

SOCIAL LIFE IN PHILADELPHIA DURING THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

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First came the light horse, led along by Enoch Story and Phineas Bond, as the soldiers were unacquainted with the town and the different streets, nearly two hundred I imagine, clean dress and their bright swords glittering in the sun. After that came the foot, headed by Lord Cornwallis. Before him went a band of music, which played a solemn tune, and which I afterwards understood was called "God Save great George Our King." Then followed the soldiers, who looked very clean and healthy and a remarkable solidity was on their countenance, no wanton levity, or indecent mirth, but a gravity well becoming the occasion seemed on all their faces. After that came the artillery and then the Hessian grenadiers, attended by a large band of music but not equal in fineness or solemnity to the other. Baggage wagons, Hessian women and horses, cows, goats and asses brought up the rear.¹

THUS, Sarah Logan Fisher recorded, the British arrived in Philadelphia, September 26, 1777. No opposition was offered, and Jacob Coats remembered the soldiers were especially friendly to him, a boy of ten. They said "How do you do," made other friendly overtures, and shook hands.²

The 15,000 citizens of Philadelphia received the British with mixed emotions.³ While most active Whigs had fled the city, the Tories welcomed the British with open arms and the Quakers and any others who preferred to remain neutral were quietly apprehensive.

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¹Sarah Logan Fisher, "A Diary of Trifling Occurrences," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereinafter referred to as *PMHB*), LXXXII (1958), 450.

²Jacob Coats in John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, II, 409, MS. in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³Lewis Burd Walker, "Life of Margaret Shippen, Wife of Benedict Arnold," *PMHB*, XXV (1901), 20.

One of the first problems facing the British and the Philadelphians was the quartering of British troops. Space was quickly found for a part of General Howe's army on the Commons facing the Bettering house. The remaining forces encamped along the road to Germantown.⁴ Houses of fearful Whigs, which stood empty, were of course requisitioned for officers without consulting the property owners.⁵ In houses still occupied by their owners, British officers politely requested lodging. On October 6 Elizabeth Drinker wrote in her diary that "An officer called this afternoon to ask if we could take a sick or wounded Captain. I put him off by saying that as my husband was from me I should be pleased if he could provide some other convenient place. He hoped he had given no offense and departed."⁶ Lord Cornwallis moved into Deborah Logan's mother's home with considerable baggage, entourage, and confusion; but when Mrs. Logan requested him to leave, he removed to the home of Widow Morris. Later, however, Deborah's mother had to provide quarters for other officers.⁷

As nearby skirmishes came to an end and the troops prepared for permanent winter quarters, the housing problem became more acute and requests for rooms less polite. Some of Elizabeth Drinker's friends reported that the officers were "much chagrined at the difficulty they find in getting quarters, and ye cool reception they have met with, or something to that effect; that several young Noblemen are at this time obliged to sleep at Taverns, on board ship, or in ye Redoubts."⁸ Philadelphians had reason to be reluctant to accept these guests, for it was reported that one officer desiring lodging had become abusive and with his sword split the front door in pieces while others, staying with Mary Eddy, would not allow her the use of her own front door but only the alley entrance.⁹ With such a general shortage of suitable accommodations for officers, it seems strange that at this time

⁴ Christopher Marshall, *The Rembrancer*, D, September 29, 1777 (MS. in HSP).

⁵ James Horton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, December 5, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 31:58, HSP.

⁶ Elizabeth Drinker, *Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker from 1759 to 1807 A.D.*, ed. Henry B. Biddle (Philadelphia, 1889), 57.

⁷ J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia: 1606-1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 351; Marshall, D., September 28, 1777.

⁸ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 75.

The Pennsylvania Ledger should have run an advertisement of a small house to let.¹⁰

Elizabeth Drinker finally had to take in an officer. A Major Crammond who came to her door and was very considerate. He gave her time to think over the situation, nevertheless he pointed out that it would be necessary for her to take in someone and it might better be he than another. Mrs. Drinker appreciated the situation and Crammond moved in on December 30.¹¹ On the whole their relations were cordial, although the major kept late hours, causing Mrs. Drinker some annoyance. Quartering an officer was not a simple matter of lodging one man. The officers traveled en troupe. With Major Crammond arrived three servants, three Hessians (not all of whom apparently remained in the house), three cows, two sheep, two turkeys, and several fowl.¹² Other officers owned dogs.¹³ Every field officer had a sergeant guard at his residence.¹⁴

In general, despite inevitable tensions, relations between officers and their hosts seem to have been rather cordial. Deborah Logan tells of one amusing case:

I knew an instance where the reception of an old officer was opposed to the utmost of civil resistance and he as intent on gaining admission as he would have been of urging on the surrender of a fortress. The family formed a terrible idea of him, and thought that they should have a more uncomfortable time with such a blustering inmate, but by degrees this subsided, and they became so pleased with him that "Captain Scott" was quoted as authority by them upon every occasion.¹⁵

She concluded:

The officers very generally, I believe, behaved with politeness to the inhabitants and many of them upon going away expressed their satisfaction that no injury to the city was contemplated by their commander, they said that living among the inhabitants and speaking the same

¹⁰ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 13, 20, 1777.

¹¹ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 73-78

¹² *Ibid.*, 78-79.

¹³ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 31, 1777, February 21, 1778.

¹⁴ Coats in Watson MS., II, 410-411.

¹⁵ Deborah Logan in Watson MS., II, 402.

language, made them uneasy at the thought of acting as enemies.¹⁶

The officers, for their part, appeared to trust the local residents; at least they advertised for servants.¹⁷ The soldiers also got along well with the local boys, good-humoredly calling them rebels while the boys responded calling them "bloody-backs," the local jargon for redcoats.¹⁸

Economically there were problems in Philadelphia, since the city was largely cut off from the countryside. Raids were made for provisions. Sympathizers outside the city provided aid.¹⁹ Food and fuel were scarce, especially during the first two months. Once the river defenses were conquered and ships arrived from England, dry goods were very plentiful. By the end of December business was active as ever. The chief problem was availability of hard cash, for no one would take Continental money. Although the earlier Pennsylvania colonial currency was supposedly legal tender, many people refused it. Those from whom the British made purchases managed to have a supply of hard cash. Some control of the economy was attempted.²⁰

Joseph Galloway, a leading Tory, was appointed superintendent of all imports and exports of the city.²¹ Items needed by the troops were of special concern. In January Sir William Howe ordered an accounting of rugs and blankets and stipulated that these were not to be sold without special permission of the commander in chief.²² Attempts were made to control the quality and sale of liquor.²³ Other proclamations required the use of carts and wagons of residents.²⁴

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 396.

¹⁷ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 3, 27, 1777.

¹⁸ Coats in Watson MS., II, 414.

¹⁹ *Pennsylvania Archives* (2), III, 183-184.

²⁰ Phineas Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, November 21, 1777, December 3, 1777, Pemberton Papers 31:40 and 54; Dr. Thomas Parke to James Pemberton, December 4, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 31:55; Fisher, 455 and 454; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 10, 1777; Willard O. Mishoff, "Business in Philadelphia During the British Occupation, 1777-78," *PMHB*, LXI (1937), 169-170.

²¹ Charles Evans, *Evans' American Bibliography* (Chicago: Hollister Press, 1909), V, 15331.

²² *Ibid.*, 15819.

²³ *Ibid.*, 15333, 15337.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 15338, 15344.

The Tories had looked forward to quiet and security under the British. General Howe had, before his arrival, issued a proclamation guaranteeing security and protection to those who remained quietly in their dwellings.²⁵ Those who trusted in the proclamation were disappointed. Later Joseph Galloway also announced that no provisions should be taken from "well-affected citizens."²⁶ Robert Proud noted on September 29, 1777 that "We have not had so much good order and Tranquility these several years, as we have had since the British Forces came hither," but this was an early opinion and later evidence was to the contrary.²⁷ It seems neither person nor property was very secure under the Pax Britannia. The letter of an unknown gentleman intercepted by the patriots and printed in the rebel paper, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, complained: "All the favour shown us is the liberty of being plundered as friends to the Crown and not as rebels, and of starving in the streets instead of starving in a gaol."²⁸

Not only did the British appropriate for their own needs, but families who had influence with the officers also appropriated wood from outlying woodlots and even had it transported to town on military wagons.²⁹ Apparently the search for firewood gave more trouble in the suburbs, particularly among the Hessians, than in the center of the city.³⁰ Little Molly Pemberton remarked that near the encampments hardly a wood or a fence was left standing and many wooden buildings had been destroyed.³¹ Deborah Logan reported that the servant of their lodger was rather disgruntled because his master watched him so closely it was impossible for him to plunder; but probably other officers were less strict.³²

It is difficult to determine how much of this plundering had official sanction or how often the officials just looked the other way. On December 2 Elizabeth Drinker reported that a man named McMickle came to seize horses but, having discovered who

²⁵ Robert Morton, "Diary of Robert Morton, 1777," *PMHB*, I (1877), 25.

²⁶ Evans, *American Bibliography*, 15822.

²⁷ Robert Proud, "Letters of Robert Proud," *PMHB*, XXXIV (1910), 73.

²⁸ *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 10, 1778.

²⁹ J. P. Morris in Watson MS., II, 406.

³⁰ Dr. Thomas Parke to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, November 10, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 31:101.

³¹ Molly Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, February 2, 1778, Pemberton Papers, 31:101.

³² Logan in Watson MS., II, 398.

owned them, went away.³³ (The Drinkers were Quakers and her husband, Henry, with several others, was at that time exiled by Congress on suspicion of being a British sympathizer.) In February 1778 General Howe issued a proclamation providing punishment for soldiers who took property illegally.³⁴ However, it was reported that he himself appropriated Mary Pemberton's coach and horses for his own pleasure.³⁵

Yet some semblance of order was enforced. As early as January 9 there were orders that no person should be out after eight o'clock without a lantern. Molly Pemberton found the town very quiet, and Jacob Coats noted that women walked in the streets during the day or evening without fear.³⁶

In January General Howe issued a proclamation ordering all citizens to clean the streets in front of their property. In the spring every fourth week of the month was set aside for clean-up.³⁷ The order seems not to have been very generally obeyed, however, for on the return of the patriots to the city both Peter Duponceau and Benjamin Rush commented on the filth in the streets. Rush ascribed the considerable sickness in town to these unsanitary conditions, but both Deborah Logan and Phineas Pemberton remarked on the good health of the city under the occupation.³⁸

Perhaps some idea of the disruption of family lives and positions can be obtained by noting the rash of advertisements carried by *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, especially in November, offering for sale Negro slaves and indentured servants "for want of employ." Apparently their previous functions had been curtailed and/or economic resources reduced.³⁹

Many an American patriot of the twentieth century has won-

³³ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 69.

³⁴ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, February 21, 1778.

³⁵ John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania* (n.p., 1850), II, 285.

³⁶ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 81. Molly Pemberton to James Pemberton, February 2, 1778, Pemberton Papers, 31:102; Coats in Watson MS., II, 412.

³⁷ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 21, April 15, 1778.

³⁸ Peter S. Duponceau, "Autobiographical Letters of Peter S. Duponceau," *PMHB*, XL (1916), 184; Benjamin Rush, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush*, ed. George W. Corner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 138; Logan in Watson MS., II, 397; Phineas Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, December 3, 1777, Pemberton Papers 31:54.

³⁹ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, November-December, 1777.

dered what General Howe and his troops were doing costly in Philadelphia that winter while Washington's troops were freezing and starving at Valley Forge. Gaiety was the keynote for the officers. Duties for everyone were few. Sergeant Thomas Sullivan reported during the winter that "Our two battalions of Light-Infantry gave the covering parties for the Wood-Cutters in front of the Lines, it being the only duty we did in the Garrison, together sending out scouts to harass the Enemy." Captain Hinricks wrote "When we had been in the city but four weeks and the ships arrived from New York, everything became as lively, even livelier than in peace-time." James Allen's wife wrote him from Philadelphia "that everything is gay, and happy, and it is like to prove a frolicking winter."⁴⁰

There is some evidence of the activities of the officers and the upper classes of Philadelphia. Much of the information must be gleaned from letters written in Philadelphia, especially to Quakers exiled by Congress. However, most of the letter writers hesitated to say anything of any significance regarding the activities of the British, for letters had to be sent unsealed.⁴¹ Other information is derived from journals, newspapers, and miscellaneous accounts.

There is little information concerning the activities of the average soldier or average citizen. However, there is some indication that officers did not confine their attentions to upper-class girls (there being few of these to go around anyway). Elizabeth Drinker complained that an officer carried off her servant girl.⁴² An advertisement posted by two British officers suggests more than it says, in sharp contrast with the mores of the Quaker City:

Wanted to hire with two single gentlemen, a young woman, to act in the capacity of housekeeper and who can occasionally put her hand to any thing. Extravagant wages will be given, and no character required. Any

⁴⁰ "The Journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan, H.M. Forty-Ninth Regiment of Foot 1775-1778," 168, MS. in HSP; "Letter from Captain Hinricks on the Neck Near Philadelphia, June 2, 1778," in Roy W. Pettingill, trans., *Letters from America 1776-1779* (Boston, 1924), 188; James Allen, "Diary of James Allen, Esq. of Philadelphia, Counselor-atLaw, 1770-78," *PMHB*, IX (1885), 282.

⁴¹ Sally Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, November 23, 1777; Phineas Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, November 7, 1777, Pemberton Papers 31:44 and 12.

⁴² Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 67-68.

young woman who chooses to offer, may be further informed at the bar of the City tavern.⁴³

Religion played some part in the soldiers' and officers' lives. One lady reported that she believed both officers and soldiers "frequently attended different places of worship," although not Friends' meetings.⁴⁴ Jacob Coats noted that most soldiers attended Christ Church, where a fife was used for music when the common soldiers attended under the command of a subaltern.⁴⁵

The soldiers and officers found several special occasions to celebrate. Elizabeth Drinker noted with Quakerly disapproval: "This is Christmas Eve, and the few troops that are left in this city I fear are frolicking."⁴⁶ The queen's birthday on January 18 was celebrated with firing of guns and colors flying.⁴⁷ St. Patrick's Day featured a great parade of Irish soldiers before General Howe's door, including one on horseback representing St. Patrick. Carousing continued late that night.⁴⁸

Dining was always a favorite pastime, especially among the officers. Individual officers had dinner guests. Elizabeth Drinker reported the major's having eight or ten to dine on February 17.⁴⁹ Numerous commercial places served meals to these gentlemen. Fox and Demayne announced that they were opening a place where a "genteel dinner" might be had any day at two, "in a commodious room which commands the river Delaware and the Jerseys. Good entertainment for private companies on short notice."⁵⁰ In April Peter Lennox of the Indian King tavern announced that at the request of the gentlemen of the navy and merchants he would serve dinner at 2:30, with a cold collation at twelve for those who could not come later.⁵¹

Dining clubs were formed. The Friendly Brothers announced meetings for January 26 and March 17. The Yorkshire Club met at the Bunch of Grapes for its dinners during March and April. In early April it invited new members. The president was a Major

⁴³ Watson, *Annals*, II, 288.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 286.

⁴⁵ Coats in Watson MS., II, 413.

⁴⁶ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 77.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 87; Fisher, "A Diary of Trifling Occurrences," 462.

⁴⁹ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 85.

⁵⁰ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 24, 27, 1778.

⁵¹ *The Pennsylvania Ledger Supplement*, April 29, 1778.

Strawbridge and the Secretary John VEVERS. Despite all the dining activity it seems not every tavern owner found the business profitable, for in November the Fountain Inn Tavern was advertised to let, and in April the City Tavern.⁵²

The Freemasons observed the annual festival of St. John's Day at their lodge room on December 27. "All gentlemen, as well brethren of the navy and army as others" were invited.⁵³

In April the newspapers carried advertisements for playing cards; they had probably just arrived from England. At that time James Robertson announced that "Merry Andrew and Henry VIII Playing Cards, by the Groce or Dozen, may be had very cheap." Apparently these were not the most popular variety of cards, for three weeks later he announced "The King's Patent of Falstaff Playing Cards, so much esteemed and universally used in Polite Companies, may be had of the Printer.—Also Henry the 8th and Merry Andrew's."⁵⁴

With the arrival of spring other sports began to be considered. Cockfights were organized. "Those Gentlemen who are fond of Cocking and have Cocks, may have an opportunity of matching them, either to fight in the main, or by battles, at the Cock-Pitt, in Moore's Alley, in Front-Street, near Carr's store, on Saturday the 28th instant. N.B. Cocks received by The Wildman of the 17th dragoons."⁵⁵ Someone would have liked to play cricket, judging from the following advertisement: "Any person acquainted with the making of Crickett Bats of Balls, may have good encouragement. Inquire of the Printer."⁵⁶ No one came forward for some weeks (if ever), for the advertisement ran for several weeks. Apparently horse races were held, although the only reference was in an advertisement by an officer who lost a small Bayonet "last Monday, the 27th of April, on the Race-Ground."⁵⁷ There was at least one foot race. The distance was three miles, and the soldiers, one from each battalion, raced in full uniform and equipment.⁵⁸

⁵² *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, November 12, 1777, January 21, March 7, 21, April 4, 8, 20, 1778.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, December 30, 1777.

⁵⁴ *Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 7, 24, 1778.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, March 24, 27, 1778.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, March 20, 24, 31, April 3, 1778.

⁵⁷ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, May 20, 1778.

⁵⁸ Coats in Watson MS., II, 412-413.

The relationship of the officers with the wealthy, sophisticated girls of Philadelphia apparently was mainly one of social gaiety. One lady present knew of "very few instances of attachments formed—nor, with the exception of one instance, of any want of propriety in behaviour." Nevertheless Sarah Logan Fisher reported "Very bad accounts of the licentiousness of the English officers deluding young girls." Of course, these may have been lower class girls. George Inman, who was with the British troops, formed an attachment in Philadelphia and married on April 23.⁵⁹ Colonel Sir Henry Johnston married a daughter of David Franks. Jacob Coats remembered seeing "officers promenade the streets with our Ladies, but not often." Some of the officers even had brought women with them.⁶⁰

Not all of the top Philadelphia families participated in the social whirl. The Quakers could not do so and still keep strictly to their neutrality. Thomas Willing and his family remained aloof.⁶¹

Life was exciting compared with that described ten years earlier by Alexander Mackraby: "We have no plays or public diversions of any kind; not so much as a walk for the ladies, that there is no opportunity of seeing them but at church, or their own houses, or once a fortnight at the assembly." During the occupation evenings for the officers were gay with "Plays, Balls, Concerts or Assemblys." "I've been but three nights alone since we mov't to town," Rebecca Franks, a Loyalist, wrote Mrs. Paca. "I begin to be almost tired."⁶²

A ball, planned by the officers, was held weekly on Thursdays at Smith's Tavern from January 29 to April 30, with the exception of April 16 when it was postponed to the following week. The girls enjoyed themselves greatly, for Rebecca Franks reported "No loss for partners, even I am engaged to seven different gentlemen for you must know 'tis a fixed rule never to dance

⁵⁹ Watson, *Annals*, II, 286; Fisher, "A Diary of Trifling Occurrences," 462; George Inman, "George Inman's Narrative of the American Revolution," *PMHB*, VII (1883), 142.

⁶⁰ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 351, 379; Coats in Watson MS., II, 412; Watson, *Annals*, II, 287.

⁶¹ Thomas Willing Balch, *Willing Letters and Papers* (Philadelphia, 1923), XLVI.

⁶² Letter of Alexander Macraby to Sir Philip Francis, March 5, 1768, in "Philadelphia Before the Revolution," *PMHB*, XI (1837), 281; Rebecca Franks, "A Letter of Miss Rebecca Franks," *ibid.*, XVI (1892), 216-218.

but two dances with the same person."⁶³ Sometimes the evening would include a sleigh ride.⁶⁴

The women's fashions during this winter were copied from London reports and were closer to European models than those of the girls behind the American lines. Once the river was freed for shipping new goods arrived from Britain frequently and were displayed in several stores before their eager purchasers. Many a father's supply of hard cash was depleted to satisfy his daughter's cravings for the latest fashion. A wide variety was available. For example, Robert Pagan and Company advertised in December that it had just imported broadcloths, German serge, Wiltons and marble cloths, plaidens, spotted ermine, drab and buff corderets, black, drab claret and crimson velverets, Manchester gowns, printed calicoes, Irish linens, sewing silks of all colors, lawns, gauzes, and gloves, as well as such accessories as ivory and horn combs, and an assortment of gilt, metal, and twist button.

Perhaps some idea of the wardrobe can be obtained from a list of items stolen from Sarah Fisher on March 25, 1778. These included "One white Satin petticoat quilted with flowers; one rich pearl coloured sattin cloak, lined with white Mantua."⁶⁵ A similar robbery occurred at another house during May and included "One printed callicoe gown, red flowers and white ground; one small sprigged mullin ditto; one striped cotton gown, one white dimity petticoat; one check apron; one pair of sleeves, one pair of stuff shoes; and one guinea and two dollars." According to Rebecca Franks, there was "no being dressed without a hoop." Despite economic conditions much money was lavished on fashion, and Major Baurmeister reported that "The great English shop of Coffin and Anderson took in 12,000 sterling for silk goods and other fine materials" at the time of the Meschianza.⁶⁶ Hair-dressers were essential for the high-priced and complicated styles and several "Ladies Hair-Dressers from London," set up shops

⁶³ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 25, February 21, April 25, 1778; *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 17, 31, April 2, 7, 14, 17, 1778; Franks, "A Letter," 218.

⁶⁴ James Thomas Flexner, *The Traitor and the Spy: Benedict Arnold and John André* (New York, 1953), 204.

⁶⁵ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 31, 1778; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 20, 1777.

⁶⁶ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, May 20, 1778; Franks, "A Letter," 218; Major Baurmeister, "Letters of Major Baurmeister During the Philadelphia Campaign, 1777-1778," *PMHB*, LX (1936), 180.

and offered hair-dos of the latest fashion including French and Italian curls.⁶⁷

The daily life of the Quaker women of Philadelphia seems to have been little affected by the occupation. It involved an endless succession of making calls and being called upon, drinking tea or coffee, talking and gossiping about their families and local events. The etiquette of calling was probably very strict.⁶⁸ Those Quaker women whose husbands had been exiled by Congress found many occasions to discuss their plight and pass around their letters to both their men and women friends.⁶⁹ Some time was spent preparing food for the wounded, especially in the early months. One note of Elizabeth Drinker's sounds strange to modern ears. She said that on January 10: "I went this morning to H. Pemberton's; found her smoking her pipe with two officers—one of whom is quartered there."⁷⁰

Many of the Quaker women's activities centered around the meeting, which appears not to have been disturbed. Gossip was exchanged going to and from meeting. Their Yearly Meeting of 1777, which required some members to travel in from rebel territory, was held with no interference a few days after the British arrived although no visitors from the Jerseys were present.⁷¹

Nor were cultural activities dead during the occupation. The newest development was the theater. The officers had had theater in New York the previous winter and were bent on another season of such amusement. The productions were amateur and used the materials at hand, but there was ability and ingenuity enough for very popular productions if not in the greatest of theater traditions. Plans began in December and the search was made for talent. The officers advertised:

Wanted for the Play-house, a Person who writes quick and a legible hand;—also a person well versed in accounts, to act as Clerk and Vice-Treasurer.

⁶⁷ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 24, 1778; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 10, 1777.

⁶⁸ Whitfield Bell, Jr., "Some Aspects of the Social History of Pennsylvania, 1760-1790," *PMHB*, LXII (1938), 301.

⁶⁹ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, p. 75.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81; Fisher, "A Diary of Trifling Occurrences," p. 485.

⁷¹ Phineas Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, October 28, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 30:184.

Any people that have ever been employed about the Play-house as carpenters or scene-shifters, may get employments by applying to the Printer.

Not only did workers need to be found but scripts as well.⁷²

The scene of the productions was the Southwark Theater, a red brick and wood structure on South Street above Fourth built in 1766. The stage was lighted with oil lamps without glasses, and the audience's view was broken by pillars.⁷³ Scenery for the productions was painted by Captain John André and Captain Oliver Delancey. It is ironical that one of the scenes painted by André was used years later in a play concerning his tragic end.⁷⁴ Since the advertisements noted "The characters by the officers of The Army and Navy," it is likely that most of the women's parts were played by men.⁷⁵ Yet some women must have participated. The April 10 performance was postponed due to the illness of "one of the actresses." Scharf and Westcott in their *History of Philadelphia* and James T. Flexner have both stated that in some performances a professional actress, Miss Hyde, played. The "star" of the company was Dr. Hammond Beaumont, a surgeon general of the royal army in America.⁷⁶

Plays were well attended. There were 660 box tickets sold. General Howe attended most performances with his mistress Mrs. Loring.⁷⁷ Some of the eagerness of the ticket-buying public may be glimpsed in the theater announcements. Some advertisements included the plea, "Gentlemen are earnestly requested not to attempt to bribe the Door-keepers."⁷⁸ The success of this plea is not disclosed, but its first appearance was accompanied by the announcement: "The Foreign Gentleman who flipped a Guinea and a Half into the hands of the Box-keeper and forced his way into the House, is desired to send to the office of the Theatre in Front-Street, that it may be returned." Apparently curiosity

⁷² *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 24, 1777; January 3, 7, 17, 1778.

⁷³ Fred Lewis Pattee, "The British Theater in Philadelphia in 1778," *American Literature*, VI (January, 1935), 381.

⁷⁴ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 371.

⁷⁵ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 17, 1778; Pattee, "The British Theater," 387.

⁷⁶ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, April 8, 1778; Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 371; Flexner, *Traitor and Spy*, 203.

⁷⁷ Pattee, "The British Theater," 387.

⁷⁸ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, February 7, 1778.

concerning what was going on extended beyond the footlights, for toward the end of the season the additional announcement was made that "No person can be admitted behind the scenes."⁷⁹

The first night the theater doors opened at six and the play began at seven. Later it was announced that boxes would be open at four for servants to claim seats which would not be held past that time. Despite a normal bill of two plays the closing hour was apparently not late, for on opening night Elizabeth Drinker mentioned that "our Major" attended and came home "a little after ten o'clock." The March 9 performance was followed by fireworks.⁸⁰

The proceeds from the theater went to charitable purposes which may have aided its popularity in a Quaker city traditionally hostile to theater. Theater had always had rough going in Philadelphia. Only four years earlier it had been condemned as too expensive by the Continental Congress. The first show was "For the benefit of the Widows and Orphans of the Army." Later performances were designated merely as "For the Benefit of a Public Charity."⁸¹ No objections seem to have been recorded.

The general considerations were summed up in the prologue spoken at the first performance by Major Robert Crew. It is attributed to either Rev. Jonathan Odell or Captain André, and emphasized that the production was amateur and for charity although the author couldn't repress some excitement at the idea of theater and actors. Ironically the actor to whom most tribute was paid in this extravagant poetry was Cunningham, the Provost Marshal of Philadelphia, notorious for his treatment of prisoners.⁸²

Monday was theater night and the season continued from January 19 to May 19. The season's repertoire included: "No One's Enemy but his Own," by A. Murphy; "The Douce is in Him," by Colman; "The Minor," by Samuel Foote; "Duke and No Duke," by N. Tate; "The Constant Couple," by Farquhar; "The Inconstant," by Farquhar; "The Mock Doctor" and "Lethe" by Garrick; "Henry IV, Part I," by Shakespeare; "The Wonder: A Woman Keeps a Secret," by Centlivre; "A Trip to Scotland,"

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1778.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, February 7, March 7, 28, 1778; Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 82.

⁸¹ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 17, April 8, 1778.

⁸² "Commonplace Book" in Pattee, "The British Theater," 384.

by Whitehead; "The Liar," by Foote; "Douglas," by Dr. John Home; and "The Citizen."⁸³

Best known and most notorious of the social events of the British occupation was the famed Meschianza held May 18. The occasion for the fete was the departure of General Howe for England. A number of his officers, at least partially led by Captain John André who has left his own account, planned the occasion. The expenses—3,312 guineas—were borne by twenty-two field officers.⁸⁴ Their purpose was to express their admiration for General Howe. Philadelphia Whigs and Quakers saw it only as a foolish, shameful display of vanity and dissipation. Hannah Griffiths, a Whig and Quaker, wrote a poem including such terms as "dissipation," "foolish," "shameful."⁸⁵

The affair opened with the invited guests, the Howe brothers and top officers, sailing downstream to the Wharton mansion in a gaily decorated flotilla accompanied by music, the cheers of the sailors, and a nineteen-gun salute.⁸⁶ The main event took place at the Wharton mansion "Walnut Grove." The boats landed nearby, and the company formed a procession to the house and gardens advancing through two lines of grenadiers supported by a line of light horse. To the accompaniment of all the army bands, they arrived at a lawn laid out for a tournament and surrounded by troops. Two triumphal arches had been erected. There were two pavilions for the ladies. At the front of each pavilion were seven of Philadelphia's leading belles dressed as Turkish maidens; they wore in their turbans favors which they would bestow upon their knights. Their costumes identified which of the two groups of knights had chosen them. The Ladies of the Blended Rose each wore a white silk polonaise, forming an open robe and open in front to the waist. Spangles covered the six-inch-wide pink sash, shoes, stockings, and veil. The Ladies of the Burning Mountain were arrayed in white trimmed with black.⁸⁷

At the sound of trumpets the Knights of the Blended Rose

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 385-387.

⁸⁴ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 378; Major Baurmeister, "Letters of," 178-180.

⁸⁵ John F. Watson, "Correspondence on the Annals of Philadelphia," 29, MS. in HSP.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, "Commonplace Book 1775-80," MS. in HSP; Baurmeister, "Letters of," 179.

⁸⁷ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 378, 380.

arrived wearing ancient habits of red and white silk, and mounted on grey horses. The challenge was answered by the Knights of the Burning Mountain who appeared dressed in black and orange.⁸⁸

There is some confusion as to just who the ladies were. The fourteen Turkish maidens were named in the program, but other evidence indicates that some of these may have been kept at home by wary fathers or intimidated by a committee of Whigs. Apparently there was much doubt on the political propriety of attending the event, but despite the doubt some respectable women probably attended. In the total company one report says there were no more than fifty American girls. The only American men were aged non-combatants.⁸⁹

After a mock combat the knights joined their ladies and passed through the second arch dedicated to General Howe. The company then entered a spacious hall, painted by Captain André and Captain Oliver Delancey to look like Siena marble. Therein "tea, lemonade, and other cooling liquors" were served and the knights received their favors from the ladies.⁹⁰ From there the company entered an elegantly decorated ballroom.

Perhaps some of those attending came in costume or some form of acting game was played. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses a small manuscript entitled "Catalogue of Books Portrayed by Prominent Philadelphians Acting Part of Characters in the Meschianza," which lists one hundred book titles accompanied by both men's and women's names. There is no explanation of this entertainment in any other source.

At ten o'clock there was a display of fireworks arranged by Captain Montresor. Twenty different exhibitions were produced, with a concluding scene lighting the interior of the triumphal arch amid a flight of rockets and the bursting of balloons. Then came more dancing. Also, some played at a "Fars Bank" opened by a German officer in one of the parlors. At twelve supper was announced and a concealed doorway opened to show a gorgeous spread served by twenty-four negro slaves dressed in oriental costume.⁹¹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 378-379.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 379-380; B. Franks to Miss Shippen, 1778, Balch Papers, II, 61, MS. in HSP; Coats in Watson MS., II, 413; Watson, *Annals*, II, 292.

⁹⁰ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 380.

⁹¹ "Commonplace Book"; Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 380-381.

The Meschianza was the last fling of an exciting social season for the young ladies of Philadelphia. Just one month later the British evacuated the city. Many Tories fled with them, and the other inhabitants prepared for another change in rulers. Those Tories, such as Joseph Galloway, who had cooperated most with the British had their property confiscated by the returning patriots.⁹²

During the occupation music, in addition to that furnished by military parades and balls, continued to brighten Philadelphia society. Although there is no record of public concerts, individuals apparently had small ones. Rebecca Franks speaks of spending an evening at Sir William Howe's, "Where we had a concert and Dance." Elizabeth Drinker's major "had a concert this evening, eleven of them in company. It was carried on with as much quietness and good order as the nature of the thing admitted of. They broke up between eleven and twelve o'clock." The nature of the music and musicians is not mentioned. Molly Pemberton mentioned music of some sort daily in the square.⁹³

Some musical education was continued. Early in December H. B. Victor, "Music Master" and "Late Organist from London," announced that he would "continue to give instructions in Music, viz. on the Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute, Guitar, and Singing, in a short and expeditious manner, and on reasonable terms." Mr. Victor was even more ambitious, for he proposed to publish, by subscription, "A New Composition of Music" including instructions for violin, flute, guitar, and harpsichord with "Airs, Marches, and Minarets [*sic*] in vogue." Before the end of the occupation the first volume of this series for the violin was actually published, and further subscribers were being solicited for the other three volumes. Meanwhile Robert Bell appealed to the more frivolous by offering for sale a book entitled *Songs: Cynic, Satirical and Sentimental* by George Alexander Stevens.⁹⁴

Reading maintained its popularity. At least two important bookstores seem to have served the city, that of the enterprising Robert

⁹² *Pennsylvania Archives* (6), III, 306-312.

⁹³ Franks, "A Letter," 217; Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 87-88; Molly Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, February 2, 1778, Pemberton Papers, 31:101.

⁹⁴ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 3, 1777, February 13, 1778, April 4, 1778, December 3, 1778.

Bell and that of the newspaper printer James Humphreys. Bell continued to advertise extravagantly and enthusiastically:

Being a Collection of Valuable and scarce books—In arts, Science, Languages, History, Biography, Divinity, Law, Voyages, Travels, Poetry, Plays, Novels Instruction and Entertainment, by the most celebrated of authors, both of the Ancients and Moderns, who have explored, investigated, and attempted to illuminate the Human Understanding by the God-like attribute of knowledge.⁹⁵

He put extra advertising effort into a book just published *Rural Economy or Essays on the Practical Parts of Husbandry*.⁹⁶ Most of the books advertised for sale were old standard reading, but some new and timely items appeared. Both booksellers advertised extensively an official list of the army then commanded by General Howe. In fact, the frequency of the advertisement as compared with others makes one wonder whether it was really not popular or the sellers were attempting to curry favor with the army or both.⁹⁷ Robert Bell advertised a book entitled *Common Sense* which advised the colonists to remain tied to Great Britain, in obvious refutation of Thomas Paine's earlier work. A bit of fascinating reading for Tories must have been in the volume of *Letters from General Washington to Several of his Friends, in the year 1776, together with the Rev. Mr. Duche's Letter to Mr. Washington and an Answer to it by Mr. John Parke*.⁹⁸ The Rev. Duché was a former chaplain to the Continental Congress who turned Tory.

Robert Bell not only sold books but ran a circulating library as well. The library had a printed catalogue of books "for gentlemen readers." Apparently the ladies had to find their reading elsewhere. By spring Bell was emphasizing the military books he had available for circulation, obviously catering to the British troops.⁹⁹

Newspapers continued to provide Philadelphians with news, primarily news from London, Europe, and the theaters of the

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1777.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, November 12, 1777.

⁹⁷ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette, The Pennsylvania Ledger*, April-May, 1778.

⁹⁸ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 28, 1778, April 4, 1778.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, November 19, 1777, April 22, 1778.

war. They also printed captured letters and documents, any stories unfavorable to the rebels, and occasional moral and political essays. Proclamations by General Howe, Superintendent Joseph Galloway, or other officials were frequent. The remaining space was occupied by advertisements for goods sold in the city's shops, servants, and stolen or lost goods. Creative writing was very scarce. *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette* did include a few propaganda attempts at poetry, such as a "Poem to the memory of Lieutenant-Colonel Mungo Campbell," and a "Prologue to the Tragedy of Revenge." The latter was a very circumspect work apparently designed to impress the British of the need to keep fighting and not compromise. Any other literary efforts seem to be confined to unpublished verses like the ones dashed off for Peggy Chew by Captain André.¹⁰⁰

The leading English-language newspaper was *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, printed by James Humphreys. It was published weekly from October 10 to November 26, 1777 as *The Pennsylvania Ledger or the Weekly Advertiser* and then changed to *The Pennsylvania Ledger: or the Philadelphia Market Day Advertiser*, a biweekly publication from December 3, 1777, until May 23, 1778. Late in the occupation it developed some competition from James Robertson's *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, published semi-weekly from March 3 until May 26, 1778. Meanwhile Christopher Saur, III, and his brother Peter were publishing *Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier*, which was "rabidly Tory." It was partly intended for the Hessians and had small circulation and influence. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* moved to Lancaster with the government.¹⁰¹

Formal education continued in some fashion during the British occupation. Little Molly Pemberton told her father in November that "I go to school every day," so it would appear that private Quaker schools continued.¹⁰² The Philadelphia College and Academy (later to become the University of Pennsylvania) at-

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1778, April 25, 1778; *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 20, 31, 1778; Flexner, *Traitor and Spy*, 156.

¹⁰¹ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, October 10, 1777-May 23, 1778; *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 3-May 26, 1778; John Joseph Stoudt, "The German Press in Pennsylvania, and the American Revolution," *PMHB*, LIX (1935), 77.

¹⁰² Molly Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, November 24, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 31:46.

tempted to continue its functions, announcing this fact even before events had begun to settle down for the winter: "The Students and Scholars belonging to the College and Academy of this City, are desired to take notice, that the Schools are open for their reception, and the different branches of Education are carried on as usual, under sufficient Masters."¹⁰³

The medical school must not have continued to function, as many of its faculty were attending the Continental army. However, interest in medical knowledge continued. On December 31, a Tory doctor of Philadelphia, Dr. Abraham Chovet, announced that he was building an amphitheater at his house for the purpose of giving anatomical lectures. He requested the names of those interested, for he would begin as soon as a class was formed.¹⁰⁴ Apparently he got enough response to be encouraging, for ten days later he announced:

Dr. Chovet's Amphitheatre being now completed, Notice is hereby given to the Gentlemen of the Faculty, and others that are curious, that on Monday the 26th of this instant, at six o'clock in the evening, he intends to begin his course of Anatomical and Physiological Lectures. In the mean time, Tickets will be delivered to the Subscribers, at Three Guineas each, at his House in Water-Street, near the Old Ferry.¹⁰⁵

The college also catered to continued public interest in "science." On January 14 it announced that beginning the following Monday at eleven a course of lectures on "Natural and Experimental Philosophy" was to be given at the college. Apparently the course had adequate response despite some difficulties. The lecture on electricity had to be repeated because of bad weather, and the lecture on the orrery had to be given more than once for only twelve could attend at one time. Thus the class must have had some size. The course was to be repeated if demand were high enough, for twenty-five more days, and it began again on March 17.¹⁰⁶

Private scientific investigation must have continued, for it was

¹⁰³ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 3, 1777.

¹⁰⁴ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, December 31, 1777; Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 339.

¹⁰⁵ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 10, 1778.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, January 14, 1778, March 11, 25, 1778.

advertised that someone found a reflecting telescope that he supposed had been stolen. Nevertheless, the diversion of many of the best minds of the time to wartime activity and the interruption of communication with England severely disrupted Philadelphia's noted scientific studies. Provost William Smith remarked that little attention was paid to such studies. The American Philosophical Society did not meet.¹⁰⁷

In early April, however, John Heffernan announced a school which certainly had a wide range of activities:

In Letitia-Court, Market-Street, between Front and Second Streets, Philadelphia, Children and Foreigners are taught to read and write the English Language with grammatical propriety. Young Traders, the nature of mercantile arithmetic and bookkeeping.—Young Guagers, the contenting and ullaging all manner of casks.—Young Surveyors, the running-out lands, and various new methods of field-note calculation.—Young Navigators, how to perform day's-works, and keep an approvedly correct sea-journal.—Civil and military young Architects, how to lay down the five orders, with the plan and elevations of a fortress or other building.—Young Gunners, how to hit any elevated or depressed object, within the known reach or random of their cannon.—Young Philomaths, the elements of geometry, trigonometry, algebra, and sluxions, with their occasional applications to a variety of pertinent, recreative, and instructive subjects. And Youth in general fitted for business with all possible expedition and certainty, by his worthy employers' and friends' gratefully obliged, and the very respectable the public's cheerfully devoted servant,

John Heffernan¹⁰⁸

Another function that continued was the insuring of houses. Elizabeth Drinker mentioned that on November 13 she paid four dollars to Caleb Carmalt to renew the insurance on the house. In April Mr. Carmalt announced that the members of the Philadelphia Contributionship for Fire Insurance should meet to choose twelve directors and a treasurer for the following year.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1778; Whitfield S. Bell, Jr., "The Scientific Environment of Philadelphia, 1775-1790," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 92 (March, 1948), 6-14.

¹⁰⁸ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, 10, 14, 1778.

¹⁰⁹ Drinker, *Journal of Elizabeth Drinker*, 63; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, April 8, 1778.

Some humanitarian functions managed to carry on although there is not much information concerning them. The Contributors to the Pennsylvania Hospital were requested to meet on May 4 to choose twelve managers and a treasurer for the coming year and inspect present accounts and minutes, thus indicating the continued functioning of that institution.¹¹⁰ However, there were many problems to be faced, as indicated by Dr. Thomas Parker:

Soon after the British Troops took possession of the City, I informed thee they placed their sick and wounded in the Pennsa Hospital which they were informed was formerly occupied by y. Congress for their Sick &c.—a few of y. Managers immediately met and apply'd to J. Galloway for relief—who upon representing it to be a Charitable Institution intirely independent and unconnected with the Military Hospital—we were allowed to continue the *few* Patients that were then in the house, provided we gave up all the larger wards to accomodate the King's Troops confining ours to ye New House Garrett. The Managers acquiesced with the proposal and with it nearly all their authority—we soon were obliged to *request* (instead of *demanding*) permission to admit patients—The Sup. of Medicine too was entirely at their command—out of which their lack was supply, 'till the Fleet arrives—for which we are promised ample restoration in Drugs of the first quality—D. Bond now attends with ye Managers *once* a week—exclusive of the Lunatics (who were allowed at the first to remain) there are but eight or ten patients. I fear from a want of proper asser-tion We shall soon loose the little remaining authority hitherto left us. The Military Surgeons are very Civil and polite which is much increased when an opposition is made to their demands.¹¹¹

Hospital facilities were sorely needed for soldiers. Molly Pemberton told her father in November that the hospital and House of Employment were used for the soldiers, and there was some danger they would also need the Pine Street Meetinghouse and the School “kept in the upper part of Essex Flours house.” Some medical supplies must have run short, for in April there was an

¹¹⁰ *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, April 15, 1778.

¹¹¹ Dr. Thomas Parke to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, December 3, 1777, Pemberton Papers, 31:50.

advertisement offering hard money for old sheets sent to the medical store at the college in Fourth Street.¹¹²

Some assistance was provided for the American prisoners held by the British, and assistance was certainly needed. The prisoners were the charge of the infamous and cruel William Cunningham. They were starved, beaten, and provided with no heat or blankets in the windowless building all winter. Daily, bodies were dragged out and buried.¹¹³ Jacob Ritter, who was a prisoner at the time, claimed he never knew of any citizen of Philadelphia attempting to help the prisoners.¹¹⁴ Deborah Logan defended the citizens, saying "The barbarous treatment of Americans in the prison by the Provost was not known to us in the city at the time."¹¹⁵ Both Mrs. Eliza Farmar and the unknown gentleman whose letter was published by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on January 10, 1778 reported attempting to send broth and other food to the prisoners; Cunningham would then kick the broth over onto the dirt and laugh as the starving prisoners attempted to lap it up.¹¹⁶ This activity went on while the officers and their hosts were having their gay social season. Cunningham seems to have been among the social leaders.

The problems of the poor were more acute than ever during the occupation. The abundance of English luxuries in the stores meant nothing to them. They were housed in the Fourth Street Meeting House and Carpenter's Hall. Public charity continued to provide some help. Special charity sermons were given. In February the funds for the poor of the House of Employment ran out and Galloway gave permission for solicitation. Some solicitation did take place, for Elizabeth Drinker mentioned that Dr. Cooper and Ebenezer Robinson called for a subscription for the poor and she gave them four dollars. On March 9 salt beef was distributed to the poor. Former charity organization continued, for it was announced that the Contributors to the relief and employment of the Poor in the City of Philadelphia should meet to examine the accounts and transactions of the past year

¹¹² Molly Pemberton to James Pemberton, Philadelphia, February 2, 1778, Pemberton Papers, 31:50; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, April 4, 1778.

¹¹³ Scharf and Westcott, *Philadelphia*, II, 372.

¹¹⁴ Watson, *Annals*, II, 302.

¹¹⁵ Logan in Watson MS., II, 398.

¹¹⁶ Eliza Farmar, "Letter of Mrs. Eliza Farmar, 1783," *PMHB*, XL (1916), 304-305; *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 10, 1778.

and elect managers and a treasurer on Monday, May 11. Later in the year a lottery was planned for the relief of the poor. If it occurred it was after the end of the British occupation, for drawing was to begin the first Monday in July.¹¹⁷

Other information on the artisan, craftsman, and average citizen of Philadelphia is lacking. Some were employed by the British army for such services as chimney sweeping. Perhaps it was from this group that the British hoped to find reinforcements. They made considerable efforts to recruit for both the army and the navy.¹¹⁸ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette* reported a heavy influx of deserters from Washington's army, although there may be some doubt concerning the accuracy of their figures. For example, on April 3, 1778, it reported five hundred rebel deserters had arrived during the week, while on May 15 it claimed fifty the previous day.¹¹⁹ How many actually joined the British is unclear. Army recruiting posters offered a \$5 bounty plus arms, clothing, and accoutrements to any who would join for two years or the duration of the rebellion. At the end they could receive fifty acres of land in the county of their choice. Officers received higher rewards. Sergeant Thomas Sullivan reported the raising of "several New-Corps both Horse and Foot." On the other hand, Deborah Logan reported that she had heard that at the evacuation of the British "Many Soldiers hid themselves in cellars and other places and staid behind."¹²⁰

In conclusion, social life in Philadelphia during the British occupation had two facets. On the one hand there was the gaiety of the officers and the socially elite at their balls and entertainments, which sparkled beyond what Philadelphia had known before. Beneath this gaiety, however, was the knowledge of the uncertainties of war made real by the economic situation and the absence of friends and loved ones. The entire winter was an illusory interlude in the serious drama of the American struggle for independence. Some found it thrilling, others profitable. More were apprehensive, and for none could it last.

¹¹⁷ Morton, "Diary," 15; *The Pennsylvania Ledger*, January 10, February 14, March 7, April 29, May 23, 1778; Drinker, *Journal of Elisabeth Drinker*, 87.

¹¹⁸ Evans, *American Bibliography*, 15831, 15345, 15350.

¹¹⁹ *The Royal Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 3, May 18, 1778.

¹²⁰ Watson MS., II, 412; *Journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan*, 160; Logan in Watson MS., II, 402.