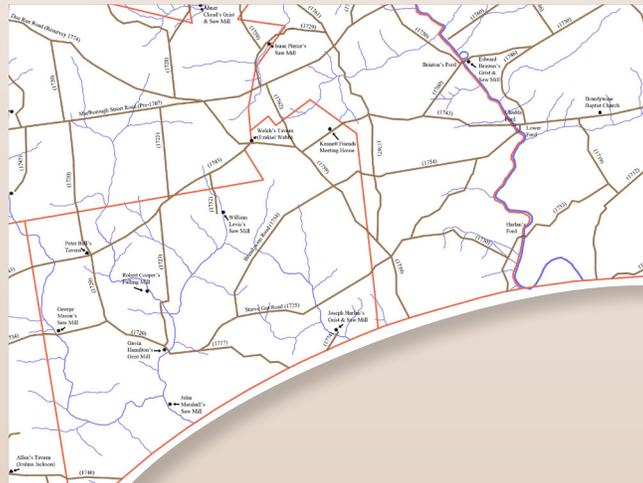


# Crown Forces Strategy

# The Army Marched at Dawn

## Southern Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Plan

### A Specific Plan of the Brandywine Battlefield Preservation Plan



**Prepared by**  
 Chester County Planning Commission  
 & Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc.

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The 7th  
 Pennsylvania  
 Regiments  
 Brandywine Flag



## Chapter 1 Introduction

The 2013 Brandywine Battlefield Preservation Plan (2013 Plan) examines and prioritizes significant battlefield areas and battle elements<sup>1</sup> that contribute to the battlefield cultural landscape and are well suited for further study, planning, and possible protection and/or interpretation. Significant battlefield areas, termed ‘strategic landscapes,’ encompass key battle elements of events and features<sup>2</sup>, the latter broadly categorized as physical geography (terrain, land areas used by troops and civilians, and natural features) and cultural topography (settlement patterns and built features). The 2013 Plan identifies 13 strategic landscapes and recommends their further consideration and planning.



Key built feature, Old Kennett Meeting, in the Eastern Column Advance Strategic Landscape, where an early battle clash occurred.

Strategic landscapes are being examined in phases (Map 1-1) due to the complexity of the battle and large size of the battlefield (approximately 35,000 acres). This plan represents the second phase (‘Phase 2’) of battlefield strategic landscapes projects and covers areas and pivotal timeframes related to Crown Force<sup>3</sup> strategy the morning of battle (‘Post-Dawn’) and in the days prior/leading up to battle (‘Pre-Dawn’). Together, four strategic landscapes form the southern Brandywine Battlefield where Gen’l Howe devised and began to execute his battle strategy - the Crown Force army moved from DE into PA on Sept. 8-10, 1777 (‘Approach Landscape’), camped at Kennett Square the eve of battle (‘Encampment Landscape’), and formed two columns (‘Lower Flank Northern Column’ and ‘Eastern Column Advance’ Landscapes) near dawn, Sept. 11, 1777, the day of battle.

Strategic landscapes and their features are areas to focus battlefield-related local planning, land conservation, historic resource protection, and heritage interpretation efforts. Collectively, such efforts honor, preserve, and exhibit areas of American history and the nation’s founding in Chester County, while simultaneously maintaining community identity, sense of place, and enhanced quality of life for residents and visitors within the living and evolving battlefield cultural landscape.

## Plan Purpose

This Phase 2 plan examines and delineates the following for southern battlefield Strategic Landscapes:

- Post-Dawn role in the battlefield as the initial (lower) stage of Gen’l Howe’s northern flanking maneuver, Crown Force eastern advance and supply caravan, and association with American military activity, civilian involvement, and impacts on the local rural civilian community.
- Pre-Dawn role in the battlefield related to Crown Force military strategy and approach into PA that led to encampment at Kennett Square, and association with American military activity, civilian involvement, and impacts on the local rural community.
- Historic context and physical features that contribute to an interpretable battlefield landscape.
- Strategies for resource, open space, and heritage interpretation planning, including highlighting Kennett Square as a center for interpretation of the southern battlefield.

<sup>1</sup> Battle elements include battle events, e.g. troop movements and skirmishes, and physical features, e.g. ridges or battle-era buildings.

<sup>2</sup> For local planning purposes, features can be correlated with natural resource, open space, historic resource, land, and road planning.

<sup>3</sup> During the Philadelphia Campaign of 1777, British troops along with Hessian soldiers and local loyalists make up the ‘Crown Forces’.

An overview of southern battlefield Landscapes (this Chapter) and their significance to the battle (Chapter 2), as well as battle history, importance, and recent planning efforts (Appendix A) provide perspective for this plan. Key southern battlefield elements are examined via physical geography, cultural topography, and reference materials (Chapter 3) and identification of battle-era built features (Chapter 4)<sup>4</sup>. Phase 2 clarifies battle elements from the 2013 Plan for southern battlefield Landscapes and provides locally oriented strategies for historic resource protection and land conservation (Chapter 5) and heritage interpretation (Chapter 6)<sup>5</sup>.

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# Strategic Landscape & Plan Names & Areas

Battle of Brandywine was a complex, full day battle that involved relatively constant troop activity. It is a difficult battle to describe using simple geographic bounds, as battle elements and locations overlap and blend into one another (as seen on Map 1-1). Battlefield and strategic landscapes boundaries have been created for ease of discussion for local planning purposes. Mapped Strategic Landscape outlines<sup>6</sup> present general areas for battlefield study and planning. Based on Phase 2 analysis, Landscape outlines changed from the 2013 Plan; which was a shift anticipated by the 2013 Plan when recommending further Landscape analysis.

Focused examination of Lower Flank Northern Column and Eastern Column Advance Landscapes made clear their story is interrelated and best addressed together, as each focuses on one of the two columns of Crown Force troops orchestrated by Gen'l Howe who strategically divided his army into a northern flanking column and an eastern advancing column. This plan addresses the beginning, or lower stage, of the northern flanking movement, while the remainder of the flanking march continued into the northern battlefield<sup>7</sup>. Phase 2 examination of Encampment and Approach Landscapes indicates their story is associated with both Columns Landscapes, as they focus on Crown Force military strategy in the time prior to battle. All four Landscapes, and their events, converge near today's Kennett Square Borough from where the Crown Force army marched at daybreak the day of battle.

'Pre-Dawn' and 'Post-Dawn' are used in this plan as a way to readily discuss southern battlefield areas based on when battle events occurred, and are loosely derived from a firsthand source. The names distinguish between the pivotal timeframes of staging events that occurred in the days prior (Sept 8-10, 1777) to Sept 11, 1777 daybreak, 'Pre-Dawn', and events that began at daybreak and continued through the morning of Sept 11 1777, 'Post-Dawn'.

Examination of all four Landscapes also led to their grouping as the 'southern battlefield' for the project. Southern battlefield landscapes are addressed together in this 'The Army Marched at Dawn' Plan<sup>8</sup> to capture their focused and linked history preceding and immediately following Gen'l Howe's strategic decision to divide his Crown Force army and attack Gen'l Washington's American army along Brandywine Creek.

## Project Need

The 2013 Plan provides a foundation and framework for ongoing battlefield planning, and is the impetus for the Phase 2 project and this plan. Battle of Brandywine activities took place from daybreak to dusk. Phase 2 clarifies battle elements starting at daybreak and proceeding throughout the morning of Sept. 11, 1777 ('Post-Dawn'), as well as identifies associated battle elements occurring in the days prior, leading to the day of battle ('Pre-Dawn') that laid the strategy and groundwork for the battle.

The 2013 Plan includes the Eastern Column Advance as two Strategic Landscapes, indicating historic integrity is partly compromised by development, but heritage interpretation could be considered due to location and visitor amenities, while resources and land preservation should be considered for uncompromised areas. Phase 2 shows the two areas should be discussed as one Eastern Column Landscape. The 2013 Plan does not designate the Lower Flank Northern Column area as a strategic landscape citing its level of development and assumed information about the area's role in the battle. Further analysis of the Crown Force flanking movement during Phase 1, augmented by Phase 2 analysis, reveals a different conclusion. Phase 2 shows that both Columns Landscapes encompass a more expansive geography and there remain noticeable areas of historic settings and resources.

<sup>6</sup> Strategic Landscapes represent generalized areas for study, reference, and planning discussion. Their mapped outlines do not denote firm bounds.

<sup>7</sup> Northern Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Plans address the rest of the flanking march.

<sup>8</sup> The plan name derives from a firsthand source that is mentioned in Chapter 3.

The 2013 Plan does not address the Crown Force Approach, as little was known about it for local planning purposes or that it was an associated element to the battle and a determining part of military strategy and events that unfolded in the battle. The 2013 Plan includes the encampment in a Staging Area Landscape, indicating its historic integrity has been altered by development, noting it should still be examined as a center for heritage interpretation purposes due to area amenities, and population, visitor, and traffic concentration. Further analysis during Phase 2 reveals the Crown Force Approach area is a new Strategic Landscape, which provides relevant information related to the encampment and both Columns Landscapes, as well as contains areas of historic settings and resources. Phase 2 also shows that the Encampment Landscape entails a more expansive geography that contains pockets of historic integrity including historic structures and roads.

This Army Marched at Dawn Southern Brandywine Battlefield Strategies Landscapes Plan is needed to analyze, refine, and clarify assumptions and unknowns in the 2013 Plan to add knowledge about the southern battlefield, for continued planning, education, interpretation, and preservation. In doing so, this plan provides a focused and locally implementable supplement to the 2013 Plan.

## Project Contributors

This project is largely funded through a grant to Chester County from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), which provides competitive funding for battlefield studies and planning nationwide. Created in 1991 and signed into law by Congress in 1996, this National Park Service program is a federal partnership initiative to assist communities in identifying and planning for interpretation and protection of the nation's significant historic battlefields and related resources, as well as raise awareness of their importance for future generations. ABPP addresses wars that occurred on American soil.

Chester County Planning Commission completed this Phase 2 project, with input from<sup>9</sup> East Marlborough, Pennsbury, Kennett, and New Garden Townships, Kennett Square Borough, Brandywine Battlefield Park Associates, and ABPP representatives<sup>10</sup>. Professional archivists from Chester County Archives Department used original primary source materials in Chester County's Archives and other sources to complete historic resources deed and verification research, locate and map property damages claims, and recreate battle-era property, owner, and road mapping. A professional consultant team made up of South River Heritage Consulting, Western Heritage Mapping, and Dr. Robert Selig provided terrain and geospatial field study, primary and secondary source research, battle mapping, and analysis and assessment of assumed battle events. South River Heritage Consulting and Brandywine Battlefield Park Associates' Museum Educator provided vetting of battle history and analysis plan content. Local historian volunteers provided their research and local knowledge of the area, properties, and owners. Landowners voluntarily offered to work with the project team. This project could not have occurred without this extensive and skilled team working collaboratively and alongside the supportive local residents of Chester County.

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<sup>9</sup> The Approach Landscape skims modern Avondale Borough, so the Borough was not involved in this project, however battle history in the plan and Chapter 4's list of historic resources both address a small area of the Borough.

<sup>10</sup> This plan focuses on the battle in PA; however, addresses New Castle County DE in Chapter 2's statement of southern battlefield significance to the battlefield as a whole, Chapter 4's battlefield analysis, and Chapter 6's heritage interpretation for the southern battlefield overall.



# 'Statement of Significance' to the Battlefield

This chapter looks to National Park Service guidelines for historic American battlefields<sup>1</sup> and 2013 Plan methodology to describe the particular significance (termed 'Statement of Significance') of southern battlefield Landscapes to the overall battle and battlefield<sup>2</sup>. Outlining significance provides a basis by which to examine and evaluate battle events and features (Chapters 4 & 5) for their role in the Landscapes and battlefield, and entails identifying specific importance, Landscapes' relation to the Battlefield National Historic Landmark, historic context and setting, existing conditions and integrity, and historic contextual themes.

Brandywine Battlefield, a National Historic Landmark (NHL) since 1961, is among the most precious and important treasures in our nation. As related to the southern battlefield, the NHL nomination form states: "...in mid-August, Howe moved to New York where he embarked most of his army (18,000 men) to initiate an offensive campaign to take Philadelphia, via the Chesapeake Bay. Washington countered with a southward move, where he waited first in Wilmington and then Chadds Ford for Howe's advance. By September 10, he [Washington] was in position on the eastern bank of the Brandywine, centered around Chadds Ford. ...Howe arrived in Kennett on the 10th, and on the morning of the 11th, he put his plan into action, sending a force under General Knyphausen down the Baltimore Pike towards Chadds Ford. The Hessian troops encountered sharp resistance, especially at the Kennett Meetinghouse, but pushed on... Meanwhile Howe directed Cornwallis to march twelve miles north with the rest of the army... Washington's intelligence reported this flanking movement early in the day, but this report was contradicted by a later one from Sullivan's scouts." This significance is withstanding and enhanced by the degree to which portions of the southern battlefield have remained unchanged.

Firsthand accounts provide insight about events in the southern battlefield. For example, two Crown Force accounts (reprinted here) reference battle events in the Eastern Column Landscape, about which McGuire<sup>3</sup> states "Here the opening shots of the Battle of Brandywine were fired around 6 A.M". Gen'l Knyphausen's account informs that eastern advancing Crown Force troops under his command had barely left camp when they first came upon and skirmished with American Forces at modern Webb Barn Ln./Baltimore Pike<sup>4</sup>. Foundation walls from Anvil (battle-era Welch's) Tavern remain in a garden retaining wall of a later Colonial Revival house that still stands at Longwood Gardens. An anvil sits at the southeast corner wall. Sgt. Jarvis's firsthand account informs about this encounter with the Americans. Historians have noted the American Revolution was the nation's first civil war, as a family dividing confrontation between those who identified with the Patriot cause and those who identified with the Loyalist cause; Sgt. Jarvis was not alone being caught in a personal struggle, initially joining a Connecticut militia and then later switching to become a Loyalist and part of the Queen's American Rangers.

*"Advancing on the Road to Chads's Ford [a mile or so from their camp] I had hardly come up to Welch's Tavern when the advanced Corps viz. Captain Ferguson's Riflemen & the Queen's Rangers fell in with about 300 Riflemen of the Enemy, who were posted in the Wood to the eastward of the Tavern."*  
- Crown Force Hessian Lt. Gen'l Knyphausen

*"There was little to notice after this<sup>5</sup> until the action at Brandywine; The Queen's Rangers led the Division of General Knyphausen. We came in sight of the enemy at sunrise. The first discharge of the enemy killed the horse of Major Grymes, who was leading the column, and wounded two men in the Division directly in my front [Ferguson's Riflemen], and in a few moments the Regiment became warmly engaged and several of our officers were badly wounded. None but the Rangers and Ferguson's Riflemen, were as yet engaged; the enemy retired, and there was a cessation for a short time, to reconnoiter the enemy, who had taken up their position in a wood which skirted the road that led down to the River."*  
- Crown Force Queen's Ranger Sgt. Stephen Jarvis

1 Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields, National Register Bulletin #40 (National Park Service, 2000)

2 Information about battle history and recent battlefield planning efforts is in Appendix A.

3 The Philadelphia Campaign: Brandywine and the Fall of Philadelphia, Tom McGuire, Chapter 4.

4 Baltimore Pike is Rt. 1 in the southern battlefield. This plan primarily uses the former when discussing this modern roadway.

5 The reference to "after this" refers to the associated Approach Landscape.

Another firsthand account (reprinted here) references battle events in the Northern Column Landscape. Capt. Ewald's account informs that northern column Crown Forces also had barely left camp when they first came upon and skirmished with American Forces. Capt. Ewald goes on to say that skirmishing on and off continued until noon. These skirmishes are discussed in Chapter 3.

“Lord Cornwallis had sent me a guide who was a real geographical chart...I often spoke with him regarding the area which was beyond the horizon...I had hardly marched half an hour [from their encampment] when I ran into a warning post of the enemy,”  
- Crown Force Hessian Capt. Johann Ewald

## Specific Importance of Southern Battlefield Landscapes to the Battle

This section entails identifying specific importance of southern battlefield landscapes to the battle and the battlefield as a whole. In doing so, it summarizes Phase 2 findings, with Chapters 3 and 4 going into more detail about findings in regard to geospatial military analysis and identifying built features.

### Northern Column & Eastern Column Landscapes

Phase 2 indicates Northern and Eastern Columns Landscapes represent the initial stage of Gen'l Howe's strategic tactic for the battle. Gen'l Howe divided his Crown Force army into two columns, directing one division to move east straight toward Gen'l Washington's defensive positions on the east side of Brandywine Creek, while directing the other division to move north to outflank American Forces.

Before dawn on September 11 1777, Gen'l Knyphausen's Division (Eastern Column) led by Capt. Ferguson and his company of British riflemen began an advance east from today's Kennett and East Marlborough Townships along the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (today's Baltimore Pike). Their ultimate purpose was to create the illusion that the full Crown Force Army was west of the Creek via engaging and distracting American Forces long enough Gen'l Cornwallis' Division (Northern Column) to complete its flanking march and move into position to attack American Forces on their right.

At the same time, Gen'l Cornwallis' Division (Northern Column), with Gen'l Howe and fronted by Capt. Ewald and his company of Hessian Jaegers, begin their march north from today's Kennett Square Borough, and Kennett and East Marlborough Townships to the northern battlefield<sup>5</sup> to carry out the flanking maneuver that would lead to driving the Americans from the field and winning the battle later that day.

Specific importance of both Landscapes to the battlefield is fivefold.

- Lower Flank Northern Column Landscape is where Gen'l Howe chose to begin his successful outflanking of the American Army under Gen'l. Cornwallis, a tactic that ultimately secured the British win that day. This battle tactic starts in this Landscape, moving north through the Landscape into Trimble's Ford Landscape<sup>6</sup> in the northern battlefield. This Landscape illustrates how Gen'ls Howe and Cornwallis' were able to successfully carry out the flanking tactic by maneuvering approximately 9,000 troops on a 9-hour circuitous march through difficult terrain that included fording both branches of Brandywine Creek.
- Eastern Column Advance Landscape is where Gen'l Howe chose to begin his diversionary feigning tactic under Gen'l. Knyphausen, to spur Gen'l Washington to deploy his army in a manner to combat what he thought was the full Crown Force army. This tactical battle staging that originates in this Landscape, heads

<sup>5</sup> Northern battlefield tactical battle staging covers the completion of the outflanking as part of Phase 1 strategic landscapes study and includes: American reconnaissance (Marshallton and Trimble's Ford Strategic Landscapes), northern British tactical flanking advance (Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscapes), and last leg of the flanking advance/ preparation for battle (Sconnelltown/Strode's Mill Strategic Landscape). Osborne Hill Landscape is related to Strode's Mill as an area of battle staging/preparation; however, it will be discussed in earnest as part of the battle combat area in future 'Phase 3' battlefield strategic landscapes study.

<sup>6</sup> See Breaching the Fords and the British Advance Strategic Landscapes Plan, part of Phase 1 strategic landscapes study.

east through the Landscape directly toward the American army. This Landscape illustrates a ‘running’ battle involving four skirmishes - Welch’s/Anvil Tavern, Hamorton village, Old Kennett Meetinghouse, and an unnamed wooded hill/fencing further east - that pushed back persistent American engagements, but not without considerable toil.

- Eastern Column Advance Landscape is the location of the Crown Force Baggage Supply Train, which supplied the army with provisions and support personnel, compulsory needs of battle and for Gen’ Howe to win the day. The Supply Train formed its own ‘column’, at first following the Eastern troop Column and then branching off and halting to a stayed position behind combat lines.
- Eastern Column Landscape is the location of what is considered to be the first skirmish of the first major engagement of the Philadelphia Campaign. Battle of Brandywine was the largest single-day land battle, and one of the two largest battles, of the Revolutionary War, and the first major engagement of the British Philadelphia Campaign of 1777 to capture the American capital.
- The Landscapes continue to display elements of 18<sup>th</sup> century Brandywine Valley landscape (including buildings and lands American and Crown Forces viewed) and retain cultural roots and identity (including local Quaker community and continuously used 18<sup>th</sup> century structures and properties).

## Associated Encampment & Approach Landscapes

Phase 2 indicates Associated Encampment and Approach Landscapes represent Crown Force military strategy and staging activity that influenced the how the battle unfolded.<sup>7</sup> Leaving DE to head into PA, Gen’l Howe divided his army sending Gen’l Knyphausen’s Division and the army’s supply wagons northwest on dedicated roads, while the rest of the army, under Gen’l Cornwallis, and including Gen’l Howe, went north on what was thought to be a more direct route, but actually comprised extremely difficult terrain. into a northwestern route including army supply wagons that, while circuitous, was on-road, and ultimately faster as compared to the unknowingly difficult terrain on a more direct northern march. Partway into the route, Gen’l Howe sent troops to notify Gen’l Knyphausen that the northern march was taking longer; these troops clashed with Americans scouts. The army rendezvoused at Kennett Square Village, their destination for overnight encampment the eve of battle.

Specific importance of both Landscapes to the battlefield is fourfold.

- Approach and Encampment Landscapes are where Gen’l Howe developed his military strategy for the battle. This tactical battle staging originates in this Landscape, moving north from DE through the Landscape into the Encampment Landscape. Gen’l Howe considered an encampment near Welch’s Tavern, but due to military logistics instead chose Kennett Square Village. Gen’l Washington chose for the battle to occur at Brandywine Creek, an obstacle and natural defensive position west of Philadelphia, the taking of which was Gen’l Howe’s ultimate goal under the Philadelphia Campaign of 1777. Gen’l Howe responded and devised his strategy in this Landscape. Also illustrated is the devising and use of the flanking maneuver that Gen’l Howe employs the morning of battle in Eastern and Northern Columns Landscapes.
- Approach Landscape is the location of Crown Forces first dividing into two lines, a military tactic of Gen’l Howe that he used in other conflicts. Gen’l Knyphausen’s line arrived near Kennett Square well before Gen’l Cornwallis’ line, stopping to wait for Gen’l Howe’s line to arrive in Kennett Square.
- Approach Landscape represents the first known clash after Crown Forces entered PA, where Crown Forces clashed with an American scouting patrol at New Garden Meetinghouse.
- Encampment Landscape is where the army camped in strategic positions as Divisions. The army encamped in the same Divisions in which they entered Kennett Square Village. They camped in two off-set parallel lines for defense purposes in case of American attack and to rise the next morning, the day of battle, already in a two columns line formation.
- The Landscapes continue to display elements of 18<sup>th</sup> century Brandywine Valley landscape (including buildings and lands American and Crown Forces viewed) and retain cultural roots and identity (including local Quaker community and continuously used 18<sup>th</sup> century structures and properties).

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<sup>7</sup> American military strategy, including that which occurred in DE leading up to the battle, will be covered in Phase 3 study.

# Relationship to the NHL

The intent of the Brandywine Battlefield National Historic Landmark designation is to recognize the significance of the battle in the founding of the U.S. and in determining the course of American history. Only a small portion of the Lower Flank North Column Landscape is included in the NHL boundary as the significance of the southern battlefield to the battle was not understood when the boundary was originally delineated. The 2013 Plan and 2010 Battle of Brandywine Historic Resources Survey and Animated Map Study (2010 Study) are the first planning documents that brought forth part of the southern battlefield's importance for local planning; however still did not understand the extent or importance of the entity of the southern battlefield. Landscapes are located well west of what are considered to be 'major battle combat areas' that the NHL generally captures in its bounds, which will be the focus of Phase 3 study of strategic landscapes (Map 1-1). However, the Landscapes do contribute to the intent of the NHL for their 1) significant military and tactical roles in the battle, and 2) areas of 18<sup>th</sup> century Brandywine Valley landscape that reflect the battle story (military events and local community impacts) and the battle's contribution to American independence.



Key built feature in the Eastern Advance Strategic Landscape, Brinton House that Crown Force and American troops would have viewed and that current generations can still view today. To the front of the building remains a segment of The 1743 Great Nottingham Road roadbed.

## Historic Context & Setting

### Historic Overview

To set the stage for battle events and context of southern battlefield Landscapes in the larger battle, one can turn to author Tom McGuire's description: "September 11 dawned gray and dank, with fog shrouding the Brandywine Valley. Thursday was baking day... Normally a slight haze from cooking fires would have been puffing out of the large hearth chimneys and hanging in layers over the glens, but on this Thursday, the air was murky from the heavy volume of smoke collecting from hundreds of campfires. The atmosphere was tepid; this was not a pleasant, early-morning vapor, but the herald of a thick, late-summer day. The two armies were about five miles apart, each spread out over several miles, with hundreds of pickets and numerous scouting parties between them... Washington's force, generally estimated at 12,000 regulars and 3,000 militia, was encamped behind the hills of Birmingham Township on the east side of the Brandywine Creek. His center was at Chad's Ford on the Great Nottingham Road, where the creek could be crossed on foot, and at Chad's Ferry, a few hundred yards south of the ford... Five miles west of Chad's Ford, in the fields and woods around the village of Kennett Square, the Crown Forces, generally estimated at 18,000, were up in the predawn hours, preparing to move at first light.... Howe divided his army into two columns. The column heading straight for Chad's Ford was commanded by sixty-one-year-old Lt.-Gen. Baron Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr zu Inn-und Knyphausen, a dependable and able officer who had spent much of his career in the Prussian Army... As Knyphausen was pushing toward Chad's Ford, Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis were also well on the march, heading north with the main body of the army... The finest troops in Howe's army made up this force."<sup>8</sup> Guiding them north were local Loyalists familiar with navigating the rural rolling countryside, including John Jackson, a clockmaker in East Marlborough, and Curtis Lewis, a blacksmith in West Bradford who were both under the direction of Joseph Galloway, a Pennsylvania Loyalist leader.

<sup>8</sup> *The Philadelphia Campaign: Brandywine and the Fall of Philadelphia*, Tom McGuire, Chapter 4.

## Landscapes Overall Historic Context & Setting

Phase 1<sup>9</sup> indicates 10 fords<sup>10</sup> along Brandywine Creek are key features to understanding the battle, and in the military sciences are known as ‘significant terrain features’. Of those fords, seven were guarded and monitored by American Forces as possible crossings by Crown Force troops, and three were unguarded. The southern battlefield setting signifies the foundation of Gen’l Howe’s strategy to successfully flank the American Army by reaching northern unguarded Trimble’s and Jefferis’ Fords under the cover of Gen’l Knyphausen’s direct eastern confrontation with Gen’l Washington’s army culminating around historic Chad’s Ford. Southern Battlefield Landscapes do not display an intact 18<sup>th</sup>-century ‘museum’ setting, but they do still retain and display areas of landforms, topography, roads, and structures that existed at the time of the battle *and* that played a pivotal role in the battle and its outcome. For Landscapes’ historic contexts, Phase 2 examines Kennett Square as ‘the heart of the southern battlefield’, the route there, formation/location of the two columns, areas of engagements, impacts on civilians and their properties, and overlapping southern battlefield landscapes bounds/histories (Chapter 3).

## Lower Flank Northern Column Historic Context & Setting

### 2013 Plan Description

The 2013 Plan does not identify this area as a strategic landscape. It does, however, still touch upon this area’s historic context in the battle to some extent. It discusses ‘Kennett Square Staging Area’ Strategic Landscape as an area where troops organized in the early morning the day of the battle and within a few hours had moved on. It also discusses the northern flanking march in ‘Cornwallis’ March Area’ where troops left from Kennett Square and moved north to cross Brandywine Creek at two unguarded northern fords and involved skirmishing with Americans troops and impacts to civilians’ properties. The 2013 Plan recommends that the battle-era road network be further studied to determine readily passible routes available for troop movements.

### Phase 1 Summary

Phase 1 strategic landscapes study incidentally looked at this adjacent area, suggesting that Crown Forces likely took a different northern route than previously thought/mapped in the 2010 Study. Phase 1 analysis, among other items, identifies locations of northern battlefield troop movements and the two unguarded northern fords<sup>11</sup>, as well as identifies this area as the lower and initial stage<sup>12</sup> of the flank movement it recommended that a strategic landscape should be created and studied in a Phase 2 (this) project.

### This Project’s Update of Previous Battle Information

Phase 2 identifies and creates a Lower Flank Northern Column Landscape that encompasses the initial stage of the Crown Force northern flanking movement. It examines and defines northern eastern routes of march, and the occurrence and locations of skirmishes (Chapter 3).

Battlefield history is fluid - events in one area impact other areas. Phase 2 finds that this Landscapes’ battle event locations partially overlaps that of the Encampment Landscape. This overlap, about 1.5-miles in length, reflects that Northern Column troops camped and then formed into marching column configuration in the same position/location. Phase 2 indicates the Northern Column Landscape begins in today’s East Marlborough and

9 See Breaching the Fords and the British Advance Strategic Landscapes Plan, part of Phase 1 strategic landscapes study.

10 From south to north – Pyle’s, Gibson’s, Chad’s, Brinton’s Jones’/Painter’s, Wistar’s, Buffington’s, Trimble’s, Jefferis’, and Taylor’s Fords. There were also other fords along the Creek. ‘Chads’ is the 18th century family name, which differs from present-day spelling of the locale ‘Chadds Ford’.

11 See Breaching the Fords and the British Advance Strategic Landscapes Plan, part of the first phase (‘Phase 1’) strategic landscapes study.

12 To facilitate understanding, analysis, and planning, the northern flanking advance is examined in three stages across two phases, which altogether encompass Gen’l Howe’s full flanking tactic. The flank began well west (left) of the American array positioned along the Creek, then traveled far enough north and then east to cross Brandywine Creek at unguarded fords. ‘Stage 1’ entails the start of the flanking march north after the Crown Force encampment the eve of battle (part of Phase 2 project). ‘Stage II’ comprises the bulk of the flanking march including traversing fords, and ‘Stage III’ entails the final stage of the flank through Scennelltown to Strode’s Mill, where the march ends to prepare for battle and the approach to Osborne Hill (Phase 1 project).

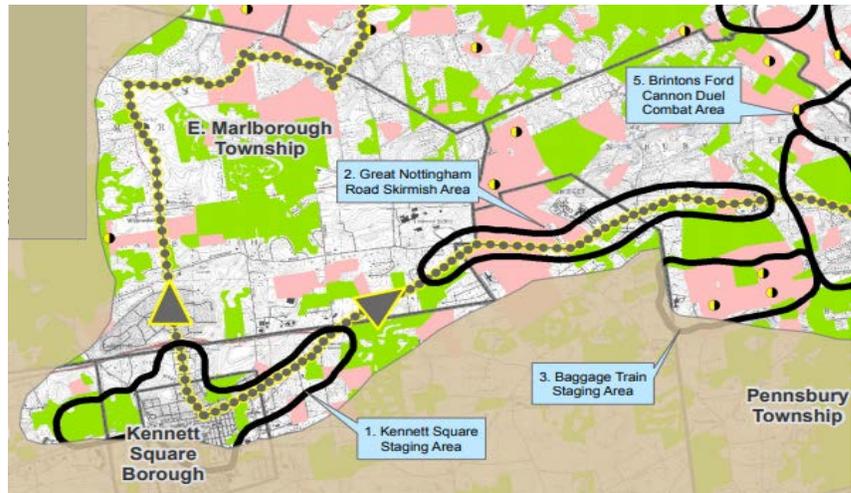
Kennett Townships, and Kennett Square Borough (part of 1777 Kennett Township), overlapping areas of Encampment Landscape (Map 1-1). It also finds that the Northern Column generally followed today’s Union St/Unionville Rd./Rt. 82, Street Rd./Rt. 926, East Doe Run Rd., and Northbrook Rd. corridors through East Marlborough Township to its northern border (with today’s Pocopson Township) where Phase 1 picks up.

## Eastern Column Historic Context & Setting

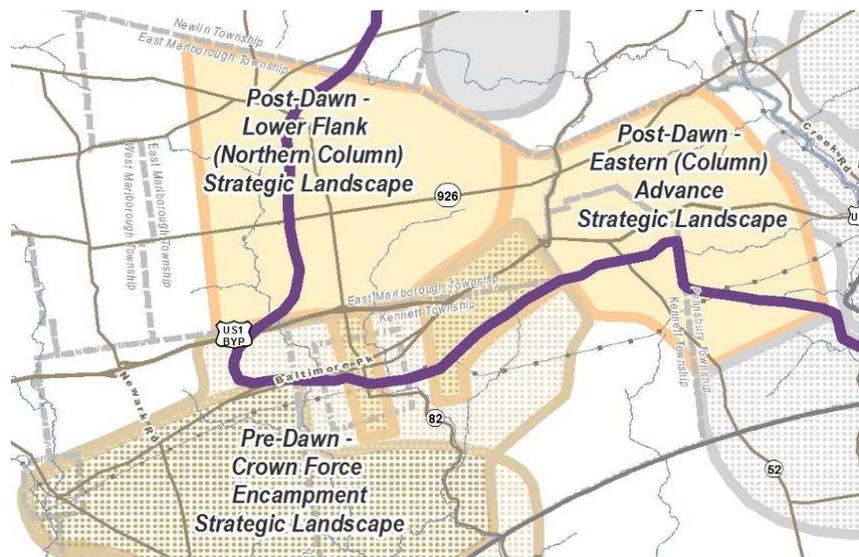
### 2013 Plan Description

The 2013 Plan identified this area’s historic context and setting as follows.

- ‘Kennett Square Staging Area’ is described as an area where troops organized in the early morning the day of the battle and within a few hours had moved on.
- ‘Great Nottingham Road Skirmish Area’ is described as the area where Gen’l. Knyphausen’s troops marched from Kennett Square east toward Chadds Ford, having skirmishes with Americans and impacts to civilians whose lands were crossed and damaged, and whose supplies and livestock were seized. It also references this area as ‘Knyphausen’s March Area Battle Conflict Area’.
- ‘Baggage Train Staging Area’ is described as the location of British support personnel and their parked caravan of supply wagons.



Outlines (in black) represent Strategic Landscape areas identified in the 2013 Plan. Strategic landscapes planning projects are examining these areas based on their integrity and the historic record, and revising mapped outlines as needed.



Outlines (in orange and grey) represent Strategic Landscapes areas refined and updated during this planning effort, including the identification and creation of the Lower Flank Northern Column Landscape. Orange hashed areas show overlaps between both Columns Landscapes and the Encampment Landscape.

### This Project’s Update of Previous Battle Information

Phase 2 examines and refines the understanding of this area of the battlefield to combine both 2013 Plan strategic landscape areas into one larger Landscape. The resulting Eastern Column Advance Landscape includes both eastern march of Crown Force troops (‘Eastern Column’) and trailing ‘column’ of army supply provision wagons (‘Baggage Supply Train’). Phase 2 defines the eastern routes of march, baggage supply caravan route, and the occurrence and locations of skirmishes (Chapter 3).

- ‘Eastern Column’ - This column of Crown Force troops forms east of modern Kennett Square Borough marching east along today’s Baltimore Pike (1743 Great Nottingham Road) directly toward Chadds Ford/Brandywine Creek. The Eastern Column comprises the route of march east, a series of skirmishes, and what became a running battle. It is an area today still containing buildings and sites that were key strategic battle locations. This project examines and refines skirmishes/locations.

- ‘Baggage Supply Train’ - Initially, upon leaving the encampment, this supply train trailed behind the Eastern troop Column; however Phase 2 finds the train separated from the Eastern Column and shifted south partway through the Landscape and for this reason as well as its distinct history it is considered a subarea. The Baggage Supply Train comprises numerous military support personnel and wagons of supplies to equip the Crown Force Army with as many provisions as could feasibility be hauled. This project examines and refines supply caravan/locations.

Phase 2 also refines this Landscape’s history as a tactical feign and battle conflict area where Gen’l. Howe directed a smaller number of his Crown Force troops under the command of Hessian Gen’l. Knyphausen to begin a march due east directly toward 1777 Chads’ Ford in order to ruse Gen’l. Washington into thinking his American Army was facing the full Crown Force Army assault.

As with the Northern Column Landscape, the history of this Landscape partly overlaps that of the Encampment Landscape (Map 1-1). This is because Phase 2 finds that, like North Column troops. Eastern Column troops formed into marching column configuration in the same position/location as where they encamped. For purposes of statement of significance and military history examination as well as local resources protection and interpretation, this overlap is treated in the same manner in the Northern Column Landscape. The Eastern Column Landscape begins just east of today’s Kennett Square Borough where the column formed and overlaps the Encampment Landscape for about 1.5-mile. The Eastern Column Landscape generally follows Baltimore Pike east through Kennett and Pennsbury Townships. The Eastern Column Landscape ends near today’s Brinton’s Bridge Rd. where future Phase 3 study will pick up.

## Associated Encampment & Approach Landscapes Context & Setting

### 2013 Plan Description

The 2013 Plan identified this area’s historic context and setting as follows.

- ‘Kennett Square Staging Area’ is described as a British staging area where British troops and camp followers established camp on September 10, the night before the battle. As part of this action, the 2013 Plan indicates there were military conflicts with civilians whose properties were converted into officers’ headquarters, and privately-owned open fields became military encampments.
- The 2013 Plan did not identify the Approach area as a part of the Battlefield.

### This Project’s Update of Previous Battle Information

Phase 2 identifies and creates a new Crown Forces Approach Landscape that encompasses military activities in DE leading to the march into PA, as well as the encampment around Kennett Square. Phase 2 also renames and refines the Encampment Landscape, expanding its area and acknowledging the overlap in history and locations with Eastern Column and Approach Landscape. The Encampment Landscape is the keystone of the southern battlefield, tying together southern battlefield history as the start of military events on the day of battle and as the culmination of military activity leading up to the battle (Chapter 3). While both associated Landscapes overlap considerably in location and history, for plan purposes their discussion is broken out as follows.

- ‘Approach’ - Crown Force troops conducted a military strategy “dance’ with Gen’l Washington and the American Army who were within nearby proximity in northern DE. Gen’l Washington made a move northeast towards Chadds Ford<sup>13</sup> and Gen’l Howe strategized to move Crown Forces north into PA. Phase 2 identifies military Crown Forces routes of approach into and within Chester County. Approach areas were previously unknown for local planning purposes, and Phase 2 brings to light this area and history as an important related component of the battlefield and for local planning purposes, including northern DE locations as being associated with the Battle of Brandywine. Phase 2 also identified this Landscape as the location of a new field of fire with a clash between Crown Forces American and scouts along today’s Newark

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<sup>13</sup> American movement into Chadds Ford will be addressed in Phase 3.

Rd., well as the location of impacts on local civilian population through property plunderings as witnessed through recorded civilian claims (Chapter 4).

- **‘Encampment’** – Phase 2 plan identifies the extent of the Crown Force encampment locations, clarifying formerly accepted information. In doing this, this plan expands the area of and renamed the Landscape to more appropriately reflect battle activities. Phase 2 also finds that Gen’l Howe used a version of his flanking strategy on the way into PA, diving his army into a northwestern-eastern flank and a northern movement. Gen’l Knyphausen’s flank line, including the supply train, traveling along established 18<sup>th</sup>-century roads, arrived at Kennett Square before Gen’l Howe’s line, Gen’l Knyphausen’s line stopped and waited for Gen’l Howe’s line to traverse more difficult terrain into Kennett Square. Upon arrival and then overnight encampment in the Kennett Square area, the two columns had already been formed, camping in two defensive parallel north-south lines ready to stand into formation that early morning of battle.

## Existing Conditions & Integrity

### Landscapes Overall Existing Conditions & Integrity

While the Landscapes’ setting seems fairly developed when taken as a whole and compared to other areas of the battlefield, such as Northern Landscapes, they still contain pockets of rural lands with historic buildings that continue to convey a readable battle-era setting. In developed areas, they still embrace preserved battle-era buildings, which have been continually reused and evolved for new contemporaneous uses. Landscapes have most of their 18<sup>th</sup> century roads intact and still well in use today.



The well preserved Old Kennett Meeting sits along the road as it did in 1777 when Crown Force troops passed and skirmished with American forces the day of the battle.

Kennett Square Borough was redeveloped in the 19<sup>th</sup> century so no battle-era structures remain, although the 18<sup>th</sup> century roadway configuration that troops utilized still remains. The military significance of the Landscapes and their preserved period properties, including lands and building resources, helps compensate for this as well as other losses of battle-era setting due to more recent development. For example, areas of still evident battlefield setting allow document research to be ground-truthed, resolving a number of questions that Phase 2, in part, was created to address. Landscapes exhibit characteristics, such as areas of historic and current farmlands, which make them well-suited for targeted land conservation efforts through agricultural land and open space preservation. They also display characteristics that make them suitable for historic resources protection and for focused battle interpretive efforts.

## Northern Column Existing Conditions & Integrity

### 2013 Plan Description

In examination of existing conditions and integrity, the 2013 Plan does not call out this area as a strategic landscape as it suggests the Crown Force route and battle-related historic resources and lands in this area are too compromised by development.

### Phase 1 Project

Phase 1 study, that occurred adjacent to this Landscape, superficially looked at this area suggesting that Crown Forces likely took a different northern route than previously thought, and a route that traversed in part through a still readable battlefield landscape today.

## This Project's Update

Phase 2 opens pockets of Northern Column Landscape that still convey battle-era setting and battle-related features important for interpretation, land conservation, and historic resource recommendations. The Northern Column route today remains evident and remarkably intact, particularly from East Doe Run Rd. to Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. Areas along these roads retain integrity of location and setting and are evocative of the historically rural character of the battlefield. The marching route leads to the well-preserved approach route to Phase 1 Trimble's Ford Strategic Landscape and the ford itself and resolves a number of military strategy questions about the northern marching route taken by Crown Force troops under Gen'ls Howe and Cornwallis. Where East Doe Run Rd. meets Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. (1728 Road to the Great Valley), the setting becomes more rural with several important historic properties on the route and that are still owned by the Wickersham family as they were in 1777. At the time of the American Revolution, East Marlborough Township was almost entirely Quaker held and the war effort found little support in this area.

## Eastern Column Existing Conditions & Integrity

### 2013 Plan Description

The 2013 Plan identified this area's existing conditions and integrity as follows.

- 'Kennett Square Staging Area' is discussed below under Associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes.
- 'Great Nottingham Road Skirmish Area' is described as an area having potential for historic resource preservation and interpretation, but low potential for additional land conservation due to development. It also suggests future study of opportunities for developing interpretation at skirmish locations along this corridor, particularly as the corridor already contains visitor amenities and destinations, such as Longwood Gardens, a major tourist attraction, and restaurants and shopping.
- 'Baggage Train Staging Area' is described as an area having potential for historic resource preservation and interpretation and high potential for additional land conservation as an area crossed by troops and retaining a readable battle-era landscape. The 2013 Plan suggests future study of opportunities for land conservation and for opportunities for interpretation via a driving or bicycling tour as the area retains its battle-era rural, open, and/or agricultural land uses.

## This Project's Update

In examining existing conditions in light of refined historical and geospatial understanding of this part of the battlefield, the following can be surmised.

- 'Eastern Column' - Though the Eastern Column's route today retains minimal integrity within the physical Baltimore Pike road corridor due to road widenings and improvements, four skirmishes occurred in the Landscape – Welch's/Anvil Tavern, Hamorton village, Old Kennett Meetinghouse, an unnamed hill east of the Meetinghouse – and their locations are still apparent in today's Landscape. While today's Baltimore Pike (1743 Great Nottingham Road) going east toward Brandywine Creek has been significantly widened, straightened (the 1743 Road would have been serpentine and meandering through the undulating terrain), and the roadbed many times replaced, today's roadway follows the same general course as the 1743 Road and passes by preserved battle-era historic structures that are associated with the battle. No doubt, this is a suburbanized landscape, but still contains building gems such as the preserved Abraham Taylor farmhouse at Miller's Hill (that was plundered), remains of the Welch's Tavern (where the first shots of the battle took place), and the preserved Old Kennett Meetinghouse (where some of the first skirmishes of the battle occurred). What is remarkable about this setting is that skirmishes between the advancing Crown Force troops under Gen'l Knyphausen and the American Light Infantry under Brig. Gen'l Maxwell can still be clearly traced in the landscape in relationship to the nearby battle-era buildings. While the existing historic structures are dispersed along this busy modern corridor, they have strategic battle meaning and/or importance, such as Old Kennett Meetinghouse that is also a major potential interpretative site.
- 'Baggage Supply Train' - The area of the army's parked provision caravan in the easternmost part of the Landscape retains intact integrity, including a readable battle-era landscape as would have been seen by the passing troops. Given its proximity to the greater New Castle County economic center, this area has

experienced some interspersed residential redevelopment, though largely retains its rural and agricultural roots and is a prime setting for historic preservation and land conservation. This area falls adjacent to a major battle fighting area further to the east in Pennsbury Township and Chadds Ford Township, which will be the subject of a future Phase 3 effort; thus rendering this part of the Eastern Advance Landscape as a buffer area between battle staging and skirmishes and battle fighting for local planning purposes. During the height of battle action, both support personnel and their caravan of supply wagons were parked out of the way of direct conflict in an area that is today still largely undeveloped with open fields having agricultural uses as they would have at the time of the battle.

Though no doubt the overall Landscape has undergone significant change since the time of the battle, namely commercial and residential development, historic structures and properties are still evident. Historic structures have been adaptively reused and a number of newer developments have been set back from the road, which preserves an open setting. Several newer structures are built on the historic foundations of their predecessors and have compatible size, shape, and materials as their historic counterparts. A pattern of farmsteads, fields, and rolling country delineated by hedgerows and small tree groves buffer roadways, which helps to retain the visual history and setting of the Landscape. Property owners in the area generally value historic resources and actively work to maintain their viability and integrity. Active local historical commissions in Kennett, East Marlborough, and Pennsbury Townships promote continued viability and preservation of historic resources and settings.

## Associated Encampment & Approach Landscapes Existing Conditions & Integrity

### 2013 Plan Description

The 2013 Plan identified this area's existing conditions and integrity as follows.

- The 2013 Plan did not identify the Approach area as a part of the Battlefield.
- 'Kennett Square Staging Area' is described as having its historic integrity altered by development, but an area that should still be examined as a center for heritage interpretation due to area amenities, Borough sidewalk grid providing access to former battle sites including former Unicorn Tavern used for British headquarters, as well as population, visitor, and traffic concentration.

### This Project's Update

In examining existing conditions and integrity in light of refined historical and geospatial understanding of this part of the battlefield, the following can be surmised.

- 'Approach' – This project shows the Crown Force Approach area, as a new Strategic Landscape, contains historic settings and battle-era resources. Information addressed in this project, such as the now rediscovered and identified Crown Force route into PA, opens up additional areas associated with the battlefield, which convey areas of visible battle-era setting and battle-related features for land conservation and historic resource recommendation purposes. The Crown Force marching route is largely intact and traceable in today's setting on modern, once battle-era, roads and retains areas of integrity, particularly along Gen'l Howe's northern route in PA. Rural landscapes remain that depict a battle-era setting.
- 'Encampment' - Phase 2 reveals the Encampment Landscape, with its more expansive geography and clarified history, contains some pockets of historic integrity including historic structures and roads to the east and south (where the Landscape overlaps with the Approach Landscape) of today's Kennett Square Borough. Marching routes within the encampment area and lines of camp (today's Union St. and McFarland Rd./Schoolhouse Ln.) remain as traceable in today's setting on modern, once battle-era, roads. Historic archeological sites, such as the site of the important battle-era Unicorn Tavern that once stood at the intersection of modern Union St. and State St./Baltimore Pike, can be identified for interpretive and contextual location purposes.

Though no doubt the Landscapes have experienced change since the time of the battle, historic structures and properties are still evident, as are battle-era road beds and alignments. Even in modern Kennett Square Borough, which does not contain any known remaining battle-era buildings, the modern State St./Union St. intersection

remains as the main crossroads as it was in Kennett Square village in 1777. Property owners generally value historic resources and actively work to maintain their viability and integrity, including their continued use or adaptive reuse. A number of newer developments are set back from roads, which preserves an open setting. A pattern of farmsteads, fields, and rolling country delineated by hedgerows helps to retain the visual history and setting. Active historical commissions in Kennett and New Garden Townships and the Historical Architectural Review Board and non-profit Historic Kennett Square in Kennett Square Borough promote continued viability and preservation of the area and build on historic resources and landscapes as a foundation in their efforts.

## Historic Contextual Themes

### Battle of Brandywine

The analysis and significance of the Landscapes to the battle speaks to several overarching battlefield themes that are broadly categorized as ‘military events’, ‘18th century landscape’, and ‘local community’. Themes are vetted in Chapter 6, and a summary is included here for statement of battlefield significance purposes. Under (one or more) of those broad thematic categories fall specific themes for this plan:

- Crown Force army logistics
- Gen’l Howe’s two columns military tactic
- American military activity and reconnaissance
- Battle skirmishes
- Brandywine Valley settlement patterns
- Civilians/local community and battle impacts
- Quaker roots and Peace Testimony
- Still readable battlefield landscape areas

### Chester County

Landscapes’ history also mirrors major themes in Chester County’s overall history including multi-generational rural agricultural tradition, Brandywine Valley Quaker settlement, enduring historic landscapes, prosperous commerce/industry foundations, and the American Revolution. Such themes are imbedded in throughout this plan and serve as a broad basis for heritage interpretation.

### American Revolution

Themes for the battle, and this plan as applicable, relate to and through phased strategic landscapes planning are being coordinated in broad terms with Museum of the American Revolution’s (MAR)<sup>14</sup> Revolutionary War interpretative themes. For this plan, MAR’s major themes can be summarized as: ‘Citizens turned Revolutionaries’, ‘Surviving the Darkest Hours’, ‘Radical Nature of Revolution’, and ‘Lasting Meanings’.

As the southern battlefield landscapes are just one part of the larger Philadelphia Campaign and much larger Revolutionary War, and embody a unique cultural background as part of the Brandywine Valley’s largely rural agrarian Quaker roots, not all MAR themes speak directly to the Landscapes. In general terms for these Landscapes, this plan’s themes of American military activity and citizen involvement could fall under the MAR theme of ‘Citizens turned Revolutionaries’; Battle impacts on civilians/the community could fall under ‘Radical Nature of the Revolution’; Battle skirmishes and Crown Force military logistics and tactics under ‘Surviving the Darkest Hours’; and still readable battlefield landscape areas, Brandywine Valley settlement patterns and Quaker roots/Peace Testimony could fall under ‘Lasting Meanings’. The overarching theme for the entire Brandywine Battlefield as a pivotal moment in the American Revolution, discussed in the 2013 Plan speaks to all MAR’s themes.

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<sup>14</sup> MAR is the national Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia, which is coordinating their efforts to interpret the battle with Brandywine Battlefield Task Force.



# Geophysical Landscape & Battlefield Analysis

This chapter looks at battle elements - (historic/battle) events and (physical) features – in/near southern battlefield Landscapes to assess prior assumptions<sup>1</sup> about these areas itemized in the 2013 Plan/2010 Study. In doing this, it uses geophysical field study or ground-truthing of features (land area, landform, natural, built, below-ground) and reference materials. This analysis reviews the: 1) Initial stage and route of Gen'l. Howe's tactical northern outflanking maneuver, 2) Military activity of the Crown Force eastern advance, 3) American military activity; 4) Crown Force baggage/supply caravan logistics, and 5) Civilian impact/involvement in the battle.

For local planning purposes, this analysis seeks to clarify the Landscapes' roles as to what (events) occurred and where (features) it occurred in order to identify relevant features, develop planning strategies (Chapter 5) and speak to heritage interpretation themes (Chapter 6). This chapter takes a historic military view of the battle in these Landscapes, providing related recommendations for future action, planning, or study; while Chapter 4 focuses on built features and battle impacts on the local community. These chapters work in sync to provide a more holistic view of the battle in these Landscapes.

Reference materials used include the 2010 Study KOCOA analysis, 2013 Plan defining features and historic resources inventories, reference maps (historic atlases, aerial photographs, topographic maps), primary sources (firsthand accounts, road petitions, deeds), secondary sources (battle histories), field study, and historic archeological assessment, as well as review of battle-era cultural topography and settlement patterns in Chapter 4. The historic and military archeological project consulting team conducted this analysis with assistance from researchers in Chester County Archives.



Site of the first shots of the Battle of Brandywine, where foundation walls of Welch's (later Anvil) Tavern still remain, as does the late tavern's anvil marker, as part of Colonial Revival residences in Longwood Gardens.

## KOCOA Military Terrain Analysis

KOCOA<sup>2</sup> analysis evaluates physical geography and cultural topography and identities defining features that help explain a battle and inform about its events and outcomes. ABPP describes defining features as those natural and built features named in battle accounts, historic maps, or other sources that help locate and ground-truth battle events in the modern landscape. Physical geography (natural) feature examples include terrain, watercourses, ridges, or ravines. Cultural topography (built) feature examples include places/settlement patterns (villages, farms); structures (mills, houses, meetinghouses); or other manmade features (roads, paths, woodlots, farm fields). The 2010 Study KOCOA analysis is used in the 2013 Plan, which takes a further look at defining features for

<sup>1</sup> Appendix A green italics wording shows 2013 Plan assumptions being studied in this project from a battle timeline perspective.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix A further describes KOCOA analysis. Cultural topography encompasses the built environment and is addressed in Chapter 4.

planning and interpretation purposes. Both are the starting points for this chapter.

Phase 2 uses KOCOAs to analyze, update, and/or interpret previously understood battle events related to these Landscapes - where the initial stage of the Crown Force dividing into two columns strategy took place, as did American military activity, Crown and American Forces skirmishes and civilian involvement/impacts. For example, Phase 2 uses KOCOAs to better understand the battle event of the flanking march route via mapping and comparing locations of: reported civilian property losses, battle-era properties and owners, and battle-era roads, through which the path of the march becomes evident. Since battle events are not isolated activities, to understand how the Landscapes fit into the overall battle from a military and physical terrain perspective, analysis at times stretches beyond Landscapes' outlines. Figures 3-1a and 3-1b provide updated KOCOAs defining features related to military activity in/related to the Landscapes.

*Figure 3-1a: Northern and Eastern Columns Landscapes and related KOCOAs Military Terrain Defining Features (updated from the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan)*

DEFINING FEATURE <sup>1</sup>	LANDSCAPE	KOCOAs CATEGORY
1777 Kennett Square village site (modern Kennett Square Borough)	Northern & Eastern	Key Terrain
Hill along 1720 Road & 1720 Road north of & through Kennett Square village (modern Union Hill Cemetery/local name of 'Hessian Hill'/Unionville Rd/Rt. 82/Union St)	Northern	Cornwallis' column formation Cornwallis' column Avenue of Approach, Observation
1720 Road (modern Union St/Unionville Rd/Rt. 82)	Northern	Cornwallis' beginning lower flank march. Cornwallis' column Avenue of Approach
1774 (resurvey) Doe Run Road (modern East Doe Run Rd)	Northern	Cornwallis' column Avenue of Approach
High Ground at 1774 (resurvey) Doe Run Road/ 1728 Road to the Great Valley/Pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road juncture: Lt. Col. Ross' Patrol's probable observation point & where he sent his message to Gen'l Washington (modern E Doe Run Rd/Northbrook Rd/ Rt.926 intersection) Initial skirmishing between Ross' Patrol & Northern Column starts here and stays relatively continuous as the flanking march advances.	Northern	Vantage point for American Light Infantry Observation, Fields of Fire
1728 Road to the Great Valley (toward Trimble's Ford) (modern Northbrook Rd/Red Lion Rd)	Northern	Cornwallis' column Avenue of Approach
1742 Road (modern Corrine Rd)	Trimble's Ford Landscape	Area where Ross' Light Infantry engaged the rear Northern Column Avenue of Approach, Field of Fire
High Ground east of Kennett Square village along/follows line of 1723 Road (modern McFarlan Rd to Schoolhouse Ln)	Eastern	Knyphausen's column formation. Knyphausen's column Avenue of Approach
1743 Great Nottingham Rd (modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1)	Eastern	Knyphausen's column Avenue of Approach
Welch's (later Anvil) Tavern skirmish site. Gen'l Knyphausen reports first shots of battle fired from woods east of tavern. (modern Rt. 1/Webb Barn Ln juncture)	Eastern	First American position, commanded. Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
Hamorton village skirmish site - Elevation north of 1743 Great Nottingham Rd at Hamorton village (west of modern Rt. 52/Rt. 1 intersection at Hamorton village)	Eastern	Second defensive American position. Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
Old Kennett Meetinghouse skirmish site - Elevation southeast of Old Kennett Meetinghouse. Hill elevation was removed during Rt. 1 construction. (modern Rt. 1 at Old Kennett Meetinghouse)	Eastern	Third defensive American position. Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
Unnamed wooded Hill (elevation) & Fencing east of Old Kennett Meetinghouse skirmish site (Near modern Hickory Hill Rd./Rt. 1 intersection)	Eastern	Fourth defensive American position. Reported to be ambush. Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
1743 Great Nottingham Rd/1760 Road juncture (modern Rt. 1/Brinton's Bridge Rd intersection)	Eastern	Knyphausen' column/sent British 1st Brigade along the 1760 Road <sup>2</sup> Avenue of Approach
Baggage & Supply Wagon Train - 1759 Road to Wilmington or 1767 Road to 1754 Brandywine Road (modern Kennett Pike or Hickory Hill Rd to Hillendale Rd/Fairville Rd)	Eastern	Baggage Train Avenue of Approach

1 In this plan use of these words means the following: 'Road' indicates the approximate battle-era road alignment and roadbed still exists. 'Spur' is the approximate road extension of a battle-era road that still exists. 'Trace' indicates a former battle-era road that today is largely an archeological site.

2 Eastern Battlefield Phase 3 Study begins from this point east.

*Figure 3-1b: Associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes and related KOCOAs Military Terrain Defining Features (updated from the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan)*

Roadways - as communication routes, avenues of approach, and observation points for military logistics - are critical KOCOAs defining features for battlefield military strategy analysis as well as cultural topography and battle-era settlement pattern analysis. Understanding what roads existed at the time of the battle is necessary for understanding primary reports from the field of battle and locations where battle events would have likely occurred. One of the extraordinary outcomes of this project is research undertaken by Chester County Archives, whereby a portrayal of the battle-era road network (as well as property tracts and owners in Chapter 4) has been mapped using the best-known primary source reference materials available at the time of this plan. For example, this allows possible troop routes to become more apparent when compared with historical battle accounts.

KOCOAs is further explained in terms of military terrain analysis from an on-the-ground view: a soldier looks at fields, woodlots, ridges, buildings, waterways, etc., for their military value, how they could be integrated into offensive or defensive positions, and how they fit into potential for offensive or defensive military action. This is not only important for understanding why a commander would (or would not) position infantry, artillery, or cavalry at a certain place on the terrain or at a certain point during the engagement (why faulty positioning could have disastrous consequences), but also helps to interpret the authenticity of battlefield maps. Further, evaluation of terrain from a military point of view can help provide reasonable explanations to ‘fill in’ gaps in current knowledge of battle events caused by a scarcity of primary

DEFINING FEATURE	LANDSCAPE	KOCOAs CATEGORY
1777 Kennett Square village site (modern Kennett Square Borough)	Approach & Encampment	Key Terrain
1743 Great Nottingham Road (modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1)	Approach & Encampment	Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach
High Ground east of Kennett Square village along/follows line of 1723 Road (modern McFarlan Rd to Schoolhouse Ln)	Encampment	Location of Knyphausen’s column camp. Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach
Hill along 1720 Road & 1720 Road north of & through Kennett Square village (modern Union Hill Cemetery/ local name of ‘Hessian Hill’/Unionville Rd/Rt. 82/Union St)	Encampment	Location of Cornwallis’ column camp. Cornwallis’ column Avenue of Approach
1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike ‘Road to Lancaster’ (modern Newport-Gap Rd/Rt. 41)	Approach	Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach
1710 Road/Limestone Road (modern Newark Rd)	Approach	Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach
1710 Road/Limestone Road (modern Limestone Rd)	Approach	Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach
New Garden Meetinghouse	Approach	American militia skirmish with Crown Forces joining Knyphausen’s column Avenue of Approach, Field of Fire
Route toward Red Clay Creek west branch. Possibly closely followed modern Chandler’s Mill Rd. Route was over difficult terrain with no established roads by 1777; route likely via farm lanes and by-roads	Approach (in Kennett Twp.)	Cornwallis’ column Avenue of Approach
Red Clay Creek, its banks and valley	Approach (in Kennett Twp.)	Cornwallis’ column Obstacle, Avenue of Approach
Route to/ford across/from Red Clay Creek west branch. Route was over difficult terrain with no established roads by 1777; likely route used farm lanes and by-roads. To/Ford across Creek – Possible trace descending north off modern Chandler’s Mill Rd/Kaolin Rd juncture to possible fording site across Creek. Trace is possible extension of farm lane or by-road that pre-dated Chandler’s Mill Rd as it descended to Creek. From Creek – Trace from Creek extending north directly uphill from ford passing Michael Gregg House to 1720 Road (modern Kaolin Rd)	Approach (in Kennett Twp.)	Cornwallis’ column Obstacle, Avenue of Approach, Key Terrain
Route to/from Hockessin To Hockessin - 1710 Road/the Limestone Road (modern Limestone Rd) to modern Valley Rd & headwaters of Mill Creek. From Hockessin - modern Valley Rd to 1740 Road (modern Old Wilmington Rd) to 1740 Road (modern Ewart Rd) to modern Chandler Mill Rd) (Crown Force route in area of modern Valley Rd was/is swampy. Likely used farm lanes and by-roads)	Approach (in DE & into & in Kennett Twp. & PA)	Cornwallis’ column Avenue of Approach, Obstacle

sources. For example, military usage of terrain would demand troops be deployed under the cover of landforms and natural features, such as ridges, woodlots, or low-lying ravines, shielding troops from the enemy's view. Similarly, depending on the task assigned during any stage of an engagement, troops might be deployed via a road if speed is of the essence or via a woodlot or circuitously if the element of surprise is paramount. Taking these and similar military aspects into consideration, terrain becomes an integral part of the reconstruction of battle events and 'the stage' in which the events unfold.

A KOCOA analysis is a valuable tool for planning and interpretation purposes, as it identifies extant features that still define the battle/battlefield and that are paramount to protect for all efforts in preserving the battlefield and history of the battle in the American Revolution and as part of Chester County's legacy. Future actions should be made with a focus on protection of such features, including lands and structures.

## Southern Battlefield Military Analysis

The analysis<sup>1</sup> discusses the Landscapes from a military battle perspective, exploring battle events that took place within and/or are related to these Landscapes. It also takes into account Landscapes' significance (Chapter 2) and the broader battle (Appendix A), as well as historic context (Chapter 4) and themes (Chapters 2 and 6). This analysis was completed by the project consultant and Battlefield Park Education Coordinator, so prose may read differently than other plan sections. Refer to Figures 3-1a and 3-1b for battle-era features approximate correlation to modern features.

The analysis focuses on a short period of time, September 8 through the morning of September 11. Previous studies of the battle, while addressing Crown Force reach to Kennett Square and to Brandywine Creek, have not specifically focused on the actual movements of the formations. This project focuses on those movements and has identified routes, confirmed sources or locations, refined and/or discovered new routes. This KOCOA has provided some new and/or revised interpretations of the battle. Important among these is a better understanding of Crown Force routes on September 9 and 10, the extent/layout of the Crown Force Kennett Square encampment and troop lines/positions on September 10 into 11, understanding both columns formations/locations on the morning of September 11, refining the Northern Column lower flanking route on the morning of September 11, verifying the Eastern Column's route on the morning of September 11, and the Baggage and Supply Train movement/route/location on September 11.

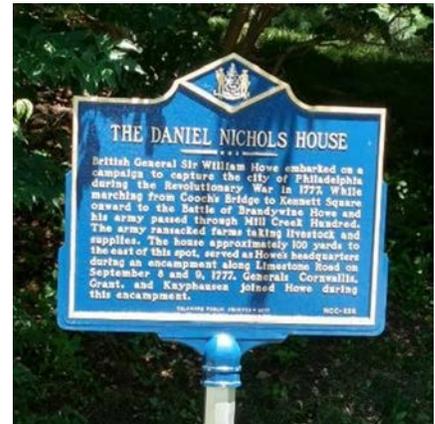
## Associated Approach & Encampment Landscapes

Encampment and Approach Landscapes as associated areas are described in a KOCOA analysis to understand the military history and to set the underpinning for the events of both columns Landscapes. In other plan chapters, Encampment and Approach Landscapes are discussed after North and Eastern Columns Landscapes as they are considered associated for planning purposes; however in this chapter they are discussed before due to battle event time sequencing as the Crown Force approach in PA from DE (September 9 & 10) and then their overnight camp around Kennett Square (September 10) took place prior to the formation of two columns (September 11).

After his landing at the Head of Elk in Maryland in late August 1777, Gen'l Howe's Crown Forces marched into DE and had reached northern New Castle County near Hockessin, DE the evening of September 8 and early morning hours of September 9 after a strenuous journey. Upon arriving at this location, Gen'l Howe made his headquarters at the residence of Daniel Nichols that was located along historic/modern Limestone Rd. An interpretive sign was recently installed to commemorate this historic site. The Crown Force encampment that surrounded Gen'l Howe's headquarters occupied a large geographic area and took advantage of high ground adjacent to the Pike Creek Valley. While the Crown Forces bivouacked and rested for much of the day on September 9, Gen'l Howe formulated his plans to confront Gen'l Washington. The American Army under Gen'l

Washington had already set up an encampment in Newport, DE by the morning of September 8. With the Crown Force encampment nearby, the opposing armies were bivouacking in close proximity to one another. The afternoon of September 8, there was a skirmish between the opposing forces along Mill Creek north of Milltown, DE. Pre-dawn September 9, American Force left their encampment in Newport, DE heading towards Chad's Ford<sup>1</sup> to cross the Brandywine Creek and take up a defensive position along its eastern heights near Chad's Ford.

On September 9, Gen'l Howe orders to his army were to leave the encampment along the 1710 Limestone Road in two columns, as he had done in New York a year earlier. Each column was to take a separate route to rendezvous at the initial location of Welch's Tavern along the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (near modern Longwood Gardens' entrance on Baltimore Pike). One column, commanded by Gen'l Knyphausen, which contained the baggage and supply provisions of the army ('Baggage and Supply Wage Train'), was to embark on a safer and longer route while the rest of the Crown Force army acted as a screen taking a shorter route. According to the scribe of the Hessian Regiment Erbprinz, Gen'l Knyphausen's column "lined up as English Jager Corps, Queen's Rangers, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot, Regiment von Mirbach, Baggage, Supply wagons, cattle, Regiment Von Donop, Combined Battalion, 40<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot {with its two 3lb cannon?} 1 officer and 20 dragoons as rearguard, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment of Foot to cover the left flank." (Erbprinz 1777:10). Primary sources state that Gen'l Knyphausen's column commenced their march in the early afternoon. Capt. Muenchhausen wrote, "At one o'clock in the afternoon [...] Knyphausen was ordered to march with his division." They also indicate that the column's departure was very slow and drawn out as the same source noted, "it was almost six o'clock before his rear guard left the camp grounds" (Muenchhausen 1974:30).



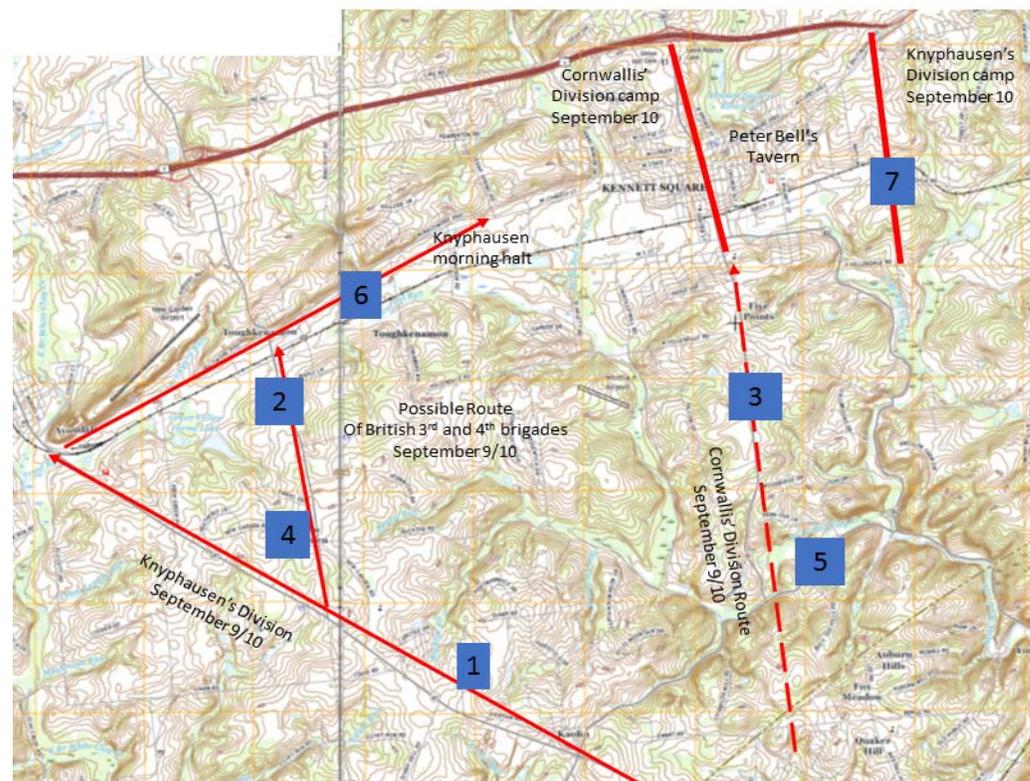
Nichol's House site interpretive sign in DE was installed in 2017. Locating this site provided needed insight into locations of troops in the area.

After a few hours of Gen'l Knyphausen receiving his orders, Gen'l Cornwallis and Gen'l Howe, with the main body of the Crown Forces, commenced their "shorter" march. Leaving camp on Limestone Rd., they turned east on approximately today's Valley Rd. toward Hockessin. According to Maj. John Andre, that column was also much delayed in beginning their march. He wrote, "...The Army received orders to be in readiness to march at 1 O'clock in the afternoon in two columns. The troops however did not move until sunset." (Andre 1904:83). Little did the commanding generals know when they began their march, their column would have an exceedingly difficult night. According to a Hessian officer Von Wurmb, Gen'l Cornwallis was led by "the guide who took General Washington across the Brandywine" and "was captured and gave us good information. The guide knew the way through an area where all houses were occupied, where there are many loyalists and where there will be no shortage of news." (Wurmb 1998:10). The march, however, was on "undefined," "indefinite", and "bad" roads that proved too difficult for Gen'l Cornwallis' larger Crown Force column. By midnight, Gen'l Howe issued a universal halt and made camp at "Hockessin Meeting House-Quaker Meeting 4 miles distance...[from Nichol's House Headquarters]" (Montessor 1881:132). After realizing that it would be impossible for his forces to make it to Welch's Tavern given the strenuous march, Gen'l Howe set a plan into motion to rendezvous with Gen'l Knyphausen in the village of Kennett Square instead. To ensure that one column did not get mixed with the other upon arriving, Gen'l Howe had to ensure Gen'l Knyphausen's division did not arrive at Kennett Square before Gen'l Cornwallis' Division. After this realization, Gen'l Howe issued orders for a small party to seek out and order Gen'l Knyphausen to stop at New Garden Meetinghouse. Capt. Muenchhausen recorded, "General Howe sent me and one of my comrades, Captain Knight, together with 12 dragoons, back with orders for Knyphausen's division to stop at New Garden Meeting, which we would have to pass." (Muenchhausen 1974:30).

<sup>1</sup> Modern Chadds Ford was spelled as Chad's ford at the time of the battle. Since this Chapter is largely a military history description of the battle, the 18th century spelling is largely used when speaking of the ford location.

The party rode into the dark night to attempt to find Gen'l Knyphausen. Capt. Muenchhausen also wrote that they had “rode for 10 miles in territory we did not control, and twice came upon rebel dragoons who fired at us...” (Muenchhausen 1774:30). Much to their dismay, at approximately 1AM on September 10, they discovered that Gen'l Knyphausen was entirely too far past the New Garden Meetinghouse and was already approaching Kennett Square from the west. For Gen'l Knyphausen to return to New Garden Meetinghouse would have been virtually impossible. Gen'l Knyphausen's column halted and camped on the west side of Kennett Square for the remainder of the night of September 9. While returning to Gen'l Howe to report on where Gen'l Knyphausen's left hand/western column was situated, Capt. Muenchhausen, Capt. Knight, and the twelve dragoons encountered two Crown Force brigades that were “on their way to General Von Knyphausen at New Garden” (Muenchhausen 1774:30). Gen'l Howe, in addition to the orders he had issued for Gen'l Knyphausen to halt, had also ordered the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades under Gen'l James Grant to detach from Gen'l Cornwallis' column and move to reattach to Gen'l Knyphausen's column. Gen'l Grant was ordered to “take the same Route with General Von Knyphausen to support him in case of necessity, as Washington's Route was uncertain” (Robertson 1930:46).

The march for the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades was difficult as they attempted to attach with Gen'l Knyphausen's column. Maj. Andre gave an insightful description of the ordeal by writing, “the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> brigades were at first in the right hand column, but the road being found very bad, were ordered together with a brigade of artillery and the baggage of that column, to turn back and take the road General von Knyphausen had marched. This movement was attended with a great deal of trouble and protracted the march of the Brigade in the rear til near 3 o'clock the next day” (Andre 1904:82).



Defining Features for Crown Force movements into PA, September 9-11, 1777.

1. 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike 'Road to Lancaster' (modern Newport-Gap Rd/Rt. 41),
2. 1710 Limestone Road (modern Newark Rd)
3. Undefined farm lanes and by-roads (generally following modern Chandler Mil Rd) and leading to the 1720 Road (modern Union St)
4. New Garden Meetinghouse
5. Red Clay Creek, its banks and valley
6. 1743 Great Nottingham Road (modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1)
7. High Ground east of Kennett Square along the 1723 Road (modern McFarlan Rd/Schoolhouse Rd).

When Gen'l Knyphausen's division passed New Garden Meetinghouse earlier on the evening of September 9, his route was that of New Garden Rd. to the 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike. The division then continued towards Mercer's Mill (at today's Avondale Borough) at which point the column turned east on the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (today's Baltimore Pike), heading east through today's Toughkenamon and reaching the west side of Kennett Square before being ordered to halt. Maj. Andre's route however was quite different. According to Maj. Andre “it was with some difficulty at a crossroad that it was ascertained which way the front of the column had passed.” (Andre 1904:82). The crossroad that Maj. Andre references is most likely the intersection of

the 1710 Limestone Road/1720 Road (modern Newark Rd./New Garden Rd.) where New Garden Meetinghouse is located. To expedite the rendezvous with Gen'l Knyphausen, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades turned north along the 1710 Limestone Road instead of taking the longer route Gen'l Knyphausen had taken. Damage claims filed by local residents nearby support this finding.

While the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades were attempting their long and slow march to Gen'l Knyphausen, Gen'l Howe's and Cornwallis' column were resting at Hockessin Meetinghouse along the 1740 Road (today's Old Wilmington Rd. The scribe from the Erbprinz Regiment recorded that Gen'l Howe's and Gen'l Cornwallis' column "resumed its march at 5 o'clock in the morning [of September 10] and joined the first division at 9 o'clock in the morning at Kennett Square" (Erbprinz 1777:12). Archibald Robertson recorded a similar time frame by writing "at daybreak we march'd a short way to Kennet's [sic] Square and Join'd General Von Knyphausen at 10 o'clock. Gen'l Howe's and Gen'l Cornwallis' division continued on "undefined roads". Their route north is considered to be in the vicinity of a 1740 Road/modern Old Wilmington Rd., to a 1740 Road/modern Ewart Rd., then Chandler Mill Rd., which led into the valley of Red Clay Creek's West Branch and to a ford crossing (approximately near the northern junction with modern Kaolin Rd). Their route then led north nearly straight uphill toward the Gregg house on Round Hill (through today's Round Hill Rd. subdivision) before it encountered historic/modern West Hillendale Rd. at the with historic/modern Old Kennett Rd. This would have placed the column approaching Kennett Square from the south, arriving in Kennett Square village on historic/modern Union St.

Importantly, this project found and employed historical documentary sources that have not been previously used in interpreting the battle and its movements; these are significant new sources, particularly Gen'l Knyphausen's October 17, 1777 report and its associated letters and reports. Using historical sources, contemporary mapping, and building on the 1777 road network mapping prepared by Chester County Archives, a significant new insight into the battle found from this strategic landscapes study is that troop movements on September 9-10 in Red Clay Creek Valley and Brandywine Valley was on battle-era roads and farm lanes. The importance of Red Clay Creek Valley in Gen'l Howe's operations (as well as Gen'l Washington's to be studied under a Phase 3 project) in the days leading to the battle is significant new information about the battle. Further, importantly this project found that documentation indicated Gen'l Howe, while at his temporary headquarters at Hockessin Meetinghouse, came to the same conclusion (as Gen'l Washington had<sup>1</sup>) to fight on Brandywine Creek, but did so almost 15 hours later, at about 5:30pm on September 10. While Gen'l Howe's plan to outflank Gen'l Washington on the Red Clay Creek was thwarted, he responded swiftly to the opportunity to potentially destroy the American Army at Brandywine. Additionally, this project confirmed that Gen'l Knyphausen's Division marched to Avondale on The 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike, but a Crown Force detachment instead followed modern Newark Rd. on September 9/10, and identified a skirmish site at New Garden Meetinghouse on September 10.

Both columns arrived at Kennett Square on the morning of September 10. The entire Crown Force Army of British, Hessians, and Loyalists and had taken up positions in two locations. Maj. Baurmeister wrote that the army camped "in unequal lines... on the heights at Kennett Square" (Baurmeister 1957:105). Another officer, Capt. Johann Ewald of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps also recorded that at Kennett Square "...the army brigades rested one behind the other" (Ewald 1979:81). The scribe for the Regiment Erbprinz reported that both Gen'l Knyphausen's and Gen'l Cornwallis' divisions camped "on the heights beyond" Kennett Square village "in uneven lines" (Erbprinz 1777). The Crown Force Army configuration in two parallel lines meant that Gen'l Cornwallis' Division was encamped along the line of modern Rt. 82/Union St. in Kennett Square Borough, extending north [from the vicinity of today's railroad line/South St.] to beyond the crossroads of Kennett Square village by approximately ½ mile (into today's Kennett Township near Rt. 1 bypass) toward Marlborough Meetinghouse<sup>2</sup>

1 Documentation indicated that Gen'l Washington decided to fight on Brandywine Creek by midnight on September 9, probably at his headquarters in Newport, DE (or earlier at the field meeting at Harlan's house and mill near Milltown, DE). The shift of the army to the Creek was a deliberate American choice to offer battle at that point, which will be discussed further in future Phase 3 Eastern Battlefield strategic landscapes planning.

2 A number of English and German firsthand accounts mention Marlborough Meetinghouse, but the Meeting was not officially created until 1799, well after the battle. Project research suggests that an informally defined Marlborough Meeting (and not a specific meetinghouse

(Peebles 1998:132). It also meant Gen'l Knyphausen's Division was encamped along the line of modern McFarland Rd./Baltimore Pike/Schoolhouse Rd. in Kennett and East Marlborough Townships). The army forming in two lines shows that Gen'l Howe was putting himself in a fortified position in the case Gen'l Washington was to attack. Each division was in a location to step off the following morning according to Gen'l Howe's battle plan; Gen'l Knyphausen making up the Eastern Column would march east along the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (modern Baltimore Pike) and Gen'l Cornwallis' division making up the Northern Column would march north along the 1720 Road (modern Rt. 82).

## Formation of Crown Forces into Two Columns – “The Army March'd at Day Break in Two Columns”

Gen'l Washington was uncertain whether Gen'l Howe would employ his past used flanking maneuver at this battle also, and throughout the day on September 11 received conflicting reports of the Crown Forces location, which did not help Gen'l Washington to firmly ascertain Gen'l Howe's intent. What Gen'l Washington did not know was that three local loyalists, well familiar with the countryside, were leading Crown Force troops north from near modern Kennett Square Borough through a confusing network of winding roads formed by the natural landscape to cross Brandywine Creek at two unguarded fords far out of the way of where Gen'l Washington and his advisors expected Crown Forces to cross. What is also known is that Gen'l Howe ordered the Eastern Column to make a deliberate appearance as being the entire British Army coming from the west directly at the Americans near modern Chadds Ford.

## Crown Forces Northern Column: Gen'l Cornwallis' Division

This analysis examines the first stage of the Crown Forces Northern Column route, Gen'l Cornwallis' Division, as it moved from its overnight encampment in/near Kennett Square and headed north under Gen'l Howe's tactical flank. The intent of the movement was to endeavor to circumvent and outmaneuver Gen'l Washington and the American Forces main position near Chad's Ford in its defense against the 1777 British campaign to capture Philadelphia. This column consisted of around 9,000 troops. This project revises the Northern Column route to a Unionville Rd.-East Doe Run Rd.-Northbrook Rd. movement, providing an alteration and correction to the previously assumed route depicted in the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan.

## Column Formation & March Begins – Union St/Unionville Rd/Rt. 82

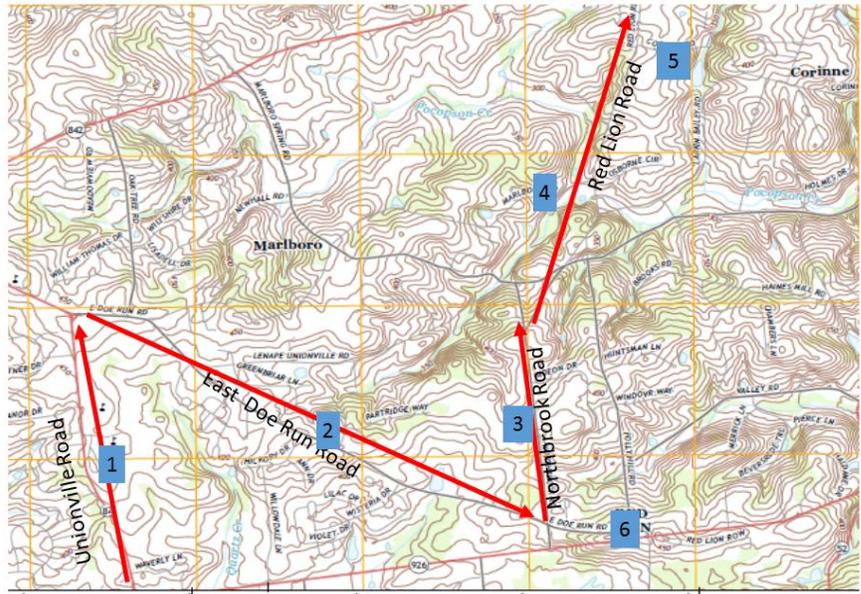
On the morning of September 11, Gen'l Cornwallis' Division was in column formation along today's Union St. This column began forming for its march about 4AM. It had bivouacked the previous evening along today's Union St, extending from the vicinity of today's Rt. 1 Bypass south through modern Kennett Square to the hill where the Kennett High School is located in the vicinity of today's South St.

A distance of approximately ½-mile placed the front formation of Gen'l Cornwallis' Division in the area of today's Union Hill Cemetery, an elevation north of today's Kennett Square Borough and south of today's Rt. 1 Bypass interchange. The elevation has a local name of 'Hessian Hill'. Two battle-era landowners in this area, Jesse Miller and Francis Way, reported property damages; however, there are no property damages reported immediately to the north in East Marlborough Township suggesting that either the general vicinity of the modern Rt. 1 Bypass was the limit of the overnight September 10/11 encampment or that the predominantly Quaker landowners of East Marlborough Township farms chose not to report any losses or damages.

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structure) may have been functioning in private homes. Use of the name Marlborough Meetinghouse may have been a misnomer on the part of battle-era writers.

Hessian jäger occupied the northern approach to the bivouac along modern Rt. 82, but they saw none of the enemy (Americans) save some light dragoons. Damages and sufferings reported by Henry Neal, Thomas Vernon, Francis Windle, and Caleb Johnson may be associated with the positions occupied by the jäger. The need for flank guards and patrols was constant and caused a certain level of anxiety among Crown Force Army soldiers. Maj. Johann Christian Du Buy of the Fusilier Regiment von Truembach wrote that "...we were always surrounded by [American forces]" and "we had to take precautions when encamping and marching, as the vanguard, side-patrols to the right and left and also the rear-guard were constantly encountering them...." (Du Buy 1777). Maj. Baurmeister reported that "the enemy patrols could advance further than ours because they were known and feared by the inhabitants, whereas ours risked being shot from ambush or cut off at every house, bush, woods, and fence – which happened more than once...." (Baurmeister 1935:403).



Defining Features for Gen'l Cornwallis' Northern Column, September 11, 1777.

1. 1720 Road (modern Union St./Unionville Rd./Rt. 82)
2. 1774 (Resurvey) Doe Run Road (modern East Doe Run Rd)
3. & 4. 1728 Road to the Great Valley (modern Northbrook Rd/Red Lion Rd)
5. 1742 Road skirmish site (modern Corrine Rd)
6. High Ground at 1774 (Resurvey) Doe Run Road/1728 Road to the Great Valley/ Pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road (modern East Doe Run Rd/Northbrook Rd/ Street Rd intersection)

## Unionville Rd.

On the morning of September 11, Union St./Unionville Rd. was the KOCOA avenue of approach for Gen'l Cornwallis' flanking column of British and Hessian soldiers. Gen'l Howe's Hessian aide de camp, Capt. Friedrich von Muenchhausen, recorded in his journal that "At five o'clock in the morning General Howe marched off to his left, up the Brandywine. Our column consisted of two battalions of English light infantry, two battalions of English grenadiers, two battalions of English Guards, two brigades of English infantry, two squadrons of dragoons, the Hessian jägers and the Hessian grenadiers. Since our column had no baggage, but did have a number of sappers in the van, we moved forward quickly in spite of the great heat" (Muenchhausen 1974:31). Capt. Johann Ewald of the Hessian Field Jäger Corps led this column, and he noted that "...The column on the left, under Lord Cornwallis, which General Howe personally accompanied, began marching to the left toward Jefferis's Ford, where the Brandywine Creek has two branches which are very good for crossing, in order to outflank the fortified position of the enemy [along Brandywine Creek]" (Ewald 1979:81).

Capt. Ewald was the point man for the Northern Column's flanking movement and he described the general character of the Brandywine Valley landscape that the Crown Force Army was moving through. Taking his role as the point guard for the Army, Ewald wrote that "I was ordered to march as slowly as possible, and to use all caution in order not to fall into an ambush, as the area was traversed by hills, woodlands, marshes, and the steepest defiles" (Ewald 1979:83). The landscape was a general topic of note for several of the Hessian and British officers, who commented on woods, hills, and unevenness of the ground (Anonymous 1777; Burgoyne 1987:48; Montreŕor 1881:416).

British and Hessian officers report encountering American Forces soon after they began the flanking march. Capt. Ewald noted that "...I led the advanced guard of the column under Lord Cornwallis, which consisted of sixty foot

jägers, Lieutenant Hagen with fifteen mounted jägers, a company of Highlanders from the 42nd Regiment under Captain McPherson, and a company of light infantry under Captain Scott. I had hardly marched half an hour when I ran into a warning post of the enemy, five to six hundred men strong, who withdrew from one favorable position to another under constant skirmishing until around noontime (Ewald 1979:83). To measure distance travelled, Capt. Ewald used a calculation of 3,300 feet per quarter hour (Ewald 1979:378, n25). Based on his estimate, the front of Gen'l Cornwallis' Division would have advanced no more than 6,600 feet, or about 1.25 miles, before encountering American skirmishers. It is more likely that the column front travelled even less of a distance, since Capt. Ewald had been ordered to move slowly to avoid ambushes. If his estimate is correct, skirmishing with American Forces may have begun in the vicinity of where Unionville Rd. intersects Street Rd.

Contemporary sources elaborate further on this skirmishing with American Forces, but the number of Americans reported was considerably lower than what was reported by Capt. Ewald. The Field Jäger Corps reported that: "...about two miles this side of the Brandywine we met an enemy patrol of one hundred men, which retreated into the woods, leaving a few prisoners behind. This force was the one which notified General [George] Washington of our approach and convinced him to change his belief, which up till now, was that our army really intended to cross at Chad's Ford, and to detach the largest part of his army to oppose us...."(Burgoyne 1987:48). A letter from Maj. Du Buy echoes the Field Jäger Corps statement, writing that after a march of two "English miles" the advanced guard under Capt. Ewald "...came across a body of the enemy consisting of about 100 men, who, however, retired speedily..." (Du Buy 1777). Capt. Muenchhausen is the only source to call out that American mounted troops were encountered on the march, writing that "at noon our vanguard came upon 200 rebel dragoons, who wounded some of our men by their fire, but they soon retreated" (Muenchhausen 1974:31). He is almost certainly referring to American Col. Bland's dragoons.

Unionville Rd. today substantially follows the road trace of its 18<sup>th</sup>-century ancestor, the 1720 Road. Some road changes have occurred near its intersection with Street Rd. In general, the landscape along Unionville Rd. north of today's Kennett Square Borough is suburban with residences, schools, and businesses present. However, west of the road, which witnessed the events of September 11 through at least one civilian encounter recorded via a depredation claim, the setting remains intact displaying areas of battle-era landscape.

## East Doe Run Rd.

Gen'l Cornwallis' Division turned southeast when it reached Doe Run Rd., which was in place at least by 1774 when it was resurveyed. The division marched on this road for approximately 2 miles. The road alignment today is little changed from its 18<sup>th</sup>-century appearance, and is substantially the roadbed that was present at the time of the battle. The landscape along portions of the road have also remained more rural in character in pockets providing a feel of the battle-era setting.

## High Ground at Northbrook/East Doe Run/East Street Rds. Intersection

At an elevation of 462 feet, this high ground is located near today's East Doe Run Rd., Northbrook Rd., and East Street Rd./Rt. 926 intersection. It is a prominent KOCOAs observation point that was identified as a result of this project. From this location, American Forces could observe and survey lands to the west and south along a possible principal approach route to the Brandywine Creek main stem to the east as well as to Brandywine Creek west branch to the north. American troops posted on this rise would have been able to observe enemy movements along East Street Rd. and East Doe Run Rd.

American formations were attempting to cover the various KOCOAs avenues of approach to the battle. It is likely that small groups of light troops and dragoons were deployed



View towards high ground at the Northbrook Rd, East Doe Run Rd, East Street Rd juncture. This elevation was an excellent observation platform for American Forces to observe the Northern Column's flanking movement.

along principal west-to-east roads leading from the general Kennett Square vicinity towards Brandywine Creek, such as the modern Baltimore Pike corridor and the roughly parallel Street Rd. American patrols were also stationed along the 1728 Road to the Great Valley. (The 1728 Road crossed Trimble's Ford and had a road spur of the 1728 Road that led to battle-era Martin's Tavern in Marshallton village)<sup>1</sup>.

It is hypothesized herein that elements of Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Light Infantry Corps under the command of Lt. Col. James Ross were posted on this high ground. The location is about 1-mile north of Welch's Tavern, another of the advanced posts for American light infantry. The movement of Gen'l Cornwallis' flanking column was known and contested by skirmishers soon after the column began its march from Kennett Square. The march along East Doe Run Rd. would have led directly to the high ground near the East Doe Run/Street Rds. intersection. The northern turn that Gen'l Cornwallis' column took onto Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. would certainly have raised concerns on the part of the Americans, and it is likely that American Lt. Col. Ross' message back to Gen'l Washington was due to the change in course of the Northern Column onto the 1728 Road to the Great Valley that led directly to Trimble's Ford crossing of Brandywine Creek's west branch.

### Northbrook Rd./Red Lion Rd.

Gen'l Cornwallis' Division turned nearly due north when it reached today's Northbrook Rd. Northbrook Rd. and its northern extension, Red Lion Rd., were laid out in 1728 as a 'Road to the Great Valley'.<sup>2</sup> The march route followed Northbrook Rd and then moved onto Red Lion Rd. north of modern Unionville-Lenape Rd. (Northbrook Rd. intersects with and becomes Red Lion Rd. at this point). The Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscape Plan area picks near this intersection/at the southern border of modern Pocopson Township, with Crown Forces marching north on the 1728 Road to the Great Valley. The Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscape Plan describes that the Northern Column followed Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. northward for about 2.5 miles, to today's intersection with modern Unionville-Wawaset Rd./Rt. 842, a road that did not exist in 1777. Battle-era Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. then continued north to follow its 18<sup>th</sup>-century roadbed, now a road trace. The setting and landscape surrounding both roads are evocative of the rural character of the Brandywine Valley region. Both roads remain narrow and are deeply incised in some locations and have no shoulders. Both roads and their surrounds still evoke a battle-era setting.

### Corrine Rd.

Corrine Rd., laid out in 1742, is hypothesized to be the location where a 70-man patrol party from Lt. Col. James Ross' light infantry detachment engaged the Northern Column's rear. Corrine Rd. is located about 5,000 feet north from Lenape-Unionville Rd. While this part of the Northern Column route falls within the northern battlefield, and as such, is a subject of Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscapes Plan, during southern battlefield study clarifications were found regarding these battle activities and thus this section provides a refinement to the Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Plan findings.

American Forces arrayed west of Brandywine Creek consisted of detachments from Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Light Infantry Corps comprising Continental soldiers and Pennsylvania militia, as well as patrols of Continental light dragoons under the command of Col. Theodorick Bland (cf., DeHaven 1832). Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's light troops were intended to serve as a reconnaissance force to slow enemy movements and provide information about enemy formations and maneuvers. Troops in Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Light Corps were drawn from Continental regiments and battalions (a term used interchangeably during the Revolutionary War) within the American Army, including regiments from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and North Carolina. In addition to the Continentals, the American Light Infantry Corps included a large proportion of riflemen, many of whom were volunteers from county militias of Lancaster, York, North Hampton, and Cumberland in PA. These Pennsylvania militia company

<sup>1</sup> More information is found in Behind the Lines and Breaching the Fords & the British Advance Strategic Landscapes Plans.

<sup>2</sup> There were other roads to the Great Valley as well as during this era roads, if they had names which most did not, were named for their destinations; as destinations changed, so did road names, This complicated battle analysis completed for the northern battlefield, however through that analysis it was determined that the Northbrook Rd./Red Lion Rd. was the Road to the Great Valley used for the route of march.

volunteers were attached to the Light Corps specifically because they were armed with rifles. To further supplement the Light Corps, Gen'l Washington also ordered a volunteer battalion of Chester County militia to join Brig. Gen'l Maxwell on September 1 (Catts 2014). This unit, the 8th Battalion Chester County Militia commanded by Patterson Bell, was ordered to join with Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's light troops on September 1, but it is possible that Bell's troops did not actually organize until September 6 (Smith 1976:9).

About a week earlier, on September 2, Gen'l Washington had provided guidance to Brig. Gen'l Maxwell regarding the role of his Light Corps, and this advice can be applied to the method of patrolling used by the Light Troops on the morning of September 11. Gen'l Washington advised Brig. Gen'l Maxwell to “keep small parties upon every Road that you may be sure of the one they take.”

American Lt. Col. Ross' light infantry detachment, like those Capts. Porterfield, Scott, Chambers, and Armstrong that Lt. Col. Heth, and Maj. Simms described, was likely positioned south of Brandywine Creek West Branch, patrolling roads, as were other light detachments. It is hypothesized that Lt. Col. Ross observed the movements of Gen'l Cornwallis' column from the high point at East Doe Run/Street Rds. and his Lt. Col. Ross' patrol then followed the rear of the Crown Force Northern Column before engaging them in a skirmish for a short time near Corrine Rd. At 11am, Lt. Col. Ross – identifying his position as on the “Great Valley Road” and listing his unit affiliation as “D.P.R.,” or Dunlap's Partisan Regiment, elements of which were attached to Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Light Corps – penned a message to Gen'l Washington.

Lt. Col. Ross' note can be read as a warning to Gen'l Washington that the road Gen'l Cornwallis' Northern Column was following – identified as the Great Valley Road (also termed “Road to the Great Valley” per Chester County Archives researchers) – presented multiple avenues of approach to the American position. Lt. Col. Ross note indicates that from this road Gen'l Cornwallis' column could reach 1) Jefferis' Ford<sup>1</sup>, 2) Taylor's Ford, 3) go further north into the Great Valley and strike the Lancaster Road at the Sign of the Ship Tavern, or 4) head southeast towards Dilworth village<sup>2</sup>. The rear of the Northern Column came under fire from a portion of Lt. Col. Ross' command, but was not seriously impeded. Lt. Col. Ross' detachment seems to have hung on to the rear of the Crown Forces column until after the battle, when he Lt. Col. Ross is reported in East Bradford Township at night fall (McGuire 2006:264).

Sept. 11 '77 Great Valley Road  
Eleven o'clock AM –

Dear General,

A large body of the enemy—from every account 5000, with 16 or 18 field pieces, marched along this road just now. this Road leads to Taylor's & Jeffries ferries on the Brandywine, and to the Great Valley at the Sign of the Ship on the Lancaster Road to Philada. There is also a road from Brandywine to Chester by Dilworth's Tavern. We are close in their rear with about 70 Men. Capt. Simpson lay in ambush with 20 men, and gave them three rounds within a small distance, in which two of his men wase wounded, one mortally. I believe Genl. Howe is with this party, as Joseph Galloway is here Known by the inhabitants, with many of whom he spoke, and told them that Genl Howe was with him.

Yours, James Ross Lieut. Col. D. P. Regt.

## Crown Forces Eastern Column: Gen'l Knyphausen's Division

This analysis examines the Crown Forces route of Gen'l Knyphausen's Division, the Eastern Column, as it moved from its overnight bivouacs outside of Kennett Square east to Chad's Ford. The intent of the movement was to convince the Americans that the main thrust of Gen'l Howe's attack would be centered at Gen'l Washington and the American Forces' main position near Chad's Ford in defense against the 1777 British campaign to capture Philadelphia. This column consisted of 6,800 troops.

### Column Formations & March Begins – Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1

The Great Nottingham Road, sometimes referred to by contemporaries as the Chester Road, The Post Road, or the Baltimore Pike, was the direct route to Chad's Ford and Brandywine Creek. The road was established as early as 1743 and extended from Chad's Ford in a westerly direction, passing Old Kennett Meetinghouse, Welch's

1 This route is the one taken by the northern column as discussed in the Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscapes Plan.

2 This route is one the Northern Column ultimately used to attack Gen'l Washington's troops from his side, as will be discussed in future Phase 3 strategic landscapes planning.

Tavern, Peter Bell's Tavern, and continuing west until it intersected the 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike (modern Newport-Gap Rd./Rt. 41) linking Lancaster, PA and Newport, DE. Much of the roadbed of modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1 follows the former Great Nottingham Road.

The Great Nottingham Road was the principal KOCOA avenue of approach for Gen'l Knyphausen's column as it moved towards the American position along Brandywine Creek on the morning of September 11. At about 4AM on that morning, Gen'l Knyphausen's column formed with its lead formations standing at today's School House Rd./Baltimore Pike intersection, about 1.3 miles east from the center of Kennett Square. The column consisted of "...Captain Ferguson's British Riflemen, one battalion of Queen's Rangers, the 71<sup>st</sup> (Highland) Regiment, which consisted of three

battalions, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> English brigades under General Grant, Stirn's brigade (*i.e.*, the Lieb Regiment, Donop's, Mirbach's, and the Combined Battalion), the other half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Regiment of [Light] Dragoons, two brigades of heavy artillery, the entire artillery and provision train, the baggage, and the cattle" (Baurmeister 1935:404). The unpublished Erbprinz Regimental journal noted that "...the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment...formed the rear guard while the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the regiment covered the right and left flank" (Erbprinz 1777). The advance guard of the column consisted of British Capt. Patrick Ferguson's 90-man company of riflemen, 15 mounted dragoons, and the Queen's Rangers, a Loyalist unit commanded by Capt. James Weyms and numbering perhaps 398 men (Harris 2014:223; McGuire 2006:175; Smith 1976:29). This advance guard would bear the brunt of the skirmishing and the casualties in the early morning hours as the column approached the Creek.



Looking east at a still evident preserved segment of the 1743 Great Nottingham Road, now bypassed by modern Rt. 1.

## Four Skirmishes & a "Running" Battle

As Gen'l Knyphausen's troops neared today's Baltimore Pike entrance to Longwood Gardens, they were met by resistance from American light infantry under the command of Brig. Gen'l William Maxwell. His Light Infantry was the advanced guard for American defenses. They fought a series of short delaying actions,

dropping back each time towards the Creek. Identification through the documentary evidence of skirmishes at these four locations, as well as skirmishes in Approach and Encampment Landscapes and Northern Columns Landscape (and along White Clay Creek and near Milltown in New Castle County) are significant insights into the battle found through this project. This project reviewed American pension filings, to supplement already known sources, providing insightful and more detail about American Force movements on the west side of Brandywine Creek on September 10-11, and indicating that American Forces (light infantry, local militia units, and dragoon detachments) were quite active west of the Creek in the days before the battle, continually hovering on the Crown Force Army as they moved through the area.



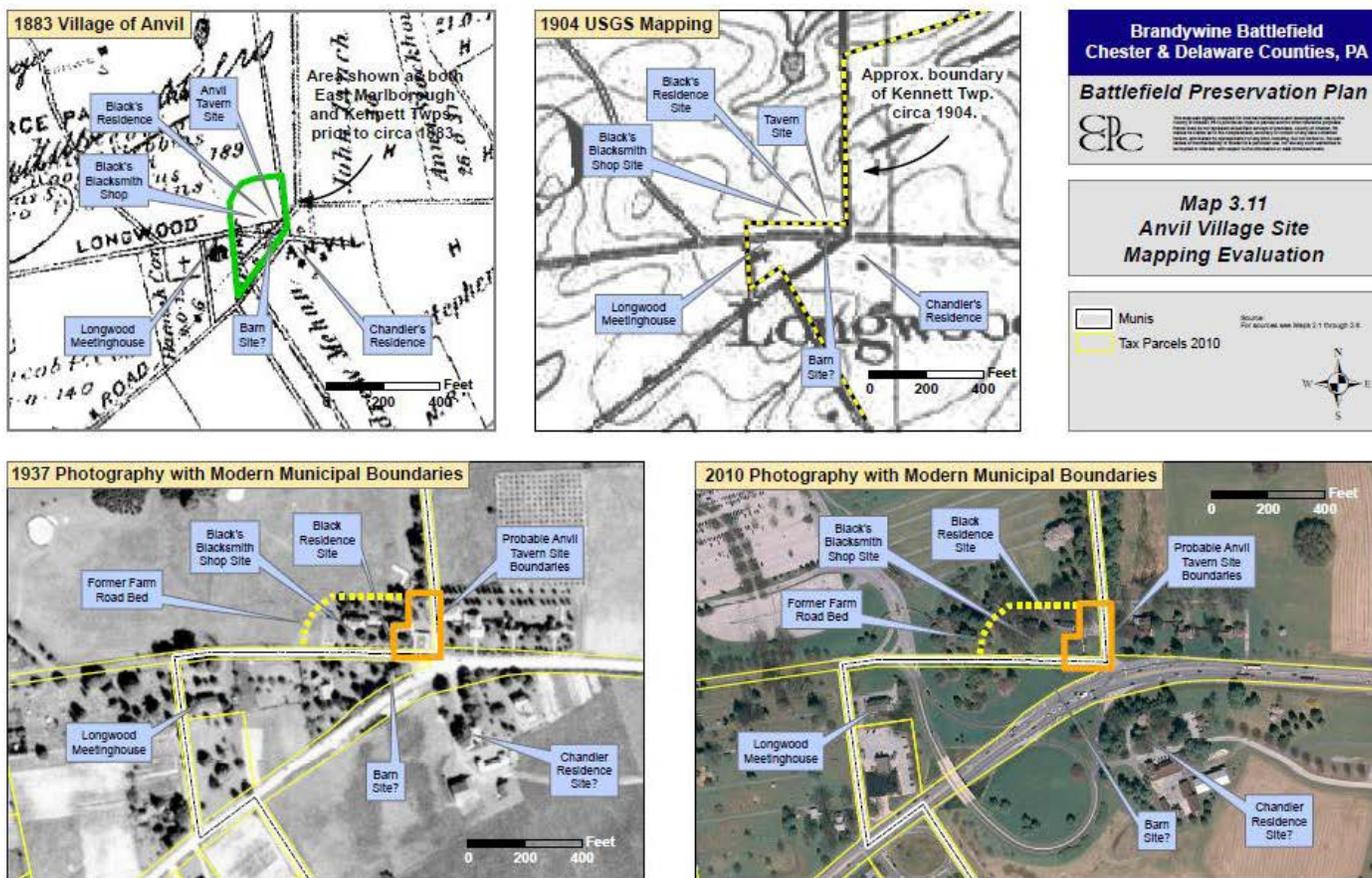
1. Welch's Tavern (Anvil Tavern) – 1<sup>st</sup> Skirmish
2. Elevation north of the Nottingham Road – 2<sup>nd</sup> Skirmish
3. Old Kennett Meeting House – 3<sup>rd</sup> Skirmish
4. Wooded elevation and fencing – 4<sup>th</sup> Skirmish
5. Wilmington Road/Hillendale Road/Fairville Road Corridor (Baggage Route)

### Welch’s Tavern Site Skirmish

Welch’s Tavern, or Anvil Tavern, was located about 700 feet east of modern Longwood Gardens’ entrance (Harris 2014:223). The location today is marked by a small stone with an anvil. Tavern foundation walls still exist in the garden walls of a later nearby home on Longwood Gardens’ grounds. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the tavern was a two-story stone building.

At 6am, two hours after Gen’l Knyphausen’s column began its advance, the first shots of the battle were fired from a wooded area located across the Great Nottingham Road to the east of the tavern. American Light Infantry commanded by Brig. Gen’l William Maxwell had an advanced position at Welch’s Tavern. Hessian Maj. Gen’l Johann Daniel Stirn wrote, “the column under the command of General von Kyphausen marched via Welch’s Tavern where the Rebels had an outpost” (Stirn 1998:6). This first American position was held by a detachment of approximately 150 men commanded by Capt. Charles Porterfield of the 11<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment (McGuire 2006:175). Capt. Porterfield’s men had likely been posted at the tavern since some time on September 10; a Hessian report commented that the English riflemen encountered American riflemen “...in the wood on the other side of the tavern where they [the Americans] had spent the night” (Letter Z 1777).

For both armies, Welch’s Tavern functioned as a significant landmark not only on September 11, but also in the days leading up to the battle. Several British and Hessian accounts indicate that Welch’s Tavern was well-known to them as early as September 9 as they approached Kennett Square. Capt. Muenchhausen wrote in his journal that we “...were instructed to inform General Knyphausen that he should march early the next morning towards Kennett Square with the greatest precaution, because Washington’s foreposts were already at Welch’s Tavern, two miles from Kennett Square” (Muenchhausen 1974:30). Baurmeister, in his report for September 9, notes that Gen’l Howe anticipated the two columns, Gen’l Cornwallis’ and Gen’l Knyphausen’s, would reunite east of Kennett Square, at Welch’s Tavern. Gen’l Howe, he wrote, “...gave such marching orders that both columns were to arrive at the place of rendezvous, namely Welch’s Tavern, at the same time” (Baurmeister 1935:403).



Anvil Village Site Mapping Evaluation, from the 2013 Preservation Plan

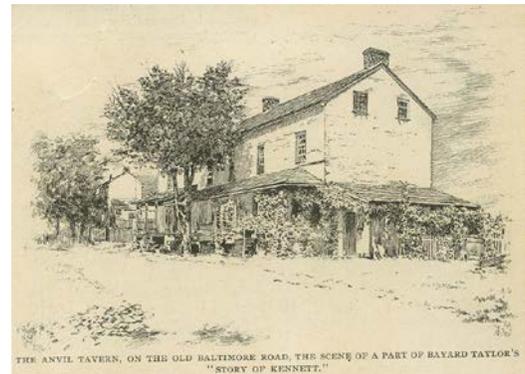
On the American side, Col. Moses Hazen of Congress's Own (or the Canadian) Regiment, posted at Jones Ford on Brandywine Creek, reported that on September 10 he had a detachment operating "about one mile from Welch's Tavern and six miles from this place" seized 28 sheep and 17 head of cattle "from the Enemy" (Hazen 1889:161). Hazen also reported that the livestock were taken by Capt. Alexander Patterson of Northampton County and Capt. Stephen Chambers of Northumberland County; both of the 12<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Regiment. Recruited from PA's western counties, the members of the 12<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania were largely rifle-armed, and the unit was often called upon to serve in scouting (Trussell 1977:134-136). It is likely that Capts. Patterson and Chambers commanded detachments that were assigned to Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Light Infantry Corps and were active in reconnoitering west of the Creek.

Another member of the American Light Corps, PA militiaman Andrew Cummings, identified Welch's Tavern as a landmark in his pension application. Attached to Col. Dunlap's Partisan Regiment, Cummings related that "...the evening before the battle of Brandywine, the company to which the applicant belonged [under the command of Captain John Scott] were ordered to take position, about half way between Welch's tavern and Chad's Ford and the Brandywine about four miles apart, where we stood on picket guard that night, and were ordered to fire on the British flankers as they passed next morning and then to retreat across the Creek, this we did, and then were sent about a quarter of a mile above Chad's Ford to guard a pass where the creek could be forded, there we remained until the battle was over...."

(Cummings 1832). In the time leading up to the engagement, Cumming's company, like other American units positioned west of the Creek, was "employed some time in scouting through the Country and between the lines of the British and American forces" (Cummings 1832). American Light Infantryman Jesse Nicholson of the 15<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment recalled that they "hovered upon the lines of the Enemy" (Nicholson 1832). These units ensured that Crown Forces movements would be contested.

On the morning of September 11, Gen'l Knyphausen reported that he had barely reached Welch's Tavern with the advance guard of his column when they came under fire from the woods east of the Tavern (McGuire 2006:175). American Capt. Porterfield's company fired into British Capt. Ferguson's riflemen and dragoons. Capt. Porterfield himself reportedly killed "the first men...who fell that day" (Heth 1931:33). Capt. Ferguson wrote that "the first party we had to do with was an advanced Post of 150 men and some light horse, who threw away their fire and ran off, with the loss of three or four men and a horse whom we shot flying" (Harris 2014:224). Crown Force Sgt. Stephen Jarvis of the Queen's Rangers commented that "The first discharge of the discharge of the enemy killed the horse of Major [sic] Grymes, who was leading the column, and wounded two men in the Division directly in my front, and in a few moments the Regiment became warmly engaged and several of our officers were badly wounded" (Jarvis 1907:449).

Virginian American Light Infantryman Jesse Nicholson recollected in his pension that "...at Brandywine it was our lot to bring on the Battle" (Nicholson 1832). Capt. Porterfield's orders were to "deliver his fire as soon as he should meet the van of the enemy, and then to fall back" (Lee 1998:89). After the initial firing and inflicting casualties, Capt. Porterfield's detachment withdrew, having no intention of bringing on an engagement. They retreated east along the Great Nottingham Road towards the next already-manned defensive position. The location east of modern Baltimore Pike where this encounter took place has been altered by road widening and other 20<sup>th</sup> century ground disturbance. The high ground in this area today is approximately at 460 feet elevation.



Key KOCO A built feature, 19<sup>th</sup> century sketch of the former Anvil Tavern (1777 Welch Tavern), in the Eastern Advance Column Strategic Landscape, where what is considered as "the first shots of the battle" were fired.

### Hamorton village Skirmish

American Capt. Porterfield's detachment retreated about 4,000 feet to the east to the second defensive American position, joining another light infantry detachment of about 200 men commanded by Virginian Lt. Col. William Heth. Virginian Jesse Nicholson of Brig. Gen'l Maxwell's Corps remembered that "Colonel [Richard] Parker and Colonel Heath (sic) commanded Virginians of that Corps on the south side of Chad's Ford" (Nicholson 1832).

The road forked at this second defensive location, with the Great Nottingham Road intersecting the Doe Run-Wilmington Road (modern Rt. 52/Kennett Pike) from the south. Lt. Col. Heth's men occupied an elevation (approximately 470 feet) on the north side of the road. This position is west of where modern Rt. 52 intersects Baltimore Pike in Hamorton village (Harris 2014:226). When Gen'l Knyphausen's advance guard came within range, Lt. Col. Heth's men fired a volley, then again withdrew to the east. Today's Hamorton village has altered this location somewhat. While the village topography is relatively unchanged, the elevation north of the road is currently occupied by residences.

### Old Kennett Meetinghouse Skirmish

The combined detachments of Capt. Porterfield and Lt. Col. Heth withdrew approximately 1,000 feet to the southeast, taking up a third defensive position on a wooded and elevated piece of ground across from the Old Kennett Meetinghouse (Harris 2014:226). The Great Nottingham Road descends from Hamorton village as it continues to the east. Modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1 has smoothed this descent by raising the roadbed and cutting the hill, so the elevation of the Old Kennett Meetinghouse is not as apparent as it would have been in 1777. The original roadbed of The Great Nottingham Road passed to both sides of the Old Kennett Meetinghouse at that time of the battle, while the road bed of modern Baltimore Pike passes just to the south of the Meetinghouse. It is thought locally that American Forces used the stone wall, which remains intact, to the Meetinghouse's west to aid in cover and concealment from approaching Crown Force Eastern Column.



View to the west of Old Kennett Meetinghouse and burial ground with Rt. 1 is visible to the left

The American light infantry discharged one volley from this position, inflicting casualties on the Queen's Rangers. While American troops were forming deliberate defensive lines as they withdrew towards Brandywine Creek, the appearance of the fighting to a contemporary British soldier was of a "running fire, mixed with regular volleys [sic]" (Sullivan 1997:130).

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### Unnamed Wooded Hill & Fencing East of Old Kennett Meetinghouse Skirmish

Capt. Porterfield and Lt. Col. Heth combined detachments withdrew again, descending to a small creek valley along The Great Nottingham Road and then climbing to a rise about 2,300 feet east of Old Kennett Meetinghouse. On the north side of the road, a small round elevation of approximately 430 feet is situated at that location. The fourth defensive American position is likely situated in this vicinity. At this locale, the Porterfield-Heth detachments joined another American Light Infantry detachment commanded by Virginian Maj. Charles Simms of the 12<sup>th</sup> Virginia Regiment. Maj. Simms troops were under good cover on the elevation, and the withdrawing Americans took up a position behind a fence, but near Maj. Simms detachments concealed position (Harris 2014:228; Smith 1976:10).



View to the east from Old Kennett Meetinghouse burial ground with Baltimore Pike to the right. The American detachment retreated to the high ground visible in the far distance where a 4<sup>th</sup> skirmish occurred.

The Crown Forces advance guard came forward along the Great Nottingham Road, “rapidly and incautiously, until it lined the front of the detachment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Simms, who poured in a close and destructive fire” (Lee 1998:89). Crown Force Sgt. Thomas Sullivan of the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot described this same encounter, writing that “The Queen’s Rangers and Riffle [sic] Corps...advancing to the foot of a hill, saw the Enemy formed behind the fence [Porterfield’s detachment], were deceived by the Rebel’s telling them, that they would deliver up their Arms, but upon their advancing they fired a volley upon our men...” (Sullivan 1997:130). The American volley was effective, as about 30 men of the Queen’s Rangers and Riflemen were killed or wounded. After this fire, the American light infantry withdrew once again, heading east towards the Creek.

### The Battle Moves East<sup>1</sup>

This series of four short, but sharp, skirmishes or clashes served to slow Knyphausen’s advance towards Chad’s Ford. Each action caused the Crown Force leading formations to deploy, engage, chase the retreating Americans, then reorganize before moving forward. By the time the fourth American position had been overcome, Ferguson’s Riflemen and the Queen’s Rangers were tired and disorganized. They had taken relatively heavy casualties, particularly among officers (Heth 1931:33; Sullivan 1997:130; Lee 1998:89).

Gen’l Knyphausen’s advance to Chad’s Ford became more cautious after these encounters. As he moved closer to Chad’s Ford, his movement was further hampered by obstructions that the Americans had placed along the Great Nottingham Road. PA soldier Alexander Beggs recalled in his pension application that “he and some others were sent in the morning before the battle [September 10], to fell trees in the road for the purpose of obstructing the march of the enemy” (Beggs 1832). Beggs’ timbering was effective. Crown Force Capt. Francis Downman of the Royal Artillery wrote that “...we galloped our horses some time, but were prevented from continuing the [Great Nottingham] road by reason of trees being cut down and laid across” (Downman 1898:157). The obstructions in the Great Nottingham Road likely forced Gen’l Knyphausen to decide to shift the Baggage and Supply Train to the south and then east instead.



Former road trace of the 1743 Great Nottingham Road to the front of the Barns-Brinton House with modern Rt. 1 to the left (rear) of the house.

### Crown Forces Baggage & Supply Wagon Train

A ‘baggage train’ or a caravan of supply wagons and camp followers/troop support personnel provides a very important element of wars and battles, for without adequate supplies undertaking military activity is proportionally more difficult, if not impossible. On September 6, there were 270 supplies wagons, and Crown Force Maj. Baurmeister reports that two days later the provision train consisted of 276 wagons “...loaded with rum, flour, and salt meat” (Baurmeister 1935:402). However, Gen’l Howe had not brought enough wagons with him from New York. Compared to 1776, in June 1777 Gen’l Howe had reduced the number of wagons per company to two and doubled the number of horses to four, probably due to the state of roads Middle Atlantic region colonies. Property damage claims (depredation claims, plunder reports, Quaker sufferings) reveal that Crown Forces were constantly supplementing supplies through commandeering or confiscating wagons, carts, food, and other supplies to support the continued movement of the Army.

<sup>1</sup> Battle activity further to the east will be covered in future Phase 3 planning.

The Baggage and Supply Train in effect formed its own ‘column’, at first following the Eastern Column and then moving south along today’s Hillendale and Fairville Rds., passing farms in Pennsbury Township. The area of these two road corridors retains integrity in setting and location and forms an intact context for this portion of the southern battlefield, where Gen’l. Knyphausen successfully pushed back American Forces, and then, further east of this Landscape<sup>1</sup>, deployed troops along Brandywine Creek’s western bank, holding Gen’l. Washington’s attention long enough to allow the Northern Column’s flanking maneuver to be completed.

While the exact number of wagons per British and Hessian regiment in early September 1777 is unknown, it likely was at least two. Based on the number of British and Hessian units in the Crown Force Army and including the 276 wagons loaded with supplies - a week’s worth of supplies accompanied troops via a wagon train - plus wagons loaded with equipment, the treasury, etc., a minimum of 350 wagons drawn by around 1,400 horses seems a reasonable estimate of the total size of the Baggage and Supply Train. If all the wagons for the Crown Force Army (including for both Columns) were lined up along the same road in-tow one after the other, the Baggage and Supply Train would have been between 2.5 and 3 miles in length, not counting artillery pieces and 15,800 troops marching in both columns. At night and over difficult roads, the Baggage and Supply Train could have spread considerably longer and even lose contact with the troops.

When Gen’l Knyphausen’s Eastern Column started its march toward the Americans along Brandywine Creek’s main stem, it contained “the entire artillery and provision train, the baggage, and the cattle” (Baurmeister 1935:404). Period maps depicting the Column show the baggage wagons flanked by the three battalions of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment. Attributed to Hessian artilleryist Friedrich W. Werner and engineer Reinhard J. Martin, it is likely that these map depictions of the baggage train are stylized, since baggage and livestock would have occupied considerably more ground than shown on the maps. The important point here, however, is that the Baggage and Supply Train was moving at the rear of the Eastern Column. Attaching the baggage to the Column reinforced the intended deception of the complete Crown Force Army moving towards modern Chadds Ford, and would have been so reported to American Forces east of the Creek. The three battalions of the 71<sup>st</sup> Regiment totaled about 1,200 men (Harris 2014:193). While one of these battalions took part in the fighting west of the Creek in the morning of September 11, the other two battalions remained as baggage train guards.

### Hillendale/Fairville Rds.

The intentionally felled timber by American Forces to block the Great Nottingham Road in an attempt to slow Crown Forces advancement east, mentioned by both Americans and British accounts, likely served as the catalyst for Gen’l Knyphausen moving the Baggage and Supply Train off the Great Nottingham Road. Importantly, this project rediscovered the route of the Baggage and Supply Train and its supporting three-battalion guard principally through researching property damage claims from Pennsbury Township residents. The above mentioned period maps show the Baggage and Supply Train along the Great Nottingham Road, but do not show its movement(s). Given its length and difficulty the artillery had in moving on the Great Nottingham Road due to the felled trees, it appears that the Baggage Train was shifted south to the Hillendale/Fairville Rds. corridor. This shift probably occurred when the Baggage Train reached the intersection of the Great Nottingham Road and the 1759 Road to Wilmington (modern Kennett Pike). The intersection of the 1759 Road to Wilmington and the 1754 Brandywine Road (modern Hillendale Rd.) is situated about 1 ¼-miles southeast of Hamorton village. An alternative approach to reach Hillendale/Fairville Rds. would have been to turn off the Great Nottingham Road about 1-mile further east onto Hickory Hill Rd. Damage claims exist for a number of properties along the corridor. Family farms of Isaac, Thomas, Joseph, and Noah Mendenhall along Hillendale/Fairville Rds. reported considerable damage, as did Peter Harvey (tenant of William Harvey, Jr.), and Caleb and Moses Mendenhall along modern Stabler Rd. just west of the Creek.

The Crown Forces Baggage and Supply Train remained west of Brandywine Creek throughout the day on September 11. It did not cross to the Creek’s east side until late afternoon/evening of September 12. The Baggage

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<sup>1</sup> Areas east of this Landscape will be studied during a future Phase 3 strategic landscapes planning project.

Train therefore sat along Hillendale/Fairville Rds. for more than 24-hours, meaning the wagons, livestock, wagoners, wagon guards, and others (animals, people, and equipment) attached to the Baggage Train had ample time to damage property, take household items including furniture, tableware, books, clothing, personal items, and commandeer wagons and livestock.

## Historic Military Archeological Potential

Based on the battle and landscape analysis, historic archeological potential related to battle military events in southern battlefield Landscapes was assessed. Archeological potential varies according to what types of archeological remains are being considered. For example, archeological character for a marching movement is different than a skirmish or a formal battle combat situation.

Fields of conflict are temporary, albeit seminal, events, superimposed on preexisting cultural landscapes. These Landscapes witnessed a variety of cultural actions - transportation systems, agricultural development, settlement patterns, population change – that exerted influence on the land prior to the engagement on September 11, 1777 and that continue to exert influences on the field after the battle through today. Land uses, such as pasture and field patterns, farmsteads, and husbandry buildings, change as they give way to ultimate progression; roads are altered, vacated, rerouted, or widened, woodlands are reduced or removed from the landscape, and structures are expanded, modified, or razed. Despite these transformations, the archeological evidence of conflict is often quite resilient and can be discovered through archeological investigation.

Given the extensive land coverage of the Brandywine Battlefield, burial sites are possible, and have been found, in a number of locations on the battlefield. Battlefield burials are known to be present at Old Kennett Meetinghouse (as well as Birmingham Meetinghouse and "at a few smaller grave sites scattered in or near the battlefield" (Webster et al. 1989:50). A small commemorative stone erected to the memory of Hessian soldiers is found in the burial ground of the Old Kennett Meetinghouse. The discovery of human remains has been reported at seemingly random locations around the battlefield and is a consideration for these Landscapes, particularly around skirmish sites, but also in other possible locations as heat stroke, related to the warm, humid September weather and woolen clothes and heavy packs, and other calamities may have struck troops within the area.

## Northern Column & Eastern Column Landscapes

Principal types of potential archeological remains that may be expected to be present in these Landscapes are: 1) Northern and Eastern Columns built features (road traces, building foundations, 2) Northern and Eastern Column's skirmishing sites, and 3) parked Baggage and Supply Train artifacts.

### Northern & Eastern Columns Landscape

The potential for archeological evidence of battle-related military activities with both columns Landscapes is considered to be generally low for the troop march and movements of both columns. The principal military action that occurred on September 11 within the Landscapes was the movement of approximately 15,800 men, plus artillery, horses, and baggage wagons through the Chester County countryside. Such a movement, while extremely impressive to witness, was likely fairly ephemeral in regard to the physical evidence (e.g., military artifacts) that it would leave as an archeological 'footprint'. Crown Forces formations did slow and halt/rest while waiting to traverse the Chester County countryside, but such actions were of short duration and would leave comparatively small archeological signatures.

The **Northern Column Landscape** contains pockets of rural lands and period buildings that is evocative of the battle-era setting. Along Street Rd. Wollaston Rd., Mill Rd., and where East Doe Run Rd. meets Northbrook/Red Lion Rd. (the 1728 Road to the Great Valley), the Landscape is more rural including several important historic

structures. East Marlborough at the time of the battle had almost entirely Quaker-owned land, and the war effort found little support in this area, particularly for the American side. The actual route and roads that troops followed is remarkably intact and clearly visible today. East Doe Run Rd. and Northbrook/Red Lion Rds. portions of the Landscape illustrate exactly how/where Gen'l Cornwallis was able to successfully outflank the American Army, maneuvering approximately 9,000 troops on a long circuitous march through difficult terrain.

The **Eastern Column Landscape** has been altered since 1777, however, contains pockets of rural lands that convey the battle-era setting, particularly those areas well south of today's Baltimore Pike corridor. Today's Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1 (the colonial Great Nottingham Road) going east toward Brandywine Creek has been significantly widened and the actual roadbed replaced a number of times, but portions of the colonial road are still present outside of the modern right-of-way and the road itself still passes by the preserved colonial-era historic structures that were directly and indirectly related to the battle. For example, the Landscape contains historic and archeological resources of the preserved Abraham Taylor farmhouse at Miller's Hill that was plundered, archeological remains of Welch's Tavern, and the preserved Old Kennett Meetinghouse where the first skirmish of the battle took place. In Pennsbury Township, the Pierce family property was damaged by advancing Crown Forces, two colonial structures attributed to Dr. Joseph Pierce were plundered, and James Brinton's (who held property on both sides of the Great Nottingham Road) son made a plunder claim. What is remarkable about the Landscape is the fact that skirmishes between the eastern advancing Crown Force troops and the American Light Infantry can still be clearly traced in today's setting in relationship to colonial properties. The route of the Eastern Column retains diminished archeological material integrity within the road corridor, however, locations of the four skirmishes are still apparent.

### Skirmishing Sites

Locations of skirmishing that occurred at four locations along Gen'l Knyphausen's Eastern Column approach to the Creek and at two locations<sup>1</sup> along Gen'l Cornwallis' Northern Column Flank march retain moderate potential for archeology. These fire-fights were quick musket and rifle discharges followed by withdrawal by American troops. First-person accounts indicate that skirmishing began soon after both columns started their respective movements. These actions would have generated primarily dropped and fired lead balls (musket and rifle balls) and may exhibit an archeological signature in the location where the skirmishing was most intense – Welch's Tavern, Hamorton village, Old Kennett Meetinghouse, and the unnamed wooded hill/fencing east of Old Kennett Meetinghouse. Potential for skirmish-related artifacts along the Northern Column route is likely lower than for the Eastern Column for the simple reason that there was more engagement for longer period of time on the route of the Eastern Column compared to what took place on the route of the Northern Column. On a comparative basis with the main formal battle combat that occurred later in the day in the Eastern Battlefield, which will be examined in future Phase 3 strategic landscapes planning, the number and density of military-related artifacts in both columns Landscapes would be lower, but not without potential.

### Baggage & Supply Train

The route of the Baggage and Supply Train along Hillendale/Fairville Rds. passes through farms of Pennsbury Township, and retains integrity of setting and location displaying a readable battle-era backdrop. Since the setting remains intact and the Baggage and Supply Train wagons were stopped in place for a period of time, as well as the locale was not far from major combat areas, the area retains moderate potential for historic and battle-related archeology.

From an archeological perspective while the movement of the both columns had short-term impact, it did have significant impact on the immediate physical surrounds and on the local community for many years after the battle in the form of damaged property as recorded by civilians through Depredation Claims, Plunder Reports, and Sufferings (Chapter 4).

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<sup>1</sup> See Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Strategic Landscapes Plan for archeological potential for the rest of the Northern Column flanking march.

## Associated Approach & Encampment Landscapes

Principal types of potential archeological evidence that may be found in these Landscapes are: 1) Approach skirmishing sites, and 2) Approach and Encampment built features (road traces, building foundations).

**Approach Landscape** - Potential for archeological evidence of military activities is generally low for both overall division's march and movement. Short-term encampments occurred along the route at Rt. 7/Nichol's House, Hockessin Meetinghouse, and in the Red Clay Valley. Skirmishes at Mill Creek Rd. (September 8) and New Garden Friends Meetinghouse (September 10) retain moderate potential for archeology. These fire-fights were quick musket and rifle discharges followed by American withdrawal. These actions would have primarily generated dropped and fired lead balls (musket and rifle balls) and may exhibit an archeological signature in skirmishing locations. The degree of development in the vicinity of Mill Creek Rd. makes this location less likely to contain significant archeological resources, however the New Garden Meetinghouse vicinity still retains a rural setting, raising the level of archeological potential.

Once in PA, Gen'l Cornwallis' column may have recognized portions of the setting that is there today. This area remains fairly rural in character and the terrain/topography and Red Clay Creek and Valley are still evident. Considerable damage claims were filed by Kennett Township residents, and colonial-era structures remaining from those battle-era properties are viewable today. This area has remained fairly rural in character and due to this, there is moderate-high archeological potential. Interestingly, there were very few battle-era roads in southern Kennett Township, so transport must have relied on farm lands and by-roads.

The actual route and roads that Gen'l Knyphausen's column traveled is evident today to the extent that project consultants, reading from a Hessian journal account, could literally follow in the Hessian soldier's footsteps using distance conversions (battle-era perches to modern day miles) and extent historic built features of roads and structures. The route from historic/modern Limestone Rd., along historic/modern Gap-Newport Pike, and then either north on historic/modern Newark Rd. or continuing west to Avondale and turning east onto Baltimore Pike illustrate exactly how/where Gen'l Knyphausen's column, including the Baggage and Supply Train as well as Crown Forces from Cornwallis' column, was able to successfully and with relative speed arrive at Kennett Square. While much of this area contains development, there are still agricultural portions that evoke a battle-era setting that may contain archeological potential.

**Encampment Landscape** - On September 9-10, Gen'l Knyphausen's column's halted at a temporary location west of Kennett Square Borough, probably in the vicinity of modern Cedar Spring Rd., which was necessary to allow Gen'l Cornwallis' column to arrive and then move through Kennett Square along modern Rt. 82. After waiting from about 10am to noon on September 10 for Gen'l Cornwallis' column to get into place, Gen'l Knyphausen's column moved through Kennett Square on the Baltimore Pike to the high ground east of the village. On September 10-11, the Crown Forces encampment around Kennett Square was a temporary, short-term overnight camp. It was also a tactical position with advanced pickets and avenues of approach, and influenced by the limitations imposed by the local terrain. Contemporary descriptions note the overnight encampment was in two lines, "one behind the other" (Ewald 1979:81). One regimental scribe called the lines "uneven" suggesting that the regimental camp areas conformed to the local topography and conditions (Erbprinz 1777). An important clue as to the character of the two division camps is provided by Maj. Baurmeister, who commented that "...the army pitched a regular camp in two lines at Kennett Square" (Baurmeister 1935:403 – emphasis added). Maj. Baurmeister's observation indicates that, while the camp lines were uneven, they followed standard military practice for overnight camps. As such, archeological distinctions may be possible to make regarding the camp layouts (known as 'castrametation') and the level of military standardization (Whitehorne 2006:29).

Though temporary and transient, overnight bivouacs and short-term camps are often distinguished by the presence of lost ammunition or discarded items. At Kennett Square, there were no tents or shelters, unless small temporary wood “bowers” were built by the men. Crown Force Army’s heavy baggage had been sent back to the Royal Navy at the Head of Elk when Gen’l Howe began his march into PA several days earlier. Fires were not allowed the night before battle, since the light of the fires would betray the position of the army. Food consumed in the camps would have been previously prepared and carried with the troops. Taking this into consideration, the archeological potential for the encampment is likely to be low to moderate. Physical evidence, such as regimental and/or plain buttons of various sizes, metal fixtures for polearms and flags, unfired lead shot, sword and scabbard parts, cannon balls, horse furniture (saddle or bridle parts, horseshoes), wagon furniture, and personal artifacts may be present, but the short period of time the camp was occupied likely limits the potential. With the exception of obviously military artifacts (marked regimental buttons, accoutrement plates, etc.), it will be difficult to distinguish other types of artifacts dating from the period of the camp from local civilian artifacts of the same period such as ceramics and glass.

The best evidence for where the encampment was situated comes from damage claims reported in Kennett Township. The camp did have a significant impact on the immediate physical surrounds in the form of damaged real estate and personal property. Locations of plundered properties clearly delineate the size of the encampment. Of the 33 landowners in the Township residing west of Red Clay Creek, 21 landowners (nearly 64%) reported plunderings by Crown Forces. Reported damages are especially heavy among the farms located along the McFarlan Rd. Corridor, extending south from the Great Nottingham Road. This corridor likely marks the overnight position of Gen’l Knyphausen’s column and extends as far south as the Gavin Hamilton Mill. Other property damage is centered along the Rt. 82 corridor, and likely relates to the overnight camp of Gen’l Cornwallis’ column.

## Recommendations

Using the analysis undertaken in this chapter, the following recommendations were developed. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are noted in parentheses after the related recommendation.

- 3-1. Further verify the four skirmish locations between Gen’l Knyphausen’s Division and the American light infantry as they retreated from Welch’s Tavern and verify the Northern Column skirmish site as they turned to move north through archeological evaluation. Report any archaeological findings to PHMC for their recording in the inventory of important archaeological sites. (Military archeologist working with municipal historical commissions)
- 3-2. Consider archeological evaluation for the parked baggage and supply caravan area. Report any archaeological findings to PHMC for their recording in the inventory of important archaeological sites. (Military archeologist working with municipal historical commissions)
- 3-3. Gen’l Howe’s/Gen’l Cornwallis’ Division’s route to cross Red Clay Creek West Branch towards Kennett Square is in the vicinity of modern Chandler Mill Rd. and to the north through the modern residential subdivision on Round Hill Rd. Archeological investigation should occur for confirmation. (Military archeologist working with municipal historical commissions)
- 3-4. Update 2013 Plan mapping to reflect the findings in this chapter. This includes the: probable location of the skirmishes along the Great Nottingham Road and the 1728 Road to the Great Valley, formation points of both columns, importance of the high ground centered around the (former) Red Lion Tavern, and the movement of the Baggage and Supply Train along Hillendale/Fairville Rd. Corridors. (CCPC)
- 3-5. Update 2010 KOCOA analysis and mapping to reflect the findings in this chapter. (CCPC)

- 3-6. Provide updated information to battlefield communities, particularly Kennett Square Borough and Kennett, East Marlborough, and Pennsbury Townships where the Landscapes are located as well as to New Castle County, DE. This information can be used in municipal histories, for historical commission resources identification and documentation purposes, and for educational and outreach efforts (e.g. Chester County Towns Tours & Village Walks). (CCPC)
- 3-7. Provide updated information to BBTF members, in particular its Steering Committee members who guide and lead the BBTF efforts. (CCPC)
- 3-8. Provide updated information to local heritage sites (e.g. Chester County Historical Society, and Brandywine Battlefield Park) and environmental stewardship organizations (e.g. Brandywine Red Clay Alliance), so they can incorporate the information into their historic interpretation, education, and stewardship outreach and efforts. (CCPC, municipal historical commissions, BBTF)
- 3-9. Provide updated information to land conservation groups (e.g. Brandywine Conservancy and Natural Lands) and Chester County Open Space Department for their use in coordinating and bolstering land conservation and open space preservation to enhance quality of life, and possible public access and interpretation of historic landscapes. (CCPC, municipalities, BBTF)

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# Battle Historic Context & Built Features Inventory

The 2010 Study provides a preliminary ('windshield') inventory of historic resources (battle and non-battle era) in the battlefield as well as battle-era roads. The 2013 Plan uses/builds on 2010 Study information and refines the historic resource inventory, plus identifies historic landscapes and provides a preliminary inventory of evident defining features. The 2013 Plan recommends further evaluation of identified battle-era historic resources, historic landscapes<sup>1</sup>, and defining features, particularly in strategic landscapes.



Abraham Taylor Farm, in today's Kennett Township, is preserved as the open lands portion of a commercial development.

This plan takes the next step to 'fine tune' identification of battle-era built features - historic resources/properties and roads – in/near Northern Column and Eastern Column Landscapes and Associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes. To do this, features are considered as to *whether* and *how* they support each Landscapes significance in the battlefield<sup>2</sup>. While all built features identified by this chapter are considered historic resources, defining features are those resources that also support Landscape(s) significance.

This chapter 1) reviews previously identified battle-era historic resources (2013 Plan) and roads (2010 Study) and newly identified resources and roads 2) evaluates whether they are also KOCOAs built defining features, 3) considers their relationship to the historic and modern landscape, and 4) provides related recommendations. Reference materials used include the 2010 Study KOCOAs analysis, 2013 Plan historic resource and defining features inventories, reference maps (historic atlases, aerial photographs), primary sources (firsthand accounts, road petitions, deeds, civilian property loss records), secondary sources (battle and municipal histories), and field study. Specific battle-era property deed information is found in Appendix B.

## KOCOAs Cultural Topography Analysis

Appendix A describes the 2010 Study's KOCOAs analysis and Chapter 3 focuses on aspects of KOCOAs related to military strategy and geospatial battlefield analysis. This chapter focuses on aspects of KOCOAs related to the built environment or cultural topography<sup>3</sup> – places and built features found in battle accounts, historic maps, or other sources that help locate and identify the same in the modern landscape. Cultural topography (or built) feature examples are places/settlement patterns (villages, milling seats, farmsteads, or properties); structures (mills, houses, meetinghouses, or barns); or other manmade features (roads, fords, traces, woodlots, earthworks, or farm fields).

For local planning purposes, KOCOAs built features can generally be considered 'historic resources', while KOCOAs physical geography (part of Chapter 3) can be considered 'natural resources'. Both are elements of historic landscapes and may be elements of 'open space' lands or 'agricultural resources'.

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 5 for possible historic landscapes to consider for long term land conservation.

<sup>2</sup> See 'Statement of Significance' in Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the phrase 'key terrain' in figures 4-1a through 4-1c to describe historical resources that were damaged, witness to, or otherwise affected by troop activity is recognized as not consistent with the standard KOCOAs definition, which is any local feature that dominates the immediate surrounding by relief or another quality that enhances attack or defense. The phrase is used herein to illustrate the overall effect of military actions on the cultural topography of southern battlefield Landscapes. These properties and sites are part of the larger setting that felt the impact of war.

*Figure 4-1a: Northern Column Landscape and related KOCO Cultural Topography Defining Features (updated from the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan)*

DEFINING FEATURE <sup>1</sup>	KOCCO CATEGORY
Historic Resources in Figure 4-2a	Key Terrain
Historic Roads in Figure 4-3a	See figure
1777 Kennett Square village site (modern Kennett Square Borough)	Key Terrain
John Jackson Sr. site – Damage Claim	Key Terrain
Abel Wickersham site – Damage claim	Key Terrain
James Wickersham site – Damage claim	Key Terrain
1774 (resurvey) Doe Run Road/1728 Road to the Great Valley/Pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road juncture: Probable American detachment observation position, Lt. Col. Ross’ Patrol’s skirmish site, & possibly where he sent his message to Gen’l Washington (modern E Doe Run Rd/Northbrook Rd/Rt.926 intersection)	Observation, Fields of Fire, Key Terrain

This plan uses KOCO cultural topography analysis to review, and update as needed, previously identified built features in/near these Landscapes, as well as better understand identified features’ relation to the battle. As early Chester County agricultural areas in battle-era Kennett and East Marlborough Townships (Northern Column), East Marlborough, Kennett, and Pennsbury Townships (Eastern Column), Kennett Township (Encampment), and Kennett and New Garden Townships (Approach), these Landscapes contain extant battle-era military-related and civilian built features.

*Figure 4-1b: Eastern Column Landscape and related KOCO Cultural Topography Defining Features (updated from the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan)*

DEFINING FEATURE	KOCCO CATEGORY
Historic Resources in Figure 4-2b	Key Terrain
Historic Roads in Figure 4-3a	See figure
Ezekial Webb’s (aka Welch’s & later Anvil) Tavern site and skirmish site	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
1777 & extant Hamorton village and skirmish site	Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
1777-era & extant Old Kennett Meetinghouse and skirmish site	Key Terrain, Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
Unnamed wooded Hill (elevation) & Fencing east of Old Kennett Meetinghouse skirmish & archeological site	Cover & Concealment, Field of Fire
1743 Great Nottingham Road/1760 Road juncture where Crown Forces fanned out (modern Rt. 1/Brinton’s Bridge Rd)	Avenue of Approach
Dr. Joseph Peirce Farm - Damage Claim	Key Terrain
William Harvey Farm – Damage Claim	Key Terrain
James Brinton Plantation, Barnes Brinton House – Damage Claim	Key Terrain
Baggage & Supply Wagon Train - 1759 Road to Wilmington/1767 Road/1754 Brandywine Road/1725 Starve Gut Road (modern Kennett Pike/Hickory Hill Rd/Hillendale Rd/Fairville Rd)	Avenue of Approach

Today<sup>2</sup>, the Northern Column Landscape is found in Kennett Square Borough and East Marlborough Township, Encampment Landscape is in Kennett Square Borough, and Kennett Townships, while Eastern Column and Approach Landscapes are in the same municipalities as in 1777. Figures 4-1a, 4-1b, and 4-1c provide updated KOCO cultural topography in/related to the Landscapes.

## Historic Context

Historic context is an element of strategic landscape significance<sup>3</sup>; it shows patterns or trends that help explain an occurrence, property, structure, building, or site. Key historic context elements are geographical limits, chronological periods, and themes, which provide perspective to understand and identify built features as contributing, or not, to Landscapes. For this evaluation, the geography is the Landscapes and time period is 1777. Relevant broad themes are ‘18<sup>th</sup> century landscape’, ‘local community’, and ‘military activity’, with specific themes of: Brandywine Valley settlement patterns, still readable battlefield areas, Crown Force army logistics, Gen’l Howe’s two columns military tactic, American military activity and reconnaissance, skirmishing, local community and battle impact, and Quaker roots/Peace Testimony.

1 ‘Road’ indicates the approximate battle-era road roadbed and alignment still exist. ‘Spur’ is the approximate road extension of a battle-era road that still exists. ‘Trace’ indicates a former battle-era road, farm lane, or by-road that today is largely an archeological site. ‘Damage claim’ means Depredation report, Plunder report, Quaker Suffering, or Relief Request to Quaker Meeting.

2 Kennett Square was not yet a separate Borough in 1777; it was smaller in size as a village in Kennett Township. Today’s New Garden Township is slightly smaller in size than in 1777, as western sections went to form part of today’s Avondale Borough and London Britain Township. Today’s East Marlborough Township is slightly smaller than in 1777, as the northeastern section went to form part of today’s Pocopson Township, as did the northern section of 1777 Pennsbury Township that is smaller in size today than in 1777. Today’s Kennett Township is nearly identical to that in 1777.

3 Landscapes’ context is part of the ‘Statement of Significance’ (Chapter 2) as supplemented by municipal historic context in Appendix B.

Thus, understanding historic context is necessary to more definitively identify which built features are battle-era contributing resources. Built features have been examined for how they support each Landscape’s significance and convey information about battle events and plan themes. Built features identified as ‘contributing resources’ (Figures 4-2a, 4-2b, 4-2c, 4-3a, 4-3b, and 4-3c) have characteristics that embody aspects of Landscape or battlefield significance and plan themes, while features that are also ‘defining’ (Figures 4-1a, 4-1b, and 4-1c) relay information about battle military-related events.

*Figure 4-1c: Associated Approach & Encampment Landscape and related KOCO Cultural Topography Defining Features (updated from the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan)*

DEFINING FEATURE	LANDSCAPE	KOCO CATEGORY
Historic Resources in Figure 4-2c	Encampment & Approach	Key Terrain
Historic Roads in Figure 4-3c	See figure	See figure
1777 Kennett Square village site (modern Kennett Square Borough)	Encampment & Approach	Key Terrain
Peter Bell’s Unicorn Tavern Site on 1743 Great Nottingham Road/1720 Road (modern State St/Union St/Unionville Rd)	Encampment	Crown Force Headquarters
Abraham Taylor Farm – Plunder Claim & Suffering	Encampment	Key Terrain
Caleb Johnson Mill & Farm - Damage Claim	Encampment	Key Terrain
Moses Pennock Farm - Damage Claim	Encampment	Key Terrain
Daniel Mercer Farm Site - Damage Claim	Encampment	Key Terrain
Caleb Peirce (James Jefferies tenant) - Damage Claim	Encampment	Key Terrain
Ellis Lewis/Gavin Hamilton Mill property - Damage Claim (military landmark)	Encampment	Key Terrain
Isaac Allen’s Tavern/farm site	Approach	Key Terrain
New Garden Meetinghouse	Approach	Key Terrain, Avenue of Approach, Field of Fire
William Miller property	Approach	Key Terrain
Stephen Anderson’s Tavern site	Approach	Key Terrain
Red Clay Creek west branch Ford	Approach	Avenue of Approach, Obstacle, Key Terrain
Trace to Red Clay Creek west branch Ford. Possible trace descending north from modern Chandler’s Mill Rd/Kaolin Rd juncture to possible fording site across Creek. Trace is possible extension of farm lane or by-road that pre-dated Chandler’s Mill Rd as it descended to Creek.	Approach	Avenue of Approach
Trace from Red Clay Creek west branch Ford extending north directly uphill from ford passing Michael Gregg House to 1720 Road (modern Kaolin Rd)	Approach	Avenue of Approach

## Historic Structures, Properties, Sites

This section reviews, refines, and updates information for previously inventoried battle-era historic resources from the 2013 Plan, with the goal to identify battle-era built features that speak or contribute to the overall story of the Landscapes within the battlefield setting. For this plan, historic resources include battle-era buildings, structures, sites, and properties, and in addition to historic context and Landscapes significance, take into account early settlement patterns and battle events in present-day municipalities (described below). As well, to accomplish this analysis, research (Appendix B<sup>1</sup>) and mapping presenting a depiction<sup>2</sup> of the battle-era development pattern was undertaken by Chester County Archives using primary source materials.

1 Such analytical mapping shows known property lines, owners, and roads as they likely existed in 1777, providing a good representation of the battle-era landscape. This is critical in analyzing the battlefield, as insight on the development pattern (road network and location/size/ownership of properties) is necessary to identify extant built features (buildings and roads) contributing and/or relating to the Landscapes. The mapped 1777 landscape can then be compared to historic person accounts and battle and township histories to understand the civilian population (families and locations of their properties and their relative’s properties in association/distance to one another), and ascertain present-day locations of historic accounts and battle-era structures/properties. Important for Chapter 3’s battle and geospatial analysis, property location/owner mapping is used to trace the Crown Force advance by plotting Quaker sufferings and civilian recordings of depredation and plunder claims on their respective properties.

2 It is important to note that battle-era landscape maps are as accurate as possible depictions. For example, researchers found early roads were improperly laid out, not completed, used but not officially recorded, or abandoned but official vacating never recorded. Minor paths, e.g. farm lanes or by-roads, would not have been recorded. It was found that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, records from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were destroyed.

## Settlement Patterns

Prominent regional settlement patterns, building types, and architectural design choices characterize the Landscapes and embody the pattern of colonial life. Farmhouses, tenant houses, and outbuildings on farmsteads dotted the landscape near roads for access to farm products and markets. Today many historic buildings are found abutting the edge of roads, as roads have widened and improved over the centuries since the battle. Settlements also included early crossroads with tradesmen (blacksmith or wheelwright shops), mills, homes, and taverns. Some buildings served the unanticipated, impromptu role as field hospitals, officer's headquarters, and troop concealment for the battle. Most structures were owned/built by original settlement families (primarily Quaker), with a few erected by or for farm staff, millers, and tavern owners. Buildings are mostly conservative and practical in design, befitting the tastes of their builders. Structures were often built in phases and expanded, even in the early colonial era, to reflect multi-generational growth or inclusion of a new use. Common architectural elements include: 2-story, stone construction, side-gable roofs, and representations of English Colonial vernacular building types popular in the region.

## Northern Column Landscape Battle Events

### Northern Column in East Marlborough Township

On the morning of September 11, while Gen'l Knyphausen's Division was advancing towards Chads's Ford, Gen'ls Howe's/Comwallis' Division was heading north with the main body of the Crown Force army. The finest troops in Gen'l Howe's army made up this approximately 9,000-strong Division. The Division's advance guard, led by Hessian Capt. Johann Ewald, was a mixed force of Hessian Jager and British light infantry. Guiding the troops on country roads were local Loyalists, including John Jackson, a clockmaker from East Marlborough, and Curtis Lewis, a blacksmith and large landowner in West Bradford Township, both of whom had scouted the fords of Brandywine Creek the night before. These men were under the direction of Joseph Galloway, Pennsylvania's leading Loyalist, who also accompanied Gen'l Howe. With American patrols scouring the countryside looking for enemy activity there was bound to be conflict. Hessian Capt. Ewald reported that within the first ½-hour of the northern march he encountered American skirmishers, likely at today's Unionville Rd/Street Rd. intersection. This was very likely some part of American Lt. Col. Ross' Detachment who were patrolling the western front. Capt. Ewald reports from then on, skirmishing continued with the American in various places until noon.



The 1728 Road of the Great Valley, modern Northbrook Rd. looking north. The 18<sup>th</sup> century roadbed and alignment is still evident with the deeply incised road banks and still relatively narrow cartway.

East Marlborough records for damage claims are few; only four properties are identified, although it is very likely far more were affected. These properties were owned by John Jackson, Sr., Caleb Johnson, and the Wickersham family, Abel and James. The James Wickersham property ruins have been located to verify where the house once stood and is an archeological site. In 1777, for failure to attend militia exercises, John Jackson Sr had blankets taken in lieu of a fine. Jackson reported the British stole a horse from his property back. Caleb Johnson Grist and Saw Mill are still standing and he filed a depredation claim against the British. Although the property is not on the direct march route it is included since it is highly likely that scouting parties were on nearby roads and the 1733 Road to his mill ran parallel to the 1720 Road.

## Eastern Column Landscape Battle Events

### Eastern Column in Kennett Township

The Eastern Column advancing straight for Chad's Ford was commanded by 61-year old Lt. Gen Baron Wilhelm Reichsfreiherr zu Inn-und Knyphausen, a dependable and able officer who spent much of his career in the Prussian army. Gen'l Knyphausen's Division, consisting of approximately 6,800 men, began moving along the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (away from their camp site along McFarland/Schoolhouse Rds. just east of Kennett Square) at 5AM, led by British riflemen, Loyalist infantry, and British light dragoons. The remainder of the Division followed, including Hessian and British infantry, British artillery, and the baggage supply and provision wagon train including the cattle herd.

Blocking the road to Chad's Ford were elements of American Gen'l Maxwell's Light Infantry Corps. Out in front along the road between Welch's Tavern and Old Kennett Meetinghouse a mile west were four American advance posts. They were under orders to fire on the advancing Crown Forces and then fall back towards Brandywine Creek. Gen'l Knyphausen reported that the first shots of the day were fired at Welch's Tavern (Ezikial Webb's) about a mile east of his Division's camp site when the Crown Force advance guard encountered the first of Gen'l Maxwell's posts. Both sides reported serious fighting and injuries. Withdrawing from Welch's Tavern, to a hill near Hamorton Village, to Old Kennett Meetinghouse, and then to the vicinity of Baltimore Pike/Hickory Hill Rd. intersection, the Americans waited until the enemy was close, fired a volley then fell back to the next post. This series of four short, but sharp, clashes served to slow Gen'l Knyphausen's advance towards Chad's Ford. Each series of American action caused the Crown Force's lead formations to deploy, engage, chase the retreating Americans, then reorganize before moving forward. By the time the fourth American position had been overcome, British riflemen and Loyalist infantry were tired and disorganized. They had taken relatively heavy casualties, particularly among officers.



Commemorative Stone, "In Memory of Hessian Soldiers," Old Kennett Meetinghouse Cemetery.

Following behind the advance column on the 1743 Great Nottingham Road was the Crown Force army's baggage and supply wagon train. Studying roads available to this provision wagon train, it appears the only choice the wagon train had in order to move away from the skirmishing (and impending battle that was to come) was to head south shortly after passing aka Welch's Tavern. Not far past Welch's Tavern, the wagon train turned south onto the 1759 Road to Wilmington.

### Eastern Column in Pennsbury Township

Two distinct military activities were taking place in Pennsbury on the day of battle. The first was Gen'l Knyphausen's steady march toward Chad's Ford met with frequent and heavy fire between the two armies. Around 8:30AM, the British heavy artillery was sent up the 1760 Road (today's Brinton's Bridge Rd.) to take their position along the high ground on Brandywine Creek west bank and near Brinton's Mill. By 9:30AM, the Americans had been forced back across the Creek and the Crown Forces were in place for battle<sup>1</sup>.



Former road trace of the 1743 Great Nottingham Road in front of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Barnes-Brinton House. Modern Baltimore Pike is to the left (rear) of the building.

The second military activity involved the Crown Force army's baggage and supply wagon train, including the cattle which while waiting for the battle's outcome, ransacked area properties for added supplies judging from the extensive damage claims from the Mendenhall and Harvey families. Other properties the area were likely impacted as well. After turning south in Kennett Township onto the 1759 Road to Wilmington, the wagon train turned east and waited out the battle on the 1754 Brandywine Road.

<sup>1</sup> Starting from the movements on modern Brinton's Bridge Rd. is the subject of Phase 3 study.

In Pennsbury Township, the first colonial holdings impacted by advancing Crown Forces were owned by the Peirce family. There are two colonial structures attributed to Dr. Joseph Peirce with damage claims. James Brinton held significant lands along the 1743 Great Nottingham Road and several colonial structures are attributed to his family. His son, Joseph Brinton, who lived on the western most portion of James Brinton's holdings filed a claim.

## Associated Encampment & Approach Landscapes Battle Events

The Approach Landscape straddles the Mason-Dixon Line separating PA from DE. Two major 18<sup>th</sup> century (and modern) east-west roads crossed these Landscapes - the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (today's Baltimore Pike) that connected Baltimore and Philadelphia and the 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike (modern Newport-Gap Rd./Rt. 41) connecting Newport, DE and Lancaster, PA. One major north/south road crossed these Landscapes, the 1710 Limestone Road/1733 Newark Road connecting Newark, DE to Chester County's Great Valley.

Both Landscapes contain rural landscapes south of the Baltimore Pike, and are situated along much of the route that Gen'l Knyphausen's troops followed in 1777 along the 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike and the Great Nottingham Road toward Kennett Square Village on September 9 and 10. At the time of the battle, the village was essentially a crossroad, consisting of Joseph Shippen's brick mansion and Peter Bell's Unicorn Tavern. Bell's Tavern was used by Gen'l Knyphausen for his headquarters on September 10/11.

### Approach Landscape in New Garden Township

Starting in early afternoon of September 9, Crown Forces began their march out of New Castle County, DE into Chester County, PA. The Road to Lancaster or the 1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike (modern Newport-Gap Rd./Rt. 41) was used by Gen'l Knyphausen's Division on the afternoon and evening of September 9 into the early morning hours of September 10 as they approached the area of Kennett Square Village. The movement of Gen'l Knyphausen's Division began about 3PM from their overnight bivouac along modern Rt. 7 in Mill Creek Hundred, New Castle County. The Division moved past New Garden Meetinghouse and marched to the intersection with the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (today's Baltimore Pike) at today's Avondale Borough. From there, the Division turned east (or right) onto the 1743 Great Nottingham Road and continued their march towards Kennett Square Village. The Division halted at a temporary location immediately west of modern Kennett Square Borough, probably in the vicinity of modern Cedar Spring Rd. in New Garden Township. The halt was for several hours and was necessary to allow Gen'l Cornwallis' Division to move through the village and get into formation and encampment position.



New Garden Meetinghouse, c. 1915  
(Thomas C. Marshall photographs,  
Accession 1990.270, Audiovisual  
Collections and Digital Initiatives  
Department, Hagley Museum & Library,  
Wilmington, DE 19807).

The Great Nottingham Road was the principal route used by Gen'l Knyphausen's Division to approach the village on September 10, and again to move toward the American position along Brandywine Creek starting the following morning. During the early morning hours of September 10, the Division halted west of the village, probably in the general vicinity of modern Cedar Spring Rd. in New Garden Township. This area today is relatively developed, but the wide, broad valley of Scarlett Run, a Red Clay Creek tributary, is still apparent, as is the high ground on which modern Kennett Square Borough is sited. The Division halted for several hours in this area, before proceeding through Kennett Square village to high ground east of the village.

Damages reported in the vicinity of New Garden Meetinghouse were generally loss of horses, cattle, sheep, and wagons or carts. One resident along the 1733 Newark Road/1710 Limestone Road, Isaac Miller, claimed £200 in

damages caused by Crown Forces as follows “one bay mare branded RC, one gray horse, one two year old colt, one six year old horse, one sixteen year old mare, sixteen sheep, two men’s saddles, one eighteen year old mare, one fourteen year old mare, one (almost new) cart and gears, one pair of horse gears, one year old calf, eighty bushels of oats and sundry household goods worth.” Damages caused in this area may also be related to the fire reported by New Castle County militiaman Isaiah Mann, who declared in his pension that he was in a slight skirmish near New Garden Meetinghouse.

Based on period documentation and evidence provided by property damage claims, Crown Forces from Cornwallis’ Division that were ordered to change course and instead join into Gen’l Knyphausen’s Division appear to have used the Newark Road/ Limestone Road to approach the Great Nottingham Road. The Newark Road was established by 1733, and intersected with the 1710 Limestone Road at the 1740/1733/1720 Newport-Gap Road and New Garden Meetinghouse. British and Hessian accounts of the movement indicate that two British brigades, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades, were detached from Gen’l Cornwallis’ Division, at that time struggling in advance north in the difficult Red Clay Creek valley terrain, and sent west to join Gen’l Knyphausen’s column. The two brigades, attempting to catch up with Knyphausen’s Division had difficulty locating his route. There were few intersections, or crossroads, at the time, with an important one in the area being at New Garden Meetinghouse. It is no coincidence that several New Garden Township property owners claimed damages in the immediate vicinity of the Newark/Limestone Road crossroad. It is likely that two British brigades did not proceed all the way to William Miller’s grist and saw mill, as did Gen’l Knyphausen’s Division, but instead turned north on the Newark/Limestone Road, a route that would bring them to the Great Nottingham Road interaction at Stephen Anderson’s Tavern.



Modern New Garden Rd “loop” was formerly part of the Road to Lancaster (looking north toward its intersection with modern Newark Rd, the 1710 Limestone Road.)

### Encampment Landscape near East Marlborough Township

Gen’l Cornwallis’ Division bivouacked along today’s Union St/Unionville Rd corridor the night of September 10/11, however major elements of his Division do not appear to have extended into East Marlborough Township. (Also see Kennett Square Borough) While the records for damages in the Township are few, the number of claims in the surrounding townships were higher, suggesting that the inhabitants of East Marlborough Township generally did not report depredations, they were under-reported, or the records are missing. For example, drawing from damage claims by battle-era properties in Kennett Township east of the village, the devastation on local residents by the Gen’l Knyphausen Division encampment along McFarland Rd. is clear.

### Encampment Landscape in Kennett Square Borough

On September 10, following a difficult night march through Red Clay Creek valley, Gen’l Cornwallis’ Division arrived at Kennett Square village in column formation along today’s Union St, and extending north on Unionville Rd. in East Marlborough. They camped in this formation. The night of September 10/11, his column bivouacked along today’s Union St, extending south from Unionville Rd. (in the vicinity of today’s Unionville Rd’s overpass of Rt. 1 Bypass interchange) south through the center of modern Kennett Square Borough to around South St. and the hill where today’s Kennett High School is located, a distance of approximately 1.7 miles. Based on damage claims of Kennett Township residents, some of the heaviest damages reported were concentrated in the area of South Union/South Broad Sts just north of today’s Kennett Square High School.

Today’s Union St./Unionville Rd. was an early road, established in 1720, and linked north to/intersecting the very early pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road to the north, passing Peter Bell’s (the Unicorn) Tavern in the center of the village. This 1720 Road reached south ending at Gavin Hamilton’s mill on Red Clay Creek. Hamilton had purchased the mill from Ellis Lewis in 1776, which is why it was referred to as “Lewis Mill” by Hessian officers.

The Crown Force army's configuration in two parallel lines meant that Gen'l Cornwallis' Division was encamped along the line of modern Rt. 82, extending north beyond the crossroads of the village by approximately a ½-mile towards Marlborough Meetinghouse. This distance placed the front elements of Gen'l Cornwallis' Division around today's Union Hill Cemetery, an elevation north of the village and south of today's Rt. 1 interchange, which has a local name of 'Hessian Hill'. Two landowners in this area, Jesse Miller and Francis Way reported property damage. However, properties immediately north of their tracts in East Marlborough do not indicate any damages, suggesting that either the general vicinity of today's Rt. 1 interchange was the limit of the September 10/11 overnight encampment, or Quakers in neighboring East Marlborough Township farms chose to not report any losses or damages. The precise location of Marlborough Quaker Meeting has not yet been discerned. A number of English and German period accounts mention this Meeting, but the meetinghouse, as it stands today, was not officially created until 1799. Research suggests that an informally defined Marlborough Meeting may have been functioning at private homes, or it may have been a misnomer for a nearby Meeting in East Marlborough.

## Approach & Encampment Landscapes in Kennett Township

In the dark of night on September 10, Gen'l Cornwallis' Division struggled to make its way through the difficult Red Clay Creek valley terrain. There were no established roads in the area by 1777, so their route was likely via farm lanes and by-roads. Their route seems to have closely followed modern Chandler's Mill Rd., which may have once been a farm lane. They descended to the likely fording site from modern Chandler's Mill Rd/Kaolin Rd juncture. After fording, they directly ascended uphill past the Michael Gregg House to the 1720 Road (modern Kaolin Rd) on trace. As such farms lanes or by-roads were never dedicated as official roads, they are termed 'traces'.



The 18<sup>th</sup> century Michael Gregg House that Gen'l Cornwallis' Division passed on their route to Kennett Square village

On September 10, following a difficult night march through Red Clay Creek valley, Gen'l Cornwallis' Division was in column formation along today's Kaolin Rd finally nearing Kennett Square Village. Gen'l Knyphausen's Division was halted just west of the village to wait for Gen'l Cornwallis' Division movement north-south through the village. After allowing much of Gen'l Cornwallis' Division to proceed through Kennett Square village on today's Union St, around noon on September 10 Gen'l Knyphausen's Division resumed its formation and march to the high ground in Kennett Township to the east of today's Kennett Square Borough. McFarlan Rd. to Schoolhouse Rd in East Marlborough established in 1723, marks the approximate north-south line of Gen'l Knyphausen's Division overnight September 10/11 camp. Period British maps clearly depict this high ground.

Damage claims provide some of the best evidence for where the overnight Gen'l Knyphausen Division encampment was situated. Based on damage claims by Kennett Township residents, some of the heaviest damages reported were concentrated in the area of today's McFarlan Rd. The overnight camp had a significant impact on the immediate physical surrounds in the form of damaged real estate and personal property. Locations of properties reporting damage clearly delineate the size of the encampment. Of the 33 landowners in Kennett Township residing to the west of Red Clay Creek, 21 landowners (nearly 64%) reported damages by the Crown Force army through Depredation Claims, Plunder Claims, and Quaker Sufferings, and on occasion Requests for Relief to Quaker Meetings. Reported damages are especially heavy among farms along the McFarlan Rd. Corridor, extending south from Baltimore Pike. This corridor likely marks the overnight position of Gen'l Knyphausen's Division and largely extends from around Abraham Taylor's property on the Great Nottingham Road as far south as the Gavin Hamilton (Lewis') Mill on Red Clay Creek, a distance of about 2.5 miles. Other property damage is centered along today's Rt. 82 Corridor, and likely relates to Gen'l Cornwallis' Division's overnight camp that was largely sited in Kennett Square Village.

From the various sources, it is clear that the Crown Force army established and camped in two parallel, north-south trending lines, one behind the other, along the 1720 Road for Gen'l Cornwallis' Division and the 1723

Road for Gen'l Knyphausen's Division. In doing so, the army not only readied themselves to already be in formation the day of battle, but also created a double defensive line in case of attack by the Americans.

## Historic Resources Contributing to Southern Battlefield Landscapes

While the 2013 Plan takes a macro look at battle-era historic resources and evident defining features throughout the battlefield, this plan takes a micro look at historic resources that: were present at the time of the battle in or near southern battlefield Landscapes, contribute to Landscapes significance or plan themes, and may also inform about battle events.

Figures 4-2a (Northern Column), 4-2b (Eastern Column), and 4-2c (Associated Approach and Encampment Landscape) update the 2013 Plan historic resource and defining features inventories<sup>1</sup> for the respective Landscapes, and are categorized as 'contributing' resources to the Landscapes. Structures and sites listed in the figures existed at the time of the battle, and as such are listed by their battle-era property owner or tenant names unless otherwise indicated. In all figures, 'Map IDs' with a 'N' indicate newly identified historic resources since the 2013 Plan. Figures also show current historic resource designation status (e.g. resources in and designated as contributing to a Historic District) and indicate suggested future designation based on this plan analysis. Historic resources designations include resources that are currently: National Historic Landmarks (NHL), individually listed on or eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NR), contributing to a National Register Historic District (HD), and/or identified as a KOCOA built defining feature (KOCOA). Figures also show historic resources that are recommended by this plan to be considered for National Register eligibility as individual resources or as part of a historic district (NRE), as locally significant (Local), and/or an interpretive resource (Interp<sup>2</sup>). Map 4-1 delineates resources in these figures.

Contributing resources, whether they are defining features, National Register listed or eligible, or other designation, are equally valuable resources that tell the story of important aspects of the battle and battlefield and are worthy of protection.

Figure 4-2a: Northern Column Landscape Contributing Historic Resources & Current and Recommended Resource Designation Status

MAP ID	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL ADDRESS	OWNER/ASSOCIATION	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS		
				NHL	NR	HD	KOCOA	NRE	LOCAL	INTERP
EAST MARLBOROUGH TOWNSHIP										
N61.13	61-2-53.2 61-2-119	101 & 114 E. Doe Run Rd	John Jackson, Sr. Farm: no battle era structures. (Depredation & Suffering)							X
N61.14	61-3-7	770 Marlboro Spring Rd	Abel Wickersham Farm: no battle era structures. (request for relief to his Quaker meeting)							X
N61.15	61-3-4.3	811 Marlboro Spring Rd	James Wickersham Farm: contained part stone/part log house & a log barn. (Suffering)							X
N61.16	61-5-492	160 E Doe Run Rd	William Windle Farm: extant battle-era structures. (possible Suffering)						X	X
N61.17	61-2-48	1765 W Doe Run Rd	William Baily Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Suffering)						X	X

<sup>1</sup> In the 2013 Plan, Historic Resources are listed in Figure 3.6 and Defining Features in Figure 3.9, and both are shown on Map 3.12.

<sup>2</sup> See heritage tour in Appendix C.

Figure 4-2b: Eastern Column Landscape Contributing Historic Resources & Current and Recommended Resource Designation Status

MAP ID	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL ADDRESS	OWNER/ASSOCIATION	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS		
				NHL	NR	HD	KOAO	NRE	LOCAL	INTERP
KENNETT TOWNSHIP										
62.04	62-1-36.1	300 Greenwood Rd	Eastern Column & Supply Wagon Train. Longwood Gardens HD Ezekiel Webb/Welch's/Anvil Tavern site: foundation wall remains as part of garden wall at 20 <sup>th</sup> century Colonial Revival house. (Ezekiel Webb – Plunder)			X				X
62.02	62-2-13-E	489 Meetinghouse Ln	Eastern Column & Supply Wagon Train Old Kennett Meetinghouse & burial ground (extant)	X	X					X
N62.41	62-1-23	245 Kennett Pk	Eastern Column & Supply Wagon Train. Hamorton Village HD Free Store: Place holder pending research			X	X		X	X
N62.05	62-2-71	307 Kennett Pk	Supply Wagon Train Walter Craig Farm site: No verified extant structures							
PENNSBURY TOWNSHIP										
64.02	64-3-115	508 Hillendale Rd	Supply Wagon Train Isaac Mendenhall property, Thomas and Joseph Mendenhall, and Amos Davis tenants: Later structures, farmland extant. (Noah Mendenhall (son of Isaac) – Depredation & Plunder)		X					
64.04	64-3-119	951 Fairville Rd	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.02) Isaac Mendenhall property. Extant structure, date needs to be established						X	
64.06	64-3-88	701 Hillendale Rd	Supply Wagon Train William Harvey Jr. Farm, Peter Harvey tenant. Extant house, later barn, farmland extant. (Peter Harvey – Depredation & Plunder)						X	X
64.10	64-3-62.1	1310 Brintons Bridge Rd	Eastern Column Jacob Way Farm/Residence. Extant battle-era house.						X	
64.11	64-3-113	1383 Hickory Rd	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.02) Isaac Mendenhall property: Extant battle-era house.						X	
64.13	64-3-114	1250 Hillendale Rd	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.02) Isaac Mendenhall property: Extant later structures.		X					
64.15	64-3-36	883 Baltimore Pk	Eastern Column & Supply Wagon Train Dr. Joseph Peirce property: current Pennsbury Inn with battle-era buildings and land remaining. (Joseph Peirce, Jr. son of Joseph the owner – Depredation)	X					X	X
64.16	64-3-87	1349 Hillendale Rd	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.06) William Harvey Jr. Farm: No associated structures, farmland extant.							
64.17	64-3-85.2	100 Hickory Hill Rd	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.15) Dr. Joseph Peirce property: extant house and farmland.						X	
64.22	64-3-96.2-E	620 Baltimore Pk	Eastern Column & Supply Wagon Train. Barns-Brinton House James Brinton properties: 700 acre plantation (Depredation & Plunder)	X	X					X
64.23	64-3-100	450 Old Baltimore Pk	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.22) James Brinton properties: extant battle era house.						X	
64.24	64-3-110.1	414 Old Baltimore Pk	Supply Wagon Train (See 64.22) James Brinton properties: extant battle era farmland with potential battle-era structures.						X	
64.25	64-3-74	1401 Brintons Bridge Rd	Eastern Column. William Harvey Jr. property, Amos Harvey tenant: battle era house. (Amos Harvey – Depredation)						X	X
64.26	64-3-69	1301 Brintons Bridge Rd	Eastern Column (See 64.22) James Brinton properties: later extant structure (Brinton-King house currently antique store & barn is The Gables restaurant)		X					X
64.32	64-6-1.4	160 Stabler Rd	Supply Wagon Train. Caleb and Moses Mendenhall property: extant battle era structures. (Depredation)						X	

Figure 4-2c: Associated Approach & Encampment Landscape Contributing Historic Resources & Current and Recommended Resource Designation Status

MAP ID	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL ADDRESS	OWNER/ASSOCIATION	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS		
				NHL	NR	HD	KOCSA	NRE	LOCAL	INTERP
KENNETT TOWNSHIP (Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns Approach & Encampment)										
N62.08	62-4-140	418 McFarlan Rd	Knyphausen Column Approach & Encampment John Richardson Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.09	62-4-217 62-4-218.1	203 E. Hillendale Rd 549 McFarlan Rd	Approach & Encampment Robert Cooper Farm & Fulling Mill: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.10 N62.40	62-6-3 62-6-4.1	500 & 541 Chandler Mill Rd	Cornwallis Column Approach Isaac Gregg & Fulling Mill: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)		X					
N62.11	62-6-16.5	103 Round Hill Rd	Cornwallis Column Approach Michael Gregg Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.12 N62.13	62-7-11.7 62-7-33	728 Creek Rd: House 162 Old Kennett Pk: extent Clifton Mill	Cornwallis Column Approach & Encampment Ellis Lewis/Gavin Hamilton Mill: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)				X		X	X
N62.14	62-7-39.1	3 Penn Oak La	Cornwallis Column Approach & Encampment George Passmore Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
62.03	62-4-15.2 62-4-68	647 Millers Hill 433 McFarland Rd	Encampment Abraham Taylor Farm & Tenant Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder & Suffering)				X		X	X
N62.36	62-4-67	429 McFarlan Rd	Knyphausen Column Approach & Encampment Jesse Mendenhall property: extant battle-era structures.						X	
62.01	62-3-110	912 S. Union St	Cornwallis Column Approach & Encampment James Walter Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	X
N62.15	62-4-240	580 McFarland Rd	Knyphausen Column Approach & Encampment Robert Lamborn Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.16	62-4-294	600 McFarland Rd	Knyphausen Column Approach & Encampment William Lamborn Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.17	62-6-46.2	1150 Kaolin Rd	Cornwallis Column Approach Henry Dixson Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.18	61-3-28.1	160 Davenport Rd	Approach & Encampment Jesse Miller Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.19	62-3-35	Kennett Area Park Authority	Cornwallis Column Encampment Francis Swayne Farm site (Plunder)							
N62.20	62-3-48.1	410 N. Walnut St	Cornwallis Column Encampment Caleb Taylor Farm site (Plunder)							
N62.21	62-6-30	1045 Kaolin Dr	Cornwallis Column Approach & Encampment Solomon Gregg Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.28	62-3-141.1	1012 Kaolin Rd	Cornwallis Column Approach & Encampment William Pyle Property site (Plunder)							
N62.22	62-7-40	825 Creek Rd	Approach & Encampment Robert Brown Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder)						X	
N62.23	62-4-278	704 Creek Rd.	Approach & Encampment Robert Lewis Farm: extant battle-era structures. (Plunder & Depredation)						X	
N62.24	62-4-235.1	595 Bayard Rd	Knyphausen Column Encampment Robert Way Farm site (Plunder)							
N62.25	Location not determined		Enoch Dixon Farm (Plunder)							
N62.26	Location not determined		Joseph Springer Farm (Plunder)							
N62.27	Location not determined		Joshua Sharpless Farm (Plunder)							
NEW GARDEN TOWNSHIP (Knyphausen Column Approach)										
N60.01	60-3-114	875 Newark Rd	Knyphausen Column New Garden 1715 Meetinghouse, built a new, larger Meetinghouse in 1743				X		X	X
N60.02	60-3c-33	101 Maple Ln	Knyphausen Column Isaac Miller (Son of Joseph) Farm: extant (Depredation)						X	X
N60.03	60-3-107.1	121 New Garden Rd	Knyphausen Column James Miller (son of James) Farm: extant (Depredation)						X	

Figure 4-2c: Con't

MAP ID	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL ADDRESS	OWNER/ASSOCIATION	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS		
				NHL	NR	HD	KOCCA	NRE	LOCAL	INTERP
NEW GARDEN TOWNSHIP CON'T (Knyphausen Column Approach)										
N60.04	60-4-59.4 60-4-62.6	107 Sheehan Rd 3 Colonial Farm Dr	Knyphausen Column Isaac Allen Tavern/Farm site (Depredation)				X			X
N60.05	60-1-63	1455 Baltimore Pk	Knyphausen Column Stephen Anderson/Sam White Tavern ruins site				X			X
N60.06	60-2-41.1	749 W. Baltimore Pk	Knyphausen Column Charles Hall Farm site (Suffering)							
N60.14	60-3-146.2	928 Newark Rd.	Knyphausen Column James Miller, William Martin tenant: extant (Depredation)						X	
N60.15	60-3-148	461 Bucktoe Rd	Jesse Miller Tenant Farm, William Whitesides likely tenant (Depredation)						X	
N60.16	60-3-157	251 New Garden Rd	Knyphausen Column David Frame Farm (Depredation)						X	
N60.12	Location not determined		Knyphausen Column Andrew McIntire Farm site (Depredation)							
N60.13	Location not determined		Knyphausen Column William Dixon Farm site (Plunder)							
AVONDALE BOROUGH (Knyphausen Column Approach)										
N4.01	4-3-27	42 Gap-Newport Pk 2 Ellicot Rd.	William Miller Mill: contained a house, three outbuildings, two grist mills, and two saw mills. Extant mill race on property.				X			X
N4.02	4-3-37	21 Ellicot Rd.	William Miller Barn ruin site							
N4.03	4-3-37.1	23 Ellicot Rd.	House attributed to William Miller						X	
EAST MARLBOROUGH TOWNSHIP (Knyphausen Column Encampment)										
N61.09	61-6Q-12	921 E. Baltimore Pk	Knyphausen Encampment/Column Caleb Peirce Farm Tenant Farm – James Jefferies Tenant (James Jefferies – Depredation)				X		X	
N61.10	61-6-75	516 Schoolhouse Rd	Knyphausen Encampment/Column Daniel Mercer Farm site. (modern Walmart development site) (Suffering)				X			
N61.11	61-6-74 60-3-149.1	509 Schoolhouse Rd	Knyphausen Encampment/Column Moses Pennock Farm - extant structure. (Depredation)				X		X	X
N61.12	61-5-5 61-5-10	293 W. Street Rd 730 Wollaston Rd	Knyphausen Encampment/Column Caleb Johnson Farm & Mill site: extant structure. (Depredation & possible Suffering)				X		X	
KENNETT SQUARE BOROUGH (Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns Encampment)										
03.02	3-2-204	108 N. Union St.	Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns/Encampment Robert Morris/Peter Bell/Unicorn Tavern site (Peter Bell - Depredation & Robert Morris - Plunder)			X	X			X
03.03	3-2-271	100 E. State St.	Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns/Encampment Col. Joseph Shippen Mansion Tenant site (Plunder)			X				
03.04	Location not determined		Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns/Encampment William Hutcheson Farm site (Plunder)			X				
N03.05	Location not determined		Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns/Encampment Joseph Walter Sr. Farm site (Plunder)			X				
N03.06	Location not determined		Cornwallis & Knyphausen Columns/Encampment John Warner, Saddler, site (Plunder & Suffering)			X				

# Historic Roads

Examining historic resources for Phase 1 and Phase 2 strategic landscapes projects revealed the need to reconsider the assumed battle-era road network; as key roads thought to have existed at the time of the battle appeared to be later roads. This section reviews and updates the assumed 2010 Study battle-era road network.

Roads - as built features under KOCOAs - are a key feature for battlefield analysis (Chapter 3) as to their role in the battle/locations of battle events, whether they are KOCOAs built defining features, and their relationship to the battle-era and modern landscape. Understanding where roads were located at the time of the battle, and in relation to properties, structures, and reported losses, is necessary to clarify and compare locations of places, and their proximity to one another, which are referenced in historic accounts, deeds, road petitions, and civilian property loss records.

Review of roads was necessary to carry out basic project goals of identifying route(s) taken by Crown Forces to move from DE into PA, establish their encampment, and march the day of battle. This also includes understanding roads leading to fords and the fords themselves as 'waterway roads'. Roads identified as built defining features represent aspects of plan themes of settlement patterns, and/or association with military events or battle impact on the local community.

Chester County Archives re-examined the battle-era road network using primary source materials. Their detailed research and analytical mapping<sup>1</sup> provides a visual representation of the public road network, as well as properties<sup>2</sup>, including their owners, present at the time of the battle. It shows how roads relate to longstanding historic places, some of which are referenced in battle-related accounts. This mapping updates the battle-era road network shown in the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan, and should be used in place of that road network.

This battle-era road mapping is considered a depiction, as delineating historical information with varying degrees of specificity and availability is a challenging and imperfect task, and the area has seen changes since 1777. For example, Red Clay and Brandywine Creeks and municipal borders have altered over time, and modern Kennett Square Borough did not exist as such in 1777. But, Phase 1 and Phase 2 mapping provides the best and possibly first detailed modern delineation of the battle-era road network that employed specific primary source research.

Knowledge of battle-era properties was needed to map battle-era roads (and vice versa) – original road petition descriptions and property line/owner/deed descriptions were compared against one another, and with other historic mapping<sup>3</sup>, to confirm historic information and accuracy in mapping. Date labels next to roads on battle-era road mapping indicate road petition dates. There may have been additional public roads, cart paths, and by-roads in existence in 1777 for which documentation no longer exists or is not available. Given the large tracts sizes in the area in 1777, and the need for property owners to have access to public roads to conduct business and life affairs, private farm lanes would have also existed in 1777. However, being private means no road petitions were filed and so they can only be located when named in other reference materials or as remaining imprints on the landscape seen via Lidar and like mapping. The 1874 and 1883 maps show farm lanes, some of which project researchers conjecture were likely there at the time of the battle. This is surmised as development was minimal during that roughly 100 year time span in Chester County, which remained rural and relatively unchanged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century still having battle-era properties and families.

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1 1777 Map by Clifford Parker, Chester County Archives, provides a delineation of best available primary source information from Chester County Archives as researched by Archival staff.

2 Appendix B contains 1777 property and damage claims mapping.

3 1847 (roads), 1860 (properties), 1874 (property owners and roads), and 1883 (properties lines) maps were referenced as they are considered the most accurate, detailed, and closest in age to 1777 of known and accessible maps.



The battle-era map depiction provides a basis for understanding the public road network available to Crown Forces and American Forces, as well as civilians impacted by the battle and the local community at large. By analyzing the location of extant battle-era structures, properties/owners, and roads, some of which still exist, along with civilian recordings of battle-related losses, a clear picture of the location of troop movement, battle features, and battle events emerges. Figures

The 18<sup>th</sup> century road network was generally formed through a system of approved roads (via road petitions) that connected destinations, typically mills, taverns, crossroad villages, and places of worship. Primary roads with similar destinations would share the same road name. For example, in Phase 1 there were several ‘Roads to the Great Valley’ all leading to the industrial corridor in colonial-era Caln Township and Chester County’s Great (limestone) Valley, through which the official ‘Great Valley Road’ traversed. Road spurs were referred to in the same manner as their related primary road. Roads from the era were not given the level of systematic road naming that exists today. As such, road dates on the 1777 Road map are the primary way Phases 1 and 2 can provide ‘road names’ to discuss extant roads at the battle. Figure 4-3a (Northern Column Landscape), Figure 4-3b (Eastern Column Landscape), and 4-3c (Associated Approach and Encampment Landscape) summarize key battle-era roads that are defining features.

Figure 4-3a: Northern Column Strategic Landscape Contributing-Historic Roads and KOCO A Defining Features & Recommended Historic Resource Designation

ROAD TYPE	ROAD NAME	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS	
		NHL	NR	HD	KO COA	LOCAL	INTERP
Modern Roads	1720 Road (modern Union St/Unionville Rd/Rt. 82) KOCO A - Avenue of Approach, Key Terrain				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1774 (resurvey) Doe Run Road (modern E Doe Run Rd) KOCO A - Avenue of Approach, Key Terrain				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	Pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road, one of the earliest roads created by William Penn. Led to Painter’s/Wistar’s Ford (modern Street Rd/Rt. 926). KOCO A -Key Terrain, Observation, Fields of Fire Juncture of the pre-1707 Marlborough Street Road/1774 (resurvey) Doe Run Road/1728 Road to the Great Valley - observation point/probable location of Lt. Col. Ross’ detachment on the high ground north of Welch’s Tavern & skirmish site				Y	Y	Y
Modern Road, Trace	1728 Road to the Great Valley (toward Trimble’s Ford) (modern Northbrook Rd that becomes Red Lion Rd in Trimble’s Ford Landscape) KOCO A - Avenue of Approach, Key Terrain (Section of road further north in Trimble’s Ford Landscape leading to Trimble’s Ford is a trace/no longer an active road, but is readily apparent on the landscape)				Y	Y	Y

Figure 4-3b: Eastern Column Strategic Landscape Contributing Historic Roads and KOCO A Defining Features & Recommended Historic Resource Designation

ROAD TYPE	ROAD NAME	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS	
		NHL	NR	HD	KO COA	LOCAL	INTERP
Modern Roads	1743 Great Nottingham Road (modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1) KOCO A – Avenue of Approach				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1760 Road (Today’s Brinton’s Bridge Road)				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1759 Road to Wilmington or 1767 Road (modern Kennett Pike or Hickory Hill Rd) KOCO A – Avenue of Approach for Baggage & Supply Train				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1754 Brandywine Road (modern Hillendale Rd/Fairville Rd) KOCO A – Avenue of Approach for Baggage & Supply Train				Y	Y	Y

Figure 4-3c: Associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes Historic Roads and KOCOAs Defining Features & Recommended Historic Resource Designation

ROAD TYPE	ROAD NAME	CURRENT STATUS				RECOMM. STATUS	
		NHL	NR	HD	KOAO	LOCAL	INTERP
Modern Roads	Battle-era farm lane or by-road (modern Kaolin Rd) Approach Landscape KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads, Traces	Battle-era farm lane or by-road (modern Chandler’s Mill Rd) Approach Landscape KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1740/1773/1720 Newport-Gap Pike ‘Road to Lancaster’ (modern Newport-Gap Rd/Rt. 41) KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach Approach Landscape				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1710 Road/Limestone Road (modern Limestone Rd) Approach Landscape KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach				Y	Y	Y
Modern Roads	1740 Road (modern Ewart Rd & Old Wilmington Pike) Approach Landscape KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach						
Modern Roads	1720 Road (modern Unionville Rd/Rt. 82/Union St) Approach & Encampment Landscapes KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach						
Modern Roads	1723 Road (modern McFarlan Rd to Schoolhouse Ln) Approach & Encampment Landscapes KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach						
Modern Roads	1743 Great Nottingham Road (modern Baltimore Pike/Rt. 1) KOCOAs - Avenue of Approach Approach & Encampment Landscapes						

## Recommendations

Using the analysis undertaken in this chapter, the following recommendations were developed, and are to be used in concert with historic resource recommendations in Chapter 5. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are noted after the related recommendation.

**Overarching Recommendation:** A KOCOAs analysis is a valuable tool for planning and interpretation purposes, as it identifies extant features that still define the battle/battlefield. Protecting those resources is paramount in efforts to preserve and/or interpret the battlefield and history of the battle in the American Revolution and as part of Chester County’s legacy. All future actions should be made with consideration and focus on protection of KOCOAs identified defining features, including battle-related historic structures and their associated contextual surrounding lands and historic landscapes.

- 4.1. Develop a strategy to undertake a Thematic/Multiple Property National Register eligibility nomination for the battlefield, which could include historic resources, historic districts, roads, fords and other battle-related built features. The strategy should outline funding and hiring an architectural historian to assist. (BBTF, Battlefield Historical Commissions, PHMC, CCPC, Architectural Historian)
- 4.2. Research extant battlefield historic resources from the 2013 Plan and update municipal historic resource inventories to reflect these contributing battlefield resources. (Battlefield Historical Commissions)
- 4.3. Research extant battlefield historic resources in New Castle County and Delaware County. These resources should be mapped and identified. While not within the Core of the battlefield, they are significant historical markers. (Battlefield Historical Commissions)

- 4.4. Research 18th century families in the Landscapes. Focus on families named in this plan to understand the dynamics between them and their motivations to support the Revolutionary War effort or live by the Quaker Testimony of Peace. (Historical Commissions working with Military historian)
- 4.5. Determine how to integrate newly attributed and/or associated resources into their respective historic districts. This could entail including them in the municipal historic resources inventory as such and designating them as locally significant resources. This could also include updating National Register documentation, whether or not the updated information is officially submitted to the National Register. (Battlefield Historical Commissions, CCPC)
- 4.6. Continue to refine 1777 property and road network mapping in New Castle County and Delaware County. (CC Archives with volunteer researchers)
- 4.7. Update information and resources mapping from the 2013 Plan to reflect findings herein. (CCPC)



# Protection Strategies: Land Conservation & Historic Resource Protection

This chapter provides an overview and recommendations for southern battlefield municipal<sup>1</sup> policy and measures for land conservation and historic resources protection.

## Land Conservation Overview

From its founding in 1682, Chester County, and the battlefield area, became a highly successful agricultural community. By 1777, the battlefield was largely a farm community dominated by crop production. High quality soils and moderate climate made the area ideal for agricultural production<sup>2</sup>. The farming tradition continues to this day, preserving many of the colonial-era farmsteads. Within these Landscapes, much of that landscape remains intact. The battlefield and larger Brandywine Valley region are fortunate to have municipal governments that promote open space land preservation, conservation organizations with long-term experience in protecting land, and property owners with an interest in long-term land and resources stewardship and conservation.

Under PA law, municipal-level regulation has the authority in most land use decisions. A variety of ordinance-based options for conserving land have been used in the battlefield under the Municipalities Planning Code (MPC), PA Act 247. Many of the 15 battlefield municipalities have adopted zoning and subdivision ordinance provisions that promote land conservation and natural and historic features preservation during land development, whereby sensitive lands are designated to remain undeveloped or to have limited development. Often, this takes the form of open space/conservation design development, whereby units are grouped on smaller lots and large ‘common’ land areas (aka ‘restricted’ or ‘protected’ open space) remain as farms, preserves, historic landscapes, parklands, passive recreation, or undeveloped land, which is managed by a homeowner, condo, or like association. When land conservation occurs for just one site or lot, it is sometimes referred to as a ‘conservation tract or lot’. Land is protected via notations on recorded subdivision documents, conservation or agricultural easements, deed restrictions, or restrictive covenants, which run with the land and prohibit additional unspecified uses or development, and also provide notice and documentation that land has reservations on its use. There are also many tracts under PA Acts 515 and 319, which provide property tax benefits to agricultural and forested lands. The Acts allow property taxes to be based on current use, as opposed to potential market value use. While these lands are not protected, the Acts, particularly Act 319, discourage future development, which would invoke repayment of back taxes for the difference between current versus market value use.



Land conservation allows retention of a still readable battlefield landscape for future

The most effective tool for land conservation has been its outright protection via fee-simple acquisition or conservation easement (open space or agriculture) held by a land trust or government entity. Some municipalities have put forth and accepted land conservation (often term ‘open space’) referendums whereby an additional tax

<sup>1</sup> As the Approach Landscape just touches on Avondale Borough, protection policy and measures are not covered for Avondale.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 2 in the 2013 Plan for more information.

is assessed at the municipal level to be used for the permanent preservation of land. Future permitted uses of preserved land is usually based on the reasons for its preservation; as such, the land could be undeveloped open space to protect important natural resources, a nature preserve to protect sensitive habitats, active farmland, passive recreation, parkland, and/or a historic landscape including key feature interpretation. For the 2013 Plan, public input noted that protecting land through purchase or easement can be costly for municipalities, while protection via ordinance standards is a more affordable, but sometimes not permanent, option dependent on how the standards are structured.

Land stewardship is significant in the battlefield dating back to William Penn land grants. The battlefield remains home to descendants of original Quaker colonists who continue to be stewards of their lands and historic structures as part of their family’s cultural heritage. More broadly, many individual property owners have a committed interest in stewardship and preservation, and the protection of the battlefield as a national treasure. This committed interest, in large part, is what has distinguished planning and protection of the battlefield from other places. Several land trusts, such as Brandywine Conservancy and Natural Lands Trust, have been active in the southern battlefield with land conservation.

## Land Conservation Policy & Analysis

Given Kennett Square is a Borough with a town development pattern, land conservation measures in the Borough are not covered in this discussion. However, the Borough contains around 50 acres of open space and parklands, which should be taken into account for regional open space connectivity purposes.

### East Marlborough Township Summary

East Marlborough Township, where the Lower Flank Northern Column Landscape and a portion of Eastern Column Advance Landscape is located, supports open space, greenways, and land conservation in Township policy. Crown Forces under the command of Gen’l Cornwallis marched through the Township the day of battle as part of the 9,000 strong flanking march, including skirmishing with American patrols. Crown Forces under Gen’l Knyphausen marched in the Township as a part of the eastern advance the day of battle. Today, the general Northern Column Landscape area in East Marlborough has a mix of suburban and institutional development and rural and agrarian tracts, many of which are preserved, while the general Eastern Column Landscape area is developed with mostly commercial uses.

**Policy:** Township planning policy guides land conservation, including the Unionville Area Regional Comprehensive Plan (in conjunction with West Marlborough and Newlin Townships) and an Open Space, Recreation, and Environmental Resources Plan (OSRER), which is being updated in 2019/20. Landowners have a strong commitment to maintaining and fostering agriculture as displayed via lands enrolled in Agricultural Security Areas. The Township is working toward interconnected greenways, open space, park, and nature preserve system as promoted by the OSRER Plan. The Township also has municipal land conservation funding in place.

**Regulations:** The Township has a variety of land conversation standards in place (Figure 5-1a). Development patterns reflect zones from east to west becoming more rural, leaving western areas as largely rural, natural, and agricultural areas that are mostly protected lands. Agricultural-Preservation (AP) district zoning, which comprises much of the western Township, focuses on retention of farming/farm tracts and larger rural land tracts through agricultural zoning. In R-B Residential district zoning, which comprises much of the eastern Township, land conservation can occur during development via lot averaging and open space design options. The southeastern portion of the Township, through which the eastern advance traversed, falls in developed areas along Baltimore Pike, as reflected in higher density and mixed-use zoning.

**Efforts:** Land conservation efforts have been successful, with over one-third of the Township in conserved lands (including parklands, preserves, woodlands, trails, eased lands, land development open spaces, farms, and quasi-public lands such as school or recreation grounds). Around 390 acres are land development open space and around 90 acres are Township parklands. Additionally, approximately 3,050 acres have been partially or wholly protected through conservation or agricultural easements. There are also many tracts under PA Acts 515 and 319.

Figure 5-1a: East Marlborough Township Land Conservation-related Regulations Summary

DOCUMENT	STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural zoning.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Lot Averaging and Cluster Development option in several districts.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural/horticultural uses permitted in most areas.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Adjusted tract size to net-out of constrained lands from development calculations</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Natural resource protection provisions.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/ Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Open space identification for sketch plans. Conservation plan required for preliminary/final plans.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> "Trust" (Natural and historic) Resources Impact Assessment</li> </ul>

## Pennsbury Township Summary

Pennsbury Township, where a portion of Eastern Column Advance Landscape is located, supports open space, greenways, land conservation, and preservation, and Brandywine Battlefield and its National Historic Landmark, in Township policy. Crown Forces under the command of Gen'l Knyphausen marched through the Township and skirmished with American Forces the day of the battle. Today, the general Eastern Column Landscape area in Pennsbury has a mix of suburban development, lower density development including along Baltimore Pike, and rural and agrarian tracts (particularly the Crown Force Baggage Supply Train area), some of which are preserved.

**Policy:** Township planning policy is supportive of land conservation, including a Comprehensive Plan, Open Space, Recreation and Environmental Resources Plan (OSRER) and Rt. 1 Corridor Improvement Plan. The Township is also part of the multi-municipal Brandywine Greenway Plan project, a coordinated approach of planning for a natural and cultural resources conservation corridor via an interconnected system of protected lands and linkages, centering along Brandywine Creek. The Township is working toward an interconnected greenways, open space, park, and nature preserve system as promoted by the Comprehensive Plan. The Township has an Open Space Advisory Committee, and has municipal land conservation funding in place.

**Regulations:** The Township has various land conversation standards in place (Figure 5-1b). Regulations direct development to certain areas, thus promoting rural, natural, and agricultural areas to remain. Zoning employs open space design development to address lands and resources to be preserved during land development. Lower density R-1 district zoning comprises most of the Township, and land conservation can be accomplished during land development through the open space design option. Importantly, zoning contains a Rt. 1 Corridor and Brandywine Battlefield Overlay District that is specifically geared to regulate these areas for rural character and resources retention including to have appropriate uses, density, design, and level of protection.

**Efforts:** Land conservation efforts have been successful with about one-third of the Township in conserved lands. Around 232 acres are land development open space, and around 130 acres are Township open space and parklands. Additionally, approximately 1,680 acres have been partially or wholly protected through conservation or agricultural easements. There are also many tracts under PA Acts 515 and 319.

Figure 5-1b: Pennsbury Township Land Conservation-related Regulations Summary

DOCUMENT	STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Rt. 1 Corridor and Brandywine Battlefield Overlay District (All uses by conditional use, requires preservation of open spaces, vegetation and viewsheds to the greatest extent possible).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Open Space Design Option and Lot Averaging in a few districts.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural/horticultural uses permitted in many areas.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Net-out of constrained lands open space and development calculations.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Natural resource protection provisions.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/ Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Existing resources inventory/site analysis and four-step site responsive development. Community &amp; Environmental Impact Assessments for major subdivisions.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Fee-in-lieu of a development providing passive and active recreation areas, generally consistent with Comp Plan &amp; OSRER Plan, and interconnected to other areas.</li> </ul>

## Kennett Township Summary

Kennett Township, where portions of Eastern Column Advance, Encampment, and Approach Landscapes are located, supports open space, greenways, land conservation, and preservation, and Brandywine Battlefield and its National Historic Landmark, in Township policy. Policy also supports 2013 Plan implementation. Crown Forces under the command of Gen'l Knyphausen camped overnight and then marched through the Township having several skirmishes with American Forces the day of the battle, while Crown Forces under the command of Gen'l Cornwallis made a difficult uncharted trek north from DE through the Township to their encampment destination around Kennett Square. Today, the general Eastern Column Advance Landscape area is partly open land as part of Longwood Gardens, while Encampment and Approach Landscapes are a mix of medium- and lower- density suburban development and rural and agrarian tracts, some of which are preserved lands.

**Policy:** Township planning policy is supportive of land conservation, including a Comprehensive Plan, a joint Parks, Recreation, and Open Space Plan (PROS) in conjunction with Kennett Square, and an official map. The Township has a Land Conservation Advisory Committee, and municipal land conservation funding in place.

**Regulations:** The Township has various land conversation standards in place (Figure 5-1c). Regulations direct most development around Kennett Square Borough, thus promoting rural, natural, and agricultural areas to remain. Landscapes encompass several zoning districts. Areas near the Borough and both Hamorton and Mendenhall villages have higher density zoning with a mix of uses, while outlying areas are mostly R-1 and R-2 Residential district zoning that employ lower development densities and open space design development. The Township zoning ordinance update is to include Cultural Conservation district zoning to recognize open lands and cultural resources and amenities; this overlaps with parts of Encampment and Eastern Column Landscapes.

**Efforts:** Land conservation efforts have yielded over one-fifth of the Township in conserved lands. Around 760 acres are land development open space, and around 330 acres are Township open space and parklands. Additionally, approximately 830 acres have been partially or wholly protected through conservation easements. There are also many tracts under PA Acts 515 and 319.

Figure 5-1c: Kennett Township Land Conservation-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cultural Conservation district &amp; green space in al districts (in 2020 zoning update)</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Open Space Design Option in several districts.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural/horticultural uses permitted in most zones.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Net-out of constrained lands from open space and development calculations</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Natural resource protection including heritage trees.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Visual, natural, and cultural resources site analysis plans for preliminary plans.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Fee-in-lieu of a development providing recreation areas.</li> </ul>
Official Map	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Official map to provide for community recreation and open space.</li> </ul>

## New Garden Township Summary

New Garden Township, where a portion of the Approach Landscape is located, supports open space, greenways, land conservation, and preservation in Township policy and implementation of the 2013 Plan and battlefield strategic landscapes planning. Today, the general Approach Landscape area is a mix of commercial development, particularly along Baltimore and Gap-Newport Pike, residential development, and rural and agrarian tracts, many of which are not preserved.

**Policy:** Township planning policy is supportive of land conservation, including a Comprehensive Plan, Greenways Plan, and an official map. The Greenways Plan proposes an interconnected greenway network of township-owned lands, parks, schools, public open space, and other destinations. The Township has an Open Space Review Board, and municipal land conservation funding in place.

**Regulations:** The Township has various land conversation standards in place (Figure 5-1d). Regulations direct most development to the southeastern and northern parts of the Township, thus allowing rural, natural, and agricultural areas to remain. The Landscape encompass several zoning districts. Areas along and north of Baltimore Pike and in the vicinity of eastern and western Gap-Newport Pike have higher density zoning with a mix of uses, while outlying areas are mostly R-1 Residential district zoning that employs open space design development and lot averaging.

**Efforts:** Land conservation efforts have yielded one-seventh of the Township in conserved lands. Around 450 acres are land development open space, and around 725 acres are Township open space and parklands. Additionally, approximately 740 acres have been partially or wholly protected through conservation or agricultural easements. There are also many tracts under PA Acts 515 and 319.

Figure 5-1d: New Garden Township Land Conservation-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Open Space Design, open space preservation during development, &amp; lot averaging in several districts.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Agricultural/horticultural uses permitted in several zones.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Net-out of constrained lands from open space and development calculations</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Natural resource protection provisions.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Resources prioritization &amp; locations to reflect Greenways Plan and Phelps Property Plan</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Site analysis plan and four-step site responsive development under residential cluster/open space development design</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Fee-in-lieu of a development providing recreation areas.</li> </ul>
Official Map	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Official map in part to provide for community recreation, trails, and open space.</li> </ul>

## Southern Battlefield Land Conservation Analysis

### Background

Much of the land conservation effort in the battlefield has focused on preservation of viable farmland, natural resources, and/or historic landscapes relating to battlefield combat/engagement areas, such as Meetinghouse Rd. Corridor in Birmingham Township. There has been less focus on troop marching corridors and battle tactical staging and skirmish areas, such as southern battlefield landscapes (as well as northern battlefield landscapes<sup>1</sup>). This is somewhat expected as until the 2010 Study, these areas were not given adequate consideration as part of the battlefield, much less as areas where battlefield protection efforts should be focused. However, it is now understood via strategic landscapes planning that military tactics developed and activities taken in these areas are a key part of the battlefield and critical to setting up the combat/engagement actions that occurred in the eastern battlefield on Sept 11, 1777.

1 See Northern Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Plans for Marshallton, Trimble’s Ford/Jefferis’ Ford, and Scanneltown/Strode’s Mill.



mapping analysis and additional recommended tracts from this plan’s detailed analysis. Updated<sup>1</sup> 2013 Plan mapping (Map 5-1) shows currently protected lands and lands for possible future protection in today’s setting. Some of the additionally identified tracts contain battle-era historic resources and associated lands (Chapter 4), acknowledging founding local families and those who had a part in the outcome of American history and founding of the nation. Using established criteria for examining land conservation potential, identified tracts are generally larger (10 acres+), however key smaller tracts (<10 acres) that contain battle-era historic resources, critical connections, or are part of key battle-era individuals/families properties, are also identified in this plan’s updated mapping. Mapping also shows tracts that are in proximity to troop and baggage column buffers that are roughly ½-mile wide; an ABPP recommended width appropriate for military activities of the era, terrain, number of troops, and support people and supplies,

## Historic Resource Protection Overview

As with land conservation, Chester County including the battlefield has been fortunate to have stewardship-minded landowners, municipal governments, and active citizen volunteers that support historic resource protection. The battlefield is still dotted with period historic structures (Map 4-1) that highly contribute to completing the picture of the still readable battle-era landscape. Farming traditions that continue today also have contributed to the preservation of many colonial-era structures that are part of original farmsteads. Within the Landscapes, there remain 18<sup>th</sup> century structures that ‘witnessed’ battle activity and those that contribute to Quaker history, battle-era family’s history, the overall period setting, and other plan themes. Southern battlefield municipalities provide support for historic preservation as evidenced through their policies and regulations discussed below. These communities are members of Brandywine Battlefield Task Force (BBTF) and have representatives on BBTF’s historic resources/interpretation subcommittee who is actively and successfully implementing 2013 Plan, Phase 1, and Phase 2 heritage interpretation recommendations. Southern battlefield municipalities also participate in Chester County Historic Preservation Network, a group who advocates for ongoing historic resource preservation, education, and outreach throughout the County.

One of the most effective tools for historic resource protection is a property owner’s stewardship and willingness to maintain and continue the viability of their historic structures for future generations. Like land conservation, preservation of historic resources has been significant in the battlefield. Land conservation and historic resource preservation, particularly on larger parcels in the battlefield, have tended to go ‘hand-in-hand’ in part due to the battlefield remaining home to many decedents of original colonists, who continue to be stewards of their lands and historic structures as part of their cultural heritage. More broadly, many individual property owners have a committed interest in resource preservation, and the protection of the battlefield as a national treasure. This committed interest, in large part, is what continues to distinguish planning and protection efforts in the battlefield from other places.

Like land conservation, historic resource protection is enabled under the Municipalities Planning Code (MPC), PA Act 247. The MPC calls for historic resources protection to be integrated into local planning policy and zoning regulations. Many of the fifteen battlefield municipalities have adopted provisions in their zoning and subdivision ordinances that encourage historic resources protection and adaptive reuse, and that regulate demolition. In Chester County, this often takes the form of a historic resource zoning overlay, whereby provisions addressing historic resource protection are added to base zoning. This may include permitting modification of area and bulk requirements; providing additional uses as incentives for continued resource use; or reviewing proposed building changes. Historic resource overlay zoning is often employed in situations where there is not a sufficient concentration of resources to form a historic district. This tool is flexible and usually employed municipal-wide.

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<sup>1</sup> Updated with current parcels, protected lands, roads, and other relevant information since 2013.

Likewise, the Subdivision and Land Development Ordinance (SLDO) often includes provisions requiring identification of historic resources on plans, and Historic Impact Statements that examine the impact of new development on historic resources on/near the proposed development tract. With the majority of battlefield municipalities having Historical Commissions in place, a key first step has been taken in acknowledging the importance of the area’s historic resources and landscapes. There are multiple National Register listed and eligible sites and districts, and locally designated historic resources throughout the battlefield.

The Historic District Act of 1961, PA Act 167, offers a different approach to resource protection. It enables municipalities to protect historic and architectural character through regulating the erection, reconstruction, alteration, restoration, demolition, or razing of buildings within a certified local historic district. Local historic districts established under this Act must be formally certified through the Pennsylvania and Museum Commission (PHMC). This Act also requires the appointment of a Historic Architectural Review Board (HARB) to advise the local governing body on the appropriateness of building activity in the district. This type of protection has tended to be less well used in Chester County, likely due to the less dense development pattern and scattered rural historic resources. However, there are five local historic districts in battlefield communities.

# Historic Resource Protection Policy & Analysis

## East Marlborough Township Summary

**Policy:** East Marlborough supports historic resources protection policy. The Unionville Area Regional Comprehensive Plan (completed in conjunction with West Marlborough and Newlin Townships) states historic preservation as being of prime importance to the region as a whole. It specifically recommends the development of educational materials for residents to better understand historical resources/context, as well as incorporation of regulations that incentivize preservation as part of new development and redevelopment. The Township is a member of the Brandywine Valley Scenic Byway, and has adopted an Intergovernmental Cooperative Agreement and a Byway Ordinance that promotes the historic and cultural importance of the byway and its resources.

**Historic Resources:** East Marlborough shares Longwood Gardens National Register Historic District with Kennett and Pennsbury Townships, with the vast majority of the district in East Marlborough. It also shares Green Valley and Marlborough Village National Register Historic Districts with Newlin Township. The Township contains Unionville Village National Register Historic District, a few individual National Register properties, and a National Historic Landmark, Cedarcroft. East Marlborough also has many other historic resources as shown on its Historic Resources list and map.

**Regulations:** The 2013 Plan’s examination of battlefield municipalities’ historic resource protection measures indicates that East Marlborough has extensive protection measures in place. East Marlborough has a Historical Commission who reviews projects impacting historic resources Township-wide via a Scenic, Historic and Cultural

Figure 5-2a: East Marlborough Historic Resource Protection-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional uses for larger historic structures in. Village Commercial and Willowdale Multiple Use districts.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Act 167 Historic District (H) for Unionville Village Historic District with a HARB reviewing Certificates of Appropriateness for projects impacting historic resources in district.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Township-wide preservation of Historic and Cultural Resources standards via Scenic, Historic and Cultural Resources Overlay with Historic Commission review.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> In general regulation, protection of environmental trust resources to minimize or avoid adverse impact on resources to implement PA Constitution Article I, § 27, including for trust resource impact assessment.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic specimen tree protection as part of development review.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic resources are not addressed</li> </ul>

Resources Overlay. The Township also has a HARB who addresses historic resource protection in the Act 167 Historic (H) District for Unionville Village. The Agricultural Preservation District permits resource protection-oriented development and open space development is to be designed to preserve historic and other resources.

## Pennsbury Township Summary

**Policy:** Pennsbury emphasizes the importance of historic resources and their protection in Township Comprehensive Plan policies. A Comprehensive Plan policy is to “use the Brandywine Battlefield Historic Landmark reports and documents as guidelines when development is proposed within the battlefield boundaries.” It recommends numerous strategies to preserve battlefield areas, e.g. continued coordination with other battlefield communities, encouraging battlefield lands to be protected in land conservation efforts, use of open space design when development occurs, and implementing strategies Battlefield Protection Strategies Guide.

**Historic Resources:** Pennsbury Township is within the regional Brandywine Battlefield National Historic Landmark District. The Township is part of Longwood Gardens National Register Historic District along with Kennett and East Marlborough Townships. The Township shares State Boundary Markers Linear National Register District (Mason-Dixon/PA-DE Arc Stone Boundary Markers) with Kennett and other state border municipalities including New Castle County, DE. Pennsbury also shares Twin Bridges Rural National Register Historic District with Chadds Ford Township. The Township contains Fairville, Harlon Log House, and Parkersville National Register Historic Districts and several individual National Register properties. Pennsbury contains many other historic resources as shown on a Historic Resources Survey and map. The Township is also a member of the Brandywine Valley Scenic Byway, and has adopted an Intergovernmental Cooperative Agreement and a Byway Ordinance that promotes the historic and cultural importance of the byway/its resources.

**Regulations:** Based on the 2013 Plan’s examination of battlefield municipality’s historic resource protection measures, the Township has extensive protection measures in place, including specific provisions for the battlefield via the Rt. 1 Corridor and Brandywine Battlefield Overlay District. This overlay requires architecture compatible with existing historic resources/character and that new buildings are grouped to preserve natural and open areas, and scenic views. Pennsbury has a Historical Commission who address historic resources protection Township-wide via a Historic Resource Overlay. SLDO requirements address historic resources. As well, R-1 district zoning has a focus on resource protection-oriented development options and open space development is to be designed to preserve historic and other resources.

Figure 5-2b: Pennsbury Township Historic Resource Protection-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Township-wide Historic Resources protection Overlay with Historic Commission review/advice.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Village Residential and Village Commercial Districts promote development that is compatible with the historic character of Fairville Village.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Battlefield and Rt, 1 Corridor Overlay that promotes context-sensitive development as it relates to the battlefield landmark and other historic resources and landscapes along the corridor, including provides design guidelines for new construction.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Multi-use District mixed use development promotes preservation of historical resources and landscapes.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional density permitted for preservation and adaptive reuse of historic resources under Open Space Design Developments, and Battlefield Landmark is permitted as open space use.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional uses for adaptive reuse of historic resources to encourage their preservation.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Existing resource inventory includes historic resources.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic Resource Impact Statement requirement.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> 4-step site sensitive approach including delineating and considering historic resources.</li> </ul>

## Kennett Township Summary

**Policy:** Kennett Township supports historic resources protection via Comprehensive Plan policy that recommends additional resource protection measures, participation in regional initiatives such as BBTF, and considering opportunities to protect battle features and landscapes. A Comprehensive Plan policy is to apply the 2013 Plan as a guideline when land or roadway improvements are proposed within or adjacent to battlefield related lands.

**Historic Resources:** Kennett Township is within the regional Brandywine Battlefield National Historic Landmark District. The Township is part of Longwood Gardens National Register Historic District along with East Marlborough and Pennsbury Townships. The Township shares State Boundary Markers Linear National Register District (Mason-Dixon/PA-DE Arc Stone Boundary Markers) with Pennsbury and other state border municipalities including New Castle County, DE. Kennett contains Hamorton Village National Register Historic District and a few individual National Register properties. Kennett contains many other historic resources as shown on its Historic Resources Survey and map. The Township is a member of the Brandywine Valley Scenic Byway, and has adopted an Intergovernmental Cooperative Agreement and a Byway Ordinance that promotes the historic and cultural importance of the byway and its resources.

**Regulations:** The 2013 Plan’s examination of battlefield municipality’s historic resource protection measures indicates that Kennett has good resource protection measures in place. Kennett has a Historical Commission who address Township-wide historic resources related projects via historic resource protection standards. The Township is completing its zoning update in 2021 that consolidates and expands upon historic resource protection standards including additional uses to promote adaptive reuse of historic resources in all districts, as well as consideration of cultural landscape and battlefield features. Open space development takes into account preservation of historic resources. SLDO requirements consider historic resources.

Figure 5-2c: Kennett Township Historic Resource Protection-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Township-wide Historic Resources protection standards, including archeology, with Historic Commission review.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Village Districts promote development that is compatible with the historic character of both villages.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional uses for adaptive reuse of historic resources to encourage their preservation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic specimen tree protection as part of development review.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historical Commission review of plans that may affect historic resources.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Visual, natural, and cultural resources site analysis plans for preliminary plans.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic resource impact study, including archeological resources.</li> </ul>
Official Map	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identifies public streets, watercourses, and public grounds</li> </ul>

## New Garden Township Summary

**Policy:** New Garden Township supports historic resources protection via its Comprehensive Plan where historic resources are a priority topic, and that recommends a historic resource inventory update, additional resources protection measures, participation in regional initiatives such as BBTF, and consideration of strategic landscape planning and 2013 Plan recommendations. The Village of Toughkenamon: Streetscape and Transportation Improvement Plan indicates that maintaining village historic character, including its older buildings is important for keeping its unique identify.

**Historic Resources:** The Township contains several individual National Register properties, and many other historic resources as shown on the Historic Resources Survey as well as a user friendly interactive web map.

**Regulations:** The 2013 Plan’s examination of battlefield municipality’s historic resource protection measures indicates that New Garden has resource protection measures in place. New Garden has a Historical Commission

who address historic resources related projects Township-wide through a historic resource preservation standards. The Township is working on updating these standards to promote resource protection and provide added options. Open space and lot averaging development takes into account preservation of historic resources. SLDO requirements consider historic resources.

Figure 5-2d Garden Township Historic Resource Protection-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Township-wide Historic Resources preservation standards with Historic Commission review.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional uses for adaptive reuse of historic resources to encourage their preservation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional density for preservation of historic resources in open space and lot averaging developments</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic resource identification on preliminary plans.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Recreation and open space permit historic resources as uses.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Historic specimen tree protection as part of development review.</li> </ul>
Official Map	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identifies Township properties, existing and possible conserved lands, community facilities, watercourses, existing and proposed streets, existing sidewalks, and existing and proposed trails</li> </ul>

## Kennett Square Borough Summary

**Policy:** Kennett Square Borough supports historic resources protection though Comprehensive Plan policy that recommends review of resources protection measures, participation in regional preservation partnership and initiatives such as BBTF, and consideration of a historic resource survey update.

**Historic Resources:** Kennett Square Borough contains Kennett Square National Register Historic District that encompasses over 1/3 of the Borough. There are also a couple individual National Register properties, and other historic resources as shown on the Historic Resources Survey.

**Regulations:** The 2013 Plan’s examination of battlefield municipality’s historic resource protection measures indicates that Kennett Square has resource protection measures in place. In 2015, the Borough repealed its preservation of historic resources zoning standards along with its Historical Commission. Since the Borough no longer has an entity to address historic education and outreach, it is hoped the underway Kennett Heritage Center (Chapter 6) can help fill this void. The Borough has a HARB who address historic resource protection in the Act 167 Historic District. SLDO requirements consider historic resources.

Figure 5-2e Kennett Square Borough Historic Resource Protection-related Policies Summary

DOCUMENT	CURRENT STANDARDS
Zoning	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Act 167 Historic District for town center portion of Kennett Square Historic District with a HARB reviewing Certificates of Appropriateness for projects impacting historic resources in district.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Architectural details of certain uses in C-1 and C-2 districts should reflect historic buildings in the Borough.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Additional density for preservation of historic resources in historic district in open space developments.</li> </ul>
Subdivision/Land Development (SLDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Encourage preservation of historic spots and other community assets.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> New architectural is to confirm with existing nearby architecture</li> </ul>

## Land Conservation & Historic Resource Protection Recommendations

Rural open and agrarian lands containing historic resources, interspersed with suburban residential and some commercial development, and coupled with rolling topography characterize East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, and New Garden battlefield landscapes; a character the townships and residents are working to maintain for future generations. While conserved lands vary in their type of protection and public access, they

importantly provide environmental and cultural resource protection benefits to the community overall. Appreciable additional development cannot occur or is limited on these lands, and they have lower intensity uses. Likewise historic resource preservation, independently or preferably in concert with its historic setting and land conservation, serves to maintain the built environment segment of battlefield character that highly contributes to the overall distinctive Brandywine Valley sense of place. Preservation efforts speak to protection of the battlefield for future generations and heritage physical setting and overall themes of retaining still readable battle-era landscape areas, Brandywine Valley settlement patterns, Quaker roots, role of the area in American history, and association with the story of our nation’s founding is supported. Lands and buildings have been preserved due to ongoing stewardship efforts by property owners, efforts by local entities to identify and support preservation opportunities, and local regulatory measures.

**Overarching Recommendation:** Future actions should be made with a particular focus on protection of KOCOA identified defining features, including battle-related lands and historic landscapes, and their interrelated historic structures.

## Land Conservation Recommendations

This plan recommends expanding on the successful land conservation that has occurred to date. This can occur by linking existing protected lands to form an interconnected network, which is largely geared to Townships. East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, and New Garden all promote land conservation in their Township policy. Recommendations focus on landscape conservation intertwined with historic resources protection. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are listed after the related recommendation.

**Overarching Recommendations:** Lands identified on Map 5-1 should be considered for conservation, or, if developed, for site responsive limited development. More specifically, lands within/near ½-mile width column buffer areas that contain battle-era historic resources should be considered as the highest priority for conservation. The second highest priority for conservation are lands within/near ½-mile width column buffer areas that do not contain battle-era historic resources. Other lands within/near Landscapes bounds, particularly that contains battle-era historic resources, are the third highest priority for conservation. Possible land conservation tracts outlying Landscapes bounds serve as transition areas between this portion of the battlefield and possible future development and intrusion and are the fourth highest priority for conservation. (Landowners, BBTF, Land Trusts, Chester County Open Space/Parks Dept., East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, New Garden Townships)

- 5-1. Expand the role of municipal recreation, or like, committees to address land conservation or establish a separate advisory committee. This committee could identify and prioritize opportunities to protect land, including historic landscapes identified in this plan, and could coordinate with landowners, Historical Commissions, and land trusts and on projects that cross municipal lines. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-2. Protect lands as part of a larger open space network that extends throughout the battlefield and continue to encourage land trusts, in coordination with BBTF, municipalities, and landowners, to be primary agents for land conservation in the battlefield. Creating larger total conserved land clusters simultaneously provides environmental benefits, protects battlefield landscape/rural character, and provides more competitive applications for funding opportunities. During the financial boom of the 1990s and early 2000s, land trusts were able to garner funding to protect significant known battlefield properties. Since that time, information from 2010 Study, 2013 Plan, and Phase 1 and 2 projects has shown the extent of battlefield land coverage. The 2008/09 economic downturn reduced available funding, but land trusts remain primary organizations with the experience and staff to pursue funding and undertake coordination.

Significant historic landscapes may be protected due to their obvious historic merit, but there are other lands in the battlefield without a specific battle-related story that help form a larger network to link key

battlefield areas and display the battle-era landscape feel/setting. Southern battlefield communities with success and experience in land conservation would benefit this larger effort. Municipalities can include information about available conservation options via their websites, newsletters, and mailings. (Land Trusts, BBTF, Landowners, Battlefield Municipalities, Chester County Parks & Preservation Dept,)

- 5-3. Protect smaller parcels to link larger conservation tracts. Going forward, many larger open lands in these Landscapes may either be protected or developed, leaving smaller lots available for conservation. Such lots are already beginning to become more of a conservation priority in/near villages and other developed settings. While the available acreage may be relatively minimal, the value of conservation may be significant due to historic resources or the ability to link existing protected lands. (Landowners, Land Trusts, East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, New Garden Townships, Chester County Parks & Preservation Dept,)
- 5-4. Promote and retain agriculture as an industry and historic land use in the battlefield. Municipalities can consider agricultural or rural conservation friendly zoning to help maintain farms, rural character, and battlefield lands. Agricultural land easements are another option to simultaneously provide funds for farms, and preserve battlefield lands and their farming and use. New Garden’s website has an informative agriculture section and other communities could do the same on their websites. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-5. Revisit the Official Map/Ordinance in Kennett and New Garden and develop one in East Marlborough and Pennsbury to address possible battlefield land conservation. Denote key battlefield lands for preservation using this plan’s information. (East Marlborough, Pennsbury, Kennett, New Garden Townships)
- 5-6. Publicize and celebrate land conservation efforts at Heritage Centers and other sites associated with the battlefield to publicly display the inherent relation between battlefield protection and land conservation. In the past, battlefield education efforts have focused on battle history or colonial-era topics. The history of land preservation over the last 40 years could also be presented to the public in this forum. Such publicity would celebrate the efforts of local landowners and entities, while providing information to the public about the multi-faceted benefits of land conservation. (CCPC, Battlefield Municipalities, Land Trusts)
- 5-7. Coordinate natural resource protection and battlefield land conservation. In the battlefield, natural feature areas and landforms still exist that display where battle action occurred and a battle-era setting. Thus, protecting natural features inherently serves to also protect battlefield areas. For example, waterways corridors, such as Brandywine Creek and its adjacent lands are themselves valuable natural resources worthy of protection, as is being done via Brandywine Creek Greenway planning. However, protecting the Creek corridor will not only protect natural habitat but features that influenced strategies employed by both armies during the battle. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-8. Coordinate with TLC and other like organizations on establishing programs that restore, maintain, and interpret natural features as key battlefield elements. Programs can discuss the importance of landforms and natural features in battle strategy and its outcome. For example, Brandywine Creek is a critical natural feature as an obstacle and key terrain as part of the Crown Force flank and American defense. (BBTF, Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-9. Encourage landowners to manage sensitive natural resources on their property. Many protected properties in the battlefield are adjacent to lands that may never be protected. Lands, whether protected or unprotected and of varying sizes, can still be managed to promote quality environments. For example, native trees can be planted on a residential lot next to protected woodlands, extending the tree canopy while still yielding residential lawn area under the canopy. Likewise, stream banks on smaller private lots can be vegetated with trees or kept as seasonally mowed tall grass in a 5 to 15 foot-setback ‘low mow zone.’ More information can be found in CCPC’s ‘Taking Control of Your Land: A Land Stewardship Guide for Landowners’. (Battlefield Municipalities)

- 5-10. Update 2013 Plan maps to include Northern Column, Encampment, and Approach conserved lands clusters. The 2013 Plan identified protected lands clusters in Eastern Column Landscape areas. Phase 2 shows southern battlefield areas are more extensive and should be considered for land conservation. Clusters could simultaneously serve to protect historic and natural resources and landscapes; a helpful combination for protecting battlefield features in whole and when seeking competitive conservation funding. (CCPC)

## Historic Resource Protection Recommendations

This plan recommends expanding on the successful historic resource protection that has occurred to date. All five municipalities promote historic resources protection policy, and the following recommendations build upon this. These recommendations are to be used in concert with Chapter 4 built features recommendations. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are listed after the related recommendation.

**Overarching Recommendation:** Protect battle-era historic resources, particularly those identified (Chapter 4) as contributing to southern battlefield Landscapes and within the ½-mile troop movement buffer as a first priority. Future actions should be made with a focus on protection of KOCOIA identified defining features, including battle-related historic structures and their associated contextual surrounding lands and historic landscapes.

- 5-11. Complete PA Historic Resource Survey Forms for historic resources identified in this plan. Plan analysis and information represents another step towards battle-era resources documentation. The next step is to document resources in a uniform manner on the PA Historic Resource Survey Form, including information in this plan and consistent with PHMC’s Bureau of Historic Preservation (BHP) standards. This level of information provides a solid base for resource protection. (East Marlborough Historical Commission, Kennett Historical Commission, Pennsbury Historical Commission)
- 5-12. Continue to provide, and considering expanding, incentives for historic preservation and adaptive reuse. This is a critical tool for continued viable future use of historic structures. Adaptive reuse can preserve buildings that are an inherent part of battlefield character, but that no longer need their original use. Incentives can include additional uses being permitted, modification of typical requirements that older structures and lots often cannot meet, and additional density for historic preservation and reuse. Adaptive reuse is a planning tool on CCPC’s website, where more information is available. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-13. Reinstate a Historical Commission in Kennett Square Borough to have a Borough affiliated entity to address Borough-wide historic resources education and outreach. The Commission can also work in coordination with the underway Kennett Heritage Center on exhibits and programs. (Kennett Square Borough)
- 5-14. Revise resource impact statement/study provisions in East Marlborough, Pennsbury, and Kennett to also identify and assess development impact specifically on the battlefield and its resources, and add a resource impact study In New Garden. Such a requirement would make developers more aware of battlefield resources, and able to design their projects to accommodate preservation. (East Marlborough, Pennsbury Kennett, New Garden Townships)
- 5-15. Investigate developing battlefield design guidelines via working through BBTF. Such an effort could help provide guidance for redevelopment, rehabilitation, reuse, infill, or new construction that preserves the character and scenic values of the Landscapes and battlefield overall. Though in the northern battlefield, West Bradford Township’s TND-2 has a good set of design guidelines that could be used as a starting point for this broader effort. Such guidelines should be presented in a guidebook and take into account preservation standards developed by the Secretary of the Interior. Chester County Community Planning Handbook (Tool #45) provides information. (BBTF, Battlefield Municipalities)

- 5-16. Consider applying for designation as Certified Local Government (CLG). The CLG program provides technical assistance and small grants to member municipalities for historic preservation related projects. In PA, the program is administered by PHMC and a match is required CLG grants. Only a few battlefield municipalities are CLGs and the rest should consider becoming designated. Municipalities apply directly to PHMC and information is on their website. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-17. Encourage use of consistent or compatible historic resources ordinance definitions for in throughout the battlefield. This can be promoted via BBTF and its subcommittee, and would require regulatory amendments by battlefield municipalities. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-18. Consider expanding historic resource protection to all of Kennett Square Borough through zoning standards or an overlay. The Borough had historic preservation zoning provision in place, but repealed those standards leaving historic resources outside of the Historic District without specific protection including Historical Commission review/advice on project impacting resources. (Kennett Square Borough)
- 5-19. Retain battle-era roads in existing rural battlefield areas. When considering roadwork and development proposals, take into account the early road network, much of which still remains and some closely to as it was during the battle. These roads not only display the battle-era setting, but highly contribute to continuing rural community character and quality of life in still rural and agricultural portions of the battlefield. (Battlefield Municipalities)

## Combined Land Conservation & Historic Resource Protection Recommendations

The following recommendations cross both land conservation and historic resource protection. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are listed after the related recommendation.

- 5-20. Continue municipal participation in the regional planning BBTF and its subcommittees. BBTF provides a mechanism for regional planning including idea and information discussion and sharing across the 15 battlefield municipalities in addressing the common subject of battlefield outreach and protection. BBTF partners have implemented many successful projects, a critical part of which is having the support the larger battlefield region including residents and businesses. (Battlefield Municipalities, CCPC)
- 5-21. Incorporate protecting historic resources and their settings and preserving battlefield lands as open space and historic landscapes into municipal comprehensive planning and OSRER planning policy. These plans could prioritize identified Phase 2 tracts and resources, including maintaining battle-era rural roads. In particular, with the new understanding, via Phase 2, of the role of lands in East Marlborough, Kennett, and New Garden in the battle, and the clarification of Pennbury's role, municipal plans could reference this information when they are updated. For example, East Marlborough OSRER Plan update, currently underway, will reference Phase 2 information. (East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, New Garden Townships, Kennett Square Borough)
- 5-22. Implement greenway master planning that can serve the dual purpose of protecting battlefield lands and connecting historic resources and sites. There are many greenway initiatives, e.g. the multi-municipal Brandywine Creek Greenway (BCG) Plan, Pennsbury's Comprehensive Plan open space network planning, and New Garden's Greenways Plan. Also, the Land Trust of Southern Chester County (TLC) has a Red Clay Creek Greenway concept in parts of Kennett and Kennett Square. Kennett Comprehensive Plan suggests the Township develop a Greenways Plan that links to the larger area. (East Marlborough, Kennett, Pennsbury, New Garden Townships, Kennett Square Borough, TLC, Brandywine Conservancy)

- 5-23. Consider battlefield land conservation and historic resource protection via battlefield zoning standards or an overlay. This would supplement current historic resources provisions to protect historic settings and lands, and work in concert with land conservation. Pennsbury (as well as Thornbury) has battlefield zoning overlay that should be consulted at as an example of specific resource-based zoning. This would tie historic resources and landscapes protection together focusing on their interrelation, and in relation to proposed development or building activity. (East Marlborough, Kennett, New Garden Townships)
- 5-24. Revisit open space design and lot averaging zoning provisions to include the battlefield and its KOCOAs identified lands and features, including landforms, historic buildings, archeological resources, and views as features to preserve as part of open space and open space uses. (Battlefield Municipalities)
- 5-25. Include language in conservation easements about the importance of being part of the battlefield and retaining battle-era historic resources as part of the conserved landscape. This could include requiring that historic resources are maintained or allowing an additional primary use in the historic resource to give opportunity for reuse and continued viability. Many older conservation easements allow for only one primary use on a conserved lot, which has created a situation where historic resources are jeopardy of not being used or maintained when a new building is constructed. Smaller lots for land conservation often include historic resources, which is a positive in public land conservation funding ranking. (Land Trusts)
- 5-26. Manage conserved lands in a manner that showcases the battlefield landscape, e.g. via preserving historic buildings and hedgerows. Conserved land from open space design development is often managed by a volunteer homeowners association (HOA), who may not understand they live in a battlefield setting. Development and conserved land can reinforce the battlefield setting via fencing, materials, and building scale and proportion that blend with colonial landscape features. (Battlefield Municipalities, Land Trusts)
- 5-27. Include the battlefield and its KOCOAs identified lands, historic resources, and views as resources to consider in SLDO site analysis in land development design, and Historical Commission plan review. Identify such on plans, identify and protect as part of development review, and employ a site and context sensitive development. During pre-submission and sketch plan processes, use of site sensitive and open space design, particularly on larger historic properties, could be encouraged. (Battlefield Municipalities)



# Interpretation Strategies: Kennett Heritage Center

Due to the size and complexity of the battlefield, the 2013 Plan proposes a series of Gateways, Heritage Centers, Interpretive Sites, and Viewing Corridors as a means to organize public access and heritage interpretation. It correlates one or more of these categories with strategic landscapes for future study and interpretation. Phase 2 provides further clarification via grouping related landscapes into what this plan terms the southern battlefield, where Crown Forces Northern and Eastern Columns Landscapes form early battle day activity and associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes form pre-battle strategy. All four Landscapes converge at 18<sup>th</sup> century Kennett Square village/today's Kennett Square Borough, forming a logical basis and location for a Heritage Center that features the story of the Crown Forces pre-battle staging, headquarters, strategic positioning, and start of attack on American Forces that took place from approximately the night of September 8, 1777 through the morning of September 11, 1777.



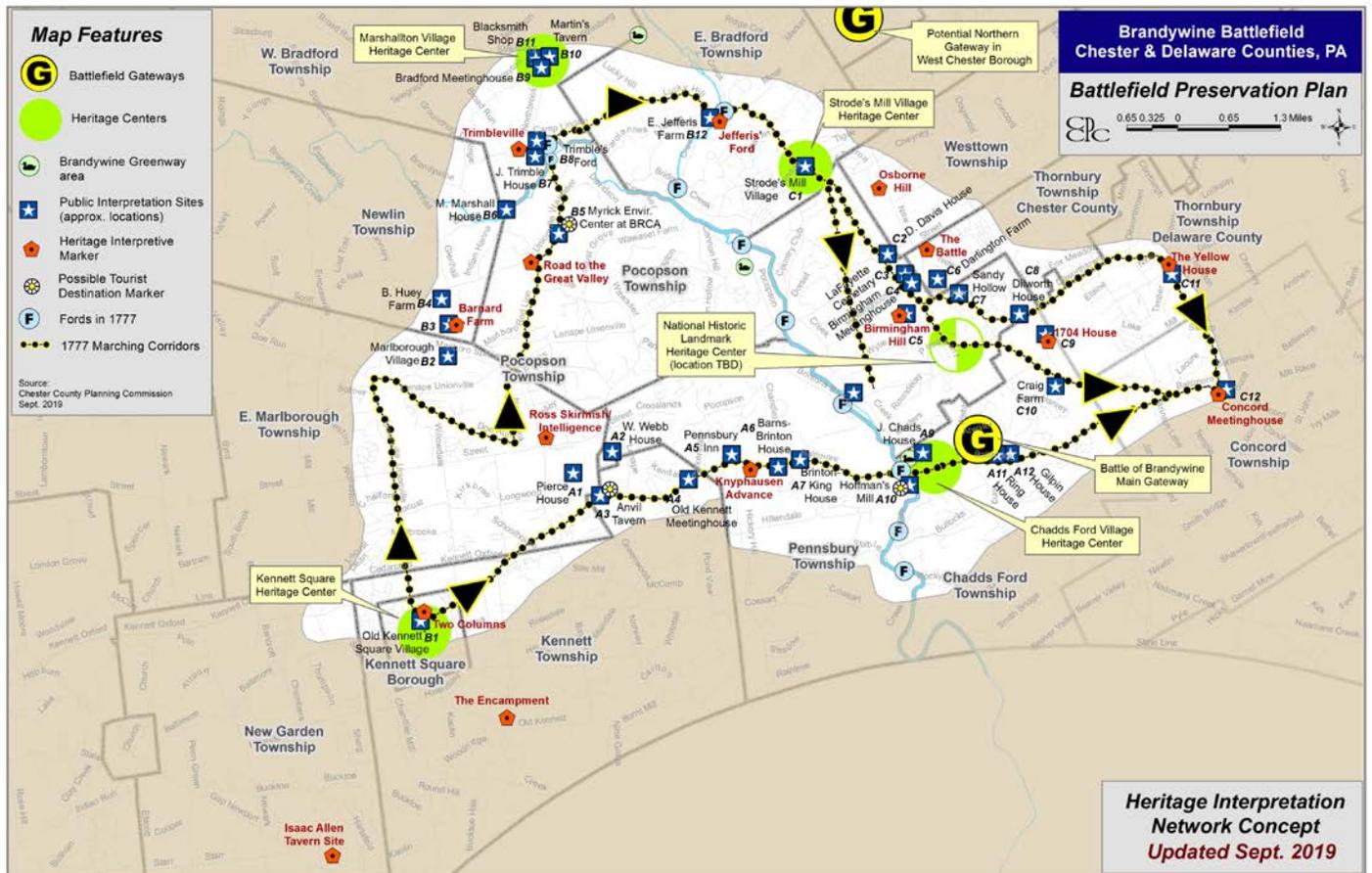
Archaeological site of the former Unicorn Tavern (Gen'l Knyphausen's Headquarters) in today's Kennett Square Borough, and part of the camping line and formation site of Gen'l Howe's and Gen'l Cornwallis' Northern Column flanking march.

The 2013 Plan indicates Kennett Square Borough has a good potential for heritage interpretation due to its historic/modern location at the crossroads (Union St/State St) from which the Crowned Forces advanced on to battle, walkable sidewalk infrastructure, and many public amenities, such as restaurants and shops. This chapter provides an outline of possibilities for heritage interpretation and, along with the related conceptual Heritage Interpretive Tour (Appendix C), is intended to be a guide for use and implementation by local entities. As a framework, this chapter recaps key concepts that are detailed in the rest of the plan so prose may be somewhat repetitive herein, and when interpreting this part of the battlefield, other plan components should still be consulted for detailed and clarifying information.

Visiting historic sites is one of the most popular forms of recreation in Pennsylvania, and an important aspect of such historic resource-based recreation is authenticity. Authenticity of historic sites and places is what makes them so critical and attractive to visitors and local residents and for battlefield interpretation. - For example, there is only one Old Kennett Meetinghouse behind whose cemetery walls American troops positioned themselves, taking cover the morning of September 11, 1777, while trying to hold back Gen'l Knyphausen's eastern advancing column. - Local heritage tourism visitation encompasses roughly 65% local residents and 35% other visitors, and the combination of natural features and historic resources that exist in the southern battlefield is the optimal way to deliver a meaningful and authentic experience for audiences. While interpretation provides important heritage recreation and education benefits to the community via a better understanding of what is literally 'in their back yards' and possible economic assistance, the strategies in this Chapter respect that the battlefield spans existing local communities where people live and work today just as they did in 1777.

# Setting the Stage for Interpretation

Strategic landscapes heritage interpretive planning builds from the 2013 Plan's Interpretation Network Preliminary Concept for the entire battlefield. This plan updates the 2013 Plan concept via a 2019 Heritage Interpretation Concept Map. The update concept still employs a series of Gateways, Heritage Centers, Interpretive Sites, and Viewing Corridors, but refines their locations and adds the Battlefield Signage Program. Relevant for this plan are Heritage Centers, Interpretive Sites, and Viewing Corridors.

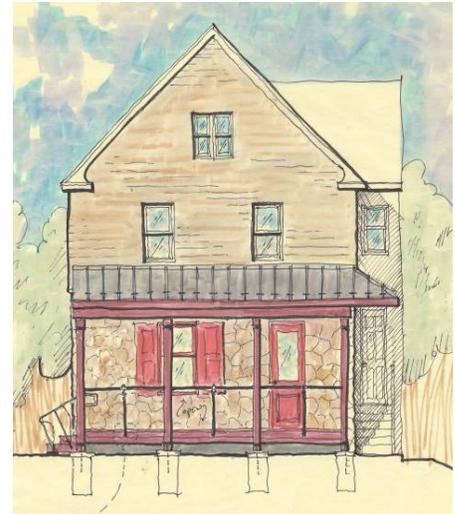


While the 2013 Plan recommends three Gateways, including one in Kennett Square Borough, through this planning process it was found that a Heritage Center is better suited for the Borough. Heritage Centers are places in a strategic landscape with nearby historic resources, where visitors can stop for around 15-30 minutes, or longer, to learn about particular elements of the battle. Visitors are then directed to nearby Interpretive Sites and Viewing Corridors that further tell the battle story. Heritage Centers, Viewing Corridors, and Interpretive Sites work in concert with one another to show and tell particular elements of the battle, and importantly, at/near their actual 18<sup>th</sup> century locations via related heritage interpretive tours, themes, displays, apps, kiosk, interactive media, and/or signage. Heritage Centers vary in their configuration depending on the site, and may include outdoor areas (e.g. proposed future Strobe's Mill Village Heritage Center), indoor areas (e.g. Kennett Heritage Center), both outdoor and indoor areas (e.g. Marshallton Heritage Center), kiosks, or signage. Possible volunteer staffing could be available as well. The first Heritage Center has been designed and opened in Marshallton Village. The second Heritage Center, Kennett Heritage Center, is in Kennett Square Borough and is being implemented. The third Heritage Center at Strobe's Mill is in preliminary design.

As recommended in the 2013 Plan, the main and ‘flagship’ battlefield Gateway remains Brandywine Battlefield Park in Chadds Ford, with a possible secondary Gateway in West Chester Borough near/at Chester County History Center, which is installing a new permanent exhibit about the American Revolution and Philadelphia Campaign locally. As central locations able and wanting to accommodate larger scale visitor-ship, such as tour buses, Gateways serve as primary battlefield information centers including battle history and publicly accessible sites, as well as businesses and amenities. Brandywine Battlefield Park as the main Gateway is intended to be where all primary interpretive and educational programming for the entire battlefield begins. West Chester Borough as a secondary Gateway is intended to be where supplemental interpretive information occurs. Heritage Centers anchor each main battlefield area (northern, southern, and eastern) and build on the information the visitor receives at Gateways.

In addition to the many amenities and southern battlefield-related sites, Kennett Square Borough’s National Register Historic District anchors and provides a good context for the Kennett Heritage Center. Although no battle-era buildings remain, the Borough has a strong relationship with Quaker history from the colonial-era to its active involvement in the Underground Railroad in the early- and mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The Kennett Heritage Center will showcase themes of how Quakers reacted to both Revolutionary and Civil Wars and the Crown Forces encampment and strategic “pre-dawn” (September 9-10, 1777) and “post-dawn” (September 11, 1777) military advance and start of attack.

The concept of a Heritage Center in the Borough is also consistent with Borough policy in their Economic Development Plan to encourage heritage tourism and to support existing local businesses and amenities. Historic Kennett Square business association and the new regional Library are recommended as possible stakeholders in undertaking and ongoing maintenance and activities related to Kennett Heritage Center.



Kennett Heritage Center in the historic Dr. Isaac Johnson House, 120 N. Union St. in Kennett Square Borough.



## Kennett Square Borough:

### Overview for Interpretive Purposes

As described in Chapter 4 and Appendix B, Kennett Square village in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was important during the battle as the crossroads of southern battlefield landscapes. It was here that Peter Bell’s Unicorn Tavern was situated at the intersection of the 1743 Great Nottingham Road (today’s Baltimore Pike) and the 1720 Road (today’s Union St.), and the route took form for Gen’l Howe’s strategy to outflank and attack American Forces sited near Chadds Ford. It was in this small 18<sup>th</sup> century village on September 10, 1777 that Gen’l Howe’s northern movement division and Gen’l Knyphausen’s northwestern movement division rejoined after their march from Delaware into Pennsylvania. New research through this project suggests that two north-south defensive lines were then created by the two divisions by around 3pm on September 10, 1777. While Gen’l Cornwallis’s Division was stationed on Union St./Unionville Rd. within and just north and south of the village, Gen’l Knyphausen’s Division occupied McFarland Rd. just east of the Borough in Kennett Township.

Kennett Heritage Center will represent the southern battlefield landscape where the Crown Forces spent September 9-10 preparing their strategy to attack American Forces and where Gen'l Howe's strategy for the battle was implemented the early morning on September 11, 1777. It was in/near Kennett Square that Gen'l Knyphausen's Division moved east along the Great Nottingham Road where they would create the illusion of the full Crown Force army heading directly towards Chadds Ford where American Forces were stationed in defense on the eastern bank of Brandywine, while simultaneously Gen'l's Howe's and Cornwallis' Division headed north to complete a flanking maneuver<sup>1</sup> to outskirt American Forces. The Heritage Center in today's Kennett Square Borough will direct visitors to explore historic themes related to these significant events and the colonial landscape they took place within.

## Interpretive Themes

Chapter 5 of the 2013 Plan recommends establishing unifying interpretive themes for the battlefield. This plan takes that step and identifies themes for the southern battlefield based on the area's significance, which speaks to several overarching themes broadly categorized as 'military events', '18<sup>th</sup> century landscape', and 'local community'. Aspects of these themes are interlaced. Under (one or more) broad categories fall specific themes for this area that directly reflect reasons for the area's significance:

### Military events theme:

- Army Logistics of moving, camping, and feeding Crown Forces as the invading force including Crown Force Baggage Supply Train
- "Pre-Dawn"<sup>2</sup> Sept. 9 - 10, 1777 and "Post-Dawn" Sept. 11, 1777 Crown Force positions/locations
- Gen'l Howe's tactic of twice dividing into two lines/columns of troops for the Approach into Pennsylvania and on the morning of the battle, a tactic that he was known to use
- American Forces, including the Continental Army and local militia, positions/locations and defensive 'fight and retreat' intended strategy
- Battle skirmishes

### Military events and local community themes:

- American reconnaissance
- Battle impact on local civilians/community
- Civilian involvement in the battle
- Local support of the war effort

### 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape theme:

- Areas of still readable battlefield landscape
- Brandywine Valley settlement patterns

### Local community and 18<sup>th</sup> century landscape themes:

- Brandywine Valley in the colonial era through 1800, including role of taverns, roads, and villages/population centers in colonial Chester County
- Civilians at-large
- Enduring Quaker roots and Peace Testimony

**Chester County history related themes:** Landscapes' history also mirrors major themes in the overall history of Chester County including multi-generational rural agricultural tradition, Brandywine Valley Quaker settlement, enduring historic landscapes, prosperous commerce/industry foundations, and the Philadelphia Campaign of the American Revolution that in totality traversed a significant area of Chester County.

<sup>1</sup> See Breaching the Fords and the British Advance Northern Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Plan for more information.

<sup>2</sup> "Pre-Dawn" and "Post-Dawn" are references to a key firsthand account that stated "The army march'd at day break in two columns."

**Museum of the American Revolution (MAR) related themes:** Landscape interpretive themes can also be categorized under the broad MAR themes. Landscape themes of American Forces military tactics including the defensive ‘fight and retreat’ intended strategy, American reconnaissance, local militia as part of American Forces, Civilian involvement in the battle, and Local support of the war effort could fall under ‘Citizens turned Revolutionaries’; Battle impact on local civilians and the community and Civilians at-large under ‘Radical Nature of the Revolution’; Battle skirmishes, Crown Force army logistics including Baggage Supply Train, and Crown Force military tactics leading up to and at the start of battle including twice dividing into two lines/columns under ‘Surviving the Darkest Hours’; and Brandywine Valley in the colonial era through 1800, still readable battlefield landscapes areas, and Quaker roots/Peace Testimony under ‘Lasting Meanings’. The overarching theme for the entire Brandywine Battlefield as a pivotal moment in the American Revolution, discussed in the 2013 Plan, speaks to all MAR’s themes.



The intact 18<sup>th</sup> century Old Kennett Meetinghouse on the route of the Eastern Column and where a skirmish between Crown Forces and Americans Forces occurred. Soldiers who fought in the battle were laid to rest in the meetinghouse’s cemetery.

## Thematic Narrations

Specific themes for the area can be organized into thematic narrations or stories for public consumption, which can be conveyed through the Kennett Heritage Center and related Heritage Tours, Viewing Corridors, and Interpretive Sites for the area:

### Role of the southern battlefield in the overall battle Thematic Narration:

This would tell the story of the battle in the southern battlefield and as such would incorporate information from this plan, as well as from the 2013 Plan as needed. This narrative would also include the Crown Force march into Chester County and the encampment on September 9 and 10, 1777.

### Crown Force Advance into Pennsylvania and Division of troops into Two Columns Thematic Narration:

The story highlights the heart of Gen’l Howe’s strategy, including the successful British military tactic under Gen’l. Howe and the bold eastern advance executed by Gen’l Knyphausen to appear as the full of the Crown Forces were marching for combat with American Forces.

### Terrain, Physical Geography, and Natural Resources in the Southern Battlefield Thematic Narration:

This narration would largely rely on information in Chapter 3 that discusses terrain obstacles and lack of direct northern roads for effectively moving an army due to the Red Clay Creek and its banks and the difficult landscape of southern Kennett Township.

### Roads, fords, taverns, meetings, and hamlets in colonial Chester County Thematic Narration:

This narration would partly rely on information in Chapter 4 that discusses settlement patterns including 18<sup>th</sup> century roads, properties, and key structures (meetinghouse, mills, residences, blacksmith shops, taverns, and the like) that are still present in the modern landscape, along with the stories of local civilians.

### Techniques that were used to clarify the British Advance into PA Thematic Narration:

This narration would partly rely on Chapter 3 information that discusses the analysis used (primary documents and field study) to ground truth and determine troop movement locations in today's landscape on September 9 and 10 and requirements for further research. Information and sources used to create battle-era roads and properties mapping and types of documented accounts that still exist could also be discussed.

### Impact of two invading armies on the local community Thematic Narration:

Effectively, the battle brought an invasion of two armies into the community. Primary accounts giving a sense of conflict and cooperation between both armies and the local community could be featured. Reported property losses (in the form of plunder claims, depredation claims, and Quaker sufferings), diary entries, letters, field reports and other others could provide the basis for this narration, which would need to be supplemented by additional interpretation to fill-in gaps.

### Local support or lack thereof for the war effort Thematic Narration:

One of the unique aspects of the battlefield that sets it apart is the pacifist Quaker community that largely made up the Brandywine Valley community at the time of the battle. Quakerism is an intriguing story that has become more of a recent focus, particularly in light of the increased interest in the Underground Railroad in the region with the creation of the First State National Historical Park and its related sites. This narrative could include information about Quaker settlement in the Brandywine Valley, their philosophy including Testimony of Peace and Quaker 'sufferings', and the enduring Quaker presence in the area.

### Celebration of committed and ongoing local efforts and stewardship in land conservation and historic resource protection Thematic Narration:

This narrative would stress that the persevering incredible stewardship by property owners and local entities in the area is what has enabled the battlefield landscape, including historic buildings, roads, agriculture, and open lands, to endure to this day. This has occurred through an ethos of commitment to ongoing preservation efforts. Examples of historic resource preservation, sensitive building reuse, and land conservation efforts, and recognition of parties who have been involved would be cited. Important to this narrative is the battlefield's NHL information that states: "The significance of the Battlefield...is increased as a consequence of the degree to which the area has remained unchanged."

## Thematic Narration Treatment Example for this Area

A thematic treatment is needed for each of the interpretive themes and related thematic narrations identified in this plan. This thematic treatment supplements Heritage Tours, Viewing Corridors, Interpretive Sites, and the Heritage Center concepts by developing the specific means by which to inform viewers about themes. These means would form the basis for future educational material, outreach, signage, etc. As thematic treatments would need to be vetted and developed once thematic narrations are decided upon, this section only provides an example of how this could work using one of the thematic narrations addressed above.

### Interaction and conflict between the invading British army, local militia, and the Quaker community.

The introduction of around 30,000 soldiers into the Brandywine Valley impacted the largely Quaker community. Because of their religious belief of pacifism, they were confronted with two invading armies – British and American – and hostility and mistrust of both compounded by the direct impact of seizure of property in lieu of service in the Chester County Militia or through looting. But even so, following the battle, Quakers provided much of the medical care to the wounded of both armies.

### Concepts/Topics to be provided as part of interpretation:

- Troops seizing goods and property, both formally as an army and informally individually.
- Crown Force's impact on property, business, and the longer lasting effects on agriculture and industry.
- Impact of the battle and flanking march on local people following the battle, numerous claims of damages were made by New Garden, Pennsbury and Kennett residents. The lack of claims in East Marlborough may be the result of lost paperwork or to the strong Quaker sentiment in the Township.
- Quaker pacifist situation in the field of battle, from a religion and economic viewpoint, (e.g. due to their pacifist stance and Peace Testimony, they were affected economically before, during, and after the battle).
- While Quakers as a community did not support the war effort and therefore neither side, many individual Quakers did take up arms, which resulted in having to leave their Meetings.
- Quakers today still do not want to honor warfare including the battle.

### Locations:

- Kennett Heritage Center: As an anchor and starting point for further information and in an area that includes amenities of shops, restaurants, and sidewalks.
- Heritage Tour into the surrounding countryside: Appendix C's proposed themed heritage tour features Gen'l Knyphausen Division's eastern advance on the 18<sup>th</sup> century Great Nottingham Road, involving a column of troops and a sub-column of the baggage/supply train. The tour also provides destinations in the associated Approach and Encampment Landscapes where visitors can learn more about Crown Force activity on September 9-10. Details on the sites related to founding Quaker families in the area are included in the tour and further told at the Heritage Center.

### Outreach and communication:

- Audience: Local and Regional Visitors; Heritage Visitors, Residents, School Children.
- Brochure on the 'Advance with the Gen'l Knyphausen Heritage Tour (Appendix C) and/or on one or more thematic narrations suggested in this plan.
- Webpage on the same as the bullet point above with the additional audience of Virtual Visitors.
- In-person or virtual visitation of designated locations in the tour via developing a smart phone app along with, or incorporating information from the brochure and/or webpage, to provide visitors with the experience of the site.
- Interpretive signage placed at designated locations under the Brandywine Battlefield Interpretive Signage Project in this chapter.
- Interpretive signage that explores the lesser-known story of the inherent impact of battle on the local community, particularly the pacifist Quaker community.

## Heritage Centers, Interpretive Tours, & Interpretive Signage

Interpretive themes are explored through Kennett Heritage Center displays, Viewing Corridors, and Interpretive Sites in the surrounding area as featured/viewed on Heritage Tours.

- **Viewing Corridors** are roadway segments with low to moderate traffic volumes that provide views of landscapes, buildings, and natural features relevant to the battle and reflective of the battle-era landscape.
- **Interpretive Sites** are battle-era structures, roads, properties, and natural and land areas that still exist in the contemporary landscape. They are chosen based on their relevance to tell the story of one or more interpretive themes *and* their potential for public viewing. Sites include both those that are publically accessible and private properties that are viewed solely from a public right of way.
- **Heritage Interpretive Tours** link Interpretive Sites and Viewing Corridors for contained and directed public viewing, awareness, education, and interpretation. At this point, tours are designed to be done via automobiles; however there may be sections of tours that could be undertaken by foot or bicycle.

## Kennett Heritage Center

The viewer's experience is intended to begin in the Borough at the Heritage Center where they would be provided historic and logistical viewing information and guided to Interpretive Sites and Viewing Corridors via Heritage Tours, as well as to other area amenities, e.g. restaurants, shops, bed-and-breakfasts, trails, parks, preserves, and other practical and recreational activities.

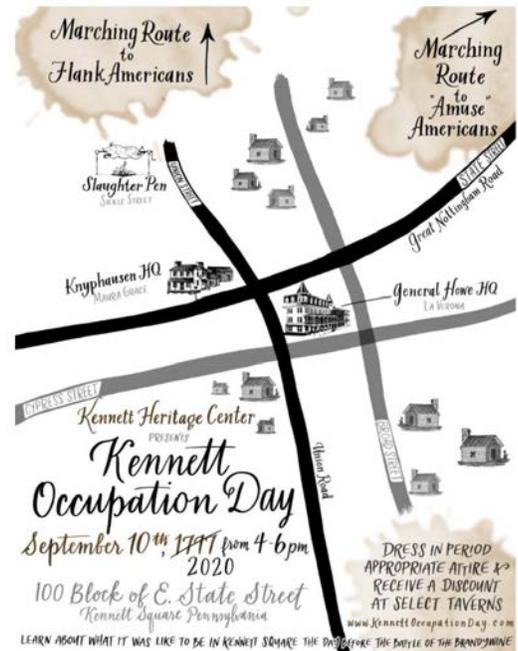
The new Kennett Heritage Center is in the historic Dr. Isaac Johnson House located just north of State St. (part of the 18th century Great Nottingham Road) and Union St. from where Gen'l Howe and Gen'l Cornwallis marched with their troops the morning of September 11, 1777. Like Marshallton Heritage Center, this Heritage Center will provide information about the entire battlefield, but will focus on southern battlefield landscapes. Development of this Heritage Center is already underway and programming has begun including developing a website. While above-ground Interpretive Sites of buildings within the Borough do not speak directly to battlefield themes, Interpretive Sites as places can be experienced today; most notably Crown Forces positions at historic Kennett Square Village's/modern State St./Union St. intersection.

One of the most important considerations for the new Heritage Center is that Historic Kennett Square, the Borough Historic Architectural and Review Board, and Kennett Underground Railroad Center (KURC) work collaboratively to preserve and promote the history in/near the Borough. KURC's new Education Center will also be located in the Kennett Heritage Center. It is also anticipated the Heritage Center would play a key role in Borough plans for an annual "Occupation Day" program that recognizes the Crown Forces presence in the area the eve of battle, September 10, 1777, when the community was overrun with approximately 15,800 Crown Forces during their encampment.

The Borough is a full-service destination, which bustles with visitors and residents enjoying casual and fine dining, a selection of shops and services, and a strong merging of the Borough's historic core with modern amenities. There is a farmer's market, ongoing special events, a First Friday art stroll, and large successful events such as the Mushroom Festival and Kennett Run.

## 'Advance with Gen'l Knyphausen' Heritage Interpretive Tour including Interpretive Sites and Viewing Corridors

In 2017, Pennsbury Historical Commission, Chadds Ford History Center, and Brandywine Battlefield Park Associates presented a bus tour for the annual Chester County Town Tours and Village Walks of Gen'l Knyphausen's eastern column advance route. The bus tour was adapted as a driving tour (See Appendix C) for this plan, linking Kennett Heritage Center with the Brandywine Battlefield Park Gateway. This tour is the fourth in the series<sup>1</sup> being developed as part of strategic landscapes planning, and as such it is also referenced as "tour #4". While strategic landscape planning includes proposed Heritage Tour concepts as a starting point for local interpretation, additional Heritage Tours ideas, such as exploring the Crown Force approach from Delaware into Pennsylvania, Crown Force encampment, or Baggage/Supply Train could be considered. Kennett Heritage Center will provide the beginning or ending point for tour #4 and is also thematically linked with Marshallton Heritage Center and northern battlefield tours.



<sup>1</sup> The other three tours were developed as part of northern battlefield strategic landscapes planning in Behind the Lines Plan, Breaching the Fords and British Advance Plan, and Preparing for Battle Plan.

## Heritage Interpretive Signage Project

The Heritage Interpretive Signage project is a joint endeavor between BBTF and its Historic Resources and Interpretation Subcommittee, the 15 battlefield municipalities, CCPC, DCPD, Battlefield Park Associates, and Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and Its Color Guard (Sons). The project is truly collaborative and a regional planning and implementation effort. It is administered by CCPC and BBTF, vetted for military history by the Park Associates, coordinated through the BBTF Subcommittee, approved and signs installed by battlefield municipalities, and sign construction funded with a \$45,000 grant from the Sons resulting in \$3,000 per municipality.

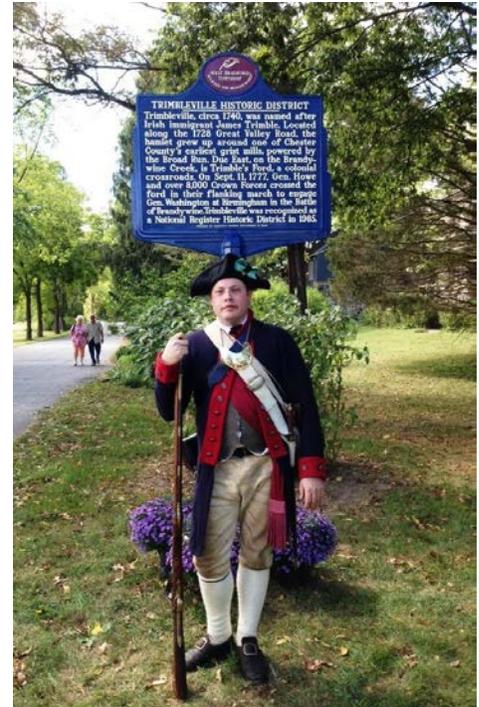
### Setting the Stage

Battle of Brandywine was a complicated, multi-phase battle in the American Revolution involving nearly 30,000 troops and lasting from sunup to sundown on September 11, 1777. It was a defining battle and specifically for the British Campaign in 1777 to overtake and occupy Philadelphia, the colonial capital. The battle was significant as it involved the highest ranked officers of both the American Army and British Army, Gen'l Washington and Gen'l Howe, and was one of the few times they faced off. It represents one of the earliest and largest battles of the American Revolution in terms of number of troops actively engaged in combat and total battlefield land area involved (including troop movement, camp, skirmish, and combat areas), and was the largest single day land battle. To that end, the battlefield extends through 15 municipalities in two counties, covering approximately 35,000 acres of land. As a testament to its importance, a portion of the battlefield is a National Historic Landmark, the highest level of historic resource designation in the nation. Chester County in coordination with BBTF has been studying the battlefield via projects funded through grants from the American Battlefield Protection Program, and like the battle itself, has been doing this using a multi-phased approach.

The above reasons are why it is critical to raise community and public awareness of the local presence of the battlefield through heritage interpretation efforts as exemplified through this regional collaborative signage project. The updated Heritage Interpretation Concept map (shown earlier in this chapter) displays the most current interpretation network concept for the entire battlefield. The concept provides a thematically connected plan of action to highlight as the focus for battlefield interpretation authentic battle-era historic sites and places that have been preserved for nearly 250 years and still exist today.

### Project Background

The signage project ties together Gateways, Heritage Centers, Interpretive Sites, and Viewing Corridors, and is proposed to serve as the foundation for a battlefield-wide heritage tour to be developed as part of Phase 3 eastern battlefield planning. BBTF as the regional planning body for the battlefield 15 municipalities developed this initiative, one to two historic markers in each municipality at key battlefield sites for visitors to the battlefield who are following the recommended driving tours or just exploring independently. The Heritage Interpretation Concept Map displays recommended sites.



Each municipality determines, in working with BBTF's Historic Resources and Interpretation Subcommittee and specifically Chester County's Heritage Preservation Coordinator who manages the project, an appropriate location for their sign and appropriate battle history wording for the location. A goal is for signs to be located near/in publicly accessible places so as to be readily visible as part of Heritage Tours, Interpretative Sites, and/or Viewing Corridors. Historical Commissions from each of the 15 battlefield municipalities form the most of the BBTF Subcommittee, which meets periodically each year and one of their primary 2019-2021 work projects is the Interpretive Signage project.

## Signage Prototype

The project sign prototype, both design and level of wording, was installed in 2018 in historic Trimbleville near the battle-era J. Trimble House in the northern battlefield. The sign template follows the size and shape of a PA Historical and Museum Commission historic marker, but is designed with slight differences to acknowledge it as such of a cream color typeface, logo for the sponsoring municipality featured in the red circle at the top of the sign, and the name of the funding entity of Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and It's Color Guard.

## Signage Project in Southern Battlefield

For southern battlefield landscapes, there will be five interpretive signs. East Marlborough Township is the second battlefield municipality, and the first southern battlefield community, to complete their sign, which was installed in summer 2020 at Galer Winery. When signs are located on privately held property, such as this case, a project suggestion is for the municipality to receive a letter granting permission and access, as needed, which was done for this sign. Kennett Square Borough's sign is underway. It is planned to be placed opposite the Kennett Heritage Center and its wording is in process. New Garden Township has draft sign language in place and is speaking with the property owner where the site is planned to be located. Kennett Township has not yet begun their sign. Pennsbury Township has completed draft wording and the sign will be located at the 18th century Barnes Brinton House property owned by Chadds Ford Historical Society, which will take care of the sign's upkeep.

## Signage Project in Northern & Eastern Battlefield

As of fall 2020, the third sign was installed at Jefferis' Ford in East Bradford Township, for which the Township is also designing a mini-park with a pull off. Many of the remaining 11 interpretive signs are underway.

# Recommendations

Using the analysis undertaken in this chapter, the following recommendations were developed. Parties that may carry out a recommendation are noted after the related recommendation.

**Overarching Recommendations:** This plan recommends building on successful heritage tourism and interpretation efforts in the area to provide outreach and education, raise awareness of the role of the battle in the nation's founding and of its location in the local community's "back yard", and provide economic development through heritage visitation in appropriate public areas. BBTF's Historic Resources and Interpretation Subcommittee meets several times throughout the year and includes members from municipal historical commissions, historic architectural review boards, and local historic sites within the battlefield; and as such would be a leader in undertaking plan recommendations.

Important to successful implementation of interpretation is for the Subcommittee to continue to develop grassroots support for the interpretation of the entire battlefield. For the southern battlefield, the key to successful ongoing implementation is the creation and then ongoing maintenance of Kennett Heritage Center. This can be accomplished through establishing a collaborative relationship between the Heritage Center volunteers,

Borough, Borough Historical Architectural Review Board, southern battlefield municipal Historical Commissions, Historic Kennett Square, residents, and businesses, as well as the new regional Kennett Library and KURC. The following are ideas for such a collaboration to consider in developing a cohesive interpretation program for a southern Battlefield Heritage Center in Kennett Square.

- 6-1. Create and maintain the Kennett Heritage Center in Kennett Square Borough. (BBTF, CCPC, Heritage Center volunteers, Kennett Square Borough, KURC, Collaborative group)
- 6-2. Build historic themes for the Heritage Center into public events in the Kennett Square area. (BBTF, CCPC, KURC, Heritage Center volunteers, Collaborative group)
- 6-3. Build Heritage Center themes into the menus of local restaurants, and promotions and products of other businesses. (Heritage Center volunteers, Collaborative group)
- 6-4. Identify Interpretive Sites and undertake heritage interpretation with emphasis on interpretation from public corridors and places. (BBTF, CCPC, Collaborative group)
- 6-5. Implement the Heritage Interpretive Signage project in the southern Battlefield (BBTF, CCPC)
- 6-6. Use the Heritage Interpretive Signage project as the foundation for a battlefield-wide heritage tour that would be developed in Phase 3 eastern battlefield planning. (BBTF, CCPC)
- 6-7. Create thematic brochures and information for a Heritage Center webpage and to be available at the Heritage Center and Interpretive Sites. This could include developing a historic walking, bicycling, and/or driving tour of the Landscapes that focuses on the battlefield Colonial landscape as well as the Underground Railroad history. (BBTF, CCPC, KURC, Heritage Center volunteers, Collaborative group)
- 6-8. Consider additional Heritage Interpretive Tours ideas, such as exploring the Crown Force approach from Delaware into Pennsylvania, Crown Force encampment, or Baggage/Supply Train. (BBTF, CCPC, Heritage Center volunteers)
- 6-9. Work with Longwood Gardens and other major sites to include on-site battle interpretation. (BBTF, CCPC, Heritage Center volunteers)
- 6-10. Coordinate with The Land Conservancy for Southern Chester County and like organizations to investigate options for establishing programs that protect historic and natural features as key battlefield elements. Programs can be explored that enhance, restore, and maintain the battlefield's natural features and take into account the importance of these features in battle strategy and its outcome. For example, Brandywine Creek is a critical natural feature as an obstacle for battle troop maneuvering as well as key terrain as part of the British flank and Washington's defense. (BBTF, CCPC, Battlefield Municipalities)
- 6-11. Publicize and celebrate land conservation efforts at the Heritage Center and Interpretive Sites to publicly recognize the inherent relation between battlefield protection and land conservation. (BBTF, CCPC, KURC, Heritage Center volunteers, Collaborative group, Interpretive Sites)
- 6-12. Coordinate with agencies in the State of Delaware and in Delaware County, Pennsylvania to recognize and interpret battle-related sites and locations. (BBTF, KURC, Heritage Center volunteers, First State National Historical Park, Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, New Castle County Planning)
- 6-13. Work with School Districts within the battlefield to incorporate local battle history and preservation topics into the curriculum. (BBTF, Chester County History Center)



# Battle History, Significance & Recent Planning

This appendix provides a historic overview of the battle and time sequence for the southern Brandywine Battlefield where Crown Force tactical maneuvers and battle skirmishes with American troops occurred prior to and the day of battle, September 11, 1777. The southern battlefield consists of strategic landscapes related to Crown Force activities of Lower Flank Northern Column and Eastern Column Advance, and the associated Crown Force Approach and Encampment. The Lower Flank of the Northern Column ends where the Phase 1 northern battlefield strategic landscapes project picks up at the border of today's East Marlborough and Pocopson Townships. The Eastern Column Landscape ends at the eastern battlefield (to be examined in a Phase 3 project) where it is estimated that battle combat action begins. This historic overview has been adapted from 2013 Plan information using strategic landscapes projects' information. This appendix also provides an overview of recent battlefield planning projects.

## Historical Overview of the Battle

The late summer of 1777 in the upper Delmarva Peninsula witnessed the start of the military campaign that resulted in the capture of Philadelphia by Crown Forces (25 September 1777). Two years of warfare had preceded the Philadelphia Campaign, with much of the principal military action on land occurring in New England, New York and New Jersey. Crown Forces setbacks occurred in December 1776 (First Battle of Trenton) and in early January 1777 (Battle of Princeton). These reversals resulted in the Crown Forces wintering in New York City and in the vicinity of New Brunswick and Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and American Forces taking up winter quarters around Morristown, New Jersey.

The inability of Gen'l Sir William Howe to force a decisive battle or outmaneuver Gen'l George Washington in New Jersey during May and June 1777 led to the movement by sea of the balance of Crown Forces from Staten Island to Elk Neck in Maryland. Numbering approximately 15,000 men, the Crown Forces were transported by the British fleet up the Chesapeake Bay and landed at the Head of Elk on 25 August. Their intent was to advance overland to capture Philadelphia, the fledgling capital of the United States (Black 1998:124).

In a series of hard-fought engagements, American and Crown forces battled each other across the landscape and on the waters of Northeastern Maryland and the Lower Delaware Valley. In a series of engagements – Cooch's Bridge (3 September), Brandywine (11 September), Battle of the Clouds (16 September), and Paoli (20-21 September) – Crown Forces maneuvered and fought their way to the colonial capital of Philadelphia, which was taken on 25 September (McGuire 2006). By far the largest of these engagements – both in terms of land area covered and numbers of troops actively involved – was the Battle of Brandywine.

The terrain between Head of Elk in Maryland and the Schuylkill and Delaware River valleys over which the two armies maneuvered in the late summer and early fall of 1777 was markedly different from the ground in central New Jersey where fighting had occurred in the early summer campaigning. There, as Gen'l Howe's army attempted to maneuver towards the rebel nation's capital of Philadelphia, Gen'l Washington's army had significantly higher ground – the Watchung Mountains – to their rear, into which they could retire if forced to, and out of which Gen'l Washington could launch forays upon the rear and right flank of Crown Forces. In southeastern Pennsylvania and the adjacent counties of New Castle and Cecil, the rolling hills of the Piedmont

were cut by generally northwest-to-southeast-flowing streams such as the Christina River, White and Red Clay Creeks, and Brandywine Creek. Gen'l Washington was able to use these drainages to his advantage, establishing a principal defensive line along the Red Clay Creek, and a secondary line closer to Wilmington along the lower reaches of the Brandywine Creek. Gen'l Howe avoided these defensive positions by continuously maneuvering to his left, or west, thus outflanking the American positions (he did this along Red Clay Creek on 8 September, Brandywine Creek on 11 September, and in the forcing of the Schuylkill River fords on 22 September). Unlike American positions in New Jersey, Gen'l Washington had no natural anchor for his right, or west flank, thus making it difficult to defend against Gen'l Howe's maneuver (Taaffe 2003:63-64).

Gen'l Washington's position along East Branch Brandywine Creek clearly blocked the direct route of the Crown Force advance towards Philadelphia (today's Rt. 1 corridor), and, because of the broad valley and steep hills along the east side of the Creek, it was a strong post for his army. The Creek presented a major geographic obstacle for Gen'l Howe's army. In addition, the Americans enhanced this barrier by building temporary earthworks and preparing defensive positions along the Creek. While the Creek position provided a great opportunity for Gen'l Washington to offer battle, the principal drawback about Gen'l Washington's defensive line was that the Creek had multiple crossing points over which the Crown Forces could advance; too many crossing points to adequately defend, particularly on the West Branch of the Brandywine.

On September 11, 1777, Gen'l Howe's army launched a two-pronged attack on the American position along Brandywine Creek. One column commanded by Hessian Gen'l. Knyphausen departed Kennett Square along the Great Nottingham Road (current Rt. 1), and attacked Gen'l Washington's troops stationed at Chad's (18<sup>th</sup> century spelling) Ford. A second column, commanded by Gen'l Howe and Lord Charles Cornwallis, followed a more circuitous route, travelling north from Kennett Square, crossing Brandywine Creek first at Trimble's Ford<sup>1</sup> and then turning east and crossing the Creek again at Jefferis' Ford (the site of today's Jefferis' Ford Bridge). The column arrived at an area near Birmingham Rd in East Bradford and Birmingham Townships, and from there attacked Gen'l Washington's northern flank from its right rear. American formations responded to this maneuver by forming a series of defensive lines, but were out-maneuvered. The final action of the day occurred along the Old Wilmington Road south of Dilworthtown when Maj. Gen'l Nathanael Greene positioned his brigade and the remnants of other American formations in a semi-circular line that was able to blunt the Crown Forces' advance. As evening approached and daylight waned, Gen'l Washington's Army retreated east along modern Rt. 1. His forces reformed near the City of Chester in what is now Delaware County, PA.

## Time Sequence of Battle Events

Several assumptions in the 2013 Plan about southern battlefield military-related battle events on September 11 1777 are examined for this project. The following time sequence of battle-events for the southern battlefield is from the 2013 Plan, and time sequence/history assumptions studied in this project are shown in *italics* below.

**Before 5AM:** Crown Forces camp overnight near Kennett Square. Gen'l Cornwallis's troops (7,000 men) line up along Unionville Rd from Kennett Square to Doe Run Rd. In front are Ewald's Rangers (called Jaegers, Germans) followed by the British Light Infantry Brigade, British Grenadiers, Hessian Rangers (Germans), Hessian Grenadier Brigade (Germans), British Guard Brigade, British 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade, and British 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade. Gen'l Knyphausen's troops (5,000 men) line up along State St through Kennett Square from Cedar Spring Rd to School House Ln. In front are Ferguson's Rifles and the Queen's Rangers, followed by the British 1st Brigade, Grant's 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, Stirn's Hessian Brigade, British Cannons, and British 71st Regiment.

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<sup>1</sup> Trimble's Ford is accessible today via open fields and farm paths on private property, or canoeing or kayaking on the west branch Brandywine Creek.

**5AM to 6:45AM:** In the early morning the day of battle, two columns of troops form – a northern flanking column (studied in this project and Phase 1 strategic battlefield planning) and an eastern column (studied in this project along with the Crown Forces' encampment and approach).

Gen'l Cornwallis's Division forms into a northern flanking column, then moves from Kennett Square *along Unionville Rd, then east along Marlboro Rd*. As ordered by Gen'l. Washington, Maj. Spear leaves Martin's Tavern to scout for British formations, and before sunrise rides south to Welch's Tavern (later called Anvil Tavern) near present-day Rt. 1 and Longwood Rd (at Longwood Gardens) [where an Continental light infantry company is situated]. Spear sees no British troops [along his route].

Hessian Gen'l. Knyphausen's troops form an eastern column, then move toward Chadds Ford along the Great Nottingham Road (approximately modern Rt. 1). *At the front of the column are Ferguson's Rifles (90 loyalists) and the Queen's Rangers (Capt. Wemys' 40th Regiment, 300 loyalists)*.

**6AM:** Near the intersection of Rt. 1 and Lenape Rd, Ferguson's Rifles and the Queen's Rangers engage in fire with a company of American troops under Lt. Col. Maxwell who withdraw east and join the rest of Maxwell's troops.

**6:30AM:** Fire is again exchanged near the Anvil Tavern at Rt. 1 and Kennett Pike, after which Maxwell's Troops withdraw to a location along Rt. 1 near Hickory Rd.

**7AM:** Ferguson's Rifles and the Queen's Rangers exchange fire with Maxwell's Troops who take cover behind the western wall of the Old Kennett Meetinghouse. Maxwell's Troops withdraw to the east along Rt. 1.

**7:15AM:** At Rt. 1 and Hickory Hill Rd, Ferguson's Rifles and the Queen's Rangers again exchange fire with Maxwell's Troops. They skirmish along Rt. 1 near Chandler Rd.

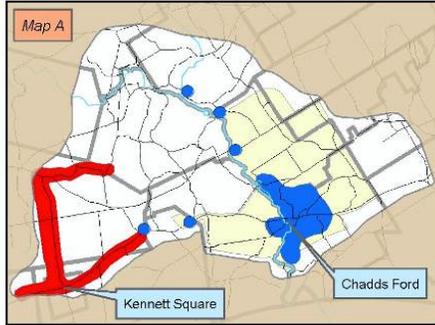
## Battle Action Summary

The Battle of Brandywine was a complicated, multi-phase event involving nearly 30,000 troops and lasting from sunup to sundown on September 11, 1777. Map 1.11 from the 2013 Plan (below)<sup>1</sup> provides a snapshot of what was a complex battle. Around 5 a.m. the morning of the battle, British Gen'l Howe's army launched a two-prong attack on the American position along Brandywine Creek. One column departed Kennett Square along the Great Nottingham Road and attacked American troops at Chadds Ford, as Gen'l Washington had expected (Map 1.11-A, B). A second Crown Force column followed a more circuitous route, travelling north from Kennett Square and then east, crossing the Creek further north than the Americans expected, first at Trimble's Ford and then again at Jefferis' Ford, arriving at Strode's Mill/Osborne Hill (Map 1.11-A, B, C, D, E) where they regrouped. From there the Crown Forces attacked to the south, confronting Gen'l Washington's late planned northern troop defense line and out-manuevering American Forces from the side (Map 1.11-E, F). American Forces were pushed further south where they regrouped near the village of Dilworthtown to organize a last defensive stand (Map 1.11-G, H), using non-traditional 'guerrilla warfare', the first of many times Gen'l Washington would employ the tactic during the war. While the sun was fading in the evening, Maj. Gen'l Greene positioned his brigade and the remnants of other American formations in a semi-circular line that was able to hold off and blunt the Crown Forces' advance. This allowed American Forces to retreat east, reforming near the City of Chester.

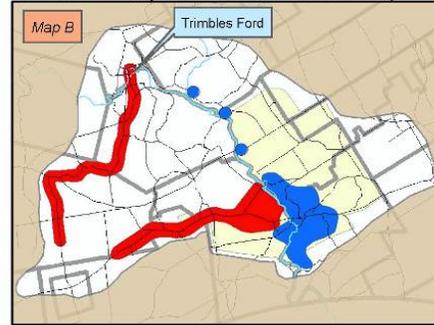
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<sup>1</sup> Crown Forces are shown in red, American Forces in blue, 2010 Study battlefield boundaries in white and 1992 NHL planning boundaries in off-white.

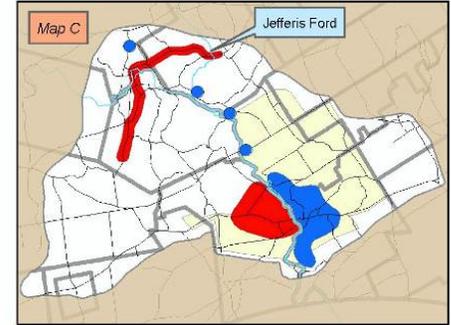
5:00 to 6:45 AM (British Begin to March)



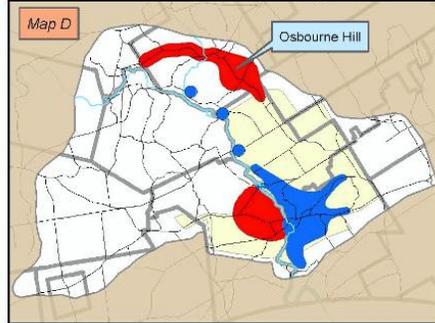
7:00 to 9:15 AM (British Cross Trimbles Ford)



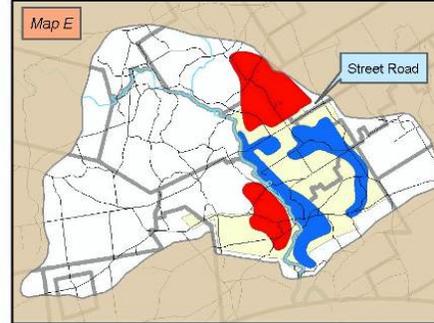
9:30 to 11:45 AM (British Cross Jefferis Ford)



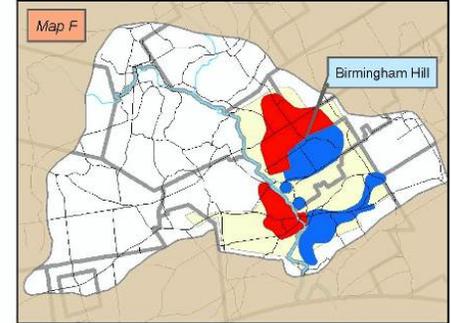
Noon to 2:15 PM (British Form Lines)



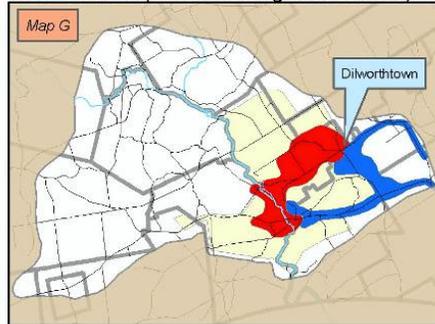
2:30 to 4:45 PM (British Attack)



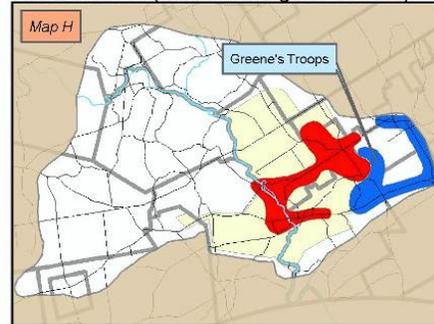
5:00 to 5:45 (British Advance)



6:00 to 6:45 PM (American's Organized Retreat)



7:00 to 7:30 PM (Greene's Rearguard Defense)



**Brandywine Battlefield**  
Chester & Delaware Counties, PA

**Battlefield Preservation Plan**

EPC

1.5 0.75 0 1.5 3 Miles  
1 Inch = 3 Miles (1:190,080)

**Map 1.11**  
**Battle of Brandywine: British and American Areas of Control**

## Battlefield Significance

Brandywine was a defining battle of the American Revolution and specifically the British Campaign in 1777 to overtake and occupy Philadelphia, the colonial capital. The battle was significant as it involved the highest ranked officers of both the American Army and British Army, Gen'l Washington and Gen'l Howe. Although the Americans were unsuccessful in preventing British occupation of Philadelphia, the battle demonstrated the American Army had the ability to slow and withstand a direct engagement with the most organized and powerful army in the world at the time, and still rally to fight again. The battle did not result in Gen'l Washington's capture by the British nor the destruction of his army. Together, the Brandywine and Saratoga battles signify the turning point of the war in favor of the Americans, sparking the interest in allegiance from France for the American cause.

Brandywine represents one of the earliest and largest battles of the American Revolution in terms of the number of troops engaged in active combat and total battlefield land area involved (including troop movement, camp, skirmish, and combat sites). It extends through 15 municipalities in two counties, covering approximately 35,000 acres of land. As found through this project, associated elements of the battle occurred in southern Chester County and northern Delaware in the days before the battle; these elements set the stage for battle events and locations, thus making the battlefield extent even larger in size. As a testament to its importance, the battlefield is

a National Historic Landmark<sup>1</sup>, the highest level of historic resource designation in the nation. The battlefield's importance as a local, state, and national resource is additionally recognized as: a 'Significant Historic Landscape' in Chester County's *Landscapes*<sup>3</sup>; the first designated 'Pennsylvania Commonwealth Treasure'; and a National Park Service 'Class A, Preservation Priority 1' Revolutionary War battlefield. Due to its significance and relative integrity, the battlefield is still used today for training soldiers in KOCOA military analysis (see below) and reading a battlefield landscape.

The 2013 Plan developed a 'Statement of Significance' for the battlefield that provides a summary explanation of reasons the battle is important, centering around three primary themes: 1) military events; 2) local (mostly Quaker) community and the battle's impact; and 3) the battle's role in the American Revolution, including the British capture of Philadelphia and diplomatic negotiations with the French. The 'Statement' guides historic resource identification and interpretation opportunities. Built features are examined as to whether they represent and contribute to the battlefield based on the extent to which they are associated with the themes.

**Statement of Significance for the Brandywine Battlefield**  
(from Brandywine Battlefield Preservation Plan, 2013)

The Brandywine Battlefield highlights one of the United States' most significant historical events when on September 11, 1777, General Howe and his well-armed professional army engaged the citizen soldiers led by General Washington for a day long battle along the banks of the Brandywine Creek. Although it was a loss for the Americans, it proved that they had the talent and resiliency to fight a long and difficult war. It demonstrated to the Americans that they would never win by fighting a conventional "European" war, forcing them to adopt an alternative defensive strategy that Washington dubbed the "War of Posts." Lastly, it convinced the French that Washington's newly formed rebel troops were reliable enough that they deserved assistance from the French Navy, and all the troops and munitions it could deliver.

When the two large armies, which together totaled 30,000 soldiers, marched into the Brandywine Valley, they instantly changed the character of what had been a quiet homogeneous farming community of some 350 residents, most of whom were Quakers. Since the Quaker faith forbade participation in war, even in a just war, the Brandywine Valley Quakers refused to take sides. Therefore, what essentially took place that day was an invasion of "Quaker country" by two outside armies, one British and one non-Quaker Americans. Local Quaker property was damaged or seized by both armies. And although the Quaker community did not cooperate with either side during the active combat, they spontaneously organized to provide medical care to the wounded immediately after the battle, even turning their meetinghouses into hospitals.

## A Living Cultural Landscape

Brandywine Battlefield is a one-of-a-kind cultural landscape that possesses a special authenticity among remaining battlefields on American soil. This uniqueness provides a foundation and catalyst for successful planning, interpretation, and protection of resources, landscapes, and open spaces, and is vital to preserving Chester County heritage, quality of life, and sense of place, as well as promoting education, outreach, and heritage tourism, as appropriate. The battlefield is distinctive in retaining a visible 1777 landscape, including cultural aspects, historic structures, views, natural features, and open rural lands that document and commemorate the history of the nation, state, region, and local communities.

Cultural aspects of the 1777 landscape endure, most notably the local Quaker community who bring a cultural continuity to the landscape. Quakers lived in the battlefield well before and during the battle, and still live there today. Descendants of Quaker families who experienced the battle are present-day residents, some of whom still

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<sup>1</sup> The National Historic Landmark designated in 1961 recognized the existence and importance of the battle to the course of the American Revolution. The boundary was later delineated to include the battlefield known at the time and includes areas where the fiercest battle action occurred. Numerous subsequent studies, each with additional found historical information, led to an increasingly better understanding of battle events and their locations, which extend well afield from the original boundary. The 2010 Study and the following 2013 Plan provide a compilation of 'best known' information to date and show the breadth of the battlefield as accepted by the ABPP. That information is supplemented with the undertaking of Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Plans, such as this plan, as also accepted by the ABPP.

reside in their family battle-era homes. The same meetinghouses used for worship before the battle, and as make-shift field hospitals for the injured of both armies during and after the battle, continue in use for worship today.

Buildings, structures, and lands of the era also endure. Nearly half of the battlefield's approximately 35,000 acres remain open and undeveloped, and some tracts still have similar property lines as in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Intact colonial-era structures, natural features and landforms, rural tracts and farms, roadways, and other physical elements endure and reflect the critical role that Chester and Delaware counties played in the founding of the nation. Colonial-era enclaves, such as Marshallton and Dilworthtown villages, remain as thriving small communities with associated surrounding rural lands that remain in agricultural, equestrian, low density housing, conserved land, and open land uses.

Historic natural features and landforms still characterize this cultural landscape, including challenging, sloped terrain. Obstacles, such as Brandywine Creek and its associated floodplains and wetlands, are referenced in accounts by British and American troops who had to cross or avoid them.

The battlefield is distinct in that it is a living cultural landscape where people live and work today in continuously-used, well-preserved battle-era structures and lands. Many have been sensitively updated or repurposed to meet modern needs, while still displaying battle-era character. Local, county, state, and federal agencies, nonprofit organizations, elected officials, residents, and businesses, along with or as members of Brandywine Battlefield Task Force (BBTF)<sup>1</sup>, work to provide outreach, education, interpretation, preservation, and planning for the protection of this highly important national resource. The battlefield is not a museum collection of resources, and planning efforts recognize its continuation as a vital, working landscape that encompasses structures, features, and open spaces that speak to the 1777 landscape. Efforts to preserve and interpret the battlefield should not attempt to duplicate an outdoor undeveloped 'museum', such as Valley Forge National Military Park or Gettysburg National Historic Park. Rather, the battlefield is a living cultural landscape where the local community has an active role as its caretaker and steward as the battlefield is quite literally *their own back yards*.

## Recent Planning Efforts

Battlefield planning, preservation efforts, and studies have occurred in the battlefield for decades, at least since the 1961 NHL designation. Recent ABPP-funded projects of the 2010 Study and 2013 Plan extended the previously assumed battlefield boundaries and provide the most holistic set of overall battlefield planning documents. The 2010 Study mapped the newly understood full battlefield for the first time, and in doing so, found that the battlefield was much larger than previously mapped, including northern and southern areas. The 2013 Plan is a follow-up to and recommendation of the 2010 Study. Phase 1 indicated the northern battlefield strategic landscapes to be more expansive than previously known. This project finds the southern battlefield to be more expansive in physical size and battle activity than previously understood, and, as such, the physical extent of the battlefield is also larger, including battle day areas (Lower Flank Northern and Eastern Advance Columns Strategic Landscapes) and associated areas in the days prior (Crown Force Approach and Encampment Strategic Landscapes).

## 2010 Battlefield Study & Animated Map

Undertaken by Chester County staff, the 2010 Study inventoried historic resources, examined battle logistics, defined battlefield boundaries, mapped and animated troop movements and battle action, and provided an educational DVD about the battle.

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<sup>1</sup> Formed in 1993, Brandywine Battlefield Task Force is a volunteer group of concerned organizations (including municipal, state, and federal representatives, as well as non-profit institutions) interested in working collaboratively to preserve and protect the Battlefield, its history, and its resources through raising awareness about the importance of the battle to American history, coordinating public-private partnerships, and promoting battle interpretation.

**Inventorying historic resources and lands** – Chester County staff worked with municipal historic commission volunteers to complete a preliminary inventory of historic resources (battle-era and non-battle era). The results are individual municipal Historic Resource Atlases (of all identified historic resources) and a Battle of Brandywine Historic Resource Atlas (of only battle-era identified historic resources). It is the first time historic resources were identified on such a widespread scale in the battlefield.

**Examining battle logistics using KOCOA analysis** – ABPP guidelines require battlefields be examined using KOCOA<sup>1</sup>, a U.S. Armed Forces battlefield analytical technique. KOCOA is used to understand and map the physical extent of a battlefield, locations of battle elements (events and features), and how unique physical geography, cultural topography/settlement patterns, and communication routes affect military strategy. KOCOA examines land, natural, and built features to identify defining features, which are those features referenced in battle accounts, historic maps, or other sources that help locate battle events in the modern landscape. Figure A-1 shows defining feature examples and their KOCOA battlefield element category.

KOCOA looks at whether features present military obstacles or advantages in a battlefield landscape. Completing KOCOA allows understanding of engagement areas where combat occurred, approach routes taken by troops, and activities behind the lines where battle support actions occurred (e.g. army supply baggage trains, camp sites, non-combatant camp-followers, taverns used for meeting places, farms that provisions were taken from, and meetinghouses, residences, and barns used as field hospitals). The KOCOA analysis led to project mapping of battle events and defining features.

Figure A-1: ABPP KOCOA Battlefield Evaluation System Definitions

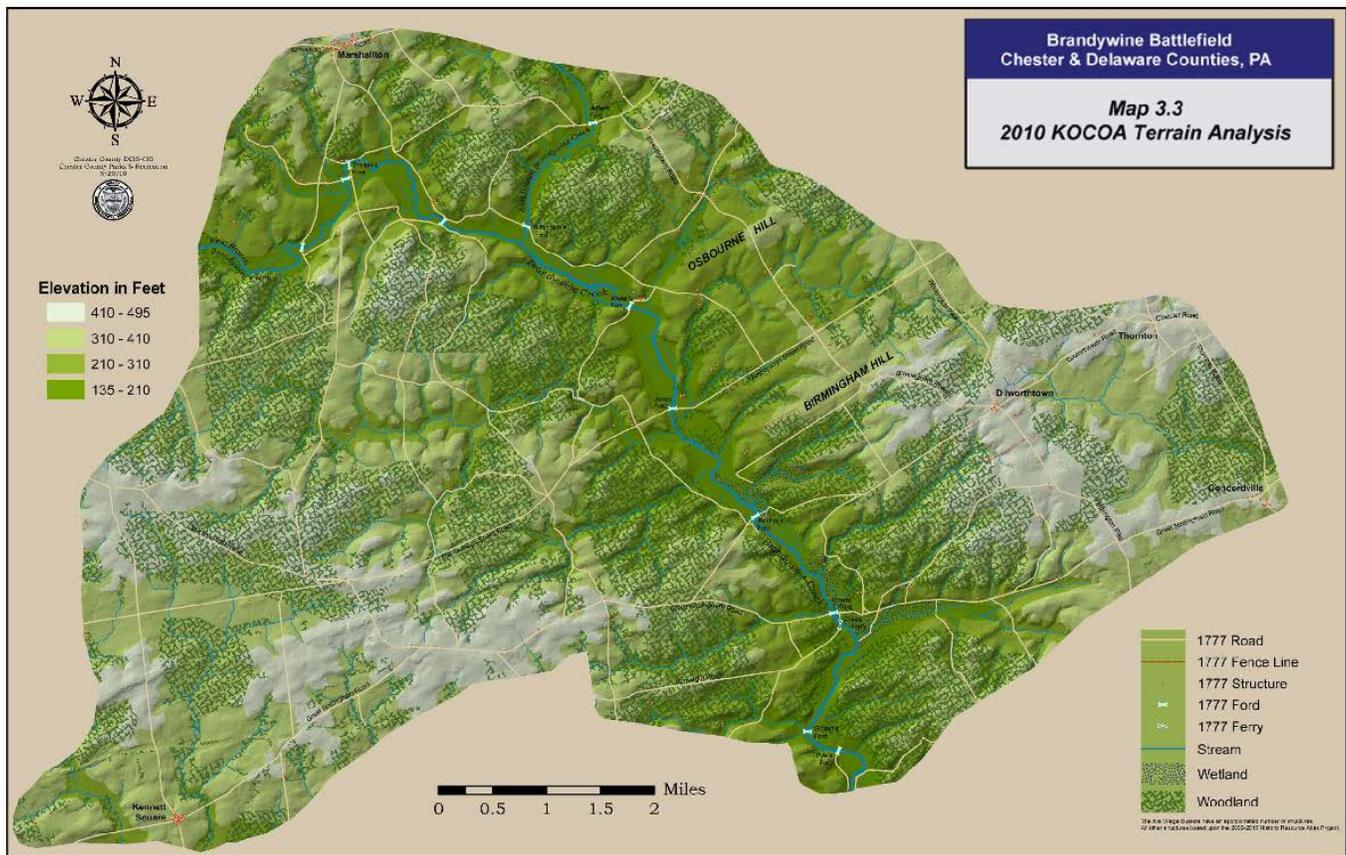
BATTLEFIELD ELEMENT	DEFINITION	DEFINING FEATURE EXAMPLES
KEY TERRAIN	A portion of the battlefield, possession of which gives an advantage to the possessor.	Road junctions, fords, buildings, bridges, high ground
OBSERVATION AND FIELDS OF FIRE	Any point on the landscape that allows observation of movements, deployments, and activity of the enemy, offers opportunity to see over an area and acquire targets, and allows flat-trajectory weapons to be brought to bear on the enemy.	High ground, sloping approaches to entrenched positions, clearings, roads
COVER AND CONCEALMENT	Landforms or landscape elements that provide protection from fire and hide troop positions from observation.	Walls, structures, woodlands, ravines, stream banks, hills, entrenchments
OBSTACLES	Landscape elements that hinder movement and affect the ultimate course of the battle.	Watercourses, walls, ravines, marshes, dense vegetation
AVENUES OF APPROACH	Corridors used to transfer troops between the core battle area and outer logistical areas.	Roads, paths, steam beds, railroads

**Mapping the battlefield extent** - The 2010 Study mapped the extent of the battlefield in today’s landscape for the first time. Prior to this, modern day mapping focused largely on the eastern battlefield combat areas. Using ABPP’s 2007 Report to Congress on Revolutionary War battlefield sites as a starting point, in addition to KOCOA analysis and then recent research by the Study’s historian of record, Tom McGuire, it was found through mapping that the battlefield encompasses a much larger area than previously understood, including parts of 15 municipalities in Chester and Delaware counties.<sup>2</sup> Per ABPP standards, known ‘combat areas’ and ‘associated battle sites’, which together make up a battlefield, were considered in determining the extent of the battlefield.<sup>3</sup> Follow-up strategic landscapes projects have provided additional insight and clarification about the battle, resulting in refinements and updated battlefield mapping and KOCOA analysis. The 2010 Study’s KOCOA terrain analysis is shown in the map below.

<sup>1</sup> KOCOA stands for Key Terrain; Observation/Fields of Fire; Cover/Concealment; Obstacles; and Avenues of Approach and Retreat. KOCOA has been used since World War II by the Army War College and was first used as a cultural landscape tool at Gettysburg National Military Park in 1996. ABPP uses KOCOA for evaluations of historic battlefields to establish a consistent baseline for battlefield analysis.

<sup>2</sup> Kennett Square Borough, New Garden Township, East Marlborough Township, Newlin Township, Pocopson Township, West Bradford Township, East Bradford Township, Westtown Township, Thornbury Township, Birmingham Township, and Pennsbury Township in Chester County, and Chadds Ford Township, Thornbury Township, and Concord Township in Delaware County.

<sup>3</sup> Combat areas are where core battle combat occurred. Associated sites are actions, places, people, and structures impacted and/or needed for the battle to occur, including troop movements and camp sites (actions and places), farmhouses used as military headquarters and barns and meetinghouses used as field hospitals (structures), and camp followers to support soldiers and citizens as eyewitnesses to battle events (persons).



**Animated battle event mapping and educational DVD** – The 2010 Study provided digital animated mapping of troop movements and battle action displayed over modern and 1777 landscape features. Using technology to interactively convey battle events, the 2010 Study innovatively provided an improved understanding of the battle and extent of its land area. The animated map has been widely used as an educational, interpretive, and planning tool for a broad audience including municipal officials, residents, business owners, and children. Animating battle events brings the battle, and its larger context and impact on the local 18<sup>th</sup> century community to life. An educational DVD offers a video presentation of the animated map and battle, including its context in the American Revolution.

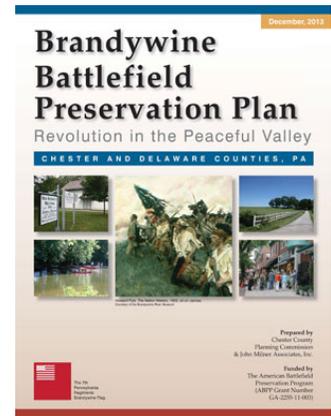
**Key project outcomes** – The 2010 Study and animated map have spurred increased local citizen and municipal support and excitement about the battle. The animated map has become a national model in battlefield outreach, education, and planning. The 2010 Study recommended a battlefield preservation plan as a follow-up project.

## 2013 Battlefield Preservation Plan

Building off the 2010 Study, the 2013 Plan further analyzed and identified battle-era cultural and historic resources, features, and landscapes throughout the battlefield and offered recommendations on a multi-municipal level. It provided the first holistic plan for the full battlefield area (combat areas and associated sites as delineated by the 2010 Study and accepted by the ABPP), as well as a compilation and summary of prior studies, plans, and information in one document. It provided guidance for continued collaborative work for education, outreach, interpretation, and preservation of battlefield resources and landscapes, as well as supports the goals of the regional planning group, Brandywine Battlefield Task Force. The 2013 Plan was undertaken by Chester County Planning Commission with Brandywine Battlefield Task Force input. Since much of the battlefield falls on

privately owned lands, a balance between recognition and planning for this national resource and protection of landowner privacy was a deliberate consideration. To this end, public meetings and outreach events (e.g. Task Force meetings and Chadds Ford Days) were part of the planning process and public comments were incorporated into the 2013 Plan.

The 2013 Plan addressed land conservation and historic resources identification, evaluation, and protection strategies; access to public historic sites; potential for pedestrian connectivity, heritage interpretation and educational outreach; and the potential role of heritage tourism. Its subtitle, ‘Revolution in the Peaceful Valley’, brings to the forefront the additional complication, conflict, and intrigue associated with the battle occurring in a largely Quaker pacifist community. It speaks to the two invading armies – one American and one British - that descended upon the Quaker agrarian countryside.



**Key project outcomes** – As noted in Chapter 1, a key finding of the 2013 Plan is the identification of Strategic Landscapes, which still reflect the 1777 landscape, represent significant elements of the battlefield, include battle elements that need further clarification, and are critical to battlefield understanding for purposes of history, interpretation, planning, and preservation. The 2013 Plan recommended further examination of Strategic Landscapes as key areas of the battlefield and to provide directed guidance for local planning and implementation. Landscapes’ battle elements and battlefield defining features, from the 2013 Plan, are intended to be clarified through projects such as this plan.

The enduring resources and landscapes found within the battlefield highly contribute to the character and quality of life in southern Chester and Delaware counties, and the 2013 Plan is a critical tool for raising awareness about their value and importance, and helping plan for their continuation into the future.

## Phase 1 Northern Battlefield Strategic Landscapes Project

Due to the battlefields land area, strategic landscapes planning is divided into phases. The 2010 Study’s KOCOA analysis identified, and the 2013 Plan reiterated, northern battlefield strategic landscapes (Phase 1 study) as battlefield areas in need of additional analysis. Completed in 2015, Phase 1 produced ‘Behind the Lines’ Marshallton Strategic Landscape Plan, ‘Breaching the Fords and the British Advance’ Trimble’s and Jefferis’ Fords Strategic Landscapes Plan, and ‘Preparing for Battle’ Sconnettown & Strode’s Mill Strategic Landscapes Plan.

Marshallton Landscape is related to the battle involving ‘behind the combat line’ events of American reconnaissance that played a key role in battle outcomes. Trimble’s and Jefferis’ Fords Landscapes are related to the battle, having key military events necessary for the successful Crown Force tactical flanking maneuver, leading to the battle outcomes. Sconnettown/Strode’s Mill Landscape is related to the battle with Sconnettown as the final stage of the flanking march and Strode’s Mill (and related nearby Osborne Hill Landscape) as preparation for battle areas; it played a role in key military events necessary for completing the successful British tactical flanking maneuver, leading to the battle outcomes.

**Key project outcomes** – Some of the key project findings included refining strategic landscape boundaries, correcting the route of the Crown Force march, locating Trimble’s Ford and discovering it contained primary and secondary ford crossings, identifying the area of the Crown Force skirmish with the American front patrol under Lt. Ross, verifying the location of Jefferis’ Ford, identifying 18<sup>th</sup> century building, landscapes, and natural features that are still visible today, and recreating a 1777-era northern battlefield plat displaying roads, properties, and property owners in 1777, as well as mapping recorded local property damages from troops. The project translates first-hand accounts into today’s landscape setting; a setting that is so intact in places that first-hand accounts could be used as a guidebook to follow the steps of troops.

The project also indicates areas to the south – now identified as the southern battlefield through this plan – played a greater role in the battlefield, are more extensive, and exist with greater integrity than previously assumed. A major project finding is the previously assumed Crown Force route through the northern battlefield had been displayed on roads that were created after 1777, and so thus not yet existing at the time of the battle. The project finds and corrects the Crown Force route through the northern battlefield;. The project recommended a next phase of battlefield strategic landscapes study to understand and clarify southern areas of the battlefield, which resulted in the Phase 2 project.



# Historic Resources Documentation & Context

This Appendix provides detailed property information for historic resources discussed in Chapter 4. This research was completed via extensive deed research undertaken by Chester County Archives. Numbers listed before the historic resource property owner names refer to 'Map IDs' in Chapter 4 tables and maps. The present-day municipal name is noted in parentheses after the resource property owner name. The term 'site' indicates the structure is no longer extant. If the 1777 property owner claimed property damages<sup>1</sup> related to the battle, Plunder, Depredation and/or Suffering is indicated. This Appendix also provides a brief historic context of each municipality discussed in Chapter 4. The 1777 property and road maps were developed by Chester County Archives based upon property lines in 1883 Breou's Maps, deed research, and original road papers.

## Associated Encampment & Approach Landscapes Historic Resources

Robert Morris/Peter Bell Tavern Site/Unicorn Tavern Site (Robert Morris - Plunder & Peter Bell - Depredation - Kennett Square)

03.02: 108 N. Union Street (Parcel #3-2-204)

Robert Morris of Philadelphia (the financier of the American Revolution) purchased an 87 acre tract of land in March of 1777 of which this lot was a part (Deed Book W pg 194). He sold it in 1779 to Peter Bell, an inn holder, who had been operating the tavern since 1774. Located on the northwest corner of State and Union Streets, the tavern had been rebuilt in 1777 from black stone on the site of the earlier tavern which had burned. Knyphausen had his headquarters here. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses, one barn and one stable. Peter Bell submitted a depredation claim in 1782 claiming the loss of the following: *four horses with saddle, bridle, great coat holsters, thirteen heads of cattle, ten hogs, four tons of hay, one hundred and forty bushels of oats, fifty bushes of barley, one hundred and fifty bushels of wheat, eight acres of Indian corn, one chaise and harness, forty five gallons of rum, one gross of bottled cider, a quantity of loaf and muscovado sugar, kitchen furniture of all kinds, glass and china of all kinds, three pair of blankets and four pair of sheets, one feather bed, two bonds and five notes, provisions in the house (valued at £10), a quantity of horse gears, damage done to the plantation (valued at £20), boots and spurs and a number of valuable books.*

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<sup>1</sup> Research included Sufferings, Plunder claims, and Depredation claims known at the time of this plan, which varied per community. It is not known if this variation is because no Sufferings or Claims occurred in a community, or instead if records are privately held by individual families or have been lost. Plunder claims comprise individuals identified as 'plundered' in the state tax assessment compiled following the events of September 1777. The local tax assessment took place in late fall and early winter of 1777 and was then returned to the County Assessor's by January 5, 1778. Individuals who were plundered had their taxes forgiven or abated. (Chester County Tax Records, S-1a). Depredation claims comprise a register compiled in November 1782 that contains accounts of property of Chester County residents seized or (not as frequently) destroyed, without compensation, by the Crown Forces, aided by 'adherents' (Pennsylvania Tories), during their march toward and occupation of Philadelphia, from the fall of 1777 until June 1778. Most of the accounts are for damages that occurred during Crown Force marches through Chester County in mid-September 1777. Township and borough tax assessors, acting upon the orders of the County Commissioners, collected these accounts in their respective municipalities. Sufferings were recorded by Quakers at meetinghouses as part of the Quaker Testimony of Peace and a way to document their property losses.

## Col. Joseph Shippen Mansion Tenant Site (Plunder - Kennett Square)

03.03: 100 E. State Street (Parcel #3-2-271)

Col. Shippen purchased this lot, which was part of a 108 acre tract, in 1776 from Joseph Musgrave (Deed Book V pg 406). Shippen did not appear to live on the property. William Hickman was the possible tenant. In 1777, this mansion, the Unicorn Tavern, and a few log houses were all that formed the village of Kennett Square. There is evidence that this property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses, two barns and three shops.

## William Hutcheson Farm Site (Plunder - Kennett Square)

N03.04: A fixed location has not been verified.

William Hutcheson, a wheelwright, acquired three contiguous lots of land containing 15 acres from Joseph Musgrave in January of 1777 (Deed Book C-2 pg 184). By the time he sold the property in 1783, William had acquired the two neighboring one acre lots to the north. William was not a Quaker. There was evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained three dwelling houses, one barn and one shop (owner Absalom Baird).

## Joseph Walter Sr. Farm Site (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett Square)

N03.05: A fixed location has not been verified.

Joseph Walter Sr. purchased this 250 acre tract of land from George Miller in 1755 (Deed Book T pg 477). Joseph sold 87 acres of the tract to Joseph Musgrave in 1764 (Deed Book V pg 378). He was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. . There is clear evidence in the taxes that Joseph's property was plundered. In the 1778 tax assessments, which were taken only a few months after the events of 1777, Joseph's entry indicates that he was "Plundered." In *Kennett Square: Yesterday and Today* the author states that "Joseph and James Walter lost the deeds to their property when the Hessians ripped open their feather beds and made off with their valuables hidden inside" (Pg 11). *Hagerty, Ann. Once Upon a Time in New Garden Township*. New Garden Historical Commission, 1977. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses, one barn and one shop. This was part of the Ann Baynard account of the battle activity in her diary.

## John Warner (Plunder & Suffering - Kennett Square)

N03.06: A fixed location has not been verified.

In 1777, John Warner, a saddler, and his wife Lydia lived in the village of Kennett Square on an unknown lot. John was a Quaker and a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting where he married his wife Lydia Woodrow in 1766. There is direct evidence that his property was plundered. In 1797, Lydia Warner submitted a claim of suffering to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The following is a list of what was claimed as being taken or destroyed on September 10, 1777: *two beef cattle, two large bundles of leather, a quantity of saddler tools, one barrel of flour, a quantity of household goods, about thirty fowl and a good garden destroyed.*

## William Miller Mill Ruin (Avondale Borough)

N4.01: 42 Gap Newport Pike (Parcel #4-3-27) Mill Race

N4.02: 21 Ellicot Road (Parcel #4-3-37) Barn Ruin

N4.03: 23 Ellicot Road (Parcel #4-3-37.1) Residence

William Miller acquired this 760 acre tract upon the death of his father William Miller Sr. in 1768 (W&A #2447). As early as 1710 a mill was identified on this site when the property was owned by William's grandfather, John Miller. William was a miller by occupation and a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting. 1783 the property contained one dwelling house, three out buildings, two grist mills and two saw mills (under Jacob

Lindley). There is no evidence that this property was looted. A mill race remains on the property. Given the location of the mill and the losses sustained at the neighboring property, loss research is recommended.

## New Garden Quaker Meetinghouse (New Garden)

N60.01: 875 Newark Rd (Parcel #60-3-114)

“While meeting at John Miller's house, decisions were soon made to build a Meeting House and in June of 1713 another request was made to Newark Monthly Meeting, this time requesting permission to build. It was granted. Out of a primitive forest, a place of worship became a reality, the result of courage, endurance, and a strong faith that religion was a necessary part of life. Imagine the task of clearing the forest and building, log by log, a Meeting House while struggling at the same time to build their own homes, clear their farms, and produce enough food for their large families. It undoubtedly represented a sacrifice of personal plans; but in spite of privation and hardships, the first Meeting for Worship was held in the new Meeting House in the fall of 1715, only seven years after the first land grants were made. What a joy and satisfaction they must have experienced as they worshipped there on that First-day morning! Here these sturdy Irish Quakers would continue to worship and marry, and would end their earthly days in the adjoining graveyard. The log Meeting House served well. Membership increased so much that it soon became too small and plans were made to build a new and larger one in 1743. Roads had improved by this time and they were able to transport brick for the south end from Newport, Delaware that had been used as ballast in sailing ships. The north end was added in 1790.” *Hagerty, Ann. Once Upon a Time in New Garden Township*. New Garden Historical Commission, 1977.

## Isaac Miller (son of Joseph) Farm (Quaker) (Depredation - New Garden)

N60.02: 101 Maple Lane (Parcel #60-3c-33)

Isaac Miller inherited this 150 acre tract of land on the death of his father Joseph Miller in 1727 (Deed Book A-2 pg 58). Isaac was a Quaker farmer and a member of the New Garden Meeting. In 1782 he submitted a depredation claim for the loss of: *one bay mare branded RC, one gray horse, one two year old colt, one six year old horse, one sixteen year old mare, sixteen sheep, two men's saddles, one eighteen year old mare, one fourteen year old mare, one (almost new) cart and gears, one pair of horse gears, one year old calf, eighty bushels of oats and sundry household goods worth £200.0.0.* HR #10

## James Miller Farm (Quaker), tenant William Martin (Depredation - New Garden)

N60.03: 121 New Garden Rd (Parcel #60-3-107.1)

James Miller inherited this 306 acre tract of land on the death of his father James Miller Sr. in 1774 (W&A #2849). James was a Quaker farmer and a member of the New Garden Meeting. In 1782 he submitted a depredation claim for the loss of: *three work oxen, two beef cattle, three milk cows, four two year old heifers, one year old bull and twenty-five sheep.*

## Isaac Allen Tavern/Farm Site (Depredation - New Garden)

N60.04: 107 Sheehan Rd (Parcel #60-4-59.4), 3 Colonial Farm Dr (Parcel #60-4-62.6)

Isaac Allen purchased this 150 acre property in 1764 (Deed Book P-2 pg 6). He submitted his first petition for a tavern license in August of 1764 noting that he had been “at a very Great Expence” building a suitable message or tenement to accommodate a great many travelers that passed by on the “Christianna Bridge Newport” road. Isaac leased the tavern to Joshua Jackson from 1776 through 1778 and it was Joshua Jackson who was likely occupying the tavern site in September of 1777. Isaac was appointed tax collector several times between 1776 and 1779, each time being excused from service. Both Isaac Allen and his son James Allen submitted depredation claims in 1782 indicated that the property was looted. Isaac Allen claimed the loss of *three horses and “sundry articles” valued at £50.0.0.* James Allen claimed the following: *one smith's vise, screw plates, files and hammers, shoeing tools and drills, and one small chain.*

## Stephen Anderson/Sam White Tavern Ruins Site (Hammer & Trowel) (New Garden)

N60.05: 1455 Baltimore Pk (Parcel #60-1-63)

Stephen Anderson, an inn holder then of London Grove, bought this 64 acre tract from Elizabeth Ring in 1772 (Deed Book T pg 341). A tavern was operated on this site since 1738 when William Carpenter applied for a tavern license. By 1772 the tavern had gone through a succession of owners, including Stephen White, who may be the “Sam” White identified on the Blaskowitz map. Anderson operated the tavern, known then as the Sign of the Ship, from 1772 until 1776. No surviving tavern petitions exist for Stephen Anderson from 1777 through 1780 and his taxes, for the same period, do not indicate that he was running a tavern on the property. In 1778 he was appointed to serve as tax collector and freeholder, both times he refused and was fined. In 1781/2 his property was confiscated by the state for being “an Attainted Traitor,” having joined the army of the enemy, meaning he was a loyalist.

## Charles Hall Farm Site (Wife Quaker/Suffering - New Garden) (also owned a lot in Kennett Square)

N60.06: 749 W. Baltimore Pike (Parcel #60-2-41.1)

Charles Hall, a chair maker, bought this tract of 24 acres from John Carpenter in 1759 (Deed Book R-3 Page 88). Charles married Sarah Taylor in 1761. Sarah was a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Monthly Meeting where she was disowned for marrying out of unity to Charles Hall, a non-Quaker. Sarah was eventually reinstated into membership in 1770. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and one out building. In 1795 Sarah Hall, now a widow, submitted a claim of suffering to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In it, she claimed that the British under General Howe took the following articles: *one gelding, one mare, one bull, one heifer, nine sheep, seventy dozens of oats, one mare and saddle and four bridles, saddle bags and plush housings, three bags and three bushels of wheat, one bushel of rye, sixty pounds of bacon, one falling ax, one saw and one drawing knife.* She also stated that several other articles were taken but not inserted on the list. In total it was claimed that Charles Hall and his wife lost near £70 of property by “the ravages of the British Army.”

## Andrew McIntire Farm Site (Depredation - New Garden & New Castle County)

N60.12: No fixed location has been verified.

Andrew McIntire, then of Drumore Township, Lancaster County, purchased this 200 acre tract from the estate of Robert Halliday in 1762. He was a farmer but not a member of the Quaker faith. In 1782 Andrew submitted a depredation claim which claimed the loss of *two mares*. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and three out buildings.

## William Dixon Farm Site (Plunder - Kennett & New Garden)

N60.13: No fixed location has been verified

William Dixon, yeoman, inherited this 190 acre tract of land upon the death of his mother Sarah Dixon in 1764 (Deed Book D-2 pg 101). He was a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting and married his wife Rebecca Woodward at the London Grove Meetinghouse in 1766. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and one out building.

## James Miller Tenant Farm, William Martin likely tenant (Depredation - New Garden)

N60.14: 928 Newark Road, 60-3-146.2 probable colonial core

James Miller, yeoman, acquired this 63 acre tract from Isaac and Sarah Richardson in 1771 (Deed Book E-2 pg 171). William Martin may have been a tenant on this lot in 1777. In 1782 Martin submitted a depredation claim. He claimed the loss of the following items: *one horse, one cow, two heifers, five sheep, half a ton of hay, things taken out of the house.*

## Jesse Miller Tenant Farm, William Whitesides likely tenant (Depredation - New Garden)

N60.15: 461 Bucktoe Road, (Parcel #60-3-148)

Jesse Miller, yeoman, acquired this 22 acre tract from David and Catharine Frame in 1763. Jesse was a Quaker and a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting. In 1777 this property was likely in the tenancy of William Whiteside. William Whiteside was not a Quaker. He married Hannah Miller, a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting, in 1763 for which she was disowned. In 1782 William Whiteside submitted a depredation claim for the loss of: *cash in state and hard, a "cashin specie," one silver watch, one mare, one saddle and bridle, one pair of pistols, two pair "not Fellows," one gun.*

## David Frame Farm (New Garden - Depredation)

N60.16: 251 New Garden Road (Parcel #60-3-157)

David Frame, yeoman, acquired this 48 acre tract from William Miller in 1776 (Deed Book B-2 pg 457). David married Catharine Miller a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting in 1759. David was not a Quaker and Catharine Miller was disowned for marrying out of unity. In 1782 David Frame submitted a depredation claim for the loss of the following items: *one lock and key, three window bolts, fourteen light of sash, fourteen light of glass, four bolts and two cross bars, nine light of glass and twelve bushels of Indian corn. Considering the items lost by David he may have been a glazier by profession.*

## Caleb Peirce Tenant Farm (James Jefferies Tenant) (Depredation - East Marlborough)

N61.09: 921 E. Baltimore Pike (Parcel #61-6Q-12)

Caleb Peirce acquired this 209 acre tract sometime prior to 1777 from his Uncle Thomas Gilpin in an unrecorded deed (W&A #6234). Caleb was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. In 1777 the property was likely being leased to James Jefferies who was taxed for 209 acres. James was likely a farmer by trade and not a Quaker. Jefferies submitted a depredation claim in 1782 claiming the loss of the following: *five pair of chains with harness, four leather collars and hems, two carts, saddles and backbands, two blind bridles, four guns(?), one hundred bushels of potatoes and about thirty bushels of apples.* In 1783 this property contained one frame dwelling, one log and one frame barns, one log stable and one log schoolhouse.

## Daniel Mercer Farm Site (Suffering - East Marlborough)

N61.10: 516 Schoolhouse Road (Parcel #61-6-75 & land Parcel #60-3-149.1)

Daniel Mercer, son of Thomas Mercer Jr. inherited this 250 acre tract of land from his grandfather Thomas Mercer Sr. of Thornbury Township in 1716 when he was two years old (W&A #42). Daniel was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Monthly Meeting. In 1783 the property contained one brick dwelling, one frame barn and one stone springhouse. Solomon Mercer, Daniel's son, who resided on his father's property in 1777, submitted a claim of suffering to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. He stated that the British Army had taken *"his Waggon, Horses, Household furniture etc to the amount of two hundred pounds."*

## Moses Pennock Farm (Depredation - East Marlborough)

N61.11: 509 Schoolhouse Road (Parcel #61-6-74)

Moses Pennock inherited this 500 acre tract after the death of his father William Pennock in 1767 (OCD, William Pennock 1767). Moses was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. He submitted a depredation claim in 1782 claiming the loss of the following items: *two fine sheets, two coarse sheets, four pillow cases, one diaper table cloth, two napkins, six yards of fine linen, part of a suit of curtains, one fine shirt, one check apron, one handkerchief, one tea kettle, tea spoons, one saddle, one hundred weight of cheese, mutton, half a hundred of flour, four glass bottles with coffee and molasses.* On the same paper John Pennock claimed the loss of nine sheep which may suggest that he resided on the property in September 1777. In 1783 the property contained one brick and stone dwelling, one frame barn and one old shop.

## Caleb Johnson Farm & Mill (Quaker) Depredation & Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

N61.12: 293 W Street Road (Parcel #61-5-5)/730 Wollaston Road (Parcel 61-5-10)

Caleb Johnson bought this 200 acre tract, including a grist and saw mill, from his father Robert Johnson of Wilmington in 1769 (Deed Book L-2 pg 247). Caleb was a Quaker farmer and miller who was a member of the London Grove Preparative Meeting. Caleb reported a Suffering to his Meeting. There is no indication that this property itself was looted. However Caleb did submit a depredation claim in 1782 for the loss of *two horses*. A Suffering was reported by Caleb, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777. In 1783 the property contained one log dwelling, one frame barn, two stone springs, and one old mill.

## John Richardson Farm (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.08: 418 McFarlan Rd (Parcel #62-4-140)

John Richardson acquired this large tract of land likely by 1770 when he is taxed for 350 acres and appears as the property owner on the 1770 Pennsbury/Kennett Township division map. There is no recorded deed for his purchase of this property. The property remained in his hands until his death in 1819 when it was estimated to be 450 acres (OC Descendent – John Richardson, 1819). John was a carpenter by trade and does not appear to have been a member of the Society of Friends. He was appointed tax collector in April 1777. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house and one barn.

## Robert Cooper Farm & Fulling Mill (Disowned Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.09: 203 E. Hillendale Rd (Parcel #62-4-217)/549 McFarlan Rd (Parcel #62-4-218.1)

William and Mary Cooper sold this 100 acre tract to their son Robert Cooper in 1774 (Deed Book D-2 pg 230). Robert Cooper was a fuller by trade and operated a fulling mill on the property until he sold it to Job Packer in 1788. He was a birthright Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting until he was disowned for marrying out of meeting in 1769. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop.

## Isaac Gregg Farm & Fulling Mill Site (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.10: 500 Chandler Mill Rd (Parcel #62-6-3) (NR)

N62.40: 541 Chandler Mill Rd (Parcel #62-6-4.1) (NR)

Writing his will in 1770, Joseph Gregg left his son Isaac Gregg a half part of his 200 acre tract whereon Joseph then lived (W&A #2586). Isaac also purchased an adjoining 33 acre tract from Daniel Meredith in 1770. On this 33 acre tract of land a fulling mill was established by John Gregg in the mid-1750s. The fulling mill was in operation until 1767 when it was taxed for the last time. Isaac Gregg, however, still referred to this parcel as the fulling mill site as late as 1807 when he willed the property to his son Solomon Gregg (W&A #5414). Solomon Gregg established a grist mill on this same site in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The grist mill was eventually sold to Abraham Chandler in 1866. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the mill became known as Chandler's Mill. Isaac Gregg was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. He was disowned for marrying contrary to discipline in 1774. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses and one barn.

## Michael Gregg Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.11: 103 Round Hill Rd (Parcel #62-6-16.5)

Michael Gregg acquired this tract of 200 acres after the death of his father Thomas Gregg in 1753 (Deed Book Z pg 274). Michael was a Quaker farmer and a member of both the New Garden and Kennett Meetings. There is

evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses, one barn and one shop.

### Ellis Lewis/Gavin Hamilton Mill (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.12: 728 Creek Rd (Parcel #62-7-11.7) Residence

N62.13: 162 Old Kennett Pike (62-7-33) Mill

Gavin Hamilton, a tobacconist from Philadelphia, purchased this 100 acre mill tract from the estate of Ellis Lewis in 1776 (Deed Book F-2 pg 396). Gavin operated a grist and snuff mill on the property until 1794. He was born in Scotland and operated a tobacco exporting business in Philadelphia. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and two mills. This property was historically known and referred to as Lewis's Mill during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Clifton Mill is located at the site today.

### George Passmore Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N61.14: 3 Penn Oak La (Parcel #62-7-39.1)

George Passmore, a tailor, purchased this 106 acre tract from John Eves in 1765 (Deed Book D-7 pg 145). George was a birthright Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting until he married contrary to discipline in 1763. He was reinstated into membership in 1785. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house and one barn.

### Abraham Taylor Farm & Tenant Farm (Quaker) (Suffering & Plunder - Kennett)

62.03: 647 Millers Hill (Parcel #62-4-15.2) & 433 McFarland Rd (Parcel#62-4-68)

Jesse Mendenhall and Sarah his wife sold this 113 acre tract of land to Abraham Taylor in 1776 (Deed Book W-2 pg 35). Abraham was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. In May 1779 he refused to serve as township assessor. There are several indications that his property was affected by the events of September 1777. He submitted an account of suffering to his meeting and the tax records indicate his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses and two barns.

### Jesse Mendenhall Property (Disowned Quaker) (Kennett)

N62.36: 429 McFarlan Rd (Parcel #62-4-67)

Jesse purchased a 116 acre tract from Enoch Eachus in 1763. In February 1776 Jesse and his wife Abigail sold 113 acres to Abraham Taylor, his neighbor, leaving Jesse with less than 3 acres of land. Jesse was the son of Joseph and Ruth Gilpin Mendenhall, a Quaker family originally from Concord Township. Jesse was disowned from the Kennett Meeting for marrying out of unity to Abigail Harris in 1757. There is no direct evidence that his property was looted. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses (Owner Benjamin McKeown).

### James Walter Farm (Disowned Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

62.01: 912 S. Union St (Parcel #62-3-110)

This tract was originally owned by Aaron Musgrave who acquired the 170 acres from William Chandler in 1757. Aaron in turn sold the tract to Joseph Walter in 1768 who likely purchased the property with the intention of giving it to his son James. James Walter appears to have been seated on this property as early as 1770 but did not officially purchase it from his father until 1774. (Deed Boxes - Kennett, Elizabeth Musgrave, et.al., to James Walter, 1789, CCHS). James was a birthright Quaker who was disowned in 1770 for being married by a priest to Sarah Dixon. James Walter refused to serve in a public capacity as assistant tax assessor in 1778 and 1779. He was fined for his refusal in 1778 and was able to find a substitute in 1779. (Commissioner's Minutes, 1777-1782, Pgs. 68, 109, 110) This was fairly common, especially for Quakers, who did not wish to support either side during the war. James Walter was a mason, though it appears his principle trade was farming for most of his life. He remained on the property until his death in 1797.

In 1783 James Walter’s property consisted of one dwelling house, one barn and one shop. There is clear evidence in the taxes that James’s property was plundered. In the 1778 tax assessments, which were taken only a few months after the events of 1777, James’s entry indicates that he was “Plundered.” (1778 State Tax, S-a1, Pg 213) In *Kennett Square: Yesterday and Today* the author states that “Joseph and James Walter lost the deeds to their property when the Hessians ripped open their feather beds and made off with their valuables hidden inside” (Pg 11). This is further borne out by the unrecorded release cited above. In 1789 James Walter requested a release from the previous owners of his 170 tract because the deeds were “now lost or destroyed” leaving his title to the property defective. The word destroyed is significant because it connotes a willful act of destruction not the usual “misplaced” which is generally used in these situations.

### Robert Lamborn Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.15: 580 McFarland Road (Parcel #62-4-240)

Robert Lamborn Sr. and his wife Ann of London Grove sold this 76 acre track to their son Robert Lamborn Jr. in 1751 (Deed Book B-2 pg 261). Robert was a blacksmith by trade and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop. HR #82 – probable colonial core.

### William Lamborn Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.16: 600 McFarland Rd (Parcel #2-4-294)

William Lamborn acquired these two parcels comprising 125 acres from his father Robert Lamborn in 1751 (Deed Book O pg 324). William was a saddler and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house and one barn. HR#193 – Probable colonial core.

### Henry Dixon Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.17: 1150 Kaolin Rd., (Parcel #62-6-46.2)

Henry Dixson, a yeoman then of Mill Creek Hundred, Delaware, acquired this 146 acre tract from James Maginley in 1745 (Deed Book X-2 pg 217). Henry was likely a birthright Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained three dwelling houses and one barn. HR#89, probable colonial core.

### Jesse Miller Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.18: 160 Davenport Road (Parcel #61-3-28.1)

Jesse Miller inherited this 200 acre tract from his father James Miller who died in 1732 when he was a minor (W&A #432). Jesse was a Quaker farmer and a member of the New Garden and Kennett Meeting. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained three dwelling houses, one barn, one shop, one smokehouse and one tan house. Penn Plan House.

### Francis Swayne Farm Site (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.19: Kennett Area Park Authority (Parcel #62-3-35)

In 1762 Francis Swayne, then of East Marlborough, saddle-tree maker, bought this 165 acre tract of land from David Yarnall (Deed Book E-2 pg 128). Francis was a Quaker and originally a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting but transferred to the Kennett Monthly Meeting in 1777. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 the property contained two dwelling houses, one barn and one shop.

## Caleb Taylor Farm Site (Disowned Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.20: 410 N. Walnut Road (Parcel #62-3-48.1)

Caleb Taylor, a yeoman and the son of Josiah Taylor, inherited this 47 acre tract of land from his father in 1765 (W&A #2203). Caleb was a birthright Quaker but was disowned by the Kennett Monthly Meeting in 1768. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop.

## Solomon Gregg Farm (Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.21: 1045 Kaolin Drive (Parcel #62-6-30)

Solomon Gregg, a yeoman, bought this 104 acre tract from John Eves in 1771 (Deed Book V-2 pg 267). Solomon was a birthright Quaker but was disowned by the Kennett Monthly Meeting for joining the army in 1779. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and one barn (owned then by Enoch Gregg). HR #183, c. 1810, probable colonial core

## William Pyle Property Site (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.28: 1012 Kaolin Road (Parcel# 62-3-141.1)

William Pyle, a weaver, inherited this 73 acre tract from his father John Pyle in 1771 (W&A #2659) with an additional 20 acres of land inherited by his brother James Pyle which he purchased at an unknown date. William Pyle was a birthright Quaker who married his wife Sarah Hutton at the New Garden Meetinghouse in 1784. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn, and one shop. There is evidence that this property was plundered.

## Robert Brown Farm (Disowned Quaker) (Plunder - Kennett)

N62.22: 825 Creek Road (Parcel #62-7-40)

Robert Brown, yeoman, officially acquired this 159 acre tract through his wife Jane Bennett, daughter of Jacob Bennett in 1747 (Deed Book G-2 pg 507). Robert was not a Quaker. His wife Jane however, was a birthright Quaker and a member of the Kennett Monthly Meeting before she was disowned in 1740 for marrying out of unity to Robert Brown. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 his property contained one dwelling, one barn and one shop. HR#77, c. 1807, probable colonial core

## Robert Lewis Farm (Plunder & Depredation - Kennett)

N62.23: 704 Creek Road (Parcel #62-4-278)

Robert Lewis, merchant of the city of Philadelphia, acquired three adjoining tracts, including a grist mill from his father Ellis Lewis in 1741 (Deed Book N pg 19). This 195 acre tract was all that remained in Robert's hands after the sale of the neighboring grist mill tract sold to Gavin Hamilton in 1776. Robert Lewis left the area early and was not residing on the property in September 1777. While there is no definitive evidence to suggest the name of the lessee of the 195 acres in 1777, the most likely candidate is John McFarlan. John was not a Quaker. There is evidence in the tax records that he was plundered. He also submitted a depredation claim in 1782 claiming the loss of the following items: *one roan mare (6 years old), one bay horse (7 years old), one black horse (about 10 years old), three leather "Hollers" four pair hems, three blind bridles, one cart saddle and backband, one pair pin chains and harness, one saddle and bridle, one pair new shoes and buckles, six yards of "8 hundred" linen, one blanket, one sheet, one pair stays, one cloth coat, one linen jack coat, twenty seven sheep and three swine.* HR#190, c 1820, probable colonial core.

### Robert Way Farm Site (Plunder – Kennett)

N62.24: 595 Bayard Road (62-4-235.1)

John Way and Ann his wife sold this 222 acre tract to Robert Way in 1773 (Deed Book S-1 pg 307). Robert was a yeoman and a birthright Quaker but was disowned in 1762. There is evidence that his property was plundered. Probable colonial core.

### Enoch Dixon Farm Site (Quaker) (Plunder – Kennett)

N62.25: A location has not been verified

Enoch Dixon, a yeoman then of Christiana Hundred, Delaware, acquired this 112 acre tract from Thomas Nichols Jr. in 1762 (Deed Book G-3 pg 273). Enoch was a birthright Quaker but he was disowned by the Kennett Meeting for marrying out of unity in 1756. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses and one barn.

### Joseph Springer Farm Site (Plunder – Kennett)

N62.26: A location has not been verified.

Joseph Springer acquired this 140 acre tract of land from John Beeson in April of 1777 (Deed Book G-3 pg 276). Joseph was a farmer originally from Christiana Hundred, Delaware. He was not a Quaker and appears to be associated with Old Swedes Church in New Castle County, Delaware. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses and one barn.

### Joshua Sharpless Farm Site (Quaker) (Plunder – Kennett)

N62.27: A location has not been verified.

Joshua Sharpless of Middletown bought these two tracts of land containing 129 acres from William Lamborn and Samuel McCool in 1769 (Deed Book E-2 pg 395). Joshua was a Quaker and an active member of the New Garden Meeting. According to the *The Sharpless Family* by Bart Anderson he “was active in efforts to abolish slave-holding among Friends” (pg 57). Joshua remained on the farm until 1787 when he bought 200 acres in East Bradford. There is evidence that his property was plundered.

## Northern Column Landscape Historic Resources

### John Jackson, Sr. Farm Site (Depredation & Suffering – East Marlborough)

N61.13: 101 E. Doe Run Road (Parcel #61-2-53.2) & 114 E. Doe Run Road (Parcel #61-2-119 land)

John Jackson acquired this land prior to 1772. The date and nature of this purchase is unknown. John was a Quaker farmer and a member of the London Grove Preparative Meeting where he married his wife Margaret Starr in 1769. In 1777, for failure to attend militia exercises, John Jackson had blankets taken in lieu of a fine. In 1782, Jackson reported that the British stole a horse from his property back in 1777. In 1783 the property contained one frame dwelling and one frame and stone barn.

### Abel Wickersham Farm Site (Request for Relief – East Marlborough)

N61.14: 770 Marlboro Spring Road (Parcel #61-3-7)

Abel Wickersham, a blacksmith, was the son of James Wickersham and bought these two contiguous tracts of land from James McMasters and his wife Susanna in 1770. Also a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting like his father, he married Sarah Sellers daughter of his near neighbor Samuel Sellers. In 1783 Abel is taxed for one log

dwelling house, one log barn, two old shops and a coal house. In the months immediately following the battle Abel Wickersham submitted a request for relief to his Quaker meeting.

### James Wickersham Farm Site (Suffering - East Marlborough)

N61.15: 811 Marlboro Spring Road (Parcel #61-3-4.3)

James Wickersham bought this 85 acre tract as part of a 123 acre tract from Moses Key in 1740 (Mortgage Book E pg 55). James was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. In 1777 his son Abner Wickersham was likely operating the farm as he is taxed for the property the following year. There is evidence that James's property was looted. In a petition filed in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting for Sufferings in 1798, James Wickersham, then 83 years of age, indicated that he had lost "several horse Creatures and horse Geers, to a Considerable amount," when the British marched from the head of the Elk to the Brandywine in September of 1777. In 1783 this property contained one part stone and part log dwelling and one log barn.

### William Windle Farm (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

N61.16: 160 E Doe Run Road (Parcel #61-5-49.2)

William Windle bought this 55 acre tract from his father Francis Windle in 1764 (Deed Book S pg 128). William was a joiner and a member of the London Grove Preparative Meeting where he married his wife Mary Jackson, the daughter of his neighbor Thomas Jackson in 1761. In 1778 William was subjected to a substitute fine and had two cows and three young cattle. There is no indication that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one log house, one log barn and one shop.

### William Baily Farm (Suffering - East Marlborough)

N61.17: 1765 W Doe Run Road (Parcel #61-2-48)

William Baily died possessed of this tract of 275 acres in 1783 (Orphans' Court Docket 8 pg 163). He acquired the property through several unrecorded deeds beginning with a 140 acre tract which he bought of John Jackson in 1745 (Deed Book A-2 pg 345). William was a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting where he married his first wife Betty Cloud in 1745. He was a farmer with extensive operations that included growing flax for his spinning house which housed five spinning wheels, three cheese vats and three stocks of bees for honey (W&A #3505). In 1778 William was subjected to a substitute fine and had 21 yards of course table linen taken from his property (New Garden Quaker Sufferings). There is no indication that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one brick dwelling, one frame barn, two shops and a spinning house.

### Richard Bamard property (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

This property needs to be researched. A Suffering was reported by Richard Barnard, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777.

### Thomas Jackson property (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

This property needs to be researched. A Suffering was reported by Thomas Jackson, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777.

### Henry Neal property (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

This property needs to be researched. A Suffering was reported by Henry Neal, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777.

### Thomas Vernon (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

This property needs to be researched. A Suffering was reported by Thomas Vernon, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777.

### Francis Windle (possible Tenant David Windle) (Possible Suffering - East Marlborough)

This property needs to be researched. A Suffering was reported by Francis Windle, which may or may not be related to events of September 1777.

## Eastern Column Landscape Historic Resources

### Ezekiel Webb Tavern/Welch's Tavern/Anvil Tavern Site (Plunder - Kennett)

62.04: 300 Greenwood Rd (Parcel #62-1-36.1)

Ezekiel Webb bought this 5 acre tract from Thomas Welch in 1775 and the surrounding 44 acres from Thomas Temple the same year (Deed Books X pg 249/V pg 191). Thomas Welch operated a tavern here as early as 1767 which appears to have been continued under Ezekiel Webb's ownership. Ezekiel was a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There is evidence that his property was plundered. The first shots of the Battle were fired at this site around 6 AM. Troops under Knyphausen surprised a patrol Maxwell had sent out from the Old Kennett Meetinghouse. After firing several shots, they retreated to the Meetinghouse. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and two shops.

### Old Kennett Meetinghouse (Kennett)

62.02: 489 Meetinghouse Lane (Parcel #62-2-13-E)

This stuccoed fieldstone Quaker Meetinghouse was built in 1731 replacing an earlier log structure built circa 1710. Tradition claims that its graveyard contains a common grave of the men killed at the Kennett Meeting skirmish between Knyphausen's men and Maxwell's militia. The September 11, 1777 minutes of the women's meeting noted the passing of soldiers.

### Jacob Way Farm (son/heir of John) (Pennsbury)

64.10: 1310 Brintons Bridge Road (Parcel #64-3-62.1)

John Way was born ca. 1694 to English immigrants Robert and Hannah Hickman Way. The family was Quaker, but John was disowned by Kennett monthly meeting in 1725 for marrying Ann Hannum, whose family by that time had left the Quaker faith. Whether they were welcomed back is not known. The couple had the following known children: Jacob, Caleb, Rebecca, Lydia, Ann, Ruth, Rachel (m. Larkin), Sarah (m. Miller), Elizabeth (m. Brown), Robert, John, Benjamin. John purchased this tract of land in 1724 from his father, who had owned it since 1691, and owned it until his death in August 1777 when his son Jacob inherited it. (The portion of this house that is pre-revolutionary was not built by James Brinton as was previously reported by researchers.)

### Dr. Joseph Peirce Farm (Former Quaker) (Depredation - Pennsbury)

64.15: 883 Baltimore Pike (Parcel #64-3-36)

64.17: 100 Hickory Hill Road (Parcel #64-3-85.2)

Joseph Peirce was born in 1725 to English immigrant Joshua Peirce Sr. and Rachel Gilpin. He married his first cousin Ann Mendenhall and then the widow Ann (née Marshal) Hope. Joseph's parents were Quaker, but the absence of Joseph's family in the church records suggests that he may have been shunned, probably for marrying

his first cousin. His children were: Joseph, Sarah (m. Gilpin), Hannah, John, Irenus, Celia, Anna Matilda, Lydia (m. Fagan), Ann (m. Hollingsworth), and Thomas. He purchased part of the estate of his new wife's late husband, Amos Hope, in 1772. Dr. Peirce died in 1811. Today's Pennsbury Inn. A claim was filed by Joseph Peirce Jr. (son of Joseph the owner) for items lost or damaged September 11, 1777. *1 cloth coat, 1 camblet coat, 1 sagathie coat, 2 camblet Tallcoats, 1 pair breeches, 2 pair trousers, 1 bag saddle & bridle, 1 feather bed and cloths, 1 quilt, Quantity of goods purchased at Philadelphia, Quantity of pewter, Quantity of walnut furniture, Quantity of pewter, 1 bed tick 23 yards linen, 5 pair sheets & pillowcases, 1 coverlet 2 pair blanket, 8 ½ yards linen, 6 diaper napkins and table cloth, 3 table cloths and 4 handkerchiefs, 2 looking glasses 1 very large, 1 set curtains 1 pair of fine sheets, Quantity of fine linen.*

### James Brinton Farm & Properties (Quaker) (Depredation, & Plunder - Pennsbury)

64.22: 620 Baltimore Pike (Parcel #64-3-96.2-E) (Barns-Brinton House) (NR)

64.23: 450 Old Baltimore Pike (Parcel #64-3-100)

64.24: 414 Old Baltimore Pike (Parcel #64-3-110.1)

64.26: 1301 Brinton's Bridge Road (Parcel #64-3-69) NR (Brinton-King House (antique shop) & Barn (The Gables restaurant))

James Brinton was born ca. 1723 to Joseph and Mary Peirce Brinton of Thornbury. He married Mary Ford in 1745 and the couple had the following children: Joseph, William, Hannah (m. Ring), Phebe (m. Dick), Ann (m. West), Mary (m. Gibbons), and Caleb. James moved to what would become Pennsbury in 1753 and by the time he died ca. 1810, he had amassed a plantation of ~700 acres, which he purchased in several transactions. His property was in the direct line of Knyphausen's march in 1777. This property did not belong to Isaac Miller as reported by previous researchers. A claim was made by Joseph Brinton (son of owner James), who lived on the western most portion of James Brinton's plantation, for the following items lost or damaged September 11 and 12, 1777: *1 cow, 2 horses, 100 dozen wheat, 50 dozen rye, 6 ton hay, Sundry household goods.*

### William Harvey Jr. Farm (likely Tenant Amos/son of William) (Quaker) (Depredation - Amos Harvey - Pennsbury)

64.25: 1401 Brintons Bridge Road (Parcel #64-3-74)

William Harvey Jr. was born ca. 1717 to English immigrant William Harvey and Judith Bolin (?). He married Ann Evitt in 1741 and the couple had children William, Judith, Caleb, and Amos. He inherited his father's plantation in 1754 (see will #1546) and owned it (co-occupied with son Amos at the time of the battle) until 1809 when Amos purchased it for \$1 (B3,380). The Harvey's were a Quaker family and belonged to Kennett monthly meeting. A claim was made by Amos Harvey (son of William the owner) for the following items lost September 11 and 12, 1777: *4 horses, 35 sheep, 1 calf, 1 bull, 1 hog, 30 dozen oats, 1 ton of hay.*

## Eastern Column Landscape: Baggage & Supply Train Historic Resources

### Walter Craig Farm Site (Kennett)

N62.05: 307 Kennett Pike (Parcel #62-2-71)

Walter Craig acquired this 200 acre tract from a sheriff's sale in 1755 (Deed Book K pg 216). Walter, identified as a yeoman, was not a member of the Society of Friends. He was appointed township assessor in 1779. His farm does not appear to have been looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house and one barn. The property was most likely on the road the Wagon Train took to the 1754. Brandywine Road where it awaited the

outcome of the battle. This is the only property not reporting significant plunder but is included as a contributing property because of location. Extant structure has not been verified.

### William Harvey Jr. Farm (Peter Harvey Tenant) (Quaker) (Depredation & Plunder - Peter Harvey, - Pennsbury)

64.06: 701 Hillendale Road (Parcel #64-3-88)

64.16: 1349 Hillendale Road (Parcel 64-3-87)

William Harvey Jr. was born ca. 1717 to English immigrant William Harvey and Judith Bolin (?). He married Ann Evitt in 1741 and the couple had children William, Judith, Caleb, and Amos. He inherited his father's plantation in 1754 (see will #1546) and owned it (co-occupied with son Amos at the time of the battle) until 1809 when Amos purchased it for \$1 (B3,380). The Harvey's were a Quaker family and belonged to Kennett monthly meeting. A claim was made by Peter Harvey for the following items lost September 11 and 12, 1777: *2 year old heffer, Hand saw, 1 pair boots, 150 beef salted, 1 pair silver knee buckles, 1 year old calf, 1 silver stock buckle, 1 grid iron, 1 dozen pewter spoons, 3 dozen silver tea spoons, 1 peck of salt, 1 iron kettle, 1 ½ dozen knives and forks, 6 tins.* Reported December 31, 1782

### Caleb and Moses Mendenhall Farm (Quaker) (Depredation - Pennsbury)

64.32: 160 Stabler Road (Parcel #64-6-1.4)

Moses and Caleb Mendenhall were born in 1744 and 1747 to Caleb and Ann Peirce Mendenhall. When Caleb, the father, died in 1746, his property descended to his sons. Moses married Mary James and had known children Caleb, Ann, Joshua, Samuel, Hannah, Catharine, Samuel, Mary, Enoch, Jacob, and Elizabeth. Caleb married Susanna James, sister of the aforesaid Mary, and had known children Mary, Moses, Amelia, Benjamin, Sarah, Caleb, Ann, and Eli. A claim was made by Moses Mendenhall for the following items that were lost or damaged on September 11, 1777: *5 horses, 3 set of horse geers, Sundry household goods, Wearing apparel.*

### Isaac Mendenhall Farm (tenants Thomas and Joseph Mendenhall and Amos Davis) (Quaker) (Depredation & Plunder- Pennsbury)

64.02: 508 Hillendale Road (Parcel #64-3-115) NR

64.04: 951 Fairville Road (Parcel #64-3-119)

64.11: 1383 Hickory Hill Road (Parcel #64-3-113)

64.13: 1250 Hillendale Road (Parcel #64-3-114) NR

Isaac Mendenhall was born ca. 1719 to Joseph and Hannah Gilpin Mendenhall. He married Martha Robinson and had the following children: Joseph, Isaac, Betty, Thomas, Noah, Benjamin, Martha, Aaron, Dinah, Ruth, and Caleb. He later married Ann Collins. Isaac inherited 117 acres from his father's estate in 1748. By the time he died ca. 1803, he owned ~500 acres in Pennsbury, which was devised to his sons Aaron, Isaac, Thomas, and Noah. A claim was filed by Noah Mendenhall (son of Isaac the owner) for items lost or damaged in September 1777: *3 sheep, 100 meale, 1 coverlid, 1 pair blankets, 1 blanket, 1 bushel coarse salt, ½ bushel fine salt, 1 pair velvet, breeches, 1 pair sheets, 1 broad cloth jacket, 2 pillow cases, 1 chints gown, 1 calico gown, 1 shirt petticoat and 5 capes, 1 apron and 3 handkerchiefs, 1 calico bed gown, 2 pair stockings, 1 pair shoes, 1 surtout, Child's petticoat and shift, 10 capes and 8 shirts, 1 white petticoat, A child's frock, Shirt and trousers, 6 pewter plates 13 spoons, 1 pewter tea pot and blue crame [?] gug [sic], 1 Queens ware tea pot delf gug [sic], 6 tea cups 6 casers 6 tea spoons, 1 glass tumbler and gill glass, 2 half gill tumbler and 2 bowls, 1 silver thimble and fine comb, 3 knives and forks, 11 dozen fine yarn, 3 pounds woolen yarn, 1 bushel onions, 1 box sugar, 1 snuff box and some coffee, 700 tacks, 1 pair woolen gloves.*

## Susanna Hope Fred (and John Fred) (Depredation & Plunder – Pennsbury)

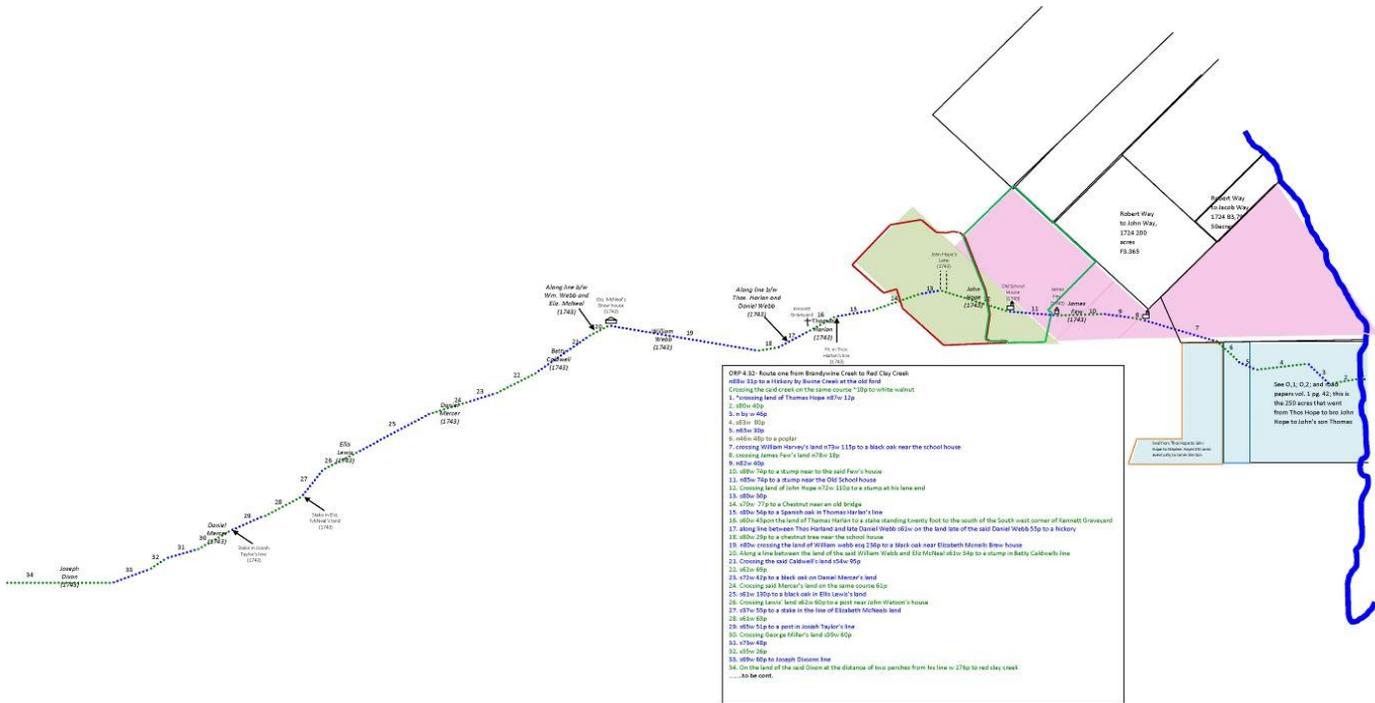
Susanna Fred, born c. 1723, was the daughter of John Hope and Elizabeth Hobson. She was disowned by the Kennett monthly meeting in 1744 when she married John Fred, presumably a non-Quaker. She inherited 50 acres from her father in 1749, which her son Benjamin sold in 1786. It does not appear as if there are any historic resources currently standing on this property. A depredation claim was made by Benjamin Fred (son of Susanna the owner) for the following items lost or damaged during the Battle of Brandywine: *1 brown mare 3 years old 5 sheep, 1 suit of clothes, 1 new hat, 2 fine shirts, 3 coarse shirts, 3 pairs of trousers, 1 pair shoes, 1 pair shoes, 3 pair stockings, 2 tack coats, 2 stocks, 1 ½ yards linen, Small pieces of linen, and 1 walnut box 1 pine trunk locks.* A claim was made by John Fred (husband of Susanna the owner) for the following items lost or damaged September 11 and 12, 1777: *100 dozen wheat, 30 dozen rye, 10 dozen oats, 3 tons hay, 60 flax, 1 bay mare, 6 sheep, 2 milk cows, 2 yearlings, 7 swine, 2 dozen fowl, 800 or 900 rails, Cooper stuff, 2 suits of clothes, 1 hat and shirts, 1 surtout coat, 3 pair trousers, 2 pair shoes, 5 pair stockings, 10 long gowns, 9 smokes, 5 petticoats, 1 worsted skirt, 10 aprons, 10 capes, 10 handkerchiefs, 1 pair staves, 3 pairs gloves, 2 feather beds and bedding.*

## Pennsbury Depredation Claims with no associated property:

A claim was made by Thomas Monks for the following items lost or damaged September 11 and 12, 1777: *Cash, 1 new falling ax, 1 new great coat, 1 new cloth coat, 1 new bed tick, 3 coverlids, 40 yards linen, 2 good lankets, 5 sheets, 1 pewter quart cup 3 bassons, 2 pewter dishes, 1 pewter plate, 1 ½ dozen pewter spoons, 1 ½ dozen teaspoons, 1 pair still yards, 7 new pair shoes, Quantity of leather, 2 pair of stays, 10 handkerchiefs, 1 new alico petticoat, ½ c. wt of meal, 1 silk gown, 1 calico gown, 1 petticoat, 1 petticoat flanen, 1 cloak 2 short gowns, 3 cloaks and 3 aprons, Quantity of baby clothes 1 coatee, 1 jacket 1 new bonnet, 5 yards huckabauk, 5 bowls delf, and a quantity of earthen, 8 cups and saucers, 4 wine glasses 1 delf plate, 1 tea pot 2 canisters 1 tin funnel, 5 pair tockings, 4 pair trousers, 4 shirts, 2 pails, 32 of beef, 150 head of cabbage, Quantity of other garden stuff and cheese. Reported December 31, 1782*

A claim was made by John Roles for the following items lost or damaged September 11-16, 1777: *1 cow and 2 hogs, Smith bellow and tools, 100 iron and 2 dozen tiles, 1 dozen hammers 15 pair horse shoes, 3 beds and furniture, 3 wheels 1 reel, 1 big wheel 1 set spools, 2 desk 1 dough trough 1 table, 1 large 7 small chairs, 2 sider and 4 beef tubs, 5 flour barrels ½ wt flour, 11 bushels of \_\_, 2 bushels malt 2 bushels sags, 3 casks of tow ?, and 30 flare?, 1 warming pan and frying pan, 2 flat irons earthenware of sundry sorts, 12 yards linen, Wearing apparel, 2 beaver hats, 1 pair spoon molds, 2 pewter plates and basins, 1 side upper leather 1 side sole, 8 pairs shoes, ogs and shovel, 3 bushels corn, 2 bushels onions 50 cabbage, 3 dozen spoons 1 chest, 1 brass kettle 3 pails, Yarn, Stocking yarn and 10 pairs, 8 lb wool 3 lb worsted, Book notes bonds, 1 trunk 1 box, 2 locks and knives forks, 1 sythe cradle and ½ dozen sickles, 5 pairs of cardes, 2 ½ of powder, 3 of lead shot bagg powder horn.*

- Rt. 1 in 1743 (ORP 4:32) \*\*\*\*\*
- House (date) 🏠
- School house (date) 🏫
- Tavern (date) 🍺
- Lane (date) 🛤️
- Cemetery (date) ⚰️



This map provides the location of the Great Nottingham Rd. march.

# Additional Historic Resources in/near the Landscapes that contribute to the Battlefield

## Isaac Jackson (son of John) Farm Site (New Garden)

N60.07: 6730 Limestone Road (Parcel #60-6-44.1)

Isaac Jackson, yeoman, bought this 184 acre tract of land from his father John Jackson in 1767 (Deed Book L-2 pg 250). Isaac was a Quaker and a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting. There is no evidence that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and two out buildings.

## John Beale Farm Site (New Garden)

N60.08: 9148 Gap Newport Pike (Parcel #60-6-62.4)

John Beale acquired this 135 acre tract on the death of his father George Beale of St. Croix in the West Indies in 1769 (Deed Book X pg 390). The property was likely leased for most of George and John Beale's ownership except for two years in 1780 and 1781 when John Beale was taxed directly for the property. It is not known who leased the property in 1777.

## Rebecca Cox Dixon Farm (New Garden)

N60.09: 1 Hartefeld Drive (Parcel #60-4-63.1) (#60-4-62.2)

Rebecca Dixon inherited this 174 acre tract of land from her husband John Dixon in 1765 (Deed Book C-2 pg 176). Rebecca Cox was a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Monthly Meeting where she married her husband John Dixon in 1742. There is no evidence that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one dwelling house and one out building.

## Isaac Jackson (son of William) Farm (Quaker) (New Garden)

N60.10: 291 New Garden Rd (Parcel #60-4-31)

Isaac Jackson acquired this 200 acre tract of land from his father William Jackson in 1762 (Deed Book O pg 222). The following is taken from the New Garden Historical Commission's 2006 *Historic House Bus Tour*:

*"This house is brick, built about 1770 by Isaac and Hannah Jackson. They lived here for 40 years, reared 11 children in their small, 4-room house. Isaac Jackson was a premier maker of tall clocks, so it is most likely that one second floor room was his workshop."*

Isaac was a Quaker and a member of the New Garden Meeting. There is no direct evidence that his farm was looted though his farm was in the direct path of troop movement. HR#42

## Moses Rowan Farm (Quaker) (New Garden)

N60.11: 316 Sunny Dell Rd (Parcel #60-6-35.4)

Moses Rowan purchased this 200 acre tract from sheriff's sale, the estate of Jane Jenkins, widow of Nathaniel Jenkins of Philadelphia, in 1770 (Deed Book Q pg 409). Moses subdivided and sold several parcels of the original tract, leaving him approximately 80 acres by 1777. Prior to his purchase, Moses was a ship joiner, shipwright and house carpenter in Philadelphia. He appears to have built the oldest section of the current structure in 1770 based on the archival evidence and a date stone. Moses was a Quaker and married Hannah Jackson, sister of Isaac Jackson the clockmaker. He removed with his family back to Philadelphia in 1784. There is no direct evidence that his farm was looted though his farm was in the direct path of troop movement.

## Robert Barr Farm (Kennett)

N62.28: 834 Starve Gut Ln (Parcel #62-7-19.2)

Robert Barr died possessed of this 200 acre tract in 1797. Unfortunately no recorded deed exists for his purchase of this property but he was likely seated here as early as 1765 when he was first taxed for 200 acres in Kennett Township. Barr was not a Quaker and served as an assistant tax collector in 1780. His farm does not appear to have been looted. In 1783 this property contained two dwelling houses and one barn.

## John Marshall Farm & Saw Mill (Quaker) (Kennett)

N62.29: 295 Marshall Bridge Rd (Parcel #62-7-38.1)

John Marshall purchased this 155 acre tract from the heirs of Joseph Hackney in 1764 (Deed Book N-10 pg 323). John was a wheelwright by trade but appears to have operated a saw mill on the property as early as 1775. He was a Quaker and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There is no evidence that his property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn, one shop and one saw mill.

## Robert Stewart Farm (Kennett)

N62.30: 280 Old Kennett Rd (Parcel #62-7-50.4)

Robert Stewart, a weaver, purchased this 46 acre tract of David Nielson in March of 1777 (Deed Book H-2 pg 83). Robert was not a Quaker. There is no evidence that the property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house and one barn.

### Andrew Shivery Farm (Kennett)

N62.31: 915 Sunstone La (Parcel #62-4-310.3)/600 Bayard Rd (Parcel #62-4-311)

Andrew Shivery, a yeoman, purchased this tract of 108 acres from Israel Pemberton in April of 1777 (Deed Book M-2 pg 63). Andrew does not appear to be a Quaker, his wife Sarah Keeran was disowned from the Kennett Meeting for marrying him in 1769. There is no evidence that his property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop.

### Betty Prew Wiley Bennett Farm (Quaker) (Kennett)

N62.32: 107 Ironstone La (Parcel #62-4-310.8)

Writing his will in 1726, Caleb Prew left his daughter Betty this 112 acre tract. Betty was a birthright Quaker but married out of unity in 1739 to Allen Wiley. Allen died intestate in 1748 and Betty married second Joseph Bennett at the Centre Meetinghouse suggesting she had been accepted back into the Kennett Meeting. The land was likely leased after the death of Allen Wiley in 1748 until her death in 1792 in New Castle County. The family still maintained control of the property well into the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Deed Book Q-3 pg 83). Since it is not known who was leasing the property in 1777 it cannot be stated with certainty if the farm was looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop (Tenant Thomas Wiley).

### Andrew Yeatman Farm (Kennett)

N62.33: 5 Nine Gates Rd (Parcel #62-7-67.1)

Andrew Yeatman, a yeoman, bought this 144 acre tract, which lies in both Chester and New Castle Counties, from George Gordon in 1772 (Deed Book S pg 493). Andrew was not a Quaker. There is no evidence that this property was looted.

### Edward Pennington Farm (Kennett)

N62.34: 180 Ewart Rd (Parcel #62-9-2)

Edward Pennington, a sugar baker from Philadelphia, purchased this 155 acre tract from in Shesbazzar Bentley in March of 1777 (New Castle County, Delaware Deed Book C-2 pg 120). This tract straddled the line between Chester and New Castle County and was likely leased until Edward sold it in 1792. It is not clear who was leasing the property in 1777 and therefore it cannot be stated with certainty if the farm was looted.

### Jacob Zimpher Farm (Kennett)

N62.35: 424 E. Hillendale Rd (Parcel #62-4-255)

Jacob Zimpher, alias Simmons, purchased this 15 acre tract from Israel Pemberton in 1766. Jacob was a farmer, of German extraction and not a Quaker. There is no evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one shop.

### John Dixon Farm (Kennett)

N62.37: 560 Chandler Mill Rd (Parcel #62-6-45.2)

John Hollingsworth sold this tract of 150 acres to John Dixon in 1738 (Deed Book A-3 pg 432). John Dixon married Susanna Pryor, a birthright Quaker, in 1761. She was chastised for marrying out of meeting suggesting that John Dixon was not a member of the Society of Friends. John Dixon died intestate in the mid-1760s leaving his wife Susanna and a daughter Sarah Dixon to survive him. Susanna remarried Stephen Gregg and removed to Virginia in 1771. It was likely that the property was leased from the time of John Dixon's death until the heirs of Sarah Dixon Gregg, his daughter, sold the property in 1807. It has not been possible to determine who was leasing the property in 1777 and therefore it cannot be stated with certainty if the farm was looted.

## George Mason Jr. Farm & Sawmill Site (Quaker) (Kennett)

N62.38: 117 Chandler Mill Road (Parcel #62-3-105)

George Mason Jr., a yeoman, inherited this 196 acre tract from his father George Mason Sr. in 1774 (W&A #2885). A saw mill operated on this tract of land as early as 1765. George was a Quaker and a member of the New Garden Monthly Meeting. There is no evidence that his property was looted. In 1783 his property contained three dwellings, one barn, one shop and one sawmill.

## John Pyle Jr Farm Site (Kennett)

N62.39: A fixed location has not been verified

John Pyle Sr. left this 160 acre tract of land in his will to his son John in 1771 (W&A #2659). John Jr., who married Judith Hollingsworth in the Kennett Meeting, died intestate in 1775 (W&A #2905). The property descended to their son John who was a minor in 1777. It appears that the property was leased until John Pyle reached his majority and sold the tract in 1789 (Deed Book E-2 pg 92). Since it is not known who was leasing the property in 1777 it cannot be stated with certainty if the farm was looted.

## Caleb Peirce Farm (East Marlborough) (The Peirce House at Longwood Gardens)

61.06: 335 Longwood Road (61-6-57) (NR)

Joshua Peirce left this 189 acre tract to his son Caleb in his will in 1752 (W&A #1444). Caleb was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. During the battle, the Peirce House stood on the Marlborough Road just north of Welch's/Anvil Tavern. Built in 1730, it was expanded in 1764. The Peirce family took a strong interest in botany and in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century planted specimen trees and gardens. There are no indications that this property was looted. It is included as a primary resource due to its proximity and family relationship to the Caleb Peirce Tenant Farm. In 1783 this property contained one brick dwelling, one frame barn and one frame shop.

## Gabriel Clark Farm (Kennett)

N62.06: 614 E. Hillendale Rd (Parcel #62-4-197.1)

Gabriel Clark acquired this 30 acre tract in 1773 from the estate of William Webb, dec'd (Deed Book Y-2 pg 441). He was a cooper by trade and was not a member of the Society of Friends. His farm does not appear to have been looted. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and one stable.

## John Lamborn Farm (Quaker) (Kennett)

N62.07: 594 E. Hillendale Rd (Parcel #62-4-197.8)/731 Norway Rd (Parcel #62-4-267.1)

John Lamborn purchased this 170 acre tract from William Shipley in 1764 (Deed Book H-3 pg 63). John was a farmer and member of the Kennett Meeting. His farm does not appear to have been looted. In 1783 this property contained four dwelling houses, two barns and one shop.

## Joshua Peirce Jr. Tenant Farm (his son, Joshua III likely tenant) (Quaker) (Pennsbury)

64.08: 1011 Baltimore Pike (Parcel #64-3-38)

64.12: 101 Hickory Hill Road Parcel (Parcel #64-3-82.1)

Joshua Peirce Sr. was an English immigrant who married Rachel Gilpin. Joshua Jr. married Ann Bailey in 1748 and the couple had children: Rachel, Joshua, Daniel, Isaac, Olive, and Ann. Joshua Jr. purchased this land from Amos Hope's estate in 1769. It appears that both Joshua and his son Joshua had residences in Pennsbury at the time of the battle. The house (1011 Baltimore Pike, #64-3-38) was not built in 1770 by Abram Peirce as has been reported by previous researchers. There is no evidence of an Abram Peirce living in Pennsbury during the 18th century.

### James Bennett Farm Property (Quaker) (Suffering - Pennsbury)

64.03: 1265 Parkersville Road, Extant (Parcel #64-3-8)

64.14 1325 Parkersville Road, Extant (Parcel #64-3-12.1)

64.18 1779 Pocopson Road, Extant (Parcel #64-3-22)

64.30: 16 McMullin Farm Lane, Extant (Parcel #64-1-14.14)

James Bennett, son of John and Sarah of Birmingham, was born in 1734. He married Hannah Gilpin, daughter of Isaac and Mary, and they had Mary, Isaac, Sarah, James, Joseph (died young), Jacob, Hannah, and Joseph II. The family attended Kennett Monthly Meeting. This was not owned by Joseph Peirce as reported by previous researchers. Although Bennett transferred the property to Peirce in February 1771, Peirce transferred it back 5 days later. The buildings currently on this property have not been verified for dates.

### George Brown Farm Site (non-Quaker)(Depredation - Pennsbury)

N64.34: Address of potential site 64-5-74, 720 Kennett Pike

There is very little documentation locally available for George Brown who was a millwright in what would become Pennsbury Township. He married Susannah Harlan who was disowned by the Quaker meeting for marrying out of unity. Brown owned this property 1762-1786. A claim was made by George Brown for the following items lost or damaged September 1777: *1 silver watch, 1 beaver hat, 1 case of razors, 1 pair silver buckles, 1 pair shoes, 1 knife, 1 lawn apron, Some fine linen.*

### Eleanor Parker Wickersham Farm (Quaker)(Pennsbury)

64.29: 1710 East Street Road (Parcel #64-1-13.1)

Eleanor Wickersham was the daughter of Isaac Richardson and Catherine Gandy. She married Abraham Parker and the couple had children John, Mary, Elizabeth, Lydia, and Kezia. When Abraham died in 1752/53, Eleanor purchased two adjacent tracts totaling 120 acres from his estate. Although the deed did not mention a dwelling, tax records suggest that there was a house on the property since the Parkers were only taxed in what was then Kennett. Although Eleanor owned it until her death, in 1791-92, she did not occupy the land. She remarried William Wickersham in 1764 and lived in Newlin Township for the remainder of her days. Eleanor was a Quaker.

### George Gordon Farm Site (possible tenant Balser and/or Conrad Selsor) (Depredation - Pennsbury)

N64.35: 60 Selbourne Drive (Parcel #64-5-76.1A) Possible Location

There is no locally available documentation on any of these individuals. George Gordon was a non-resident owner. It is not clear who occupied this land. One possibility is the Salser/Selser/Selsor family. A claim was made by Conrad Sellser for the following items lost or damaged September 12, 1777: *1 gown half silk, 1 gown striped linen, 1 petticoat, 1 jacket, 1 pair breeches, 2 pair shoes, 1 little pig, damage to a case of drawers, 1 bridle, 25 yards shirten. Research is ongoing to locate any remaining ruins.*

### Stephen Webb Farm (Quaker) (Pennsbury) (contains William Webb Farmhouse at Longwood Gardens)

64.28: 101 Lenape Road (Parcel #64-2-6)

64.07: 1691 E. Street Road (Parcel #64-2-2.4)

64.27: 2090 Lenape Road (Parcel #64-2-1.1A)

Stephen Webb, born 1738, was the son of William Webb and Elizabeth Hoopes and the grandson of English immigrant William Webb. He married Hannah Harlan and had children William, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Ann, Stephen, Ezekiel, Susanna, Hannah, and Harlan. He inherited the larger portion (327a) of this land in 1763 from

his father and, upon his own death in 1787, the land was divided amongst his children. William was a member of Kennett monthly meeting. The William Webb House, c.1740, (and the Pierce House, c.1730) is part of Longwood Gardens property. The Webb House would have witnessed the battle. The Webb House was within view of the Welch's Tavern skirmish, while the Pierce was also within view of that skirmish as the Northern Column skirmish with Lt. Col. Ross' Patrol.

### Caleb Pennock Farm (East Marlborough) (Possible Suffering)

61.05: 232 E. Street Road (Parcel #61-6-48.1)

Caleb Pennock acquired this 150 acre tract of land in two purchases made in 1775 He bought one tract of 75 acres bought of William Pennock (Deed Book E-2 pg 369), and the other 75 acres from Humphrey Marshall and Levis Pennock (Deed Book T pg 409). Caleb was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting. There are no indications that his property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one log dwelling, one "old" stable and one shop.

### Jacob Tagart Farm (East Marlborough)

61.02: 115 Corman Drive (Parcel #61-5-91)/166 W. Street Rd (Parcel #61-5-64)

Jacob Tagart purchased this 200 acre tract from a sheriff's sale, property of the late Robert Wickersham, in 1759 (Deed Book N pg 1). Jacob was a farmer by trade and not a member of the Quaker Society of Friends. There are no indications this property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one stone dwelling and one log barn.

### Mordecai Cloud Mill Site (East Marlborough)

61.03: 621 Wollaston Road (Parcel #61-5-60)/606 Wollaston Road (Parcel #61-5-61)

Mordecai Cloud bought this 17 acre mill tract from John Carpenter in 1763 (Deed Book F-2 pg 339). He also bought the adjoining tract of 174 acres in 1763 from Isaac Allen (Deed Book F-2 pg 342). Mordecai was a miller by trade. He was a Quaker and a member of the London Grove Meeting but was disowned for paying a military fine in 1780. In June of 1779 he was appointed township assessor but refused to serve and was fined. There is no indication that his property was looted. In 1783 this property contained one stone dwelling, two frame barns, one stone mill, one log shop and one frame stable.

### Daniel & Caleb Baily Farm (East Marlborough)

N61.18: 2121 Lenape Unionville Road (Parcel #61-2-129.1)

Daniel Baily bought this 200 acre tract of land in 1727 and bequeathed it to his son Caleb in his will proved 1783 (Deed Book S-2 pg 429). Daniel was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting where he married his wife Olive Harry in 1720 and the London Grove Preparative Meeting. Likely because of his father's advanced age, Caleb Baily appears to be operating the farm in 1777. There is no indication that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one stone and frame dwelling, one frame barn and one small stable.

### Joshua Peirce Jr. Farm (Quaker) (East Marlborough)

N61.19: 733 Beversrede Trail (Parcel #61-6-43.1)

Joshua Peirce Jr. was born in the 1720s to English immigrant Joshua Peirce Sr. and Rachel Gilpin. Joshua inherited this 177 acre tract from his father Joshua Peirce Sr. in 1752 (W&A #1444). Joshua Jr. was a Quaker farmer and a member of the Kennett Meeting where he married his wife Ann Baily in 1748 and the couple had children: Rachel, Joshua, Daniel, Isaac, Olive, and Ann. There are no indications that his farm was looted. In 1783 the property contained one brick house, one frame barn and two shops (see Daniel Peirce).

## Thomas Pusey Farm (East Marlborough)

382 West Street Road

61.01: Parcel #61-4-12.1 Caleb Hussey House

61.08: Parcel #61-4-17) South Brook Farm

Thomas Pusey acquired this 241 acre tract from his father Caleb Pusey's will which was written in 1752 (W&A #1612). Caleb Pusey, the father, settled this land in 1713. He built a grist and saw mill in partnership with William Penn, Richard Townsend and Samuel Carpenter. After much experimentation, the mill became the first successful mill in Chester County. Caleb retired to this property, near the London Grove Meeting where he worshiped. Thomas, his son, was a farmer and a member of the London Grove Meeting. There is no indication that this property was looted. In 1783 the property contained one stone dwelling, one frame barn, granary, one shop and one stable.

## Previously Reported Historic Resources Not Contributing: Remove from Inventory

64.01: Parkersville Road (Parcel #64-1-6, 2073)

03.01: 416 Hessian Drive (Parcel #3-2-19.9) Hessian Camp Site

61.04: 166 W. Street Road, (Parcel #61-5-64) Jacob Taggart Property

61.07: 606 Wollaston Road (Parcel #61-5-61) Miller's House Property

# Historic Context

## Brandywine Valley Historic Context

More so than many places in the American colonies, Chester County farms enjoyed fertile soil, moderate climate and access to nearby markets. Here the early, primarily Quaker, settlers quickly realized the quality of the rich soils, and that Brandywine Creek, with its many tributaries and considerable slope, could power numerous mills. To the north, settlers found added resources of a limestone valley (Chester County's Great Valley), iron ore, and more powerful creeks to sustain ironworks and mills. Within 30 years of original settlement, increased demand and population led to building a second iron forge (c.1717 in Coventry) and additional mills in the County. By the 1790s, the Creek powered over 70 mills and over 130 at the height of use.

The Brandywine Creek's east and west branches join to form its main stem at the 'Forks of the Brandywine' in East Bradford, with the west branch considered the 'parent' of the main stem. West Branch Brandywine Creek Multiple Resources and Thematic National Register Area was completed as part of a planning effort, which led to the successful designation of the lower Creek as part of the state Scenic River system, the focus of which is to support water quality and flow and protect pastoral scenic and historic characteristics including historic mill dams. The Thematic Area denotes the Creek's significance as the 'heart' of the Brandywine Valley and focus of regional identity historically and today. For Lenni-Lenape Indians, the Creek was a source of food. For colonial (and 19<sup>th</sup> century) settlers, the Creek provided fertile soil for agriculture and hydropower for milling. In modern times, the Creek provides drinking water and recreation. The Thematic Area melds historic resources, landscapes, and natural resources, particularly the Creek. In the Two Column Strategic Landscape, the Red Clay Creek plays a more decisive role in the development of the region but it is still within the larger Brandywine Creek watershed.

Flour, wheat, corn, pork, beef, flaxseed, butter, and iron after 1750, were all important products produced in Chester County and surrounding counties, and were exported from Philadelphia to as far away as China. Although farms in the Brandywine Valley produced a wide variety of products, it was still a relatively modest yield overall. Physical clearing of land required rigorous manual labor and took a long while. By the time of the battle the region had been settled for 80 years, yet most farms still had uncleared lands. Fallow lands, woodlots,

and meadows took up a relatively large proportion of cleared land. Livestock were few and usually found their own forage, roaming unfenced. Orchards and vegetable and herb gardens, as family food sources, rounded out the typical farmstead land-use pattern. More prosperous farms were located on the many creek tributaries, which would also power mills and serve as centers for trade before villages developed starting at the turn of the century.

William Penn's surveyors charted lands in Chester County in the late 1600s and many land patents were granted by the early 1700s. At the time of the battle, the majority of property owners in the Brandywine Valley were Quaker. A key tenant of Quaker faith was testimonies or descriptions of faithful actions. The Peace Testimony (the majority of Quakers practiced) were actions to promote peace and refrain from participation in war. These actions were documented by individuals as 'sufferings' and recorded at their Meetinghouses as testimonies of good conscience. Likewise, non-Quaker property owners filed depredation claims against the Crown and/or plunder claims 'deductions' on their state tax assessment, indicating they had experienced losses from battle actions. Due to their nature, depredations generally include more detailed information than plunders or sufferings. Sufferings and claims by landowners were researched for this plan to provide a broad understanding of 'on the ground goings on' that occurred, level of support or lack thereof both armies experienced, and the impact of the battle on the civilian community. Sufferings and claims are key information for this plan as, when mapped as to their location of occurrence, they reveal places where troops were present. This information, combined with understanding the battle-era road network, location of properties and owners, and first person accounts and histories, is critical for Chapter 3's analysis and helping to identify the path of the British flank.

## New Garden Township Historic Context

Located in southern Chester County, Pennsylvania, New Garden was a land of deep woods, tumbling streams and Indian trails until the arrival of William Penn, Jr's land agent in the early 1700's. Within two decades the most level, arable land in the center of the Township was settled by Quaker farmers from County Carlow, Ireland. Mary Rowland's 1708 patent for 700 acres east of Toughkenamon, was the first. Soon she had neighbors, John Miller with 1,013 acres, Joseph Sharp, Michael Lightfoot, Gayen Miller, Joseph Hutton, James Starr and others, all former members of a Quaker Meeting in Ireland called New Garden. New Garden was a name they gave to their log Meeting House built in 1715 on the southwest corner of John Miller's land.

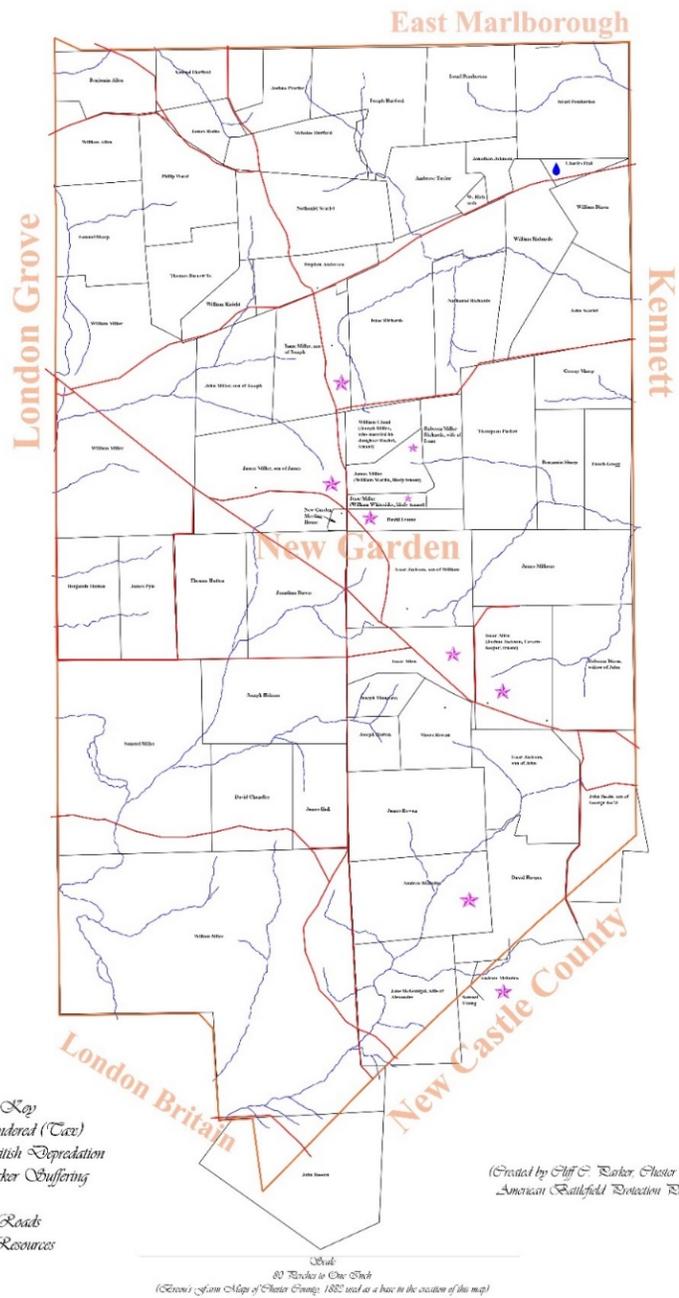
The settlers' first task was to clear their land of the virgin forest trees; they needed lumber to build their log buildings and open land for crops and pasture. Soon, a road to be known as Newark Road was blazed from a mill in Doe Run to the Meeting House. Another road, the Great Road to Newport (Rt 41), cut across the Township on its route from Lancaster to Christiana, Delaware. Isaac Allen's tavern, originally a log cabin, built at the intersection of sharp road and the great road, served travelers from the early 1700's.

With a growing population New Garden Quakers needed a larger Meetinghouse. In 1743, on the site of the log building, they constructed a larger brick building which is the southern end of the present Meetinghouse. Burials took place behind the Meetinghouse (though no stones were placed prior to 1840) and in 1777, a log school house, with a huge stone fireplace on one end, was built on the grounds. The Meetinghouse was the center of the settlers' lives; it was here they gathered to worship, but also to learn news in the community and to provide support for each other. By the early 1800's a village had begun to grow west and north of the Meetinghouse.

Almost 100 years elapsed between the coming of the Irish Quakers and the settlement of the southern part of the Township where the rough, hilly terrain drained by the White Clay Creek was less desirable land for farming. However as soon as capital became available, the White Clay Creek's potential to provide water power, made the area attractive for a milling industry. In 1810 a mill was built in Laurel; then about 1820, Enock Chandler built a grist mill and a saw mill downstream from that first mill. Laurel and Chandlerville were the names given to the mill sites. In 1862, Martin Landenberg purchased the mills, encouraged the building of a railroad to service the industries and gave the valley his name,

The coming of railroads also marked the impetus for the kaolin industry and its accompanying workmen’s village. As early as 1802, kaolin, a clay used for making porcelain and fire bricks, was known to lie beneath the soil south of the Gap-Newport Pike, now known as Route 41, near the Delaware line. Although the 19th century saw the growth of industrial villages in the Township, farming remained the norm for most New Garden families. In the 1880’s creameries to process milk into butter and cottage cheese, opened in both Landenberg and in Toughkenamon. By 1900, New Garden Township was known as the “township of glass houses.” More green houses were reported to be in New Garden Township than in any other township in Chester County. Often it was sons of rose and carnation growers who experimented with mushroom culture. They were trying to find a use for the empty space under the greenhouse benches; wasted dark space where the air was warm and moist. Soon dairy farmers began to experiment growing mushrooms in their barns, chicken houses and even in the cellars of their homes. The population of the Township grew from 3,027 in 1950, to 11,984 in the year 2010. New Garden Township’s rural character with its farmhouses, barns, mushroom houses and open fields began to be eclipsed by houses and manicured lawns of suburbia

## New Garden Township Circa 1777

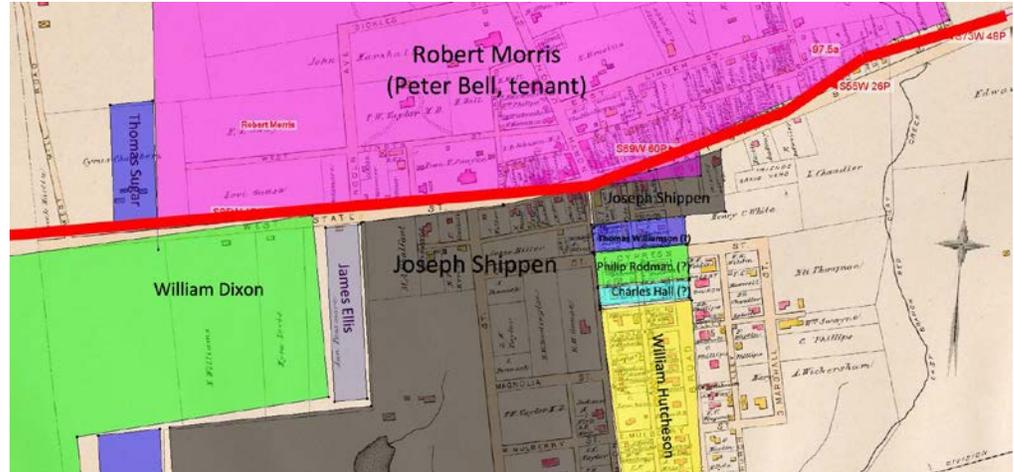


## Kennett Square Borough Historic Context

This map of just Kennett Square indicates roughly where the boundaries of the village in 1777 began and ended. Most of the development in that period occurred on what is now Union Street. The history of the small lots on the east side of S. Union Street is complicated by a succession of unrecorded deeds. Most of the owners, however, did not live on the lots and likely leased them. The village of Kennett Square was important during the Revolutionary War as the site of the British encampment prior to the Battle of the Brandywine. The two

structures of note in the small crossroads settlement were the Unicorn Tavern where Gen'l Knyphausen made his headquarters and the Colonel Shippen “mansion.”

By 1810, there was a village of about eight dwellings, five of which were log and in 1853 a group of citizens petitioned the Court of Quarter Sessions of Chester to form a borough. After several petitions and objections from farmers, the court granted the articles of incorporation and in



1855 Kennett Square held its first local elections. The Borough itself comprised a little over one square mile of land and included 606 inhabitants at the time of its formation. Antebellum Kennett was an important region in the Underground Railroad, and many prominent citizens of Kennett Square and the surrounding region played an important role in securing freedom for runaway slaves.

Kennett Square's most famous citizen was Bayard Taylor (1825-1878) author, diplomat, poet, and journalist. Many industries helped Kennett grow including S & M Pennock & Sons in 1941, the railroad in the late 1850-s, greenhouses, the mushroom industry and the Fibre Specialty Manufacturing Company. Local inventors included Samuel and Moses Pennock (grain drill), James Green (hayknife), Bernard Wiley (Wiley Plow), John Chambers (asbestos stove plate), and Cyrus Chambers (brick-making and paper-folding machines. In 1896, William Swayne, constructed the first successful mushroom house. The local mushroom industry became the largest in the United States earning Kennett Square the title “Mushroom Capital of the World.” Today, local restaurants and small retail and commercial businesses are destinations for visitors and area residents.

## Kennett Township Historic Context

The present land area that comprises Kennett Township was originally part of a 30,000 acre tract conveyed by William Penn to his children, William Jr. and Letitia. The tract known as Stenning Manor, surveyed by Henry Hollingsworth in 1701, included the land within the present boundaries of Kennett Square Borough, the Townships of New Garden, Pennsbury, and Pocopson, and several thousand acres in present day New Castle County, DE. The first recorded mention of Kennett Township was in February of 1705, when Henry Peirce, the Township constable, appeared in court. The Borough of Kennett Square was formed from the Township and incorporated in 1855 (See Kennett Square Borough Historic Context.)

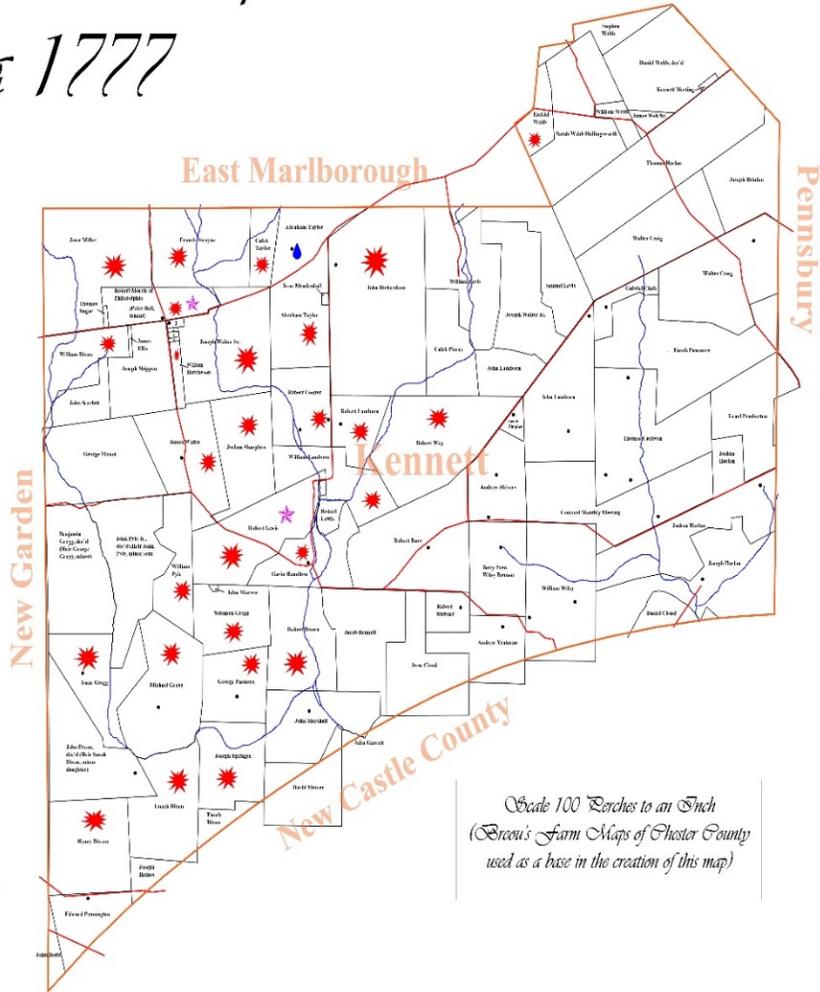
Most of the early settlers were members of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Because fording Brandywine Creek to attend New Ark Meeting in Brandywine Hundred was impossible at some times of the year, Old Kennett Meetinghouse was built in 1710, enlarged in 1719, and again in 1731. During the American Revolution, British soldiers and Hessian mercenaries camped on September 10<sup>th</sup> and marshaled forces on September 11<sup>th</sup> in the Township. The Borough of Kennett Square was formed from the Township and incorporated in 1855. Because most residents of the community and the surrounding area were Quaker, they strived to remain neutral during the Revolutionary War.

The early settlers were farmers, since the fertile soil of Kennett Township was adaptable to diversified agricultural activities supported by the many mills that grew along the Red Clay Creek. With the 1743 Nottingham Road passing through the township, access to markets was enhanced and the villages of Kennett Square, Hamorton and Anvil grew. Today, Hamorton Village and the Borough of Kennett Square are National Register Historic Districts. In the mid-1800s, a group of merchants and farmers joined together to collect funds to build a turnpike from Kennett Square to Wilmington, now known as Kennett Pike. This remained a toll road until the early 1900s. A significant step in the agricultural progress of the community was the forging of the first iron plow in Pennsylvania by Bernard Wiley in a blacksmith shop on Bayard Road in 1810. Blacksmiths, necessary in any economy depending upon horse-drawn transportation, were frequently wheelwrights as well. A necessary adjunct of clearing the land for agriculture and building homes was the saw mill for production of lumber and the grist mill for grinding of flour for human consumption and to feed livestock. These mills were water powered and located along the streams. The first recorded grist mill in the Township was built on the Red Clay Creek in 1689. At the time of the revolution, the following mills were in production: Robert Cooper’s Fulling Mill, George Mason’s Saw Mill, Gavin Hamilton’s Grist Mill, John Marshall’s Saw Mill, Joseph Harlan’s Grist and Saw Mill, and William Levis’s Saw Mill.

# Kennett Township Circa 1777

*Kennett Square*  
 1 Joseph Shippin  
 2 Thomas Overhizer  
*possibly identified as owner of this lot in 1783*  
 3 Edley Redman  
*possibly identified as owner of this lot in 1779*  
 4 Charles Hall  
*possibly sold this lot in 1783*

*Below is a list of individuals whose property was plundered and could possibly have been one of these lots in 1777.*  
 William Eckman, blacksmith  
 brought Joseph Shippin's larger mill in 1780  
 Nicholas Sartor  
 Joseph Eslinger  
 John Overhizer



*Key*

- ★ - Plundered (Tax)
- ★ - British Depredation
- 💧 - Quaker Suffering
- Roads
- Resources

Scale 100 Perches to an Inch  
 (Bacon's Farm Maps of Chester County used as a base in the creation of this map)

(Created by Cliff C. Parker, Chester County Archives for an American Battlefield Protection Program Grant, 2016)

Prior to the Civil War, many of the Quakers in Kennett Township were active in the "Underground Railroad," which aided runaway slaves in their efforts to escape to Canada. Free blacks were an important segment of Kennett Township's population as early as 1830, many of whom were landowners by 1870. By 1850, the George Peirce had established one of the finest collections of trees in the nation in the township. To preserve the trees, Pierre du Pont bought the Peirce farm in 1906 and established what would become the world renowned Longwood Gardens. In addition to supporting a profitable agricultural community, the national resources of Kennett provided clay for bricks, lime for mortar and fertilizer, and hornblende for building stone. A new venture in specialized agriculture began in Kennett Township about 1895, when several residents began growing flowers and vegetables under glass.

## Pennsbury Township Historic Context

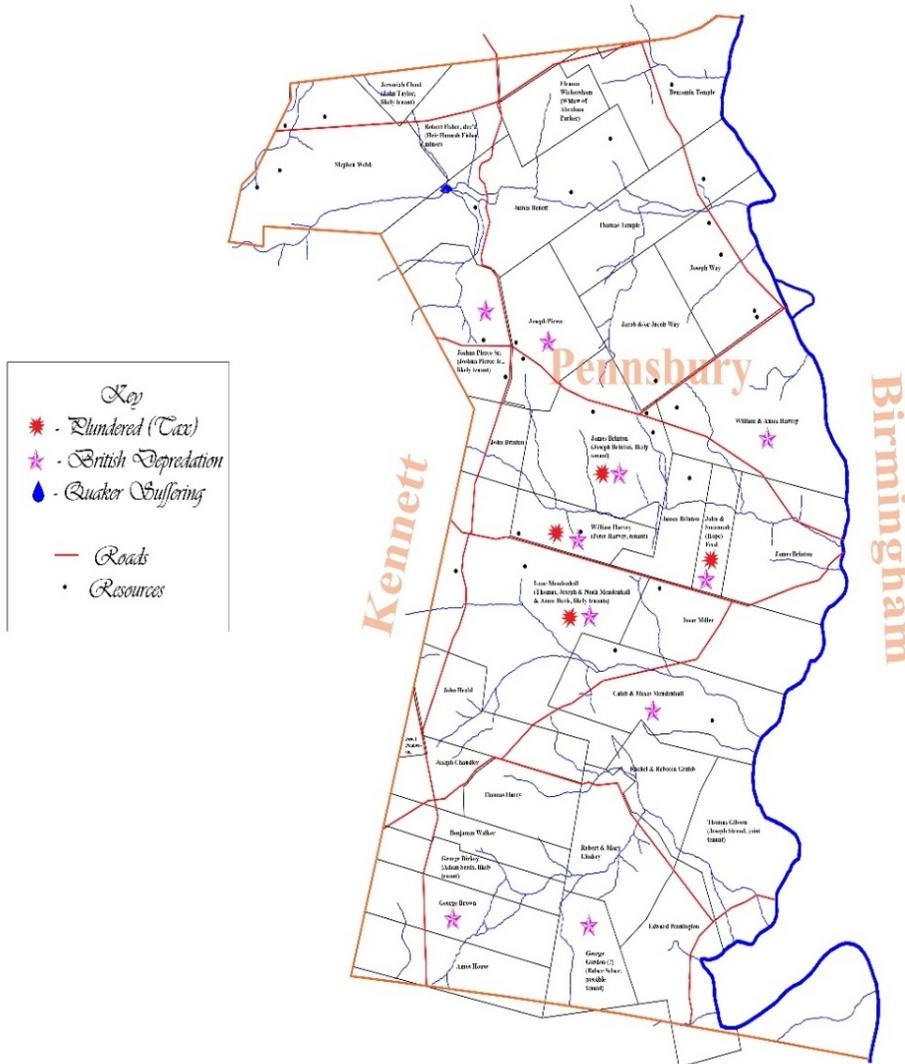
When William Penn first started organizing Chester County in 1682, Pennsbury was part of Kennett Township; however Pennsbury was officially established in 1770. From its inception, Pennsbury was an important link to the less developed west. Pennsbury Township began as part of Kennett Township which was one of the original Townships from the grant to William Penn. The first surveys of the Township were made about 1686, but few people actually lived here until 1700. The area along the west bank of the Brandywine River was the earliest settled. This populated portion was broken off in 1770 to form Pennsbury Township. Pennsbury grew from 595 persons in 1790 to 933 in 1849. Toward the end of this early growth period the northern portion of the Township separated to form Pocopson Township.

An early settler, John Chad, established a ferry service and opened a public house along the Brandywine Creek. Three main roads traversed the prosperous community. The Great Road to Nottingham was the main artery from Philadelphia to Baltimore. Marlborough Street Road was a main road through the valley also running east and west. Travelers to New Castle used the Doe Run-Wilmington Road, now known as the Kennett Pike. The Mendenhall's were one of the first families to settle on the western bank of the Brandywine. Three brothers Benjamin, John and Moses received a grant of approximately 2,000 acres from William Penn in 1684. Springdale Farm, also known as Elwood Mendenhall Farm built in 1748, was inhabited by the Mendenhall Family until two years ago. By 1714, Quaker Farmer John Hope had amassed 700 acres on the Great Nottingham Road in Pennsbury Township. He built several buildings on his property which still stand. William Harvey, a maulster, emigrated from England purchased 300 acres from Joseph and Hannah Gilpin in August 1715 and built a stone two story banked house in that period. This is the earliest of the five remaining Harvey family houses built in Chester County. He was a member of Concord Meeting. His son William was a trustee of Kennett meeting. Much of the Darlington farm from 1757 now stands in Pocopson but was in Pennsbury in the 1700s. Previous owners of the 327 acre farm were Francis Smith and James Bennett.

In September of 1777, General George Washington was encamped in Chadds Ford, guarded by the surrounding hills of rolling Pennsbury Township. Crown Force troops under the command of General Knyphausen situated themselves on the Pennsbury side of the Brandywine and engaged Washington's army. Following the war, the population grew from 595 persons in 1790 to 933 in 1840. Three villages grew and became centers of activity: Fairville, Parkersville and Chadds Ford Junction. Farming was a major occupation as was the commerce from mills. Today Pennsbury Township still preserves its secluded beauty and historic lands, but the population rise has been dramatic. Many 18<sup>th</sup> century homes and barns from this revolutionary period are still extant in Pennsbury Township. Pennsbury's natural beauty has been captured by many of its resident artists. A neighbor, Andrew Wyeth, has painted many scenes from Pennsbury, one being the famous "Tenant Farmer," a painting of the Barns-Brinton House. The house now owned by the Chadds Ford Historical Society, opened as a tavern in 1714.

# Pennsbury Township Circa 1777

*(Created by Kimberly F. D. Ducklow,  
Chester County Archives for an American Battle-  
field Preservation Program Grant, 2016)*



*Scale 100 Perches to an Inch  
(Drou's Farm Maps of Chester County  
used as a base in the creation of this map)*

## East Marlborough Historic Context

By 1704, Marlborough Township was established and Penn had the Marlborough Street Road (Route 926) laid out from the Schuylkill in Philadelphia to the Susquehanna. Inns and taverns sprang up to serve the growing market traffic generated by this route, three still exist along Street Road. Such prosperity brought more settlers who cleared more land, built mills along the streams, and established small businesses. The Lenape were pushed farther west and by the mid-1700s their culture had disappeared. Thomas Wickersham was the first constable. In 1730, on petition of John Strode, Joseph Pennock (who built Primitive Hall) and five others, it was ordered that the line of West Marlborough be established. Inns and taverns sprang up to serve the growing market traffic generated by Street Road; three still exist along Street Road. Such prosperity brought more settlers who cleared more land, built mills along the streams, and established small businesses. The Lenape were pushed farther west and by the mid-1700s their culture had disappeared.

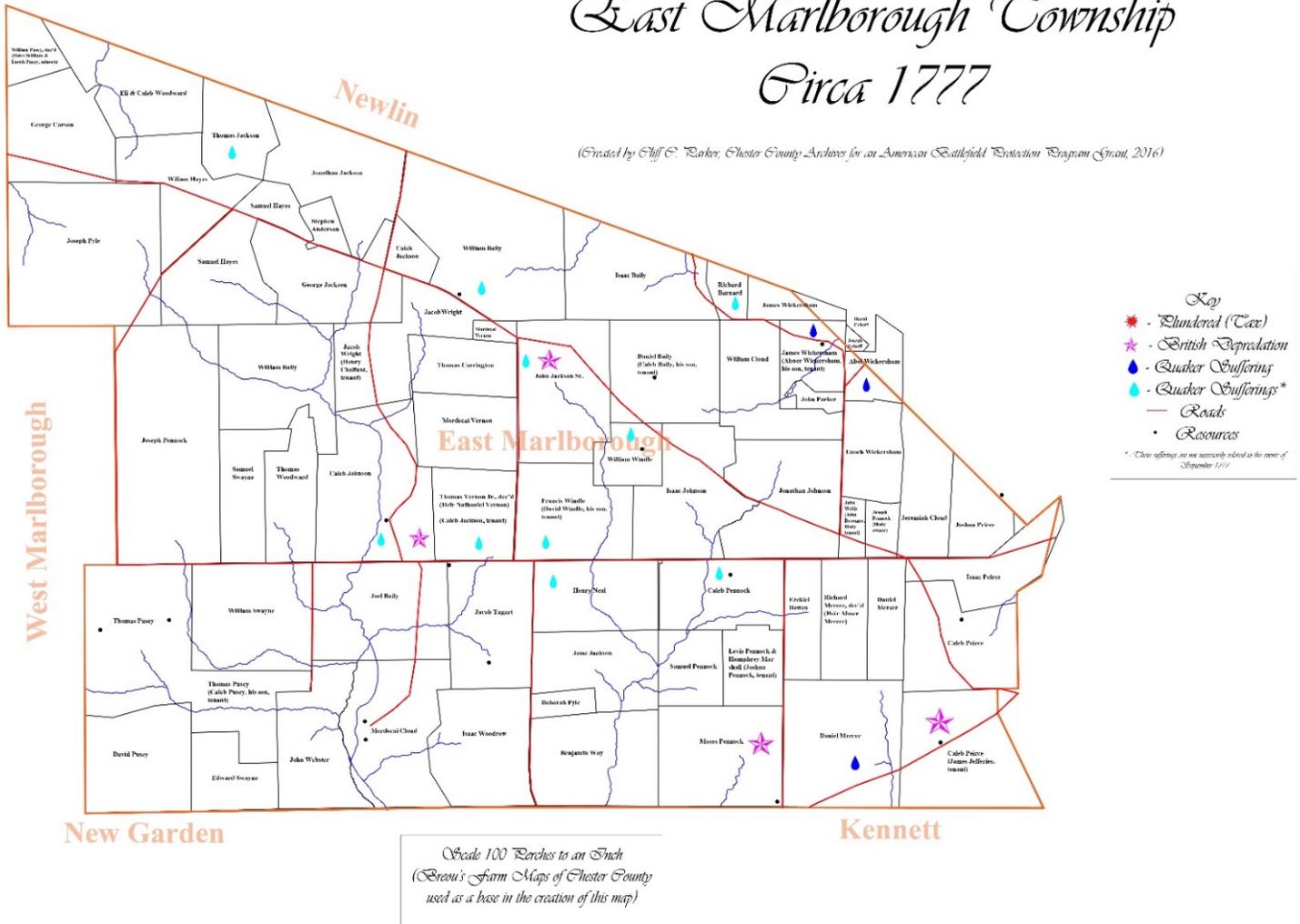
Among the founding homes still standing in what became East Marlborough, the Peirce House stood on Marlborough Road just north of Welch's (Anvil) Tavern (today the entrance to Longwood Gardens.) Built in 1730 by Quaker George Peirce, the Peirce family took a strong interest in botany and in the mid-19th century planted specimen trees and gardens, the foundation of Longwood Gardens. Caleb Pusey first settled on this land in 1713 and the Caleb Pusey house was built in 1720. Brought up a Baptist in England, Pusey joined the Society of Friends and immigrated to Pennsylvania on the Welcome ship in 1682. He soon built a grist mill and saw mill in Chester County in partnership with William Penn, Richard Townsend, and Samuel Carpenter. After much experimentation, a mill was established that was not washed out by the spring storms and it was the first successful mill in the County. He retired in a small stone house not far from London Grove Meeting where he was a member.

In September 10, 1777, the British Crown Forces encamped around Kennett Square and the southern edge of East Marlborough and looted the local farms. On September 11, General Howe and Cornwallis marched northeast with 8,500 soldiers through East Marlborough to flank General Washington. There were only a few claims for damages made in East Marlborough Township. This may have been due to the very strong Quaker presence in the township and pressure to resist recognizing the acts of war that residents suffered.

The Revolution also inspired the legend of Sandy Flash. Sandy was actually James Fitzpatrick, a brawny, red-haired blacksmith. After a flogging by the Continental Army, he deserted to the British and may have guided Cornwallis's troops. After the war, he became a local terror as a highwayman until he was hanged in 1778 leaving a rumored buried treasure.

# East Marlborough Township Circa 1777

*(Created by Cliff E. Parker, Chester County Archives for an American Battlefield Protection Program Grant, 2016)*



By the early 1800s the nation was bitterly dividing over the issue of slavery. Seven miles north of the Mason-Dixon Line, East Marlborough was among the first refuge for those fleeing to freedom. A network of "stations" on the Underground Railroad developed in the 1830s. In 1855, local Quakers built the Progressive Meetinghouse to which every major Abolition speaker came. Most were hosted by John and Hannah Cox whose house still stands just west of the Meeting, all on Longwood Gardens property.



## Appendix C

# Themed Heritage Tour

This appendix provides detailed information about the interpretive themed heritage tour highlighted in Chapter 6, where heritage tours are described as one element of heritage interpretation for the battlefield. This appendix describes tour #4 in the series of strategic landscapes tours<sup>1</sup>, which interprets Gen' Knyphausen's eastern column advance along today's Baltimore Pike. This tour features the remarkably intact individual historic features that can still be seen between Kennett Heritage Center and main battlefield gateway at Brandywine Battlefield Park in Chadds Ford, even amongst the development along Baltimore Pike. In addition to featuring historic resources that tell the story of the morning advance, the tour also discusses families living in the area at the time of the battle, and the impact the battle had on them; for example, as evidenced by their registered claims against the British Crown for goods taken by troops as they marched through the area. As expected, the tour focuses largely on the military events conducted by both the Crown Force and American armies. However, colonial settlement patterns and features, the battle's impact on the local community, and military events of both armies are common major themes. The tour largely focuses on areas in the southern battlefield, but also identifies important sites in the associated Encampment and Approach Landscapes to explore after the tour. The tour ventures into the eastern battlefield and information may need to be updated after Phase 3 study of the eastern battlefield, is completed.

Strategic landscapes heritage tours are intended as driving tours for personal vehicles or mini-shuttle at a maximum. Some people may find these tours could instead be trekked by bicycle. In designing these tours, great regard is taken for private property remaining as such, and guiding people to public-access sites, with Kennett Square Borough serving as a recommended center for public interpretation of the southern battlefield overall and particularly the Eastern Column march. For ease of understanding and readability, tours do not necessarily use the historically technical language found in other parts of this plan; for example, this tour generally uses the term British troops rather than Crown Forces. Tour Map C-1 shows locations of interpretive sites.

## Tour #4: 'Advance with Gen'l Knyphausen'

### #1: Kennett Heritage Center

The tour begins in Kennett Square Borough at the Kennett Heritage Center (anticipated opening spring 2021) located at Dr. Isaac Johnson House, 120 N. Union Street which is just north of Baltimore Pike (historic Great Nottingham Road) and Rt. 82. Rt. 82 is where Gen'ls Howe's and Cornwallis' Northern Column camped overnight and then lined up into formation to march north the early morning of September 11, 1777. This intersection, while it looks different today, still shows the same roads and locations where the troops were almost 250 years ago.

### Heritage Tour Overview

September 11 dawned gray and dank, with fog shrouding the Brandywine Valley. Thursday was baking day on many of the local farms, and the bake ovens were fired up with brushwood first thing in the morning for the all-day process. Normally a slight haze from cooking fires would have been puffing out of the large hearth chimneys and hanging in layers over the glens, but on this Thursday, the air was murky with the heavy volume of smoke collecting from hundreds of campfires.

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<sup>1</sup> The northern column is interpreted in Tours #1 and #2 in Marshallton and Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords Landscapes, 'Behind the Lines' and 'Breaching the Fords and the British Advance' Plans.

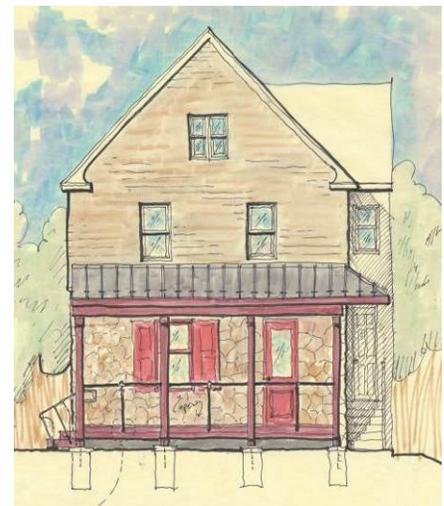
The two armies were about five miles apart, each spread over several miles with hundreds of pickets and numerous scouting parties between. Gen'l William Howe, Commander of the British forces, which also included loyalists and Hessian soldiers, encamped his army of 15,800 troops along Red Clay Creek near modern day Kennett Square Borough, an 18<sup>th</sup> village. Gen'l Washington positioned his army athwart the Great Nottingham Road that led to Philadelphia, along the banks of Brandywine Creek at Chadds Ford. The British army had a number of English, Scottish, and provincial loyalist regiments. Among the regiments raised in the colonies was Ferguson's Rifle Corps, an elite unit that was equipped with a breech loading rifle that had been invented by its commander, Maj. Patrick Ferguson. Other loyalist regiments included the Queen's Dragoons and the Queen's Rangers, composed of men recruited from loyalist families. There were also several regiments of soldiers from different Germanic principalities, known as Hessian troops. Accompanying Gen'l Howe was the well-known British Gen'l Lord Charles Cornwallis and a well-respected Hessian Gen'l, Wilhelm von Knyphausen, who was responsible for distracting Gen'l Washington at Chadds Ford during the early part of the battle.

"My lads were so fatigued with dashing after the Rebels over all surfaces that I found it necessary to leave one half by turns in the rear with the column of march and work my way with the other..."  
 –Captain Patrick Ferguson, Commander of the British Rifle Company, September 11, 1777

Civilians began to appear as events unfolded, watching both armies. Some were loyalists and others were Patriots, but most were pacifist Quakers and country people who were simply spectators. Some Quakers willfully ignored the armies and went about their daily business as Thursday was also the day for midweek Friends meetings.

The British army marched between 5AM and 6AM in two columns. One column of the army, 6,800 troops plus the army's supplies, under Gen'l Knyphausen marched east along the Great Nottingham Road (today's Baltimore Pike) from their encampment position along McFarlan Rd in Kennett Township just east of Kennett Square Borough. The majority of the British army, 9,000 troops, marched north along today's Rt. 82 through the center of the Borough led by Gen'ls Howe and Cornwallis to complete an outflanking maneuver of the American Army.

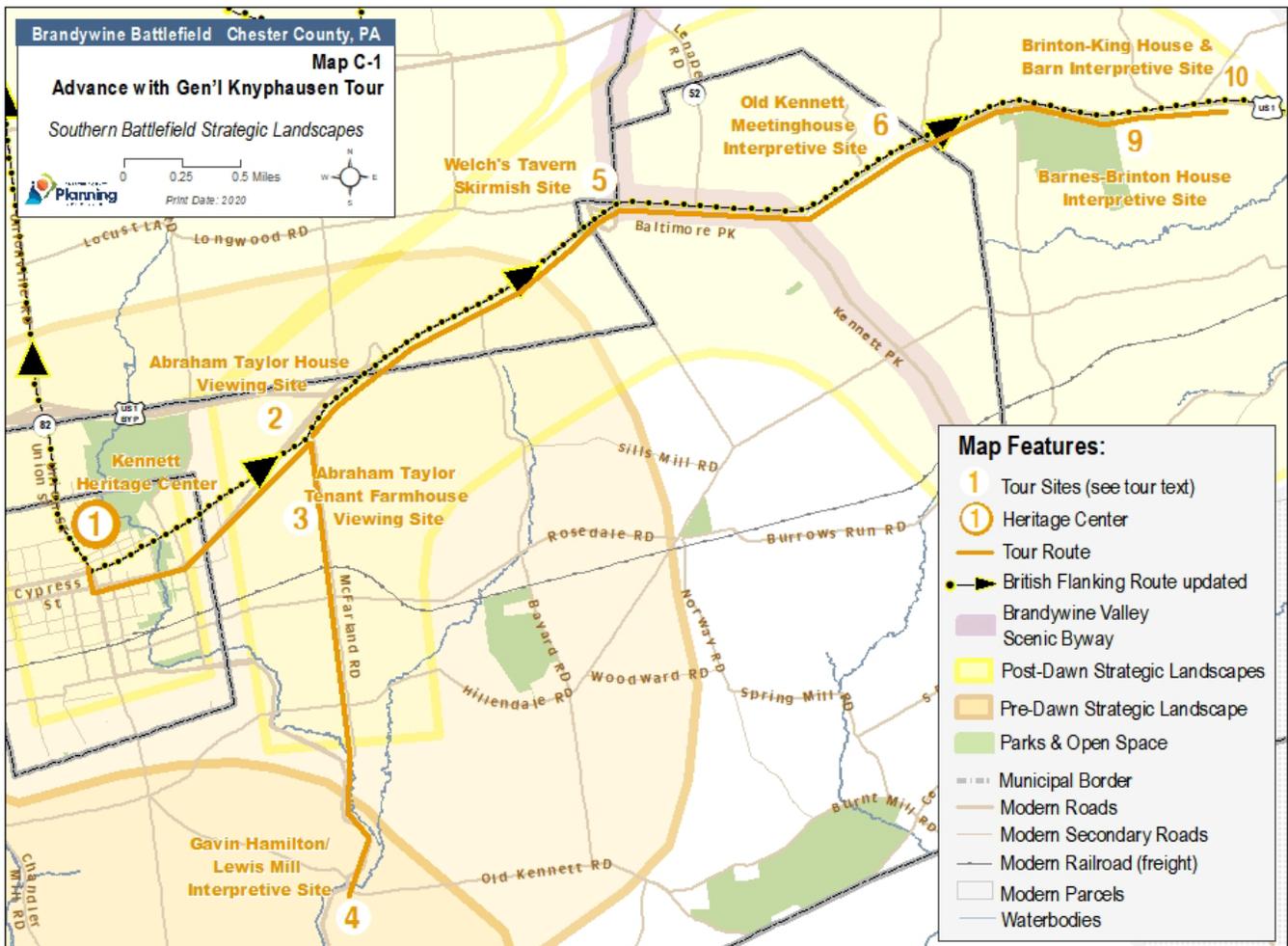
Gen'l Knyphausen's column marched straight at Gen'l Washington's defenses on the advantageous high ground surrounded by the natural moat that was the Brandywine Creek. As the column approached the area of modern day Longwood Gardens, the column's front was met by resistance from American Gen'l William Maxwell's troop, assigned to act as an advanced guard for American defenses. Gen'l Maxwell's troops, who were comprised of different regiments and militias to form a light infantry brigade, were meant to be highly mobile unlike conventional linear military tactics of the era. Effective as Gen'l Maxwell's delaying tactics were, Gen'l Knyphausen's troops pushed the American resistance back down the road towards Chadds Ford. Within a few hours British forces were facing the main body of the American army positioned directly across the Creek, near today's Brandywine Conservancy. Gen'l Washington's army was waiting for the enemy behind the hills of Birmingham Township on the east side of the Creek. His main force stretched along the east bank for 5 miles, covering 7 possible crossing points, or fords.



Kennett Heritage Center in the historic Dr. Isaac Johnson House, 120 N. Union St. in Kennett Square

Gen'l Knyphausen installed artillery regiments on the high ground across from Gen'l Washington, near the site of the modern day Chadds Ford Elementary School, and began an intense cannonade in order to convince Gen'l Washington that all of the British forces were directly in front of him. Soldiers from either army occupying both sides of the Creek used the thick wooded terrain to their advantage for concealment. Gen'l Knyphausen was to hold in this manner until he heard Gen'l Howe's troops firing from the north, indicating that his outflanking maneuver had been a success.

The logistical needs of the British army, including troops, support personnel, and their horses, were enormous. Gen'l Howe's troops thoroughly scoured the local countryside and found ample supplies. As British officer Loftus Cliffe noted: "fortunately the Enemy had no Idea of our reaching up by Water so far and left this Country well Stocked for us" (Cliffe 1777). Not all of the animals that were brought along reached the quarter-master. Shortly after landing in Elkton, John André wrote on 26 August "No method was as yet fixed upon for supplying the Troops with fresh provisions in a regular manner. The soldiers slaughtered a great deal of cattle clandestinely" (André 1904:81). British officer Cliffe lamented the waste that occurred during these early days, writing "had we had the precaution of reserving our Salt we should have lived like Nabobs on this March; we have thrown away many a good piece of Beef for want of that" (Cliffe 1777). The scribe of the Erbprinz Regiment entered in his journal on September 2 that "...it had not been possible [for the inhabitants] to drive off their cattle as quickly..." as they had fled, so that livestock "...was picked up for the benefit of the army and a large number of horned cattle and sheep had already been collected..." (Erbprinz 1777:2). Troops picked up whatever they could; Gen'l Howe's order of September 8 1777 could almost be interpreted as an invitation to plunder: "All Horses and Waggons taken up by the Troops on this March to be sent to the Quarter Master General near Head Quarters, at 8 o'Clock to-morrow morning," Gen'l Howe ordered, "A Guinea will be paid for every good Horse so delivered, and for indifferent ones in proportion. Five Dollars for every good Waggon and Harness" (Howe 1777:490). As he encamped at Kennett Square on September 10, 1777. Hessian officer Ewald wrote that "Here, in this area, the army found an abundance of everything..." (Ewald 1777). Property damages to the local community ravaged the landscape; for those who were able, it took 20 years to recover from the war effort. However, some were not that fortunate and were finally devastated from property damages.



## ‘The Eastern Advance Begins’

*Leaving Kennett Heritage Center travel south of Rt. 82, turn left on Cypress Street then drive out of town. You will make a right on McFarland Rd. after stopping at the Abraham Taylor House.*

### Overview

At approximately 6:30am, the advancing column under Gen'l Knyphausen, which had been encamped in formation on McFarland Rd on the night of September 10, approached the vicinity of the modern day entrance of Longwood Gardens along the Great Nottingham Road. Gen'l Knyphausen, a 42 year veteran in the Prussian army of Frederick the Great at the time of his arrival in the colonies in 1776, was a well-respected Hessian officer who was put in command of the diversionary eastern column of troops that would distract Gen'l Washington along Brandywine Creek, while Gen'l Howe completed his outflanking march traversing the northern unguarded Trimble's and Jefferis' Fords. Under Gen'l Knyphausen's command were various British & Hessian Regiments, the 16<sup>th</sup> Light Dragoons, Queens Rangers, Ferguson Rifle Corps, and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> brigades of artillery. At the head of the column were the Queen's Rangers, a unit of loyalist soldiers raised in the colonies, and Ferguson Rifle corps, a newly formed regiment that sported the newly introduced Ferguson Rifle. This rifle contained a breech loading mechanism designed by Maj. Patrick Ferguson that not only could hit a target up to 300 yards away, but also cut the loading time in half and doubled the rate of fire by allowing 6-7 shots per minute compared to the regular musket that allowed for only 2-3 shots a minute.

In 1777, the entrance to Longwood Gardens was the approximate location of Welch's tavern in Anvil village. On the morning of September 11, this area was occupied by around 150 troops of Capt. Charles Porterfield's militia and riflemen that were an advanced attachment for American Gen'l Maxwell's light infantry brigade, who was ordered to act as an advanced guard for American Forces. Capt. Porterfield's troops, using the concealment of woods and fences, opened fired on the front of Gen'l Knyphausen's column, who were marching on today's Baltimore Pike, and then proceeded to fall back to the east. These troops were given strict orders to harass the enemy advancement and did so by implementing a "shoot and scoot" tactic towards the advancing column. This tactic brought the enemy advance to a snail's pace as it required Gen'l Knyphausen's troops to deploy from a vulnerable column formation into a battle line formation in order to effectively pursue the Americans. This maneuver took time and effort to complete and by the time Gen'l Knyphausen's troops had deployed to pursue and engage the Americans, Gen'l Maxwell's forces had already fallen back and were on their way to their next intended position to continue their harassment.

### #2: Abraham Taylor Viewing Site

Driving east on today's Baltimore Pike, the Abraham Taylor House has been preserved on the Exelon Headquarters Corporate Park grounds. Taylor submitted an account of suffering to his meeting, terms a "Quaker Suffering" and period tax records indicate he was plundered, terms a "plundering claim" or deduction against property taxes owed. *Turn right on McFarland Rd.*



### #3: Abraham Taylor Tenant Farm Viewing Site

Driving south on today's McFarland Rd, the farmhouse a simple, two-story Colonial home with an historic stone core stands just 12 feet from the road. With its small size, it could be a reuse as a less expensive house and with character! Likely built between 1713 and 1751, it was originally called the Cox Tenant House and in the midst of Gen'l Knyphausen's Division's encampment line. *Continue south on McFarland Rd to Creek Rd.*



#### #4: Gavin Hamilton Mill Property, Lewis Mill Interpretive Site,

Turn left on Creek Rd. and travel to today's Clifton Mill, 162 Old Kennett Pike, where an interpretive sign is planned to commemorate Gen'l Knyphausen's Division's defensive line on September 10. The mill was located at the intersection of the 1717/1720 Road to Wilmington (today's Old Kennett Pike) and the 1723 Road (today's McFarland Rd. /Creek Rd). This was the location where Gen'l Cornwallis had found already formed 'petitioned' roads to traverse, as opposed to needing to travel on informal and smaller farm lanes or through rough and difficult naturalized terrain. Gavin Hamilton, a tobacconist from Philadelphia, purchased this 100 acre mill tract from the estate of Ellis Lewis in 1776 (Deed Book F-2 pg 396). Gavin operated the grist mill on the property until 1794. He was born in Scotland and operated a tobacco exporting business in Philadelphia. There is evidence that his property was plundered by passing troops. In 1783 this property contained one dwelling house, one barn and two mills. *Travel back north to Baltimore Pike and proceed east.*



#### #5: Longwood Gardens Historic District and Interpretive Site

There are three interpretive sites at this stop, only one can be accessed without paying the entry fee for Longwood Gardens which is an internationally acclaimed garden created by Pierre S. du Pont.

##### Welch's Tavern, Skirmish Site

This former tavern, c. 1767, in the former Anvil village, was the location of the 1<sup>st</sup> skirmish between Gen'l Knyphausen's troops and Gen'l Maxwell's troops. This site is a ruin which can be seen from the roadway or by walking to an anvil that marks the still existing foundation wall of the former tavern. At this stop, visitors could learn about the role of taverns as community centers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the initial phases of the Battle, and the significant role of Gen'l Maxwell's troops who included both militiamen and Continental Army soldiers, who bravely fought nearly non-stop throughout the day of battle. This site also relates to modern warfare in which fighting often occurs in developed areas, and in which professional and non-professional troops fight alongside each other.



Site of the first shots of the Battle of Brandywine, where foundation walls of Welch (later Anvil) Tavern still remain, as does the Tavern's anvil marker, as part of Colonial Revival residences in Longwood Gardens.

##### Longwood Gardens, Peirce House

The Peirce House, c. 1730, which was within viewing distance of the skirmishes along Baltimore Pike, has been restored along with a colonial garden as part of Longwood Gardens. It can be accessed by the public as part of the ticket price to Longwood Gardens. Visitors to this site can learn about the Quaker civilians whose houses were so close to active combat.



##### Longwood Gardens, William Webb House

The Wm. Webb farmhouse, c. 1740, was within view of the Welch's Tavern skirmish. Visitors to this site can learn about the Quaker civilians whose houses were so close to active combat. While the Peirce House is located in an area that has become an integrated part of garden displays, the Webb House is located in a largely open landscape that retains its colonial-era setting.



## ‘The Advance Continues’

### Overview

After leaving Welsh’s Tavern, the first fall back point for the Americans was at Old Kennett Meetinghouse. After implementing the same “shoot and scoot” tactic, Americans fell back yet again to a position nearly 700 yards east to join a waiting Maj. Charles Simms of a Virginia Regiment. At this fall back point, it was thought that Maj. Simms put up a ruse in order to deceive the British and convince them that American Forces were going to surrender. It was said in British diaries that American Forces turned over their arms, which was the universal sign for surrender. As Gen’l Knyphausen’s troops approached and got within very close range, and had their guard down, Maj. Simms gave the order to fire before again falling back to the east along the Great Nottingham Road. This “ruse” managed to inflict a great number of casualties to the advancing enemy column. From that point, American Forces continued their tactic of harassment and retreat/fall back towards Brandywine Creek. Along with way, several local families witnessed the action in the early morning hours.

### #6: Old Kennett Meetinghouse Interpretive Site

Welcome to Old Kennett Meetinghouse. Here, some of the first shots of the Battle of Brandywine were fired. As Crown Force’s - British and Hessian soldiers -marched from Kennett Square, Gen’l Maxwell’s American Forces fired on them from protected positions behind stone walls, trees, and high ground. After an initial scrambling, Gen’l Knyphausen’s troops regrouped and fought bravely to a point where the Americans withdrew, and Gen’l Knyphausen’s troops continued their advancing march. While most of the wounded were taken to Birmingham Meetinghouse, further east, for care and burial, Hessian soldiers who died in battle are buried in a mass grave in the meetinghouse’s cemetery.



While the battle raged outside, inside a Quaker meeting was being held. The diary of Jacob Peirce indicated that ‘there was chaos without, but great peace within.’ So, why were the Quakers not participating in the battle, and how did their religious beliefs affect their role in early American society? Quakers initially dominated the social and economic life of Philadelphia and nearby areas where Quaker settlers built farms in the late 1600s. By the 1680s, there were Quaker settlers spread out in outlying areas of southern New Jersey and in Chester County PA. At the turn of the 18th century, there were a sufficient number of Quakers to build local meetinghouses, and this one, initially constructed in 1707 of logs, was built in its current form in c. 1717-1730. Quaker populations grew not only through net migration, but also by conversion as other settlers were drawn to Quaker tenets of tolerance and equality. A key tenet is that of “the Peace Testimony”, which abjures physical violence and promotes diplomacy to settle grievances. While Quakers accept the authority of secular governments, oaths of fealty and support of war was prohibited. From the time of the French and Indian War to the American Revolution, Quakers gradually retired from the PA Assembly as their strong religious beliefs against war and violence were dismissed by more radical political activists. Quakers represented more than 60% of the PA Assembly pre-Revolutionary War, and less than 10% after the war.

Quaker beliefs allowed members to offer relief efforts to both armies. Quaker men were derided for paying others to serve in local Militia in their stead, and those Quaker men who did serve were expelled from their meetings. Roughly 1,800 “fighting Quakers” were disowned. Two prominent aged Quakers were hanged in Philadelphia for not supporting the war. The leading Quaker men of Philadelphia were arrested, without habeas corpus, and sent to prison in Virginia, where two of them died of penal privations. Many Quakers were the target of mob violence as political extremists disrespected their religious convictions and labeled their actions as disaffection or treason. Meetinghouse documents of the era, and well into the 1820s, discuss what was termed “sufferings”, where Quakers were subject to fines and appropriation of livestock, food, household goods etc. The pervasive hostility led Quakers to turn inward, becoming even stricter in observance of behavioral norms and member conduct. This defensive reaction led to the Quakers increasingly becoming distanced from the greater

population at large and also led to growing schisms within the faith. This ethical crisis of the Revolutionary War caused a dramatic decline in Quaker influence in PA society and economy.

### #7. Joshua Peirce III House Viewing Site

Constructed prior to the Revolutionary War, the Peirce family had bought the Hope family residence on Hickory Hill Rd. in 1770, along with 170 acres from Amos Hope's 350 acre farm. The acreage included the property where the house stands today. Joshua Peirce Jr. filed damage claims after the battle. The oldest section of the house includes an intact beehive oven that can be seen on the west gable exterior wall. The house entry is now on the north side of the structure due to the widening and rerouting of Baltimore Pike. The Peirce family owned the house until 1900.



### #8: Joseph Peirce House/Pennsbury Inn Viewing Site

C. 1714-1720, this house (which became a tavern in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and is currently a bed and breakfast) was the location from which the family watched the nearby early morning skirmishes between Gen'l Knyphausen's and Gen'l Maxwell's troops. This site is open to visitors who are customers of the Pennsbury Inn.



### #9: Barns-Brinton House/William Barns Tavern Interpretive Site

C. 1714, this building was on the Great Nottingham Rd and witnessed Gen'l Knyphausen's passing troops the morning of battle. Here, his troops were pushing back American troops under Gen'l Maxwell. The building was originally built as a tavern by William Barns in 1714. Barns was a blacksmith by trade. His skill is evident in the hand wrought door and cabinet accessories, which still remain. In 1753, the Tavern and 100 acres were purchased by James Brinton, who owned adjacent farmland. Tours of the building are arranged by Chadds Ford Historical Society, which owns and maintains the site.



## 'The Advance Continues Eastward'

### Overview

British forces hauling massive field pieces of artillery separated from Gen'l Knyphausen's troops to haul the artillery up Brinton's Bridge Rd. to be placed on Brandywine Creek western heights opposite Gen'l Washington's forces. These artillery pieces, which consisted of six 12lb cannons and four howitzers, would later inflict such a heavy barrage of cannon fire that the inhabitants of Philadelphia, nearly 25 miles to the east, could hear the assault as clear as day. These 12lb pieces could fire a solid shot or iron ball once every 25 seconds and had an accurate range of 400 yards when leveled and up to 4,000 yards with the barrel elevated to 45 degrees. The howitzers fired exploding shot; a charge that consisted of a hollowed out piece of solid shot and filled with gunpowder and sometimes other deadly objects such as musket balls and shrapnel that would rain down over its enemies from above. These pieces were placed on the ridge west of the Creek just north of Chadds Ford and were tasked with wreaking havoc on Gen'l Washington's forces in the morning hours, while Gen'l Howe and Gen'l Cornwallis led the majority (9,000 troops) of the British army to complete their outflanking march.

The Brinton-King House is currently an antique shop and its barn is The Gables restaurant, both of which can be accessed by the public as customers. Visitors to this site could learn about Quaker civilians. The site also relates to

modern warfare in which the movement of heavy weaponry is a major logistical concern for troops. Joseph Brinton, the son of the owner James, lived on the western portion of James Brinton’s plantation and made a claim for the loss of the following items on September 11 & 12, 1777: 1 cow, 2 horses, 100 dozen wheat, 50 dozen rye, 6 ton hay, Sundry household goods. One structure you cannot see from this point is the William Harvey house, which is located on Brinton’s Bridge Rd.

With the continuing advance of Gen’l Knyphausen’s forces, and Gen’l Maxwell’s forces effective resistance, the Americans were still pushed closer and closer to the Creek. As the Americans were pushed across the Creek to rejoin Gen’l Washington’s main forces, they came under fire from their own artillery posted on the east side of the Creek. After a somewhat successful attempt to slow the British advance, the battle entered what is commonly referred to as the “Mid-Morning Lull” in the advance of troops. Instead of continuing to advance towards one another, both sides stopped and engaged each other in combat. At this point, Gen’l Washington was convinced that his forces were in an advantageous position to repel the British army, but little did he know that he was encountering only a portion of British forces. It was not Gen’l Howe himself across the Creek fighting him; instead Gen’l Howe was with Gen’l Cornwallis and their 9,000 troops closing in on American Forces from the north. Gen’l Knyphausen continued to bombard the American stronghold all morning to successfully create the illusion that this was the full battle. At this time, Gen’l Washington also was getting field reconnaissance intelligence reports; however he had received conflicting reports and by the time he understood what was occurring, it would be too late. These conflicting reports would ultimately lead to his downfall at Brandywine.

### #10: Brinton-King House and Barn Interpretive Site

Currently an antique shop and its barn is The Gables restaurant. C. 1800, the farmstead was located at today’s intersection of Brinton’s Bridge Rd, and Baltimore Pike, where which Knyphausen’s forces divided. Amazingly, despite all the modern development on the Baltimore Pike corridor, there remain so many historic buildings preserved from the colonial-era. Pennsbury Township has been a leader in this regard and is a role model for such spectacular preservation efforts.



According to Maj. Patrick Ferguson, American Forces were “planted like cabbages.” He also wrote that his men were so fatigued from pursuing the Americans that he had to send half to the rear of the column. Keep in mind the route you just took from Old Kennett Meetinghouse to this location required soldiers to march with 60lb packs on a very hot humid late summer day, while combating enemy affronts.

### #11. William Harvey House Viewing Site

This house is hidden from roadway view at its Brinton’s Bridge Rd location. It was constructed in 1715 as a modest two-story stone Penn Plan residence, with two windows on the second floor symmetrically placed over a window and door on the first floor. At the time of the battle, the owner was William Harvey II, son of William I. His son Amos also lived on the farm in 1777. The 300 acre property stretched to the Creek. Property damage claims were filed by Amos Harvey after the battle. The house was owned by the family until 1857. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, additions enlarged the house. It remains a private residence today, and is on the National Register of Historic Places. The photo was taken in the 1920’s, before the building addition. It remains a private residence today.



## Optional Additional Sites – 'British Wagon Baggage Train' Viewing Corridor

*Continue on Baltimore Pike to the traffic light at Chadds Ford Elementary School. Here, turn right onto Fairville then Hillendale Rds. to view the British Wagon Baggage Train Viewing Corridor.*

### #12. Peter Harvey House Viewing Site

A Wagon Baggage Train is a caravan of horse drawn wagons that carried food, camp, and munition supplies for an Army. What was its length? As Gen'l Knyphausen marched out of Philadelphia in June 1778, he noted that his 12-mile-long wagon train consisted of around 1,500 wagons (Clinton 1778). In the best of all possible worlds, all things being even, this amounts to around 125 wagons per mile and 42 feet per each wagon on average.



In the case of the British wagon train of the eastern advance of the Battle of Brandywine, if the wagons were all lined up along the same road one after the other, this would mean a hypothetical column of between 2.5 and 3 miles in length, not counting the artillery pieces and the thousands of troops marching. At night and over difficult roads, the baggage train could be considerably longer and even lose contact. During the night of September 9/10, Maj. André reported that “The line of baggage was produced, by the badness of the road and insufficiency of the horses, to a very great length, and the 4th Brigade, which was in front of it, had by quickening their pace to reach General Knyphausen, gained so much upon the carriages that there was a space of two or three miles between them” (André 1904:83-84).

Approximately 1,500 horses were needed to pull the wagons and artillery pieces. Additionally, horses were needed for officers and their servants. At almost 40 officers per regiment, Gen'l Howe's army, including staff and aides, numbered around 1,250 officers (Howe 1778). Since all officers had at least one servant, another 2,500 horses need to be added to this total. Historian Thomas McGuire estimates Gen'l Howe's army also had around 5,000 camp followers, teamsters, farriers, plus 800-900 musicians (fifes and drums) (McGuire 2017). For comparison purposes, battle-era Chester County (which included modern Delaware County) was highly rural and agricultural with a small population. The total population within the entire approximately 35,000 acre battlefield area was less than 5,000 people, probably half of which were children. The British army alone brought with them over 20,000 people, or more than four times the population of the entire local battlefield community. Philadelphia's population of close to 40,000 inhabitants was the largest city in the nascent United States when the Declaration of Independence was signed in the summer of 1776. On September 11, 1777, it was as if half of the population of Philadelphia had descended upon the local community at once.

### #13. John Hope House

Also called the Daniel Peirce House after a later owner, the house was built in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century on a Penn Land Grant purchased by John Hope. Today it sits back from the junction of Baltimore Pike, but sat closer to the Great Nottingham Road, which Baltimore Pike replaced and expanded. Hope's youngest son, Amos, inherited the farm in 1749. Unfortunately, Amos died at a young age and his wife sold the house to Joshua Peirce after Amos' death in 1769. Peirce filed property damage claims after the battle. The Peirce family owned the house until 1926. It has remained a private residence for over 300 years.



## Continue the Journey

From this vantage point, the visitor has three choices. They can return to Kennett Square Borough and travel north to Marshallton Heritage Center where there are three heritage interpretive tours of the northern battlefield. They can continue east on Baltimore Pike to Brandywine Battlefield Park Gateway to learn about the battle at the Park's visitor center and historic properties. They can also return to Kennett Square Borough and from there visit sites that speak to pre-battle day British troop movements from Delaware into Pennsylvania as well as the British encampment around Kennett Square, as described below.

## 'The British Approach & Encampment'

### Overview

On September 9, 1777, British troops began their north march from Delaware into Pennsylvania. Records show that in the early afternoon, Gen'l Knyphausen was ordered to march with his column, including baggage, cattle, provisions etc., on the road to Kennett Square. It was early evening before his rearguard of the division left camp. Journals of individual regiments confirm this long, drawn-out departure. A few hours later, Gen'ls Howe and Cornwallis set out on what was supposed to be a much shorter route, both in terms of distance as well as time spent. Period sources agree that Gen'l Cornwallis also had a difficult time to get his troops moving. In early evening, Gen'l Cornwallis' column finally set out on what would prove to be a difficult night march.

Gen'l Cornwallis was led by a knowledgeable local guide coerced into serving as such. "In the night of the 9th to the 10th, the guide who took General Washington across the Brandywine was captured and gave us good information. The guide knew the way through an area where all houses are occupied, where there are many loyalists and there will be no shortage of news. While the planned movement appeared straightforward, there were simply too many troops for a successful march over "undefined," "bad," "County roads," and by midnight Gen'l Howe was forced to call a halt. "Lord Cornwallis and Major-General Grant marched from Headquarters at Nichols's House Mill Creek Hundred by a bye road to Hockessin Meetinghouse – Quaker Meeting 4 miles distance and encamped" (Montrésor 1881:415).

While the Cornwallis column fumbled about in the dark of the Red Clay Creek Valley, Capt. Friedrich von Muenchhausen recorded that "General Howe sent me and one of my comrades, Capt. Knight, together with 12 dragoons, back with orders for Knyphausen's division to stop at New Garden Meeting, which we would have to pass" (Muenchhausen 1974:30). Gen'l Howe had realized it would be impossible for his forces to reach Welch's Tavern, his original planned destination in Pennsylvania, with any semblance of military order from which he could stage an attack on Gen'l Washington, and thus reacted accordingly. He rescheduled the columns to Kennett Square as the destination instead, ordering Gen'l Knyphausen to stop at New Garden Meetinghouse to give Gen'l Cornwallis' column time to march north and reach Kennett Square well ahead of Gen'l Knyphausen the morning of September 10. Without getting his column shuffled with Gen'l Knyphausen's division, Gen'l Cornwallis' column would pass through 1777 Kennett Square village north-south and camp along today's Union St. and Unionville Rd., which extended toward a place that members of the British Army called "Marlborough Meeting." This route was the revised route Gen'l Howe wanted to take to turn onto Gen'l Washington's right side on the heights north of Chadds Ford. For his plan to succeed, Gen'l Knyphausen was ordered to temporarily encamp west of Kennett Square until the Cornwallis column could cross north in front of Gen'l Knyphausen's east-west column without having both columns mixed up.

In trying to find Gen'l Knyphausen, Capt. Muenchhausen and Capt. Knight "rode for 10 miles in territory we did not control, and twice came upon rebel dragoons who fired at us, we luckily got through," but by then Gen'l Knyphausen was well past New Garden Meetinghouse (Muenchhausen 1974:30). Encounters with American dragoons and militia were frequent on the British marches. As New Castle County militiaman Isiah Mann recalled in his pension application, he was "engaged in a slight skirmish near New Garden Meetinghouse the day before

the Battle of Brandywine....” (Mann 1834). Further evidence of skirmishing among American patrols was also reported by 1st Virginia Light Dragoon Isaac Dehaven in his sworn application for a pension. “The night before the battle of Brandywine,” Dehaven wrote, he “and others of the country had taken a parcel of British prisoners and the day of the battle he was guarding them, and was consequently prevented from sharing in that battle....” (Dehaven 1832).

It was now late into the night on September 10. Since Gen’l Knyphausen’s vanguard was already outside of Kennett Square, and it was impossible for him to return to New Garden Meetinghouse because of the loaded supply wagons in his column and the ravined roads. As they rode back to report to Gen’l Howe, Capt. Muenchhausen and Knight “met two English brigades with heavy artillery and the baggage, that General Howe’s corps had taken along. They were on their way to General Knyphausen at New Garden” (Muenchhausen 1974:30). Gen’l Howe had ordered the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Brigades under Gen’l James Grant, along with artillery and supply baggage, to detach from Gen’l Cornwallis’ column and move to reattach to Gen’l Knyphausen’s column detached “to take the same Route with General Knyphausen to support him in case of necessity, as Washington’s Route was uncertain” (Robertson 1930:146). After a few hours of rest, Gen’l Howe’s remaining forces broke camp and completed their march north to Kennett Square having marched a total of 10 miles in more than 14 hours. John Peebles wrote that “Lord Cornwallis division of the army moved about 6 this mornng. back a piece of the road we came yesterday & then turn’d to the right & march’d to Kennetts [sic] Square where we found Kniphausens [sic] Division” (Peebles 1998:132). From primary reports from the march, it would appear that the Cornwallis Division split occurred to have fewer troops tackle the very difficult terrain that was before them. Period accounts all confirmed an exhausted army overwhelmed by the lack of roads and the need to travel at night in the dark.

## ‘Gen’l Knyphausen’s Column March to Kennett Square’

### #14. Isaac Allen Tavern/Farm Site

In 1764, Isaac Allen purchased a 150 acre property that the house to the right is located on (Deed Book P-2 pg 6). He submitted his first petition for a tavern license in August 1764 noting that he had been “at a very Great Expençe” building a suitable “messuage” or tenement to accommodate a great many travelers that passed by on the “Christianna Bridge Newport Road”. Allen leased the tavern to Joshua Jackson from 1776 to 1778 and it was Jackson who was likely occupying the tavern site at the time of the battle. Allen was appointed tax collector several times between 1776 and 1779, each time being excused from military service. Both Isaac Allen and his son James Allen submitted damage claims in 1782, indicating the property was plundered. Isaac Allen claimed the loss of three horses and “sundry articles” valued at £50.0.0. James Allen claimed the following: one smith’s vise, screw plates, files and hammers, shoeing tools and drills, and one small chain. (photo shows former tavern)



### #15. New Garden Meetinghouse Interpretive Site

While meeting at John Miller’s house, decisions were soon made to build a Meetinghouse, and in June of 1713 another request was made to Newark Monthly Meeting, this time permission to build was granted. Out of a primitive forest, a place of worship became a reality, the result of courage, endurance, and a strong faith that religion was a necessary part of life. Imagine the task of clearing the forest and building, log by log, a Meetinghouse while struggling at the same time to build their own homes, clear their farms, and produce enough food for their large families. It undoubtedly represented a sacrifice of personal plans; but in



spite of privation and hardships, the first Meeting for Worship was held in the new Meetinghouse in the fall of 1715, only seven years after the first land grants were made. What a joy and satisfaction they must have experienced as they worshipped there on that First-day morning! Here these sturdy Irish Quakers would continue to worship and marry, and would end their earthly days in the adjoining burial ground.

The log Meetinghouse served well. Membership increased so much that it soon became too small and plans were made to build a new and larger one in 1743. Roads had improved by this time and they were able to transport brick for the south end from Newport, Delaware that had been used as ballast in sailing ships. The north end was added in 1790.” *Hagerty, Ann. Once Upon a Time in New Garden Township*. New Garden Historical Commission, 1977.

### #16. William Miller Mill Tract Site



It was near this site that the Newport-Gap Road and the Great Nottingham Road intersected. In 1768, William Miller acquired this 760 acre tract upon the death of his father William Miller Sr. (W&A #2447). As early as 1710, a mill was identified on this site when the property was owned by William’s grandfather, John Miller. William was a miller by occupation and a member of the

New Garden Meeting. In 1783, the property contained one dwelling house, three out buildings, two grist mills and two saw mills.



### #17. Isaac Miller Farm

In 1727, Isaac Miller inherited this 150 acre tract of land on the death of his father Joseph Miller (Deed Book A-2 pg 58). Isaac was a Quaker farmer and a member of New Garden Meeting. In 1782, he submitted a property damage claim indicating his farm was plundered and loss of: one bay mare branded RC, one gray horse, one two year old colt, one six year old horse, one sixteen year old mare, sixteen sheep, two men’s saddles, one eighteen year old mare, one fourteen year old mare, one (almost new) cart and gears, one pair of horse gears, one year old calf, eighty bushels of oats and sundry household goods worth £200.0.0.



### #18. Stephen Anderson/Sam White Tavern Ruins Site

In 1772, Stephen Anderson, an inn holder then of London Grove, bought this 64 acre tract from Elizabeth Ring (Deed Book T pg 341). A tavern had been operated on this site since 1738 when William Carpenter applied for a tavern license. By 1772, the tavern had gone through a succession of owners, including Stephen White, who may be the “Sam” White identified on the historic battle Blaskowitz map. Anderson operated the tavern, known then as the Sign of the Ship, from 1772 until 1776. No surviving tavern petitions exist for Anderson from 1777 through 1780 and his taxes, for the same period, do not indicate that he was running a tavern on the property. In 1778, he was appointed to serve as tax collector and freeholder, both times he refused and was fined. In 1781, his property was confiscated by the state for being “an Attainted Traitor,” having joined the army of the enemy. (photo shows former tavern)



## ‘Gen’l Cornwallis Column March to Kennett Square’

### #19 Chandler Mill Bridge/Red Clay Creek Fording Interpretive Site

The most likely British fording of Red Clay Creek was about 800 yards east of today’s Chandler Mill Bridge on the battle-era Isaac Gregg Farm. Writing his will in 1770, Joseph Gregg left his son Isaac a half part of his 200 acre tract whereon Joseph then lived (W&A #2586). Isaac Gregg was a Quaker farmer and a member of Kennett Meeting. In 1774, he was disowned for marrying contrary to discipline. There is evidence that his property was plundered during the battle. In 1783, this property contained two dwellings and a barn. After fording, British troops then moved north on a cart path leading to Michael Gregg’s farm, which farmhouse still stands as a private house. Michael Gregg acquired this tract of 200 acres after the death of his father Thomas Gregg in 1753 (Deed Book Z pg 274). Michael was a Quaker farmer and a member of both New Garden and Kennett Meetings. There is evidence that his property was plundered. In 1783, this property contained two dwellings, a barn and a shop. It is likely the farm lane followed by Gen’l Cornwallis’ Column leading from Red Clay Creek fording area passed this property before turning north to follow today’s Kaolin Rd.



### #20. Cornwallis Division Column Encampment / James Walter Farm Viewing Site

Located just north of the intersection of the 1734 Road and the 1720 Road, this farm was central to the Cornwallis Column Encampment along today’s Rt. 82 through Kennett Square Borough. This tract was originally owned by Aaron Musgrave who acquired the 170 acres from William Chandler in 1757. Aaron in turn sold the tract to Joseph Walter in 1768 who likely purchased the property with the intention of giving it to his son James. James Walter appears to have been seated on this property as early as 1770 but did not officially purchase it from his father until 1774. (Deed Boxes - Kennett, Elizabeth Musgrave, et.al. to James Walter, 1789, CCHS). James was a birthright Quaker who was disowned in 1770 for being married by a priest to Sarah Dixon. James Walter refused to serve in a public capacity as assistant tax assessor in 1778 and 1779. He was fined for his refusal in 1778 and was able to find a substitute in 1779. (Commissioner’s Minutes, 1777-1782, Pgs. 68, 109, 110) This was fairly common, especially for Quakers, who did not wish provide support for either side during the war. James Walter was a mason, though it appears his main trade was farming for much of his life. He remained on the property until his death in 1797.



In 1783, Walter’s property consisted of a dwelling, barn, and shop. There is clear evidence in tax records that his property was plundered during the battle. In the 1778 tax assessments, which were taken only a few months after the events of 1777, his entry indicates that he was “Plundered.” (1778 State Tax, S-a1, Pg 213) In *Kennett Square: Yesterday and Today*, the author states that “Joseph and James Walter lost the deeds to their property when the Hessians ripped open their feather beds and made off with their valuables hidden inside” (Pg 11). In 1789, Walter requested a release from the previous owners of his 170 tract because the deeds were “now lost or destroyed” leaving his title to the property defective and in disarray. Use of the word ‘destroyed’ is significant as it denotes a willful act of damage as compared to the more typical term of ‘misplaced’ that was generally used at the time for these situations.