



# THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN RADNOR (1777-1778)

by  
**Francis James Dallett**

*Revised 2021 by Phil Graham*



**RADNOR HISTORICAL SOCIETY**



Samuel Miles was a signatory of local currency, including both the 10/- & 15/- note. He was Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment & son of Radnor residents James Miles & Hannah Pugh. His father kept the Unicorn Tavern, formerly opposite today's Strafford Farmer's Market, junction of Conestoga Rd. & Lancaster Ave.

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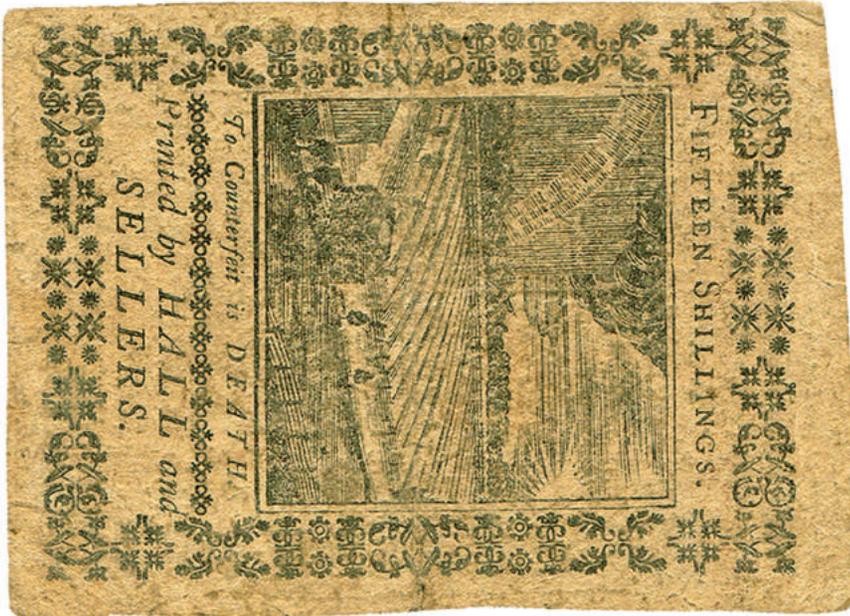
by  
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*Essay first published 1976*

*Booklet printed 2014; Second revision 2021  
with graphics, illustrations, appendix & in-line addenda [in parentheses] by Phil Graham.  
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*Front Cover: Col. Walter Stewart (left of Washington) portrayed in  
"The Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown VA, Oct 19th 1781."  
(Original painting at the Capitol in Washington.)*



RADNOR FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE  
*Officers' Quarters & Hospital 1777-8, 3/4 of a mile from the Radnor "Picquet"*



RADNOR  
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## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Francis James Dallett, Jr., (1927-2007), known to his friends and colleagues as “Jim”, was a historian, archivist, writer and genealogist. He was a descendant of an old Philadelphia French family who fled Haiti to escape a slave rebellion, so had a special interest in the French Benevolent Society and French heritage in America. He was born and lived his early life in Ithan, PA, educated at Radnor High School, Haverford College and the University of Pennsylvania where he earned a masters degree in history. He served in the US Army and at the State Department. After his education he embarked on a career in historical research, was Secretary and Librarian at the Athenæum of Philadelphia, research associate at the American Museum in Bath, England, University Archivist at Princeton, and later at the University of Pennsylvania. He was a fellow of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania and the American Society of Genealogists. He wrote numerous articles and works and was a charter member of Radnor Historical Society in 1947.  
– P.G.

## THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN RADNOR (1777-78)

by Francis James Dallett

**R**adnor Township was directly and intimately involved in the War of the Revolution for seven months from September 1777 to April 1778. Lying athwart the Lancaster Road, the main artery leading west from Philadelphia, Radnor was a prosperous agricultural and milling community which (then in Chester County) is well known for having witnessed the passage of the leaders on both sides of the conflict. The march of Washington, Howe & Cornwallis through its bounds, as well as the westward flight from Philadelphia of members of the fugitive Continental Congress, are described in local histories and recorded on local markers.<sup>1</sup>

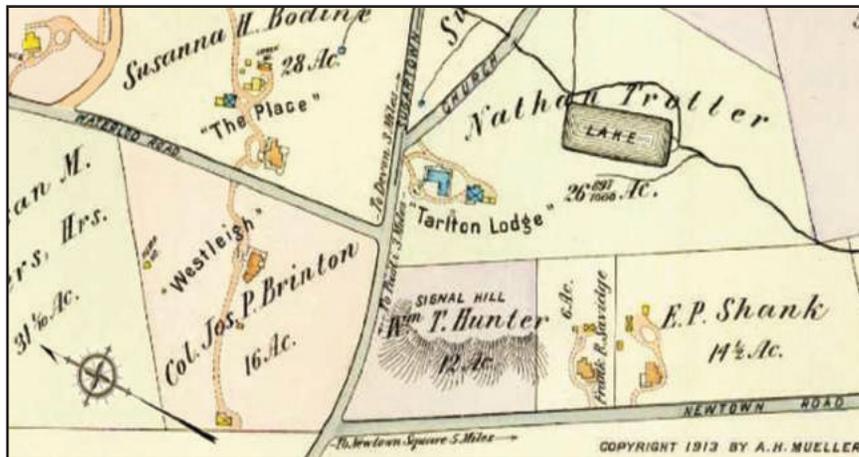
The role of Radnor however was more than that of passive witness to the war which over two centuries ago brought a new nation into being. The community was the locale for a strategic exercise in three-sided hide-and-go-seek between Continental and British troops and local residents caught in the middle. For seven months the drama of the Revolution was a terrifying part of the daily life of Radnor Township. Never since has war come so close to the actual day-to-day life of the neighborhood.

A key outpost was established by Continental troops at Radnor. Its headquarters was the Friends Meeting House, [part of] the same fieldstone building which survives today [see title page] within its walled and still beautifully rustic enclave at Conestoga and Newtown Roads in Ithan.<sup>2</sup> The military and intelligence surveillance of the neighborhood, in fact of the entire sweep of country between Matson’s Ford on the Schuylkill and the market towns of Darby and Chester to the south, was of great importance to General Washington who was encamped from December until June of that winter and spring of 1777-1778 at nearby Valley Forge.

The Radnor “picquet”, which worked closely with another smaller post at Newtown Square, was commanded by the cream of the American military. Major General “Lord” Stirling, Colonel (later Brigadier General) Daniel Morgan, leader of the crack “Morgan’s Rifle Corps of Sharpshooters”, Brigadier General James Potter of the Pennsylvania Line, and Colonel Timothy Bigelow, a veteran of the Lexington Alarm, were all detailed to Radnor. Colonel Walter Stewart of the Pennsylvania Line did patrol duty in the neighborhood.

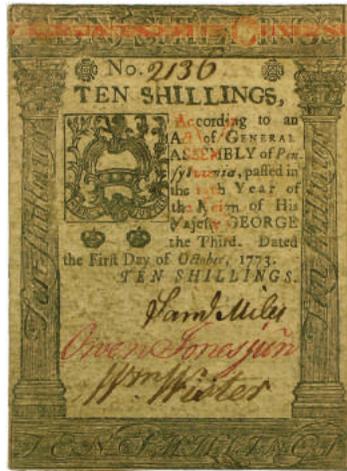


Site & environs of the Radnor Picquet Post (eastward across the Ardrossan Estate)  
Satellite view: Google Earth. Accessed Aug. 1, 2021



Capt. Lee's HQ at Scott's Farm (shown in 1913 as Signal Hill/Tarlton, S.W. of Devon Sta.)

Based in adjacent Easttown [see p.4 map], and patrolling the country west from Radnor and north to Valley Forge, was Washington's trusted Virginian officer, Captain Henry Lee. Lee's headquarters at Scott's Farm [later known as "Tarleton" at Signal Hill, Sugartown & Newtown Roads, Devon] was besieged by a troop of nearly 200 mounted dragoons commanded by the British cornet, "Bloody" Banastre Tarleton. "Light Horse Harry" Lee, shot it out and drove off the Englishmen. Thus a true military engagement took place nearby, its participants being the men who patrolled the western flank of Radnor. A full account of the war in the township and its vicinity has never before been told. It can however now be reconstructed, largely from the correspondence exchanged between Washington and the patriot officers who manned the Radnor picquet.<sup>3</sup>



Samuel Miles - local signatory of bank notes

### Radnor's heroes join the fight

Although the story of Radnor Township in the Revolution begins in the autumn of 1777 the involvement of local individuals in the conflict commenced a year earlier when numerous Radnor men enlisted in the provincial and county militias, some going later into the Continental Line. Prominent among them were two men not then actually



Samuel Miles



Anthony Wayne

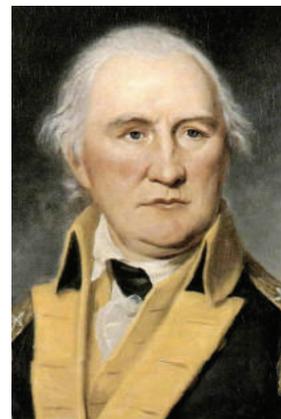


William Alexander, Lord Stirling

resident in Radnor but with family backgrounds in the community. Samuel Miles of Philadelphia, whose familiar signature appeared on the ten shilling and fifteen shilling notes of the provincial currency and who was commissioned Colonel of the two battalions of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment on March 13, 1776, was the son of James Miles and Hannah Pugh, both Radnor residents. His father, who kept the Unicorn Tavern in Radnor in 1748-1753 [opposite the Farmer's Market, junction of Conestoga Rd. & Lancaster Ave. in Strafford], was a cousin of the Thomases and Lewises whose Holly Tree House [still on Ardrossan Farm, Darby Paoli Rd - see p.16] was to play a part in the military saga of the community.<sup>4</sup>

Samuel Miles, eventually a Brigadier General of the Pennsylvania State Troops, shared fame locally with General Anthony Wayne, commander of the seven line companies and one rifle company which made up the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion of 1776. Wayne, who was an active committeeman in the revolutionary movement from the beginning, was seated at his farm of Waynesborough in Easttown but had a Radnor-born mother [Elizabeth Iddings, born on what became the Ardrossan Estate - see memorial p.8] and succeeded his father on the vestry of St. David's Church. Rising in just a year to the rank of Brigadier General and then to that of Major General, "Mad" Anthony Wayne, hero at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Stony Point and Green Spring, later became Commander-in-Chief of the Army.<sup>5</sup> The principal town within the Township [formerly called "Louella"] has borne his name since 1880.

Radnor residents who answered the call to arms were headed by Colonel Miles's first cousin, John Pugh, who was commissioned March 18, 1777,



Daniel Morgan



Henry 'Light Horse Harry' Lee



Walter Stewart

and appointed on the following May 1 to the rank of Captain in the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot. This militia company became known as the Thirteenth Pennsylvania and fought at Brandywine and Germantown under its commander, Colonel Walter Stewart. On October 27, 1777, Stewart wrote, “Captain Pugh, who joined me from the Powder Mill and increased my regiment to eleven companies, got tired of the service and resigned.”



Memorial (enhanced) on an Ardrossan springhouse commemorating the nearby birth of Gen. Wayne's mother.

By his resignation Radnor's foremost fighting resident missed serving in the Continental Line into which the Thirteenth Pennsylvania was absorbed. He also lost his membership with Friends for his action and his family worshipped thereafter with the Baptists in the Great Valley. Pugh, part of whose farmhouse is today incorporated into the Finley House (Wayne headquarters of the Radnor Historical Society), enlisted his neighbor Patrick McFall as his First Lieutenant, the latter rising to Captain on April 8, 1777.<sup>6</sup> Mordecai Morgan, Jr., of Nantmell Hall, on a rich farm which encompassed St. Davids Inn and the Sears Roebuck Company [now the Radnor Hotel & Financial Center lots], was a first cousin of Samuel Miles, and was commissioned Lieutenant of militia in 1776. Like Pugh he was disowned by Radnor Meeting for bearing arms.<sup>7</sup> The Methodists held no scruples against warfare and from the Radnor congregation of that denomination came another Captain in the State Regiment of Foot, George Gyger, husband of Margaret Pechin, as well as Aaron Matson, member of the family whose name is commemorated by Matson's Ford Road which runs from Radnor Station to the Schuylkill.<sup>8</sup> Two Township Overseers, Daniel Evans and Elisha Worrall, gave service as privates, as did Robert Mather the storekeeper, John Cornog the innkeeper, Peter DeHaven and Philip Sheaff.<sup>9</sup>

Land assessments indicate military rank was held by Samuel Pugh and

Lewis Lewis. The minutes of the Radnor Friends reveal that they disowned still others for warlike activity: Abner Barry, James Barry, William Burn, Jr., Aquilla Evans, William Evans, James Lawrence, John Lloyd and John Tucker. Additional local men whose patriotic services, either in the militia or by the provision of service in kind, are recognized by the Daughters of the American Revolution were Privates Isaac Abraham, Sr., (whose name survives in Abrahams Lane), Evan Lewis, George Matlack (also now recalled by a Radnor street name [Matlack Lane]) and Jacob White (married to Mary Gyger) as well as Isaac Burn, William Burn, George Dunn, Jesse Gyger, Sr., Matthew Law, David Lewis, Thomas Read and another Overseer, Griffith James (whose wife was also Mary Gyger). Radnor historian Katharine Cummin points out however that some of these were “advanced in age and some held strong Quaker convictions!”<sup>10</sup>

Several men whose land lay over adjacent township lines but whose family, religious or commercial orientation was equally with Radnor were Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Hughes and Captain Benjamin Brooke, of Upper Merion, and Major William Brooke of Haverford.<sup>11</sup> The three Currie brothers – Ross (a Lieutenant), William (a surgeon) and Richard (a Private) – were in service. They were sons of the conservative Reverend Dr. William Currie, missionary rector of St. David's Church whose sentiments are said to have been loyal to the Crown.<sup>12</sup> Squire William Hayman, brother-in-law of Anthony Wayne and later (from 1785-1823) a vestryman at St. David's, farmed in Newtown along the Radnor Line. He had been born in Devonshire, England, but gave his loyalty to his adopted country as a Captain in the Continental Navy.<sup>13</sup>

A Radnor landowner and Philadelphia dry goods merchant, James Hunter, who was, uniquely for that period, a summer rather than year-round resident, was also a patriot who fought in the field early in the war and subsequently became something of a victim of events which turned the vicinity of his country home into a campground. He was the owner of Woodstock [now in Vassar Circle] on the hill north of the Old Lancaster Rd. [aka The King's Highway, now Conestoga Rd.] across from the Meeting House. Hunter had helped found the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry, served with it as Second Corporal at the battles of Trenton (December 26, 1776) and Princeton (January 3, 1777) and later in the year became Paymaster of the Fourth Pennsylvania Battalion.<sup>14</sup> When the British occupied Philadelphia Hunter brought his family to find refuge at Woodstock, not realizing that there was no escape from the troubles of war, even among the rolling hills and wooded, well-watered valleys in Radnor.

## *The Continental Army marches through Radnor*

This realization must also have been brought home to the retiring and pacifist Friends who formed a majority among Radnor's resident proprietors. On September 15, 1777, General Washington and the main body of the Continental army broke camp in Germantown, crossed the Schuylkill [at *Levering's Ford*, now the site of *Green Lane Bridge, Manayunk*] and marched [21 miles in total] to the Buck Tavern in Haverford, thence along the Old Lancaster Rd. (Conestoga Rd.) through the length of Radnor.

[He proceeded as far as the junction of what is now *Swedesford Rd. /Lancaster Ave.* in *East Whiteland Township*, and encamped his forces on a 3-mile front between the *Admiral Warren* and *White Horse Taverns*.]

That march is commemorated by a stone marker in front of the Rosemont School [since replaced by *Rosemont Business Park*, 919 *Conestoga Rd.*] at Garrett Hill, opposite the Radnor Methodist Church, from among whose congregation recruits for Washington's army had come.<sup>15</sup> [See photo below.]



Legend reads: "The Old Conestoga Road – On September 15 1777 after the Battle of the Brandywine the American Army marched along this road with Washington in command for the purpose of engaging again the British invaders" – further details in Appendix Notes, from p.25.

The American defeat at Brandywine was just four days old and, even as Washington marched, the hilly country south and west of Radnor was full of fleeing, hiding men attempting to rejoin their units or simply to get back home. Washington established a new camp in East Whiteland near The Admiral Warren Tavern, Malvern, and on September 16 ordered General Wayne to engage in action with the troops of Generals Howe and Cornwallis who had moved up from the southern part of Chester County in the wake of Brandywine. This little skirmish, which a violent rainstorm prevented from becoming a real battle, took place near Goshen Friends Meeting in East Goshen Township. It is known as the *Battle of the Clouds*.<sup>16</sup> The next day Cornwallis and his British and Hessian grenadiers [German mercenaries], comprising virtually the entire British army south of New York,

camped at Howellville in Tredyffrin Township. In the night of September 20 the British made a secret advance on General Wayne's forces, lying on Sugartown Road in what is now Paoli. The Paoli Massacre was the result.<sup>17</sup>

The success of British arms caused panic in Philadelphia. On September 18, members of the Continental Congress rode out along [Old] Lancaster Road through Radnor en route to a provisional capital in Philadelphia and, immediately afterward, at York.

The next day, September 19, 1777, was a day of sudden disaster in Radnor. Lieutenant William Harcourt and his Light Dragoons came down in a body from General Howe's encampment in Goshen to Newtown Square and Radnor where harness and 150 horses were taken from local farmers, forty of them from some 20 families in Radnor. A continental captain and eight soldiers were captured. In similar raids that autumn, and as late as December 11, some 28 Radnor owners were likewise victimized despite the vigilance of the Radnor outpost. Those targeted included Michael Stadleman, the tavernkeeper at the stand soon after called the Sorrel Horse, now the Agnes Irwin Lower School, Conestoga Road /S.Ithan Ave. [At this time it was known as "The Horse & Groom" & later "The Plough", not to be confused with a new "Sorrel Horse Inn" later built 1/4 mile west opposite Radnor Ave.] Others included the patriot Captain John Pugh, William Lee (whose farm became Springhouse [aka *Finis*], at Brooke and Edghill Roads, Wayne), Levi Lewis (of Ardrossan's Holly Tree House), and Lieutenant Mordecai Morgan of Nantmell Hall [later the home of the *St. Davids Golf Club*, formerly situated on the site of today's *Radnor Hotel*].<sup>18</sup>

The British army, under General Cornwallis, marched to Philadelphia which they entered on September 26 to the acclaim of the inhabitants.

Meanwhile Washington and the main body of his army moved back across the Schuylkill, many of them marching "brest high" through the river for want of boats, on to Trappe, Potts Grove, Pennypacker Mills and other sites in Montgomery County until a new headquarters was fixed at Whitemarsh. Here Washington remained from November 2 until December 12-13 when he recrossed the river at Swede's Ford and established a camp at The Gulph, where Gulph Creek emptied into the Schuylkill at West Conshohocken, near Matson's Ford on the river.<sup>19</sup> The principal military action during these weeks of constant motion by inadequately equipped or trained troops had been the unlucky Battle of Germantown at which the Americans, unable to drive the British from their position in the Chew house [aka *Cliveden*], suffered 122 killed, 521 wounded and 400 captured.<sup>20</sup>

The repeated success of British arms were in part due to their supply of both intelligence and provisions by the residents of the countryside round Philadelphia, some of them little convinced by the revolutionary credo, and most of them concerned with economic survival, come how it might.

In an attempt to prevent this bitter and subversive situation Washington wrote on October 8 to Major General John Armstrong to order the despatch of Brigadier General James Potter and 600 Pennsylvania militiamen to interrupt “the enemy’s intercourse” with vessels on both the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers and with the inhabitants of Chester County. Potter was to intercept convoys, to seize dispatches between the British army and shipping and to fan out widely from Newtown Square, the base specifically recommended by Washington, to prevent country provisions from reaching the city. He was instructed not to be stationary, to strike surely and swiftly, and to move on. Those found provisioning the enemy were to be punished by death, according to a decree enacted by Congress. Finally inhabitants of Chester County who had not taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration to the Continental States were liable for seizure of what arms and clothing they might possess. Working mills were to be shut down and their stones confiscated. On the other side of the coin patriotic inhabitants were to be protected from foraging parties sent out from Philadelphia by the British. A final complexity was the need to prevent militiamen, going home upon completion of duty, from carrying “the public Arms” with them. “If this is not done,” Washington wrote Potter, “when the Continental Regiments are completed there will not be a Musket for them.” This assignment, from river to river, was a major one.<sup>21</sup> On October 31 Captain Henry Lee of



*Brigadier General James Potter*

Virginia and his troop of light horse were detailed to Potter’s assistance.<sup>22</sup>

Potter did as he was told and the war moved progressively closer to Radnor. By late October he had his headquarters in the house of Mr. Garrett in Newtown near the Radnor Line. By November 13 and as late as December 12 he wrote from another nearby house, that of Mr. Lewis on Goshen Rd. in Newtown.<sup>23</sup> Also quartered there was Major John Clark, Jr., a Pennsylvanian on General Greene’s staff attached to Potter’s service.

### *The Radnor Picquet at Camp Woods*

Some time in November Major Clark seems to have set up the new outpost in Radnor which was manned by Potter’s militiamen. They made camp on the land of Levi Lewis, farmer and miller, on the hill 3/4 of a mile south of the Radnor Friends Meeting House. For this purpose seven acres of heavy timber were cleared near the middle of a large tract of woodland. After the war the plot was cultivated and became well known in the neighborhood as “camp field” and the encircling wood was dubbed “Camp Woods.”<sup>24</sup>

*[Today’s Camp Woods Rd. borders the site to the south and east, and Ardrossan’s Scott Lane approaches it from the north. The camp itself covered an unquantified area. When a house, aptly named “Outpost Hill”, was built in the 1940s on a private section of Newtown Rd. within Camp Woods, pewter plates and other revolutionary and Native American artifacts were discovered. A stone monument, with inscription and flagpole designed by Howard Shaw in 1912, now commemorates the outpost on private property.]*



*Inscription on circumference of stones reads:  
“An outpost of George Washington’s Army encamped here thro the winter of Valley Forge 1777-1778.”*

The house of worship of the Quakers in Ithan was occupied as Quarters for Clark and his fellow officers and as a hospital. Religious meetings could not be held there; the Friends noted subsequently that the building “required considerable repairs before it was put in a condition for holding a monthly meeting, which was not until near the middle of 1780.”<sup>25</sup>

The earliest letter actually written from Radnor Meeting House was addressed to General Washington, in camp in Whitemarsh, by Major Clark on 29 November.<sup>26</sup> The Commander-in-Chief had sent Clark a despatch asking for news of British movements on the west side of the Schuylkill. Clark replied immediately: a “worthy Friend” [Quaker] who had left the city two nights before had reported that General Howe was billeting his troops in Philadelphia, two to every household, which occasioned “a universal murmur among the Citizens.” The writer had also learned that

the chevaux-de-frise laid in the river had damaged a British sloop of four guns and a richly laden brig. The British were carrying out their intentions of attacking Washington's army.

Washington's command, then at Whitemarsh, was nearly 11,000 strong, with Continentals heavily predominating over the militia and seasoned troops joined from the great American victory over Burgoyne in the north, but the strength was illusory.<sup>27</sup> As enlistments expired soldiers retired from the ranks. It was little wonder; clothing, blankets and foodstuffs were in short supply and Anglo-German coups threatened constantly.

The vigilance of Potter in intercepting the forage parties sent out from Philadelphia was appreciated by his commander-in-chief who frequently commended him. For some reason however neither the Radnor outpost nor Potter's men at Newtown engaged or detected a lightning raid made on December 11. Troopers under the Cornwallis command cut a devastating path through Radnor with consequences similar to that of Harcourt's raid three months earlier. Livestock, provisions, clothing, liquor, small valuables and 1,000 fence rails were taken.<sup>28</sup> The need for security and for guaranteed flexibility of the unit at Radnor was obvious and soon became even more important. On December 19 Washington, from the camp at Gulph Mills, moved his weakened army to winter quarters at Fatland Ford on the north side of the Schuylkill from Valley Forge. Although just 13 miles from Whitemarsh it took the ragged troops more than a week in the rain and snow of December to reach their destination. With the Continental high command in the immediate neighborhood Radnor was now the focal point of the war.

Potter was supported at Newtown by a welcome reinforcement from Valley Forge: Colonel Daniel Morgan, known to the army as the "Old Wagoner". The huge Virginian, with his rifle corps of sharpshooters, had been part of Benedict Arnold's epic and ill-fated march to Quebec two years before. Morgan had been taken prisoner but was exchanged early in 1777, returned to the army in New Jersey and given command of the 11th Virginia. In September in the repulsion of General Burgoyne's attack at Freeman's Farm on the Hudson River near Saratoga, Morgan's riflemen, rallied by their colonel's eerie turkey gobble call, played a major role.<sup>29</sup>

### *Lord Stirling brings reinforcements*

Now they were in Radnor. On December 23 the sharpshooters joined Potter's militiamen "to annoy Howe" and succeeded in capturing 12 British cavalymen and 15 horses.<sup>30</sup> At about the same

time Major Clark was succeeded in the command of the Radnor outpost by Major General Stirling, the rich New York merchant born William Alexander but who claimed a British title and whose Revolutionary fervor never for a moment caused him to cease using the style of *Lord* Stirling. He brought with him one division, a supplement to the 15 small detached parties who reported to the post in the Meeting House.

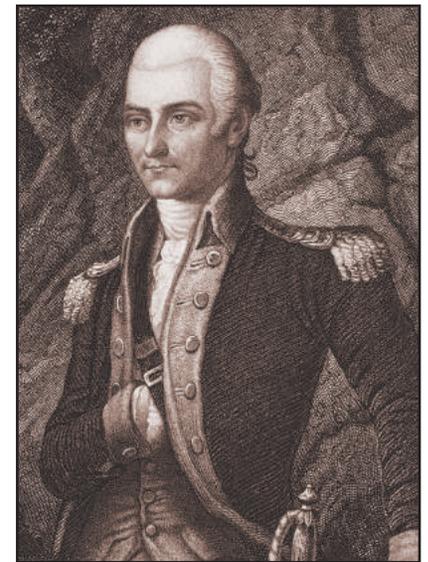
It was now Stirling who would coordinate intelligence in the neighborhood. On December 28 he received a report from Lieutenant Colonel Francis Barber of the 3rd New Jersey. Barber, a graduate from Princeton and former principal of the Elizabethtown Academy, was camped in the vicinity, probably on the Lewis farm on the hill [*later Ardrossan*].<sup>31</sup>

"My Lord", Barber wrote, "By two Deserters from the Enemy it appears they have moved for Phil<sup>a</sup> at 10 o'clo: last night." Barber had ordered Light Horse to convey the intelligence to Stirling but Colonel Davidson had given them different orders, hence the necessity for Barber to send this note to Stirling.

Stirling sent Barber's report enclosed in his own letter to Washington. The British troops in the vicinity *had* returned to Philadelphia, he said, and he had ordered his men to search every house within the late lines of the British to ferret out strangers who might be sheltering themselves from the weather. Several "Substantial people" down Chester and Marcus Hook way had been provisioning the enemy and, he promised, they would be taken and punished.

"The men at Radnor", Stirling added, "are almost worn out but they bear it patiently. I wish I could Indulge them with some whisky but there is not a drop here." Strange words to come from a Quaker meeting house!

The Radnor soldiers did not starve. The most unassailable local tradition, passed down in the Lewis family until the sale of their land to Colonel Robert Leaming Montgomery in the early 20th century, is that Mrs. Levi



*Lt. Col. Francis Barber, killed 1783 by a falling tree while riding to dine with George Washington.*



*Holly Tree House - Levi Lewis's home, from where Morgan's Continental riflemen of the Radnor Picquet at Camp Woods, 1777, were sent gruel - cooked here by Mrs. Lewis in the back (left) kitchen section. This house dates from c.1720, is the oldest known private dwelling in Radnor and still stands, having greatly outlasted the holly tree at the Darby Paoli Rd. entrance to Ardrossan Farm that originally gave the house its name.*

Lewis, of the Holly Tree House, cooked gruel in the kitchen house, which was then, and still is, joined to the rear of this ancient fieldstone dwelling, and served it to the hungry troops at Camp Woods on the far eastern edge of her farm.

The soldiers are remembered as Daniel Morgan's boys who in the dead of winter succeeded Potter's militiamen on the picquet. During the intense cold of that winter, and on into the spring thaw, communication with Valley Forge by horse was protected by signals relayed by a network of sentinels posted high in trees on natural eminences all the way from Radnor to headquarters. The signal oak on the David Thomas farm along Newtown Road in Newtown Township (today the Aronimink Golf Club) was the first link in the chain stretching to the tree on Newtown Road hill above Scott's farm in Easttown (the outpost of Captain "Light Horse Larry" Lee of Virginia) and then north to another on the east side of what is now Waterloo Road, Berwyn, thence to a tree on the hill between the Old Lancaster Road (Conestoga Road) and what later became the Pennsylvania Railroad, to another on the hill between the present Old State Road and Contention Lane, and thence on to Signal Hill, or Mount Joy, at the right of the American position at Valley Forge.<sup>32</sup>

Under the watchful eyes of the men in the tree tops who searched for the

enemy presence across an agricultural landscape far more open and more barren than it is today, despatches continued to reach Washington safely.

On December 29, 1777, Stirling wrote again from Radnor to his Commander.<sup>33</sup> He reported that he had, "ordered in all the parties that are out both of my Division and of the fifteen detached parties, and that they would be ready to march for Camp by noon. There is now a fine opportunity for the QMG & Commissary Genl. of provisions to employ their waggons, at one place within Six miles of this place there is above 100 Tun of Bar Iron, at other places there are large Stores of Rum and spirits and other Stores besides flower and forrage which may all be brot off without the least danger from the Enemy, who I believe are shut up for the Winter."

Stirling reported to His Excellency that he had lost some men in a skirmish the day before "by the Indescretion of an officer of one of the N England detachments," but that he had taken a dozen prisoners including four light horsemen. The men at the Radnor picquet were not idle in their patrol of the neighborhood where an astonishing number of minor encounters, forgotten by history, took place.

#### ***Other nearby Picquet Posts***

**I**n Easttown Township, a few miles west of Radnor, the Scott farm [see p.4 "Tarlton" - map] provided headquarters for a popular Virginian officer and his unit, Captain Henry Lee, Jr. of the 1st Continental Dragoons, better known by his nickname "Light Horse Harry". He had an assignment similar to Stirling's, to scout the neighborhood and to intercept British raiding parties.

On January 4, 1778, he wrote to General Washington that he had followed the latter's direction to inform himself "minutely with the country in the vicinity of Radnor meeting house" in order to protect the security of the camp at Valley Forge.<sup>34</sup> He urged the necessity of establishing "two posts of horse", one to be attached to his "picquet and to patrol one mile in advance of the advanced sentinel, the other to be fixed near Newtown Square, with directions to patrol to the Square tavern." Newtown Square was now without any guard, although communication with the ferries and the town of Darby was direct and open.

"It appears to me," he wrote, "that the post established, or to be established at the meeting-house is very far from being secure, unless great attention is paid to the [Newtown] Square, at which place the three roads, Hartford [Haverford], Darby and Chester all unite."

These two parties of horse I conceive necessary only during the night, as a third party being sent early in the morning, down to the ferry or enemys picquet, with directions to continue the lookout in that quarter will supersede the necessity of keeping... (?) the other two parties during the day & thereby render the duty easier. To continue during the day and thereby during the night so far from any Support, would in my opinion be extremely hazardous.

“To do this duty,” he suggested, “a comd officer, two non com. officers & ten privates will be wanting daily... Lieut<sup>t</sup>. Lindsay will have the honor to deliver this...”

Ample supplys of forage will be wanting. The mode I propose to effect this, if agreeable to your Excellency, is to send an officer to the farmers between this place & the enemy, who in concert with the farmers, will fix on what quantity can be spared from the farms. On condition that the farmer will waggon to quarters... a protection to be granted him for the residue of his forage. By this means, no waggons will be wanting, the public will be supplied & the farmer eased from the dread of forage-masters.

“Being well acquainted with the characters employed by Major Clarke (sic) in obtaining secret intelligence,” Henry Lee proposed, with his Excellency’s leave, to carry out his plan during the remainder of the winter if Washington would validate passes issued by the writer.

### *Dwindling resources lead to desperate measures*

**T**he command at Radnor Meeting House now passed to Colonel Morgan. He communicated with Valley Forge on January 5 that General Potter was removing his militia from Radnor that very day, “which will leave the post very weak” especially since Morgan had received a call from General Pulaski for all the dragoons under his command.<sup>35</sup> However before sending them to Pulaski in New Jersey Morgan wrote to ask for Washington’s permission. No relief for the requested horsemen had arrived; and he felt that without them the Radnor post would be liable to surprise.

Daniel Morgan’s position was doubly difficult for he had his hands full with prisoners: two Philadelphia Butchers who had come to Radnor to buy beef, the two farmers whose sale of cattle and sheep to those would-be purchasers made them collaborationists, and four others of the same stripe who had broken jail in Winchester, Virginia. How these unfortunates were

housed or even secured is not mentioned but it is unlikely that they were given cover in the crowded Meeting House. Probably they were put in a hut or barn nearby.

When Morgan’s communication was received at Valley Forge Washington dictated his reply, which his aide John Laurens wrote in the form of an endorsement to the letter:

Capt. Lee’s Troop to furnish the necessary videttes for the Guard of Col. Morgan’s Detachment – The Culprits mentioned in the Letter to be sent under proper Guard & with necessary Evidence to the Adjnt General.<sup>36</sup>

The desperate position of the American army justified the means taken to procure provisions from the local inhabitants but the situation for the Chester County farmers, whose families also had to live, had become impossible. Washington had received authorization from Congress to seize any provisions needed by the Continentals within 70 miles of his headquarters. The grain, taken in large quantity, was paid for by certificates in Continental money which were never redeemed.

The Radnor scouting parties seemed to realize that the locals were caught between two armies and subject to the martial laws as well as the lawlessness of both. Dealing with fellow Americans much like themselves they seem, from the letters which survive, to have had the good sense not to impose the death penalty when a collaborationist was identified. Instead they merely seized the contraband and imposed a fine or sometimes a good whipping.

On January 18 Captain Lee, still based on Scott’s farm in Easttown, wrote again to his chief at Valley Forge.<sup>37</sup> He had received secret intelligence from a militia colonel held prisoner by the British in Philadelphia that “an officer of the Anspachers” (a German mercenary regiment) “engages to bring off 300 of that corps provided the command can be ensured him.” Lee also reported from the same source that a company of Philadelphia light dragoons was being raised and that they were seeking to buy horses in the countryside.

Lee wrote that there were a few horses in the Radnor neighborhood suitable for military service but unless their owners get a higher price than that “allowed by the States” they would be stolen and sold to the British for more.

On the very next day, January 20, 1778, the reality of war came to Scott's farm, where the Virginian officer had a force consisting of just five men and four officers including Major John Jameson "who commanded two troops on the eastern side of the river and here present on a visit." (Jameson's dragoons were like those of his host, engaged on picquet duty to prevent provisions going into Philadelphia.) A party of the enemy's dragoons and Lee's little troop of horse engaged in an action which he described in an immediate despatch to Washington.<sup>38</sup>

They were near two hund<sup>d</sup>. in number and by a very circuitous route endeavoured to Surprize me, in quarters. About day break, they appeared & we were immediately alarmd & manned the doors and windows. The contest was very warm, the British dragoons trusting to their vast superiority in number, attempted to force their way into the house. In this they were baffled by the bravery of my men. After having left two killed & four wounded they desisted and sheered off. We are trying to intercept them. Col. Stevens has pushed a party of infantry to reach their rear. So well directed was the opposition, that we drove them from the Stables & saved every horse. We have got the arms, some cloaks &c. of their wounded. The only damage I at present know of is [a] slight wound received by Lt. Lindsay. I am apprehensive about the patrols.

The enterprize was certainly daring, tho the issue of it very ignominious. I had not a soldier for each window.

I have the honor to be with most perfect respect

Your Excellency's most obt &c Serv<sup>t</sup>  
Henry Lee.

A few hours later Captain Lee made a supplemental report to Washington.<sup>39</sup> He now knew the extent of the day's loss: four privates belonging to the Newtown Square patrol were taken despite brave resistance. Two privates and a lieutenant of the same unit were badly wounded. The Quartermaster Sergeant who imprudently ran from the farmhouse just prior to the skirmish was also captured, as were four horses.

The large attacking force had been led by a British officer of much reputation, Cornet Banastre Tarleton. Later commander of the hard riding Tory Legion, Tarleton earned the nickname "Bloody Tarleton" for reasons that are only too obvious. [*The Tarl(e)ton name was subsequently given to the main house at the former Scott's Farm.*]

Reports from Darby, to which the British raiding party retired, indicated that one commissioned officer, one sergeant and three privates of the enemy had been wounded, three privates killed and several horses disabled. Lee

was proud of his own men who withstood the siege of the farmhouse but grieved for the Newtown Square patrol which had been nearly eliminated with most of its personnel either captured or wounded. Lee made particular mention to Washington of one young fellow Virginian, captured by the British during the last campaign, who was compelled by "prospect of certain famine" to enlist with his captors and then, for "love of country" to desert them and enlist under Lee.

His youth, innocence, courage & fidelity has endeared him to me. I am convinced he will be discovered, & consequently must be hung. When we consider the cruelty exercised by British troops upon the unfortunate, I cannot view his conduct as criminal. My respect for his virtue and duty as his Captain has induced me to mention this matter. Could any possible mode of relief be devised, it would afford me true joy.

Capt. Nichols would be happy if he could be indulged with a flag to wait on Commodore Hammond. He thinks with this indulgence he could certainly negotiate the exchange for Capt. Travis. By the same opportunity I could convey necessarys to my faithful soldiers.

The brave defense conducted by Captain Lee, the first of many feats of valor he would perform during the war, earned for him from Congress in the following April the rank of Major-Commandant and the augmentation of his corps by the enlistment of two troops of horse to act as a separate corps. The site of the Easttown engagement became Tarleton School [*though this has since moved*], the name recalling not the Virginian but his British opponent.

### *Seduction, favoritism & our "poor naked soldiers"*

**A** week later Colonel Walter Stewart, commander of the 13th Pennsylvania, left Valley Forge to investigate the situation at Newtown. Stewart, whose Radnor captain, John Pugh, had resigned after Brandywine and Germantown, was so young he was derisively dubbed "the boy Colonel" and also "the Irish beauty" as he was said to be the handsomest man in the American army. (He was also extremely brave and would retire as a Brevet Brigadier-General, his portrait being rendered full length in [*Colonel*] Trumbull's picture of the Surrender of Cornwallis, on the left of the line of the American officers.)<sup>40</sup> [*See front cover.*]

From Newtown the dashing young Irishman wrote on January 28, 1778, to Washington. He reported on his conference with Brigadier General John Lacey of the Pennsylvania Militia who had brought his picquet from

Frankford to the Buck Tavern.<sup>41</sup> The latter was determined to stop local residents from selling to the enemy but was too short of men to do much; he could not expect help from the light horsemen at Newtown Square whose number had been so reduced and where “the length of time they have been on the Station has made them too well acquainted with the Girls, and People from Town, who, I fear Seduce, and make them commit many things highly Improper, such as Seizing flour &c. from one person, and delivering it to their favorites.”

Colonel Stewart asked if General Washington would approve a total replacement of the Newtown mounted unit.

He also spoke of 1200 yards of cloth, owned by several rich Quakers and stored in mills nearby, which would be a godsend to the “poor Naked Soldiers of one or two Regiments” and asked the chief’s permission to confiscate it.

The authorization was given and early in February Stewart seized nearly 1000 yards of the cloth which had been in store at Thomas Jenks’s fulling mill; the miller was instructed to finish off the same quantity of the cloth which remained in the mill. The bolts were stored in the house at Newtown occupied by Major Francis Murray and Stewart brought to Murray permission from Washington for him to use the white cloth for his regiment. Murray, just and also practical, wrote to Valley Forge asking that the cloth be valued and the individual owners paid. He reported at the same time that he could not guard the Philadelphia road and prevent the farmers from marketing in the city since his unit consisted only of one subaltern and 18 privates, seven of whom were guarding the fulling mill.<sup>42</sup>

The cold winter weather persisted and not only the farmers fended for themselves. A direct and intimate glimpse of the behavior of the soldiers



First Sorrel Horse Inn - now Agnes Irwin School      Buck Tavern - site of 568 Lancaster Av.e., Bryn Mawr

quartered at Radnor is provided by a letter written at the request of General Washington by his aide Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman, on February 7, 1778. It was addressed to the commander of the Radnor picquet, evidently still Daniel Morgan, to whom it was handed by Radnor’s veteran of Princeton and Trenton, James Hunter Of Woodstock.<sup>43</sup>

“The Bearer Mr James Hunter of Philada.,” wrote Tilghman, who has been obliged to remove from that place to avoid the British Army is settled upon a small farm belonging to him near the Radnor picquet. He complains that the lowest party under your command cut the Wood entirely from his place while there is a sufficiency belonging to the Neighbours. He is satisfied to bear his proportion but thinks it hard that he should be the only sufferer. His Excellency therefore desires that you may see justice done to this Gentleman and only a proportion... taken for the use of the picquet. As this Gentleman has been obliged to fly from Philada. he has been under the necessity of purchasing provision for the subsistence of his family and as he has already spared the Army a full proportion of what he had laid up for his family it is His Excellency’s orders that no more provisions be taken from him on any account and wishes that you or the officer who succeeds you may afford him proper protection.

### *More changes of leadership at the Radnor Picquet*

Colonel Timothy Bigelow of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment succeeded Colonel Morgan at the Radnor Picquet late in February. He had been Captain at the Lexington Alarm in April 1775 and a prisoner at Quebec.<sup>44</sup>

In a letter sent by his secretary to Bigelow on March 1, Washington gave instructions which indicated that the role of the Radnor outpost had changed little in six months. The commander-in-chief insisted that the Radnor and Newtown picquets redouble their efforts to prevent “every



Spread Eagle Inn - now Eagle Village      Admiral (General) Warren Tavern - as rebuilt 1831

intercourse” with Philadelphia. He wished that when Bigelow was relieved at Radnor he should bring back the man who had been taken carrying cattle to the enemy to Valley Forge so that he could be promptly tried by the Adjutant General. The same fate was in prospect for all other violators of the non-intercourse regulation and Bigelow was directed to so instruct his replacement.<sup>45</sup>

Bigelow was succeeded in turn by Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston of New York. On April 13, 1778, Livingston had a report from Robert Hanson Harrison at Valley Forge that it was thought the enemy was preparing to move against the encampment and that patrols should be vigilant.<sup>46</sup> Livingston sent General Washington a proposal which would “entrap some of the Enemy’s parties” and on April 16 Washington wrote that

in order the better to enable you to attempt it, have directed the Commanding Officer of Col<sup>o</sup> Morgans Corps, to repair as soon as he can to your post & in conjunction with your force to form such a plan as you may determine most likely to produce success. I shall only say that I would have you exceedingly cautious & secret in the scheme.<sup>47</sup>

Whether or not Colonel Livingston’s plan was put into action we do not know. The vigilance of the Radnor picquet was maintained during the final months of the Valley Forge cantonment. However, except for the record that on June 10 letters were sent “by a flag... to our advanced post at Radnor, and from thence to Head Quarters” the next morning, we have no more direct evidence of military or intelligence activity here. A resurgence of optimism for the Continental cause came to Valley Forge on 5th May with the words of the General Orders of that day: “It having pleased the Almighty Ruler of the Universe propitiously to defend the cause of the United States of America and finally by raising us up a powerful friend, among the Princes of the Earth...” France had declared herself an ally of the patriot government.<sup>48</sup>

Six weeks later the British Army left Philadelphia. The Americans abandoned Valley Forge to follow them and the Pennsylvania campaign was at an end. Although the Revolution would continue for three more long years the theater of war moved out of Radnor.



## APPENDIX Additional editor’s notes 2014

### Note 1:

A letter to George Washington from Major General Stirling, 29 October, 1777, contained the following postscript:

“P.S. I take the liberty of enclosing a Memorandum of a few thoughts which have Occurred to me, for your Excellency’s peruseal.”

Notation 3 in this memorandum included the following suggestion:

“...they must mean to retire from Philadelphia to the other Side of Schuylkill, or to give this Army Battle. the first should be prevented, and the latter in our present Scituat. avoided if possible; I would therefore be for passing the whole Army (except 1000, men) over the Schuylkill and takeing post somewhere near Radnor Meeting House, where we should be equally distant from all the fords on Schuylkill below the Valley forge and by Vigilantly watching them on both sides of that River we might be sure of haveing such timely Notice of their motions as would put it in our power to Attack them on their March with the greatest Advantages. Our Station on that side the Schuylkill would put it in our power Effectually to Cutt off the Communication by land between their fleet & Army, and would reduce Genl Howe to force a March under every disadvantage. the 1000 men left on this side the River would under a Vigilant Officer be Sufficient to prevent their small parties from Ravageing the Country & Gaining intelligence; our whole Army in their present Scituation can do no more.”

Ref: “*To George Washington from Major General Stirling, 29 October 1777*,” Founders Online, *National Archives*, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-12-02-0044>.

[Original source: *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 12, 26 October 1777–25 December 1777*, ed. Frank E. Grizzard, Jr. and David R. Hoth. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2002, pp. 53–54.]

### Note 2:

Extract from “*Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael, of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776–1778*” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 16 (1892): pp.150–51).

September 14. — At 9 a.m. we marched from camp near Germantown, N.N.W. for a few miles, up the great road from

Philadelphia to Reading, then turning W.S.W., we crossed the Schuylkill in the centre between Philadelphia and Swedes Ford, 8 miles from each [*now the site of Manayunk's Green St. Bridge*]. We reached the great road to Lancaster, at Merion Meeting house, and proceeded up that road, when we encamped in an open field, being denied every desirable refreshment.

September 15. — At 6 a.m. we marched to the Sorrel Horse, the Spread Eagle and to Paoli, where we encamped.

Caleb Gibbs on this date paid Philip Syng £3.10 “for fowls & Breakfast” and £4.10 “for Hay & Oats used by General Washington & Company.” At the Sorrel Horse Tavern, located about thirteen miles northwest of Philadelphia on the Lancaster Road, Gibbs on this date paid proprietor Jacob Waggoner £9.14 for breakfasts, dinners, wine, toddy, spirits, and rum for GW’s headquarters party.

Ref: *Household account book, 11 April 1776–21 Nov. 1780, Library of Congress: George Washington Papers, ser. 5, vol. 28; vouchers and receipted accounts, 1776–80, DLC:GW, ser. 5, vol. 29.*

#### Note 3:

Ref: “*Itinerary of General Washington from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783, By William S. Baker*”, *The Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. XIV, p. 267:*

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 15.

At the Buck Tavern:

Three o'clock, P.M. We are moving up this road (the old Lancaster Road) to get between the enemy and Swedes Ford, and to prevent them from turning our right flank.--Washington to the President of Congress.

#### Note 4:

Ref: “*Tredyffrin Easttown Historical Society 'History Quarterly' July 1939 Volume 2 Number 3, p. 72:*

Morgan’s sphere of action and of observation was between the Darby Creek which flows into the Delaware at Tinicum, and the Gulph hills on the Schuylkill. The Radnor Friends’ meeting house was appointed as the rendezvous in the event of a repulse, and was also used as a hospital. Camp Woods on an easily defensible hill at an elevation of 400 feet, a short distance south of Ithan, harbored some 200 of his troops, and the intermediate territory was covered by a numerous patrol of horse and foot, while the main detachment moved from place to place as circumstances demanded.

The outposts had also to guard the Radnor-Chester Road and its continuation along their front, over which the wagons laden with supplies from Wilmington and below were routed for Valley Forge. The course of this road may easily be traced part of the way west of and parallel with the Sproul Road, through Marple and Radnor Townships. It continues as of old from the Ithan store through Morgan’s Corner (Radnor station) and over the hills to the King of Prussia Tavern, where it connects with the Gulph Road. One can readily see its value also as a military road over which the light parties of troops could move quickly to any threatened point.

Also, (*as above*) p. 73:

There was another [*American outpost west of the Schuylkill, as described by “the enemy”*] at “Camp Woods,” now the estate of William H. Donner of Radnor Township, on the summit of a steep hill which required breastworks only on the north. Nearby there were formerly two small buildings. Some little distance in the rear along Darby Creek where the Wigwam and Camp runs enter, there is a stone farmhouse [*Holly Tree House*] where, until recently, the same iron pots hung in the kitchen fireplace from which the soldiers were said to have boiled their mush of corn meal. Nearby [*on Darby Paoli Rd.*] are the sites of the blacksmith shop and the grist mill.

From this not uncomfortable rendezvous the riflemen cheerfully sallied forth daily, eager for a brush with the enemy. It is possible that from here or from Morgan’s Corner, a line of signal trees extended all the way to Valley Forge, but only one, a chestnut, is known. This tree stood at the northwest corner of the Eagle and Conestoga Roads, just west of the Spread Eagle Tavern.

#### Note 5:

Excerpts from: “*Orderly Book of General Muhlenberg, Mar. 26-Dec. 20, 1777*”, *John Peter Gabriel Muhlenburg (J. Mifflin, Timothy Pickering, N. Green, P. M., Robt. Ballard and Tim Pickering) pp. 466-468.*

The following are extracts from General Orders issued after the Continental Army’s retreat from the Battle of Brandywine, after eventual re-grouping in Germantown three days prior to the advance through Radnor along (Old) Lancaster Road, subsequently to engage in what became known as the *Battle Of The Clouds*.

HEAD QUARTERS Chester, Sep<sup>r</sup> 12, 1777

The Commanding Officers of each Brigade is immediately to send off as many officers as he shall think necessary (on the Road leading

to the Place of Action Yesterday and many other Roads where stragglers may be found, and particularly to Wilmington where it is said many is retired) to pick up all the Stragglers from the Army and bring them on, in doing this they will proceed as far towards the Enemy as shall be Consistent with their own safety, and examine every House, in the Mean Time the Troops are to march on in good order through Derby, to the Bridge over the Schuylkill, cross it and proceed up to their former ground near the falls of Schuylkill and German Town and there Pitch their Tents. Gen<sup>l</sup> Green's Division will move last and cover the Baggage &c. Gen<sup>l</sup> Maxwell's light Corps will remain at Chester to Collect all the Stragglers they can, and tomorrow follow the Army, the Directors of the Hospital will see that all the sick are sent to Philadelphia.

The Q. M. G. is to have the Waggons of each Brigade immediately arranged so as move them in the proper Line at a moments warning. The order of the Encampment at this place need not be attended to, as our stay here will be short. Each Division is to encamp in as Compact order as possible tonight.

All Continental Troops are to be supplied immediately with 40 Rounds of Cartridges and the Officers will see that the Soldiers Carry their spare ammunition in such a manner as to avoid injury and Loss.

Altho' the event of that day from some unfortunate Circumstances was not so favourable as could be wish'd, the Gen<sup>l</sup> has the Satisfaction of Assuring the Troops that from every account he has been able to obtain, the Enemies loss greatly exceeded ours, and he has full confidence that in another Appeal to Heaven (with the blessing of Providence, which it becomes every Officer and Soldier humbly to Supplicate) we shall prove successful.

The Brigadiers to have Returns made out and the above proportion of Tents taken for their Brigades and one Waggon for every 50 Tents and no more. No Woman under any pretence whatsoever to go with the Army, but to follow the Baggage. The Soldiers are to Carry their Camp Kettles, which if the Army should come to action are to be put into the Waggons with the Tents.

The Invalids under a good Subaltern are to guard the Tents of each Brigade. The Division Commissaries are directed to have a constant supply of Provisions for the Troops, and the Q. M. G. must without fail furnish the necessary Waggons for that purpose.

A Gill of Rum (or other Spirits) to be delivered every Day to every Officer and Soldier untill further Orders.

The Commissaries are to make provision accordingly.

The Army is to be ready to march precisely at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning, the Gen Officers commanding Divisions will receive the order of March from the Q. M. G. who will also direct the Rout of the Baggage.

G. O. HEAD QUARTERS GERMAN TOWN Sep<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> 1777

The Troops are to march to Sweeds Ford in the foll<sup>g</sup> Order by subdivisions from the right, the first two Thirds of the light Dragoons from which the Comm<sup>s</sup> Officers will detach small parties to Reconnoitre in the Front on the Flanks to a Considerable distance, 2<sup>d</sup> A. Cap<sup>ts</sup> Command from Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwoods Brigade 800 yards in the Rear, 3<sup>d</sup> 1 Reg<sup>t</sup> from Smallwoods Brigade 200 yards in their Rear, 4<sup>th</sup> the Residue of that Brigade 500 yds in their Rear, 5<sup>th</sup> 500 yards in the Rea<sup>r</sup> of that Brigade, the main Body of the Army in the following order. Viz<sup>t</sup>

1<sup>st</sup> The Remaining Brigade of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Division, 2<sup>d</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Sterling, 3<sup>d</sup> Wayne, 4<sup>th</sup> Park of Artillery, 5<sup>th</sup> Nash's Brigade, 6<sup>th</sup> Stephen's Division, 7<sup>th</sup> Green's, 6<sup>th</sup> then the Waggons with Tents Hospital and Commissaries Stores, 7<sup>th</sup> then a rear Guard of 2 Reg<sup>ts</sup> from Gen<sup>l</sup> Weedon's Brigade, 8<sup>th</sup> then a Cap<sup>ts</sup> Command from the Two Reg<sup>ts</sup> at the distance of 200 yards, 9<sup>th</sup> then the remaining third of the Dragoons 500 yards from the Foot, 10<sup>th</sup> then a Subaltern's Comm<sup>d</sup> from the Dragoons, the distance of 500 yards, the Guards in Front and Rear, and each Brigade to send out small Flanking parties on their left. The rear Guards of Foot and Dragoons to pick up all Stragglers. An active Officer from each Brigade to go to the City and meet at the Conestagoe Waggon in order to agree upon a plan how they may Collect all the Stragglers together, those that are not able to march to be delivered to the Surgeon Gen<sup>l</sup>, the rest the Officers to furnish with 40 Rounds of Cartridges and march tomorrow morning in good order and join the Army.

From these descriptions we can deduce that these extensive troop movements would have taken many hours to pass (particularly see Note 2 above), in part along the route of (Old) Lancaster Road through Radnor, from Germantown and the crossing at Manayunk as described on September 14th & 15th, 1777. It is therefore no great surprise that this dramatic spectacle should later have been commemorated with the stone marker illustrated on p.10.

*- Phil Graham: March, 2014 /August 2021*

## ORIGINAL AUTHOR'S NOTES

1. George Smith, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1862), 315-316, 330.
2. J Smith Futhey & Caleb Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1881), 82-84. *Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789, VIII* (Washington, 1907), 754. Smith, 328. Futhey & Cope, 97. The use of the house as officers' quarters is indicated by the Pennsylvania state historical marker on the roadside. It is regrettable that St David's Church, which had no such use, is mistakenly identified as the local "hospital" in the generally accurate WPA *Pennsylvania A Guide to the Keystone State* (New York, 1940 & subsequent editions), 439.
3. *Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington Commander in Chief of the Continental Army with the Officers, Vol I* (Washington 1915), hereinafter referred to as *Calendar*. For the present study use has been made of the complete text of the original letters to and from Washington which are only summarized in *Calendar*. They are now part of the *George Washington Papers in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress* but are coordinated by the National Archives' Center for the Documentary Study of the American Revolution. Photocopies of the letters have been placed by the author in the "Wars - Revolution" file at the Radnor Historical Society.
4. Miles (1739-1805) married Catherine Wistar and later belonged to the First Troop, Philadelphia City Cavalry. He served as a judge, alderman and finally mayor of Philadelphia (1790), as a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and as a legislator under both Colony and State. His own country place was at Cheltenham, Montgomery County. J Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1884), Vol I, 307-8. Francis B Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1914), 391. Miles's identification as a son of James and Hannah, of Radnor, is given in a Miles genealogy, *Justice Collection, Vol XVI*, 377, *Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*. References to James Miles in wills, deeds, assessments, and tavern license petitions, have been collated by Katharine Cummin who believes Samuel to have been born in Radnor, his parents' place of residence, not Whitmarsh as stated by Scharf and Westcott.
5. Fred Anderson Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units* (Harrisburg, 1972), 136. Henry Pleasants, *The History of Old St David's Church, Radnor, Delaware County, Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1915), 337, 350-351. Donald H Kent, "Anthony Wayne, Man of Action", *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet No 2* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, 1958). *Dictionary of American Biography, Vol XIX*, 563-35. The standard biography of Wayne is Harry Emerson Wildes, *Anthony Wayne, Trouble Shooter of the American Revolution* (New York, 1941). The approximate site of the Radnor birthplace of Elizabeth Iddings, Wayne's mother, is marked by a plaque on one of the outbuildings of the Ardrossan Estate, Newtown and Darby Paoli Roads, Villanova.
6. Details of the military service of John Pugh and Patrick McFall appear in *Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, Vol II*, 554 and *Vol III*, 691-694. Pugh is mentioned by Futhey and Cope, 100. The disownment by the Meeting is cited by Katharine Cummin and the subsequent presence of the Pughs at Great Valley Baptist Church in the transcribed records of the Church, *Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*.
7. Futhey and Cope, 665.
8. *Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, III*, 694. 125th Anniversary Radnor Methodist Episcopal Church 1783-1908, 33. *DAR Patriot Index* (Washington, 1966), 264, 443. Pleasants, 329, 346.
9. *Ibid.*, 224, 763, 443, 185, 608; Cornog is not listed. For Mather and Sheaff see also Pleasants, 329, 335, 349, 350.
10. Mrs Cummin has supplied the last 22 mentioned names. See also *DAR Patriot Index, 2* (Abraham), 413 (Lewis), b443 (Matlack), 736 (White).
11. *DAR Patriot Index*, 353 (Hughes), 88-89 (the Brookes). For Captain Benjamin Brook of Gulph Mills Forge, see Thomas Allen Glenn, *Merion in the Welsh Tract* (Norristown, 1896), 355-363. Smith gives (p.325) an anecdote of William Brooke who after the war rose to the rank of General in the state militia and is the ancestor of some residents of Radnor in 1976.
12. Pleasants, 153.
13. *Ibid.*, 321, 351.
14. Francis James Dallett, "The Story of Woodstock," *The Bulletin of Radnor Historical Society, Vol I, No 8* (Spring, 1958), 3-4.
15. Futhey and Cope, 82.
16. According to Futhey and Cope (p.83), twelve American soldiers were killed, a few wounded and a few taken prisoner by the British. A recent account however says that "neither side could fire a shot." Edward S Gifford Jr *The American Revolution in the Delaware Valley* (Phila., 1976), 71.
17. Gifford, 69-82.
18. Smith, 552-553. Details appear in the original manuscript claims for losses, Chester County Historical Society.
19. John C Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington, Vol X* (Washington, 1933), 150-152, 156-158.
20. Gifford, 84-106. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol I* (1877), 393.
21. Washington's letters to Armstrong, October 8; to Thomas McKean, October 10; to Potter, October 21, 31, November 3. Fitzpatrick, *Vol IX*, 337-339, 346, 408-409, 474-475, 496-497.
22. *Ibid.*, Vol IX, 475.
23. Henry Graham Ashmead, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia 1884), 636.
24. Futhey and Cope, 97. [Also see George Smith, 328.]
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Calendar*, 489. Clark was born in 1751 and died in 1819. *DAR Patriot Index*, 134.
27. Richard M Ketchum, ed., *The American Heritage Book of the Revolution*, (New York, 1958), 217.
28. See footnote 18.
29. Ketchum, 244-245.
30. *Calendar*, 506.
31. *Ibid.*, 508. A line drawing of a portrait of Barber by James Herring is published in *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, Vol I* (1887), 161.

32. Douglas Macfarlan, "Signal Trees, Picquets & Outposts at the Valley Forge Encampment, 1777-78," *The Picquet Post* (Valley Forge Historical Society), October 1963, 33-36. This article is based on notes made by Franklin L Burns of the Tredyffrin-Easttown History Club. It contains some errors and the statement that Daniel Morgan had his quarters at the house of "Mordecai Moore" (sic Morgan) rather than at the meetinghouse is not one which is said to have stood in Radnor South of the Old Lancaster Road near the Spread Eagle.

33. Calendar, 511.

34. *Ibid.*, 518.

35. *Ibid.*, 519.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, 530.

38. Macfarlan, 34. Fitzpatrick, Vol X, 296.

39. Calendar, 532.

40. John H Campbell, *History of the Friendly Sons of St Patrick and of the Hibernian Society* (Philadelphia, 1892), 134. Pennsylvania Archives, 5th Series, III, 692.

41. Calendar, 537.

42. *Ibid.*, 546.

43. Dallett, 3.

44. Heitman, 102. Bigelow died in 1790.

45. Calendar, 562.

46. *Ibid.*, 598.

47. *Ibid.*, 600.

48. Ketchum, 220.

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p.12 – *Brigadier General James Potter*: *Pennsylvania State University online resource.*

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p.36 – *George Washington & Lafayette at Valley Forge* by John Ward Dunsmore: *photo retrieved from Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/91792202/>*

– *Battle of Paoli* by della Gatta: *Museum of the American Revolution.*

– *Oath document*: *Valley Forge National Historic Park Visitor Center.*



*Part of General Washington's sleeping /office marquee as used during the Revolution, displayed & photographed 1911.*



*Copper & iron brazier used for cooking at encampments. Presented by Lafayette to Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee.*

*An American Revolutionary soldier's water canteen.*

*Above images courtesy of the Museum of the American Revolution.*

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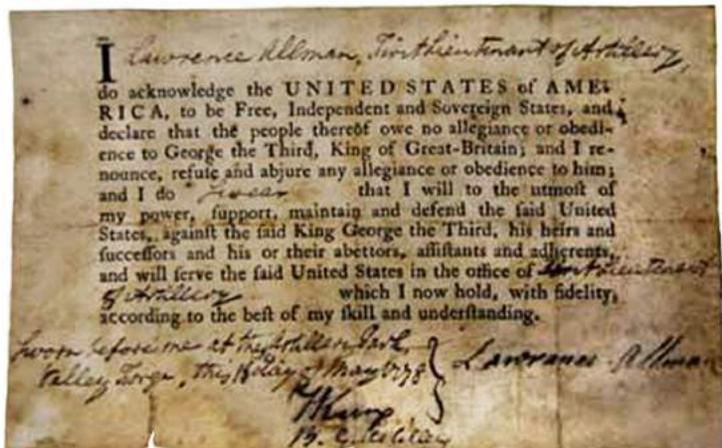


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Oath issued to 1st Lt. Lawrence Allman of Pennsylvania, "Sworn before me at the Artillery Park, Valley Forge this 15th day of May 1778," signed "H Knox B.G. Artillery" – Courtesy Valley Forge National Historic Park. The Oath of Allegiance was delayed by Washington until May 1778 when morale had improved.



George Washington & Lafayette at Valley Forge by John Ward Dunsmore.



Battle of Paoli, Sep 21, 1777. British troops surprise "Mad" Anthony Wayne's force, which suffered heavy casualties. Painting commissioned in 1817 by Lt. Richard St. George Mansergh - a British participant.

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