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# Plays and Amusements Offered for and by the American Military during the Revolutionary War

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## **Plays and Amusements Offered for and by the American Military during the Revolutionary War**

Jared A. Brown

In October, 1774, the Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, passed a resolution designed to 'discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation', including the 'exhibition or shews, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments'. The Revolution would begin within six months, and Congress was clearly attempting to prepare Americans for a period of austerity. But if Congress intended to eliminate all theatrical activities for the duration of the hostilities, it could not have failed more completely. Indeed, the American Revolution saw more theatrical activity on American soil than had ever taken place there before. British military officers - who brought with them a strong theatre-going tradition - sponsored lavish performances of plays in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere between 1775 and 1783. In turn, the remarkable number of British theatrical productions stimulated certain American military officials to countenance performances given by American officers for audiences of soldiers and civilians. This may have been illegal, but it boosted morale and it was intended to demonstrate that Americans could compete with the British on any level, including the theatrical.

### **I: Valley Forge, 1778**

Although George Washington was among the signatories to Congress's anti-theatre resolution in 1774, he was no opponent of the theatre in peacetime. On the contrary, he rarely missed an opportunity to see the professional American Company perform before the hostilities began.<sup>1</sup> And at Valley Forge in the spring of 1778, after the terrible winter had passed, Washington relaxed whatever objections he may have had to the production of plays in wartime.

A theatre was opened, with Washington's approval, and a play given at Valley Forge on April 15, 1778. The only historical record of this event was made in George Ewing's Military Journal, and Ewing, an American soldier, unfortunately neglected to mention the name of the play. He did note, however, that the performance was excellently attended: 'This afternoon I received a ticket for the Play to be acted this evening at the Bakehouse in the evening went down in company with Major Bloomfield Lieuts Curtis Wayman & Kersey but the house was so full that I could not get in then a number of Gent went to Major Parkers hut in the fourth where we spent the evening very merily'.<sup>2</sup> It is history's loss that Ewing's account is as barren of detail as it is of punctuation.

The next indication of a theatrical performance at Valley Forge occurred several weeks later, as part of a festive celebration. Indeed, a celebration was in order, for the army had not only survived the dreadful conditions of the winter months, but news had reached the camp of the French alliance with America, which had been signed in Paris on February 6, 1778. On May 6, Washington issued an order for a grand military fete and jubilee to celebrate the signing of the treaty.<sup>3</sup>

On May 11, Gata was performed for an audience that included General Washington. William Bradford, Jr., in a spirited letter written on May 14 to his sister Rachel, described the performance at Valley Forge:

My dear Rachel

I find by a letter from my father that you are on a visit at Trenton. I should be happy could you extend your Jaunt as far as full View – the Camp could now afford you some entertainment. The manoeuvring of the Army is in itself a sight that would Charm you. - Besides these, the Theatre is opened - Last Monday Cato was performed before a very numerous & splendid audience. His Excellency & Lady, Lord Stirling, the Countess & Lady Kitty, & Mr. Green were part of the Assembly. The scenery was in Taste - & the performance admirable - Col. George did his part to admiration - he made an excellent die (as they say) - Pray heaven, he don't die in earnest - for yesterday he was seized with the pleurisy & lies extremely ill - If the Enemy does not retire from Philad a soon, our Theatrical amusements will continue - the fair Penitent with the Padlock will soon be acted. The "recruiting officer" is also on foot. I hope however we shall be disappointed in all these by the more agreeable Entertainment of taking possession of Philad<sup>a</sup> ... Adieu  
rma chere soeur, je suis votre.

W.B.<sup>4</sup>

Bradford's greater wish was gratified. Six days later, on May 20, he again wrote to his sister: 'I no longer invite you here - all is hurry and bustle - our plays and other amusements seem to be laid aside and everyone is preparing for a sudden movement.'<sup>5</sup> The 'sudden movement' culminated in the American forces re-taking Philadelphia, following the British evacuation, in June.

## **II: Philadelphia, 1778**

Even before the British evacuation, Americans who supported the revolutionary cause were not without their own amusements in Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Packet carried an article on February 11, 1778, confirming that life was not all somber for the Whigs of the city. 'Last Monday evening a brilliant Ball was held in this place', the article began, 'at which a great number of Ladies and Gentlemen of the very first characters from the city of Philadelphia and the town and neighbourhood of Lancaster were present. The agreeable, easy, and truly cheerful behaviour of the company, was a remarkable proof of the entire satisfaction and ease of mind enjoyed by those who are in the land of liberty and freedom, and that the virtuous will be happy in the enjoyment of those blessings in spite of all that British Tyranny can invent.'<sup>6</sup>

The British, of course, had been far more active in the social realm than had the Americans. Those Philadelphians who had become accustomed to the lavish entertainments and parties furnished by the British military during the occupation must have looked upon their departure with dismay, fearing that a period of austerity would follow. But that was not to be the case. A Philadelphian of 1778 who wished to continue in the pattern set by the British might hardly have noticed their absence. Mrs. Robert Morris didn't miss them, it seems; she wrote to her mother from Philadelphia in July, 1778, only a month after the British evacuation: 'I know of no news, unless to tell you that we are very gay as such. We have a great many balls and entertainments, and soon the Assemblys will begin. Tell Mr. Hall even our military gentlemen here are too liberal to make any distinctions between Whig and Tory ladies - if they make any, it's in favor of the latter, such, strange as it may seem, is the way things are conducted at present in this city'.<sup>7</sup>

Some of the Whigs were bitter, however, and they wished to punish the Tories who had made General Howe's army so comfortable in Philadelphia. The Whigs gave a ball at the City Tavern in honor of 'the young ladies who had manifested their attachment to the cause of virtue and freedom by sacrificing every convenience to the love of their country.' Many of them wished to exclude the Tories from their celebration, but, in a remarkable burst of good fellowship, the Whigs decided to invite a number of Tories to the ball, and 'Tory belles danced with American officers, as the Whig belles had danced with the British'.<sup>8</sup>

Others found the Philadelphians to be a bit more hesitant about enjoying themselves so luxuriously. Conrade Alexandre-Gerard de Rayneval, the minister plenipotentiary of France, sent to America to supervise French interests under the treaty they had signed with the Americans in February, arrived in Philadelphia in 1778. He wished to make public acknowledgement of the honors paid to him on his arrival, and he therefore proposed a banquet followed by a ball. But a letter written from Rayneval to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count de Vergennes, dated August 14, 1778, shows the difficulty of sponsoring such entertainments at the time in Philadelphia. 'They allege a law of Congress which forbids public entertainments,' said Rayneval. 'This law originated with the northern Presbyterians, at the time when Congress fervently besought the aid of Heaven. Things have taken another turn, and quite a number of senators dance every week. Northern rigidity has become mollified in contact with Southern sensuousness; but there is still hesitation in repealing the law'.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the law, American officers re-opened the Southwark Theatre in September, 1778, where the British had given regular performances some months before. Most of the few details we possess about this short-lived engagement come from John North, who reported them many years after the events had occurred. North could not recall the names of any of the American soldier-actors who had performed in Philadelphia when he was a boy, but he did remember that one or two of the actors who had been employed by the American Company before the war had joined the officers in the performances, adding a degree of professionalism to the productions.<sup>10</sup>

Nor is it known how many performances were given, or what plays were presented. It seems likely, however, that one of the plays was David Garrick's farce *The Lying Valet*, since a copy of that play was published in Philadelphia in 1778, and it carries the inscription: 'Printed at the Desire of some of the Officers in the American Army, who intend to exhibit at the Playhouse, for the Benefit of Families who have suffered in the War for American Liberty'.<sup>11</sup>

Although the productions given by American officers were for the laudable purpose of raising money for needy families, the simple act of presenting plays ran counter to the Continental Congress's explicit wishes set forth in their resolution in 1774. Congress - which was meeting in Philadelphia at the time - was clearly irritated; for on October 12, 1778, a motion was presented that Congress pass the following resolution:

Whereas true religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness:

Resolved, That it be and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the several states to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing

theatrical entertainments, horse-racing, gaming, and other such diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of principles and manners.<sup>12</sup>

Maryland and North Carolina voted against the motion, and Virginia's vote was divided, but the other states agreed to it, carrying the vote in favor of the resolution. Having gone on record in opposition to theatrical activities for the second time in four years, Congress must have felt confident that its views could not be misconstrued. But they found it necessary to pass yet another resolution only four days later, which may indicate a strengthening of their resolve, or may indicate that the soldiers in Philadelphia had given another performance in the interim. In fact, there is good reason to believe that a performance was given on the very evening on which the resolution was passed. That a performance was scheduled is certain, as this item in The Pennsylvania Packet attests:

#### ANECDOTE

A PLAY being to be performed in the city last Monday evening, the Marquis de la Fayette being in company with his Excellency the President of Congress [Henry Laurens], asked him to accompany him to the play. The President politely excusing himself, the Marquis pressed him to go: The President then informed the Marquis that Congress having that day passed a resolution, recommending to the several states to enact laws for the suppression of theatrical amusements, he could not possibly do himself the honour of waiting upon him to the play. Ah! replied the Marquis, have Congress passed such a resolution! then I will not go to the play.<sup>13</sup>

The second of the October resolutions, far more emphatic than the first, was published in the Packet the day after its passage, perhaps in order to make certain that all Philadelphians, military and civilian, would be made aware of Congress's injunction.

In CONGRESS, October 16, 1778.

Whereas frequenting Playhouses and theatrical entertainments, has a fatal tendency to divert the minds of the people from a due attention to the means necessary for the defense of their country and preservation of their liberties: Resolved, that any person holding an office under the United States, who shall act, promote, encourage or attend such plays, shall be deemed unworthy to hold such office, and shall be accordingly dismissed. Ordered, That this resolve be published.<sup>14</sup>

Considerable opposition to such a strong resolution was expressed by the vote in Congress. New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia all voted against it, but the more somber voices of the other states carried the day. The resolution failed in its attempt to stamp out the production of all plays during the prosecution of the war, but it surely made officers of the United States reluctant to attend them.

Fortunately for the theatre in America, the individual states frequently ignored the anti-theatrical sentiments of Congress, and showed far greater leniency in their attitudes regarding dramatic activities. Gerard de Rayneval, in another letter to Count de Vergennes, this one dated November 24, 1778, said: 'It is the northern members [of Congress], called the Presbyterian party, that delight in passing moral laws so as to keep their credit and rigor in full exercise,'<sup>15</sup> and, indeed, the southern states showed considerably more tolerance for the theatre (both before and during the Revolution) than did their northern counterparts.

The taste of Americans for amusements both public and private was increasing, and legislators could do little about it. But in the matter of theatrical performances, the state of Pennsylvania did its best to conform to Congress's wishes. On March 30, 1779, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law prohibiting the building of 'any play house, theatre, stage or scaffold for acting, showing or exhibiting any tragedy, comedy, or tragicomedy, farce, interlude or other play or any part of a play whatsoever', and the acting or being 'in any way concerned' in them.<sup>16</sup>

Before the war's end, the Southwark theatre would open again, plays would once more be seen in Philadelphia, and George Washington would once again be in the audience. But that would not occur until a good deal of time had passed, and the distaste of officialdom for the theatre had been given a chance to dissipate - and even then, American soldiers would take no part in the performances.

### III: Portsmouth, 1778

American soldiers may have acted in several plays in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1778, although it is also possible that the performers were civilian amateurs, unconnected with the military. Evidence that plays were produced in Portsmouth comes from the poems of Jonathan M. Sewall, which were published in 1801. Included among them is an 'Epilogue to CATO', which includes the notation underneath the title of the poem, 'Written in 1778',<sup>17</sup> Although there is no indication that the Epilogue was written to be performed the words 'for the Bow Street Theatre, Portsmouth, N. H.'<sup>18</sup> were added when the poem was subsequently reprinted by the Dunlap society.

Another poem, entitled 'Epilogue to CORIOLANUS', also appears in Sewall's volume. This poem is undated, but it seems to have been written at approximately the same time as the 'Epilogue to CATO', because it is placed only a few pages away from that poem. The significance of the 'Epilogue to CORIOLANUS' is that its text reveals that it was spoken, presumably from the stage, and presumably at the conclusion of a performance of Shakespeare's tragedy. Sewall's poem reads, in part:

Trembling with apprehension, doubt and pain, We have presum'd to tread this stage again. This stage - where late, by various passions mov'd, A Juba triumph'd, and a Marcia lov'd. Where a Numidian, barb'rous as his clime, Stalk'd, black with ev'ry execrable crime. And where by demons fir'd from deepest hell, Sempronius bellow'd, fought, blasphem'd, and fell. Here Lucia wept with anguish torn, and love; And there th' illustrious rival brothers strove. Here noble Marcus bled, in youthful pride, There Liberty, and Rome, and CATO dy'd!

A diff'rent scene has been display'd to night; No martyr bleeding in his country's right. But a majestic Roman, great and good, Driv'n by his country's base ingratitude, From parent, wife, and offspring, whelm'd in woe, To ask protection from a haughty foe....<sup>19</sup>

Sewall added a footnote to his poem: 'General discontent prevailed in the American army, when this was written and spoken.'<sup>20</sup>

Plainly, the poem tells us that a number of plays were performed in Portsmouth. The footnote indicates that Coriolanus was performed during the Revolution, but whether the actors were

soldiers or civilians, the 'Epilogue' does not say. Sewall was a rabid American patriot (among his other poems are a 'Song for Washington's Birth-Day' and 'An Ode to Independence'),<sup>21</sup> so the performance was obviously given for a Whig audience.

Also in Sewall's collection of poems is an 'Introductory Prologue To the Plays at Portsmouth'. Unfortunately, it contains no further information concerning the plays, and it bears no date.

No other account of the performances at Portsmouth in 1778 has come down to us, nor is there any record of theatrical activities there in any other year of the Revolution. Indeed, not until 1781 do we have any further report of American soldier-actors participating in dramatic performances anywhere in the United States.

#### IV: Reading, 1781

An American soldier, Lieutenant Enos Reeves, was stationed at Reading, Pennsylvania, in 1781. American officers gave a series of theatrical performances there, some of which Reeves recorded in his Letter-Books. The first such notation occurs in a mutilated letter, the first section of which is lost. The letter is dated 'Septr. 1781' and it gives a partial cast list for a performance of *The Lying Valet*. Beau Trippet was played by Lieutenant Jones, Mrs. Gadabout by Captain Bush, Mrs. Trippet by Doctor Allison, and the Drunken Cook by Captain Bowen. Another actor was Master Scull, but the role he played is not identified. Evidently, Reeves himself was cast in the play, because he remarked, 'We were as busy as possible and as assiduous as if we expected to make a living by it, so eager are all men for Applause, that we cannot think of being excelled even in the character of a player. The task is so severe on me that I believe I shall give it up for the future, but the parts I have had, have been exceeding long, and mostly the person in trouble, which affects me almost as much as if it was real.'<sup>22</sup>

It is clear from Reeves's letter that the women's roles were played by American officers in the performances at Reading. What Reeves does not say is whether the productions were given for charity or simply for amusement; nor does he tell us much about the circumstances under which the performances were given.

A bit more detail is revealed in another letter written by Reeves later that same September:

On Monday last we performed the *Revenge* again, with the *Lying Valet* for a farce; our house was much crowded, a number of people that had not tickets beg'd to be admitted. We had the satisfaction to hear that every character in the Tragedy was better supported than the last evening, Carlos excepted, which was not done so well. Leonora made a brilliant appearance this evening dress'd in a pink silk with an extraordinary head dress.

The Farce pleased the Dutch inhabitants exceedingly; and kept them in one continual burst of laughter.

We broke up about one o'clock, and waited on the ladies of our acquaintance home in dress.

Sharp and Kitty Any was well supported, and all the rest [here the letter is torn badly and is indecipherable] Lawyer Biddle, Lawyer Graydon and several others was pleased to compliment the performers. So much for plays.<sup>23</sup>

It is apparent that army life was not all dreary in Reading that autumn. Reeves also described a 'Ball and entertainment, given In September by 'the officers of the garrison', which 'all the ladies and gentlemen of the town' attended.

But there was still a war to be won, and orders reached the American officers from General St. Clair to move the troops from Reading 'to the City of Philadelphia with all expedition'.<sup>24</sup> Lieutenant Reeves was highly aggrieved at the thought of giving up the pleasurable round of balls, suppers, and plays. On a Saturday in September, wrote: 'Our detachment marched off yesterday morning for Philadelphia. I have remained behind, having a horse and shall set off this day. The town looks distressed since the departure of the troops, no drums beating in the morning or evening, nor crowd of men parading up and down the Streets, nor gay officers gallanting the gayer ladies to and fro - the ladies look disconsolate and confess their loss. I am just going to take my leave, and to horse, and away to Philadelphia.'<sup>25</sup>

#### V: Philadelphia, 1780-1782

After the series of plays presented by American officers in 1778, and the subsequent reaction of Congress, Philadelphia maintained a strict prohibition against theatrical performances. The only formalized entertainment in Philadelphia after that time and before the end of 1781 seems to have been a series of six performances on the slack wire given by a 'Mr. Templeman, of Virginia, lately from Europe'. Beginning in February, 1780, and continuing intermittently until the end of April, Mr. Templeman presented his one-man show at the Southwark Theatre. The prices charged for his exhibitions seem to have been incredibly high, but continental money was greatly inflated at the time. Box tickets were priced at forty dollars, seats in the pit at thirty dollars, and gallery tickets were sold for twenty dollars. According to Charles Durang, 'children from five to fifteen years of age [were] admitted at fifteen dollars'.<sup>26</sup>

George Washington was in Philadelphia at the end of 1781, in order to meet with Congress and discuss the course of the war. On December 11 Luzerne, the French minister, gave an entertainment in Washington's honor, which The Freeman's Journal described thus: 'On Tuesday evening the 11th inst. his excellency the Minister of France, who embraces every opportunity to manifest his respect to the worthies of America, and politeness to Its Inhabitants, entertained his excellency general Washington, and his lady, the lady or general Greene, and a very polite circle of the gentlemen and ladies, With an elegant Concert, in which [an] ORATORIO, composed and set to music by a gentleman whose taste in the polite arts is well known was Introduced, and afforded the most sensible pleasure.'<sup>27</sup> The patriotic oratorio, Francis Hopkinson's Temple of Minerva,<sup>28</sup> presumably was not regarded as the sort of 'theatrical entertainment' that Congress had found so odious in its resolution of 1778.

The performance of a comedy on January 2, 1782, however, could not have been regarded in any other light. Had Congress's second 1778 resolution been obeyed to the letter, George Washington would have been dismissed from his command, for he was present at the Southwark Theatre on the night the performance was given. The Freeman's Journal reported:



On Wednesday evening the 2d instant, Alexander Quesnay [de Glouvay, a teacher of French] exhibited a most elegant entertainment at the playhouse, where were present his excellency general Washington, the Minister of France, the president of the state, a number of the officers of the army and a brilliant assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of the city, who were invited.

After a prologue suitable to the occasion, EUGENIE an elegant French comedy was first presented (written by the celebrated M. Beaumarchais) and in the opinion of several good judges was extremely well acted by the young gentlemen, students in that polite language. After the comedy was acted the LYING VALET, a farce, to this succeeded several curious dances, followed by a brilliant illumination, consisting of thirteen pyramidal pillars, representing the thirteen states - on the middle column was seen a Cupid, supporting a laurel crown over the motto - WASHINGTON - the pride of his country and terror of Britain. On the summit was the word - Virginia - on the right - Connecticut, with the names GREENE and la FAYETTE - on the left - the word Pennsylvania with the names WAYNE and STEUBEN ; and so on according to the birth place and state proper to each general. The spectacle ended with an artificial illumination of the thirteen columns.<sup>29</sup>

The production of Eugenie was so successful that Quesnay de Glouvay announced a repeat performance to be given on January 11, with The Cheats of Scapin as the afterpiece. This performance was to be given as a charitable benefit for 'the virtuous American Soldier in the Barracks of Philadelphia' and the poor in the Pennsylvania Hospital. On this occasion, however, the Philadelphia authorities stepped in, and cancelled the performance. Quesnay had to announce 'that no public Play will be exhibited at the Theatre in Southwark, on Friday Evening, nor any Exhibition made contrary to Law'.<sup>30</sup>

The cancellation was a special disappointment to 'Maria Flutter', who said in a letter to 'The PILGRIM' at The Freeman's Journal:

SIR,

I was present at the acting of the French play Eugenie, about a week ago and was extremely pleased with it, though I do not understand a word of the language. The show was so fine, the scenes so pretty, the company so brilliant, that I really should have thought myself in an enchanted world had it not been for the noise and vulgarities of some tasteless fellows who sat in the gallery. I wish that sort of people would build a play house of their own, and not come and disturb people that go to be entertained agreeably at Southwark. But, O Sir! judge what must have been my melancholy, when, as I afterwards heard, Mr. Quesnay was threatened with the law if he had any more plays acted. Do, sir, say something in favour of plays. The young people of the City are really tired of their lives for want of some entertainment now and then in the winter evenings. There are several philosophers in this place who do all they can to discourage amusements of this sort; but as you, sir, have travelled thro' the polite nations of the east, and know mankind, I am sure you will not write anything against so pretty a pastime.

Your humble servant,  
MARIA FLUTTER

The answer Maria received could scarcely have satisfied her:

The Pilgrim is sorry Miss Flutter was pleased with a comedy she did not understand, and he hereby prohibits her from ever attending plays 'till she is able to collect a number of useful morals and rational sentiments from what she sees and hears; and can convince her friends that she returns from that species of diversion better and wiser than she went. As to Eugenie, the French comedy, it is a pity any lady or gentleman of condition should be ignorant of the polite language it is written in ... Yet by no means do I consent that regular theatrical entertainments shall immediately come into fashion. The diversions of the stage are doubtless (under proper restrictions) noble, manly and rational; but at present I judge them to be rather unseasonable, at least if generally permitted ... You languish for public shows. Have patience, madam, 'till the war is successfully finished - reflect how many of your countrymen are at this moment perishing in sickly prisons; dying with painful wounds, hunger and nakedness; facing death in the field of battle, or suffering all the vengeance that a cruel and exasperated enemy can inflict. Think on these things, madam, and be merry if you can.<sup>31</sup>

Maria's reaction to the Pilgrim's rebuke is not recorded. But there were indeed to be no more theatrical entertainments in Philadelphia until the war was 'successfully finished'. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence that any of the other performances of plays given in America before the Revolution's end were either acted in by American officers or performed for audiences that included American soldiers.

In the years after the Revolution, the American theatre would attain a position of considerable importance in the world, far surpassing the stature it had achieved prior to 1782. But the entertainments offered for and by the American military during the Revolution served the important functions of keeping a budding American theatrical tradition alive, and of contributing to the success of the Revolutionary effort, even if only in a minor way, by bolstering the morale of soldiers and civilians at a time when thousands of Americans lacked the conviction that their countrymen could compete on an equal basis with their British opponents.

#### Notes

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4. William Bradford, Jr., 'Selections from the Wallace Papers', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XL, No.1, 1916, pp. 342-3.

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6. *The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, Philadelphia, February 11, 1778.

7. Mrs. Robert Morris, quoted in Charles Henry Hart, 'Mary White – Mrs. Robert Morris', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II, 1878, No.1, pp. 162-3.

8. John Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, L. H. Everts & Co., Philadelphia, 1884, 3 vols., vol. II, pp. 898-9.
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11. George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, Vol. I, Columbia University Press, New York, 1927, p.195. .
12. Quoted in Paul Leicester Ford, *Washington and the Theatre*, Burt Franklin, New York, 1899 (reprinted 1970), pp. 26-7.
13. *The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, October, 17, 1778.
14. *ibid.*
15. Gerard de Rayneval, in Durand, pp. 167-8.
16. Thomas Charles Pollock, *The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 40.
17. J. M. Sewall, *Miscellaneous Poems*, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, William Treadwell & Co., 1801, pp.107-10.
18. Odell, p. 195.
19. Sewall, p. 123.
20. *ibid.*, p. 125.
21. *ibid.*
22. Extracts from the Letter-Books of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania me, *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1897, pp. 82-3.
23. *ibid.*, p. 83.
24. *ibid.*, p. 84.
25. *ibid.*, pp. 84-5.
26. Durang, p. 21; Pollock, p.40 and pp.130-4.
27. *The Freeman's Journal*, Philadelphia, December 19, 1781. . . .
28. O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Hartel, 1907, p. 78.
29. *The Freeman's Journal*, January 9, 1782. .
30. *The Pennsylvania Packet, or the General Advertiser*, January 5 and January 8, 1782.
31. *The Freeman's Journal* January 16, 1782.