

*I Remain Your Friend, Daniel Byrnes.
A Quaker in the Revolutionary Era
1730-1797*

Kim Rogers Burdick, MA, MPA
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Book of Job.

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again, and that the tender branch thereof will not cease. 14:8 Though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the stock thereof die in the ground; 14:9 Yet through the scent of water it will bud, and bring forth boughs like a plant.

In 1729, a man from a staunch Irish Catholic family, his Quaker wife and their four children escaped “the Troubles” in County Wicklow, Ireland by sailing to America. Philadelphia seemed a magical place where they expected to be immune from the persecution of Quakers and safe from English depredations.¹

Upon their arrival, the Byrnes family moved into a brick house at the southwest corner of Front and Spruce Streets.² In 1730 and 1732, two more children, Daniel and Caleb, were born. By 1734, their father, “Daniel Burn,” had purchased forty acres in Whitpain Township, Pennsylvania and moved his growing family into the countryside.³

The 1737 records of nearby Gwynedd Monthly Meeting state:

“att our Monthly Meeting held att Gwynedd the 31 of the 3 mo 1737, Rebecca Burn having produced an account from the Meeting she formerly belonged to in the kingdom of Ireland containing an account of her outgoing in Marriage contrary to the advice of our frds for which action she brought in a paper disowning the same which is received.”

Rebecca now carefully raised her children in the Quaker faith. Twelve years later, her first American-born son, Daniel Byrnes, was received as an adult member of the Quaker faith in Cecil County.⁴ He next appears in Wilmington, Delaware’s 1751 Quaker marriage records:

Daniel BYRNES, borough of Wilmington, New Castle County, son of Daniel and Rebecca of Whitpaine, Philadelphia Co., married Dinah HICKLIN⁵, daughter of William and Dinah of Brandywine Hd., New Castle County. 10-2-1751 at Hockessin.”⁶

Wilmington was rapidly becoming a prime location for entrepreneurial Quaker businessmen.⁷ One of the most entrepreneurial of these men was Daniel Byrnes. In 1762, Daniel, his older brother Joshua, and William Moore, laid out the course of a long mill race running parallel to the Brandywine Creek. William Marshall, another Quaker, erected the dam at the start of the race. The water in the mill race fell fifteen to twenty feet to power the mills of Brandywine Village.⁸

At Brandywine Village, the Brandywine River stops flowing downhill and joins the tidal Christina River.⁹ Sloops and shallops docked here. Conestoga wagons brought additional trade as they rumbled along Concord Pike, Market Street and Philadelphia Pike. At its height, Brandywine Village had a dozen Quaker-owned mills lined up along the river, producing flour, grain, and textiles.¹⁰ “The Lower Three Counties of Pennsylvania,” had abundant water power. Light open boats propelled by sails and oars, were the normal means of transportation, and ocean-going ships trading with the British Isles, Southern Europe, the Madeiras, and the West Indies put in at Wilmington and New Castle, the final supply stops for many vessels. Imported goods for the region were unloaded and flour, corn meal, pickled fish, and lumber brought on board.¹¹

Daniel’s nephew reminisced:

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“[Uncle Daniel] commenced the milling business early in life at Brandywine some part of the time with his brother Joshua, and afterwards with Morton of Philadelphia. He was the chief promoter in digging the long race on the west side of the Brandywine now in use, and I have heard Joseph Shipley say that he did not think his father, who owned the land, would have given his consent to any other person.

And as compensation it was agreed that Shipley should have a [right] to one mill on the tide and that he should have the first right to a supply of [water] for his mill, and should be at no expense of digging race and building a dam and more that they should not purchase any grain in New Castle County, for he was afraid these new mills to be built would ruin his little old grist mill when there was only water at the top of the tide for a bateau to come along side of the mill, which is long since gone down and no remains are left. After building a mill, this long race being finished, he [Daniel, continued] the business there for some time.¹²

As Daniel’s business acumen grew, so did his reputation as a solid member of the Wilmington Friends Meeting. Prominent Quaker, John Churchman wrote in his journal:

“On my return from Philadelphia I sat with friends at their week day meeting in Wilmington, which through the continued goodness of the Lord, was in some measure a profitable season, I hope to many. Here I felt a strong desire to see the friends together, who are owners of the grist-mills lately built at and near Brandiwyne, and upon notice thereof, they met the same afternoon at the house of Daniel Byrnes, when I had an opportunity to discharge my mind in an affectionate manner, of what had impressed it towards them, which they appeared to receive in a degree of the same love, and as I believe it came from the author of all good, who is alone worthy of praise, a blessing may attend that opportunity.”¹³

When Daniel Byrnes was thirty-three years old, the French and Indian War ended. Daniel was a busy miller and father of several small children. For most of Daniel Byrne’s life, the British government had paid little attention its American colonies. Quakers were abandoning their faith to fight in Pennsylvania’s border wars. Participation in the Paxton Riots and the idea of total withdrawal of Friends from colonial

politics remained unresolved issues, inconclusively discussed at the 1764 Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.¹⁴

By 1766, Daniel Byrnes obtained permission from Wilmington Monthly Meeting to join the committee of Friends in Philadelphia who were engaged in visiting “those who had taken up arms in 1764.” The goal was to bring these lost men back into the folds of Quaker pacificism.

Also, in 1766, a commission of Maryland and Delaware delegates met at Christiana to decide upon a boundary line that would separate the two provinces. The commission agreed and the boundary, a straight line running north to south, was surveyed. The future State of Delaware was beginning to take shape.¹⁵

New British actions, including a double tax on foreign- language newspapers and documents, aroused widespread objections. On June 13, 1767, Daniel Byrnes and James Lea were appointed to a Wilmington Friends Committee “to enquire and conduct” an inquiry into how Quakers should proceed with these repressive trade and business restrictions.¹⁶

John Dickinson, one of America’s most outspoken protestors, was related by birth and marriage to many Delaware Quakers. In 1767, Dickinson published his set of twelve essays, the *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*. In 1768, as a resident of both Philadelphia and the Lower Three Counties, Dickinson wrote a rollicking protest song

called *The Liberty Song*, reflecting angst triggered by the Townshend Acts.¹⁷ On August 17, 1769, the Delaware Assembly officially said “no” to the Townsend Acts.

In accord with the other thirteen colonies, Delawareans stopped buying British goods. Residents of the lower part of New Castle County met at Christiana Bridge in 1769 to sign a boycott agreement. In each Hundred, two persons were appointed to a Committee of Inspection to watch for violations.¹⁸ The American boycott of British goods appeared to be an effective weapon. English sources show that by June, 1772 London “...was in an uproar--the whole City was in tears," and "universal bankruptcy" was expected.¹⁹

Although grumbling about taxes and repression was rapidly becoming the norm, for the Byrnes family, as for most Americans, life remained on a steady keel. In 1772, Daniel Byrnes served on a committee to see that the Brandywine River wharfs should not be extended into the Christiana Creek to the injury of navigation, and his youngest brother, Caleb, moved to northern Delaware.

Caleb, in company with Samuel Smith and Stephen Stapler, soon purchased Red Clay Creek Mill at Stanton. The men began digging a long mill race, which employed many men for an entire year. Brother Caleb’s son later remembered it as: “a very sickly place” where fever and ague, marked by paroxysms of chills, fever, and sweating recurred at regular intervals every fall.²⁰

Within months, Daniel purchased 4 ½ acres for a mill and mill seat from David Finney of New Castle.²¹ Located about a mile downstream from Brother Caleb's mill, Daniel's place was on the main road connecting Philadelphia to Baltimore,²² passing through Wilmington, Newport, Stanton and Christiana,²³ while the T-intersection in front of the house led travelers west to Ogletown, Newark, and Elkton, Maryland."²⁴

Behind Daniel's house, the Red and White Clay Creeks flowed together into the Christina River. A busy wharf, known as White Clay Creek Landing, stretched for more than one hundred feet along the bank of the stream.²⁵ Daniel worked on his mill race and also added a service wing to the house at *Muscle Cripple*.²⁶

Caleb's son, Daniel Byrnes III reminisced:

As the milling business was good, Uncle Daniel got soon to be well off in the world and living on the post road. At White Clay Creek mill he had many visitors to call and see him with his wife, who was one of the very kindest women I ever knew... Daniel Byrnes was a recommended minister²⁷ in the Society of Friends and much respected. In the time of the Revolutionary War, he had in his mill, works for drawing wire which he carried on until the peace. He also had a machine for spinning twine or strong flax thread. It was turned by the water power of the mill. I have no doubt but that he [was the] first in America to pack a barrel of flour by water in his mill, and he had a corn kiln for drying corn put up. ...²⁸

The thumping of the mills and noisy rushing of the water symbolized busy prosperity. Life seemed good and the idea of war seemed almost laughable.²⁹ Suddenly that fall, an intimation of troubles to come was seen. A chilling broadside dated November 27, 1773, was posted, warning Captain Ayres of the *Polly* not to bring tea ships up the Delaware River:³⁰

You are sent out on a diabolical service; and if you are so foolish and obstinate as to complete your voyage by bringing your ship to anchor in this port, you may run such a gauntlet as will induce you in your last moments most heartily to curse those who have made you the dupe of their avarice and ambition. What think you, Captain, of a halter around your neck—ten gallons of liquid tar decanted on your pate—with the feathers of a dozen wild geese laid over to enliven your appearance? Only think seriously of this and fly to the place whence you came—fly without hesitation—without the formality of a protest—and above all, Captain Ayres, let us advise you to fly without the wild geese feathers.

--- Committee for Tarring and Feathering. Delaware.

Delaware River pilots were warned that they would receive the same treatment if they tried to bring in the tea ship *Polly*. Consignees of the tea would suffer dire consequences if they accepted shipment.

In spite of the warning, on December 25, 1773, the *Polly* traveled up the Delaware River as far as Chester, Pennsylvania. The *Polly* carried 697 chests of tea consigned to the Philadelphia Quaker firm of *James & Drinker*.³¹ Several Philadelphia gentlemen proceeded to intercept the ship and escorted Ayres to the city.

Two days later, there was a mass meeting of 8,000 Philadelphians in the State House yard to address the situation. This was the largest crowd assembled in the American colonies up to that point. A number of resolutions were adopted, the first one being "that the tea shall not be landed." It was further determined that the tea should be refused and that the vessel should make its way out of the Delaware River and Delaware Bay as soon as possible.

Three other tea ships made it to Boston, Massachusetts where a group of indignant colonists, led by Samuel Adams, Paul Revere, and others boarded the ships on the night of Dec. 16, 1773, and threw the tea into the harbor.³²

In retaliation, Parliament enacted statutes that abrogated the charter of Massachusetts, closed the port of Boston, curtailed most town meetings, created a new system of courts in the colony, and authorized Imperial officers to send Americans to Britain for trial. London called these punitive measures *Coercive Laws*. America knew them as the *Intolerable Acts*. When news of their passage reached Boston in early 1774, Paul Revere was sent 300 miles south to Philadelphia to alert the Continental Congress. Continental Congress endorsed New England's *Suffolk Resolves*³³ on September 17, 1774.³⁴

In addition to these punitive measures, England now pressed its State Religion into government service. Newly-arrived Anglican missionaries emphasized the need to combat America's growing numbers of contentious Presbyterians. Quaker merchants were looked upon with a jaundiced eye.³⁵

James Madison complained to a Philadelphia acquaintance that Virginians had been imprisoned for publishing religious views that "in the main are very orthodox."³⁶ His friend, William Bradford, replied that:

"Persecution is a weed that grows not in our happy soil. Liberty is the Genius of Pennsylvania; and its inhabitants think, speak and act with a freedom unknown" elsewhere."³⁷

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For a brief while, this remained true. Pennsylvania had been deliberately designed as a safe harbor for religious dissidents. As the squabbles over British regulations increased, the Quakers tried to stay neutral. Friends who combined political power with spiritual leadership were now the exception rather than the rule, even in Pennsylvania, where Quakers had been prominent for nearly a hundred years. As discontent grew it became harder to stay within the confines of pacificism. The number of disownments for violations of the Discipline was growing steadily. William Penn's words must have been quoted often: "Right is right, even if everyone is against it, and wrong is wrong, even if everyone is for it."³⁸

In 1774, the Philadelphia General Yearly Meeting of Friends drew up a letter that was formally approved and ordered to be sent to all Meetings of Friends in America, warning all members of that Society not to depart from their peaceful principles by taking part in any of the political matters then being stirred up, reminding all Friends that under the King's government they had been favored with a peaceful and prosperous enjoyment of their rights, and strongly suggesting the propriety of disowning all such members as disobeyed the orders issued by the Yearly Meeting. This letter was generally respected and obeyed, and most Friends took no part in the war for freedom.³⁹

On June 30, 1775. The Articles of War were adopted by Congress.⁴⁰ Legal scholar, Philip Hamburger, writes:

...when Americans in 1775 created a regime based on ideals of equal freedom, it was inevitable that there would be a parting of the ways between those who expected equal

freedom under law, regardless of their religion, and those who still needed a freedom from law on account of their religion.”⁴¹

America’s *Articles of War* had been signed without stable federal, state and local governments in place. Now the Thirteen Colonies were thrown into the process of developing rules, policies and procedures. Tension was in the air and busy policy makers had minimal sympathy for the vulnerable civilians and less patience for Tories and Pacifists. That summer, the Second Continental Congress explicitly recommended that conscientious objectors make amends for not supporting the war by staging relief efforts “in this time of universal calamity.”⁴²

Aware of the implications of non-compliance, the Wilmington Monthly Meeting of July 1775, appointed a committee of five people, including Daniel and Caleb Byrnes, to coordinate a regional effort to send financial assistance to the poor of Boston. Daniel "Byrns" attended the Meeting of Sufferings in Philadelphia as a visitor on July 13, 1775. Friends were directed to send their money to John Reynell of Philadelphia or to Samuel Smith of Burlington, Treasurers of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.⁴³

In May 1775 John Dickinson and John Jay had made a motion in the Second Continental Congress to petition George III. The motion, known as the Olive Branch Petition, was adopted on 5 July 1775. The document acknowledged the colonists' duty as loyal subjects of the king but asked for cessation of hostilities in order to schedule negotiations in which the colonists could air their grievances.

Dickinson, its primary author, meant the petition, even if it failed in its primary purpose to appease the king and his ministers, to fire the colonists' morale with proof that they were truly fighting an unjust system. Delivered by Arthur Lee and Richard Penn to the court in London, the very existence of the petition so infuriated George III that he refused to read it.⁴⁴

Delaware's "violent raging rebel," Thomas McKean, began organizing resistance groups, setting up the revolutionary apparatus, and pushing control into the hands of the Continental Congress, which was to coordinate with the local committees."⁴⁵

Across the colonies, local committees worked to uncover conspiracies and unmask internal enemies, acting essentially as spies for those who claimed leadership. In the escalating confusion, there was no one to protect the ordinary citizen. The Dover Committee found Daniel Varnum guilty of saying "he had lief be under a tyrannical king as a tyrannical Commonwealth, especially if the damned Presbyterians had the rule of it." Fortunately for Varnum, the rebels accepted his recantation. ⁴⁶

During the week before the Continental Congress's National Day of Prayer and Fasting, two men in Daniel's vicinity were forced to publicly apologize for criticizing the move towards war. We can only speculate what McKean's chillingly-named *Committee of Inspection and Observation* had said or done to make them publicly recant:

Philadelphia, July 14

WHEREAS I have, some time since, frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my worthy Fellow Citizens, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotic struggle against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry, which conduct has justly raised their resentments against me. I now confess that I have acted extremely wrong in so doing, for which I am exceedingly sorry, and humbly ask pardon and forgiveness of the Public; and I do solemnly promise that, for the future, I will conduct myself in such a manner, as to avoid giving any offence: And at the same time, in justice to myself, must declare, that I am not unfriendly to the present Measures pursued by the Friends to American Liberty, but do heartily approve of them, and as far as is in my power will endeavour to promote them.

AMOS WICKERSHAM. ⁴⁷

Daniel Byrnes was not afraid of arguing fine points. Many of the actions and pronouncements of the pro-war faction made little or no sense. George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, had pointed out to Believers long ago: "Thou sayest Christ said this and the apostles said that, but what canst thou say?"⁴⁸

Daniel defiantly composed an anti-slavery broadside questioning the war-mongers' definition of freedom. In his broadside, "An Address to the British Colonies in North America, Byrnes boldly asked: ⁴⁹

Can we be so unwise as to suppose, that a god infinitely just, will be partial in our favour, or that he will hear our prayers, until we have put away the evil of our doings from before his eyes? How can any have the confidence to put up addresses to a god of impartial justice, and ask of him success in a struggle for freedom, who at the same time are keeping others in a state of abject slavery?⁵⁰

Daniel's broadside was marked for release on July 20, a national day of fasting established by the Continental Congress. Whether it was the printer, James Adams of

Wilmington, Delaware, or Byrnes, or both of them, who sensibly decided to withhold it from publication until August 4th, is unknown.⁵¹

On January 17, 1776, Robert Kirkwood, Jr., son of a nearby White Clay Creek family, was commissioned First Lieutenant of Capt. Darby's Company, Colonel Hazlet's Regiment. Kirkwood was the son of a Presbyterian father. His mother had been a Quaker.

As more and more young men with Quaker ties marched off to war, word spread from farm to farm that two British ships of war, the *Roebuck* and the *Liverpool*, were off the coast of Port Penn and moving upriver towards New Castle. These ships ultimately established a position off-shore between Chester and Wilmington,⁵² clearly in sight of the residents of Brandywine Village, Holly Oak, Claymont and Marcus Hook.

In May, American forces chased the British ships six miles down the river to New Castle, where they finally moored for the night.⁵³ The frustrated British retaliated by running a trading schooner aground near Christiana Creek and plundering her cargo. They also burned an abandoned shallop.⁵⁴

A petition for the establishment of a new government was now anxiously circulated throughout the Three Lower Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex-upon-Delaware.⁵⁵

The Kent County Committee of Inspection and Observation held a meeting to discuss the proposed change of government. John Clarke, a well-respected farmer, presented a

perfectly legitimate petition against change signed by local Tories. When the elderly Clarke stepped outside the meeting, a mob seized him, placed him on a pillory on the courthouse green and pelted him with eggs.⁵⁶ Gossip and horror stories now flew upstate and down.

In Philadelphia on June 14, 1776, John Adams noted:

[Thomas]“McKean has returned from the Lower Counties with full power. Their instructions are in the same words with the new ones to the delegates of Pennsylvania. New Jersey has dethroned Franklin⁵⁷, and in a letter which has just come to my hand, from indisputable authority, I am told that the delegates from that colony will vote plump. Maryland now stands alone. I presume she will soon join company; if not, she must be left alone.⁵⁸

Delaware’s Colonial Assembly now proclaimed the Three Lower Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex-upon-Delaware separate and independent from Great Britain. They also stated in writing that from now on, they proclaimed themselves free from any ties with their Governor, John Penn, and the Proprietary Penn family.

Resolved, unanimously, That all persons holding any office, civic or military, in this colony, on the 13th of June, instant, may and shall continue to execute the same, in the name of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, as they used to exercise them in the name of the King, until a new government shall be formed, agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the fifteenth of May. James Booth, Clerk of Assembly.⁵⁹

On July 1, 1776 major speeches were made in Philadelphia by John Adams of Massachusetts, whose battle-scarred constituents had been suffering from British depredations since 1773, and by John Dickinson of Delaware and Pennsylvania, whose constituents had not yet been heavily impacted by the war. Dickinson strongly believed

separation would cause a political war between England and United States and also an internal, civil war. Dickinson had a solid point to his argument about civil war. A Tory uprising in Lewes, Delaware was at that very moment, keeping Caesar Rodney away from the Continental Congress.⁶⁰

Dickinson's efforts to chart a moderate course, his loyalist in-laws and his many Quaker connections, made him suspect in the eyes of radical Patriots, who interpreted Dickinson's actions as the result of Quaker meddling.

When the time to vote for Independence arrived, Delaware's delegates, George Read and Thomas McKean, had opposing opinions. Read, siding with John Dickinson, ⁶¹felt the time was not ripe. Dickinson absented himself from the meeting and McKean sent a rider to find Rodney. Traveling 80 miles in a torrential downpour, Caesar Rodney arrived in time to vote for Independence.⁶²

On August 4, when the Declaration of Independence was actually signed, George Read who had voted nay, signed it as a sign of solidarity with his compatriots. John Dickinson resigned from the Continental Congress. Dickinson now spent some quiet months at his Kent County home with his Quaker wife.⁶³

The American cause was at low ebb. Less than three weeks after Independence had been proclaimed, news came of British troops arriving in New York. John Dickinson, a colonel of the First Philadelphia Battalion of Associators, and his men were the first to leave for New Jersey in defense of the newborn nation.

Soon news came that the First Delaware Regiment had covered the American retreat at the Battle of Long Island.⁶⁴

In September of 1776, with the Revolution looking shaky, the largest organization of Quakers in America---the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting---formally directed its members to observe strict neutrality. Wilmington Friends Meeting's minutes reflected associated difficulties:

And as many of our brethren in various places have of late been brought under sufferings for the testimony of truth, the continuance and increase whereof there is reason to expect, it is recommended to the monthly meetings to keep a regular record of all such sufferings, agreeable to the ancient practice of friends.⁶⁵

As Clerk of Wilmington Friends Meeting, Daniel Byrnes now faced some tough choices. In direct opposition to the tenets of their faith, the children of Daniel's friends and colleagues were going off to war. To keep order, the Meeting believed these young men needed to be purged from membership. One of several examples follows:

Whereas Jacob Bennett, son of Joseph Bennett has had a birthright amongst the people called Quakers but by not taking heed to the peaceable principles we profess has so far slighted the good order established amongst us as to join the association to learn the art of war and as Friends having treated with him in order to reclaim him has not had the desired object, therefore for clearing Truth and our society from such disorder by members, we declare the said Jacob Bennett no member with us until he by repentance and amendment of life(.....) to make friends suitable satisfaction. Signed in and on behalf of the Monthly Meeting of Friends (...) at Wilmington the 17th 9th Mo. 1776 by Daniel Byrnes, Clerk.⁶⁶

For a while, the Friends had support. Samuel Patterson, a Christiana miller was scrambling hard for the patriotic cause, but the need for war did not seem urgent. Harvest time approached and the battles remained concentrated in distant places. On September 19, when Patterson's Flying Camp men learned that their Pennsylvanian counterparts were receiving a bounty for their service, five of New Castle County companies "almost lay down their arms," and another entire company deserted in the night.

On December 25, 1776, Washington successfully crossed into New Jersey, subduing the enemy. A handful officers and ninety-two men from John Haslet's Delaware Regiment were with him. A few days later, Haslet, with orders in his pocket detaching him from duty, was shot in the head and killed at Princeton, New Jersey.⁶⁷

In February, John McKinly of Wilmington was chosen President of the Delaware General Assembly. Thomas Rodney wrote to Caesar Rodney that the Delaware Assembly had been "very exact in their choice as he [McKinly] is the only man that could so fully represent the Whig and Tory complexion of the State."⁶⁸

With appreciation, the Friends applauded as John Dickinson manumitted twelve men and ten women. Unless Dickinson would have to pay for their maintenance, their children were also freed.⁶⁹

The Declaration of Independence was now one year old. By now, the *Liverpool* and the *Roebuck* had been in the Delaware River so long that the citizens rarely

considered why they were there. Some people made a little pocket money selling the British seamen eggs and milk and meat.

At the end of July, Henry Fisher, a Delaware River pilot and David Hall, Commander of the Delaware Continental Regiment, spotted 228 British ships off Cape Henlopen. The British were heading up the Delaware River towards Philadelphia. For the second time in less than six months, Philadelphia and the surrounding countryside was endangered.⁷⁰ John Dickinson, who had refused to sign the Declaration of Independence, now shocked both the Continental Congress and the Society of Friends, by enrolling as a private soldier in the company of Captain Stephen Lewis of the 1st Kent militia regiment.⁷¹

John McKinly, Delaware's recently elected President, ordered the militia to remove the livestock, boats and watercraft from the area bordering the bay, and to place guards where needful, holding themselves in readiness to march."⁷²

At about 10 o'clock in the morning of August 2, a signal gun was fired and something strange happened: the whole British fleet changed their course and by four o'clock p.m., they were out of sight. Colonel Hall wrote to Caesar Rodney:

...whether they were bound to New York or Virginia is not in my power to tell. Our disaffected were greatly disappointed by the Fleet not going up, as they expected the matter would be shortly settled to their satisfaction. Several went on board of them from Indian River and Nehemiah Field and Samuel Edwards (two Pilots) from off our beach. The northern and western battalions still adhere to their former principles as not above four made their appearance under Arms at the alarm.⁷³

Uncertainty caused tension. As word about the British feet trickled up from the Chesapeake, horses and cattle were driven into the marshes away from the anticipated advance route of the British army; merchants in Wilmington, certain the British army would march through town on the way to Philadelphia, sent their goods to Chester County for safe keeping.⁷⁴ Civilians fearfully left their houses and farms. Many Delawareans, including the Cooch family, fled northwest towards Lancaster. Jehu Hollingsworth, a Wilmington Quaker whose large extended family had divided loyalties, also headed out.⁷⁵

Daniel Byrnes was pressed into service as the Quakers began to carefully record what was happening:

At Wilmington Monthly Meeting held the 13th of 8 month 1777, the friends appointed to attend last Quarterly Meeting inform this meeting that it was there recommended to monthly meetings to collect a regular account of the sufferings of friends, now in this time of trial, agreeable to the advice of our last Yearly Meeting. The Committee therefore appoints:

John Perry	John Milhous	Robert Johnson
David Ferris	Joseph West	Daniel Byrnes
Benj. Hough	Joseph Chambers	Vincent Bonsall

for the service who are also desired to give advice to those who may be in difficulty; and they are desired to meet together once a month and as much oftener as they may apprehend necessary or occasion require and to report when necessary. The time of their meeting to be on Fifth day next preceding the First Second day in each month at the 2nd hour afternoon till further notice.⁷⁶

On August 22, word came from the Continental Congress that Delaware was to send 1,000 militiamen to rendezvous at Newport and Christiana Bridge, “there to wait the orders of General Washington.”⁷⁷ .

On August 25, “a distressingly hot, close morning” the British ships arrived at Head of Elk. No method was as yet fixed upon for supplying the Troops with fresh provisions in a regular manner. The starving British and Hessian troops who had been becalmed on the Chesapeake for far too long, plundered unmercifully, clandestinely slaughtering cattle.⁷⁸ The foragers encountered minimal opposition from American forces.”⁷⁹

Ensign Carl Friedrich Rueffer of Hesse-Cassel von Mirbach Regiment later wrote, “ At every house we passed a pardon letter was nailed and a watch was posted to prevent looting.”⁸⁰

Sir William Howe, regretting the calamities to which many of His Majesty’s faithful subjects are still exposed by the continuance of the rebellion, and no less desirous of protecting the innocent, than determined to pursue with the rigors of war all those whom His Majesty’s forces, in the course of their progress, may find in arms against the King, doth hereby assure the peaceable inhabitants of the Province of Delaware, and the counties of Maryland on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake-Bay, that in order to remove any groundless apprehension which may have been raised of their suffering by depredation of the army under his command, he has issued the strictest orders to the troops for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and has signified that the most exemplary punishment shall be inflicted upon those who shall dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons of any of His Majesty’ well-disposed subjects...

Considering moreover that many officers and private men, now actually in arms against His Majesty, may be willing to relinquish the part they have taken in this Rebellion, and, return to their due allegiance: SIR WILLIAM HOWE doth therefore promise a free and general pardon to all such officers and private men, as shall voluntarily come and surrender themselves to any detachment of His Majesty's forces, before the day on which it shall be notified that the said indulgence is to be discontinued.

As the British soldiers pushed into Delaware, 11,000 American soldiers entered the State near Naamans Creek. The Light Horse pushed on to Wilmington accompanied by George Washington who established his headquarters on Quaker Hill⁸¹

There was a point of what was called Quaker Hill jutted out very high, and overlooked every high place around, so that nothing here could obstruct your view, and descending so abruptly as to make the side impassable towards this road. No more favorable spot could have been selected, and here was an old apple-tree, the last fragment of an orchard; under this same tree the ground was carpeted with grass of the richest green.⁸²

George Washington, headquartered on Third Street, Quaker Hill, wrote to Colonel George Evans on August 27, 1777.

Sir: After the men of your own, Colo. Hunters and Colo. Undree's Battalions have refreshed themselves you are to march them to Christiana Bridge and there halt till further orders.⁸³

You are to get your Men as well covered, as the Situation of the place will admit of, and always keep them near their quarters, that they may be ready to move at a moment's warning.

As most of the Men in this County have left their families at home and turned out in a spirited manner in defence of their Country, it is hoped that the Troops under your command will not in the least injure their property, by destroying their Fences, Corn, or Fruit. I am &ca.

P.S. Your Ammunition is to be inspected, to see if injured by the Rain, and the Arms kept in good order.⁸⁴

The main body of the Delaware militia now passed through Stanton, down Daniel's road, marching to Christiana Bridge. Under Colonels Evans, Hunter and Undree, the militia's job was to scout, if not divert, a British advance in that direction. It was noted that, "The enemy are in want of many necessaries" with which disaffected persons 'would undoubtedly supply them, if watch is not kept over them.'⁸⁵ Heightening the mood of discomfort, "an abundance of rain fell" on August 26 and 27th as they marched.⁸⁶

On the 28th of August, the Continental Congress, based on a possibly spurious message received by General Sullivan, charged that "a number of" Quakers were disaffected and likely to aid the British. The Congress called upon the Pennsylvania Executive Council to arrest eleven Quakers suspected of maintaining "a correspondence and connection highly prejudicial to the public safety," urged every state to apprehend "all persons ... who have, in their general conduct and conversation, evidenced a disposition inimical to the cause of America." The Committee then recommended a seizure of the records of Quaker meetings.⁸⁷

The minutes of Wilmington Friends meeting give a clear picture of that week's activities:

In Wilmington, on that day, "the 28th of 8th month 1777. Ten friends present according to appointment. It appears necessary that a clerk be appointed to keep minutes of matters that may come under our notices. John Milhous is appointed to do that service for the present. We are given to understand that friends meeting house in this town is taken up with soldiers who broke into it yesterday, and that (altho' some friends demanding it to hold meeting in today), some of them promized we should have it by eleven o'clock, yet they did not perform, but kept possession,

and friends held meeting under a shady tree in the graveyard. It now being a time of difficulty, we think it may be requisite for us to meet oftener than once a month, therefore adjourn to this day, two weeks beginning the 11th of next month at two o'clock in the afternoon.”⁸⁸

By the end of August, 1777 recruits and reinforcements had brought the Continental Army to about 16,000 troops, with the greatest number of them camped in northern New Castle County. Although most were in Wilmington, Greene’s division was at White Clay Creek and some Pennsylvania militiamen idled at Christiana Bridge. For several days, the American soldiers were positioned and repositioned. The final encampment extended in a triangular formation from Newport, on the southeast, northwestward to the vicinity of Marshallton, dropping down to Stanton, on the ridge just above both Caleb’s and Daniel’s mills. Cannon were placed on a rise ‘for half a mile as thick as they could stand.’⁸⁹

Not content with the observations of others, George Washington spent most of his days on horseback, examining the terrain.⁹⁰

Throughout Northern New Castle County rumors flew and ghastly tales abounded. A British soldier chopped off an unfortunate woman’s fingers in order to take her rings;⁹¹ The Americans captured him and took him into captivity. Capt. Lt John Peebles of the Highlanders wrote in his diary “2 men of the 71st. Regiment, Fraser’s Highlanders, found in the wood with their throats cut, and 2 Grenadiers hang’d by the Rebels with plunder on their backs.”⁹²

On Aug 31, George Washington reiterated his orders to the American militia to drive off all cattle and horses, leaving the country as bare as possible. For Daniel and his brother Caleb, the next part of Washington's edict was undoubtedly a sickening blow:

One more precaution in this way I must recommend to you to use—which is, if there should be any mills in their neighborhood, to take away the runners and have them removed out of their reach. This will render the mills useless to them, and will be little or no detriment to the inhabitants, more especially to the well affected, who it is probable will, for the most part, quit their homes, where they appear, and to whom they can be restored at a proper time.⁹³

As Washington had predicted, many local residents left, seeking refuge with friends and family members farther west and north. The army was closing in. Rabid American soldiers often assumed that those who did not evacuate, did not fear the British and so complaints against the pacifist Quakers increased.

In later years, Brother Caleb's son reminisced:

A few days previous to the Battle of Brandywine, General Washington, with all his American army, were camped on rising ground before our door (Red Clay Creek Mill near Stanton) and round White Clay Creek Bridge farther westward; the cannon were placed on this rise of ground for half a mile as thick as they could stand. General Washington's headquarters was at William Marshall's, about the center of the army⁹⁴ The British army had landed below Elkton and was coming up the post road towards Christiana Bridge, and was hourly expected to appear in the front of the American army, about a mile and a half distant from them. Uncle Daniel's house and mill were right on the road about three quarters of a mile south of the American army. What a situation his and father's family were in. At this juncture, the battle was expected to commence every hour. The officers requested father to remove the family for they said the house would be shot down or torn to pieces with the cannon balls. Many families removed their goods some miles into the country...⁹⁵

Wilmington Friends Meeting Book of Sufferings states:

“friends at White Clay Creek, the first being 9th Month 1, 1777, Taken from Caleb Byrnes what was supposed to be six ton of Hay by the American Army L20:0:00”... "for which [he] was not willing to receive pay being closely prest thereto"⁹⁶

On September 3 at 4 a.m. George Washington ordered a march "which proceeded thro Wilmington to White Clay Creek." Sullivan's division, with Greene supporting, was on the northern flank. Stirling, with General Stephen's and General Wayne's support, was on the southern flank, which was closest to the enemy. This formation allowed Washington greater flexibility in moving divisions with little notice. Many halted in Daniel's vicinity.

That day, Joseph Clark of New Jersey wrote in his diary:

“On Wednesday, while I was mustering a regiment, about 8 o'clock in the morning, we were alarmed, and struck tents immediately. The whole division, with Gen'l Greene's marched about 2 miles down and posted ourselves, waiting for the enemy till sometime in the afternoon, and as they did not come, we returned to camp again.”⁹⁷

As the sounds of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge⁹⁸ echoed across the fields, the Friends at White Clay Creek received a frightening message. The Council had issued a warrant to the “Gentlemen of the Board of War” for the arrest of thirty-six men. Those who promised to stay in their homes or to leave Pennsylvania were allowed to go free, but twenty had refused to do this and on September 2, the Continental Congress had imprisoned these twenty well-respected Quakers without a hearing.⁹⁹

Included among those arrested were the Honorable John Penn, late Governor of the province, James Hamilton, Benjamin Chew, James Tilghman, Jared Ingersoll, Edward Shippen Jr., Joseph Shippen Jr., James Allen, Phineas Bond, Joseph Stansbury, William Smith, Richard Wister, John Drinker, and Henry Drinker. They were to be transported to Staunton, Virginia.¹⁰⁰ To his credit, the irascible Thomas McKean sought the Writ of Habeas Corpus for them, but the Continental Congress balked.¹⁰¹

The famous religious haven, the “City of Brotherly Love” in the “Quaker State,” was no longer a safe place for William Penn’s children.

George Washington wrote to John Hancock about the Battle of Cooch’s Bridge, “Our parties now lie at White Clay Creek, except the advanced pickets which are at Christiana Bridge.”¹⁰² On September 4, tension was heightened as word came that a British 150 ton ship was sighted preparing to come up the Delaware and additional British ships were arriving in Annapolis.

As tension rose, Washington felt obligated to order his men not to plunder:

“Notwithstanding all the cautions, the earnest requests, and the positive orders of the Commander in Chief, to prevent our own army from plundering our own friends and fellow citizens, yet to his astonishment and grief, fresh complaints are made to him, that so wicked, infamous and cruel a practice is still continued, and that too in circumstances most distressing; where the wretched inhabitants, dreading the enemy’s vengeance for their adherence to our cause, have left all, and fled to us for refuge! For these reasons, the Commander in Chief requires, that these orders be distinctly read to all the troops; and that officers of every rank, take particular pains, to convince the men, of the baseness, and fatal tendency of the practices complained of; and that their own safety depends on a contrary conduct, and an exact observance of order and discipline; at

the same time the Commander in Chief most solemnly assures all, that he will have no mercy on offenders against these orders; their lives shall pay the forfeit of their crimes..."¹⁰³

General Maxwell's men were sent to form a screen at White Clay Creek.¹⁰⁴ From September 5th to the 8th the Americans closely reconnoitered the enemy lines in an endeavor to divine Howe's purposes and, if possible, to check his moves. George Washington suggested to Maxwell that he should try to induce local inhabitants of Whig inclination to drift unostentatiously into the enemy camp to act as amateur spies. It is said that Washington even offered to remove the amateur status of such persons by offering suitable rewards for the risks taken and the intelligence acquired."¹⁰⁵

On September 6 it was arranged that a Council of War would be held at the Daniel Byrnes' s house that evening.

The Genl Officers are to meet at 5 O Clock this afternoon at the Brick house by White Clay Creek & fix upon proper Picquets for the Security of the Camp. John Lawrence and Presley Thompson all orders therefore through them in Writing or otherwise are to be Regarded in the Same light as if proceeding from any other of his Aids de Camp....¹⁰⁶

General Washington's General Orders for September 6 reflected the mood of the day:

The General begs the favour of the Officers to be attentive to all strange faces and suspicious persons, which may be discovered in camp and if upon examination of them no good Account can be given why they are there to carry them to the Major General of the day for further examination, this as it is only a necessary precaution is to be done in a manner least offensive...

...If contrary to his expectation there shall be found any officer or soldier so far lost to all shame as to basely quit their posts without orders, or shall skulk from danger or offer to retreat before order is given for so doing from proper authority of a Superior Officer, they are to be instantly shot

down, as a just punishment to themselves and for an example to others, this order those in the rear and the Corps of Reserve are to see duly executed, to prevent the cowardly making a sacrifice of the brave, and by their ill example and groundless tales circulating to cover their own shameful conduct, spreading terror as they go.

That this order may be well known and strongly impressed upon the army; the General positively orders the Commanding Officers of every regt to assemble their men and have it read to them; to prevent the plea of Ignorance...

Division Orders: That the horses be fixt to the wagons at retreat beating every night and keep them so till 9 the next morning and even then they are by no means to be separated from the wagons, so as to take 5 minutes to get them fixed...

The artillery horses to be fixed to the pieces one hour before day each morning; a Subl. & 20 men to mount guard every night at the Bridge from 6 in the evening to 9 in the morning to examine all strangers that are passing, and to apprehend such as do not give satisfactory account of themselves.¹⁰⁷

The Americans expected another attack at any minute. The fear, the excitement, the paranoia, were accompanied by the unbelievable stench of camp fires, gunpowder, the remains of slaughtered cattle rotting in the fields, and simple human waste.¹⁰⁸ Washington's orders now included a sanitation policy.

The "QM [quartermaster] Serjeants will immediately parade the CC [camp colors] Men of their Regiments & cover up all filth & nastiness in their respective fronts, and any Soldier daring to ease himself in any other place but the proper necessaries provided for that purpose shall receive Ten lashes on his bare back for every Offence."

"the quartermasters of Divisions are therefore to see that they are fixed at proper distances from camp, and that all offal will be buried once a day."¹⁰⁹

Perhaps by coincidence, on that same day John Lawrence sent a note to Captain Benjamin Pollard about the Brandywine Village mill race that Daniel and his men had built many years before:

Sir: By the time this reaches you, you will have made a considerable progress in blocking up the Bridge which you had begun to lay over the Brandywine, and blocking up the Road leading to it, as soon as this business is effectually done, I should be glad to have a proper Bridge thrown over that part of the Creek and adjacent Mill Races which the Engineer pointed out to you this morning, provided the execution of such a Work would not require too long a time: this you will consider and let me know by the return of the Bearer in how little time you could undertake to perfect the Bridges in question. I am etc.¹¹⁰

Daniel Byrnes was recognized both in Delaware and in Philadelphia as a prominent Quaker and a successful businessman. His house was large and comfortable with excellent cross ventilation and had easy access to both of the main roads and to White Clay Creek Landing. The transportation advantages that had made his site so desirable to Daniel-the- businessman made it equally desirable to the soldiers as a meeting location. Legend tells us that the Council of War was held at 5:00 p.m. in the shade of a still-existing sycamore tree. We do know from Washington and Kirkwood's papers that security measures were tight.¹¹¹ The tension in the air was reflected in Washington's General Orders for that day:

We can only imagine Daniel's thoughts as this turmoil filled his house and yard. He must have stolidly sized up the visitors before absenting himself from the meeting: George Washington was just two years younger than Daniel;. Wayne, Maxwell, Knox

and Sullivan were there; as was the war-hardened Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene, who had been raised in, and dismissed from, the Quaker faith.¹¹² With the soldiers was a red-headed boy, the impetuous, idealistic Marquis de Lafayette. As yet untested in combat, he was celebrating his twentieth birthday that day.¹¹³

How long the Council of War lasted, and whether or not, and what, Dinah Byrnes had to feed the distinguished guests, remains part of history's mysteries. What is certain is that Daniel's mills and the rich provisions therein had come to the Generals' attention. Long after the war, Daniel wrote to the President:

Dear friend Washington

In the year 1777 I was owner of and Lived at them Mills in the State of Dallaware on the side of White Clay Creek about two Miles north of Christiana Bridge. at the time the English Army Lay between my Mills and the head of Elk, and the American Army, some of them on the Hill by White Clay Creek Bridge in Sight of my House & Mills and Some of them nearer to Newport.

Thus was I with my Famely Situated between the two Contending Armies and on the 7th Day of the week Clement Biddle, an officer as I Suppose in thy Army Came to my House and informed me that General Woshington had Sent him to let me know that the wheat & Flour in my Mills must be Removed, and told me that thou Said the English Army wod be quite likely to Come that way and wod Distroy what I had but that thou wod take it and I Should be paid for it.

I Did then belive thou intended it as a favour to me as I was not Looked on as an Enemy to my Country and therefore I could Do no other thing but Submit to thy orders. Accordingly he Sent that Day twenty Wagons and Loaded with Wheat and Flour and next Day being first Day of the week came twenty more Wagons and Loaded (while I was at Meeting) with wheat and flour they also

that Day took Eight Large Cheese away which was put in the Mill to be out of the way of the Flies

they Laft with Some of my young men Receipts for the Wheat & Flour but not for the Cheese they ware to come again the Next Day being the Second Day of the week for more wheat & Flour as there was Some Still Lafft but that Day the English Army Crossed White Clay Creek 2 or 3 miles above my Mills and thy Army moved away.¹¹⁴

I saw Clement Biddle that Day on Horseback he told me he wod pay me but the Army was moving and all Seemed in a hurry. I Supose he had not time and want away without paying after that time there was Much Difucalties with the Army I knew not whare to apply for pay.”¹¹⁵

As he watched his former Quaker colleague, Clement Biddle, take `the first of forty wagon loads of grain and flour up the road towards Chadds Ford to the American Army, Daniel must have wondered how to reconcile this loss with his job of purging young militiamen from the local Meeting.¹¹⁶ Daniel made no record of the Council of War or the loss of his customers’ grain in the Book of Sufferings. Nathanael Greene, who had been dropped from his own Rhode Island Meeting several years before, sputtered that the “villainous Quakers were employed to serve the enemy.”¹¹⁷

On September 12, the British dropped back down from Chadds Ford. Wilmington was now an occupied city and Delaware’s President McKinly was kidnapped from his home on Market Street. Wilmington Friends’ minutes are mostly silent. There is a simple notation dated September 15 which tells us: “ The Friends are still continued respecting the education of the Negroes under Friends’ care.”¹¹⁸

The voice of Wilmington Friends Meeting can be heard in a brief report made by Duck Creek Monthly Meeting the following¹¹⁹ year:

“in the 9th mo., 1777 the British took possession of our town and made a garrison of it for their Sick and wounded officers with their attendance before they were removed. And the winter following a Division of the American Army wintered here and Friends were much oppressed having both officers and Soldiers placed in their Families.”

On September 18, the Continental Congress fled to Lancaster.¹²⁰ The Wilmington Friends Meeting minutes of September 18 reported:

Jehu Hollingsworth, a member of our monthly meeting is confined in Lancaster prison for refusing to comply with an act called the Test Act...

The Friends of this Committee who live at White Clay Creek being all absent by reason we suppose of the difficulty of passing and repassing. Any Friend who may have opportunity are desired to notify them of the time. Now adjourned to the 25th instant at two o'clock afternoon.”¹²¹

The Wilmington Book of Sufferings, elaborates:

“Jehu Hollingsworth being at Lancaster on some outward occasion was taken from a friend's house before William Henry who acted as a Magistrate for that County and for conscientiously refusing to take an oath of affirmation of allegiance to the present powers in the present unsettled state of publick affairs was by a Mitimus from the said William Henry committed to Lancaster gaol where he remained a prisoner (although considerable pains was taken by friends for his release) ...”¹²²

On the 25th, the minutes show:

Eleven friends met being all the committee except Daniel Byrnes. The friends appointed to write to Jehu Hollingsworth having wrote a letter, but had no opportunity of sending it to him, have now produced it here and it was read and approved. They are desired to sign it and forward it by the first convenient opportunity.¹²³

The case of Jehu Hollingsworth was to occupy Daniel Byrnes and the Wilmington Friends Meeting for many months to come.¹²⁴

In October, just as the British began drifting away from Wilmington towards Philadelphia, Elizabeth Shipley, the Quaker “Mother of Wilmington,”¹²⁵ died; members of Wilmington Friends appointed to treat with John Dickinson and wife signified they have had no opportunity by reason of their removing into Maryland, and the Test Act, which had already trapped Jehu Hollingsworth in Lancaster, was now enforced in Delaware.¹²⁶

The local people were tired and frightened. Thomas McKean worried:

“In New Castle county the lower class of the people have got an opinion that, by remaining quiet, they will not be molested, and seem unwilling to join their officers, or that any troops should be assembled in their neighborhood; and many of the officers and better sort of the inhabitants apprehend that, by attempting anything without the assistance of others, they will expose themselves to certain destruction.”¹²⁷

Fast on the heels of having been overrun by first American, and then by British soldiers, the people of Wilmington faced another occupation. On December 19, most of the Maryland troops of Sullivan’s division were detached and sent along with Hazen’s Regiment to occupy Wilmington.¹²⁸ Delaware and Maryland regiments, consisting of 1,500 men under the command of General William Smallwood, spent the winter of Valley Forge along the Brandywine River, near what is now Lovering and Broom Streets.¹²⁹ General George Washington ordered General William Smallwood and his

Delaware and Maryland troops to help the Brandywine flour mills to resume flour making.¹³⁰

Quaker records state: “A division of the American Army wintered here and Friends were much oppressed having both officers and soldiers placed in their families.”¹³¹

Throughout that long winter, Daniel Byrnes traveled on behalf of the Friends, back and forth from White Clay Creek to Wilmington; to Lancaster County and beyond.

January 1, 1778

At a monthly meet of the Committee for Sufferings eleven friends present. The friends appointed to attend Sadsbury Monthly Meeting report they did accordingly and also had an opportunity with the Committee of that meeting in Suffering Cases; from whom they had an account that Jehu Hollingsworth did not suffer for want of outward necessaries, but that there appeared no probability of him being set at liberty, and as there did not appear any way open to do anything for him at present, therefore they did not visit him.

Being now informed that a committee of the Western Quarterly Meeting in cases of Sufferings is to meet next second day, Daniel Byrnes, William Marshall, Robert Johnson are appointed to attend that meeting in expectation they may hear further from Jehu Hollingsworth and report at our next.¹³²

This committee [sic] understanding that some poor people in the City of Philadelphia are suffering or likely to suffer for want of provision, Daniel Byrnes, Joseph West, and Vincent Bonsall are appointed to apply for leave to procure and send some provisions to be distributed among such it being difficult for friends there to keep the poor at this time. The ways to that city being much shut up by armed men.

On January 29, 1778, Daniel and his colleagues reported back to the meeting that they had applied “to George Read who is called Vice President of the State,

for liberty to convey some provisions to Philadelphia.” Read told them it was not in his power to grant such license.¹³³ There seemed little to be done through legal means.

By February, soldiers and civilians were starving. Scouts were sent from Valley Forge to Wilmington to look for food, but, after nearly six months of military occupation, little was to be had. Nathanael Greene reported: “The residents cry out and beset me from all quarters, but like Pharaoh, I harden my heart.” Finding two men on the road with provisions intended for the city markets, he “gave them an hundred lashes each by way of example: “I determined to forage the country very bare. Nothing shall be left unattempted.”¹³⁴

On February 26, the Wilmington Monthly Meeting decided unanimously that the Friends ought to be careful not to contribute any means to the support of the “present commotion and confusions” either by paying taxes or otherwise. Now they worried about how to spread this advice and caution among their members. A meeting was scheduled to be held at White Clay Creek next Second Day.¹³⁵

At the end of May, Smallwood’s troops finally left Wilmington. By June, the British began evacuating Philadelphia. The Delaware River was full of ships and the roads were again full of refugees. A Hessian, Dohla, wrote: “We sailed past New Castle, where an English fleet of two hundred ships lay at anchor, including many warships as well as frigates and galleys. The others were transports which had loaded provisions,

munitions, baggage and artillery at Philadelphia. During the evening, in the same region, we were transferred to other ships. I went aboard a transport with the same name.”¹³⁶

In June, the Delaware Assembly confiscated the estates of forty-six specified Loyalists and of anyone else found guilty of actively aiding the British unless he asked for pardon before the first of August.¹³⁷ Another six months would go by before local Quaker, Jehu Hollingsworth, was freed from Lancaster jail.

On July 19, 1779, Delaware signed the Articles of Confederation. The official theatre of war shifted away from the Delaware Valley until the Yorktown campaign of 1781, and we are told by outside historians that:

The mixed allegiance of local people in New Castle, as well as the relative lenience of the Delaware government, is showcased in the “Act of Free Pardon and Oblivion,” that the Assembly issued on June 26, 1778, as the British withdrew from Philadelphia.¹³⁸

In fact, internal tensions in the little state remained high. Vigilantes were busy. Downstate, Loyalist refugees and others plundered and protested. Upstate, the Wilmington Friends Book of Sufferings reflects a growing sense of fear among the members of the White Clay Creek Meeting:¹³⁹

1780. Taken from Caleb Byrnes for a demand not known against himself and Stephen Stapler for tax for the support of war and government mixed together, eight bushels of corn.

4 mo 16 Taken from Caleb Byrnes above for a demand of 123 by Jacob for the above use 11 ½ bushels of Indian corn.

1780 From Daniel Byrnes by virtue of execution from James Black by James Carr Constable at the suit of William McClay capt., demand not known, one case of drawers. 5.

3 mo 1780. From Jehu Hollingsworth demanded 100 pounds for war and other taxes; leather worth 2.8.0 and by Robert Stewart collector in York County demand 117 pounds for war tax, two cows.

1780. From Daniel Byrnes by Thomas Wallace collector for war tax demand not known, 3 barrels of...flour 7.15

1781 from Caleb Byrnes by James Crawson for a matter of fine by virtue of execution from Evan Reece demand not known three dozen of tow yarn and for a muster fine by execution of above, ½ bushel of wheat.

From Bancroft Woodcock demand one pair silver knee buckles and 5 no. eight pairs of DO sleeve buttons 12.2.6

4 mo 25,1781 From Philip Jones for 1-19-9 demand one tea table, four chairs, armed chair, pewter basin, tubb, two planes, three augers, two goudges.

From Daniel Byrnes by a number of armed men 31 bushels of shorts @ 2/6 and by McGee Constable by execution from James Blake and Evan Reece for demand of 45/4 the remainder of a supply tax after the price of shorts was deducted and 23/1 demand for bounty tax three barrels of superfine flour ...and by Robert Wallace collector for war tax only one barrel of superfine flour amt 244.9.9

21st day October 1781 Several friends had glass broke in their windows by a rude mob for maintaining our ancient testimony against putting lighted candles in the time they made public rejoicing for a victory obtained by war.¹⁴⁰

Although on May 2 of the following year, Robert Kirkwood “arrived home from the war about 8 o clock in the evening,”¹⁴¹ The Sufferings continued unabated:

1782. May 13. From Robert Johnson 5 sheep.

May 16 from William Marshall, tea table

4 months 1783. From Ziba Ferris

1 walnut tea table 50/

1 walnut candle holder 30

3 chairs

3-10 from William Byrnes 2 barrels of flour.¹⁴²

The Delaware regiment was furloughed on January 17, 1783 at Christiana Bridge, but was not disbanded until November 15, 1783. The Pennsylvania Mutiny in June 1783 protested their lack of pay from the government of the First Republic. The government refused to listen, withdrawing from Philadelphia, first to Princeton, New Jersey, until November 1783, and then to Annapolis, Maryland.

As the war wound down, Daniel actively renewed his interest in the abolition of slavery. His signature can be found on a petition dated October 4, 1783 on a petition entitled “The Address from the Yearly Meeting of the People Called Quakers to the United States in Congress Assembled.” This document, signed in on behalf of the Yearly Meeting held in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, echoes those of his Broadside printed so many years before:

We conceive it our indispensable duty to revive the lamentable grievance of that oppressed people in your view as an interesting subject evidently claiming the serious attention of those who are entrusted with the powers of Government, as Guardians of the common rights of Mankind and advocates for liberty¹⁴³

The ratification documents signed by George III of England formally ended the American Revolutionary War on May 12, 1784, but the Sufferings of the White Clay Creek Quakers did not end:

10th June 1784. Six friends of the Committee met and understanding that destraint has been lately made of the property of some friends of White Clay Creek do appoint Ephraim Yarnall and Thomas Wollaston to collect account thereof and report of their care to our next meeting, then adjourned to the close of our preparative meeting the seventeenth next.¹⁴⁴

1784 marked a watershed in the Byrnes's family's tolerance for Delaware. The first to leave was Joshua Byrnes whose departure for Philadelphia is recorded in the records of the Wilmington Friends Meeting on July 14, 1784. On October 13, Daniel, Dinah, sons Joseph and Caleb, and daughter Lydia are recorded as transferring to the Philadelphia Southern District.¹⁴⁵ Only Daniel and Dinah's oldest son, William, remained at home on the White Clay Creek. On October 28, 1784, William married Anna Shipley, daughter of Thomas Shipley of Christiana Hundred, New Castle County.¹⁴⁶

Tragically, the next sighting of the family is a notice dated September 14, 1786:

Child of William Byrnes, son of Daniel and Dinah Byrnes, and Anna his wife, daughter of Thomas and Mary Shipley, Thomas Shipley, born September 14, 1786. Anna Byrnes departed this life shortly after the birth of the child.¹⁴⁷

The following year, 1787, Daniel's father, Daniel Burn, died at Christiana. What the old man, who had so hopefully brought his young family over from Ireland nearly sixty years before, had thought and experienced during the American Revolution is unknown. Shortly after the old man's death, William and baby Thomas Shipley Byrnes, joined the rest of the family in Philadelphia.¹⁴⁸

1787 also marked the reorganization of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. Both Daniel Byrnes and Thomas Shipley, baby Thomas's other grandfather, were active members, and Benjamin Franklin became its new president.¹⁴⁹ In 1787, PAS organized local efforts to support the crusade to ban the international slave trade and petitioned the Constitutional Convention to institute a ban. The following year, in collaboration with the Society of Friends, PAS successfully petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature to amend the

gradual abolition act of 1780. As a result of the 2000-signature petition and other lobbying efforts, the legislature prohibited the transportation of slave children or pregnant women out of Pennsylvania, as well as the building, outfitting or sending of slave ships from Philadelphia. The amended act imposed heavier fines for slave kidnapping, and made it illegal to separate slave families by more than ten miles.

Being in Philadelphia seemed to ignite a spark of creativity in Daniel. At home, on the banks of the White Clay Creek, Daniel had had in his mill works for drawing wire. He had also had a machine for spinning twine or strong flax thread which was turned by the water power of the mill. His nephew, also named Daniel Byrnes, later wrote, “I have no doubt but that he [was the] first in America to pack a barrel of flour by water in his mill, and he had a corn kiln for drying corn put up.”¹⁵⁰

In Philadelphia, Daniel set his mind to the design of a method of calculating longitude at sea by lunar observations. The Archives of the American Philosophical Society contains several of Daniel’s letters to Benjamin Franklin, written in the summer of 1788. These letters to Franklin, his abolitionist colleague, are signed, “Remain Your Friend, Daniel Byrnes.”

Also that summer, an advertisement for “Good Burr Mill Stones, MADE and SOLD, at Daniel Byrnes and Sons Store, on the north side of South Street, on the wharf,” appeared in Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*.¹⁵¹ The advertisement states:

AS Daniel Byrnes has been upwards of thirty years in the Milling Business, and in the use of Burr Mill Stones, it may reasonably be supposed he has by this time some judgment of the quality of such stones, therefore those who apply to them

may depend on being supplied with stones of the best quality, and such as will suit the part of the country they live in. Philadelphia. 24th Seventh Month, 1788.¹⁵²

One of the most curious things about Daniel Byrnes was his post-war relationships with active patriots. In addition to Benjamin Franklin, a notable contact was Blair McClenahan who engaged in mercantile pursuits and in banking and shipping

McClenahan was one of the founders of, and had served with, the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry during the Revolutionary War. In 1780 he had subscribed a large sum of money to help the American forces and aided the Continental Congress with money and credit. In August, 1790 McClenahan and his wife, Ann bought the Hale-Byrnes House from Daniel and Dinah. Later that fall, McClenahan was elected to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives.

In that same year, the Quaker precinct of Cornwall, New York, built the first religious building of any faith in that area. In June 1791, Daniel & Dinah Byrnes and grandson Thomas Shipley Byrnes, removed from Philadelphia and a certificate was granted to the New Cornwall Monthly Meeting, N.Y.¹⁵³

In June 1792, Daniel's son William bought 274 acres in the nearby area of Fishkill, called Tioronda. William entered into a business partnership with fellow Delaware Quaker, Cyrus Newlin, whose son Robert managed his father's share of the New York State partnership.¹⁵⁴

In January, 1793, a letter was sent to George Washington, reminding him of who Daniel Byrnes was, and asking how to get reimbursed for the eight wheels of cheese that Clement Biddle's men had so long ago removed from the White Clay Mills.¹⁵⁵

In 1794, Daniel bought part of a property in New Windsor, New York that had belonged to Governor George Clinton and came complete with a house, grist mill, saw mill, and a store. The site, known as *Schultz's Mill*, was a short distance west of the Hudson River. Schultz and Byrnes split the mill building, operating separate mills under one roof. The deed specified that Daniel owned the lot on the east, "the division line being "the middle of the post next west of the north door of said mill,"¹⁵⁶

Three years later, Daniel's will was signed by John Dickinson, William Seymour and William Gregg. The amount of land that Daniel owned at the time of his death is almost staggering. The will abstracted below, begins by mentioning the New Windsor property:

Will of Daniel Byrnes, Jr.

May 27, 1797

This is the Last Will and Testament of me, Daniel Byrnes of the town of New Windsor in the County of Ulster and State of New York. I do give and devise unto my wife Dinah and her assigns all the one equal.... Half part or moiety of all that lot and land situate in the town of New Windsor aforesaid where there is a grist mill which lot is a part of a tract of one hundred acres of land formerly granted and conveyed by Nathan Smith to Robert Boyd and George Harris and is particularly described in a certain deed of conveyance thereof executed by Isaac Schultz and Mary his wife to me the said Daniel Byrnes which deed bears date the twenty sixth day of July one thousand seven hundred and ninety.

Several pages later, we find mention of:

All my lands tenement and hereditaments and premises with the appurtenances situate in the borough of Wilmington in the state of Delaware.

To have and to hold the said land tenements hereditaments and premises with the appurtenances unto my said sons Caleb and Joshua and to their heirs and assigns tenant in common and not as joint tenants one equal undivided half part or moiety of four thousand acres of land in the State of Virginia, which said lands were granted and conveyed to me in and by a certain deed of conveyance, executed by Joseph Shipley and Mary his wife bearing date the sixteenth day of second month in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and are in the said deed particularly described. ..

I do farther give and devise unto my said son Joshua and to his heirs and assigns one equal undivided half part or moiety of all that certain tract piece or parcel of land situate in the town of Newburgh in the county of Ulster being part of Lot number eleven in a tract of land formerly granted by Letters patent to Alexander Baird and others together with one equal undivided, half part or moiety of all the houses outhouses buildings grist mills, saw mills and every other kind of water works tenement improvement hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining...

To have and to hold the one equal undivided half part or moiety of said tract piece or parcel of land tenements with the appurtenance unto my said son Joshua his heirs and assigns forever (subject however and charged and chargeable with the payment of two hundred and fifty two pounds to George Clinton of the City of New York, being a debt owing from me to the said George Clinton and also with a certain debt owing by me to Daniel Case of the county of Orange. ..

Be it remembered that on the twenty second day of August in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven personally came and appeared before me Joseph Gashiere Surrogate of the said County Merchant and being duly affirmed, on his affirmation declared that he did see Daniel Byrnes sign and seal within written instrument purporting to be the Will of said Daniel Byrnes.

Bearing date the twenty seventh day of the fifth month in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and heard him publish and declare the same as and for his last will and testament that at the time thereof the said Daniel Byrnes was of sound disposing mind and memory to the best of the knowledge and belief of him the affirmant and that John Dickinson and William Gregg together with the affirmant subscribed the said Will as witnesses thereto in the testator presence:

signed: Joseph Gasherie Surrogate Ulster County¹⁵⁷.

Cornwall Monthly Meeting recorded that Daniel Byrnes was deceased on 1798, 4 mo, 23.

The Book of Job

They that come after *him* shall be astonished at his day, as they that went before were affrighted. 18:21

At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh: neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth. 5:23 For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field: and the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee. 5:24 And thou shalt know that thy tabernacle *shall be* in peace; and thou shalt visit thy habitation, and shalt not sin. 5:25 Thou shalt know also that thy seed *shall be* great, and thine offspring as the grass of the earth. 5:26 Thou shalt come to *thy* grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season. 5:27 Lo this, we have searched it, so it *is*; hear it, and know thou *it* for thy good.¹⁵⁸

¹ Jane Lyons, PhD. '[From Ireland](http://www.from-ireland.net/wick/lewis/newcastle.htm)' Dublin, Ireland. Wicklow County, Ireland. IRISH CIVIL PARISHES: Newcastle. <http://www.from-ireland.net/wick/lewis/newcastle.htm> . Accessed August 11, 2010. description from Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, 1837. NEWCASTLE, a parish, in the barony of NEWCASTLE, county of WICKLOW, and province of LEINSTER; containing, with the post-town of Newtown-Mount-Kennedy, 4517 inhabitants of which number, 130 are in the two villages of Upper and Lower Newcastle. The parish was a portion of the ancient territory of '*Crioch-Cualan*,' or '*Hy-Briun-Cualan*,' and the centre of the eastern or maritime portion of the Byrnes' country, and part of the Ranelagh, a district that, for more than two centuries has given the title of viscount to the family of Jones. It takes its name from the castle built at a very early period after the English settlement, to protect the colony here from the molestations of the septs of the O'Tooles and the Byrnes, by whom that part of the county Wicklow was then possessed. It became a principal military station and the chief town of the English on the eastern side of this tract of country long before the erection of the town of Wicklow into a borough, or of the county into shire ground.

² See: "Early Philadelphia, 1682-1800." Matthew Ainslie at <http://mysite.verizon.net/handworn/spruce.html> accessed June 12, 2011. It is interesting to note that the first house the Byrnes family settled in was between Water and Front Streets, probably #8 Spruce Street. On the north side of this block, 1791 Philadelphia directories show the property at #1 Spruce St. belonged to Sweetman & Rudolph, flour merchants. One can only speculate about an earlier connection between the Byrnes family and these flour merchants.

³ In 1734, Daniel Byrnes' father, listed as "Daniel Burn" appears as one of twenty-four landholders in Whitpain Township, Pennsylvania where he owned forty acres. See *Bean's History of Montgomery County* at <http://files.usgarchives.org/pa/montgomery/history/local/mchb0071.txt>, accessed Jan 23, 2011.

Quaker Meeting records show that the senior Byrne[s] family were still living in Pennsylvania's Whitpain township at the time of Daniel's marriage in 1751, and had not moved from there in 1759 when Daniel's brother Caleb married Mary Davis of Abington Township, Pennsylvania.³

⁵ Note Dinah's last name appears in all Quaker records as Hicklin. The Hicklins are a well-documented Delaware Quaker family. At some point the hand-written records were misread as saying, "Hitchen" and that name appears erroneously in a number of Byrnes' family genealogies. At the business meeting of May 2, 1752 Dinah Hicklin was granted a certificate of transfer from the Newark Monthly Meeting in Delaware's Brandywine Hundred to the Wilmington Monthly Meeting.

⁶ Many years later, his grandson wrote: "I have in my possession a letter written in his own hand in a very tremulous state, as it appears by his writing, particularly in the signature of his name; a letter addressed to his son Daniel Byrnes, dated Jones Creek ye 10 mo. 13th, 1764. Daniel Byrnes, Sr lived along Jones Creek in nearby Pennsylvania. A Delaware historian long ago assumed that Jones Creek was a misnomer for the Jones River in Kent County, Delaware. And this error has often been repeated. In old age, Daniel Byrnes Sr. did move to Delaware and died in 1787 at Christiana Head, New Castle County, Delaware."⁶

⁷ See Scharf's History of Delaware for more complete information.

⁸ This mill race still exists and can be seen in the area near the Brandywine Zoo. See also, Susan M Chase. Industry and Brandywine Park at <http://www.brandywinepark.org/spring04.pdf>

⁹ Brandywine Village is near the intersection of Concord Pike and Philadelphia Pike, extending down Philadelphia Pike past Superfine Lane to the Market Street Bridge. Wilmington⁹ Meeting has a notation showing that "Daniel Byrnes built on the west side of the Brandywine River in Brandywine Village."

¹⁰ Many photographs of Brandywine Village may be seen at <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=544087>

¹¹ Coleman. McKean. Pg 26-27

¹² Daniel Byrnes. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America.* DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders

¹³ Wayne & Vici Churchman. Churchman Genealogy Website. <http://www.churchman.org/default.asp> Accessed August 16, 2010.

¹⁴ Refers to the Paxton Riots of 1764. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians initiated the riots, blaming the Quakers for the recent loss of life and property at the hands of the Indians. A number of Quakers, especially youth, took up arms in response to the violent threat of the 'Paxton Boys', and in contradicting the Society's peace principles cast doubt on the legitimacy of the Quaker cause. Numerous anti-Quaker pamphlets were circulated recounting the hypocritical behavior of the Society. Excerpted from "How did the Quaker peace testimony contribute to the negative attitudes of non-Quakers towards the Society?" accessed Jan 23, 2011 at http://www2.gol.com/users/quakers/how_did_the_quaker_peace_testimo.htm

¹⁵ J. Thomas Scharf. History of Delaware 1609-1888. Vol II. 1888. Reprinted 2001. Delmarva Roots, Lewes, Delaware. Pg 940-941.

¹⁶ Wilmington Friends Meeting, Miscellaneous papers: Misc Reports of the Committees. 1732-1835. Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College.

¹⁷ Dickinson wrote the words to fit the famous music of the anthem of the British Royal Navy, "Heart of Oak." When Dickinson wrote his lyrics, he undoubtedly knew well the patriotic association of the British the Navy of the words and the music of "Heart of Oak." Perhaps because of this, he also used the song to comment on his colleague John Hancock's ship, called *Liberty*, which had been seized by the authorities for smuggling. This seizure, along with anger over the acts, precipitated riots and led to the declaration of a suspension of English imports by Boston merchants in August, 1768 to begin December 31. Dickinson College. http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/encyclo/l/ed_libertysong.html.

See also <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/c-eight/america/dick6.htm>. Note: John Dickinson was descended from Dr Thomas Wynne (1627-92), Quaker minister and physician to William Penn; Mary Wynne (1659-1726) married - in 1677 ; Dr Edward Jones (1645-1736) who led the First Company of Welsh Quakers into Lower Merion ; Martha Jones (c. 1678-1747) married - in 1699 John Cadwalader (c. 1677-1734). Cadwalader was originally a schoolmaster in Merion, and later became a merchant... Mary Cadwalader (1700-1776) married - in 1731 Samuel Dickinson (1689-1760). Samuel was a Quaker tobacco planter and merchant who left the Friends, moving from Maryland to Delaware where he became a prominent judge. On July 19, 1770, John Dickinson married Mary Norris, known as Polly, the daughter of the Philadelphia Quaker Speaker of the Pennsylvania General Assembly. John Dickinson was born in 1732, making him an exact contemporary of Caleb and Daniel Byrnes.

¹⁸ Hancock. *Liberty*. Pg 3

¹⁹ *The Blackheath Connection: a website book* by Dan Byrnes. <http://www.danbyrnes.com.au/blackheath/index.html>. Accessed Feb 5, 2011.

²⁰ Daniel Byrnes. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America*. DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. See Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders

²¹ Deed book G-12, 180, 181 shows that Daniel Byrnes purchased 4 1/2 acres specifically for a mill seat and races on January 16, 1773.

²² It is within walking distance of the intersection of Route 4 and Route 7 in Stanton, Delaware. The current address is 606 (old) Stanton-Christiana Road, Newark, Delaware 19713.

²³ The road in front of the Hale-Byrnes House was once the major artery between Philadelphia and Baltimore, directly connecting Newport, Stanton, and Christiana. For some sense of what has happened to Route 7, please see <http://www.aaroads.com/delaware/de-007.htm> accessed Feb 5, 2011.

²⁴ Daniel Byrnes. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America.* DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders

²⁵ Francis Cooch. Little Known History of Newark, Delaware and its Environs. The Press of Kells, Newark, Delaware. 1936. Page 82.

²⁶ Today remains of this millrace can be seen near the golf course at Delaware Park and also behind the spring house at Hale-Byrnes. Muscle Cripple was an English spelling of the earlier Dutch and Swedish name that meant "Marshy Thicket." According to Scharf's History of Delaware [pg 932], in 1702, the tract included one thousand and sixty acres, and reached from White Clay Creek to Christiana Creek, and the road to Christiana Village ran through the property.

²⁷ [David Finney] sold one large farm in New Castle County, called *Muscle Cripple* for \$20,000.00. The property was worth that sum in hard money. It was one of the finest farms in the State of Delaware, some five hundred or more acres of excellent land, with convenient buildings, well watered, and within convenient distance of New Castle. See also: Coleman. McKean. 29.

See also: Bill Samuel. Quakerism in the 18th Century. See Quakerinfo.com accessed August 17, 2010. Organization of Friends into bodies meeting at different frequencies and with different functions began well before the 18th century began. However, it was still somewhat rudimentary, and even formal membership did not exist until well into the 18th century. By the end of the 18th century, three groups of Friends with special functions were fairly clearly defined - ministers, elders and overseers. While the key figures of the first generation of Friends were mostly ministers engaged in evangelistic work, by the end of the 18th century the key group was the elders whose principal concern was the faithfulness of the members.

²⁸ Daniel Byrnes. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America.* DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. See Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders

²⁹ Ibid. Uncle Daniel's two youngest children and my brother Jonathan and self being near their age and living one mile apart, were often together both day and night. We all four often slept in one bed, and we have all four often rode one behind the other on Uncle's gray horse. The one next to the tail had to hold fast to keep on. Then were the finest times either of us have ever seen since. Going to school and in to swim after; fine times as we swam on the tide water. We had some beautiful plans for bathing, and in the winter, for skating from our mill dam to Uncle Daniel's and back. One time, I remember Cousin Caleb was on the creek skating and picked me up in his arms and skated away with me. He was a good skater.

See also: Ann Byrnes Alleman Byrnes Family History. www.halebyrnes.org. The stories are told of how Daniel's children and Caleb's often slept together in one bed – all four of them. Also how the four would ride on an old gray mare and take turns being on the end so they could hang onto the horse's tail. In the summer they swam in the milldam and in winter ice-skated on the creek between Caleb's and Daniel's houses. Monograph. Pg 7.

³⁰ In the contest between British Parliament and the American colonists, financial problems were making news. Parliament stubbornly retained a tax on tea when it repealed the Townshend Acts. The tax would be used to aid the financially troubled East India Company. Many colonists, perceiving this as a largely symbolic gesture, tried to prevent the consignees from accepting taxed tea. Their protests were successful in both New York and Philadelphia. At Charleston the tea was landed but was held in government warehouses.

³¹ Henry Drinker (1734-1809), son of Henry and Mary (Gottier) Drinker, m. Elizabeth Sandwith (1734-1807), daughter of Wm. and Sarah (Jervis) Sandwith in 1761. They were members of the Society of Friends and Henry served as clerk of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting. He was a partner in the Philadelphia shipping firm of James and Drinker. In addition, he was an ironmaster (Atsion, N.J.) and at one time owned 500,000 acres of land. He was an active supporter of Westtown School and served on the Board of Overseers of Public School of Philadelphia. In Sept. 1777 he refused to formally declare his loyalty to the United States government and as a result was taken prisoner (along with other prominent Philadelphia Quakers) and subsequently exiled to Winchester, Va. where he remained until April 1778. See also Haverford College Libraries. Special Collections. Ms. Coll. 854 ca. 74 items (1 box)

³² E-mail from Christopher Densmore to Kim Burdick, January 23, 2011. Swarthmore. "The minutes from Wilmington MM 7 Mo. 1775, appointing a committee to collect money for the sufferers in New England. It names five people to the committee, including Caleb Byrnes and Daniel Byrnes. The MM minutes later record the total amount collected, but I didn't see a break-down of individual contributors. The Wilmington Monthly Meeting records are quite extensive (you can see the list via our web site). There are records of local sufferings during the Revolution though I don't know if it contains a list of whom the people were who donated money for New England. But even if there isn't a specific record of what Byrnes donated, he is certainly a key person in raising the contributions."

³³ Warren, Joseph. Suffolk Resolves. 1774. For text see: http://ahp.gatech.edu/suffolk_resolves_1774.html, accessed Feb 5, 2011.

³⁴ David Hackett Fischer. Paul Revere's Ride. 1994. Oxford University Press. Pg 26

³⁵ Sally Schwartz. A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Religious Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania. 1987. New York University Press. New York and London. Pages 266-267

³⁶ Sally Schwartz. A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Religious Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania. 1987. New York University Press. New York and London. Pages 266-267

³⁷ Letter from William Bradford of Philadelphia to James Madison. William Bradford. March 4, 1774. See also: http://www.beliefnet.com/resourcelib/docs/132/Letter_from_William_Bradford_to_James_Madison_1.html

³⁸ William Penn . http://thinkexist.com/quotation/right_is_right-even_if_everyone_is_against_it-and/180053.html . Accessed Feb 23, 2011 See also: Hamm. Pg 33.

³⁹ Charles Wetherill, History of The Religious Society of Friends Called by Some The Free Quakers, in the City of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Printed for the Society, 1894, This Document is on accessed June 15, 2011.

⁴⁰ Journals of the Continental Congress - Articles of War, June 30, 1775. See: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/contcong_06-30-75.asp

⁴¹ Philip Hamburger. Religious Freedom in Philadelphia. Emory Law Journal. Vol 54. January 17, 2006. Pg 1605.

⁴² Sons of Providence. Pg 177

⁴³ Meeting for Suffering Minutes, B3.2 p.12. Daniel was also appointed to a committee, not related to the issue at hand, during the meeting of the Yearly Meeting. (Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Papers, D3.3, #34 p. 8. In Philadelphia, where most American Quakers lived and where most of the relief funds would be raised, Boston and its radicals were simply anathema. By June 1775, the Quakers at Philadelphia had begun to come around, and by November, the Philadelphia Meeting had forwarded two thousand pounds for distribution by the New England Meeting. Moses Brown of Rhode Island added another five hundred pounds of his own funds, and in December, he was appointed with David Buffum personally to conduct the distribution. The aid project represented a major departure for the Quakers, a break from their separatist leanings that helped establish a new tradition of humanitarian relief. [Rapelje. Sons of Providence. Pg 177.]

⁴⁴ <http://www.answers.com/topic/olive-branch-petition#ixzz1D7O0DaI9>, accessed Feb 5, 2011.

⁴⁵ Coleman. Thomas McKean: Forgotten Leader of the American Revolution. Pg 140.

⁴⁶ Schlesinger. Pg 557

⁴⁷ Newspaper Records Relating to Christiana. Monograph. Christiana Historical Society. See www.Xtinahahs.org/newspaperrecords.doc. Accessed June 12, 2011.

⁴⁸ "Friends and Social Change" By Kenneth Boulding. Accessed January 17, 2011 on <http://www.fgcquaker.org/library/welcome/fa-socialchange.html>

⁴⁹ [Haverford College Special Collections Quaker Broad­sides. BX7730.B994 S5 1775a](#)

⁵⁰ Friends believe that all people are created equal in the eyes of God. Since all people embody the same divine spark all people deserve equal treatment

⁵¹ During that week two Christiana men were brought up on charges of disloyalty to the patriot cause.

Philadelphia, July 14.
 WHEREAS I have, some time since, frequently made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my worthy Fellow Citizens, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotic struggle against the arbitrary measures of the British ministry, which conduct has justly raised their resentments against me. I now confess that I have acted extremely wrong in so doing, for which I am exceedingly sorry, and humbly ask pardon and forgiveness of the Public; and I do solemnly promise that, for the future, I will conduct myself in such a manner, as to avoid giving any offence: And at the same time, in justice to myself, must declare, that I am not unfriendly to the present Measures pursued by the Friends to American Liberty, but do heartily approve of them, and as far as is in my power will eavour to promote them.
 AMOS WICKERSHAM. [Newspaper Records Relating to Christiana]

Philadelphia, July 17, 1775.

TO THE PUBLIC.

WHEREAS I have spoken disrespectfully of the general Congress, as well as of those Military Gentlemen who have associated for the defence of the liberties of America, I now take this opportunity of declaring, that my conduct proceeded from the most contracted notions of the British constitution, and of the right of human nature. I am sorry for my guilt, and am ashamed of my folly. I now believe all Assemblies to be legal and constitutional, which are formed by the united suffrages of a free people; and am convinced that no soldiers are so respectable, as those citizens who take up arms in defence of liberty. I believe that Kings are no longer to be feared or obeyed, than while they execute just laws; and that a corrupted British Ministry, with a venal Parliament at their heels, are now attempting to reduce the American colonies to the lowest degree of slavery. I most sincerely wish that the counsels of the Congress may always be directed with wisdom, and that the arms of America may always be crowned with success. And I pray that every man in America, who behaves as I have formerly done, may not meet with the lenity which I have experienced, but may be obliged to expiate his crimes in a more ignominious manner. MORDECAI LEVY. [Newspaper Records Relating to Christiana]

In July 1775, the Sussex County Committee of Inspection suspected Thomas Robinson of expressing Tory sympathies. Robinson refused to appear before the committee, which warned revolutionaries not to deal with him but seems to have taken no other action.

[http://archives.delaware.gov/collections/revolutionary%20war%20record/revguiderev.shtml#P87_1246]

⁵² Scott. Gentlemen. Pg 103.

See also: <http://etext.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/DelVol02.html> accessed September 20, 2010. The following year, Revere was again sent by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress to Philadelphia. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia he met with Robert Morris and John Dickinson who provided him with a letter of recommendation to Oswell Eve, the only manufacturer of gun powder in the colonies at that time. The Powder-Mill on Frankford Creek became the working model that was studied by all the other colonies for building their own mills in the production of gunpowder. When the British occupied Philadelphia in September 1777, they took over the mill, and it was rumored that Eve cooperated. On March 6, 1778, the **Supreme Executive Council** found Eve found guilty of treason for trading with the **British**, but he was allowed to leave the city when the British evacuated in Spring 1778, leaving his son Oswell Jr. in charge of the mill.^[2] However, on July 6, 1778, all his property, including the powder mills and 202 acres, were confiscated

⁵³ Scott. A Gentleman as Well pg 103

⁵⁴ [Clark and Morgan, Naval Documents, 5:15-16]

⁵⁵ Beginning in 1701, Delaware had a separate Assembly from the three upper counties but shared the same Governor as the rest of Pennsylvania.

⁵⁶ Hancock. Liberty & Ind. Pg 128

⁵⁷ Benjamin Franklin's son was the Tory Governor of New Jersey.

⁵⁸ Read. Pg 225

⁵⁹ Read. Pgs 245-246. Extract from the Minutes.

⁶⁰ Coleman. McKean. Pg 166. See also: Ketchum. Winter Soldiers. Pg 19

⁶¹ Dickinson is considered a Pennsylvania delegate although, like McKean, he had residences in what we would now consider the two states of Delaware and Pennsylvania.

⁶² Ketchum. Winter Soldiers. Pg 19

⁶³ Charles Thompson wrote to John Dickinson on August 16, 1776 when Dickinson was at his lowest point: "There are some expressions in your letter, which I am sorry for, because they seem to flow from a wounded spirit...[your countrymen] did not desert you. You left them. Possibly they were wrong in quickening their march and advancing to the goal with such rapid speed. They thought they were right, and the only 'fury' they showed against you was to choose other leaders to conduct them." [Coleman. McKean. Pg 202 quoting from Stille, pg 210. Charles H. Stille, *The Life and Writings of John Dickinson*. 1891. Philadelphia.

⁶⁴ In December 1775 Congress resolved that a "battalion" should be raised from the lower three counties of Pennsylvania. These three counties are what is now Delaware. Delaware was not yet a completely separate state and was still part of the colony of Pennsylvania. The "battalion" was also called a regiment. On 21 January 1776 the list of officers was completed. John Haslet was appointed Colonel. Haslet's regiment was judged among the very best combat units in Washington's command. Haslet's regiment, the only unit of Continental regulars recruited in Delaware, is perpetuated by today's 198th Signal Battalion, Delaware Army National Guard. The distinctive unit insignia was originally approved for the 198th Coast Artillery on 13 Jun 1934. It was re-designated for the 736th Antiaircraft Artillery Gun Battalion on 26 Jan 1951. On 6 Apr 1961, the insignia was re-designated for 198th Artillery. The unit insignia was re-designated for the 198th Signal Battalion on 19 Oct 1978. See also: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/agency/army/198sig.htm>

⁶⁵ Wilmington Friends Meeting: Minutes of Our Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey held in Philadelphia in the 9th Month 1776. Swarthmore Friends Historical Society.

⁶⁶ Daniel Byrnes. Wilmington Friends Meeting Minutes. Swarthmore. Microfilm.
Another example: "Meeting: Whereas Moses Patterson who hath made profession and a right of membership with us the people called Quakers hath so far deviated from any peaceable principal as to appear under arms in company with a number of people who were assembled in a martial manner and at another time, joined with others in encouraging military proceedings and on being treated with from time to time on the doctrine he does not appear capable to condemn the said conduct; therefore we do hereby testify against the same and disown him from membership with us as a religious society until he(...) his error therein and through repentance be enabled to condemn it to the satisfaction of this meeting, which we sincerely desire he may. Given forth this day by Wilmington Friends Meeting, 28th June 1777.
"[Swarthmore]

⁶⁷ Haslet was killed on January 3 in a skirmish in Princeton, New Jersey.

⁶⁸ Ward. Continental Soldiers. Pg 160

⁶⁹ Hancock. Lib & Ind. Pg 88

⁷⁰ Fisher had previously established stations between Lewes and Philadelphia for changes of riders and horses. Each station was to endorse the message, indicating the time received and time dispatched. Stations were located at Cedar Creek, Dover, Cantwell's Bridge, Wilmington, and Chester. This 18th century express required about 21 hours to reach Philadelphia. [<http://www.panavy.org/alarmposts.html>]

⁷¹ Ward. Pg 507

⁷² Christopher Ward pg 505 quoting Archives III, 1414

⁷³ David Hall to Caesar Rodney. Papers of George Washington, Crackel, citing Ryden. Rodney letters. 203-4.

⁷⁴ Ward. Pg 508.

⁷⁵ Mittimus: Dated August 22, 1777: Jehu Hollingsworth Who by his own confession hath not taken an oath of allegiance to any of the United States of America and the oath of allegiance to this state being tendered to him, he refuseth to take and subscribe to the same. These are therefore in the name of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania do command and request you to receive the said Jehu Hollingsworth and him safely keep in the common gaol of the county aforesaid until he shall take the said oath or affirmation of allegiance agreeable to an Act of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of passed the 18th day of June 1777.

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Committee Appointed by Wilmington Monthly Meeting in the 8th Mo. 1777 to Collect and Keep a Record of all Sufferings for the Testimony of Truth and to Advise in Cases of Difficulty. Swarthmore.

⁷⁷ Christopher Ward. Pg 505 quoting Journals VIII, 667

⁷⁸ Major Andre. Pg 71

⁷⁹ David G. Martin. Philadelphia Campaign. Pg 41

⁸⁰ Burgoyne. Enemy Views. Pg 171.

⁸¹ Reed. Campaign. Pg 82

⁸² Elizabeth Montgomery. Rem. Pg 110

⁸³ Colonel. Daniel Udree, of the Pennsylvania Militia.

⁸⁴ Washington, George, 1732-1799. The writings of George Washington from the original manuscript sources: Volume 9

⁸⁵ Reed. Phil Camp. Pg 86

⁸⁶ Captain John Chilton, 3d Virginia Regt. Revolutionary Imprints. Don Hagist.

⁸⁷ Sullivan's materials on the Spanktown, New Jersey Quakers and several official Quaker statements urging Friends to remain true to their pacifistic principles were published. See JCC, 8: 688-89, 694-95; and Gilpin, Exiles in Virginia, pp. 282-300.

⁸⁸ Wilmington Friends Book of Sufferings, Swarthmore

⁸⁹ Stanton is also referred to as Rising Sun, the name of a tavern located on the slope above the juncture of the Red and White Clay Creeks. In Quaker records this crossroads is often simply called "White Clay Creek." The Rising Sun

was very close to William Marshall's property and within walking distance of both Brother Caleb's house at 201 Old Mill Lane, and Daniel Byrnes's house and mills at 606 old Stanton-Christiana Road. A photo of Caleb's house is available in Habs-Haer Reports where it is listed as "Stanton-Tatnall-Byrnes House."

⁹⁰ Lengel. General George Washington. Pg 224

⁹¹ McGuire pg 147. Quoting Letter, Fitzpatrick. PMHB 1,1877:289n]. See Also: Captain John Chilton, 3d Virginia Regt. Revolutionary Imprints. 8/29 Pitched tents to dry them at 4 in afternoon. Moved about three miles to the Eastward, pitched tents and staid this night. Within these three days near 50 prisoners have been brought in. The enemy seem to be bold but very imprudent. Should they continue to act as they have done a few mouths will give them into our hands without fighting. We have better than 1000 men near them who will I expect give a good account of those bloodsuckers, who shall be guilty of the temerity of leaving their camp for the atrocious crimes of robbery, rapine and murder

⁹² McGuire Pg 147. quoting Gruber, Peebles Diary.29. Note: Buchanan says this was on Sept 1. See Road to Valley Forge, Pg 231

⁹³ GEORGE WASHINGTON Papers UVA. Given at Head Quarters-Wilmington-this 31st August 1777.

⁹⁴ After the war the Stanton Friends Meeting was built on William Marshall's property. This is the back of the property now known as *Clay and Clay*, behind Stanton Middle School.

⁹⁵ Daniel Byrnes 111. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America.* DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Pg 8 Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders, 1842. This was a nephew of Daniel Byrnes, also named Daniel Byrnes. His parents' house was at 201 Old Mill Lane, Stanton, about a mile upstream from his uncle Daniel's house, located at 606 old Stanton-Christiana Road.

⁹⁶ Wilmington Friends Book of Sufferings, Swarthmore. According to Quaker policy, Friends were not supposed to accept payment for war-related takings.

⁹⁷ Diary of Joseph Clark. 2nd Jersey. American Revolutionary Imprints Don Hagist. Vol 3, pg 97

⁹⁸ Crackel. That evening at 8:00 p.m., Washington wrote from Wilmington to John Hancock, President of the Second Continental Congress: "This morning the enemy came out with considerable force and three pieces of artillery, against our Light Advanced Corps, and after some pretty smart skirmishing obliged them to retreat, being far inferior in number and without cannon. The loss on either side is not yet ascertained. Ours, though not exactly known, is not very considerable. Theirs, we have reason to believe, was much greater, as some of our parties, composed of excellent marksmen, had opportunities of giving them several close, well-directed fires; more particularly in one instance, when a body of riflemen formed a kind of ambushade. They advanced about two miles this side of Iron Hill, and then withdrew to that place, leaving a picket at Cooch's Mill,⁹⁸ about a mile in front. Our parties now lie At White Clay Creek, except the advanced pickets which are at Christiana Bridge."

⁹⁹ LB DNA: PCC, item 12A. On August 30, 1777. John Hancock, on behalf of the Continental Congress" The Congress having received such Information of the Disaffection of the Quakers as to leave the Matter no longer doubtful, they have come to the enclosed Resolves recommending it to the different States forthwith to apprehend all Persons of that Society, and indeed all others, who have evidenced by their Conduct & Conversation a Disposition inimical to the Cause of America. It is also recommended to the different States to take Possession of the Records & Papers of the Meeting of Sufferings and that such Parts of them as are of a political Nature be transmitted to Congress. I beg Leave to refer your Attention to the whole of the enclosed Resolves, and shall only add that the greatest Secrecy is highly necessary touching the Premisses. I have the Honour to be, with Respect, Sir,

your most obed. & very hble Set.
John Hancock. President

¹⁰⁰ Wednesday September 3, 1777 Journals of the Continental Congress states: "Resolved, That Congress approve of the Quakers prisoners being sent to Virginia, and, in the opinion of Congress, that Staunton, in the county of Augusta, is the most proper place in the State of Virginia for their residence and security." The Continental Congress repeated its recommendation to detain some of the area's most prominent citizens from time to time during the month of August, even naming those persons who should be sent away. Included among those arrested were the Honorable John Penn, late Governor of the province; James Hamilton; Benjamin Chew; James Tilghman; Jared Ingersoll; Edward Shippen Jr., Joseph Shippen Jr., James Allen; Phineas Bond; Joseph Stansbury; William Smith; Richard Wister; John Drinker; Henry Drinker; Israel Pemberton, John Hunt, and Samuel Pleasants and others. The list was long and distinguished. The Council issued a warrant to the "Gentlemen of the Board of War" for the arrest; originally of thirty-six and on September 2, the round-up began. Those who promised to stay in their homes or to leave the state were allowed to go free, but twenty refused to do this. The event was hardly surprise when it occurred, for there had been rumblings since the middle of June. However, most of the detainees found it difficult to believe that the state would persist in its charges against them, and openly utilized whatever political and legal machinery, or influence, was available for purposes of defense. When the blow fell, they had only the consolation of being confined in the Masonic Lodge, which was more comfortable than an ordinary jail, and more appropriate for such distinguished prisoners.

¹⁰¹ Coleman. McKean. Pg 214

¹⁰² George Washington to John Hancock. From Headquarters: Wilmington, DE. September 3, 1777. 8 o Clock P.M.

¹⁰³ McGuire pg 148. Quoting General Orders, Head Quarters, Wilmington

¹⁰⁴ Lengel. General George Washington. Pg 226

¹⁰⁵ Reed. Phil Camp pg 107

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Byrnes 111. *A Brief account. Of the Descendants of Daniel Byrne or Byrnes, who Immigrated to America.* DELAWARE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Pg 8 Byrnes Family, papers, 1764-1854, 3 volumes and 3 folders, 1842. Note: In spite of Emerson's Wilson's charming short story, It is unknown where Dinah and the five children were that evening. Daniel's nephew wrote many years later that Daniel stayed. It does not say that Daniel's family stayed. The story about hiding in the cellar is frequently misquoted. It is about Brother Caleb's family who lived about a mile northeast, not about Daniel's family.

¹⁰⁷ Kirkwood. Journal. Pg 164

¹⁰⁸ Royster says, "We might call it anxiety. Americans inexperience in war caused many of their early problems, and the revolutionaries' respect for personal independence worked against quick, strict obedience to orders. Men who had shared the rage militaire of 1775 remained reluctant to master the soldierly skills that would help keep them alive in the army." [Royster. Revolutionary People. Pg 60]

¹⁰⁹ GEORGE WASHINGTON Papers UVA. Christine S. Patrick and John C. Pinheiro, eds., *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series* volume 12, January – May 1793. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2005, pg 14-18.

¹¹⁰ Note: The draft is in the writing of John Laurens. Washington, George, 1732-1799. The writings of George Washington from the original manuscript sources: Volume 9. Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library

¹¹¹ GEORGE WASHINGTON Papers UVA. Christine S. Patrick and John C. Pinheiro, eds., *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series* volume 12, January – May 1793. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2005, pg 14-18.

The service wing featured a keeping room at the front of the house that had a large fireplace for cooking, and a buttery overlooking the White Clay Creek. Above these rooms were two bedrooms. Daniel and Dinah had added the service wing in 1773 to the original 1750 house.

¹¹² <http://militaryhistory.about.com/od/americanrevolutio1/p/greene.htm>

¹¹³ Lafayette was born September 6, 1757.

¹¹⁴ George Washington Papers UVA [Christine S. Patrick and John C. Pinheiro, eds., *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series* volume 12, January – May 1793. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2005, pages 14-18. You can also access this document online. A free trial version can be accessed by visiting <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/>

¹¹⁵ Daniel Byrnes. Letter to George Washington dated January 17, 1793. New Windsor, NY. GEORGE WASHINGTON Papers UVA. Christine S. Patrick and John C. Pinheiro, eds., *The Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series* volume 12, January – May 1793. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2005, pg 14-18. The American commandeered what they needed on that day from many people. The Quaker's Book of Sufferings reports: September 1777 Taken from William Marshall about 5 tons of hay. [Swarthmore]. Daniel Byrnes was in charge of compiling this list, but he did not mention his own losses. Note: Colonel Clement Biddle was a member of the well-known area family of that name, who was disowned as early as 1775 for "studying to learn the art of war," he having raised a company of soldiers composed largely of Quakers. He served as Quartermaster-General in the Revolutionary Army under General Gates, at Valley Forge and elsewhere. Clement Biddle died in 1813.

¹¹⁶ September 1777. Wilmington Monthly Meeting. Misc. papers. Accounts of Sufferings., 1777-1814. Swarthmore.

¹¹⁷ Washington's General. Pg 136

¹¹⁸ Minutes. Wilmington Friends Meeting. September 15, 1777. Swarthmore.

¹¹⁹ Hancock. pg 74 quoting Report of Duck Creek Monthly Meeting to Quarterly Meeting, Box 15, Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia.

¹²⁰ Bodle. VF Winter pg 40. Also on October 18, On October 18, in the midst of concern for Jehu Hollingsworth and the other Quaker prisoners, and the turmoil caused by the British occupation of Wilmington, Elizabeth Shipley, the mother of Quaker Wilmington died. It was she who had, forty-two years before, reportedly foreseen the settlement of Wilmington in a dream, and determined that the Quakers were destined to live there.

¹²¹ Wilmington Friends Meeting Minutes. September 18, 1777. Swarthmore.

¹²² Copy of a Minute of the Meeting for Sufferings. 1777-9. Wilmington Monthly Meeting. Swarthmore.

¹²³ Wilmington Friends Meeting Minutes. September 25, 1777. Swarthmore

¹²⁴ Jehu Hollingsworth was not freed from Lancaster Jail until February 16, 1778. Note: Dinah Byrnes was a member of the extended Hollingsworth family.

¹²⁵ J. Thomas Scharf: History of Delaware, II, 631-2. "for it was her dream which influenced her husband, William Shipley, the virtual founder of that important town, to settle at WillingTown (now Wilmington)." Elizabeth Shipley was a minister among Friends, intelligent, and influential. It was in 1730, when living at Ridley, Pennsylvania, that she

drempt she was traveling on horseback along a road when she came to a wild, turbulent stream which she forded with difficulty; beyond this she mounted a long, steep hill and at its summit saw a view of surpassing beauty. The hill whereon she stood melted away in the distance into a broad savannah, treeless and covered with luxuriant grass. On either side of the hill ran a stream, upon one side the wild water course she had crossed; on the other, a snake-like river wound sluggishly along in the sunlight. Seeing for the first time that a guide accompanied her, she spoke to him: "Friend, what country is this thou hast taken me to?" "Elizabeth Shipley," answered he, "beneath thee lieth a new land and a fruitful, and it is the design of Divine Province that thou shouldst enter in thereto, thou and thy people, and ye shall be enriched even unto the seventh generation."

¹²⁶ Munroe. Colonial De. Pg 246. The Test Act tested the loyalty of citizens by requiring them to qualify as voters by taking an oath of allegiance to the state government. It is against the tenets of the Quaker faith to swear this type of oath.

¹²⁷ Christopher Ward pg 515 quoting McKean in Sparks, C, 1 443-5

¹²⁸ David G. Martin. Philadelphia Campaign. Pg 170

¹²⁹ Delaware Sons of the American Revolution. 18th Century Historical Markers in Delaware. For a complete listing of markers (listed alphabetically by the titles given below), see the Delaware Public Archives site.
<http://www.sar.org/dessar/history/histmark.htm>

¹³⁰ Roger Martin. Dec 21, 2010. This Day in Delaware History.

¹³¹ Harold Hancock. Pg 74 quoting report of Duck Creek Monthly Meeting to Quarterly Meeting, Box 15, Friends Historical Society, Philadelphia]

¹³² Wilmington Friends Meeting. Minutes. January 1778. Swarthmore. Stubbornly refusing to swear an oath of loyalty to Pennsylvania or any other State, Friend Hollingsworth was kept in prison by the Pennsylvanians until January 28, 1779.

¹³³ Wilmington Friends Meeting. Book of Sufferings. Swarthmore.

¹³⁴ Wayne Bodle. VF Winter. Pg 176. Quoting N. Greene's letter to George Washington Feb 15, 1778.

¹³⁵ As a meeting house did not yet exist in Stanton at this time, it is likely that this discussion was hosted either by Daniel Byrnes or William Marshall. Wilmington Friends Monthly Meeting Minutes. Swarthmore

¹³⁶ Bruce Burgoyne.

¹³⁷ Munroe. Colonel Delaware. Pg 246

¹³⁸ Riordan:

¹³⁹ Wilmington Monthly Meeting 1780. Misc. papers Accounts of Sufferings 1777-1814. Swarthmore.

¹⁴⁰ This is in reference to the celebrations following the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19, 1781

¹⁴¹ Ward. Pg 542

¹⁴² Wilmington Friends Meeting. Book of Sufferings. Swarthmore.

¹⁴³ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The address of the people called Quakers to the United States in Congress assembled. 1783, 10 mo 4, Swarthmore. Box 16.

¹⁴⁴ Extracts from Wilmington Monthly Meeting Book of Sufferings. Swarthmore.

¹⁴⁵ Records of Wilmington Monthly Meeting. DEL NIF. Pages 132-133. Historical Society of Pennsylvania and a letter from George J. Scattergood to Wm. Austin Macy about research in Quaker files, dated Philadelphia 3rd Mo., 5th, 1901 stating that on: "12th month, 29th, 1784. Daniel Byrnes and his wife Dinah and two minor sons, Joseph and Caleb, came to Philadelphia to reside, bringing a certificate from Wilmington, Delaware. Daniel was at this time frequently engaged in the ministry."

¹⁴⁶ Records of Wilmington Monthly Meeting. DEL NIF. Page 28. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴⁷ Records of Wilmington Monthly Meeting. DEL NIF. Page 274. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴⁸ Records of Wilmington Monthly Meeting. DEL NIF. Page 138. Historical Society of Pennsylvania

¹⁴⁹ Richard S. Newman. The PAS and American Abolitionism. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<http://www.hsp.org/sites/www.hsp.org/files/migrated/newmanpasessay.pdf> accessed June 15, 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Daniel Byrnes. A Brief Account. Pg 8. Delaware Historical Society

¹⁵¹ The address appears in a 1791 listing of residences and businesses as #48 S. Front Street, Burns, Daniel , flour merchant. See <http://mysite.verizon.net/handworn/front.htm>. Accessed June 14, 2001.

¹⁵² Pennsylvania Gazette. July 24, 1788. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵³ Byrnes Family File. Scattergood letter to Wm. Austin Macy. Delaware Historical Society.

¹⁵⁴ Matteawan Town Records show this village was incorporated in 1886, and now includes within its limits Byrnesville, Wiccopee and Tioronda.

¹⁵⁵ See also footnote 116 above. The handwriting and spelling in this letter is so very different from that of other materials in Daniel's handwriting that I wonder if Dinah or one of Daniel's sons drafted this letter.

¹⁵⁶ Les Cornell, town historian, Town of Newburgh, NY .

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Byrnes. Kingston Courthouse records. BYRNES, DANIEL NEW WINDSOR NY-56-C-13. Ulster County, New York Will Testators. See also www.sampubco.com/wills/ny/nyulster01.htm, accessed June 16, 2011.

¹⁵⁸ Book of Job. <http://ebible.org/kjv/Job.htm> Accessed June 16, 2011.