

1764

*"that old Accustomed House of Entertainment,
known by name of the Centre House, in West Bradford."*

A Documentary History
of
THE CENTER HOUSE,
or
MARTIN'S TAVERN

1764 - 1800

by Thomas J. McGuire
Revised July, 2005

*“As ancient is this hostelry
As any in the land may be,
Built in the old Colonial day,
When men lived in a grander way,
With ampler hospitality;*

*A kind of old Hobgoblin Hall,
Now somewhat fallen to decay,
With weather-stains upon the wall,
And stairways worn, and crazy doors,
And creaking and uneven floors,
And chimneys huge, and tiled and tall.*

*A region of repose it seems,
A place of slumber and of dreams,
Remote among the wooded hills!*

- from “Tales of a Wayside Inn” by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

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known by name of the Centre House, in West Bradford.”*

A Documentary History of The Center House, or Martin’s Tavern

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List of Tavern Keepers 1764-1800:

1764-1767: Joseph Martin
 1768: Tavern sold to William Clayton, “Formerly kept by Joseph Martin”
 1769: Tavern sold back to Joseph Martin
 1770-1775: Joseph Martin
 1776: Tavern sold to Abraham Marshall and rented to Robert Peoples
 1777: No record due to War; possibly rented to Joseph Martin
 1778: rented to James Porter
 1779: James Bruce [?]
 1780: rented to Thomas Carpenter
 1781: ?
 1782-1783: rented to Thomas Carpenter
 1786: Abraham Marshall, “Lately kept by Thomas Carpenter”
 1787-1800: Abraham Marshall



Martin’s Tavern, “that old Accustomed House of Entertainment, known by name of the Centre House, in West Bradford,”¹ was constructed and opened as a “Publick House” in 1764. The tavern was located on a 2½-acre lot, once part of a 1250-acre tract of land granted by William Penn to Mary Penington in 1681. The original grant was gradually subdivided and passed through several owners: Daniel Wharley, who married Mary Penington, Edward Beeson, Edward Clayton, Abraham Marshall I, William Clayton, and Richard Baker.² Joseph Martin of West Bradford was the first tavern owner and keeper.

Joseph Martin was born in 1717, the son of Lydia Buffington and George Martin of West Bradford, and grandson of Thomas Martin, who emigrated from Wiltshire, England in 1685. Joseph was disowned by Bradford Friends Meeting in 1742 for “marriage by a priest” to Hannah Harlan (Hannah “acknowledged” her marriage and was permitted

to remain). Joseph and Hannah had six children: Rebecca, born about 1743, married in November, 1760 to Joseph Woodward; Lydia, born April 3, 1745, married about 1772 to John Woodward; Caleb, born 1747, married 1765 at Bradford Meeting to Hannah Pierce; Mary, born about 1750, married about 1768 to Daniel Leonard; Hannah, born July 19, 1753, married July 30, 1771 to Benjamin Miller; Joseph Martin, Jr., born November 19, 1758, married Hannah Baily in 1782. It is noteworthy that five of the six children were disowned by Bradford Meeting for marrying outside of the Friends.³

1764 was a very busy year in the region. The French and Indian War had just ended, along with Pontiac's Uprising, and there was a great spirit of optimism in eastern Pennsylvania; something of a building boom occurred in many places. As the frontier moved further beyond the Susquehanna, the earlier, hardscrabble quality of farm life in Chester County began to assume a more genteel, established character. The demand for flour and lumber for export made numerous farmers wealthy enough to expand and upgrade their properties. Stone and brick structures were built to supplant or replace many of the earlier log buildings of southeastern Pennsylvania's counties, and the increased westward migrations and eastward flow of goods to Philadelphia, Chester, and Wilmington required better roads and accommodations.

In West Bradford that year, the Friends began to consider building a stone meeting house to replace the log structure they had used since 1729, a barn donated by Abraham Marshall I.⁴ Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon began their famous survey, one of the great scientific projects of the 18th century, and took up quarters at John Harlan's house, about two miles west of the meeting house.

On June 9, 1764, Harlan's brother-in-law, Joseph Martin, purchased from Richard and Rachel Baker two acres with a fine, two-and-a-half-story stone house measuring 23' across the front and 31' deep on the gable.⁵ The tract was adjacent to the Bradford Meeting House property, and Martin, "who also having obtained from Sarah Arnold a small addition to the aforesaid..." now owned a 2½-acre lot with a house at the fork in "the Great Road" from Trimble's and Marshall's mill (Northbrook Road) and the road to Taylor's Ferry and Chester (Strasburg Road east). He began constructing a two-and-a-half-

story stone addition measuring 21' x 31' as a tavern house. The resulting building, which incorporated the earlier structure, was 44' x 31',⁶ fronting towards the fork in the road.

Martin applied for a tavern license on August 28, 1764, and stated:

That there is a Necessity for a Publick house for the Entertainment of Travellers in said Township, there being many Large roads Much used by Travellers and no house of Entertainment upon any of them for Several Miles Distant so that they are often times obliged to be Burdensome to the Neighbours or want Refreshment. And **Your Petitioner has Now Purchased a Lott with a house thereon, And is now Erecting a Commodious house at the place**, it being Convenient for most of the roads and Many Miles remote from any house of Entertainment upon any of them, Your Petitioner therefore prays You would be pleased to recommend him to his honour the Governor for a Lycence to keep a house of entertainment for Travellers at the place aforesaid.⁷

Twenty-five local landowners subscribed to the petition, including noted botanist Humphrey Marshall, who built his own stone mansion a few years later adjacent to Martin's Tavern; Joel Baily, a self-taught mathematician, surveyor, clockmaker, gunsmith, astronomer, and millowner, who assisted Mason and Dixon; and James Trimble of Trimble's Ford, a prominent millowner. Other names on the list are associated with the Brandywine and fording places that ring across the pages of Revolutionary War history: Emmor and Robert Jeffries of nearby Jeffries Ford on the east branch of the Brandywine; Thomas Taylor of Taylor's Ferry; and Thomas and John Buffington of Buffington's Ford.

The petition establishes that the tavern was constructed in 1764 on a lot that already had a house on it. An 1883 newspaper clipping reported that when the Center House was being renovated and the roof and stone gables were removed to add an additional two stories, a stone was found under the roof with the inscription "W. C. A.—1750." The article went on to say, "Who placed it there or what the letters signify no one at Marshallton can say."⁸ It is likely that this was a datestone of the original building and that the inscription was probably arranged as follows:

C
W A
1750

On many 18th century Chester County datestones, the top letter is usually the family name, in this case “Clayton.” The other initials probably stand for William and Abigail, Edward Clayton’s son and daughter-in-law, who married in 1750. The location of this stone is unknown, but may still be somewhere in the remains of the building.

In its current derelict condition, the building consists of three stone sections. The eastern portion is the original house constructed in 1750.⁹ The eastern exterior wall and the rear north wall are built of rubble and appear to have been rebuilt at some point after multiple renovations, for the stonework there is very rough and unsightly. The original building faces south and the façade is built of coursed, finely-cut blocks of black basalt and grey mica schist, with graceful stone arches over the basement windows of the eastern section. Evidence of a pent roof between the first and second storys is seen in the stone belt course along the second floor window sills and filled-in joist holes above the first floor windows, along with random-coursed stonework between the floors. This fronted on what was then the main road, as modern Northbrook Road originally turned west at the tavern and headed over what is now Strasburg Road to the Marshallton-Thorndale Road, and on to East Caln Township.¹⁰ The section of Northbrook Road which presently runs in front of the tavern was originally the main road “to Chester, etc.” The Strasburg Road, called “the Governor’s Road,” was not created as a contiguous road until the 1770’s, when it was authorized to run from Strasburg in Lancaster County to John Sellers’s mill on Cobbs Creek in Upper Darby and on to the Schuylkill River. Due to disputes and disruptions, the section in East and West Bradford was not laid out until the 1790’s, when it ran behind the tavern and incorporated the road “to Chester, etc.”

County tax records reveal that in 1765, Joseph Martin owned “120 Acres Land with buildings, 40 acres of woodland, Tavarn & 3 Acres Land, a Tenant, 4 Horses, 5 Cattle, 13 sheep.”¹¹ The tenant probably lived in all or part of the original 1750 structure, for the 1798 Direct Tax states that the tavern property contained the tavern, a stable, and a shed, but no separate tenant house is mentioned. Martin’s home and landholdings were nearby, but not directly connected to the tavern property.

An advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in May of 1766 announcing the sale of a horse belonging to Joseph Buffington, a neighboring landowner who had

fallen into financial difficulty. The horse had been left with Joseph Martin “to be taken in security for rent,” which suggests that perhaps Buffington was the tenant at that time. The vendue, or sale of the horse, was to be held “at the House of the Subscriber,” Joseph Martin, to begin at noon on May 31.¹²

Joseph Martin himself must have fallen into financial difficulty, for by 1767 his holdings were reduced to “2 Acres & Tavern, 1 Horse, 2 Cows, 2 Sheep,” along with “Rent Receivd 2£,” probably from the tenant. On the tavern petition for that year (granted August 26, 1767) is the notation “Senter house,” the first record of the name Center House.¹³ Tradition holds that the name derived from its location in the then-geographic center of Chester County.

All of Joseph Buffington’s properties in Marcus Hook, Chester, and West Bradford were to be auctioned at Sheriff’s Sale in October, 1767. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertised:

...on Tuesday, the 27th day of October inst. at 3 o’clock, **at the tavern of Joseph Martin, in West-Bradford township**...will be sold, by vendue, a certain piece or parcel of good land, situate in said township, near the said tavern, containing 34 acres and 3 quarters, bounded by lands of said Martin, William Clayton, land late of Thomas Arnold, and Bradford road...¹⁴

The cause of Martin’s own fall in fortune is at present unknown, but he was by no means alone: numerous farms in the area were seized and sold by the Sheriff, as the newspapers attest. On May 16, 1768, Martin sold the property, “two acres and a half and twenty perches of Ground, together with the Buildings thereon erected...,” to William Clayton.¹⁵ Clayton’s petition states:

That your Petitioner hath Purchased **the place Called the Center House Where Joseph Martin Lately kept Tavern** in Said Township, where there hath been a Good House of Entertainment these Several years, and as Your Petitioner hath a Plantation With Meadows and pasture Ground adjoining the Same, he hopes he Shall be able to keep a house of Entertainment with Reputation, and Therefore Prays that you may be pleased to Grant him your recommendation to his honour the Governor for the Obtaining a Lycence to keep a Publick house of Entertainment at the place aforesaid...¹⁶

Clayton did not last long as tavernkeeper. On October 24 of the following year, the tavern property was reconveyed to Joseph Martin, and he was back in business again. The sporadic course of Martin's ownership is referred to in the 1770 petition with the statement, "your Petitioner hath for Divers Years past kept a Publick House of Entertainment," 'divers' being the 18th century spelling of the word 'diverse', meaning 'various'. The subscribers to the petition "do Recommend him as a Suitable Person who hath Kept a Publick house with Reputation, Not Suffering any Tipling or Gaming &c. but having things Necessary and Convenient for Accommodating the Publick..."¹⁷

Taverns were community centers in the 18th century, where news and mail as well as food and spirits were available. In 1772, regular newspaper and mail delivery to Martin's Tavern was confirmed by the following ad in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

To the Inhabitants on or near the Lower or Springfield Road,
Gentlemen, Understanding that you have frequently been disappointed, in not getting your weekly News-Papers transmitted with exactness, so that many of you have declined to continue any longer subscribers for the same: and, as every lover of Literature must in consequence regret the loss of such amusing and instructing Papers; to remedy the aforesaid defect, **the subscriber intends to ride from the city of Philadelphia to Joseph Martin's tavern, in West Bradford, every Fourth-day [Wednesday]** (it being the day the Pennsylvania Gazette and Journal are printed, and but two days after the Pennsylvania Packet) **in order to carry News Papers, Letters, &c. to and from the city**, for such as have already, or may hereafter please to favour him with their commands, which, by being left with the subscriber, at Benjamin Townsend's, in East Bradford, or with the following Gentlemen, Innkeepers, on the aforesaid road, viz. Joseph Martin, John Harper [Turk's Head Tavern], John Hill [Middletown Twp.], Nathan Edwards [Middletown Twp.], and Joseph Gibbons [Lamb Tavern, Springfield Twp.], junior, shall be thankfully received, and obeyed with the utmost care and dispatch, by their obliged friend, JOHN GORDON.¹⁸

Joseph Martin continued to run the tavern through 1775. In that year, as the region prepared for war, Martin's petition states, "That having for Divers Years past, by Means of your Recommendation had a Lycense for Keeping a Publick House of Entertainment in Said Township, Which Lycense is Now Near Expiring, he therefore Requests that You may be Pleased to Grant him your recommendation to his Honour the Governor, for Renewing the same..." The subscribers stated that "he hath Kept a Good

House and We presume with as regular Order as Most Publick Houses are kept, therefore Desire you May Grant the above Petition.”¹⁹

MARTIN’S TAVERN DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The outbreak of war in 1775 brought serious divisions to Chester County. The Quakers, upholding the principles of non-violence, were generally opposed to fighting and mostly remained neutral. Some Friends joined the Patriot forces and were read out of their meetings, while others assisted British forces when they came through the area. The tensions between neighbors sometimes grew explosive, and many non-Quakers viewed their neighbors as Tories or profiteers.

There was no state-sponsored Pennsylvania militia in 1775 or 1776. Those who wanted to perform short-term militia-type service could join one of 53 battalions of Associators, volunteers who did military duty for tours of 60 days. These battalions were grouped together into what was called “the Flying Camp” in 1776 and attached to the main Continental Army. There were three other state-sponsored regular units, most notably Atlee’s Pennsylvania State Musketry Battalion, which drew local recruits and marched for New York in the summer of 1776. One of Atlee’s officers was Captain Abraham Marshall, nephew of Humphrey Marshall. For regular Continental Army service of one year, there were six Pennsylvania battalions initially authorized by Congress in early 1776, which increased to twelve battalions by the end of the year. Anthony Wayne mustered the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion for regular Continental Army service at Chester and drew recruits from all over the county.

Joseph Martin’s 18-year-old son, Joseph Jr., joined a regiment and also marched for New York. The records of the Flying Camp have largely been lost, but circumstantial evidence suggests that he might be the Lieutenant Joseph Martin of Baxter’s Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp, commissioned in June, 1776.²⁰

The disruption of families, the local economy, and the social structure took its toll in various ways. Once independence was declared, businesses were required to accept paper Continental dollars or face prosecution if they refused. Hard money was scarce in the best

of times before the war, and each colony printed its own paper currency. Pennsylvania currency was in pounds and shillings valued at a lower rate than British sterling, but it remained fairly stable. Continental dollars were backed by nothing but faith, and many people refused to accept them. Those who did often faced financial ruin.

Tavernkeepers could be financially and socially devastated under these conditions. From southern Chester County, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Johnson of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion wrote to General Thomas Mifflin in December, 1776:

Cross Roads (New London)...I think it is my duty to inform you of the strange and perverse change in politics which hath taken place through a great part of this county. Even some *quondam* associators, as well as conscientiously scrupulous men, totally refuse to accept Congress money as payment for old debts...Most of the tavern keepers (who are Friends) on the Lancaster road have pulled down their signs, and refuse the soldiery provisions or drink; they will assign you no reason for such conduct. The reason, however, is too evident: they are afraid to receive Congress money.²¹

Tradition holds that one nearby Quaker tavern keeper, Jonathan Valentine, who kept the Ship Tavern in East Caln Township, had thirteen bullet holes shot through his sign by American soldiers.²² Nicholas Cresswell, a young English visitor who traveled from Lancaster to Philadelphia in August, 1776, wrote, "In our journey...I have seen only 3 signs hanging, the rest pulled down by soldiers."²³

The difficulties caused by the war, his age, and perhaps even his son's enlistment, may have induced 59-year-old Joseph Martin to once more give up the tavern. On the front page of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* in February, 1776, in column I a few spaces below the advertisement for a "Just Published" pamphlet called *Common Sense*, appeared:

West Bradford, Chester County, February 21, 1776.

To be SOLD by public VENDUE, on the
Ninth Day of March next,

That noted PUBLIC HOUSE, known by the Name of the Center house, or Martin's Tavern, in Chester County, with the LOT of GROUND, containing about two Acres and a half. The Purchaser to have Possession about the 10th of April. The Conditions to be made known on the Day of Sale, and attendance given, by

Joseph Martin.²⁴

The purchaser was Captain Abraham Marshall, grandson of Abraham Marshall I and nephew of Humphrey Marshall. On April 6, 1776, "...for £438, 10s. Current money of Pennsylvania," Captain Marshall acquired the tavern property, here for the first time described in detail:

...All that the hereafter described Lott, Tract, Piece or Parcel of Land, Messuage and Tenement thereunto belonging Scituate in West Bradford aforesaid, and now known by the name of the Center-House, Beginning at a Hickery being a Corner of Land belonging to Bradford Meeting, thence by the same North Fifty Degrees East, Eighteen perches to a post, and North Ten Degrees West, Two Perches to a Post, and North Forty five Degrees East, Thirteen Perches, and North Twenty six Degrees West, Eight Perches & Eight Tenths of a perch to a Post by the Road leading towards Chester &c. , thence North Eighty six Degrees West, Seven Perches and a half to a Black Oak on the North side of said Road in the line of Land now of Humphrey Marshall, thence by the same North Fourteen Degrees West, One perch, & South Seventy six Degrees West, Ten Perches, and South Fourteen Degrees East, One Perch, and South Seventy six Degrees West, one perch and four Tenths of a perch to a post, thence South and by East by Land of Sarah Arnold, Eight Perches to a post by the road leading to Trimble's Mill, thence by the same South Four Degrees West, twenty one Perches to the place of Beginning, Containing Two Acres & a half and Twenty Perches of Land.²⁵

Marshall bought the tavern but did not become the tavernkeeper. Several weeks after the purchase, on May 28, 1776, Robert Peoples applied for the tavern license, which states, "That he hath Rented, the Tavern lately kept by Joseph Martin known by the Name of the Center House."²⁶

Abraham Marshall had enlisted as a captain in Atlee's Musketry Battalion in March of 1776, but did not stay in the service long. As the political situation reached the breaking point with Great Britain, the announcement of the Declaration of Independence possibly influenced his decision to resign from the regiment. Many others faced the same dilemma: defending their rights as British subjects was one thing, but fighting for independence was another matter entirely. What Marshall's political feelings were is not known, but tradition states quite plausibly that Uncle Humphrey, one of the county's prominent Quaker leaders, convinced his nephew to give up his military career, especially now that Congress

had changed the purpose of the war. Whatever the reason, Abraham Marshall resigned his commission on July 12, 1776.²⁷

The county records for 1777 are scanty due to the complete disruption caused by the British invasion of the region in August and September, and there is no tavern petition for the Center House. It is possible that Joseph Martin may have rented the tavern from Marshall; there is evidence that he certainly continued to work there from time to time in early 1778. That year, on May 26th, with Washington's army encamped at Valley Forge, the British still holding Philadelphia, and Chester County's officials conducting business from various inland taverns, "The Petition of James Porter of West Bradford Humbly Sheweth— That your Petitioner hath rented the House known by the Name of the Center House and Desires you will Grant him your recommendation so that he may obtain a Lycence for keeping a publick house at the place Aforesaid..."²⁸ The first two subscribers listed are Abraham Marshall and Joseph Martin.

Martin's Tavern and the Battle of Brandywine

The British Army of 18,000 troops, commanded by Sir William Howe, landed in Maryland near Head of Elk at the top of the Chesapeake Bay on August 25, 1777, putting the entire region into a state of emergency. Militia mobilized all over the county and the roads filled with troops, fleeing civilians, livestock, wagon trains of military supplies shifting to and fro, and government records moving inland from Chester, the county seat. From Chadds Ford on September 10, General Nathanael Greene wrote,

Here are some of the most distressing scenes imaginable. The Inhabitants generally desert their houses, furniture moveing, Cattle driving and women and children traveling on foot. The country all resounds with the cries of the people. The Enemy plunder most amazeingly. The militia of this country are not like the Jersey militia; fighting is a new thing with these, and many seems to have but a poor stomach for the business.²⁹

The King's forces began crossing the Mason-Dixon Line from New Castle County, Delaware, into Chester County during the afternoon of September 9. By September 10, they were encamped in Kennett and East Marlborough Townships, with their center in

Kennett Square. On the morning of September 11, in the predawn hours, Howe and Lord Cornwallis began moving a column of nearly 8000 troops from Marlborough Meeting and Kennett Square up the back roads towards Trimble's Ford, just over a mile south of the Center House. American patrols spotted the British column and reported the movement to General John Sullivan, who in turn passed the information to General Washington. As Washington prepared to take countermeasures against a second British column heading for Chads's Ford, another message came in from Sullivan:

Brintons Ford Sepr 11th 1777

Dr. General

Since I sent you the message by Major Morris I Saw Major Joseph Spear of the Militia who Came ~~last night from~~ This morning from a Tavern Called Martins on the Forks of the Brandywine—he came from thence to Welches Tavern & heard nothing of the Enemy about the Forks of the Brandywine & is Confident they are not in that Quarter So that Colo Hazens Information must be wrong. I have sent to that Quarter to know whether there is any foundation for the Report & shall give yr. Excy. the Earliest Information.³⁰

The information proved to be incorrect; the changing of 'last night' to 'this morning' suggests that Spear left Martin's Tavern and passed down the road *before* Cornwallis began his march. This report caused Washington to hesitate in taking countermeasures, and ultimately cost him the battle.

There were other American patrols in the area as well. Lt. Col. James Ross, commanding a party of seventy riflemen, wrote:

Sept. 11 '77 Great Valley Road
Eleven oclock AM -

Dear General,

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

as Joseph Galloway is here Known by the inhabitants, with many of whom he spoke, and told them that Genl Howe was with him.

Yours, James Ross Lieut. Col. D. P. Regt.³¹

Based on the time of the message and the data given concerning the roads leading to Taylor's ferry and the Ship Tavern, as well as the road to Jeffries and Dilworth's, the location of this skirmish was somewhere in the vicinity of Camp Linden Road between "the Great Valley Road" (Northbrook Road) and Wawaset Road, only a mile from Martin's Tavern.

Joseph Galloway, former Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, was the leader of the Pennsylvania Loyalists and General Howe's chief guide and 'spymaster'. It was he who coordinated the local Loyalists who came to Howe with information on Washington's positions, including Curtis Lewis of West Bradford and John Jackson of East Marlborough, who scouted the American lines the night before the battle. Galloway "was also employed in making charts of the roads, and that besides many partial ones, he employed persons under his immediate direction...to form a general one of all the roads between the rivers Delaware and Susquehanna, a copy of which he delivered to Sir William Howe, another to Sir Henry Clinton."³² This map, from Sir Henry Clinton's papers, has Martin's Tavern clearly marked, the earliest cartographic record of the tavern known at present.

At about the time of Ross's encounter with the British, the famous legendary ride of Squire Thomas Cheyney is alleged to have taken place. The original account of Cheyney's ride was written down in 1840 as related by Sarah Frazer, daughter of Colonel Persifor Frazer, a well-known Chester County figure. Sarah was eight years old when the battle occurred, and her description of British troops plundering her family's house in Thornbury contains many accurate details. Sarah's account says that Cheyney left his home in Thornbury on the morning of the battle, rode alone to Birmingham and then over the hills to the west side of the creek, where he spotted Cornwallis's column and made a hell-for-leather dash to warn Washington, only to be laughed at by his aides. The Frazers were neighbors and close friends of the Cheyneys for decades, so Sarah would have heard the tale many times.

The family history of Colonel John Hannum, on the other hand, contains the following version of the story. Pennsylvania finally authorized a state militia in 1777, and Hannum was commander of the 1st Battalion of Chester County Militia. Thomas Cheyney was a county sub-lieutenant, responsible for organizing and regulating the militia. Hannum and Cheyney were prominent county officials, close friends, and related by marriage:

At the time the British army invaded Chester County...Colonel Hannum resided at the 'Centre House' (now in the village of Marshallton) between the two main branches of the river Brandywine, and the night of September 10, was passed by Thomas Cheyney, Esq. a relative of Col. Hannum, at the house of the latter. (At that perilous crisis it was not deemed prudent for Squire Cheyney to lodge at his own house.) Next morning—being Brandywine battle-day—the two set out together to visit the American army, known to be then in the vicinity of Chads' Ford. As they descended towards the west branch of the stream, near Trimble's mill and ford, they discovered coming down the hills opposite a very numerous body of soldiers, evidently British. This very much surprised Messrs. Hannum and Cheyney, and they moved round the adjacent hills, in order to observe the direction taken by the enemy. Finding them going toward Jeffries' Ford, on the east branch, and believing them to constitute the chief portion of the English army, our friends resolved at once, and at some personal risk, to proceed with the intelligence to Gen. Washington. Squire Cheyney, being mounted on a fleet hackney, pushed down the stream from Jeffries' Ford until he found the American commander-in-chief...³³

The Battle of Brandywine had sidestepped Martin's Tavern. Patrols from both sides continued through the area over the next few days. Thomas Cope, a young boy at the time, was living with relatives just down the road in East Bradford. He later recalled,

In the night after the battle, the family where we were—our uncle Nathan Cope's—were aroused out of their sleep by a small party of Americans who demanded shelter & something to eat. Having eaten some pye & milk, they hastily withdrew. When gone, I told Uncle I knew one of them, Col. Ross [who sent the message from the Great Valley Road], of the Lancaster Militia. He was a handsome man, but in a sad plight, being destitute of hat & coat & his hands & face besmeared with gunpowder.³⁴

The British army moved out of the Brandywine region on September 16. Colonel John Hannum stayed with the militia on active duty until just after the Battle of Paoli on September 20-21. Once the British crossed the Schuylkill, he then returned home. It is

unclear whether Hannum was actually living as a tenant at the Center House or whether he was staying there temporarily until the British moved out of the area. His home was near the confluence of Valley Creek and the Brandywine, not far from the tavern. He may have stayed at the Center House before Brandywine not only because it was safer than staying home, but also because it was a rendezvous point located on key roads and, like most rural taverns, a gathering place for local militia and officials. The family history states:

Col. Hannum returned to his residence, where, a short time afterwards, he was captured one night in his bed by a party of British light-horse, who had been piloted hither by a Tory neighbor, and he was carried a prisoner to Philadelphia. The party robbed Mrs. Hannum of her gold watch, and took everything of value in the house that they could carry away.³⁵

A document in the British National Archives confirms: “Col. Hanam[,] Militia[,] had a Watch taken from him by the Lt. Dragoons when taken from his House after Battle of Brandywine.”³⁶

The date of Hannum’s capture raises a number of interesting questions. In a letter to George Washington in 1779, Hannum states, “I was Taken Prisoner the Night of the seventh of October 1777 by a Detachment of the 16th Regiment of British Dragoons, was Conveyed to the City and was Lodged in the State House [Independence Hall] with A number of American officers.”³⁷ The date reveals that this was not just a casual sweep by a patrol from an army still in the neighborhood, for the British Army left the area on September 16. The dragoons would have had to come all the way from Philadelphia, or Germantown, where Howe’s headquarters was located, on October 7. In other words, this was a planned, long-distance mission to capture a specific important individual, requiring a guide who knew the roads intimately, not only to find Hannum but to avoid the Pennsylvania militia and Continental dragoon patrols in the area.³⁸

Who was the Tory neighbor? Two local Loyalists who went off with the British Army after Brandywine are likely candidates: Curtis Lewis, a blacksmith from West Bradford, and Jacob James, the tavernkeeper of the Turk’s Head Tavern in Goshen [now West Chester]. Both engaged in piloting British forces during the campaign, and both would have known how to get to Hannum’s farm or to the Center House.

James is the more likely culprit, for he was operating in the area at this time, and raised the Loyalist “Goshen Troop of Light Horse.” The Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council issued a warrant for his arrest in November, 1777, with this description: “James is about 35 years of age; five feet & ten inches high; slenderly made, his eyes dark, he stoops in walking, his shoulders fall greatly; and he leans sideways; his hair, for he wears no wig, is of a dark hue, & his hat very plain. He generally uses Clothes of a light drab Color, made in the ‘strictest Quaker fashion,’ being lengthy in the skirts & without pockets ...as he is a native of Chester County, he will probably be known among you...For this man you have under cover of this Letter a warrant, tho’ it is expected, that all agents of the Enemy will be industriously sought after, & apprehended by you, & many other friends of their Country, without such formalities.”³⁹ In 1780, the president of Pennsylvania characterized him as “a distinguished Partizan here in the Winter 1777, & *particularly active in Kidnapping the Persons in the Vicinity of the City who were remarkable for their Attachment to the Cause of their Country.*” James had the trust of the British High Command, knew the area well, and saw the opportunity to eliminate a prominent local rebel militia leader.⁴⁰

War-related activity continued in the area through the winter and into the spring. Washington established winter quarters at Valley Forge on December 19, 1777, and remained there until June 19, 1778. The army’s dire problems with food shortages meant that foraging parties constantly combed the region. One of the main supply depots outside the encampment was Downingtown, where there was a Continental Army Commissary and Wagonmaster-General to coordinate foraging parties into Chester and Lancaster Counties.

Additionally, as Loyalist Joseph Galloway told the House of Commons in 1779, “At that time Washington received a considerable part of his supplies from the distant parts of Virginia and North Carolina, brought up the Chesapeak, landed at Elk, and from thence conveyed to his camp at Valley Forge.”⁴¹ A 1795 petition for a new bridge near Humphrey Marshall’s Mill [Marshall’s Bridge, now Northbrook] states: “this Bridge continued in Public use for several years, and especially during the time the American Army lay at the Valley Forge, when by their Waggons passing from the Head of Elk &c. with Corn, it was considerably used and much injured.”⁴² One member of Bradford

Meeting, James Sheward, was disowned in March of 1778 for “deviating from testimony against war in driving a team for those people that goes about collecting forage for the army.”⁴³ The sheer size of the problem of feeding Valley Forge—what was in effect a temporary city of anywhere from 10,000 to 20,000+ mouths to feed—meant that the flow of supplies had to be constant and was far-reaching. Martin’s Tavern was located on a vital supply artery of the encampment.

A Connecticut Yankee in Chester County,
or Joseph Plumb Martin’s Tale of Meeting His Namesake

One of the most remarkable accounts of the War for Independence comes from Joseph Plumb Martin of Connecticut, who enlisted in the Continental Army in 1776 at age 16 and stayed until the end of the war in 1783. His narrative of the “adventures, dangers, and sufferings” of the Revolutionary army is nothing short of astonishing, for careful research can verify and document many of the minor duties and mundane patrols he describes and which fill the majority of any regular soldier’s life.

Joseph Plumb Martin was a private in the 8th Connecticut Regiment, sent from Valley Forge and stationed in Downingtown on foraging duty from December 25, 1777, until late April, 1778. He spent that time going from place to place with wagons, looking for food to be sent to Valley Forge. His duties often took him westward as far as the “Welch Mountains,” the area on the border of western Chester County and Lancaster County just beyond Honeybrook.

Naturally, those on foraging detail get ‘first dibs’ at what is foraged, so Martin lived well in a snug one-room log house in Downingtown with six of his companions and under the command of an officer who rarely bothered to supervise his men. His descriptions of encounters with local girls and Chester and Lancaster County farmers are memorable.

Among his many adventures with the local people, he tells one incredible story of meeting a man with the same name as he. The meeting occurred in the Spring of 1778, shortly before he was ordered back to Valley Forge. Joseph Plumb Martin referred to a “tedious rainstorm which continued three or four days,” and weather records reveal that

from Saturday, April 11 until Monday, April 20, with one or two days' break, the weather in the region was rainy and gray. Martin wrote:

While the storm continued, to pass our time several of our party went to a tavern in the neighborhood. We here gambled a little for some liquor by throwing a small dart or stick, armed at one end with a pin, at a mark on the ceiling of the room. While I was at this amusement I found that the landlord and I bore the same name, and upon further discourse I found that he had a son about my age, whose given name was the same as mine. This son was taken prisoner at Fort Lee, on the Hudson River, in the year 1776, and died on his way home. These good people were almost willing to persuade themselves that I was their son. There were two very pretty girls, sisters to the deceased young man, who seemed wonderfully taken up with me, called me 'brother,' and I fared none the worse for my name. I used often, afterwards, in my cruises to that part of the state, to call in as I passed, and was always well treated by the whole family. The landlord used to fill my canteen with whiskey or peach or cider brandy to enable me, as he said, to climb the Welch mountains. I always went there with pleasure and left with regret. I often wished afterwards that I could find more namesakes.⁴⁴

This story contains a plethora of information about the Martin family. It reveals that Joseph Martin the tavernkeeper continued to operate the tavern, perhaps through 1777 and into 1778, or at least work there from time to time. The two "pretty girls" were probably Mary and Hannah, though both were married and in their late 20's or early 30's (18 year-old J. P. Martin found most of the girls he encountered to be very attractive!). The story also reveals that Joseph Martin, Jr. who was just over 19 years old, was taken prisoner during the New York Campaign and had not been seen or heard from since, supposedly dying on his way home after being captured at Fort Lee.

The few Americans taken at Fort Lee were mostly from the Flying Camp, as were the nearly 3000 Americans captured a few days earlier at Fort Washington, across the Hudson River from Fort Lee. One prisoner, John Adlum, a Flying Camp soldier from York, Pa., wrote, "...out of about 2,660 that were taken prisoners, upwards of 1100 died in a little more than two months...and a full third died on their way and after they arrived at home...Numbers of those who were prisoners died on the road in going home..."⁴⁵

The circumstantial evidence that Joseph Martin Jr. was a lieutenant in Baxter's Battalion of the Pennsylvania Flying Camp comes from Heitman's *Historical Register*, which states: "1st Lieutenant Joseph Martin of Baxter's Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp, June 1776; taken prisoner at Fort Washington 16th November 1776; exchanged 2nd November 1780, and did not reenter the service."⁴⁶ The surviving lists in the Pennsylvania Archives, however, list Lieutenant Joseph Martin as being from Mount Bethel Township, Northampton County.⁴⁷ Another Joseph Martin is listed on an undated paper as "deceas'd," which suggests that perhaps it was the news of this unfortunate's demise that reached West Bradford. The records of the Flying Camp are incomplete, and Joseph, Jr. may have been a private, long held in captivity, with no communication.

Joseph Martin Jr. did, in fact, come home in 1780; one can only imagine the family's reaction to having a long-lost son, given up for dead, return to his family. The West Bradford Tax List for 1780 lists Joseph Martin valued at a rate of £28. On the same list under "Freemen" is another Joseph Martin, listed at £20. The "Freeman," which means a landless single man, is Joseph Martin, Jr.⁴⁸

He didn't remain single for long. In 1782, Joseph Martin Jr. married Hannah Baily, daughter of Joel Baily, the clockmaker and mathematician (who evidently had Loyalist leanings!). Following in the family tradition, Joseph was promptly disowned by Bradford Meeting for "marrying out of meeting." (Why he wasn't read out for his military service is a mystery.) The West Bradford List of Inhabitants for 1783 lists "Joseph Marten" with "1 horse, 2 Cattle, 8 Sheep, 65 acres, 1 house, 1 barn." Another "Joseph Marten," Joseph Jr., is also listed as owning 2 horses, and has the notation 'shoemaker.'⁴⁹

County and state tax records confirm that Joseph Martin the tavernkeeper continued to reside in West Bradford in 1778. He was assessed by the state for "60 Acres & Buildings @ £6, 2 horses, 2 Cattle, 5 Sheep."⁵⁰ Not long after Joseph Plumb Martin's visit, Joseph Martin subscribed the new tavern petition, along with the owner, Abraham Marshall, on May 26, 1778: "The Petition of James Porter of West Bradford Humbly Sheweth— That your Petitioner hath rented the House known by the Name of the Center House and Desires you will Grant him your recommendation so that he may obtain a Lycence for keeping a publick house at the place Aforesaid..."⁵¹

It is not known at present who ran the tavern in 1779, but in 1780, Thomas Carpenter was granted the license, and he ran the tavern until the end of 1783. From 1781 until 1783, Carpenter was captain of the 1st Company (the West Bradford Company) of John Hannum's 3rd Battalion of Chester County Militia, and Joseph Martin, probably Joseph Sr., is listed as a third-class private.⁵² The list for 1782 contains the notation "in Active Service." Exactly what this service was is unknown, for the war had wound down after Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in 1781. Most likely it was light duty in the area, guarding or escorting supplies.

The Postwar Years—and a Bitter Feud between Neighbors

No records have been found regarding the Center House in 1784 or 1785. In 1786, Abraham Marshall became the tavernkeeper, and continued until 1800 and perhaps beyond. During that time, he started to see his investment pay off.

All of the traffic of the armies and shipment of supplies during the War for Independence had left most of the major roads a shambles, especially the main Philadelphia-Lancaster Road in the Great Valley. Efforts had begun long before the war to straighten the road, and John Sellers of Upper Darby Township had actually made a survey in the late 1760's, drawing a straight line between Philadelphia and Lancaster. There was a discrepancy of nearly three miles, or 5% between the length of the line and the actual length of the trip on the existing road. The Strasburg Road, also called "The Provincial Road," or "Governor's Road," was proposed and approved in the early 1770's, but the war disrupted its completion. Financial recovery was slow in the 1780's and the road moved slowly ahead. By 1790, it was being called "the *new* Lancaster Road" or the "West Chester Road," opened to the new county seat.

Then in 1792, with the Strasburg Road finally near completion, as Marshall was planning to expand and improve the tavern to accommodate the increase in traffic and business, an eruption took place between neighbors, when Joseph Martin petitioned for a license for a new tavern on his property, what is now the Marshalton Inn. Abraham Marshall launched a counterpetition against Martin, and the tone of the document

indicates a bitter, full-scale feud between neighbors and former business associates, with Marshall stating that “the endeavours of his neighbour must arise either from ill will, or a desire to encrease in the neighbourhood Allurements to Idleness & dissipation.”:

The Petition of Abraham Marshall, Innkeeper, respectfully sheweth—That your Petitioner still continues to dwell at that old Accustomed House of Entertainment, known by name of the Centre house, in West Bradford, and humbly Craves your necessary recommendation for the renewal of Licence for the same...

The Petition and Remonstrance of the Subscriber [Abraham Marshall] respectfully Sheweth~

That your Petitioner, several years since, purchased of Joseph Martin, the Public House, which has been kept as such above twenty years, and known by name of the Centre house, together with a Small Lot of Land thereto appurtenant, with the sole view and expectation of keeping it a Public house. That he has himself kept the same about Six Years, and he trusts with good reputation, and is now making a considerable addition to the Buildings for the better Accommodation of Travellers &c. When he is thus, as it were, just beginning to enjoy the Advantages of his Purchase, his Neighbour the said Joseph Martin, thro’ envy or ill will, wishes to deprive him thereof, as is evident by his Praying your recommendation for Licence for a Public house, and that only at the distance of about one hundred Perches [550 yards] from the Old Accustomed Public house of your Petitioner. – And as it is a truth notorious that no Plea of Necessity for another Public house in that neighbourhood, can be urged with any degree of reason, when there are already Three such within the distance of nine Miles from West Chester; that therefore the endeavours of his neighbour must arise either from ill will, or a desire to encrease in the neighbourhood Allurements to Idleness & dissipation.

Your Petitioner therefore Prays that the Petition of the sd. Joseph Martin, as being apparently founded upon such motives, may not be granted.

Abraham Marshall

We the Subscribers being informed that Joseph Martin above named, designs to Petition the Court for Licence for the keeping of a Public house, at a Small distance from the Centre house in West Bradford, are free to declare as our opinion that one Public house in the neighbourhood is altogether sufficient for the entertainment of the Travellers. That the Petitioner Abraham Marshall is best prepared, and has undoubtedly the best Plea for being allowed to keep such house. And therefore that the Petition of the said Joseph Martin being without foundation in Necessity or in justice ought not to be granted, which we submit to the Court.⁵³

38 subscribers from the neighborhood signed the remonstrance, including such prominent figures as Humphrey Marshall, Col. John Hannum, Joel Baily, Emmor Jeffries, Col. Richard Humpton, and Col. Joseph McClellan. Humpton, a former British Army officer, served in the Continental Army for nearly eight years, and was second in command of Wayne's Division during the 1777 campaign. He settled in West Bradford (near Romansville) after the war on the estate of Curtis Lewis, one of the Loyalists who guided Howe's army through the area. Colonel Joseph McClellan was also a regular army veteran; it was he who took command of Abraham Marshall's company after his resignation from the service in 1776.

The 1790's was an era of great national growth during a time of serious international tension and war. The French Revolution plunged Europe into a series of wars and severely disrupted American commerce and domestic politics. Political meetings were held at the Center House from time to time in this era. Advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* appeared in 1794, 1795, and 1796, all of which followed the same general form as this:

THE INHABITANTS of the County of Chester, are hereby requested to meet **at the Centre house, kept by Abraham Marshall, in West Bradford,** on FRIDAY the 10th Day of October next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. in order to form a TICKET for the ensuing Election.⁵⁴

In the general spirit of the Washington Administration, political parties are not mentioned in these early notices. By the late 1790's, however, the nation had polarized into Federalists [John Adams/Conservatives/pro-British] and Democratic Republicans [Thomas Jefferson/Liberals/pro-French], and an undeclared naval war with France had erupted in 1798. In 1800, the year of a bitter presidential election,

At a meeting of a number of Federal citizens of the counties of Chester and Delaware, at West Chester, on Saturday, the 30th of August, 1800, it was resolved to support JOSEPH HEMPHILL, Esquire, at the ensuing election, for Member of Congress for said counties...it was resolved, that the Federal citizens of Chester County be requested to meet **at the house of Abraham Marshall, in West Bradford,** on the 30th of September next, for the purpose of fixing on a ticket generally for the said county, and that the whole proceedings of the day be published in Hall and Sellers' Gazette...⁵⁵

In the local area in 1792, the Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike Company began construction of a fully-graded, macadamized (gravel) toll road—the first long-distance paved road of this type in the United States—utilizing portions of the old Lancaster Road. Its weatherproof surface, complete with stone bridges and culverts, toll houses, gates, and milestones, drew much traffic and sparked a flurry of tavern construction. By 1796, Lancaster Pike was opened for travel; the Strasburg Road, itself just completed but unpaved, provided a toll-free (if slower) alternative route between the growing cities.

The Canal Era was beginning also. In response to a proposal for the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal, the Center House hosted a meeting of Chester County citizens eager to suggest an alternate route:

Chester County, August 13 [1792]...there is great zeal and unanimity prevailing amongst us in this neighbourhood, for opening the canal along the margin of Brandywine, to communicate with the tide water at Wilmington, agreeable to our petition last spring. On the 6th instant [August 6, 1792] a large number of respectable citizens of this county met **at the Centre-house, in the forks of the Brandywine, when a committee of seven were chosen** to attend on the commissioners appointed by Assembly of Delaware, the 27th of this month, at Wilmington, in order to examine and level the ground on the side of Brandywine to the line of this state; if it suits your convenience to go with them, your curiosity will be gratified in **exploring the hills which this delightful water meanders through, affording an agreeable murmur, so enchanting to poetical fancy...**⁵⁶

While the idea of a Brandywine Canal may have appeared enchanting at the time, nothing more than “an agreeable murmur” seems to have come of this proposal!

The 1798 Direct Tax, or Federal Glass Tax

In 1798, the United States braced for war with France. To raise funds for a national Army, the Federal government passed the first direct internal tax on the American people. Federal tax commissioners were sent throughout the country to record the owners of properties, size of holdings, size and materials of buildings on the properties, the number and size of windows, and how many panes of glass were in each window. The tax was levied according to how many glass panes were in the buildings.

The data from the glass tax gives valuable information on the tavern complex as it stood in 1798. Here for the first time is a record of the buildings, their dimensions and construction. The property is described as being on 2 acres, having “1 Dwelling House 44 x 31 feet, Stable 30 x 13 feet, 1 Open Shead 38 x 13 feet,” all built of stone. The house was 2 stories high and contained a large variety of windows: 4 windows with 18 lights (panes), 7 windows with 15 lights, 4 windows with 12 lights, 5 windows with 8 lights, 2 windows with 6 lights, and 2 windows with 4 lights. The “Center house Tavern” was assessed at \$600.00.⁵⁷

TAVERN FARE

What sort of food, drink, and accommodations would have been found at Martin’s Tavern? As far as beverages go, Joseph Plumb Martin mentioned that, “The landlord used to fill my canteen with whiskey or peach or cider brandy to enable me, as he said, to climb the Welch mountains.” Robert Sutcliffe, a visitor to the Philadelphia area in 1804, wrote on August 6 of that year,

As it was likely to be a very abundant fruit year, and many Friends had large orchards, some individuals very pressingly cautioned them against suffering their cyder to be distilled. The concern of Friends, in this country, against the frequent use of spirituous liquors in their families, is very great, and probably it is not without just cause. The trouble attendant on brewing and preserving malt liquor in warm climates is great, and, on the contrary, spirituous liquors are preserved with so little difficulty, in so little room, and at so easy an expense, that most families, especially in the country, give them the preference as a common beverage throughout the year, when diluted with water. It is not from cyder only they procure spirits. Large quantities are also distilled from the juice of peaches. This is called peach

brandy, and possesses a peculiar flavour and colour, obtained from the kernels. The general price of brandies of these kinds is about 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. sterling per gallon; and they are, when kept an equal age, but little inferior to French brandy.⁵⁸

[to be continued]

NOTES

¹ 1792 Tavern Petition of Abraham Marshall, A 35/ 114, 115. Tavern Petitions, Chester County Archives (CCA)

² Deed Book V, Vol. 20, p. 325-327, CCA.

³ Gilbert Cope, *Genealogy of the Baily Family...Descendants of Joel Baily*, Lancaster, Wickersham Printing Co., 1912, 50; www.gencircles.com, Joseph Martin and Hannah Harlan.

⁴ J. Smith Futhey and Gilbert Cope, *History of Chester County*, Philadelphia: Louis H. Evarts, 1881 (reprint: Higginson Book Company, 1995), 238.

⁵ Exterior measurements taken by the author on 9/20/2003.

⁶ The 1798 Direct Tax (Federal Glass Tax) measures the building at 31' x 44', measurements confirmed by the author. An 1827 newspaper advertisement of sale states that the house is 30' x 40'. AR-12-4-1827, Newspaper Clipping File, Chester County Historical Society (CCHS).

⁷ 1764 Tavern Petition of Joseph Martin, A 15/165, CCA.

⁸ "A Memento Resurrected," L- 10-5-83, Center House, Newspaper Clippings File, (CCHS).

⁹Two factors led the author to this conclusion: the arched windows and doorway on the front façade suggest early construction, as window arches began to go out of style in the latter part of the 18th century. Examination of the basement walls supply further proof. The foundation walls in the eastern section are constructed of rubble, with a smooth face on the interior. The original western foundation wall is now a basement party wall, and the side of it showing under the tavern addition is very rough and uneven, as one would expect in a buried foundation. The eastern section has a large, triple-arched fireplace foundation on its eastern end to support the hearth and two corner fireplaces in upstairs rooms. The chimney stack has been completely removed above the basement. The middle section of the basement reveals the rough back of the original foundation of the western wall, and there is a substantial stone arch support surviving on the western basement wall of this section, to support a very large hearth in the tavern, mutilated portions of which survive upstairs.

¹⁰ "the 28th day of ye Third month 1728: Wee the Inhabittants of Caln and Bradford Humbly shew that we stand in need of a Roade for carts and other carriages to pass and repass and Desire it may begin att ye Land of Robt. Millard in Caln at ye Canistogoe Roade ye most Conveniant way from thence to ye Mill Lately built on ye Land of Abraham Marshall in Bradford and from thence to ye Roade by Mordicai Clouds in Marlborough." Road Papers, CCA.

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- ¹¹ P-8, Chester County Tax Records, CCA.
- ¹² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 22, 1766.
- ¹³ **1767 Tavern Petition for Joseph Martin, 18: 103, 104, CCA. The word ‘center’ is also spelled ‘centre’ in other documents.**
- ¹⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 8, 1767.
- ¹⁵ Deed Book V, Vol. 20, p. 325-327, CCA.
- ¹⁶ 1768 Tavern Petition for William Clayton, A 19/ 24, 25, CCA.
- ¹⁷ 1770 Tavern Petition for Joseph Martin, 21: 117, 118, CCA.
- ¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 26, 1772.
- ¹⁹ 1775 Tavern Petition for Joseph Martin, A 26/103, CCA.
- ²⁰ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution*, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973.
- ²¹ Futhey & Cope, 615.
- ²² “I often heard my grandfather say...this tavern-keeper was a Tory, and when after the Battle of Brandywine a lot of American soldiers came that way, and halting at the house, and not getting a very courteous reception from the old Tory, they got mad and before they left shot thirteen bullets through the signboard—for bad luck as they said to the crusty old Tory.” This local legend was heard by Julius Sachse in 1862 from an old man, a member of the “Old Hickory Club” who voted for Andrew Jackson in 1832. Julius F. Sachse, *The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Road between Philadelphia and Lancaster*, Second Edition, Lancaster, 1912, 175. Original story was published in 1888 in a local newspaper.
- ²³ Nicholas Cresswell, *The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell*, London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1925, 153.
- ²⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 28, 1776.
- ²⁵ Deed Book V, Vol. 20, p. 325-327.
- ²⁶ 1776 Tavern Petition for Robert Peoples, A 27/62, CCA.
- ²⁷ John Blair Lynn and William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution*, Vol. I, Harrisburg, Lane S. Hart, 1880, 243; see also John B. B. Trussell, *The Pennsylvania Line: Regimental Organization and Operations, 1776-1783*, Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1977, 168.
- ²⁸ 1778 Tavern Petition for James Porter, A 27/ 161, CCA.
- ²⁹ Richard K. Showman, et. al., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Volume II, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980, pp.154-156.
- ³⁰ Letter, John Sullivan to George Washington, “Brinton’s Ford Sepr. 11th 1777,” GW Papers online, Series 4, General Correspondence, Sept. 1777, Image 145. loc.gov.

³¹ Letter, James Ross to George Washington, "Sept. 11. '77 Great Valley Road," GW Papers online, Series 4, General Correspondence, Sept 1777, Image 143. loc.gov. "D. P. Regt." may possibly mean "Dunlap's Pennsylvania Regiment" or "Dunlap's Partizan Regt.," a unit of Pa. Militia riflemen.

³² Joseph Galloway's Claim, A. O. 12, Vol. 38, pp. 20-80, Loyalist Claims, Public Record Office, London.

³³ Futhey and Cope, 586. Hannum's sister Mary was married to Cheyney's brother Richard.

³⁴ Eliza Cope Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope, 1800-1851*, South Bend, Ind.: Gateway Editions, 1978, 401-402.

³⁵ Futhey and Cope, 586.

³⁶ MS List of Complaints from American Officers held Prisoner in Philadelphia, document headed "State House, Philadelphia, Nov. 17, 1777, To His Excellency Sir William Howe." HQP, Carleton Papers, PRO 30/55, vol. 6, National Archives, London.

³⁷ The letter has been modified for clarity; the original reads, "**I was Taken Prisoner the Night of the seventh of October 1777 by a Detacmt. of the 16th Ridgm. of British Dragoons was Conveyd to the City and was Lodged in the state house with A number of American offrs.**" George Washington Papers Online, Series 4, General Correspondence, Image 463, loc.gov.

³⁸ This was not an uncommon occurrence. On February 18, 1778, Rev. Henry Muhlenberg wrote from Trappe, "We hear...light cavalry and *Tories* are sweeping through the country to capture, dead or alive, any inhabitants who have held offices or posts under the *independent* government, such as officers of the militia, etc., as a high price has been placed on their heads. The *sublieutenants* who have been directing the militia are being especially sought, and it is said that a number of them have already been captured, some dead and some alive. During the past night the British cavalry (or *Tories*) were only five or six miles away from us, trying to apprehend a *sublieutenant*, but he escaped them." Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, Vol. III, Philadelphia: The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium and the Muhlenberg Press, 1958, p. 132.

³⁹ Letter, PA SEC to Col. Robert Smith, County Lieutenant, 14 November 1777. Pa. Arch. 1st Series, Vol. I.

⁴⁰ In March, 1780, Capt. James was captured in North Carolina. On April 18, 1780, PA President Joseph Reed wrote to NC Governor Caswell stating that James had been "a distinguished Partizan here in the Winter 1777, & particularly active in Kidnapping the Persons in the Vicinity of the City who were remarkable for their Attachment to the Cause of their Country. He was also extremely troublesome to the County by stealing & employing his Associates in stealing Horses for the British Army." President Reed therefore requested Governor Caswell "that he may not be exchanged as a common Prisoner of War, but retained in close Custody untill a favorable Opp'y shall present to bring him to this State for Tryal." Pa. Arch. 1st Series, Vol. III. p. 191.

⁴¹ Magazine articles on the House of Commons Inquiry into the conduct of the War in America, Galloway's testimony given in June, 1779, "Mr. Joseph Galloway on the American war," *The Scots Magazine*, Edinburgh; Vol. 41, October 1779, p. 524.

⁴² 1795 Petition for a Bridge "over the West branch of Brandywine Creek, near to Humphrey Marshall's Mill," Original Bridge Papers, Vol. 1, CCA.

⁴³ Martha Reamy, *Early Church Records of Chester County, Pennsylvania: Volume 1, Quaker Records of Bradford Monthly Meeting*, Family Line Publications, 1995, p. 176.

⁴⁴ George F. Scheer, *Private Yankee Doodle...by Joseph Plumb Martin*, Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1962, 115.

⁴⁵ Howard H. Peckham, *Memoirs of the Life of John Adlum in the Revolutionary War*, Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1968, pp. 124-125, 143.

⁴⁶ Heitman, 382.

⁴⁷ PaArch Series 5, Vol. VIII, 18, 21.

⁴⁸ West Bradford Tax List for 1780 (S-5a), CCA.

⁴⁹ West Bradford List of Inhabitants for 1783, CCA.

⁵⁰ 1778 State Tax: (Sla-5-4), CCA.

⁵¹ 1778 Tavern Petition for James Porter, A 27/161, CCA.

⁵² PaArch 5th Series Vol. V, 569.

⁵³ 1792 Tavern Petition and Remonstrance of Abraham Marshall, Tavern Petitions, A 35/ 114, 115. CCA.

⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 1, 1794

⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 24, 1800.

⁵⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 22, 1792

⁵⁷ 1798 Direct Tax for East and West Bradford, Microfilm Box 372, CCA.

⁵⁸ Robert Sutcliffe, *Travels in Some Parts of North America, in the Years 1804, 1805, & 1806*, York: W. Alexander, 1815, pp. 45-46. online www.loc.gov, *Travels in North America 1750-1920*.