



CINCINNATI FOURTEEN

Fall 2018

Journal of The Society of the Cincinnati
Fall 2018
Volume 55, Number 1

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This page: *John Paul Jones, commodore au service des Etats-Unis de l'Amerique* engraved by Carl Gottlieb Guttenberg after Claude Jacques Notte (Paris, 1779). Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Opposite: Detail of *Carte des Isles Antilles dans l'Amerique septentrionale : avec la majeure partie des Isles Lucayes, faisant partie du theatre de la guerre entre les anglais et les americains* by Brion de la Tour (Paris, 1782). Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Never Too Late for Heroes

THE LIFE AND RETURN OF

JOHN PAUL JONES

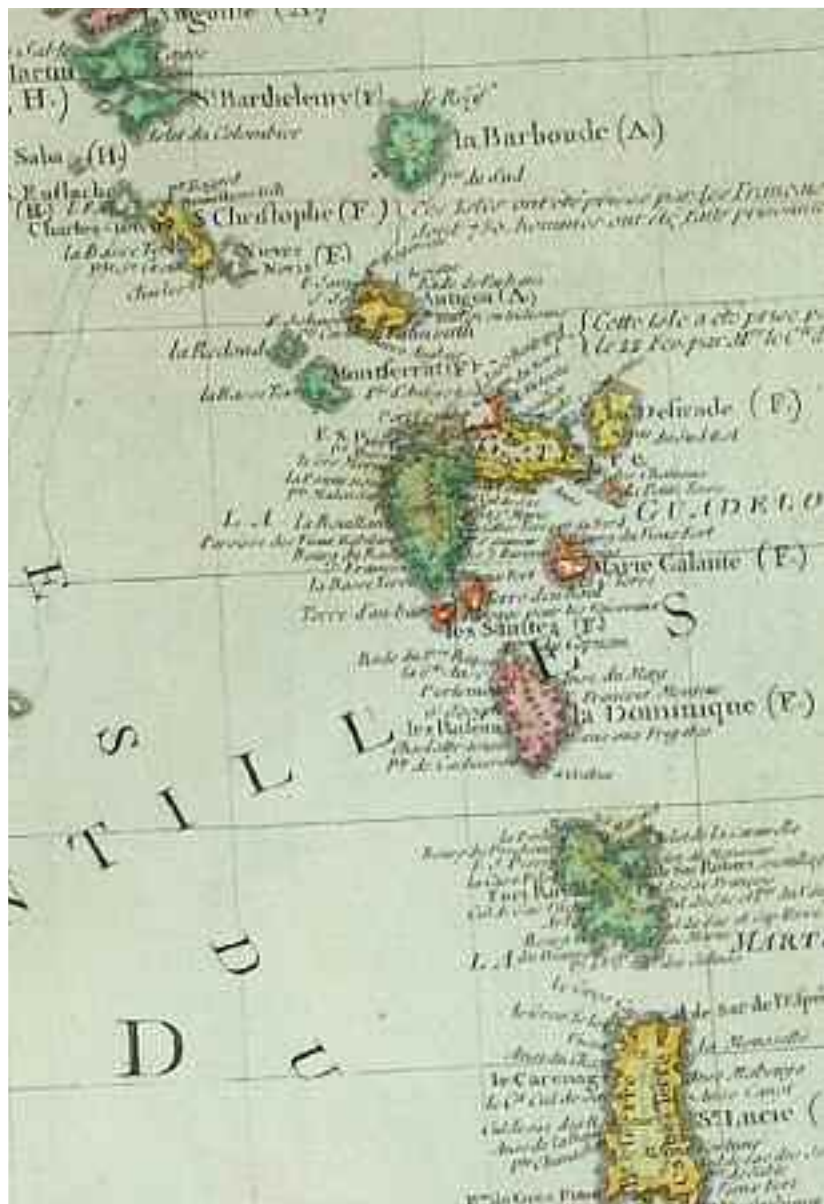
by J. Phillip London (Massachusetts)

The legend of John Paul Jones is remarkable. A hero of the American Revolution. The Father of the American Navy. Even his final resting place is a resplendent sarcophagus in the chapel of the U.S. Naval Academy. And had it not been for a curious American ambassador, Jones' legacy may have faded into history.

A Young Man's Fate

John Paul Jones was born simply John Paul in the parish of Kirkbean in southwest Scotland on July 6, 1747. The son of an estate gardener, he was the fifth of seven children. John Paul attended school until age thirteen, when it was common for boys to leave school for a career at sea. He was apprenticed to a ship owner and entered into the Atlantic trade that linked England, America, the West Indies, and Africa. For the next three years, John Paul sailed on the merchant brig *Friendship* on annual voyages to Barbados and Virginia.

After the French and Indian War, the *Friendship* was sold and her crew was let go. John Paul, then sixteen, found a berth as third mate aboard the *King George*, a slave ship. Two years later he signed on as first mate on another slave ship, *Two Friends*, but quit after only a year in disgust at the trade. In Jamaica he boarded the brigantine *John* to return to Scotland. When both the ship's master and first mate died of fever during the voyage, John Paul sailed her back home.



The memorable engagement of Captn. Pearson of the Serapis, with Paul Jones of the Bon Homme Richard & his squadron, Sep. 23, 1779 engraved by James Fittler and Daniel Lerpinière after Richard Paton (London, 1781). Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.



The grateful owners rewarded John Paul with his first command. After two successful trips to Jamaica, John Paul was given command of the brig *Betsy* in 1772. It was a challenging command for the young captain. The trade was profitable, but the ship was leaky and the crew grumbled about pay. Grumbling turned to mutiny in Tobago. When the ring leader, three times John Paul's size, swung a club at him, the captain killed the man with his sword.

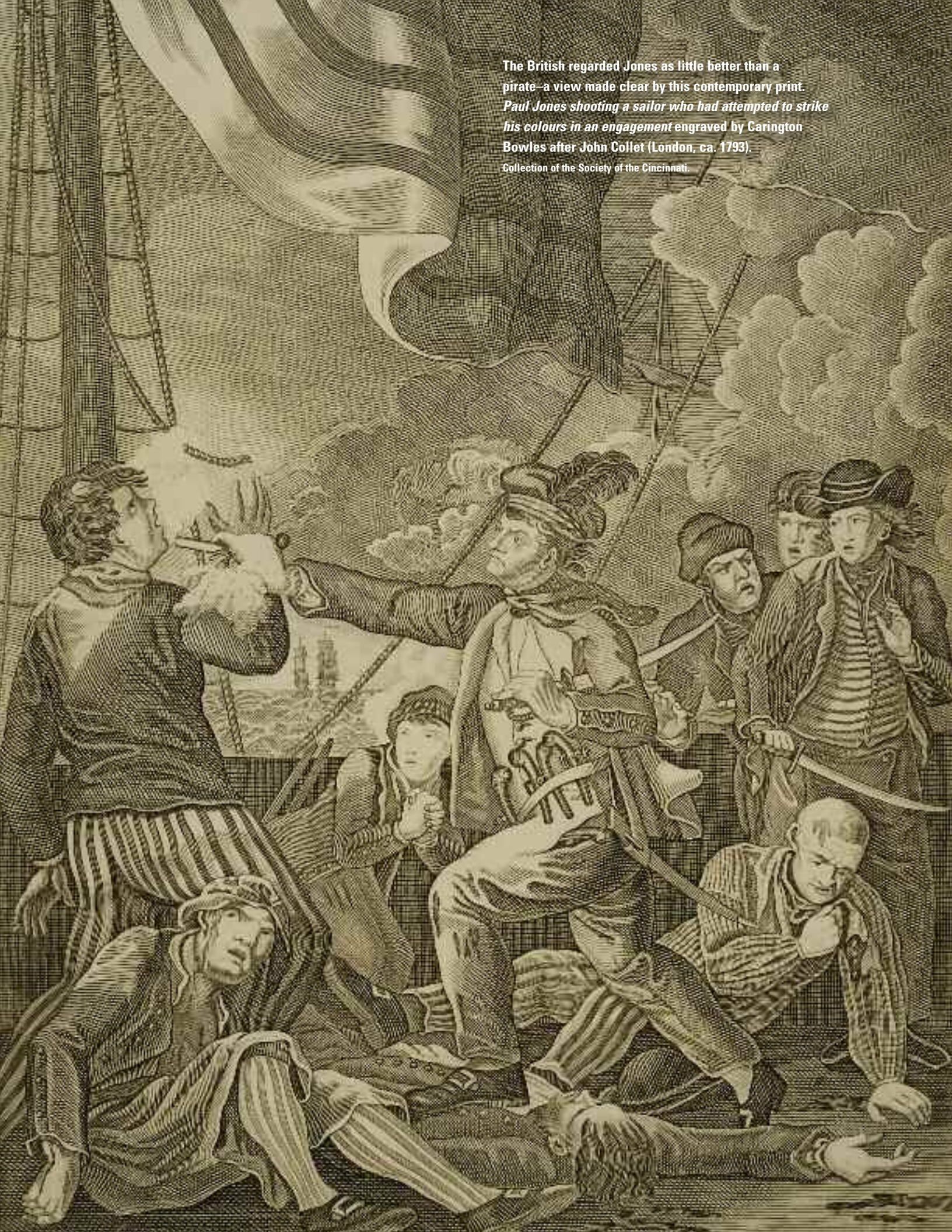
Doubting he would get a fair hearing, John Paul quickly fled Tobago. To aid his escape, he added the surname Jones. Somehow he made his way to Fredericksburg, Virginia, where his brother worked as a tailor. He found his brother dying, or perhaps recently dead. Without family or connections in Britain's mainland colonies, he nonetheless decided to cast his lot with the revolutionaries preparing to resist British tyranny by force of arms.

The Revolution's Naval Hero

When war broke out, Jones volunteered for service in the newly established Continental Navy. Commissioned a lieutenant, he took command of the sloop *Providence* in May 1776. He captured sixteen British vessels on a single cruise. Promoted to captain, he was given command of the *Alfred* and then the *Ranger*, where he rattled the British by raiding the town of Whitehaven on the west coast of England. Jones was one of the most successful captains in the Continental Navy.

By the fall of 1779, Jones commanded a fleet of small five ships, including his flagship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, a converted French East Indiaman carrying forty guns, the heaviest being twelve pounders. Anticipating British convoys returning from the West Indies and the Baltic, Jones decided the time was right to attack. On September 23 he spotted a Baltic convoy of forty-one ships off the east coast of England.

The British regarded Jones as little better than a pirate—a view made clear by this contemporary print. *Paul Jones shooting a sailor who had attempted to strike his colours in an engagement* engraved by Carington Bowles after John Collet (London, ca. 1793).
Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.





Jean-Antoine Houdon sculpted this portrait bust of the victorious Jones in 1780.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

done his duty. Jones and his crew boarded *Serapis* and took control of the ship. *Bonhomme Richard* was damaged beyond repair. Jones abandoned her, and she soon sank. He sailed *Serapis*, bringing the warship and her consort, the smaller *Countess of Scarborough*, into a Dutch port as prizes. Jones was the toast of Holland, and news of his courage soon reached France. King Louis XVI gave him the Order of Military Merit and the title of “Chevalier Paul Jones.”

The Hero without a Home

The Royal Navy escorts, *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, gave battle to allow the convoy to escape. Thus began the epic battle between Jones’ *Bonhomme Richard* and Capt. Richard Pearson’s *Serapis*, which carried forty-four guns, including twenty eight pounders. The *Bonhomme Richard* was badly outclassed.

The battle raged for three hours. *Bonhomme Richard* took a beating from Pearson’s heavy guns and began taking on more water than her pumps, worked furiously below decks, could handle. Jones’ officer implored him to surrender, but Jones chose to close with the enemy and rammed *Bonhomme Richard* into *Serapis*. Jones had the two ships tied together. The fighting continued for two more hours. *Serapis*’ guns blasted the hull of Jones’ ship from point blank range. Pearson, confident of victory, called out for the American surrender, but Jones yelled back, “I have not yet begun to fight!”

As the fighting continued, the convoy passed out of danger. Shortly after an American grenade exploded below *Serapis*’ decks, Pearson decided to strike his colors, surrendering his ship. He had

Such an impressive victory did not go unrecognized. Congress awarded Jones with command of the largest warship ever built in the Western hemisphere, the fifty-four gun *America*. But before she was completed, Congress decided to give the vessel to France to replace a warship lost in Boston Harbor. Jones remained in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to oversee the completion of the ship.

With the Treaty of Paris in 1783 ending the Revolutionary War, the best appointment Jones could get was as prize agent to settle the accounts for vessels captured and sold in Europe. On his way to France, Jones wrote to Gen. Arthur St. Clair to obtain membership in a newly formed group. “The Chevalier De la Luzerne and Baron Stuben,” he wrote, “have propo[sed] to obtain a Vote of the Society of Cincinnatus [for] my admission at the first general meeting.”

Although his duties kept him in Europe for the next five years, Jones’ yearned to go back to sea, but couldn’t find a worthy command. On October 31, 1785, President George Washington sent Jones a letter. “Be it known that John Paul Jones Chevalier of the Royal Order of Military Merit is a Member of the Society of the Cincinnati.” Also enclosed was his certificate

Workmen searching for Jones' grave tunneled beneath the abandoned cemetery where he was interred.

United States Naval Academy.

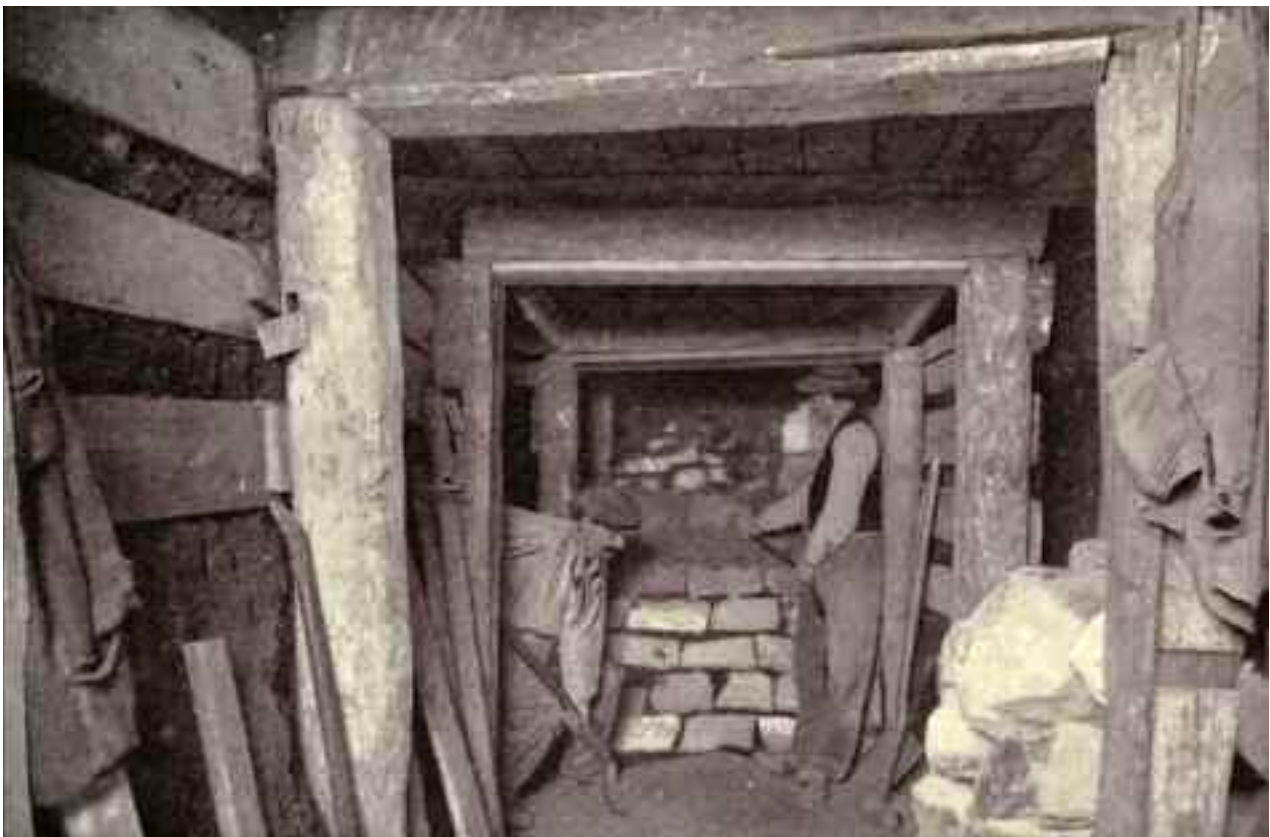
signed by Henry Knox, secretary of the Society. Membership certainly held a special meaning to Jones, as he made considerable efforts to have two of his captains admitted.

Jones eventually secured a command, but far from the Atlantic he knew so well. In 1788, he was appointed a rear admiral in the Russian navy by Empress Catherine the Great. Back at sea, Jones successfully led a fleet against the Turks in the Black Sea. Winning in battle did not win over his Russian counterparts. Although he got along with Russian crews, Jones criticized the leadership of the other commanders, making an enemy of Prince Potemkin, the Queen's favorite. Instead of another command, Catherine gave her Scottish-American admiral a leave of absence. Jones left Russia to wander through Europe's capitals.

The Paris Jones returned to in 1790 had changed considerably. Revolutionary France held few opportunities for him. Weighing his options, Jones considered buying a country estate in America. He also wrote repeatedly to officials of

the new federal government, seeking a public appointment. President Washington finally appointed him consul in Algiers. Jones never reached his new post. The pneumonia he contracted in Russia had damaged his lungs and his health deteriorated. Jones died in Paris on July 18, 1792. with no money and few mourners. He was forty-five years old.

The American minister to France knew Jones well, but he refused to spend "either the money of his heirs or that of the United States" on "such follies" as a public funeral. Instead, he ordered a private, Protestant burial at minimal cost. M. Pierre François Simonneau, the official to whom the order was given, was aghast. If America "would not pay the expense of a public burial for a man who had rendered such signal services to France and America he would pay it himself." Jones was buried in an unmarked grave in St. Louis Cemetery for Protestant foreigners, paid by private charity for the sum of 462 francs. His friends had Jones' body preserved in alcohol so his body could be identified when Americans



Jones' withered face and body matched the measurements made by Houdon in 1780.
United States Naval Academy.

remembered to honor the hero. In 1796, France's revolutionary government sold the property, and the cemetery and all who laid there were nearly forgotten.

Some heroes, however, refuse to be forgotten. In 1845, Col. John H. Sherburne wrote to Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft asking to bring the body back aboard a ship from the Mediterranean Squadron. By 1851, preliminary arrangements had been made, only to be thwarted by the objections of some of Jones' Scottish relatives. Even if they had agreed, there was still one problem — finding Jones' unmarked grave in a forgotten cemetery.

A Hero's Return

The problem was ultimately solved by Horace Porter, the grandson of a Revolutionary War officer. A West Point graduate, Porter served as aide-de-camp to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, and was promoted to colonel by the end of the Civil War. He later served as Grant's presidential secretary, and then as vice president of the Pullman Palace Car Company and later, the West Shore Railroad. President William McKinley named Porter U.S. Ambassador to France in 1897. Porter was also an active member of several hereditary societies and an honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati.

After pouring over old records during his ambassadorship, Porter began a systematic search for Jones' gravesite in 1899. Jones' death and burial certificates were burned during the French Revolution, but a correct transcript was eventually found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in an article published in 1859. From the article, Porter was able to ascertain that Jones has been buried in the old Protestant cemetery.

The abandoned cemetery, Porter learned, lay



under a block of more recent, mostly dilapidated, buildings. When the owners refused Porter access unless he paid ridiculous sums for it, Porter delayed until reasonable terms could be obtained. He also reached out to President Theodore Roosevelt, who asked Congress to appropriate \$35,000 for the project. Congress adjourned without responding. Porter decided to finance the project himself.

How could an unmarked grave be found? Porter learned that Jones had been buried in a lead lined coffin that had been filled with alcohol to preserve his remains. In addition, Porter learned that the French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon had measured Jones for a standing statue that was never executed. The measurements would help identify Jones' body among the remains in the abandoned cemetery.

Porter hired excavators to tunnel under the buildings and remove the coffins from below, like miners. As the weeks turned into months, they crew found a few lead coffin liners, but none of the remains matched Jones' build. Finally a body in a lead-lined coffin was discovered that fit. The body had been preserved in alcohol. The liquid had long since evaporated, but it had

effectively mummified the body. An autopsy showed that the deceased suffered from the lung and kidney ailments that had led to Jones' death. After six years of searching, in the last year of Porter's appointment, he had found the remains of the U.S. Navy's first great hero.

After a ceremonial sendoff in Paris, President Theodore Roosevelt sent four cruisers to bring Jones back to the United States. The squadron left Cherbourg on July 8, were escorted up the Chesapeake Bay by seven battleships, and arrived in Annapolis, Maryland, on July 23, 1905. On April 24, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt gave a thundering eulogy during a commemoration service honoring Jones. In January 1913, Jones' body was laid to rest for good in the chapel of the United States Naval Academy, in an ornate crypt carved with the names of his fighting ships.

John Paul Jones is a perfect symbol for what has become the most powerful navy in the history of the world. He never had the advantage of commanding a great warship, but he had the advantage of matchless courage — courage that will continue to inspire sailors as long as his story is told.



Pennsylvania in the American Revolution



Capturing Philadelphia was the crowning victory of Sir William Howe's career.

The Honble. Sr. Wm. Howe, engraving by Charles Corbutt (London, 1777).

Anne S.K. Brown Collection, Brown University.

The Long Campaign for PHILADELPHIA

by Clifford Butler Lewis (Pennsylvania)

Philadelphia was the largest and most populous city in British North America on the eve of the American Revolution. It was located at the heart of a remarkably productive region that produced enormous quantities of grain, livestock and lumber as well as iron and coal.

These advantages made Philadelphia one of the most important commercial centers in the British empire. Ships sailing from Philadelphia supplied raw materials to British industries and food to Britain's West Indian colonies. The city was a center of ship building and a manufacturing center of growing importance, as well as a major importer of British manufactured goods, with markets reaching from New Jersey south to the Carolinas and Georgia. Philadelphia merchants were important players in a commercial economy that reached all parts of the Atlantic world.

The city was a center of culture as well as commerce — the most cosmopolitan place in British North America. Philadelphia was a center of printing and theater, education and art. It was also home to the most diverse population on the

continent, including people of English, Scottish, Irish, French, German, Dutch and even Swedish background alongside people of African origin, including slaves and one of the largest free black populations in America.

Philadelphians were justly proud of their city, which was widely celebrated for its orderly streets, cleanliness, and the generous spirit of toleration that had brought people of widely varying religions to live and work there. Founded by Quakers, it was home to a mix of Quakers, Presbyterians, Anglicans, Lutherans, Baptists, Roman Catholics, and other Christians, in addition to a small Jewish population.

It was also home to a small but influential group of deists — nominally Christian but largely secular in their outlook, more engaged with innovations in science and reason than with theology. Benjamin Franklin — the city's most famous son — was their leader. Advocates of social improvement and progress, they had made Philadelphia into the center of the American Enlightenment. The institutions they founded —



Washington and Lafayette at the Battle of Brandywine by John Vanderlyn (early 19th century).
Gilcrease Museum.

Howe surprised Washington by approaching Philadelphia from the south.



the American Philosophical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and others — made Philadelphia, in many respects, a model other cities worked to emulate.

As the relationship between Britain and her colonies degenerated, colonial representatives convened in Philadelphia to orchestrate resistance to British policies. Its central location made Philadelphia the natural home for the Continental Congress, but the citizens were far from unified in support of armed resistance, and even less committed to independence. Philadelphia was as fully integrated in the British commercial system as any city in the empire. Many of its merchants, and by extension many of its citizens, had much to lose if that system was

disrupted. As the imperial crisis collapsed into armed conflict, Philadelphians warily began to chose sides. Loyalism — active and passive — was a common sentiment.

British military planners aimed their first blow at New York City, because its harbor made it a better base for subjugating the colonies than Philadelphia. The British army swept the Continental Army from New York in the fall of 1776 and reached the banks of the Delaware at Trenton in December. Congress fled Philadelphia along with thousands of its citizens. To their surprise, Washington's army turned the British back in a brilliant winter campaign marked by victories at Trenton and Princeton. The British went into winter quarters in and around New York City.



Washington's surprising victories in New Jersey only delayed the British. General Sir William Howe moved on Philadelphia in the summer of 1777 in an effort to end the rebellion by crushing Washington's army and capturing the rebel capital. Washington moved rapidly to defend Philadelphia and deprive Howe of victory.

The challenge for Howe was not simply taking Philadelphia. He could expect to defeat Washington's army and take possession of the city, much as he had taken New York, but he needed to do much more than that. He needed to draw Washington into battle and destroy the Continental Army, a goal that had eluded him in the fall of 1776. Both Howe and the British ministry he served understood that the survival of the Continental Army through another campaign

would tempt the French to enter the war on the American side. That would make suppressing the American rebellion more difficult and endanger Britain's hold on the rest of its empire. Howe needed a decisive victory. Washington understood this as well as Howe.

Howe moved his army out of New York City by a route Washington did not anticipate. The Royal Navy moved Howe's army, 17,000 strong, to the northern reaches of the Chesapeake Bay. Howe thus avoided having to force a crossing of the Delaware River northwest of Philadelphia. Instead he had to cross the Brandywine River, which flows through southeastern Pennsylvania to reach the Delaware near Wilmington, and the Schuylkill River, which flowed south past Philadelphia to join with the Delaware in the marshes south of the city. These were formidable barriers, but unlike the Delaware, they could both be forded at so many places Washington would be hard pressed to defend them all.

Elements of Washington's army and local militia resisted the British advance north into Pennsylvania. On September 3, Howe ran into unexpectedly stiff resistance at Cooch's Bridge, Delaware. Seven hundred Continentals, plus about a thousand Pennsylvania and Delaware militia slowed Howe's advance, but were powerless to stop it. Washington established a more substantial defensive position along Red Clay Creek, south of Wilmington. Howe easily outflanked it and forced Washington to withdraw.

Washington took up a new defensive position around Chadd's Ford on the Brandywine River. Facing Washington across the stream, Howe sent a large part his army on a long flanking march to the left, crossed the Brandywine at an undefended ford, and fell on the American right and rear. The resulting Battle of Brandywine was

one of the largest pitched battles of the war. Washington and his generals — outmaneuvered as they had been a year earlier on Long Island — were forced to improvise. They fought a stubborn delaying action against the British flank attack and managed to blunt the British advance until they could withdraw under cover of darkness. The British, having marched seventeen miles to envelop Washington's right, did not have the energy to pursue. The defeated Continental Army escaped.

Washington fell back toward Philadelphia, but wisely decided not to try to defend the city from the east side of the Schuylkill, which is too wide and deep to ford east and south of the city. A natural defensive barrier, the lower reaches of the Schuylkill made Philadelphia a trap. Washington crossed back to the west bank northwest of the city, in a position to defend his supply depots at Reading and Valley Forge.

After burying the dead and giving his troops time rest and regroup, Howe marched north, headed for the upper fords of the Schuylkill. The two armies met again on September 16 near White Horse Tavern west of Philadelphia and both sides prepared for battle. After preliminary skirmishing, heavy rain brought the two sides to a standstill. The confrontation is poetically called the Battle of the Clouds. It was actually more a battle with the mud. The Continental Army, its cartridges soaked and useless, withdrew again, staying between Howe and the army's main supply depot at Reading, farther up the Schuylkill.

As Washington moved to the northwest, toward Reading he left Gen. Anthony Wayne behind to harass the British flank. Howe ordered Lord Grey in a daring midnight attack on Wayne's men at Paoli, just after midnight on September 21.

Using only bayonets — Grey had ordered his men to remove the flints from their muskets to avoid accidentally alerting the enemy to their approach — the British inflicted heavy casualties on the Americans. The resulting defeat, which Americans would remember as the Paoli Massacre, was one of the war's most one-sided affairs.

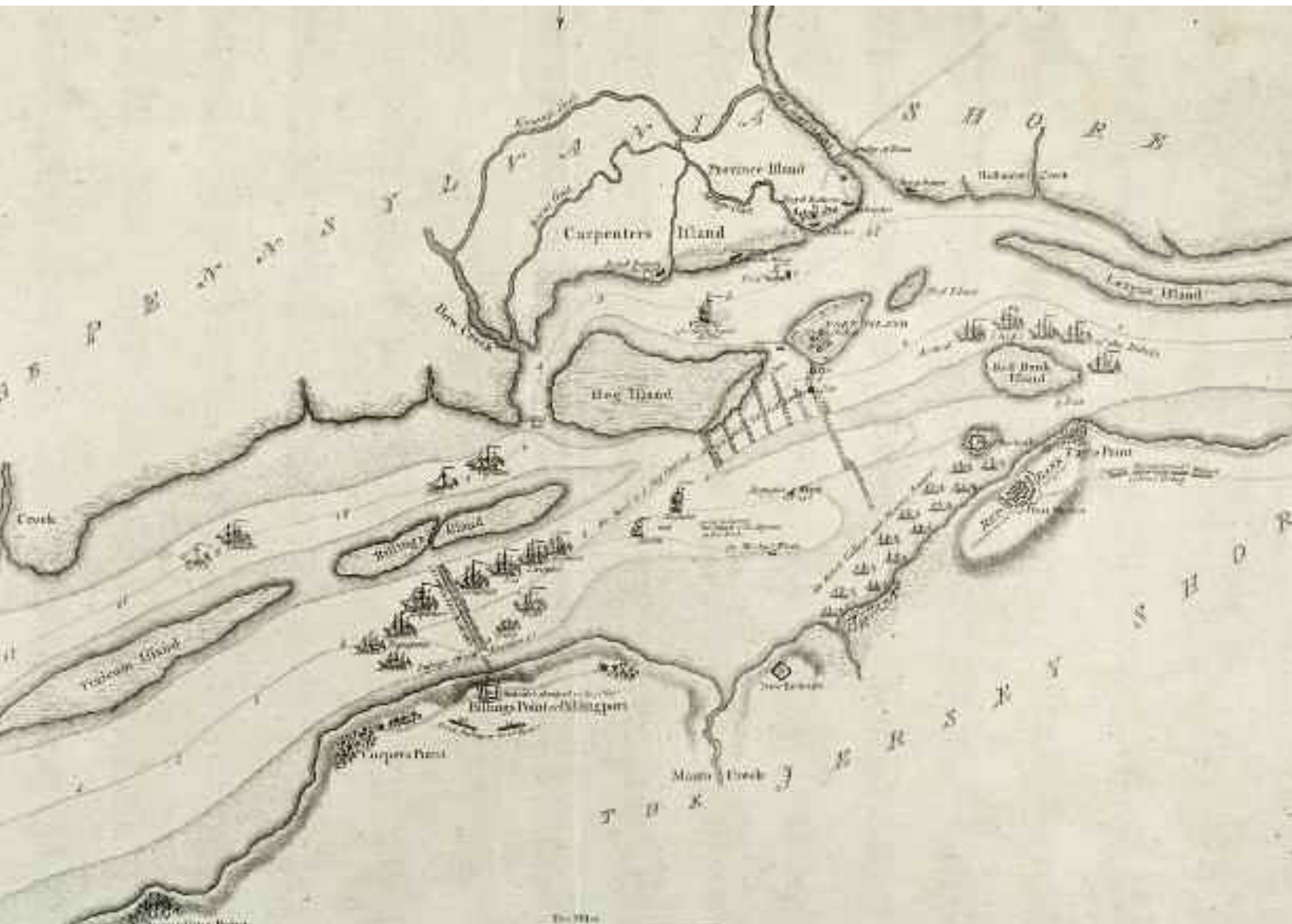
The next day Howe crossed the Schuylkill near Norristown and on September 26 he marched unopposed into Philadelphia. Washington, intent on preserving his supplies and outmaneuvered, gave up the city without another fight. Howe had taken Philadelphia, but it was not at all certain he could keep it, nor was it certain what that victory would ultimately mean.

Washington's battered army had been reduced by half and had lost part of its artillery and stores in three weeks of maneuver and battle, but it remained an effective fighting force. As long as it remained in the field, the war would continue.

Howe positioned most of his army at Germantown, northwest of Philadelphia and covering approaches to the city from the north and west. On October 2, Washington's army fell on his position in a determined attack aimed at



Detail of *The course of Delaware River from Philadelphia to Chester, exhibiting the several works erected by the rebels to defend its passage* by William Faden (London, 1778). Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.



retaking the city. Washington surprised Howe, but the American battle plan was too complicated to execute effectively. A plan that depended on careful timing degenerated into a slugging match in which the British held their ground.

Washington withdrew, but the British hold on Philadelphia remained tenuous for several more weeks, until British naval forces subdued American forts on the Delaware River below the

city. The capture of those forts made it possible for the British to supply Howe's army by sea, which proved essential. Howe held the city, but Washington — who encamped for the winter at Valley Forge, northwest of Philadelphia — maintained guard on the rich interior of eastern Pennsylvania, denying the British the opportunity to live off the countryside. Instead the British had to bring most of their supplies through sea lanes guarded by American privateers.



Valley Forge - Washington & Lafayette engraved by Henry Brian Hall after Alonzo Chappel (New York, 1856).

Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.



The British occupation of Philadelphia proved to be an expensive failure. The American victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga and Washington's intrepid attack on Howe at Germantown convinced the French court that the American rebels were not going to give way any time soon. While Washington's army drilled at Valley Forge and Americans harassed British supply lines, the French concluded an alliance with the United States. Howe had taken two of the largest cities on the continent, but he had failed to end the war. Washington had endured.

Indeed he had done more than that. Washington had employed the winter of 1777-78 to forge an army capable of confronting the British on equal terms. He had vastly improved the quartermaster corps. He reorganized the army, consolidating units. With access to the farms and workshops in the hinterland of eastern Pennsylvania, his army was better prepared for active campaigning by the late spring of 1778 than it had ever been.

With the prospect of French attacks on Britain's colonies in the West Indies, the British ministry recalled Howe and replaced him with General Sir Henry Clinton in June 1778. Clinton was ordered to abandon Philadelphia and fall back

to New York, and there to detach troops to send to the West Indies. Howe's victory of the previous fall was a faded memory, lost in the summer dust of New Jersey roads leading north.

On June 28, 1778, the advance elements of Washington's army attacked the rear guard of the British column headed north near the crossroads of Monmouth Court House, New Jersey. The British counterattack put the Americans into a full retreat, reminiscent of Brandywine. But Washington was leading a different army — an army made more effective by months of careful training and reorganization. The Americans formed a defensive line under fire from the British, responding as professionals, moving quickly and surely to orders given. In the open field, in the unforgiving heat of summer, they fought the British to a standstill. As night fell, it was the British, not the Americans, who abandoned the field.

Only ten months earlier, the road to Philadelphia had seemed, to Howe, like the road to a British victory. It had been an illusion. The road to victory lay in crushing Washington's army, and with it, the Americans' will to resist. The British had battered the Continental Army but had never battered it badly enough to bring the war to an end. Washington's army had endured, and emerged from the campaign stronger than it had ever been. The fierce battle at Monmouth ended in a stalemate, but the British army that turned its back to the Americans that night at Monmouth and marched away had been beaten. Washington and his men had won the long campaign for Philadelphia, and were on the road to victory in the war.



A plan of the city and environs of Philadelphia by Matthew Albert Lotter (possibly Augsburg, 1777).

Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Philadelphia OCCUPIED

by James Orlo Pringle (Pennsylvania)

“Fright sometimes works lunacy,” Congressman Henry Laurens of South Carolina wrote as the British army approached Philadelphia in September 1777. “This does not imply that Congress is frightened or lunatic but there may be some men between here and the Schuylkill who may be much one and a little of the other.” A disgusted John Adams described the city more critically. It was, he wrote “a mass of cowardice and Toryism.” On September 26 the British army marched into Philadelphia and became an army of occupation.

The British army occupied all of America’s major cities during the Revolution. The British occupied Boston for years before they were driven out in March 1776. They took New York City in the fall of 1776 and occupied it for more than seven years. Other American cities — Newport, Wilmington (Delaware and North Carolina), Charleston, and Savannah were all

occupied by British troops for long periods. In each case, many citizens fled as the British approached, or managed to escape after the British arrived. Those who remained were a mix of patriots, loyalists and neutrals of varying degrees of commitment. Life under occupation invariably involved tensions between the remaining citizens and between those citizens and the British army. Dealing with occupation involved compromises and accommodations and stirred anger, distrust and resentment. The British army occupied Philadelphia for nine months. These were among the most difficult months in the city’s history.

Adams had been disgusted by the “Toryism” of Philadelphians. The British were counting on it. Former Pennsylvania patriot turned Loyalist Joseph Galloway insisted (from British-occupied New York) that most Philadelphians were faithful subjects of George III. Many Philadelphians

welcomed Lord Cornwallis as he led the first British troops into the city. Others cheered for General Sir William Howe when he entered the city to establish his headquarters there after the Battle of Germantown. But the extent of loyalty to the king was uncertain. John Montresor, the chief British engineer, commented dryly that the cheering crowd that greeted General Howe consisted mostly of women and children. A few days later he noted that “during the Germantown battle it seemed that a large portion of city people appeared to favor a rebel victory.”

Uncertain what the British occupation would mean for the city, thousands of Philadelphians had fled to the interior by the time the British army arrived. Those who remained feared the city might burn like New York, a third of which had gone up in flames when the British army arrived. The British had blamed the patriots; the patriots blamed Howe’s army. A soaking rain fell on September 24, calming fears of arson, but worries continued.


The peacetime population of Philadelphia had been between 35,000 and 40,000. Only about 15,000 civilians remained to face the British army. Many were Loyalists, still others neutral. Many Quakers, pacifist by conviction, tried to avoid taking sides and stayed in the city. Others stayed, regardless of their political convictions, to keep watch over their property and, to the extent possible, continue with business.



Howe’s chief engineer, John Montresor, was skeptical about Philadelphia’s Loyalists.

John Montresor by John Singleton Copley (circa 1771). Detroit Institute of Art.

The British ministry expected that Howe’s operations in Pennsylvania would facilitate raising a large force of Loyalists to establish and maintain royal authority throughout the province. “Your success in Pennsylvania,” Lord George Germain wrote to Howe, “will enable you to raise from among them such a force as may be sufficient for the interior defense of the



province.” As events unfolded this proved to be an erroneous assumption. In New Jersey, thousands of Loyalists had turned out to greet the British army in the fall of 1776, only to face reprisals when Washington’s army recovered much of the state after the Battle of Princeton in January 1777. Loyalists were learning to be wary. Howe found the Loyalists in Philadelphia useless. “Alas,” he wrote, they “prate & profess much; but when you call upon them they will do nothing.”

The occupation was difficult for civilians regardless of their political sentiments. The Continental Army may have lost the city in late September, but it held forts lower down the Delaware River and prevented supplies for the army and routine commercial traffic from reaching the city. The wharves were empty through October and into November. Food and other supplies — candles, oil, medicines and other goods commonly available in the city — were rapidly consumed by the army and became scarce and costly for civilians. The crisis eased after the British took the forts in November and shipping returned,

but by late winter the river was frozen and no supplies could reach the city by water.

Little came in from the countryside, either. Washington’s men dismantled flour mills west and south of the city and Continental dragoons patrolled the roads leading out of town to intercept British foraging expeditions and turn

them back with empty wagons. Congress and Pennsylvania authorities made taking provisions into the city for sale a crime punishable by death. Market farmers and livestock dealers used to serving Philadelphia markets tightened their belts or sold to the Continental Army. After the contending armies settled into winter quarters, Philadelphia civilians were permitted to visit mills north of the city to obtain small amounts of flour.

An occupying army needs housing, and the British commandeered what they needed. The empty homes and businesses of refugees were converted into makeshift barracks. So were warehouses and churches. Throughout the city, the occupiers treated their temporary quarters with rough indifference, breaking up furniture and tearing out wooden moldings for firewood.

Housing was inadequate, and so was hospital space. Over 2,000 British soldiers, wounded at Brandywine and Germantown, competed for space. Doctors and surgeons were in short supply. Pennsylvania Hospital was one of the largest hospitals in the country, but it not large enough to meet the demand. It was still filled with the wounded from Brandywine when Germantown casualties started to arrive. The inspector of British military hospitals, Dr. Michael Morris, found the crowding and filth unacceptable and tried to improve hygiene by sending the less seriously wounded to neighboring houses. Sick and wounded Hessians were housed at Pine Street Presybyterian Church; a hundred of the Hessian dead were buried in the cemetery. The death toll among British and Hessian troops remained high through the occupation, despite Morris’s efforts.

With nowhere better to house American prisoners of war, the British released civilian prisoners from the Walnut Street jail and filled it



Joseph Galloway, attributed to Thomas Day (ca. 1775). National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.

Quaker, called this a “necessary protection.”

Lydia Darragh and her husband, William, lived on Second Street, housed the British adjutant general in their house. One day in December he asked Mrs. Darragh to serve dinner because other officers were coming for a meeting. That evening she overheard an order being read from General Howe about a surprise attack Washington’s army. The next day she obtained her pass to leave the city for flour. While abroad she told an American officer about the planned attack before returning home. The information proven critical — Washington’s army was prepared, and the British troops turned back without drawing Washington’s into battle.

with American enlisted men captured at Brandywine and Germantown. Captured Continental officers enjoyed somewhat more spacious quarters on the upper floor of the State House, since known as Independence Hall. Prisoners — many weakened by wounds, starvation and illness — died continuously. A mass grave in modern Washington Square holds the remains of some two thousand patriots, most of whom died in Walnut Street jail.

British soldiers compounded the misery of civilians. Howe tried to maintain order and discipline among his troops and prevent them from looting private homes, but property crimes were commonplace. Astute Philadelphians, regardless of their political views, found that the best way to protect their property was to invite British officers to stay in their homes. They risked being labeled Tories or collaborators, but they recognized that British officers were the best defense against marauding enlisted men and petty thieves. Elizabeth Drinker, a prominent

Howe quickly turned the task of managing civil affairs over to Loyalist Joseph Galloway, who had been a leader of the Pennsylvania Assembly and friend to Benjamin Franklin before the war. Galloway had served in the First Continental Congress, where he urged caution and reconciliation, finally retiring to his country residence and then taking refuge in British-occupied New York City. Howe made Galloway superintendent of the port and of police. Galloway was everywhere during the occupation — managing the flow of food and supplies, raising Loyalist troops, victualing the army, and even conducting raids on patriot outposts.

Howe’s insistence on governing Philadelphia like an armed camp frustrated Galloway, who believed Howe needlessly alienated loyal subjects. Galloway wrote to Lord Germain that “numerous inhabitants who remained almost unanimously concur’d in their applications to me to know whether they were to be governed by military

Law or restored to their Civil Rights.” Howe spurned Galloway’s advice, and characterized Galloway’s Loyalist troops as “military amateurs adverse to discipline and cowardly in combat.”

British officers made the best of the occupation, enjoying the winter billeted in comfortable private homes. They drank and socialized, staged amateur theatrics, gambled and took mistresses. The clergy complained about all of these “immoral and wicked displays” to no effect. Howe found the winter oppressive. He sensed that he had marched his army into a trap, and that his capture of Philadelphia had accomplished little. Washington’s army was in winter quarters, too, out beyond the city at Valley Forge, and as long as it persevered, the rebellion would continue. Howe asked to be relieved, and finally got his wish.

In honor of their departing General, Howe’s senior officers paid for and organized an elaborate series of entertainments they called the “Mischienza,” carefully planned by Major John Andre — later captured and hanged for his involvement in Benedict Arnold’s treason.

Andre was the impresario of the affair, which he described as “the most splendid entertainment, I believe, ever given by an army to their general.” The festivities included a regatta on the Delaware, followed by a procession and a mock tournament.

The affair concluded with an elaborate ball, for which Andre and his colleagues collected hundreds of mirrors from all over the city. Illuminated by candlelight in the ballroom of the Wharton mansion, the mirrors glittered and flashed as the

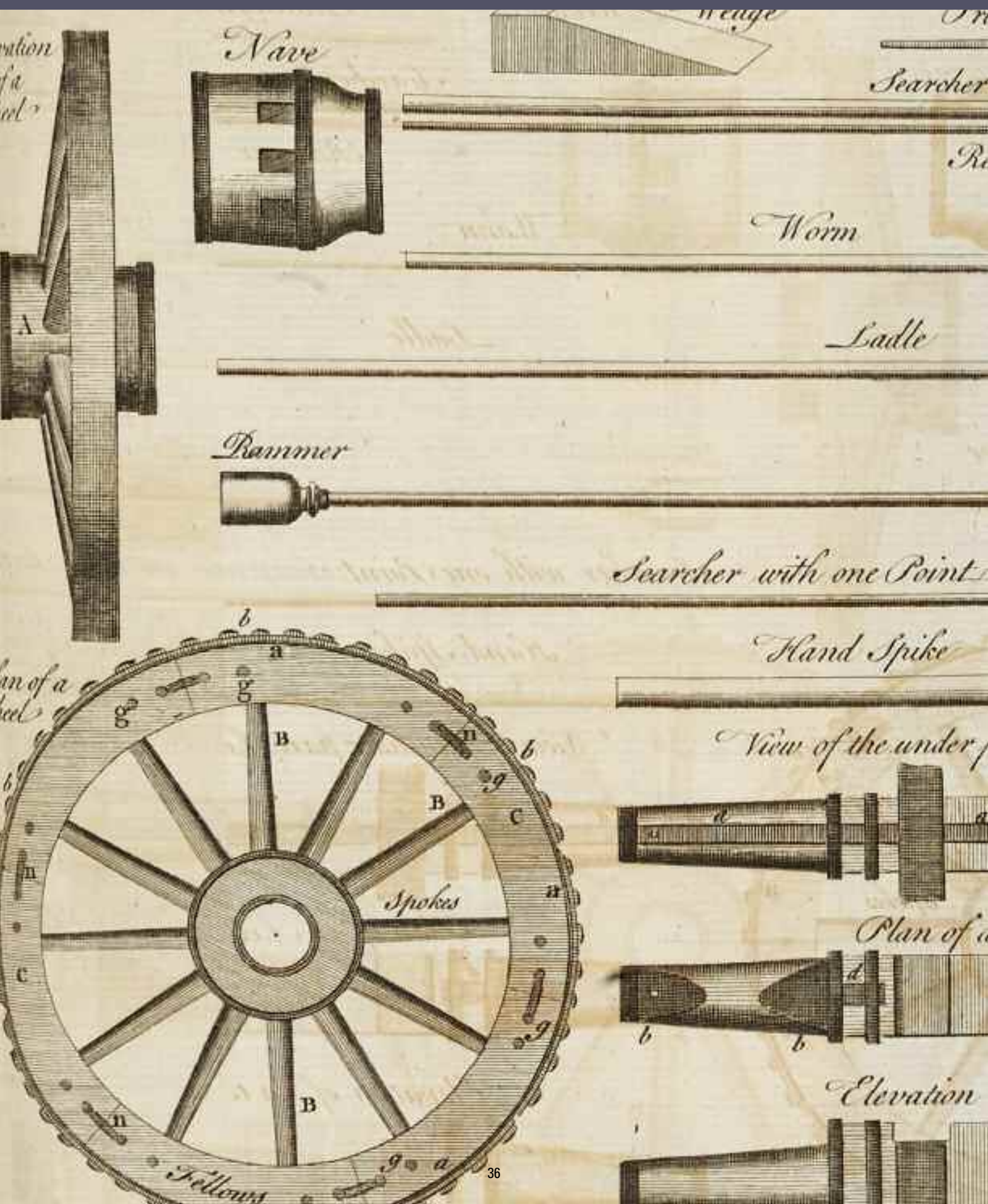
assembled guests — some four hundred officers, Loyalists, and their wives and daughters — danced and paid their respects to General Howe.

The next day Howe departed, leaving the army in the hands of General Sir Henry Clinton, who had long regarded the Philadelphia campaign as a mistake. He had orders to evacuate the city and return to New York, and he prepared to do so. Panic set in among the city’s Loyalists. British Lt. Samuel Mostyn wrote to his patron in Wales describing the scene, as Loyalists, fearing reprisal, crowded aboard British transport ships leaving the city: “Many People who fear’d being left behind, have embark’d in these ships, all the heavy Baggage of the Army, the Women & Children are embark’d also; The Rebels have publish’d a List of Persons whom they mean to treat as Traytors to the States of America, if they will not give them selves up before the 21st of June 1778. Even then to take their Tryals for their several Treasons &c &c. This has oblig’d several People to leave This Town & put them selves on board the Ships, some for England and others to take their Chance with the Army.”



General Sir Henry Clinton
by John Smart (ca. 1777).
National Institute of American History
and Democracy, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The British army departed Philadelphia on June 18, trailed by a baggage train twelve miles long. As soon as the British army crossed the Delaware and marched for New York, refugees began to return to Philadelphia. Months of occupation had left much of the city in shambles. It took years to repair the damage, and even longer for the anger and distrust the occupation created to subside, but Philadelphia soon reclaimed its place as the seat of Congress and the capital of the new nation.



MY PROPOSITUS

Captain Nathaniel Irish

by Oliver L. Picher (Pennsylvania)

I was eight years old when I first heard of the Society of the Cincinnati and Captain Nathaniel Irish. It was a magical moment.

My grandfather's application to the Pennsylvania Society had finally been approved and my father was designated a lifetime member at the same time. My father explained that Nathaniel Irish had fought in the American Revolution with George Washington, and the Society was open to descendants of Washington's officers. Membership was passed from father to first-born son, and someday it would be my turn to represent Captain Irish. For a young boy just learning what it meant to be a man, it was a heady revelation.

Two years later, my grandfather self-published his genealogy, a book filled with what my father called "that begat stuff" along with family stories, letters, and my grandfather's memories of his childhood and his long career in the Army Air Corps and the Air Force.

There was a wealth of discoveries in my grandfather's book. There were two Nathaniel Irishes! The first moved to Philadelphia in 1737 from the island of Montserrat in the Caribbean, bought land near Bethlehem, and died in 1747 at an iron furnace in New Jersey. His son, also an iron worker, served in Washington's army as an artillery artificer (whatever that was, I thought at the time), and died in Pittsburgh in 1816.

Unfortunately, the records of Captain Nathaniel Irish's service in the Continental Army had been lost in a fire, so there was little to learn of his life during the Revolution.

My grandfather's research had uncovered the wills of both Nathaniels, along with that of Nathaniel Sr.'s brother, William, which made for fascinating reading. Mentions of mourning rings and slaves hinted at a world that was very different than ours, but the larger implications of slave ownership and the complex



Continental artillerymen like this one depended on the work of artillery artificers like Nathaniel Irish. Watercolor by Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger (1782).

Anne S.K. Brown Collection, Brown University.



details of life in colonial America went over my ten-year-old head.

The book contained many fascinating treasures including a series of letters spanning the decades from 1830 through 1870, sent between Captain Irish's son and his family. One of my ancestors had carefully assembled these letters into a comprehensive packet. Their writers chronicled people seeing William Henry Harrison as he traveled by steamboat to his inauguration or visiting Mammoth Cave during a momentary lull in the Civil War. I spent a lot of time reading my grandfather's book as a young boy. The Irishes came alive for me.

Now, more than fifty years later, I am a member of the Society, and my emotional bond to Captain Irish and his father has continued to grow. Google is constantly opening new avenues of research that were not available to my grandfather when he initially composed his genealogy. What have I learned about these men and their families, and what do they mean to me as an adult?

The past is not as prim and proper as we imagine

Much to my surprise, I recently learned that Nathaniel Irish, Sr., was put on trial for murder in 1723 after running a Mr. Thomas Hill through with a sword during a brawl in St. Paul's churchyard in London! He was convicted of manslaughter and branded on the hand. Nathaniel Irish, Sr. was never married, and in his will he acknowledged his illegitimate ten-year-old son, Johnny, and asked that he be baptized with the Irish name. Illegitimate children cannot join the Society, yet my propositus was himself illegitimate. The irony is not lost on me.

They gave up much in the cause of liberty

The will of Nathaniel Irish, Sr. also asked that his friend, William Allen, become the guardian of his ten-year-old son. William Allen, notable for founding Allentown, was one of the richest men in late colonial Pennsylvania. He was a staunch loyalist and spent most of the Revolution in England. In supporting the American cause, Capt. Nathaniel Irish set aside his connection to the Allens and turned his back on the Crown.

The British destroyed his iron furnace, the Continental Congress paid his salary in near-worthless "Continental," and he never received the half-pay lifetime pension promised to him when he took his commission. Despite his sacrifice and hardship, Capt. Nathaniel Irish remained an ardent patriot.

Once a rebel, always a rebel

After the war ended Captain Irish moved to Pittsburgh, a sleepy little town of three-hundred and seventy-six people when he arrived. In the 1790s he loudly opposed the whiskey tax first proposed by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and represented Pittsburgh in the negotiations that ended the Whiskey Rebellion. The experience soured his opinion of the Federalist party, and he became a Jefferson Republican. Captain Irish served one term in the Pennsylvania legislature and later ran an unsuccessful campaign for a seat in the U.S. Congress in 1805.

They are close by us, and touch us in our daily lives

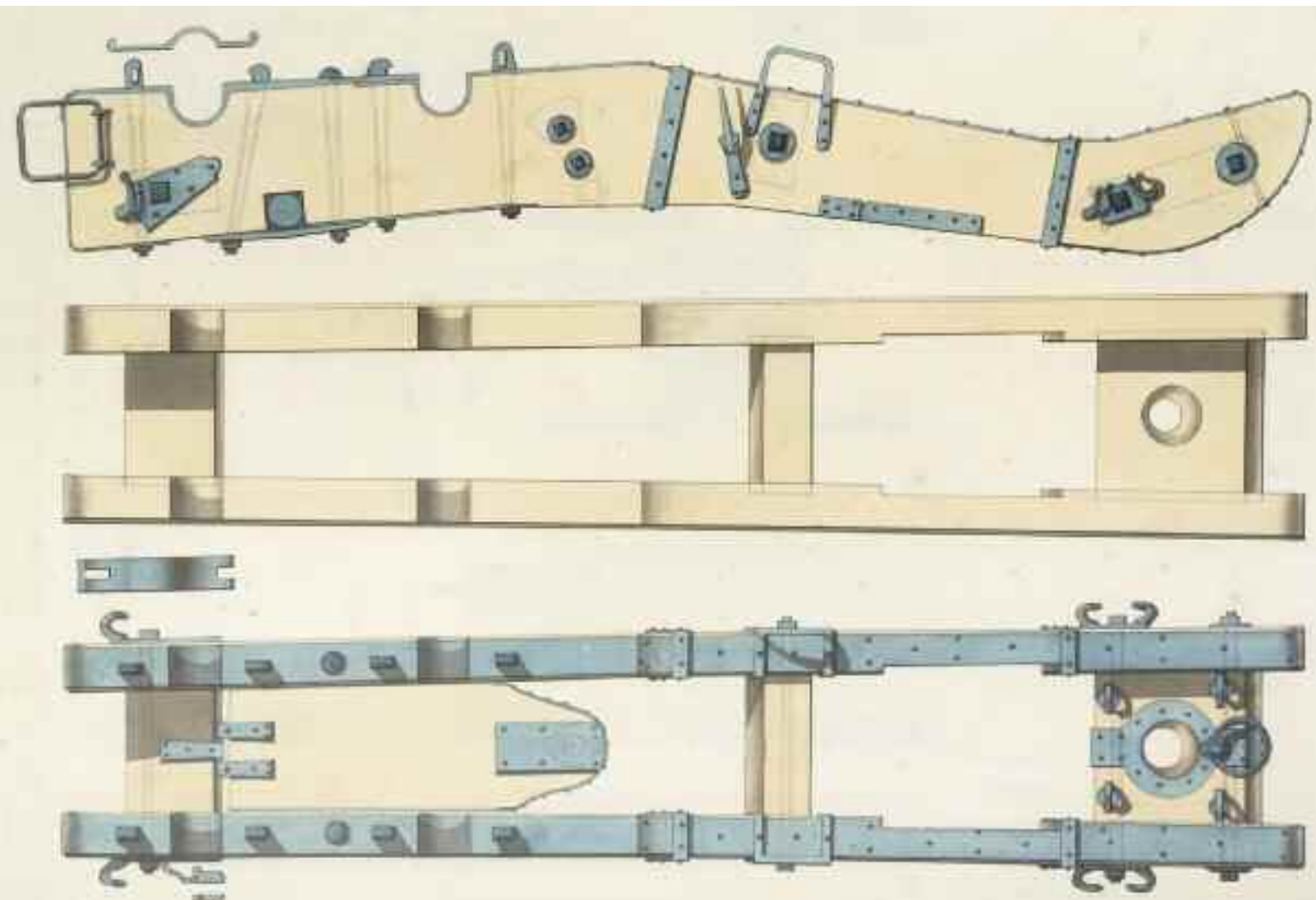
I live close by the brick rowhouses Captain

Nathaniel Irish built for himself in the Queen Village neighborhood of Philadelphia in the 1760s. His stately three-story home still stands at 704 South Front Street. I've also walked the streets of Trenton, retracing the path he took with the Pennsylvania militia during the crossing of the Delaware and the Battle of Trenton. We live in the world he and his fellow soldiers helped create and we walk in their shadows.

Irish and his father are buried in the churchyard of Trinity Episcopal Cathedral in Pittsburgh.

By chance, I recently discovered that they are buried next to the great-great-great-great-grandmother of Jim Pringle, current president of Pennsylvania Society.

Almost two and a half centuries later, there are tangible, living connections between our ancestor's American Revolution and our present. Remaining active in the Society of Cincinnati allows us to maintain those connections and opens our eyes to the resonance of the American Revolution.





Pennsylvania Plans a Picnic and a Triennial

The State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania

Approximately 45 members of the Pennsylvania Society and their families gathered at Anderson House for the society's picnic on June 23. Porter Quinn with his mom, Liz, and dad, Sean.

Pennsylvania Society members and their children kicked off the summer in style with an Anderson House picnic on June 23. Attendees were delighted by uncommonly pleasant weather and were able to enjoy their barbecue in the garden. Both little ones and adults took a crack at croquet on the lawn and all appreciated the chance to reacquaint themselves with the Society's home.

Later in the summer on September 12 final decisions for the May 2019 triennial were made at

the Pennsylvania standing committee meeting. The planning committee has arranged an array of tours, activities and parties from which those attending the celebration may choose. "We're out of the realm of the theoretical and into nitty-gritty details of the final planning for our four-day Triennial event," said Jim Pringle, Pennsylvania Society president. "This historic event only happens every three years. It's our turn to host it and we want to make sure everyone who comes to Philadelphia remembers it as the

time of their lives in this historic city. At the close of this gathering we hope all who attend will be inspired, enlightened and determined to carry on the important work our founders began.”

Liz Ward, wife of Vice President Mark Ward, served as a major behind-the-scenes organizer of the 2019 triennial, utilizing her many years of event planning experience. Liz recognized that booking the best facilities in the historic district would require that reservations be made years in advance and encouraged us to begin negotiations in 2014. Liz and Mark have made a valuable team heading the triennial planning committee with Jim Pringle. “We knew our first order of business was to identify venues for our evening functions and to lock them down. Most of the buildings for the evening functions were booked

in 2016,” Liz Ward said. “Mark and I are both lucky that we’ve lived here most of our lives and have been involved in a lot of organizations in and around Philadelphia. We wouldn’t have known as much if we had been in another city.”

As a result of the committee’s foresight, triennial attendees will enjoy a reception in the Museum of the American Revolution, dine in the opulent Curtis Center, and dance in the spacious National Constitution Center, with its nighttime view of Independence Hall. Special tours have been arranged of Valley Forge National Historical Park, Independence Hall, and the Barnes Foundation, with its collection of masterpieces by Renoir, Cezanne, Matisse, Picasso, and other notable artists.



Pennsylvania members and guests digging into the buffet luncheon include Channing Hall, Freeman Jones and Brad Davis. At right America Kellogg practices croquet in the garden of Anderson House.



Over the last two years, the Pennsylvania Society has been testing many of the major buildings that will host triennial activities with its own events. Last October's annual meeting was held at the Museum of the American Revolution, which will host one of the triennial dinners. Triennial attendees will have access to the exhibits that explore the origins of America's revolution and its legacies. This year, the Pennsylvania Society held our celebration of Washington's Birthday at the exclusive Union League of Philadelphia, which will also serve as a site of a triennial luncheon. The brick and brownstone building, representative of the French Renaissance style, was built in 1865 and is on the National Register of Historic Places. Art and artifacts line the walls and hallways, which are accented by patinated wood and polished marble.



The state leadership committee held its May meeting at Philadelphia's Christ Church, which will host a worship service as the concluding event of the 2019 Triennial celebration.

In May, the standing committee held its regular meeting at Christ Church, which will host a service for triennial delegates to conclude the weekend's activities. Christ Church was founded in 1695 and the main body of the church was constructed between 1727 and 1744. The church's congregation included 15 signers of the Declaration of Independence. George Washington, Benjamin and Deborah Franklin and Robert Morris were among its congregants. Five signers of the document are buried on church grounds. The Rev. William White, rector of Christ Church, served as chaplain to the Continental Congress and after the war was one of the founders of the Episcopal Church in the United States. A hotbed of revolutionary dissent, the church's archives include a 1766 edition Book of Common Prayer where references to King George and his subjects were crossed out, as were all statements about serving and honoring the king.

Randolph Philip Smith
Secretary

