

# **Appendix A**

Detailed Historical Research  
in Support of the Battle of the Clouds Project

# Detailed Historical Research in Support of the Battle of the Clouds Project

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American Battlefield Protection Program Grant GA-2255-12-005  
Prepared for Chester County Planning.  
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This document contains a compilation of technical questions posed by the County of Chester as part of a project funded by the American Battlefield Protection Program in 2013 to research and document the Battle of the Clouds which took place September 16, 1777. Nineteen questions were developed in order to produce a technical report containing details of the battle such as order of battle, areas of engagement, avenues of approach and retreat, and encampment areas.

Research was conducted by John Milner Associates of West Chester under the guidance of Wade Catts and his research team consisting of Dr. Robert Selig and Thomas J. McGuire.

Due to the obscurity of the battle and the lack of detailed first-hand accounts, some of the questions could not be answered conclusively and are so noted.

Following is a summary of the questions:

<b>Intro</b>
Q1 - Were the troop strengths in this battle the same as Brandywine?
<b>After Brandywine</b>
Q2 - Did George Washington make his headquarters at the Stenton House in Germantown during the Continental encampment on September 13?
Q3 - Were any troops left to cover Levering's Ford or Matson's Ford after Washington crossed back to the west side of the Schuylkill River?
<b>Return to Chester County</b>
Q4 - What was the Continental order of march and encampment on the evening of the 15 <sup>th</sup> ?
Q5 - Did Washington make his headquarters at Malin Hall or the Brackbill-Haldeman-Malin House on the evening of September 15?
<b>Battle Phase 1 : Close Call at the Boot Tavern</b>
Q6 - Was Pulaski involved in any fighting near the three-tuns tavern on the morning of the 16 <sup>th</sup> ? Or just scouting as reported?
Q7 - Was the three-tuns tavern operating as a tavern in 1777?
Q8 - How was Continental army configured along King Road on the afternoon of the 16th?
Q9 - Were any dead buried on the Meredith Farm in West Whiteland on Ship Road?
<b>Battle Phase 2 : Driven Back at the Three Tuns Tavern</b>
Q10 - Was there any action near Hershey's Mill Dam at the intersection of Hershey's Mill Road and Greenhill Road? Was Hershey's Mill Road in use at the time?
Q11 - Are the maps accurate in showing the three avenues of retreat: Ship Road, Phoenixville Pike, South Planebrook Road (now abandoned)?
<b>Battle Phase 3 : Rainsoaked and Regrouped at the Whitehorse Tavern</b>
Q12 - What was the configuration of Washington's line near the Whitehorse Tavern?
Q13 - How was the British camp at Goshen / Whiteland configured?
<b>Yellow Springs and the Furnaces</b>
Q14 - What was the order of march and camp configuration at Yellow Springs?
Q15 - Where was Wayne's quarters and where were his troops camped near Yellow Springs?
Q16 - What was configuration of camp near Brownback's Tavern?
Q17 - What was the order of march and camp configuration at the furnace region?
<b>The Threatened Capital</b>
Q18 - When was the State House Bell ordered to be removed from Philadelphia?
Q19 - When did Congress grant Washington dictatorial powers and what did that mean?

## **Introduction**

*“Most battles are ... messy, inorganic, and uncoordinated. It is only much later after the clerks have tidied up their reports and the generals have published their memoirs that the historian with his orderly mind professes to discern an understandable pattern in what was essentially catch-as-catch can, if not chaotic, at the time”*

*Brigadier General SLA Marshall*

The purpose of this *Detailed Historical Research in Support of the Battle of the Clouds Project* is to provide Chester County with specific responses to a series of technical questions associated with the engagement of 16 September 1777. The project is funded by a grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) (grant no. GA-2255-12-005).

Known as the Battle of the Clouds, the battle was a meeting engagement between advance elements of the Crown forces commanded by Sir William Howe and American forces commanded by General George Washington. Maneuvering and heavy skirmishing between the opposing forces was taking place when an extremely strong rainstorm – likely a nor’easter – brought an abrupt halt to the fighting, making the roads nearly impassable and turning the surrounding agricultural fields into sodden fields of mud. The American Army broke contact and retreated, and the Crown forces encamped on the field of battle and took shelter in nearby buildings.

The goal of the project team’s research was to re-construct as precisely as possible a time-line of movement and activities of all participants in the battle taking into account the lay-out of the battlefield as it existed in September 1777. Chester County had already developed a Battle of the Clouds technical report that provided a tentative framework for the battle. Our goal was to refine this narrative and to expand on it. The project team consisted of Dr. Robert Selig, Mr. Thomas McGuire, and Mr. Wade Catts.

The study of battlefields requires a unique combination of military history, archeology (where available), and terrain or landscape analysis (Williams and Langum 2004; Foard 2012; Foard and Morris 2012). Not only is it important to know the who, what, where, when, why, and how of the specifics of the battle, but knowledge of the pre-and post-battle historical development of the place in which the battle occurred is critical in order to understand the event and the subsequent changes that may have taken place on the battlefield. The combination of historical records and terrain analysis have resulted in a more detailed understanding of the military action of 16 September 1777 and the days preceding and following it in relation to the broader activities of the Philadelphia Campaign.

## **Methods**

Our approach to the project followed established methods developed by the ABPP (Andrus 1999, 2004). Each question was approached systematically. Our answer in each case is presented, followed by the process whereby we arrived at the answer. We clearly state when definitive answers are not possible. The primary and secondary sources used to develop the answer are then presented, so that future researchers will be able to trace our methods and use our sources.

Sources are clearly identified and footnoted. Period maps, if applicable, and/or maps generated by the County, are included to illustrate our responses.

In order to conduct this analysis and to address the specific series of questions posted by the County, the project team conducted in-depth research in:

- a) American, British, and Hessian primary sources, e.g., eyewitness accounts by participants, including pension records and letters, depredation claims, as well as after-action reports by the commanding officers;
- b) in-depth research of contemporary maps and descriptions to delineate the battlefield as it existed in 1777;
- c) in-depth research in nineteenth and twentieth century maps that allow tracing of the impact of post-battle development of the battlefield;
- d) secondary historical sources and battle analyses; and
- e) if available, previous archaeological studies and reviews of the battlefield.

Central to the research and understanding of a battlefield is military terrain analysis. Our team applied the principles developed by the US Army known under the acronym "KOCOA", i.e., Key Terrain, Observation and Fields of Fire, Cover and Concealment, Obstacles, Avenues of Approach. Terrain features, be they man-made such as roads or buildings or natural such as ridges or forests, mean different things to different people. A soldier looks at terrain features for their military value, how he could integrate them into offensive or defensive positions, how they fit into his plans for offensive or defensive 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 at a certain point during the engagement (why faulty positioning would occasionally have disastrous consequences), but also helps to interpret the authenticity of battlefield maps. Furthermore, evaluation of terrain from a military point of view can help to provide reasonable explanations to "fill in" gaps in our knowledge of events caused by a scarcity of primary sources, e.g., in the case of troop movements. "Military usage" of terrain would demand that forces be re-deployed under cover of ridges or through low-lying ravines outside the view of the enemy. Similarly, depending on the task assigned to a force during any stage of the engagement, troops might be redeployed via a causeway or road if speed is of the essence or through a forest or circuitously if the element of surprise is paramount. Taking these, and similar military aspects into consideration, the terrain becomes an integral part of the reconstruction of a battle as the stage on which the action unfolds.

With the KOCOA analysis in mind, the project team members toured the battlefield in order to get a feel for the area of the action. To fully understand any battlefield, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of where the fighting took place, how that landscape has changed over time, and whether that landscape still retains integrity associated with the battle (Walker and Thomason 2004). As Patrick Andrus notes, a basic test for battlefield integrity is whether a participant in the fight would recognize the field as it exists today (Andrus 2004). In many portions of the field modern housing subdivisions, new transportation networks, and large-scale

commercial development have considerably altered the landscape of 1777. However, the overall topography is unchanged.

Weighing the historical accuracy of written sources was of paramount concern for the project team. When considering sources, it is important to keep in mind the basics: *Who*, *What*, *Where*, and *When*. *Who* refers to the person whose account is being examined – for example, was the author an officer, enlisted man, civilian, someone who was at the event, or someone reporting on the event. *What* refers to the type of source being examined – is it a pension record, depredation claim, official letter, unofficial letter, orderly book, journal, diary, or secondary source published long after the event. *Where* refers to where the “eye witness” was at the time of the event – was the individual actively engaged in the fighting, within eye or earshot of the fighting, at the right or left flank of the battle line, with the baggage train, in column or in reserve. Finally, *When* refers to what date the document was prepared – was it immediately after the battle, hours, weeks, months or years later.

These four questions need to be asked and answered in order to ascertain the potential historical accuracy of a given statement. Thus, the project team found that in some cases little or no first-person accounts existed to support events reported by secondary sources, such as J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope’s antiquarian volume *History of Chester County* (1881), although accounts related in this book may be based on traditional remembrance of the event that was verbally reported to the authors. In evaluating the sources the project team weighted first-person accounts, prepared soon after the action, as likely more accurate than secondary accounts prepared decades after the event. The exception to this was the pension records for American participants, which in several cases provided some of the most detailed descriptions of the actions of the Pennsylvania militia currently available. Secondary publications that provided no solid bibliographic sources that could be verified were also given low marks for accuracy, so that some of the local traditional statements of battle participants or places, such as Count Casimir Pulaski’s presence and role in the fight or the location of the Three Tuns Tavern (a structure that postdates the battle), have been found to have no basis in historical fact.

It is important to remember that on occasion first-person accounts get facts incorrect. Dates or times that actions or events took place are sometimes mistaken, or military formations misidentified. In the case of the latter, British accounts seem to mistakenly identify any Pennsylvania soldier, whether a Continental soldier or a militiaman, as a soldier in Brigadier General Wayne’s Division/Brigade, despite the fact the Wayne’s regiments were not engaged in the battle on 16 September.

Many of the historical structures present at the time of the battle have been carefully identified, recorded and digitized in the County’s GIS files. While farm buildings that are no longer extant (and thus may be archeological sites) are not included in the GIS files, the mapping did aid considerably in allowing the project team to identify houses and buildings that were involved in the engagement. Research by both the County and the project team regarding the locations of the former road traces in the area is also included in the GIS shapefiles.

Archeological sources were of little use in this study, since only one systematic, professionally reported archeological survey has been undertaken in the area where the fighting occurred. A recent study of the grounds surrounding the Meredith House was completed in 2012, but the results are of limited applicability, since the archeological testing was of short duration and covered a relatively small area of land. With the detailed historical study completed, some areas of the battlefield could be archeologically investigated, although it is likely that physical evidence of the engagement is going to be sparse. More likely could be evidence of the Crown Forces bivouacs following the fighting. It should be remembered, however, that both the battle and the encampment were very short-term events, and subsequent land development since the time of the battle may have left little of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century landscape intact.

Our detailed analyses of the battle have resulted in some new insights into the battle. Much of this comes from the use of several previously untapped historical sources. Among these are the partially complete Court of Inquiry records, found in the Nathanael Greene Papers, of Brigadier General William Maxwell, the American commander of *ad hoc* Light Infantry Corps. From the court records we gleaned that Pennsylvania militia attached to the corps were engaged on 16 September while the Continental infantry of the corps stood by, listening to the firing. Information about the role of the Pennsylvania militia was found in the pension applications of George Lose, James Patten, Samuel Wilson, and Stephen Giffen. The first three were members of Colonel James Dunlaps' Partisan Regiment, a unit attached to Maxwell's Corps, while the latter was a York County militiaman under General Potter. The role of Maxwell's Corps early on the morning in an action at the Turk's Head was further enhanced when we combined Samuel Wilson's pension record with the court records and a letter from Maxwell to Washington, written at 9am on the morning of 16 September from Colonel Thomas's in the Great Valley. The vivid written details and recollections on the part of Wilson and Giffen of the fighting are truly remarkable, suggesting that these events were extremely important to both men long after the action took place. The ability of other historical records to support these personal reminiscences provides corroboration to their pension accounts.

Depredation claims filed by local residents after the departure of the Crown Forces provide some data regarding the locations of some British and Hessian formations, but need to be used carefully, since not all residents submitted claims and some damages are recorded for owners far beyond the White Horse Tavern vicinity. Claimants in many cases accurately identified the date of the damages and the military formations that caused the damages, and often described in detail the level of the damage. The depredation claims, taken in conjunction with the first-person accounts, historical information on farm ownership, and research into Chester County road records, adds another corroborative source to the interpretation of events.

The Battle of the Clouds was an engagement that was never really consummated. Unlike other battles of the Philadelphia Campaign, like Brandywine, Paoli, and Germantown, the Battle of the Clouds did not fully developed, so in some respects it was a nonevent. Elements of both armies had begun fighting, but the main bodies of both forces did not become engaged. To a limited degree, the research allowed the identification of the units that participated in the engagement.

This identification included the units that were actively involved in the fighting, such as the Pennsylvania militia formations, elements of Maxwells' Light Corps, and the Hessian Field Jaeger Corps, as well as those formations that played a secondary and/or supportive role. For the majority of formations, however, we have no definitive identification or location information, making their placement on the field or in columns problematic at best.

To a much lesser extend the research provided information regarding the locations of these units at specific moments or time-slices of the engagement. Little definitive information could be gleaned from the sources regarding the avenues of retreat for American forces, but the project team has identified the likely routes.

As SLA Marshall observed battles were “messy,” “uncoordinated,” and “chaotic.” Not only was the Battle of the Clouds such an engagement, it never reached the stage of a full battle with carefully prepared after-action reports by participants. At the distance of over 236 years there are many things that are unknowable about this “almost” engagement, and furthermore they are likely to stay unknowable, despite our best efforts to ferret out historical information, identify elements of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century landscape in 21<sup>st</sup>-century suburban development, and map a battle that stopped short of becoming a full-blown engagement. Readers should keep these caveats in mind when reading the responses to questions.

## **References Cited**

Andrus, Patrick

1999 *Guidelines for Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields*. National Register Bulletin 40, Washington, DC.

2004 Identifying, Evaluating and Registering America's Historic Battlefields. Paper presented at the American Battlefield Protection Program 7<sup>th</sup> National Conference on Battlefield Preservation, Nashville, Tennessee.

Foard, Glenn

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1881 *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania, With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches*. Louis H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia.

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2004 Reading the Land: Cultural Resource Analysis and Battlefield Preservation. Paper presented at the American Battlefield Protection Program 7<sup>th</sup> National Conference on Battlefield Preservation, Nashville, Tennessee.

Williams, Glenn, and Connie Langum

2004 Researching and Writing the Battle Narrative. Paper presented at the American Battlefield Protection Program 7<sup>th</sup> National Conference on Battlefield Preservation, Nashville.

# Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

## Question 01, Intro:

Were the troop strengths in the Battle of the Clouds on 16 September 1777 the same as they had been at Brandywine on 11 September 1777?

## Answer:

No, the troop strengths in the Battle of the Clouds on 16 September 1777 were not the same as they had been at Brandywine on 11 September 1777.

At Brandywine on 11 September, Washington's force consisted of an estimated 12,000 Continentals and 3,000 militia. Washington lost somewhere between 1,000 and 1,500 men killed, wounded, and captured at Brandywine, and much of the army scattered after the battle. By 16 September the forces under Washington's command numbered probably around 11,000, (10,000 Continentals and 1,000 militia), with the other militia scattered between Philadelphia and the Great Valley.

Crown forces at Brandywine numbered about 18,000. General William Howe (1729-1814) lost between 500 and 700 troops killed, wounded and missing, and 2,000 were detached to Wilmington to escort the wounded and establish a base and hospital while awaiting Lord Howe's fleet. This would leave Howe with about 15,000 troops.

## How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of American and British sources that contain information on the troop strengths of the Continental and British armies between 11 September and 16 September 1777.

## Eyewitness Accounts (American):

No detailed returns of American troops strengths or casualties have been found. The best estimates can be found in Thomas J. McGuire, *The Philadelphia Campaign: Volume 1: Brandywine and the Fall of Philadelphia* (Stackpole Books; Mechanicsburg, 2006), p. 269 and Thomas J. McGuire, *Brandywine Battlefield Park: Pennsylvania Trail of History Guide*. (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 2001). Montresor estimated the strength of the Continental Army at 12,900 troops. G. D. Scull, "The Montresor Journals." *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), p. 451.

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Sir William Howe's chief of intelligence Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen Kemble (1740-1827) provides this breakdown of British losses at Brandywine:

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, & MISSING OF THE ARMY UNDER THE  
COMMAND OF SIR WILLIAM HOWE, AT THE GENERAL ENGAGEMENT  
OF THE REBEL ARMY AT BRANDYWINE, ON THE HEIGHTS, SEPT. 11,  
1777.

CORPS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.				TOTALS.
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.	
R. Artillery				5	1	2		9					17
1st. Lt. Infy.	1			9	6	8	1	36					61
2d. Lt. Infy.				6	7	2	2	41					58
1st. Grendrs.	3	1		8	7	3		46				2	70
2d. do.	2	1		9	2	7		61				1	83
B. Guards				1				5				1	7
4th. Regt.				2	1			20					23
23d. do.		1		1				4					6
28th. do.				2	1			8					11
49th. do.		1		2	1		1	9					14
5th. do.						1	1	12					14
27th. do.				1				2					3
10th. do.				2				6					8
40th. do.								1					1
55th. do.								1					1
33d. do.				1		1		11				1	14
37th. do.						1		6					7
46th. do.				1	1	1		12					15
64th. do.	1			4	6	5		31					47
71st. do.								3					3
Q. Rangers	1	1		12	10	4		43				1	72
Riflemen				2	1			5					8
Total British	8	5		68	44	35	5	372				6	543
Yagers		1		3	1	3		12					20
Linsing					2	1		2					5
Lengercke				1									1
Du Corps				1				2					3
Mirbach								2					2
Ansph. Yagers		1		1	1	1		5					9
Total Hessian		2		6	4	5		23					40

"The Kemble Papers. Vol. 1. 1773-1789. I. Kemble's Journals, 1773-1789." *Collections of the New York Historical Society* vol. 16 (1883), pp. 1-250, p. 135.

This is his list of casualties among the officers:

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE GENERAL ENGAGEMENT AT  
BRANDYWINE, SEPT. 11, 1777.

*Royal Artillery*.—First Lieut. Shand, *wounded*.  
*First Battalion, Light Infantry*.—38th. Lieut. Johnston, *killed*. 23d.  
Capt. Mekan ; 33d. Capt. Dancey ; 15th. Capt. Douglas ; 27th.  
Lieut. Birch ; 33d. Lieut. Nicholl ; 15th. Lieut. Leigh, *wounded*.  
*Second Battalion, Light Infantry*.—49th. Capt. Wade ; 55th. Capt.  
Downing ; 57th. Capt. Sir James Murray ; 40th. Capt. De Courcy,  
45th. Lieut. Ruxton ; 49th. Lieut. Armstrong ; 63d. Lieut. Ball,  
*wounded*.  
*First Battalion Grenadiers*.—15th. Lieut. Faulkner ; 27th. Lieut.  
Minchin ; 40th. Lieut. Barber, *killed*. 55th. Lieut. Col. Meadows ;  
15th. Capt. Cathcart ; 40th. Capt. Simcoe ; 33d. Lieuts. Harris  
and Drummond ; 37th. Lieuts. Chapman and Cooke, *wounded*.  
*Second Battalion Grenadiers*.—63d. Capt. Ed. Drury ; 52d. Lieut.  
Hadly D'Oyly, *killed*. 44th. Capt. Fish ; 64th. Lieut. Peters,  
*wounded*.  
4th. Regiment, Capt. Rawdon, *wounded*.  
5th. do. Ensign Andrew, *wounded*.  
28th. do. Lieut. Edwards, *wounded*.  
46th. do. Ensign Bristow, *wounded*.  
49th. do. Capt. Stewart, *wounded*.  
  
64th. Regiment, Capt. Nairne, *killed*. Major McLeroth ; Lieuts.  
Jacobs, Torriano, Wynyard ; Ensigns Freeman  
and Grant, *wounded*.  
*Queen's American Rangers*.—Capt. Robert Murden, *killed*. Captains  
Williams, Saunders, McKay, McCrea ; Lieuts. Kerr, Agnew,  
Smith, Toel, Close ; Ensign McKay, *wounded*.  
*Ferguson's Rifle Corps*.—Capt. Ferguson, *wounded*.  
*Hessian Yagers*.—Capt. Trautvitter, *wounded*.  
*Battalion of Linsing*.—Lieuts. De Brey and De Brumbach, *wounded*.  
*Anspach Yagers*.—Lieut. De Forstner, *wounded*.  
*Volunteers serving with Queen's Rangers*, Capt. Burrows, *wounded* ;  
with *First Battalion Light Infantry*, Messrs. Cummings, Currey,  
McIntosh, McKenzie, *wounded* ; with *Second Battalion Light  
Infantry*, Messrs. Moultrie, Evans, Tone, *wounded*.

Ibid., pp. 136-137.

Secondary-Source Information:

A table in J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881) pp. 230/31 with the claim that this was "a true copy of a return found on one of the British officers, Marquet, at the time of the engagement at Germantown, Oct. 4, 1777" giving total British losses at 1,976 killed and wounded at Brandywine is a widely circulated but fabricated piece of American Revolutionary War propaganda.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 02, Intro:

Did George Washington make his headquarters at the Stenton House in Germantown during the Continental encampment on September 13?

### Answer:

On 13 September 1777, George Washington made his headquarters at Henry Hill's house in East Falls on the east side of the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia. It is unknown whether the house is still standing.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on research in the George Washington Papers.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 13 September 1777, Washington wrote a letter to Colonel Stephen Moylan (1737-1811) from

"Camp at Mr. Hills, September 13, 1777

Sir: You will perceive by the inclosed Letter from Colo. Flower to Mr. Rittenhouse, that the removal of our Military Stores from French Creek is an object of great importance. For the purpose, a number of Waggons must be collected as soon as possible ...

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at

<http://memory.loc.gov/mss/mgw/mgw4/044/0200/0203.jpg>

There are letters by Washington written on 13 September 1777 with a date line "Head Qurs., Germantown, September 13, 1777" but none identify the location more precisely.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 03, Phase Intro:

Were any troops left to cover Levering's Ford or Matson's Ford after Washington crossed back to the west side of the Schuylkill River?

### Answer:

The army crossed at Levering's Ford; there is no evidence of military activity at Matson's Ford in this period. No Continentals are recorded as being left behind. Some militia was stationed at Middle Ferry securing the floating bridge to the east side, and some militia and engineers were at Swedes Ford constructing a battery. Washington's orders that day indicate Swedes Ford as their destination, but Levering's is where they actually crossed.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces on 14 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 14 September 1777, Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) wrote in his journal:

"this day marched up a few miles & recrossed Schuylkill at Leverings ford, the water being nearly up to the waist.—We lost here much time, by reason of ye mens stripping off their stockings & shoes & some of [them] their breeches. It was a pleasant day, & had the men marched directly over by platoons without stopping, no harm could have ensued, their cloaths would have dried by night on their march, & the bottom would not have hurt their feet. The officers too discovered a delicacy quite unbecoming soldiers; some quitting their platoons,& some getting horses of their acquaintances to ride over, and others getting over in a canoe. They would have better done their duty had they kept to their platoons & led in their men."

Timothy Pickering Journal. Pickering Family Papers, MSS #: 400, Series III: B. Timothy Pickering, v. Journals and Memoranda Books, Box 10, Folder 1, Journal F1 (1776-1777), Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line wrote in his *Journal*:

“September 14. – At 9 A.M. we marched from camp near Germantown, N.N.W. for a few miles, up the great road from Philadelphia to Reading, then turning W.S.W., we crossed the Schuylkill in the centre between Philadelphia and Swedes Ford, 8 miles from each. We reached the great road to Lancaster, at Merion Meeting house, and proceeded up that road, when we encamped in an open field, being denied every desirable refreshment.

September 15. – At 6 A.M. we marched to the Sorrel Horse, the Spread Eagle and to Paoli, where we encamped.”

William P. McMichael, “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, pp. 150-151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, pp. 195 – 218.)



Levering's House

The road to the ford and on to “Merion Meeting House” are not identified.

This detail from the *Plan des environs de Philadelphia jusqu'au Valais Forges avec les camps que l'armée angloise y a eu depuis le 23. Sept. à Norrington jusqu'au 19. Octobr. 1777 après de Philadelphia et la position de l'ennemie à Chasuitz Hills à Valais Forges* showing the locations mentioned by Timothy Pickering and James McMichael.

The map-maker was Reinhard Jacob Martin. Martin (+1780) served as *Quartiermeister* to the Hessen-Kassel troops tasked with creating maps showing the movements of Hessian forces. See Fritz Wolff, "Hessische Karten von Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg" *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte* vol. 105 (2000), pp. 75-94.

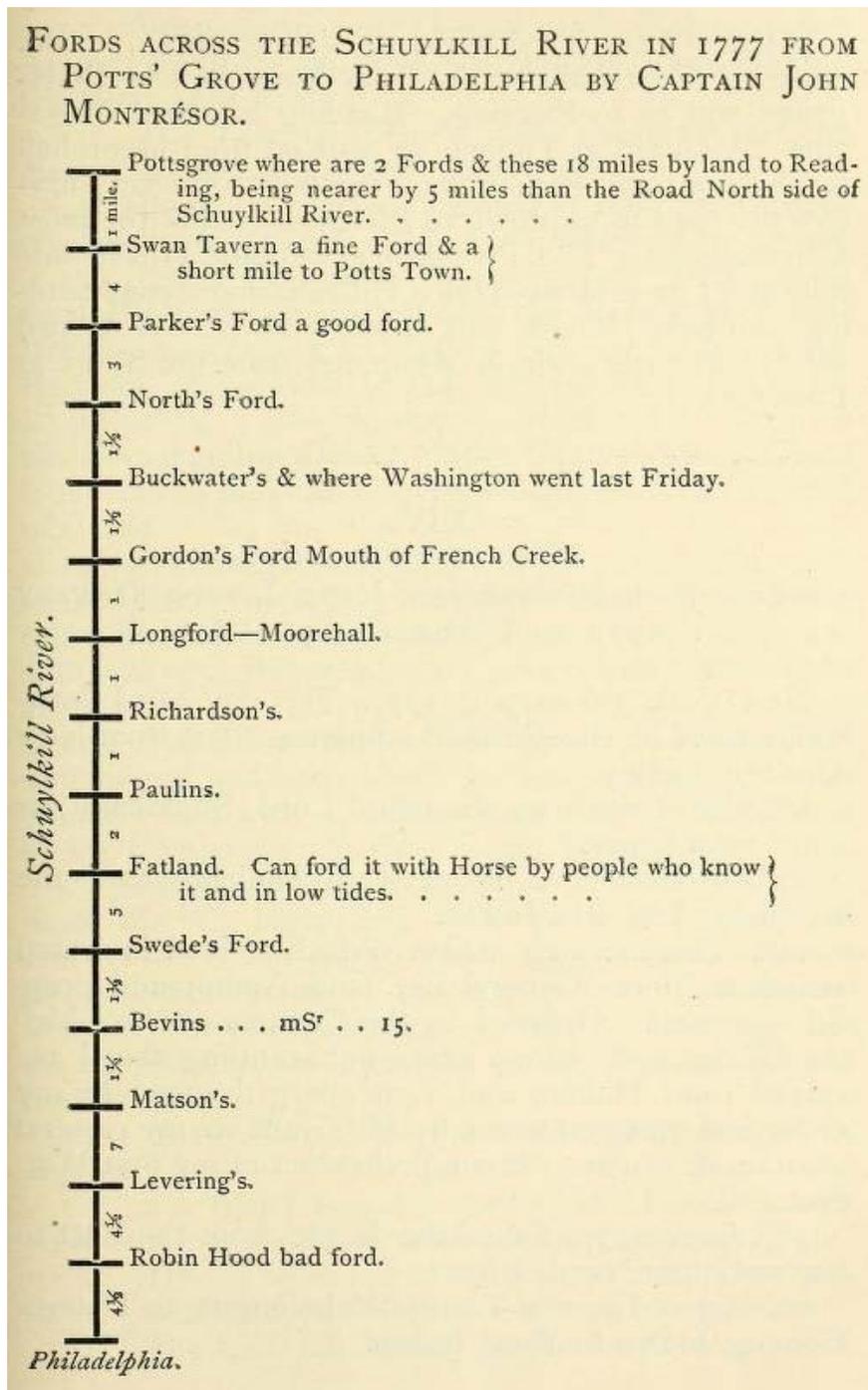
Copied from the map collection of the Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, available at [http://www.digam.net/tmp/digam\\_2051\\_2051\\_1.jpg.pdf](http://www.digam.net/tmp/digam_2051_2051_1.jpg.pdf)

Eyewitness Accounts (British):



Detail from a map entitled "Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)". Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) of the Corps of Engineers included Levering's Ford in his 1777 list of fords along the Schuylkill:



G. D. Scull, "The Montresor Journals." *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), p. 419.

In his "Journal" Montresor wrote under the date of 15 September 1777:

"At 4 o'clock P. M. learnt that the rebel army which had crossed the Schuylkill at Philadelphia had repassed it to this side of Levering's Ford and were pursuing the road to Lancaster."

Ibid. p. 452.

Secondary-Source Information:

The ford was named after the Levering family. See John Levering, *Levering Family: History and Genealogy* (n.p., 1897) pp. 885-888 as well as the *Proceedings of the Levering Family Reunion* (J.L.Trauger: Columbus, OH 1891), pp. 63-64. Jacob Levering is mentioned in a letter of 1 October 1777 by Col. Stephen Moylan (1737-1811) to George Washington (1732-1799) from the "16 Mile Stone" (from 2<sup>nd</sup> and Market Streets in Philadelphia):

"I set out last night, between eleven & twelve o'clock, in Consequence of Gen. Reed's information, that a party of the enemies Light Horse had cross'd the Schuylkil at Levering's Ford. I met him at Bonners, and agreeable to his advise, called at Levering's house who had returned last evening. The party that seiz'd him [i.e. Jacob Levering and threatened to hang him for being a rebel], gave him his dismissal on the hill leading to the middle ferry over which he is very confidant they cross'd. As he is a Whig, I believe he woud not deceive me, so that the expedition I set out on is frustrated."

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washinton papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:14:./temp/~ammem\\_0ByT::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:14:./temp/~ammem_0ByT::)

On the 1770 petition to open the road from Levering's Ford to Righter's Ferry see Charles R. Barker, "The Haverford-and-Merion Road to Philadelphia: A Walk over an Old Trail" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 58 No. 3 (1934), pp. 232-253; on the location see p. 253:

"Just a mile separated the landing-place of Levering's ford, on the left bank of the Schuylkill, from the ferry known for a half a century as Righter's (although earlier, as Robeson's), the road following practically the course of the present Main street in Manayunk. Not far beyond the ferryman's house, the traveler reached Ridge road."

In the eighteenth century the landing place was at or close to today's Levering Street in Manayunk and would have connected on the right bank of the Schuylkill River to Levering Mill Road which runs into Old Lancaster Road.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 04, Return:

What was the order of march and encampment of the Continental Army on the evening of 15 September 1777?

### Answer:

The order of march and encampment of the Continental Army on the evening of 15 September 1777 can be deduced from numerous eyewitness accounts as well as General George Washington's correspondence on 15 and 16 September 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces in the afternoon and evening of 15 September 1777. In particular we used the "Orderly Book" of General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg's (1746-1807) Brigade for 14 September 1777, the "Journal" of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins of the 2d Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own), the "Journal" and "Diary" of James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line and of George Ewing (1754-1824) the 3d New Jersey Regiment and the correspondence of General Washington (1730-1799).

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 14 September 1777, General Anthony Wayne's (1745-1796) troops were quartered between Radnor Meeting House (14<sup>th</sup> milestone from the intersection of 2nd and Market Streets in Philadelphia on the Conestoga Road, at the modern intersection of Conestoga Road, Sproul Road, Newtown Road and South Radnor Chester Road) and the Sorrell Horse Tavern (12<sup>th</sup> mile-stone from Philadelphia, near intersection of Conestoga Road and County Line Road, Bryn Mawr.) The distances are taken from *The Continental Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1781*. (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1780).

On 14/15 September 1777, Continental Army headquarters were at the "Buck Tavern" near the 11 milestone. Early in the morning of 15 September, Washington rode back towards the rear of the army. He breakfasted at Philip Syng's house (the defunct "Prince of Wales" tavern, also called Richard Hughes's on the Sir Henry Clinton map at the Clements Library; see below) between the 9th and 10th milestones [Ardmore]. In early to mid-

afternoon his headquarters staff dined at the "Sorrell Horse" tavern kept by Jacob Waggoner near the 12-mile marker, then rode on to Randall Malin's (near the 24-mile marker), where he issued his General Orders from "Head Quarters, near the Warren Tavern." The orders were most likely issued once Washington had arrived.

On 15 September 1777, Jacob Waggoner charged Washington for 18 dinners plus an unspecified number of "Servants ... dinner ... 15 [/]

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at

<http://memory.loc.gov/mss/mgw/mgw5/117/0700/0741.jpg>

That same day Caleb Gibbs paid Philip Syng £ 4 6/ "for Hay & Oats used by General Washington's Company."

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:10:./temp/~ammem\\_h0m8::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:10:./temp/~ammem_h0m8::)

That same day he wrote to the Continental Congress that

"The main body of the Enemy (from the best Intelligence I have been able to get) lay near Dilworth Town, not far from the Field of Action where they have been busily Employed in burying their Dead, which from Accounts amounted to a very considerable Number. We are moving up this Road to get in between the Enemy and the Swedes Ford and to prevent them from turning our right flank, which they seem to have a violent inclination to effect, by all their Movements".

In the draft of the letter Washington had written: "near, between Birmingham Meeting House" rather than "near Dilworth Town".

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090237\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090237)))

The "Orderly Book" of General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg 's (1746-1807) Brigade on 14 September 1777, gives the following order of march for 15 September.

"Orderly Book of Gen. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, March 26-December 20, 1777" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 34 No. 4 (1910), pp. 438-477, pp. 467-

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

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

1<sup>st</sup> The Remaining Brigade of Gen<sup>l</sup> Sullivan's Division, 2<sup>d</sup> L<sup>d</sup> Sterling, 3<sup>d</sup> Wayne, 4<sup>th</sup> Park of Artillery, 5<sup>th</sup> Nash's Brigade, 6<sup>th</sup> Stephen's Division, 7<sup>th</sup> Green's, 6<sup>th</sup> then the Waggon with Tents Hospital and Commissaries Stores, 7<sup>th</sup> then a rear Guard of 2 Reg<sup>t</sup>s from Gen<sup>l</sup> Weedon's Brigade, 8<sup>th</sup> then a Cap<sup>ts</sup> Command from the Two Reg<sup>ts</sup> at the distance of 200 yards, 9<sup>th</sup> then the remaining third of the Dragoons 500 yards from the Foot, 10<sup>th</sup> then a Subaltern's Comm<sup>d</sup> from the Dragoons, the distance of 500 yards, the Guards in Front and Rear, and each Brigade to send out small Flanking parties on their left. The rear Guards of

Foot and Dragoons to pick up all Stragglers. An active Officer from each Brigade to go to the City and meet at the Conestagoe Waggon in order to agree upon a plan how they may Collect all the Stragglng Soldiers together, those that are not able to march to be delivered to the Surgeon Gen<sup>l</sup>, the rest the Officers to furnish with 40 Rounds of Cartridges and march tomorrow morning in good order and join the Army.

Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins of the 2d Canadian Regiment (Congress's Own) in General William Smallwood's (1732-1792) Brigade writes that in the evening of 14 September 1777, he and his regiment were camped near the 11<sup>th</sup> milestone near the Buck Tavern where Washington's headquarters had been established.

"This Night several of our Men came up with us whom we thought had been taken.

Sept 15 or 16 Marched within two Miles of the White Horse Tavern. Great Rains about this Time.”

There is a one week gap with the next entry dated 24 September 1777, when Hawkins is sent to the hospital in Reading. He is appointed Sergeant-Major on 17 October 1777.

John H. Hawkins Journal 1779-1782 [sic]. MS Am. 0765 (Old Manuscript Guide 273), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, fol.

This suggests that perhaps the advance guard secured the headquarters area, and that General Anthony Wayne’s troops together with the rest of the Continental Army may have moved ahead.

Lieutenant James McMichael writes for 15 September 1777 that the Pennsylvania State Regiment in General George Weedon’s (1734-1793) Brigade was camped near the Paoli Tavern.

“At 6 A.M. we marched to the Sorrell Horse, the Spread Eagle and the Paoli, where we encamped.

September 16. - Intelligence reached camp at 1 p.m., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 a.m., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in torrents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced. “

McMichael, William P. “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, p. 151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, (1893) pp. 193 – 218, pp. 211-212.

A slightly different version is published in William P. McMichael, “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, p. 151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, pp. 195 – 218.)

Since General Weedon’s forces provided the rear guard of the Continental Army and the Pennsylvania State Regiment served in Weedon’s brigade, this suggests that McMichael’s

unit formed the tail end of the army and lay encamped between the Paoli and the Warren taverns.

George Ewing (1754-1824) of the 3d New Jersey Regiment in Lord Stirling's (1726-1783) division writes that he was encamped at the Warren Tavern.

"12th [September 1777] Marchd to Robbinhood where we lay a day or two to refresh our weary men and then recrossd the Schuylkiln and marchd to the Warren on Lancaster road. Were I to describe the hardships and the difficulties we underwent from this time untill the 4 of October no person but those who were with us would credit my relation therefore I chuse to pass it over in silence rather than those who should se this work should think me guilty of an Hyperbole—"

*The Military Journal of George Ewing*, pp. 22/23. in: Thomas Ewing, *George Ewing, Gentleman, a Soldier of Valley Forge* (New York, 1928). Quoted from the on-line edition at <http://www.sandcastles.net/journal.htm>

With Continental Army headquarters established at Randall Malin's House the advanced guard would have been stationed near the White Horse.

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

Secondary-Source Information:

Quoting Joseph Townsend, J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 247 write:

"On the 15th of September, 1777, when the British army was encamped at Birmingham, after their late battle there, and their contemplated march to Philadelphia was daily expected; various conjectures were formed by the inhabitants as to their intended route, especially by the military. On this account the American light-horse were continually reconnoitring the different roads where they were expected; certain accounts had arrived that they were making the necessary preparations. One of the American troop of horse, in the course of their reconnoitings, arrived at the Turk's Head tavern, and being much fatigued from being on duty and the want of sleep, etc., concluded to regale themselves and horses at the tavern."



“Paoli Tavern”

“Radnor Meeting House”

Anthony Wayne’s HQ

“Buck Tavern”

George Washington’s HQ

the defunct “Prince of Wales” tavern =

the “Philip Syng” in the

Washington account

“Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)”. Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 05, Return:

Did Washington make his headquarters at Malin Hall or the Brackbill-Haldeman-Malin House on the evening of 15 September 1777?

### Answer:

On the evening of 15 September 1777, George Washington made his headquarters at Randall Malin's house, which presumably stood east of Malin Hall but is no longer standing.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of General Washington in the afternoon and evening of 15 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

General Orders for 15 September 1777 were given at

“Head Quarters, near the Warren tavern”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090235\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090235)))

On 16 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to the Continental Congress from “Camp between the Warren & White Horse Taverns” informing Congress that he “arrived here last night with the Army ... .”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:5:./temp/~ammem\\_q|z5:](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:5:./temp/~ammem_q|z5:)

In September 1777, Randall Malin's house would have stood between the Warren and White Horse taverns.

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) of the Corps of Engineers wrote in his journal under 18 September 1777:

“Lord Cornwallis's column continuing the Philadelphia Main Road from the Forks at Randal Malins (which was Washington's Headquarters the night before last) which road runs nearly parallel with the Swedes Ford Road, running only one Mile from this Camp, where his Lordship formed a junction and encamped.”

G. D. Scull, “The Montresor Journals.” *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), p. 454.

The “night before last” was the night of 15/16 September 1777.

Secondary-Source Information:

Montresor’s statement contradicts J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 82, who write:

“[Washington] proceeded to a point near the junction of the Lancaster and Swedes’ Ford roads in East Whiteland township, northwest of the Admiral Warren tavern, and encamped his forces between that point and the White Horse tavern, having his headquarters at the residence of Joseph Malin”, i.e., the Haldeman-Brackbill-Malin house, which was burned for training purposes by the East Whiteland Fire Company in 1977.

In 1777, there were three Malin properties owned by the three sons of Randall Malin II. These properties are identified on “Battle of the Clouds. Defining Structures Map 4” as:

John Malin - Malin-George House (42.05)

Randal Malin III - Malin Hall (42.18)

Joseph Malin – Brackbill-Haldeman-Malin House (not on defining features map, but located near 42.15 [People’s Light Theatre])

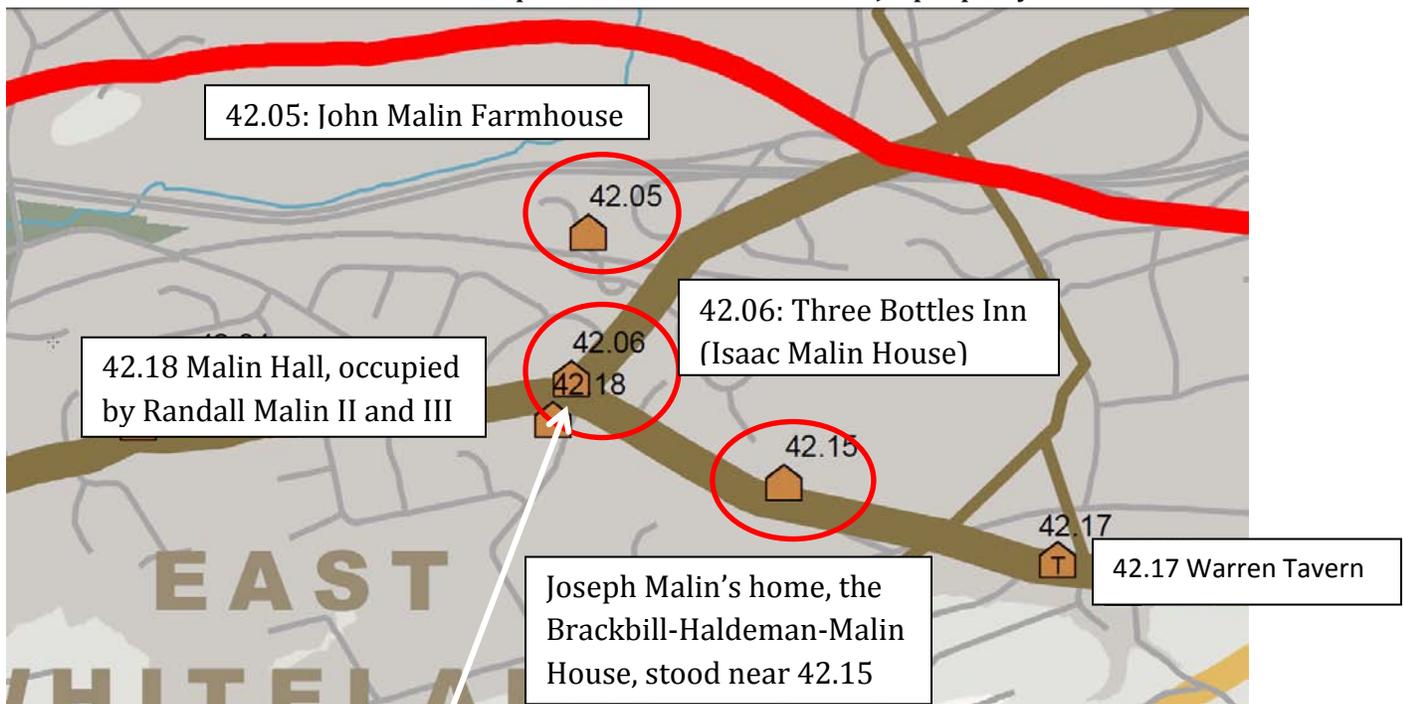
According to K. Varden Leasa, “A Great Valley Legend Examined: Where did Washington really sleep on September 15, 1777?” *Tredyffrin Easttown History Quarterly* Vol. 45, No. 2 (Spring 2008), pp. 54-60, John “inherited the Malin residence [which] became known as the Malin-George House.” Randall III “received Malin Hall”, while Joseph moved into the Brackbill-Haldeman-Malin House in late 1776/early 1777. (pp. 57-58)

From there she goes on to argue (p. 58) without giving any primary-source evidence that “Futhey and Cope in the *History of Chester County* got it right. Washington made his headquarters at the house of *Joseph Malin* not Randall or John.”

Apart from the fact that she seems to resent “the wealthy outsiders who purchased Malin Hall after the last Malin owner died in 1915 for ‘blowing their own horn’” (p. 59), Leasa does not seem to have been aware of Montresor’s journal since she does not cite him in her text or list him in her footnotes. Unless we assume that Montresor did not know where he was in September 1777, his identification of the home of Randall Malin as the place where Washington spent the night of 15/16 September 1777 rather than the Brackbill-Haldeman-Malin House, home of Joseph Malin, must stand.

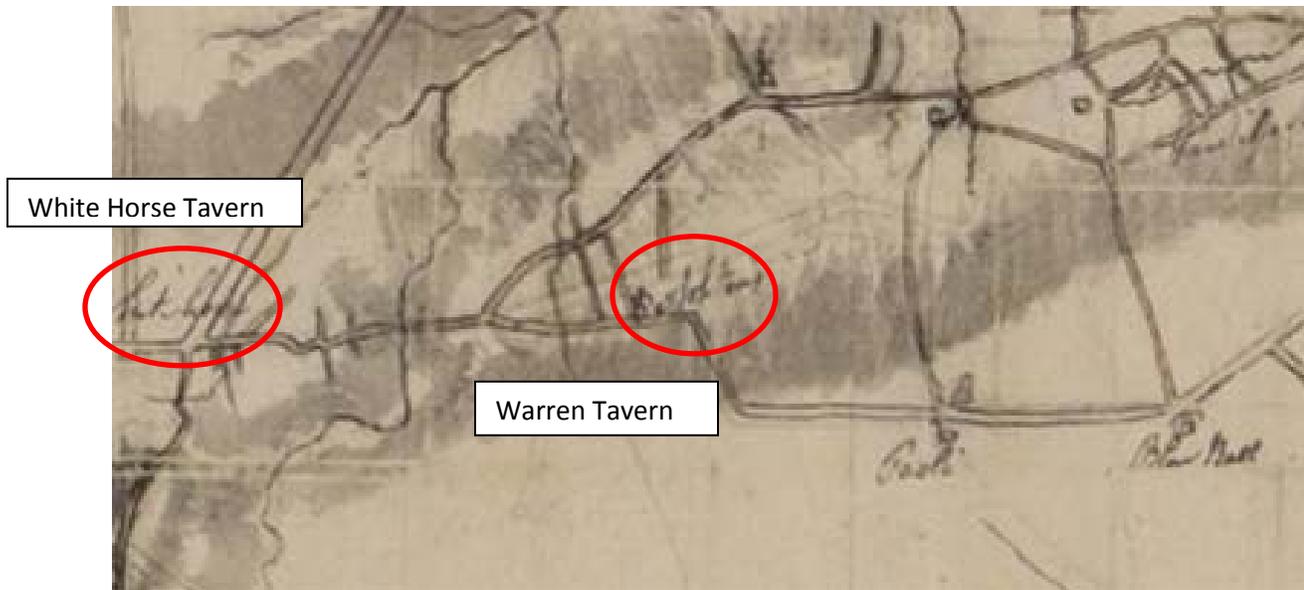
Leasa confirms Montresor when she writes (p. 57) that before Randall III received Malin Hall “by deed from his father in 1785 ... Randall Malin II was still the owner of the Malin Hall farm, with son Randall III” living with him. Whether he referred to the father or the son, for Montresor Washington had stayed “at Randel Malins”, not at Joseph Malins.

Randall Malin II purchased the Isaac Malin Jr. property in March 1774



Montresor is very precise when he places Washington at “the Forks at Randel Malins”

Detail from “Battle of the Clouds. Defining Structures Map 4”. Produced by Chester County, Pennsylvania and provided by Sean D. Moir.



George Ashton had opened the tavern as the “Admiral Vernon” in 1745 but changed the name to “Admiral Warren” in 1746. Peter Mather operated the tavern in 1777.

Detail from a map entitled “Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)”. Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 06, Phase 1:

Was Count Casimir Pulaski (1745-1779) involved in any fighting near the “Three Tuns” tavern on the morning of 16 September 1777 or was he just scouting as reported by eyewitnesses and contemporaries?

### Answer:

The Battle of the Clouds began in earnest around 13:00, and as there is no evidence of dragoon fighting in the morning of 16 September, he was most likely only scouting.

In 1777, the “Three Tuns Tavern” did not exist. The first evidence of a structure standing on this land, a 97 acre parcel which had been patented to Morris James in 1736, dates to 1765, when Moses Davis (or David) paid taxes on this land, which he had acquired in 1760. As late as 1796 and 1799, Davis/David paid taxes only on an old log cabin and a log barn. It was only in August 1811 that Joseph Phillips requested a tavern license and permission to open a tavern on the property.

This paragraph is based on information provided by Chester County.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces in the morning of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

Elias Dayton (1737-1807), colonel of the 3d New Jersey Regiment, wrote how

“We had continued marching and countermarching from the 11th of September to the 4th of October, except a small skirmish on or about the 18th of September, near the White Horse Tavern on the Lancaster road, between the advance parties of both armies. We were drawn up in order of battle, expecting every moment to engage the whole of the enemy's army. After remaining about two hours in order of battle, and it beginning to rain very hard, we were ordered to march off the ground, which we did about 12 o'clock.

Mid-day the storm increased, and we marched the whole night through the heaviest storm almost, that ever was known. All our cartridges were wet and I much feared the ruin of the whole army would have been the consequence, & indeed it must have been the case had G. Howe Advanced upon us“.

"Papers of General Elias Dayton," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1<sup>st</sup> Series vol. 9, no. 4 (1863-4), pp. 175-194, p. 184.

Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line wrote in his diary:

“September 16. - Intelligence reached camp at 1 P.M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 a.m., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in torrents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced.”

William P. McMichael, “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, p. 151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, pp. 195 – 218.)

#### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

#### Secondary-Source Information:

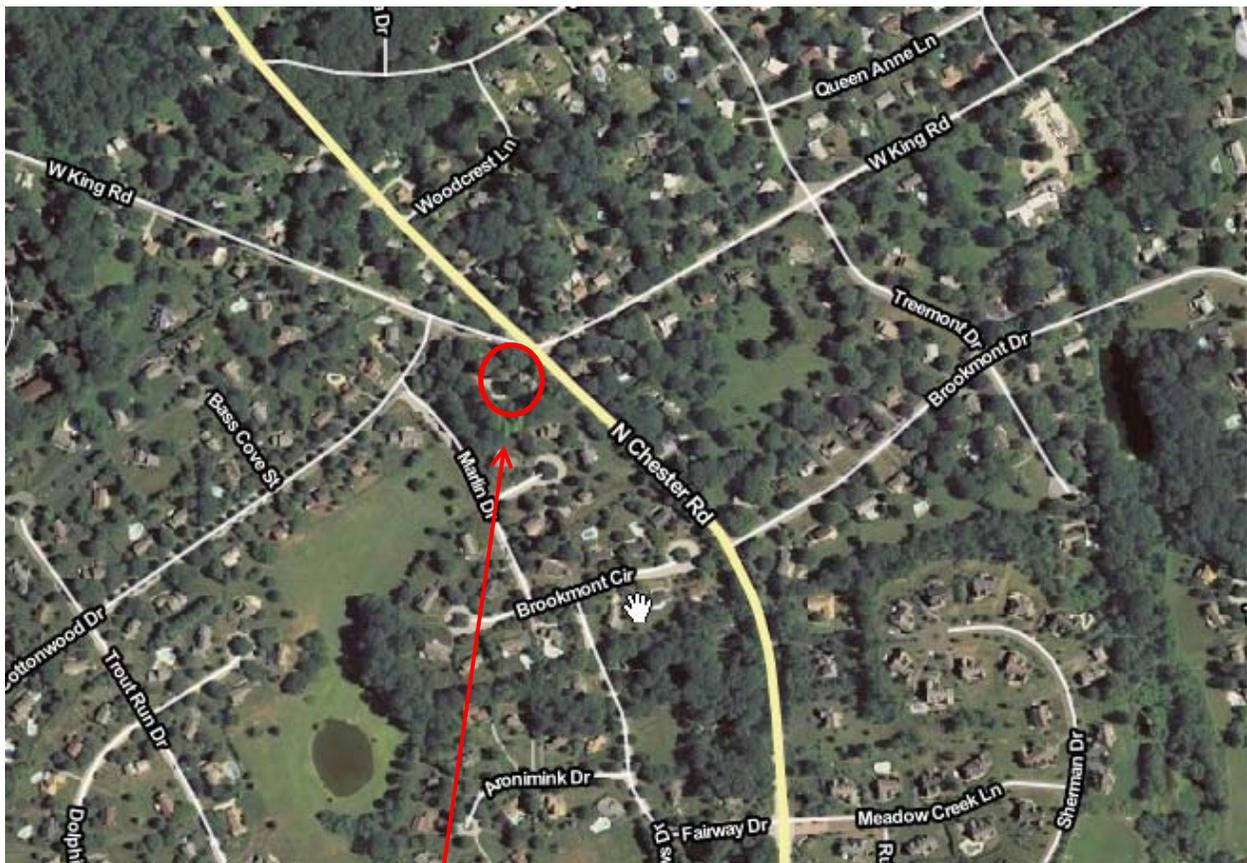
Quoting Joseph Townsend, J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 249 designate the Turk's Head tavern as the location of an exchange of fire between an American scouting party and British forces.

"On the 16th of the 9th month, 1777, as the British army was on their march from their ground of encampment at Birmingham, where they had lain from the 11th, after the battle at Brandywine, as they passed by the Turk's Head tavern, on their way to the Swedes Ford on Schuylkill, they were fired upon by a scouting-party of the Americans, and two of their number were shot dead. Graves were immediately opened inside of the garden-fence near the intersection of the Philadelphia road, and their bodies deposited therein during the

time of their march, which was performed in about four hours in the course of the forenoon, a tremendous rain taking place during the time.”

(NOTE.— The remains of those men above mentioned were dug up in the summer of 1827, when cellars were preparing by John W. Townsend for his row of brick buildings. (21\*)

Footnote 21\* on p. 265 reads: “Where Thomas Pierce’s drug-store and E.D. Haines’ banking-house now stands.”



“Three Tuns Tavern” at the intersection of SR 352 (North Chester Road) and King Road

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 07, Phase 1:

Was the “Three Tuns” tavern operating as a tavern in 1777?

### Answer:

No, the “Three Tuns” tavern was not operating as a tavern in 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on this e-mail from Sean D. Moir of Chester County:

From: "Moir, Sean D." <[smoir@chesco.org](mailto:smoir@chesco.org)>  
To: "MCGUIRE, THOMAS" <[TMCGUIRE@malvernprep.org](mailto:TMCGUIRE@malvernprep.org)>  
Cc: wade catts <[wcatts@johnmilnerassociates.com](mailto:wcatts@johnmilnerassociates.com)>  
Date: Tue, 4 Jun 2013 16:54:12 +0000  
Subject: RE: Three Tuns Tavern

Research done by the East Goshen Historical Commission shows that the structure did NOT exist at that time. As long as this does not interfere with any known historical accounts of the battle, I think I may remove it from the maps as an extant structure. ... ..

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

N/A

### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

### Secondary-Source Information:

The Three Tuns” Tavern did, however, operate as a tavern after the war. It is mentioned in Futhey, J. Smith and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 257 as a “landmark” their readers might recognize. Describing the early phase of the Battle of the Clouds, Futhey and Cope write:

“The point where the skirmishing took place was on the high ground about one mile and a half north of Goshen Meeting-house, and a half a mile or more a little west of south of the old "Three Tuns" tavern, on the property then of Thomas Rees, now belonging to the heirs of John Parry, deceased, in the northeastern part of East Goshen township. Twelve American soldiers were killed in the conflict and buried there. A few were also wounded, and some prisoners were taken by the British.

...

The storm lasted some time, the division of the British army under Cornwallis being encamped during its continuance along the South Valley Hill, south and west of the Three Tuns tavern, that portion of the division of Knyphausen under Gen. Matthews on the farm of David Dunwoody, and the Hessian line, under Count Donop, on the farm of John Bull, south of the present residence of George W. Jacobs. Other forces lay at the Boot tavern, and north of it.(26\*) The headquarters of Gen. Howe were at the Boot tavern, then kept by John Bowen, and of Lord Cornwallis, during a part of the time, at the house of George Hoopes, now owned by his descendant, George Hoopes, of West Chester, a short distance north of Goshen Meeting-house, and afterwards at the house of Daniel Durborow, now owned by Francis S. Fiss, about one mile west of the Three Tuns, or what is now known as the King road. All these houses are still standing.”

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 8, Phase 1:

How was the Continental Army configured along King Road on the afternoon of 16 September 1777?

### Answer:

The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of the order of Continental Army forces marching along King Road on the afternoon of 16 September 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces on the afternoon of 16 September 1777.

The only source that addresses the question of Continental army configuration along King Road on the afternoon of 16 September 1777 at all is in the “Account of the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown” by Adjutant General Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745-1829). In this “Account” Pickering described how Continental Army forces had barely finished moving up the hill and had not yet completed their line-up to meet Crown forces when they were ordered back down onto the road again.

General William Maxwell’s (1733-1796) reconstituted Light Corps was on Washington’s right, supplanted by Pennsylvania Militia under General James Potter (1729-1789), and General Anthony Wayne’s (1745-1796) two Pennsylvania Brigades were on the left, with Pennsylvania Militia in front. The militia on the left stood one volley and fled; there is no evidence of Wayne’s regulars engaging, so they may have been strung out on the march.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

Stephen Giffen (1753-1839) who had been called up into the militia in August 1777 as an ensign in the Regiment of Colonel Walker in the company of Captain Samuel Ferguson, 1<sup>st</sup> Lt. James Elliot and 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt John Armstrong confirms this line-up in his pension application when he declares that

“he was Ensign of the 4th Company of a Regiment of the Militia of York County aforesaid of which Militia Regiment one James Dixon was Col. ... under the command of Genl James Potter ... (at Brandywine) Declarant remembers that Genl Sullivant at the head of our forces lead on the attack Col. Morgan with the command of a Rifle Regt was was (sic) at the right of our forces which lay up the river from where declarant was placed. The battle ended at dark each partly hlding their own side of the river. During the night after the battle the regiment marched back to Chester. Thence in a few days they were ordered to Valley Forge. Our regiment was the rear guard and we had orders to lay at a field near the White horse tavern. The next morning as we were dividing our rations we were attacked by the enemy at our encampment. Our quarterguard were driven in. Our Regt was in disorder & before we could get the men paraded we received a fire. Declarant was then acting as super numer in the capacity of adjutant at the second fire our Col. (Walker) received a shot in the arm and in a cowardly manner ordered a retreat & fled about the same time my Capt. and our Corporal (Geo Cress) fell the first mortally wounded the latter very dangerously. At my instance about 20 of us made an effort to carry away our wounded Capt but we desisted at the remonstrance of the dying man. We then changed our position and after getting into a situation near a fence that favored us, we the above remnant of about 20 turned upon a body of the enemies calvary & fired as we thought with considerable effect. About this time the force of the enemy were brought to bear upon us so powerfully that we followed the rest of our Regt in its retreat to the main body of our brigade under Genl Potter. I there saw our wounded and as I thought cowardly Col. for the last time. His wound I saw & understood was but a slight one. Eight of our men were killed and two taken prisoners in this skirmish (Corporal Cress who was supposed to have been killed followed & joined us the next day evening). We then marched on with the rest of Genl Potter’s command and with out any fighting drove the enemy from Valley Forge. We rested at Valley Forge a few days when we were ordered by Genl Green to Germantown. That part of our army to which I belonged reached Germantown a little before day some time in October.”

Pension application of Stephen Giffen (19 July 1753-6 Nov 1839), W 7584, p. 40.

Captain Robert Kirkwood (1746-1791) wrote that on Tuesday, 16 September 1777, he and his regiment

“Struck Tents Cross’d the main Road and paraded in line of Battle in A Buckwheat Field expecting the enemy in order to give them battle, began to rain verry hard & Continued all day and night, filed off to the left and march'd 11 Miles to the Yellow Springs there Stay'd all night on the Brow of a hill without tents (Chester County) [.] Wednesday 17th march’d and Cross’d French Creek Bridge being 6 miles went 3 miles further there Stayed allnight being 9

miles (no tents) [.] Thursday 18th march'd About 3 o'Clock in the morning, to Reading Furnace being 12 miles & there encamp'd on the brow of a hill, Friday 19th returned back to our last encampment being 12 miles, filed off to the left and forded Schuylkill & march'd towards ye Sweeds ford 7 miles and halted in the woods at 10 OClock at night march's through the trap to Richardsons ford being 10 miles (in all 29 miles) Philada County."

*The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line. Part II: "An Order Book of the Campaign in New Jersey, 1777", ed. Joseph Brown Turner (1910; reprint, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press), p. 175.*

In his "Account of the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown" Pickering wrote:

"On the 16th of September, in the morning, information was received of the approach of the enemy. Some detachments were made to reinforce the advanced guards and keep the enemy in check until the American army should be arrayed for action. General Washington ordered me to the right wing, to aid in forming the order of battle. On my return to the centre I found the line not formed. Seeing the commander-in-chief with a number of officers about him, as in consultation, I pressed my horse up to learn the object. It was a question whether we should receive the British on the ground then occupied by our troops, or retire beyond a valley in their rear, in which the ground was said to be wet and impassable with artillery, which, in case of a defeat, would of course be lost, except that with the left wing, commanded by General Greene, through which there was a firm road. By this time the fire of the troops engaged appeared to be drawing near. At this movement, the consultation yet continuing, I addressed General Washington. 'Sir (said I), the advancing of the British is manifest by the reports of the musketry. The order of the battle is not completed. If we are to fight the enemy on this ground, the troops ought to be immediately arranged. If we are to take the high grounds on the other side of the valley, we ought to march immediately, or the enemy may fall upon us in the midst of our movement.' 'Let us move,' was the general's answer. The movement took place. It had begun to rain. The British army halted. Ours formed on the high ground beyond the valley, and there remained during a very rainy day. We then marched to a place called the Yellow Springs.—The cartridge boxes were bad, and nearly all the ammunition in them was spoiled. Hence it became necessary to keep aloof from the enemy till fresh ammunition could be made up and distributed."

"Col. Timothy Pickering's Account of the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown," *The Historical Magazine And Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America* vol. 7, no. 7 (July 1863), pp. 218-220, p. 219. This was taken from a pamphlet entitled *Interesting Correspondence between his Excellence Governor Sullivan and Col. Pickering ...* (Boston, 1808), p. 27.

In his "Journal" Pickering gave this account of events on 16 September 1777:

"About nine in the morning we were informed that the enemy were advancing towards us. The troops got under arms, and the baggage was sent off. An advanced party of ye enemy attacked our picquet just posted (about 300 strong) who shamefully fled at the first fire. about this time it began to rain ... The rain increased. - It was now discovered that the ground on which the army was drawn up for battle ... was not well chosen ... So after some hesitation the orders were given to retire to better ground in our rear. Whilst this was performing the rain poured down vehemently; and by the time the whole had gained their new ground the arms were absolutely unfit for action. After remaining here a little while, orders were given to march to the Yellow Springs, there being no prospect of the rains ceasing, and our ammunition being in danger of spoiling ... This was the reason (I presume) for the tedious march this night in the rain to Yellow Spring, a distance of [missing] miles. It was 8 or 9 o'clock before even the horse arrived there the brooks were swollen with the heavy rain, & Pickering's Creek up to the horses bellies, so that the passage of ye artillery and waggons was difficult. The foot passed over in a single file on a log laid across as a bridge for foot passengers. To add to the difficulties, the night was dark.

Timothy Pickering Journal. Pickering Family Papers, MSS #: 400, Series III: B. Timothy Pickering, v. Journals and Memoranda Books, Box 10, Folder 1, Journal F1 (1776-1777), Phillips Library, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

From his "Camp between the Warren & White Horse Tavern", Washington wrote to the Continental Congress in the morning of "Sept 16: 1777".

"I arrived here last night with the Army, and am now so far advanced, as to be in a position to meet the Enemy in the Route to Swedes Ford, if they should direct their course that way. Their Situation, I believe, from the best Information I have been able to obtain, is mostly the same as it was, when I wrote you Yesterday Evening. I have ordered all the Troops to be refreshed this Morning, as they were late in getting to their Ground last night, and they are now cooking their Provisions. In the meantime I intend to see my Gen<sup>l</sup> Officers and to collect their Sentiments upon the subject of our next movement & operations. Gen<sup>l</sup> Smallwood was at Oxford meeting House yesterday ... "

The letter is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:5:./temp/~ammem IWFq::>

From his camp near Potts Grove, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to Congress on 23 September 1777:

“When I last recrossed the Schuylkill, it was with a firm intent of giving the Enemy Battle, wherever I should meet them and accordingly advanced as far as the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road, near which place the two Armies were upon the point of coming to a general Engagement but were prevented by a most violent Flood of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night. When it held up, we had the Mortification to find that our Ammunition, which had been compleated to Forty Rounds a Man, was intirely ruined, and in that Situation we had nothing left for it, but to find a Strong piece of Ground which we could easily maintain till we could get the Arms put into order and a Recruit of Ammunition. Before this could be fully effected, the Enemy marched from their position near the White Horse Tavern down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford. I immediately crossed the Schuylkill above them and threw myself full in their Front, hoping to meet them in their passage or soon after they had passed the River. The day before Yesterday they were again in Motion and marched rapidly up the Road leading towards Reading. ”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090273\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090273)))

Captain William Beatty (1758-1781) of the Maryland Line wrote

“Sunday Sept 14<sup>th</sup> the whole Army recross’d the Schuylkill at the Spring Mills, and on the 16<sup>th</sup> Drew up in Order of Battle in the neighborhood of the White Horse, But a very heavy rain Coming up prevented the Enemy’s Attacking us. About 2 o’Clock in the Afternoon we began to March towards the Yellow springs where we Arrived About 2 o’Clock the next Morning. All the small Branches that we were obliged to Cross on this march were so rais’d by the Hard rain that they took us to the waists and under the Arms when we Waded them, None of our men preserv’d a single round of Ammunition that did not get thoroughly wet. The rain left off falling the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup> about break of day. In the afternoon we began or March towards the Valley Forge near which we again Waded the Schuylkill. On the 18, & Continued Our march until we got Opposite the Enemy at Sweeds Ford, after laying in this position a day or two the Enemy put themselves in motion to Cross the Schuylkill & our army leaving the Passes clear at the same time march’d up the Country, to a Place called New Hanover Where We lay Some days during our stay at this place a Detachment Was sent to Mud Island below Philadelphia from this place We March’d to Perkeomen Mills”.

“Journal of Captain William Beatty. 1776-1781.” *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 3, No. 2 (June 1908), pp. 104-119, p. 110. Beatty was killed in the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill, SC.

On 23 September 1777, General Henry Knox (1750-1806) wrote to his wife Lucy:

“After some days' manoeuvring, we came in sight of the enemy, and drew up in order of battle, which the enemy declined; but a most violent rain coming on obliged us to change our position, in the course of which nearly all the musket cartridges of the army that had been delivered to the men were damaged, consisting of above 400,000. This was a most terrible stroke to us, and owing entirely to the badness of the cartridge-boxes which had been provided for the army.

This unfortunate event obliged us to retire, in order to get supplied with so essential an article....

The troops in this excursion of ten days without baggage suffered excessive hardships, - without tents in the rain, several marches of all night, and often without sufficient provision.”

Henry Knox, to Lucy Knox, 23 September 1777, in Noah Brooks, *Henry Knox, A Soldier of The Revolution* (New York: Putnam, 1900), p. 105.

In a letter to his brother John of 25 September 1777 from his camp near Potts Grove, Timothy Pickering described how on 16 September 1777

“The army had just been arranged for battle, the enemy approaching. It was judged best to shift our [illeg.] for a position more advantageous. It began to rain – the enemy halted – we marched 10 miles in a continual rain, & bad roads, arrived late in ye evening at Yellow Springs; men fatigued, arms, wet, ammunition chiefly spoild (perhaps 300,000 cartridges) – no covering for ye men (the tents having been sent off when ye battle was expected; rain all night & part of next day – another march to Reading Furnace – then we returned & again crossed Schuylkill, in order to obstruct the passage of ye enemy”.

Timothy Pickering Papers, Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA, mss # 400, Reel 5, fol. 51-52.

Colonel Thomas Hartley (1748-1800), commanding officer of Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment, wrote to

“We had yesterday one of the hardest Marches known by any soldiers in our army - Neither Floods Storms Myres nor any Thing else prevented us from effecting the [Point]”

Colonel Thomas Hartley to William Atlee and Paul Zantzinger, 17 September 1777, Peter Force Collection, Mss. 17,137, Ser. 9, Vol. 21, Roll 104 frame 140, Library of Congress.

Joseph Ward (1737-1812) wrote to James Bowdoin (1726-1790), former governor of Massachusetts, on 12 November 1777:

“our army advanced to give them battle, the advanced parties engaged, but before the main body came up a heavy rain fell, which soon put an end to all firing...The storm continued very severe until the morning of the next day, and great part of our troops were exposed without cover; our tents and baggage were left behind that the army might not be incumbered, by which means great part of our cartridges were wet and unfit for action. This misfortune defeated the General's design, and also obliged him to remain inactive until he could supply the loss of ammunition, and recruit the health and vigour of the troops for they suffered greatly by the storm.”

Joseph Ward to James Bowdoin, 12 November 1777, "The Bowdoin and Trumbull Papers," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th ser., 9 (1897): 409-410.

John Laurens (1754-1782), son the President of the Continental Congress and one of Washington's aides, wrote to his father Henry (1724-1792):

“my old sash rather disfigur'd by the heavy Rain which half drown'd us on our march to the Yellow Springs, (and which by the bye spoilt me a waistcoat and breeches of white Cloth and my uniform Coat, clouding them with the dye wash'd out of my hat)”.

John Laurens to Henry Laurens, 6 November 1777. "Correspondence Between Hon. Henry Laurens and His Son John, 1777-80," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1905), pp. 3-12, pp. 8-9.

In the court-martial proceedings against General William Maxwell (1733-1796) who had commanded the Light Infantry on 16 September 1777, Captain Charles Porterfield (1750-1780) of Daniel Morgan's Virginia Riflemen testified

“On the 16<sup>th</sup> of Sept Encamped near Colo. Thomases, at the foot of a Large hill, Parker was sent out Early; some before day, we heard a scattering fire, which ----- us, we remained Paraded on our encampment, the firing , as aforsd. coming nearer us, we remained without any orders for[ming no?] disposition to receive the Enemy, nor did the Genl. Arrive until the firing seemed on the opposite side of the hill.

There we stood, the militia in our rear, just before [his] arrival Col. (Henry) Heth ordered us to face to the right, & Ma[---?--] [..ants] take post – on the Genl.s arrival his commands were ‘who will take post on the right[?]’ (pointing that way), our party marched that way, on our moving the militia made a break & swept off three or four platoons, in this confusion we ran the haise[?] for some time, & then were ordered to march to the Left.

In this Situation, it began to rain – but Certain I am had the Enemy come on in our confusion, Posted at the [foot] of a hill, whilst they the Enemy Possessed the advantageous high Ground, & woods, we must have fallen to sacrifice.”

Charles Porterfield was mortally wounded at Battle of Camden, SC, 15-16 August 1780 and died 10 January 1781. He is reputed to have fired the first shot that killed an enemy soldier at the battle of Brandywine.

The majority of Daniel Morgan’s (1736-1802) Rifle Corps, established on 1 June 1777, was sent to the Northern Army under General Horatio Gates (1727-1806) and fought at Saratoga. This corps was replaced by Maxwell Light Infantry Corps, but a number of pension applications confirm the presence of Virginia Riflemen with Maxwell. Several of these accounts (and Jacob Nagle’s account) state that Morgan’s riflemen were involved in the fighting at Brandywine and "near the White Horse" ("Battle of the Clouds"). This is erroneous but understandable: Morgan’s Corps was so well known that later recollections may have assumed that all riflemen in 1777 were commanded by Morgan. Maxwell had some Virginia riflemen with him (Porterfield), but the riflemen engaged on September 16 were from Dunlap’s Rifle Battalion, a Pennsylvania militia unit attached to Maxwell under General Potter. In his the pension application (W7201) Lewis Stump wrote:

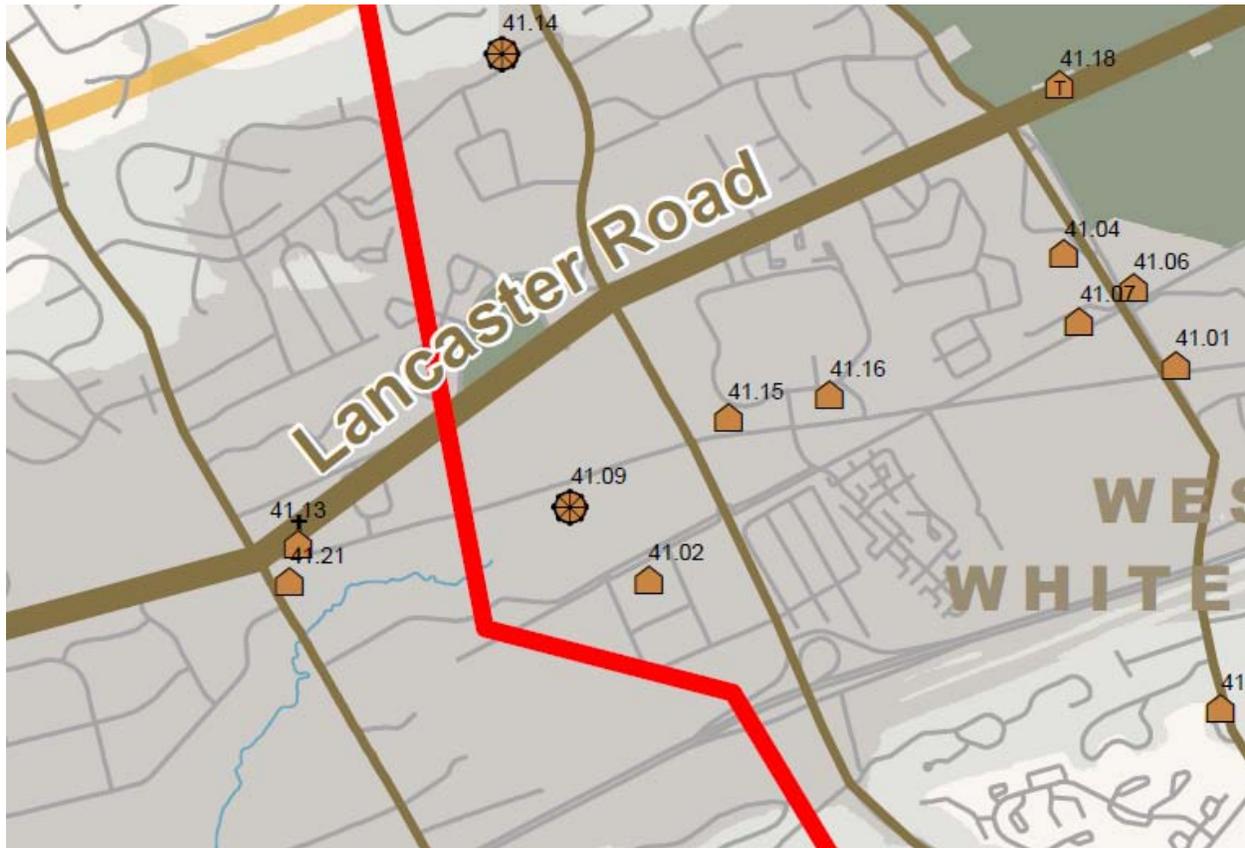
“Lewis Stump, a soldier of the revolution being duly cautioned and sworn deposeth and saith, that he was born in the State of New Jersey from whence at an early age he was taken to Virginia; – That about the month of March 1777 he enlisted as a common soldier in the Army of the United States to fight against the common enemy the English under the command of Captain Charles Porterfield in the Virginia line of regulars in Colonel Daniel Morgan’s Regiment, and remained in the United States service for three years, and received an honorable discharge from Colonel John Webb at Frederick town in Maryland. That afterwards this deponent served a six months tour of duty as a militia man and was at the taking of Yorktown when Cornwallis was taken. The deponent was personally engaged in the Battles of Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth and various other skirmishes.”

On Charles Porterfield see the brief biography in Harry M. Ward, *For Virginia and for Independence: Twenty-Eight Revolutionary War Soldiers from the Old Dominion* (McFarland & Co: Jefferson, NC, 2011), pp. 69-73. A longer biography can be found in Michael Cecere,

*"An Officer of Extraordinary Merit": Charles Porterfield and the American War for Independence 1775-1780.* (Heritage Books, 2004), esp. p. 46. Porterfield remained with the 11th Virginia Regiment after Morgan's Corps was formed and became commanding officer of the 11th Virginia in January 1778.

The "Colo Thomas" is Richard Thomas (1744-1832) of West Whiteland Township who in 1777 commanded the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Chester County Militia. His papers are in the Chester County Historical Society at <http://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/data/649453216>.

The court-martial proceedings can be found in Nathanael Greene Papers, Letterbooks, October 16, 1780 through April 8, 1782, and General Correspondence, 1775 through July 26, 1782. Library of Congress microfilm, 1966 and University of Delaware film 667, reel 1: General Correspondence volume 1, 1775-April 1781.



41.02 & 41.09 Colonel Richard Thomas. 41.02 is located on 200 South Pottstown Pike, 41.09 on 130 West Lincoln Highway in West Chester, PA.

41.13 & 41.21 George Thomas

Major (later Colonel) Benjamin Tallmadge (1754-1835) remembered in old age how

“having recrossed the Schuylkill, determined, on the 16th of September, again to meet Gen. Howe in the field of battle. The arrangements were made and the advance parties had already commenced firing, when there came on a violent shower of rain, which unfitted both armies for action.”

*Memoir of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, Prepared by Himself, at the Request of his Children* (New York, 1858), p. 21.

#### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) of the Corps of Engineers gives this account of events between 16 September and 18 September 1777:

“[September] 16th. At half past ( ) this morning the army marched towards Lancaster by the way of the Turk's head. Goshen meeting and the sign of the Boot on the Downing Town road. At 1 1 o'clock we made a junction with Lord Cornwallis's Column, which immediately marched to the White Horse on Lancaster road and this column with Lt.-Genl. Kniphuysen Continued to the sign of the Boot (being Commander in Chief's Head Quarters) when they encamped owing to an Equinoxial gale at N. E. accompanied with incessant heavy rains. We fired a few shot at their Patrols of Light Horse. About 2 this afternoon we were attacked on our right Flank by a body of the Rebel army under General Wayne together with a large body of militia previous to which we heard several cannon and small arms fired in Lord Cornwallis's column. We soon drove them. The Yagers behaved admirably. The Enemy left 9 dead on the Field and a Captain wounded with a 3 pounder and since dead and we took 13 Prisoners. Our loss was only 3 wounded—with Lord Cornwallis's column the Rebel left 12 dead and 30 prisoners amongst which a Colonel and a Brigade Major. The rebels on the firing decamped and in all the rain it marched to Hasel's Ferry. This Head Quarters is at the sign of the Boot in the Township of Goshen and within 1/2 mile of the Township of W. Whiteland. The Boot is within 5 miles of Downing Town.

[September] 17th. The rain and wind continued at N. E. but not so incessant, the roads became very heavy, and the lowlands overflowed. There being but few houses and barns our troops suffered much from the weather. Several people returned from the rebels with various accounts, but in general agree that Washington with the gros of the Rebel army is now on the Lancaster Road between the White Horse and Downing Town, a homely Tavern on the road to Swedesford with 13 others, say 37 pieces of Cannon. Excellent intelligence from the rebel camp. The Commander-in-Chief received a letter this evening from our Ships of war, and three victuallers, one at anchor in the Delaware off Chester. Rebel Camp moved

from Howell's ferry in order to proceed to the Swedesford but their Express returned, not passable. So they returned and took their strong ground from the White Horse to Malins.

[September] 18th. Between 3 and 4 this morning (the Equinoxial Gale still continuing at N. East, with small rain) the Army marched from the Boot 3 miles to the White Horse, where we joined Lord Cornwallis's column, halted an hour, and the whole army moved on towards Philadelphia, until we arrived at Randel Malins, being 2 1/2 miles further. There we struck off (the roads forking) the road to the Swedes Ford to Treduffrin, one mile beyond Howell's Tavern, being 4 1/2 to that Tavern and encamped one mile further, making 5 1/2 miles more, in all this day, Eleven miles. Lord Cornwallis's column continuing the Philadelphia Main Road from the Forks at Randel Malins (which was Washington's Headquarters the night before last) which road runs nearly parallel with the Swedes Ford Road, running only one Mile from this Camp, where his Lordship formed a junction and encamped. Several shot fired during the course of this day and some prisoners taken from the rebels. Some deserters and a Light Horse. The Army passed over the rebels late encampment where they had a most favourable position being a prevailing gradual height in the valley."

G. D. Scull, "The Montresor Journals." *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), pp. 452-454.

#### Secondary-Source Information:

J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 257 quote Pickering's account in the *Historical Magazine*, p. 219. They go on to identify

"The point where the skirmishing took place was on the high ground about one mile and a half north of Goshen Meeting-house, and a half a mile or more a little west of south of the old "Three Tuns" tavern, on the property then of Thomas Rees, now belonging to the heirs of John Parry, deceased, in the northeastern part of East Goshen township. Twelve American soldiers were killed in the conflict and buried there. A few were also wounded, and some prisoners were taken by the British."

Thomas J. McGuire, *Battle of Paoli* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000), p. 35, describes the movements of the Continental Army following Washington's orders to re-deploy based on Pickering's warnings that his position was untenable:

"Back down the South Valley Hill went the Continental Army, taking up new positions 2 miles away on a "gradual prevailing height" in the valley north of the White Horse Tavern."

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 09, Phase 1:

Were any dead buried on the Meredith Farm in West Whiteland on Ship Road?

### Answer:

The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of burials on the Meredith Farm in West Whiteland on Ship Road.

Tradition in J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County*, maintains that such burials took place and Immaculata University at 1145 King Road, Immaculata, PA 19345 has a gravesite on its campus that is traditionally believed to contain soldiers killed in the Battle of the Clouds on 16 September 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces in the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

N/A

### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Detail from a map entitled "Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)". Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Two British soldiers reportedly killed by Continental Army forces on 16 September 1777 as they marched past the Turks Head Tavern on their way to Swedes Ford are said to have been buried at the intersection of the road.



Secondary-Source Information:

J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 257 state

“The Hessian line, under the command of Count Donop, took the road leading from the Turk’s Head to the Boot tavern, and from thence northward towards the Ship tavern. When they reached the South Valley Hill, on the farm of Daniel Meredith, now owned and occupied by his grandson, Isaac Meredith, and were near to his residence, they encountered a detachment of the Americans, and a spirited skirmish took place, in which a few were killed on both sides and a considerable number wounded, and some prisoners were taken by the Hessians. The killed were buried near to the dwelling of Daniel Meredith, and the wounded taken to the house of Daniel Thompson, a short distance north of Meredith’s, which was used as a hospital. The house, now torn down, stood immediately in front of the site of the present new house on the Ship road, belonging to Rev. Samuel L. Tennis. This engagement, which was interrupted by the rain, took place about the same time as that with the forces of Cornwallis near the Three Tuns tavern”.

Ibid. on p. 248:

"The old school-house at the intersection of the Valley and Brandywine roads was occupied for a hospital for the accommodation of the wounded Americans who had suffered in the late battle at Brandywine; a number of whom died, and were buried in the open space left for the use of the school-house on the north side of the road leading to Brandywine."(22\*)

On p. 249, Futhey and Cope quote Joseph Townsend's *Sketch of West Chester*:

"On the 16th of the 9th month, 1777, as the British army was on their march from their ground of encampment at Birmingham, where they had lain from the 11th, after the battle at Brandywine, as they passed by the Turk's Head tavern, on their way to the Swedes Ford on Schuylkill, they were fired upon by a scouting-party of the Americans, and two of their number were shot dead. Graves were immediately opened inside of the garden-fence near the intersection of the Philadelphia road, and their bodies deposited therein during the time of their march, which was performed in about four hours in the course of the forenoon, a tremendous rain taking place during the time.

(NOTE.— The remains of those men above mentioned were dug up in the summer of 1827, when cellars were preparing by John W. Townsend for his row of brick buildings. (21\*)

"The old school-house at the intersection of the Valley and Brandywine roads was occupied for a hospital for the accommodation of the wounded Americans who had suffered in the late battle at Brandywine; a number of whom died, and were buried in the open space left for the use of the school-house on the north side of the road leading to Brandywine." (22\*)"

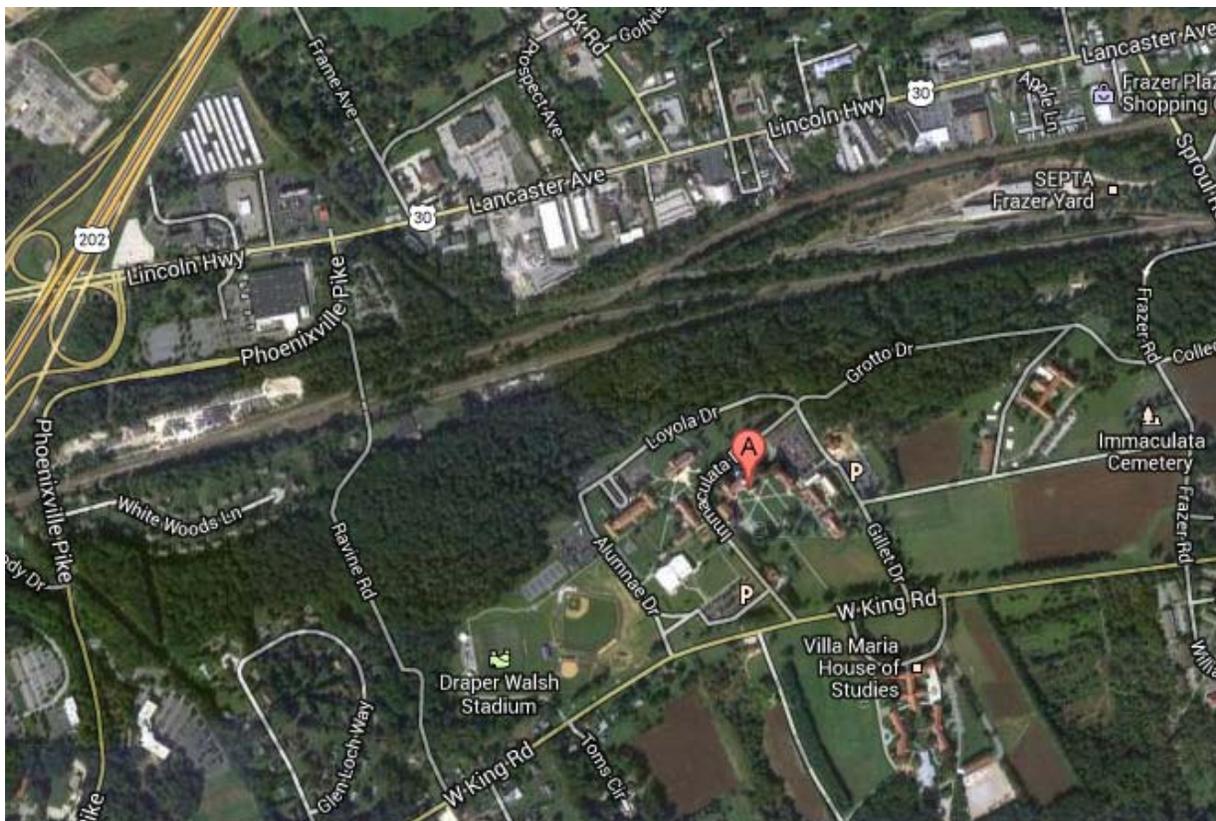
On p. 244, Futhey and Cope write:

"Some years subsequently Joseph Townsend wrote an interesting account of the engagement, and of his observations on that memorable day, which was published in the year 1846; but it has been long out of print, and copies are very rarely to be met with. Mr. Townsend was at the time of the battle about twenty-one years of age, and resided with his parents, in the house still standing on the property of Samuel R. Shipley, just outside of the present borough limits.

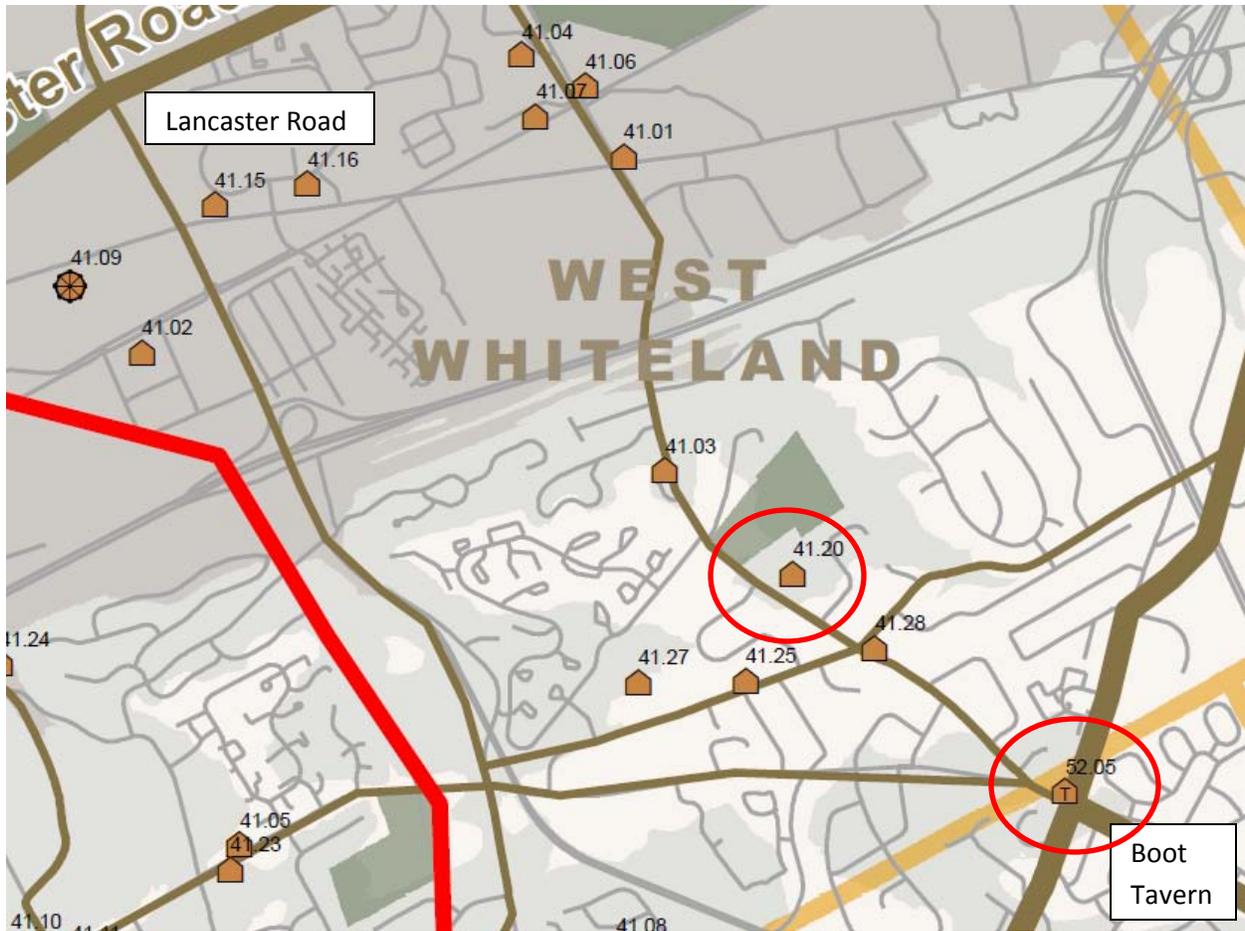
Having in the foregoing given some account of the engagements and adventures of one day,— the memorable 11th of September, 1777,— I shall now proceed to give some further account of what took place shortly thereafter. The British army remained on the ground of encampment at Birmingham until the third day of the week following, being the sixteenth of the month, having in the course of that time removed all their wounded that survived to

the borough of Wilmington (at that time in their possession), amounting to one hundred and twelve wagon-loads. They on that day commenced their further march for the city, having formed two divisions, one of which, commanded by Gen. Knyphausen, proceeded by way of Chester, and the other, being the grand one, under the command of Gen. Howe, proceeded direct to the Swedes' Ford, on Schuylkill, which, after marching through a severe day's rain, encamped the following night on the south side of the Valley Hill, and around the Boot Tavern, at which house the general had his headquarters.

The ground which they had lately occupied at Birmingham, being now cleared and left in a desolate condition, exhibited a scene of destruction and waste. Some few of the inhabitants who remained thereon, and some others who were returning to the places of abode, found it necessary to call in the assistance of their neighbors to rebury many of the dead, who lay exposed to the open air and ravages of beasts and wild fowls, having, in consequence of the late heavy rains, been washed bare, and some few of them had never been interred. I was one among a number who attended and performed that duty."



Immaculata University  
1145 King Road  
Immaculata, PA 19345



41.20 D. Thompson/Meredith Farm/Burial Site

Detail from "Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Map 4" provided by Chester County

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 10, Phase 2:

- a) Was there any action near Hershey's Mill Dam at the intersection of Hershey's Mill Road and Greenhill Road?
- b) Was Hershey's Mill Road in use at the time?

### Answer:

Ad a)

The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of any military action on 16 September 1777 near Hershey's Mill Dam at the intersection of Hershey's Mill Road and Greenhill Road.

Ad b)

The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of the existence of Hershey's Mill Road on 16 September 1777, though it may have existed as a farm lane.

### How we arrived at our answers:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army as well as Crown forces on the afternoon of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

N/A

### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

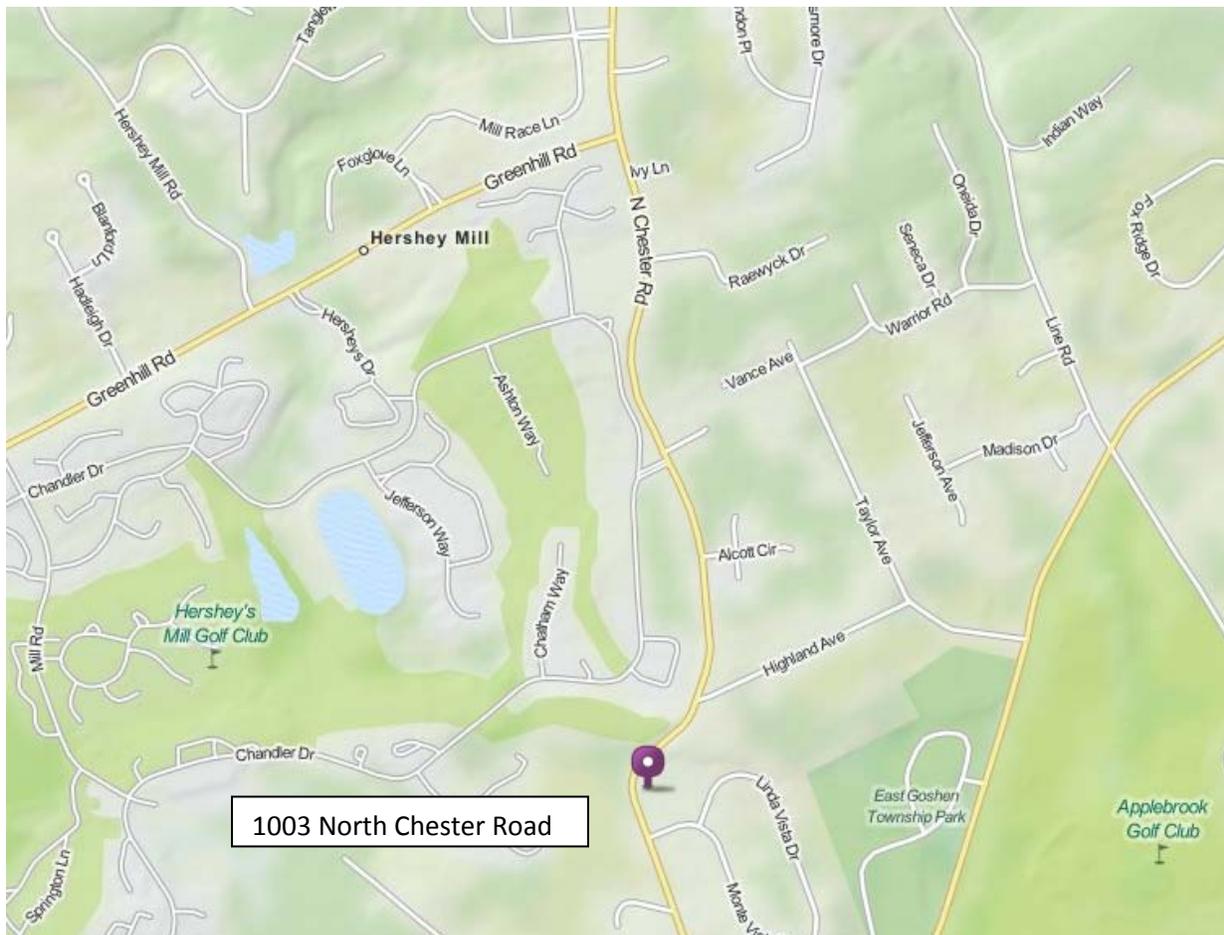
N/A

Secondary Sources:

In an undated (2007?) “Memo” to Sean Moir, Mr. Benson W. Rohrbeck of West Chester wrote

“ I live at 1003 North Chester Road at the point the original highway left the present 352 going straight north through Hershey’s Mill and exiting at the main gate on Greenhill Road. In fact this dirt road was used by farmers until the construction of Hershey’s Mill. My children and I enjoyed hiking along it in the 1960s.

I believe it continued as today’s Hershey Mill Road, crossed Immaculate College, turned right along the South Hills and dropped into the Great Valley, then continued north on today’s Planebrook Road. The building of the Main Line of the Pennsylvania Railroad in the 1830s eliminated the road’s decent (sic) into the valley and present day 352 north of my home was opened. The existing 1700s buildings along present day 352 indicates there was a “farm road” where parts of 352 is currently located.”





King Road

Hershey Mill Road

Greenhill Road

North Chester Road

This section of Hershey Mill Road referred to in the memo by Mr. Rohrbeck no longer exists

Detail from USGS Phoenixville Quadrangle (1906)



## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 11, Phase 2:

Are the maps accurate in showing the three avenues of retreat: Ship Road, Phoenixville Pike, South Planebrook Road (now abandoned)?

### Answer:

Yes, the maps showing the three avenues of retreat: Ship Road, Phoenixville Pike and South Planebrook Road (now abandoned) are accurate.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Ship Road, Phoenixville Pike and South Planebrook Road (now abandoned) are the three known roads known to have existed in that vicinity in 1777. Based on what little is known about the distribution of Continental Army forces in the afternoon of 16 September 1777 (see Priority Question No. 1), the main route of retreat would have been South Planebrook Road, and then Phoenixville Pike, divided up by modern road construction into numerous small pieces and no longer contiguous. Ship Road was the extreme right of Washington's flank where General William Maxwell's (1733-1796) Light Corps skirmished with Hessian *Jäger* under Count Carl von Donop (1732-1777). Some of Maxwell's force probably would have retreated down Ship Road to Swedesford Road, called Lancaster Road in 1777.

Maxwell's camp was somewhere at the bottom of the South Valley Hill along modern Route 100 (South Pottstown Pike), and those troops and some of the militia from the top of the hill would have withdrawn from there to modern Swedesford Road and Ship Road and from there towards the White Horse tavern. Maxwell and Potter served as a rear guard for the army as it withdrew from the White Horse to Yellow Springs, then covered the baggage train as it moved over to Howell's Tavern and Valley Forge.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

No known account gives precise information as to the roads used during the retreat.

*The Journal for Ja's McMichael: commencing the 27th May A.D. 1776 containing a brief account of the marches of the Penn. Rifle Reg't with the distance in miles from place to place and some remarks on the country and inhabitants / 1776-1778.* [i.e., 27 May 1776 to 12 May 1778, 126 pp.] is at Princeton University.

“September 16. – Intelligence reached camp at 1 P.M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack Commenced between our Scouting party and the Enemy, but the day being excessive wet the Enemy declined comming on at 3 Oclock we rec'd marching orders and Steering S.E. we marched till 2 oClock thro the heaviest rain I ever felt and when halted we had to remain under arms till Dawn of aurora—This for excessive fatigue Surpassed all I ever underwent. The small brooks were so large by the excessive rain (which lasted 18 hours) that we had repeatedly to waid to the middle in crossing them.

A slightly different version is published in McMichael, William P. “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, p. 151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, pp. 195 – 218.)

September 16. - Intelligence reached camp at 1 P.M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 a.m., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in tor rents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced.

September 17. - At noon we marched to the Yellow Springs and encamped in the woods.

...

September 18. - We marched from the Yellow Springs at 4 a.m.; passed Warwick Furnace and encamped at Reading Furnace.

Jacob Nagle (1761-18??) wrote about the events of 16 September 1777:

“The riflemen began the action with their advance guard ... But the enemy not being near anuff, the artillery had not fired a shot, when it began to rain, that we could not engage.

The rain continuing, we begin a march ... It rained for three days suckcessfully ... the rain continuing so constant that small runs of water ware overflowed by the rain, that the foot soldiers could scarcely get a cross without swimming in several places. We came to a regular decented hill, the ground being so soft that they had to onch the horses from one piece of artillery and hitch them to another till they had got them all up the hill ... I being a horseback, I kept close behind one of the ammuniton waggons but driping wet and shivering with cold ...The second night, being behind one of the ammuniton waggons, some

officers being in it, they desired me to come in ... which made me warm and comfortable. In the morning the army encamped and made fires to dry their clothes and refresh themselves at the Yellow Springs.

*The Nagle Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagle Sailor, From the Year 1775 to 1841*, ed. John C. Dann (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988), 10-11. Nagle was the son of Colonel George Nagel who commanded the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment.

A slightly different copy in the State Library of New South Wales, Sydney, Australia, call number MLMSS 5954 (Safe 1 / 156) reads thus:

“we laid wait for the Enemy Upon Sculkill the Grand Park was Rang’d Along the Ridge of a hill no great ways from the bridge Morgan’s Rible men ware in a wood on the Opposite Side of the Road Next of Sculkill the Action ws begun but we had not begun with the Artilery When it begin to Rain that the Could not Engage & we begin a march & the Enemy likewise it Rained three days Succesfully at one hill the ground was so soft that [p. 7] that the Waggoners was Compelled to onhitch the horses from One gun & hitch them to an other till the got them all up the hill, & Small Creeks that could be walked over would then Compell you to Swim The Rifle men ware on the flanks as the Could Youse the Rifels having B Skins for their loks & every now & then we Could hear them & the Hessions firing at each Other the third day in the morning we incamp<sup>d</sup> & made fires to dry their Clothes & Refresh themselves Col<sup>l</sup> Procter gave me One of his horses to Ride but the last Night I got into One of the Ammunition Wagons though wet & laid warm; when the Army was Refreshed we Marched the Brittish got into Philadelphia Washingtons Army Incamp<sup>d</sup> in the Swamp”.

*Jacob Nagle his Book A.D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty Nine. May<sup>th</sup> 19. Canton. Stark County Ohio.* Nagle had turned 16 on 15 September 1777.

On page three Nagle wrote: “As this is to be Copied I have Rought it without any Stops, According to my Recollection I Shall go on in plain terms”.

A scan of Nagle’s “Book” is available at

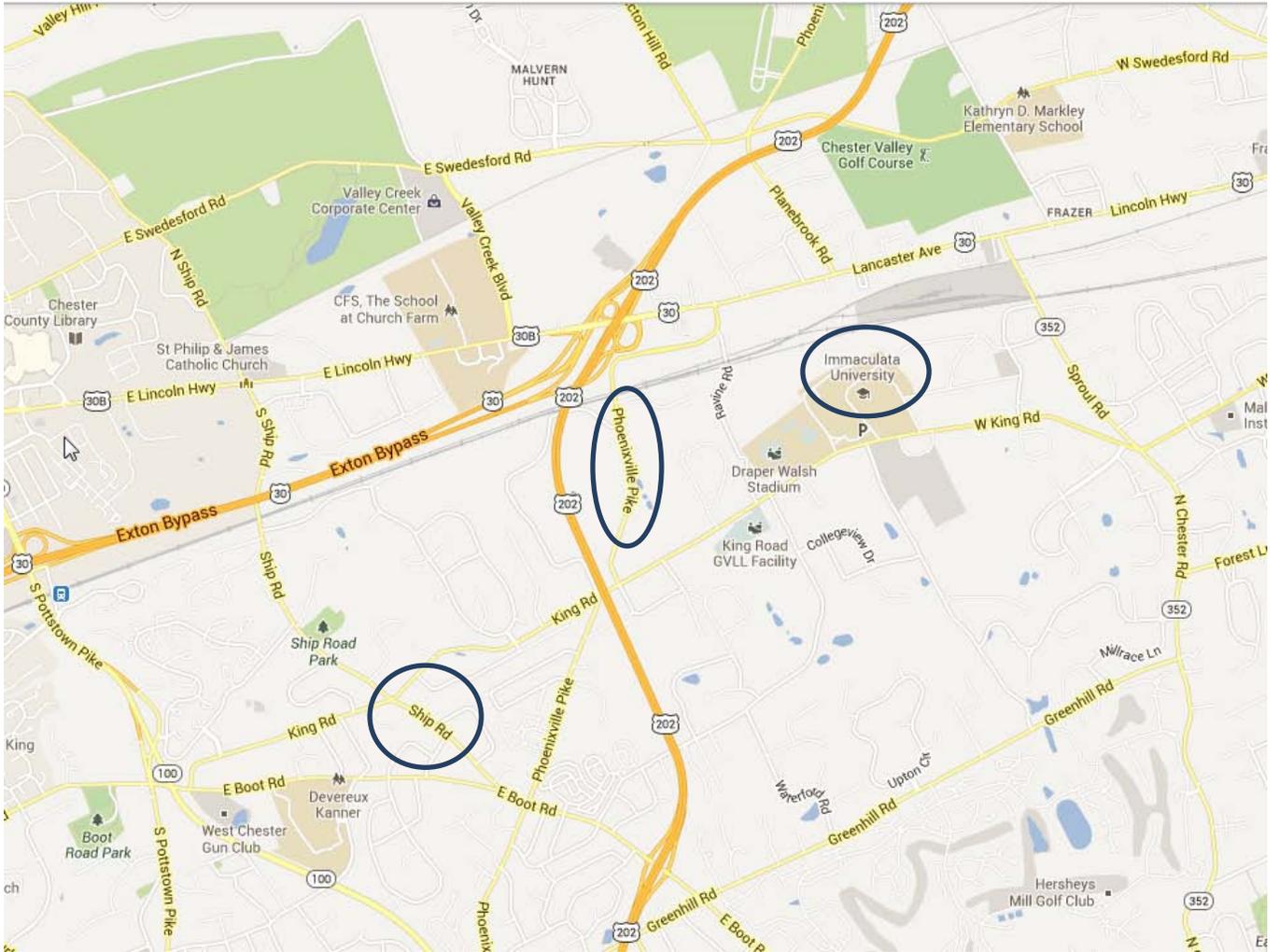
<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/ItemViewer.aspx?itemid=823938&suppress=N&imgindex=2>

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A. There are various accounts of the skirmishing between Continental Army forces and Crown forces but they do not contain information regarding the American retreat route.

Secondary-Source Information:

N/A



## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 12, Phase 3:

What was the configuration of Washington's line near the White Horse Tavern?

### Answer:

The configuration of Washington's line near the White Horse Tavern is unknown. The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of the order of Continental Army forces marching toward Whitehorse Tavern on the afternoon of 16 September 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

By the time Continental Army forces arrived at the Whitehorse Tavern, Washington's forces were in complete disarray. The rain had already started and roads were becoming impassable. More importantly, Continental Army forces had left the battlefield already in disarray and the rain, increasingly impassable roads and swollen creeks compounded the confusion.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 23 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to the Continental Congress

"When I last recrossed the Schuylkill, it was with a firm intent of giving the Enemy Battle, wherever I should meet them and accordingly advanced as far as the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road, near which place the two Armies were upon the point of coming to a general Engagement but were prevented by a most violent Flood of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night. When it held up, we had the Mortification to find that our Ammunition, which had been compleated to Forty Rounds a Man, was intirely ruined, and in that Situation we had nothing left for it, but to find a Strong piece of Ground which we could easily maintain till we could get the Arms put into order and a Recruit of Ammunition. Before this could be fully effected, the Enemy marched from their position near the White Horse Tavern down the Road leading to the Swedes Ford. I immediately crossed the Schuylkill above them and threw myself full in their Front, hoping to meet them in their passage or soon after they had passed the River. The day before Yesterday they were again in Motion and marched rapidly up the Road leading towards Reading."

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090273\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090273)))

A "Council of War, Camp Near Potts Grove, 23 September 1777" gave this recapitulation of events on 16 September 1777.

"when the Army left Germantown upon the 15th. instant it was a determination to meet the Enemy and give them Battle whenever a convenient opportunity should be found; that they advanced the same day to the Sign of the Buck and the day following to the Warren Tavern upon the Lancaster Road. On the 17th. in the morning intelligence was brought that the Enemy were advancing upon which the Army were paraded and a disposition made to receive them, the Pickets had exchanged a few shott when a violent Storm of Rain, which continued all the day and the following Night, prevented all further operations. Upon an examination of the Arms and Ammunition on the 18th: it was found that the former were much impaired and all the latter, that was in Cartouch Boxes, was intirely ruined, wherefore it was judged expedient to with draw the Army to some place of security, until the Arms could be repaired and the Ammunition recruited. But before this could be fully effected, advice was received that the Enemy had quitted their former position near White Horse Tavern and were marching down the Road leading to Swedes Ford; but the Army not being in condition to attack them, owing to the want of Ammunition, it was judged most prudent to cross the River at Parker's Ford and take post in the Rear of the Fatland Ford opposite to the Enemy."

The rain storm actually began on 16 September, not 17 September 1777.

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090275\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090275)))

On 16 May 1777, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) wrote to Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) from York:

"On the 16th of the same month, the two armies were drawn up in order of battle near the White Horse on Lancaster Road, when a most violent and incessant storm of rain prevented an action. Our army sustained a heavy loss in their ammunition; the cartuch-boxes, especially, as they were not of the most seasoned leather, being no proof against the almost irresistible fury of the weather, which obliged General Washington to draw his army

up into the country until these injuries could be repaired, and a new supply of ammunition procured.”

Thomas Paine to Benjamin Franklin, 16 May 1778, quoted from the on-line edition of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin available at <http://franklinpapers.org/franklin//framedVolumes.jsp>

On 16 September 1777, Captain William Beatty wrote in his journal:

“Drew up in Order of Battle in the neighbourhood of the White Horse, But a very heavy rain Coming up prevented the Enemy's Attacking us. About 2 o'Clock in the Afternoon we began to March towards the Yallow springs where we Arrived About 2 o'Clock the next Morning. All the small Branches that we were obliged to Cross on this march were so rais'd by the Hard rain that they took us to the waists and under the Arms when we Waded them, None of our men preserv'd a single round of Ammunition that did not get thouroughly wet. The rain left off falling the morning of the 17th about break of day. In the afternoon we began our March towards the Valley Forge near which we again Waded the Schuylkill.”

“Journal of Captain William Beatty. 1776-1781.” *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 3, No. 2 (June 1908), pp. 104-119, p. 110.

Colonel Elias Dayton (1737-1807) of the 3d New Jersey Regiment wrote

“We had continued marching and countermarching from the 11th of September to the 4th of October, except a small skirmmage on or about the 18th of September, near the White Horse Tavern on the Lancaster road, between the advance parties of both armies. We were drawn up in order of battle, expecting every moment to engage the whole of the enemy's army. After remaining about two hours in order of battle, and it beginning to rain very hard, we were ordered to march off the ground, which we did about 12 o'clock.

Mid-day the storm increased, and we marched the whole night through the heaviest storm almost, that ever was known. All our cartridges were wet and I much feared the ruin of the whole army would have been the consequence, & indeed it must have been the case had G. Howe Advanced upon us.”

“Papers of General Elias Dayton,” *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1<sup>st</sup> Series vol. 9, no. 4 (1863-4), pp. 175-194, p. 184.

Captain Robert Kirkwood (1746-1791) wrote that on Tuesday, 16 September 1777, he and his regiment

“Struck Tents Cross’d the main Road and paraded in line of Battle in A Buckwheat Field expecting the enemy in order to give them battle, began to rain verry hard & Continued all day and night, filed off to the left and march'd 11 Miles to the Yellow Springs there Stay'd all night on the Brow of a hill without tents.”

*The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line. Part II: “An Order Book of the Campaign in New Jersey, 1777”,* ed. Joseph Brown Turner (1910; reprint, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press), p. 175.

On 23 September 1777, General Henry Knox (1750-1806) wrote to his wife Lucy:

“After some days' manoeuvring, we came in sight of the enemy, and drew up in order of battle, which the enemy declined; but a most violent rain coming on obliged us to change our position, in the course of which nearly all the musket cartridges of the army that had been delivered to the men were damaged, consisting of above 400,000. This was a most terrible stroke to us, and owing entirely to the badness of the cartridge-boxes which had been provided for the army.

This unfortunate event obliged us to retire, in order to get supplied with so essential an article....

The troops in this excursion of ten days without baggage suffered excessive hardships, - without tents in the rain, several marches of all night, and often without sufficient provision.”

Henry Knox, to Lucy Knox, 23 September 1777, in Noah Brooks, *Henry Knox, A Soldier of The Revolution* (New York: Putnam, 1900), p. 105.

In a letter to his brother John of 25 September 1777 from his camp near Potts Grove, Timothy Pickering described how on 16 September 1777

“The army had just been arranged for battle, the enemy approaching. It was judged best to shift our [illeg.] for a position more advantageous. It began to rain – the enemy halted – we marched 10 miles in a continual rain, & bad roads, arrived late in ye evening at Yellow Springs; men fatigued, arms, wet, ammunition chiefly spoild (perhaps 300,000 cartridges) – no covering for ye men (the tents having been sent off when ye battle was expected; rain all night & part of next day – another march to Reading Furnace – then we returned & again crossed Schuylkill, in order to obstruct the passage of ye enemy”.

Timothy Pickering Papers, Phillips Library at the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA, mss # 400, Reel 5, fol. 51-52.

Colonel Thomas Hartley (1748-1800), commanding officer of Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment, wrote to

"We had yesterday one of the hardest Marches known by any soldiers in our army - Neither Floods Storms Myres nor any Thing else prevented us from effecting the [Point]"

Colonel Thomas Hartley to William Atlee and Paul Zantzinger, 17 September 1777, Peter Force Collection, Mss. 17,137, Ser. 9, Vol. 21, Roll 104 frame 140, Library of Congress.

Joseph Ward (1737-1812) wrote to James Bowdoin (1726-1790), former governor of Massachusetts, on 12 November 1777:

"our army advanced to give them battle, the advanced parties engaged, but before the main body came up a heavy rain fell, which soon put an end to all firing....The storm continued very severe until the morning of the next day, and great part of our troops were exposed without cover; our tents and baggage were left behind that the army might not be incumbered, by which means great part of our cartridges were wet and unfit for action. This misfortune defeated the General's design, and also obliged him to remain inactive until he could supply the loss of ammunition, and recruit the health and vigour of the troops for they suffered greatly by the storm."

Joseph Ward to James Bowdoin, 12 November 1777, "The Bowdoin and Trumbull Papers," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th ser., 9 (1897): 409-410.

John Laurens (1754-1782), son the President of the Continental Congress and one of Washington's aides, wrote to his father Henry (1724-1792):

"my old sash rather disfigur'd by the heavy Rain which half drown'd us on our march to the Yellow Springs, (and which by the bye spoilt me a waistcoat and breeches of white Cloth and my uniform Coat, clouding them with the dye wash'd out of my hat)".

John Laurens to Henry Laurens, 6 November 1777. "Correspondence Between Hon. Henry Laurens and His Son John, 1777-80," *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1905), pp. 3-12, pp. 8-9.

In the court-martial proceedings against General William Maxwell (1733-1796) who had commanded the Light Infantry on 16 September 1777, Captain Charles Porterfield (1750-1780) of Daniel Morgan's Virginia Riflemen testified

"On the 16<sup>th</sup> of Sept Encamped near Colo. Thomases, at the foot of a Large hill, Parker was sent out Early; some before day, we heard a scattering fire, which ----- us, we remained Paraded on our encampment, the firing, as aforesd. coming nearer us, we remained without any orders for[ming no?] disposition to receive the Enemy, nor did the Genl. Arrive until the firing seemed on the opposite side of the hill.

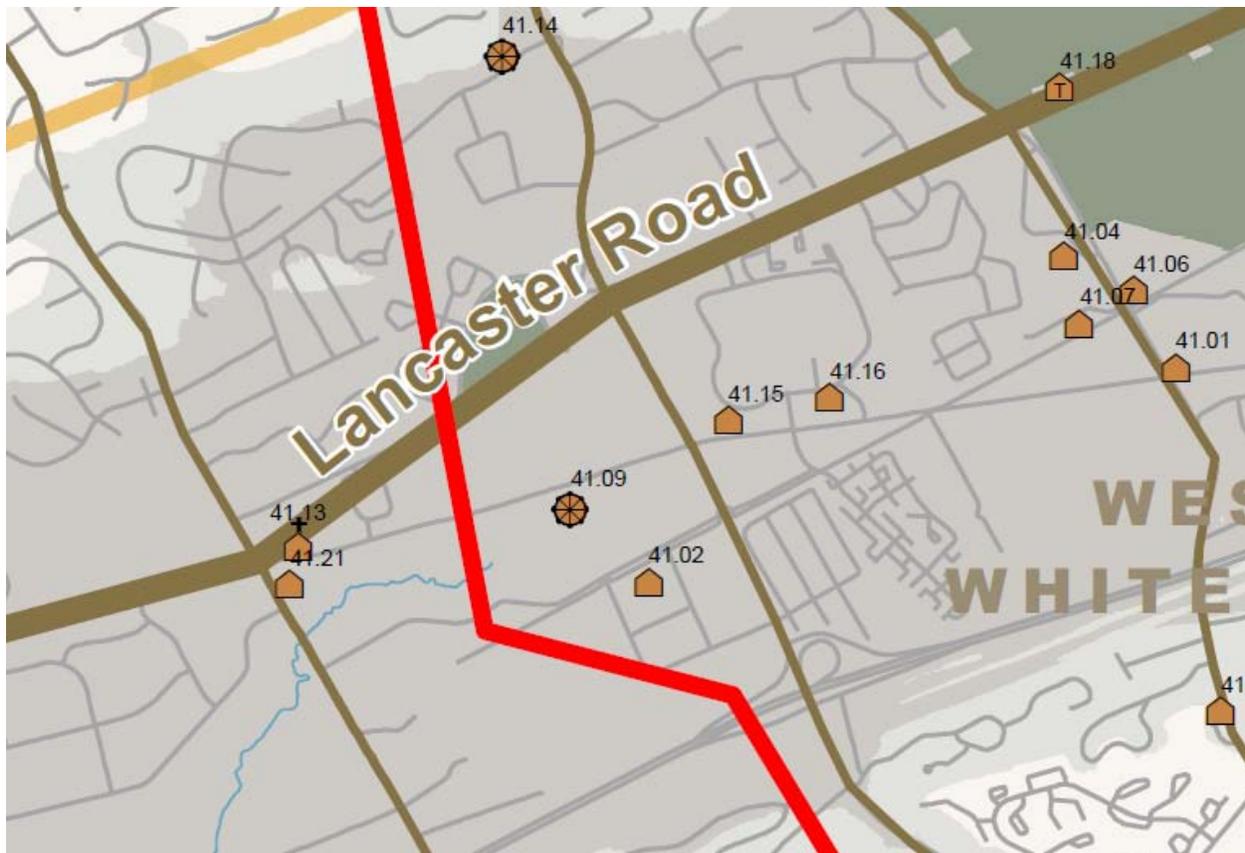
There we stood, the militia in our rear, just before [his] arrival Col. (Henry) Heth ordered us to face to the right, & Ma[---?--] [..ants] take post – on the Genl.s arrival his commands were 'who will take post on the right[?]' (pointing that way), our party marched that way, on our moving the militia made a break & swept off three or four platoons, in this confusion we ran the haise[?] for some time, & then were ordered to march to the Left.

In this Situation, it began to rain – but Certain I am had the Enemy come on in our confusion, Posted at the [foot] of a hill, whilst they the Enemy Possessed the advantageous high Ground, & woods, we must have fallen to sacrifice."

Porterfield was killed at the Santee River in South Carolina in October 1780.

The "Colo Thomas" is Col. Richard Thomas (1744-1832) of West Whiteland Township who in 1777 commanded the 5<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Chester County Militia. His papers are in the Chester County Historical Society. <http://beta.worldcat.org/archivegrid/data/649453216> . Military records in the collection include "Accounts of a Revolutionary War Soldier, Richard Thomas 1776-1777" and the "Size Book of Firelocks," in which Thomas lists the number and gauges of guns and firelocks of the men in his battalion.

The court-martial proceedings can be found in Nathanael Greene Papers, Letterbooks, October 16, 1780 through April 8, 1782, and General Correspondence, 1775 through July 26, 1782. Library of Congress microfilm, 1966 and University of Delaware film 667, reel 1: General Correspondence volume 1, 1775-April 1781.



41.02 & 41.09 Colonel Richard Thomas. 41.02 is located on 200 South Pottstown Pike, 41.09 on 130 West Lincoln Highway in West Chester, PA.

41.13 & 41.21 George Thomas

#### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Thomas Sullivan (1755 - ?), an Irish-born sergeant in the 49th Regiment of Foot, wrote:

“a most violent fall of rain setting in, and Continued the whole Day without intermission, made the intended attack impracticable....”

Our Column drew up on three Lines, expecting the Enemy to advance and attack us, but it continued raining so hard that we were all wet to our skins, and not able to fire a shot our Arms being very wet. We remained in the woods all night notwithstanding it being raining till 8 o'clock next morning.

The Enemy...marched...the whole night of the (16th) and got in the morning to the Yellow Springs, having all their Ammunition damaged by the excessive Rain. Our small Ammunition suffered also that night.”

Thomas Sullivan, *Journal of the operations of the American War*, Mss.973.3.Su5, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Sullivan deserted in June 1778 and became steward to General Nathanael Greene (1742-1786). His account of his experiences in the American War of Independence was published by Joseph Lee Boyle as *From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal* (Heritage Books: Berwyn Heights, MD, 2009)

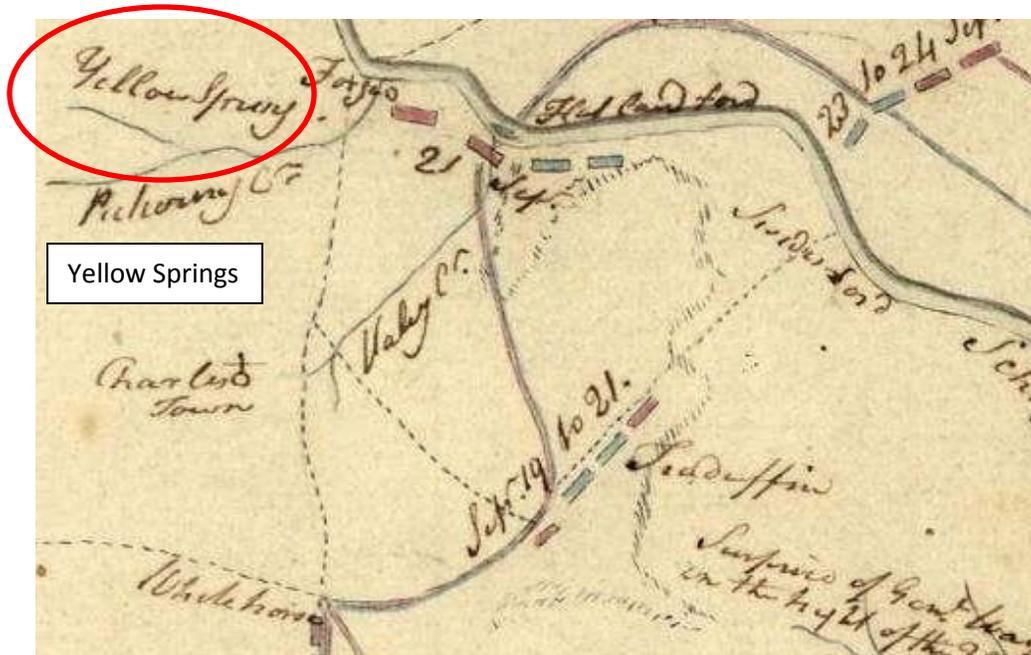
Lieutenant-General Archibald Robertson (ca. 1745-1813) of the Royal Engineers wrote

“[September] 16th At Day Break the Army left Dillworths and march’d by the Turk’s Head Tavern towards Goshen where we fell in with Lord Cornwallis’s Army which had march’s from the Neighbourhood of Chester. A few Popping Shots 1 man Killed and 2 Wounded. Our Army moved on about 3 miles to Whiteland, and remain’d. headquarters at the Boot Tavern. All this Afternoon and night a most terrible Rain that Broke up the Roads very much. The Army with Lord Cornwallis’s moved but a Short way. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry with him fell in with some Militia and Kill’d about 14 of them on the field, the rest Dispersed. The Rebel Army was not above 3 miles from us encamp’s near the White Horse on the Conestoga Road.

[September] 17th We were ordered to march in the Afternoon towards the White Horse, but our Column could not get the baggage and Heavy Artillery properly in Train, the Horses were so fatigued and Road so broke up by the Badness of the Roads. Lord Cornwallis Encamp’d near the White Horse. The Rebels on our Approach the night before decamp’d in the middle of the Rain and went towards the Yellow Springs.

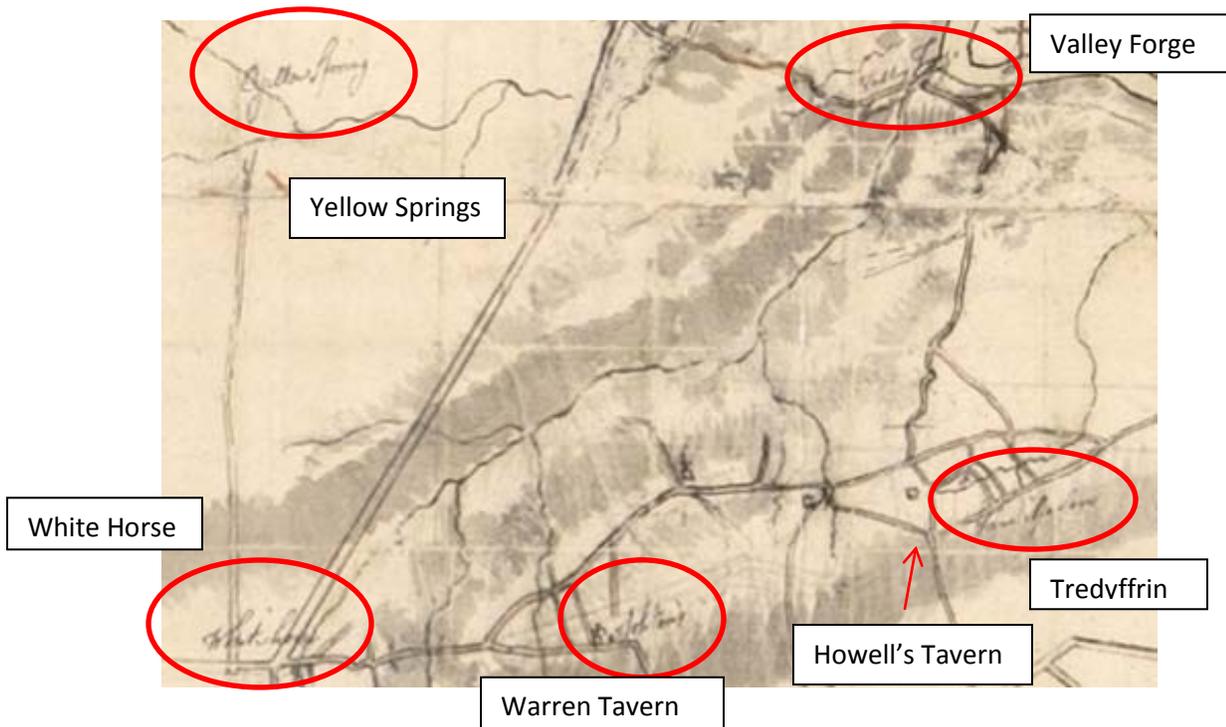
[September] 18th at 3 in the morning we march’d to the White Horse, pass’d Lord Cornwallis’s Column which fell in our Rear, and went on to Tredefferin about 8 miles on the Road to Swede’s Ford over the Schuylkill where the whole Rebel Army were encamp’d in Two lines.”

*Archibald Robertson: his diaries and sketches in America, 1762-1780* Harry Miller Lydenberg, ed., (New York: The New York Public Library, 1930), pp. 147-148.



Yellow Springs

Detail of "PROGRESS of the ARMY from the Landing till taking possession of PHILADELPHIA. NB The Red is Sir William Howes Column, and the Blue Genl Kniphausen's" Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress G3791.S3 1777 P7



Detail from a map entitled "Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)". Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 13, Phase 3:

How was the British camp at Goshen / Whiteland configured in the evening of 16 September 1777?

### Answer:

Despite a large number of primary sources and accounts, the exact configuration of the British camp at Goshen/Whiteland remains unknown. Due to the heavy rainfall and the almost impassible roads it is highly improbable that Crown forces established a regular camp. Primary sources suggest that the troops simply stopped in place and that the camp roughly followed the line of march. If that is indeed what happened on the evening of 16 September 1777 the British camp would have stretched from Goshen Meeting House to King Road and probably along King Road but also along Boot Road up to King Road and Ship Road.

Only the general vicinity of the location of the Guards is known through the damage claims of James and David Dunwoody in the *Chester County Register of Revolutionary War Damages (British Depredations)* in the Chester County Archives (West Chester, PA) available at <http://www.chesco.org/DocumentCenter/View/9395>, (specifying "B. G. Mathies" or Brigadier General [Edward] Mathews, commander of the Brigade of Guards), and information detailed in a court-martial held on 19 September 1777. They appear to have encamped in the vicinity of Ship Road and King Road since Evan Evans, whose house was pillaged "some distance from the front of the camp", lived near Uwchlan Meeting. The proceedings of the court martial are located in Court Martial Records, British Army, August-September 1777, WO 27, National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available British sources that might contain information on the movements of Crown forces on the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

N/A

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

In the evening of 15 September 1777, Sir William Howe(1729-1814) gave these orders for the march the following day for Crown forces under his immediate command:

“The Troops to be in readiness to march by the Right, in half Companies, to-morrow morning at 5 o’Clock.

Line of March.  
Yager Infantry with an Officer and 12 Mounted.  
Mounted Yager.  
Hessian Grenadiers.  
Regiment Du Corps.  
Brigade of Guards.  
4th. and 3d. Brigades British.  
One Squadron of Queen's Light Dragoons at the Head  
of 4th., and one at the head of 3d. Brigade British.  
Provision Waggons and Cattle.  
Regiment of Donop and Queen's Rangers.  
Artillery in 3 Brigades in front of the Guards, 4th. and  
3d. Brigades British.  
Baggage in the rear of their respective Brigades.  
Waggons of the Commander in Chief, Staff, Hospital,  
and Paymaster in the rear of the Guards.

Head Quarters, Goshen, 16th. Sept., 1777.

Commander in Chief's Guard to-morrow, 42d. Regiment.

Morning Orders, 7 o'Clock.

The Troops to receive one Gill of Rum per Man at Eleven o'Clock, near Head Quarters.

Head Quarters, Goshen, 17th. Sept., 1777.

The Troops to be in readiness to March on the shortest Notice.

The Arms and Ammunition to be immediately put in the best order possible.

The Troops may receive their rum immediately.

When the Troops receive Orders to March, they will move by the right in the same Order as Yesterday, except that the 2d. Light Infantry follow the Yagers, and that the whole of the

Spare Ammunition Waggon and Baggage of the Army will march in the rear of the 3d. Brigade British.

The 15th. Regiment of Donop and Queen's Rangers to form the Baggage Guard.

The Commander in Chief thinks himself much obliged to Col. Donop and Corps of Yagers for the Spirit and Judgement with which they Yesterday routed and dispersed the advance Troops of the Enemy.

In "After Orders, half past 7 at Night" Howe announced that

"The Troops are to Cover themselves in the best manner they can in their present Ground, and be in readiness to March by three in the morning if the Weather is then fair."

"The Kemble Papers. Vol. 1. 1773-1789. II. British Army Orders: Gen. Sir William Howe, 1775-1778." *Collections of the New York Historical Society* vol. 16 (1883), pp. 251-585, pp. 495-497.

A similar line-up of Crown forces is given in the *Orderly Book Of Captain Thomas Armstrong's Light Infantry Company, 64th Regiment Of Foot, (2nd Battalion Of Light Infantry) 14 September - 3 October 1777.*

Ashton Camp the 15th Ser. 77 after orders

The Troops will march by the Left at 8 oClock in the following order

First Battn Light Infantry

2d Brigade the 10 Regimt Leading

1st Brigade

2d Grenadiers

1st Grenadiers

Baggage of the army to be escorted by a Cap. 2 Subs and 50 Grenadiers 2d. Light Infantry

A Corps from each Brigade and a Qr Mr from each Battn will attend the Baggage to prevent any excesses to be Committed

Battn Orders -- all the Baggage that Cannot be Carried upon the officers horses to be sent to the Qr Mr & the waggons to be Loaded this Evening at 7 oClock

[There are no entries for 16 September 1777]

Head Quarters 17th Sept. 1777

Morning orders 9 oClock - The troops to be in Readiness to march at the shortest Notice - The Arms & Ammunition to be immediately Examined, put in the best order possible - the troops may have their Rum Emidiately [W]hen the troops Receive Orders to march they will move by the right in the Same order as yesterday Except that the 2d. Lt. Infantry follow the Yagers, & that the whole of [the Spare] Ammunition Waggons & baggage of the Army Will march in the Rear of the 3d. Brigade British --

The 15th Regt. Reg. of Donop & Queen Rangers form the Baggage Guard - the Commander in Chief thinks him Self Much obliged to Colo. Donop & Corps of Yagers for the Spirit & Judgement with which they yesterday Routed and Dispersed the advanced troops of the Enemy

It is the General's Repeated and positive order that when ever the Army is in motion the Qr. Masters upon no account Whatever Quit the Baggige of their Respective Coares the[y] are to be Responsible that their Serviciable waggins are not over loaded that their Baggige is properly put on and that the rivers keep their proper line of march: - this is to be Considered as a standing Order, all Causelties to be Immedittally Reported to the officer Commanding the Baggige Guard.

The men kill'd in Each of the Flank Companys are to be Immedeatly replac'd by their respective Battalions the Qr. Masters are not to premit any Cattel be Ty'd to the Waggins on the march -- The Commander in Chief expects that no man that is able to make use of his arms shall on any account be Imployd to lead or drive Cattel. all Cattel that is private Property is to be Sent with the Cattle of the Army till the Troops Comes to Their Ground -A Capn. of Each Brigade to attend the Baggage on the March."

Orderly Book Of Captain Thomas Armstrong's Light Infantry Company, 64th Regiment Of Foot, (2nd Battalion Of Light Infantry) 14 September - 3 October 1777. George Washington Papers, Library of Congress; Presidential Microfilm Series, Series 66, Volume 3 (30 pages), Reel 117, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Madison); Reel P37436. Transcribed by Stephen R. Gilbert, 3rd New-York Regiment, Captain Lewis Dubois' 4th Company, N-W.T.A. 6 August 1988. Available at <http://www.64thlights.com/orderlybook.htm>

An "Anonymous British diary, 13 April 1777 to 26 September 1777" gives this account, again without an entry for 16 September 1777 indicating the confusion and disarray of forces due to the rainstorm.

"on the 15 [of September] Ma[r]ched thro Hearstown Whear we found A furnes for Casting Canon Shut and Shills. Our March this day is on the Lancaster Road ... Whear we had

but a few Shot Exchanged / the 17 [September] Marched to A Small town Caled the Vulev [?] 21 Miles from Philailpha. / the 18 [September] 1 Light [Battalion and] 2 Battalions of Grandr.. 1 dito Gards Marched to Scool Cull [River at Valley Forge] Whear they found A Large Store of flour Containing 6300 Barrils Shot Shils and Camp Equipage / Shot and Shils uncartin Camp kettals 640 Axes and Tomyhuks 7500 [and] A Large furnis for Casting Canon and Shot - -"

British Account Ledger, at the end of which is appended "A Memmorandum List for 1777" (British diary, anonymous author), George Washington Papers, Presidential Papers Microfilm (Washington, D.C., 1961), series 6C, vol. I, reel 118; the diary starts at image 57. Transcribed by John U. Rees and available at <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/diary.htm>

Once fighting had begun, the order for the march dissolved and no orders for laying out and establishing a camp were issued. The order of march for 17 September 1777 is known, but it would be inappropriate to deduce a camp layout from these orders. Even a day later Howe could only give the rather unmilitary order that his troops "Cover themselves in the best manner they can". By then the column under Lord Cornwallis (1738-1805) had joined Howe so that these orders, or the lack thereof, applied to those forces as well.

The following eyewitness accounts are arranged based on which column the author marched in, i.e. the column under Sir William Howe/Wilhelm *Reichsfreiherr* zu Innhausen und Knyphausen (1716-1800) or Charles, 1st Marquess Cornwallis (1738-1805).

#### Sir William Howe's/ Wilhelm von Knyphausen's column:

Sir William Howe wrote to Secretary of State for the American Department George Germain, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Sackville (1716-1785) on 10 October 1777:

"The army moved in two columns towards Goshen on the 16th, and intelligence being received upon the march that the enemy was advancing upon the Lancaster road and were within five miles of Goshen, it was immediately determined to push forward the two columns and attack them, Lord Cornwallis to take his route by Goshen Meeting House and Lieutenant-General Knyphausen by the road to Downingstown.

The two divisions proceeded on their march, but a most violent fall of rain setting in and continuing the whole day and night without intermission made the intended attack impracticable ...

The enemy, being thus apprized of the approach of the army, marched with the utmost precipitation the whole night of the 16th and got in the morning to Yellow Springs, having as it is since known all their small ammunition damaged by the excessive rain.”

General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, 10 October 1777, *Documents of the American Revolution* K.G. Davies, ed. (Colonial Office: London, 1976) vol. 14, pp. 204-205.

Wilhelm von Knyphausen wrote to Landgrave Frederick II of Hesse-Kassel (1720-1785), on 17 October 1777:

“[September 16]: In order to make a junction with Lieutenant general Lord Cornwallis, who had left his camp at Chester to arrive at Copp’s [Goshen] Meeting House today, the main army broke camp at Dilworth at sunrise[,] marching to the latter place via Turkey Head. From there it is intended to march to White Horse.

When two miles away from there, the General-in-Chief received the news that General Washington had detached two corps each of 1,500 men of which the greater part were militia. One corps, under Colonel Maxwell, was to attack our left flank, while the other, under General Wayne, was to attack the main body commanded by Lieutenant General Lord Cornwallis. By these means our march was to be stopped, allowing the necessary time to Washington for placing his army, which was assembled at [the road to] Yellow Spring and Swedes Ford on the Valley Hills, the other side of White Horse.

The corps commanded by Colonel Maxwell turned up to the right between our corps and the one of Lieutenant [General] Lord Cornwallis. Hardly had the Jägers of the vanguard passed White Horse [sic: Boot Tavern] when they encountered the outposts of Colonel Maxwell’s corps. They at once occupied a hill lying to their right where they were supported by the Minnegerode battalions which had followed them. The Linsing and Lengerke battalions, however, occupied a low hill to the left. The Jägers scattered the enemy which they attacked in the woods in front of them. Twelve men and four officers were captured amongst the latter, one severely wounded by the “Grasshopper” gun and one by a musket ball. The Jägers’s loss consisted of two killed, the Minnigerode Battalion had one mortally wounded.

A heavy rainfall during the entire day prevented our further pursuit of the enemy, who had retired to White Horse. Our column, therefore, made a halt in the low hills near East White Land, remaining there throughout the next day.

Lieutenant General Lord Cornwallis having found the enemy in front of him had also driven back their troops as far as White Horse.”

Wilhelm von Knyphausen to Landgrave Frederick II, Fiche 56, Letter G, Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

Captain John André (1750-1780), aide to General Charles Grey (1729-1807) in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade wrote in his journal:

“16<sup>th</sup>. The Army marched from Brandywine to Goshen. The greatest part of the day it rained excessively hard. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade, Battalion of Donop, and Rangers covered the baggage which from the badness of the road could not all get up that evening. Some shots were fired on the Column at the Turk’s Head five miles from Brandywine, where a soldier of the 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment was killed and another wounded, an Officer was likewise slightly wounded.

There was a good deal of firing heard in the direction of Lord Cornwallis’s Corps which was now near the White Horse on the Lancaster Road. The Rebels were said to be within a mile or two of the White Horse. We found that at the time the firing was heard several of the Militia made their appearance and were driven off by the advanced Corps. A few of them were taken prisoners, amongst which were two Officers, and fifteen or twenty killed.

17<sup>th</sup>. A colonel and major of the rebels were taken this morning in a house, by a single light dragoon. The troops received orders to be ready to march on the shortest notice. At 3 o'clock the orders were given for marching, but part of the artillery having taken a wrong road and the night promising rain, the march was deferred till 3 o'clock the next morning. The 1st and 3rd Brigades only marched this evening. They joined Lord Cornwallis near the White Horse on the Lancaster Road.

18<sup>th</sup>. The Army marched to White Horse, and after a short halt proceeded to Trudusfrin on the road to Swede's Ford on the Schuylkill. On this march we passed over the ground thru which the rebels had gone very recently. It should seem that after the affair of Brandywine they had marched to Chester, Derby, Philadelphia and Germantown; that they had recrossed the Schuylkill at Swede's Ford, had come to White Horse and from thence had suddenly turned to the right to gain the Schuylkill again near the Yellow Spring, where they crossed it a third time.”

*The Journal of Major André*, quoted from the on-line edition available at [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Journal\\_of\\_Major\\_Andre](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Journal_of_Major_Andre)

Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) of the Corps of Engineers described the events from 16 to 18 September 1777 thus:

“[September] 16th. At half past ( ) this morning the army marched towards Lancaster by the way of the Turk's head. Goshen meeting and the sign of the Boot on the Downing Town road. At 1 1 o'clock we made a junction with Lord Cornwallis's Column, which immediately marched to the White Horse on Lancaster road and this column with Lt.-Genl. Kniphuysen Continued to the sign of the Boot (being Commander in Chief's Head Quarters) when they encamped owing to an Equinoxial gale at N. E. accompanied with incessant heavy rains. We fired a few shot at their Patrols of Light Horse. About 2 this afternoon we were attacked on our right Flank by a body of the Rebel army under General Wayne together with a large body of militia previous to which we heard several cannon and small arms fired in Lord Cornwallis's column. We soon drove them. The Yagers behaved admirably. The Enemy left 9 dead on the Field and a Captain wounded with a 3 pounder and since dead and we took 13 Prisoners. Our loss was only 3 wounded—with Lord Cornwallis's column the Rebel left 12 dead and 30 prisoners amongst which a Colonel and a Brigade Major. The rebels on the firing decamped and in all the rain it marched to Hasel's Ferry. This Head Quarters is at the sign of the Boot in the Township of Goshen and within 1/2 mile of the Township of W. Whiteland. The Boot is within 5 miles of Downing Town.

[September] 17th. The rain and wind continued at N. E. but not so incessant, the roads became very heavy, and the lowlands overflowed. There being but few houses and barns our troops suffered much from the weather. Several people returned from the rebels with various accounts, but in general agree that Washington with the gros of the Rebel army is now on the Lancaster Road between the White Horse and Downing Town, a homely Tavern on the road to Swedesford with 13 others, say 37 pieces of Cannon. Excellent intelligence from the rebel camp. The Commander-in-Chief received a letter this evening from our Ships of war, and three victuallers, one at anchor in the Delaware off Chester. Rebel Camp moved from Howell's ferry in order to proceed to the Swedesford but their Express returned, not passable. So they returned and took their strong ground from the White Horse to Malins.

[September] 18th. Between 3 and 4 this morning (the Equinoxial Gale still continuing at N. East, with small rain) the Army marched from the Boot 3 miles to the White Horse, where we joined Lord Cornwallis's column, halted an hour, and the whole army moved on towards Philadelphia, until we arrived at Randel Malins, being 2 1/2 miles further. There we struck off (the roads forking) the road to the Swedes Ford to Treduffrin, one mile beyond Howell's Tavern, being 4 1/2 to that Tavern and encamped one mile further, making 5 1/2 miles more, in all this day, Eleven miles. Lord Cornwallis's column continuing the Philadelphia Main Road from the Forks at Randel Malins (which was Washington's Headquarters the night before last) which road runs nearly parallel with the Swedes Ford Road, running only one Mile from this Camp, where his Lordship formed a junction and encamped. Several shot fired during the course of this day and some prisoners taken from the rebels. Some deserters and a Light Horse. The Army passed over the rebels late

encampment where they had a most favourable position being a prevailing gradual height in the valley.”

G. D. Scull, “The Montresor Journals.” *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), pp. 452-454.

Captain Archibald Robertson (ca. 1745-1813) of the British Corps of Engineers wrote

“[September] 16th At Day Break the Army left Dillworths and march’d by the Turk’s Head Tavern towards Goshen where we fell in with Lord Cornwallis’s Army which had march’s from the Neighbourhood of Chester. A few Popping Shots 1 man Killed and 2 Wounded. Our Army moved on about 3 miles to Whiteland, and remain’d. headquarters at the Boot Tavern. All this Afternoon and night a most terrible Rain that Broke up the Roads very much. The Army with Lord Cornwallis’s moved but a Short way. The 1st Battalion of Light Infantry with him fell in with some Militia and Kill’d about 14 of them on the field, the rest Dispersed. The Rebel Army was not above 3 miles from us encamp’s near the White Horse on the Conestoga Road.

[September] 17th We were ordered to march in the Afternoon towards the White Horse, but our Column could not get the baggage and Heavy Artillery properly in Train, the Horses were so fatigued and Road so broke up by the Badness of the Roads. Lord Cornwallis Encamp’d near the White Horse. The Rebels on our Approach the night before decamp’d in the middle of the Rain and went towards the Yellow Springs.

[September] 18th at 3 in the morning we march’d to the White Horse, pass’d Lord Cornwallis’s Column which fell in our Rear, and went on to Tredefferin about 8 miles on the Road to Swede’s Ford over the Schuylkill where the whole Rebel Army were encamp’d in Two lines.”

*Archibald Robertson: his diaries and sketches in America, 1762-1780* Harry Miller Lydenberg, ed., (New York: The New York Public Library, 1930), p. 147.

Howe’s Aide-de-Camp Captain Friedrich Ernst von Muenchhausen (1753-1795) wrote:

“September 16. We marched at five o’clock in the morning, not toward Chester, but in the direction of Goshen, that is, closer to the Middle Road to Lancaster. Lord Cornwallis headed for the same place, and since he was stationed not far from Chester, he had to march much farther.

About two o’clock in the afternoon, in the region called The-Boot-Sign, our vanguard,

consisting of the Hessian jägers, and the vanguard of Lord Cornwallis, encountered about 1500 rebels, being the vanguard of Washington's army, which was in full march on the road to Lancaster.

The Hessian grenadiers and the Hessian Leib regiment were put in line on a height. But the rebels retreated, and there was only some skirmishing with the jägers, who were in the van of our column. Colonel von Donop, who had advanced a little too impetuously, with a company of jägers and 40 mounted jägers, was almost surrounded and only narrowly escaped capture.

Since 10 o'clock this morning we have had the heaviest rain imaginable. It has made the roads so bad that our cannon, baggage, etc. remained over three miles behind us. This made it impossible for General Howe to follow General Washington, who has many good horses, and to force another battle, much as he wanted to do it. We had a few wounded and no dead, and captured a lieutenant colonel, a major, four officers, and 19 rank and file. Because of the bad weather, we simply had to stop. Our headquarters was established in a miserable small house, called The-Boot-Sign, which has given this region its name.

... Steady strong rain continues, which caused General Howe to cancel his plans to march at three o'clock in the morning."

Captain Friedrich von Muenchhausen, *At General Howe's Side, 1776-1778: The Diary of General William Howe's Aide de Camp* Translated by Ernst Kipping and annotated by Samuel Smith (Philip Freneau Press: Monmouth Beach 1974), pp. 32-34.

Lastly this account whose author seems to have been a British staff officer.

"A most violent storm of rain prevented our getting farther than the boot at Goshen, in west white land township.

Seybolt, Robert Francis, editor. "A Contemporary British Account of General Sir William Howe's Military Operations in 1777." *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., 40 (April 1930), pp. 69-92, p. 80.

Among the Hessians in Howe's column Hessian Jäger Captain Johann von Ewald (1744-1813) provides by far the most detailed description of events on 15-17 September 1777:

"on the 15th the Jäger Corps sent constant strong patrols toward Turk's head, which usually encountered enemy patrols. They skirmished with them and brought in several prisoners, through whom we obtained the information that Washington would not move

his army to Philadelphia but toward Lancaster to keep his rear open, and that he would abandon Philadelphia to us without striking a blow.

Before daybreak on the 16th the army marched in the following order to Goshen Meeting House to rejoin Lord Cornwallis's troops: the Jäger Corps, the Hessian grenadiers, the English Guards, the Hessian Leib Regiment, the artillery, General Agnew's brigade, and the baggage; the Hessian Regiment Donop formed the rear guard. The march went by way of Turk's Head. One hour this side of Goshen Meeting House the news arrived that the enemy had taken an advantageous position in the mountains of Valley Forge near White Horse, whereupon the army altered its march to the left. But the advanced guard had hardly arrived at the Boot Tavern when they learned that an enemy corps of two to three thousand men had appeared on the left flank of the army.

After receiving this information, Colonel Donop immediately took the advanced guard of the jägers under Captain Wreden and the mounted jägers under Captain Lorey to reconnoiter the enemy. A half an hour away [1-1.5 mi.] he ran into an enemy party, which withdrew. The colonel pursued them too far, through which mistake an enemy party passed between him and the army and cut off his retreat. Captain Lorey, fearing an enemy trick, urged the colonel to go back, because he believed this enemy party was sent out to lure him into a trap. The colonel agreed and drew back, but found his return route occupied by the enemy. Captain Lorey decided to break through with the horsemen to relieve the foot jägers, notwithstanding that the enemy had posted himself very favorably behind walls and fences and kept up a sustained rifle fire. This was successful and the colonel got off with his skin—That is not a trade for one to follow who has no knowledge of it—We all laughed secretly over this partisan trick.

After this report, which Colonel Donop personally delivered to the Commanding General, the Jäger companies were stationed on the left flank of the army at intervals of eight hundred to one thousand paces. At this moment, I believe it was about five o'clock in the afternoon, an extraordinary thunderstorm occurred, combined with the heaviest downpour in this world. The army halted. On the left was a thick wood, from which our flank patrols had been dislodged by the enemy.

General Knyphausen, who arrived at my company on horseback, ordered me to attack the people in the wood, and the same order was sent to the other companies. I had to cross open ground for several hundred paces before I reached the wood in which the enemy was hiding. During this time I was exposed to enemy fire, which did not seem to be very heavy, since most of the rifles did not fire owing to the heavy rain. I ordered the jaegers to fire and discovered at the second shot that the rifles misfired. But since the attack had to be carried out, I ordered the hunting swords drawn. I reached the wood at top speed and came to

close quarters with the enemy, who during the furious attack forgot that he had bayonets and quit the field, whereby the jägers captured four officers and some thirty men. The entire loss of the Jäger Corps in this fight consisted of five killed, seven wounded, and three missing.

The army encamped in the vicinity of Boot Tavern in a quadrangle formation. This terrible rain caused the roads to become so bottomless that not one wagon, much less a gun, could get through, and it continued until toward afternoon on the 17th, which gave the enemy time to cross the Schuylkill River with bag and baggage. Indeed the enemy corps under General Maxwell held up our march somewhat, but it would not have provided much advantage for Washington's army had not the severe downpour occurred.

I firmly believe that we still could have caught up with the greater part of the enemy army, at least the baggage, somewhere near the right bank of the Schuylkill River, if it had been the will of General Howe. But the three-day delay on the battlefield convinced me that we certainly would have halted even if no rain had fallen, because we surely knew that we were hard on Washington's heels."

Johann von Ewald, *Diary of the American War* (Yale University Press, New Haven 1979), pp. 88-89.

In his *Treatise on Partisan Warfare*, Ewald expounded further on the events of 16 September 1777:

"It also happens that the leader of a light corps has to form the rearguard of a retreating army or to cover one of its flanks. In this case he can easily lure the enemy into a trap through ambushes. Here he can risk a lot, especially if the march leads through divided areas, since he is always supported by the main army. In general, if the partisan is familiar with the area through which he retreats, and if, in addition, he has that kind of knowledge which such an officer has to have, he has to remain a danger to the enemy even in a retreat and can delay the pursuit by the enemy for days. After General Washington had been defeated in the Campaign of 1777 on September 11 at Brandywine, he was afraid that General Howe would certainly attack him on his retreat once he tried to cross the Schuylkill. So he detached General Maxwell with 2,000 Americans which had to attack the marching English army on the left flank and in the rear near Puds House [German pronunciation of "Boot's House," i.e., the Boot Tavern] near Goshen Meeting on the 16<sup>th</sup>. This delayed the march of the English army for twenty-four hours and Washington could cross the Schuylkill unhindered [sic], and if a strong rain had not started while the rebels made their attack on the corps of Donop, which caused their guns to malfunction, we would certainly have lost many men that day, especially since the rebels had occupied a forest to

the side which was not noticed until it was too late. Even though these people were attacked by the core of the English army once they were discovered, their losses were still barely forty men in dead and wounded.

Johann von Ewald, *A Treatise on Partisan Warfare*. Introduction and Annotation by Robert A. Selig and David Curtis Skaggs (Greenwood Press: Westport, 1991), pp. 122-123.

Lieutenant Wilhelm Ernst Freyenhagen of the *Jägerkorps* recorded in his journal:

15<sup>th</sup> – The Mirbach Regiment followed the troops who had marched to Wilmington yesterday. Today General Howe wrote General Washington that he could send doctors to care for his wounded. Two [doctors] arrived who said that 240 wounded had been taken to Philadelphia. From this number it was clear that the losses were about equal on both sides on the 11<sup>th</sup>. Among our prisoners there are about 170 wounded.

16<sup>th</sup> – At 9 AM the following troops under General Knyphausen marched off in this order:

- 1<sup>st</sup> - Infantry [Foot] Jägers
- 2<sup>nd</sup> – Mounted Jägers
- 3<sup>rd</sup> - Hessian Grenadiers
- 4<sup>th</sup> – Leib Regt.
- 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Engl. Brigades
- 6<sup>th</sup> – 1 Squadron Dragoons
- 7<sup>th</sup> – Provisions and baggage wagons
- 8<sup>th</sup> – Queens Rangers and Donop Regt.

After about 5½ miles we were again joined by Lord Cornwallis and Gen. Grant and formed the column's right hand. About 3 PM we came upon a corps of 1700 Rebels, who had positioned themselves on a hill in a very thick woods. We received the Minnigerode Batl. for support and Col. v. Wurmb had two amusettes brought up. Under their fire we attacked them with the exception of Capt. Ewald who was marching more to the left; he fell on their left [right?] flank. We were fortunate to drive them off with minimal losses. Pursuit was not possible because of a heavy rain. We took 8 prisoners including a wounded officer and three wounded privates. We had five Jägers wounded. We camped near Goshen.

17<sup>th</sup> – The army received the order to march at 5 PM. Through an error we remained in place until

Sept. 18<sup>th</sup> – When we broke camp at 3 AM moved to a camp near Try Duffery [Tredyffrin] at midday.

The Journal of Ensign/Lt. Wilhelm Johann Ernst Freyenhagen Jr - 1776-78. Part 2 – 1777-1778, Translated by Henry J. Retzer, Annotated by Lt. Colonel Donald M. Londahl-Smidt, USAF-Ret] *The Hessians: Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* Vol. 14, (2011), pp. 63-77, p. 66.

Other Hessian journals and accounts paint a similar picture:

“Because of especially rainy weather, however, the march was not continued, and camp was set up near Butte. (Boot Tavern) The enemy also, as a result of the rain, camped at Black Horse, postponing his march.”

"Journal kept by the Distinguished Hessian Field Jaeger Corps during the Campaigns of the Royal Army of Great Britain in North America," trans. Bruce E. Burgoyne, L. 28, fiche 245, Letter L, Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

Lieutenant Heinrich von Feilitzsch (1751-1827) of the Anspach *Jägerkorps* wrote:

“September 13: More than 300 deserters arrived today. They described their army as being in the saddest condition, and if we had not already known that deserters never speak the truth, we would have suspected that their whole army was coming.

At 3 in the afternoon, the Jäger Corps marched to the rear through Brandywine town [Dilworthtown], and took up an outpost position three miles from there. When we passed the village square, we saw most of the enemy wounded still lying there untreated. They were begging for water and for death; that was a sad scene, but it had not been possible to move them away sooner. The extreme heat increased the suffering of these wretches immensely. We received the good news that our fleet had arrived near Wilmington on the Delaware.

September 14: Today, heavy cannonfire was heard from the Delaware. When I was riding across the battlefield this evening, I heard many wounded who were cursing themselves and the Congress, all in desperation, and this had come because of their disloyalty to the king. (Note: Surely even the most wicked are touched by a sojourn on the battlefield, and certainly will not linger there.)

September 15: Many wagonloads of wounded rebels were sent over to the enemy under a flag of truce. The army was rested, well fed, and was filled with courage and zeal to seek the enemy.

September 16: At 5 in the morning, the army marched off, and by 12 o'clock it was raining heavily. Since we came upon the enemy on several sides by 2 o'clock, the corps had to split up. The enemy had positioned himself in a forest near White Horse and had kept his weapons dry, while our mens' powder was like mush in the pan. The enemy fire was therefore very lively, while ours was very weak. After skirmishing almost an hour, we decided to charge them, with our rifles slung over our shoulders and hunting swords in hand. Right away we were among the enemy, but most of them fled; they left the field to us. Among the enemy, 11 were killed and 17 wounded; 5 officers and 32 enlisted men were taken prisoner. The Jäger corps had 9 wounded.

Here, I had to deal with an old American, who attacked me about five times unsuccessfully, and tried to knock me to the ground with his musket. I could not get at him with my short hunting sword and only managed to ward off his blows; his bayonet was hanging at his side. Two Jägers came to my assistance; one of them bashed his head in.

We stayed here and camped, and during the night the rain changed to an actual cloudburst, and all our fires were washed down the hillside at the same time. It is hard without an overcoat or baggage.

September 17: I went on picket duty, and shortly thereafter a strong rebel patrol hit the outposts of the light infantry next to us, whereby they lost about 40 men. At 5 P.M. marching orders arrived, but because the roads were so bad for the artillery, we turned around and went back to our camp.

September 18: At 3 A.M. we broke camp. Captain von Wreden commanded the advance guard which the picket provided as usual. An enemy patrol, which was commanded by a major and did not recognize us, came up to my men until they were only twenty paces away, and when they ran, more than sixty shots were fired without anyone getting hit. That was the fault of four Jägers on horseback, who got in the way of my men. But Lieutenant Berdot, who had the flank patrol, had more luck: he noticed a General scouting around with his entourage, coming from a wooded area, and he placed his men behind trees. They were supposed to let them very close, but as such things always go, so it happened here that one Jäger fired too early, yet five fell from their horses on the spot, and a few others fell before they reached the woods. After we had marched ten miles, we took many wounded and exhausted enemy soldiers prisoner. The enemy marched a short way ahead of us.

September 19: The weather was beautiful again, and because we now had a day to rest, we could at least dry ourselves off a bit. Although we were not allowed to take our clothes off, we made large fires day and night. We were never permitted to undress, much less here where the enemy was so close. An officer could only rarely change his shirt (even if he had

one, which was not so in my case unfortunately, because I had only one and that was on my body, and it was so torn that if I had taken it off, I would not have been able to put it back on again) because if there was an alarm, he had to be the first one at the assembly place. Because America consists mainly of woods, the enemy can creep up, and one is never safe for a minute. Therefore, everyone, even off duty, must sleep with his rifle at his side and his hat on his head. We had no more rum or biscuit; that was a great shame, especially because it was still very hot.

MS Journal of von Feilitzsch, Harlan Crowe Library, Texas. The transcription was provided by Thomas J. McGuire.

Lieutenant Heinrich von Feilitzsch (1751-1827) of the Anspach *Jäger* wrote:

"The 16<sup>th</sup>—At five o'clock in the morning we marched. At twelve o'clock there was a heavy rain and at two o'clock we encountered the enemy. There was heavy firing on all sides. We drove them back, and they lost four dead, two wounded, and twenty men taken captive. We moved into camp at that place. It rained extremely hard during the night. The 17<sup>th</sup>—We had a day of rest. I went on picket duty.

Bruce E. Burgoyne, trans. and ed. *Diaries of Two Ansbach Jaegers, Lt. Heinrich Carl Philipp von Feilitzsch and Lt. Christian Friedrich Bartholomai*. Bowie, Md., 1997. P. 19. The two jäger were Feilitzsch and 2nd Lieutenant Christian Friedrich Bartholomai.

The official journal of the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode records:

"the 16<sup>th</sup> September. We marched northwards to get into the road from Philadelphia to Lancaster; the bad roads, the rainy weather, which has set in, and our artillery drawn by poor horses, made our march slow and laborious. We joined Lord Cornwallis towards midday who had been stationed on our right, on the side towards Chester. We met several small detachments and towards three o'clock in the afternoon one of 2,000 men, which, however, was driven off by our Jägers. We then encamped at Burdentown [Boot Tavern]. General Howe, who had now received reliable information that the rebels had recrossed the Schuylkill with the intention of retreating to the Susquehanna, would like to have marched next day in order to throw himself upon the route just indicated, but the rain, most vexatiously for us, was always so heavy and so persistent, that the day passed uselessly for us."

"Journal of the Honourable Hessian Grenadier Battalion at one time von Minnigerode later von Loewenstein. From January 20th 1776 to May 17th 1784," K. 77, fiche 232, Letter K, Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

The report of the Fusilier Regiment von Ditfurth records:

“...on the 16<sup>th</sup> General Howe marched to Bootstavern by way of Turkey head, where the Cornwallis Corps again joined us. A body of rebels consisting of 1500 men advanced to meet us on the other side of Bootstavern, but retired precipitately when the Jägercorps and the Grenadiers attacked them. We had a few wounded Jägers and Grenadiers; the rebels left 5 dead on the field, and 4 officers of whom 2 were mortally wounded were captured together with 8 or 10 privates. The dirty grenadier Holzapfel also caught an officer, and was so fortunate as to find a silver watch on him for which he got 12 Spanish thalers [dollars], equal to 24 Hessian guildens; I hope he will take my advice and assign the money to his wife at Marburg; he is a brave fellow when he faces the enemy.

We only left our camp at Bootstavern on September 18 owing to a heavy rain that lasted 2 days, and marched to Trediffryn by way of Whitehorse.”

“Journal of the Honourable Hessian Fusilier Regiment von Ditfurth” Z. 196, Hessian Papers, Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

“could not move the army again until the 16th. We marched northwards so as to come on the road leading from Philadelphia to Lancaster. The bad roads, a heavy and persistent downfall of rain and the poor horses that were employed for the artillery made our march slow ... the troublesome rain was so heavy and persistent, that the day passed without anything being done.”

"Short Description of the Journey of the Hon. Hessian Troops, from Bremerlehe to American, under the Command of His Excellency Lieutenant General von Heister," F.Z. 86-7, fiche 45, Letter F.Z. Lidgerwood Collection, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, NJ.

Hessian Adjutant General Major Carl Leopold (von) Baurmeister (1734-1803) wrote:

“On the 16th of September the army broke camp and took the road to the Turk's Head, whither patrols of Hessian jagers had advanced from Dilworth. This was also the objective of General Cornwallis, who was approaching from the Chester district. He had joined General Grant on the 14th with the English grenadiers and light infantry, having taken the road past Coob's Meeting House, where his patrols captured two enemy staff officers. After both columns had effected a junction, General Howe had General von Knyphausen advance to the Boot Tavern. The army was to encamp beyond the White Horse on the Valley Hills along the Lancaster-Philadelphia highway.

In the meantime the rebels had continued their retreat as far as Germantown, but on the 14th had started out again and passed the Schuylkill at Swedes Ford and Yellow Springs. They had left their heavy baggage and their hospital behind at this last crossing, and encamped at the White Horse. Generals Wayne and Maxwell with about two thousand men have been detached forward to observe our movements between Chester and Dilworth.

This enemy corps arrived toward one o'clock on the 16th in front of our right column at a time when both our columns were making a halt behind the Boot Tavern and while Colonel von Donop was reconnoitering the road in front with a part of the jagers of the vanguard. Colonel von Donop was almost cut off, but he joined the vanguard again with all possible speed after skillfully executing some maneuvers to his left. All the jagers, mounted and dismounted, and the Hessian grenadiers formed in a few minutes, left the column, and advanced in line to the right against the rebels, who were posted on high ground covered with a corn field and orchards. The jagers, dodging behind the fences around the fields and woods, had an opportunity to demonstrate to the enemy their superior marksmanship and their skill with the amusettes, and the enemy, who soon retired to a dense forest left behind many killed and wounded.

I wish I could give a description of the downpour which began during the engagement and continued until the next morning. It came down so hard that in a few moments we were drenched and sank in mud up to our calves. But since General Howe and Lord Cornwallis had also moved to the right, the enemy detained us on our march and thus succeeded to some extent in their designs. General Washington probably realized by this time that he would be unable to take the open road to Lancaster with his entire army. He therefore recrossed the Schuylkill and took position at Swedes Ford, leaving General Sullivan with six brigades and a suitable number of artillery at Yellow Springs. Congress left Philadelphia and, insofar as the new constitution permitted, took along all well-to-do inhabitants, most Quakers. The enemy army hospital was established at Bethlehem. On the 17th of September General Cornwallis went into camp at the White Horse. Lieutenant General von Knyphausen's column also marched to this place. After a respite of two hours, the entire army continued its march another six miles and encamped on the Valley Hills in West Whiteland Township, Chester County. Tredyffrin was headquarters.

I wish I could give you a description of the downpour which began during the engagement and continued until the next morning. It came down so hard that in a few moments we were drenched and sank in mud up to our calves.”

*Revolution in America. Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces.* Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, trans. And ed. (Rutgers University Press: New Brunswick, 1957), p. 113- 114.

Lord Cornwallis' column:

In a letter to adjutant General Edward Harvey (1718-1778) of 20 October 1777, Major General James Grant, Laird of Ballindalloch (1720–1806), wrote:

“the 15<sup>th</sup> Lord Cornwallis moved at eight at Night from Ash Town, the Genl. marched the 16<sup>th</sup> in the morning from Dilworth & We met pretty early that Day at Goshen Meeting House, but were obliged to wait till three o'clock for the Artillery & Baggage, both Columns then moved forward by diffe[rent] Routes towards the White Horse, upon the great Lancaster Road, where Washingtons Army was said to be encamped[,] having repassed the Shuylkill, upon our making Demonstration to Chester.—The Light Troops of both Columns got into Skirmish with advanced Rebell Corps which were beat with ease, & without Loss, but the Blow could not be followed on account of the badness of the weather, it was the heaviest Gale of Rain I ever saw in any Country, --during which Washington[,] astonished at our unexpected move from Chester, fled in the utmost confusion & by that means according to intercepted Letters, He lost all his ammuniti[on].”

James Grant Papers of Ballindalloch Castle, Scotland; Library of Congress Microcopy, Reel 28.

Captain John Peebles (1739-1823) of the 2d Gren. Battn. 42d Royal Highlanders, wrote:

“Orders to march at 8 o'clock tonight by the left but it was 12 before we moved off the ground in the following order—1<sup>st</sup> Light Infantry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadiers, 1<sup>st</sup> Grenadiers, Baggage of the army, 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Light Infy., the General with Knip & the rest of the army to march in the morning in a separate Column...We turn'd off at the sign of the 7 stars into the Lancaster road, & march'd about 2 miles over very rough road & halted till day light, ye 16<sup>th</sup>, when we moved on for 9 or 10 miles & made a halt. it came on rain—some of the Rebels being discover'd in front we moved on briskly for about 2 miles, the 1<sup>st</sup> Light Infantry had a skirmish with them & killed 10 or 12 & took some prisoners who say that Washington with his army are close by us on their march to Lancaster.—it continued to rain hard all this time which probably prevented our moving on.

The Troops ordered to pile their arms & make fires, but no shelter for a wieried soldier wet to the skin & under a heavy rain all night...”

*John Peebles' American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782.* Ira D. Gruber, ed., (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1998), pp. 134-135.

Lieutenant Henry Bethune Stirke, 10<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion Light Infantry, wrote:

"15<sup>th</sup> March'd at 10 O'Clock at night.

16<sup>th</sup> This morning a party of Light Dragoons, with us, surpris'd at a house a Rebel Colonel and a Major of Brigade [Lt. Col. Persifor Frazer and Major Harper] ; 3 Light Dragoons was with them but made their escape out of a backdoor, leaving their horses behind them. About 3 O'Clock, the first Battn. of Light Infantry, attack'd a body of 500 rebels, under the Command of Genl Waine, posted behind a fence, on a hill, about half a mile from Goshen meeting House[,] on our advancing very briskly ye gave us one fire and run away; leaving 10 men kill'd and Wounded on the field; and by Deserters that came in just after, we are inform'd the loss of the Rebels, is about 50 men kill'd, wounded, and missing. Ours, only one man wounded."

"A British Officer's Revolutionary War Journal 1776-1778." S. Sydney Bradford, ed., *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 56 (June 1961), pp. 170-171.

Captain William Scott (1752-?) of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regt. Light Coy, 1<sup>st</sup> Batt. Light Infantry wrote:

"15<sup>th</sup> About ten at Night the Light Inftry. march'd. Intelligence had been received that the Rebels had crossed the Schuylkill & were marching by the Lancaster Road.

16<sup>th</sup>. The Army march'd in two Columns & join'd at Goshen Meeting House after halting to refresh the Men, mov'd on again in the same Order. The Patrols having fallen in with a party of the Rebels. The Advance of both Column[s] soon had a remarkably successful Skirmish, the 1<sup>st</sup> L. I. kill'd wounded 7 took 50 Men with the Loss of one Man wounded. The yagers were equally fortunate. These were Corps push'd forward by Washington to impede our Advance when to his great Astonishment he heard of our Approach & to gain Time to Retreat. A most heavy Rain coming on frustrated the good Effects which were expected from this Capital move & sav'd the Rebel Army from a more compleat Over throw than they had met with at Brandywine.

The Left Column headed by Sir Wm. Howe encumber'd with all the heavy Cannon[,] Baggage[,] &c. in a narrow Broken Road & tired Horses was incapable of proceeding & notwithstanding the importuning of Lord Cornwallis to Attack the General found himself under the disagreeable Necessity to order him to halt. The Violence of the Rain was so lasting that it was afterwards known the Rebels had not a single Cartridge in their Pouches

but what was wet, the Light Infy. Accoutrements being mostly Rebel were in the same Situation.

The Rebels, seeing the advantage of their Circumstances threw themselves into inaccessible Situation called the Yellow Springs & fortunately escaped the Blow intended them.”

Officer B, 35-37, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, PA.

Sergeant/Private Thomas Sullivan (1755-?) of the 49<sup>th</sup> Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Brigade wrote:

“The Army moved in two Columns from Ashtown towards Goshen, and Intelligence being received upon the march, that the Enemy was advancing upon the Lancaster road, and were within five miles of Goshen, it was immediately determined to push forward the two Columns and attack them. Lord Cornwallis to take his route by Goshen meetinghouse, and Lieut. General Knyphausen by the Road to Downingtown.

It was 12 o'clock at night when we marched, and after a tedious movement and frequently halting on account of the Night being very dark, and the two divisions keeping a Communication one with another, a most violent fall or rain setting in, and continued the whole Day without intermission, made the intended attack impracticable.

The 1<sup>st</sup> Light Infantry, at the head of Lord Cornwallis's Column, meeting with a Party of the Enemy's advanced Guard, about a mile beyond Goshen, defeated them, killing twelve, and wounded more without the Loss of a man.

Nearly at the same time, the Chasseurs and 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of Light Infantry in front of Lieut. general Kniphausen's Column, fell in with 500 of Pennsylvania militia which lay in a wood to obstruct our march and cover the retreat of their Army, and after exchanging a few Vollies, they fled, leaving an Officer and 5 men killed and four men Prisoners, with the loss of three men wounded on the Light Infantry's side.

Our Column drew up in three Lines, expecting the enemy to advance and attack us, but it continued raining so hard that we were all wet to our skin, and not able to fire a shot, our Arms being very wet. We remained in the woods all night, notwithstanding it being raining till 8 o'clock next morning.”

Thomas Sullivan, *Journal of the operations of the American War*, Mss.973.3.Su5, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. His account of his experiences in the American War of Independence was published by Joseph Lee Boyle as *From Redcoat to Rebel: The Thomas Sullivan Journal* (Heritage Books: Berwyn Heights, MD, 2009), the quote on pp. 136-137.



Turk's Head Tavern

Detail of "PROGRESS of the ARMY from the Landing till taking possession of PHILADELPHIA. NB The Red is Sir William Howes Column, and the Blue Genl Knipphausen's" Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress G3791.S3 1777 P7



*Detail of Opérations de l'armée royale en Nord-Amerique sous les ordres du général en chef Sir William Howe [...] depuis la descente à Elleferry le 25 d'août jusqu'ayant pris les possession de Philadelphie au 26. de sept. 1777, contre les rebelles americaines, commandés par Mr. Washington [...]*

Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg WHK 29/54a

Copied from the on-line version at Digitales Archiv Marburg,  
[http://www.digam.net/image.php?file=dokumente/2001/2001\\_1.jpg&b=1200](http://www.digam.net/image.php?file=dokumente/2001/2001_1.jpg&b=1200)

Secondary-Source Information:

J. Smith and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Futhey, Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 258 write:

“The storm lasted some time, the division of the British army under Cornwallis being encamped during its continuance along the South Valley Hill, south and west of the Three Tuns tavern, that portion of the division of Knyphausen under Gen. Matthews on the farm of David Dunwoody, and the Hessian line, under Count Donop, on the farm of John Bull, south of the present residence of George W. Jacobs. Other forces lay at the Boot tavern, and north of it.(26\*) The headquarters of Gen. Howe were at the Boot tavern, then kept by John Bowen, and of Lord Cornwallis, during a part of the time, at the house of George Hoopes, now owned by his descendant, George Hoopes, of West Chester, a short distance north of Goshen Meeting-house, and afterwards at the house of Daniel Durborow, now owned by Francis S. Fiss, about one mile west of the Three Tuns, or what is now known as the King road. All these houses are still standing.”

Footnote 26\* on p. 266 reads:

“The British forces, during this storm, burned and destroyed large numbers of fence-rails on the properties where they encamped and those adjoining. After the close of the war returns were made to the County Commissioners, in pursuance of an act of Assembly, passed Sept. 21, 1782, of damages and losses sustained from the troops and adherents of the king of Great Britain during the war, from which we learn that David Dunwoody reported, among other things, the loss of 8500 rails; Daniel Thompson, 8800; Thomas Lewis, 8000; Thomas Rees, 9000; John Bowen, 9000; Thomas Harris, 2300, and many other considerable numbers. Samuel Jefferis, who owned the property late of Samuel R. Kirk, near Kirkland Station, on the West Chester Rail-road, who made no report, lost about ten thousand rails, and his farm lay unfenced for many years thereafter.”

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 14, Retreat:

What was the order of march and camp configuration at Yellow Springs?

### Answer:

The order of march and camp configuration of the Continental Army at Yellow Springs in the evening of 16 September 1777 are unknown.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces in the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777.

The Continental Army had been disorganized at the outset of the battle (see the account by Timothy Pickering in Priority Question No. 1). In the confusion of the battle and once the heavy rain had started making visibility difficult and the roads virtually impassible, the troops took whatever road they could/that was still passable and upon arrival at Yellow Springs camped wherever they could find a somewhat dry place.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

Concerning the state of the roads, James Lovell (1737-1814), a delegate to Congress from Massachusetts, wrote to William Whipple (1730-1785) from Philadelphia on 17 September 1777:

“The Lancaster road must be so perfect a clay pit, that no cannon can move in it for some days after the present very heavy rain.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of “Letters of Delegates to Congress” available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:2:/temp/~ammem\\_VR9L::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:2:/temp/~ammem_VR9L::)

On 17 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to the Continental Congress from Yellow Springs:

“Yesterday the Enemy moved past Concord by the Edgemont towards the Lancaster Road, with evident design to gain our right flank. This obliged us to alter our position and march to this place, from whence we intend immediately to proceed to Warwick. We suffered much, from the severe weather yesterday and last night, being separated from our tents and baggage, which not only endangers the health of the Men, but has been very injurious to our Arms and ammunition. These, when we arrive at Warwick, we shall endeavour, as soon as possible, to put again into a proper condition; to do which and to refresh the Men are two principal motives for going there. I have the honor &ca.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090239\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090239)))

Concurrently he instructed Major General Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800) on 17 September 1777 from “Yellow Springs”

“I desire you will immediately move the baggage and Ammunition from the place where you are at present, to Warwick Furnace. Colo. Evans, the bearer of this, is kind enough to undertake to pilot you by the safest and best Route. No time is to be lost in the execution of this business and I think if you were to impress a few Waggons and lighten the others of part of their loads, it would be better as the Roads are so exceedingly bad. The baggage and Ammunition that is at present at Perkioming is to move up to Pottsgrove.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090243\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090243)))

Around 2:00 P.M. on 16 September 1777, Commissary General Colonel Clement Biddle (1740-1814) wrote to “Dear General” from “Howell’s Tavern”:

“It has rained at times for near an hour and an half, which may be the reason that the action is not begun, and as it continues, it may prevent it, thought we have heard some little firing.

P.S. Half after two o’clock. Both cannon and musketry have been smart and heavy (though not general) for a few minutes, but have ceased, and the rain continues; the firing was in our front, not considerable; the rain continues, and renders a general action for to-night impracticable.”

Clement Biddle to Dear General, 16 September 1777, *The Providence Gazette and Country Journal*, 4 October 1777.

“Howell’s Tavern” was the Howellville Inn on Swedesford Road in Tredyffrin Township kept by Mary Howell. On 18 November 1782 Howell reported losses for September 1777 of

“(among other things) one hogshead of whisky, one hogshead of rum, 20 gallons of gin, 3 horses, 23 head of cattle, 36 sheep, 300 bushels of wheat and a large quantity of other grains, and 6000 rails of fence.

J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 315 as well as at <http://www.tehistory.org/tt18c/Military/Reparations.html#AR>

In the evening of 16 September 1777, Clement Biddle had written this to Washington:

Valley Forge Tuesday Eveng  
9’OClock 16 Septemb 1777

Sir

I removed the Baggage to Howells Tavern 4 ½ miles from the Warren Tavern & there waited for orders before any came by a direct Line part of the Artillery of the Park under Lt Colonel (Martin) Strobach came on that Road without knowing which Rout to pursue but an Express arriving a few Minutes after from Col<sup>o</sup> Lutterloh DQMG with a Verbal Order from him to send the Provisions & Rum for the different Divisions to the Yellow Springs & having sent back in the Roud which lead there, found that Gen<sup>l</sup> Potters Baggage coming that Road would interfere with the Rum & Provisions so that they could not possibly come a nearer Road than this, & Col<sup>o</sup> Mifflin who came with Orders from your Excellency having gone to put the Park Artillery in the Road by Rowlands Mill to the Yellow Springs by the best Rout with a Guide ...

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:6:./temp/~ammem\\_7Ua0::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:6:./temp/~ammem_7Ua0::)

Martin Strobach had served as a lieutenant of Marines on the sloop *Hornet* but on 14 May 1776 was allowed to “apply for a lieutenancy in the Pennsylvania artillery company, where there is a vacancy”.

Quoted from the online-edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc004112\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc004112))):

Captain Robert Kirkwood (1746-1791) wrote that on Tuesday, 16 September 1777, he and his regiment

“Struck Tents Cross’d the main Road and paraded in line of Battle in A Buckwheat Field expecting the enemy in order to give them battle, began to rain verry hard & Continued all day and night, filed off to the left and march'd 11 Miles to the Yellow Springs there Stay'd all night on the Brow of a hill without tents (Chester County) [.] Wednesday 17th march'd and Cross'd French Creek Bridge being 6 miles went 3 miles further there Stayed allnight being 9 miles (no tents) [.] Thursday 18th march'd About 3 o'Clock in the morning, to Reading Furnace being 12 miles & there encamp'd on the brow of a hill, Friday 19th returned back to our last encampment being 12 miles, filed off to the left and forded Schuylkill & march'd towards ye Sweeds ford 7 miles and halted in the woods at 10 OClock at night march's through the trap to Richardsons ford being 10 miles (in all 29 miles) Philada County.”

*The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line. Part II: “An Order Book of the Campaign in New Jersey, 1777”,* ed. Joseph Brown Turner (1910; reprint, Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press), p. 175.

On 16 September 1777, Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line wrote in his “Journal” that

“an attack Commenced between our Scouting party and the Enemy, but the day being excessive wet the Enemy declined comming on at 3 Oclock we rec'd marching orders and Steering S.E. we marched till 2 oClock thro the heaviest rain I ever felt and when halted we had to remain under arms till Dawn of aurora—This for excessive fatigue Surpassed all I ever underwent. The small brooks were so large by the excessive rain (which lasted 18 hours) that we had repeatedly to waid to the middle in crossing them.”

“Journal for Ja's McMichael: commencing the 27th May A.D. 1776 containing a brief account of the marches of the Penn. Rifle Reg't with the distance in miles from place to place and some remarks on the country and inhabitants / 1776-1778.” Rare Books and Manuscript Collection (Andre De Coppet Collection) Call No. C0063 (no. 9) Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ.

A slightly different version is published in William P. McMichael, “Diary of Lieutenant James McMichael of the Pennsylvania Line, 1776-1778.” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 16 No. 2 (July 1892) pp. 129-159, p. 151. (also in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15, pp. 195 – 218.)

“September 16. - Intelligence reached camp at 1 P.M., that the enemy were on the march for Swedes Ford, whereupon we proceeded a mile up the road and turning took post on a hill, by which time an attack commenced between our scouting party and that of the enemy. The day being extremely wet the enemy declined to advance. At 3 o'clock we received marching orders and halted at 2 a.m., but remained under arms until daybreak. The rain fell in torrents for eighteen hours. This march for excessive fatigue, surpassed all I ever experienced.

September 17. - At noon we marched to the Yellow Springs and encamped in the woods.

...

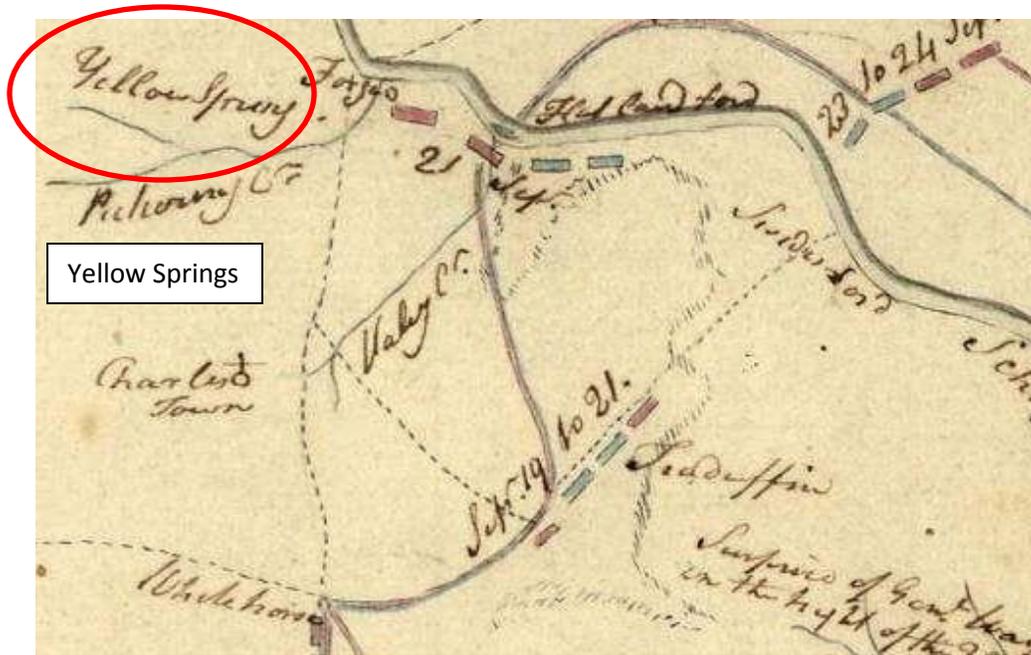
September 18. - We marched from the Yellow Springs at 4 a.m.; passed Warwick Furnace and encamped at Reading Furnace.”

#### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

Captain John Montresor (1736-1799) of the Corps of Engineers wrote in his journal on 18 September 1777:

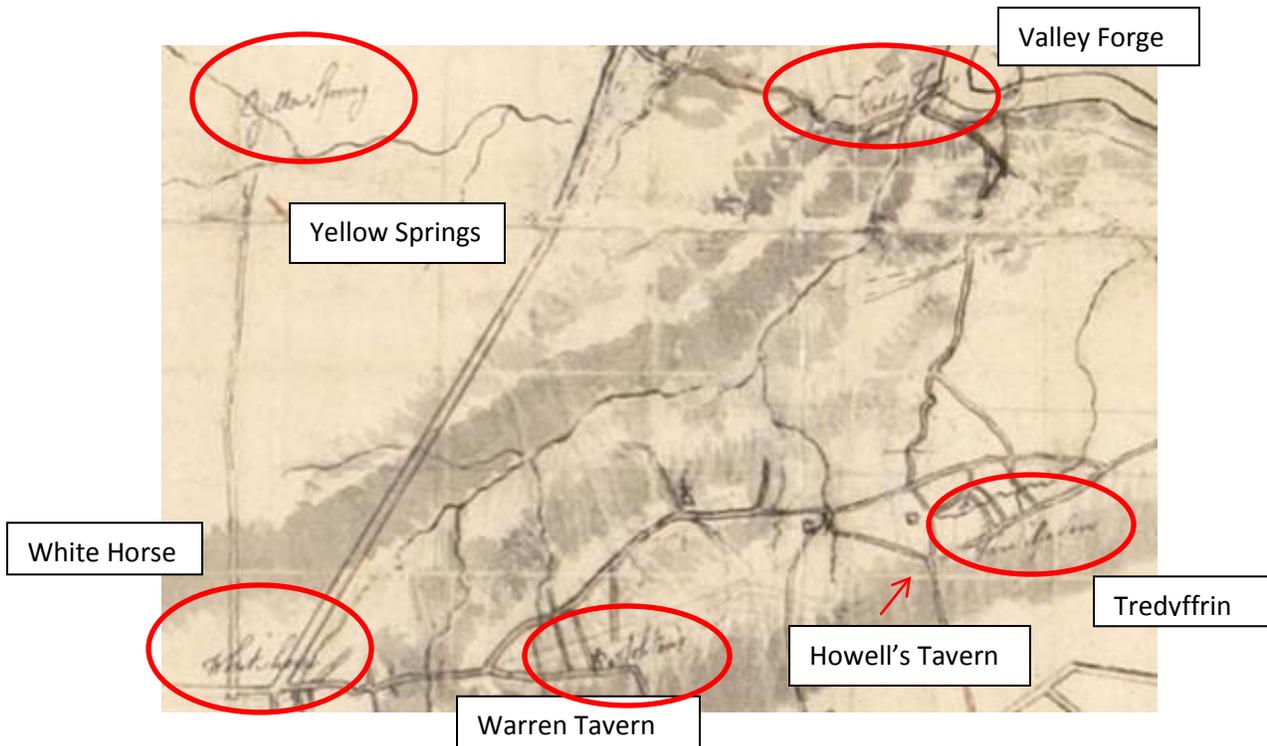
“ [September] 18th. Between 3 and 4 this morning (the Equinoxial Gale still continuing at N. East, with small rain) the Army marched from the Boot 3 miles to the White Horse, where we joined Lord Cornwallis's column, halted an hour, and the whole army moved on towards Philadelphia, until we arrived at Randel Malins, being 2 1/2 miles further. There we struck off (the roads forking) the road to the Swedes Ford to Treduffrin, one mile beyond Howell's Tavern, being 4 1/2 to that Tavern and encamped one mile further, making 5 1/2 miles more, in all this day, Eleven miles.”

G. D. Scull, “The Montresor Journals.” *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, vol. 14 (1881), pp. 452-454.



Yellow Springs

Detail of "PROGRESS of the ARMY from the Landing till taking possession of PHILADELPHIA. NB The Red is Sir William Howes Column, and the Blue Genl Kniphausen's" Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress G3791.S3 1777 P7



Valley Forge

Yellow Springs

White Horse

Warren Tavern

Howell's Tavern

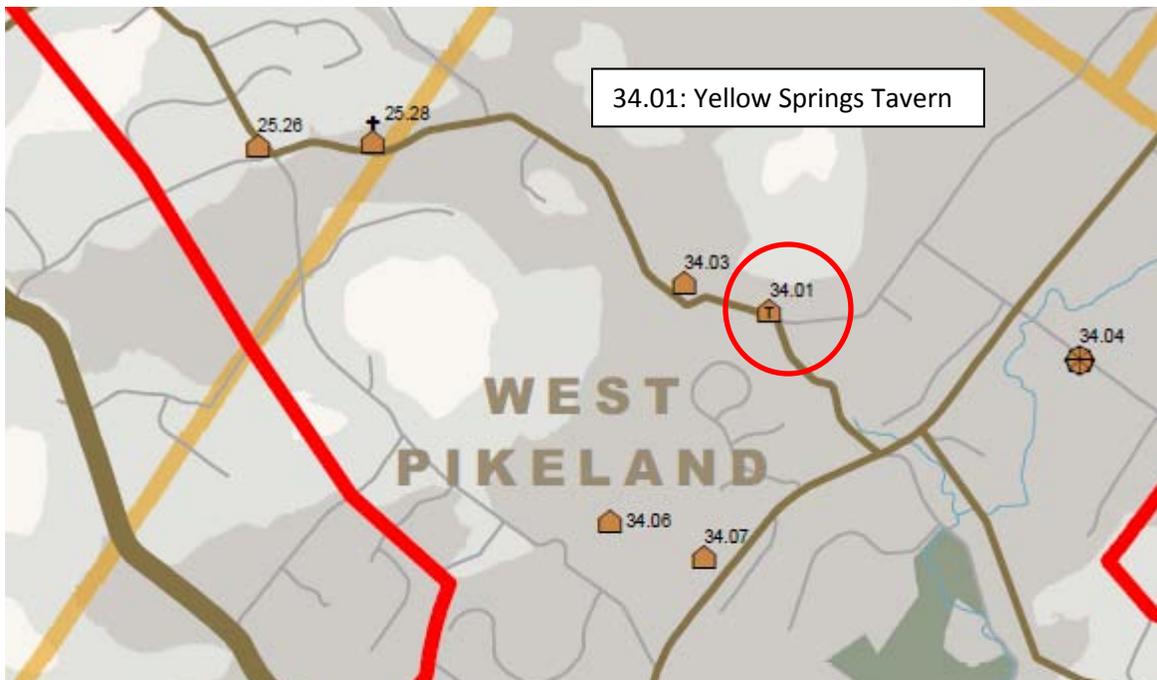
Tredvffrin

Detail from a map entitled "Part of the modern counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery, Delaware, Chester, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; New Castle in Delaware; and Cecil in Maryland (ca. 1770)". Map 5-B-1, Clinton Maps, William L. Clements Library, University Of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

Secondary-Source Information:

Without identifying the source of their information, J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 257 write:

“The Americans left the White Horse about four o’clock in the afternoon of the 16th, and retired northward to the Yellow Springs, about five miles distant, where they arrived in the night. The division of Wayne encamped on the farm of Christian Hench, now partly owned by Joseph J. Tustin. An inspection disclosing the alarming fact that the army was not in a condition to engage in a conflict, in consequence of their ammunition having been greatly damaged by the rain, and that scarcely a musket in a regiment could be discharged, the march was continued the next day to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek, in the northern part of Chester County, where there was an ordnance depot and some stores for the use of the army, from whence a fresh supply of arms and ammunition was obtained.”



Yellow Springs Tavern  
1657 Art School Road  
Chester Springs, PA 19425

Detail from “Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Map 3” provided by Chester County

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 15, Retreat:

Where was Wayne's quarters and where were his troops camped near Yellow Springs?

### Answer:

The location of General Anthony Wayne's quarters and/or those of his troops near Yellow Springs on 16/17 September 1777 is unknown. The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of the order of Continental Army forces marching toward Yellow Springs on the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777. Due to the heavy rainfall and the almost impassible roads Continental Army forces took whatever roads and fords were most passable. Due to these conditions it is also highly improbable that Continental Army forces established a regular camp. Primary sources suggest that the troops simply stopped in place and that the camp roughly followed the – unknown - line of march.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces in the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 18 September 1777, Thomas Hartley (1748-1800), commanding officer of Hartley's Additional Continental Regiment wrote to William Atlee and Paul Zantzinger from

"Camp three Miles from the Red Lion, Chester County, Sepr. ye 18th 1777 1 oClocke PM."

Colonel Thomas Hartley to William Atlee and Paul Zantzinger, 18 September 1777, Peter Force Collection, Mss. 17,137, Ser. 9, Vol. 21, Roll 104, Library of Congress.

William Augustus Atlee (1735-1793) was Deputy Commissioner of Prisoners in Lancaster.

Paul Zantzinger (1744-1817) of Lancaster County had served as Captain in Colonel Ross' Light Infantry Company in the Pennsylvania State troops in June 1776.

Though imprecise, the location “three Miles from the Red Lion” confirms the general area of the camp, but it gives no indication for General Anthony Wayne’s headquarters. Yellow Springs (today’s Chester Springs) is 3-4 miles from the Red Lion (today’s Lionville).

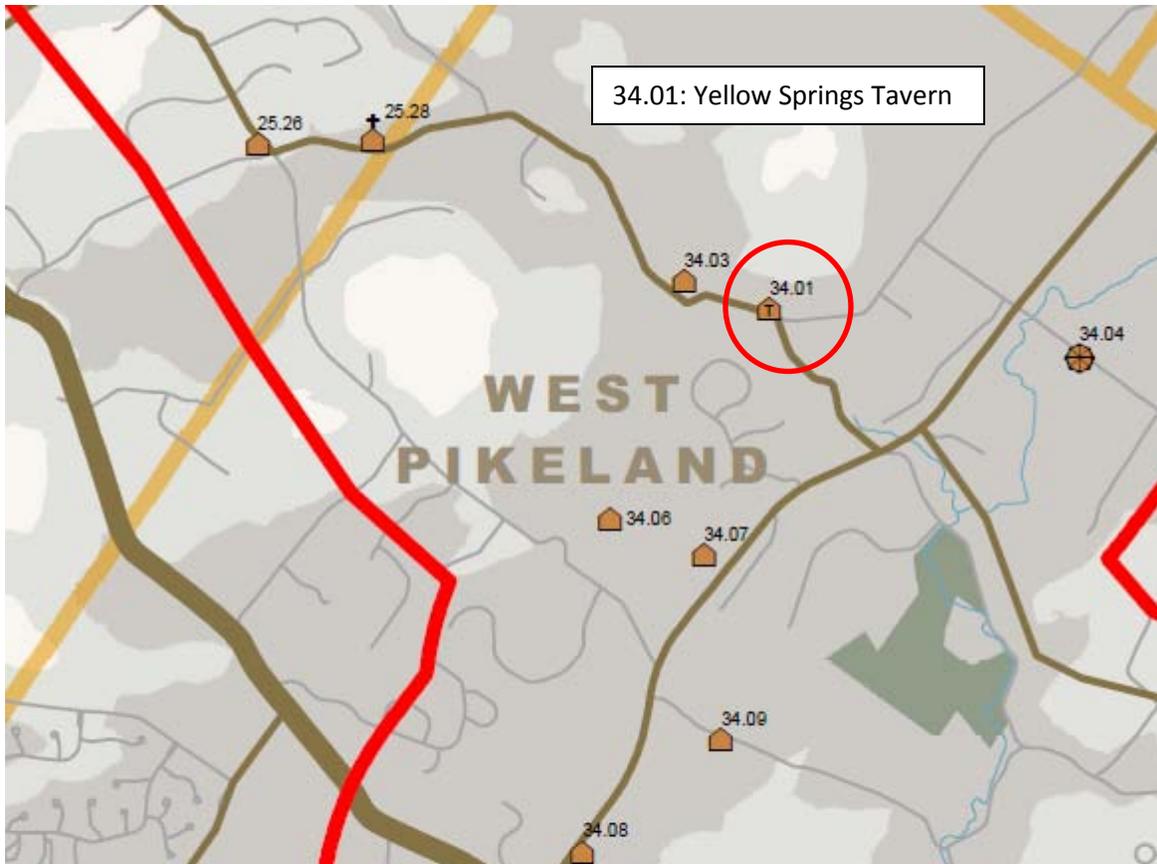
Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

Secondary Sources:

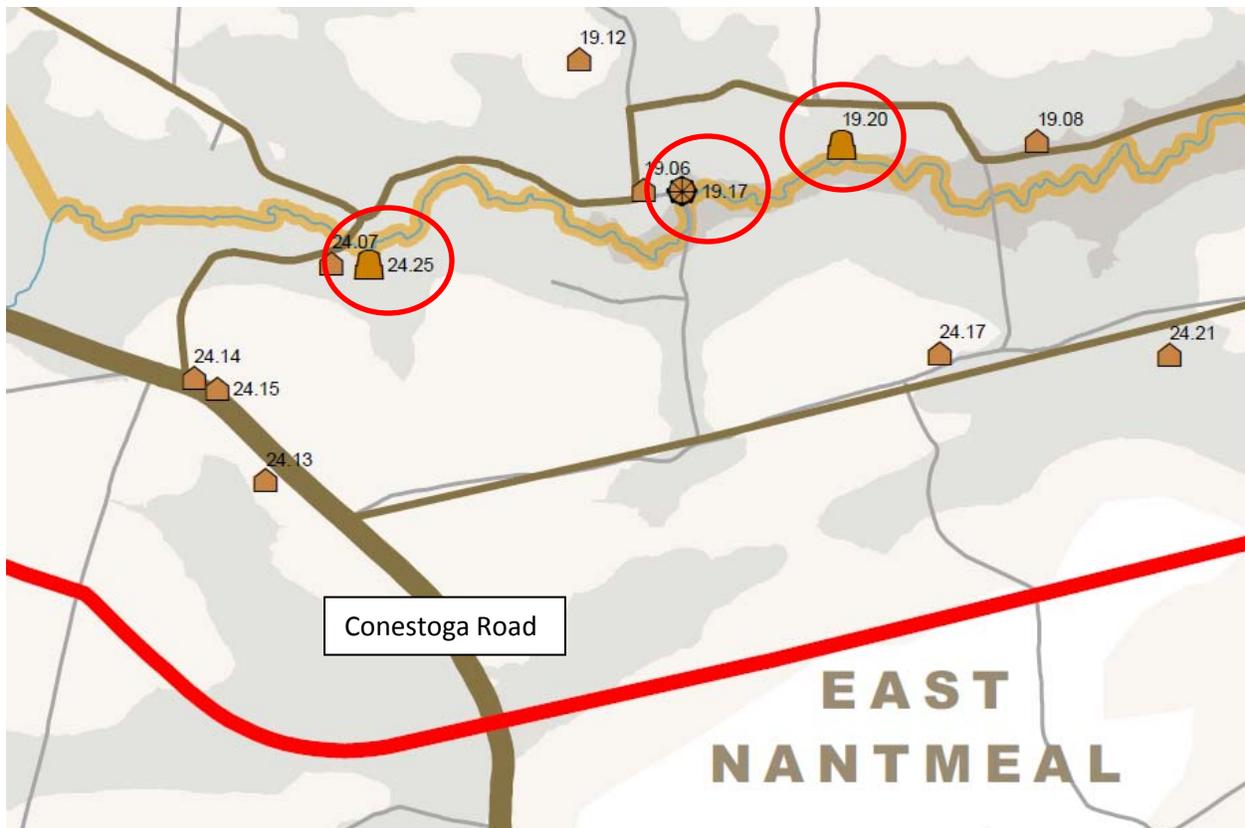
Without identifying the source of their information, J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 257 write:

“The Americans left the White Horse about four o’clock in the afternoon of the 16th, and retired northward to the Yellow Springs, about five miles distant, where they arrived in the night. The division of Wayne encamped on the farm of Christian Hench, now partly owned by Joseph J. Tustin. An inspection disclosing the alarming fact that the army was not in a condition to engage in a conflict, in consequence of their ammunition having been greatly damaged by the rain, and that scarcely a musket in a regiment could be discharged, the march was continued the next day to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek, in the northern part of Chester County, where there was an ordnance depot and some stores for the use of the army, from whence a fresh supply of arms and ammunition was obtained.”



Yellow Springs Tavern  
1657 Art School Road  
Chester Springs, PA 19425

Detail from "Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Map 3" provided by Chester County



- 19.17 Warwick Mills
- 19.20 Warwick Furnace
- 24.25 Reading Furnace

Detail from “Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Map 1” provided by Chester County

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 16, Retreat:

What was configuration of camp near Brownback's Tavern?

### Answer:

The configuration of Washington's camp near Brownback's Tavern is unknown. The question cannot be answered conclusively since our research could not locate a single firm and reliable primary source that contained evidence of the configuration of camp near Brownback's Tavern in the evening of 16 September 1777.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces on the afternoon and evening of 16 September 1777.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

N/A

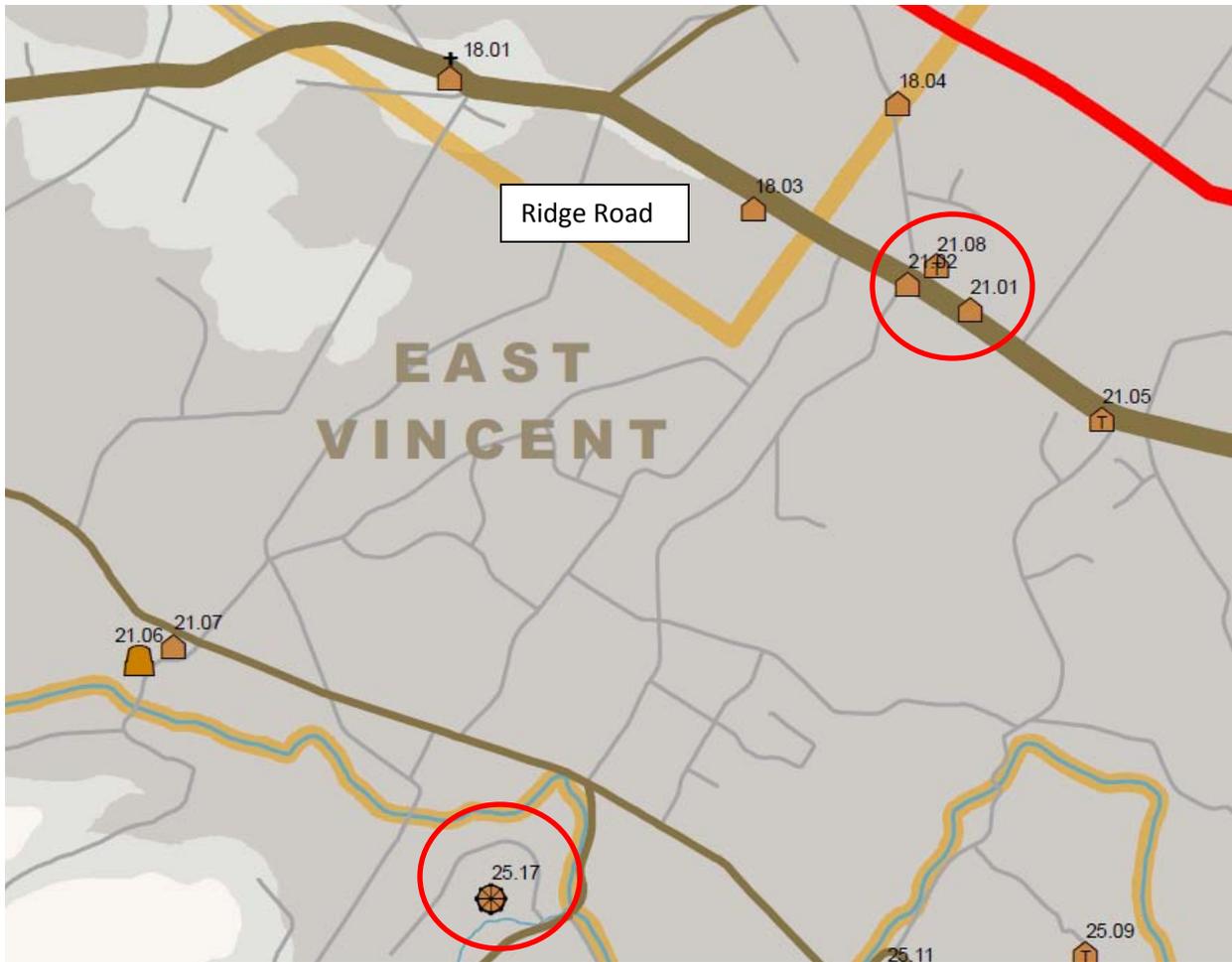
### Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

### Secondary-Source Information:

Samuel T. Wiley, *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopaedia of Chester County, Pennsylvania, comprising a historical sketch of the county*. Winfield Scott Garner, ed., (Gresham Publishing Company, Philadelphia, PA, 1893), pp. 555-6.

"Garret Brownback (originally Gerhard Brumbach [1662-1757]), a native of Wurtemberg, in southeastern Germany, who immigrated to America in 1683 on the vessel Concord from Amsterdam, October 6, ... kept the first tavern on the north side of the Lancaster pike in Chester county, and took out the first license in Chester county, in the year 1736, ... He was succeeded at the tavern by tavern by his son, Benjamin, [1731-1786]."



- 21.01 Garrett Brownback
- 21.02 Garrett Brownback Store
- 21.08 Brownbacks Tavern
- 25.17 Garrett Brownback Mill

Detail from "Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Key Map 2" provided by Chester County

# Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

## Question 17, Retreat:

What was the order of march and camp configuration at the furnace region?

## Answer:

The order of march and camp configuration of the Continental Army at the furnace region are unknown. Due to the heavy rainfall and the almost impassible roads Continental Army forces took whatever roads and fords were most passable. Due to these conditions it is also highly improbable that Continental Army forces established a regular camp. Primary sources suggest that the troops simply stopped in place and that the camp roughly followed the - unknown - line of march.

## How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on an in-depth reading and analysis of all known and available American and British sources that might contain information on the movements of Continental Army forces toward the furnace region. None of them provide any precise information as to the order of march and camp layout.

## Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On 17 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to Quartermaster General Major General Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800) from Yellow Springs:

“I desire you will immediately move the baggage and Ammunition from the place where you are at present, to Warwick Furnace. Colo. Evans, the bearer of this, is kind enough to undertake to pilot you by the safest and best Route. No time is to be lost in the execution of this business and I think if you were to impress a few Waggons and lighten the others of part of their loads, it would be better as the Roads are so exceedingly bad. The baggage and Ammunition that is at present at Perkioming is to move up to Pottsgrove. “

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress at  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090243\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090243)))

On 18 September 1777, Washington wrote to the Continental Congress from Reading Furnace:

“Sir:

Your favor of the 17th I had the Honor to receive last night with Govr. Livingston's and Genl Dickenson's Letters. It is out of my power, to do more than I already have, for checking the Enemy's progress in Jersey, and I should hope, that will be the case, as soon as the Troops ordered from Peekskill, arrive to reinforce the Militia assembling under Genl. Dickenson. I observe that all the Continental Stores, which have been removed from Philadelphia were at Trenton, on the 16th, according to Genl. Dickenson's Letter. That place, in the first instance, was fixed on thro' necessity, and conveying them there was better than to have them where they were; But I am clear in Opinion, that they should not be suffered to remain there a Moment longer than can be avoided, and I would beg leave to recommend, that the earliest and most vigorous measures should be adopted for removing them to Allen Town in North Hampton County.

From the advices received yesterday evening and last Night, It appeared that the Enemy were pushing a considerable force to the White Horse Tavern, with a view, it was supposed to fall on our right Flank. This induced us to proceed this Morning to this place, where we are cleaning our Arms with the utmost assiduity and replacing our Cartridges, which unfortunately were mostly spoiled by the heavy Rain on Tuesday. By some of our Light Horsemen, this moment come in, It is said, the Enemy are advancing on the Road towards Sweedes Ford: As soon as possible, the Troops will be put in motion, but I am doubtful, Whether that can be done before to Morrow Morning for want of Provisions, which has impeded our Movements very considerably, since we passed Schuylkill last. I have the Honor &c.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090248\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090248)))

The “Sentiments of a Board of Genl. Officers” read that

“a Voilent Storm of Rain which Continued all the Succeeding Night, and a great part of the Next day: the Consequence of which was the loss of all the Ammunition in possession of the Soldiers & a great part of what was in the Ammunition Carts. The Arms put in very bad order, and the Men much fatigued and distressed to remedy which it became Necessary to retire over french Creek & towards Reading furnace.”

“Sentiments of a Board of Genl. Officers taken near Pottsgrove, September 1777.”  
Document 29573, r 103, M 859, RG 93: Miscellaneous Numbered Records in the War  
Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, 1775-1790's. United States National  
Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

On 17 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to the Continental  
Congress from Yellow Springs:

“Yesterday the Enemy moved past Concord by the Edgemont towards the Lancaster  
Road, with evident design to gain our right flank. This obliged us to alter our position and  
march to this place, from whence we intend immediately to proceed to Warwick. We  
suffered much, from the severe weather yesterday and last night, being separated from our  
tents and baggage, which not only endangers the health of the Men, but has been very  
injurious to our Arms and ammunition. These, when we arrive at Warwick, we shall  
endeavour, as soon as possible, to put again into a proper condition; to do which and to  
refresh the Men are two principal motives for going there. I have the honor &ca.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of  
Congress available at  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090239\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090239)))

On 17 September 1777, George Washington (1732-1799) wrote to Brigadier General  
William Maxwell (1733-1796) from Yellow Springs:

“Upon examining the State of our Ammunition, I find it generally hurt by the Rain, that  
we are not in Condition to make a stand against the Enemy. I have therefore thought best to  
move up towards Warwick Furnace, in order to obtain a Supply from the other side  
Schuylkill, and have given orders accordingly. Genl. Greene's Division remains here and  
Genl. Wayne's between this and Warwick until the baggage can be got off.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of  
Congress available at  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090240\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090240)))

Eyewitness Accounts (British):

N/A

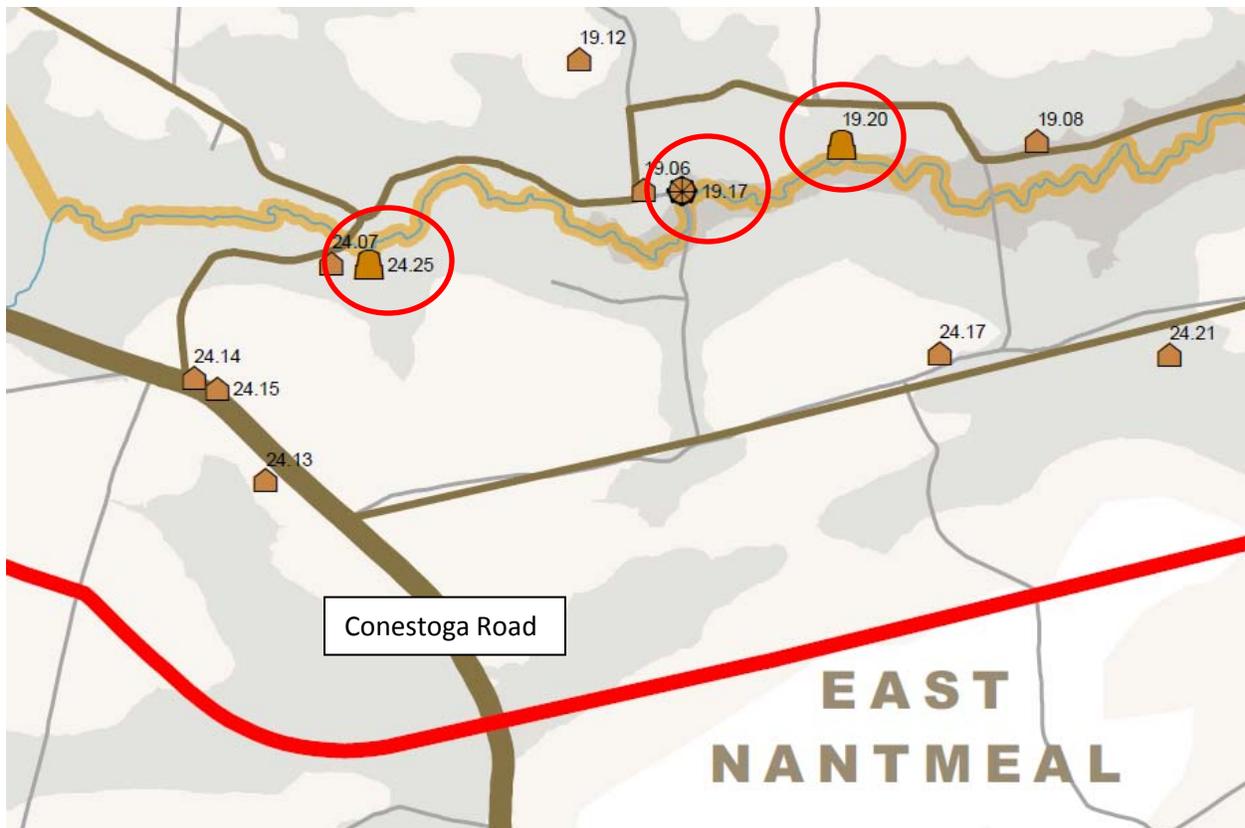
Secondary-Source Information:

Without identifying the source of their information, J. Smith Futhey, and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania. With Genealogical and Biographical Sketches* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co. , 1881), p. 258, write:

“The Americans left the White Horse about four o’clock in the afternoon of the 16th, and retired northward to the Yellow Springs, about five miles distant, where they arrived in the night. The division of Wayne encamped on the farm of Christian Hench, now partly owned by Joseph J. Tustin. An inspection disclosing the alarming fact that the army was not in a condition to engage in a conflict, in consequence of their ammunition having been greatly damaged by the rain, and that scarcely a musket in a regiment could be discharged, the march was continued the next day to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek, in the northern part of Chester County, where there was an ordnance depot and some stores for the use of the army, from whence a fresh supply of arms and ammunition was obtained.”

On p. 262 they continue:

“The American army under Washington, in order if possible to prevent the British from passing the river, had in the mean time moved from Warwick Furnace, and crossed the Schuylkill at what was then known as Parker’s Ford, at or near the present village of Lawrenceville, in this county, the officers and men wading the stream, which was breast-high, and marched southward on the east side, by way of the Trappe, as far as the Perkiomen.”



- 19.17 Warwick Mills
- 19.20 Warwick Furnace
- 24.25 Reading Furnace

Detail from "Battle of the Clouds Defining Structures Map 1" provided by Chester County

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 18, Retreat:

When was the State House bell ordered to be removed from Philadelphia?

### Answer:

ALL of the bells in the city were removed, except one small chime (out of nine) at Christ Church. This was done as a precaution against their being taken and melted down for making cannon (bell metal and gun metal are similar forms of bronze).

The stories of “saving the Liberty Bell from the British” is 19<sup>th</sup>-century patriotic mythology. In Europe, bells from captured cities were trophies often taken and recycled into cannon. Besides, other than gold and silver, bronze is a valuable metal in itself.

The Pennsylvania Board of War also ordered the removal of lead downspouts, gutters, and clock weights in Philadelphia for ammunition manufacture. Army uniform coats used 40 and more buttons per coat, made of pewter, which contained a large portion of lead.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on research in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* as well as the history of Christ Church.

### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

On Sunday, 14 September 1777, three days after the Battle of Brandywine, the Second Continental Congress

“Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to order the Commissary general of military stores, to apply to the supreme executive council of the State of Pennsylvania, for an order to remove all public bells, in Philadelphia, to a place of security, upon a near approach of the enemy to the city.”

Quoted from:

[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc008100\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc008100)))

Charles Thomson, Secretary to the Continental Congress, issued the necessary instructions to the Commissary of Military Stores who in turn ordered Colonel Benjamin Flower to remove the bells. Flower's instructions read: "Ordered: that Colonel Flower employ James Worrell, Francis Allison and Mr. Evans, Carpenters, or such other workmen as he may think proper to employ, to take down the Bells of all the public Buildings in this city and convey them to safety."

On 15 September, Flower together with a Mr. Worrell, Mr. Allison, and Mr. Evans ascended the steeple at Christ Church and took down eight of the nine bells which, together with two bells from St. Peter's Church, were hauled up to Allentown via Bethlehem where they arrived either late on 24 September or early on the morning of 25 September 1777.

*Journal and Vestry Minutes*, Christ Church, Philadelphia, 16 September 1777. Quoted from <http://www.christchurchphila.org/Historic-Christ-Church/Church/Scholarly-Articles/The-Building-of-Christ-Church/160/>

In Allentown the "Liberty Bell" was one of the bells hidden in the basement of the Zion High German Reformed Church while the church itself served as a military hospital until the British evacuated Philadelphia. Following the British evacuation of Philadelphia on 18 June 1778, the bells departed from their hiding place in Allentown on 27 June 1778 and on 22 August 1778 the *Pennsylvania Packet* stated that the bells had returned safely to the city.

#### Additional Secondary Sources:

Gene Wheeler, "Let Freedom Ring." *Leben. A Journal of Reformation Life* vol. 2 No. 3. Available at <http://www.leben.us/volume-2-volume-2-issue-3>

Nelson Waite Rightmyer, "Churches under Enemy Occupation: Philadelphia, 1777-8" *Church History* vol. 14, No. 1 (March 1945), pp. 33-60, p. 40.

Removal of church bells for use as raw materials for cannon and other military purposes was practiced, or at least recommended, by American authorities as well. On 5 September 1777, the State of New York authorized George Washington to remove all the bells from churches in New York City to keep them from falling into British hands.

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In Convention of the Representatives of the State of New-York, }  
Fish-Kill, September 5, 1776. }

Whereas the King of *Great Britain* is studiously endeavouring by every means which artifice and lawless power can devise, to deprive the inhabitants of the *United States of America* of Ammunition, Cannon, and every warlike store, in order that they may fall a more easy prey to his tyrannical purposes, which cowardly designs have unhappily so far succeeded that this State is now distressed for the want of sufficient Arms to resist the powerful and unnatural enemy by whom they are now invaded :

And whereas the duty which the Representatives of a free people owe both to God and their country obliges them to make every possible exertion to procure Arms and Ammunition, in order to defend their rights and liberties, which are derived from the Supreme Being, and which posterity have right to claim as an unencumbered inheritance :

*Resolved unanimously, therefore,* That his Excellency General *Washington*, be requested and authorized to cause all the Bells in the different Churches and public edifices, in the City of *New-York* to be taken down, and removed to *New-Ark*, in *New-Jersey*, with all possible despatch, that the fortune of war may not throw the same into the hands of our enemy, and deprive this State, at this critical period, of that necessary though unfortunate resource for supplying our want of Cannon.

Extract from the Minutes :

JOHN MCKESSON, *Secretary.*

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Peter Force, American Archives Series 5, vol. 2 (Washington, DC 1851), p. 184.

Here is Washington's response to the New York Convention:

New York, September 8, 1776.

Sir:

I have just received the Resolve of your Convention, respecting the removal of the Bells

belonging to the different Churches and Public Edifices in this City, to New Ark in the Province of New Jersey. The Measure I highly approve of, and shall accordingly have it Carried into Execution. ...

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw060040\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw060040)))

## Battle of the Clouds Consultant Questions

### Question 19, Retreat:

When did Congress grant General Washington dictatorial powers and what did that mean?

### Answer:

The 2nd Continental Congress granted General George Washington far-reaching powers on 27 December 1776.

### How we arrived at our answer:

Our answer is based on research in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* and the Papers of George Washington. The resolution of 27 December 1776 reads:

The committee on the state of the army, brought in their report, which was taken into consideration; Whereupon,

Resolved, That a brigadier general of artillery be appointed; and, the ballots being taken, Colonel Henry Knox was elected.

Resolved, That General Washington be empowered to use every endeavour, by giving bounties and otherwise, to prevail upon the troops, whose time of enlistment shall expire at the end of the month, to stay with the army so long after that period, as its situation shall render their stay necessary:

That the new levies in Virginia, Maryland, the Delaware state, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, be ordered to march by companies, and parts of companies, as fast as they shall be raised, and join the army under General Washington, with the utmost despatch:

That the foregoing resolution be transmitted by the president to the executive powers of the states before mentioned, who are requested to carry it into execution; to appoint commissaries to precede the troops, and procure provision for them on their march; and that they be empowered to draw money for this purpose from the nearest continental pay master:

That General Washington be requested to fix upon that system of promotion in the continental army, which, in his opinion, and that of the general officers with him, will produce most general satisfaction; that it be suggested to him, whether a promotion of field officers in the colonial line, and of captains and subalterns in the regimental line, would not be the most proper:

The unjust, but determined, purpose of the British court to enslave these free states, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation, that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military powers, and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these, being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies:

This Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis; and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigour, and uprightness of General Washington, do, hereby,

Resolved, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, 16 batallions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said batallions; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light horse; three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places, as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them:

That the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington, for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress.

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.* Quoted from the on-line edition available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc00661\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc00661)))

In his letter to Washington from Baltimore accompanying the resolutions and dated 27 December 1776, John Hancock wrote in part:

“The enclosed Resolves being of the utmost Importance, will naturally claim your

Attention, without any particular Recommendation or Comment. They are evidently calculated to retrieve the Situation of our Affairs, and I trust will have the desired Effect.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage039.db&recNum=387&tempFile=./temp/~ammem\\_UCsA&filecode=mgw&next\\_filecode=mgw&prev\\_filecode=mgw&itemnum=6&ndocs=100](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage039.db&recNum=387&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_UCsA&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&prev_filecode=mgw&itemnum=6&ndocs=100)

Washington’s response written from Trenton on 1 January 1777, reads in part:

“Your Resolves of the 27th. Ulto. were transmitted me last Night by Messrs. Clymer, Morris and Walton; The confidence which Congress have honored me with by these proceedings, has a claim to my warmest acknowledgements. At the same time, I beg leave to assure them, that all my faculties shall be employed, to direct properly the powers they have been pleased to vest me with, and to advance those Objects and only those, which gave rise to this honourable mark of distinction. If my exertions should not be attended with the desired success, I trust the failure will be imputed to the true cause, the peculiarly distressed situation of our Affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat, rather than to my want of zeal for my Country and the closest attention to her interests, to promote which has ever been my study.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw060355\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw060355)))

#### Eyewitness Accounts (American):

Though the Congressional resolution does not use the term, contemporaries read it to mean that Washington had received dictatorial powers. In a letter to Captain Thomas Rodney from Trenton dated 1 January 1777, Colonel John Haslet wrote:

“Genl. Washington is Dictator.”

*Diary of Captain Thomas Rodney, 1776-1777.* (Wilmington, 1888), p. 53.

#### Secondary Sources:

The National Park Service’s internet site for 17 September 1777 contains these lines:

Congress prepares to leave Philadelphia as the British approach and grants Washington dictatorial powers with full responsibility for conducting the war.

Quoted from [http://www.nps.gov/revwar/revolution\\_day\\_by\\_day/1777\\_bottom.html](http://www.nps.gov/revwar/revolution_day_by_day/1777_bottom.html)

The relevant section of the resolution of 17 September 1777 reads:

“Resolved, That General Washington be authorized and directed to suspend all officers who shall misbehave, and to fill up all vacancies in the American army, under the rank of brigadiers, until the pleasure of Congress shall be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same: to remove and secure, for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided, that the powers hereby vested shall be exercised only in such parts of these states as may be within the circumference of 70 miles of the head quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of 60 days, unless sooner revoked by Congress.”

*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.* Quoted from the on-line edition available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc008103\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc008103)))

A comparison of the resolutions of 27 December 1776 and 17 September 1777 shows two important qualitative differences:

- 1) The resolution of 27 December 1776 applies to all of the states, the resolution of 17 September 1777 only to an area of 70 miles around the head-quarters.
- 2) The resolution of 27 December empowers GW "to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them", in other words, it affects life and liberty of people. This power is missing in the resolution of 17 September 1777, which explicitly defines its purpose as “to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same.”

There are other differences as well such as the duration of the extraordinary powers, i.e. 60 vs 180 days, and while the resolution of 27 December 1776 allows GW to raise new Continental Army units, the resolution of 17 September 1777 only allows him to fill up existing units.

But on 27 December 1776, Washington received not only the power to arrest civilians, which is usually the prerogative of civilian authorities. He also has the power to “confine” and hold for an unspecified time period without recourse to Habeas Corpus and “return to the states of which they are citizens”, i.e. deport, such as were “disaffected to the American cause”, in other words for political reasons.

Assumption of civilian powers, suspension of civil liberties, repression and arrest of political opponents without rule of law and/or due procedure is critical to the definition of a dictator/dictatorship. Those characteristics are present in the resolution of 27 December 1776 and, though expired by the end of June 1777, not enumerated in the powers granted to Washington on 17 September 1777.

On 27 December 1776, Hancock had defined the purpose of the resolutions broadly as “to retrieve the Situation of our Affairs”; in his letter of 17 September 1777 accompanying the resolution, John Hancock defined the purpose of the 17 September 1777 resolution in much narrower and strictly military terms:

“I have the Honour to transmit the enclosed Resolves conveying the most extensive Powers to you, in order that the Army under your Command may be more effectually supplied with Provisions and necessities ... .”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage044.db&recNum=306&tempFile=./temp/~ammem\\_EmNO&filecode=mgw&next\\_filecode=mgw&prev\\_filecode=mgw&itemnum=13&ndocs=100](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage044.db&recNum=306&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_EmNO&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&prev_filecode=mgw&itemnum=13&ndocs=100)

In his response to the Hancock’s letter in which he had transmitted the resolution of 17 September 1777, written from “Readings Tavern the 18 Sept<sup>r</sup> 1777”, Washington wrote:

“I was honored, this Morning, with your favors of the 17th and 18th with their Inclosures. I am much obliged to Congress for the late instance of their Confidence, expressed in their Resolution of the 17th, and shall be happy, if my conduct in discharging the objects they had in view, should be such, as to meet their approbation.”

The editors of the Washington Papers footnoted this sentence with:

“The necessity of a speedy removal of Congress from Philadelphia, and the uncertainty as to the time of the next meeting, moved Congress to confer powers upon Washington which practically made him a dictator”.

Dictionaries define “practically” as “almost”, “nearly”, “all but” or “not quite”.

Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress available at  
[http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(gw090249\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field(DOCID+@lit(gw090249)))

The urgency to grant Washington far-reaching powers contrast strangely with Samuel Adams’ analysis of the situation. On 17 September 1777, Adams wrote to James Warren:

“I think our Affairs were never in a better Scituation. Our troops are victorious in the North. The Enemies Troops are divided & scatterd over a Country several Hundred Miles. Our Country is populous & fertile. If we do not beat them this Fall will not the faithful Historian record it as our own Fault.”

Quoted from the on-line edition of the “Letters of Delegates to Congress” Vol. 7 (May 1, 1777 - September 18, 1777) available at  
<http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:3:./temp/~ammem VR9L::>