

1944

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Wyoming Commemorative
Association

Address by

ROBERT FORTENBAUGH, PH. D.

*Thos. Hartley, Col. Commdt. on the Northern
Frontiers of Penna.*

On the 166th Anniversary of the Battle
and Massacre of Wyoming

July 3rd, 1944

III

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

WYOMING COMMEMORATIVE ASSOCIATION

Memorial Volume; a Record of one-hundredth year commemorative observance of the Battle and Massacre, July 3, 1878. Edited by Wesley Johnson, Secretary of the Association, Wilkes-Barre 1882, p. 355. Including Proceedings of 1879, 1880, 1881.....	\$ 3.00
Proceedings 1882-1888, historical addresses by Rev. David Craft; "Early Gospel Efforts in Wyoming"; "Principles of the Fathers", by Charles I. A. Chapman; "Names on the Monument", by Hon. Steuben Jenkins; "Flight from Wyoming", by Wm. A. Wilcox; "Growth of the Republic", by John S. Harding. p. 55.....	.75
Proceedings 1889-1892, addresses by Dr. W. H. Egle; Ex-Governor Henry M. Hoyt; Henry Coppee, L.L.D.; Benjamin Dorrance. p. 64	1.00
Proceedings 1893, address by E. Grenough Scott (out of print). p. 18.	
Proceedings 1894, addresses by Judge Sylvester Dana, Concord, N. H., on "The Fatherland of the Wyoming Settlers"; and "Who was Queen Esther", by Sidney Roby Miner. p. 48.....	.75
Proceedings 1895, address by Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, D. D., of Elmira, N. Y., and historical paper, "A Wyoming Heroine of the Revolution", by Mrs. Miles L. Peck. p. 32.....	.75
Proceedings 1896, addresses by Sidney G. Fisher, of Philadelphia; "Col. John Franklin", by John Dorrance Farnham; "Two Years of Self-Government in the Second Wyoming Colony", by Ralph H. Wadhams; retrospect on building the monument, by C. I. A. Chapman. p. 27.....	.75
Proceedings 1897, address "Old Sullivan Road", by Rev. Henry M. Keiffer, D. D.; historical poem by Homer Greene. p. 21.....	.75
Proceedings 1898, address, "Pennsylvania and New York in the Border Wars of the Revolution", by Francis W. Halsey. p. 26.	.75
Proceedings 1899, address "Our National Tenure", by John Howard Harris, Ph. D., LL. D. p. 22.....	.75
Proceedings 1900, address "Men of Wyoming", by Wm. Henry Egle, A. M., M. D. p. 34.....	.75
Proceedings 1901, address "Our Debt to the Pioneer", by Dr. E. D. Warfield. p. 23.....	.75
Proceedings 1902, address, "Connecticut Character and Achievement", by Alfred Mathews. p. 35.....	.75
Proceedings 1903, address, "The History and Mythology of Sullivan's Expedition of 1779", by William Elliot Griffiths, D. D. L. H. D. p. 38	.75
Proceedings 1904, address, "A Colony out of the Northern Wilderness", by Major George C. Groff. p. 44.....	.75
Proceedings 1905, address, "The Nemesis of Wyoming", by Prof. Enoch Perrine. p. 23.....	.75
Proceedings 1906, address, "Benjamin Franklin as a Commonwealth Builder", by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart. p. 22.....	1.00
Proceedings 1907, address, "Connecticut in Pennsylvania", by Simeon Eben Baldwin, L. L. D. p. 21.....	.75
Proceedings 1908, address, "Some Contrasts suggested by the Massacre of Wyoming", by Henry Budd. p. 36.....	.75
Proceedings 1909, "The Wyoming Valley and Union Sentiment in the American Revolution", Dr. Claude Halstead Van Tyne. p. 20...	1.00
Proceedings 1910, address, "Wyoming, the Pivot of the Revolution", by Dr. Wm. Elliot Griffiths, of Ithaca, N. Y. p. 31.....	.75

One Hundred Sixty-sixth Anniversary
Sixty-seventh Annual Commemoration by this Association

Wyoming Commemorative

1778 Association 1944

Incorporated 1881

Annual Commemoration

of the Battle and Massacre of July 3, 1778

MONDAY MORNING, JULY 3rd, 1944

TEN THIRTY O'CLOCK

AT WYOMING, PENNSYLVANIA

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Programme

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The Officers of the Association earnestly request keener interest and more active participation on the part of the members.

The Annual Business Meeting of the Association is held in Wilkes-Barre in May. Postcard notice will be sent each member so desiring upon indication to Secretary-Treasurer.

PROGRAMME

Music by The Alexander Band, William F. Disque, Conductor.

MARCH—Knightsbridge

Eric Coates

OVER THERE FANTASIE

Grofe-Leidzen

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER

INVOCATION

Rev. Jule Ayer
Wilkes-Barre

REMARKS

Anne Dorrance, President

MARCH—Army Air Corps

R. Crawford

HYMN—America

Rev. Samuel F. Smith, 1832

My Country, 'tis of Thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died!
Land of the Pilgrim's pride!
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees,
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake;
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our father's God to Thee,
Author of liberty
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God our King.

OVERTURE—Light Cavalry

F. von Suppe

ADDRESS—Thomas Hartley, Col. Commder. on the Northern Frontier
of Pennsylvania

Robert Forlenbaugh, Ph. D.
Professor of History, Gettysburg College

SPIRIT OF AMERICA

J. S. Zamcnik

MARCH—U. S. Field Artillery

J. P. Sousa

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A trust fund of \$15,000.00 has been subscribed in order to provide for the maintenance and restoration of the monument and grounds as need occurs. According to the terms of the subscription, only the income may be used. When the income is in excess of the demands, that excess is turned back into the principal until the total shall amount to \$20,000.00. At this point the income may be applied to the maintenance and restoration of other historical monuments in the locality. The administration of this fund vests in the Second National Bank of Wilkes-Barre and a committee of one member each of The Wyoming Monument Association, The Wyoming Commemorative Association and The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. Subscribers to this fund are known as Endowment Members.

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holds the title to the grounds and monument.

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"THOS. HARTLEY, COL. COMMDT. ON THE
NORTHERN FRONTIERS OF PENNA."

BY ROBERT FORLENBAUGH, PH. D,
Professor of History, Gettysburg College.

Madame President, Members of the Wyoming Commemorative Association, and Friends:

"O, when shall their silent home
Its mournful glory gain!
The vollied roar and muffled drum,
In honour of the warrior slain?"

"O, when shall rise, with chisel'd head,
The tall stone o'er their burial place,
Where the winds may sigh for the gallant dead
And the dry grass rustle round its base?"

These questions, poetically asked, so it is understood, by Charles F. Wells in 1810 have been fully and generously answered. The "warrior slain" have had a full share of honor accorded them. There has risen "with chisel'd head, the tall stone o'er their burial place." On this 166th Anniversary of the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, if no "vollied roar and muffled drum" are sounded "in honour of the warrior slain," grateful descendents and other patriotic citizens are here gathered to pay tribute to those who on that distant day fought a good fight in the face of "thrice their number." Not only does this monument—standing here these one hundred years—recall their sacrifice of devotion to duty, not only does this annual commemoration, of which this is the 67th, do them honor, but there is in the hearts of all true Americans a grateful remembrance which is unfading of these patriots who here contributed to our "goodly heritage."

Some one might, however, object to the expenditure of time, energy, and material in celebrating the events and honoring the men of 166 years ago. Some one might say

"Let the dead past bury its dead!
Act, act in the living present!"

Such a one might call to mind the strife and horror of these present days, and point out that in comparison with the destruction, suffering, and loss of the five years soon past, the events before, on, and after July 3rd, 1778, centering in an out-of-the-way valley in back-woods Pennsylvania, have no significance. He might remind his hearers that the battle of a few hundreds against even three times that many hundreds is hardly to be considered warfare when

to-day millions contend against millions, and the whole globe is the battle-ground. He might add that to be concerned with the effects in death and destruction of muzzle-loading muskets, swivel guns, hunting-knives, and tomahawks is to magnify trivialities when men to-day deal out devastation by 2-ton "block-busters," 50 calibre machine guns, deadly flame-throwers, and General Sherman tanks. When civilization itself stands threatened by barbarism, he might conclude, there is no justification for commemorating a small-scale military action of the long ago.

To such objections answer may be made, involving two considerations. First, significant events, important deeds, brave acts of personal devotion should not be judged by their size, or volume, or extent. The human interests, the human purposes, and the human ideas implied are the true subjects of judgment. Considered thus the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming has the same appeal for present-day appreciation as the Battle of Britain, the Defense of Stalingrad, or the Defense of Bataan.

In all of these defensive battles, some successful, some unsuccessful in their purpose, free human beings strove to protect their freedom against the attacks of superior numbers of barbarians; free men strove to defend their land against ruthless aggression. That they failed at Wyoming and Bataan, having been overwhelmed by the weight of the offensive, does not detract one small degree from their glory, nor condemn them to oblivion as participants in events which have no claim to remembrance.

The second consideration follows from the first. Events of the past have their present value, and are worthy to be honored with events of the present, because the past is not dead. The most satisfactory simple definition of history is that popularized by Professor Carl Becker, "History is the memory of things said and done." Important events of the past live in the memory of men. This historical memory is as necessary for mankind as the individual's memory is to his normal living. An individual without memory is helpless; mankind without history is without the guidance and inspiration of the experience of the past.

It was with such a notion in mind that Madame Chiang Kai-shek recently said in effect: "We live in the present; we dream of the future, but we learn eternal truths from the past."

Such events as those before, during, and after the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming have their practical, present-day values in helping us to learn eternal truths from their part in our nation's experience. Out of such events the American Tradition has been fashioned; from such the American Way of Life has developed. There they stood at Fort Jenkins; here at Wyoming! Godcharles, in vivid expression, gives the point: "History does not record an instance of more courage displayed or more gallant devotion. There

was no alternative but to fight and conquer, or die, for the retreat with their families was impossible. On July 3 they marched out to meet the enemy."

Such events, however distant in time, have their proper permanent place in our memory as a nation, because they offer us of the present generation a basis of courage and devotion for our present-day tasks. Our thoughts to-day are indeed more actively related to battle-fields in Normandy, Italy, and the Far East, not only because of our personal interest in our fighting men, but also because they are just now defending our national interests and ideals in the tradition of Wyoming, of Gettysburg, and of Flanders Field. As we celebrate to-morrow the 168th anniversary of the birth-day of the nation, all services of all patriots of the past are specially remembered while we follow with our hearts our heroic men to victory for liberty and justice for all.

The events of the summer of 1778 which have their firmly-fixed place in the American record of courage and gallant devotion, and so are for our instruction, were not, however, confined to the narrow environs of the Wyoming Valley. The whole northern frontier of Pennsylvania was threatened by the hostile gestures and depredations of organized bands of Tories and Indians from New York. The authorities in Philadelphia, at long last aroused by the tragedy at Wyoming, began preparations for the general defense of the whole frontier. It had not been a case of "too little, too late;" it had been one of "nothing, ever!"

Therefore on July 14th the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, sitting in Philadelphia, agreed to the publication of a circular letter to the proper authorities in several counties which began as follows: "Sir, The attack which has been made by the Indians and others, on the Frontiers of this State, having been laid before the Congress, and consultation held between the Board of War and Council, they have agreed upon the following arrangements for defence, to wit:

"A detachment of Col. Hartley's Regiment to march from New Jersey to Easton, there to join Col. Kowatz, who has under his command a small number of horse. The remainder of Col. Hartley's Reg't, now in Philadelphia, to march immediately to Sunbury and join the Two Companies lately raised at Wioming. Col. Brodhead's Regiment, now on their march to Pittsburgh, to be ordered to the Standing Stone. But it is necessary to add to these Continental troops a considerable body of militia."

Specifications then followed of the number of militia to be raised and dispatched from the Counties of Northumberland, Lancaster, Berks, Cumberland, York, and Northampton to several points along the whole frontier. The letter continued: "For this purpose you are to order out the first, second, third, & even fourth

class, if it be necessary to make up this number—the men must be had.” Translated into present-day parlance the county draft boards were ordered to “scrape the bottom of the barrel,” and induct men of deferred classification, even the “4 F’s!”

The letter went on to state that a powerful French fleet (early fruits of the Treaty of Alliance) had arrived with a large number of troops on board, and was then “actually blocking up the British fleet in the harbor of New York.” This induced Congress, it was said, to determine to destroy the whole British fleet then in that city. This decision made it highly improper to detach any part of the main army for the defense of the frontiers, but, it was stated, if the destruction of the fleet should be successful, the indirect final effect would be to remove the enemy from the frontiers also. “We are confident that the blow given by the Indians will be severely revenged before the War with them is closed,” was the final thought in the circular.

Through this letter we are introduced to a man of prime importance in the subsequent operations in defense of the northern frontiers following the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming. Soon he was in active command of the forces sent out to the most critical areas and by virtue of this command he became entitled to sign his papers,” Thomas Hartley, Col. Commdt. on the Northern Frontiers of Penna.”

Since the Reverend D. Craft has published in the *Proceedings and Collections* of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society (Vol. IX, 1905) a detailed study of Col. Hartley’s most spectacular service, under the title of “The Expedition of Col. Thos. Hartley Against the Indians in 1778,” and many other writers have fully described his other services, it is not necessary at this time to repeat the details of his valuable record. Our present purpose is rather to sketch the full story of the career of Thomas Hartley as a tribute to one who played not only a highly important part in the events which were precipitated by the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming, but who was a person of consequence in the Revolutionary and early national periods in Pennsylvania.

Thomas Hartley was a native of Colebrookdale Township, Berks County. The son of George Hartley, an early settler and prosperous farmer of English descent, he was born on September 7, 1748. He received a liberal education at Reading, after which he went to York at the age of 18 to study law with Samuel Johnston, a relative. He was admitted to the bar of York County on July 25, 1769, and soon was carrying on a profitable practice. For a time following his admittance to the bar he and the well-known James Smith were the only practicing attorneys in the county as Johnston held the public office of prothonotary. Hartley’s fluency in the German language was certainly a contributing cause to his

success as a lawyer. He later married Catharine, the daughter of Bernhart Holtzinger, to whom two children were born.

When the movement for the defense of the rights of the colonists began Hartley enthusiastically entered into active participation in it. He was vice-president of the York County Committee of Observation in 1774 and 1775; a deputy to the provincial meeting at Philadelphia in July, 1774, and to the provincial convention in January, 1775. In view of possible armed conflict with the Mother Country, a company of militia was organized, December, 1774, in York County, with James Smith, Captain, and Hartley, 1st. Lieut.

On July 28-9, 1775, York County was divided into five districts for military purposes, each district to furnish a battalion of Associators. Of the 1st. Battalion, James Smith was Colonel, and Hartley, Lieut. Colonel. From the militia thus organized one company of each battalion was chosen to form a regiment of *minute men*. The principal officers of this regiment were: Richard McAllister, Colonel; Hartley, Lieut. Colonel, and David Greer, Major.

Since armed resistance against Great Britain continued through 1775, and hope for a peaceful settlement of the differences grew dimmer, the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety recommended a number of persons to Congress to be made field officers in the 6th Battalion of the Pennsylvania Line of the Continental Army. Congress authorized the 6th Battalion on January 4, 1776, and on January 10th elected William Irwin, Colonel; Hartley, Lieut. Colonel, and James Dunlap, Major, of the organization. With this unit Hartley served in the Canadian Campaign, assuming command upon the capture of Colonel Irwin at Three Rivers on June 8, 1776. The latter was afterward exchanged, and Hartley became attached to the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment as is indicated by the authorization of the Council of Safety of an order for \$3,000 in favor of Lieut Colonel Hartley for recruiting in behalf of the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment in the Continental Service.

On December 27, 1776, Congress authorized General Washington to “raise and collect together, in the most efficient manner, from any and all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress, and to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry” In consequence, on January 11, 1777, Washington issued colonels’ commissions and the authority to raise two of these regiments (also called battalions) to Lieut. Colonel Thomas Hartley of the 7th Pennsylvania Regiment, and Major John Patton of Miles’ rifle regiment. Hartley’s new regiment appears to have been designated as the 11th of the Pennsylvania Line, and was of the 1st Pennsylvania Brigade of General Anthony Wayne’s Division.

Hartley commanded the brigade at the Battles of Brandywine and of Germantown, and was looked upon by General Wayne as one of his most trustworthy officers. The regiment was never large, as a requisition for only 150 blankets for the regiment on November 1, 1777, and as Hartley's description of October 8, 1778, of "my little regiment," attest.

Through the spring and early summer of 1778 Hartley was active in recruiting for his regiment. In this activity he was especially anxious to get the authorization from the proper persons to enlist for his regiment within the bounds of Pennsylvania, to offer the bounty which the state granted for voluntary enlistments, and to have the men so recruited considered part of the state quota. He was apparently very active in this work since not less than \$18,000 was charged to his account for this purpose. That the regiment was still comparatively small is a commentary on the difficulty of getting and keeping men in the continental service.

It was with this regiment that Hartley proceeded to Sunbury to play his part on the northern frontier. He remained in its command until Congress resolved that it, with some independent companies from Pennsylvania, should be incorporated into a regiment to be known as the "New Eleventh." He held command of this new regiment until he resigned his commission and returned to civil life on February 13, 1779, and after the regiment had been taken into the Line. His only military connection thereafter was his short service as Major General of the 5th Division of the Pennsylvania Militia, for the Counties of York and Adams, under a commission issued by Governor McKean on April 28, 1800.

To return to the events of July, 1778, when the authorities in Philadelphia at last awoke to the necessity of providing for the adequate protection of the northern frontier, attention is now directed specifically but briefly to Colonel Hartley's activities as "Commdt. on the Northern Frontiers of Penna."

In a letter to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, dated August 1st, from Sunbury, Hartley reported that he had arrived there "a few days since with a Detachment of my Regiment and some Militia. Genl Dehaas had come up (I presume) with the intention of assisting and supporting the People. He had detached sundry partys of militia to protect the Inhabitants. Upon my arrival I have taken the command. . . . I shall dispose of the Regulars and Militia to the best advantage, and shall give the Country every support and assistance in my Power. Four-fifths of the Inhabitants fled with such Effects as they could carry from this Country. Many of the men are returning, but unless I can support four or five posts between the Great Island and fishing Creek, I fear few of the women will return again to their former Habitations. A most extraordinary panic seems to have struck the

People. The Wyoming Settlement is almost totally destroyed. The most of the surviving Inhabitants have fled to Connecticut, or are now removing as Paupers to that state. There is no prospect of their returning or reestablishing themselves at Wyoming this fall. But much may be done in Favour of this County. Nothing shall be wanting on my part."

This was a heavy task, especially as the force under his command was small, but Hartley began his protective work by moving up the West Branch, establishing himself at Fort Muncy. His intentions were, first, to protect the people on the frontier by disposing his available troops so as to lend aid in getting in the harvests, and generally guarding particular settlements, and secondly, later to move into the Indians' own country and attack them at their bases of operations. This is to be recognized as a very popular maneuver in the grand strategy of present-day military practice.

Hartley's activities in fulfilling both of these intentions are well-known and therefore need not be rehearsed here. Ill-supplied, and undermanned, for such a far-flung responsibility, he nevertheless made it possible for many to return and re-establish their homes, while he demonstrated the effective method of removing the constant threat of depredation which was finally carried through by General Sullivan the next year. If Sullivan was the final avenger of Wyoming, Hartley was its first avenger.

Official recognition and commendation of Hartley's services came first from Congress which on November 14, 1778, taking note of a letter from him to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and also one to the Board of War, ordered that a copy of the letter to the Board of War be sent to General Washington. The latter was to be directed to take such measures as he judged to be necessary, in the light of the content of the letter. It was further ordered that the Board of War direct the proper officers to furnish the troops in the posts on the frontier, under Hartley's command, with provisions and other necessary supplies.

Formal commendation came out of action of November 27, 1778, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania by which it was "Ordered, That a Message be sent to the Hon'ble House of General Assembly, proposing that a Committee be appointed by the Hon'ble House, to confer with a Committee of Council, respecting some Public expression of their approbation of the spirited Conduct of Colo. Hartley, & his Corps under his Command; And that Gen'l Reed & Colo. Smith, be a Committee to meet the Committee of the House on this subject."

Accordingly the Council on December 10, 1778, on motion, "Ordered, That the unanimous thanks of the Council be given to Col. Thomas Hartley, for the brave & prudent Conduct in cover-

ing the North Western frontiers of this State, & repelling the Savages & other Enemies; And that he be requested to inform the Officers & Men who have been under his command, that this Council is highly sensible of the difficulties & hardships of the duty which they have performed, & the courage & zeal which they have shown during the last Campaign. Ordered, That the foregoing Order be Published."

Without minimizing the immediate value of the services of Hartley and his command in defending in position the several frontier areas, it may be said that his expedition into the Indians' own country was of greater ultimate value. Leaving Fort Muncy on September 21, with only "about 200 Rank & File," he marched through the wilderness to Tioga, then swung southwardly and arrived at Sunbury on October 5th. He had "performed a Circuit of near 300 miles in about two weeks," and had destroyed several Indian strongholds.

The ultimate value of this demonstration is well stated by Miner, "Immediately after Col. Hartley's gallant excursion into the Indian Territory, and victory at Sheshequin, his Excellency, General Washington, formed the design of sending a powerful force into the heart of the Six Nations, at once to chastise them for their cruelty, and by laying waste their settlements, to dislodge them from their position, so dangerously near to the American frontier. It was resolved to carry the war into their own country, and if possible to force the Savages back to Niagara To send a force fully adequate to the object to be accomplished, was obviously the only effective, and consequently the most economical policy. An invasion during the winter had been proposed, but was wisely relinquished During the spring and early part of summer, vigorous preparation had been making for the contemplated invasion of the Indian country Major General John Sullivan, of New Hampshire being appointed to the supreme command."

The greater part of Hartley's period of service on the northern frontier was, however, given over to the less spectacular duty of defending the settled areas over a long front. In papers addressed both to the Council of Pennsylvania and to Congress, from Sunbury, dated October 8, 1778, he laid the situation frankly before the two bodies, and begged for reinforcements. These papers are among the chief sources for understanding Hartley's services and purposes. In them the enormity of the burden laid upon him as "Commdt. on the Northern Frontiers of Penna." are poignantly stated: "My little Regiment, with two classes of Lancaster and Berks County Militia, will be scarcely sufficient to preserve the Posts from Nescopake Falls to Muncy, and thence to the Head of

Penns Valey." In present-day terms this would be from Berwick to Muncy, and thence to a point not far east of State College.

Hartley continued to carry his responsibilities for the safety of this extensive area throughout the remainder of the autumn months. His usefulness may be judged from the testimony of Lt. Samuel Hunter in a letter to Joseph Reed, President of the Council of Pennsylvania, dated December 13, 1778, at Sunbury: "I am sorry at Coll. Hartley's leaveing (sic) this County, for to do him Justice, he made the best possible use of what Troops was (sic) under his Command, for the protection of the Frontiers and the Good of the County; last Month we were alarmed by Express from Wyoming of a large Body of Indians and Torys comeing (sic) down on the Frontiers of this County, but when Coll. Hartley and myself Issued orders to the Inhabitants to Assemble at such & such places, I never see (sic) them turn out more spirited than they did on this Occasion to guard the frontiers,"

Hartley's last important contribution as commandant was probably his plan and arrangement for the defense of the northwestern frontiers of Pennsylvania which was approved by the Supreme Executive Council on December 19, 1778. A stipulation was included in the action approving the plan to the effect that "in case any other Officer should succeed Colo. Hartley in command, it is recommended that Col. Hartley's plan be pursued, as far as circumstances will admit."

On December 16, 1778, Congress resolved that Col. Hartley's regiment, with some independent Pennsylvania companies, should be incorporated into a regiment of the Pennsylvania Line to be known as the "New Eleventh" regiment. On February 13, 1779, after the regiment had been thus organized, Hartley asked leave of Congress to resign his commission as its colonel. Thinking the reasons offered for his request satisfactory, Congress permitted the resignation, and on the same day resolved that the members had "a high sense of Colonel Hartley's merit and services."

Since Hartley had already, in October, 1778, been elected a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly from the County of York, he did not retire to private life upon ending his active military career. He spent the remainder of his life as a lawyer and political office-holder. As a lawyer he reclaimed his lucrative practice of the days before entering the public service. He has the distinction of having been the first Pennsylvania lawyer to be admitted as a counsellor before the United States Supreme Court. This took place on February 5, 1791.

His services as a political office-holder were varied and meritorious. He was a fluent speaker, energetic, determined, independent in judgment. He was inclined, so at least those who disliked him said, to be vain, pretentious, and high-minded. He was par-

ricularly disliked by William Maclay whose diary entry that he was a "strange piece of pomposity," has probably had influence in characterizing Hartley beyond the merit of the criticism. On the other hand, George Washington Parke Custis in his *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington* testifies to the very high regard which Washington had for Hartley. He says, "Of the brave and valued Colonel Hartley, it is said, that the commander-in-chief sent for him in the heat of an engagement and addressed him as follows: 'I have sent for you, Colonel, to employ you on a serious piece of service. The state of our affairs, renders it necessary, that a part of this army should be *sacrificed*, for the welfare of the whole. You command an efficient corps (a fine regiment of Germans from York and Lancaster Counties). I know you well, and have, therefore, selected you to perform this important and serious duty. You will take such a position and defend it to the last extremity.' The colonel received this appointment to a forlorn hope, with a smile of exultation, and bowing, replied, 'Your excellency does me too much honour; your orders shall be obeyed to the letter,' and repaired to his post." Hartley was ready to be "expendable," long before the word became current.

"I will not be positive as to the location of this anecdote, having heard it from the old people of the Revolution many years ago, but think it occurred on the field of Monmouth—but of this I am not certain. I have a hundred times seen Colonel Hartley received in the halls of the great president, where so many Revolutionary worthies were made welcome, and to none was the hand of honored and friendly recollection more feelingly offered; on none did the merit-discerning eye of the Chief appear to beam with more pleasure, than on Hartley of York."

Washington's diary entries, when in York on July 2 & 3, 1791, on his way from Mt. Vernon to Philadelphia, support this feeling of friendliness and regard. He notes, "After dinner, in company with Colonel Hartley and other gentlemen, I walked through the principal streets of the town, and drank tea at Colonel Hartley's." The next day (Sunday) he attended morning service in the German Reformed Church. "After service, accompanied by Colonel Hartley and half dozen other gentlemen, I set off for Lancaster."

In politics Hartley was a strong Federalist who, following the "party line," stood for conservative measures designed to protect property and strengthen the national government. He vigorously supported Hamilton's financial program, except the Assumption plan, advocated protection for manufacturers, and believed in an adequate military establishment. Although irritated by England's commercial policy, he opposed war as a means of redress. He also opposed higher duties on English manufactures, as a re-

taliatory measure, because this would, he thought, reduce the revenue which was being applied to the reduction of the national debt.

He served in the Pennsylvania Assembly for one year, 1779. As a member of the Pennsylvania Council of Censors, in 1783-4, he advocated the revision of the state constitution of 1776 which men of conservative turn of mind generally considered to be too radical in its provisions. In the state convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in December, 1787, he was an out-spoken champion of the proposed instrument. It was, however, in the national House of Representatives that he made his greatest contribution as a civil servant. He served in that body for the first six Congresses. During his membership in the 6th Congress he addressed the following communication to his constituents, under date of September 8, 1800: "Fellow Citizens: Through want of health, and a wish to retire from a sedentary public life and to attend to my private concerns, which have been much deranged by my absence from York town, I have been induced most fixedly to decline serving in the House of Representatives in Congress after the third day of March next. Indeed it is well known that for some years past I have not wished to be elected; and should long since have declined the honor had it not been for the political condition of the world, and of our own States in particular, which have frequently suffered from two great nations;—I hope however, we shall soon have peace." He then rehearses his record of office-holding and military service, and concludes by saying: "In some instances I have perhaps been useful; but I may say I have ever desired to advance the interests of the United States as far as my powers and constitution would admit. I shall endeavor to be of as much service as possible in the militia, which will occasionally require some attention and exercise. I thank the citizens of Pennsylvania at large for shewing their frequent confidence in me, and particularly of that part of the state composing York and Adams counties, and wish them every happiness."

The plea of ill health was indeed well founded for on December 21, 1800, Thomas Hartley departed this life. His body was interred in the burial ground of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church of York. When later the church building was enlarged his grave came within the left transept of the new building, and this remains his resting-place. A memorial tablet on a near-by wall is inscribed:

"In Memory of
THOMAS HARTLEY
Patriot, Soldier, Statesman
A Devout Christian and Member of
the Protestant Episcopal Church
....."

He was a vestryman of St. John's, and was the delegate of the parish, then consisting of Yorktown, Carlisle, and Christ Church, Huntington (near York Springs, Adams County), to the first general convention of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in September, 1785.

A fitting close to this consideration of Thomas Hartley is the following tribute of respect to his memory by his pastor and friend, the Reverend John Campbell: "Departed friend! you hear me not, the grave is deaf and silent. In this work of blessings to future ages you bore, though a subordinate, yet an honourable part. Soldiers of liberty! come drop a tear over your companion in arms. Lovers of justice! come drop a tear over her able advocate, and of science, come drop a tear over its warmest patron. Children of misfortune! come, drop a tear over your benefactor and protector. Brethren of this earthly lodge! rejoice that our brother is removed to the temple of the Supreme. Ministers of religion! come, drop a tear to the memory of a man who (lamenting human frailty) was ever a friend of truth and virtue. And thou my soul! come not into the assembly of those who would draw his reposed spirit from the bosom of his Father who is in heaven."

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