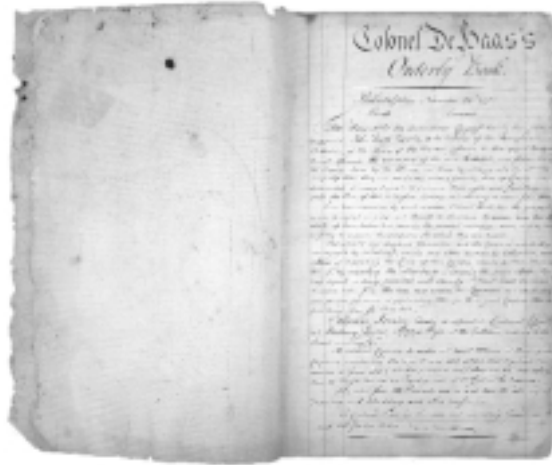
*Unknown American after Alonzo Chappel (1828–87).
Storming of Stony Point. New York: Henry J. Johnson,
ca. 1879.*

remainder of the war in the South under Generals Anthony Wayne and Nathanael Greene.

Orderly book of the First Pennsylvania Battalion. November 26, 1775–April 6, 1776.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The Continental Congress mandated early in the war that each unit should record its orders, movements and discipline in an orderly book. This book follows the First Pennsylvania Battalion from its first recruiting efforts in November 1775 through its service in the northern



theater. Though it is titled “Colonel De Haas’s Orderly Book” after Col. John Philip de Haas (ca. 1735–86) of Lancaster County who took command of the battalion in January 1776, the book was kept by an unidentified soldier. Its first page describes the character and purpose of the battalion, a narrative not usually found in orderly books. Col. John Bull, the battalion’s first commanding officer, considers the voluntary service of his soldiers “proof that they are Animated with a Genuine love of Liberty and determined at every hazard to preserve their rights and priviledges which the Foes of this distressed Country are striving to wrest from them.” The battalion’s soldiers, drawn initially from urban areas in and around Philadelphia, joined Gen. Philip Schuyler’s American forces early in 1776, serving in Canada and New York.

Commission of Thomas Robinson. York, Pa., November 12, 1777.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Signed by Henry Laurens and Charles Thomson, the president and secretary of the Continental Congress, this commission promotes Thomas Robinson (1751–1819) to the rank of major in the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. Organized

on December 9, 1775, as the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion, Robinson’s regiment was commanded by Gen. Anthony Wayne, a fellow Pennsylvanian who praised Robinson as a “soldier and Gen’tm [whose] conduct has outgone the most Sanguine hopes of his friends.” The Fifth Pennsylvania served during the war in Canada, at Fort Ticonderoga and Stony Point in New York and at Germantown and Paoli in Pennsylvania. Robinson, who attained the rank of lieutenant colonel by the end of the war, spent winters with his regiment at Morristown, N.J., and Valley Forge, but did not go south as the war shifted to that theater in 1781. Though a native of New Castle County, Del., Lieutenant Colonel Robinson settled near Philadelphia after the war and became an original member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

Unknown American maker. Sword and scabbard of Capt. John Craig. Mid 1770s. Steel, silver and ivory sword with leather and silver scabbard.

Bequest of Catharine Yeakle Hufstader, 1976

For his valor on the field, Capt. John Craig (ca. 1750–1829) of the Pennsylvania Continental line was awarded tangible marks of his service. Family tradition maintains that George Washington personally presented this silver sword and scabbard to Captain Craig. Washington had formally commended Craig in November 1777 for capturing British dragoons, so it is plausible that the sword was related to this recognition, though an exact reason for its



award has not been documented. With the words “I. Craig CapT. / 4th L. Dragoons” engraved on its scabbard, the sword would have been presented to Craig after December 1778 when he attained this rank. The sword also bears the royal seal of the kings of Spain, indicating that the American maker of the sword obtained the steel blade from the European country. After the war Craig settled in Northampton County and became an original member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus, baron von Steuben (1730–94). “Observations on the formation of the Six Brigades on this Ground.” [1781?].

Gift of the Honorable Charles Warren, Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1947

These informal notes written by Maj. Gen. Baron von Steuben, inspector general of the Continental army, show his plan to reduce and reorganize the army, necessitated by the “weak state of the Pennsylvania Line.” Major General Steuben likely penned these notes in early 1781 after the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Continental line reduced its numbers by more than half. While in winter camp in Morristown, N.J., on New Year’s Day 1781, the enlisted men of Pennsylvania’s Continental regiments rebelled in the face of low or nonexistent pay and terms of service that the army had just extended through the end of the war, whenever that should occur. The mutiny was mostly nonviolent and was quickly suppressed, but the soldiers’ grievances were not addressed and many of the men did not return to service. Instead of continuing to field regiments that were woefully undermanned, Steuben recommended that five of Pennsylvania’s regiments be disbanded and the rest of the army’s soldiers be consolidated into five brigades. In 1783 the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania became the first state to bestow American citizenship on von Steuben, but the Prussian soldier settled in New York after the war and became an original member of the New York branch of the Society.

FOUNDING AN AMERICAN NAVY

At the start of the Revolution, the British navy had controlled the seas for most of the eighteenth century. The first American attempt at establishing a naval force to combat the British became known as “Washington’s Navy,” a fleet of seven ships coordinated by the commander in chief to aid his army during the siege of Boston. This short-lived squadron was soon replaced by the beginnings of a real American navy, authorized by the Continental Congress in October 1775. In order to obtain warships as quickly as possible, the new Continental navy converted Philadelphia-based merchant ships into its first naval vessels. The combined American naval forces, which included state vessels and privateers in addition to Continental ships, eventually numbered one hundred. Although these first steps at creating an American navy ultimately failed to make a significant impact during the Revolution, they did provide a foundation for a permanent national navy. Among the new nation’s first naval leaders were John Barry and John Paul Jones, both members of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

Karl T. Bitter (1857–1915). Capt. John Barry (1745–1803). ca. 1900. Bronze and marble.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Only ten years after John Barry’s death, an article in the Philadelphia journal *Port Folio* became the first of many sources to proclaim him the Father of the American navy. Barry’s extensive service began during the American Revolution and culminated in his leadership of the U.S. Navy from its formation in 1794 to his retirement in 1801. He is depicted in this full-length statuette in the late-eighteenth-century uniform of a naval captain, a rank he held for most of his military career.

The Irish-born sailor settled in Philadelphia as a teenager in the early 1760s. He commanded merchant



**Unknown American after Jean-Antoine Houdon
(1741–1828). *John Paul Jones* (1747–92).
20th century. Plaster.**

Museum Acquisitions Fund Purchase, 2003

A candidate more recently put forth for the title Father of the American navy is Capt. John Paul Jones, a Scottish-born sailor who relished the thrill of combat and the fame that could come with victory. Captain Jones arrived in America around 1761 and settled in Philadelphia by September 1775. When the American Revolution broke out, he seized the opportunity to fight the British and took command of several American ships. Jones won notoriety for his harassment of British ships in their own waters and for his 1779 victory over the H.M.S. *Serapis* off the eastern coast of England.

As a result of his accomplishments during the Revolution, Jones was honored with a Congressional gold medal and memorialized in marble by French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon. This plaster bust of Jones was cast after the original Houdon sculpture, now at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Md. Jones was so pleased with the likeness in Houdon's work, which depicts Jones in military uniform with a medal hanging from his left lapel, that he ordered numerous plaster casts to present to men he admired, including George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Arthur St. Clair.

vessels bound for the West Indies until the outbreak of the Revolution. Captain Barry was in command of the *Lexington* in 1776 when it became the first American warship to capture a British vessel. He also participated in the last naval engagement of the Revolutionary War, off the coast of Florida in March 1783.

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

Eight years of war had resulted in American independence, but the costs of the Revolution affected the new nation for decades. The United States emerged from the war with uncertain finances and debts to its veterans of the Revolution, many of whom had not received the military pay or pensions owed them for their service. For the most part, the federal government did not compensate its Revolutionary War veterans until the nineteenth century. This crisis afflicted enlisted men and officers alike, including members of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. Even the state's highest ranking Continental officer, Arthur St. Clair, died in poverty because he failed to receive the pay he had earned.

For many Pennsylvania loyalists who remained in the province throughout the war, their allegiance cost them their property, livelihood and even their freedom. Those who refused to take the state's oath of allegiance to the new nation were deprived of their voting rights and, occasionally, jailed or exiled. Rather than endure these conditions, more than one thousand Pennsylvania loyalists—most of them English-born Quakers and Anglicans—fled to England, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the 1780s.

The unresolved tensions with American Indians on the western frontiers lingered longest with the new American government. As settlers pressed west into the Northwest Territory from Pennsylvania, Virginia and other states, western Indians continued their efforts to protect their ancestral lands. These efforts increasingly turned violent, culminating in 1791 in what became known as "St. Clair's Defeat." In present day Ohio, Miami Indians devastated a force of U.S. soldiers under Revolutionary War veteran Arthur St. Clair. The American army's victory three years later in the Battle of Fallen Timbers encouraged more western settlement, but did not avoid the conflicts with American Indians that would consume the nineteenth century.



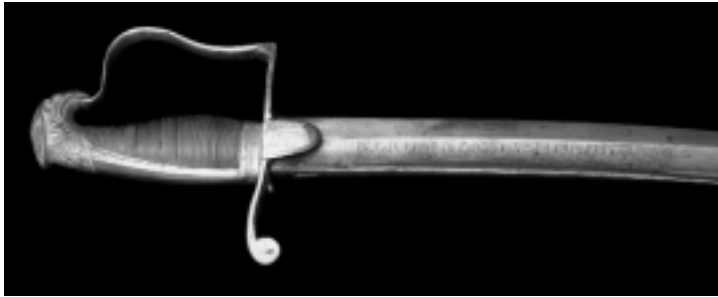
Unknown American after Edward Greene Malbone (1777–1807). Adjt. Gen. Edward Butler (1762–1803). 19th century. Oil on canvas.

Gift of Lawrence Butler Shallcross, State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, 1990

The youngest of five brothers who participated in the Revolution, Edward Butler devoted his military career not just to the fight for American independence, but also to the effort to push American Indians west as the new nation expanded. Born in Carlisle, Pa., to Irish parents, Butler is depicted in this portrait in the uniform of an adjutant general, a rank he attained in 1793. Butler spent the post-war years on the western Pennsylvania frontier with the U.S. Infantry, serving under fellow Pennsylvanians Arthur St. Clair and Anthony Wayne. After surviving the

disastrous “St. Clair’s Defeat,” Butler was transferred to Tennessee, where he lived until his death in 1803. Edward Butler and three of his brothers became original members of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

This large portrait of Edward Butler was derived from a miniature portrait painted by Edward Greene Malbone around 1799, possibly in Philadelphia. The artist of this nineteenth-century work expanded Malbone’s smaller composition, a tightly framed bust-length view of Butler, to include the sword, furniture and background scenery shown here. This later canvas also depicts Butler in the uniform of an adjutant general, though in the original miniature Butler wears the uniform of a captain. Although Edward Butler never owned the sword shown in this portrait, his son, Edward George Washington Butler, had possession of it by the 1820s and could have directed the artist to add it to his father’s image in honor of his bravery.



Unknown French maker. Sword and scabbard owned by Col. Edward George Washington Butler. ca. 1805–10. Steel and gilt brass sword with leather, brass and gilt brass scabbard.

Lent by Lawrence Butler Shallcross, State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania

This sword and scabbard pictured in the portrait of Edward Butler have an intriguing history and provenance. Family tradition, as well as several histories of the Revolutionary War period, maintains that Edward

Butler’s older brother Thomas Butler (1748–1805) first owned and used the sword during the Revolution and carried it into battle again in 1791 at “St. Clair’s Defeat,” in which Edward, Thomas and their oldest brother Richard were all wounded. As Richard lay dying after the battle, he ordered Edward, whose wounds were the least serious, to rescue their brother Thomas from the field. Thomas Butler survived and passed the sword and its history down to his son Thomas, who gave the weapon to Edward Butler’s son, Edward George Washington Butler (1800–88), in gratitude for Edward G.W. Butler’s father having saved his father’s life. Edward G.W. Butler, a hereditary member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, served during the Civil War as a colonel in the Confederate army, having been raised by Andrew Jackson in Tennessee after his father’s death.

Modern experts contend that this sword and scabbard are a product of the early nineteenth century and reflect a style made popular during the War of 1812, rather than the American Revolution. Since the sword predates Edward G. W. Butler’s military service, it is likely that it did belong to the previous generation, although its presence at “St. Clair’s Defeat” cannot be proven. Nevertheless, it is an interesting example of a European sword made for the American market, complete with an eagle’s head on its pommel. The engraving visible on the front of the blade repeats the first half of a Spanish motto “Me Saques sin Rason,” which means “Draw me not without cause.” The other side of the blade bears the end of the saying: “Me Enbaines sin Honor,” or “Return me not without honor.”

Sergeant Andw. Wallace. ca. 1835.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

After serving in the Pennsylvania Continental line during the Revolution, Andrew Wallace (1730–183?) returned to the commonwealth and settled in Chester County. This color lithograph remembers him as “the rescuer of Lafayette at the Battle of Brandywine,” alleging



that Wallace carried the wounded French officer for two miles to safety. This story, although no doubt apocryphal, commemorates the service of an enlisted soldier. Not much is known about Sergeant Wallace's life after the war. He ultimately received a federal pension of \$120 a year for his wartime service. Sergeant Wallace survived on this amount until his death, which likely occurred between 1835 and 1840.

Circular. Pittsburgh, Pa., March 8, 1808.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

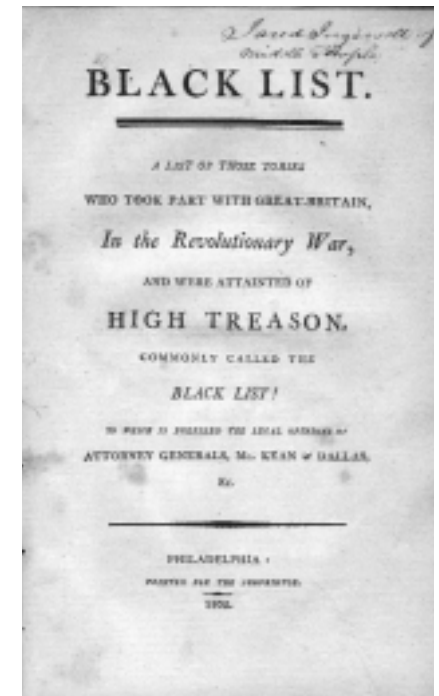
Because "the benevolent intentions of the Congress of 1779," which voted to award veterans half of their annual military pay for life, had not been realized, former officers living in western Pennsylvania drafted and printed this circular to lobby the government for the compensation they had been promised. Signed "in behalf of the Officers of the Revolution Army residing in Pittsburgh and its

vicinity" by Stephen Bayard, Isaac Craig and Adamson Tannehill, the circular was distributed to officers in other states to encourage their participation. To this end, the circular bears a handwritten note requesting the governor of Connecticut to forward the document to Revolutionary War veterans in that state.

Black List: A List of those Tories who took part with Great-Britain, In the Revolutionary War, and were attainted of High Treason, commonly called the Black List! Philadelphia: Printed for the Proprietor, 1802.

The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Pennsylvanians who remained loyal to Great Britain during the Revolution felt the consequences into the nineteenth century. Prefaced by a discourse by Joseph McKean and Alexander Dallas on the legal qualifications of voters, this pamphlet, distributed in 1802, lists "all persons attainted of high treason in pursuance of the treason laws of Pennsylvania." The black list publicly branded these offenders as British subjects rather than as American citizens and prohibited them from voting in Pennsylvania's elections.

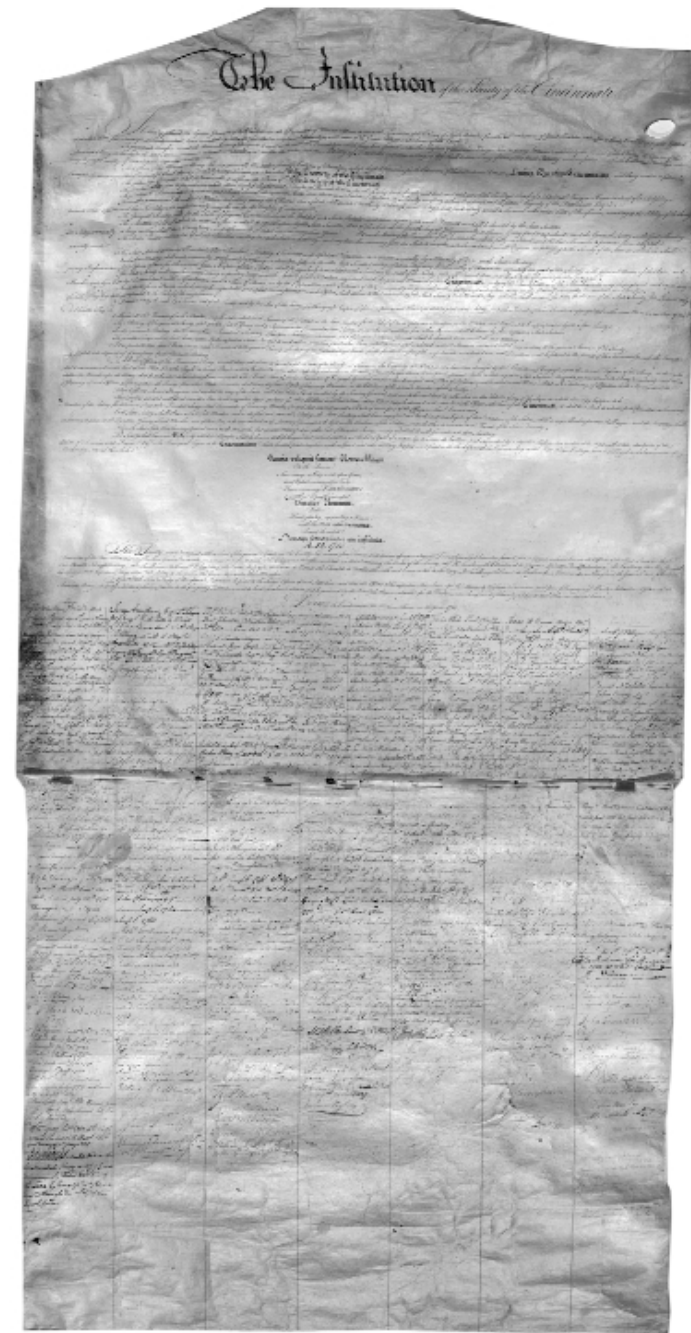


THE STATE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI OF PENNSYLVANIA

To preserve the ideals of the struggle for independence, promote the union of states that had resulted and maintain the ties that were forged among soldiers through eight years of war, officers of the Continental army and navy formed the Society of the Cincinnati while awaiting the end of the war in Newburgh, N.Y., in May 1783. The Society took its name from the storied Roman hero Cincinnatus, a citizen-soldier who left his plow to help defend his nation from foreign invaders. Over 2,400 Revolutionary War veterans became original members of the Society, considered the nation's oldest patriotic organization.

The Society's first leaders—President General George Washington, Vice President General Alexander Hamilton and Secretary General Henry Knox—quickly called for each of the thirteen states to establish a branch of the Society. On October 4, 1783, officers of the Pennsylvania line met at the City Tavern in Philadelphia and voted to establish the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania's branch of the Society, the ninth to be formed, ultimately included nearly three hundred original members. At the same meeting the group elected its first officers. They were Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, president; Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, vice president; Lt. Col. Josiah Harmar, secretary; Brig. Gen. William Irvine, treasurer; and Col. Francis Johnston, assistant treasurer.

The Pennsylvania Society is one of only six state branches that has continued to meet uninterrupted since its founding. Through the remainder of the eighteenth century, its members were occupied with establishing its roster and rules. These military veterans selected civilian patriots as the Pennsylvania Society's first honorary members, including wartime governor John Dickinson, Pennsylvania chief justice Thomas McKean and financier Robert Morris. As the Revolutionary War generation aged, the Society was perpetuated by male descendents of its original members. The Pennsylvania Society



Institution of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, 1783.

endured through the Civil War, when some of its members took up arms for the North in a war waged over the union that their fathers and grandfathers had sacrificed so much to create.

Institution of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania. October 4, 1783.

On loan from the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania

On October 13, 1783, eighty-five of the Pennsylvania Society's original members gathered to sign two copies of the state branch's founding document, known as the Institution or the parchment roll. Woven from two large pieces of parchment, the Pennsylvania Society's Institution repeats the founding or "Immutable" principles of the organization and details how the Society shall admit members and implement these principles. One such provision demands that each member contribute one month of his military pay to the Society "to be appropriated to the relief of the unfortunate"—disabled veterans and families of deceased soldiers. Beneath this text is a group of signatures, assembled over several decades, that rivals those on the nation's founding documents. John Paul Jones, Thomas Mifflin, Timothy Pickering and Anthony Wayne are among the nearly three hundred signatures on the Pennsylvania Institution.

Arthur St. Clair, Prince Town, [N.J.]. Letter to Baron von Steuben. September 3, 1783.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives

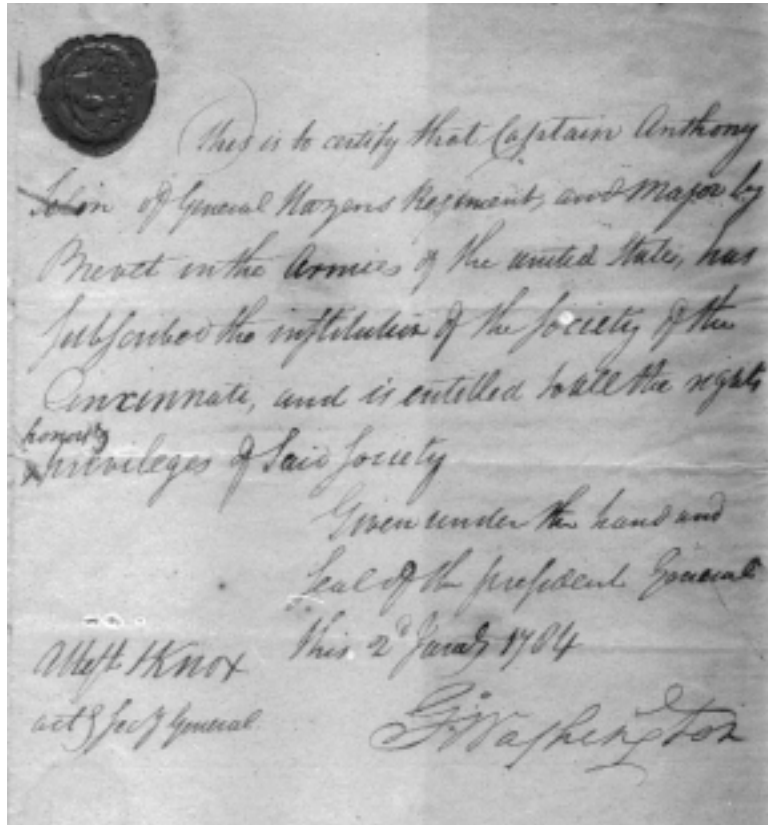
In this letter to "Baron de Steuben," Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair, the senior officer of the Pennsylvania line, explains why he has not yet called a meeting to establish the Pennsylvania branch of the Society. St. Clair "had great Expectations from the present Session of Assembly" that the veterans' requests for compensation would be granted and did not want to interrupt their efforts. Nevertheless, he assures Steuben that the state's

Continental officers generally approve of the plan for the Society's organization. St. Clair also quibbles with the grammar of the Society's Latin motto, translated as "He left all to serve the republic," which he characterizes as "not very good, at least not classical."

Proceedings of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. Philadelphia: Printed by John Steele, 1785.

Anonymous gift in honor of Harry Ramsay Hoyt, president general (1974–77) and a member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, 1976

Dedicated to the citizens of Pennsylvania, this pamphlet provides a published record of the first proceedings of the state's branch of the Society. The proceedings cover the election of honorary members, approval for amending the Institution, and efforts to secure from the Pennsylvania Assembly the military pay still owed to veterans. The pamphlet's frontispiece, engraved by Robert Scot, displays a collage of symbols that represent the achievement of American independence. Scot adopted much of this imagery from Pierre Charles L'Enfant's design for the Society diploma. In the scene on this pamphlet's frontispiece, an American soldier tramples a British flag, an American eagle frightens the British lion, a French ship comes to the aid of America, and an angel representing fame flies over the scene, trumpeting the American victory. The eagle and medal of the Society of the Cincinnati appear prominently, serving as reminders of how integral the Society's members were to the success of the Revolution.



Provisional Society of the Cincinnati membership certificate of Anthony Selin. January 2, 1784.

Gift of Howard H. Schnure, State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, 1984

Original members of the Society were able to purchase certificates, commonly known as diplomas, designed by Pierre Charles L'Enfant and signed by George Washington and Henry Knox, to attest to their membership. Before the parchment diplomas were printed in 1785, the Society occasionally issued provisional certificates to individuals who wished to document their membership, usually while traveling outside the country.

This rare example, written for Capt. Anthony Selin (ca. 1750–92), an original member of the Pennsylvania Society, is among the earliest provisional certificates known to exist and includes signatures of Washington and Knox as well as a red wax seal. Selin, a native of Switzerland, obtained the provisional certificate because he intended to return to Europe after the war. Without the pay owed him by the Continental army, Selin could not afford to travel and instead settled in Northumberland County.

Duval and Francastel, Paris, after sketches by Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1755–1825). Society of the Cincinnati eagle of Joshua Barney. January 1784. Enamel on 14-karat gold with ribbon.

Gift of William Joshua Barney Jr., Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 1990

Another mark of membership in the Society was the badge of the order, commonly known as the eagle. This example, owned by Lt. Joshua Barney (1759–1818), is from the first batch of eagles produced in Paris in January



1784 for members of the Society's newly-established French branch. Crafted in gold in high relief, the medallion bears images of Cincinnatus at the plow and accepting the sword. Lieutenant Barney, a naval officer during the Revolution, probably received this eagle as the commander of the ship that took L'Enfant to France to oversee production of the first eagles. After the war, Lieutenant Barney became an original member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, but transferred his membership to the Society's branch in his native Maryland in 1807.

**"Country Dances as danced at the Cotillions of The Pennsylvania State Association of the Cincinnati."
[Philadelphia?: Thompson family of printers], 1787.**

Library purchase, 1975

In addition to its business meetings, the Pennsylvania Society occasionally held dinners and cotillions for its members and their guests. This "Cincinnati Souvenir of Liberty," a book which contains sixty-five engraved scores with dance directions pasted onto blank pages, records the songs and dances performed at a cotillion sponsored by Pennsylvania Society in 1787. Each patriotically titled song is dedicated to a Pennsylvania soldier, whose name is written in the margin. One example is a song titled "You've been long away wellcome home my Dearie," which was played for Lt. Benjamin Lodge (1749–ca. 1812), an original member of the Pennsylvania Society. After serving with the Sixth and Twelfth Pennsylvania Continental regiments during the war, Lieutenant Lodge made a home with his wife Elizabeth in Westmoreland County.

Unknown artist. Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair (ca. 1734-37–1818). ca. 1778-79. Watercolor and ink on paper.

On loan from Fort Ligonier

Arthur St. Clair enjoyed extraordinary success throughout the American Revolution but suffered defeat and poverty after its conclusion. Born in Scotland, St. Clair traveled to the American colonies with the British army during the French and Indian War, afterwards settling in western Pennsylvania on four thousand acres in the Ligonier Valley in the 1760s. After serving on the Westmoreland County Committee of Safety, he entered the American army and quickly rose in the ranks. St. Clair became the Pennsylvania Continental line's highest-ranking soldier and the only Pennsylvanian to achieve the rank of major general during the war. The Continental army uniform that he wears in this profile portrait displays this achievement.

The general returned home to ruined finances, yet continued to serve the new nation and its veterans. St. Clair's fellow veterans elected him the first president of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania (1783–89), but the responsibilities of his public offices prevented his serious involvement in the Pennsylvania Society's affairs. He served one year as president of the Continental Congress (1787) before being named governor of the Northwest Territory (1787–1802). He is credited with naming Cincinnati, Ohio, after the Society to which he belonged. Charged with repairing deteriorating Indian relations on the frontier in the 1790s, St. Clair's military career came to a disastrous end with "St. Clair's Defeat." In the early nineteenth century St. Clair retired to his Ligonier home, the Hermitage, though most of his property would have to be sold by 1810 to pay off his debts. This Revolutionary War hero lived the last five years of his life in a small log cabin supported by a federal pension.

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THE ROBERT CHARLES LAWRENCE FERGUSSON COLLECTION

Established in 1988, the Fergusson Collection honors the memory of Lt. Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson (1943-67), a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia who died of wounds sustained in combat in Vietnam. Lieutenant Fergusson was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the Bronze Star Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster and the Purple Heart. The growing collection that bears his name includes rare books, broadsides, manuscripts, maps, works of art and artifacts pertaining to the military history of the American Revolution and the art of war in the eighteenth century.

