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A School for Leaders: Continental Army Officer Training and Civilian Leadership in the Trans-Appalachian West

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A School for Leaders: Continental Army Officer Training and Civilian Leadership in
the Trans-Appalachian West

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APPROVAL PAGE


This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
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Doctor of Philosophy

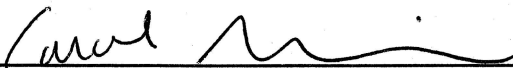


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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the Continental Army's junior leaders (sergeants, ensigns, lieutenants, and captains) who moved westward postwar and used the abilities acquired during military training in their new communities in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. This skill set included leading diverse individuals under arduous conditions, functioning within a bureaucracy, performing managerial tasks, and maintaining law and order in nascent communities. The Continental Army's leadership development program for junior leaders centered on Baron von Steuben's *Regulations for the order and discipline of the troops of the United States*, better known as the Blue Book. Unlike other contemporary military manuals, the Blue Book had instructions on *how* to be a leader. The unit's orderly books contained lessons that continually reinforced Steuben's tenets on leadership: officers had a responsibility for their soldiers and were expected to be actively involved in their unit's daily operations. The army's encampments included military and civilians, men and women, free and enslaved, and Euro-Americans, African-Americans, and Native-Americans. While acquired and honed in the encampment's diverse environment, these veterans applied the same skills in civilian vocations. Of the approximately 14,168 Revolutionary War soldiers who moved to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, only 180 junior leaders were identified who lived and died in these states. Of this cohort, fifty-eight percent held positions of authority such as law enforcement personnel, local politicians, businessmen, and religious leaders. Historians have long overlooked the effect of junior officers' and sergeants' hard-won wisdom and experience. The veterans' important institution building does not generally appear in pension applications, tax records, or wills, but it was vital to the early Republic's expansion. The results of my research challenge the current narrative which concentrates on soldiers' resentment at their treatment during the war and their poverty in later life. Instead, I argue, the benefits of Continental Army service were seen for many decades afterwards.

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This Ph.D. is dedicated to my wife who provided the necessary encouragement and moral support to pursue my dream of teaching history after a career in the US Army. This dissertation would not have been possible without her.

Chapter One Introduction

Joseph Plumb Martin enlisted as a 16-year-old boy as a private on July 6, 1776. He served in the Continental Army to the end of the Revolutionary War. He participated in the clashes around New York, the Battle of Monmouth, suffered through Valley Forge and Morristown, and fought in lesser-known engagements such as Fort Mifflin. He witnessed and withstood the many tribulations the Continental Army endured. He originally enrolled in the infantry, and later, upon the recommendation of his company commander, transferred to the Corps of Miners and Sappers (Engineers) in June 1780 as a non-commissioned officer (NCO) at the rank of sergeant. After the War's end, Martin eventually moved to the newly forming community of Prospect, Maine, where he married and had a family. He was one of many veterans with a story to tell.

In 1830, Joseph Plumb Martin published an account of his time in the military entitled *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary soldier; Interspersed with Anecdotes of Incidents that occurred within his own observation.*¹ He wrote with the descriptive eye of a journalist, and he captured the hardship and emotion of Continental Army service during the War. His narrative contained numerous examples of good and bad leadership he witnessed in his long service with the army during battles and in encampments. Martin also complained with an expertise only soldiers seem able to muster.

For scholars, Martin became the ubiquitous voice of the common soldier.

¹ Joseph Plumb Martin, *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary soldier; Interspersed with Anecdotes of Incidents that occurred within his own observation*, (Hallowell, ME: Printed by Glazier Masters, 1830).

Historians have accepted his tale of misery. Readers would be hard pressed to find a monograph about the Revolutionary War published in the last thirty years that does not include at least one quote from Martin. If one were to rely on the tenor of Martin's writing, one might assume that he was just one of the many Revolutionary War soldiers who left the Army embittered by the way the United States government had treated him. Historians wield Martin as the example of the hardships endured by the common soldier in the Continental Army and the veterans' disgust with their fellow citizens lack of appreciation for their sacrifice.

Scholars often trace veterans' difficulties in postwar life to military service and offer evidence in the form of the veterans' pension applications. In Martin's application, he claimed his net worth at fifty-two dollars and described himself as a laborer.² For scholars, Martin's memoir and pension application seemed to be proof of the miseries of army service life leading to a life of poverty. These writers drew lessons from Martin's experience to argue that military service deprived soldiers of the time needed to learn a trade and build community ties, as well as hurting their prospects of finding wives and having children after demobilization. As a result of these obstacles, historians contended that military service marred veterans' lives.³ The pension applications appeared to substantiate these

² Joseph Plumb Martin. 1820, "Pension Application." vol. M804, Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files., W.1629, microfilm 1640, NARA. <https://www.fold3.com/image/23455332>

³ See Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and persuasion on the frontier of the early American republic*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995).; Charles Neimeyer, *America goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army, 1775-1783*, (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Charles Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007).; John Resch, *Suffering Soldiers: Revolutionary War Veterans, Moral Sentiment, and Political Culture in the Early Republic*, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).; John A. Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence: Youth and Military Service in the Revolutionary War*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014). Historiography

findings.

While we try to keep ourselves at a suitably critical distance from our subjects, I must confess that my own experience with the pension application process made me doubt Martin's words and question previous scholars' conclusions. Researchers relied heavily on pensions filed under the 1820 Act. Veterans who applied for pensions in 1820 had to document their financial need by proving they had less than \$400 in assets.⁴ By coincidence when I began my research, I had recently completed my own Veterans Administration (VA) application for injuries sustained during a twenty-eight-year military career. As I reviewed previous historians' works, I thought to myself, "Would I want somebody to judge my success in life based on what I entered in my pension application?" Such forms inevitably paint an incomplete picture and require the use of the most alarming medical terms. I sound like a wreck. Such conclusions about my demise I think, however, were premature.

As I reviewed Revolutionary War pension applications, I noticed remarkable similarities to modern procedures. The soldiers had a process to complete that asked for particular information. If a soldier did not provide it in the correct form

covered in Chapter 2.

⁴ US Congress, *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America; from the Organization of the Gov. In 1789, to March 3, 1845*, vol. 3, (Boston, MA: Little and Brown, 1846), 569.; Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 153.; US Congress, *Chap. XIX An Act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States, in the Revolutionary War. March 18, 1818*, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 410.; US Congress, *Chap. LIII An Act in addition to an act, entitled "An Act to provide for certain persons engaged in the land and naval service of the United States, in the Revolutionary War," passed the eighteenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen. May 1, 1820*, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 569.

with the right signatures and witnesses, the War Department sent a preprinted form explaining why the application had been rejected. Unlike the current VA system, the 1820s application did not ask veterans to link wartime service to present condition. Like their contemporary counterparts, 1820s pensions did not collect information on postwar activities.

Looking at Joseph Plumb Martin's life, few works that quoted him contained any information about his postwar civilian activities. Martin had not written about postwar life in his narrative. Additional information revealed Martin had not been able to make a living as a farmer, but it is hard to imagine farming as his passion.⁵ After all, he recounts leaving his grandfather's farm multiple times to reenlist in the Army.⁶

My research revealed that Martin held numerous positions of authority in his community and state after the war. The most recent annotated version of his 1830 narrative, *Ordinary Courage: The Revolutionary War Adventures of Joseph Plumb Martin*, edited by James Kirby Martin, contains a few brief sentences about his twenty-five years of service as the Prospect, Maine, town clerk, justice of the peace, member of the Maine legislature, and seven-time selectman.⁷ In fact, Martin served as a town clerk from 1818 to 1843, most of these years *after* being granted a pension in 1819.⁸ Before filing for a pension, Martin had served

⁵ Alan Taylor, *Liberty men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine frontier, 1760-1820*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 248.

⁶ Joseph Plumb Martin, *Ordinary Courage: The Revolutionary War Adventures of Joseph Plumb Martin*, ed. James Kirby Martin (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008), 13, 41.

⁷ Martin, *Ordinary Courage*, xii.

⁸ Alice V. Ellis, *The Story of Stockton Springs, Maine.*, (Stockton Springs, ME: Historical Committee of Stockton Springs, 1955), 73-75.

three terms in the Massachusetts State legislature from 1812 to 1815. Martin's obituary also mentions his role as a town founder.⁹ Martin's postwar life was something other than a tale of woe, poverty, and misery.

Martin may have left the Army with empty pockets, but he carried with him a wealth of knowledge about leadership.¹⁰ His postwar civilian life provides ample evidence of this. When Martin left the Army as a noncommissioned officer, a sergeant, he had the skills necessary to take advantage of the opportunity for a fresh start in a newly established settlement on the early Republic's frontier. His political smarts are obvious from his long tenure as a local public official and his election to the state assembly.¹¹ Martin drew upon his Continental Army experience in numerous local leadership roles. Upon close reading of his memoir, one can trace his growth as a leader to the Continental Army's leadership development program. Was Martin typical in this regard?

One way to find out was by looking at what happened to other soldiers after the war. It made sense to focus on the Continental Army's junior leaders

⁹ Joseph Williamson, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph P. Martin, of Prospect, Maine, A Revolutionary Soldier," *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register (1874-1905)* vol. 30, (1876), 330. "The year following the close of the war, Mr. Martin settled in what is now the town of Stockton, then a sparsely settled plantation. Here he remained until the close of his life, a period of sixty-six years. In securing an act of incorporation for his adopted town, in reducing the place to system and order as a civil community, he bore a prominent part. He held various stations of trust, being repeatedly selectmen, representative to the state legislature, and for over quarter a century town clerk."; Joseph Plumb Martin. "Notes on Joseph Plumb Martin's tenure as Town Clerk." Joseph Plumb Martin Papers, Stockton Springs Historical Society. ; "The Last Link is Broken." *Republican Journal*, May 10, 1850; *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (Boston, MA: Russell and Cutler, 1812); *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (Boston, MA: Russell and Cutler, 1813); *Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, (Boston, MA: Russell and Cutler, 1814).; Ellis, *The Story of Stockton Springs, Maine*.

¹⁰ Martin, *Ordinary Courage*, 179. For this paper, a leader is an individual who can motivate and influence other individuals to work together toward a goal or vision.

¹¹ Martin, *Ordinary Courage*, xii-xiii, 130.

(sergeants, ensigns, lieutenants, and captains), because they were numerous, little known, and had been the target of the Continental Army's leadership training.¹² It seemed wise also to limit the cohort of soldiers to those who served after the Army emerged from Valley Forge in 1778 when a more systematic method on forming commissioned and non-commissioned officers commenced. The biographical preface to extant junior leaders' memoirs, diaries, and journals mentioned that many served in local positions of trust and authority such as justice of the peace, judge, or commissioner in the decades after the war and before Congress passed the Revolutionary War Soldiers Pension Act. Their employment in local leadership positions seemed especially common when the junior leaders moved west, away from their initial enlistment sites and away from the eastern areas where they had initially settled just after the war. These positions required ability and garnered respect, but they seldom generated much in the way of riches.¹³ Confining the search to veterans buried in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio made for a large but manageable sample of veterans with frontier experience.

It is no wonder that previous historians have rarely investigated junior leaders' postwar lives. Because of the veterans' constant movements, records

¹² Junior leaders are defined as sergeants, ensigns, lieutenants, and captains. These individuals are also known as company grade commissioned and non-commissioned officers. I use junior leaders, company grade officers, and company grade leaders, and veterans interchangeably throughout the work. When referring only to enlisted privates, field grade officer veterans or militia, I will specifically identify them. Otherwise, all groups mentioned are presumed to be members of the cohort.

¹³ To understand how these men could have held these positions and still applied for pensions after 1818, see Chapter 3 and Appendix C (Method and Pensions) for a review of the Revolutionary War pension laws and process.

are scattered and scarce.¹⁴ Rather than depositing personal papers in archives as senior military and political leaders did, most junior leaders left records of their leadership training and actions in orderly books, county records, and community memories. Until the past few years, gathering and mining these sources has been nearly impossible. The advent of online databases such as Ancestry.com and Fold3 now facilitate the retrieval of public and private documents and histories. Groups like Archive.org and Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements, and genealogy sites have made it possible to identify and connect individuals consigned to obscurity before. The advances in Optical Character Reading (OCR) technology for hand-written script have enabled faster searches of sources that were previously very time-consuming to use.

Digitally-enhanced investigation revealed many veterans who served in positions of authority after the war or entered into occupations they had not held before. Research yielded a cohort of 180 junior leaders who served after 1777 in the Continental Army and were among the 14,168 known Revolutionary War Continental Army and state militia soldiers buried in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.¹⁵ Scholars have a relatively good idea of the number of commissioned

¹⁴ Theodore J. Crackel. "Revolutionary War Pension Records and Patterns of American Mobility, 1780-1830." Prologue. Vol. 16(3) Fall, 1984, last modified July 19, 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1984/fall/pension-mobility.html>.

¹⁵ Ohio Genealogical Society. "Ohio's Revolutionary War Veterans Index." last modified 2017. accessed April 1, 2019. https://www.ogs.org/research/search_revwarvets.php. ; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society. "Patriots Buried in Kentucky." Kentucky Society: Sons of the American Revolution, last modified September 2, 2014. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://www.kyssar.org/wordpress1/patriots-buried-in-kentucky/>. ; Taneya Koonce. "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War: Records and Histories of Soldiers who Lived or Fought in Tennessee." The TNGen Web Project. last modified July 7, 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://www.tngenweb.org/revwar/>. [Original Source: United States. Report from the Secretary of War, in obedience to resolutions of the Senate of the 5th and 30th of June, 1834, and the 3d of March, 1835, in relation to the pension establishment of the United States. [United States. 23d

officers and when they served.¹⁶ However, any list of noncommissioned officers would have many gaps due to a fire in 1800 and losses during the War of 1812 which destroyed most Continental Army personnel records at the federal level. Additionally, lists compiled at the state level are incomplete.¹⁷ We cannot, therefore, say what percentage of the junior leaders buried in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio these 180 individuals were. We can say that the group *is* the most comprehensive compilation to date.¹⁸ It would be difficult; moreover, to argue that the individuals are exceptional since all known individual junior leaders who served after 1777 in the aforementioned states are included in the cohort. Most importantly, of the 180 identified junior leaders, 105, or 58%, served in postwar occupations that used skills developed in the army such as justice of the peace, judge, sheriff, commissioner, constable, religious leader, business owner, and merchant.

Cong., 1st sess. Senate. Ex doc.514], Vol.1, Washington: Printed by D. Green, 1835] The number for Revolutionary War veterans is drawn from the most recent website tallies for Ohio (8,220), Kentucky (2,748), Tennessee (3,200). My analysis only included junior leaders who served after 1777. None of the junior leaders in the cohort started the war as field grade officers (major, lieutenant colonel, or colonel) while a few did achieve field grade rank before the war ended.

¹⁶ Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783*, (With Addenda provided by Robert H. Kelby, 1932), (Washington, DC: W.H. Lowdermilk & Co, 1914), 6. Heitman's work contains entries for 14,000 Continental Army and state militia commissioned officers.

¹⁷ US Government. "War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records." Federal Records, Vol. 93, (Washington, DC: National Archives, last modified 2016. accessed April 8, 2019. <https://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/093.html>.

¹⁸ Office of Air Force History, and Stanley J. Underdal, ed. "Military History of the American Revolution: Proceedings of the Military History Symposium (6th) USAF Academy." (Colorado Springs, CO: United States Air Force Academy, 1974), last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019., 152-53. <http://www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/a025760.pdf>. "The 658 individuals were selected at random from Revolutionary War Pension Application Files in the National Archives in Washington, DC."; Crackel, "Revolutionary War Pension Records and Patterns of American Mobility, 1780-1830" "This essay concerns a much more detailed study of some 1,400 New Jersey veterans, a roughly 50 percent sample."; Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 203. "The analysis of claimants under the 1820 and 1823 amendments is based on quantitative and qualitative evidence gathered from 877 randomly selected pension applications."

These individuals do not fit the previous stereotypes of poverty-stricken soldiers waiting patiently for a reluctant government to finally award long overdue compensation for years of faithful service. Of the cohort, only 34% qualified for pensions under the 1820 Congressional act.¹⁹ The other junior leaders were either too well off to receive a pension or reluctant to ask for one. Some officers were finally able to obtain in 1828 the half-pay pension promised during the war.²⁰ A few surviving Continental Army veterans would eventually file for pensions under an 1832 Act, which no longer required an individual to prove reduced circumstances.²¹ Several veterans similar to Martin still qualified for pensions in 1820 after earlier service in postwar leadership positions.

The veteran junior leaders had skills they put to use in leadership positions in their new communities.²² They earned their neighbors' trust, successfully obtained elected offices, and took advantage of new business opportunities. They performed well enough in law enforcement and order positions to be reelected. They felt confident enough in their ability to enter new businesses, such as running taverns or operating mills. They had the knowledge, or felt that

¹⁹ Seen Appendix A (Pension Recipients)

²⁰ US Congress, *Chap. LIII An Act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the army of the revolution, May 15, 1828*, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, vol. 4, (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 247.

²¹ US Congress, *Chap. CXXVI An Act supplementary to the "act for the relief of certain surviving officers and soldiers of the revolution" June 7, 1832*, Statutes at Large of the United States of America, 1789-1873, (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1832), 497.

²² My benchmark for a leadership position in a postwar civilian occupation entailed someone either appointed or elected to a position in local or religious government or entered a business without previous experience. Securing a coveted appointment in the regular Army after the Continental Army disbanded also demonstrated competence. I did not consider farmers (regardless of the size of their holdings), day laborers, or artisans to be in leadership or managerial positions. Only a very few members of the cohort appeared to have held any leadership positions prior to joining the Continental Army.

they did, to pursue new lines of work in positions of authority.

Continental Army junior leaders obtained positions of trust at a much higher rate than their enlisted or militia peers. Although a non-veteran civilian control group may be impossible to obtain, when compared against the list of 8,400 Revolutionary War Continental Army and militia veterans of all ranks who were buried in Ohio, the Continental Army's junior leaders' success rate is impressive. For example, justice of the peace is an occupation mentioned in the short biographies compiled by the Daughters of the American Revolution and Sons of the American Revolution. Of all the Revolutionary War soldiers buried in Ohio, fourteen percent (15) of Continental Army junior leaders had been a justice of the peace, while only .004% of the total Revolutionary War soldiers buried in Ohio had ever held in the same job.²³

The question is why the cohort veterans seem to have attained these positions at a greater rate than their non-junior leader peers. We might expect veterans to have been at a disadvantage in civilian life after the War. Soldiers had spent their formative years away from home. Long periods in the Continental Army deprived them of the time needed to build connections with their neighbors that could have propelled them into positions of trust when they returned. They missed out on opportunities for apprenticeships or acquiring artisanal tools and knowledge. They were behind their peers in amassing the financial capital undergirding many a successful marriage and social rise. When veterans moved west, they did not have the long-standing community ties that would help them

²³ 34 out of 8,220 for total population and 15 out of 106 cohort members buried in Ohio.

gain elected office. As one historian has demonstrated, privates did have difficulty overcoming these obstacles.²⁴ Those who had been company grade officers, however, overcame the same barriers.

Additionally, the veterans did not secure these positions because of their prowess on the battlefield. Justices of the peace, sheriffs, commissioners, overseers of the roads, and merchants did not need to be able to march men across terrain in formation and fire on command. These veterans, with few exceptions, did not have careers before the war that prepared them for these positions.

It is most likely that former Continental Army junior leaders obtained positions of authority in their new communities because of their leadership skills. Their new jobs required the ability to persuade other individuals to trust in their competence. Men had to convince their neighbors to vote for them for elected offices such as justice of the peace, commissioner, or sheriff. Businessmen needed licenses to operate taverns, mills, and ferries on the early Republic's frontier. Elected officials granted business licenses not just to their cronies, but also to those whom they believed would operate in a manner beneficial to the county. With leadership ability a key requirement for these occupations, one should inquire as to how the individuals acquired the necessary skills.

Born or Made?

The classic question about leaders is whether they are born or made. In the case of Revolutionary War junior leaders, it is difficult to escape the conclusion

²⁴ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 48-49.

that many were made. Natural leaders exist in military organizations. A few born leaders possess the vision, charisma, character, and instinctive ability to motivate other individuals to follow them toward a particular goal in the face of adversity. Defining these traits can often be hard, but when an individual has them, others recognize him as a leader. Unfortunately for the Army, such born leaders are rare. Since the Revolutionary War, the American Army has operated on the premise that leaders can be made through education and training.

The Continental Army formed with few veteran leaders in the mold of British or French company grade officers or sergeants. The short service of the provincial units during the French and Indian War and the lack of a standing army prevented the development of career soldiers from whom Washington might have selected an experienced cadre.²⁵ Washington could not hope that enough already formed leaders would join the Continental Army, and that was why he spent so much energy and space in his general orders attempting to educate his officers and make leaders.

Washington believed he had to train his company grade officers if the Army was to have the competent junior leaders needed to survive the dangers of combat and the tedium of garrison.²⁶ From the time Washington arrived to assume command of the forces around Boston, his orders expressed his dismay

²⁵ See Fred W. Anderson, *A People's Army: Massachusetts Soldiers and Society in the Seven Years' War*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture Williamsburg Va. by the University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

²⁶ George Washington. "From George Washington to John Hancock, 16 December 1776." Founders Online. NARA, last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 1, 2019. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0280>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 7, 21 October 1776–5 January 1777, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997, pp. 351–353.]

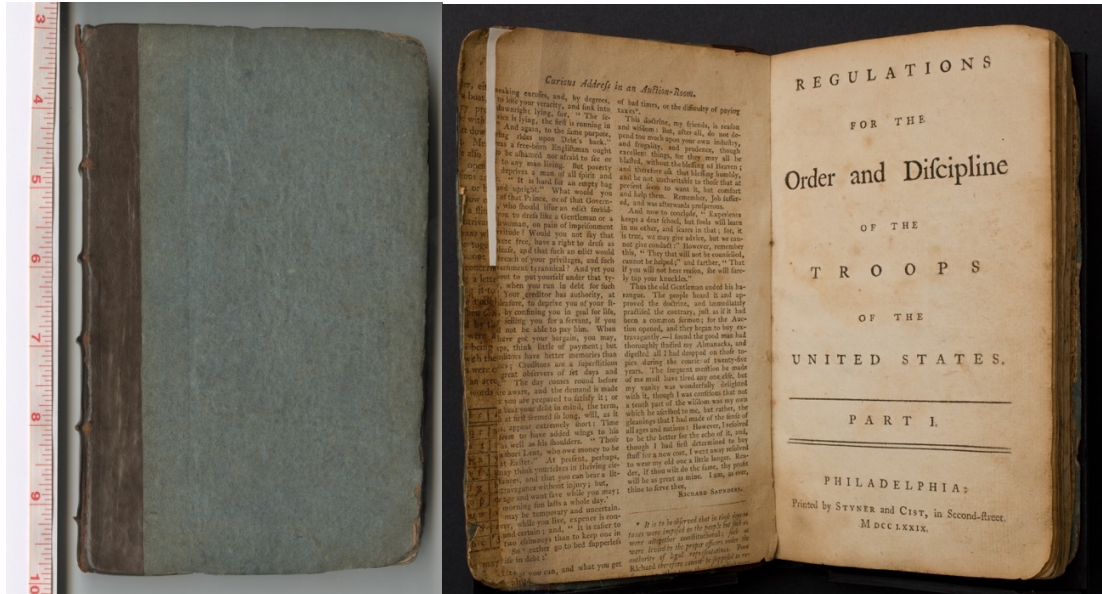
at the company grade and non-commissioned officers' ignorance of their responsibilities.²⁷ The junior leaders proved willing to fight, but did not appreciate their obligation to ensure the discipline, health, and welfare of their units. Most importantly, the new leaders did not grasp how to execute their tasks while maintaining discipline and esprit de corps in their units. Numerous factors hindered the Army's goal of developing its junior leaders during the war's first years. However, after the Army entered winter quarters at Valley Forge in December 1777, conditions were right for Washington to place added emphasis on leader development and education.

Blue Book

The centerpiece of the Army's military education system became the *Regulations for the order and discipline of the troops of the United States*, better known as the "Blue Book" (because of the cover's color in its first printing).²⁸

²⁷ George Washington. "Letter to Samuel Washington, July 20, 1775." Founders Online. last modified June 13, 2018. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0083>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985, pp. 134–136.] "I came to this place the 2d Instant & found a numerous army of Provincials under very little command, discipline, or order"

²⁸ US Congress, and Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin Steuben, Baron Von, *Regulations for the order and discipline of the troops of the United States. Part I*, (Philadelphia, PA: Styner and Cist, 1779).



Note the size that would allow it to be carried easily by soldiers. This original 1779 printing has had a leather binding attached. The printer also used waste paper to save money on the first page. This accounts for the newsprint on the inside.

Image #1 The Blue Book²⁹ Image provided courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati.

The *Regulation's* main creator, Baron von Steuben, wrote a manual tailored to what he came to see were the needs and character of the Continental Army. Working at first from memory, Steuben began instructing 100 picked soldiers on March 19, 1778. Upon completion of his course, his cadre then trained other soldiers and leaders. After campaigning slowed in November 1778, Washington asked Steuben to compile his Valley Forge lessons in a manual to that would reach more leaders. Relying on his Prussian Army training and his familiarity with French and German language manuals, Steuben and his staff copied, edited, and wrote the sections necessary to meet the Army's most pressing needs.³⁰

²⁹ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*

³⁰ Paul Douglas Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge: The Baron de Steuben and the making of the American Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2008), 187.

Where French and British manuals focused almost exclusively on an officer's tactical responsibilities and necessary technical knowledge such as maneuvering on the battlefield, Steuben added instructions on how to be a leader and what a leader does to gain the love of his men. These instructions set the Blue Book apart from other contemporary English and French manuals. The Blue Book became the junior leaders' textbook and reference manual in the Continental Army's leadership development program.

Steuben and his staff wrote succinctly so that the Blue Book could be read and understood by all ranks. Steuben reduced concepts and instructions described in other contemporary military manuals to the absolute minimum needed for a soldier to perform tasks such as marching in formation or loading a musket. Students practiced the techniques Steuben demonstrated and studied the ideas he listed in the manual's last chapters.³¹ Company grade officers learned within a system that made them leaders.

Steuben's system included an active role for officers as trainers, a regulation which served as a textbook for a standardized drill and the duties of all ranks, and a testing regimen conducted by inspector generals (IG). Two of the most important tenets of the Blue Book's leadership philosophy were that officers and NCOs had a responsibility for their soldiers and should be actively involved in

³¹ For mention of Steuben's training see, Martin, *A Narrative*, 86.; Jeremiah Greenman, *Diary of a Common Soldier in the American Revolution, 1775-1783: An Annotated Edition of the Military Journal of Jeremiah Greenman*, eds. Robert Bray, and Paul Bushnell (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1978), 102, 119.; Ebenezer Denny, *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny: An Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars*, (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1859), 39.; Francis J. Brooke, *A Family Narrative: Being the Reminiscences of a Revolutionary Officer*, (Richmond, VA: MacFarlane & Fergusson, Printers, 1849), 20.

their unit's daily operations. Steuben demanded leaders communicate and work with their soldiers. Leaders should not simply issue orders and leave. Steuben insisted leaders, especially officers, train their soldiers in the Prussian manner, rather than adopt the British custom of relegating training to the sergeants. Steuben's instructions to the different ranks emphasized the leaders' responsibilities to care for their soldiers by constantly inspecting their food, quarters, and condition. The junior leaders' duties required them to talk to their soldiers on a regular basis. The strong bonds formed between junior leaders and their men as desired by Steuben were evident during crises such as the winter in Morristown and the mutinies of 1780. In contrast with mutineers in other armies, Continental Army soldiers did not kill their own officers or rampage through the countryside. The mutineers even stayed together and remained under control of their sergeants.³² Even in mutinies, leaders remained engaged with their soldiers.

Steuben's Blue Book had more of an impact on veterans' growth as leaders than might be expected. Thirty or more years after leaving the Army, veterans still mentioned Steuben's manual and training by name because they realized the effect it had on their growth. Sergeant Joseph Plumb Martin recalled the lessons when crafting his memoirs. Lieutenant Francis J. Brooke prominently mentioned Steuben's manual and training system in his *A Family Narrative: Being the Reminiscences of a Revolutionary Officer*.³³ Lieutenant Samuel Baskerville used an almost identical format to describe the responsibility of members of the court

³² See John A. Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks: Mutinies of the American Revolution*, (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2007).

³³ Brooke, *A Family Narrative*, 20.

such as lawyers, constables, and sheriffs when he assumed duties as an associate judge in newly organized Madison County, Ohio in 1811.³⁴

Skills

The Army taught its officers more than just battlefield leadership. It needed officers who could lead men from every state in the worst possible conditions, function within an increasingly complex modern bureaucracy, manage money and supplies, and keep order in camp.³⁵ Officers with these skills held the Army together despite legendary harsh winters in 1778-1779, late pay in devalued currency, disease, gnawing and persistent hunger, and shortages of shoes, uniforms and blankets. Officers who could overcome these challenges during war were prepared to handle much after it.

Less dramatically, officers had to learn administration. They worked with invoices, inspections, regulations, and requests. As the Army gained administrative experience, standardized paperwork allowed it to function more effectively. Junior leaders learned the importance of working within the bureaucracy. Understanding administrative procedures prepared officers for the challenges of establishing government in frontier communities.

Army leaders had to manage resources. They allocated food, equipment, personnel, and time. Company grade officers kept track of soldiers' pay, purchase orders, and enlistment contracts. While battlefield leadership remained

³⁴ Madison County, Ohio, and Clerk of Courts. "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834." State Archives Series 3700, BV10, 348, OHC.

³⁵ See Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution*, (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1996).

their purpose, managing resources and camps took most of their time. Especially after 1778, other than practicing drill and maneuvering soldiers in the very occasional battle, most of the junior leader's efforts were spent on managerial tasks.

Officers did most of their work in winter and spring encampments—affairs far more complicated than the transitory tent camps of summer and fall campaigns. The Continental Army's winter encampment was the fourth or fifth largest city in the United States, with all the usual various challenges.³⁶ Captains and lieutenants served on courts-martial panels, which required them to determine guilt and deal out punishment.³⁷ In addition to serving on courts-martial, leaders also had to make their presence felt in encampments, to inspect soldiers' quarters to ensure soldiers observed regulations, obeyed the law, washed and ate, and stayed away from civilians. As in any community, the trash had to be regularly picked up, roads and buildings maintained, and wood and water provided. The Army had to take resources from the countryside. Guards had to be awake and armed.³⁸ Company grade officers conducted inspections of goods offered for sale within the camp's boundaries. Leaders had to ensure that the military equivalent of merchants and tavern owners provided for the soldiers'

³⁶ Eric Olson. 2017, "The Continental Army as a Mobile City." Morristown National Historical Park. ; Olson is a Park Ranger/Historian at Monmouth National Historical Park. The information is from an unpublished article he graciously shared with the author.; Steven Elliot, "The Highlands War: Civilians, Soldiers, and Environment in Northern New Jersey, 1777-1781" (PhD diss., Temple University, 2018), , 43.

³⁷ US Congress. "The Articles of War, June 30, 1775." *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: US Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875.* last modified n.d. accessed April 3, 2019., 112. [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc00249\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc00249))). Article I

³⁸ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 135-37.

needs and did not cheat them.

Surprisingly, the Blue Book did not provide instructions on what most individuals associate with military leadership: making decisions and inspiring men in combat. By March 1778, the Army had amassed plenty of experience fighting in the previous three years. The Army certainly valued decisive and inspirational leadership under fire, but after Valley Forge, it devoted more effort to training junior leaders on the abilities they needed to sustain the army in encampments. The Blue Book contained instructions on the skills soldiers and leaders required on the battlefield to standardize training for existing units and new recruits. The manual did not, however, purport to teach leaders how to inspire men under fire, but did offer guidance on how to gain the respect of their soldiers off the battlefield.

Educating Leaders

Senior officers in the Continental Army believed that individuals can be trained for leadership as long as they possess certain vital traits: character, integrity, physical fitness, education, and will.³⁹ The Army had distinct expectations for field grade and company grade officers' behavior that were different from their presumptions about the traits desired in privates. Washington desired men of character for officers. Washington needed officers whose word he could trust and whose behavior garnered respect. Excessive drunkenness, gambling, and paying women for sex diminished the leader's moral authority and

³⁹ This list was derived from a review of Washington's correspondence, orderly book entries, Steuben's Blue Book, and officers' courts-martial offenses.

standing. Men required physical endurance to withstand the rigors of campaigning and deprivations of camp life. They also had to be able to read, write, and perform mathematical computations to perform managerial tasks. Leaders also needed a will that was not prone to anxiety, self-doubt, or paralysis to continue acting in the face of adversity. As entries in orderly books demonstrate, senior leaders expected to be able to identify such individuals with these traits for further leadership and training. Captain Christopher Marshall's company orderly book contained the following guidance from his superior officers: "The officers who have not a full corps of noncommissioned officers in their respective companies are desired to make observations and recommend such as are the most deserving...to fill those corps and to pay attention to the dress of the men they recommend & not confining themselves to recommend those only who have been longest in service."⁴⁰ Officers identified many promising soldiers in the cohort for promotion to sergeant, and perhaps, preparation for officer training.⁴¹

Many company grade officers attained postwar leadership positions.⁴² Fifty-eight percent held a postwar public or private leadership job in the early Republic's newest states. The question is: why? Did their military training help

⁴⁰ Christopher Marshall. 1781, *Captain Marshall's orderly book, June 11, 1781 - September 3, 1781, West Point, Peekskill, New Windsor, NY*. MSS L1991.1.54, SOC. [June 13, 1781]

⁴¹ See Appendix A for list of forty-six officers promoted from the ranks.

⁴² My benchmark for a leadership position in a postwar civilian occupation entailed someone either appointed or elected to a position in local or religious government or entered a business without previous experience. Securing a coveted appointment in the regular Army after the Continental Army disbanded also demonstrated competence. I did not consider farmers (regardless of the size of their holdings), day laborers, or artisans to be in leadership or managerial positions. Only a very few members of the cohort appeared to have held any leadership positions prior to joining the Continental Army.

them? It seems more likely than not. Certainly the evidence reveals that the Continental Army's leadership development program included a manual, reinforcing lectures, and a testing program that taught leadership and managerial skills similar to those needed for civilian positions.

Argument

Continental Army junior leaders learned skills in the military that helped them gain authority and often achieve prosperity in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Far from being hurt by their time in the Army, they emerged better prepared than many of their civilian peers for the challenges on the frontier. If elections are any indication, their fellow citizens recognized their abilities. When veterans left the Army, they might have been poor in money, but they were rich in experience. This is similar, we hope to current college graduates who leave school with debt, but have acquired the knowledge and skills needed for a successful life.

The knowledge junior leaders had obtained was useful beyond the battlefield and encampment. Organizing settlers to develop a county's institutions required leadership to build consensus. The experience gained in serving on courts-martial panels readily transferred to positions such as justice of the peace, judge, and sheriff. The managerial tasks needed to build encampments, maintain buildings, and survey roads transferred to building new towns and public facilities. Regulating the sutlers in encampment to prevent abuses and coordinating the delivery of supplies provided a template for veterans serving as county officials issuing licenses for taverns, ferries, and mills. Officers assigned to logistics duties while in the Army used their military knowledge to become

merchants and businessmen. As counties grew, developed, and divided, officers' familiarity with bureaucracy assisted in managing the work of taxes, jurisdiction, roads, and elections. The veterans did not, and could not, rely on deference in assuming their new positions. They had to convince their neighbors they were worthy of trust. For veterans, skills imparted by the Army's leadership training seemed to have helped them gain this confidence.

I advance my argument over several chapters. After reviewing the previous literature and explaining my method, I examine the leader development education and training system the Continental Army implemented at Valley Forge with Steuben's Blue Book. Subsequent chapters investigate the skills leaders acquired in the Army and how they applied them in their military positions and in later postwar occupations: veterans exercising leadership under arduous conditions; the closely related ability of conducting managerial tasks and functioning in a bureaucracy; and law and order positions in the military and civilian spheres. Three appendices contain data on the cohort's members and reports to support my argument.

The research presented here contrasts with studies focusing on the harm of Continental Army service and instead demonstrates that many junior leaders obtained skills useful for civilian leadership positions in the early Republic such as justice of the peace, commissioner, legislator, or merchant. Ideally, such research will lead to more informed debates about the effects of volunteer military experience and the role veterans played in economic and geographic expansion. It may encourage historians to consider military service as something

other than a source of economic hardship and post-traumatic stress disorder. The Continental Army's leadership development program functioned as a military *and* civilian leadership school in the early Republic. Furthermore, it was a road to the West. In Joseph Plumb Martin's obituary, he is credited with "reducing the place to system and order as a civil community..."⁴³ There were many more veterans like him.

⁴³ Williamson, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph P. Martin."

Chapter Two Historiography

Over the years, the Continental Army has received considerable attention from writers. The Army's wartime exploits continue to interest academic and popular historians. Its leaders and soldiers remain the subject of best-selling biographies.⁴⁴ Several informative studies on the Continental Army as an organization debate its proficiency and tactical ability.⁴⁵ Others investigate the Continental Army's relationship with the country.⁴⁶ Not surprisingly, Valley Forge and Steuben have also received quite a bit of attention over the years.⁴⁷ Although scholars have not neglected Revolutionary War soldiers, historians still have questions to answer.

The scholars' first portrait of the Revolutionary War soldier emerged soon after the conflict's end and has changed over time. Initially, the question was who

⁴⁴ Ron Chernow, *Washington: A Life*, (New York, NY: Penguin Press, 2010).; Jack Kelly, *Band of Giants: The Amateur Soldiers Who Won America's Independence*, (United States of America: Palgrave and MacMillian, 2014).; Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution*, (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).; David Hackett Fischer, *Washington's Crossing*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁵ For the Continental Army, see Robert K. Wright, *The Continental Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 2006).; Russell F. Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1967).; Mark Edward Lender, and Garry Wheeler Stone, *Fatal Sunday: George Washington, The Monmouth Campaign, and the Politics of Battle*. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017). Kindle;

⁴⁶ E. Wayne Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).; James Kirby Martin, and Mark Edward Lender, *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic 1763-1789*, (2006 (2nd)), (Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1982).; Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

⁴⁷ For Baron von Steuben and army improvements, see Alfred Hoyt Bill, *Valley Forge: The Making of an Army*, (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1952).; Donald Barr Chidsey, *Valley Forge*, (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1959).; Herman O. Benninghoff, *Valley Forge: A Genesis for command-and-control, Continental Army style*, (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2001).; John Buchanan, *The Road to Valley Forge: How Washington built the Army that won the Revolution*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2004).; Thomas J. Fleming, *Washington's Secret War: The Hidden History of Valley Forge*, (New York, NY: Smithsonian Books, 2005).; Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*; Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*.

was the personification of the selfless patriot who had fought for their country? The militia's citizen-soldier and the Continental soldier dueled for primacy in the mind of politicians and members of the public in the war's aftermath. Who was more instrumental in winning the war? Who had suffered more?⁴⁸ In the ensuing centuries, the Continental Army soldier's image went through several iterations: a mythical icon, a victim of class bias, a bit player in a new theory of warfare, a suffering soldier, and finally an example of the failed expectations of military service. Several historians also focused on the soldiers' motivations, or the Army's composition to confirm or debunk patriotic myths. Writings focused on the soldiers' service during the war and the conditions at the end of their lives, but their intervening lives received comparatively scant analysis because of limitations in sources and lack of interest.

Post-Revolutionary War Historiography

The Continental soldier myth began in 1789 with David Ramsay's *The History of the American Revolution* and continued into the twentieth century.⁴⁹ George Bancroft's influential, multi-volume *History of the United States* portrayed the Revolutionary War soldier in larger-than-life terms, and this picture remained the

⁴⁸ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 2-3.

⁴⁹ David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution*, vol. 2, (Philadelphia: Printed and sold by R. Aitken & Son, 1789), 236. "In this retreat the Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that their blood marked every step of their progress. They were sometimes without meat, often without flour, and always without spiritous liquors. Their march lead them through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. In this severe season, also with very little clothing, they were daily reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of cloathes, till the heat of their bodies and occasional fires in the woods dried their tattered rags. To all these difficulties they submitted without the loss of a single centinel by desertion."

dominant theme for almost the next hundred years. Volume 8, published on the eve of the Civil War, recorded what politicians had said for several years: that Revolutionary War participants were selfless patriots.⁵⁰ In the mid-twentieth century, Donald Barr Chidsey and Alfred Hoyt Bill extolled the American fighting man and reinforced the myth of the suffering soldier who persevered with the help of training from Baron von Steuben. Chidsey wrote of Steuben's regulations, "Thus sheet by sheet, paragraph by paragraph, almost word by word, was the Continental army given, as it were, a constitution."⁵¹ Bill wrote about "von Steuben's miracle of turning the half disciplined American troops into an efficient and reliable army...."⁵² Both authors emphasized the result of Steuben's instruction and its effect on military operations; they stressed the regulation's instructions for marching and formations rather than the development of leaders

⁵⁰ George Bancroft, *A History of the United States: From the Discovery of the American Continent*, vol. 8, (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Co., 1860), 64-65. "The alacrity with which these troops were raised, showed that the public mind heaved like the sea from New England to the Ohio and beyond the Blue Ridge. On the fourteenth of June congress first authorised their enlistment, and in less than sixty days twelve companies were in the camp, having come on foot from four to eight hundred miles. The men, painted in the guise of savages, were strong and of great endurance; many of them more than six feet high; they wore leggins and moccasins, and an ash-colored hunting shirt with a double cape; each one carried a rifle, a hatchet, a small axe, and a hunter's knife. They could subsist on a little parched corn and game, killed as they went along; at night, wrapped in their blankets, they willingly made a tree their canopy, the earth their bed. The rifle in their hands sent its ball with unerring precision, a distance of two or three hundred yards. Their motto was "Liberty or Death." They were the first troops raised under the authority of the continental congress, and they formed the best corps in the camp. Accustomed to the wild independence of the backwoods, they yet gave an example of subordination, discipline and vigilance. Enlisted for a year only, many of them, both officers and men, continued in the service during the war, and distinguished themselves in almost every field. They taught the observing Frederic of Prussia to introduce into his service light bodies of sharp shooters, and their example has modified the tactics of European armies."

⁵¹ Chidsey, *Valley Forge*, 122.

⁵² Bill, *Valley Forge*, 242. "Their great march of four hundred miles from the Hudson to Yorktown in twenty eight days—a stroke which, for boldness and swiftness, has been likened to Napoleon's famous march from Boulogne to Ulm in 1805—and their behavior at the siege that followed bear undeniable witness to the quality of their leader, the training of von Steuben, and the ordeal of Valley Forge had instilled in them."

who executed the commands. At the height of the Cold War, Howard H. Peckham lauded the virtues of patriotism and averred that the Continental Army soldier could defeat his professional equivalent because he had higher motivation, more initiative, and greater hope.⁵³ Although this view might have been useful in maintaining morale in the United States during the Cold War, Peckham's conclusion continued the presentation of the Continental Army soldier as a symbol or a national myth.

Vietnam Era Historiography

The Continental soldier's heroic image waned in the late 1960s and early 1970s as debate about the Vietnam war raged. Russell F. Weigley's two influential works within US Army institutional training, *The History of the United States Army* and *The American Way of War: A History of the United States Military Strategy and Policy*, questioned the military competence of the Continental soldier. The soldier might have been brave, but he never measured up to the British soldier in terms of discipline and ability because of training and equipment shortfalls.⁵⁴ Based on their understanding of Mao's "peoples' war" theory, scholars also reexamined soldiers who fought in the American Revolution.⁵⁵ Rather than being seen as heroic, the American soldier was fighting

⁵³ Howard H. Peckham, *The War for Independence*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 204.) "Once he received some military training, he usually could defeat the professional soldier in the mercenary because he had higher motivation, more initiative, and greater hope. These embattled farmers and artisans fought as men possessed—possessed of a fervent and ennobling desire to be free men."

⁵⁴ Weigley, *History of the United States Army*, 62.; Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1973), 4.

⁵⁵ For people's war, see Don Higginbotham, *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*, (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1971), 93.; The

for his home and the British never had a chance.⁵⁶ Simultaneously, several historians examined the socio-economic backgrounds of the soldiers as the country moved to an all-volunteer Army in the 1970s. What type of person could 1970s America expect to join the Army? What would be their motivation?

Several historians went back to the Revolutionary War era to see who had enlisted during the longest war America had then fought with a largely volunteer force. Practitioners of the new social and military history delved into the archives to ascertain the socio-economic conditions of soldiers from select locales: Maryland in 1782, and Virginia in 1778-1781.⁵⁷ In their article, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of a Revolutionary War Private," Edward C. Papenfuse and Gregory A. Stiverson submitted an analysis of enlistees' socio-economic backgrounds recruited for a Maryland Regiment in 1782. The authors used their findings to demonstrate the poor economic situation of soldiers when they voluntarily enlisted.⁵⁸ At the Military History Symposium in

"peoples' war" theme continued into the late 1970s based on the success of the North Vietnamese Army and the popularity of Mao Zedong's writings. When these writers used the term "Peoples' War," they meant that the entire population rose up to fight in an unconventional manner in accordance with Mao's doctrine of revolution. In 1971, during the height of America's involvement in the Vietnam War and the success of the North Vietnamese Army's strategy against the South Vietnamese Army, Don Higginbotham emphasized the "peoples' war" aspect of the American Revolution.

⁵⁶ Edmund S. Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 79. In the aftermath of America's experience in Vietnam, Morgan continued the theme of a "peoples' war." Morgan contended the British never could have won more than a stalemate because the war forced people to take sides. They either had to choose sides or defend their homes. The people in Morgan's analysis had a century and half experience in fighting the French and Indians. The soldiers in this type of analysis essentially had no choice in their conduct. Motivations, formal training, or how they felt were of little importance. Defending their home and neighbors was the most important factor in their decision-making.

⁵⁷ Edward C. Papenfuse, and Gregory A. Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits: The Peacetime Career of the Revolutionary War Private," *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 30, no. 1 (1973) <http://doi.org/10.2307/1923705>.; Office of Air Force History, and Stanley J. Underdal, ed., "Military History of the American Revolution"

⁵⁸ Papenfuse, and Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits."

1974, John Sellers analyzed the socio-economic backgrounds of three different regimental-sized units that led him to declare that the soldier in the Revolutionary War enlisted primarily from the lowest rung of society in hopes of a better life most did not achieve. In response to a question, he answered, "I am not impressed by the patriotic fervor of the privates. I think they all acted overwhelmingly out of self-interest. I do not believe that they really fought with a true understanding of independence." Sellers also claimed that veterans did not amount to much after the war since they did not improve their economic status. Sellers noted that a great majority of soldiers moved after the war, but he did not follow soldiers to their new locations to see how their economic situations changed between moving and filing their pensions.⁵⁹

The Sellers and Papenfuse and Stiverson studies, based on economic factors, examined very specific situations involving either single units or single locations at specific times. The danger of extrapolating lessons from Papenfuse and Stiverson's study was that General Smallwood attempted to recruit after Yorktown when most Americans believed that the war was over. Scholars undertook these studies to determine what type of soldier could be expected to reenlist or join in a volunteer army when the United States decided to eliminate the draft in 1973. However enlightening these works are on the economic situation of enlistees when they joined and their dire economic straits when they filed for pensions thirty to fifty years later, they missed an important part of the

⁵⁹ Office of Air Force History, and Stanley J. Underdal, ed., "Military History of the American Revolution," 158-61.

story. What these works failed to capture was the transformative effect of sustained service in the Continental Army on individuals.

New Military History

In the late twentieth century, scholars broadened their approach on Continental Army soldiers and their immediate communities. In 1979, Charles Royster did an excellent job of questioning the false dichotomy proposed by the proponents of enlistment solely for economic reasons. Royster focused on “the role of national character in the military demands of the American Revolution.”⁶⁰ In one of the more convincing quantitative studies on Continental Army soldiers, John Resch tracks the enlistments from Peterborough, New Hampshire, and determined that they represented a cross-section of the town’s society. He argues that for Peterborough, the Revolution was a peoples’ war and not a poor man’s war.⁶¹ James Martin and Mark Lender’s influential work, *A Respectable Army*, concludes that the Continental Army supported the republican ideals of the Revolution even while containing a mounting animosity towards the civilian society that barely supported them. Martin and Lender view soldiers as unrecognized heroes because of the disdain with which society treated them.⁶² Holly A. Mayer examines the Continental Army’s camp followers and inserted

⁶⁰ Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War*, vii.

⁶¹ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 43-45. Resch’s definition of “peoples’ war” means that all classes of society participated in the militia and Continental Army. Resch convincingly argues that Continental Army soldiers who returned to Peterborough and remained after the war did not socially or economically prosper like their fellow town members who served in the militia. One of the individuals included in Resch’s study, Josiah Munro, left Peterborough and moved to Ohio where he had success.

⁶² Martin, and Lender, *A Respectable Army*, xii.

women and civilians into the historiography of the Continental Army.⁶³ Mayer's work highlights the diversity of the Continental Army encampments, which figured prominently in the junior leaders' education and experience gained in the war. Charles Patrick Neimeyer's social history on the Continental Army argues against the myth of patriotic soldiers in an apparent response to Royster's and Resch's contention that patriotism did factor in a person's decision to enlist and that the individual did have a choice.⁶⁴

Several individuals have examined soldiers through the lens of class. Catherine Kaplan has recently studied Joseph Plumb Martin's famous narrative as a work of literature and contended that Martin's narrative "links the violation of wartime economic contracts to a broader abrogation of political and social contracts in the new nation."⁶⁵ Neimeyer renews his arguments against the patriotic soldier in his 2007 work *The Revolutionary War*, with statements such as "this army took men as they came and were not beyond inducing immigrants, enemy prisoners of war (POWs), and just about any man who was healthy enough (and perhaps gullible enough) to become a soldier for 'three years or the duration of the war.'"⁶⁶ Additionally, junior leaders receive little mention in either

⁶³ Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*

⁶⁴ Neimeyer, *America goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army, 1775-1783*, xiv. Neimeyer contended, "... those who served in the Army as long-term Continental soldiers were not those whom historians have traditionally associated with the defense of liberty. Rather, I will argue that [John] Adams and others of his class came to rely increasingly on those not connected to the communities that enlisted them for national service; these groups include African-Americans, ethnic minorities, and 'free white man on the move.' These were precisely the sort of people least able to resist the blandishments of a recruiting party and most willing to part temporarily with civil liberties in exchange for a steady wage."

⁶⁵ Catherine Kaplan, "Theft and Counter-Theft: Joseph Plumb Martin's Revolutionary War," *Early American Literature* vol. 41, no. 3 (2006), 516. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25057467>.

⁶⁶ Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, xiv. The Continental Army's senior leadership actively discouraged recruiting enemy deserters or POWs due to their uncertain loyalties and

of Niemeyer's works except as dispensers of punishment.⁶⁷ Harry Ward's *George Washington's Enforcers: Policing the Continental Army* continues Niemeyer's unsympathetic view of Continental Army commissioned officers.⁶⁸ Neimeyer's conclusions demonstrate the incomplete picture left by too narrow a focus.⁶⁹ Neimeyer's use of Martin in closing *The Revolutionary War* offers an example:

So Martin eventually mustered out of the army as did thousands of others just like him to return to hometowns and states that had long neglected and forgotten them. Both of Martin's grandparents had died while he was away in the service, and he never returned to his hometown of Milford, Connecticut. One year after the war, he moved to the future state of Maine and took up residence in the village of Prospect (now called Stockton Springs) and remained there for the rest of the sixty-six years of life he had left to him. Martin married Lucy Clewley in 1794, and they had a number of children together. He eventually figured out how to get those "soldier's lands" he lamented about in his journal, for in 1797 he sold his rights to them to a speculator. By 1818, Martin applied for and received an indigent soldier's pension, a sad and unfortunate consequence for one who had served so valiantly and for so long in the cause of liberty.⁷⁰

Neimeyer leaves the reader with the impression that Joseph Plumb Martin sold his lands to a speculator and died indigent rather than mention Martin's many years of public service as a justice of the peace, town clerk, selectmen, or state representative. Instead of a pension being the only "sad and unfortunate

demonstrated lack of character.

⁶⁷ Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, 160. "All officers were empowered to enforce the Articles of War, and many violations could be corrected on the spot by officers who could cane or beat the alleged violator for a variety of minor infractions."

⁶⁸ Harry M. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers: Policing the Continental Army*, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), 13, 27, 29. "The public, however, did not identify much with persons who were foolish enough to submit themselves to the army for the long haul." "Delinquency among soldiers, ranging from neglect of duty to desertion and mutiny, frequently stemmed from contempt of the officer corps." "While officers craved honor and glory, the common soldiers settled for survival."

⁶⁹ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 9. "Niemeyer claimed that the Low born status of Continental's Army soldiers revealed the American colonies to be a class written and exploitive society... He concluded that military service in the Continental Army was another venue for class conflict... However, an examination of the lives of all Peterborough's soldiers – continental and non-continental – within the context of their households and community led to a different conclusion."

⁷⁰ Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, 181.

consequence,” Martin’s military service also prepared him to be one of his town’s leaders.

Recent Works

Caroline Cox’s work in a *Proper Sense of Honor* touches on many of the subjects I investigate, but we come to different conclusions. Like Cox, I concentrate on the Continental Army, but unlike Cox, I focus on the leadership development program that equipped officers with new leadership and management skills in addition to a sense of honor.⁷¹ Honor was, and remains, an essential ingredient of military leadership. Honor without ability or skill, however, did not and does not make an effective military leader. Cox correctly notes that the European military academies in existence did not teach management skills. While true, Cox’s observation omits the Continental Army’s leadership program when she argues “that recruiting such natural leaders was essential in an army that had limited means of compelling obedience from its soldiers.”⁷² She also argues that few individuals read Steuben’s manual, though I think the bulk of the available evidence demonstrates that they did. Junior leaders’ memoirs record their familiarity with Steuben’s manual and his system. While Cox recognizes the need for rank distinctions and discipline for an Army’s effectiveness, her sympathies clearly lie with the enlisted soldiers.

The most recent examination of soldiers after the Revolutionary War, John Ruddiman’s *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, contends that young men’s

⁷¹ Caroline Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington’s Army*, (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

⁷² Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 40, 44, 138.

expectations for societal advancement based on military service did not immediately materialize after the war.⁷³ Not surprisingly, the dreams of youth were rarely realized. Ruddiman's subjects are also Continental Army soldiers. He sees a unique role for the young soldiers' experiences during the war and the broader Revolution. Ruddiman argues against an ahistorical universal experience of war.⁷⁴ Like historians before him, Ruddiman emphasizes the headwinds veterans encountered upon demobilization or leaving the service.⁷⁵

Continental veterans returned to a civilian sphere burdened by large-scale disruptions to the economy. The long war had dealt a terrible blow to the American economy and opened faults within its politics, complicating veterans' attempts to regain lost time and advance in life. Individual incomes had severely declined, and only recovered slowly and unevenly: it was not until 1800 when per capita income regained its 1770 level.⁷⁶

While veterans and civilians alike suffered in the Revolutionary War's aftermath due to economic conditions, the "lost time" in the military for junior leaders was not really lost. They gained skills they could put to use in civilian jobs.

⁷³ Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 172-175, 183. The Continental Army officer corps did not impress Ruddiman. "The revolutionary elite were right to worry. The lower ranks of society – where almost all young veterans had returned – had also learned hard lessons: their leaders had feet of clay. With the exception of Washington, had they not fallen short? The heroic Benedict Arnold had defected. Congress had proved incompetent. State governments had failed to aid their soldiers, and after the war undertook policies that harm them. Across the new nation, however, their betters demanded obedience and deference – but if the deference had existed at all, the experience of the revolution and war had certainly undermined it. After wielding the whip of military discipline, fickle officers demonstrated they were not to be trusted with unlimited power. Rowdy continentals and fractiously democratic militias had also gained extensive experience in disobeying orders and skirting authority – authority buttressed in wartime by threats of physical violence far greater than any town father, landlord, wealthy merchant, and great planner could safely direct against their fellow white men."

⁷⁴ Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 59.

⁷⁵ Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 10-15. "finding the social and economic deck stacked against them, many fail to achieve their traditional goals of economic independence and personal authority over dependents of their own, despite growing discourse about an egalitarian citizenship shared among white men. Nevertheless, ideas about youth, military service, and masculinity proved socially and politically stabilizing in the early Republic."

⁷⁶ Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 159.

Additionally, Ruddiman's work explored soldiers' conceptions of their masculine identities while other recent works probed masculine ideas in some soldiers' families on the borders.

Masculinity figures prominently in Honor Sachs' investigation of some of Kentucky's veterans and their ideas about masculinity and the role this perception played in Kentucky's different societal classes. Her analysis involving the military mostly revolves around the militia's response to perceived military failures and contrasting perceptions of land ownership and the law.⁷⁷ In Sach's analysis, the "vast inequality in Kentucky merely exacerbated the growing resistance to authority."⁷⁸ Continental Army junior leaders who moved west to Kentucky could not rely on social deference because of their status as officers, but their military service did provide evidence of their manliness and bravery needed for some positions of authority such as justice of the peace and militia officer.

The Historiographical Gap

No historian has undertaken a systematic examination of the significance that NCOs and junior officers as a group, influenced by a common training regimen and the experience of war, had on communities' development in the expanding early Republic. One could posit some good reasons for not doing so. If one believed that pension applications represented a good sample of veterans' postwar lives, then historians' previous conclusions on the basis of such

⁷⁷ Honor Sachs, *Home Rule: Households, Manhood, and National Expansion on the Eighteenth-Century Kentucky Frontier*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 107.

⁷⁸ Sachs, *Home Rule*, 109.

documents should have sufficed. In fact, pension applications generally exclude the subject of my investigation: the junior leaders. A majority of junior leaders did not, indeed could not, file pensions under the 1818 and 1820 statutes which required a demonstration of extreme financial need.⁷⁹ While very few Continental Army junior leader veterans had achieved any semblance of wealth, neither were they destitute. As far as I can determine for the junior leaders who did obtain pensions, historians neglected to look at the veterans' lives between their service and their submissions to the War Department. They simply accepted the testimony found in the pensions and assumed that life had not been any better in the preceding decades.⁸⁰

Another reason for missing the cohort's effect could have been the difficulty in tracing junior leaders' postwar lives as they moved westward. Before the proliferation of genealogy websites and the digitization of government documents and scarce local histories, travel to various locations to view such sources in person was expensive and time-consuming. The popularity of internet genealogy sites where individuals post sources with their ancestors' information allows historians to exploit a broad range of previously unavailable or inaccessible genealogical material, and thereby narrow their own focus to specific locations or sources.

⁷⁹ US Congress. "Proceedings Pension Bill, 1817." *Annals of Congress, House, 15th Cong., 1st sess.* last modified n.d. <http://memory.loc.gov>. , 445.

⁸⁰ Office of Air Force History, and Stanley J. Underdal, ed., "Military History of the American Revolution"; Crackel, "Revolutionary War Pension Records and Patterns of American Mobility, 1780-1830"; Papenfuse, and Stiverson, "General Smallwood's Recruits."

Summary

Academic historians have examined the Continental Army from many perspectives. Historians have written about the Continental Army broadly as an institution and narrowly as a collection of particular units from defined geographic locales. Historians have scrutinized the soldiers' socio-economic reasons for joining, their motivations for fighting, their performance on the battlefield, and their role as part of a military organization within a republican form of government.⁸¹ The previously noted works examined the Continental Army as a social group and an organization. The Continental Army became the first multi-state organization that bound individuals across states together for a long period under conditions of threat to life and limb. James Kirby Martin, Mark Edward Lender, John Resch, and John Ruddiman all echo the theme of soldiers who suffered for their country, were abandoned, and only late in life received any recognition or money. Martin and Lenders' *A Respectable Army* concludes that, "even though the army grew to resent and despise patriot civilians, it remained faithful in its quest."⁸² Resch's *Suffering Soldiers* convincingly argues that soldiers who served for short tours in the militia close to home suffered no long-term disadvantage, while Continental Army soldiers who enlisted for multiple years never achieved equal success to militia soldiers when they returned to their same communities.⁸³ Ruddiman argued that young men's flawed expectations

⁸¹ For army as an organization within a republican form of government, see Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure*; Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War* For soldiers' individual lives, see Charles Knowles Bolton, *The Private Soldier Under Washington*, (New York, NY: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Company, 1902).; Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*

⁸² Martin, and Lender, *A Respectable Army*, 210.

⁸³ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 50.

led to disappointment which matched the Kentucky veterans' situation in Sach's study.

Even with all the earlier mentioned works, significant gaps remain in our understanding of junior leaders' development and postwar application of skills gained through military service and the Continental Army's leadership development program. The soldiers' contemporaries realized the benefits of veterans settling the territories and their ability to establish order.⁸⁴ It was more than just a soldier's ability to endure the hardships and privations of settling a wilderness. A community needs more than individuals accustomed to suffering. Someone has to provide leadership. What historians have not done so far is scrutinize a critical portion of the army— its “backbone” of sergeants, lieutenants, and captains — and probe how their service in the Continental Army allowed them to develop leadership and managerial skills and perform larger roles in their new communities.

⁸⁴ Theodore C. Pease, “The Ordinance of 1787,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* vol. 25, no. 2 (1938) , 171. <http://DOI.org/10.2307/1896497>.; David Andrew Nichols, *Red Gentlemen & White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 89.; William Thomas Hutchinson, *The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio*, (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 64.

Chapter 3 Method

Chapter Three explains how I formed the study cohort and used secondary and primary sources to investigate the Continental Army leadership development program. Thousands of individuals served during the Revolutionary War. The government received over 20,000 pension applications from Continental Army veterans between 1819 and 1823. Later, 33,000 militia and Continental Army veterans submitted applications under the 1832 laws.⁸⁵ Understanding how and why my cohort contains 180 members is important.

Junior leader veterans constituted a very small portion of the Continental Army and militia veterans who moved to the early Republic's borders. I mined the 180 individuals' records from burial registers, pension applications, orderly books, diaries, and personal papers. Cross-referencing individuals from all these sources was necessary to produce a list of veteran junior leaders. As a percentage of Revolutionary War veterans buried in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, the individuals amount to only .013%. To compensate for the relatively small sample of Revolutionary War veterans, I included all the instances I could find rather than use only a sample. As a representation of the numbers involved, the Ohio Genealogical Society maintains a database of 8,220 Revolutionary War Soldiers who lived and may have been buried in the state.⁸⁶ After 1787, only 106 Continental Army junior leaders have been identified as having lived and died in Ohio, which accounts for 0.13% of the Revolutionary War veteran population. Of

⁸⁵ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 203.

⁸⁶ Ohio Genealogical Society, "Ohio's Revolutionary War Veterans Index"

this 0.13 %, records indicate sixty-one percent (65) of them served in some position as a local political, military, or business leader. And these are just the individuals whose postwar lives are relatively easily accessed in the public archives and records. Local elections, business records, and church meeting minutes do not normally refer to an individual's wartime rank, especially if they were enlisted. Personal and business correspondence often contained military titles, but local election records including voting tallies did not.⁸⁷ Although I may have misidentified a few soldiers as militia, further research may reveal additional Continental Army junior leaders. When this work is published, I expect the genealogical community and amateur historians to quickly identify my omissions or misinterpretations.

By limiting the cohort's geographical boundaries to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, I reduce the influence of other factors such as family connections, class, wealth, and status that existed in established East Coast communities and affected a junior leader's postwar occupation, and, instead, I can focus on the skills learned and the men's individual merit in obtaining their positions of authority.⁸⁸ Since John Resch's *Suffering Soldiers* made a compelling case that privates returning to Peterborough, New Hampshire, never caught up with their peers who avoided Continental Army military service and could not take advantage of any previous social status, I narrowed my target group to junior leaders who moved to the early Republic's western states and entered nascent

⁸⁷ Abraham Skinner. "Papers." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS.

⁸⁸ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 16. "By 1775 many Peterborough families orbited around two large kin networks."

communities.⁸⁹ The veterans moving west most likely did not possess great financial wealth. Very few veterans moved west if they were financially secure back east.⁹⁰ Veterans did not appear to run for office on the early Republic's frontier based solely on their Continental Army service. The general population did not appear to hold Continental Army junior leader veterans in especially high esteem. Praise for Continental Army service would not emerge until after the War of 1812.⁹¹ Deference was particularly absent amongst local populations in the early Republic's new territories and states.⁹² Junior officers could not solely rely on deference, wealth, or social status to be assured of leadership roles. Veterans who obtained private or political office had to do so based primarily on merit.

I have included evidence from those junior leaders who did not move west but whose personal correspondence and careers demonstrate the lessons they learned during the Revolutionary War service. Their experiences reinforce the few instances we have of memoirs or records of junior leaders who moved west.

⁸⁹ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 59. "In 1790 James moved to Cavendish, Vermont, James was a "highly respected" member of the community who held various town offices, and served as a state legislature for thirteen years." Although James was not a Continental Army soldier, this anecdote is what spurred my interest to look for how Continental Army soldiers did when they moved out of their established communities. Later, I identified Josiah Munro who enlisted from Peterborough, NH and became a captain. After the war, he evidently did not return home for long. He move to Washington County, Ohio and became a judge and the first postmaster. He does not appear in Resch's cohort.

⁹⁰ Sachs, *Home Rule*, 28.

⁹¹ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 80. "For a new generation of Americans, revelations of the failure of amateur soldiers in the Revolution explained the nation's failure in the War of 1812. These revelations further elevated the reputation of the Continental Army." Sachs, *Home Rule*, 107. Craig Thompson Friend, *Along the Maysville Road: The early American republic in the trans-Appalachian West*, (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 80. Kentucky may have been a possible exception where masculine ideals of fighting prowess and strength held considerable sway during the first decade of Kentucky's settlement but diminished rapidly by the early 19th century.

⁹² Donald J. Ratcliffe, "The Changing Political World of Thomas Worthington," in *The Center of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic*, ed. Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, and Stuart Dale Hobbs (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 43.; Sachs, *Home Rule*, 96.

These other junior leaders demonstrate that the cohort individuals were not atypical but indicative of the Continental Army junior leaders' knowledge and experience, and how they applied it in postwar life. Fortunately, many of the documents of junior officers who remained in the eastern seaboard states have been microfilmed and were easily converted into portable document format (pdf) with newer microfilm readers. The automatic scanning into pdf allowed a great amount of information to be copied while on research trips that could then be enlarged, reviewed, and tagged with notes taken directly on the documents.

The recent advances in digitization made the study of the cohort possible. Commercial services such as Fold3 and Ancestry.com permitted easy access to government records. Other organizations such as Archive.org have digitized late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century county and local histories, thereby enabling easy access and searching. The popularity of genealogical sites reveals much preliminary investigation had been done on the cohort members. The vast majority of internet sites are very diligent about noting sources. Some sources, like the Tennessee county records of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter sessions, have not been digitized, but fortunately such records were transcribed and indexed in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Based on an initial profile created from the previously mentioned sources, I had a good idea of where and when to look for information on the leaders' postwar careers.

Cohort

I define junior leaders for this paper as Continental Army ensigns, lieutenants, captains, and non-commissioned officers. Individuals who served at these ranks

after 1777 form the cohort's members. Especially after 1778, promotion to the aforementioned ranks required a demonstration of ability. While the highest promotion reached by most in the cohort was captain, some long-serving veterans were able to rise to the field grade ranks, major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel, by war's end. Individuals who entered service as field grade officers are not in the cohort. Neither surgeons nor chaplains made the cut. Although the Continental Army had treated surgeons and chaplains as officers, they did not command men and had limited management responsibilities. Since senior officers targeted more than company grade commissioned officers for education and training, the cohort includes non-commissioned officers as well. After 1778, the Continental Army appointed very few individuals initially as sergeants. The records might even indicate that some sergeants after 1778 might have been denied reenlistment as non-commissioned officers because of illiteracy.⁹³ Privates normally served at least one enlistment before being promoted to sergeant. Some like Martin served several years before promotion.

I did not consider militia non-commissioned or commissioned officers for inclusion in this study primarily because they did not spend enough time in encampments to benefit from the Continental Army leadership development program. Officials mobilized the state militia in response to a specific threat or request. After 1777, militia tours usually lasted only a few days or weeks. Some exceptions existed on the frontier where states mobilized militia soldiers for

⁹³ Andrew Lilburn left Continental Army service as a sergeant in the spring of 1778. His pension application has only a mark "X" indicating he was illiterate. Washington County, Tennessee. 1941, "Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions of Washington County 1829-1831." Transcripts of the County Archives, TSLA. , 80.

extended periods to guard static locations. However, these militia units did not experience the war in the same manner as Continental Army soldiers. While the war in the South exercised the militia in great numbers, most did not serve long tours or functioned as partisans. Communities often elected individuals for various militia company grade ranks. The states got involved only in field grade promotions. As far as non-commissioned officers, militia commanders often appointed individuals as sergeants at the beginning of their short enlistments. Frequently an orderly sergeant's appointment relied on his ability to read and write.⁹⁴ Some militia junior leaders did obtain postwar leadership positions in the cohort's area, but it appears from extant records to have been at a much lesser rate than Continental Army veterans. Additional research is needed to determine the actual differences.

The study's territorial limitations are defined by the modern Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee state lines. Revolutionary War veterans lived and died as far west as Missouri and Texas.⁹⁵ A few Continental Army veterans moved to Mississippi after the Louisiana purchase to work in an official capacity and then lived in the area after departing government service.⁹⁶ These far west individuals

⁹⁴ By perusing the state militia noncommissioned and enlisted soldiers' pensions of 1832, one deduces that a sizable majority never did learn to read or write by observing they had to have their marks witnessed by other individuals.

⁹⁵ Clovis H. Brakebill, *American Revolutionary soldiers buried in Texas*, (Wolfe City, TX: Hennington Publishing Company, 1998).; Alice Kinyoun Houts, and Hazel Eastman, *Revolutionary soldiers buried in Missouri*, (Kansas City, MO: Missouri Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1966).

⁹⁶ See Issac Guion, John Gerault, and Peter Bryan Bruin. John W. Monette, *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi: by the three great European powers, Spain, France, and Great Britain, and the subsequent occupation, settlement, and extension of civil government by the United States until the year 1846*, (1983), (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1846), 530.; Charles Stuck. "Jean/John Girault Chronology (1755 - 1813)." last modified 2000. accessed April 1, 2019. <http://www.oocities.org/~chukstuk/d0/giraultj.html>. ; John Devereux

were almost exclusively privates who moved very late in life and had served in the state militias rather than the Continental Army. The Continental Army veterans left the deepest impression on modern-day Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The cohort I examined consisted entirely of white males. I found neither African nor Native-American Continental army officers to include in the cohort. While contemporary racism and attitudes determined junior leader selection, rank in the Continental Army required more than basic English language ability. A Continental Army junior leader had to be able to read and write.⁹⁷ Rosters had to be kept of men's duties and equipment, contracts understood, and orders read and recorded. The government bureaucracy made literacy necessary. Even within predominantly African-American Continental Army units, like Rhode Island's regiment, few black non-commissioned officers existed. Literate African Americans most likely had other employment opportunities rather than soldiering. Multi-racial individuals did serve honorably and effectively in junior leader positions in several militia and irregular units during the war, but contemporary racial attitudes and literacy requirements precluded positions in the Continental Army.⁹⁸

DeLacy. "To Thomas Jefferson, November 3, 1801." Founders Online. last modified June 13, 2018. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-35-02-0456>. [Original Source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 35, 1 August–30 November 1801, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, pp. 549–562.] ; Heitman, *Register*, 128, 245, and 265.

⁹⁷ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 130."...nor can a sergeant or corporal be said to be qualified who does not write and read in a tolerable manner."

⁹⁸ Eric Grundset, *Forgotten Patriots: African American and American Indian patriots in the Revolutionary War*, (Washington, DC: National Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 2008).; Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 77.; Michael Lee Lanning, *Defenders of Liberty:*

Even though women did not serve as Continental Army junior leaders, they figure prominently in the veterans' experience during the war and afterwards. Encampments were not a white male-only environment. Women regularly appear in the sources.⁹⁹ Women performed several critical roles, and most were married to NCOs or privates. Many other soldiers had families they left behind with wives, mothers, and sisters. Exposure to female participation in the war effort for junior leaders surely influenced their views, but it is hard to measure. The women's letters and conversations certainly affected the soldiers' commitment to the cause. Did it change their minds on what women could accomplish or their hardiness for frontier rigors? Did it modify their desired requirements in a spouse? Did their confidence as men and leaders make them more attractive as potential spouses for women? The men must have been acceptable since very few continued as bachelors. The junior leaders' marriage rates after the war and their prodigious broods contradict the findings on Resch's cohort in Peterborough, New Hampshire.¹⁰⁰ Junior leaders had plenty of children once they married.¹⁰¹ My own experience as a retired military officer who served in

African Americans in the Revolutionary War, (New York: Citadel Press, 2000), 63, 76, 100.; Odle Cliff. "Brothers in Arms: African-American Soldiers in the American Revolution." The Freedom Trail Foundation. last modified 2017. accessed September 23, 2018. <https://www.thefreedomtrail.org/educational-resources/article-brothers-in-arms.shtml>.

⁹⁹ William Lamar, and William Sprigg. 1781, *Orderly book kept at headquarters of General Nathanael Greene during the Southern Campaign: April 5- September 4, 1781*. MSS L2001F7 M MB [Bound], SOC.[July 24, 1781] "return of all women for who rations are drawn in the several corps and departments of the army, are to be made and sent to the orderly office tomorrow morning"; Marshall, "Orderly book" [June 14, 1781] "An exact return of all the women with the Army to draw provision from the public is to be given and at the orderly office as may be..."

¹⁰⁰ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 212, 228-229.

¹⁰¹ These numbers are derived from the 180 individuals I have records. If no information is available, they are not included in these calculations. Revolutionary War veterans, like many early Republic men, married multiple times to younger wives who gave birth to children who outlived them by decades. Even original soldiers like Joseph Plumb Martin lived until 1850. Continental Army junior leaders in my cohort lived an average of 73 years, 97% married, and had an average

peace and war provided me with a crucial understanding of the powerful influence of family, and especially wives, on a husband's performance and career while in the Army and afterwards. Unfortunately, even though it unquestionably existed, this influence remains hard to quantify and draw conclusion based on empirical data.

Sources

My method for determining the linkage from military service as junior leaders to their resulting postwar success emerged as fairly straightforward. I considered individuals' biographical data, service records, and written words, alongside the training and education regimens instituted by the Continental Army, as well as postwar information on their careers. I consulted secondary sources, public and private archives, government records, manuals, orderly books, diaries, journals, and letters while exploiting recent digitization efforts and data base software to manage the collected data and information. I looked into the similarities between the skills needed in junior leaders' positions in the Army and those in postwar leadership occupations. I examined the resemblance between skills needed to lead men and women in encampments and those a civilian leader required. I examined the Army's bureaucracy and that of the county level. I investigated the paperwork a company grade officer and civilian official was expected to manage. I also analyzed the processes that an Army officer used to deal with problems to those a county official employed. The techniques and procedures used in courts-

of 6.4 children. Even though war affected them psychologically, it did not damage anything which prevented them marrying women who could provide multiple children.

martial were compared to the proceedings of county quarter courts and pleas sessions. I compared content and forms in military records, orderly books, and manuals with county, business, and religious ledgers and documents.

Secondary literature formed the first step of identifying individual members of the cohort. In the late nineteenth century, amateur historians published numerous county or regional histories which often mentioned Revolutionary War soldiers and memories of their military service and presence in the county. Typically, these histories did not distinguish between militia and Continental Army officers. Thankfully, Francis B. Heitman, a former Union Soldier, and career civilian in the Adjutant General of the War Department, compiled an authoritative list of Continental Army officers that served as the foundation for identifying the cohort's members.¹⁰² Heitman's work does not include non-commissioned officers who were also junior leaders. Starting in the early twentieth century, several Daughters of the American Revolution and Sons of the American Revolution state chapters published lists of Revolutionary War veterans buried in their states by county.¹⁰³ Often, local chapters annotated these compilations with

¹⁰² Heitman, *Register* Robert H. Kelby updated Heitman's work in 1932. Heitman's does not normally include an individual's enlisted or non-commissioned officers service in his annotation.

¹⁰³ Frank D. Henderson, *The Official Roster of the Soldiers of the American Revolution Buried in the State of Ohio*, eds. John R. Rea, and Jane Dowd Dailey (Columbus, OH: F.J. Heer Printing Company and Ohio Sons of the American Revolution, 1929).; Michael B Gunn, and Blum, Michael. "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio." Sons of the American Revolution and Ohio Society Graves Committee, last modified May, 2018. accessed April 9, 2019. https://ohssar.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Revolutionary-War-Patriots-Buried-in-Ohio-2018_04_12.pdf. ; Luella Bancroft Fant, "Revolutionary Records: Records of soldiers buried in Licking County, Ohio," *The American Monthly Magazine* vol. XXXV, Daughters of the American Revolution, (1909) ; Grundset, *Forgotten Patriots*; Houts, and Eastman, *Revolutionary soldiers buried in Missouri*; Brakebill, *American Revolutionary soldiers buried in Texas*; Estelle A. O'Bryne, *Roster of the Soldiers and Patriots of the American Revolution Buried in Indiana*, vol. 3, (Brookville, IN: Indiana Daughters of the American Revolution, 1980).; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Daughters of the American Revolution, Mississippi Society. "MS

known biographical information such as rank, family data, and local offices held in the county or state. Later groups updated these lists as more information became available. During the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, several websites containing a plethora of data appeared for many counties and historical organizations. These local histories, lists, and websites formed the starting point for compiling a list of potential cohort members.

The growing popularity of genealogy in the twenty-first century brought forth even more family lore that could either be confirmed or challenged by the genealogical community on numerous internet sites. Individuals posted obituaries and unpublished or privately published family histories that provided clues for further investigation. Often, genealogists highlighted the local leadership positions held by Revolutionary War veterans which assisted in identifying the cohort's postwar occupations. If the family lore had mentioned an ancestor was a justice of the peace, I sought and found corroborating information. Whether an ancestor really was a personal acquaintance of George Washington or Lafayette did not matter for inclusion in the study.¹⁰⁴ I found almost all these genealogies and histories remarkably accurate for the information I needed.

The surge in digitization efforts over the past five years made this study

Revolutionary War Graves." last modified July 18, 2016. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://www.mississippidar.org/mss-dar-information/ms-revolutionary-war-graves/>.

¹⁰⁴ Lewis Collins, and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, vol. II, (Covington, KY: Collins & Co., 1882), 121-22. "This extraordinary zeal did not escape the observation of Washington and hence the toast he gave at his own table, whilst surrounded by a large party of officers— 'The Butlers, and their five sons.' Gen. Lafayette, too, was an admiring observer of this house of soldiers, and in a letter now extant, paid them this handsome tribute, 'When I wanted a thing done well done, I ordered a Butler to do it'; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 825.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 266. "was personally acquainted with Washington and Lafayette"

possible.¹⁰⁵ Primary sources available through the internet formed the second step in identifying individuals. Public sites such as Southern Campaign Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters at revwar.org, and fee-based services such as Ancestry.com and Fold3 have either transcribed or digitized copies of National Archive records which enabled records to be rapidly searched. EBSCO has done something similar with New York Revolutionary War era orderly books. These handwritten orderly books can be searched through OCR software along with the capability to highlight and annotate on pdfs. Rapid searches do not necessarily yield easy answers. As genealogists and historians understand, late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century individuals spelled names and words in an inconsistent manner. Individuals even spelled their own names differently during their lives. The Daughters of the American Revolution lists often included information extracted from county histories, which proved difficult to locate or cost prohibitive to access. Fortunately, Archive.org has digitized many county histories, allowing them to be viewed and searched. While the twentieth century saw many county records microfilmed, transcribed, and indexed by archivists, historians, and genealogists, only recently have other county archives and historical societies digitized their early nineteenth-century public meeting records and made them available for viewing and downloading.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ For this paper, digitization refers to either transcribing script to text or posting images of the original documents or books online.

¹⁰⁶ Greene County, Ohio. "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824." Greene County Archives, Vol. 3, (Xenia, OH: Greene County Archives, last modified n.d. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/127695569@N06/albums>. ; Greene County, Ohio. "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824." Greene County Archives, Vol. 4, (Xenia, Ohio: Greene County Archives, last modified n.d. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/127695569@N06/albums>. Greene County, Ohio has posted scanned images of their available county orderly books on their website. This technique provides even easier access than microfilm as it retains the color and

A substantial challenge with tracking Continental Army veterans was their continual movement across changing county, territory, and state boundaries. Veterans typically moved numerous times during their lives, and their tendency to relocate continued even after they moved west. The amount of work required by genealogists to track a specific individual's movement during his life exceeded the scope of my study. I relied on the efforts of previous genealogists and historians as recorded in the online sites. Even if men did not move, county boundaries often changed. Just because a veteran had been buried in one county did not mean that was the county government he lived under. During the early nineteenth-century, larger counties in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio divided as their populations grew. From the available documents, it appears that authorities transferred few records from the larger older county to the newly formed smaller counties. County records began anew. I limited my cohort to members who were buried in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Some Continental Army veterans lived in these states and then returned east for business or personal reasons. Others moved in their old age from the east to live with children. I only included the individual who was actually buried in the state. I did not attempt to further research the few individuals who might have held positions after the war in former locations back east.

For some cohort members, I have no information about their postwar lives other than service and date of death. The only record that exists for them in the burial county is a gravestone. The Daughters of the American Revolution and

clarity of the original.

Sons of the American Revolution do not claim to have information on all veterans. Many of their holdings contain only information on individuals whose offspring used the veterans to claim membership. Therefore, if the soldier had died childless or his line died out, the organizations may not have any additional information. Without offspring, few of these individuals will have had anyone who conducted the time-consuming work of sifting through the records to document their service or lives for family trees.

Next, I investigated the origins of the "textbook" for the Continental Army's leadership development program and its lecture curriculum. I reviewed over two dozen of the most widely recommended and read military treatises by Continental Army officers. I researched the most probable inspirational sources for Baron von Steuben's *Regulations* and highlighted the Blue Book's variances from its older European counterparts. I read over forty Continental Army orderly books dated after 1777 from all theaters for evidence of what senior leaders taught their junior officers and what the junior leaders passed down to the privates. Examples of education and explanation regarding leadership and management noted in the orderly books received an image capture and tag that allowed quick compilation and research to note details, context, location, and quantity.

The public and private archives familiar to historians provided further insight into the individuals. Fortunately for this study's purpose, cohort members kept the type of records necessary to support my argument. Individuals retained business accounts, tax records, legal documents, and correspondence where family

members discussed public and private leadership roles. Several men also retained records from their Revolutionary War career in addition to public service documentation. When individual cohort members did not retain records of their postwar local leadership service, other contemporary individuals did, enabling a comparison to wartime acquired managerial and leadership skills. While these documents often do not form the collection's bulk since most archives originally highlighted the wartime service, they provide crucial insight.

Continental Army junior leaders were also an especially close-knit society. Many continued contact for business matters long after the war ended. Some moved out west to manage businesses and then returned home in old age to be cared for by their relatives or to inherit their parents' property. This type of individual does not appear in state burial records nor in pension applications. Record of them having been out west and engaged in management positions only comes to light when examining contemporary correspondence and crosschecking recipients against lists of Revolutionary War officers, such as Heitman's. Fortunately, most personal correspondence continued use of military titles after veterans left the Army.

Captain Samuel Benjamin was one of the few individuals who seemed to have maintained numerous records from his time as a junior officer, and his records provide illuminating details on what he learned and how he applied these skills to successful businesses in Maine after the war.¹⁰⁷ Very few military

¹⁰⁷ Samuel Benjamin. "Papers, 1775-1845." Samuel Benjamin Papers, (MS 75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR.

records of junior leaders who moved west appeared to have survived and made their way into accessible collections. This is perfectly understandable when one considers that the individual would have had to make the conscious decision to provide scarce space for them when he moved. Then, his offspring would have had to maintain the documents when they moved farther west into Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, or Michigan.¹⁰⁸ As a consequence, most records detailing the day-to-day life of officers' activities during the war belonged to officers who did not move west and remained in the mid-Atlantic and New England area.¹⁰⁹

Although collections of cohort correspondence may be sparse on paperwork from their military service, cohort members regularly appear in business dealings, legal papers, government documents, private letters, and newspapers. Signature blocks on legal and government documents reveal positions held at the local and state level. Business and legal paperwork demonstrate similar formats and styles with orderly book record keeping and existing government correspondence. Which came first, the military or civilian style, remains unimportant for the study. The preeminent fact was that the orderly book style of record keeping was familiar to the veterans.

When evaluating letters, historians must understand that soldiers attained an expertise in complaining matched by few civilians. Serving in horrendous

¹⁰⁸ Christopher Clark, "The Ohio Country and the Political Economy of Nation Building," in *The Center of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic*, ed. Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, and Stuart Dale Hobbs (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 152.

¹⁰⁹ William Heth, "Orderly book of Major William Heth of the Third Virginia Regiment, May 15—July 1, 1777," *Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society* vol. 11, no. 3 (1891), 320. "Captain Slaughter A diary of his campaigns, which was unfortunately lost during the late war. Subsequent to the revolution he held various civil offices, among which was that of high Sheriff of Culpepper County." Even many southern officers' papers and records, like county court records, did not survive the US Civil War campaigns in Tennessee and Kentucky.

conditions and observing the worst instincts in humankind while enduring long periods of inactivity provided ample opportunity for soldiers to develop and air their grievances. As a profession, historians rely on letters and documents for evidence. Some of the earliest histories contain accounts of soldiers complaining.¹¹⁰ When dealing with soldiers, one must keep in mind that soldiers in all times and places apparently love to complain, and their words need to be compared with their actions. This is not to suggest discarding their words, but to put them in context and analyze the good with the bad. Another famous scribe used by historians, Benjamin Gilbert, proved this point. In one letter Gilbert vented to his father and lambasted his situation and complained about his duties, and in a later letter he extols his soldiers' actions.¹¹¹ Historians must take soldiers' complaints with a grain of salt.

Finally, I inspected cohort members' letters and memoirs for examples of improvement in leading people and managing resources. Benjamin Gilbert's letters to friends and family along with his diary demonstrated his growing maturity as he went from enlisted to officer rank.¹¹² With limited time and space

¹¹⁰ Archibald Bower, and George Psalmanazar John Campbell, George Sale, George Shelvocke, John Swinton, *An Universal History, from the Earliest Account of Time to the Present; Compiled from Original Authors and Illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes, Chronological and Other Tables*, vol. 4, (London, England: Printed for E. Symon, 1739), 128. "his soldiers complaining aloud of want of money provisions, and better winter quarters; Herod was forced to send out for fresh supplies for them, which came afterwards in such plenty, that there was not the least presence left for a revolt."

¹¹¹ Benjamin Gilbert, *Winding Down: The Revolutionary War Letters of Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert of Massachusetts, 1780-1783*, ed. John Shy (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1989), 25, 46.

¹¹² Gilbert, *Winding Down*; Benjamin Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Benjamin Gilbert in Massachusetts and New York*, New York State Historical Association Monographic Studies, ed. Rebecca D. Symmes (Cooperstown, NY: The New York State Historical Association, 1980).

to record notes on paper, soldiers saved only the most important thoughts. The thoughts that occupied their days and minds flowed from their pens to paper. While some historians may interpret the drudgeries of camp life as routine, an individual whose survival depended on execution of simple tasks had a different understanding. The change over time from preoccupations with weather and guard duty to attention to mission accomplishment demonstrated growth as the soldier assumed new responsibilities.¹¹³ By understanding the context of these entries at different times in their careers, one sees the development of junior leaders and their understanding of their personal growth. The transference of military knowledge to civilian application was not difficult and might have been subconscious.

Several junior leaders who wrote memoirs knew they had grown as leaders and recorded these changes in their works. Joseph Plumb Martin, Jeremiah Greenman, Ebenezer Denny, and Francis J. Brooke all wrote narratives that reflected their personal development and Baron von Steuben's influence.¹¹⁴ Change over time emerged from the narratives. As mentioned earlier, Joseph Plumb Martin even wrote about his experiences by recounting anecdotes that confirmed good and bad leadership as described by Steuben. Family members or editors added additional information on postwar civilian lives which aids historians in tracking their post-Revolutionary activities. As can be expected, most junior leaders neither wrote memoirs nor passed on letters and diaries to

¹¹³ Greenman, *Diary*, 15, 22, 25-30.

¹¹⁴ Martin, *A Narrative*; Greenman, *Diary*; Brooke, *A Family Narrative*; Denny, *Denny Journal*

family members.

I have made the judgment that not much difference existed between the different communities' official duties and concerns in the same state. This is important to note because although records might not exist for the county where a cohort member served as sheriff, they might exist for the next county over. I presumed that the duties would have been similar. Records often consisted of only a single journal subject to loss through fire, theft, misplacement, and other natural occurrences. Interestingly, I learned that when I did discover records from the locale of known Continental Army junior leaders, they more often than not appeared in the records. Even local histories compiled in the early twentieth century do not record all the veterans' service and leadership positions. Many local histories appeared to rely on family member and community recollections for knowledge of Revolutionary War veterans' lives.¹¹⁵ Unless a veteran filed for a pension, his Revolutionary War service was seldom recorded in county records. If someone did not know an individual was a veteran, local historians had a difficult task in identifying them in the records in positions of authority. The sources used are seldom catalogued or indexed using the same key words which

¹¹⁵ *History of Noble County, Ohio*, (Chicago, IL: L.H. Watkins, 1887), 3. "the publishers desire publicly to express their thanks for contributions and favors from...and old residents generally, who have given information of importance and value, are also assured that their courtesies have been appreciated. The chapters relating to the pioneer histories of the various townships and villages of the county have been gleaned largely from personal interviews with the oldest residents and best informed citizens in all parts of the county."; Charles Robertson, *History of Morgan County, Ohio*, (Chicago, IL: L.H. Watkins & Co, 1886), 3-4. "The chapters relating to the pioneer histories of the various townships and villages of the county have been gleaned partly from the contributions of the late Judge J.M. Gaylord,... and largely from personal interviews with the oldest residents and best informed citizens in all parts of the county."; Ben Douglas, *History of Wayne county, Ohio, from the days of the pioneers and the first settlers to the present time*, (Indianapolis, IN: Robert Douglas, 1878), 11. "we have presented the most authoritative recollections of our oldest and most intelligent men who have lived in the county."

could have presented a problem given the data and information collected.

To assist my search, I created a FileMaker database to categorize junior leaders I identified through various sources. The database began with junior leaders identified from Heitman and SAR/DAR burial lists and state historical records. Most Revolutionary War veteran lists compiled at the state level do not consistently identify whether an individual served in the state militia or Continental Army during the war or whether the rank was earned later in life through militia service. Heitman did not record where they lived after the war. While several Continental Army junior leaders from Virginia and other southern states had moved into Kentucky and Tennessee, most officers migrated to Ohio. The FileMaker data base contains information on wartime service and postwar occupations linked to additional sources and biographical data to eliminate confusion over similar names. The database allows me to quickly search and compile reports based on comparable items. Based on these lists, I sometimes discovered individuals in collections who served in the war who had not been identified in the finding aids as Continental Army junior leaders.

Using the method detailed above, my initial query identified 588 junior leaders who moved west of the Appalachian Mountains. I eliminated 408 by restricting the study's geographical boundaries to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, and those soldiers who served in Continental Army service between 1778-1783. I also removed some soldiers whose ranks in burial records or state lists denoted later state militia service, or they were not junior leaders during the war. Two screening criteria, dates of Continental Army service (1778-1783) and postwar

habitation, allowed me to concentrate on the Continental Army leadership development program's effect on junior leader postwar positions. This left 180 former Continental Army junior leaders for the cohort. Further work identified 106 of the 180 who attained postwar positions of authority. The cohort attained their greatest influence during a period of about forty years (1790-1830). As was expected, despite such manifest achievements, evidence of postwar leadership rarely, if ever, emerged from pension applications.

Revolutionary War Pensions

Employing Revolutionary War pensions as sources require understanding their context before drawing conclusions. Grasping the pensions' limitations and timing remains crucial to understanding their value as a source in evaluating Continental Army service on veterans' postwar occupations and success in life. Using pensions as a sample of Revolutionary War junior leaders' experiences leads to several difficulties. A well-known sampling metaphor is that you do not have to sample the whole soup to know what it tastes like. You need only a few spoonfuls—provided the soup is consistent. Relying on Continental Army junior leaders' pensions for a representative sample is like tasting an unwanted cup of soup that has been left out for several days, spoiled, and then drawing generalized conclusions about the flavor of the entire pot. Approved pension applications did not reflect the overwhelming majority of the cohort's situation. For more information on pensions, see Appendix C.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*; Claire Prechtel-Klusens. "Follow the Money: Tracking Revolutionary War Army Pension Payments." *Prologue Magazine*. Vol. 40, No 4, Winter 2008, last modified December 6, 2017.

Manuals and Civilian Occupations

Comparing military experience with the knowledge needed for civilian positions of authority was straightforward as well. The Army's Blue Book and orderly books contain numerous examples of guidance for junior leaders. The Blue Book with its "Instructions" for the ranks provided direction for individuals to accomplish their duties. The orderly books contained even more detailed instructions and explanations to deal with specific circumstances. When these instructions are combined with day-to-day experiences in encampments and then compared with the running of local government and business operations, one can see how former military leaders had a good foundation for postwar careers.

Risk Assessment

A historian should not ignore the risk in his process, sources, and methodology. He has a responsibility to ensure the reader understands the potential pitfalls in his argument and how the author compensated for them. The evidence often demonstrated the effect of military service on veterans' postwar lives and leadership positions, but one could argue in some cases that their social status and prewar familial connections were a significant factor in obtaining their leadership positions. These men do appear to have served in leadership positions in a greater proportion than the privates who moved into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. This study cannot conclusively prove why the

<https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2008/winter/follow-money.html>. For readers desiring more information of Revolutionary War pensions, Resch's work explains the political and administrative challenges in awarding pensions for service. Pretch-Klusgens demonstrates the challenges in tracing the pension payments and gathering information on specific individuals.

Continental Army veterans were more likely than nonveterans to serve in leadership positions in their new communities. It can only note that they did and present evidence that they received an education and the necessary training from Continental Army duty. What my research investigated was *how* their Continental Army service prepared them to serve in civilian leadership positions: public or private.

Conclusion

I employed a tiered approach that identified cohort members, detected the postwar occupations in which they served, and then compared the skills required by these civilian jobs with the education, training, and experience they received in the Continental Army. Noticing the high numbers of political and business positions of authority they had in their postwar civilian lives, especially once they moved from their hometowns, I investigated their training and education as preserved in the manuals and orderly books. This method revealed previously unrecognized benefits of military service the veterans received during the War. The time spent in the military changed them and affected the manner in which the early Republic's new states established law and order. The new states had a cadre of leaders who could rapidly employ their military experience at the local level to develop their communities. These duties did not make them rich, but it did improve their neighbors' lives and facilitate the new states' growth.

Chapter Four Manuals and Orderly Books

Joseph Plumb Martin evidently impressed someone in his chain of command.¹¹⁷ Martin was only nineteen when appointed as a sergeant in the newly formed Corps of Sappers and Miners. He would probably have been the same age or younger than most men in his unit. His age was an obstacle to establishing himself as a junior leader. Since Martin could not rely on years of on-the-job training for preparation to be a sergeant, he had to make use of observations from his own previous short enlistments and the Blue Book for lessons about how to behave as a non-commissioned officer. One of the strongest cases for Martin's knowledge of the Blue Book is in how he structured his narrative and what examples of good and bad leadership he chose. He fully expected former soldiers to understand the Blue Book standards he employed. His story about soldiers disrupting his bad officers' sleeping arrangements on the march is more than a hilarious tale of army life.¹¹⁸ It shows how soldiers reacted to some officers' selfish decisions not in keeping with Steuben's guidance. While some historians concentrate on Martin's critiques of poor officers' leadership, he often mentions good leaders as well.¹¹⁹ The Blue Book provided standards by which he could judge.

Steuben's Blue Book did not come from nowhere. Unlike most Continental officers, Steuben had advanced formal schooling as a Prussian military officer. He used his education when refining the Continental Army's leadership

¹¹⁷ Martin, *A Narrative*, 140.

¹¹⁸ Martin, *A Narrative*, 107.

¹¹⁹ Martin, *A Narrative*, 92, 107.

development program. Existing Prussian regulations inspired the Blue Book, but it departed from previous Prussian, British, and French manuals in significant ways by including *how* to be a leader instead of just providing technical instruction on tactics or listing a leader's desired attributes. While most European—especially British—treatises of war came from individual authors, numerous individuals and organizations produced the Blue Book. These differences are crucial to understanding how the Blue Book could function as a leadership manual while enhancing the Continental Army's battlefield prowess and meeting Washington's needs.

George Washington's own leadership development program lasted over twenty years. Washington's military experiences during the French and Indian War and his business management of Mount Vernon provided him with plenty of good and bad experiences from which to learn as a leader. Most casual history buffs know about Washington's disastrous experience commanding a small regiment during the French and Indian War's opening engagement at Fort Necessity, and his bravery during Braddock's defeat in 1755.¹²⁰ Upon appointment in 1775 as the Commander of forces surrounding Boston, he had little experience in or training for commanding a unit larger than a regiment in the Virginia militia. He had seen enough action during the French and Indian War to know his shortcomings.¹²¹ He had obtained some high-level management

¹²⁰ David L. Preston, *Braddock's Defeat: The Battle of the Monongahela and the Road to Revolution*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015), 28.; Chernow, *Washington: A Life*, 49.; James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington: The Forge of Experience, 1732-1775*, (Boston, MA: Easton Press; Little, Brown, 1965), 106.

¹²¹ George Washington. "Address to the Continental Congress, 16 June 1775." Founders Online. NARA, last modified 2018. accessed April 1, 2019.

experience during the conflict, but commanding an army was very different.¹²²

Like Washington, few, if any, junior leaders had previous military experience to draw upon for their new jobs. Washington had considered himself a teacher during his wartime service and continued the habit when he assumed command outside Boston.¹²³ Both Washington and his junior leaders had to learn as they went.

Washington chose Steuben's system of drill and leader instructions as the anchor for his leadership development program. Congress ratified Washington's choice when it approved the new regulation and paid for its printing and dissemination to all Continental Army units in 1779.¹²⁴ While historians have recognized the manual's importance to the army's ability to execute eighteenth-century military marching formations and musket loading and firing sequences, they have often overlooked its effect on developing leaders. As previously noted, some historians have questioned the Blue Book's usefulness, whether anyone even read it.

Washington considered the manual important, and the *Regulation's*

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0001>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985, pp. 1–3.]

¹²² Don Higginbotham, *George Washington and the American Military Tradition*, (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 29.

¹²³ Higginbotham, *Washington and the American Military Tradition*, 71. "... Gen. Washington considered himself a teacher, not only in his general orders directed principally at the rank-and-file (whom he had rarely tried to reach directly during his first military career) but also in specific instructions to his officers."

¹²⁴ US Congress. "That the duty of the inspector general, February 18, 1779." Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*. Vol. XIII, January 1-April 22, 1779, last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019., 196-99. https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:1./temp/~ammem_44Lh: ; Philander Dean Chase, "Baron Von Steuben in the War of Independence" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1973), , 119. Proquest Dissertations & Thesis Global.; Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 196.

implementation and reinforcement can clearly be traced through unit orderly books. Orderly books served as records of directives issued to subordinate units in the field. On a daily basis, leaders gathered subalterns and issued instructions which these leaders recorded in their unit orderly books, and in turn, read aloud to their soldiers in daily formations. American units adapted the orderly books to serve their particular needs. Through orderly books, senior leaders often provided commentary on the "Instructions for" sections found in the Blue Book and reiterated junior officer's responsibility to incorporate the manual's lessons into their behavior. When the Continental Army entered Valley Forge, units and soldiers were not wholly untrained.

By March 18, 1778, the Continental Army had won notable victories and endured disheartening failures as it matured from a collection of state militias into a standing army. The Army also had veteran soldiers who could fight when well-led and given executable plans. Before the Blue Book, the Continental Army suffered, however, from a lack of standardization that impeded its ability to consistently train junior leaders and soldiers. The Continental Army did not lack for regulations; each regiment followed its commander's own choice of manuals. Before Steuben's *Regulation's* publication in 1779, the Continental Army did not have a written standard for drilling and maneuver. Such practices were not an aberration for western European armies. The British Army's only two official documents concerning military matters in 1778 were the Articles of War and the list of officers' promotion dates.¹²⁵ As far as how the British army educated its

¹²⁵ Ira D. Gruber, *Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution*, (Chapel

junior leaders, regimental officers had the responsibility “to explain the meaning of a commission and the Articles of War—to teach an officer his duty.”¹²⁶

Numerous privately published treaties and pamphlets familiarized officers with the technical aspects of their profession. This list included Prussian and French works translated into English. Aspiring leaders could choose from a multitude of writings on military subjects.

As tensions with Great Britain increased, aspiring Continental Army officers avidly read these many pamphlets and books. At the beginning of the war, Washington advised other officers to read Humphrey Bland’s manual *Treatise of Military Discipline* which had undergone multiple reprints since 1727.¹²⁷ Most of these military publications focused on highly technical subjects such as the proper number of steps for loading and firing muskets and maneuvering forces through different formations required for marching and combat. Practical lessons

Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 24.

¹²⁶ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 27.

¹²⁷ Humphrey Bland, *A treatise of military discipline in which is laid down and explained the duty of the officer and soldier, Thro’ the several Branches of the Service. By Humphrey Bland, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel of His Majesty’s Own Regiment of Horse.*, (London, UK: printed for Sam. Buckley; and sold by James and John Knapton Rob. Knaplock Dan. Midwinter William and John Innys and Ranew Robinson in St. Paul’s Church-Yard; and John Osborn and Thomas Longman in Pater-Noster-Row, 1727a); Humphrey Bland, *A treatise of military discipline: in which is laid down and explained the duty of the officer and soldier, thro’ the several branches of the service*, (London, UK: S. Buckley, 1734a); Humphrey Bland, *A treatise of military discipline; in which is laid down and explained the duty of the officer and soldier, thro’ the several branches of the service.*, (London, UK: Printed for D. Midwinter, J. and P. Knapton, 1743).; Humphrey Bland, *Treatise of military discipline: in which is laid down and explained the duty of the officer and soldier, through the several branches of the service*, (London, UK: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1759).; George Washington. “From George Washington to Colonel William Woodford, 10 November 1775.” Founders Online. NARA, last modified 2019. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-02-02-0320>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 2, 16 September 1775–31 December 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987, pp. 346–347.] ; J.L. Bell. “Washington’s Five Books.” *Journal of the American Revolution*. Vol. Arts & Literature, last modified 2013. accessed April 1, 2019. https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/12/washingtons-five-books/#_edn1.

on leadership seldom—if ever—found a place in English or French military works. American officers learned through carrying out their duties and making mistakes.

By 1778, the Continental Army did not lack experience in fighting. It had confronted one of the finest armies in the western world with decidedly mixed results. The problem did not lie with the individual troop's fighting ability. The troops fought well when properly led, equipped, and placed at the right time and place on the battlefield. Washington occasionally developed good plans, but rarely had the units capable of executing his vision. More often than not the lack of seasoned junior leaders combined with battlefield friction foiled Washington's intent.¹²⁸

Washington's Challenges

Washington understood the need for trained junior leaders to maintain discipline. As he saw during Braddock's defeat in 1755, even the vaunted British redcoat would run when deprived of leadership. In the course of the battle, Washington had made his reputation during a critical phase when the Virginia troops maintained their discipline while British troops fled.¹²⁹ Even British officers recognized the colonial troops' courage under fire during the rout. Washington wielded this reputation to gain appointment as the Commander in Chief and

¹²⁸ Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, eds. Michael Howard, and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 119. "Everything in war is very simple, but the simplest thing is difficult. The difficulties accumulate and end by producing a kind of friction that is inconceivable unless one has experienced war."

¹²⁹ Preston, *Braddock's defeat*, 258-59.; Paul E. Kopperman, *Braddock at the Monongahela*, (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), 69.

never forgot his French and Indian War battlefield experience during his time in command.¹³⁰ Washington recognized the difficulties he inherited in 1775, including the lack of trained leaders.

Washington and the Continental Army's challenges revolved around creating military leaders without the talent pool and training methods the British possessed. The states did not have professional soldiers from which to select their noncommissioned officers. The colonists' experiences in sustained service had been limited to the individual colonies' provincial armies raised during the French and Indian War. The provincial armies had relied on a series of one-year contracts that had to be not just renewed but renegotiated every year.¹³¹

Although the French and Indian War officially lasted nine years, few colonial leaders served during the entire period or even for multiple years. Land combat in North America for all intents and purposes had lasted only from 1755 to 1760.¹³² Those colonists with experience may have served only during one campaign. While such exposure to combat seasoned some leaders, it did not prepare them for sustained operations and maintaining an army. Fifteen years later when hostilities erupted, some gifted and self-trained leaders such as Nathanael Greene, Benedict Arnold, and Henry Knox came forth from the state militias. These men, however, remained the exception rather than the rule. While the men were not necessarily gifted, natural leaders, through a series of

¹³⁰ James Thomas Flexner, *George Washington in the American Revolution (1775-1783)*, (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, & Company, 1968), 12-16.; Chernow, *Washington: A Life*, 185-86.

¹³¹ Anderson, *A People's Army*, 27.

¹³² Fred W. Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766*, (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), 408.

resignations, retirements, and battlefield promotions, Washington had competent leaders in most senior officer positions by 1778.

Even after the Continental Army had developed a cadre of experienced officers, the process of developing junior leaders never abated because of combat losses, sickness, incompetence, poor judgment, resignations, reorganizations, and bad luck. The reduction in units began after Valley Forge when the *rage militaire* had long run its course, and states encountered growing resistance from their residents to enlisting in the Continental Army for three-or-more years.¹³³ Even though reorganization of the Continental Army in 1778-1779 meant several officers became supernumerary and theoretically available for reassignment, this rarely occurred. Procedures and tradition which granted seniority and protections to officers based on their commissioning date meant that experienced officers often remained without positions when states failed to fill recruitment quotas, or when units consolidated. Officers almost never moved from their state's regiments to those of another state. As the few truly national regiments, the artillery and sapper units became the destination for a few cohort members. Even fewer officers accepted reductions in rank to continue service in the Army.¹³⁴ As a result, the Army needed to continue junior leadership training until the war's end.

To keep an army in the field for an extended period, the Continental Army

¹³³ Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War*, 25, 67.

¹³⁴ Virginia commissioned Joseph Crockett as a captain in 1776 and he was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1778. After the reorganization, he was reduced to captain in October 1780. Crockett transferred to George Rogers Clark's Illinois regiment where he was commissioned as a lieutenant colonel and served until February 1781.

needed more than enthusiasm and patriotism. The Army needed competent leaders off the battlefield as well as under fire. This is not to undervalue the importance of battlefield competence. The Army's main objective remained securing United States independence. The primary way the United States could demonstrate its independence was maintaining a formidable army in the field. Doing so required more than tactical acumen. Logistical breakdowns hindered several campaigns during the French and Indian War, and some campaigns failed because the colonies and the British Army could not supply provincial forces at a great distance for even a few months.¹³⁵ The Continental Army had to be sustained in the field year-round, a task that should not be underestimated, and it depended on junior leaders to accomplish this mission. Junior leaders required leadership and management skills at least as much as battlefield prowess if the Continental Army were to remain a viable force. Washington and Steuben's program grew from this essential need to develop these skills in their junior leaders.

Almost from the time Washington arrived outside Boston in July 1775, he set about instructing junior leaders in their proper role, with emphasis on instilling discipline in the ranks. Washington found the encampment in disarray and lacking in organization necessary for long-term success.¹³⁶ Problems with food

¹³⁵ Anderson, *Crucible of War*, 325.; James A. Huston, *Logistics of Liberty: American services of supply in the Revolutionary War and after*, (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1991), 26-41.

¹³⁶ Washington, "Letter to Samuel Washington, July 20, 1775" "I came to this place the 2d Instant & found a numerous army of Provincials under very little command, discipline, or order"; George Washington. "Letter to John Augustine Washington, March 31, 1776." Founders Online. NARA, last modified 2018. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-03-02-0429>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 3, 1 January 1776–31 March

preparation, waste disposal, fraternization, drunkenness, supply accountability, and security jeopardized the Army's continued existence. Washington realized the camp problems would affect the soldiers' health and combat effectiveness. He also worried about his reputation. Washington saw the troops' performance and appearance as a reflection of his ability. As a leader, they embarrassed him. Protecting one's reputation remained a powerful motivator for eighteenth-century leaders. Washington immediately started issuing orders to correct the situation.

The General most earnestly requires, and expects, a due observance of those articles of war, established for the Government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing & drunkenness; And in like manner requires & expects, of all Officers, and Soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine service, to implore the blessings of heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence.

All Officers are required and expected to pay diligent Attention, to keep their Men neat and clean—to visit them often at their quarters, and inculcate upon them the necessity of cleanliness, as essential to their health and service. They are particularly to see, that they have Straw to lay on, if to be had, and to make it known if they are destitute of this article. They are also to take care that Necessaries be provided in the Camps and frequently filled up to prevent their being offensive and unhealthy. Proper Notice will be taken of such Officers and Men, as distinguish themselves by their attention to these necessary duties.¹³⁷

1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988, pp. 566–571] “The Want of Arms, Powder &ca, is not peculiar to Virginia—this Country of which doubtless, you have heard such large and flattering Accounts, is more difficient of each than you can conceive, I have been here Months together with what will scarce be believed—not 30 rounds of Musket Cartridges a Man...I believe I may, with great truth affirm, that no Man perhaps since the first Institution of Army's ever commanded one under more difficult Circumstances than I have done—to enumerate the particulars would fill a volume—many of my difficulties and distresses were of so peculiar a cast that in order to conceal them from the Enemy, I was obliged to conceal them from my friends, indeed from my own Army thereby subjecting my Conduct to interpretations unfavourable to my Character—especially by those at a distance, who could not, in the smallest degree, be acquainted with the Springs that govern'd it—I am happy however to find, and to hear from different Quarters, that my reputation stands fair—that my Conduct hitherto has given universal Satisfaction—the Addresses which I have received, and which I suppose will be published”

¹³⁷ George Washington. “General Orders, July 4, 1775.” Founders Online. NARA, last modified 2019. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0027>. [Original Source: Original source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville:

Unfortunately, the orders had little immediate effect on the men or their junior leaders. The junior leaders' and their men's expectations of leadership did not match Washington's beliefs. Discipline did not come easily to the Army around Boston in 1775 and 1776.¹³⁸ Washington and his generals wrestled with this problem for the remainder of the war for the simple reason that people in positions under them constantly changed. It was not a problem they could solve with any finality. The Continental Army needed a process to continually train leaders to recognized standards.

Unlike the British Army, the Continental Army could obviously not afford ten years to train and promote noncommissioned officers. Washington and other senior leaders realized this lack of discipline constituted the Continental Army's great weakness. Washington viewed discipline as orderly conduct resulting from training. Discipline was attained through education and punishment.¹³⁹ As Washington wrote, "It is required and expected that exact discipline be observed, and due Subordination prevail thro' the whole Army, as a Failure in these most essential points must necessarily produce extreme Hazard, Disorder, and

University Press of Virginia, 1985, pp. 54–58.]]

¹³⁸ George Washington. "General Orders, January 1, 1776." Founders Online. (Washington, D.C.: NARA, last modified 2019. accessed April 1, 2019.

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-03-02-0001>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 3, 1 January 1776–31 March 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988, pp. 1–5.] "His Excellency hopes that the Importance of the great Cause we are engaged in, will be deeply impressed upon every Man's mind, and wishes it to be considered, that an Army without Order, Regularity & Discipline, is no better than a Commission'd Mob."

¹³⁹ Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language. Abstracted from the folio ed., by the author. To which is prefixed, an English grammar. To this ed. are added, a history of the English language [&c.]*, (London: 1755), 99. "1. To educate; to instruct; to bring up; 2. to regulate; to keep in order 3. to punish; to correct; to chastise 4. To reform; to redress"

Confusion; and end in shameful disappointment and disgrace.”¹⁴⁰ Without soldier training and discipline, very little else was possible in combat. The British system relied almost exclusively on noncommissioned officers to train privates. A British professional noncommissioned officer corps made this course of action possible. British officers very seldom got involved with training privates or assuring their health and welfare. Some American officers tried to maintain the same distance from their men, but Baron von Steuben made it abundantly clear during the spring of 1778 at Valley Forge that the Army could no longer tolerate this attitude. Commissioned officers needed to be involved in training and leading their men and learning drills and maneuvers instead of abdicating the responsibility to noncommissioned officers; General Washington fully supported Steuben’s method.¹⁴¹

Steuben at Valley Forge

Steuben's organization and prose were simple and straightforward, one

¹⁴⁰ George Washington. “From George Washington to John Augustine Washington, 27 July 1775.” Founders Online. last modified 2018. accessed NARA. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0115>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985, pp. 183–185.] ; Washington, “General Orders, July 4, 1775”

¹⁴¹ John Davis. 1778, *Captain Davis Company, 9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book: General, Division, Brigade, and Regimental orders, January 5-July 9, 1778, Valley Forge, Hopewell, Kingston, Freehold and elsewhere*. MSS L1971.51 [Bound], SOC. [March 22, 1778] “As a system of easy maneuvers & exercises to be introduced with the view of establishing uniformity in their [?ointe] throughout the army, the commanding officers of Brigades & Regiments are desired to discontinue exercising & maneuvering their men by way of instruction untill new Regulations is distributed. Such Evolutions & Exercises as are indispensably necessary in the ordinary camp duty may in the meantime may be performed”; Samuel Frost. 1779, *Col. Thomas Nixon’s Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, July 10—October 15, 1779, New York & New Jersey*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 1, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 51. “The Gen[era]l desires the Commissioned[e]d officers would be more particular in the Instruction of the Recruits agreeable to the 5th Chapter of the Regulations, and not leave it with the non-commissioned officers to do that Duty”

reason why historians have sometimes overlooked the Blue Book's revolutionary nature. The difference represented by the Blue Book become apparent when compared with other eighteenth-century military works. An aspiring officer could choose from manuals written by English, French, and German authors. When compared, the Continental European authors' assumptions about their audience become evident. To understand the importance of these authors' assumptions on the Continental Army leader training, one must examine the most prevalent works and how Steuben's work combined their lessons with his training as a Prussian officer to produce a manual tailored to the Continental Army's needs.

The significant changes in the Army's discipline and ability enacted by Baron von Steuben figures prominently in many historians' works. Authors concentrated on the increased effectiveness in the soldiers' tactical ability to handle their firearms and march as part of a formation. They overlooked the arguably more important leader development program that Steuben successfully implemented in mere months to build NCOs and junior officers. The British process, in contrast, took years to produce NCOs.

Washington understood an army required the leadership of NCOs and junior officers to instill discipline in the line soldiers. Discipline remained an ongoing concern for Washington throughout the war. He desired a conventional force that could compete with a European-style army and win a decisive engagement on the battlefield. Washington needed a "respectable army" to instill confidence in the American people and impress foreign nations such as France.¹⁴² Courage,

¹⁴² Washington, "To John Hancock, 16 December 1776" "the improper appointment of

patriotism, and motivation alone were inadequate to defeat a professional army on the battlefield. Soon after Valley Forge, the Battle of Monmouth provided scholars a potential test case to argue about Steuben's immediate effect on the Continental Army's battlefield capability.

Some historians never fail to mention the fact that Steuben came to America with an inflated resumé constructed by Benjamin Franklin in Paris, and the fact that he was not one of Frederick the Great's lieutenant generals. Nevertheless, Steuben *had* received an exemplary education from the King himself.¹⁴³

Frederick the Great selected Steuben along with twelve other officers to form his first rudimentary General Staff College. Steuben graduated just as the Seven Year's War ended, but never got the promotions he expected. Unit dissolutions and conflicts with other general officers may have prematurely ended his Prussian military career. When Steuben arrived at Valley Forge in 1778, he already possessed seventeen years of military experience.¹⁴⁴ While he had not attained general officer rank, he had far more experience and education than any other Continental Army general officer. To his credit, Steuben did not appear to lord his experience over his comrades like some other officers did. He counted on his performance speaking for itself.

Baron von Steuben invented neither his method nor his eventual manual

Officers in many instances, I have little or no expectation that she will be able to raise All the Troops exacted from her, though I think it might be done, were suitable, spirited Gentlemen commissioned who would exert themselves & encourage the people, many of whom for a failure in this instance & who are well disposed, are making their submissions. In a Word, the next will be a trying Campaign, and as All that is dear & valuable may depend upon the issue of it, I would advise that nothing should be omitted that shall seem necessary to our success. Let us have a respectable Army, and such as will be competent to every exigency."

¹⁴³ Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, 109.; Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*, 1481.

¹⁴⁴ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 19-21.

alone. Steuben's training method of selecting a cadre and training them so they could train others had been previously proposed by a Irish officer in French service, General Thomas Conway.¹⁴⁵ The Prussian experience of officers drilling to learn their profession might have been strange to men accustomed to British army traditions, but not to Steuben. Prussian officers drilled daily when learning their craft.¹⁴⁶ Steuben liberally borrowed from Prussian manuals and adapted them to the American environment. Steuben formulated his textbook to fit his audience. Before delving into Steuben's Blue Book, a review of contemporary military manuals will prove enlightening by highlighting what other manuals were missing with regards to developing leaders.

Previous Manuals

Steuben created an innovative manual to match his American audience. It diverged significantly from contemporary European examples. Eighteenth-century treatises and manuals on the art of war abounded.¹⁴⁷ Ira D. Gruber's

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Conway. "To George Washington from Major General Thomas Conway, December 29, 1777." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-13-02-0040>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 13, 26 December 1777–28 February 1778, ed. Edward G. Lengel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003, pp. 40–41.] "in order to Make use of every Moment I propose to your Excellency to Beginn Without Delay the instruction of the Troops. the Method I thought the Most efficacious is to assemble one or two officers and noncommission'd officers from each Regiment in pott's grove or some other convenient place your excellency may Direct; there to instruct them in all Manœuvres necessary for a Battalion, a Brigade, a Division, this I think I can with some assiduity effect in a Month's time. when the officers and non commission'd officers are thoroughly instructed, they are to repair to their respective Regiments in order to spread the instruction....I have seen this followed Both in the imperial and french armys...no army wants instruction more than this army, where no two Regiments Manœuvre alike, and where there are hardly two officers in each Regiment able to command the Manœuvres.;" Wayne K. Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter: Civilians and Soldiers in War*, (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2002), 131.

¹⁴⁶ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 108.

¹⁴⁷ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 11, 15. Gruber catalogued 650 books on war that British officers recommended in the eighteenth century and 243 other books printed but ignored. Over 250 firms published books on war at one time or another.

Books and the British Army in the Age of the American Revolution, a study of what British officers actually read, offers some fascinating insights. British officers preferred continental authorities such as French authors, from whom they hoped to gain insight into the French victories during the War of Austrian Succession. They also preferred practical books instead of those on theory. As stated before, the British Army had only two official documents or manuals on leadership: The Articles of War and, after 1754, the promotion lists. While the king and his ministers encouraged select officers to write for their brethren, this was not done at public expense. An exception was that some drill books after the 1750s might have been reprinted at government expense to ensure uniformity. French and Prussian successes during the War of Austrian Succession provided an easy route for some officers to get published. They merely synthesized or translated French and Prussian works. Since my interest is the Blue Book, and Steuben trained under the Prussian system, I will start with German language manuals.

Prussian

Prussian manuals contained a wealth of information for prospective leaders. Prussian books contained lists, commands, and formations as well as information on how to care for soldiers. The Prussian Army Regulations published in 1750 contained an abundance of guidance. It appeared that authors assumed nothing. The title *Reglement vor die königliche preussische Infanterie: worinn enthalten: die Evolutions, das Manual und die Chargirung, und wie der Dienst im Felde und in der Garnison geschehen soll, auch wornach die sämtliche Officiers sich sonst zu verhalten haben* made plainly evident that it applied to field and garrison, and

the king expected officers to abide by its contents.¹⁴⁸ These regulations were in effect when Steuben received his advanced education from Frederick the Great. Compared to French and British manuals, *Reglement vor die Königliche Preussische Infanterie*, is exceedingly thorough. Little is left to chance or assumed about an officer's knowledge.

The Prussian regulation does not presuppose natural leaders. The manual made the implicit assumption that men could be taught to be leaders. The first 302 pages delineate the responsibilities for officers in marches, formations, and tactical situations such as sieges and foraging.¹⁴⁹ The next few hundred pages described the procedures for a garrison army and included rules for interacting with governors, commandants, and other political leaders, along with how to run patrols in large and small towns and open and close city gates.¹⁵⁰ Personnel matters such as dismissing commissioned and non-commissioned officers, filling vacant officer positions, emphasizing prohibitions against dueling, and conducting burials also received attention as well as informing how to conserve soldiers' strength.¹⁵¹ Bureaucratic practices such as submitting reports and payrolls received ample attention.¹⁵² In today's parlance, this Prussian manual

¹⁴⁸ Kingdom of Prussia, *Reglement vor die Königliche Preussische Infanterie, Worinn enthalten: Die Evolutions, das Manual und die Chargirung, und Wie der Dienst im Felde und un der Garnison gescheben soll, huch wornach die famtliche Officiers sich sonst zu behalten haben Desgleichen Wie viel an Tracament be*, (Berlin, Prussia: Gegeben und gebrudt, 1750). Regulations for the royal Prussian infantry, what is included: formations, the manual of arms, and procedures for service in the field and in the garrison, also how officers are to conduct themselves.

¹⁴⁹ Kingdom of Prussia, *Reglement vor die Königl. Preussische Infanterie*, 276, 247.

¹⁵⁰ Kingdom of Prussia, *Reglement vor die Königl. Preussische Infanterie*, 302, 311, 351.

¹⁵¹ Kingdom of Prussia, *Reglement vor die Königl. Preussische Infanterie*, 387, 442, 464, 461, 298.

¹⁵² Kingdom of Prussia, *Reglement vor die Königl. Preussische Infanterie*, 457, 477.

functioned as a guide to Standard Operating Procedure (SOP). The manual did not restrict itself to an individual regiment or division. It standardized procedures across the entire Prussian Army, which is something English-language manuals that Continental Army officers would have read could not claim to do.

British

Rather than standardization, British officers looked for lessons learned during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), when their forces had not done as well as expected.¹⁵³ After initial disappointments, Frederick the Great successfully engaged numerically superior forces with a retrained army during the conflict, and British officers looked for any secrets they could poach. Because the British Army had produced few original thinkers on war, British essayists plagiarized continental authors. They preferred French authors, but also stole from Prussian manuals after Frederick the Great established his reputation. After the war, the Prussian King issued a new version of his regulations. This version found its way into French and English translations soon after the Seven Years War started.¹⁵⁴ The *New Regulations for the Prussian Infantry's* English version only copied select chapters of the original manual.¹⁵⁵ The English translation

¹⁵³ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 14.

¹⁵⁴ Kingdom of Prussia, *New regulations for the Prussian infantry: containing an exact detail of the present field-service, and particularly the most essential and recent parts of the foot-exercise: with several articles never before made public*, ed. William Fawcett translated by Sir William Fawcett. (London, England: J. Rivington and J. Fletcher, 1757); Gourlay de and Frederick William I Kéralio, King of Prussia, *Reglemens pour l'infanterie prussienne*, translated by raduit de l'allemand par M. Gourlay de Keralio. (Berlin: Chez les frères Estienne, 1757). The French and English versions differed on what they chose to translate. The French edition was a close to a verbatim translation while the English printing was a more condensed and edited version. The French editor divided the original into two volumes. Volume two began with the Prussian version's chapter eighteen. The French editor maintained the Prussian chapter and section numbering.

¹⁵⁵ Kingdom of Prussia, *New regulations for the Prussian infantry* It was also a much smaller book (fifty-six pages) probably resulting from business decisions on reproduction costs and the

removed most of the references to soldier care, leader development, and garrison operations. Instead, the tactics and diagrams were the focus.

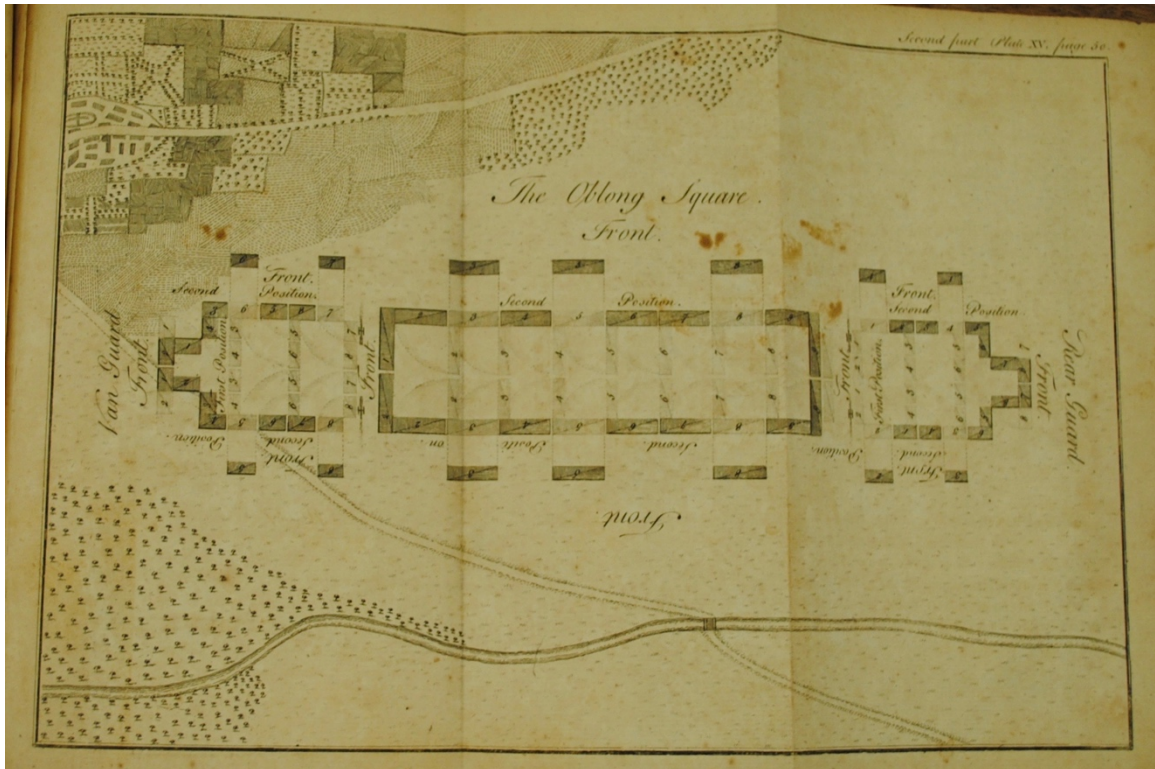


Image #2 A diagram from the English Translation of the Prussian Infantry Regulations.¹⁵⁶ Image provided courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati.

In contrast to the Prussian manuals, French and British books on war concentrated almost exclusively on formations for battle and marching. Detailed commands, formations, explanations, and foldout diagrams comprised almost the entire works. How to be a leader was something the manuals' authors assumed the reader already knew because of his aristocratic status. These manuals assumed that the soldiers would follow commands when issued by men of higher

printer's audience. The Prussian version contained over 500 pages of text. Even with editing and using larger paper (Prussian version paper was approximately size 5" x 8"), this would have been a substantial book to translate and reprint.

¹⁵⁶ Kingdom of Prussia, *New regulations for the Prussian infantry*, 50.

military and social rank. Authors spent very little attention on how to build morale, esprit de corps, or unit cohesion. British leaders relied on unit traditions and class deference. Such factors worked to varying degrees in British units, but the new Continental Army had no unit traditions and drew its personnel from a less deferential society.

British beliefs and priorities revealed themselves in what was translated. One editor of an English version translated a continental European manual in 1757, and tried to generate interest by harping on the secretive nature of the work “with Several Articles never before made Public.”¹⁵⁷ The editor seemingly believed, and his readers probably did as well, that the Prussian success was based on tactics rather than training. Evidently, at least in the mind of British authors, the secret to Prussian success did not reside in personnel management. Such lessons or insights did not appear in any of the widely read English manuals available and consumed by American and British officers at the Revolutionary War’s beginning.¹⁵⁸ Two of the most influential English language manuals, *The Cadet* by Samuel Bever and *Military Essay* by Campbell Dalrymple, encouraged British officers to undertake a serious study of war, but had little to say about training or developing leaders.¹⁵⁹

Samuel Bever’s *The Cadet* instructed officers to gain the love and respect of their men without explaining how to accomplish this important task. Bever spends

¹⁵⁷ Kingdom of Prussia, *New regulations for the Prussian infantry*

¹⁵⁸ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 14.

¹⁵⁹ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 14.; Campbell Dalrymple, *A Military Essay.*, (London. UK: printed for D. Wilson, at Plato’s Head, in the Strand, 1761).; Samuel Bever, *The Cadet. A Military Treatise. By an officer.*, (London, UK: Printed for W. Johnston in St. Paul’s Church-Yard, 1756).

more time on virtue and debauchery than on management or leadership techniques.¹⁶⁰

2dly, To let him know, that *Religion* is the principal and foundation of all virtues, and that far from believing (as many do) that it ought to be neglected by the *Military Man*, he should persuade himself that no one can be *truly brave or honourable*, but when adorned with that most necessary of all virtues; It is with these sentiments that a young man should commence an Officer; these sentiments will make him avoid some vices too customary amongst us¹⁶¹

Bever wrote more about what not to do rather than on what to do to gain regard and respect. Bever treated the ideal soldier as one who would follow all commands cheerfully and without question. "A soldier should be brave, vigorous, careful, and obedient to all his Officers, from the General to the Corporal, and obey the Orders of the latter as if coming from the mouth of the former, as *in Reality they do*; the Corporal being only the Means by which they are conveyed."¹⁶² Bever's accounts of how soldiers misbehaved demonstrated that he was aware that soldiers seldom attained the ideal. As a career soldier, he knew soldiers responded as individuals and not as unthinking automatons. Still, he presented ideals, and not practical actions a junior leader could emulate, practice, or implement to gain the love and respect of his men.

Throughout his work, Bever dispensed words of wisdom and goals for junior leaders. Bever divided duties by rank and explained the purpose and responsibility for each level of command and authority. He wrote for captains that

A Man may have been a very good Lieutenant, and yet may make an

¹⁶⁰ Bever, *The Cadet*, 147. "If the conduct of men of this character is to be condemned, how dangerous is their society?"

¹⁶¹ Bever, *The Cadet*, 144. emphasis in original.

¹⁶² Bever, *The Cadet*, 95.

indifferent Captain, and all this from neglecting to consider the different Duties the latter Title requires. The Principle of which is to gain the Love of the soldiers, by treating them with the utmost Humanity, paying them and providing necessaries, and whatever is their Due, but at the same Time let him not suffer any Infringement of Morality or Discipline, to prevail among the Company.¹⁶³

Bever wished to impress on captains the necessity of not neglecting his company's discipline and welfare, but was vague about how to do so.

Corporals received special attention. "One of the most essential duties of a corporal is, to instruct the young recruits and what they ought to know, and observe, in regard to subordination and discipline, particularly on the rigour of the Articles of War against *Mutiny* and *Desertion*, and of the Respect due them from to their superiors."¹⁶⁴ Sentinels and guard duty received a significant emphasis. In Bever's ideal, noncommissioned officers were responsible for all training which worked if one had professional noncommissioned officers. Bever concentrated on the objective for each level, but not necessarily how to achieve it. Other authors chose different formats.

Campbell Dalrymple's *A Military Essay* contained his thoughts and recommendations for reforming the British Army.¹⁶⁵ Unlike Bever, Dalrymple did not consolidate each rank's duties in a separate section or chapter. He scattered his insights throughout the book in seemingly unrelated sections. For example, some duties of captains and noncommissioned officers are found in a chapter

¹⁶³ Bever, *The Cadet*, 152.

¹⁶⁴ Bever, *The Cadet*, 103.

¹⁶⁵ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, vii. "Dedications formally were marks of friendship, but from the malevolence of the times, a man who presumes to right now must seek protection from the great: that is particularly requisite to a person in considerable in himself, who deviates from an old system, and once the first support and authority of the kingdom to introduce a new one, and to carry his plans in to execution."

about what the best weapons are to equip the infantry soldiers, and others in a section that begins with how soldiers are to fire weapons and act in garrison duties.¹⁶⁶ Dalrymple also understood that discipline varied among the different regiments and was directly related to the commanding officer's disposition.¹⁶⁷ Dalrymple dispensed some harsh words for subalterns to concentrate on their own level of responsibility rather than spending too much time on the "sublime parts" of generalship.¹⁶⁸ Dalrymple appreciated the importance of choosing good noncommissioned officers as they were the ones who maintained the discipline within the ranks.

The noncommissioned officer should have great pains taken with them, to instruct them in their duty, and we may think ourselves fortunate if we find persons properly qualified to act in that capacity; they must avoid gratifying personal resentment in carrying on their command, and must use the men kindly, but not with familiarity, never failing to report every breach of discipline, which comes to their knowledge, in order that offenders may be brought to justice. And it is above all necessary, that the noncommissioned

¹⁶⁶ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, 47 & 84. "the captains, on whom a great deal depends,... must exact from their subalterns,... That the men, particulars as well as companies, are properly attended to by the subalterns and inferior officers, that they be kept clean, are well lodged, and constantly boil the pot; that the sick are taken care of, and lastly, that the arms and accoutrements are always in the best repair." "The duties of an officer in quarters, and particularly these; to attend all the parades, to visit the quarters, and the sick, to be attentive that the men are duly cleared with, properly supplied with necessaries, and not imposed upon their account; that they mass regularly, and by examining strictly the clothing every time the company parades, bring about the neatness of dress, so peculiar to the Germans, and so remarkably deficient in the British troops.... The sergeants and corporals might be furnished with the same rules, to direct them in their duty, and should be punished without mercy when deficient in it"

¹⁶⁷ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, 44. "As to subordination, it and a great measure depends on the disposition of the commanding officer; for it is very differently carried on in every regiment of the service. The military laws have authority enough to invest him with all the severity of German discipline, but the spirit of equality, in which the British youth are brought up, makes it disagreeable to the one to exert, and to the others to submit to so much servility."

¹⁶⁸ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, 45. "There is, at present, a most commendable spirit among the military men, but that they will require some little regulation. They are earnest in the pursuit of every tree to see on the profession, with the view to improve themselves, but they apply so much to the study of the sublime parts of it, that they neglect what is immediately their own duty: attention to the minute. There is nothing so necessary or just, as that everyone should be able to act his own part; but the prying disposition, common to all mankind, makes them sometimes omit what they ought to do, to examine into the conduct of others, and at last, by supposing themselves generals, forget that they are subalterns."

officers themselves, should never be screened under a false notion of tenderness, for any neglect of duty, or breach of military order; for on their fidelity and diligence in a great measure the service depends, and is carried on.¹⁶⁹

Dalrymple's ideas of reform depended on a professional non-commissioned officers corps to train soldiers and commissioned officers needed to closely monitor the sergeant's performance.

Dalrymple also stressed that officers should participate in drill. That he needed to mention this requirement suggests such participation did not regularly occur.¹⁷⁰ Dalrymple did not write his essay for neophytes. He advocated change and assumed his readers' familiarity with the present system and basic military tactics. He did not formulate his essay to create a new Army but to reform and improve an existing one.

As the Revolutionary War progressed, British authors evidently received feedback that the previous system of training non-commissioned officers had failed to keep pace with unit replacement needs as sergeants were wounded, killed, incapacitated due to illness, or fed up to the point of desertion. Thomas Simes, a respected military author, published a treatise for non-commissioned officers in late 1777. He wrote, "As the Army, at present, abounds with many Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Men, that have not seen service, or been instructed in their duty. I have been induced to publish this little pocket volume, at the particular request of several experienced officers."¹⁷¹ The manual

¹⁶⁹ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, 48.

¹⁷⁰ Dalrymple, *A Military Essay*, 64. "They must therefore exert themselves; and not only attend themselves, but oblige the subalterns to attend the drill, to instruct and encourage the recruits and awkward man in learning the exercise, and to prevent the drill sergeants, and corporals from proceeding to hastily with them."

¹⁷¹ Thomas Simes, *The Military Instructor: For the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private*

focused entirely on the technical aspects of soldiering and ignored the leadership aspects. Under the heading of “Directions for the Conduct and Government of the Soldier,” Simes proffered the following guidance:

The soldier must pay the greatest attention to the articles of war when he hears them read; he must remember the oaths he has taken to his Majesty’s service, and the Divine Vengeance that will attend the violation of them; he must have an ambition to learn to despise danger, and prefer to fall like a brave man, rather than be branded with the name of coward, or deserter.¹⁷²

Simes added a footnote that stated that “many of the lower rank are void of honor,” which could indicate who was the book’s intended audience. Given this footnote, one could surmise that his audience was other officers such as himself rather than non-commissioned officers. Thomas Simes’ other books such as *A Military Course* appear to have been popular, as evidenced by numerous printings before and during the Revolution.¹⁷³

Other popular books amongst British and colonial military men before the American Revolutionary War included Humphrey Bland’s, *A Treatise of Military Discipline*, which had gone through numerous editions since its first publication in 1727.¹⁷⁴ George Washington bought a copy in 1756.¹⁷⁵ Washington also owned and used a copy of William Young’s work, *Manoeuvres*, as evidenced by his notes in the book.¹⁷⁶ Washington understood the power of a manual to instruct

Men of the Infantry, (2nd), (London, UK: 1778), 1.

¹⁷² Simes, *The Military Instructor*, 29. Simes wrote many manuals which American printers republished. Thomas Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers*, vol. 2, (Philadelphia, PA: J. Humphrey, R. Bell, and R. Aitken, 1776).; Thomas Simes, *A military course for the government and conduct of a battalion: designed for their regulations in quarter, camp, or garrison.*, (London: Printed for the author, 1777). Washington owned a copy of Simes’ “A Military Course”

¹⁷³ Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers*

¹⁷⁴ Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline*

¹⁷⁵ Bell, “Washington’s Five Books”

¹⁷⁶ William Young, *Manoeuvres, or, Practical Observations on the Art of War*, vol. 1 & 2, (London, UK: Printed for J. Millan, 1771).; Bell, “Washington’s Five Books”

his subordinates.

The Prussian, French, and British authors wrote their manuals for armies that had traditions, institutions, and history. Their audience consisted of other experienced military officers, and most authors wanted to make their army better. They argued over the best tactics, organization, standardization, and training regimen to improve an existing army and make it operate more effectively—not how to create one from scratch.

Regardless of whether one was reforming an old Army or creating a new one, drill remained an important component of success on the battlefield. Soldiers had to obey commands promptly and without question. This instantaneous obedience in difficult situations instilled confidence in the junior leader who knew his decisions would not be questioned. Junior leaders gained confidence in their ability to make decisions under trying circumstances and thereby gained the soldiers' respect.¹⁷⁷ Drills served as practical exercises in reinforcing the soldier's faith in their leader's abilities. Leaders who could maneuver their troops on the battlefield and issue clear commands gained a respect that influenced how their soldiers viewed them in encampments. Before a leader could earn this respect and learn leadership and management skills, he had to learn to direct men in

¹⁷⁷ Denny, *Denny Journal*, 39.[Sept 15th, 1781] "In all directions troops exercising and manoeuvring. Baron Steuben, our great military oracle....These men are exercised and put through various evolutions and military experiments for two hours - many officers and spectators present; excellent school, this."; Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 25, 46. [October 15, 1780] "for I am determined not to be a drill Sergeant allways. Ever since I came to camp I have ben up at day-brake disciplining the levies and every afternoon when off duty on the same or Business. As soon as they are learned their times are out we must take new ones that makes us perpettual slaves."; [July 18, 1781] "Our Army being at that time from eight to fifteen miles from the field of action, no immediate support could be lent them, but they maintaining their ground with unexampled Braveray, kept the enemy at such distance, gave time for six hundred of the Pensilvania line to come to their assistance." ; Brooke, *A Family Narrative*, 20.

battle. This meant a junior leader required an expertise in the manual of arms, marching, and maneuver. The need for this expertise guided Washington and Steuben's training and standardization efforts.

The Blue Book

Steuben's *Regulations for the order and discipline of the troops of the United States* standardized the manual of arms, formations, duties, and responsibilities for leaders and soldiers. Baron von Steuben's Congressionally approved manual of army regulations served as the focal point for the leadership development program's creation. All previous British manuals had been written by individual officers and sold through private book sellers. Steuben's Blue Book broke new ground in military manuals. Unlike all previous manuals, Steuben included a leadership section that delineated the responsibilities for all ranks from the regimental commander to the private and included practical methods. The regulations assumed leadership and management skills could be taught quickly and not simply inherited from class standing or years of experience. As an indication of his priority of the work, Washington reviewed, edited, and approved Steuben's book which Congress endorsed, funded, printed, and distributed to all Continental Army units.¹⁷⁸ Washington wrote Steuben regarding his manual:

I have received your favor of the 5th and now return you the Sequel of your work accompanied by a few notes. It gives me great pleasure to learn that the foregoing part is in such forwardness for the press—With respect to the Title I think "Regulations for the Infantry of the United States" will be sufficient—In a Letter to Congress I have signified my approbation of the work—it remains for them to give it a final Sanction and preface it with such order as they judge

¹⁷⁸ Chase, "Baron Von Steuben in the War of Independence," 134.; Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 196.

proper. As the fine Season is advancing, you will I flatter myself shortly have the satisfaction, so rarely enjoy[ed] by Authors, of seeing your precep[ts] reduced to practice—and I hop[e] your Success will be equal to the merit of your work.¹⁷⁹

Washington understood the important role that Steuben's Blue Book would have on the Continental Army.

As historian Paul Lockhart has pointed out, although the Blue Book might have been attributed to Steuben, it was, in fact, a group project drawing from a number of Steuben's aides as well as Washington.¹⁸⁰ Steuben and his crew merged British and Prussian thought into a system that could be understood and adapted to American needs. While several individuals had input, Steuben provided the framework for the Blue Book's composition based on his previous Prussian training and experience at Valley Forge.

The genesis of the Blue Book was in the Spring of 1778 at Valley Forge, where Steuben began training Continental troops each day from lessons he composed from memory the night prior. Steuben and Washington started small and then expanded their efforts. To begin, Steuben formed a cadre of 100 men as his first class, and they in turn became instructors for additional soldiers.¹⁸¹

After the 1778 summer campaigns, Washington put Steuben to work constructing

¹⁷⁹ George Washington. "From George Washington to Major General Steuben, 11 March 1779." Founders Online. NARA, last modified 2019. accessed April 1, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-19-02-0450>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 19, 15 January–7 April 1779, ed. Philander D. Chase and William M. Ferraro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009, pp. 443–445.]

¹⁸⁰ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 187-91.

¹⁸¹ Davis, "Captain Davis Company orderly book" [March 17, 1778] "One hundred chosen men are to be added to the guard of the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of forming a Corps to be instructed in the maneuvers necessary to be introduced in the army & serve for a model for the execution of them."

his *Regulations*. Steuben finished in April 1779. After completion, Congress approved, printed, and disseminated an initial run of 1500 copies.¹⁸² Steuben essentially turned his daily lectures to his select group of soldiers into chapters which formed the bulk of his “textbook” or regulations. While many soldiers had learned under Steuben’s direct tutelage through observation and by example, many more benefited as the regulations reached units outside of the Valley Forge encampments. As an indication of how Congress valued the new regulations, it immediately sent 107 copies to General Sullivan’s forces, who were in the middle of a campaign against portions of the Iroquois Confederacy, rather than wait until they returned.

Timeline

December 29, 1777	Conway proposes training model
February 23, 1778	Steuben Arrives at Valley Forge
March 17, 1778	Washington orders formation of model company of 100
March 19, 1778	Steuben begins drill of model company
March 22, 1778	Washington establishes new system through General Orders
March 23, 1778	First training cycles completed
March 24, 1778	The Continental Army begins organization-wide training
~April 10, 1778	Regimental unit drills
May 6, 1778	Grand Review of entire Army
June 17, 1778	Army departs Valley Forge for Battle of Monmouth
November 13, 1778	Baron von Steuben to Philadelphia to write manual

¹⁸² Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 207.; Chase, “Baron Von Steuben in the War of Independence,” 134.

March 11, 1779	Manual Approved by Washington
March 25(29), 1779	Regulation approved by Congress.
August, 1779	Printed and disseminated

The *Regulation's* importance is evident from the frequent mentions in orderly books and General Orders. The Blue Book was not a document senior leaders expected to be distributed and forgotten. Junior leaders received constant admonishments to familiarize themselves with its contents, such as the following: "The New Regulations for the order and Discipline of the Army Being Now arrived and distributed The Gen[era]l Hopes that Every officer will pay the strictest Conformity to them and Exert themselves within the Segm[e]nts of his Command to have them carried into Immediate execution."¹⁸³ Men such as Jeremiah Greenman recorded his familiarity with Steuben in personal diaries. As a non-commissioned officer, Greenman likely received a copy of the Blue book, since we know his unit received copies.¹⁸⁴

The Blue Book's repetitive lessons seem to have left their mark on veterans.

¹⁸³ Jacob Bower. *Capt. Jacob Bower's orderly book, July 7th, 1779: General, Brigade, and Division orders, 7 July 1779 - 2 August 1780, Smith's Clove, New Windsor, West Point, Morristown, NY and elsewhere*. MSS L1998F206.3 [Bound], SOC. [July 17, 1780] "He is hoped the troops will be particularly zealous in the exercise and maneuvers, and that the movements should be instructed with the utmost care and diligence justly conforming to the regulations."; George Knox. 1780, *9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book, December 28, 1779- April 10, 1780, Morristown, New Jersey*. MSS L1998F206.5 [Bound], SOC. [February 3, 1780] "The general calls upon the officers commanding divisions, brigades regiments to take effectual measures to prevent a continuance of these irregularities and in general to affect a more strict observance of the regulations established by Congress than has hitherto obtain'd. Tho he is far from wishing to impose unnecessary restraints upon officers,..."; Daniel Coit. 1779, *Col. Josiah Starr's First Connecticut Regiment, May 14—August 7, 1779, New York*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 95-96.[July 7, 1779]

¹⁸⁴ Greenman, *Diary*, 134, 139. "April 1779, S4 to T22 ...we exercise the prusan way left of the 64th. intirely..." and "September 1779 S5 ...order'd to see our mens arm cleen to march in the morn to be reviewed by Barron Stuban, a Major Genl. Who hold the rank of inspector Genl. Of the American army / he is prusan / first brought the prusan Exercise into our army"

Individuals referred to it by name in their memoirs. In 1849, Francis T. Brooke wrote a family narrative for his daughter. Brooke had served as a judge at different locations in western and eastern Virginia for over forty years. Learning Steuben's Blue Book made such an impression on him that he recounted his training almost seventy years later. His commander at the time also evidently believed in Steuben's system. "Col. Febiger was an excellent camp officer, well acquainted with the tactics of the drill, and though I belonged to the artillery, I was called in rotation with other subalterns to train and drill the infantry, and I acquired perfect knowledge of the Prussian tactics, written by Baron Steuben, who had been an aid to the great Frederick."¹⁸⁵ Brooke did not just learn how to drill infantry, but how to lead men in arduous conditions. Brooke used the leadership training as a result of Steuben's instructions to obtain positions of authority along Virginia's western border.¹⁸⁶

The Blue Book became the standard for all units.¹⁸⁷ Standardized training allowed units to be combined for larger scale operations since they all used the same commands and formations. Colonel Josiah Starr issued the following guidance to his junior leaders: "The General observes the soldier strolling too frequently from their quarters and thus orders that the rolls be called four times a

¹⁸⁵ Brooke, *A Family Narrative*, 20.

¹⁸⁶ Brooke, *A Family Narrative*, v. Brooke served in Virginia was acquainted with General Greene, Baron von Steuben, Colonel Davis as a junior officer. Brooke practiced law in what is now West Virginia beginning in 1788. He later returned to eastern Virginia. Brooke later served as a judge of the Court of Appeals for 40 years

¹⁸⁷ Coit, "Starr's Orderly Book, 1779" "The Honorable the Congress having been pleased by a [?] by 29 of March last to Establish [?] of Regulations for the order of the discipline of the troops of the United States. The Commander in Chief flatters himself that all officers impressed with the importance of a regular System of manouver and discipline will zealous employ themselves to became thoroughly acquainted these Regulations and with all possible [?] and dispatch to put them Into practice within the limits of their respective command."

day at 8 o'clock in the morning at three in the afternoon and at retreat beating – the men of different corps off-duty will daily be practice in marching and wheeling in companies or regiments.”¹⁸⁸ When men of different corps could be trained and employed together, the advantage of standardization revealed itself and increased the commander’s flexibility and options with how he formed his units into larger organizations. Consistent standards set the expectations for junior leader conduct within different units. Did junior leaders still make mistakes and let pride get in the way of better judgment? Of course! But they increasingly knew what was expected of them, and when they had violated the regulations. The *Regulations* also made the dismissal of subpar officers easier. Ignorance of orders had been a problem in the past, but after the Blue Book’s publication and distribution, it could no longer be used as an excuse.¹⁸⁹

The Blue Book consisted of 154 pages divided into twenty-five chapters plus an “Instructions for” section. Chapters I through XXIII covered the manual of arms, formations, inspections, and camp organization. Most are only a few pages long and distill the guidance found in other books to only the most necessary

¹⁸⁸ Isaac Hubbell. 1778, *Orderly book for 2nd Artillery, April 14—September 7, 1778, Fishkill, Fort Arnold, Robinson’s House, and White Plains, NY*. MSS L2004F20 M [Bound], SOC. [April 22, 1778]

¹⁸⁹ Samuel Elbert, “Order Book of Samuel Elbert; Colonel and Brigadier General in the Continental Army, October 1776 to November 1778,” in *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* (Savannah, GA: Wymberly Jones De Renne, 1902), 157. [May 29, 1778] “the Gen[era]l thinks it proper to repeat the substance of another standing order, that ignorance of orders and officers is by no means to be considered as an excuse for the neglect or breach of them.”; Sylvanus Reed. 1778, *Orderly Book of Captain Sylvanus Reed, May 25—August 25 30, 1778, New Hampshire, Rhode Island*. MSS 727 [Bound], SOC. [June 3, 1778] “the general observes that many not only soldiers, but officers are wholly ignorant of the general orders...neglect almost unpardonable that officers of the Regiment & Corps Will see that the several companies under their command are paraded every morning and evening, the general & regimental orders and proper instructions given to them respecting their behavior in camp.”

information. Chapters XXIV and XXV contained most of the information concerning leadership and management skill development. These final thirty-three pages form the Blue Book's third thematic section: leadership responsibilities and how to learn and practice them.¹⁹⁰ By adhering to the "Instruction for" sections, leaders improved their abilities to lead diverse individuals under arduous conditions, function within a bureaucracy, perform managerial tasks, and establish law and order in communities.

The Blue Book's third section, "Instructions for," encapsulates what might be considered traditional leadership knowledge gained through years of experience. Steuben's tenets in the section can be summarized: officers have a responsibility for their soldiers and are expected to be actively involved in their unit's daily operations. US Army Brigadier General and Steuben biographer John Palmer recognized the section's importance based on his experience in training soldiers for World War I. In his biography of Steuben, he wrote, "These were of special value in a new organization without traditions such as the Continental Army. They contained those essentials of military wisdom and practice which are sanctioned only by 'custom of the service' in the older armies. The book is remarkable for its conciseness. It omits nothing essential and includes nothing superfluous."¹⁹¹ Its simplicity and terse admonitions might have caused previous

¹⁹⁰ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 195.; Wright, *The Continental Army*, 142. Lockhart described Steuben's third section as "more philosophical" and designed to "imbue officers with a sense of the nobility of their calling." Lockhart, however, overlooked the practical long-term applications of Steuben's guidance. Robert Wright's history of the Continental Army briefly mentions the Blue Book's third section. Wright emphasized the regimental administration and every individual's function rather than the leadership tenets. For this paper, I define leadership as influencing people by providing purpose, direction, and motivation while operating to accomplish the mission and improving the organization.

¹⁹¹ John Palmer, *General Von Steuben*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1937), 203.

scholars to underestimate its importance in educating junior leaders.¹⁹² For the Continental Army, no cohort of officers had the time to learn its responsibilities through a long period of observation.

How are these sections different from most other military manuals? Instead of just telling junior leaders, mainly officers, what to do, the book provided advice the men could put into practice. For example, earlier manuals instructed men to gain the love of their men. Period. The Blue Book's Chapter XXIV "of the Treatment of the Sick" begins with "There is nothing which gains an officer the love of his soldiers more than his care of them under the distress of sickness; it is then he has the power of exerting his humanity in providing them every comfortable necessary, and making their situation as agreeable as possible."¹⁹³ The Blue Book then proceeded to detail how to care for and account for sick soldiers. This sort of guidance provided new and seasoned junior leaders advice on how to gain the love of their soldiers without necessarily defaulting to ephemeral measures designed to gain popularity such as easing of discipline, special treatment, or gifts of alcohol.

Although Steuben provided instructions and guidance for regimental

"The Baron's little book comprised drill for the regulations infantry. It also included field service regulations and an administrative manual sufficient for the needs of the whole army in that day. Its "Instructions" for soldiers of the several grades from colonel to private are concise summaries of each person's part in the team play of an efficient army..." BG Palmer had extensive service in training soldiers in the AEF for General Pershing in World War I and was the guiding force behind the 1920 National Defense Act, which in addition to other actions, created the Reserve Officer Training Program (ROTC).

¹⁹² Fleming, *Washington's Secret War*, 220. Fleming was one other writer who grasped Steuben's instructions. "He [Steuben] wrote succinct summaries of the duties of each officer in a regiment, from the colonel to the lieutenants. Perhaps the most important were the instructions to the captain. The opening lines are worth reading because they remain the cornerstone of the U.S. Army's philosophy of leadership today."

¹⁹³ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 121.

commanders and field grade officers, my focus will be on the effect of these practical leadership skills on company grade officers: adjutants, quartermasters, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, and subalterns. Regulations separated the responsibilities in a way similar to other contemporary manuals. However, Steuben added the “why” to many of his tasks in keeping with his oft-quoted line about American soldiers having to be given an explanation.¹⁹⁴ For example, the regulation directed Adjutants to “keep an exact detail of the duty of the officers and non-commissioned officers, taking care to regulate his roster in such a manner as not to have too many officers or non-commissioned officers of the same company on duty at the same time.”¹⁹⁵ Officers learned how to distribute the tasks and guarantee that a junior officer or NCO always remained with the men to provide supervision. It also ensured that all junior leaders shared unpleasant details equally.

The adjutant performed many important functions within a unit. Upon arrival at a new encampment, the adjutant ensured the quick security, sanitation, and operations of the camp in priority order. “On the arrival of the regiment in camp, his [the adjutant’s] first care is to form and send off the guards; and when the tents are pitched, he must immediately order out the necessary number of fatigue men to dig the vaults or sinks, and open communications where necessary. He

¹⁹⁴ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 104.; Friedrich Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben*, (Berlin: Dunder & Humblot, 1858), 663. “D’abord il s’en faut bien, que le génie de cette nation peut être comparé à celui des Prussiens, Autrichiens ou Français. Vous dites à votre Soldet: fais cela!; pendant qu’au mien j’étais obligé de dire ‘Voilà la raison, pourquoi Vous devez faire cela!’ Et alors il le fait!”

¹⁹⁵ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 134.

will then form the detachments for wood, water, and other necessities.”¹⁹⁶ Since the Army changed locations frequently during campaigning, the adjutant repeatedly practiced these activities.

Every time the army moved, adjutants honed their management skills in assigning tasks and personnel to complete the job. Security at a new location through placing sentinels was self-evident. Latrine locations (vaults and sinks) came next before men began relieving themselves willy-nilly and contaminating broad swaths of ground. Only after these tasks were completed did men begin to search for wood, water, and other necessities.¹⁹⁷ Sequence mattered. If left to themselves men, would be thirsty and hungry after marching and would take care of these needs first to their ultimate detriment. Steuben had special instructions for the adjutant. “He [the Adjutant] must keep a book, in which he must every day take the general and other orders, and shew them to the commanding officer of the regiment, who having added those he thinks necessary for the regiment, the adjutant must assemble the first sergeants of the companies, make them copy the orders, and give them their details for the next day.”¹⁹⁸ The adjutant’s interactions with the bureaucracy never ceased.

The quartermaster received similar instructions. A quartermaster’s success depended on his managerial skills and ability to function within the bureaucracy. “He [the quartermaster] must inform the regiment where to fetch their wood, water and other necessities.”¹⁹⁹ The quartermaster also told the sappers how to

¹⁹⁶ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 135.

¹⁹⁷ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 135.

¹⁹⁸ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 134.

¹⁹⁹ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 136.

lay out the encampment in accordance with regulations. “When the army marches, he must conduct the pioneers (sappers) to the place appointed.”²⁰⁰ Quartermasters oversaw the creation of a small city every time the Continental Army moved. Sappers improved it while adjutants maintained it. The quartermaster also retained responsibility for the unit’s equipment. He directed its movement, maintenance, and distribution. He had to ensure all baggage got from one place to another in good condition at the right time. The quartermaster had his own bureaucracy to satisfy: “He is to make out all returns for camp equipage, arms, accoutrements, ammunition, provisions and forage, and receive and distribute them to the regiment, taking the necessary vouchers for delivery, and entering all receipts and deliveries in a book kept by him for that purpose.”²⁰¹ Quartermaster duties were not glamorous, and few officers sought them out. Nathanael Greene’s disappointment at being pulled from a line unit by Washington is well known. Quartermasters could, however, make or break an army in the field. While a line officer’s ineptitude might be exposed only during the occasional battle, a quartermaster displayed his degree of competence every day. Officers and soldiers knew whether or not they were getting fed and equipped; this was the quartermaster’s duty. Commanding officers could seldom tolerate an incompetent quartermaster for very long since they directly affected a unit’s fighting ability and morale.

More generally, morale often depended on the bond between an officer and

²⁰⁰ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 137.

²⁰¹ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 137.

the soldiers. Captains received additional guidance on how to obtain the love of their men.

This first object should be, to gain the love of his men, by treating them with every possible kindness and humanity, enquiring into their complaints, and when well founded, seeing them redressed. He should know every man of his company by name and character. He should often visit those who are sick, speak tenderly to them, see that the public provision, whether of medicine or diet, is duly administered, and procure them besides such comforts and conveniences as are in his power. The attachment that arises from this kind of attention to the sick and wounded, is almost inconceivable; it will moreover be the means of preserving the lives of many valuable men.²⁰²

As opposed to Beyer's statement for a captain to gain the love of his men, Steuben provided a checklist of the type of actions an officer could undertake to gain the love of his men.

Steuben did not ignore lieutenants when he dispensed advice on how to gain the love of their men.

He should endeavor to gain the love of his men, by his attention to everything which may contribute to their health and convenience. He should often visit them at different hours; inspect their manner of living; see that their provisions are good and well cooked, and as far as possible oblige them to take their meals at regulated hours. You should pay attention to their complaints, and when well-founded, endeavor to get them redressed; but discourage them from complaining on every frivolous occasion. He must not suffer the soldiers to be ill-treated by the noncommissioned author officers through malevolence, or from any pique or resentment; but must at the same time be careful that a proper degree of subordination is kept up between them.²⁰³

As can be observed, the Baron distributed his instructions at each rank's level of responsibility. As a junior leader moved up through the ranks, he understood how each rank contributed to the welfare of the men and how he could improve his leadership skills.

²⁰² US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 138.

²⁰³ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 141.

Steuben's guidance demonstrated how to gain the soldiers' affections without pandering. This type of guidance was not limited to military situations. Since deference to social status would be reduced in the new republic, leaders needed new methods. While learning how to take care of their men, junior leaders also learned valuable lessons in how to take care of their future constituents, employees, or congregants. Because of the long amount of time Continental Army junior leaders spent in encampments, they also got plenty of practice. They became comfortable with leading. Some historians have focused on the junior officers' desires to become the new Republic's aristocracy based on their military service. Although this particular "dream" did not materialize, these same officers often found that they were well positioned and educated enough to succeed in the new environment based on the merits of their military training and expertise.²⁰⁴ Captains also received instructions on how to deal with noncommissioned officers. The Blue Book dispensed techniques and expectations on how commissioned officers could support NCOs while not undermining their authority as they also learned their new jobs.²⁰⁵

The non-commissioned corps level of responsibility received attention as well. Sergeant majors, quartermaster sergeants, and first sergeants all played

²⁰⁴ Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 10.; Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 179, 192, 267; Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 171-72. Individuals whom historians have quoted to support their arguments often had no trouble adjusting to the new circumstances once immersed. Two often-cited Revolutionary War soldiers, Benjamin Gilbert and Joseph Plumb Martin both achieved political office.

²⁰⁵ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 139. "He must keep a strict eye over the conduct of the noncommissioned officer; oblige them to do their duty with the greatest exactness; and use every possible means to keep up a proper subordination between them and the soldiers: for which reason he must never rudely reprimand them in the presence of the men, but at all times treat them with proper respect."

important leadership and managerial roles within the Continental Army's units. Understanding their roles is important because forty-six junior leaders (25%) of the cohort rose through the ranks from enlisted soldier to commissioned officer. Often, their first exposure to leadership roles was as a corporal or sergeant. Having impressed their company commanders, they received recommendations when they sought a commission.

The choice of non-commissioned officers is also an object of greatest importance: The order and discipline of a regiment depend so much on *their* behavior, that too much care cannot be taken in preferring none to that trust but those who by their merit and good conduct are entitled to it. Honesty, sobriety, and remarkable attention to every point of duty, with the neatness in their dress, are indispensable requisites; a spirit to command respect and obedience from the men, an expertness in performing every part of the exercise, and an ability to teach it, are also absolutely necessary; nor can a sergeant or corporal be said to be qualified who does not write or read in a tolerable manner.²⁰⁶

As shown by Steuben's emphasis on "*their*" behavior [NCO's], non-commissioned officer selection received great emphasis in the Blue Book, reflecting the critical role NCO's played in a unit's success.

The sergeants' first responsibility remained to ensure discipline in the ranks—not just obedience to orders. He was to maintain equipment and attend to administrative details. Non-commissioned officers had to know their soldiers and their character: "He should be intimately acquainted with the character of every soldier of the company, and should take great pains to impress upon their minds the indispensable necessity of the strictest obedience, as the foundation of order and regularity."²⁰⁷ Sergeants had to keep records of daily orders and duty

²⁰⁶ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 129.

²⁰⁷ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 145.

rosters, and keep them available for inspection by the company's officers. Sergeants learned that record-keeping was an essential managerial skill.²⁰⁸ Unlike their British, French, and Prussian counterparts, Continental Army sergeants could not rely solely on the Articles of War or loyalty to a monarch to maintain discipline: soldiering was not a career for Americans. Despite their previous lack of professional military experience, Continental Army non-commissioned officers learned leadership skills that served them well, even in difficult situations.

While some class-based historical studies have emphasized that private soldiers had little choice but to reenlist because they were poor, this logic has serious flaws. Arguments based on “no other choice because of economic reasons” seem a bit flimsy. Soldiers were likely not reenlisting solely for the pay, since they were not getting paid promptly for most of the war. Maintaining unit discipline and morale without economic incentives required competent and effective leadership. None of the large-scale mutinies later in the war occurred because of disputes over harsh discipline imposed by the commissioned or non-commissioned officer corps. The mutinies occurred over disputes about payment. The Continental Army junior leaders learned how to maintain discipline within the ranks without breaking unit cohesion.

²⁰⁸ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 146-47. “He will keep the company book (under the inspection of the captain) in which he will enter the name and description of every noncommissioned officer and soldier; his trade and occupation; the place of his birth and usual residence; where, when and for what term he was enlisted; the bounty paid him; the arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing and necessaries delivered him, with their marks and numbers, and the times when delivered; also copies of all returns, furloughs, discharges, and every casualty that happens in the company.” None of these types of books appear to have survived and made it into the archives.

Even in an undesirable situation, the 1780 mutinies demonstrated junior leadership ability. The ranks did not mutiny haphazardly, terrorize the countryside, or kill the officers. They realized their dispute was with Congress or the State legislatures. From the records, all injuries and deaths were accidental. Mutinying soldiers marched in disciplined ranks under their junior leader's control. They neither harassed the local inhabitants nor provided assistance to the enemy. When considering the discipline exhibited by the troops under junior leader control, the effect of the Continental Army leadership development program became clear.

As soon as General Washington confirmed their value, and they were approved by Congress, Steuben's draft regulations were quickly disseminated by both handwritten and printed copy to every officer.²⁰⁹ The junior officers and soldiers were made aware of the new standard through announcements recorded in their unit orderly books.²¹⁰ Commanders continued throughout the war to stress to their officers the importance of mastering the regulation.²¹¹ This was not a case where the regulation was issued and filed away. Senior officers expected junior leaders to know not just the manual of arms and maneuvering, but also the leadership lessons on the care of their men.²¹²

²⁰⁹ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 142.

²¹⁰ William Heath. "William Heath Papers, 1774-1872, Orderly Books." vol. 28 (17 August 1776—3 February 1780), Papers of William Heath, 1774-1872, DL9806, microfilm 62, Massachusetts Historical Society, DLAR. [May 12, 1779]

²¹¹ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [October 9, 1779] "The General flatters himself that every officer from a consciousness of the doing of his duty and a laudable sense of being well acquainted with the new system of regulations has paid all that care and attention to the study of them which the importance of the case requires – but less there should be any who by absence on other causes have not had the opportunity of perfecting themselves therein he [?] by recommends to them the [?] application"

²¹² Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 44. Cox dismissed Steuben's manual as basic and not

Many soldiers and officers noted in their letters and diaries the changes brought about by Steuben's drill at Valley Forge.²¹³ However, some that were closest to the training never saw it as worthy of mentioning. For example, Elijah Fisher kept a journal during his four enlistments in the Army. Fisher served as a private every enlistment and did not make sergeant until the end of his last tour. In contrast to some other individuals, Steuben did not even make enough of an impression to be mentioned in Fisher's journal until two years later, even though Fisher was assigned to Washington's Life Guard and must have witnessed Steuben drilling and teaching in early March.²¹⁴ Steuben's leadership lessons understandably made more of an impression on junior leaders than they did on the ordinary privates. The privates probably were only vaguely aware of the Blue Book through their constant drilling and admonitions during daily formations

what the Continental Army needed. "If any text gained wide currency, it was Steuben's, which covered the basics of camp life, drill, and military organization rather than tactics and strategy, which was information the Continental Army probably needed more." Cox did not acknowledge that books on tactics and strategy abounded in the eighteenth century. The Continental Army needed junior leaders and soldiers who could execute tactics and strategy rather than develop new ones. Like previous historians, Cox concentrated on the manual's first two sections and overlooked the importance of the third section. This seemed all the more remarkable when Cox's work concentrated on how men became officers and gentlemen to reinforce class distinctions.

²¹³ Martin, *A Narrative*, 86. "After I joined my regiment I was kept constantly, when off other duty, engaged in learning the Baron de Steuben's new Prussian exercise; it was a continual drill."; Greenman, *Diary*, 134.; Denny, *Denny Journal*, 234. "Baron Steuben, our great military oracle."; Samuel Richards, "Personal Narrative of an Officer in the Revolutionary War," *United Service: a Quarterly Review of Military and Naval Affairs (1879-1905)* vol. 4, no. 4 (1903), 364. "Baron Steuben having arrived in the country to introduce into our army the Prussian discipline, a French officer was sent from him on to the Point, and two hundred men were selected to pass through the exercises as a model, of which I had the command, and two days in the week we used to go through the exercises, with maneuvering and firing. This was a pleasant part of duty, and was like sunshine after a severe storm."; Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution*, 32. [June, 1778] "the 8th Our Regt. learnt the New exercise."

²¹⁴ Elijah Fisher, and William Berry Lapham, *Elijah Fisher's Journal while in the War for Independence, and Continued Two Years After He Came to Maine, 1775-1784*, (Augusta, ME: Press of Badger and Manley, 1880), 7, 15. "The 30th (March 1778) I joined the Life guard and liked being there much better than being in the [regiment] let them go where they would." "The 23d. (July 1780) We was Ensppected by Gen. Barren Stuben and I was drawn out to jine the Lite Infantry and jined Capt. Abbitts Company."

when officers and sergeants passed down directives contained in orderly books. Many privates might have never read the “textbook,” but they heard the lectures delivered by their leaders, who tried to emulate the “Instructions for” their respective ranks as written in the Blue Book.

Orderly Books

Orderly books have been a resource seldom utilized by military historians. The reasons become obvious once one begins examining their contents.²¹⁵ While the books contain orders, scribes recorded very few battlefield orders in the books. Someone trying to understand how a battle developed would be hard pressed to find anything useful in orderly books.²¹⁶ This scarcity makes sense when you consider that the regiment and company level verbal commands dictated time-sensitive actions on the battlefield. Why would a scribe need to write down what had already happened and had little bearing on the future? Orderly books contained more enduring directives of what needed to happen more than a few minutes into the future, and were mainly focused on encampment, garrison, or non-battle operations. Many historians have overlooked the significance of orderly books in educating leaders. Since the junior leaders’ managerial and leadership skills developed in these non-battle operations, orderly books proved an ideal source for my investigation.

²¹⁵ For one of the few extensive examinations of orderly books, see John A. Ruddiman, “A Record in the Hands of Thousands: Power and Negotiation in the Orderly Books of the Continental Army,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 67, no. 4 Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, (2010) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.67.4.0747>.

²¹⁶ Ruddiman, “A Record in the Hands of Thousands,” 748. Some social historians have mined the books for their arguments.

Since the Blue Book functioned as a textbook, orderly books served as records of lectures and ensured the training's consistency across geographically separated units. My investigation discovered numerous accounts of instruction and examples that would be recognizable to current MBA students learning about leadership and management. Orderly books contained lessons on cost accounting, finance, payroll, administration, human resource techniques, public relations, communications, conflict resolution, and project management to name a few. American orderly books differed from their British counterparts in that American versions were as dedicated to teaching as to recording higher headquarters' directives. The process of disseminating information followed a simple routine.

Adjutants, first sergeants, and orderly sergeants received their orders at daily meetings held at higher headquarters. The time when adjutant and sergeants received their orders as well as when the orders would be disseminated throughout the ranks became standardized in the Continental Army.²¹⁷ Leaders orally disseminated the information from orderly books daily when soldiers and leaders paraded (stood in formation). Leaders lectured; soldiers asked questions. Orderly books formed an important link in maintaining unit discipline, and commanders inspected them regularly.²¹⁸ In the military, verbal orders had the

²¹⁷ Robert Kirkwood, *The journal and order book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental line*, ed. Joseph Brown Turner (Wilmington, DE: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), 62. [May 19, 1777] "All the Field Offs are Desired to attend at head Quarters this Evening at 6 O'clock except those on Duty, the Adjut to attend orderly time at Eleven O'clock each Day."; Coit, "Starr's Orderly Book, 1779," 210. "he shall keep an exact journal of all the operations and orders that it may serve for justification"

²¹⁸ Jonathan Titus. 1779, *Capt. John Titus's Company, Fourth New York Regiment, May 29—August 6, 1779, Fort Plank, NY*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 8. [June 1, 1779] "The Commanding officer is willing to

same authority as written documents. Orderly books were not legal documents designed for lawyers, but notes for leaders and soldiers. As such, styles varied amongst units and individuals. Spelling, as characteristic of eighteenth-century writing, varied amongst individuals, and abbreviations followed sundry forms. Many orderly books utilized a form of shorthand that may not be readily apparent when single entries are viewed but is intelligible when viewed in context. Due to these factors, I have spelled out abbreviations, standardized spelling, and added punctuation with some quotes to facilitate the reader's comprehension. This will allow the reader to encounter the text as the soldier might have heard it on the parade ground. I also included the dates on entries. Some orderly books are not page numbered while published transcriptions do contain page numbers and dates. The dates will allow the reader to understand when in the war the entries occurred. Any errors in translation or transcription are mine alone.

Orderly books in western European Armies served the important function of transmitting and recording higher headquarters orders and directives to subordinate units. During the daily meetings, adjutants and sergeants would hear and write down signs and counter signs for guards, requests for details, orders of march, as well as promotions and courts-martial results. Under normal circumstances, only essential information made it into orderly books. During the

believe that some of the officers commanding Companies have inadvertently neglected to absence the orders of the 24th. of May wish he hopes for the future will be rectified. The adjutant is every Saturday to examine the orderly Books of every company and if he finds they do not agree with his book he is to report the orderly serjt. who the have neglected their Duty"; Knox, "9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book" [February 20, 1780] "The adjutants will make immediate application to the brigade major for the [review] of regulation books, company books, and soldier books wanting to complete the inspection regiments who will deliver them according to the returns. All entries in the new books are to commence from January 1, 1780."

American Revolution, British orderly books contained only orders necessary for discipline and order.²¹⁹ Less writing was involved, and the experienced noncommissioned knew what was expected of them and their soldiers.

British Army orderly books of the period reflected the more professional nature of their forces. Of the several Revolutionary War era orderly books investigated, they predominantly contained the type of information one would expect of a seasoned force: where to be when and what soldiers should have with them. British orderly books contained very little by way of explanation for orders or appealing to a soldier's patriotism.²²⁰ Fred Anderson described British orderly books as "terse and peremptory."²²¹ Instead of a teaching tool, British orderly books served as a copying machine to disseminate direction to the units, ensuring orders had been propagated correctly to all levels. The contemporary British military manuals required and expected an unbending obedience to orders by their soldiers.

Continental Army orderly books differed from their British equivalents in

²¹⁹ For an example of British Orderly book contents, see A. R. Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781: II," *The North Carolina Historical Review* vol. 9, no. 2 North Carolina Office of Archives and History, (1932) , 180. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23516409>. [December 20, 1780] "The Troops will be ready to March at Six O' Clock tomorrow Morning, but not move 'till further orders. All the baggage to be in the road by the Artillery Park opposite Head Quarters a quarter before Six O'Clock."

²²⁰ Robert Clayton, "Extracts from the Orderly-Book of Major Robert Clayton, of the Seventeenth Regiment British Foot, 1778," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* vol. 25, no. 1 Historical Society of Pennsylvania, (1901) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20085955>.; A. R. Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781," *The North Carolina Historical Review* vol. 9, no. 1 North Carolina Office of Archives and History, (1932) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23514882>.; Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781: II.,"; A. R. Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781: III," *The North Carolina Historical Review* vol. 9, no. 3 North Carolina Office of Archives and History, (1932) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23515125>.; A. R. Newsome, "A British Orderly Book, 1780-1781: IV," *The North Carolina Historical Review* vol. 9, no. 4 North Carolina Office of Archives and History, (1932) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23515215>.

²²¹ Anderson, *A People's Army*, 127.

substantial ways. American senior officers could rely on neither experienced junior officers nor sergeants to intuitively grasp their responsibilities and implied tasks. Continental Army orderly books contained many more explanations of tasks and commanders' reasonings for events such as court-martial verdicts.²²² American officers needed to explain to their junior leaders and soldiers why certain actions were necessary or why decisions were made. British officers did not have this requirement.

British and American officers had different assumptions concerning obedience to their orders. British leadership expected that their orders would be faithfully executed with no explanation needed. This is not to say that Continental Army officers did not desire the same type of obedience.²²³ Records seemed to indicate Continental Army soldiers obeyed commands without question in

²²² Samuel Frost. 1780, *Col. Thomas Nixon's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, February 9—July 1, 1780, New York & New Jersey*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 3, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 39. "[February 29, 1780] "The General Court Martial Ordered to try Ensign Brown of the 10th Mass'tts Regt Neglect of Duty in leaving his guard the 11th of Feby at night, and continuing absent for a considerable time, have unanimously found him Guilty, and have sentenced him to be reprimanded—General Howe entertains the highest respect for the court, but both the sincerity & duty exact of him to declare that in his opinion a reprimand is by no means a punishment adequate to the offense—In the capacity the Ensign was acting, he was one of the confidential guardians of the safety, life, liberty, and honor of the Army. The trust was sacred, and ought not to be trifled with.— The least negligence in the office of a Guard, may be attended with the most fatal consequences, and should be treated with the most rigid justice—The Ensign pleads that the crime leaving their guards, had been often committed by other officers—to recriminate however does not justify, so that it would have been happy for this officer, if he had taken those characters as warnings, rather than examples, but has this offense been frequent in the army, if it has, have not officers of the day observed it, if they have why have they not reported it. This practice however (if it has been one) must not be repeated, as it is unsoldierly, & dangerous to service."; Nathanael Greene. 1781, *Orderly book kept at headquarters of General Nathanael Greene during the Southern Campaign in South Carolina, 5 April-4 September 1781, Ramsey's Mill, Evan's Mill, Colston's Ferry, Camden, Ninety-Six, Camp High Hills, Santee, Fort Motte and elsewhere Five*. MSS L2001F7 M MB [Bound], SOC, August 20, 1781.

²²³ Heth, "Orderly Book," 344. "The General wishes it on these Accounts & for his own ease and satisfaction; for as nothing is more easy then to conduct an Army when a cheerful & ready obedience is paid every order, so nothing is more difficult & embarrassing, when a careless, licentious & disorderly spirit prevails."

combat, but off the battlefield was an entirely different matter. When not under fire, American soldiers expected an explanation for orders. If an officer or non-commissioned officer could not explain the rationale for a task, he encountered resistance from the soldier.²²⁴ Under such conditions, Continental Army leaders both learned and taught while performing their jobs. Often these instructions or orders could be categorized as lectures to the men since they explained what had to be done and why it was important.²²⁵ Leaders had to read and understand the orderly book's contents to field the inevitable questions from soldiers.²²⁶ "It is expected that no officer of the Army, neglects to make himself acquainted with

²²⁴ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [June 3, 1778] "the General decrees the officers of all Corps to inculcate on their respective guards, sentry and patrols the greatest vigilance and alertness and duty, and by so means to attend them to given in the least remiss, neglect in guards or sentinels is unpardonable – as they are the eyes of a garrison or Army, should they slumber on their post the Severest Punishment should be inflicted, and disgrace and infamy consequent but all these may come far short of attaining for the consequences of their neglect."

²²⁵ Edward Hand. 1779, *Orderly Book of the German Regiment, 19 June - 30 July 1779, kept during Major General John Sullivan's Expedition to the Indian Towns*. MSS 665A [Bound], SOC, 19. [July 6, 1779] "Notwithstanding the order of 24 June with respect to bathing so which restrict to the soldiers to certain hours, was designed alone to prevent those disorders which would otherwise ensue. The general is astonished to see it broken in such frequent instances. Being however determined to prevent a practice so dangerous to the health of the troops all officers are hereby directed to order and see that 20 lashes be inflicted instantly upon any soldier they may found guilty of a breach of it in the future. The Brigadier will please to order a sentinel at the most suitable prospects in order to detect delinquents of this kind. Those whose health may require their bathing oftener than the order prescribes may, obtain the liberty for that purpose in writing from the regimental surgeon..."; Bodle, *The Valley Forge Winter*, 75. Bodle views orderly book entries in a different perspective. "Dictated the night before at headquarters, these remarks addressed an endless stream of housekeeping details, but they also formed a kind of paternalistic narrative in which the commander in chief cajoled army members, reminded them, warned them, placated them, and sometimes tried to amuse them."

²²⁶ Heth, "Orderly Book," 344. "An orderly book is a record in the hands of thousands, of the Transactions of an army, and consequently of the disgrace of those whose Insensibility to the Obligations they are under, and whose want of manly emulation of temper obliges the Commander-in-Chief to publish their misconduct by repeating his calls upon them to discharge their duty."; Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 149. [May 20, 1778] "The orders of this day relatives of the men are to be read to them company by company, and to be considered by the Army is standing orders."; Robert Howe. *Robert Howe orderly book, 1776-1778, Charleston and Saint Augustine*. M-1332, vol. 1, Clements, 141. [May 20, 1778] "The orders of this day relative to the man, are to be read to them company by company, & to be considered by the Army as standing orders."; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 78.

the general orders, and that they are read daily on the regimental parade.”²²⁷

While current readers might find some ideas such as restrictions against bathing or swimming funny, senior leaders actually thought they were preserving their soldiers’ health. As an added benefit, company grade commissioned officers generated a written record in the orderly books they could study or refer to later. When one examines orderly books as a series of lectures, the breadth of tasks taught and learned by junior leaders is revealed to be staggering.

The scope of lectures in orderly books revealed an education far beyond that of manual of arms and marching in formation under fire. The *raison d’etre* for the Continental Army’s junior leaders remained the effective application of combat power on the battlefield. During the long periods between campaigning, junior leaders also learned how to impose discipline, dispense justice, lead people under arduous conditions, manage resources, maintain order and safety in camps, preside over dispersed on-going enterprises, and connect and integrate them through transportation networks, supply chains, and financial instruments.

Orderly books served many roles in the Continental Army. The books could function as a job site to recruit hard-to-find skill sets among the enlisted and officer ranks. The Army remained wanting in artisans and skilled labor throughout the war and attempted to internally source their shortfalls. Privates could avoid less glamorous and tiring jobs such as guard duty and police call if they possessed skills or had special knowledge.²²⁸ The skill might be as simple as

²²⁷ Lamar, and Sprigg, “Greene orderly book, April 5 - September 4, 1781” [July 18, 1781]

²²⁸ Police call is the military term for picking up trash or tidying up an area.

making hay or fishing or as specialized as printing or using explosives on rocks.²²⁹ Encampments always needed carpenters.²³⁰ Soldiers could often earn extra pay and learned of these opportunities through orderly books.²³¹ When the Army formed its Sapper corps, it recruited officers through the orderly books.²³²

Another task was to teach junior leaders how to take care of people and build unit esprit de corps. They learned how to care for the dead, conduct memorials

²²⁹ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 11. [July 23, 1779] "Five able bodied men acquainted with making Hay & mowing"; Richard Platt. 1779, *Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division, October 31, 1778—April 29, 1779, New York & Connecticut*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 2, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 155. [April 11, 1778] "Brigades will furnish an equal proportions of Men, who understand Fishing for the Seine that is now finished, and for that which is making. An Officer from each Brigade will attend"; Peter Taulman. 1778, *Col. William Malcolm's Additional Continental Regiment, Pennsylvania, April 20—May 15, 1778, Valley Forge, PA*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 3, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 89. [May 21, 1778] "If there are any persons in the arms who understand making thin paper such as Bank notes are struck upon, they are Desired to apply immediately at the orderly office where they will be shewn a sample of the paper, officer commanding Regts are desired to publish this in Regt orders."; Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 46. [September 3, 1779] "six men acquainted with blowing and splitting rocks"; Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 3," 65. [March 14, 1780] "The ship carpenters, boat builders, and caulkers, in each brigade, to be immediately drafted. They are to work at West Point and receive orders from Brigadier General Patterson"

²³⁰ Samuel Frost. 1779, *Col. Thomas Nixon's Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, October 2, 1779—February 7, 1780, New York & New Jersey*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 2, EBSCOhost. NYHS. [February 4, 1780] "All the carpenters in the Massachusetts line are to be immediately detached to make some repairs at the North redoubt – they are to be put under the care of a subaltern officer acquainted with that business."

²³¹ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 51. "Genl Orders All the Carpenters belonging to the Different Corps are to parade at Head Quarters at eight OClock tomorrow morning. Additional wages will be given to good workmen." Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [April 18, 1778] "The carpenters will be allowed 45 shillings per month in addition to their pay & a daily allowance of rum."

²³² Peter Taulman. 1778, *Col. William Malcolm's Additional Continental Regiment, Pennsylvania, May 23 - June 16, 1778, Valley Forge, PA*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 4, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 64. [June 9, 1778] "3 Capts & 9 Lieuts officer are wanted to officer the Company of Sappers, as this Corps will he a school of Engineering, it opens a prospects to such Gentlemen as enter it and pursue the necessary will studies of diligence, of becoming engineers, and rising to the important employment, attach'd to that profession, such as the direction of fortify'd places &c &c— The qualifications required of the candidates are that they be natives and have and a knowledge of the mathematics and drawing, or at least be disposed to apply themselves to those studies. They will give in their names at headquarters."

and funeral services for individuals with dignity, and allow people to pay respects and mourn. “When any noncommissioned officer or soldier dies in the hospital an exact account is to be taken of what ever effects he dies possessed of and certified by the superintending officer together with the effects are to be sent to the officers commanding the company to which he formerly belonged.”²³³ How leaders pay respects to the dead within their community could either increase or decrease their stature within the public estimation.²³⁴ Orderly books also served as a transition guide for newly assigned officers and soldiers.²³⁵ One can imagine new officers or non-commissioned officers reviewing orderly books the same way current leaders study standard operating procedures or review policy letters to gain a sense of the unit or company and its organization and culture. Senior officers used orderly books to communicate with the men directly by having their words recorded and read during parade. On occasion, senior officers would ask for feedback from their subordinates.²³⁶ This dialogue through orderly books

²³³ Cornelius Russell. 1779, *Lt. Cornelius Russell's personal orderly book of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment: Reading, CT, February 8—April 28, 1779*. MSS L2004F86 M [Bound], SOC, 29. [April 29, 1779]

²³⁴ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [June 19, 1778] “The funeral of the unfortunate Lieut. Bannon is to be this afternoon. The general desires that every mark of decency and respect may be exhibited in the countenances & behavior of the guards which the solemnity of death in every instance dictates as well becoming rational beings, every act of kindness is to be afforded, a sufficient number of non-commissioned officers and privates of the troops of the convention are to be permitted to bare the corpse from the funeral house to the place of interment and are to return immediately to the Hill.

²³⁵ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [April 10, 1778] “such officers as were not in the former regiments will please to make themselves acquainted with the former orders by perusing the orderly books and enquiring of those officers who still remain in the regiment.”

²³⁶ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 204. [Oct 13, 1777] “Division Orders. The General is extremely sorry to Inform the Officers of his Division that he was yesterday Inform' d in the hearing of the Commander in Chief, That the Officers of the Division were universilly dissatisfied with being under his Command and had no confidence in him as an Officer, and that they had declared it publickly in many places and at all Oppertunities, This report so to them if False and to him if True, he wishes to have cleared up, he therefore desires every Commissioned to give him candidly their sentiments upon the matter, he promises them that if any considerable part of the Officers are uneasy under his Command he shall take it kind in them to let him know it

demonstrated consideration for the soldiers and built esprit de corps within the unit. Orderly books also served as the modern-day equivalent of a military orderly room bulletin board or newspaper column, disseminating results of military justice and containing summations of court-martial procedures that leaders read to their soldiers.

The courts-martial accounts explained the punishments for violating the Articles of War as well as recording the court's findings. Reading the results from the orderly books also explained to the soldiers why leaders did what they did. Sometimes commanders chose not to publish results for security reasons: "The determination of the court against Silas Hather and Silas Perry two prisoners accused of being enemies to America, for certain reasons shall not be published at present."²³⁷ Through orderly books, courts-martial results made it down to the company level and individual soldier. Leaders had to explain to soldiers why their fellow soldiers had been punished and that they had received a fair hearing. Such information was especially crucial for the unit's morale when proceedings involved soldiers from their own units.²³⁸ Some courts-martial results, like Captain Norwood's, took over sixteen pages to recount and even included why General Washington disapproved the original sentence. Senior leaders obviously intended junior leaders to understand what Captain Norwood had done and why the offense's seriousness demanded a sterner punishment than originally

and he, will immediately remove that difficulty by quitting the Division the instant he finds them wish for it but if on the contrary the report has no foundation or truth, he expects and desires them to take the proper Steps to bear the publick testimony against it."

²³⁷ Reed, "Reed Orderly Book" [June 13, 1778]

²³⁸ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 95. [July 2, 1777]; Titus, "Titus Company, Fourth New York Regiment orderly book," 33-34.[June 29, 1779]

contemplated.²³⁹

When a particularly egregious act had occurred, orderly books recounted the details of the case as well as how it should have been handled. For example, officers striking soldiers could undermine discipline and morale within a unit.²⁴⁰ Junior leaders also learned how to handle allegations of misconduct by other commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Through orderly books, the enlisted ranks learned how officers should conduct themselves as well. Both sides learned the standards by which the other was expected to abide.

Joseph Plumb Martin used this type of knowledge when he recounted the aforementioned story about the privates firing their weapons to keep the officers awake during the night when the officers did not see to their soldiers' shelter before their own. Martin also included the bad examples when officers misbehaved, or when an officer did not listen to his soldiers and almost caused a unit-wide disturbance. An aide-de-camp accused a sergeant of deserting his post when the sergeant was in fact carrying out the orders of his superior officer to procure additional ammunition amid the battle. The aide-de-camp drew his sword

²³⁹ For an example of conduct unbecoming and Washington's response, see Ronald S. McDougall. 1778, *Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall's Division, August 15—November 7, 1778, New York & Connecticut*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 1, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 43, 89.

²⁴⁰ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 133. [Aug 7, 1777] "Ens. Farmer try'd by A Genl Court Martial for striking a soldier, whereof Col. Smith was president the Court were unanimously of opinion that Ens. Farmer was justifiable in striking Thomas Allen, for his insolence and disobedience of his orders, & that Mr. Farmer ought to be acquitted of his arrest with Honour, the Genl highly approves the sentence and orders Mr. Farmer ought to be Acquitted of his Arrest with honour, the Genl highly approves the Sentence and orders Mr. Farmer to be Released from his arrest the Genl also orders Thos Allen released from his Confinement. Though the Genl would by no means encourage Officers in striking soldiers upon every trivial occasion, yet he can never think of countenancing the soldiers in giving impertinent & abusive language to Officers, & he desires that in future no Officer may put another in arrest where there is only a suspicion of his guilt, but that instead thereof an application may be made for a court of inquiry."

and ordered the sergeant back to his unit. The sergeant then cocked and pointed his musket at the aide and told him he intended to follow his officer's orders. The sergeant was subdued and sentenced for execution. When he had been brought before the troops for execution, the commander issued a last-minute stay. The planned execution had not been well received by the Connecticut troops. As Martin recorded, "But the Sergeant was reprieved, and I believe it was well that he was, for his blood would have not been the only blood that would have been spilt...[But], as I said before, it was well that it ended as it did, both on account of the honor of the soldiers and the safety of some others...."²⁴¹ This was an extreme example of how bad leadership almost precipitated mutinous conduct. Privates, sergeants and officers learned what was expected of them in various situations through orderly books.

Orderly books gained importance for leaders as the war progressed as an accused could no longer feign ignorance of orders as a defense. Additionally, senior officers held junior leaders responsible for their men's ignorance of orders. As senior leaders are wont to do, they quizzed enlisted soldiers regarding recent directives. More than once during the war, the senior leaders found the privates ignorant of standing orders. "The general upon questioning many soldiers yesterday, found them entirely ignorant even of the orders issued relative to them. It behooves officers in future, either commission or noncommissioned, whose duty it is to communicate or relate to them, a strict compliance with this

²⁴¹ Martin, *A Narrative*, 34-35.

order is expected and will be exacted.”²⁴² If junior leaders had recorded the lessons in orderly books and taught them to the soldiers, leaders and soldiers had no excuse. When the senior officers tested them, the soldiers should have been able to pass. As noted, senior officers routinely quizzed and inspected soldiers, and this effort provided feedback on a leader’s effectiveness and comprehension of the material by officer and private alike.

Scholars have long appreciated the substantial improvements effected by Baron von Steuben’s training and Washington’s continual focus on officer education to improve the Army’s combat effectiveness.²⁴³ As with most Revolutionary War military historians and scholars, they focused on the soldiers’ immediate application of this newly acquired knowledge and competence in deciding the war. Historians pay scant attention to what soldiers did with this knowledge after the war. If one thinks of the ability to load a musket in the required number of steps or executing complex marching movements under fire as covered in the Blue Book as the sum total of the soldiers’ new knowledge, then one could be forgiven for seeing little or no benefit from this education in postwar life.²⁴⁴ If, however, one considers the leadership tenets and

²⁴² Elbert, “Georgia Regiment Orderly Book,” 140. [May 11, 1778]

²⁴³ Higginbotham, *Washington and the American Military Tradition*, 71.; Palmer, *General Von Steuben*, 204. “Insofar as the Continental Army influenced our national history, this book must be regarded as one of the most influential books ever published in America. Nor was its influence solely military. In knitting thirteen discordant state contingents into a homogeneous national army, it gave the first effective model of future political union.”; Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*, 5110. “Steuben worked no miracles, but at Monmouth the field- and company-grade officers marched into battle and deployed with considerable expertise. Thus, if the American battalions were hardly examples of a crack drill team, they were better prepared than ever before.”

²⁴⁴ Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 137-38. Cox seemed to grasp that more than drilling and maneuvers were contained in the Blue Book but missed the importance to leader development. “He [Steuben] knew that discipline was not just about drilling and maneuvers. His book noted the importance of separating latrines from food preparation and both from tents where men lived. He

responsibilities in the Blue Book's third section as knowledge easily applied to postwar civilian positions of authority, then scholars have overlooked an important benefit of military service in the early Republic.

The value of Steuben's *Regulations* and the Continental Army's orderly books are in what they clearly revealed about the leadership development program. The skills and experience junior leaders obtained during their tours and applied to subsequent civilian occupations are readily identifiable. The military furnished junior leaders with skills beyond the manual of arms and marching. Those who served extended periods of time in the Continental Army, learned how to lead people in austere environments and build communities – literally – in encampments, manage resources, function within a bureaucracy, and establish law and order.

Conclusion

Military service affected individuals for the long term. Individuals can be physically or mentally traumatized by their time in the Army. While veterans might have left the Army financially impoverished and scarred by their experience, they also carried with them a reservoir of knowledge they employed in the coming decades. Military service can also supply opportunities for personal growth and confidence. The Army provided many young men the opportunity to assume

also gave step-by-step instructions on how an officer could supervise his men's cleanliness, even spelling out the orders for seeing that the "straw and bedding [are] well aired,' the men's hair combed, and 'their hands and faces washed clean.'" She then dismisses the significance in the next sentence "However, by the time these instructions were available, the Army was already gaining in experience."

positions of authority and develop their leadership abilities who might have never had the opportunity before the war. As the cohort's success in postwar occupations demonstrated, many junior leaders took their military experience and continued to serve in civilian positions of authority. The next chapter will investigate how the Army developed them as leaders and what skills and techniques the junior leaders might have used in civilian jobs.

Chapter 5 Leading Diverse Individuals under Arduous Conditions in War and Peace

Introduction

The Continental Army's junior leaders learned how to lead diverse individuals under arduous conditions during their time in the military. One must understand how the Continental Army was organized in units and branches, manned by a diverse population, and the onerous circumstances of camp living to comprehend how Washington and Steuben developed company grade officers and sergeants. By examining the circumstances under which the junior leaders learned their skills, the importance of the military experience becomes clear on how they were able to transfer their knowledge gain in the Army to new jobs on the frontier.

The Continental Army's organization and command structure governed how senior leaders implemented the Blue Book's regulations and the leadership development program.²⁴⁵ Each type of unit had its own distinct organization and leadership responsibilities. Line units consisted of infantry, artillery, and cavalry soldiers. Line units were those engaged in close combat with the enemy. Enlisted men's ranks consisted of privates and non-commissioned officers. Non-commissioned officers' ranks included corporal, sergeant, first sergeant, and sergeants-major. The company grade commissioned officers were ensign, second lieutenant, first lieutenant, and captain. Company grade refers to the level at which these individuals served. Field grade ranks served at larger-sized units

²⁴⁵ Wright, *The Continental Army* Wright's work remains indispensable in understanding the Continental Army's organization, development, and influences.

such as battalions, regiments, and brigades. Field grade ranks were major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel. The general officer ranks are self-explanatory. The Continental Army had numerous branches organized to accomplish specific missions: infantry, cavalry, artillery, quartermaster, commissary, and Sappers/Miners (engineers). These unit types comprised the Army's uniformed portion—the soldiers.

The Continental Army was comprised of more than just white men. The Army contained representatives of all social classes, races, and sexes within its ranks and community. The Army's diverse community provided recurring occasions for junior leaders to practice Blue Book leadership skills with personnel in uniform and civilian, free and enslaved, male and female, Euro-American, African-American, and Native-American. These frequent opportunities to work with all manner of Americans honed the veterans' leadership skills obtained through on-the-job training and the leadership development program. This practice taught lessons veterans put to use in postwar occupations. They knew how to create discipline, law, and order in trying circumstances. The skills these veterans attained during service could be readily applied in the most common civilian leadership positions in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

Army Organization

The Continental Army formed by combining smaller elements into larger units. Squads were combined into platoons. Platoons had an ensign or lieutenant and several non-commissioned officers. Two platoons or ranks made a company. Ensigns, second lieutenants, and first lieutenants led the platoons while a captain

commanded the company. Each platoon had two squads under non-commissioned officers responsible for their care.²⁴⁶ At full strength, sixty-eight soldiers composed a company. The actual number of soldiers varied widely between units during the war for the usual reasons: furloughs, illness, desertions, injuries, and recruiting failures. Commanders combined several companies into battalions or regiments normally led by a lieutenant colonel or colonel. Early in the war, ten companies formed a regiment. After 1778, the Blue Book called for eight companies in a regiment.²⁴⁷ Several battalions or regiments comprised a brigade. The Continental Army epitomized hierarchical organization. A single man at each level commanded a successively larger number of individuals. While unit size had varied during the war, the types of responsibilities at each level remained stable. Only the number of soldiers involved changed. A single individual at each level maintained responsibility for educating his sub-officers and delegated the authority to ensure his subordinate leaders and staff officers taught the lessons and explained the concepts. The orderly books recorded these instructions and lessons. Divisions, brigades, regiments, and companies maintained their own separate orderly books — a fact of considerable importance for historians. The separate level orderly books allow scholars to investigate what leaders desired to teach their subordinates.

The Army's organization changed frequently during the war. After the battles

²⁴⁶ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 138. Regulations required the sergeant to keep a record of information pertaining to each soldier—a soldier book. Interestingly, none of these records seem to have survived the war and made it into the archives.

²⁴⁷ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 7.; Eugene Michael Sanchez-Saavedra, 1946, *A guide to Virginia military organizations in the American Revolution, 1774-1787*, (Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library, 1978), 3.

of Trenton and Princeton in January 1777, the brigade became the major functional unit of the Continental Army. Each brigade consisted of several infantry regiments and artillery batteries. Brigades could be formed into divisions during campaigns. Brigades had the ability to operate independently of the main Army.²⁴⁸ Later, Congress approved a reorganization of the Army in the spring of 1778 that left numerous officers without a job, but it took almost a year to complete.²⁴⁹ These organizational changes later in the war were not a result of problems with managing and leading units. Rather, the states' inability or reluctance to fill quotas and the pressing need for tactical flexibility drove reorganization. Under the reorganization, units consolidated, leaving many officers without units to command or positions to fill.²⁵⁰

Given the apparent excess of officers, one could reasonably ask why the Continental Army needed to invest so much effort in training more of them. The answer is deceptively simple: The Continental Army needed more than just veteran officers who had experienced combat. The Continental Army required junior leaders who could administer the Army between battles. Physical courage, while a battlefield requisite, could not compensate for a lack of leadership and management away from smoke, shot, and steel. During the intervals between campaigns, recruiting, educating, and training leaders became a senior leader

²⁴⁸ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 119.

²⁴⁹ US Congress. "In Congress, 27th May 1778: Establishment of the American Army." (Yorktown, PA: Printed by John Dunlap, last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019. <https://lccn.loc.gov/90898050>. ; Wright, *The Continental Army*, 150, 157. The Army would be reorganized again in 1781 because of Washington's input.

²⁵⁰ Several Virginia officers took the opportunity to move west into Kentucky or to join Virginia state troops in support of George Rogers Clark campaigns in the west.

priority with added urgency during the Valley Forge encampment and afterwards.

The Continental Army encampment was more than just a collection of units. It was a complex city comprised of a series of small towns, each with its own distinct set of services and hierarchy that collocated for logistics and defense. The encampment changed locations during the war. The Continental Army encampment might have been the fourth or fifth largest city on the Atlantic seaboard every time it moved. Whatever one could find in a city and its environs, one could find around the encampment.²⁵¹ How do you train leaders with little to no background to manage and lead such a complicated undertaking? Two years of campaigning had made Washington cognizant of the problem of developing leaders. Steuben's training and regulations provided Washington with a way to institutionalize a leadership development program that enabled him to manage the complex camp life of an Army.

Leadership

Leadership in the Continental Army required persuading men and women to accomplish a goal in the face of adversity. The Army's organizational structure provided a hierarchical arrangement to transmit the orders or goals throughout the organization, and the Articles of War established the legal basis to punish individuals who did not obey. Even with both of these foundations, men and

²⁵¹ Olson, "The Continental Army as a Mobile City."; Elliot, "The Highlands War: Civilians, Soldiers, and Environment in Northern New Jersey, 1777-1781," 31, 433. In December 1779, the Morristown encampment had 10,875 men present and fit for duty. This figure does not include those soldiers who were sick, on furlough or on other duties. It also does not count the women and children who were part of the camp but rarely ever counted. When one compares the population numbers for colonial cities in 1775, the encampment in December 1779 was the sixth largest city in the 13 colonies [Philadelphia, PA—40,000, New York City—25,000, Boston, MA—16,000, Charles Town SC—12,000, Newport, RI—11,000]

women still often had to be persuaded to obey orders. The threat of punishment alone was seldom enough. When the *rage militaire* subsided and payment in Continental currency became not only infrequent but essentially worthless, leaders had to employ practices emphasized in the Blue Book: concern for others, frequent interactions, respectful and proper behavior, and demonstrated competency as an officer. Each rank, in turn, had to teach the skills to their subalterns.

Officers and Rank

The Continental Army began the Revolutionary War with severe disadvantages in obtaining leaders as compared to the British Army. The British Army acquired the vast majority of its officers from either the aristocracy or the nobility. While some enlisted men earned battlefield promotions to the commissioned officer ranks, such promotions remained rare. The British Army regiments developed their noncommissioned officers internally. The average British sergeant served ten years as private prior to selection as a noncommissioned officer.²⁵² The British Army relied on on-the-job training for both its commissioned and noncommissioned officers. Even though many faulted the British Army system of purchasing officer commissions, scholars have found

²⁵² Sylvia R. Frey, *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period*, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 23, 97. The average age of the British soldier in the Army when he joined was twenty. The average infantryman had ten years of service. He was part of a group of men who had lived, trained, and campaigned together for years, which in turn created an extremely strong bond of kinship. The men's immediate leaders, the noncommissioned officers, were predominantly promoted from within the ranks after many years of service. Although commissioned officers were responsible for the training of their men, the class-conscious officers found it demeaning and boring, and NCOs conducted the real training.

that the system produced very few absolute failures.²⁵³

Even though Continental Army leaders might have desired the experience, skills, gentlemanly attributes, and fortitude produced by the British system, they had neither the society nor the time to generate them.²⁵⁴ The United States had a landed and merchant gentry, but its society did not include a nobility or an aristocracy from which to produce junior commissioned officers. It did not have an upper-class society where entry into the full-time profession of arms constituted an accepted or available career path. By 1778, an individual's ability to raise, equip, and command his own company, and thereby obtain a Captain's rank, as was the case with Captain George Gray's, had passed.²⁵⁵ Promotions, especially from the lower ranks, required demonstrated competency more than wealth or social status. The congressional reorganization of the Army in 1778 and 1780 eliminated officer positions when regiments consolidated, and Congress assigned double duty to line officers as staff officers.²⁵⁶ While this

²⁵³ Gruber, *Books and the British Army*, 9. "Wealth, education, influence, and military connections were clear advantages to men entering the eighteenth-century British Army. But such advantages did not ensure successful careers: officers had eventually to prove themselves worthy of rank and responsibility."

²⁵⁴ Fred W. Anderson, "The Hinge of the Revolution: George Washington Confronts a People's Army, July 3, 1775," *Massachusetts Historical Review* vol. 1, Massachusetts Historical Society, (1999) , 34. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25081140>.; Martin, and Lender, *A Respectable Army*, 43.

²⁵⁵ R.C. Ballard Thruston Chapter. May 31, 1954, "Captain George Gray dedication of burial site Papers, 1960-1961." Sons of the American Revolution, Mss C S, FHS.

²⁵⁶ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 126. [May 27, 1778] "Another major area of reduction was the staff, where the adjutant, quartermaster, and paymaster ceased to be separate positions. Subalterns from line companies assumed the duties of the first two offices as additional tasks, while one of the captains, elected by the unit's officers, became paymaster as well. All three received extra compensation."; US Congress. "Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, October 21, 1780." Vol. XVIII, September 7-December 29, 1780, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, last modified n.d. accessed April 2, 2019., 959. [https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc01840\)\)](https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc01840)))). "That there be one captain and two subalterns to each company, and that the four supernumerary subalterns shall each have the rank of lieutenant, ...; the other three supernumerary officers to do the duty of paymaster, quartermaster and adjutant, in their respective regiments."

change increased a junior officer's workload beyond drilling soldiers, it provided additional opportunities to develop skills needed off the battlefield.

While some early historians and authors have tried to portray certain senior leaders as self-made through study, or destined to success because of ability, careful analysis shows that military experience was crucial. Even with a good family or educational foundation, the junior leaders needed training and experience to demonstrate their capability. Book learning and study carried them only so far. Even the famous stories of Nathanael Greene or Henry Knox learning their craft from books were somewhat misleading. As senior leaders, their training and education were not happenstance. Both men had years of on-the-job training and experience before their battlefield successes. They did not just read a book and appear on the battlefield as an incarnation of Mars. For junior leaders, Steuben condensed centuries of traditional on-the-job learning into short precepts in his manual, and then senior leaders reinforced them through repetition, instilled them through lessons captured in orderly books, and continuously tested them during short incidents of combat and long periods of encampment life. Steuben's "Instructions for" the different ranks required constant interaction with private soldiers while practicing drill and performing the leaders' duties in maintaining the encampment. How to give orders in various circumstances was a skill a leader had to master.

Although some officers might have seen drilling soldiers as below their station, the work gave them invaluable experience for leading the type of individual they would encounter out west. As the American Revolution

progressed, deference to social status became rare. Innate ability or “born to lead” could not be assumed because of social status or aristocratic pretensions. Leaders could no longer demand or expect respect. They would have to earn it. With few exceptions such as Daniel Morgan, Continental Army junior leaders did not attain leadership status because of their warrior credentials. Physical size, prowess with a sword or tomahawk, and even marksmanship skill seldom formed the basis of their claim to leadership. Junior leaders could not rely on inspiring men to follow them out of fear or awe, but out of faith in their ability.²⁵⁷ When the privates lacked belief in their commanders, problems ensued. Without trust in their leadership, officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, could not maintain discipline in their units. When one speaks of discipline in the Continental Army, it was not just enforcing strict obedience to orders. Junior leaders had to ensure soldiers completed the tasks punctually and to standard, even when not closely supervised. Leaders had to learn how to integrate pride, esprit de corps, reward, and punishment to lead men in hazardous situations while the soldiers regularly performed mind-numbing tasks such as guard or police call. Encampment operations provided numerous opportunities to refine their skills of leading through competence instead of deference to social standing or title.

Senior officers in combat could demand and expect instantaneous obedience to their commands; however, in encampments officers needed to explain their

²⁵⁷ Martin, *A Narrative*, 92. “a fine brave man he was; he feared nobody nor nothing.” When Martin referenced good leaders, he never mentioned or attributed leadership to physical size, prowess with weapons, or marksmanship ability. The other soldiers’ accounts surveyed did not mention such claims for junior leaders either. In the referenced incident, Martin shows respect for Captain’s courage and leadership ability in his prose.

orders to soldiers. Egos played an important role in leading men in the military and civilian arenas. Giving offense, real or perceived, had serious ramifications in leading individuals and groups. Junior leaders learned this very important lesson by observation and had it reinforced through his senior leader's remarks disseminated in orderly books. Orderly books often contained explanations of events that officers, or soldiers had misinterpreted. Attendance at councils of war was a privilege for senior leaders and something they expected. When it appeared that other senior leaders had excluded them, they often took offense as a rebuke that the senior leader did not value their counsel. Leaders learned that they needed to explain themselves to maintain a harmonious atmosphere within their units. General Elbert used the orderly to address his officers on July 4th, 1778 to clear up any misunderstandings amongst his officers.

Col[onel] Stirk, Col[onel] Rae, and some respectable field officers having understood that a council of war was held yesterday at the general's tent to which an officer, not superior in rank was admitted, and from which they were excluded, the general desirous of not having imputed to him a conduct as understood by them, unworthy of his own character and understanding, thinks proper to declare that he has not held a council of war since he came into this camp, nor would he hold one were any particular officer was called in, with out calling in all officers of equal rank, and that as to the conversation party he had with the Governor and Commodore yesterday (for it was no more) no officers of his army, the commandants of brigade excepted, were present except one gentleman, who was not called and but dropped in accidentally; this explanation the General hopes will be satisfactory to those officers who felt themselves neglected, and induce them to do him justice, in believing that he never meant or intended to treat them with a disrespect they have never deserved at his hands, which, therefore, he will be highly blamable in showing them, and which he is concerned there should have been any appearance of.²⁵⁸

This is a far cry from the simple idea that officers merely gave orders and

²⁵⁸ Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 174. [Jul 4, 1778]

expected everybody to obey without question.

Junior leaders and sergeants could take offense and let their tempers cause problems as easily as senior officers. Orderly books, such as General Elbert's, contain examples of senior leaders cautioning junior leaders on how they interacted with subordinates.

The court of inquiry ordered to sit on Adjutant Lowe report, as their opinion, that he was insolently treated by Sergeant Barkley be acquitted from his arrest, and orders that Sergeant Barkley be immediately ordered to the ranks as a private sentinel. Major Lane would have acted more becoming his character by coolly and impartially inquiring into the matter in dispute, between the adjutant and sergeant, before proceeding so hastily to an arrest. The commandant is determined to treat a corps of private soldiers with the same rigor for insolence and disobedience to a sergeant as he will like offense in a sergeant to his superior officer.²⁵⁹

Rash actions could often cause more problems than the offense the senior leader was attempting to correct. Officers learned that they needed to often answer questions before acting whenever the circumstances did not endanger life and limb. As noted earlier, Joseph Plumb Martin recorded an incident wherein an officer's rash action almost generated a mutiny.²⁶⁰ Junior leaders had to learn how to use their skills rather than rely on their rank and the Articles of War alone to persuade men to follow their orders.

Without role models, junior officers had to be taught how to be commissioned officers. The British had not stationed large units in the colonies prior to the Revolutionary War where potential cadets could have observed officers in garrison and the field. Cadets might have been able to imitate a gentlemen's

²⁵⁹ Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 166.

²⁶⁰ Martin, *A Narrative*, 34-35.

behavior through observation or study as Washington attempted while growing up. However, without a readily available officer class, mimicking an officer would have been difficult. An officer's appearance could be copied, but performing his duties and inspiring privates was a more complex endeavor. Company officers soon learned that actions in the American Army spoke louder than words. Concern for the men did not mean only verifying they had food and a place to sleep. It was often necessary to put soldiers' needs in front of the junior officer's desires. For example, until the enlisted men were adequately clothed, officers were not to engage the tailors for their own uniform needs.

The General is so anxious to have the men clothed that he is under the necessity of giving positive orders that the tailors of regiments are by no means to be employed on any other business, until this desirable purpose is effected, commissioned officers, who feel properly for the naked situation of the men, will, with pleasure, suspend employing the regimental tailors until their soldiers are clothed; but if it can be possible that there are officers who want this feeling, the General would have them to understand that they are positively forbid having any work of their own down by the tailors of regiments, until the clothing of the men of their battalions is finished.²⁶¹

It was simply not good enough for a senior leader to issue one order and expect it to be remembered through the years. The turnover in junior officers meant that a senior leader's responsibility for training his new officers never ended.

The constant turnover in leaders and privates accounts for the repetitive occurrence of certain orders. The Army's discipline and effectiveness periodically rose and declined as soldiers entered and left the Army. As an example, as units lived in camps, orders inevitably had to be reissued for cleanliness to be

²⁶¹ Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 114, 116. [Mar 13, 1778] [Mar 16, 1778]

enforced.²⁶² Nobody liked being the color man who was responsible for picking up the trash. But it had to be done, otherwise, disease and vermin could sicken the men and destroy supplies. While it did not make them popular, officers had to make certain that soldiers completed the task.

This is not to say that rank did not concern junior officers. Prior to the war, social standing often determined an individual's rank in the militia, and many individuals continued to see rank and social standing as intertwined. As a result, issues of rank occupied an inordinate amount of some junior officers' thoughts. Lieutenant William Feltman and other officers became consumed with issues of rank, precedence, and their prospects as the war seemed to wind down during the spring of 1782. While Feltman escaped becoming a supernumerary when Pennsylvania combined several understrength units into two battalions of eight companies, he evidently surmised that his prospects for advancement were slim.

This morning Lieut. Cunningham and self rode to Head Quarters, with the determination to resign our commissions, which were accepted by Gen. Greene, after making a small pause of half an hour. I asked him whether he would be so obliging as to advance us a small sum of money, which he very politely refused, and made answer that he had not any money for those people who chose to return home at their own will.²⁶³

Neither the army nor its leadership appeared to have met Lieutenant Feltman's

²⁶² Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 138; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 142. "The Adjutants are Required to Draw one Camp Colour man out of each Company in their Respective Regts, who are to act and do no other Duty for the space of one week, after which they will be Relieved, and the quartermasters are required to assemble every morning at gun firing, & direct them to clean and sweep the streets of all nuisances, throwing the same into the pits and covering the filth therein with fresh dirt every morning"

²⁶³ William Feltman. 1853, "The Journal of Lieut. William Feltman, of the First Pennsylvania regiment, 1781-82 including the march into Virginia and the siege of Yorktown." E 275 F32 Rare Books, Published for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by H.C. Baird, VHS. , 41-48. [March 12, 1782] "This day a second arrangement took place in our line. We were reduced to two battalions of eight companies each. A number of our officers left supernumerary, who are to retire to Penn'a. Rained and a very dull day."

expectations.²⁶⁴

Some scholars have perpetuated and echoed negative views of officers concerned only for themselves. Sometimes historians have mistaken the context of a source. For example, Caroline Cox highlighted an entry in Jeremiah Greenman's diary where he mentioned displacing enlisted soldiers from accommodations so that he could claim their hut. "[December 1779] S18 to F31 Continuing near Morris building our huts / very cold & almost starved for Want of Provision & as the mens huts was near compleated moved up into one of the Serjeants Huts, puting them amongst the men till our Hut could be fit to move into / at the same time to work on my hut when the wether would admit of it."²⁶⁵ The entry's context casts doubt on Cox's interpretation. Greenman was describing how the unit built quarters in stages. What most likely happened was that the enlisted men finished their quarters first and then the snows fell, slowing work. By design, officers' quarters were the last priority. Greenman simply segregated the enlisted and officers as per regulation. The sergeants and privates lived together for a short period. Lieutenant Greenman did not eject them to fend for themselves in the snow. Once his quarters were completed six weeks later, the non-commissioned officers moved back into their huts.²⁶⁶ Other incidents in Greenman's diary show that he did not forget that he had previously been

²⁶⁴ Feltman, "Feltman's Journal," 3. Feltman died before the turn of the century with no additional information on his life to see if he put any of his experience to work.

²⁶⁵ Greenman, *Diary*, #. Greenman's entries portray a different picture. [February 1780] T1 to F18 Moved into my Hut which was very comfortable after fatiaguing our Selves near two months"

²⁶⁶ Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 51. "Even Jeremiah Greenman, who, recently promoted to the officer corps, might have been expected to sympathize with the suffering of his men, was quick to exercise the privileges of rank. Settling in for the hard winter at Morristown in December 1779, he made them move so he could have more comfortable accommodations they had snagged."

enlisted and looked out for his soldiers' welfare.²⁶⁷ Greenman's diary entries also reflected an individual who learned that being a leader sometimes meant doing unpleasant actions such as court-martial duty or pursuing mutineers or deserters.

Some officers anticipated greater status in society with their increased rank, but these dreams were often unrealized.²⁶⁸ Disgruntlement over lost opportunities and supposed slights led to ungentlemanly and unbecoming behavior, which officers recorded in diaries and letters to friends and family by which they tried to justify their actions for resigning. Although we seldom know how friends and family perceived their actions, the sources do not portray the officers in a favorable light for posterity.

By 1778, neither social status nor wealth played a large role in officers and noncommissioned officers being promoted. This is not to say the senior leaders did not expect junior officers to behave as gentlemen. Not all company grade officers did. But by 1778, money could not overcome a lack of talent or merit in promotions for junior officers. As the Army reorganized and shrunk, officers who lost their units became supernumeraries. They possessed the rank but no position. The fact that officers such as Jeremiah Greenman, Benjamin Gilbert, and Ebenezer Denny could still be promoted based on talent, even with the extra officers available, demonstrates a change in the system.²⁶⁹ After 1778, more than

²⁶⁷ Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 51.; Greenman, *Diary*, 214. In 1781, when 1st Lieutenant Greenman was captive again, he did not forget his men even though he was given more freedom as an officer. "T21. This day went to Graves End Neck / picked a few cucumber, from a friends field and sent to the prisoners in the Sugar house [cipher]"

²⁶⁸ Ruddiman, *Becoming Men of Some Consequence*, 177. "Ultimately, long service in the Revolutionary War failed to answer young men's expectations. While they had sought competence and independence and the regard of their families and communities, soldiering had in fact wasted their strength, health, and time."

²⁶⁹ Greenman, *Diary*, 105.; Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 19.; Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the*

just the Army changed. The pace of campaigning underwent a decided shift. The biggest threat to Washington's forces was no longer the British Army. The threat emerged much closer to home. Maintaining the American units in the field became a bigger challenge than defeating the Redcoats on the field of battle.

Branches

The Continental Army had many branches that required skills the junior leaders found useful later in life and their civilian occupations. A brief description of the combat arms and specialty branches will shed light on the many tasks soldiers did besides just fighting. Most commissioned officers served in infantry company units as line officers. Officers in line units had command authority by virtue of their rank, recognized by all other officers, noncommissioned officers, and soldiers. Their *raison d'être* throughout the war remained to maneuver their units to a designated location on the battlefield and direct their soldiers' fire and bayonets against the British and their allies.

Most enlisted soldiers and officers belonged to the infantry. The infantrymen marched everywhere and provided the labor to build the temporary cities (encampments) in the winter. The infantry's mission was to engage and destroy the enemy in close battle with either their muskets or bayonets. They did this mission through massing their muskets' effect by forming ranks in close formations, standing shoulder to shoulder, and firing in volley. To fire in volley, all the soldiers had to be ready to fire at the same time. They practiced this skill by

American Revolution, 65.; Denny, *Denny Journal*, 211. Greenman appointed as an ensign on May 1, 1779, Gilbert in August, 1780, and Denny on August 4, 1780.

following a set routine controlled by their leaders' verbal commands. Since they had to move in close formation on the battlefield, they also learned how to march in a regular cadence and instinctively execute movements upon verbal command. The officers issued the verbal commands, and the sergeants ensured the soldiers executed them and maintained the formation's integrity.

On the battlefield, with all the noise, smoke, confusion, and fear, soldiers had to execute their officers' commands instantly, without question. Otherwise, officers could not maneuver their men to the prescribed place on the battlefield in order to deliver a volley or a bayonet charge. This type of battlefield leadership required officers to make split-second decisions about what type of formation to employ based on the terrain and the enemy situation. The soldiers' lives depended on the leader making the correct decision. A substantial majority of the junior leaders in this study's cohort were infantry officers.

Men who rode horses into battle against the enemy belonged to the cavalry. The cavalry performed multiple missions. They provided early warning on enemy movements, performed reconnaissance missions, conducted raids, and pursued enemy soldiers when formations broke apart and men ran. Cavalry horses capable of carrying a soldier into battle against the enemy required special training, adequate size, and constant feeding and care to remain capable of conducting military operations. A horse merely able to carry a rider from one point to another could not be trusted to charge other men on horseback in the din of battle without training. Few officers actually participated in large cavalry operations. Although the Southern theater after 1779 had seen an increased use

of cavalry or mounted soldiers by both sides, the Continental Army never included even modest cavalry forces.²⁷⁰ American terrain along with the expense and difficulty in maintaining horses suitable for cavalry operations seldom allowed their use in a manner familiar to European officers. Infantry, cavalry officers, and their NCOs probably did not have as much day-to-day experience in technical matters as artillery officers or other branches.

Artillery

The men who fired the cannons belonged to the artillery. The artillery branch constituted the other major group of line officers. In eighteenth-century warfare, the artillery's primary mission was to break up infantry formations with cannon balls and shot so they could be attacked by infantry units or exploited by cavalry charges. Artillery units required the highest level of technical expertise to be effectively employed. Employing artillery required familiarity with math, physics, and geometry to calculate the correct amount of powder and gun elevation to propel a specific projectile to a desired location on the battlefield. Artillery was the most equipment-intensive branch. Cannons were expensive to make and maintain. Cannons had to be forged, maintained, and repaired; ammunition manufactured, transported, and stored; and wagons and carriages built, repaired, and maintained along with the horses to pull the gun carriages and ammunition wagons (caissons). Continental Army artillery officers appeared to be the most likely to get more management experience than other junior leaders.²⁷¹ Henry

²⁷⁰ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas*, (New York: Wiley, 1997).

²⁷¹ Brooke, *A Family Narrative*, 87. "I had been in command of about seventy-five men, to

Knox's self-education and exploits during the war are well known to Revolutionary War historians. As dramatic as his dragging cannons from Ticonderoga to Boston during the winter of 1775 to force a British evacuation of Boston may have been, his real success resided in maintaining an artillery branch in the face of such overwhelming odds.

The British Atlantic colonies did not have an armament industry when Lexington and Concord erupted. The industry had to be created from scratch. Making muskets on a larger scale and molding balls was one level of difficulty for soldiers and artisans. Casting, maintaining, and using cannons was quite a step up. Different sizes of balls and shot had to be manufactured for different-sized cannons. Along with dependable fuses, cannons demanded vastly more powder than muskets. A combination of overseas sourcing and home-based manufacturing filled the gap, and artillery officers oversaw most of this complex supply chain. Artillery officers worked with artificers, teamsters, and quartermasters to ensure the cannons were ready when needed. The Army's ability to maintain an artillery fight during the battle of Monmouth demonstrated a competency that instilled pride in the Army and gave pause to the British. Even though the artillery battle had little effect on either side, the "sound and light show" provided the Army and Washington with a badly needed propaganda victory.²⁷² Even with improvements in the line units, defeating the enemy required

guard the Magazine and to make cartridges, post-fire, &c., and when I arrived at Staunton, Col. Davis whom I found there insisted on retaining me in that service, but Capt. Fleming Gaines, who belonged to Harrison's regiment of artillery, ordered me to join my corps as speedily as I could in the army of the Marquis, and furnished me with his horses and servant to do so."

²⁷² Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*, 7117.

more than infantry, cavalry, and artillery to win.

Miners & Sappers (Engineers)

The last branch formed during the War was the sappers and miners. An officer or sergeant who joined the sappers acquired experience and transferrable skills they could readily employ in new frontier communities.²⁷³ Congress established a Corps of Miners and Sappers three years after the war started to address weaknesses in the Continental Army. While the Army had engineers at its formation (mainly foreigners), leaders eventually realized that they needed a separate cadre of soldiers to perform technical tasks. The sappers and miners were the Continental Army's combat engineers. The sappers worked on constructing fortifications, building encampments, surveying roads, and executing sieges. They learned the most effective way to build and destroy fortifications. While the infantry provided the manual labor, the sappers told them where to dig, how to dig, and what tools to use as well as how to construct the necessary items for breaching, such as fascines used to fill in trenches prior to scaling walls. Leaders advertised for recruits in orderly books and announced the standards to the soldiers, NCOs, and officers. Washington encouraged commanders to send good soldiers to the newly formed units.²⁷⁴

A sufficient number of officers having not yet presented themselves as candidates for commissions in the companies of sappers and miners the general requests that all those who may be disposed to enter into this service immediately give in their names and wait on... as he is desirous of having the company established without delay – this being the species of service well

²⁷³ Moses Cleaveland. August 2, 1779, "Commission of Moses Cleaveland in Sappers." vol. 1, Papers, 1796-1805, Mss 3233, WRHS. Moses Cleaveland who surveyed and planned the city that would bear his name was a Continental Army sapper officer.

²⁷⁴ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [July 30, 1779]

worthy of the ambition of gentlemen of zeal and talent who wishes to advance themselves in military knowledge and distinction and being held in the highest estimation in every Army. It will be expected heretofore that those who apply should be recommended for their good character and liberal qualifications.²⁷⁵

In 1778, Washington still wanted to attack the British in New York City and understood the need for sappers in a siege. Washington also provided an avenue for ambitious officers and sergeants who might have felt out of options when the army reorganized.

Many line officers proved reluctant to move to the new branch, and officials had to encourage and pressure individuals to apply. Line officer positions still garnered most of the junior officers' attention. However, as the Army continued downsizing as the war kept going, many officers became superfluous. Being paid and on active duty as a sapper officer versus waiting at home as a supernumerary for a call did not seem so bad. Joseph Plumb Martin received his promotion to sergeant when he transferred to the Corps of Miners and Sappers.²⁷⁶ By the end of the war, sappers could be located throughout the army.

Sappers worked with quartermasters to choose and improve bivouac and encampment locations as well as build roads and fortifications. Some individuals put their knowledge to work after the war in surveying and town planning. While a substantial number of former Continental Army junior officers practiced surveying after the war, strictly surveying land boundaries was a step below planning

²⁷⁵ Hubbell, "2nd Artillery Orderly Book, 1778"[August 11, 1778]

²⁷⁶ Martin, *A Narrative*, 142. "Agreeable to the arrangement between my former commander and my new captain, I was appointed a sergeant in this corps, which was as high an office as I ever obtained in the army; and I had some doubts in my own mind, at that time, whether I was altogether qualified for that; however, I was a sergeant, and I think I *did* use my best abilities to perform the duties of the office according to my best knowledge and judgement."

encampments or towns in the manner sappers did. The sappers' skills in mathematics, ability to read plans, and map-making capabilities were a result of military training reinforced by combat experience.

Staff Officers and Logistics Branches

As the war progressed and the need for expertise arose, the Continental Army organized several additional branches. Even after the creation of specialty branches, many line officers continued to execute discrete specialty tasks as part of an overall mission. For example, even though the Army appointed quartermaster officers to see to the Army's logistical needs, line officers still performed many of the logistic functions on a smaller scale within their units.²⁷⁷ As the specialty branches such as quartermaster, artificer, sapper, and commissary became more proficient in their tasks, their bureaucratic reforms and procedures permeated the force. Lieutenant Stewart Herbert recorded the instructions the 6th Pennsylvania regiment gave to their junior leaders on how to correctly draw supplies.

The extreme and irregular manner in which provisions have been drawn at this point renders it necessary that it should be prevented and a regular mode adopted. For on the accomplis of issues, no less than two parties draw at this point exclusive of the 2nd brigade. In future all the train on the point and Constitution Island will draw on one return including the artificers taken from this corps."²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Hubbell, "2nd Artillery Orderly Book, 1778"[September 1, 1778] "The commanding officer of the regiment is very much displeased at the little notice taken of the regimental orders of yesterday. The officers commanding companies will immediately furnish the quartermaster sergeant with the return agreeable to those orders – also return of the articles of clothing"

²⁷⁸ Stewart Herbert. 1780, *Order Book Lieut. Stewart Herbert/Adjutant 6th PA Regiment September 16—November 26, 1780, West Point, NY*. MSS L1998F206.6 [Bound], SOC.[October 4, 1780]

Even if line officers had resented the additional paperwork and time required, almost all realized they could not complain about shortages and requirements if they incorrectly submitted requisitions and inventories.

The adjutant was the most important staff officer at battalion level and above. He assisted the commander in maintaining the unit's discipline and records. He transmitted orders to subordinate units, maintained records, inspected men, and performed critical battlefield tasks. While a commander remained responsible for everything a unit did or failed to do, the adjutant coordinated almost all the unit's men, activities, and operations. Commanders chose their most trusted junior officers as adjutants. Officers selected as adjutants reflected their commander's faith that they had excelled in the Army's leadership development program. The adjutants ensured the organization functioned.

As noted earlier, artillery was a very resource-intensive military branch that created the need for artificers.²⁷⁹ The artillery branch's cannons needed to be forged, repaired, supplied with ammunition and powder, transported by carriages, and its horses outfitted with leather harnesses. The Army's initial attempts to contract for the support failed for many reasons. Eventually in 1778, Congress authorized a regiment of artificers to meet the Army's need. This law created laboratories, essentially armories, which were a collection of artisans who practiced the trades necessary to equip forces and affect repairs that could not be done in the field.²⁸⁰ Artificers were subject to the same military discipline as

²⁷⁹ Artificers were the army's artisans and skilled craftsman.

²⁸⁰ Fred Bartenstein, and Isabel Bartenstein, *A report on New Jersey's Revolutionary War Powder Mill with Preliminary Archeological Survey of the Ford Powder Mill Site*, (Morristown, NJ: Morris County Historical Society, 1975), 69. [March 4, 1776] "To Joseph Lyndsley Esquire You

soldiers.²⁸¹

Artificers did not toil only in buildings, but also served on campaigns and in encampments. For example, building and maintaining roads required back-breaking labor in austere conditions and bad weather. In a time when the human body and horse were the measures of power, having the proper equipment such as harnesses, shovels, axes, and straps made the soldiers' efforts feasible. If something broke, it had to be repaired quickly for the job to be completed on time. For this reason, artificers sometimes joined with sappers to repair roads.²⁸²

Quartermasters were the unsung heroes of the Revolutionary War.²⁸³ Commanding generals got the credit for victories that quartermasters made possible by ensuring men arrived at the right time with the correct equipment. But, if there was a defeat, critics often singled out the quartermaster for blame. Quartermasters supplied the soldiers with clothing, arms, and food. They were essentially the Continental Army's merchants. They bought and moved goods, established trading houses, and arranged financing on a massive scale. Men

are hereby authorized and Impowered to Raise and Inlist a Company of Artificers in the Service of the United Colonies, which Company is to Consist of Twenty five men, all of whom are to be good able House Carpenters, Ship Carpenters, Boat Builders, or Wheel Wrights, whom you are to Command as their Captain & Foreman. They are to have the pay and allowance and are to be equipped as Specified in The Subjoined Articles. They are to enter into pay from day they arrive at New York and are mustered and reviewed by order of the General with an allowance of Three days for arriving at that place. You and they are then to follow Such Orders and Instructions as you shall receive from myself or the Commanding General in the province of New York or in Canada."

²⁸¹ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [May 17, 1779] "the prisoner pleads guilty but absented that they never heard the articles of war read...The general also directs that the articles of war these stately read to the artificers and future as they are equally binding on them as on the troops." General Heath had responsibility for the Springfield laboratory.

²⁸² William J. Buck, *Washington's Encampment at Neshaminy, Warwick Township, Bucks County, PA, in August, 1777*, (Doylestown, PA: The Intelligencer Office, 1896), 11.

²⁸³ Frank Carl Barna, "A Most Intricate Department: The Commissary General of Military Stores or Ordnance Department Under Benjamin Flower and Samuel Hodgdon, 1777-1782" (M.A. diss., University of Maryland, 1984), , i. <http://drum.lib.umd.edu>.

who had this type of civilian experience seldom joined the Army. They were often too old, in ill-health, or reluctant to surrender potential profits in supplying both sides of the war. It took years of experience and capital to obtain the knowledge to be successful on the scale the Continental Army required. Nathanael Greene served successfully as a quartermaster but had several years of military experience before assuming the position. He reluctantly took the job but did so after pressure from General Washington.²⁸⁴ During his service as the Continental Army's quartermaster, General Greene provided the template for the Morristown encampment. He surveyed the area and assigned each brigade a particular sector based on the terrain, military requirements, and logistical constraints.²⁸⁵ The Army avoided repeating mistakes made at Valley Forge and performed even better at New Windsor.²⁸⁶ Continental Army quartermasters, line officers, and staff learned valuable lessons on the job that they easily transferred to civilian pursuits. As might be predicted, many officers with quartermaster experience became businessmen and merchants after the war.

Commissary officer's duties were similar to the quartermaster's job. Commissary officers purchased food for the military, and clothier generals procured clothing. A few officers assumed positions as commissary of prisoners and performed similar duties for British and German prisoners of war as the

²⁸⁴ Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution*, 165.

²⁸⁵ Robert A. Mayers. "The True Story of a Soldier at Jockey Hollow, Morristown, Hard Winter, 1779-1780." Garden State Legacy. Vol. Issue 7, last modified 2010. accessed April 9, 2019. http://gardenstatelegacy.com/files/Hard_Winter_Mayer_GSL7.pdf.

²⁸⁶ Janet Dempsey, *Washington's Last Cantonment: "High Time for a Peace"*, (1990 2nd Printing), (Monroe, NY: Library Research Associates Inc., 1987), 46.

quartermaster did for the Continental Army. The United States housed captured British and German soldiers in locations throughout the states, and the commissaries bought food and supplies for them funded by the British authorities. Depending on where the Americans moved the prisoners, the prisoners had to construct their own quarters and encampments. Captain Abraham Skinner received an appointment as a commissary of prisoners after being exchanged in 1780. He had been captured in the battle of Germantown and was probably unable to continue as a line officer. The commissary position allowed him to continue to serve until the war's end, when he retired and became a businessman and merchant applying the knowledge he acquired.²⁸⁷

The Junior Leader's Situation

The Continental Army's size and organization are key to understanding the junior leaders' span of control and familiarity with their men. Junior leaders did not have a large number of individuals under their control. A company commanded by a captain rarely exceeded seventy soldiers after the 1778 reorganization.²⁸⁸ Near the end of the war, the company commander had a lieutenant, an ensign, and nine non-commissioned officers to assist him. Since Continental Army units seldom attained full strength, commissioned and noncommissioned officers had constant and exhaustive contact with their men. They bivouacked adjacent to one another. Camp diagrams and instructions placed officers' dwellings within feet of their men's huts.²⁸⁹ While the

²⁸⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 499.; Skinner, "Skinner Papers."

²⁸⁸ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 158.; US Congress, "Establishment of the American Army"

²⁸⁹ US Department of the Interior, *A History and Guide Morristown National Historical Park*,

commissioned officers' quarters were less crowded, they were not materially better than the enlisted soldiers'. Officers might have wanted a more distinct gentlemanly experience like they imagined their British or French counterparts lived, but circumstances prevented junior officers from indulging such dreams. Their proximity to the men conditioned them to interact without becoming overly familiar, as directed by Steuben's third section.²⁹⁰ The numbers involved is key to understanding the veterans' relationships with fellow community members when they moved west. The ability to lead without assuming the air of superiority common among British officers was vital in postwar civilian life. While senior officers who later became Federalists might have been able to adopt elitist pretensions in postwar lives, junior officers who served at the company level and wished for positions of authority on the frontier could not.

(Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1983), 58-59.; Samuel Stelle Smith, *Winter at Morristown: 1779-1780 The Darkest Hour*, (Monmouth Beach, NJ: Philip Freneau Press, 1979), 11.; Bruce W. Stewart, *Morristown: A Crucible of the American Revolution*, New Jersey's Revolutionary experience, vol. 3, (Trenton: New Jersey Historical Commission, 1975), 13.

²⁹⁰ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 141-42.; Fleming, *Washington's Secret War*, 220-21.



Image 3 Reconstructed Huts at Morristown National Battlefield Park.

Note the proximity of the company grade officer's hut with two doors and the enlisted men's huts.

Photo by author.



Image 4 View from officer's hut to enlisted men's quarters. Photo by author

After June 1778, garrison operations and small-scale actions such as raids and countering British foraging operations predominated. The Battle of Monmouth was the last large-scale operation in the North.²⁹¹ The small-scale tactical actions and garrison activities kept more junior leaders than senior officers occupied. During these lulls in major campaigning, company grade officers developed their leadership and managerial abilities and practiced their newfound skills under difficult conditions: danger of enemy attack, mutinies, caring for the ill or wounded, and inclement weather. The difficulties of running an

²⁹¹ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 152.

encampment and the incessant personnel issues involving both soldiers and civilians often rivaled conditions on the battlefield, as testified by contemporary orderly book entries.

The Army's encampments proved a fertile ground for junior leaders to practice managerial and leadership skills. They learned what worked and what did not. They learned whom they could trust and not trust. They learned how to account for the unexpected. The unexpected did not shock them nor paralyze them with indecision. The repetition implanted the lessons. When they eventually moved west, many situations seemed recognizable such as maintaining law and order or erecting buildings. They could be counted on to be problem-solvers. This was the advantage Continental Army veterans had over militia junior leaders who had occasionally encountered the same problems. While militia junior leaders might have encountered a situation like maintaining a sanitary and orderly environment in a semi-permanent camp over an extended period once or twice over several years during call-ups, Continental Army officers continually dealt with the same types of situations for years. The Army's mode of constant recruitment and replenishment of soldiers meant they could not solve a problem once and assume it would stay solved. Junior leaders seldom got to rest on their laurels or enjoy a life of ease. The junior leaders possibly had illusions about what officers should actually do based on their perceptions of British officers, but Steuben did not let his officers indulge such fantasies.²⁹² Steuben expected

²⁹² Chidsey, *Valley Forge*, 117. Steuben took away company grade officers' servants and put soldiers back in the ranks doing drill and guard duty.

officers to work and to learn. As much as newly minted Lieutenant Benjamin Gilbert disliked it, that meant training the troops themselves and not leaving it to the non-commissioned officers.²⁹³

Another key aspect of a well-run encampment was inspections; regular inspections were a staple of military discipline.²⁹⁴ Units where officers and noncommissioned officers failed to conduct inspections were easy to spot by senior leaders. Men would appear for guard mount without proper equipment, looking slovenly.²⁹⁵ One can trace the ebb and flow of inspections through the orderly books. Some particular unit would catch the commander's eye, and he would broadcast an order to reinvigorate the junior leaders. Junior leaders observed that people only do well on what is inspected despite what verbal and written orders stated. Veterans learned that you needed to personally view individuals and their work if you wanted to make a difference. Leaders needed to be seen to be effective. At the local level, people voted for whom they knew. This

²⁹³ Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 25.

²⁹⁴ Davis, "Captain Davis Company orderly book"[April 8, 1778] "of the order relative to the cleanliness and proper appearance of soldiers, who are to mount and however great a reproach to the officers, whose Providence it is to attend to there points, it is become necessary (?) Adj[utan]t in whom the delinquency originates, as it is their duty in the first instances to inspect their arms ammunition accoutrements daily of their man before they quit the regimental parade are particularly call'd upon."; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 61.[May 19, 1777] "The Genl intreats the Offs of the Several Reigts to Improve Every Oppertunity for Menouering & Descipling their Troops and further Request them to be perticular Care-full to have the Rolls Called twice A day. As Nothing more Conducive to the health of Soldiers than their being kept neat & clean, the Genl Requests the Offs to be Attentive to them, & to Confine Such as will not (after being Admonished) pay proper attention to their Dress and Appearance."; Robert Gamble, *Orderly book of Captain Robert Gamble of the Second Virginia regiment, commanded by Colonel Christian Febiger: August 21-November 16, 1779.*, (Richmond. VA: Reprint facsimile., 1892), 255. [October 15, 1779]

²⁹⁵ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 3," 56. [March 7, 1780] "The general has observed some man upon Guard without bayonets, – officers of guards or for bid to receive them in the future with that defect, or without their arms, accoutrements being in the best order, in those officers whose duty it is to see that the man are properly armed, previous to their coming upon guard, will be made enforceable for it is they should neglect it"

experience with inspections served veterans well when they moved into elected or politically appointed positions in the new territories where the inhabitants did not recognize a gentry or their betters and required proof of merit for positions of trust.

Especially after Monmouth, few infantry line officers regularly performed their battlefield tasks because of the lack of large-scale battles. However, because of their larger populations of soldiers from a variety of backgrounds, they encountered a greater number and kind of incidents that required them to employ their leadership skills.

Arduous Conditions

Although it is probably obvious that veterans acquired their leadership skills and practiced them under arduous conditions, it bears repeating when one considers their work environments after they relocated to the early Republic's borders. Veterans encountered circumstances that differed from the older eastern communities they left with their more established political and legal systems, business networks, and religious organizations and the veterans' new settlements in the West. The uncertainty of the future, worries about family, inclement weather, close quarters living, and danger of combat while in encampments conditioned junior leaders in interacting with individuals and groups under stress. This was a far different environment from where the local gentry, planter, or politician on the Atlantic Coast acquired and practiced their leadership skills.

Veterans returning home and remaining in their prior communities

encountered fewer opportunities to demonstrate their newfound skills. The hometown local politics and social structure existed within a well-known hierarchy. Veterans certainly did not return rich in money. Additionally, town inhabitants probably remembered them as they left—very young men. If they came from respectable families, they could have advanced up the social ladder as openings occurred after a suitable amount of time elapsed. Returning junior leaders did appear to attain leadership positions in the communities they left to join the Army, but it is difficult to ascertain whether these rewards or duties happened because of competence, social status, or seniority. The leadership environment in their eastern states did not match the frontier's circumstances.

From the evidence, one can envision the circumstances and environment the veterans encountered when they moved to the early Republic's frontier. The areas were undeveloped by eastern standards: few roads or cleared fields. Veterans were seldom the first inhabitants of an area. Squatters had moved west before and during the American Revolution. Unfortunately, squatters often found they could not defend their claim to the land in the legal system and usually just moved farther west. The first squatters seldom established structures or governance systems. While there were certain instances in which proprietors or owners attempted to lay out a town and streets like Captain Moses Cleaveland did in northeastern Ohio on the shores of Lake Erie, most inhabitants did not move into a preconfigured settlement. The most common scenario unfolded in the following manner. Settlers would move to a land claim or existing settlement for a couple of years. Their initial efforts focused on the land that had to be

cleared for homes and fields. Eventually, more families moved to join the first permanent settlers. Some of the larger landowners would try to entice more settlers by donating land for a town or public use in the hopes that their remaining property would appreciate in value. As families and individuals moved closer together in towns, sanitation, trash collection, fire protection, and regulation of businesses took on a greater importance. These new groups of settlers would want to organize to handle community matters, build and maintain roads, settle legal issues, establish businesses, and provide public services. These were the circumstances where veterans could best apply their knowledge and experience.

Once a group had settled at a distance from the original settlements in the state or territory, they began to clamor for government services such as courts and land offices to be closer to where they lived. The skills the junior leaders learned in establishing and maintaining law and order in the Continental Army's encampments would have proved valuable to their neighbors. Even the simple knowledge of how to build cabins to make it through the first winters until carpenters and sawmills arrived which would allow frame construction would have been welcome knowledge. The experience of where to place sinks (outhouses) or dispose of animal waste so as to lessen the occurrence of disease would have been beneficial. The veteran's knowledge of how to establish and run courts to handle civil and criminal matters would have brought a sense of calm to a growing community. Disputes could be settled in court rather than through violence and retribution. The leader's experience in dealing

with individuals in potentially volatile situations during courts-martial would have given him and his neighbors confidence in his abilities.

Junior leaders, especially commissioned officers, had to learn how to conduct themselves in trying circumstances. The enlisted men constantly complained, as it is in a soldier's nature to do. Even officers complained to friends and family in letters or journal entries. Nevertheless, commissioned officers could not complain in front of the men about senior officers or political leaders as it damaged unit morale and cohesion. Publicized, ill-chosen words could have devastating effects as Thomas Conway found out when his letters to Horatio Gates became known to Washington and his supporters.²⁹⁶ In 1781, General Greene could not overlook disrespect shown to superior officers.

The general [Greene] disapproves the second; and for the great respect he has for Capt. Oldham, as a good officer, he is sorry that he cannot view his conduct in the same innocent point of like the court did. Subordination and respect from inferior to superior officers, are so necessary in the very existence of an army, that the general surprise that an officer should betray the least symptoms of a want of either; especially as the only sure way of enforcing obedience from inferiors, is to set the example by their conduct to superiors – no army can hope to be either useful or honorable, where subordination is wanting; Nor can any officer flatter himself as being covered with military glory, while connected with an army defective in the essentials of discipline – however meritorious his conduct may be as an individual.²⁹⁷

Greene made it clear to all officers who heard the orderly book read that it did not matter how competent the officer might have been. Battlefield glory could not excuse disrespectful behavior the officers would not tolerate from their own subordinates.

²⁹⁶ For an explanation of the Conway affair, see Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*.

²⁹⁷ Greene, "Greene's Orderly Book"[August 20, 1781]

Learning leadership under arduous conditions for officers meant learning to choose their words and actions carefully when upset or in doubt. After enough exposure, junior leaders recognized that first reports are often wrong and understood the necessity of not over-reacting. These veterans would later be working in environments where the threat of Indian attacks preyed on men and women's minds.²⁹⁸ Constant exposure to "imminent" British attacks and exhortations to be ready to march "at a moment's notice" hardened junior leaders' nerve and reduced the chance of panic. The conditions would pass, but individuals remembered indiscretions, hasty actions, and ill-chosen words much longer. Men wanting to acquire their peers' respect gained valuable experience in dealing with adversity.

Another arduous condition which scared senior leaders during the Revolutionary War was mutinies.²⁹⁹ Counterintuitively, the development and course of the Continental Army mutinies demonstrated the strong bonds that company grade officers and sergeants had formed with their soldiers through practices instituted by Steuben's Blue Book. The junior leaders may have been of higher rank than their soldiers, but they were not removed from their sufferings. The soldiers' actions bear this out. The soldiers did not mutiny over issues of severe discipline, battlefield defeats, or lack of confidence in their officers. The mutinies almost always originated around issues of pay, clothing, and food. The Continental Army leadership development program demonstrated its effects in

²⁹⁸ Several cohort members fought and died in the conflicts between Euro-American and Native-Americans in the 1790s. (Robert Kirkwood, John Hardin, William Ferguson)

²⁹⁹ S. Sydney Bradford, "Discipline in the Morristown winter encampments," *Proceeding of the New Jersey Historical Society* vol. 53, (1962), 27.

the most unusual manner: the soldiers' conduct in the mutinies of the Rhode Island and Pennsylvania brigades. The mutinies unfolded as very orderly affairs during which the men took direction from their sergeants and the occasional junior officer. The mutinies never involved the deliberate killing of their leaders. Almost all the deaths appeared to have been the type of accidents that happened when angry men with weapons confronted each other. Joseph Plumb Martin's narrative recounted his experience with unrest.

Our condition at length became insupportable. We concluded that we *could* not or *would* not bear it any longer: we were now in our own state and were determined that if our officers would not see some of our grievances redressed, the state should. Accordingly, one evening after roll calling, the men generally turned out (but without arms) and paraded in front of their huts. We had no need of informing the officers: we well knew that they would hear of our muster without our troubling ourselves to inform them.³⁰⁰

Even when mutineers marched toward state capitals, they maintained military discipline on the road. They did not become a mob and terrorize the surrounding countryside.³⁰¹ The mutineers also never attempted to defect or aid the enemy. The leadership ability of the mutiny's instigators must have been substantial in order for them to convince men to embark on a dangerous course of action, and yet maintain control throughout the incident.³⁰² The mutinies affected the junior leaders, and many recorded their roles and feelings about the events.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Martin, *A Narrative*, 109.

³⁰¹ Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks*, 77-84.

³⁰² Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks*, 43-84.

³⁰³ Greenman, *Diary*, 104. The editors, Robert Bray and Paul Bushnell, opine that Greenman owed "his advance through the ranks as much as steadfastness as to anything else." They base this assessment on his being relied upon to take his unit to retrieve the majority of the Rhode Island regiment which mutinied in 1779: "informed me that the biger part of the Regement had turn'd out in Muterny / I received orders to march with my men to camp all except 3 which was [to] keep Guad. / I then pushed on for camp as fast as possible ware I arrived about 4 oclock ware I joined my party to sum more Capt. Humphry had. / then marcht in persuit of the Mutiners which had marcht off for Greenwich to take a man from the Guad that was under Sentince of Death for

Discipline within the ranks led by non-commissioned officers remained. Even with questionable objectives, mutinous sergeants demonstrated a firm grasp of Steuben's tenets for good leadership. If there was ever an arduous environment to practice leadership, a mutiny certainly qualified. One can imagine that after facing down an armed upset group of your fellow soldiers that dealing with disorderly citizens or gangs on the frontier would have been less frightening. David Ziegler got a chance to do both as a Continental Army officer and justice of the peace in Ohio.³⁰⁴ Ziegler had to deal with mutinous soldiers in 1775 and with a "hard set" of thieves and murderers in early Cincinnati, Ohio.

Dealing with sick and injured men with limited medical facilities and medicine surely qualified as arduous. Baron's directives compelled the junior officers to visit their men in the hospital despite their fears or preferences. "He should often visit those who are sick, speak tenderly to them, see that the public provision whether of medicine or diet, is duly administered, and procure them besides such

Mutiny"; Denny, *Denny Journal*, 53. "A few days brought General Howe from headquarters with a brigade of light troops, for purpose of suppressing the insurrection. Most of the officers who were here previous to our arrival were arrested, and a few taken in close custody. General court martial ordered for their trial. Government were desirous of getting rid of the army in as quiet a manner as possible; at this particular period it was thought best not to be too rigid. Howe had his cue; officers released."; Martin, *A Narrative*, 35.

³⁰⁴ Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks*, 3. "On Sunday, September 10, 1775, Third Lieutenant David Ziegler the adjutant of Colonel William Thompson Pennsylvania rifle battalion confined a sergeant for neglect of duty and murmuring. Members of the sergeant's company were determined to set him free. Lieutenant Ziegler seized the ringleader of the coup, John Leaman, and placed them in jail. Ziegler then went to report the incident to Colonel Thompson who had just finished dinner and was enjoying the company of some fellow officers. All of a sudden, they heard huzzahing and found the guard house had been broken open. Colonel Thompson and several of the officers acted quickly and recaptured Leaman from among the mutineers."; George A. Katzenberger, "Major David Ziegler," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* vol. XXI, (1912) , 163. "Fighting gambling, brawls, thefts, murders, plunder prevailed everywhere. ...the Moravian missionary, who visited the Ohio towns of the early period, and whose sons and descendants afterward settled there, writes of the people of the town were, indeed, hard set, and that drunkenness and fights were of daily occurrence. ... in an emergency of this time, "Burgomaster" Ziegler was a suitable person to hold the reins of the unmanageable village team."

comforts and conveniencies as are in his power.”³⁰⁵ While most individuals avoid the sick, officers had to visit their men in hospitals.³⁰⁶ Smallpox, dysentery, cholera, and other communicable diseases did not distinguish between enlisted and officers. Given their limited knowledge of disease transmission and cures, this took fortitude on the officers’ part. This was especially true of junior officers who lived nearby their men and shared the same facilities and food.³⁰⁷ While caring for sick relatives would have been the norm, these men were not family but had to be treated as such.³⁰⁸ By visiting, the officer’s actions built family ties between his men.

Junior officers learned that being a leader also meant showing concern for their subordinates’ families during the war. Captain Jacob Bower reassured his men about their families when the unit moved out. “Women and children of the Army are also to be left at those posts for a few days where the commanding officer will see that they are furnished with rations as usual.”³⁰⁹ For many leaders,

³⁰⁵ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 138.

³⁰⁶ George Weedon, *Valley Forge orderly book of General George Weedon of the Continental Army under command of Genl. George Washington: in the campaign of 1777-8, describing the events of the Battles of Brandywine, Warren Tavern, Germantown, and Whitemarsh, and of the camps at Neshaminy, Wilmington, Pennypacker’s Mills, Skippack, Whitemarsh, & Valley Forge.*, (New York, NY: Dodd, Mead, 1902), 216. [January 29, 1778] “the commanding officer of each brigade is to appoint a captain daily to visit the sick of his brigade in or near camp, to examine whether they have proper attention paid them and are furnished with everything their situation requires as far as circumstances will allow”; Feltman, “Feltman’s Journal,” 7. “In the afternoon I went to see our wounded officers and soldiers at Bird’s Ordinary.”

³⁰⁷ For a thorough treatment of Washington’s battle with smallpox and the Continental Army, see Elizabeth A. Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

³⁰⁸ Heth, “Orderly Book,” 362.[June 17, 1777] “Two officers from those regiments who have sick in the hospital nigh Camp To attend the same for the purpose pointed out in the order of yesterday. A orderly Serg’t to be appointed to each company to take a list every morning of the sick belonging to it and report them to the regimental officer of the day, who is to make a general report to the Surgeon of the regiment. The orderly Serg’ts is to attend the surgeon, distribute the medicines & do every thing necessary according to his orders.”

³⁰⁹ Bower, “Orderly book” [August 1, 1780]

care for families did not end with the war. Veterans dealt with death and its effects during and long after conflict. The Society of the Cincinnati state chapters often received petitions from officers who were down on their luck through injury or illness as well as friends of their widows.³¹⁰ Samuel Coleman wrote to the president of the Virginia chapter: "I learned by Mr. Hylton that the situation of the widow & children of the late Captain John Dandridge, of the 1st Regiment of Artillery in the Continental line is distressing beyond conception."³¹¹ Officers often tried to provide financial help to ameliorate the financial difficulties of their brethren's widows and families after the war. Alexander Balmain wrote to former General William Heth of the Society: "On the day after you left here, I visited Capt. Eskridge's family and delivered the hundred dollars...."³¹² Learning how to deal with death and its attendant economic consequences with compassion equipped the veterans with the skills needed in civilian leadership positions in areas where violence could occur at any time. This skill would have been handy when families moved west. Without an established system of towns and procedures for relief of the poor, leaders would have to improvise and coordinate care for families within their midst.

Inclement weather compounded a leader's difficulties. The army's business did not stop for the weather. It might slow down but never ceased. Even when

³¹⁰ Thomas Carneal. July 27, 1807, "Letter to Edward Carrington." Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia. Papers, 1783-1808, Mss4 So137 b, VHS. "You will pardon me for the liberty of addressing you on the half of the widow of a brother officer who is now no more Drury Ragsdale"

³¹¹ Samuel Coleman. November 5, 1805, "Letter to Edward Carrington." Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia. Papers, 1783-1808, Mss4 So137 b, VHS.

³¹² Alexander Balmain. December 10, 1805, "Letter to William Heth." Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia. Papers, 1783-1808, Mss 4Sol37b7, VHS.

major movements halted during the winter and spring, soldiers and units still performed guard duty, carried out patrols, and went on raids against the British. The Continental Army seldom had their encampments completed before the winter snows arrived. The Morristown encampments of 1779-80 endured record-setting winter weather. Beginning on December 28, 1779, the area weathered more than twenty snowstorms before spring arrived. Drifts would eventually reach twelve feet in height. The winter ended up being the eighteenth century's worst one. It was in these conditions that officers had to lead their men to construct cabins to get them out of tents.³¹³ The veterans experienced what it was like to be at the mercy of the elements, and still required to accomplish tasks on which their men's survival depended. When they moved west, they likely never again experienced weather problems as severe and challenging as they did at Morristown in 1779-1780.

Danger was an omnipresent fact of the arduous military life. The Continental Army stayed in close proximity to British units throughout the war, and the perils while in encampments or during missions remained constant. Soldiers frequently received admonitions to be ready to move at a moment's notice.³¹⁴ Company officers learned how to manage the constant stress and worry over injury and death for themselves and their men. For better or worse, they learned to normalize the hazards of combat and harden themselves to undertake

³¹³ Mayers, "A Soldier at Jockey Hollow"

³¹⁴ Peter Taulman. 1780, *Col. Oliver Spencer's Additional Continental Regiment, New Jersey, New York & Pennsylvania, October 2 - February 1, 1780*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, vol. 7, EBSCOhost. NYHS. [January 15, 1780] "The troops are to be held in the most perfect readiness for action at a moments warning"

dangerous actions. Lieutenant Feltman wrote in his journal: “The enemy threw a number of shells this day and wounded a great number of men, especially the militia; several were wounded this day in their sleep, such as the carelessness of those stupid wretches who are not acquainted with the life of a soldier.”³¹⁵ Martin recognized such steely determination and the effect on his fellow soldiers.

The officer who commanded the platoon that I belonged to was a captain, belonging to the Rhode Island troops, and a fine brave man he was; he feared nobody nor nothing. When we were paraded, ‘Now,’ he said to us, ‘you have been wishing for some days past to come up with the British, you have been wanting to fight. Now you shall have fighting enough before the night.’ The men did not need much haranguing to raise their courage, for when the officers came to order the sick and lame to stay behind as guards, they were forced to exercise their authority to the full extent before they could make even the invalid stay behind, and when some of their arms were about to be exchanged with those who were going into the field, they would not part with them. ‘If their arms went,’ they said, ‘*they* would go with them at all events.’³¹⁶ Martin’s example demonstrated the loyalty that “fine brave” officers engendered from their men even when getting ready for combat. Martin noted it was not the officer’s words or speeches, “haranguing,” that caused the soldiers to follow their captain. The captain had evidently already proven himself brave and fine through his previous interactions with the men and with his conduct and competency. The dangers did not cease at the War’s end for junior leaders who moved west, since the danger of Indian attacks in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio did not fully abate until after the War of 1812.

Diversity

Newly formed communities on the early Republic's frontier looked remarkably

³¹⁵ Feltman, “Feltman’s Journal,” 20.[October 15, 1781]

³¹⁶ Martin, *A Narrative*, 92.

similar to what veterans had already experienced while serving in the Army. Encampments had been a diverse society where junior leaders learned to navigate competing interests to achieve common goals. The Continental Army encampments had more than just white males serving enlistments in the Army. Holly Mayer accurately described the Continental Army as a community during the Revolutionary War.³¹⁷ The population included substantial numbers of African Americans, free and enslaved, women, civilians, and even Native Americans. The encampment's denizens also came from all levels of society. Most originated from the lower middle class, young landless farmers, or day laborers, and some enlisted solely for the bounties, clothes, and money. A few of society's elite also served as officers. The encampments reflected a cross-section of individuals who worked in American society.

The Continental Army required civilians and soldiers to operate, and everyone, including civilians, women and men, and enslaved individuals, came under military control through the Articles of War.³¹⁸ Whether formally assigned or by practice, everyone had some relationship with a unit. Everybody reported to some individual or some individual had responsibility for them. While in camp, civilians fell under the military justice system and had to abide by all directives. But, unlike soldiers, civilians could leave if they desired. Since they had not signed contracts, they could not be treated as deserters. However, since these civilians performed critical services for the Army, junior and senior military

³¹⁷ Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, viii.

³¹⁸ US Congress, "The Articles of War, June 30, 1775," 112.

leaders had to adapt their leadership and management styles to ensure continued harmony within the encampment and accomplishment of the mission.

Despite many obstacles, military leaders needed to persuade soldiers and camp followers to continue to support the Army. The Revolutionary War's egalitarian rhetoric made it more difficult to instill discipline through fear of punishment. Threats had limited effect. Work slow-downs, feigned ignorance, and sabotage remained effective negotiating techniques for Continental Army soldiers and camp followers as they had for previous armies and continue to be to this day. Many different functions had to occur simultaneously for an encampment to survive from day to day. A leader's personal example and persuasive power were often the only effective tools he possessed when dealing with the encampment's diverse population.

African Americans

While our cohort of junior leaders contained only free white men, not all the individuals they commanded and interacted with daily were. Black soldiers, free and enslaved, formed an integral part of the Continental Army. Numerous African Americans worked in an assortment of occupations similar to their Euro-American counterparts.³¹⁹ They participated as soldiers, spies, camp followers, servants, artificers, and unskilled laborers. Junior leaders who may not have had

³¹⁹ Greenman, *Diary*, 114. [April 14, 1778] "in ye part of the day turn'd out our black [troops]"; Neimeyer, *America goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army, 1775-1783*, 82-83.; Lanning, *Defenders of Liberty*, 100.; Gary B. Nash, *The Forgotten Fifth: African Americans in the Age of Revolution*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 5.; Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture Williamsburg Va. by the University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 77, 94.; Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, 170, 218.

regular contact with African Americans prior to joining surely did as professional soldiers. Veterans encountered blacks in a variety of units, locations, and conditions as they fought through New York to Virginia down to South Carolina.³²⁰ While it is difficult to determine, some historians believed the Army composition was up to twenty-five percent African American or Native American.³²¹

White and black soldiers' lives did not differ in the encampments. The Continental Army did not segregate units; their soldiers slept and ate together. No evidence exists that African Americans suffered worse punishments under the courts-martial system.³²² One author postulated that African Americans received all the dirty or lousy details.³²³ They probably did, but for many of them it might not have been due entirely to race. The reason was more likely that they were privates, and privates normally got the rotten details. There were few, if any, good chores for privates. They were either standing guard in inclement weather, policing the camp, digging latrines, building roads, or disposing of dead animal carcasses. Privates seldom worked in glamorous jobs.

The Army's bureaucracy occasionally tried to account for African Americans' presence. Several times during the war, higher headquarters units requested subordinates to account for the "Negroes" in their units.³²⁴ Major General

³²⁰ Denny, *Denny Journal*, 45. Several Pennsylvania units moved from Yorktown to South Carolina. Junior leaders interacted with blacks as free men and enslaved people. Denny served over a year in South Carolina.

³²¹ Lender, and Stone, *Fatal Sunday*, 1443.; Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, ix.

³²² Lanning, *Defenders of Liberty*, 101, 106-107.

³²³ Lanning, *Defenders of Liberty*, 101.

³²⁴ Richard Platt. 1778, *Unidentified Orderly Book, July 22—October 31, 1778, New York & Connecticut*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society,

McDougall's units in New York and Connecticut received the following orders: "Returns of all the Negroes in the several Regts. to be made out immediately, regimentally digested into brigade returns & brought into the orderly office next Saturday specifying those present, and the particular places where are the absent or those on command are."³²⁵ Even this late in the war, these requests for information might have been driven by ideological or racist politicians or senior officers concerned about the number of African American personnel in the units. The requests for information might have even been a preemptive measure by senior leaders to end discussions about removing African Americans from the Army as it would have generated discontent. Washington had already dealt with the issue of free blacks in the Army and relented. He probably did not want to repeat the exercise.³²⁶ These queries could have served a similar purpose to current requests on the number of contractors and contracts in the military forces and senior leaders identifying the cost to replace them with uniformed personnel. For example, if states could not even meet their recruiting targets for soldiers, how were they going to replace African Americans and women's roles in the Army with white males?

Motivating enslaved blacks might have required even more skill than leading the average enlisted men. At least with white soldiers, commanders had the

EBSCOhost. NYHS, 64. [August 20, 1778] "Returns of all Negroes in the several Regiments to be made out immediately, regimentally digested into Brigade returns and brought into the orderly office next Saturday specifying those present, and the particular places where the absent, or those on command are."; Hubbell, "2nd Artillery Orderly Book, 1778"[August 27, 1778] "A return of all the Negroes in the several regiments is to be made out immediately regimentally and be digested into brigade returns and brought in next Saturday specifically those present in the particular places where the absent on command are"

³²⁵ McDougall, "McDougall's Division Orderly Book," 11. [August 20, 1778]

³²⁶ Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, 15.

occasional enlistment bonus, furlough, additional clothing, or alcohol to use as the proverbial carrot. Depending on their owner's promises, black soldiers serving as substitutes had every incentive to do just enough not to get punished or injured. Leaders would have had difficulty motivating enslaved African Americans since they were not getting paid. Often, the only incentive might have been in demonstrating concern for the enslaved laborers' living arrangements. General Robert Howe gave instructions while in command of the Southern department.

Ensign Thomas Wylly(?) is immediately to parade the Negroes....They are to be served with a quart of rice a day in sufficient quantity of beef heads & hamletts by the commissary. The overseers will be particularly careful that the Negroes do not encamp in damp or unwholesome places and always to encamp so near them so as to prevent confusion or desertion. The deputy quartermaster general be attentive that the overseers do their duty and that the encampment of the Negroes are form'd in a situation as healthy and secure as tis possible.³²⁷

Even if the concern for the Negroes' health was in the army's interest, Ensign Wylly gained experience as a junior leader in working with African Americans.

Leading and motivating free African Americans also posed additional challenges for junior leaders. Free blacks faced additional challenges from racism in the units. When leading diverse platoons and companies, building unit morale and esprit de corps took time and effort on the leader's part. For most black camp followers, the primary incentive was financial. As the Continental currency lost value, making a living, let alone earning a profit, became increasingly difficult. For company officers charged with retaining skilled black

³²⁷ Howe, "Howe Orderly Book," 147-48.[May 26, 1778]

teamsters when payment was late or near worthless made the junior leaders' job more difficult. However, the continual need to maintain the camp followers' services gave leaders practice in mollifying both black and white workers upset over the lack of timely and just compensation for their work.

Women

Junior leaders worked in an environment influenced by women. Women formed an integral and critical part of the Continental Army's logistic services and daily operations. With official status, they could even draw rations from the quartermaster. Senior leaders often requested verification that official rations were going to women who were performing needed duties.³²⁸ As camp followers, women remained subject to the Articles of War just as men were. Either could be drummed out of the encampment. Women could be tried by court-martial the same as a soldier for inducing men to desert.³²⁹ The women did not carry a musket into battle nor receive a uniform, but shared the same hardships as the soldiers. These women could survive in austere environments and many like them would accompany men to the early Republic's boundaries. Military service quickly taught patience and accommodation for women's needs since they were essential in the Army's logistics system. In camp and at home, these women, be they wives, girlfriends, or mothers, shaped a junior leader's views during his formative years. Serving with women might or might not have changed a leader's perspective on them, but leaders were not at a disadvantage in working with

³²⁸ Gamble, *Gamble Orderly Book*, 253-54.[October 13, 1779]

³²⁹ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 63-64, 72.

women in postwar lives in comparison to their civilian counterparts.

Women's presence remained a recurring logistical challenge for an army on the move, and women composed one of the most contentious portions of the Army's logistical trains. The Army needed women but found them a nuisance when marching. The Army always had problems with horses and forage when it moved. The more a wagon weighed, the shorter the distance the horse could pull it, and the slower it went. As a result, women riding in wagons riled quartermasters during marches.³³⁰ Soldiers marched under the command of their leaders while women moved with the baggage trains. One can easily imagine the confrontations between junior officers and sergeants with female camp followers. The clashes could have been over women trying to catch a ride on the wagons. Some junior leaders might have been tempted to turn a blind eye to maintain domestic harmony within their units or maintain favor with the women who either cooked or washed clothes for them.

While senior officers' wives occasionally joined them during winter encampments, the wives of enlisted men and sergeants, if they had permission, remained with their husbands year-round. Junior leaders grew accustomed to interacting with these camp followers in rustic conditions which would serve them well on the early Republic's borders. While officers might have desired a refined and gentele environment, daily interactions made them familiar in dealing with the

³³⁰ Carl B. Scherzer, *Washington's Forgotten Encampment*, (Morristown, NJ: Morris County Historical Society, 1977), 8. "that no women shall be permitted to ride in any wagon, without leave in writing from the Brigadier to whose brigade she belongs.... Any women found in a wagon contrary to this regulation, is to be immediately turned out by the Quarter Master General, Wagon Master General, or any of their Assistants, in the division or brigade to which the wagon appertains; as also by any of the officers who command the baggage guard of such wagons."

poorer women who served as camp followers. These women performed vital functions that necessitated forbearance with the occasional problems they presented. The women's frequent acknowledgement in orderly book entries demonstrated an enduring presence, and they had to be accounted for despite what senior leaders might have desired.

Men and women who lived in proximity affected good order and discipline, soldiers' health and morale, and occupied the leaders' time and energy. Sometimes, men and women married while in encampments.³³¹ Occasionally, men and women had sex while in encampments—often to the detriment of their health.³³² While field brothels sprang up around all encampments, very few women could or did work as prostitutes for very long within the camp's confines.³³³ Prostitution in camps invariably caused problems since the prostitutes had to be either soldiers' or non-commissioned officer's wives or affiliated with a unit to draw rations. Either circumstance caused problems for the leaders, and they quickly moved to expel the offending women. Nonetheless, for all the challenges inherent in mixed sex encampments, the Army needed women, and leaders adapted to their presence.

The Continental Army's community had all the same elements of society that

³³¹ Scherzer, *Washington's Forgotten Encampment*, 8. "During the winter encampment in 1777 four marriage had taken place between soldiers and women who are presumed to have been camp followers."

³³² Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 94,105. [Jul 1, 1777][Jul 12, 1777] "That the Women belonging to the Regt be paraded tomorrow morning & to undergo an Examination from the Serjeon of the Regt at his tent, except those that are married, & the husbands of those to undergo said examination in their Stead, all those that do not attend to be immedietly Drum'd out of the Regt." "This Day there was a Women Duct and Drum'd out of our Encampment; For giving the men the Venereal Disorder."

³³³ Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 15, 87.; Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution*, 57-58.

veterans would encounter on the early Republic's boundary. The leader's ability to persuade someone to follow orders did not markedly differ from convincing someone to vote for him for elected office. Many of the same traits emphasized in Steuben's Blue Book could be used for political ends. In addition to civil government jobs such as commissioner, citizens elected their local law enforcement personnel including justice of the peace, sheriff, and constable.

Elected Positions

Obtaining an elected position on the frontier required many of the same skills familiar to Continental Army veterans. Rather than convincing men to follow one's order in the absence of reliable pay in the Army, a leader had to convince his neighbors to vote for him. Voters could only judge him on his character (concern for others, respectful and proper behavior) and perceived ability (competence). His voters also had to know him (frequent interactions). The most common elected positions at the county level were justice of the peace, sheriff, militia officer, and commissioner. Former junior leaders obtained other appointed and elected positions such as judges, federal officials, and overseers of roads in their communities, which required an ability to curry favor with either voters or patrons. Veterans applied their hard-won experience in leading diverse individuals under arduous conditions when they sought elected positions in their communities.

State constitutions listed few qualifications for elected positions such as justice of the peace, sheriff, constable, commissioner, or coroner. Framers

frequently included restrictions to prevent continuous service.³³⁴ As white men, former junior leaders did not encounter any barriers to seeking elected office. Office seekers had only to persuade fellow citizens to vote for them.

The political and legal environment in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio facilitated the veteran's use of his leadership skills.³³⁵ Unlike eastern states, new communities did not have entrenched class structures that often governed who would serve in local positions. The areas also had few deep-rooted families that dominated local politics. While the advent of political parties affected state-wide races, local elections appear to have been less influenced by partisan issues. For different reasons, authorities had quickly expanded the voting franchise in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. As a result, former military officers encountered an electorate in which they needed to persuade free white males who probably reflected the age and class background of many soldiers—late teens to mid-forties without substantial property wealth.

³³⁴ "A Constitution or Form of Government for the State of Kentucky, April 19, 1792." Kentucky Historical Society. last modified n.d. accessed April 3, 2019. <http://www.kyhistory.com/cdm/ref/collection/MS/id/9926>. "There shall be justices of the peace appointed for each county, not exceeding two for each captain's company, except for the company which includes the county town, which shall not exceed three, who shall hold their offices during good behavior."; "Ohio Constitution, February 14, 1803." (Columbus, OH: Ohio History Connection, last modified n.d. accessed April 3, 2019. [http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_\(Transcript\)](http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Ohio_Constitution_of_1803_(Transcript)). [Article III sec 11] "There shall be elected in each county one sheriff and one coroner by the citizens thereof who are qualified to vote for members of the assembly; they shall be elected at the time and place of holding elections for members of assembly; they shall continue in office two years, if they shall so long behave well, and until successors be chosen and duly qualified; provided, that no person shall be eligible as sheriff for longer term than four years in any term of six years"

³³⁵ See Stephen Aron, *How the West was Lost: The transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay*, (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).; Walter T. Durham, *Before Tennessee: The Southwest Territory, 1790-1796—A Narrative History of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio*, (Piney Flats, TN: Rocky Mount Historical Association, 1990).; Andrew R.L. Cayton, *The Center of a Great Empire: the Ohio country in the early American Republic*, eds. Robert Lee, and Stuart Dale Hobbs (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005).

The change in voter qualifications allowed veterans to run for elected office soon after arrival. Originally, Ohio's territorial suffrage rules restricted the voting franchise to white men who owned at least fifty acres or equivalent town lots. As part of a bid for early admittance to the union, political leaders managed to have the franchise broadened to actual residents, which doubled the number of voters. Ohio's new constitution permitted office-holding to all resident taxpayers and instituted the secret ballot to remove possible retribution. When state politicians attempted to exercise control of local government through the state legislature, voters quickly rebelled and maintained control of their local officials.³³⁶ When people had gained the right to elect their own representatives in county government, they tended to choose individuals like themselves versus those previously appointed by state officials.³³⁷

Local control and expanded voter suffrage allowed even recently arrived residents, such as Lieutenant Jeremiah Greenman, to obtain leadership positions without having to cultivate contacts within statewide political parties or at the state capital. He just had to impress and persuade his neighbors. The number of voters in a county or township was similar to those of a Continental Army regiment or company. In a company, the soldiers knew their officers and were familiar with the other regimental officers. In seeking local office, veterans did not need to interact with large crowds of people. If needed, they could address small groups of men in a similar format to addressing their soldiers in daily formations

³³⁶ Ratcliffe, "Worthington," 39-42.

³³⁷ Clair W. Keller, "The Rise of Representation: Electing County Officeholders in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Social Science History* vol. 3, no. 3/4 (1979) , 140.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1170960>.

on the parade ground.

Most local elections appear to have been contested and close. Lieutenant Greenman had to run a competitive race to become Justice of the Peace Greenman within six years of arriving in Ohio. Several men sought out these elected positions as shown by voting tallies. In Jeremiah Greenman's election, there was a tie for the most votes among four candidates for two positions.³³⁸

Persons voted for	Number of Votes	Remakes
Jeremiah Greenman	Forty-nine	Elected
Anthony McAndlish	Forty-nine	Elected
Ethan Kimball	Forty-five	
Seth Baker	Fourteen	

Since Greenman tied for first place, he evidently persuaded his neighbors that he possessed the ability to perform the duties of justice of the peace. He might have relayed his military experience in courts-martial to convince them of his capacity to administer the county laws fairly. Whatever the content of Greenman's original address for election might have been, he was reelected so his constituents must have been satisfied.³³⁹

Party affiliation did not appear to be a deciding factor in many local county elections. While individuals who served as senior officers during the Revolutionary War predominantly favored the Federalist party, individuals in the company grade ranks in the early Republic's newer states and territories adopted

³³⁸ Washington County, Ohio, and Clerk of Courts. "Poll books and tally sheets, 1802-1815." State Archives Series 6227, OHC. [Waterford Township, April 5, 1813, pg 29]

³³⁹ Greenman, *Diary*, xxvi-xxvii.

party affiliations that could advance their own and their peers' interests at the state level.³⁴⁰ While some officers did owe their jobs to General Washington's desire to reward former Continental Army officers with government positions to compensate for the loss of pensions, junior leaders also became staunch supporters of the Jefferson Republican party as well.³⁴¹ From the sparse information available, commissioned and non-commissioned officers could be found in both camps.³⁴² For example, two officers who worked for Samuel Hodgdon, Isaac Craig and Nathaniel Irish, ended up on different sides of the political spectrum. Isaac Craig favored the Federalist party while Irish served as a Jeffersonian state senator.³⁴³ Some other Continental Army veterans also served at the state level in legislative offices. Most served only a few terms and cannot be considered full-time politicians. A few attended state or constitutional conventions and represented all sides of the political spectrum.³⁴⁴

On the early Republic's frontier, men found it difficult to assume a position of

³⁴⁰ Richard H. Kohn, *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783-1802*, (New York: The Free Press, 1975), xii.

³⁴¹ Gordon Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 108.

³⁴² Only four individual's party affiliation can be identified. 2 Federalists and 2 Jeffersonians.

³⁴³ Isaac Craig. January 2, 1801, "Isaac Craig to Samuel Hodgdon." Craig, Isaac, 1741-1826. Letter book, 1801-1811, Mss. A C886a, FHS. "We have the mortification at last to know that the good old man has lost his election. Pray not we very naturally concluded, that we must make way for some of the friends of the new administration?"; "I'm glad that Congress have at last determined the important point with respect to a President notwithstanding we may not have got the man we wished to rule over us."; Isaac Craig. February 27, 1801, "Isaac Craig to Samuel Hodgdon." Craig, Isaac, 1741-1826. Letter book, 1801-1811, Mss. A C886a, FHS. ; "Nathaniel Irish Biography." Historical Biographies. Pennsylvania State Senate, last modified 2017. accessed April 3, 2019.

<http://www.legis.state.pa.us/cfdocs/legis/BiosHistory/MemBio.cfm?ID=4802&body=S>.

³⁴⁴ Sanders. "General Joseph Winlock." ExploreKYHistory. last modified 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/65>. ; Karen Mauer Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub., 1993), 47, 54, 239. Joseph Winlock and Richard Taylor attended first constitutional convention for Kentucky. Benjamin Roberts was a state representative.

community leadership if fellow citizens questioned their bravery. This was especially true in elective positions in the county's militia. Even a justice of the peace or sheriff needed some fortitude to apprehend lawbreakers. Continental Army veterans who served normally did not have to answer questions about their bravery. If they had been previously charged with cowardice, it would have quickly become common knowledge. In a society where the omnipresent threat of Indian attack existed for the first two decades, it is not surprising that martial ability and service would have been prized. However, as opposed to current militaries which routinely award medals to soldiers for bravery and competence, the eighteenth-century Continental Army did neither. Without a chest full of ribbons and medals, Revolutionary War veterans had to demonstrate competence to their fellow citizens. They could not rely on a resumé. Their performance in office had to meet neighbors' expectations if they were to be reelected.

Conclusion

Continental Army officers wanted to be seen as leaders and gentlemen, and they endeavored to demonstrate qualities that their peers would have recognized. Steuben's Blue Book gave them examples of good leaders and leadership traits. Similar to today's executive MBA programs, providing someone with the leadership skills and management experience cannot overcome pride, reckless ambition, or poor judgment.³⁴⁵ Historians who focus on the junior

³⁴⁵ James Pendleton. 1778, *Orderly Book of the 1st Continental Artillery Regiment, 5 September—25 November 1778*, New Jersey. MSS L2002F242 [Bound], Continental Army. SOC.[November 11, 1778] "It gives him real pain and regret that any officer should permit the

leaders' preoccupation with rank and honor in the months as the war ended miss the skills that these same officers carried with them into their civilian lives. While comments about an ungrateful nation or state appeared in their letters in the war's immediate aftermath, these sentiments should not be a surprise given the circumstances. More importantly, these young men knew they had served honorably and had grown, but might have not even been aware themselves of the skills they had acquired.

The Continental Army demanded its junior leaders master a wide variety of leadership skills to ensure the Army's continued existence. Once the *rage militaire* ebbed and pay became infrequent, the soldiers' belief in the cause and their leaders' skills kept the army from disintegrating. While desertions had continued unabated throughout the war and remained a serious problem, a surprising number of soldiers remained in the ranks. It would not be a stretch to argue that they did not remain for the high pay, luxurious living conditions, and generous dinnertime portions of sumptuous victuals. While the soldiers deserved the country's gratitude, the point being made is that the cohort gained an education and experience that served them well in their postwar leadership occupations. Junior leaders learned how to persuade men and women to accomplish the tasks needed for encampment living. As men and their maturity had changed, so did their approach. The experience prepared them to be flexible with later constituents. Having endured trials and suffering, they learned how much they and their soldiers could endure. When they encountered similar

motives to run into such frivolous and indecent quarrels and disorder"

circumstances on the frontier, they already possessed knowledge on how to act and how individuals—men and women, free and enslaved— might react to challenging situations. They learned how to interact and demonstrate concern for others in an observable fashion. These acquired skills provided the capacity to assume leadership positions in their communities.

Chapter 6 Managerial Skills

Introduction

The Army needed the junior leaders' abilities to manage resources to remain intact between battles. The veterans' ability to allocate material, personnel, and time, and then report the results, enabled the Continental Army's administration. Without the company officers demonstrating competence in managerial tasks, the bureaucracy could not conceivably have functioned.

A key component of current executive MBA programs is learning how to manage resources. A graduate must demonstrate proficiency in organizational structures, inventory management, quality control, payroll, financing, human resources, contracts, and manufacturing operations. While today's student encounters many examples of these subjects, an eighteenth-century Continental Army junior leader had little exposure or experience and few opportunities to learn from either books or educational institutions. Schools did not exist to teach such subjects. Lessons came through on the job experience and apprenticeships. Every case would have been unique to each firm and partnership. Washington was one of the few American officers who had a grasp of the management challenges in leading a large military force. As Don Higginbotham noted, Washington learned from British General Forbes during the latter part of the French and Indian War. Although Washington did not participate in any further battles after Braddock's defeat, he observed how Forbes wrote orders and maintained the army. Washington benefitted from "his lessons in the

Forbes school of management techniques.”³⁴⁶ The Continental Army provided a rare opportunity for junior leaders to learn and improve their managerial skills.

Organizational Change

The Continental Army went through a series of reorganizations in structure, personnel duties, and reporting changes during the war that prepared veterans for changing government structures in the early Republic’s new territories. Congress’ miscalculation on the number of possible regiments that could be manned combined with the states’ recruitment failures meant that after Valley Forge the Continental Army reduced the number of its units. As with many current restructuring efforts, individuals found themselves out of a job or acquiring additional duties for no additional pay. Congress directed: “The Adjutant and Quartermaster of a regiment be nominated by the field officers out of the subalterns, and presented to the commander in chief or the commander in a separate department for approbation;... the Paymaster of a regiment be chosen by the officers of the regiment out of the Captains or Subalterns.”³⁴⁷ Congress wrote additional duties into law.

Reporting channels changed, and so did commanders. Many individuals resisted organizational change and had a hard time adapting to new realities. Junior leaders had to implement these changes with the least amount of disruption. Reports had to be sent to new individuals in new formats. The Sixth Massachusetts regiment’s junior officers received notice of the new forms in

³⁴⁶ Higginbotham, *Washington and the American Military Tradition*, 29.

³⁴⁷ US Congress, “Establishment of the American Army”

1779: "The new method of keeping accounts and such agreeable to the forms already delivered to the sub inspectors, is to commence 1 September next. – The inspectors will be very particular and giving the necessary directions to the officers who are by no means to deviate from the mode prescribed."³⁴⁸ Junior leaders had to determine whom they could trust, and with whom they had to ally themselves within the new structure.

Experience may often be the only way to learn how to cope with change. Considering how quickly and radically changes happened in the early Republic's boundaries from Native American lands to territory to state, this experience would have proven helpful. Junior leaders had ample opportunity to learn how to adjust to new bosses and structures during their military service and to determine how to use these changes to everyone's benefit. When not used to dealing with changes in power, some individuals resorted to claiming injury to their honor or reputation to maintain the status quo.

In the situation of injured subjects, to the captains and subalterns of the Pennsylvania line view themselves, when they reflect on the circumstances attending the formation of Capt. Wilmot's detachment. We do therefore beg the general will inform us whether it was his intention that Capt. Wilmot's command should be formed on the principle it was, or whether by mistake. Should it prove the latter, we shall be happy, and have not a doubt that Gen[era]l Greene's sense of equity and honor will lead him to do justice to the feelings of a body of injured officers. For the purpose of better explain the points wherein we conceive ourselves agreed, we enclose a copy of the order.³⁴⁹

Commissioned officers sometimes became preoccupied with organizational issues that did not concern NCOs. NCOs had their own set of issues:

³⁴⁸ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 43. [August 30, 1779]

³⁴⁹ Feltman, "Feltman's Journal," 43. [March 28, 1782]

inspections, inventories, guard duty, and disciplinary problems.

Inventories and Inspections

Maintaining and repairing individual and unit equipment and facilities occupied much of a sergeant's day. Ensuring soldiers kept their weapons, kit, and personal clothing in good repair was a never-ending challenge, especially given the living conditions of the soldiers. Inspection and inventory of each soldier's personal weapon took time. A sergeant had to handle and visually inspect the musket and bayonet for defects, cleanliness, and rust. Muskets could begin rusting in a matter of hours and required regular cleaning. For much of the war, artificers fitted bayonets to individual weapons.³⁵⁰ If a soldier damaged his bayonet because he was using it for cooking, lost it after digging a feces hole in the dark because he did not want to walk to the proscribed latrine area, or broke it while using it as a tent peg, he had degraded his weapons, and therefore became less effective on the battlefield.³⁵¹ Sergeants had to count the ammunition packets in the soldiers' ammunition case and see that they were not damaged. Powder and other accoutrements needed to be constantly monitored during rainy weather and high humidity. The only way to ensure items would be available for combat when needed was for leaders to regularly inventory and

³⁵⁰ Barna, "A Most Intricate Department," 11.

³⁵¹ Howe, "Howe Orderly Book," 132. [May 10, 1778] "The general disapproves of the manner in which many of the men pitch their tents. The heads of the poles are so sharp that they will soon force their way through the roofs. That this circumstance should escape the observation and correction of the officers of companies and quartermasters of regiments is matter of surprise to the general." "The pinning down the borders of the tents with bayonets seems to be too prevalent in camp. And to the other astonishment of the general he saw it at a tent yesterday, which, by the label appeared to belong to an officer. The practice is absolutely forbidden under pain of punishment."

inspect them.

Having soldiers and their weapons ready for combat was not the Army's senior leaders' only concern. The number of muskets rendered inoperable due to rust, damage, and theft constantly wasted public funds and frustrated leaders. Money for the Army was always scarce, and units could not afford to replace items lost through carelessness, negligence, or theft.³⁵² Property bought with public funds needed to be safeguarded. Inspections and inventories were more than just sergeant's business. Colonel Oliver Spencer reminded his junior officers: "Officers commanding companies are directed to make strict examination respecting the supplies of arms and accouterments for their respective companies."³⁵³ Clothing probably meant even more to the soldiers. Junior officers in the 1st Continental Artillery regiment received the following guidance to care for their soldiers' new uniforms: "As the troops are about to receive new clothes, the General hopes and expects that the colonel and the rest of the officers will give proper attention to their preservation, as well for [?] of their own reputation and appearance of their corps as the greatest difficulty which in the procuring them and that they may be better preserved"³⁵⁴ Officers learned how to look after public property.

Leaders learned how to inspect buildings as well. The soldiers' huts required constant attention. Given the choice, soldiers would take short cuts on

³⁵² Huston, *Logistics of Liberty*, 115.

³⁵³ Taulman, "Spencer's Orderly Book, 1780," 42.[March 13, 1780]; Coit, "Starr's Orderly Book, 1779," 38. [March 22, 1779] "the Commanding officers of companies are directed to make a return of all the clothing they have received for their company since the of March last and deliver to the Paymaster"

³⁵⁴ Pendleton, "1st Continental Artillery Regiment Orderly Book" [November 2, 1778]

construction and maintenance, a tendency that proved disastrous at Valley Forge. Chimneys had to be maintained or they became fire hazards. Walls and roofs had to be constantly refilled and replaced during the winter and rainy seasons. General Knox used his general orders to ensure his artillery officers did not forget the lessons: “Where hutts have been built on the declivity of hills, and are sunk into the ground, particular care is to be taken to have the snow removed and trenches dug around to carry off the water, without which the soldier will sleep amidst continual damp; and their health will consequently be injured, this must be done immediately.”³⁵⁵ These tasks had to be delegated, supervised, and inspected. In a similar manner, postwar public officials often oversaw the raising of public building such as jails or courthouses.³⁵⁶ The elected office-holders budgeted for the construction, paid the bills, provided standards and deadlines, and inspected work when completed.³⁵⁷ When the builder did not meet their expectations, civilian authorities demanded changes or withheld payment.

Inspections seldom proved popular or welcomed by those whose work the authorities checked. Even in the face of what some historians have noted as annoying intrusions into the soldiers’ lives, junior leaders knew these inspections and inventories were critical.³⁵⁸ Building up a tolerance to unpopular actions when they are for the good of the unit and community took practice and might

³⁵⁵ Knox, “9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book” [February 16, 1780]

³⁵⁶ Durham, *Before Tennessee*, 212.

³⁵⁷ *Hampshire County Minute Book Abstracts 1788 – 1802*, (1995), ed. Vicki Biddinger Horton (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1993), 18. “Ordered that the sheriff pay... 40 pounds out of the deposit in part is demand for repairing the goal.”

³⁵⁸ Ward, *George Washington’s Enforcers*, 119. “unwelcomed intruder” and a “ceaseless annoyance to the enlisted men.”

have been beneficial when executing similar duties in civilian occupations.

Payroll

Managing payroll remained one of the junior leaders' most difficult and emotional tasks during the war.³⁵⁹ Early in the war, some officers saw payroll administration as a means to purloin cash by inflating their rosters. Inspections of their records often revealed their malfeasance. To prevent any reoccurrence of such issues, junior leaders had to keep records for months on every individual to allocate funds when they became available.³⁶⁰ Accuracy was paramount when dealing with a soldier's pay. "Tomorrow morning the Pay Rolls & absents for January & February are to be brought in to the Deputy Pay Master General for examination as soon as they are completed."³⁶¹ Written records had to be safely guarded through campaigning and dismal living conditions. Paper currency, specie, and records had to travel over great distances through hazardous conditions. Leaders learned the value of written records, and many maintained payroll documentations for years afterwards. The trust formed between men and their officers lasted even after the war as shown by some men trusting their former officers to collect past due pay: "please pay to Lieutenant Samuel

³⁵⁹ James Domenic Scudieri, "The Continentals: A Comparative Analysis of a Late Eighteenth-Century Standing Army, 1775-1783." (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1993), 51. Proquest Dissertations & Thesis Global. "Historians have devoted little attention as well to the administrative burden and attendant frustrations these constantly-fluctuating bonuses thrust upon company officers and sergeants."

³⁶⁰ Samuel Benjamin. June 5, 1778, "Payment receipt from Valley Forge, PA." Samuel Benjamin Papers, (MS75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR.

³⁶¹ George Washington. 1780, *General Orders of Gen. Washington, Charts of Men & their Clothing & Equipment, February 21—May 17, 1780, American Headquarters, New Jersey*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 31. [March 5, 1780]

Benjamin the whole of the waiges dew to me as a solder in the 7 mass¹⁴³⁶²” Sergeants and company grade officers had a heavy responsibility that their men expected them to execute faithfully. Later in the war, delayed payments and the Continental currency’s depreciation factored in some mutinies. Even given the difficulties, most soldiers received payment for their contracts.³⁶³ The value of such payments would be hotly debated for decades afterwards. The experience veterans gained in managing military payrolls prepared them for performing the same duties in postwar jobs.

Public employees in the veterans’ new communities had to be paid as well. Authorities maintained public records available in journals for inspection which recorded salaries and disbursements to individuals such as judges and sheriffs. Officials maintained written records to guard against potential charges of fraud. Communities often used a two-person system where commissioners authorized payment in the minutes of their meetings, and treasurers paid the individuals. “Ordered that the auditor of Pickaway County issue an order to John Shoup esq. Sheriff of said county for furnishing a table for the use of the grand jury room as

³⁶² George Starnes. January 1, 1781, “To Lieut. Tucker Permaster.” Samuel Benjamin papers, 1775-1845 (inclusive), 1775-1782 (bulk), folder 8, microfilm 691, Yale University Library, DLAR. ; Moses Lim. January 12, 1781, “To Lieut Bradford for please to pay to Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin.” Samuel Benjamin papers, 1775-1845 (inclusive), 1775-1782 (bulk), folder 8, microfilm 691, Yale University Library, DLAR. “please pay to Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin the whole of the wages due to me as a soldier in the 14th Mass Reg’t ...”

³⁶³ Scudieri, “The Continentals,” 75, 77, 78. “A comparison of pay rates shows that the continentals were in truth the highest paid soldiers in the eighteenth century...An American private in 1775 earned double that of his British opponent, two pounds sterling to one. Rates were not as favorable for corporals and sergeants, but they were still advantageous.” “The rampant inflation did eventually destroy the value of army pay and eventually made a mockery of the soldier’ stipulated salaries. However, this process was gradual.” “Continental pay records show that the troops did receive pay due them, albeit late.”

per acct rendered amounting to four dollars and fifty.”³⁶⁴ This system allowed anyone to check authorizations against disbursements and showed how commissioners spent money.

Human Resources

The system of awards, medals, and ribbons familiar to modern soldiers as part of human resource policies did not exist during the Revolutionary War. Officers seeking recognition wished to be mentioned by name in correspondence to senior military and political leaders—“mentioned in dispatches”—while enlisted soldiers listened for praise or displeasure recorded in orderly books.³⁶⁵ “He cannot conclude without expressing in the highest terms his approbation respecting the conduct of Capt. Walker, who performed double duty in the trenches, by mounting with his company, in addition to the services he rendered him as his aide-de-camp, which was so great as to entitle him to his sincere acknowledgments.”³⁶⁶ By including this passage in the unit orderly books, Steuben ensured all the junior officers in his command knew how pleased he was with Captain Walker’s hard work.

Junior officers learned the value of praise as well as the necessity of chastisement when dealing with men under their commands. Orderly books contained numerous examples of both chastisement and praise.

All the Men belonging to the Regiment are to be Divided into three Classes. Those who are most perfect in their Exercise are to be put in one class, and have the Name of the Grand Squad, such as are not so perfect into another

³⁶⁴ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Board of Commissioners. “Minutes, 1818-1830.” State Archives Series 3672, BV10, 068, OHC. , 228.

³⁶⁵ Ruddiman, “A Record in the Hands of Thousands,” 750.

³⁶⁶ Feltman, “Feltman’s Journal,” 23. [October 23, 1781]

Class, under the Application of the Awkward squad, and the Extreme awkward, are to be put into another Class, who are to be kept in the Drill untill they become prepared for a removal into a squad.³⁶⁷

Few soldiers wanted to be drilling with the “extreme awkward squad” and provided incentive if only to escape their friends’ taunting. The public reading of orderly books during daily formations also allowed soldiers and leaders to receive acknowledgment of their good deeds and accomplishments. “Their correctness and the good behavior of the troops has been such as has recommended them to the generals notice and led him to return them public thanks.”³⁶⁸

Sometimes senior leaders grouped officers and men in their praise as General Washington did after the Grand Review at Valley Forge. Washington’s comments in the unit’s orderly books made it clear that he noticed the soldiers’ improvement in drill and that Steuben and his inspector generals’ work was met with his approval.

The commander in chief takes particular pleasure in expressing his warmest approbation of the conduct of the army in acquainting them that their conducts yesterday affords him the highest satisfaction. The exactness & order with which their perform’d their movements is a pleasing evidence of the progress they are making in military improvements & an Earnest of the perfection to which they will shortly arrive, with a continuance of that laudable zeal & emulation which so happily prevails. The General at the same time presents his thanks to Baron Stuben & the gentlemen acting under Him for the indefatigable exertions in the duty of their offices. The good effects of which are already so apparent.³⁶⁹

Former veterans recognized the value of public praise to encourage future

³⁶⁷ Peter Gansevoort. 1778, *Col. Peter Gansevoort’s Third New York Regiment, February 17, 1777—May 21, 1778, New York & New Jersey*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 118-19. [May 3, 1778]

³⁶⁸ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [May 10, 1778] “The attention of the regiment of guards and so seasonably preparing their company rolls for muster.”; [June 3, 1779] “The General is much pleased with the alertness & soldierly behavior of the Corps of Invalids on the alarm of fire this morning. Such conduct will not fail to ensure them honor.”

³⁶⁹ Taulman, “Malcom’s orderly book, Vol.3,” 54. [May 7, 1778]

good work. Public appointments in county offices often described the standards an individual was expected to uphold in office. Pickaway County, Ohio, appointed its new sheriff with the following annotation in the commissioners journal: “The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas the above bound Francis Kinnear is duly elected, commissioned and qualified as sheriff for the said county of Pickaway. Now therefore if the said Francis Kinnear shall faithfully discharge the duties of his aforesaid office of sheriff of Pickaway County, according to the law....”³⁷⁰ It did not cost officials any money, but it rewarded people for past and future good work by extolling them in public records.

Junior officers performed many of the same functions modern human resource managers do.³⁷¹ The junior leaders had to recruit, train, reward, enforce policies, and retain the Army’s soldiers and civilians. The leader’s ability to accomplish these tasks often determined whether he could accomplish the orders given to him by his superior officers. If he did not have trained individuals available for work, the leader’s job became impossible. A leader’s managerial skill in performing human resource tasks provided the necessary manpower.

Human resource operations might have seemed like an easy task for Continental Army junior leaders. After all, the soldier had signed a contract, and the officers had full authority and power under the Articles of War to enforce the contract to the point of death. Additionally, the idea of a contract remained

³⁷⁰ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, “Pickaway County, 1818-1830,” 67. [October 23, 1820]

³⁷¹ “Human Resources.” *Business Dictionary*. WebFinance, last modified 2018. <http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/human-resources.html>. “These activities (Human Resources) normally include recruiting and hiring of new employees, orientation and training of current employees, employee benefits, and retention.”

ingrained in the American soldiers' mind. Little had changed since the French and Indian War.³⁷² Imagine the difficulty in retaining experienced soldiers once their contracts had expired, and they had not been paid. Or keeping them working, training, and drilling when their pay routinely arrived months in arrears and was worth less and less.³⁷³ Or their re-enlistment bonuses or clothes did not appear as promised.³⁷⁴ Yet, the threat of execution and an increase in the number of lashings could not deter some individuals from desertion. Accounts of trials for desertion regularly occur in the orderly books. While many writers credit General Washington's exhortations for soldiers staying, the individuals who had to manage the fallout and failed expectations remained the junior leaders. Even with the power of life and death, officers had to lead and manage their people since threats proved insufficient to maintain the army. The veterans' ability to execute what today would be termed "human resources" figured prominently in maintaining the army.

The Continental Army recruited and manned the force through a series of enlistment contracts. The language and terms in these contracts became the subject of much disagreement and interpretation as the war progressed.

Soldiers, states, and leaders entered protracted and bitter negotiations that

³⁷² Anderson, *A People's Army*, 167.

³⁷³ Scudieri, "The Continentals," 77-78. "The rampant inflation did eventually destroy the value of army pay and eventually made a mockery of the soldiers' stipulated salaries. However, this process was gradual." "Continental pay records show that the troops did receive the pay due them, albeit late."

³⁷⁴ Continental Congress. "[January 1, 1778] Resolved, That every regimental commissioned officer in the Army of the United States shall during the War be entitled to draw annually the following Articles of Cloathing." Continental Congress Broadside Collection, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. Vol. X 1778 January 1- May 1, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, last modified 1908. accessed April 3, 2019., 12. https://www.constitution.org/uslaw/cont-cong/10_journals_continental_congress.pdf.

sometimes resulted in work stoppages or walk-offs over whether the terms of the contract were being met by all parties. The military categorized these events as mutinies. All participants parsed language to their benefit. The best-known case is over whether the “three years” or “duration of the war” took precedence.³⁷⁵ Sergeants and lieutenants served as the first step for soldiers seeking enforcement of their contracts for pay, bonuses, and clothing. Through such incidents, veterans came to understand the importance of wording in labor contracts that was carried into civilian occupations.

Continental Army encampments demanded more than just drilling soldiers to function. While commanders needed basic infantry skills on the battlefield, the myriad of tasks needed to maintain a camp required ingenuity and perseverance. The disruptions to the economy brought on by the Revolutionary War caused more than farmers and day laborers to join up. Men who possessed skilled trades were always in high demand.³⁷⁶ Carpenters, joiners, wheelwrights, bakers, coopers, and boatsmen could often earn additional money performing skills leaders needed.³⁷⁷ Commanders often detailed junior officers to supervise such men and their projects, which provided valuable management and leadership experience. Even if they could not perform the tasks themselves, the company grade officers learned how to supervise those who did and observed what right

³⁷⁵ Wright, *The Continental Army*, 93, 163.

³⁷⁶ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [April 16, 1778] “A list of all the carpenters and joiners in the several Corps doing duty in this town Cambridge Roxbury & Dorchester is to be sent to headquarters tomorrow – The several commanding officers are desired to be very particular in their lists and not omit any.”

³⁷⁷ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [October 6, 1779] “skilled carpenters or acquainted with making tents not already employed” Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 51, 70 & 82.

and wrong looked like. Junior leaders also familiarized themselves with labor negotiation. Just because soldiers had enlisted did not mean they had to practice their former trades. Often it took incentives to procure a soldier's civilian skills.³⁷⁸

The human resources difficulties in manning the Army's laboratories proved especially wearisome. The Army staffed laboratories at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and Springfield, Massachusetts, with soldiers and civilians. Artificer officers' duties differed from line officers'. Artificers had to recruit civilian and military workers, handle accounts for raw materials with civilian suppliers, arrange for transportation with the quartermaster, and deal with requests for information from Congress, commanders in the field, and the bureaucracy.³⁷⁹ Unlike their line officer brethren, an artificer officer faced the daily possibility that his employees might not appear for work.

Civilians also signed labor contracts to work for the Army. Just like soldiers, many civilians worked for rations and wages. Obtaining skilled labor was a constant concern for artificer officers because civilian laborers required daily payment to support their families. Civilians, understandably, refused to work for free or for worthless paper currency. Regardless of their patriotism, they had to eat and provide for their families as well. As Samuel Hodgdon wrote to the Board of War and Ordnance on May 24, 1780, "The commissary of Provision having dealt out a single ration of bread only for the men, they have again quit work for the publick and are seeking employ in privat[te] shops to prevent themselves &

³⁷⁸ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [April 18, 1778] "The carpenters will be allowed 45 shillings per month in addition to their pay & a daily allowance of rum."

³⁷⁹ Stanley Saperstein, "Artificer Regiment," *The General Orders of the Day...* vol. 8, no. 1 The Swan Historical Foundation, (2000) , 2. ; Barna, "A Most Intricate Department," 34.

families from starving. Must request to be inform'd how to proceed to do them justice and get them to work.”³⁸⁰ Managers sometimes had to provide for an artisan’s family and pay for relocation expenses as Hodgden discovered when he requested a civilian employee to move to a new location.

These may certify that I Simon Murray Tinman have this day agreed with Samuel Hodgdon Esqr. ACMGS for a term of one year to act as Tinman in the works now establishing the state of Virginia under the immediate direction of Captain Nathaniel Irish, upon the following terms —... I shall receive \$20 p[er] day and one ration of provisions, have my wife as such small effects as may be necessary to carry transported at the publick expense to the place of destined for the works.³⁸¹

Even sergeants in high-demand trades could negotiate with the Army to obtain additional pay and benefits. Sergeant John Rugan bargained for a change to his compensation when the Army asked him to move to Virginia and assume additional duties supervising carpenters. “I shall receive ten dollars p[er] day in addition to my present pay as a Sergeant... to gather with one ration to usual daily and my expenses paid, while on journey to the place where I am to be employed—...In addition to the above it is agreed that the wife of said Jno. Rugan shall draw rations during his absence, he paying whatever shall be charged, by the United States for the Same.”³⁸² This was an instance in which additional pay and taking care of a spouse allowed the officer to retain needed expertise. Hodgden evidently determined that trying to recruit an individual in Virginia to help establish a laboratory and supervise carpenters would be more difficult or expensive than Sergeant Rugan’s salary demands. Through episodes

³⁸⁰ Samuel Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”*: *The Samuel Hodgdon Letter Books 1778-1784*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Lee Boyle (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2011), 148.

³⁸¹ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 1, 180.

³⁸² Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 1, 204.

like this, officers gained experience in running a business.

As noted earlier, the Continental Army community was diverse. Human resources meant more than managing just white enlisted soldiers. African Americans, Native Americans, and women could be found in noticeable numbers in encampments serving in logistic units or support functions. In addition to leading a diverse community, leaders had to manage everyone's time and work priorities.

African-American soldiers made up a significant percentage of the Continental Army infantrymen, and they also served in numerous support functions such as cooks, artificers, and teamsters in which junior leaders interacted with them on a daily basis. As with what might have been their personal beliefs, leaders had to mask their feelings about racial superiority when dealing with the war's exigencies. Washington's relationship with African Americans in wartime are well known: his turnabout on enlisting blacks early in the war and concerns about enlisting enslaved men with the promise of freedom later in the war. Whatever his feelings were or how they changed, he subordinated them to the mission at hand. Pragmatism affected how he dealt with the issue. Most junior leaders followed Washington's example. Personal feelings expressed privately or in letters did not overtly affect their actions. When allocating units for missions, no evidence exists that Washington or other senior leaders made military decisions during the war based on a unit's racial composition. Units appeared to assign missions based on their faith in a

commander's ability and his unit's past performance.³⁸³

Native Americans served in the Continental Army in many roles not widely recognized. Commanders employed Native American soldiers in roles they felt used Indian strengths such as reconnaissance and tracking. Matching available manpower strength to tasks at hand was critical for military officers. While some Native-American contributions have become well known, such as the Catawba Indians in South Carolina who joined as groups, individuals with mixed parentage are harder to identify.³⁸⁴ Orderly books do contain mentions of "Indians" in and around encampments and some possible accounts of actions or plans to employ "Indians" as scouts or light infantry units led by Continental Army officers during Valley Forge.³⁸⁵ General Howe recognized Captain Gray and Indians in his units' orderly books. "The general desires the [adjutant general] to inform Capt. Gray and Indians under his command, that he is exceedingly pleased with their behavior and spirit in taking the deserters."³⁸⁶ Captain Allen McClane, later a

³⁸³ William Y. Thompson, *Israel Shreve Revolutionary War Officer*, (Ruston, LA: McGinty Trust Fund Publications, 1979), 48, 59, 78. Israel Shreve's martial ability had not impressed Washington nor his immediate commanders during the war. Senior leaders only trusted him with garrison duties and not on the battlefield and did not attempt to dissuade him from resigning over financial reasons. Shreve was more of a political leader than military leader. Israel Shreve also failed as businessman after the war. His son, John Shreve, an ensign and lieutenant in the 2nd New Jersey, married in 1786, and moved to Ohio and raised a large family of nine children.

³⁸⁴ James Hart Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*, (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2009).; Grundset, *Forgotten Patriots* As previously mentioned, orderly books and pay books seldom if ever recorded an individual's race. The DAR documents a number of African-American and Native-American Revolutionary War soldiers.

³⁸⁵ Fisher, and Lapham, *Fisher's Journal*, 8. "The 15th. The Ingen Chief Come to headquarters to congratulate with his Excellency and also Dined with him."; Charles Scott. 1778, "You will take charge of the party of Indians annex'd to the Light Corps...." Allan McClane Papers, 1775-1821, DL11309, microfilm 655, NYHS, DLAR. , 68. "You will take charge of the party of Indians annex'd to the Light Corps..."

³⁸⁶ Howe, "Howe Orderly Book," 145. [May 23, 1778]

justice of the peace, US Marshall, and lieutenant colonel in the militia, also led Indians in missions for Washington at Valley Forge.³⁸⁷ While most Euro-American and Native-American conflict had involved militia units on the frontier, the Continental Army did undertake a major operation in the Wyoming Valley against the Mohawks.³⁸⁸ The operation's effectiveness and adherence to twenty-first century notions of warfare have generated contentious debate, but it did provide several officers with experience during the war with Indian units—not just as enemies, but as allies.³⁸⁹

Women performed critical functions in camps such as washing, mending clothes, cooking, and nursing. Leaders had to manage their work to benefit the greatest number of soldiers. Officers provided guidance and sergeants implemented it. Captain Robert Gamble issued guidance to his sergeants:

Frequent complaints are made to me that notwithstanding there are three women who drawn rations in my Company – the Men Receive no benefit by washing from them—for the future, to prevent complaints of this sort, and the more equitable distribution of the business amongst them. Sergeant Grymes will immediately divide the company into three Squads as may be most agreeable to them and give each woman a list of those she is obliged to wash for—who will deliver her the soap they draw and pay her the stimulated [sic] price—except when the soap is not sufficient & she is obliged to purchase—then they must make a reasonable allowance—but on no pretense whatever is she on an average to exceed two Dollars per Dozen. the Woman's Just Account shall be punctually paid at the End of every month by the men except she chuses to wait Longer. If any of the Women of my company are properly convicted of refusing to comply with this reasonable Order, for the first fault her whole Rations shall be stopt—and for the second she shall be dismissed

³⁸⁷ Allan McLane. "Papers (1746-1829)." DL11309, microfilm 655, NYHS, DLAR.

³⁸⁸ Henry Dodge. 1779, *Orderly book, 1779, General Sullivan Expedition Camp on Susquehanna River, Oswego, Tioga, Canajoharie, Eastown, West Point*. MSS L1994.1.447 [Bound], SOC. [August 26, 1779] "The troops are strictly forbidden to open Indian graves. There being repeated instances of the most fatal defenders being occasioned (?) by them"

³⁸⁹ Dan Elsworth. June 17, 1796, "Letter, Dan Elsworth to Moses Cleaveland reference Treaty with Indians." vol. 1, Moses Cleaveland Papers, 1796-1805, Mss 3233, WRHS.

with disgrace as a useless charge & Expense³⁹⁰
Independent female entrepreneurs and spouses who worked were not unfamiliar to Continental Army leadership. Several women ran sutler stores to provide comfort items such as alcohol, tobacco, and games, including cards and dice.³⁹¹ They ran businesses and performed services for pay that junior leaders had to monitor.

Whatever feelings officers may have had regarding the “proper” role for women, as expressed in their private correspondence or amongst other men, the women’s critical function demanded they be treated in a way that would maintain their loyalty and services.³⁹² This meant respect.³⁹³ Although commanders did have the power of excluding certain individuals from camp, they could not deny all women access to camp or to their soldiers. Officers had to monitor the number of women in camp to conserve rations for soldiers.³⁹⁴ Captain Christopher Marshall instructed his officers and sergeants: “An exact return of all the women with the Army to draw provision from the public is to be given and at the orderly office as may be....”³⁹⁵ Even when commanders attempted to control the actions

³⁹⁰ Gamble, *Gamble Orderly Book*, 253. [October 13, 1779]

³⁹¹ Mayer, *Belonging to the Army*, x-xi, 5, 8.

³⁹² Heth, “Orderly Book,” 362. “A proportionate number of women to the sick of each regim’t to be sent to the hospital at Mendham & Black River, to attend the sick as Nurses.”

³⁹³ Howe, “Howe Orderly Book,” 122. [March 12, 1778] “The general court-martial order to try Lieut. McKinney of Col. Scriven’s Battalion for unprovoked and scandalous abuse of a lady of distinction and for other indecent behaviors; unworthy of an officer and a gentleman have reported as follows: that it is the unanimous opinion of the court, that Lieut. McKinney is guilty of the charge laid against him and that he falls under the 1st article of the 10th section and the 25th article of the 14th section of the rules of articles of war and have therefore sentenced him to be discharged which the general approves of, & ratifies.”

³⁹⁴ Greene, “Greene’s Orderly Book,” July 24, 1781. “Return of all women for whom rations are drawn in the several court departments of the Army, are to be made and sent to the orderly office tomorrow morning.”

³⁹⁵ Marshall, “Orderly book” [June 14, 1781]

of their enlisted men by prohibiting marriages, they still occurred. A company orderly book in the 7th Massachusetts regiment informed the men: “No woman who shall [?] be married to a noncommissioned or private by a justice of the peace of this state shall....”³⁹⁶ Regardless of personal feelings, leaders learned to work together given the situation. The Continental Army encampment was far from a male-only environment, and there is no reason to think the officers’ military experience hindered their interactions with women in their later communities.

Civilian leaders often needed to recruit artisans to develop their communities. Commissioners requested and oversaw the construction of jails and other public buildings. On the early Republic’s frontier, competent and experienced carpenters were scarce.³⁹⁷ Building log cabins was one thing. A few friends could help an individual raise a log cabin in a couple of days. However, frame construction and walls took several days and carpenters. Log cabins just required an axe, trees, manual labor, and clay. Frame construction cost more and needed a nearby sawmill, lumber, technical knowledge, and nails. Public buildings required project management skills to obtain necessary approvals, finance, budgeting, taxes, land, materials, and skilled artisans. The Pickaway county commissioners recorded the following:

On a final settlement between the commissioners of Pickaway County and John B Bartley, respecting the building and completing the new stone jail in

³⁹⁶ Eleazer Everett. 1780, *Orderly Book, 1780*. M-991, Clements, 15.; “Fold3.” *Historical Military Records*. Vol. Revolutionary War, last modified 2018. <https://www.fold3.com>.

³⁹⁷ John Morgan, “Log House Construction in Blount County, East Tennessee,” in *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, & Development in the Preindustrial Era*, ed. Robert D. Mitchell (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 215, 220.

the town of... that including all extra work there is a balance due said Bartley of two thousand eight hundred dollars for which some he the said Bartley is to get county orders on the treasury for said County payable in installments, with interest from date agreeable to the stipulations in the conditions of sale of said jail – retaining County orders out of the above sum for three hundred dollars until such times of the said Bentley completes the iron grate in entry door, and the iron door in the holes in the two doors... rooms and four iron grates the four window jailers apartments³⁹⁸

The experience veterans gained in encampments from Valley Forge to New Windsor acquainted them with the various artisans required to build communities and the human resources challenges in finding and employing the necessary skilled workers.

Contracts

While almost all line officers became familiar with labor contracts and management issues (enlistment contracts), many also became knowledgeable through either duty or courts-martial about contracts for goods and services from civilian suppliers.³⁹⁹ The Army could not feed itself and relied heavily on civilian suppliers. Junior officers assumed the command of detachments of soldiers sent to collect goods, and they had to ensure suppliers met the contract's obligations.⁴⁰⁰ Previously, most individuals had relied on individual promises from people they knew for goods and services within their small communities. The army bureaucracy and its paperwork regarding contracts was a new experience

³⁹⁸ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 69. [June 15, 1821]

³⁹⁹ Jacob Norris. 1780, *Col. Otho William's Sixth Maryland Regiment, April 9—June 6, 1780, New Jersey to South Carolina*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 79. [July 6, 1780]; Herbert, "Orderly Book" [August 15, 1780]

⁴⁰⁰ Norris, "Sixth Maryland Regiment Orderly Book," 111. [July 21, 1780] "The Forrage Master to be supplied by the brigade major with eight men best acquainted with collecting and securing forrage under his direction"

for most junior leaders, but the knowledge was beneficial in their postwar communities.

Project Management

Continental Army duty exposed leaders to project management principles that honed their planning and supervisory abilities. Project management required leaders to plan, execute, and supervise their soldiers to accomplish tasks to documented standards by a deadline. Building the encampments at Valley Forge, Morristown, and New Windsor demonstrated these project management principles. The quartermaster selected the construction site, directed units where to build their huts, and established the standards.⁴⁰¹ Most junior leaders did not participate in the overall planning of the encampments but understood their role. At Valley Forge, Washington issued the following instructions for hut construction:

The Soldier's huts are to be of the following dimensions, viz: fourteen feet by sixteen each; the sides, ends, and roofs made with logs; the roofs made tight with split slabs, or some other way; the sides made tight with clay; a fireplace made of wood and secured with clay on the inside eighteen inches thick; this fireplace to be in the rear of the hut; the door to be in the end next to the street; the doors to be made of split oak slabs, unless boards can be procured; the side walls to be six feet and a half high.⁴⁰²

The problems at Valley Forge did not originate with a lack of standards, but from officers and sergeants failing to supervise and enforce the criteria. Steuben's

⁴⁰¹ US Department of the Interior, *A History and Guide Morristown National Historical Park*, 58-59.; Smith, *Winter at Morristown*, 11.; Stewart, *Morristown: A Crucible of the American Revolution*, 13.

⁴⁰² George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington from the original manuscript sources, 1745-1799, Nov 1777-Feb 1778*, vol. 10, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 171. [December 18, 1777]

Blue Book admonitions for officers to be involved in inspecting their men's living quarters arose from Steuben's observations upon arriving at Valley Forge in 1778.⁴⁰³

While persuading soldiers to construct huts to standard in inclement weather, leaders also had to manage the soldiers' work routines between hut construction, police call, guard duty, and combat patrols. Leaders had to share tools and experience. Most soldiers did not come from the Republic's borders and had little knowledge of log cabin construction techniques. They most likely grew up in frame houses someone else built, or they had some experience in repairs. They simply did not know how to construct huts with limited materials and tools.

This lack of knowledge, tools, and supplies hindered effective hut construction for many units. The Army's dreadful experience at Valley Forge confirmed this fact. Soldiers took short-cuts that seemed smart in concept but turned out to be disastrous in execution. One particularly bad idea found soldiers digging down in the ground, so they did not have to build the walls up so high. Nice in theory until someone positioned huts in low ground, and they filled with water when it rained. Major General Alexander McDougall reminded his junior officers upon arrival at Morristown:

Much of the sickness among the troops seems to have been occasioned by the improper method adopted in forming many of the huts last winter, some being sunk in the ground & other being covered with earth. To avoid consequences of a similar nature as far as that in our power from occurring again — The Commander in chief directs all the officers on the ground see that their men observe the Instructions of the QM Genl. in the formation of their hutts. That they be roofed with boards, slabs, or large shingles, the men be not suffered to dig into the ground (except so far as to level the surface) or

⁴⁰³ Lockhart, *The Drillmaster of Valley Forge*, 88-89.

to cover their huts with earth or turf. The officers will likewise see that their men erect bunks or berths to keep them off the ground, and proper conveniences in their huts for the purpose of preserving their arms and accoutrements from being damaged.⁴⁰⁴

Locating houses in low level ground made for easy walking but also allowed rain water to drain in and puddle around huts. Once constructed, soldiers were reluctant to tear down and rebuild. They lived a miserable existence with their poor choices.

As a result of the Valley Forge experience, leaders demanded soldiers construct huts at Morristown according to rigid quality control standards and inspections.

The General requests that the Commanding officers of each regt. will immediately examine the soldiers huts of his Regt. or appoint an officer for that purpose, to see that their floors are leveled and that they erect good substantial berths of two tiers one above the other, and that all trifling berths may be taken down and the huts well daub'd & cleaned out and that the officers will finish their huts as soon as possible as he expects His Excellency will visit them about the end of this week or beginning of next. He also gives them notice that no huts will be permitted out of the line on any account whatever.⁴⁰⁵

While it might have been tempting to cut corners and get out of canvas tents, junior leaders understood and enforced standards to properly billet their men. Junior leaders had been informed of the dangers based on the Valley Forge experience and constantly supervised the men. The quartermaster situated the brigades on gently sloping land to improve the drainage, prevent flooding, and provide designated areas for wood. Men used walnut and chestnut trees on the 600-acre site to build their huts.⁴⁰⁶ Each hut housed twelve men. This allowed

⁴⁰⁴ Platt, "McDougall's Division Orderly Book, 1779," 56-57. [December 23, 1778]

⁴⁰⁵ Taulman, "Spencer's Orderly Book, 1780" [January 2, 1780]

⁴⁰⁶ Mayers, "A Soldier at Jockey Hollow"

noncommissioned officers to maintain unit integrity and the ability to supervise and care for their men. The huts contained a chimney and four stacks of bunks – two on each side. The enlisted men's huts would not contain windows until the spring when temperatures warmed up. Senior leaders developed a course of action they hoped would avoid the problems encountered at Valley Forge.

Hut construction at Morristown followed a plan according to Steuben's tenets. Soldiers built their quarters first. Only when all the enlisted men were housed could the officers begin construction on their quarters. Washington's orders required all regimental officers to quarter next to their men.⁴⁰⁷ Three main factors led to this decision. First, General Washington set the priorities of work. Second, one of the leadership tenets in Baron von Steuben's regulation stated that captains should ensure their men were properly billeted before seeing to their own needs.⁴⁰⁸ Finally, the officers were dependent upon their men to help build the huts.⁴⁰⁹ Seeing to their own needs first would have undermined their unit's morale. Many officers remained in tents until February.⁴¹⁰ The severe winter weather provided added incentive to officers to ensure their soldiers erected well-made huts.

The leaders' job was to ensure the soldiers made smart decisions and followed the standards, and in the process, the leaders themselves became wiser. Correctly constructing huts took time, but took fewer hours than failing to

⁴⁰⁷ Smith, *Winter at Morristown*, 11.

⁴⁰⁸ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 140.

⁴⁰⁹ Richard Tyler, "The Hard Winter at Morristown," *The Picket Post* vol. 38, (1952) , 32.

⁴¹⁰ Smith, *Winter at Morristown*, 11.; Greenman, *Diary*, 168. [February 1, 1780] "Moved into my Hut..."

follow standards and having to repair problems later.⁴¹¹ Soldiers who did not pass inspections in hut construction and maintenance at Morristown risked having their work torn down and rebuilt to standards.⁴¹² Orderly books had provided guidance at Valley Forge, but apparently junior leaders exercised uneven quality control.⁴¹³ As noted earlier, Washington certainly believed that the Army's high disease rate had been due to improper hut construction. When properly built, the huts should have housed the men in healthy circumstances.⁴¹⁴ Leaders gained valuable knowledge at Valley Forge that they disseminated

⁴¹¹ Martin, *A Narrative*, 122. Martin provided one of the few descriptions of hut building in Valley Forge. "The next thing is the erecting of the huts; they were generally about twelve by fifteen or sixteen feet square, (all uniformly of the same dimensions,) the building of them was thus; after procuring the most suitable timber for the business, it was laid up by notching them in at the four corners. When arrived at the proper height, about seven feet, the two end sticks which held those that served for plates were made to jut out about a foot from the sides and a straight pole made to rest on them, parallel to the plates; the gable ends were then formed by laying on pieces with straight poles on each, which served for ribs to hold the covering, drawing in gradually to the ridge pole. Now for the covering; this was done by sawing some of the larger trees into cuts about four feet in length, splitting them into bolts, and riving them into shingles, or rather staves; the covering then commenced by laying on those staves, resting the lower ends on the poles by the plates, they were laid on in two thicknesses, carefully breaking joints; these were then bound on by a straight pole with withes, then another double tier with the butts resting on this pole and bound on as before, and so on to the end of the chapter. A chimney was then built at the centre of the backside, composed of stone as high as the eaves and finished with sticks and clay, if clay was to be had, if not, with mud. The last thing was to hew stuff and build us up cabins or births to sleep in, and then the buildings were fitted for the reception of *gentlemen soldiers*, with all their *rich* and *gay* furniture."

⁴¹² Taulman, "Spencer's Orderly Book, 1780" [March 22, 1780] "A Subaltern Officer will be appointed every day to visit the Hutts and environs of the Camp and make report daily of its situation to the Commanding Officer."

⁴¹³ Washington, *The Writings of George Washington from the original manuscript sources, 1745-1799, Nov 1777-Feb 1778*, 171. [December 18, 1777]

⁴¹⁴ Marc A. Brier, *Tolerably Comfortable: A Field Trial of a Recreated Soldier Cabin at Valley Forge*, (Valley Forge National Historical Park: National Park Service, 2004), 18-20. "One of the most important statements that can be made about our experiment in heating the cabin is that we were able to create a most comfortable environment despite the quite harsh conditions that existed on the outside. The 40-50 degree difference that we were able to gain over the outside temperature during the daytime and the 25-35 gain that we were able to achieve overnight indicates that in a properly constructed hut the soldiers could have survived quite well even during the coldest spells. In effect we were able to make it April inside while it was January outside. The fact that the experiment took place during a period when it was actually colder than it was during the first month of the encampment adds further creditability to our results...In spite of these possible sources of bias we did infer from this experiment that the huts probably worked better to shelter the men than has been commonly supposed."

through orderly books when preparing future encampments.

The officers also learned many lessons they carried with them after the war. For example, the terrain, foliage, and environment of many areas in Ohio resembled the woodlands of Morristown and Valley Forge from which the men could apply their knowledge. Some soldiers such as Major Thomas Massie who served during Valley Forge and Middlebrook encampments might have remembered these lessons when they passed down house building guidance to their sons on the frontier: “I have no objection to your changing your spot of residence on your land, indeed as I observed to you, I always held a change of situation in reserve provided you found on experience the present want to be inconvenient or disagreeable. My motives for selecting it at first were on account of the water and wood both of which being above the place particularly wood rendered the conveyance easy in winter.”⁴¹⁵ The leaders gained more than just familiarity in erecting huts. The officers learned about handling bigger projects as well.

The construction of West Point and the Battle of Yorktown also instructed officers on the principles of project management. Engineers maintained reports and status on West Point’s erection to properly allocate personnel and funds. Major General McDougall reminded his officers, “As the Engineer at West Point is answerable to the public for the progress of the works, the D[eputy] Q[uarter]M[aster] Gen[era]l at the Post [will] furnish him with at a copy of the

⁴¹⁵ Thomas Massie. September 18, 1814, “Letter, Thomas Massie to Henry Massie.” Massie Family Papers, 1698-1875, Mss 1 M3855, VHS. <http://vhs4.vahistorical.org/starweb/d.skclmarc-opac/servlet.starweb>

weekly returns of the artificers in the service of the United States there, and none of them on any pretence [will] be taken off from of the public works, but by an order of the Commandant [of] the Garrison.”⁴¹⁶ McDougall wanted all his junior officers and sergeants to understand that the importance of not diverting soldiers from West Point’s construction. The engineer’s timetable for completion required all of the allocated artificers to finish by the expected deadline.

For the Battle of Yorktown, sappers planned and supervised the siege operations, but line officers and their troops received their instructions via orderly books that included tasks, deadlines, and standards. They also learned how to allocate manpower to accomplish the tasks on a deadline. Siege warfare in the eighteenth century had long been a science with engineers predicting how long operations would take. During Yorktown, junior leaders such as Captain Caleb Prew Bennet captured the lesson in orderly books at the company level and gained valuable experience in planning and monitoring large projects.

Regulations for the service of the siege. First the service at the siege will be performed by divisions alternately, the fatigue man will be the first detailed out of the division, and the remainder will form battalions under the respective commandants to guard the trench is the first night... 9th an officer of rank will be appointed by the commander-in-chief to act as superintendent of the deposit of the trenches, for the following important services during the whole siege,...To take charge of the sandbags, fascines...other materials deposited

⁴¹⁶ Platt, “McDougall’s Division Orderly Book, 1779,” 64-66. [December 29, 1778] “The former will furnish the Major of Brigade with a weekly Return to be sent to Head Quarters. The Commandant will furnish daily the Engineer and DQM General with as many fatigue men as either shall require. No furloughs shall either shall be granted to any artificers doing duty there, ...The Engineer will begin a journal the first Day of January next in which he insert all the orders he shall will receive from him, the number of men daily employed, specifying on what service employed, and the quality of each man, and the progress of the day’s work. As Colonel Kosciusko has represented to General MacDougall that the masons on daily pay, cannot constantly be profitably employed, be they will discharged. In order to encourage such artificers of the line of the garrison as understand their business, they will be entitled to one half dollar per day for every day they shall be employed in their trade, provided they obtain certificate from the Engineer on the DQMG”

at the place which the engineers will appoint, and keep an accurate state of them. 10th He is to deliver the sandbags the necessary tools for the work, and take care of the tools are delivered up only when they are no longer wanted.... 14th He will transmit a daily report to the adjutant general of all the orders and certificates that he shall have given, as well as a state of the deposits which shall have been committed to his care,... 16th He will above all watch over everything that relates to order and regularity in the trenches, excepting the disposition of the troops, which is the province of the Major of the trenches,... 34th the gabions are to be 3 feet high, including the ends of the picquets which are to enter the ground, they are to have 3 1/2 feet diameter and to be formed of 9 pickets each, of 2 1/2 [feet crossed out] inches circumference and interplac'd with branchery strip'd of leaves to be equally clos'd top and bottom, in order that they may not be larger at one end than at the other.... 36th the Fascines are to be 6 feet long and 6 inches through, to be made of branchery, the twigs of which are to be cross'd, to be bound with at each end and the middle, each facing three pickets of three feet long each and two or three inches diameter. 38th The commandants of Corps shall be responsible for the observance of the dimensions of materials employ'd in the trenches; inattention in in[sic] this point being very pernicious to the service⁴¹⁷

All the tasks and supervisors were assigned in instructions written in company orderly books. The standards were clearly stated, and officers were required to inspect all work and products for quality. The Continental Army's system for the Yorktown siege provided project management experience for leaders undertaking slightly less complex projects in their communities.

After the war, Bennett eventually entered politics, becoming a treasurer for twenty-five years and then governor of Delaware in 1832.⁴¹⁸ While Bennett might have leveraged his training to succeed in politics, other officers could have transferred their knowledge to many civilian undertakings such as building a jail, laying out a town, or, like Lieutenant William Gray, in transporting a group of

⁴¹⁷ Caleb Prew Bennett, "Orderly Book of Caleb Prew Bennett at the Battle of Yorktown, 1781," *Delaware History* vol. 4, (1950) , 122, 123, 125.

⁴¹⁸ Bennett, "Bennett Orderly Book," 107.

settlers across the mountains.⁴¹⁹ Leaders did not only hone their project management skills in building forts or conducting sieges. Other opportunities existed. Officers also developed project management skills while supervising the Continental Army's laboratories.

The Continental Army's Laboratories

The lack of any sort of manufacturing or large-scale artisan base hindered the Americans in building their army. Armies consumed vast amounts of clothing, supplies, and equipment through combat losses, breakage, and simply wearing out. While original militia members had provided their own clothes and many of their own weapons, this self-sufficiency did not last beyond 1775. Congress and states tried to equip the army through private contracts and overseas purchases. These efforts helped stave off collapse but did not provide the regularity of logistical support needed to plan campaigns. Hoping to capture ships with powder and arms, or relying on overseas shipments to arrive punctually, hindered Washington's options for employing the Continental Army.⁴²⁰ Previous British regulations designed to discourage powder making and manufacturing in their colonies placed the new forces at a disadvantage. Few individuals even knew how to manufacture gunpowder or supervise its production, storage, and

⁴¹⁹ Samuel Prescott Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio, with narratives of incidents and occurrences in 1775*, (Cincinnati, OH: H.W. Derby & Co., 1852), 400.

⁴²⁰ Huston, *Logistics of Liberty*, 118.; Nathan Miller, *Sea of Glory: A Naval history of the American Revolution*, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1992), 71,79.; Orlando W. Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," *The American Historical Review* vol. 30, no. 2 [Oxford University Press, American Historical Association], (1925) , 279. <https://doi.org/10.1086/ahr/30.2.271>.

transportation.⁴²¹ Especially after Valley Forge in 1778, the Continental Army took an even more active role in overseeing and manufacturing its own supplies. The Army and Congress established laboratories to produce needed items managed by Army commanders or bosses.

One does not normally envision Continental Army officers supervising artisans and artificers. Laboratories consisted of small groups of artisans and skilled laborers who manufactured equipment for the Army's needs. The labor force would have included civilians; merely ordering them to complete a task as one would a soldier on the line during battle would have been foolish. Similar to line officers working within an encampment, artificer officers needed to employ their leadership and management skills to make do with what they had. Laborers could only be pushed so hard before they would rebel. Junior officers did not have the Articles of War to reinforce their authority in many circumstances. This is where their leadership and management skills in dealing with people under stressful conditions paid dividends. While somewhat similar to later factories, laboratories differed in that Continental Army soldiers' equipment was made one piece at a time by one individual. Individual parts were not interchangeable within equipment items. Laboratories did not have assembly lines in the modern sense. As mentioned above, bayonets were forged to fit a particular musket. Laboratories remained critical to the war effort throughout the conflict and had to be guarded from theft and sabotage.⁴²² The management of supplies, labor

⁴²¹ Stephenson, "The Supply of Gunpowder in 1776," 271.; Bartenstein, and Bartenstein, *A Report*, 15.; Huston, *Logistics of Liberty*, 81, 118.

⁴²² Hodgdon, *this grand supply* vol 1, 56.; Barna, "A Most Intricate Department," 11, 44, 115.

force, and transportation tested officers' management skills learned in the preceding years.

The laboratories provided an excellent foundation for veterans who decided to pursue business opportunities such as mills after the war. These leaders experienced the challenges of manufacturing goods for a distant customer to a certain standard with erratic financing, unpredictable labor or material supplies, and unreliable transportation. While many previous individuals had learned these lessons on their own and with their own capital, junior leaders learned at government expense. As long as they did not run afoul of the law or their bosses, they could make mistakes and remain in "business." Senior leaders knew it was a difficult job and disruptions were often out of the junior leader's control. The senior leaders often provided cover against removal and attacks from politicians. Even when operations had failed after the war, such as with St. Clair's expedition in 1791 where Congress placed the blame on the militia and the quartermaster, Quartermaster General Samuel Hodgdon maintained his position.⁴²³ Managerial skills and business acumen must have been rare in the government.

The Revolutionary War provided an invaluable environment for any new "businessman" wanting to learn without risking his own money. An officer did not have to be assigned to a laboratory or an artificer unit to get experience. Artillery officers dealt with artificers on a frequent basis because of their branch's technical and resource-intensive nature. In 1779, Congress specifically authorized and encouraged artillery officers to observe operations to gain an

⁴²³ Hodgdon, *this grand supply* vol 1, xii.

education and ensure quality control.⁴²⁴

That, when it shall be thought necessary, the commanding officer of artillery shall send officers of artillery to visit the laboratories, founderies and manufactories, to the intent that they may thereby gain an insight into the mechanical branches of their profession. And such number of artillery officers, as, in the opinion of the commanding officer of artillery, with the concurrence of the Commander in Chief, can be spared from their duty in the field, shall, at every convenient season, be stationed at all or any of the principal laboratories, to be instructed in the laboratory art, that a knowledge thereof may be disseminated through the corps.⁴²⁵

Even Congress understood the importance of management and “mechanical” training and its dissemination throughout the force. There were also other ways to learn. Commanders often detailed guard forces to ensure the laboratory’s security.⁴²⁶ Leaders might have gained insight through observation or conversation with fellow officers and non-commissioned officers while performing guard missions. Few officers had business experience prior to joining the Army. Some evidently felt that their military duties had provided them with enough of a foundation: ten percent of the cohort became merchants or partners in manufacturing entities.⁴²⁷ The officers acquired their insights about business under very arduous conditions.

The Chesterfield Depot Continental Army provides an excellent example of Continental Army junior leaders applying their leadership and management skills

⁴²⁴ Barna, “A Most Intricate Department,” 49.

⁴²⁵ US Congress. “[February 18, 1779] That, when it shall be thought necessary,....” A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*. Vol. XIII, (Washington: Government Printing Office, last modified 1908. accessed April 8, 2019., 204. <https://memory.loc.gov/lljc/013/0200/02030204.tif>.

⁴²⁶ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [March 10, 1778] “Lieutenant Colonel Symons is to send a Corporal and six men daily to reinforce the guard at the laboratory. They are to mount two sentries at the laboratory. They will receive their orders from the officers of the artillery.”

⁴²⁷ See Appendix A (Merchants)

manufacturing clothing and equipment to outfit new recruits.⁴²⁸ After the British capture of the American Army at Charleston in May, 1780 and Gates' ignoble defeat at Camden in August, 1780, Washington sent Greene to assume command of the American forces, and Congress approved a laboratory for the Southern theater. While Steuben wanted to join Greene in a combat role, both Greene and Steuben knew that Greene required properly equipped Continental Army soldiers for whatever strategy he adopted. When Steuben and one of his Inspector Generals, Colonel William Davies, arrived in late November 1780, they inherited a dismal logistical situation in the Southern Theater. Steuben's mission was to remain in Virginia to train soldiers and send them southward. Under Hodgdon's direction, Captain Nathaniel Irish had established a facility at Chesterfield, Virginia, on July 29, 1780.⁴²⁹ Unfortunately, recruits became the least of Steuben's worries. He did find men at Chesterfield Depot but not much else. Most of the men were either sick, partially clothed, or wholly untrained as well as ill-equipped and unsheltered.⁴³⁰ The state's bureaucracy had failed in Virginia.

The situation forced Steuben and Irish to rely on their management skills to rectify the situation. Although in theory the quartermaster should have been able

⁴²⁸ See Bettie Woodson Weaver, *The Continental training depot and general rendezvous at Chesterfield Courthouse, Virginia, 1780-1781, with roster of Chesterfield County militia officers, 1775-1783*, (Richmond, VA: The Dietz Press, 2007).

⁴²⁹ Barna, "A Most Intricate Department," 141.

⁴³⁰ John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg. 1781, *Orderly book of the Virginia Brigade, October 25 1780— April 17, 1781, Camp Chesterfield, Petersburg, Cabin Point, Cypress Mills [and elsewhere]*. MSS L1994.1.467 [Bound], SOC. [January 18, 1781] "All surprises are not only fatal to the surprised party but in the greatest degree disrespectful to the officers who command the guard against this." [February 16, 1781] "Major General Baron Steuben is very unhappy to find so little attention paid to general orders"

to requisition supplies from the states, this was not a viable course of action without specie. Unfortunately, Governor Jefferson's administration in Virginia hampered Irish's work by reneging on the line of credit.⁴³¹ Instead, the situation forced Steuben and his officers to set up manufacturing or artisan hubs in the immediate vicinity. In spite of difficulties, they contracted to make shoes, coats, cartridges, and to repair weapons. While quality control might have been lacking, most of Steuben's soldiers did not even have shoes. Poorly made shoes that only lasted a few months met a critical need. Their factories turned out fifteen pairs of shoes and fifty to sixty regimental jackets a week. By March 1781, the Chesterfield depot was sending men and clothing to General Greene's Continental Army forces.⁴³² The junior leaders charged with operating this makeshift manufacturing depot would have relied on the leadership lessons found in the Blue Book. One can reasonably assume the officers' familiarity with the Blue Book since the author was their commanding officer.

The difficulty in obtaining supplies without adequate financing or reliable transportation networks cannot be overstated. Transportation difficulties confounded the Continental Army throughout the war. Wagons, horses, and teamsters remained scarce. Even when the Chesterfield depot had produced shoes and clothes to send south, wagons were slow to arrive. Different organizations within the government had difficulty in coordinating their efforts. Extreme government coercion and impressment finally produced some wagons

⁴³¹ Samuel Hodgdon, "*this grand supply*": *The Samuel Hodgdon Letter Books 1778-1784*, vol. 2, ed. Joseph Lee Boyle (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books, 2011), 26, 67, 90.

⁴³² Weaver, *The Continental training depot at Chesterfield*, 16.

in late February 1781.⁴³³ Junior officers on both ends of the supply chain understood the importance and unpredictability of wagons.⁴³⁴ Managing their use, repair, and distribution affected numerous units simultaneously. Given the speed of communications, vagaries of weather, and problems dealing with the health of animals and men, veterans gained valuable knowledge that would serve them well on the frontier when confronted with managing produce to market, supplies to merchants, or settlers to farms.

Isaac Craig is an excellent example of this education being applied in postwar occupations. Craig was a master carpenter before hostilities erupted. He joined the Marines in 1775, fought in numerous campaigns, transferred to the 4th Continental Artillery in 1777, wintered at Valley Forge and in 1778, and later moved to the Carlisle Barracks laboratory. After the war, he became a merchant, a deputy Quartermaster General in 1791, started the first glass factory west of the Allegheny Mountains, and served as the Chief Burgess of the Borough of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, from 1801-1803.⁴³⁵ His understanding of laboratories' operations, which would later become factories in the market revolution of the

⁴³³ Weaver, *The Continental training depot at Chesterfield*, 13.

⁴³⁴ Hodgdon, *this grand supply* vol 1, 54. "June 9th 1779 Last evening twenty six waggons loaded with Ammunition arrived from Philadelphia. these Teems. I am informed by Mr Jones were coming to Camp for the direction of Genl Green and from several circumstances I am induced to think the General ordered them on for the express purpose of transporting the spare ammunition of the several Brigades, but if that should not be the case I must beg the Favor of you to let them go on to Camp, with their present loads as our Waggons are in not situation to risque their Contents and that at a Time when its very possible they may be wanted before they arrive. I shall send you back the remaining part of the Brigade of wagons of which the five that are at Mr. Weis are a part, are a Part, and I should be obliged to you to send the one that came with those five that belongs to a Brigade here. by this means you will have ten of the number that came on; and I shall for the present have the remainder. The waggons that are at present in the Park as fast as they are repaired, are at your service in lieu of those going on until General Green's pleasure is declared"

⁴³⁵ Isaac Craig. "Letter book. 1801-1811." Craig, Isaac, 1741-1826. Letter book, 1801-1811, Mss. A/C886a, FHS.

early nineteenth century, provided valuable experience.

Conclusion

Managerial proficiency played a much bigger role in the American Revolution than most people realize. James A. Huston's *Logistics of Liberty* did an excellent job of recounting the Continental Army's problems in supporting itself in the field.⁴³⁶ Some historians argue that Washington's greatest accomplishment occurred when he kept the Army intact in the field as a symbol of American independence rather than through any tactical acumen.⁴³⁷ Sound managerial practices seldom received the acclaim that battlefield courage did in family stories and public memory. Few individuals got the chance to demonstrate bravery under fire, but almost all had to practice management skills under arduous conditions on a daily basis. Battlefield heroics captured the public's imagination, but sound leadership of people and management of resources captured the battlefield and resulted in victory. This type of knowledge remained with veterans after the glory of battle had faded, and they resumed their lives after the war. The war stories may, or may not, have gotten old, but competence in military service endured and paid dividends to the veterans and their communities, newfound and old, in the years to come.

⁴³⁶ Huston, *Logistics of Liberty*

⁴³⁷ Dave R. Palmer, *George Washington's Military Genius*, (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2012), 225.; Gordon Wood, "The Greatness of George Washington," in *George Washington Reconsidered*, ed. Don Higginbotham (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 313.; Higginbotham, *Washington and the American Military Tradition*, 88.

Chapter 7 Function in a Bureaucracy

As large organizations grow, they create bureaucracies to supervise and coordinate their different parts. Not surprisingly, the Continental Congress, the Continental Army, and the individual states developed bureaucracies to equip and sustain units in the field. Bureaucracies create procedures to request information, issue directives, and enforce compliance with policies. Unfortunately, bureaucracies seldom performed as well as leaders hope. Eighteenth-century bureaucracies in the United States encountered serious problems with communications and transportation that compounded the inefficiencies caused by both a lack of experienced personnel and competing philosophies.⁴³⁸ During the war, junior leaders had sometimes daily interactions with the government's many departments and gained valuable experience in navigating a bureaucracy. After the Revolutionary War, as the United States expanded west, it developed processes to manage relations with Native Americans, oversee county development, handle land claims, and create government structures for settlers. Junior leaders used their wartime experience with bureaucracies to understand and use the processes to further their own and their communities' needs.

Where did the United States look for men to manage the bureaucracy on the early Republic's frontier? Outside government, bureaucracies remained limited in scope. Large corporations did not exist in the United States. Consequently, most Americans possessed little experience in interacting with bureaucracies. When

⁴³⁸ For further information on the bureaucracy and theories on supporting the Continental Army, see Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure*

authorities needed governors under the Northwest and Southwest Ordinances, they chose Arthur St. Clair for Ohio and John Servier for Tennessee, who had both served as senior officers in the military. With little guidance from Congress, these men and their appointees installed systems familiar from their military service. Both men had experienced the growing pains of developing the processes that a bureaucracy needed to function. The procedures they instituted in the new territories resembled processes already familiar to junior leaders.

The lessons learned in functioning within a bureaucracy during the Valley Forge encampment prevented disaster at future sites such as Morristown and New Windsor. While earlier historians attributed the shortages at Morristown to logistics, compounded by the severe winter, more recent scholarship has convincingly argued that the Army's problems were financial in nature and not logistical.⁴³⁹ In essence, if the Army could purchase the food and supplies, it could get them to Morristown. The improvements in the Quartermaster Corps under Major General Nathanael Greene, augmented by junior leaders' growing competence, substantially reduced the logistical problems encountered earlier at Valley Forge.⁴⁴⁰ The quartermaster, commissary, and clothing departments used bureaucratic processes to deliver goods to the encampments. The junior leaders could handle the physical and bureaucratic demands of logistics but had little control over the fiscal difficulties.

⁴³⁹ Huston, *Logistics of Liberty*, 132.; John W. Shy, "Logistical Crisis and the American Revolution: A Hypothesis.," in *Feeding Mars: Logistics in Western Warfare From the Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. John Lynn (Boulder, CO: Westview Publishing, 1993), 163.; Erna Risch, *Supplying Washington's Army*, (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1981), 19.

⁴⁴⁰ US Department of the Interior, *A History and Guide Morristown National Historical Park*, 52.

Paperwork

Paperwork was, and is, the lifeblood of a bureaucracy. Junior leaders quickly became competent in paperwork, or they and their men suffered. By 1778, the Army had standardized many forms and the record keeping necessary to ensure the efficient and effective distribution of supplies. Orderly books contained instructions on how to compile reports, when they were due, and to whom they were sent.

As with new soldiers having to be trained how to march, leaders had to be instructed on proper format and submission of information. In the Spring of 1778, Washington directed his units to follow an army-wide system to handle accounting for new recruits. He also explained why the new system was necessary, instead of just ordering subordinates to comply:

Corps, is therefore requested to apply to the auditors of the army, who will furnish them with blank forms, by which that business will be much facilitated, and render the adjustment of their accounts, both simple & easy. In order that no difficulty may arise, from a multiplicity of accounts, the auditors request that the officers commanding regiments and corps will cause the respective officers of their regiments &c. who have been employ'd in the recruiting service, to produce to them, their recruiting accounts, which should be collected, in form of an abstract, that the whole might appear at one view, and thereby, enable the auditors immediately, to acquit the said commanding officers of regiments & corps from the several sums, with which they respectively stand charg'd.⁴⁴¹

The Continental Army's bureaucracy operated on the basis of forms and reporting channels that it asked junior leaders to master. Civilian leaders had procedures they needed to follow as well. As elected officials, many had duties to perform within the electoral system.

⁴⁴¹ Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 285. [April 10, 1778]

Military leaders understood the confusion that could result from unclear formats or mistaken instructions. Captain Joseph Crockett, erstwhile state representative and senator, recognized the danger of misinterpreting census instructions when he wrote to the Kentucky Secretary of State, "The laws of Congress make it necessary that I should receive your instructions, before I proceed to take the third census; I give this hint for fear, they may have been left on the way; through neglect by some of the postmasters."⁴⁴² As a former military officer and political official, he knew the importance of correct personnel reports for determining military and political power.

A bureaucracy needed accurate information to function. While it might have seemed to many to have been a futile exercise, the quantity of men and supplies available absorbed the time of senior leaders.⁴⁴³ A rather simple problem of counting could perplex both novice and mature leaders. Definitions of "soldiers present" versus "combat ready" could be misinterpreted.⁴⁴⁴ Counting supplies was one figure. Determining their quality was another issue. Reporting the

⁴⁴² Joseph Crockett. June 19, 1810, "Joseph Crockett to Robert Smith reference census instructions." R. Baylor Hickman Collection, Mss. H A.H628, FHS.

⁴⁴³ Hand, "Orderly Book of the German Regiment, 1779" [July 27, 1779] "After orders. The conductor of horses will see all the public horses of the Army paraded precisely at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. Those officers who have by the orders of this day been permitted to keep those they have had or to parade them on the grand parade at 9 o'clock in the morning."; Herbert, "Orderly Book"[October 4, 1780]; Samuel Benjamin. October 20, 1779, "Receipts for goods delivered to different units." Samuel Benjamin Papers, (MS75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR. Ensign Samuel Benjamin had all the supply officers sign for goods he delivered

⁴⁴⁴ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 3," 37. "In the future the column on command returns is to comprehend on men detached on military duty, there has to be an additional call under the head of extra service which is to comprehend wagon years, artificers, and all others who are self-employed so as not to be counted on part of the effective force of the Army."; Taulman, "Malcom's orderly book, Vol.3," 59. [May 9, 1778] "The daily reports of the state of the Regts to the Brigade Inspectors have been grossly neglected, it is expected that the Adjts will pay proper attention to this order, & bring in their reports at half after 8 in the morning perusely"

number of horses was one metric, but who was feeding them, and whether they could serve as cavalry or pull wagons, were other items.⁴⁴⁵ Decision-makers needed all this information to plan campaigns or inform Congress. Eighteenth-century businesses, just like today, needed timely and accurate information to be successful. Prices, labor costs, inventory, overhead, and account ledgers all required accurate data to be useful. Far from disadvantaging junior leaders, military experience provided an environment where they acquired the skills recording data and submitting reports. They also learned what questions to ask to obtain the information necessary to make a decision. Captain Alexander Breckinridge put his knowledge gained in military service to use when he constructed his ledgers to protect his clients' property.

⁴⁴⁵ Hand, "Orderly Book of the German Regiment, 1779" [June 20, 1779] "The general is surprised and concerned to see the horses destined for the express team so much abused as they are. He can't walk and without seeing dozens of them scampering about... inhuman and thoughtless when the poor animals should be at rest and pasture. If the horses are not in proper order the expedition which is already cost so much money, and is so essentially necessary for the quiet of the frontier will of course terminate in nothing." Today's military personnel will recognize that horses often served as the rental cars of the Continental Army, and personnel were extremely reluctant to part with them.

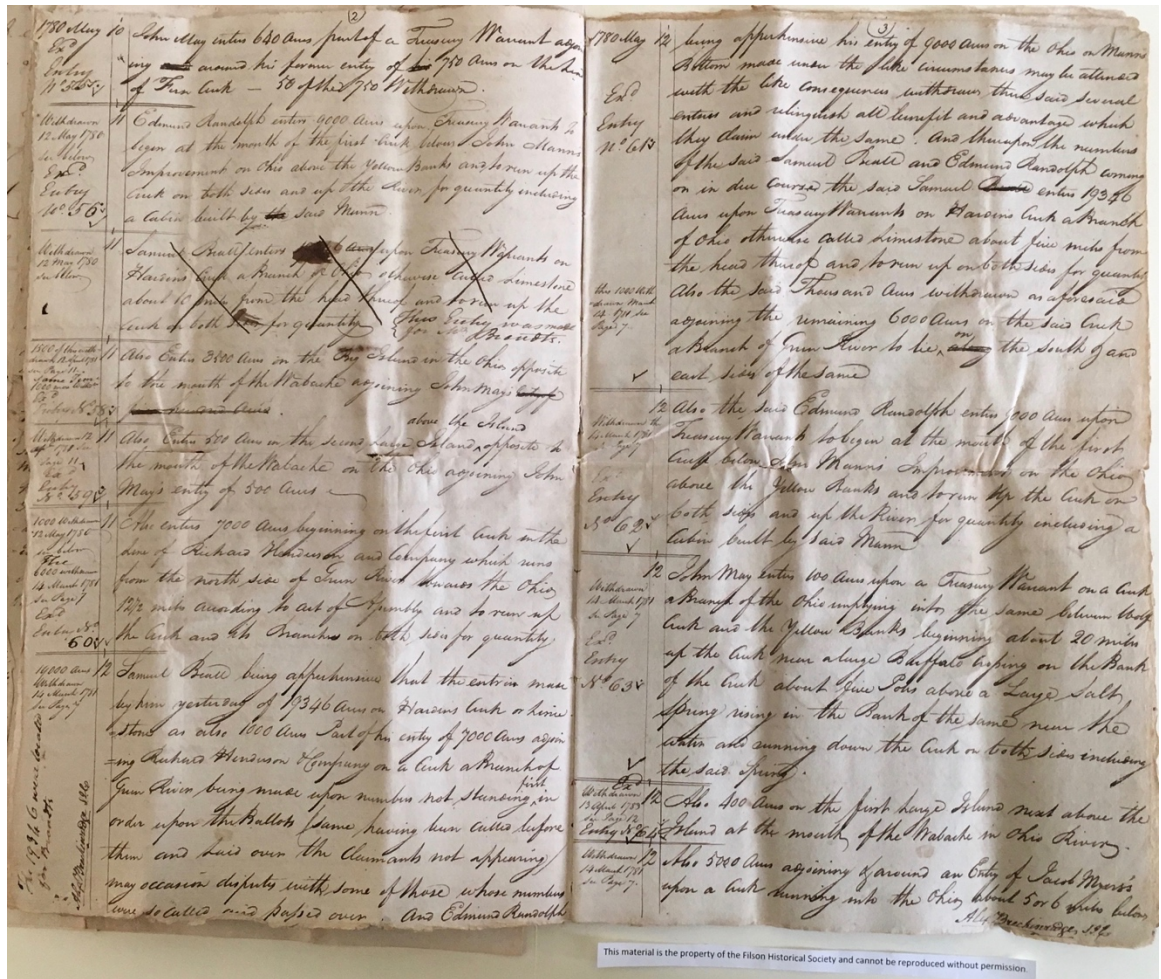


Image #5 Captain Alexander Breckinridge's Partnership Ledger. The ledger records the types of information a legal bureaucracy and court system would require to safeguard a claim.⁴⁴⁶ Courtesy of The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY

One of the many reasons the Continental Army's bureaucracy constantly evolved was so that military leaders could inform civilian authorities how units expended funds. Eighteenth-century political leaders feared the corrupting influence of money and wanted to ensure the Army wisely spent their constituents' taxes.⁴⁴⁷ The large sums allocated for military operations could be quickly depleted in a series of small expenditures that rapidly added up.

⁴⁴⁶ Alexander Breckinridge. 1789, "Partnership Ledgers." Beall-Booth Family Papers, Samuel Beall Papers, Mss A B365, FHS.

⁴⁴⁷ Carp, *To Starve the Army at Pleasure*, 41-42.

Reimbursing officers for out-of-pocket expenses not covered by salaries and rations was one activity. The Army had a system for filing for travel pay when an officer traveled to a distant location that any modern business person would recognize.

The United States Det^{ty}

West point Sept^r 6, 1779

To Ensign Samuel Benjamin for going on command to Springfield after nine months ^{men} by order of his Excellency Gen^l Washington — — — —

To Expenses going from West point to Springfield which was five days at twelve Dollars and a half p^r day — — — — 18:14-0

To Expenses while at Springfield which was Thirty two days at a Eleven dollar p^r day — — 105:12-0

To Expenses coming from Springfield to West point which ^{was} five days at twelve dollars & $\frac{2}{3}$ p^r day — — 22:17-0

Sum total — — — — 147:3:0

Image #6 The voucher contains per diem expenses for travel to and from a destination as well as lodging and food while he was detached from his unit. Ensign Benjamin collected twelve and a half dollars while traveling and eleven dollars at his work location.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁸ Samuel Benjamin. September 6, 1779, "Expense report for trip to Springfield, Massachusetts." Samuel Benjamin papers, (MS 75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR.

Sir you will proceed with the party under your command to Fish-kills keeping your men embarked on your march, and from plundering or injuring the inhabitants, taking the road through Hartford and Litchfield, you will draw provision at this place to ^{carry you to} Hartford, then you will draw to carry you to Litchfield and then you will draw to carry you to Fish-kills. upon your arrival at Fish-kills you will immediately report to his Excellency where you will receive further instructions. wishing you an agreeable march. I am Sir with the
Springfield Oct. 13. 1779
To Lieut. Benjamin
Your humble servant
Vam. Page Com. Office of recruits at Springfield

Image #7 A copy of the orders that Ensign Benjamin kept with his expense report or travel voucher that authorized his expenses.⁴⁴⁹ Ensign Benjamin's familiarity with accounting for expenses learned in the Army might have served him well in his several business ventures after the war.⁴⁵⁰

Counties used similar processes when compensating individuals such as surveyors who did jobs for the county for expenses. Accounting entries noted the workers' salaries and provisions for payment.

⁴⁴⁹ Samuel Benjamin. September 6, 1779, "Orders for trip to Springfield, Massachusetts." Samuel Benjamin Papers, (MS 75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR.

⁴⁵⁰ Samuel Benjamin, *Brief notice of lieutenant Samuel Benjamin: an officer of the Revolutionary War; with extracts from a diary kept by him during the war*, (1900), (Washington, D.C.: Buell & Blanchard, 1900), 47-48. Benjamin owned or was in partnership in several grist and saw mills. He also operated a ferry. His other leadership positions were selectman, surveyor of highways, and school agent.

Du 31

County of Washington

To lay out a Road from Marietta to Wetmore's County line, between the 21st & 30th Dec: 1802, 10th days inclusive, in pursuance of an order of the Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, in & for said County of Washington, at their Term of December Anno Domini 1802; VIZ:

To David Putnam	10 Days @ 150	15.00	
} Committee	Provisions furnished	4.10	19.10
Horace Wolcott	12 days @ 150	18.00	
} Committee	Provisions furnished	2.06	20.06
" Ephraim Jones	10 Days @ 150	15.00	
} Committee	Provisions furnished	.87	
	Post horse 9 days @ 25	2.25	18.12
" Oliver & Keckinshaw Sen ^r Surveyor, paid by United States			
" Abraham Levers, Chairman 9 Days @ 75		6.75	
" Elias Peters, Chairman 9 days @ 75		6.75	
} Committee	Provisions furnished	2.25	9.00
" James White, as man, 9 days @ 75		6.75	
} Committee	Provisions furnished	3.22	9.97
" John D. Sainsbury, as man 8 days @ 75		6.00	
" William Whitten, as man 10 days @ 75		7.50	
			\$ 90.50

Marietta, 15 March, 1803

David Putnam }
Horace Wolcott } Committee
allowed

Committee allowed

Image #8 Record of expenses for reimbursement on a road survey in Washington County, Ohio, 1803.⁴⁵¹ Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

Since bureaucracies seldom functioned flawlessly, they required procedures to handle problems. Orderly books contained lessons on how to deal with different organizations in directives read by officers and to soldiers. A 1778 orderly book contains guidance on how to deal with problems between line units and the commissary department:

⁴⁵¹ Ohio Washington County, David Putnam, and Horace Wolcott. March 15, 1803, "Payment voucher for survey work." State Archives Series 7338, GRVF44, folder 24, OHC.

Complaint having been made on yesterday that some of the provisions issued to the regiments of guards at Cambridge were not fit for use – in future when any provision shall be offered to any quartermaster or other officer who may apply to draw for any Corps, if the provisions offered to him shall appear to be really bad, he is not to take them, but apply to the committee of survey who are immediately to repair to the commissaries store, and give their opinion of the fitness or unfitness of such provisions being issued; which is to determine the matter – the committee are desired to endeavor to do strict justice both to the public and to the soldiery; and whenever any provisions are condemned, they are to make a written report thereto the general specifying the quality and quantity.⁴⁵²

The line officers learned that when they were dissatisfied with supplies provided by the commissary department, they needed to perform an inspection with a committee. The committee prepared a report highlighting discrepancies and delivered it to the commissary so the commissary department could determine with whom the problem resided: the seller, the purchaser, the transporter, or other parties. Company grade officers learned that merely complaining in a bureaucracy would not solve a problem. The proper authorities needed to be provided with evidence in a written form to correct the issue and avoid future discrepancies.

Civilian authorities used similar processes when dealing with county issues such as road repairs or appraising land for mills. “This court appoint Gilbert Timmons [?], Paul Fearing & Ben I. Gilman gentlemen a committee to view the roads necessary to be repaired in Marietta on the east side of the river must skim and report.”⁴⁵³ Civilian authorities tasked three men to conduct an inspection of

⁴⁵² Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [April 29, 1778]

⁴⁵³ Washington County, Ohio. 1794, “Road Files.” State Archives Series 7338, GRVF44, folder 19, OHC. ; Tennessee Williamson County. June 5, 1802, “Jury report on Harpeth River Mill site.” County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA. “In pursuant of an order of this county of Williamson County, We the under named being a jury appointed to view and value one acre of land the property of...on the north bank of the big Harpeth”

road on the east side of the river and then report back to the court. Once officials understood the extent of the issues, they could decide on the remedy.

Committees and bureaucracy functioned similarly in civilian and military environments to address problems.

Finance

Necessity forced several Continental Army branches to become familiar with financial operations that went well beyond just paying soldiers. Quartermasters and artificers had to understand how to borrow money and make payments for supplies and services. Senior leaders and Congress gave junior leaders substantial freedom to accomplish the mission. Distance and unreliable communications precluded direct supervision. Officers could not assume financing would be available. Politicians changed their minds and caused problems that officers had to overcome. The obstacles Captain Nathaniel Irish faced in attempting to operate the Chesterfield Depot in Virginia is one example.⁴⁵⁴ After Samuel Hodgdon procured a Bill of Exchange from Virginia in July 1781, Irish later reported to Hodgdon in January 1782 that the state refused to honor it.⁴⁵⁵ “And that of 20 January you informed me that you could get no money on the bill drawn on the state for the support of your post, this essence been confirmed to me by returning it since receiving and I’ve waited on the financier for direction, the result has been that it be canceled and the treasury office from whence it issued, and I have accordingly made the proper entry in my

⁴⁵⁴ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 1, 264.; Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 2, 90.; Barna, “A Most Intricate Department,” 115-17.

⁴⁵⁵ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 2, 68.

books.”⁴⁵⁶

Hodgdon and Irish would put their education and experience to work after the war. Hodgdon became the Quartermaster General until 1792 and later the Superintendent of Military Stores in 1794 until replaced in 1800. He later became the president of a trust and insurance firm in 1813.⁴⁵⁷ Irish became a local political leader in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania in 1790 and state senator for the Jeffersonian-Republican party in 1807.⁴⁵⁸ Irish’s difficulties with financial matters were not the only obstacles in the Army’s contracting system. Officers learned the importance of maintaining records when dealing with a bureaucracy for audits. When laboratories ceased operations, leaders had to account for funds. Hodgdon and Irish were still completing paperwork a year after the war ended and over two years after the depot ceased operations. Hodgdon wrote to Irish on January 23, 1784:

Sir, It is so long since I have heard from you, I am at a loss where to address to you, upon receipt of this I wish you to make out, and as soon as possible transmit to me a very accurate state of the Post, under your direction in which include as near as you can an estimate of all sums due from the public for which you stand particularly engaged – and a return of every species of stores, noting the place of each and their present state – as soon as convenient, I wish to receive your account for expenditures – let me hear from you in return to this—. ⁴⁵⁹

Civilian and military officials could expect auditors to inspect their ledgers once their terms of service had ended. When responsible for pay or supplies, Army officers had to clear accounts when they left the military: “This may certify

⁴⁵⁶ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 2, 90.

⁴⁵⁷ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 1, xii.

⁴⁵⁸ “Nathaniel Irish Biography”

⁴⁵⁹ Hodgdon, *“this grand supply”* vol 1, 316.

that Lieut. Samuel Benjamin of the eighth Massachusetts Regiment is not indebted to the public to my knowledge. West Point July 7, 1782 Samuel Armstrong Lieut. paymaster eight Massachusetts Regiment army.”⁴⁶⁰ Civilian officials underwent the same process when they resigned or turned over duties to the new elected official. Pickaway County commissioners directed via their journal: “Resolved therefore that the former treasurer viz David List be notified to attend and present this board of trustees with his papers and book as treasurer of the reserve section...and there give a satisfactory account of the proceedings.”⁴⁶¹ Savvy leaders learned to maintain paperwork to answer any questions that might arise.

Contracts

While almost all line officers became familiar with labor contracts (enlistment contracts), many also became knowledgeable about contracts for goods and services from civilian suppliers through either assigned tasks or courts-martial proceedings. While serving as adjutant of the 6th Pennsylvania regiment, Lieutenant Herbert ensured junior leaders understood how contract disputes were to be resolved with civilians when he wrote: “After particularly examining Mr. Angus Brooks orders and vouchers, the court are unanimous in opinion this accounting of provisions issued during the before mentioned period are true and

⁴⁶⁰ Samuel Benjamin. July 7, 1782, “Hand receipt is cleared and no debt to the public.” Samuel Benjamin Papers, (MS75), microfilm 691, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, DLAR.

⁴⁶¹ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Washington Township Trustees. “Minutes of the Trust of Section 16, 1816-1831.” State Archives Series 3672, BV10, 060, OHC. [May 11, 1816]

issued by proper authority.”⁴⁶² The Army relied primarily on civilian suppliers for food purchased through contracts. Company grade officers commanded detachments of soldiers sent to collect goods, and they had to ensure suppliers met the contract’s obligations.⁴⁶³ Colonel Otho Williams of the Sixth Maryland Regiment ordered: “A commissioned officer, 2 sergeants, 2 Corp[oral], & 20 privates to be drawn from the brigades to collect cattle. The officer will assist in impressing such number of horses & c[attle] as may be at any time be necessary to move the troops and in future no person whatever will be permitted to impress horses with[out] a written order.”⁴⁶⁴ The responsibilities inherent in written contracts and receipts would have been a new experience for most junior leaders.

Local Government

Counties and states created their own bureaucracies to obtain resources from townships and counties. Petitions formed an important part of the local bureaucracy. One procedure which followed a similar process in many western counties and states dealt with road construction or improvements. Road construction petitions appeared frequently in county records. Depending on the county structure, either county commissioners or local courts handled these petitions. Normally, a group of individuals joined to sign a letter addressed to the authorities requesting a new road, bridge, or repairs. “To the justices of the Court

⁴⁶² Herbert, “Orderly Book” [August 15, 1780]

⁴⁶³ Norris, “Sixth Maryland Regiment Orderly Book,” 111. [July 21, 1780] “The Forrage Master to be supplied by the brigade major with eight men best acquainted with collecting and securing forrage under his direction”

⁴⁶⁴ Norris, “Sixth Maryland Regiment Orderly Book,” 79. [July 6, 1780]

of Quarter sessions of the Peace for the County of Washington. Your petitioners request that a public highway be laid out commencing at Amos Porters and to intersect the road leading from Marietta.”⁴⁶⁵ Sometimes petitioners requested the county to repair bridges. Former Lieutenant Hatfield White on September 2, 1803 reminded the county of the “considerable expense” in building the bridge and even more considerable expense if the bridge is not completed and lost.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Ohio Washington County, and Amos Porter. February 9, 1803, “Petition for Road.” State Archives Series 7338, GRVF44, folder 24, OHC.

⁴⁶⁶ Ohio Washington County, and Hatfield White. September 2, 1803, “Petition for funds for bridge.” State Archives Series 7338, GRVF44, folder 24, OHC.

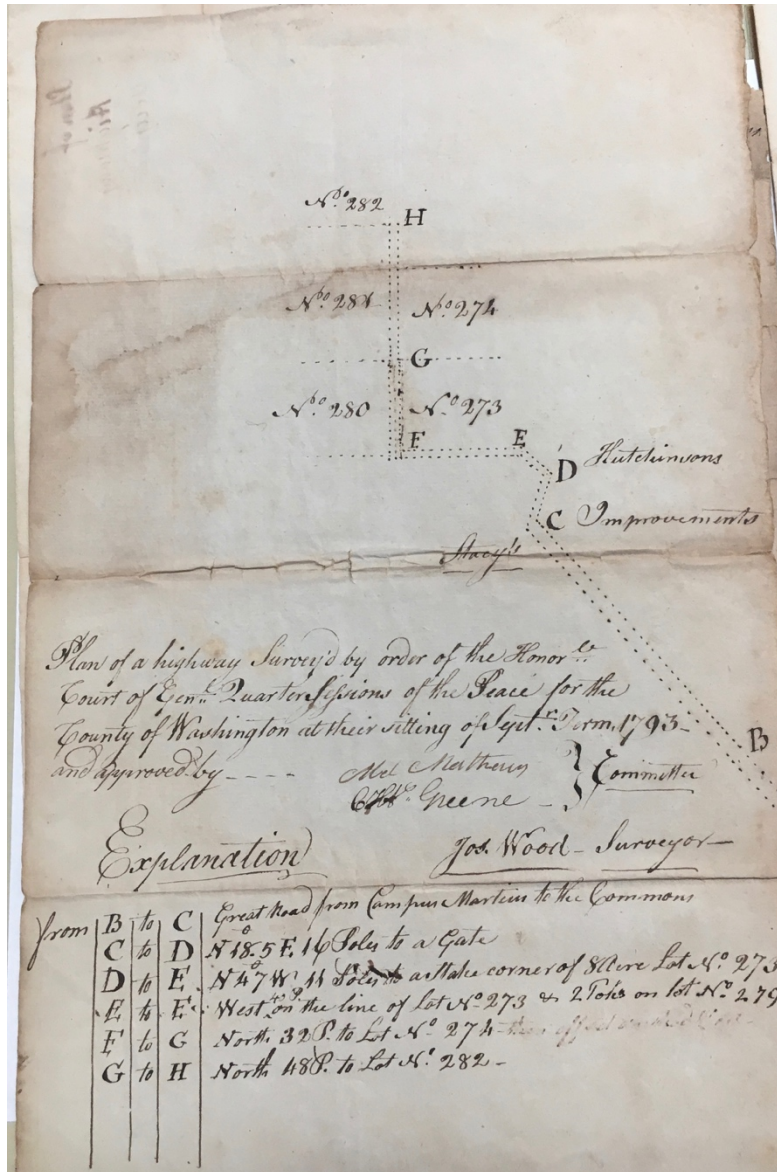


Image #9 Survey of Road.⁴⁶⁷ Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

The county authorities used a process similar to what the Army employed in addressing problems. The civilian authorities entered the task into the journal as a separate entry, annotated the date, assigned a committee to investigate the

⁴⁶⁷ Washington County, Ohio. 1793, "Road Files." State Archives Series 7338, GRVF44, folder 18, OHC.

issue, and directed when they were to report back to the elected leaders. Upon completion of the survey or inspection, the committee submitted a written report. “And after truly and impartially taking into conviction the conveniences and in conveniences which will result as to individuals as to the public do think that a road upon the above ground will be public utility and convenience to the public at large.”⁴⁶⁸ The authorities then recorded the results in their journal. The civilian journals used a format that soldiers would have recognized from their orderly books. The journals often contain sketches of proposed routes with detail and sometimes used colors in drawings.

⁴⁶⁸ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, “Pickaway County, 1818-1830,” 11. [November 2, 1818]

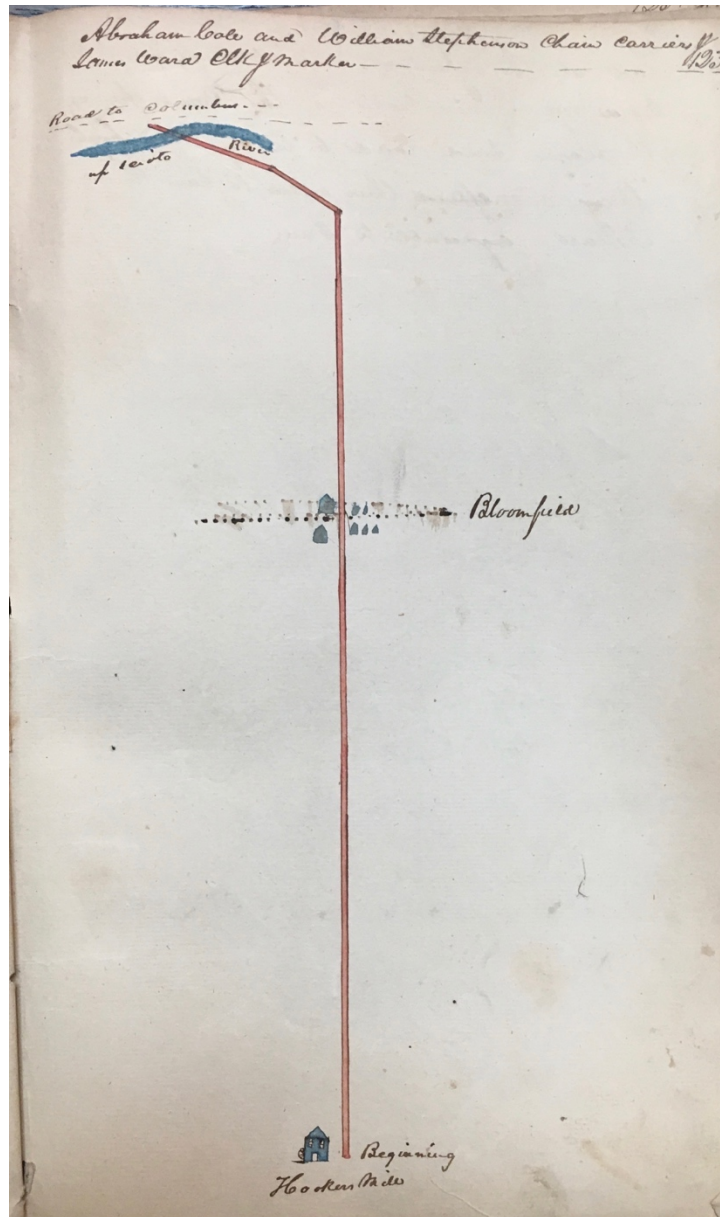


Image #10 Road survey map presented to the Board of Commissioners of Pickaway County.⁴⁶⁹
Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

Local governments also had a process for constituents to deal with the problem of distance from government institutions such as courts and meeting places for elected officials. As individuals moved farther away from initial

⁴⁶⁹ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 123.

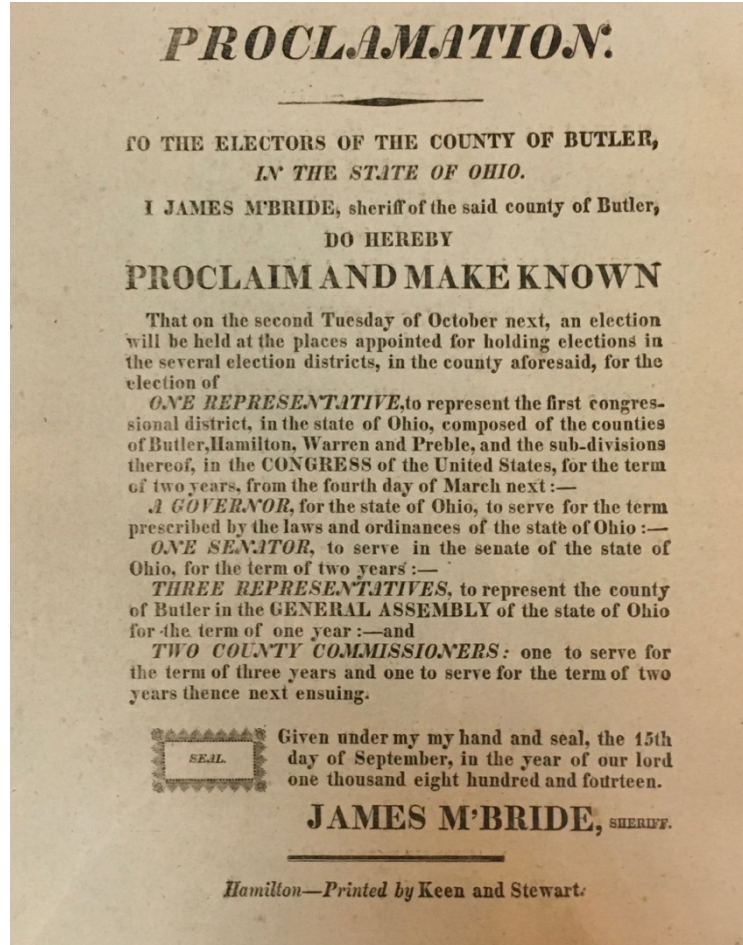
settlement areas, they petitioned authorities to form new counties out of previously larger ones or to create townships within counties.⁴⁷⁰ The subdividing of counties and townships provided additional official positions and ensured that residents maintained familiarity with their elected officials. In Ohio, for example, each township was allowed two justices of the peace. Neither the justices nor the people had to travel great distances to have their grievances addressed. In a similar manner to road petitions, a group of individuals sent a written petition to elected officials asking for the creation of a new county or township. Some counties underwent the process several times within one generation. It appears from the records that few counties actively fought the subdivisions in the early nineteenth century.

The Bureaucracy of Elections

Elections were just one of the processes regulated by county officials. Holding county elections required skill in working with several local and statewide officials and organizations. States often set dates for elections with local officials responsible for ensuring these events were carried out in accordance with the law. Local elected officials had to choose and announce a polling location. Elected officials functioned within a bureaucracy when submitting voting tallies to the proper authority for validation. Election results were required to include

⁴⁷⁰ Randolph C. Downes, *Evolution of Ohio county boundaries*, (Columbus, OH: Columbus, Ohio Historical Society, 1970). Ohio formed its first county in 1788 and made the last boundary changes in 1888.; Washington County, Ohio, and Board of Commissioners. "Journal, 1797-1809." vol. I, State Archives Series 6229, OHC. , 16. [September, 1810]; Washington County, Ohio, and Board of Commissioners. "Journal, 1810-1830." vol. II, State Archives Series 6229, OHC. , 13. [August 10, 1810]

certain kinds of information and be submitted to specified individuals by a



deadline. Justices of the peace or sheriffs oversaw the process.

Image #11 Flyer posted by the sheriff of Butler County, Ohio announcing an upcoming election.⁴⁷¹
Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

Other officials recorded the outcome and then had to forward the results to the state government. The process resembled a military operation in ensuring the right people arrived at the correct location on the right date and time. After citizens had voted, officials created reports and sent them over rudimentary

⁴⁷¹ Ohio Butler County, and James McBride. September 15, 1814, "Election proclamation." OVS Collection, OVS 2392, box 23, OHC.

transportation networks to higher authorities in the state government

bureaucracy.

An Abstract of Votes returned from the several Townships in the County of Ashtabula and State of Ohio. For two Representatives to the State Legislature. One County Commissioner for three years and County Commissioner for one year, one Sheriff and one Coroner. Canvassed October 16th 1813.

Names of Townships	Representatives											Commissioners three years					Commissioners one year						Sheriff					Coroner																		
	Nathan Strong	Cleason Hitcher	William A. Harper	John H. Strong	Behemiah King	Eloatha Hicker	Noah Cowles	William Lee	William Harper	James Montgomery	Nathaniel Husband	Samuel H. Hawley	Levi Gaylord	Behemiah King	Nathan King	Joseph Miller	James Barber	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery	James H. King	James Montgomery															
Ashtabula	25	22	9	8	2	1							2	3	1														1	3	1															
Austintown	34	36	1						36							35		1	1		34								33	1	2															
Denmark	1		10	10					11		11					3		8		2				9						9																
Harpersfield			57	61	1				11		60	1				32	30						62				22	1			37															
Jefferson	12	16	5								17					17								2		14			14	2																
Kingsville	3	10									10										11				11					10																
Sebanon																															16															
Richfield	13	14	2	6							20						14	6						4	14	2				5	15															
Salem	1		31	32							3	1			23								29	3			4		26		2															
Wayne			3	29							29						26	2		1							26				23															
Windsor			16	15							16						15														16															
Total amount	94	98	134	162	326	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	33	1	16	23						142	6	34	61	24	16	1	34	21	38	113	1	1	1	21	74	89	12	3	1	37	1	24	2

It is by us certified that agreeable to the above returns
 Nathan Strong has ninety four votes for Representative to State Legislature
 Cleason Hitcher has ninety eight votes for Representative to State Legislature
 William A. Harper has one hundred and thirty four votes for Do - Do
 John H. Strong has one hundred and sixty two votes for Do - Do
 Behemiah King has three votes for Do - Do
 Eloatha Hicker has one vote for Do - Do
 Noah Cowles has one vote for Do - Do
 William Lee has one vote for Do - Do
 William Harper has one vote for Do - Do
 James Montgomery has one vote for Do - Do
 Nathaniel Husband has sixteen votes for Do - Do
 Samuel H. Hawley has sixteen votes for Do - Do
 Levi Gaylord has two hundred and four votes for County Commissioner three years
 Behemiah King has thirty three votes for Do - Do
 Nathan King has one vote for Do - Do
 Joseph Miller has sixteen votes for Do - Do
 James Barber has twenty eight votes for Do - Do

Image #12 Athens County, Ohio record of votes, 1806⁴⁷² Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

⁴⁷² Ohio Athens County, and Clerk of courts. 1806, "Abstract of Votes." State Archives Series 7046, GRV40, folder 17, OHC.

The similarity between voting abstracts and personnel reports might explain why veterans were able to serve in many local government positions. The “Who, What, Where, When, and Why” common in military reporting was present in this voting abstract required by the election bureaucracy. The Athens County, Ohio abstract of votes contains the candidates and winner for each position and how many votes each candidate received. The document included the election’s date, location, and the proper authorities’ signatures. The bottom signature and seal may be who received the county report at the state capital in Chillicothe. County and state officials took their responsibility to oversee elections as seriously as senior leaders did in compiling personnel strengths. During the Revolutionary War, officers could even be court-martialed for negligence when they did not submit reports, as Lieutenant Colonel Howard discovered: “2dly neglect of duty in not furnishing the morning reports and weekly returns of his Battalion at the time order’d and in a correct military manner- 3dly for unjustifiable orders or returns Sign’d by himself on the Issuing Commissary.”⁴⁷³ Veterans understood the importance of accurate reporting.

The abstract of votes from Ashtabula county in 1813 shares many characteristics of a personnel report submitted by military authorities.⁴⁷⁴ Official positions are across the top with the units on the sides and numbers of personnel present or voting in a spreadsheet system to allow easy tracking of either unit or

⁴⁷³ Taulman, “Spencer’s Orderly Book, 1780,” 79. [March 22, 1780] Lieutenant Colonel Howard was eventually found not guilty.

⁴⁷⁴ Ashtabula County, Ohio, and Kingsville Township. October 16, 1813, “Poll books and abstracts of votes for Ashtabula County townships.” State Archives Series 3152, GRVY32, folder 5, OHC.

position. The report also has the date across the top of the report. To former military officers, the process would have seemed familiar with the notable exception that no one was shooting at them.

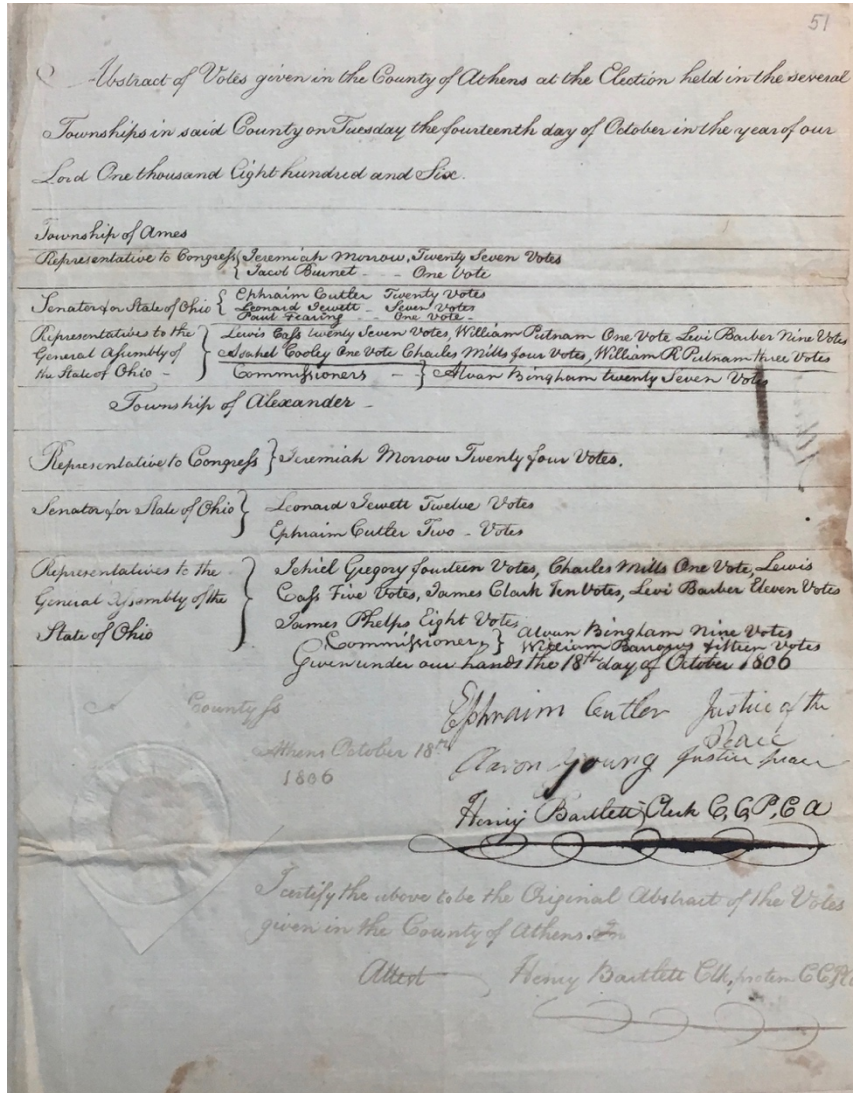


Image #13 Abstract of Votes from Ashtabula County, Ohio⁴⁷⁵ Courtesy of the Ohio History Connection

The bureaucratic skills needed to manage elections and ensure accurate

⁴⁷⁵ Ashtabula County, Ohio, and Township, "Poll books and abstracts of votes for Ashtabula County townships."

reporting would have been recognizable to former officers from their military days. Their ability to handle paperwork required for ensuring smooth running elections was not limited only to elections. County officers could use the same skills in other government endeavors.

County Business Licenses and the Bureaucracy

Counties regulated local businesses through the issue and renewal of licenses for specified activities such as taverns, stores, and ferries. “We the commissioners for Pickaway County think proper that the rates of license for taverns, stores, ferries... should remain the present year in said county at the same rate as last year.”⁴⁷⁶ The license fees ensured that proprietors followed the community laws and raised revenue for county expenses. The military had used similar procedures for sutlers within its encampments.

Just as taverns would be a mainstay of early Republic frontier settlements, sutlers selling alcohol remained ubiquitous in Continental Army encampments and needed to be constantly regulated and policed. Junior leaders gained knowledge on managing alcohol within their encampments from sale through quality assurance checks to consumption. Colonel Thomas Nixon made his wishes known on alcohol sales through his orders. He also let the sutlers know the penalties for disobedience:

The Sutlers of the brigade is not to sell any spiritualists liquors to any noncommissioned officer soldier without an order in writing from their respective officer, on any pretense whatsoever. The general requests that Major Oliver will immediately read, or cause to be read the orders of 12th of

⁴⁷⁶ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, “Pickaway County, 1818-1830,” 1. [June 3, 1818]

August 1779 to the grog sellers at and about the continental village and order them to conduct themselves accordingly, otherwise they may expect to have their liquors disposed of agreeable to the above order.⁴⁷⁷

In addition to controlling soldiers' access to alcohol, the bureaucracy of selling alcohol closely regulated the number of licenses and prices of individual spirits.⁴⁷⁸ Washington ensured soldiers and sutlers alike knew what drinks would cost at Valley Forge. He also warned unlicensed sutlers what would happen if they were caught:

Whiskey, Peach brandy, Apple brandy, Cordials of all kinds, and any other 15/ home-made Spirits, P^r: Gallon; P^r quart, 4/. P^r pint 2/. half pint, 1/3. West india Spirits, full proof, P^r.qrt 15/. — a bowl of Toddy, containing half a pint of Spirits 7 /6 P^r. No Persons whatsoever, besides such licens[e]d Sutlers, or Commissaries sent by particular States, shall sell liquors of any kind in Camp, or within 7 Miles of Camp, under penalty of having their whole stock seiz[e]d without payment, for the use of the army.⁴⁷⁹

Establishments selling alcohol could be very profitable, and sutlers highly desired obtaining a license to sell inside an encampment. A ready, thirsty, and restricted population made licenses valuable. Continual exposure to alcohol sales might have convinced some officers they knew enough to run a tavern. Twelve (7%) of cohort members tried their hand at running such establishments.⁴⁸⁰

The bureaucracy of alcohol sales appeared to be simple from the available

⁴⁷⁷ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 52. [September 10, 1779]; Marshall, "Orderly book" [August 30, 1781] "The great increase of sutling and dram shops in the vicinity of the Army renders it necessary that some restriction be laid on them. The General therefore strictly forbids the keepers of sutling houses or dram shops near the Army selling Rum or spirits or liquors to any noncommissioned officer or soldier unless such noncommissioned officer or soldier produces a permission signed by a commissioned officer. The officer of the day and police will immediately communicate this order to the inhabitants who keeps sutling houses or dram shops."

⁴⁷⁸ George Washington. 1778, *Valley Forge Headquarters orderly book, January 20-February 22, 1778*. William L. Clements Library, folder 55 pages (1 volume), 7-10. Prices and distribution of liquors: peach brandy, whiskey, apple brandy, cider, strong beer, common beer, and vinegar.

⁴⁷⁹ Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 290. P^r is the contemporary abbreviation for dollar.

⁴⁸⁰ See Appendix A: Business Owners.

records. As long as an application had been made in a timely fashion and payment rendered, owners could open an establishment, provided that elected officials had faith in their ability to run their business in a manner that did not cause disorder in the community.⁴⁸¹ Taverns could be very profitable for both the proprietors and the county as long as they were well run. County governments collected license fees, while owners made money from residents' desire for alcoholic beverages and a traveler's need for lodging. "Ordered that Tavern Keepers be rated as follow in the town of Xenia nine dollars and in the town of Fairfield seven dollars & fifty cents and all other places in the county six dollars."⁴⁸² Proprietors who could not maintain a safe and orderly environment risked non-renewal of their annual licenses. Veterans like Sergeant Rose probably understood better than most first-time tavern owners that the paperwork had to be completed before they poured the first drink.

Conclusion

Company grade officers spent a portion of their formative years in the military, and army life provided ample opportunity for junior officers to learn how to deal with bureaucracies. Very few veterans held any public office prior to joining the military where they might have gained any experience in functioning in a bureaucracy. Since bureaucratic procedures had covered multiple logistic and

⁴⁸¹ Ray Bowyer. "Justice Rose." last modified September 2, 2009. accessed April 3, 2019. <http://www.bowyerfamily.org/rose/176a.htm>. "In this town there is a tavern kept by Timothy Rose whose strict attention to morality prevents disgusting scenes of riot and intoxication."; Henry Bushnell, *History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio*, (Columbus, OH: Press of Hann & Adair, 1889), 31, 50, 51, 74. Sergeant Timothy Rose was a tavern owner, land agent, deacon, postmaster, and judge.

⁴⁸² Greene County, Ohio, "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824," 57.

administrative activities, veterans sharpened their skills in paperwork, record-keeping, and report submission and could apply their abilities in many different jobs. Unlike most civilian leadership positions, such as commissioners or judges who met weekly, monthly, or quarterly, military officers had dealt with a bureaucracy on a daily basis. Two years of service in a wartime military leadership role would have been tantamount to a lifetime of civilian bureaucratic experience on a wide range of issues. Whether within a public or private institution, working within a bureaucracy was one of the most important skills for a civilian leader to demonstrate. Managing a local county bureaucracy was familiar to former officers and might be why their neighbors entrusted them to these positions. The veterans' experience in bureaucracies would have proved beneficial when assuming positions of authority in their new communities.

Chapter 8 Law

Introduction

Revolutionary War veterans who moved west worked the same jobs and occupations as non-veterans. They were farmers, artisans, day laborers, and merchants. However, there is a dissimilitude that becomes readily apparent when a comparison is made between western migrants as a whole and the subset of Continental Army junior leaders. What set Continental Army junior leaders apart from their militia counterparts was the number of positions they held in their communities. Their communities elected or appointed them to positions of trust at a much higher rate than they did Revolutionary War privates, militia officers, or probably even civilians. An important distinction to remember is that generally these offices did not provide full-time employment. In military parlance, they constituted additional duties similar to service as a company paymaster or quartermaster (on top of from one's prescribed line officer duties). Individuals received a small salary along with reimbursement for expenses and travel.⁴⁸³ During contemporary times, veterans did not get rich performing these essential duties. These offices did not appear in pension applications but did appear frequently in county histories written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Amateur historians understood the importance of these jobs in the county's development. Even when records might have been missing, old-timers

⁴⁸³ Washington County, Tennessee. 1939, "Records of Washington County Minutes of Court Pleas & Quarter Sessions 1809-1817." vol. 4, Historical Records Project, TSLA. , 177. [April 1816] "Ordered that Samuel Hunt Sheriff be allowed fifty dollars for his exeficio services for the year 1815"

remembered who the Revolutionary War veterans were and what jobs they held. The cohort's neighbors frequently elected them to law enforcement positions. Why would junior officers feel qualified to perform such duties and why would their neighbors see them as competent? The answer lies in the officers' experience in working in the courts-martial system.

Positions in Law Enforcement

The former officers' most frequently held postwar leadership positions were in law enforcement. These jobs were justice of the peace, sheriff, judge, and constable. Some may be familiar, and others may require further description since modern readers' perceptions may differ from what these positions required in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries given the social, political, legal, and economic situations in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. A significant difference between contemporary law enforcement positions and current occupations is that state laws made it almost impossible for individuals to make a career out of law enforcement jobs. State constitutions limited an individual's ability to remain in such positions indefinitely, and often made the position subject to regular electoral challenges. While there could be some on-the-job learning, individuals could not gain experience over a long career. A newly elected official had to rely on his previous life experience and any other knowledge he had gained to perform his duties. Former military officers had acquired much knowledge during wartime that readily transferred to civilian law enforcement duties.

Military Law and Discipline

While it may be self-evident, the military experience differed from civilian life. Actions that could get a civilian fired or fined had more severe repercussions under military laws. Even when most Americans were unfamiliar with long-term military service, they accepted the need for a separate system to handle infractions through the Articles of War. Civilian leaders might not have chosen the profession of arms as their career path, but politicians acknowledged the need for a system to enforce military justice. Junior leaders knew their occupation was different than most civilians understood because military life and combat had its own unforgiving rules.

Many contemporary individuals believed they understood slavery, and often erroneously transferred this limited knowledge to soldiering.⁴⁸⁴ Soldiering in the Continental Army did not equate with slavery in one very important aspect. America's enslaved peoples did not carry firearms en masse. Soldiers did. Moreover, deciding what was an infraction or a suitable punishment was not left to one individual's judgment as often happened in slavery. The Articles of War passed and amended by Congress provided and restricted the authority for maintaining discipline. But what kind of infractions and trouble did junior leaders encounter? How did they handle such issues to preserve the idea of fairness and

⁴⁸⁴ Even some historians have echoed this misconception. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 13, 29, 155. "Deprivation, cruel discipline, the prevalence of disease in the camps, and the awareness that enlistees in the army exchanged liberty for a kind of slavery thwarted recruitment, and increasingly, the very poor and footloose took over the soldiering." "Not only was there a significant class differentiation in the Continental army but also a situation somewhat analogous to masters and slaves-but this, after all, was the way of premodern military service. Although, unlike slaves, soldiers served for a limited period of time, there were similarities between them and slaves." "In many ways, Revolutionary War soldiers found themselves in a status not much different from slavery."

community security? Why did infractions regularly occur throughout the war? What did junior leaders learn that could be transferred to civilian life? The answers to these questions reveal the advantage that junior leaders took from their military experience into postwar law enforcement.

Maintaining discipline among the soldiers required officers' constant attention. Even with three-year enlistments, companies constantly turned over personnel as a result of incoming soldiers, deaths, or illnesses. Nor, just because a soldier heard a lecture once, did he necessarily retain it months or years later. Fatigue, boredom, hunger, and disgruntlement caused discipline problems. Commanders filled orderly books with exhortations for their junior officers and sergeants to properly instruct their men and maintain discipline. Major General William Heath admonished his junior leaders: "The general again calls upon the officers carefully to exercise & instruct the soldiery in every part of their duty in which they cannot bestow too much care & pains."⁴⁸⁵ Instructing soldiers and leaders never ended.

Officers worried about their soldiers' spiritual health as well. Orders forbade swearing, lewdness, card playing, and other games of chance.⁴⁸⁶ Officers often

⁴⁸⁵ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [April 4, 1778]

⁴⁸⁶ McDougall, "McDougall's Division Orderly Book," 144. [November 1, 1778] "The honorable Continental Congress having on the 12th October last passed a resolution to discourage profaneness in the Army, it is inserted in the orders of this division for the information of the officers. And General McDougall hopes for their aid and countenance in discouraging and suppressing a vice so dishonorable to human nature."; Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 18. [August 1, 1779] "All orders issued respecting the troops to be read to them three days successively, at roll call. – In consequence of the orders of the 30th ult. respecting profaneness I do desire every officer in the brigade to use their most vigorous exertions in suppressing that growing evil, it is no less dishonorable than shocking to hear the degenerate and profane language of our troops in general, troops originated from and belong to a state formally renowned for virtue and piety whose education has been Religious and for whom constant prayers (Doubtless) are put out by the religious parents at home. Such impious

required mandatory attendance at religious services as well.⁴⁸⁷ While reform movements in the early nineteenth century campaigned against the sins of alcohol and gambling as plagues on society, commanders often had to take a more practical approach. Many courts-martial dealt with soldiers who did stupid things while drunk.⁴⁸⁸ Gambling deprived soldiers of their infrequently paid earnings and provoked fights because of the inevitable accusations of cheating. When the practical need to maintain discipline required the junior officers' attention to these matters, notwithstanding their personal feelings, it also made it very hard for them to be ignorant of their soldiers' daily lives. Even while they had wanted to be gentlemen, they were well acquainted with the seedier aspects of life. They had to lead and work with these men, which honed their leadership skills. When religious revivals occurred in Kentucky and Ohio in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with their focus on spiritual health and

language betrays the degeneracy of the heart & morals and reflects dishonor upon themselves if the reproof of the officers should prove ineffectual to suppress this vice among the soldiers.”; Frost, “Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1,” 23. [August 5, 1779] “it is expected all soldiers in this kind of recreation [bathing] will observe more decency than they usually practice, these orders to be read in impressed upon them by their officers”; Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 186. [January 8, 1778] “The Commander in Chief is informed that gaming is again creeping into the Army in a more especial manner among the Lower Staff in the Environs of the Camp he therefore in the most solemn terms declares that this Vice in either Officer or Soldier shall not when detected escape exemplary punishment and to avoid discrimination between play and gaming forbids Cards and Dice under any pretence whatever”; Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [April 9, 1778] “The playing at billiards or Back Gammon will be considered as a break of orders, and is to be avoided.”

⁴⁸⁷ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [April 11, 1778] “All officers commanding corps whether Continental or Militia are desired to exert their utmost endeavors to establish & maintain good order & discipline – on Sundays the men off duty in the respective Corps are reasonably to parade without arms and are to be led by their officers to the most convenient places of public worship – They are to march in an orderly manner & behave with the becoming decency while attending divine service.”

⁴⁸⁸ Platt, “McDougall's Division Orderly Book, 1779,” 86. [June 18, 1779] “Richard Jones a private in Captains Stetson's Company Col Bradfords Regiment was tried for getting drunk, fighting and by that means drowned his antagonist. The court are unanimously of opinion that he is guilty of the charge, but not of drowning the man designedly and do Sentence him to receive fifty Lashes on his naked back and then to return to his duty.”

self-discipline, junior leaders would have been already familiar with the practical challenges of maintaining and enforcing moral behaviors.⁴⁸⁹

Junior leaders guarded against soldiers taking matters of discipline into their own hands. While the quantity of courts-martial may seem indicative of an unruly and ill-disciplined Army, it actually demonstrated that soldiers and leaders had kept their faith in the military justice system. For instance, soldiers lived in close quarters with very little ability to secure their possessions, and a barracks thief corroded the trust necessary for small units to function. No military leader wanted soldiers to take matters of justice into their own hands as the results could have undermined good order and discipline. Soldier-administered beatings outside the military justice system had a corrosive effect on unit integrity. General Heath was not happy to learn of a sergeant failing to protect a soldier on guard doing his duty from other soldiers:

The general has been informed that on the 17th instant when Lieut. Brown was shot by a Sentinel near Prospect Hills, the said Sentinel after discharging his peace on his post, was insulted, beat, and abused by several soldiers of the convention, as a sentinel in no case whatsoever is to be insulted or be on his post (but if guilty of misconduct is to be regularly detained and confined) the general directs, that a strict inquiry made into the matter and if any of the soldiers who abuse the Sentinel are known in cases before that that they may be immediately confined. The court of inquiry are desire to take cognizance of this matter, and to inquire whether the Sergeant who commanded the guard to whom the Sentinel belonged did his duty and instantly turning out his guard to support and defend the Sentinel against any the least insult, which should have been effectively done, and that if it shall be appear that the Sergeant has been guilty of neglect that he be confined.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ *Mill Creek Church meeting minutes, Davidson County, Tennessee, April 1797-April 1811*, (Nashville, TN: Grandview Baptist Church, 1994), 8. "Mr. Willis Micajah who was formerly excommunicated came forward beg[g]ing admittance into the church. We advise him to attend our next conference at which time we agree to take this matter into consideration."

⁴⁹⁰ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [June 22, 1778]

Commanders understood the threat this version of soldier-administered justice posed to units and reacted quickly when instances occurred.

Senior leaders broadcast their disapproval, corrective actions, and punishments, through orderly books, to all soldiers:⁴⁹¹

A Division Court Martial held ... Capt. Lambert of the 14th Virginia Reg tried for stealing a Hatt from Capt. Allis found guilty and unanimously sentenced to be Cashiered and that it be deemed scandalous for an officer to Associate with him in future and that his Crime, Name, place of Abode and punishment be published in and about Camp and in the newspapers of every state particularly the State he belongs to and that he pay Capt. Allis 30 dollars for the hat he stole from him. Also the expenses of the Witnesses against him.⁴⁹²

Junior leaders learned the importance of known procedures in administering the rule of law to maintain discipline and faith in the system by the Continental Army community.

Soldiers, to include junior officers, often acted recklessly and stupidly.⁴⁹³ Young men let their emotions and testosterone get the better of their common sense. Alcohol increased the tendency to make unwise decisions.⁴⁹⁴ Officers, especially junior officers, took matters of honor to extremes. Even in the face of

⁴⁹¹ Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 166. [Jun 18, 1778] "the court of inquiry ordered to sit on Adj. Lowe report, as their opinion, that he was instantly treated by Sergt. Barkley, and that he should be acquitted from his arrest, and orders that Sgt. Barclay be immediately ordered to the ranks as a private sentinel. Major Lane would have acted more becoming his character by coolly and impartially inquiring into the matter in dispute, between the Adjutant and Sergt., before proceeding so hastily to an arrest. The commandant is determined to treat a corps of private soldiers with the same rigor for insolence and disobedience to a sergt. as he will the like a offence in a sergt. to his superior officer."

⁴⁹² Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 197. [January 17, 1778]

⁴⁹³ Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in The Age of Reason*, (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1988), 101. "Many soldiers in all ages are drawn irresistibly to whatever will do themselves the most harm...The records of military life were replete with stories of stupidity and improvidence."

⁴⁹⁴ Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, 35. "Drunkenness among the soldiers was a continuing problem with the Army in camps so close to a major city [Boston in 1775] but was usually quickly punished. Numerous regimental orderly book entries recorded numbers of soldiers being given lashes – usually between twenty and fifty – for being drunk on duty or in camp."

directives outlawing duels, they occurred. Junior officers fought duels and even killed each other while at Yorktown.⁴⁹⁵

At a General Court Martial of the line held at camp before York Oct'r 2d, ... Capt. P. Duffy of the Fourth Regiment of artillery charged was scandalous and infamous behavior unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman on the night of 23d and morning 24 Sept'r last, such as drawing a sword on Capt. Ballard and attempting to stab him, and firing a pistol at him when unarmed, also for a most disgraceful breach of friendship and seizing from Lt. Blewer a loaded pistol and snapping the same at him, when attempting, at Capt. Duffy's own request, an amicable settlement of his (Capt. Duffy's) quarrel with Capt. Ballard;...⁴⁹⁶

Unfortunately, officers regularly encountered this type of behavior, and it prepared them to handle similar lapses of alcohol-impaired judgment on the frontier.

As a matter of necessity, junior leaders learned how to manage alcohol in communities to enforce discipline. Officers limited individual quantities, ensured quality, and controlled prices in a bid to limit the potential for trouble and lapses in discipline. Even with such measures, heavy drinking caused numerous soldiers and officers to appear before courts-martial. Military necessity and security restricted soldiers to camp so it remained difficult although not impossible for soldiers to patronize locations away from camp. Officers had to balance between a soldier's desire for alcoholic drinks and the need to maintain

⁴⁹⁵ Jedediah Huntington. 1778, *Brig. Gen. Jedediah Huntington's Connecticut Brigade, June 19—August 31, 1778, New Jersey & New York*. Revolutionary War Era Orderly Books from the New-York Historical Society, EBSCOhost. NYHS, 86. [August 3, 1778] "for calling Adj Taceit A liar and drawing a sword upon him when unarmed 2nd for insinuating that he was a coward & challenging him to fight a duel, the court having considered the first charge & evidence, are of opinion that Capt. Sullivan is guilty thereof but as the abuse was reciprocal and Capt. Sullivan could not mean by draw his sword to take advantage of Mr Tacet being unarmed"; Feltman, "Feltman's Journal," 28. [November 21, 1781] "Yesterday morning Ensign Beatty and Capt. Mentzer, of the Maryland line, fought a duel. The latter shot through the head; died immediately."

⁴⁹⁶ Feltman, "Feltman's Journal," 19. [October 11, 1781]

a coherent disciplined military force. To add to the challenge, commanders often used alcohol as an incentive for particularly unpleasant work. While banning alcohol in units seemed like an easy solution, leaders knew it would transfer the problem into the communities where they had less control; the possibilities of disastrous ramifications was greater. Drunk soldiers assaulted civilians, raped women, and stole goods, none of which garnered support for the cause and all of which diverted officers from military matters.

Courts-martial and Discipline

While some individuals may equate discipline solely with following orders issued by officers, discipline involved much more than strict obedience to written and verbal orders. No series of orders could cover every contingency or circumstance. Commanders wanted soldiers and their junior leaders to exercise self-discipline, which is why frequent reminders about drinking, profanity, gaming, and lewdness occurred in general orders and orderly books. Senior leaders viewed each occurrence as evidence of a lack of self-discipline that could cause a loss of military order. Uncontrolled drinking impaired decision-making abilities and led soldiers to dueling, confronting superior officers, or fighting.⁴⁹⁷ Profanity led to grumbling that undermined the chain of command and these impaired a unit's readiness. Lewdness often affected relations with the surrounding community and eroded their support for the war effort, including provisions of

⁴⁹⁷ Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 1," 36. [August 22, 1779] Officer showed up drunk to drill his troops.; Martin, *A Narrative*, 107. "Some of the other officers who had not dipped their bills quite so deep parted them, at the same time representing to them the ridiculous situation they stood in, fighting like blackguards in sight of the soldiers."

badly needed supplies.⁴⁹⁸ None of these actions were unique to military life or encampments. Given the unit's high density of young men, junior leaders obtained considerable experience in handling such matters. When infractions happened, the junior leaders adjudicated breaches in military discipline within the Continental Army by the courts-martial process.

When necessary, the mechanism to enforce discipline resided in the courts-martial authority of the Articles of War.⁴⁹⁹ From the orderly books, it might appear that courts-martial were the most frequent activity in encampments. Courts-martial made the orderly books because they were important to maintaining discipline. Soldiers wanted to know the results. Junior officers' journals and diaries contain multiple entries about having to attend to disciplinary issues rather than more pleasant endeavors.⁵⁰⁰ Although one can sense the officers' frustration with courts-martial duty, the alternative was worse. These were not just crimes of disobeying orders, but crimes against fellow soldiers or civilians that had to be dealt with promptly. Long term incarceration away from units was not desirable for unit cohesion and morale nor even practicable for society and the military. Officers learned to handle rendering justice in a manner that soldiers would accept.

⁴⁹⁸ Hand, "Orderly Book of the German Regiment, 1779," 24. [July 9, 1779] "As it may in some instances be improper for the troops to bathe in the morning of those days..."

⁴⁹⁹ Continental Congress. "Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789." Vol. V 1776 June 5-October 8, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, last modified 1908. accessed April 3, 2019., 788. https://www.constitution.org/uslaw/cont-cong/12_journals_continental_congress.pdf.

⁵⁰⁰ Greenman, *Diary*, 248. "This day set on Court Martial / Tryed Sergt. Crandal for disobedience of Orders & a Soldier for forging Major olneys Name / both acquitted"; Gilbert, *A Citizen-Soldier in the American Revolution*, 35. "Roger Alger of Capt. Shays Compy was whipt 50 Lashes for Stealing" and "This Morning one Smith formally Belonging to Colo. Greatons Regt was Shot to Death for Desertion and Inlisting severall times."

The courts-martial system formed the “judicial” branch of the Continental Army community. While not a separate organization in the Army, commanders regularly constituted court-martial boards and assigned members to handle any issues that had arisen since the last board.⁵⁰¹ “The General Court Martial where of Col. Brooks is president is to sit tomorrow at 9:00 AM. at the usual place in Cambridge for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them.”⁵⁰² Company grade officers, captains and lieutenants comprised the majority of board members.⁵⁰³ The regularity of courts-martial gave junior officers multiple opportunities to participate in and learn the military justice system.⁵⁰⁴

Continental Army courts-martial differed significantly from our modern understanding of the judicial system.⁵⁰⁵ The courts-martial process followed a

⁵⁰¹ Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 220. “General Court Martial whereof Col. Wigglesworth is appointed President is to sit tomorrow morning 9 o’Clock at the Bakehouse. a Capt. from each Brigade to attend as Members”; William Heath, “Orderly Book,” vol. 28, (1779) [April 16, 1779] “A Garrison Court Martial to sit on Monday morning next at nine o’clock at the American coffee house for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them.”

⁵⁰² Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [March 19, 1778]

⁵⁰³ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 86. [Jun 18, 1777] “Col. Hazen President; Six Captains & Six Subalterns to be furnished from each Brigade to Sit as Members...”; Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [March 21, 1778] “Col. H. Jackson President, Major Curtis, Capt. Perkins, Capt. Winslow, Capt. Langdon, Capt. Randall, Capt. Hunt, Capt. Lt. Archibald, Lt. Story, Lt. Landry,, Lt. Newman, Lt. Mills, Lt. Dunnells members Capt Robert Allen Judge Advocate”

⁵⁰⁴ Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [May 3, 1778] “Colonel Lee President; Lieut. Col. Popkin, Major Curtis, Major Swasey, Capt. Lyman, Capt. Fox, Capt. Langdon, Capt. Winslow, Capt. Jackson, Capt. Archibald, Lieut. McLean, Lieut. Newman, Lieut. Hunewell, members; Capt. Robert Allen Judge Advocate”; Greenman, *Diary*, 140-41. [September 12, 1779] this day set on a court martial/ try’d a Corpl. For stealing/ found guilty and sentenced to receive 60 lashes” [September 30] “this day set on a court martial / tried 4 prisoners for a abusing an inhabitant / found guilty and sentenced to receive 100 lashes each one worse than ye rest” [October 1, 1779] “this morn the court meet according to adjournment / try’d 4 more prisoners / found them Guilty and sentenced them to receive 20 lashes”

⁵⁰⁵ Ward, *George Washington’s Enforcers*, 44. “While significant gains over the years have been made to establish greater fairness in military justice, the suffering soldier of the Revolutionary army could expect scant consideration if hauled before a court-martial. The very fact he was in this situation was taken to indicate his probable guilt. In proceedings similar to the later slave trials in the South, the common soldier, with almost no guarantee of due process, answered to his superiors, whereas officers at least were tried by peers.” Ward never explains what he means by due process and misunderstands the high rate of conviction even though not-guilty verdicts were not uncommon.

format dictated by military tradition. The Articles of War clearly laid out the authority and limitations.⁵⁰⁶ However, Congress did not impose a set of procedural rules. Contemporary courts-martial did not require individuals to master fine points of law or theory. The process was remarkably simple. The accuser brought a suspected wrong doer before the court. The panel questioned the accuser, the defendant, and witnesses. Officers examined evidence. The panel listened, adjudicated, and then passed judgment and sentence. Unlike present day courts-martial where board members watch prosecutors and defense attorneys argue the merits of the case and then deliberate in private, Continental Army officers participated. Board members who were commissioned officers questioned the witnesses and suspects. Through repeated duty as board members, officers gained confidence in questioning witnesses, examining evidence, and rendering verdicts.

The Revolutionary War era courts-martial system did not have individuals such as judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, or court clerks specially trained to oversee the process. Military officers of different ranks with the senior officer as president of the board formed the panel hearing a case. Commanders selected officers for the panel on a rotating basis from units under their

⁵⁰⁶ Continental Congress, "Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789," 802. For Example, Section XIV "Art. 10. The commissioned officers of every regiment may, by the appointment of their colonel or commanding officer, hold regimental courts martial for the enquiring into such disputes, or criminal matters, as may come before them, and for the inflicting corporal punishments for small offences, and shall give judgment by the majority of voices; but no sentence shall be executed till the commanding officer (not being a member of the court-martial) or the commandant of the garrison, shall have confirmed the same. Art. 11. No regimental court-martial shall consist of less than five officers, excepting in cases where that number cannot conveniently be assembled, when three may be sufficient; who are likewise to determine upon the sentence by the majority of voices; which sentence is to be confirmed by the commanding officer of the regiment, not being a member of the court-martial."

command. While the judge advocate general (JAG) position existed, the JAG's main function was to swear in the board members and keep a record of proceedings. Military tradition did not make legal training a requirement for appointment as a judge advocate, and any junior officer could be appointed as an additional duty.⁵⁰⁷ He did not function as a modern-day prosecuting attorney. As the first judge advocate general complained, there was little opportunity to demonstrate learning or formulate a strategy. "I am grown tir'd of my situation in the Army. Without command or even rank. In case of an action I am only a cypher. And though I have the pompous Title of Judge Advocate, my business is little more than the dull, laborious employment of a clerk. There is little room at a court martial to exhibit either ingenuity or learning (if I possess'd them) and as little credit in directing the judgement of men who have neither."⁵⁰⁸

Noncommissioned officers had important roles as well. NCOs gave testimony and ensured their soldiers appeared when required. Leaders mastered gathering and questioning witnesses, examining evidence, and dealing with individuals suspected of wrong-doing.⁵⁰⁹

The high conviction rate of defendants should not be interpreted as evidence

⁵⁰⁷ Titus, "Titus Company, Fourth New York Regiment orderly book," 4. [May 30, 1779] "the Adjutant will keep the Proceedings of the Court Martials in his care"; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 79. [June 7, 1777]

⁵⁰⁸ William Tudor. "Letter to John Adams, July 7, 1776." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 3, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-04-02-0152>. [Original Source: The Adams Papers, Papers of John Adams, vol. 4, February–August 1776, ed. Robert J. Taylor. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979, pp. 367–369.]

⁵⁰⁹ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 96. [July 7, 1777] "Charles Hamelton, a Corporal in Capt. Kirkwood's Compy at the request of the Prisoner being brought before the Court & sworn, sayeth being at the Prisoners tent doore heard the Drummer and Prisoner using reproachfull language to each other he likewise saieth he heard the Drummer daring the Prisoner to Strike him."

of a lack of interest in seeing justice done by courts-martial panel members. Courts ruled a high percentage of defendants guilty for the simple reason that commanders seldom went to trials unless they were confident a suspect would be found guilty by either witness testimony or evidence. This is not to say that defendants were not found innocent to the consternation of commanders. Sometimes breaches of military discipline or decorum led to charges being filed. In such cases, some panels rebuked both parties.

Additionally, officers acted as members of boards of inquiry which functioned to hear charges against officers. These boards of inquiry did not focus solely on criminal acts, but also dealt with a commander's decisions in battle. The boards could be used to clear an officer's name. These proceedings resembled grand juries in civilian life. Whereas the average civilian infrequently interacted with the court system, and usually in civil cases, the average Continental Army junior leader continually operated within the judicial system.

Company grade officers' constant involvement with courts-martial equipped them with the necessary skills to function as law enforcement officers. Police forces and law enforcement organizations did not develop until later in the nineteenth century. Prisons to incarcerate felons as punishment had not been created, and jails existed to hold individuals until trial after which authorities promptly applied punishments. Military justice happened swiftly, as the Army preferred to handle matters quickly and not divert scarce manpower to guarding suspects and the convicted.

Commanders maintained responsibility for their men even when they were

turned over to authorities for trial by court-martial. Officers had to submit written records to the Provost or guardhouse as to the charges against the men. They also had to ensure that they were fed and clothed. Even under court-martial proceedings, junior officers were responsible for their prisoners' health and welfare.⁵¹⁰ Justices of the peace and sheriffs exercised similar duties regarding the care and security of prisoners before trial in contemporary civilian systems.⁵¹¹

A few historians bemoan the “brutal punishments” perpetrated on the soldiers by capricious officers and the inhumanity of the military justice system.⁵¹² It bears repeating that the Revolutionary War was a different time, and the military life *is* different than civilian life. While current readers may recoil from the idea of a court-martial and lashes for stealing a shirt, such a punishment becomes more understandable when soldiers had only one shirt.⁵¹³ Some individuals think the current military justice system which allows a company commander to fine half a

⁵¹⁰ Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 279. “The Brigadier of the day is to visit the prisoners in the Provost during his hour of duty, and to enquire into the manner of their treatment, which he is to report with the number and kind of them and length of confinement when he gives in the general report of the guards and occurrences. This is to be a standing order and punctually obeyed.; Heath, “Heath Orderly Books.” [March 23, 1778] “The General is sorry to find himself obliged by the sufferings of the prisoners in the main guard again to direct those officers who were quartered in town and have any men confined in the main guard take a effectual care that provisions are daily sent to them. Not only the principles of humanity but duty strictly requires attention to this order.”

⁵¹¹ Harris I. Effross, *Juries, Jails, and Justice: The Sheriff's Office in New Jersey since the 17th Century*, (Metuchen, NJ: The Upland Press with the Newark Public Library, 1998), 45.; Harry S. Laver, *Citizens more than Soldiers: The Kentucky Militia and Society in The Early Republic*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 48.

⁵¹² Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 14. “That many soldiers accepted conditions as they were and especially did not rise up against the cruel treatment and awful deaths inflicted on their comrades may be attributed to various factors.”; Neimeyer, *The Revolutionary War*, xiii. “In sum, most Revolutionary War enlisted men were more often less concerned about ideology than with survival. Often survival meant not running afoul of one’s own officers and the harsh Articles of War”; Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 40. “Without brutal punishments, the respect that soldiers would show officers was essential for discipline.”

⁵¹³ Mayers, “A Soldier at Jockey Hollow”; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 52. [Mar 1, 1777]

soldier's monthly pay for a term of two months is cruel. Military justice today is the result of a long history of trial and error amidst the unique circumstances of war. The mutinies after the Morristown winter in the spring of 1780 have received ample scholarly attention, and neither harsh punishments nor discipline emerged as contributing factors. However current historians feel about eighteenth-century military justice and the complaints recorded in several sources about the severity of military justice, the evidence demonstrated that none of the Continental Army mutinies were the result of an oppressive disciplinary system.⁵¹⁴ Large groups of people living in close proximity required discipline to prevent disorder. Encampment life demanded it. For junior officers to have abdicated their responsibility to enforce discipline would have been negligent.

Law Enforcement Positions: Justice of the Peace, Judge, Sheriff, and Constable

The law enforcement tasks performed by justices of the peace, sheriffs, constables, and judges replicated tasks carried out by leaders within Army encampments. Rendering judgments and maintaining order within the courts-martial proceedings was similar to civilian courts. Both officers and sergeants served as court officials in military and civilian judicial systems. Experience would have made the transition easy and would have provided an advantage to veterans who chose to seek office.

⁵¹⁴ Nagy, *Rebellion in the Ranks*, xix. "...most mutinies of size occurred toward the end of the war, when the lack of clothing and food pushed men to the limits of their endurance."

Justice of the Peace

Continental Army junior leaders served as justices of the peace more often than any other local leadership position in their new communities. Sixteen percent of the 180 veteran junior leaders in this study held office as a justice of the peace at one time in their postwar lives. But why did justice of the peace attract so many Continental Army junior leaders into its ranks? If one looks at William Blackstone's *Commentaries* for explanation, it could have been some of the same desires that led them into the Continental Army:

And here a very ample field is opened for a gentleman to exert his talents, by maintaining good order in his neighborhood; by punishing the dissolute and idle; by protecting the peaceable and industrious; and, above all, by healing petty differences and preventing vexatious prosecutions. But, in order to attain these desirable ends, it is necessary that the magistrate should understand his business; and have not only the will, but the power also, (under which must be included the knowledge) of administering legal and effectual justice. Else, when he has mistaken his authority, through passion, through ignorance, or absurdity, he will be the object of contempt from his inferiors, and of censure from those to whom he is accountable for his conduct.⁵¹⁵

Blackstone wrote his commentaries to educate lawyers and for the legal line of work to become more professional.⁵¹⁶ He wanted them to know their "business." He also refers to a "gentleman" performing the duties. Leaders, then and now, expected commissioned officers to behave as gentleman so justice of the peace would have been a natural fit. Although the sergeant's rank had not been previously regarded as a "gentleman," the justice of the peace could have

⁵¹⁵ William Blackstone. "Commentaries on the Laws of England, 1765-1769." The Avalon Project Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy. (New Haven, CT: Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, last modified 2008. accessed April 8, 2019. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/blackstone_intro.asp#1. ; W. R. F., "The Justice of the Peace in Virginia: A Neglected Aspect of the Judiciary," *Virginia Law Review* vol. 52, no. 1 *Virginia Law Review*, (1966) , 151. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1071669>.

⁵¹⁶ Blackstone, "Commentaries on the Laws of England, 1765-1769," Introduction.

also increased the social standing of a non-commissioned officer in his new community. But communities demanded more from their justices of the peace than legal training and social standing. Much more indeed.

The justice of the peace formed a critical part of law and order's foundation in early communities. An individual appointed as a justice of the peace had tremendous latitude in the performance of his duties. What made veteran junior leaders so valuable as justices of the peace was that they were required uphold the law, *and* maintain order in business, elections, trade, and development—skills acquired in the army. The state had high standards for a justice of the peace as the following appointment notes:

...Know you, that reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity and ability, we have assigned you, the said Allen McClane; one of the Justices, the Peace in the said county of Kent to keep, and all Laws and Statutes made for the good of our Peace and for the Conservation of the same to keep, and cause to be kept; and to chastise and punish all persons offending against the said laws and statutes within the said county, as the Law doth or shall direct; giving hereby and granting unto you full power and authority to execute and perform all and singular those things which a Justice of the Peace by the Laws and customs of the said State may or can do, acting therein that which to Justice according to Law shall appear in.⁵¹⁷

Several state constitutions approved after the Federal constitution of 1787 provided for justice of the peace in the counties but did not specify their duties.⁵¹⁸ Ohio's 1803 Constitution prescribed "A competent number of Justices of the Peace shall be elected by the qualified electors in each township in the several

⁵¹⁷ State of Delaware. February 4, 1793, "Justice of the Peace." Allan McLane Papers, 1775-1821, Film 655, microfilm 655, NYHS, DLAR. Allan McLane was a former Continental Army officer appointed as a Justice of the Peace and US Marshall in Delaware.

⁵¹⁸ "Ohio Constitution, February 14, 1803"; "The Tennessee Constitution, June 1, 1796." Tennessee Law—The Early Days. TNGenWeb Project, last modified 2001. accessed April 3, 2019. <http://www.tngenweb.org/law/constitution1796.html>. ; "Kentucky Constitution, 1792"

counties and shall continue in office three years, whose powers and duties shall, from time to time, be regulated and defined by law.”⁵¹⁹ Kentucky’s 1792 Constitution contained similar wording: “6. A competent number of Justices of the peace shall be appointed in each county, they shall be commissioned during good behavior but may be removed on conviction of misbehavior in office of any infamous crime, or on the address of both houses of the legislature. 7. The judges shall by virtue of their office be conservators of the peace throughout the state.”⁵²⁰ Much like Alan McClane’s oath of office and commission from Delaware which granted him “full power and authority” to accomplish his mission, the states did not tell justices of the peace how to do their jobs. This would not have been a problem for former Continental Army officers like McClane nor any of the other veterans accustomed to exercising power without specific instructions. Continental Army leaders seldom received detailed instructions on how to accomplish their missions once their seniors had faith in their abilities. Senior officers expected junior leaders to use their good judgment in the absence of orders or instructions. This may explain why local histories and records mention twenty junior leaders as being their communities’ first or early justices of the peace. As the first occupant, they would have had an important role in establishing the position’s customs and traditions.

⁵¹⁹ “Ohio Constitution, February 14, 1803”; “Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787.” Our Government. last modified 2001. accessed April 3, 2019. <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false&doc=8>. [Original Source: (National Archives Microfilm Publication M332, roll 9); Miscellaneous Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789; Records of the Continental and Confederation Congresses and the Constitutional Convention, 1774-1789, Record Group 360; National Archives] The Northwest Ordinance refers to magistrates which was another name for justice of the peace.

⁵²⁰ “Kentucky Constitution, 1792”

State constitutions and federal ordinances required few qualifications to serve other than the ability to be elected by one's peers. Colonists had transplanted the justice of the peace system from England to the Atlantic seaboard to the early Republic's territories as a means to handle minor legal disputes amongst inhabitants scattered in areas far from the capital. Once a territory became a state, the county election requirement ensured that judicial decisions remained at the local level as opposed to the discretion of a state appointed official with limited ties to the community. State constitutions made exceptions for justice of the peace on what additional offices they could hold to limit any possible corruption or influence.⁵²¹ Some states like Tennessee did not consider the justice of the peace to be a "lucrative" position.⁵²² This local control ensured that a locality could replace a justice of the peace if his conduct did not meet community standards. As long as the community trusted his decisions and believed in their potential to achieve justice, the system worked.⁵²³ A county's boundaries defined the limit of a justice of the peace's authority.⁵²⁴ The justices of the peace served as important and critical leaders within the local governance

⁵²¹ "Kentucky Constitution, 1792" "That no member of the first Legislature, which shall be assembled under this Constitution, shall be precluded from being appointed to any office which may have been created during his time of service in the said Legislature; and no minister of religious societies, member of Congress, or other person holding any office of profit under the United States or this Commonwealth, except attorneys at law, justices of the peace, militia officers, and coroners, shall be a member of either House during his continuance to act as a minister, in Congress, or in office."

⁵²² "The Tennessee Constitution, June 1, 1796" Article 1, section 23 "...That no appointment in the militia, or to the office of justice of the peace, shall be considered a lucrative office."

⁵²³ Chester H. Smith, "The Justice of the Peace System in the United States," *California Law Review* vol. 15, no. 2 (1927), 118-21. <https://doi.org/10.15779/Z38S800>.

⁵²⁴ R. E. T., "Justices of the Peace. Territorial Jurisdiction in Civil Cases," *Virginia Law Review* vol. 16, no. 5 *Virginia Law Review*, (1930), 518-19. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1064796>.

structure.⁵²⁵ Depending on the state, the justice of the peace could also function as an administrative officer within the county. He was often a member of the board that decided county or township issues.⁵²⁶ Many justices also served in state government during a state's initial years, but the percentage decreased as the nineteenth century progressed.⁵²⁷

If a study conducted a hundred and forty years after statehood is any indication, Kentucky justices maintained very close ties to their roots within the county. A survey performed in 1932 of 490 justices of the peace throughout Kentucky may provide some insight into the demographics of the state's justices of the peace in previous years. The average age was 50.0 years with 87.1 % having only a common school education. Few had any college education. The survey also reported that 76% had held no other public office and had faced reelection challenges 66% of the time which indicated it was a highly sought-after position but did not appear to be a stepping stone to greater political office. Men held office for an average of 4.85 years with the median being two years.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁵ Robert M. Ireland, "The Place of the Justice of the Peace in the Legislature and Party System of Kentucky, 1792-1850," *The American Journal of Legal History* vol. 13, no. 3 (1969) , 202-03. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/844527>. "The justices of the peace of Kentucky, as in most southern states during the ante-bellum period, formed the core of county government. Collectively they constituted the county court which in turn was the nucleus of the local constitution. The county courts heard minor civil and criminal cases; probated wills; had jurisdiction over guardians, masters, administrators, and executors; and protected the legal interests of widows, orphans, and apprentices. The courts also levied taxes and oversaw their collection; administered aid to the poor; supervised county roads; appointed sheriffs, constables, surveyors, and inspectors of tobacco, meat and flour as well as all types of special commissioners; condemned land for roads, passways, gristmills and dams; were a recording agency for deeds and other legal documents; and performed generally the business of governing the county."

⁵²⁶ J. W. Manning, "Kentucky Justices of the Peace," *The American Political Science Review* vol. 27, no. 1 American Political Science Association, Cambridge University Press, (1933) , 90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1947351>.

⁵²⁷ Ireland, "The Place of the Justice of the Peace in the Legislature and Party System of Kentucky, 1792-1850," 203.

⁵²⁸ Manning, "Kentucky Justices of the Peace," 92.

Farming provided 77.8% of the justice of the peace's private income with merchants trailing at 6.2% followed by "none" at 3.81%. Only two individuals in the 1932 survey declared they were lawyers.⁵²⁹ These results indicated that even in the early twentieth century, merit and a neighbor's trust mattered more than political parties, statewide connections, or even one's education to obtain an office which directly affected residents' lives at the local level. It appeared that the basic requirements were literacy and trustworthiness, both of which Continental Army leaders could demonstrate.

Veteran junior leaders' experience with the court-martial system prepared them for the justice of the peace's law enforcement duties. Justice Blackstone wrote his commentaries just before Continental Army leaders learned about justice through the court-martial system during the Revolutionary War. Dispensing justice required management sense and leadership as well as a modicum of legal wisdom. As noted earlier, one did not need to be a lawyer to operate a court-martial. This should not be taken as criticism of the system; its primary purpose was to maintain good order and discipline. The system had to be understandable to the private soldier and his leaders for it to be effective and supported by the soldiers; they had to have faith in the system. Individuals presented evidence, and board members questioned witnesses and the accused to reach a speedy verdict. Cases rarely, if ever, revolved around finer points of the law and infractions were understandable to all. Theft, drunkenness, desertion, or absent without leave, and failure to follow military orders constituted

⁵²⁹ Manning, "Kentucky Justices of the Peace," 93.

most cases. How to deal with them became routine.

Continental Army junior leaders understood the business of justice as Blackstone required. The courts-martial reinforced the barriers against letting passion, personal animosity, or ignorance guide decisions by having multiple members on the court. Almost all commissioned officers' extant memoirs and diaries mention serving on court-martial panels. It was a routine duty. If in doubt, justice of the peace manuals also existed to provide guidance to newly elected individuals, although it is unknown how often Continental Army officers serving in the positions utilized them.⁵³⁰ The system relied on a common-sense approach to settling disputes amongst neighbors. While lawyers existed, the quality, quantity, and cost did not lend themselves to widespread adoption on the frontier for minor matters. Through their military experiences, officers learned how to conduct themselves when appointed as a justice of the peace later in life.

Determining the actual amount of time individuals spent on justice duties is difficult because of the position's simple structure.⁵³¹ Most courts met only quarterly, and the journals contained judgments or actions rather than transcripts of deliberations. Some clerks and lawyers might have kept transcripts, even though they do not reside in extant official records. John Harmon's record of his

⁵³⁰ Mike Widener. "The Taussig Collection: Justice of the Peace manuals." Yale Law School Lillian Goldman Law Library, last modified April 14, 2014. accessed April 3, 2019. <http://library.law.yale.edu/news/taussig-collection-justice-peace-manuals>. ; Larry M. Boyer, "The Justice of the Peace in England and America from 1506 to 1776: A Bibliographic History," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* vol. 34, no. 4 Library of Congress, (1977) , 315. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29781749>. Manuals had been printed as early as 1736 for use exclusively in the colonies. No evidence or mention of manuals has been located in serving officers who served as a justice of the peace.

⁵³¹ Paul M. McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* vol. 48, no. 1 (1971) , 30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23518221>.

time as justice of the peace did include a mention of sending a transcript to a defendant's attorney for which he charged thirty cents.⁵³² In many Ohio and Tennessee counties, justices worked as part of a three-person panel that rendered decisions. The justice held a petty court where they examined evidence and questioned witnesses in a manner similar to a military court-martial. If serious enough, the matter could be referred to a state court. The justice could commit the accused to jail or require him to post a bond.⁵³³ Similar to an itinerate preacher, some early judges and justices of the peace traveled throughout the county dispensing justice. Until residents built courthouses, sessions would be held at taverns or an individual's house.⁵³⁴

Justices maintained order in their communities besides maintaining the peace. Justices, as a member of the county government or courts, controlled road building, mill construction, tavern licensure, land purchases, and taxes.⁵³⁵ Sometimes, justices served alongside county commissioners to operate the government.⁵³⁶ The county government decided which roads would be supported to develop the county and punished those who did not perform their road

⁵³² John Harmon. 1799, "John Harmon Papers." John Harmon Papers, 1799-1871, MS 3022, WRHS. ; John Harmon. "Justice of the Peace Books." vol. 1, John Harmon Papers, 1799-1871, MS 3022, WRHS. [September 21, 1820]

⁵³³ McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 28.

⁵³⁴ Greene County, Ohio, and John Paul. 1804, "Commissioner Journal, 1804-1807." vol. 1 & 2, Greene County Archives, GCA. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/127695569@N06/albums> [June 11, 1804] "At the house of Peter Borders.."

⁵³⁵ McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 23.;

⁵³⁶ Greene County, Ohio, "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824" [October 31, 1817] "This day David Connely produced a certificate from the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas of his election as Commissioner of the County of Greene. Also a certificate from William Curnie, esq. a justice of the peace , certifying that he, the said David Connely took an affirmation agreeably to the constitution of the state of Ohio..."

maintenance duties.⁵³⁷ Mill owners had to get permission to set up operations on streams and creeks. Tavern owners needed to acquire licenses to operate. Justices settled trespass issues and damages from residents' livestock. The sheriff reported to the justice on several matters to include tax collection and election results.⁵³⁸ Justices of the peace ensured county government decisions were upheld.

Justices helped maintain the county's economic business as part of his order duties. Specie and paper currency remained rare on the early Republic's frontiers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. County inhabitants often had to pay taxes, fines, or settle debts with commodities such as furs, skins, wheat, corn, or other crops. For this system to work, counties had to set known prices and standards for common marketable products. Some counties relied on justices to inspect commodities to ensure quality and suitability for payment.⁵³⁹ Within an agricultural economy, this was tremendous power. Fortunately for many veteran junior leaders, they had experience in inspecting agricultural goods, especially those destined for distant markets. Commodities required inspection, inventory, and recording in county ledgers—a process familiar to veterans. In wartime, they had to inspect agricultural goods such as flour and whiskey, aside from equipment. The bureaucracy essential for verifying an individual was properly credited for his payment was familiar to them from

⁵³⁷ Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 82.; Greene County, Ohio, "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824," 50.

⁵³⁸ McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 24, 26.; Manning, "Kentucky Justices of the Peace," 90.; Ireland, "The Place of the Justice of the Peace in the Legislature and Party System of Kentucky, 1792-1850," 202-03.

⁵³⁹ McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 27.

their military experience and training.

Justices also regulated debt and fine collection within the county. An understandable system of debt collection helped maintain the peace between inhabitants who might have been tempted to seize assets on their own. County and court records contain many civil cases over debts.⁵⁴⁰ While it might appear that individuals sued each other at an alarming rate, such actions demonstrated some faith in a legal system that could render a fair outcome. Similar to soldiers disciplining themselves behind the barracks, as long as people came to the courts, they were not conducting vigilante justice. A legal system of debt collection allowed individuals to lend capital or finance ventures to improve economic conditions. Justices had an important role in imposing the rule of law in civil as well as criminal cases which established and maintained order in their communities. In contemporary times, they had more responsibilities than just conducting marriages.

Judge

Fourteen cohort veterans became elected or appointed county judges. County judges ruled on more serious cases than justices of the peace.⁵⁴¹ In early years, federally appointed governors relied on men with backgrounds they trusted who did not appear to be political rivals. If an individual was a former

⁵⁴⁰ Harmon, "Justice of the Peace Books." [January 28, 1819] "in favor of the defendant above names of the sum of twenty six dollars"

⁵⁴¹ The extant records and terminology sometimes mix the terms judges and justice of the peace. Some judges or justices of the peace sat as part of a Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions. Even within the journals, the terms are sometimes interchanged. See Annex A; Brooke, Baskerville, Cable, Goforth, Martin, Oliver, Renick, Rose, Taylor, Crockett, Taylor, R., Moore, J.F., Estill, Higley

Continental Army officer and a political supporter that was all the better. Only six judges appointed with Continental Army backgrounds appear from the record to have used the position to attain statewide office later in life.⁵⁴² Most seemed to have been content to exercise power on a local level closer to home in contrast to undertaking the travel necessary for statewide office. Perhaps they got their fill of being on the road while in the Army.

Lieutenant Samuel Baskerville served as an associate judge in Madison County, Ohio soon after the county formed in 1810.⁵⁴³ He was one of three judges in the county who met together to decide cases. On the first page of the Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal for 1810 is a listing of rules for the bar for the Court's first term. The first group of individuals addressed are the counsellors followed by the prosecuting attorneys and then the clerk. Each group had only a few rules:

Rules for the Bar.

1st Attorneys and counselors shall never make a motion unless they asked the court if they would hear such, and shall always stand in the place appointed for them

2nd they shall be orderly and treat each other with respect at the bar. To make no noise or contradict any gentlemen addressing the court, or jury, unless first moving the court to interpose, and if the gentleman thus contradicted take back, he shall at the assertion suffer a suspension.

3rd No gentlemen to interfere with the papers of the court, or clerk.

The prosecuting attorney

1st That he shall attend the issuing of all process and collection of fines and gives special...

2nd That he question all witnesses before they be sworn to go before the grand jury, and if they can give information to give them a blank [?] or presentment to exhibit to the jury.

3rd That he give information to the grand jury of all the offenses that have

⁵⁴² See Appendix A: F.J. Brooke, Oliver, Renick, Crocket, Taylor, R., Moore, J.F.

⁵⁴³ Chester E. Bryan, *History of Madison County Ohio*, (Indianapolis, IN: B. F. Bowen & Company, Inc., 1915), 62.

come to his knowledge.

4th That he keep the secrets of jury and his own.

Rules for the clerk

1st Clerk or Deputy shall never leave the court without their permission.

2nd That he shall handle give the sheriff any papers required by the bar.

3rd That he shall keep an appearance docket and continuance docket, a minute book, a record book, and execution book, all particulars alphabeted.

4th always to give attachments for grand and petit jurors who absent themselves or never appeared.

5th That he keep a rule book on which all rules shall be entered and taken.

6th The clerk in all applications for writs of...

7th On application, the clerk will issue a...⁵⁴⁴

A little over eighteen months later in August 1811, the court added instructions for additional members: the sheriff and the constable. The sheriff received seven instructions while the constable received four. The court also included instructions on how the court's processes should work with suspense dates:

Sheriff

1st the sheriff to sit in the bar and hand all papers to the bar and court.

2nd That he keep order if any persons make a noise in the court or elsewhere which disturbs the court to command silence if not obeyed to turn the person out of the court and suppress the noise otherwise bring the person or persons before the court.

3rd To suffer no one to smoke within the bar.

4th To attend the court at their lodgings on the first day of the term and accompany or walk before them to court and every day if required.

5th That he opened the court, thus "hear ye hear ye, the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Madison County are now sitting. All persons having any business to transmit will give their attendance and they shall be heard God save the state of Ohio and the Hon. Court. These last words only to be used at the first opening and final adjournment of the court.

6th In all [?] the officer before he executes the same shall take one or more (?) In the usual form from plaintiff, but if the defendant give security to defend the

⁵⁴⁴ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 1-2.

suit and abide the judgment of the court he may retain the property until the right be tried.

7th That trial in all such cases be laid at the first term or the writ be served one month before the session.⁵⁴⁵

Constable

1st They always to appear in open court with the badge of office.

2nd To keep order and suppressed noise to keep every person out of the bar who have no immediate business with the court.

3rd To perform with promptness all the mandates of the court.

4th To give any gentleman of the bar information if a client wishes to speak with him.⁵⁴⁶

The instructions for the members of the court follow the same style Steuben used in the Blue Book. The directives are brief and inform the individuals how they were expected to act, where they were supposed to be, and even what uniform they should wear. The proceedings of the court followed a similar format to Chapter XVIII Necessary Regulations for preserving Order and Cleanliness in the Camp.⁵⁴⁷ The sequence of events is described along with who is responsible for what actions. Forbidden actions are also listed:

Madison County Court of Common Pleas rules for proceedings:

1st There shall be three rule days between each term namely on the fourth, eighth and 12th (months or Mondays?) after the adjournment of the court. All rules to be declared plead, reply, rejoin or for other proceedings to be given regularly at such days in the clerk's office shall be entered in a book to be there prepared he out on the next succeeding rule day all rules as taken shall be signed by the party or his attorney...⁵⁴⁸

Steuben's Blue Book:

⁵⁴⁵ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 33.

⁵⁴⁶ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 34.

⁵⁴⁷ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 82.

⁵⁴⁸ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 34.

When a regiment enters a camp, the field officers must take care that the encampment is pitched regularly; that the sinks and kitchens are immediately dug in the proper places; and that no tents are pitched in any part of the camp contrary to the order prescribed. At least one officer of a company must remain on the parade to see that the tents are pitched regularly on the ground marked out. The tent should be marked with the name of each regiment and Company, to prevent their being lost or exchanged, and the tents of each company numbered; and each noncommissioned officer should have a list of the tents, with the men's names belonging to each.⁵⁴⁹

Madison County Court of Common Pleas rules for proceedings:

4th in all other cases, not more than two attorney shall be permitted to speak on one side of the case unless by permission of the court.

5th in no case more than two witnesses to the same fact shall be allowed for their attendance and the tax bill of courts, nor shall be allowed when witnesses have not been sworn unless it be unnecessary by conduct of opposite party.⁵⁵⁰

Steuben's Blue Book:

"The soldier should not be permitted to eat in their tents, except in bad weather"⁵⁵¹

"No noncommissioned officer or soldier shall be permitted to pass the chain of sentinels round the camp, without permission in writing from the commanding officer of his regiment or battalion"⁵⁵²

One might even surmise from the similar formats used in both the Blue Book and the Madison County Court of Common Pleas rules that Lieutenant Samuel Baskerville used his previous military experience and exposure to Steuben's training when crafting his rules for members of the court during Madison County's formative years. The judges of Madison County evidently saw a need for providing instructions to the county's elected officials. Their effort initially seems to have been focused on lawyers when the court first opened. It was not until eighteen months later that they provided instructions for their own officials. This

⁵⁴⁹ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 82.

⁵⁵⁰ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 35. [August 1811]

⁵⁵¹ US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 83.

⁵⁵² US Congress, and Steuben, *Regulations*, 86.

could have been due to the turnover in personnel or to dissatisfaction with their elected officials' performance. Without any previous experience, some officials may not have known what was expected of them during court proceedings. Just like Steuben's Blue Book instructions for the different ranks, the Madison court instructions provided a baseline for current and future members.

Sheriff

Sheriffs in the early Republic did not resemble the lawmen portrayed in twentieth-century Hollywood movies of the nineteenth-century American West. Colonists imported the office of sheriff as a position from England where the sheriff's law enforcement duties had declined. Between states, minor differences existed in a sheriff's duties such as operating jails, collecting taxes, polling, subpoenaing witnesses, or maintaining order in the court room.⁵⁵³ As with justices of the peace, state constitutions did not describe a sheriff's exact duties.⁵⁵⁴ Lawmakers decided that a sheriff would be voted out of office if constituents did not approve of his performance.⁵⁵⁵ As shown with Madison

⁵⁵³ Roane County, Tennessee. 1937, "Records of Roane County Minute Book 1808-1812." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 65-44-1489, TSLA. , 33. "Ordered that the sheriff bring Barnabas Allen out of jail into court"; Jackie Couture, *Madison County Kentucky Court Order Book A 1787-1791*, (2006), (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 1996), 128.; Raymond Moley, "The Sheriff and the Constable," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* vol. 146, (1929) , 29. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1017544>. The early twentieth century saw a flurry of journal articles advocating for an elimination of elected law enforcement and judicial officials under the guise of professionalizing the functions and increasing the administrative state's power.

⁵⁵⁴ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 8. "Shall faithfully discharge the duties of his aforesaid office of Sheriff of Pickaway County according to law then the above obligation to be void and of no more effect. Otherwise to be and remain in full force" There might not have been rules for sheriff, but counties required them to be bonded against malfeasance in office.

⁵⁵⁵ Effross, *Juries, Jails, and Justice: The Sheriff's Office in New Jersey since the 17th Century*, 37. "Instead of a three year appointed by the governor, the document provided that the inhabitants of each county qualified to vote aforesaid shall, at the time and place of electing the

County, some judges provided written instructions. As Lieutenant Baskerville's instruction demonstrated, county governments could also institute their own standards for elected officials. The sheriff served as an officer of the court, not as a policeman patrolling the county trying to catch criminals or prevent crime.⁵⁵⁶ The sheriff served summons to defendants and delivered subpoenas to witnesses. The sheriff collected fines issued by the courts and oversaw the sale of forfeited property.⁵⁵⁷ Sheriffs in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also oversaw elections to ensure their legality. For example, in Ohio's territorial elections, poll booths were located in county seats. Voters stood in front of the sheriff and clerks and voiced their preference publicly and had their results recorded in the poll book.⁵⁵⁸ Some states and counties had the constable

representatives, annually elect one sheriff, and one or more corners; and that they may reelect the same person to such offices, until he shall have served three years, but no longer after..."

⁵⁵⁶ Roane County, Tennessee, "Records of Roane County Minute Book 1808-1812," 150. [October 21, 1811] "The sheriff having returned the writ in the cause 'dismissed by the Plaintiff and the plaintiff assumes the costs'"

⁵⁵⁷ Thomas Mountjoy. November 9, 1816, "Pendleton County Sheriff to Mason County Sheriff." Sterne-Waller Family. Papers, 1775-1917, Mss A S839, FHS. "Dear Sir, I hearwith enclosed to Sheriff of Pendleton County the execution Siddon vs Waller. I have held up the execution on your father as you requested me to do. You informed me when you were here that you would show me property of Waller wherein I might make my debt or the debt of Siddon, you will do me a favor by informing the sheriff where he can find the property, or inform [?] Alvin Mountjoy where the property can be found as I can't with any kind of convenience come to Falmouth until the day of the sale at which time I will bring with me the execution versus your father and if a sufficiency of property can be found we can how the business finally settled, it will save me much trouble if you can show as much property as will pay the debt without my taking out other executions, provided property can be found sufficient to satisfy the execution in favor of Siddon..."; G. Kernnett. "A List of claims for the sheriff of Pendleton County, December 1808." Sterne-Waller Family. Papers, 1775-1917, Mss. A S839, FHS. "A list of claims for the Sheriff of Pendleton County to wit – Pendleton County December term 1808 ordered that the following claims, be allowed payable out of the next County levy to wit..."; Sumner County, Tennessee. 1936b, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1796-1802." vol. III, Historical Records Project, Official Project No 65-44-1499, TSLA. , 370. [April 9, 1800] "whereon the attachment in said suit was levied being a small sorrell mare & saddle be exposed to sale by the sheriff for the use of the Judgment to be obtained in the said suit."

⁵⁵⁸ Ratcliffe, "Worthington," 39.; Moley, "The Sheriff and the Constable," 29.; McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 24.

perform similar duties.⁵⁵⁹ Most courts ordered the constable to maintain order inside the court room and manage grand juries.⁵⁶⁰ Sheriffs and constables had few stipulations placed on them in state statutes.

The only restriction placed on sheriffs was the number of consecutive terms one could serve. Ohio instituted a limit of two years for sheriffs with the additional restriction of only being able to serve for a total of four out of six years.⁵⁶¹ Similarly, Kentucky's limit was three years with only serving three years within a six year period.⁵⁶² Interestingly, no rationale is given for the term limit on sheriffs versus the justices of the peace who would appear to have had more power over the residents' daily lives. The restriction might have even been in reaction to a former Continental Army officer, Ebenezer Sproat, who served as the Ohio territory's first sheriff for fourteen years.⁵⁶³ Sproat was one of seven former Continental Army junior leaders served as sheriffs.⁵⁶⁴ While no evidence exists

⁵⁵⁹ Muskingum County, Ohio, and Zanesville Township. "Constables Record, 1811-1817." State Archives Series 6761, BV20, 844, OHC. [September 27, 1814] "will present the office of constable as the law directs and pay over all moneys to the [?] rates as plaintiffs and taking their receipts agreeable to the law"; Madison Township Franklin County, Ohio. "Minutes, 1810-1858." State Archives Series 4682, BV17, 239, OHC. [February 1, 1825] "the oath of office said warrant was returned served by William Patrick, Constable"

⁵⁶⁰ Muskingum County, Ohio, and Township, "Constables Record, 1811-1817." "Laws that ought to be in force... Grand jurors wages ought to be kept at \$.25...Petit jurors ought to be paid by the day out of the county treasury"

⁵⁶¹ "Ohio Constitution, February 14, 1803" "Article VI. Of Civil Officers. section 1. There shall be elected in each county one sheriff and one coroner by the citizens thereof who are qualified to vote for members of the assembly; ...; they shall continue in office two years, if they shall so long behave well, and until successors be chosen and duly qualified; provided, that no person shall be eligible as sheriff for longer term than four years in any term of six years.

⁵⁶² "Kentucky Constitution, 1792" "They shall hold their offices for three years, if they shall so long behave themselves will, and until a successor be duly qualified but no person shall be twice chosen or appointed Sheriff in any term of six years."

⁵⁶³ Julia Perkins Cutler, *The founders of Ohio: brief sketches of the forty-eight pioneers who, under command of General Rufus Putnam, landed at the mouth of the Muskingum River on the seventh of April, 1788, and commenced the first white settlement in the Northwest Territory.*, (Cincinnati, OH: R. Clarke & Co., 1888), 16.

⁵⁶⁴ See details in Appendix A: Ebenezer Sproat (OH), Nathan Lamme (OH), Tyral Tanner (OH), William Robinson (OH), Thomas Allin (OH), Jonathan Cass (OH), and Samuel Younglove

that Sproat abused his authority, sheriffs did have authorities which affected local citizens lives.

The ability to summon a grand jury for county cases could have been one of the sheriff's hidden powers.⁵⁶⁵ A sheriff might have selected individuals he knew would perform the duty to the law's requirements. This might explain why former Captain William Briscoe performed jury duty five times in five years to hear various cases. The sheriff and the county commissioner former Virginia militia Captain Archibald Wood might have felt that Briscoe's military experience with courts-martial provided him the knowledge to discharge the duties in a fair manner. Of course, he could have been trying to stack the deck, but the nature of the cases recorded in the proceedings did not appear to lend themselves to easy financial or political advantage.⁵⁶⁶ The cases ranged from fighting, swearing, recording deeds, and civil matters, such as approving executors and accepting bonds for performance of civilian positions.⁵⁶⁷ The grand jury handled numerous cases in a single session. While not a leadership position for this study, the most common appearance of cohort members in the extant records was as a jury member.⁵⁶⁸ If there was not a system (roster or lottery) that evenly distributed the potential for an individual's selection, a veteran's previous military experience

(KY).

⁵⁶⁵ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 22. [November 1812] "The sheriff returned the venire with the following grand jurors"

⁵⁶⁶ Couture, *Madison County Kentucky Court Order Book A 1787-1791*, 22, 87, 112.; Jackie Couture, *Madison County Kentucky Court Order Book B 1791-1801*, (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2000), 22.

⁵⁶⁷ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 64. "We the commissioners for Pickaway County do hereby order and instruct the county auditor for the County of Pickaway to take bond and security from the collector of taxes"

⁵⁶⁸ Twelve cohort members appeared in records as jury members. There were probably many more give the limited number of extant records for county where veterans resided.

probably made them ideal candidates in their peers' eyes.

Sheriffs also fulfilled the unenviable duty of collecting taxes and determining the time and location for their payment.⁵⁶⁹ This might have been another reason for term limits. An unscrupulous individual might be tempted to pocket collections destined for county coffers or be persuaded to look the other way when assessing value to land, property, crops, and livestock. Sheriffs needed unambiguous financial records to guard against charges of malfeasance and incompetence. In much the same way that officers had to account for paying their soldiers or accounting for rations and recording the results for future audit if required, collecting taxes without many witnesses necessitated similar standards.

Leaders learned the importance of maintaining records for transactions and what to include such as the individual(s) involved, amount paid or received, date, and signature(s). Continental Army officers understood the importance of keeping all records dealing with money and property which is why so many examples made it into the archives.

⁵⁶⁹ Durham, *Before Tennessee*, 251.; McCain, "Magistrates Courts in Early North Carolina," 24.

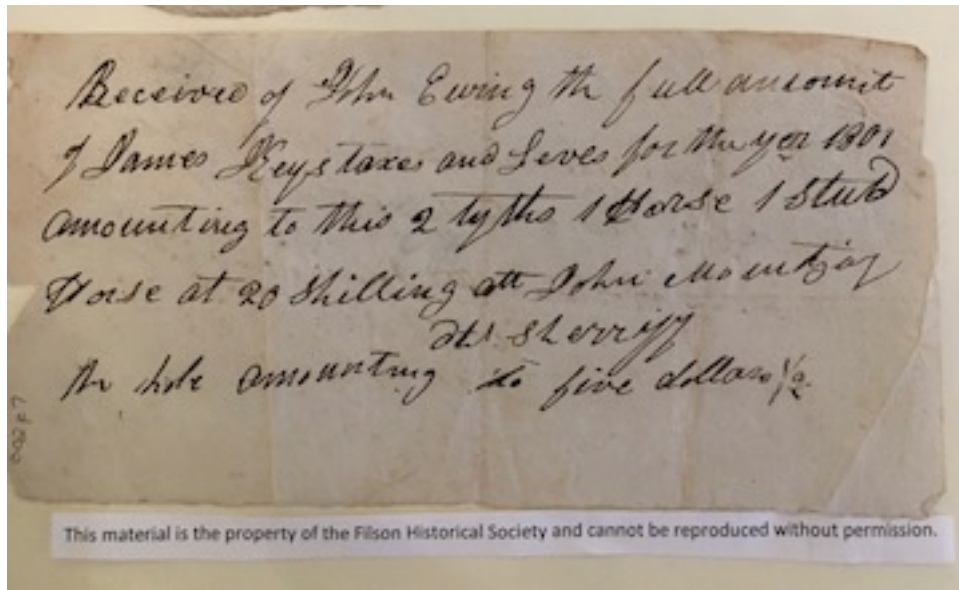


Image #14 Receipt from tax payments c1801⁵⁷⁰ Courtesy of The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY

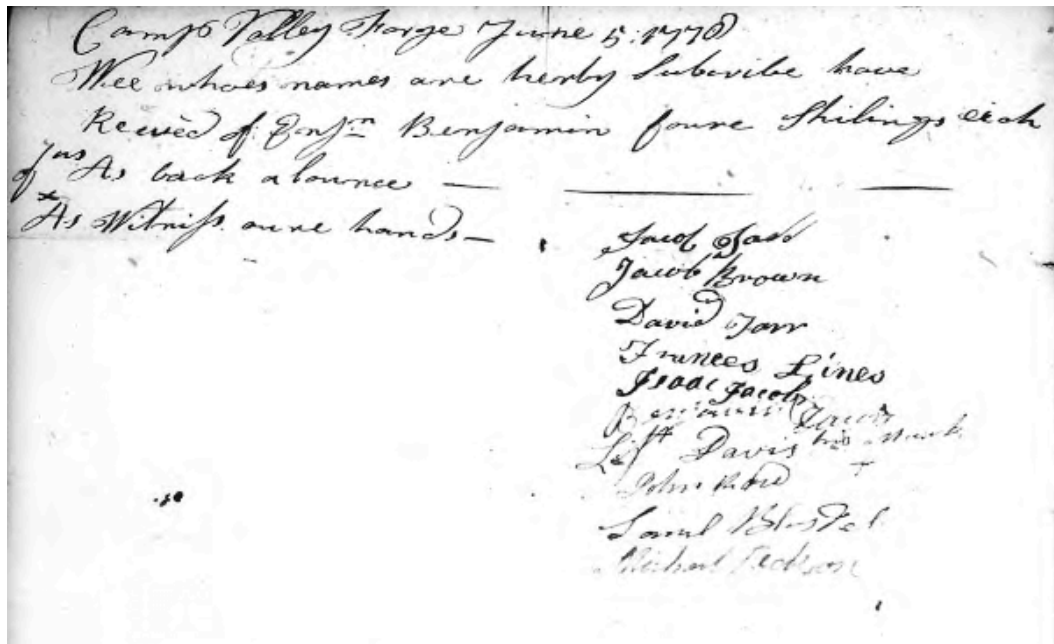


Image #15 Ensign Benjamin's payroll receipt 1778⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ Charles Sterne. 1801, "Sheriff Duty Receipts for Pendleton County, Kentucky." Sterne-Waller Family. Papers, 1775-1917, Mss. A S839, FHS.

⁵⁷¹ Benjamin, "Benjamin payment receipt."

Tax record books and orderly books used similar formats. Whether the civilian authorities adopted military record keeping practices or the military used the civilian standard during the Revolutionary War is not the issue. Either way, leaders gained familiarity with practices that worked. The examples below show similar formats.

Names	Acres	Horses	Lots	Other	Value
Ewing John jr	100	1			40
Ellis Jeyrell	340	3			120
Ellis John	100	1			40
Earls James	100	2			40
Earls John	53	1			20
Ellis James	100	1			40
Franks M John	140	2			50
John Smith	500	1			150
John Wm	265	1			100
Do Jacob	100	1			40
Thomas Jm	500	1	8	16	180

Image #16 A page from an 1810 Kentucky tax record book.⁵⁷² Note column headings for horses, Lots, etc., for tax assessment purposes. *Courtesy of The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, KY*

⁵⁷² Charles Sterne. 1810, "Sheriff Tax Account Book for Pendleton County, Kentucky." Sterne-Waller Family. Papers, 1775-1917, Mss. A S839, FHS.

The image shows a handwritten ledger page with a grid structure. The columns are headed with various types of equipment: 'Guns', 'Bayonets', 'Swords', 'Pistols', 'Rifles', 'Cannon', 'Muskets', 'Hornets', 'Balls', 'Powder', 'Blankets', 'Shirts', 'Coats', 'Hats', 'Shoes', 'Saddles', 'Trunks', 'Boxes', 'Canteens', 'Knicknacks', 'Tools', 'Miscellaneous', 'Total'. The rows list names: 'George Dillor', 'Samuel Coafe', and 'Stephen Wajiro'. The entries consist of numbers and checkmarks in the cells, indicating the quantity of each item for each person. For example, George Dillor has '1' in the 'Guns' column and '40' in the 'Total' column. Samuel Coafe has '1' in 'Guns', '1' in 'Bayonets', '1' in 'Swords', '1' in 'Pistols', '1' in 'Rifles', '1' in 'Cannon', '1' in 'Muskets', '1' in 'Hornets', '1' in 'Balls', '1' in 'Powder', '1' in 'Blankets', '1' in 'Shirts', '1' in 'Coats', '1' in 'Hats', '1' in 'Shoes', '1' in 'Saddles', '1' in 'Trunks', '1' in 'Boxes', '1' in 'Canteens', '1' in 'Knicknacks', '1' in 'Tools', '1' in 'Miscellaneous', and '40' in 'Total'. Stephen Wajiro has '1' in 'Guns', '1' in 'Bayonets', '1' in 'Swords', '1' in 'Pistols', '1' in 'Rifles', '1' in 'Cannon', '1' in 'Muskets', '1' in 'Hornets', '1' in 'Balls', '1' in 'Powder', '1' in 'Blankets', '1' in 'Shirts', '1' in 'Coats', '1' in 'Hats', '1' in 'Shoes', '1' in 'Saddles', '1' in 'Trunks', '1' in 'Boxes', '1' in 'Canteens', '1' in 'Knicknacks', '1' in 'Tools', '1' in 'Miscellaneous', and '40' in 'Total'.

Image #17 Orderly book entry accounting for column headings for equipment across the top: guns, bayonets, etc.⁵⁷³

Militia Officers

Militia officers performed important law enforcement duties besides providing for the common defense against external threats.⁵⁷⁴ Even individuals who did not serve in the Continental Army or militia during the Revolutionary War gained some experience with the courts-martial process in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century since state laws required all males to attend militia musters. Militia members would have learned an officer's role in the process and the requirements to follow procedures and regulations.

The records contain few instances of former Continental Army junior leaders serving as company grade officers in the state militias. However, some attained field grade ranks later in life as evidenced by titles in legal documents,

⁵⁷³ Coit, "Starr's Orderly Book, 1779," 24. [July 29, 1779]

⁵⁷⁴ Laver, *Citizens more than Soldiers*, 4.

newspaper entries, and obituaries. Several sergeants during the war did attain company grade rank and higher in the state militias.⁵⁷⁵ The lack of company grade militia ranks for former junior leaders might have been owed to the age of officers when they moved west. Many former junior officers were in their late forties or early fifties which would have been a bit old for military duties at the company level.⁵⁷⁶

Conclusion

The former Continental Army junior leaders most readily applied their hard-won wisdom and experience in law enforcement positions on the early Republic's frontier. The veterans' experience in military courts-martial prepared them for duty as justices of the peace, judges, sheriffs, and constables. Many hours spent in the military court rooms familiarized officers with the techniques, procedures, paperwork, and bureaucracy needed in legal proceedings. Forming panels for courts-martial did not differ markedly from summoning grand juries for civilian courts. The type of cases most junior officers dealt with on military duty resembled the type overseen by justices of the peace. Many officers relied on this knowledge when they assumed their positions and some, like Lieutenant Baskerville, were able to pass on their wisdom to future public officials by including instructions for jobs in the official records. Besides, the social status of

⁵⁷⁵ John Harmon. 1808, "John Harmon Diary." vol. 5, John Harmon Papers, 1799-1871, MS 3022, WRHS. [Volume 9, July 1st, 1809]. "I prepared to go home ...and went to an election of ensign and company muster" Citizens within the counties elected their officers from available militia members. Winlock entered the Continental Army as private and eventually was appointed as Brigadier General in the Kentucky militia. See biographies in Annex A for more examples.

⁵⁷⁶ Twenty-nine cohort members served as militia officers after the war. Their biographical summaries in Appendix B include their known ranks.

being elected as a justice of the peace and the recognition as a “gentleman” in the manner espoused by Blackwell probably appealed to many of them. It is no wonder many veterans found a calling as elected law enforcement personnel on the frontier.

Chapter 9 Order

Introduction

Joseph Plumb Martin's obituary credited him "for his adopted town, in reducing the place to system and order as a civil community, he bore a prominent part."⁵⁷⁷ What is meant by "reducing the place to a system and order as a civil community"? For Martin as well as other settlers in new states, rules had to be established and enforced to facilitate the communities' residents' many interactions in their business, legal, and religious endeavors. An order had to be instituted so individuals knew how to conduct their public lives and resolve their disputes in their new surroundings. While several examples existed from the areas that settlers had departed, people still had to generate a consensus on how they wanted to organize their new communities.

The federal government and state authorities provided little guidance in law on establishing order and left the details largely to individual counties and communities. For example, the state and federal governments did not provide statewide rules for courts of common pleas and quarter sessions nor did they dictate how a county should be organized. Ohio chose to structure a county's governance by a township system while Kentucky and Tennessee did not. Many Tennessee counties appeared to have managed county business by the boundaries of militia companies. States left counties to regulate business within their boundaries. Civilian leaders adopted systems with which they were familiar

⁵⁷⁷ Williamson, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph P. Martin."

from previous residences. As can be expected, settlers carried traditions on maintaining order within their communities with them when they moved west. This replication of structure and rules included religious as well as civilian governance.

The predominant Protestant religious denominations in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee did not have strong hierarchical systems in place in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries to enforce discipline amongst local congregations. The Baptist and Methodist churches maintained religious order in their membership with only periodic visits from regional authorities. Presbyterian and Congregational churches often lacked sufficient ordained clergy. Local lay leaders managed order for Protestants on the frontier and performed a public service.

Public office did not constitute the only avenue for veterans to employ their leadership and managerial skills. Merchants, real estate investors, and land agents all operated in environments where managerial experience gained in the Continental Army proved valuable. A functioning marketplace brought order to a community as surely as maintaining its laws. The import and export of goods and services improved the quality of everyday life. Maintaining accurate records facilitated credit and expansion for a nascent community or town.⁵⁷⁸ The United States had just begun to develop a marketplace economy as the veterans assumed their new duties out west. The skills learned in managing a military and

⁵⁷⁸ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 65. "In consequence of the count of Pickaway being in debt for public buildings and the rate of the county levy or tax for the present year to be at the same rate as last year that is to be at the full extent of the law"

governmental bureaucracy and employed by them to improve their own financial prospects would be assimilated by their communities. This knowledge facilitated the transportation and communications revolution's integration.⁵⁷⁹ The Continental Army depended on more than locally procured products near their encampments; it required goods and services from throughout the states. The experience men and women gained in this effort should not be underestimated.

Continental Army veterans possessed an advantage in their quest to establish order in their communities. Veterans' experience with encampments familiarized them with the multiple jobs that had to be done to allow a smoothly functioning settlement. Each locale had to address security, safety, and health concerns which residents expected their leadership to handle. Leaders had routinely dealt with these issues in their encampments. The knowledge gained might have provided an edge to former commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The confidence gained from this experience may explain why residents elected many former company grade officers to serve in positions focused on maintaining an orderly environment. The confidence to perform in civilian leadership positions came as a result of military service and provided an advantage to junior leaders.

If one examines veterans' postwar family life, military service also does not appear to have hampered their ability to form a building block of community order: a family. Family, kinship ties, and wives figured prominently into the

⁵⁷⁹ Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: the Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Howe argued that the market revolution was actually a communications and transportation revolution. Continental Army junior leaders had extensive practice with both communications and transportation during the Revolutionary War.

veterans' experience on the early Republic's boundaries.⁵⁸⁰ Individuals made decisions to migrate based more on family factors than individual aspirations. Family group networks settled in the same area and maintained close contact with kin back east and overseas regarding family and business matters.⁵⁸¹ Almost all identified junior leader migrants into Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee were married or married shortly after arriving. Only thirty had married before 1778. Since human biology requires physical contact for children, these couples had few offspring during the war. However, the junior leaders did appear to marry and quickly procreate when able. Some studies demonstrated a decrease in child-bearing after the war with an average of 6.3 per woman.⁵⁸² The cohort's average is 6.4. The men married and had numerous children. When widowed, they remarried. Women evidently found them attractive as partners. Unlike Resch's cohort from Peterborough, New Hampshire, military service did not significantly affect the junior leaders' marriage prospects or procreation ability.⁵⁸³

⁵⁸⁰ Tamara Gaskell Miller, "My Whole Enjoyment and Almost My Existence Depends Upon My Friends": Family and Kinship in Early Ohio," in *The Center of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic*, ed. Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, and Stuart Dale Hobbs (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 125.

⁵⁸¹ Miller, "Family and Kinship in Early Ohio," 125.; Abraham Skinner. December 4, 1797, "Letter, Thomas Skinner to Capt Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. April 25, 1808, "Letter, Thomas Skinner to Capt Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. September 23, 1808, "Letter, Thomas Skinner to Capt Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. April 1, 1813, "Letter, Washington Skinner to Abraham Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. June 20, 1796, "Letter, George White to Capt Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. April 23, 1803, "Letter, George White to Capt Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS.

⁵⁸² Susan E Klepp, *Revolutionary Conceptions: Women, Fertility, and Family Limitation in America, 1760-1820*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 46. The number of urban children per woman went from 6.2 in the colonial era to 5.8 in the nineteenth century while rural children went from 7.0 to 6.3.

⁵⁸³ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 225. Resch's cohort was a mean of 3.35 and modal of 2.85.

Junior leaders in their new states

During their military service after 1777, junior leaders met people from all the United States' diverse regions. Unlike most militia units, very few Continental Army soldiers' military duties kept them entirely within their own states or regions. Veterans might not have approved of or liked some of their fellow soldiers or citizens, but actions spoke louder than words.⁵⁸⁴ Even when repulsed by others' habits, they no longer expressed surprise. Whatever their personal feelings, veterans had to cooperate. Much has been written about the various differences between the colonies before the war. Success in a junior leader's military careers necessitated working across lines of class, sex, and race. Unlike most inhabitants who only read or heard about the differences, veterans had experienced them firsthand. The veterans' army travels mentally prepared them to move west of the Appalachian Mountains.

Kentucky, Ohio, and Tennessee each presented leaders different challenges from a class, society, and family perspective. Virginia officers tended to settle in Kentucky, veterans from mid-Atlantic and New England states moved to Ohio, and North Carolina soldiers migrated to Tennessee. Kentucky's original large landowners attempted to recreate a tidewater Virginia-style society. However, Kentucky also attracted many poor individuals in search of easy land, which quickly caused economic problems and a restless underclass. Missteps by the

⁵⁸⁴ Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 42, 47. "The people appear all devoted to assist the British and refuse to furnish us any supplies but send all to the British." "The ladies are exceeding amouris but not so Beautiful as at the Northward...And amongst the vulgar any man that is given to concupience may have his fill"; Denny, *Denny Journal*, 47. "Country appears deserted; the few people we saw looked bad enough, poor, and dejected; they fled from us, and in some instances hid themselves. Farms on this route have been neglected"

Virginia state government left a legacy of contested land claims. Tennessee suffered many of the same land claim issues as Kentucky. Fortunately, Congress, learning from Kentucky's mistakes, wrote the Northwest Ordinance to prevent many of the same problems and established a more orderly legal system for land ownership. Settlers who came from the Mid-Atlantic and New England states tended to move as family units. Officers from northern states tended to favor town-based governance and economies in Ohio versus the Southern officers' preference in Kentucky and Tennessee for plantation-based economies supported by enslaved labor.

Ohio offered a better opportunity for junior leaders to employ their leadership skills. Ohio's veterans did not encounter the type of rigid social structures in Peterborough, New Hampshire, which had eliminated almost any chances of upward mobility for Resch's suffering soldiers' who returned home. In contrast, Ohio's society and political atmosphere rewarded those individuals who could identify with the common man persona for leadership roles in the political and religious spheres.⁵⁸⁵ Additionally, Ohio offered more possibilities for veterans to seek positions of authority due to the greater number of offices because of a township-based governance.

Camp Life

The Continental Army encampments provided multiple opportunities for

⁵⁸⁵ Ratcliffe, "Worthington," 39, 45. "The median landholding was 150 acres, which, as Soltow says, was a 'bountiful or munificent' allotment by any standard, and certainly compared with the 20 improved acres that was the median in Massachusetts in 1771." Ohioans came closest to personifying Jefferson's yeoman farmers.

leaders to hone their skills at running communities. While few, if any, veterans ever ran towns in Kentucky, Tennessee, or Ohio as large as an encampment, orderly books demonstrate the military exposed them to all the components necessary for an orderly community. Even if the veterans never encountered similar circumstances in their new communities, such experience would have given them an advantage over other individuals without military service. The many troubles faced by military leaders provided a template for problem solving. As the leader identified the problem and solution, he would assess the available assets, and then issue orders to implement his decisions. A veteran could easily adapt this methodology to problems in civilian communities.

Continental Army encampments like those at Valley Forge, Morristown, and New Windsor were small cities during the Revolutionary War. Because of their size and complexity, encampments needed men and procedures to operate efficiently and effectively. Order and safety became critical elements that required constant monitoring to ensure the men's well-being. Huts had to be constructed according to specification and guarded against fire, theft, and disease. The huts themselves had to be positioned for defense, musters, sanitation, firewood, and water supplies according to the terrain, water availability, and vegetation. Hard lessons learned at Valley Forge stayed with the leadership and made it into the Blue Book. Elements could not be left to chance or disaster occurred. The men needed supervision and standards they could meet.

Jockey Hollow, on the outskirts of Morristown, provided an excellent

opportunity for future junior leaders to learn how to create a viable town from nothing. The forests consisted of oak, chestnut, and walnut trees, all deciduous hardwoods that made excellent log cabins.⁵⁸⁶ While the primeval forest provided excellent raw materials, it had to be transformed by muscle to allow the Continental Army to stay. The soldiers built huts, opened roads, and cleared fields for drill. This was all done in the least amount of daylight available during the year, and the most snow recorded in the eighteenth century.⁵⁸⁷ Despite these difficulties, a functioning town with buildings and inhabitants emerged in a matter of several weeks. While certainly a tribute to the enlisted soldiers' perseverance, without the junior leaders' skills in management and leadership, it would have been nearly impossible.

Similar to a small town or city, an encampment depended on many activities to ensure a secure and healthy environment. Regardless of weather, certain functions had to be performed. These actions were in addition to the training and physical conditioning needed for soldiers to remain combat ready. While large-scale maneuvers remained impractical, combat actions did not cease. Commanders dispatched patrols to monitor enemy actions and disrupt British foraging attempts. American units went into the countryside to procure supplies. Some of these actions lasted for several days or weeks. While some thought themselves fortunate to escape the tedium of camp, others were content to avoid

⁵⁸⁶ Mayers, "A Soldier at Jockey Hollow"

⁵⁸⁷ Tyler, "The Hard Winter at Morristown," 33.; Mayers, "A Soldier at Jockey Hollow" "Here they would suffer through more than twenty snowstorms. This was the longest and most severe winter of the revolution and the entire eighteenth century."

the threat of getting shot or captured away from the main body.⁵⁸⁸ The officers and men had similar feelings on this issue although company grade officers looked upon these instances as opportunities to impress senior officers with their abilities. Those soldiers who remained behind in camp kept busy under the junior leaders' supervision in maintaining order in the encampment.

The Morristown encampment gave junior leaders a chance to practice the skills first taught at Valley Forge by Steuben and his IGs and codified in the Blue Book. Almost all the Army's senior leaders departed the encampment to return to their home states to recruit additional men for the regiments.⁵⁸⁹ Very few senior officers stayed with Washington to supervise the remaining junior leaders. These company grade officers could not rely on their senior officers for day-to-day advice or support; however, they had past experience and the Blue Book. As headquarters issued directives, the units recorded them in the orderly books. Then the junior leaders had to figure out how to execute the orders with a labor force that was poorly fed, cold, and unpaid—not exactly a situation conducive to success. While some historians focus on courts-martial records during the Morristown encampment, the real story lay in the number of soldiers and officers who did not run afoul of regulations given their circumstances. The likelihood of this situation being attributed to divine intervention and sheer patriotic feelings

⁵⁸⁸ Martin, *A Narrative*, 78. "The first expedition I undertook in my new vocation, was a foraging cruise. I was ordered off into the country in a party consisting of a corporal and six men. What our success was I do not remember; but I well remember the transactions of the party in the latter part of the journey. We were returning to ur quarters on Christmas afternoon, when we met three ladies, one a young married woman with an infant in her arms, the other two were maidens, for aught I knew then or since, they passed as such. They were all comely, particularly one of them; she was handsome."; Denny, *Denny Journal*, 47.

⁵⁸⁹ Mayers, "A Soldier at Jockey Hollow"

was remote. Instead, the company grade officer's leadership and their men's trust empowered the army to emerge from Morristown. While it was not pretty in the least, the standard of success is that the Army did not disintegrate given everything it faced. Veterans having endured with their pride and honor intact gained enormous self-confidence in their ability to survive adversity. The junior leadership had maintained order in the camps, and this order allowed their men and communities to survive against the enemy and nature.

While in encampment, disease in the eighteenth century was as big a threat to the Continental soldiers as the British Army. Elizabeth Fenn convincingly argues that one of Washington's smartest decisions was to inoculate his army against small pox.⁵⁹⁰ Other diseases, however, could still lay waste to army camps. Maintaining sanitation standards within an encampment's crowded living quarters constantly vexed junior leaders. Cramped sleeping quarters and hazardous working environments along with the need for human waste and garbage disposal required diligence on the leaders' part to ensure disease and accidents did not sicken or injure their soldiers. Commanders constantly issued reminders to ensure the cleanliness of camp.⁵⁹¹ Senior leaders understood that

⁵⁹⁰ Fenn, *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82*, 54.

⁵⁹¹ Bower, "Orderly book," 20.[July 10, 1779] "The general desires that greater attention be paid to the cleanliness of the encampment and that the tenants be frequently struck in the men's blankets and clothing exposed to the sun..."; Howe, "Howe Orderly Book," 101. [January 7, 1778] "As cleanliness is essential for the health of an army, officers of companies, are to be careful that the men of their companies keep their barracks clean; and as accidents from fire, are of all others the most dreadful, and as they too frequently happen from foul chimneys they are without fail, to make the men sweep the chimneys of their barracks, at least once a fortnight."; Taulman, "Malcom's orderly book, Vol.3," 71. [May 15, 1778] "the quarter masters of the several regiments of the brigade are directed to attend strictly to the general order of some days past respecting the cleanliness of the camp as they will be held answerable for any neglect in that respect. They are to see that all kinds of dirt and filth is taken out of camp at a proper distance between the huts and abittees and either buried or burned."

the location of necessaries and vaults (outdoor toilets) could not be left to the men's discretion.⁵⁹² Commanders continually promulgated regulations about the latrines' size and distance from huts through the orderly books.⁵⁹³ Soldiers getting up in the middle of the night in the dark and wintry landscape often "misjudged" the distance they needed to be from the huts before they relieved themselves. Officers might not have known the medical reasons as to why feces and urine needed to be disposed of away from sleeping and eating areas, but they did know men would get sick if it were not handled properly.⁵⁹⁴ And then, of course there was the offal (smell). Junior leaders, quartermasters, and soldiers detailed for police call had a never-ending job in maintaining camp sanitation.⁵⁹⁵ Every spring leaders detailed soldiers to clean up the "dirt" (feces) that the melting snow uncovered. Such activities required constant supervision to ensure completion. Even when viewed as an "ceaseless annoyance," the jobs had to be

⁵⁹² Huntington, "Huntington's Connecticut Brigade orderly book," 71. [July 29, 1778] "the brigade quartermasters are to punctually exact and having vault sunk for necessaries & see that they are regularly covered every morning. There are also to pay the strictest attention to the cleanliness of the camp saying that the offel putrid flesh & bones are buried. Altho this is the particular duty of Q.M. it is expected that commanding officers of Corps, will know that the duty is performed as a sweetness of the camp and the health of every troops depend upon it"; Knox, "9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book" [February 8, 1780] "Though the state of the ground prevents the digging of vaults yet some sort of convenience may easily be built which common decency and a regard to the health of the men...";

⁵⁹³ Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 102. [Jul 8, 1777] "Col. Stone orders each Regt in Genl Smallwood's Brigade to have Necessary houses Dug immediately in the rear of the encampment, as near the River as possible the men to be ordered to do their occations there and no where else."

⁵⁹⁴ Davis, "Captain Davis Company orderly book" [March 19, 1778] "... in the approaching warm season as it is a matter influential(?) to health, it is directed that officers will without delay take measures to provide good water for their man by having the springs opened and cleaned and well sunk in proper places taking care to have them frequently emptied and cleaned to prevent accumulations of filth."

⁵⁹⁵ Elbert, "Georgia Regiment Orderly Book," 138. [May 10, 1778] "will order a sufficient number of fatigue men, who under the directions of the regimental quartermasters are to gather up the garbage and filth in and about the camp, and burn it, and as cleanliness is so very essential to the health of the men"

done.⁵⁹⁶ Sanitation was only one of the many safety issues in camp.

Commanders instinctively knew that healthy, fit men made better soldiers. Enthusiasm or patriotic fervor could only motivate a man so far when he was physically out of shape. While one might think eighteenth-century men were in better shape than current individuals due to the lack of motorized transportation, this was not necessarily true. Eighteenth-century individuals seldom walked long distances on a day-to-day basis. Anything more than a mile might be unusual. It was often unnecessary. This makes sense if one considers people lived on farms or in towns that were not very big. There was no need to walk very far.⁵⁹⁷ If long distance travel was required, individuals rode in wagons. As a result, soldiers needed physical training to build up their endurance to be able to march with gear. Major General Heath urged his officers: "The men off duty should be daily exercised and marched the distance of a mile or two: this while it tends to preserve health, fits for service. Practicing become, daily more and more agreeable. The citizen & the countryman are formed soldiers."⁵⁹⁸ Understanding

⁵⁹⁶ Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers*, 119. "An unwelcome intruder proved a ceaseless annoyance to the enlisted men. The regimental officer of police had the duty of inspecting living quarters of the troops and the grounds of his regiment to make sure that soldiers conformed to regulations regarding cleanliness and sanitation. He and the noncommissioned officers and drummer who accompanied him were known as the camp (or garrison) police, and sometimes, as the internal police. No other officer had a more intimate contact with the rank and file. The officer of police himself normally did not order punishment, but his reports on infractions did lead to severe penalties."

⁵⁹⁷ David Detzer, *Donnybrook: The Battle of Bull Run, 1861*, (New York: Harcourt, 2004), 49. The lack of endurance was a problem even at the beginning of the US Civil War. "Although he [typical soldier] often came from a civilian life that demanded muscles (farming or the building trades), he generally wearied quickly when required to walk more than a couple of miles. Back home, even farm boys had ridden in wagons whenever they could, and few school children had to travel far to their classrooms. When the Fourth Maine arrived in Washington and was directed to an encampment only two miles away, several of its men dropped of sunstroke or exhaustion on the march there."

⁵⁹⁸ Heath, "Heath Orderly Books." [March 29, 1778] Continental Army orderly books often contained explanations for a commander's actions which put them in stark contrast to British

the physical demands of military service would have helped veterans who served as militia officers after the war. Junior leaders who exercised with their men practiced motivating and cajoling their soldiers during activities that most soldiers would have preferred to avoid. Officers learned how to communicate with all classes of men. Consider cohort members too old to serve as captains, but still serving as county leaders. Their advice as former Continental Army leaders would probably have been noted by the younger militia officers elected in their districts.

Analogous to ships at sea, fire was an ever-present danger for soldiers living in encampments. Fires could spread quickly and caused consternation for senior leaders. Soldiers constructed their huts of wood and placed them in regular order close together. One hut catching fire could easily ignite several others. Men had to be careful with disposing of ashes and keeping chimneys cleaned and in good repair. Units organized camp fire departments and drills. Officers sometimes successfully acquired hand-cranked fire engines from neighboring communities. Men who quickly extinguished fires often were mentioned in orderly books. Brigadier General Elbert disseminated such praise to his soldiers to encourage similar behavior: "The general takes the earliest opportunity of expressing in orders, how much he approves the conduct of the continental officers and soldiers upon the melancholy accident of fire last night. The zeal, activity, and address state display, and checking the progress of a calamity so dreadful, our

orderly books. A British officer did not see the need to explain why it was necessary for the men to partake of regular physical exercise.

circumstances he reflects on with pleasure, and are such as must do them the highest honor in the opinion of their fellow citizens.”⁵⁹⁹ Quick reactions to fires would save lives and valuable equipment. Learning how to form a fire brigade took organization and practice to be executed quickly.⁶⁰⁰ Such organizational knowledge easily translated from military life to civilian environments in new communities without established fire protection units.

Encampments required internal and external security for safety. Since Washington chose locations to observe and contain the British, it followed that the British forces were within striking distance of the Continental Army as well. Officers had to select locations for observation and listening posts to provide advance warning of enemy movements. Although armies were not entirely restricted to roads for movements, certain basic requirements to move large forces existed. Junior leaders knew what a unit needed to be able to move and learned where to place their sentries. Leaders dispatched patrols via orders to check for British units moving along the roads. Civilian leaders used the same techniques when appointing individuals to duties as patrollers in Tennessee to police African Americans on the county roads. Williamson County, Tennessee, clerk of the court, Thomas Hardeman, former militia soldier and state senator

⁵⁹⁹ Elbert, “Georgia Regiment Orderly Book,” 118.[March 23, 1778]

⁶⁰⁰ Elbert, “Georgia Regiment Orderly Book,” 119. [March 24, 1778] “In case of accident from fire all officers of battalions and all soldiers will assemble with their arms, at the usual place of parade, and from thence be marched by the commanding officer present to the place where the fire is; they are to act in conjunction, or to be divided into parties, as the commanding officer shall find it necessary, but always with an officer at their head. They are to consider it as their indispensable duty to exert themselves to the utmost, to stop the progress of so dreadful a calamity; to aid and assist the inhabitants in saving their faxes; to take those effects, if required, under their media protection; to guard them securely from being embezzled, and to return them uninjured, when ordered to do so.”

installed three men to perform additional duties: "By order of the County Court August Session 1803. You are appointed to serve as patrolers in the county of Capt. M Givens Militia Company and immediately on the receipt of this you are to repair before some justice of the peace and qualify yourselves agreeably to law."⁶⁰¹ The patrolers looked for individuals who did not have permission to be in a designated area and confronted them. The patroller's job mimicked that of an encampment sentry standing guard and cavalry unit on a screening mission.

Leaders concerned themselves with the encampments' interior security as well. Encampments were not immune from criminal activity. Physical crimes against the body appeared to be rare from courts-martial in the orderly books, and the isolated incidents were usually due to alcohol or duels. Most courts-martial for criminal activity dealt with stealing property. Theft remained a problem within the Army and from civilians moving through the camps.⁶⁰² Thefts involved not only enlisted personnel, but also officers who appeared before courts-martial for theft as well. Given the close quarters of the men, thieves could often be easily discovered with stolen goods. Colonel William Malcolm's subalterns learned of a fellow officer's unbecoming conduct and thievery through orderly

⁶⁰¹ Tennessee Williamson County. 1803, "Patroler appointment Order." County Court, box 5 Misc County Records, folder Militia-County, WCTNA. ; Thomas Hardeman. December 3, 1985, "Hardeman Family Papers 1806-1885." IX-G-5, TSLA.

⁶⁰² Norris, "Sixth Maryland Regiment Orderly Book," 79. [July 6, 1780] "The officer of the camp guard will make a report of his guard at relief and will order his sentries to stop all strangers coming into camp. Any such having particular business to be sent under the care of a Sergeant of the guard. At the completion of his business to be conduct in the same manner out of camp."; Knox, "9th Pennsylvania Regiment orderly book" [January 28, 1780] "The general is astonished and mortified to find notwithstanding the order issued on the 29th last month and his exertion to the officers to prevent it that the inhabitants within the vicinity of camp...to the plundering and licentiousness (?) of the soldiery from their daily complaints and the formal representation of the magistrates on the subject"

books:

Lieutenant Samuel Jones of the 15th. Virginia Regt. tryed for concealing & denying he had in his possession a pair of mittens belonging to Capt. Hule, Secondly for gaming on the 12th of May and sundry other times and behaving in a manner unbecoming officer and Gentleman, in treating Capt Hule with abusive language while under arrest, and endeavoring to incense the officers of his Regt against him. The Court having considered the charges and the evidence are of opinion, Lt Jones is guilty of the charges.... and do sentence him to be discharged from the Service.⁶⁰³

Lieutenant Jones' conviction and dismissal was publicly broadcast in the orderly books to show that officers were not immune from the law and thefts would not be tolerated.

Encampments such as Morristown and New Windsor required junior leaders to live with their men and share their hardships. Some historians have lumped all officers together: "Officers lived the lives of gentlemen. Occasionally, this meant living in specially built huts in camp, particularly when the Army was in winter quarters. More commonly, it meant that they billeted in nearby homes with local families, coming into camp to supervise their men."⁶⁰⁴ General officers and some field grade officers did procure private dwellings when the Army went into encampment, because they could afford it. However, company grade officers, ensigns, lieutenants, and captains could seldom afford such an expense. As demonstrated in the Morristown encampment, officers lived within a few yards of their men.⁶⁰⁵ While they did have separate quarters and fewer bunkmates, the

⁶⁰³ Taulman, "Malcom's orderly book, Volume 4," 55. [June 6, 1778]

⁶⁰⁴ Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 50.

⁶⁰⁵ Elliot, "The Highlands War: Civilians, Soldiers, and Environment in Northern New Jersey, 1777-1781," 363, 378, 380. Elliot posits that the placement of huts at Morristown is evidence of class divisions with the company officers' huts 100 feet uphill from the enlisted men. Elliot contends "Officers thereby enjoyed a favorable geographic location to their men..." I would argue that company officers might have questioned the favorable geographic position when they were

quality was *exactly* the same. They shared their men's hardships.⁶⁰⁶ Just not their rooms. Fraternization and familiarity destroyed unit discipline. Sharing liquor and engaging in card games led to charges of favoritism, cheating, and ill-chosen words, none of which reinforced the commissioned officers' authority.⁶⁰⁷ Also, enlisted soldiers required a place where they could vent and complain without being watched over by officers. Noncommissioned officers tolerated some grumbling to relieve the pressures of soldiering, and to understand the private's frame of mind.

Understanding how to deal with complaints on a regular basis accustomed military leaders to deal with civilian constituents. Civilians seldom contacted their elected leaders to tell them what a good job they were doing. Most often, they presented problems for their leaders to solve. Civilians submitted petitions, wanted debts collected, or family problems addressed. A successful leader needed to understand these interactions, and it was not just elected leaders who needed this skill. Businessmen needed to interact with customers and their complaints as well. The transition from providing order and governing an encampment to a county was not difficult for experienced junior leaders.

walking uphill several times a day over snow and ice in the winter and mud in the spring while smelling all the attendant offal emanating from the mens' cook fires and bodily emissions wafting upwards to their quarters.

⁶⁰⁶ Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor*, 47. Cox contends officers did not share the men's hardships. Her statement lacks a differentiation between what level of officer Cox is referring to in the Continental Army.

⁶⁰⁷ Weedon, *Valley Forge Orderly Book*, 235. "Howe division court-martial where Lieut. Col. Sprout was president February 13, 1778. Lieut. Auster all of Col. Brewer's Regiment tried for behaving in many instances unbecoming the character of an officer or a gentleman first and taking Jack Brown's allowance of whiskey drinking it and then refusing to pay for. Second and messing frequently drinking and sleeping with the soldiers. Third in writing petitions for the soldiers and taking pay for the same – unanimously found guilty of the whole charges and sentenced to be discharged from the service."

The organization of governing counties in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries took two major forms: county commissioners and the county court of common pleas and quarter sessions. The two different formats handled many of the same issues related to county governance such as roads, taxes, licensing, and local elections. All the states had the courts of common pleas and quarter sessions at the county level while commissioners, or trustees were more common in larger towns and cities in Kentucky and Tennessee. Ohio, in contrast, had commissioners at the county level.

Early nineteenth-century commissioners managed the county's affairs. Legislatures appointed some commissioners while residents elected others.⁶⁰⁸ Commissioners served as the legislative arm of city government when towns grew large enough. Sometimes these men were referred to as trustees as in Louisville, Kentucky.⁶⁰⁹ They determined, collected, and allocated tax rates for land and tavern owners. Commissioners authorized the payments of county officials such as sheriffs.⁶¹⁰ These men appointed surveyors to determine which

⁶⁰⁸ Margaret Smith Ross, "Cadron: An Early Town That Failed," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly* vol. 16, no. 1 (1957), 23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40018428>.

⁶⁰⁹ General Assembly of Virginia. October, 1786, "Appointment of Commissioners." Bullitt Family Papers-Oxmoor Collection, Mss A B937c, folder 42, Alexander Scott Bullitt Land Papers, 1783-1786, FHS. "Be it enacted by the Gen. Assembly, that Richard Claude Anderson, William Taylor, Robert Breckinridge, David Merriweather, John Clarke, Alexander Scott Bullock, and James Francis Moore, gentlemen, are hereby constituted commissioners for the following purposes, that is to say, they or a majority of them, shall have the power, and are required to demand and receive from the trustees of the town of Louisville, the amount of the sales of lots made by them, and upon refusal or neglect to pay the money, to institute one or more suits in their names, and the same to prosecute to recovery. The said commissioners shall sell and convey the lands in the said town remaining unsold, by the said trustees and apply the money arising therefrom... To the payment of certain mortgages owed by the town..."

⁶¹⁰ Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809," 184. [July 25, 1801] "Resolved that that the sum of seventy five dollars be allowed the secretary of the board of commissioners for his services"; Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County

roads served the county interests, approved prison or jail construction, reimbursed individuals conducting public business, public building repairs, and handled constituent petitions.⁶¹¹ They exercised a great deal of responsibility and often had to post bond to ensure fiduciary honesty.

Commissioner journals and court records from common pleas and quarter sessions bear a remarkable similarity to Revolutionary War era orderly books. Journals served as the documents of record for county business. Journals contained tax receipt amounts, expenditures, appointments of officials (auditors, sheriffs, constables, and treasurers), and license approvals.⁶¹² Commissioners recorded their actions as a matter of public proceedings and documented their rationale for decisions.⁶¹³ While commissioner journals or records did not develop because of the Continental Army, junior leaders would have recognized the format with its date heading, members present, and summary of actions in a continuous entry system in a bound book. Equivalent to orderly books, the

Journal, 1804-1807," 7. "Ordered that the Treasurer pay the sheriff twenty dollars for ex officio services"

⁶¹¹ Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809," 39. [December 19, 1798] "seventy-five cents upon every two hundred dollars valuation, and one dollar upon the poll to be appropriated for the discharge of the county debts and to defray the expenses of the buildings..."; Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 2, 3, 24. [July 2, 1804] "The Public jail and after having viewed the same and gathered the best information we can respecting said building and finding the same not to be precisely agreeable to the article..." "Ordered the treasurer pay Jay Gardner William Sutton six dollars for carrying the polls of the election of 1803 to Cincinnati" "Upon the petition of Joseph Nance and others, it is ordered that... or any two of them... and lay off a road the most convenient way from...and make a report thereof on the fourth Monday"

⁶¹² Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 34. [June 6, 1820] "The commissioners of Pickaway County do hereby nominate and appoint John Ludwig treasurer for said county for one year agreeable to law he complying with law"

⁶¹³ Greene County, Ohio, "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824," ,118. [September 1, 1817] "it appears to us the number of individuals to be thereby benefited is so small we are not repaired to say that said road if opened would be of public utility but on the contrary that it would be unnecessary & burdensome to the Public"

journals served as a chronicle of when decisions were made and who was present, so individuals could understand what had been previously decided or ordered. The journals served as a means to hold leaders accountable just like soldiers could refer to orderly books when disagreements arose.⁶¹⁴

County commissioners in early nineteenth-century Greene County, Ohio, handled almost every conceivable issue in the running of their county which required accurate record-keeping. Their town commissioner journals strongly resemble a regimental or brigade orderly book with a notation on all the important actions taken and ordered for the county. While it could just be happenstance, better record keeping, or just lucky for historians, county journals resembled orderly books more often in Ohio counties where more Continental Army veterans settled than in Kentucky or Tennessee, which had a higher percentage of militia members.

An example of a Greene County Commissioner journal looks a great deal like a Revolutionary War era Continental Army orderly book. The meeting's location and date are given at the top. In this case, it is Peter Border's house. Elections to new positions are noted. Directives are also issued regarding property and when the commissioners are to meet again.

⁶¹⁴ Ruddiman, "A Record in the Hands of Thousands," 748.

At the House of Peter Borders
On Weasoo Creek on the Eleventh day of
June 1804 —
Jacob Smith James Snoden and John Sturtevant
Gent Produced a Certificate of their being
duly Elected Commissioners for the County of
Green and also produced a Certificate under the
hand and seal of James Ward Esqr one of the
Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas
that they had taken the oath required by Law
and there was Counted into by the Board of Comm-
missioners for said County —
and John Paul was appointed Clerk
to the said Board of Commissioners —
and then the said Commissioners Cast Lots
for Clerk - Jacob Smith drew for three years
John Sturtevant for two and James Snoden for one
The Lists of Taxable Property in said County
having failed to bring in their Lists for which
cause the County business cannot be adjusted
Wherefore it is considered by that the Board will
meet at this place on the first Monday next of
that to lay the levy of said County
Ordered that the Clerk Advise for the Lists of
Taxable Property to forward their Lists on or before said

Image #18 Commissioner Journal from Greene County, Ohio. The first page of the journal contains the location (House of Peter Borders), Date (June 11, 1804) along with “promotions” (duly elected commissioners) and then business decided.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁵ Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, “Greene County Journal, 1804-1807,” 1. [June 11, 1804]

The resemblance to an orderly book might be more than coincidence. The clerk and scribe for Greene County was John Paul. Although his military rank is unknown, Paul served with George Rogers Clark during the Revolutionary War. Paul also held several elected and appointed positions in Kentucky prior to helping found Xenia in Greene County, Ohio. He eventually moved on to Indiana where he established several businesses and became a Colonel in the militia.⁶¹⁶

The Court of Common Pleas and Quarter sessions served as the governing body of many counties in Ohio and Tennessee. More than just a court for legal matters, it handled public buildings, road petitions, elections, and the licensing of businesses. The proceeding officials were normally justices of the peace. County governments and courts-martial panels used a similar format with multiple panel members. A quorum of three justices was the standard for many county governments. As the name implied, the courts met quarterly to handle concerns and issues.

County governments determined the layout, appearance, and building codes of early American towns and cities.⁶¹⁷ Officials often gave very specific guidance on construction standards and recorded them. Such records allowed inspections to be conducted prior to payment. Former Lieutenant Joseph Britton, while serving as a justice of the peace for Washington County, Tennessee, gave

⁶¹⁶ Blanche Goode Garber, "Colonel John Paul, Hoosier Pioneer; First Proprietor and Founder of Xenia, Ohio and Madison Indiana," *Indiana Magazine of History* vol. 13, no. 2 Indiana University Department of History, (1917) , 138-39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27785789>.

⁶¹⁷ Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 54. "Have agreed to an alteration in part of the courthouse on the following manner... A couple of 10 feet in diameter 15 feet high the roof of which is to be painted Spanish Brown in the body white the whole of which is to be done in a completed workmanlike manner"

detailed instructions for the construction of a new jail:

Ordered that the Sheriff of this County employ workman to repair the prison of this county upon the following terms (to witt) To raise the prison a foot above the surface of the ground and underpin it with stone. Lay under floor with new plank loggs of a foot square and one round of new loggs above the square. The whole to be done with oak loggs and to retain the payment thereof in his own hands an iron door on the outside to be made and prucured and paid for upon the former principal that is to Lay the Undertaker to choose one man and the Court another to value the work Done Issued.⁶¹⁸

The challenges in dealing with building codes, crime, smells, trash disposal, noise, disturbances, and licenses were familiar to those who ran Revolutionary War encampments. Another area county government had to manage was transportation networks.

By far, the most frequent business attended to by commissioners or county governments in newly formed counties centered on road surveys. As a sample, records indicate newly formed county governments in Washington County, Ohio, in 1794 and Williamson County, Tennessee, in 1800 spent significant amounts of time and energy on roads.⁶¹⁹ In 1804-1805 Greene County, Ohio, almost every meeting contained at least one appointment as a surveyor or a surveyor's report on public roads.⁶²⁰ In one of Williamson County's early meetings, leaders had to settle what roads would be labeled for further business. "Ordered that the roads and future shall be known and distinguished by the following names (to wit) the

⁶¹⁸ Tennessee Washington County. 1938, "Minutes of Court Pleas & Quarter Sessions 1778-1798." vol. 1, Historical Records Project, Official Records Project No. 465-44-3-115, TSLA. , 222. [August 1790]

⁶¹⁹ Washington County, Ohio, "Road Files."; Tennessee Williamson County. "County Minutes, 1800-1812." vol. 1, WCTNA.

⁶²⁰ Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 15. "upon the petition of John Paul and others it is ordered that Nathan Lamme...being first sworn do view the most convenient way for a road from...and make a report thereof to the next court." John Paul was the clerk of the Greene County Commissioners in 1804. The commissioners swore in former Continental Army officer Captain Nathan Lamme to recommend a road in 1804.

road from Franklin to the Holstein gap.”⁶²¹ Leaders had to label roads, so citizens chosen for work details knew where to show up. Without a public works department, county individuals had to maintain roads. The individuals in charge of these work details, or fatigue parties, were appointed and designated overseers of roads.

A key part of today’s MBA programs attempts to impart knowledge to future business owners and managers about transportation costs, timelines, and hazards which can mean the difference between profit and loss. Continental Army officers learned about transportation through on-the-job training and orderly books. It has been postulated that an aptitude for war is an aptitude for movement (marches).⁶²² Senior leaders’ constant attention to baggage trains, weight limits, and forbidding women to ride could not have escaped junior leaders’ notice.

Long marches also made veterans intimately familiar with what was a good versus a bad route and how much effort it would require to maintain a road. It was one thing to have merely marched on a road as thousands of soldiers did during the war. It was an entirely different problem to be the one who had to choose which route the army was going to march and provide for the soldiers and horses. One had to consider the wear and tear on animals and equipment given the slope and the soil’s composition. Was there enough water and feed

⁶²¹ Williamson County, “County Minutes, 1800-1812,” 14.

⁶²² J. F. C. Fuller, *The Conduct of War, 1789-1961. A study of the impact of the French, Industrial, and Russian Revolutions on war and its conduct*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1961), 50.

sources along the way for livestock or horses?⁶²³ Horses were vehicles which cost money to maintain. Abuse and breakdowns increased expenses.⁶²⁴

Although not considered today with the gas combustion engine, these factors were important considerations when identifying roads to move armies or connect towns to markets or other population centers. Long marches unquestionably acquainted officers with wagons, teamsters, and the necessity of planning to increase the chances of success in their county's development. Rural societies depended on roads to travel, and more importantly, to get crops and livestock to market in a timely manner.

Overseers or superintendents of roads performed necessary roles in local government. Once a route had been approved for a public road, it would then have to be maintained by the local population's labor.⁶²⁵ As the Williamson County, Tennessee, government stood up, it appointed overseers for its roads.

⁶²³ Platt, "McDougall's Division Orderly Book, 1779," 177-78. [April 17, 1779] "The General also thinks it necessary to give explicit notice in time that with a view to having the army as little encumbered as possible in all its movements, and to prevent burdening the public and the farmer more than cannot be avoided or the score of forage, No whose duty does not really require them to be on horseback will be permitted to keep horses with the Army. Sensible of the force of good examples on the mind of soldiers it ought to be the pride of an officer to have the fatigue as well as the danger to which his men are exposed. Foot marching by their sides, by sharing he will lessen every inconvenience and excite in them a spirit of patience and perseverance. Inability alone can justify a deviation from this necessary practice the general strongly recommends"

⁶²⁴ Hand, "Orderly Book of the German Regiment, 1779," June 20, 1779. "The general is surprised and concerned to see the horses destined for the express team so much abused as they are. He can't walk and without seeing dozens of them scampering about... inhuman and thoughtless when the poor animals should be at rest and pasture. If the horses are not in proper order the expedition which has already cost so much money, and is so essentially necessary for the quiet of the frontier will of course terminate in nothing." Horses are the equivalent of rental cars in modern conflict. Expensive but officers are reluctant to give them up – always have excuses as to why they need rental cars or horses.

⁶²⁵ Abraham Skinner. 1817, "Supervisor of Highways." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. "To Abraham Skinner Supervisor of Highways for the fourth district of Painesville, you are hereby required to call on all persons living within your district to perform the labor on the roads required...."; Friend, *Along the Maysville Road*, 26.

The first appointment orders only identified the overseer. Evidently some questions arose, because later appointment orders included a roster of the men he would supervise. Governments took the overseer responsibility seriously and an individual could be convicted and fined by a jury of his peers if he did not perform his duty in accordance with the law.⁶²⁶ Most localities required landowners to provide a specified number of days devoted to maintaining the county's roads. The superintendent, if appointed, would inspect bridges and roads to determine deficiencies while the overseers would coordinate the labor at the applicable location and time. Comparable to any other tax or requirement for time away for one's own individual pursuits, road duty remained unpopular.⁶²⁷ Continental Army junior leaders often appear in the records as individuals tasked to survey and approve new roads.⁶²⁸ No one liked to waste time, and organization, ability, and a veteran's experience in coordinating such details

⁶²⁶ Williamson County, Tennessee. 1800, "Road Records." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 61 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1800, WCTNA. ; Tennessee Williamson County. February 2, 1801, "Overseer of Road Appointment for James Downing." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 62 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1801, WCTNA. ; Tennessee Williamson County. August 3, 1801, "Overseer of Road Appointment for Peter Edwards." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 62 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1801, WCTNA. ; Tennessee Williamson County. February 2, 1801, "Overseer of Road Appointment for William Glover." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 62 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1801, WCTNA. ; Williamson County, Tennessee. 1801, "Road Records." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 62 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1801, WCTNA. ; Tennessee Williamson County. April, 1804, "John Buchanan Overseer of Road verdict of not keeping road in repair according to law." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 65 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1804, WCTNA.

⁶²⁷ Tennessee Williamson County. August, 1801, "Overseer of Road Appointment for John McKinney and request for another individual to be appointed." County Court, box 2 Road Records, folder 62 Road Records Overseers & Hands 1801, WCTNA. "I recommend to be appointed in my place Wilson Hindmon or William Dooley or William Henderson"

⁶²⁸ Couture, *Madison County Kentucky Court Order Book B 1791-1801*, 74. [March 4, 1794] "William Briscoe surveyor to open keep and repair with hands to be allotted by Archibald Woods, gentlemen."; Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 15. "Upon the petition of John Paul and others it is ordered that Nathan Lamme, Robert Marshall... being first sworn... the most convenient way for a road from... and make report thereof to the next court."

might have gone a long way in easing the burden.⁶²⁹

Economic Order

Communities needed more than law enforcement and political representation to survive and grow. While not often considered a strength of military officers, the enforcement of standards, record-keeping, and concern over moral issues occupied quite a bit of a leader's time. Continental Army officers understood the importance of order to economic growth since they encountered many of the same issues while running encampments. Without order, economic development cannot proceed. They learned that communities or encampments did not survive without active management. Goods had to arrive, the trash had to be collected, wood gathered, and standards of behavior enforced. As much as some residents might have wanted to be left alone, local leaders had to employ a deft touch to allow their communities to develop. Sometimes they had to work within guidelines imposed by distant legislatures or employers with their own agendas. This situation was not dissimilar to meeting the Continental Congress' and states' intent along with the needs of their men during the War. As junior officers during the War, they definitely did not determine policy, but gained invaluable experience working within it and ignoring directives that did not fit their particular

⁶²⁹ Andrew Ralston. 1780, *Major Andrew Ralston's orderly book, Second Pennsylvania Brigade, 24 September - 12 November, 1780, Totoway, NJ and elsewhere*. MSS 1141 [Bound], SOC. [October 12, 1780] "Two serjts and 40 rank & file for fatigue tomorrow to repair the roads and bridges furnished with two days provision."; Samuel Benjamin, *Brief Notice of Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin. An Officer of the Revolutionary War, with extracts from a diary kept by him during the War*, (Washington, DC: Buell & Blanchard, Printers, 185?a), 7. "May 14 [1781]. Capt. Pierce went on command to mend the roads."; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 134. "John Farnum was supervisor of roads for two years, being one of first body of supervisors elected Apr 1816" Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 121. William Dunlap "Supervisor of Highways"

situation. For example, a general may have forbidden using bayonets as tent stakes because of the damage incurred.⁶³⁰ But a junior leader had to address whether the problem was really a lack of tent stakes or too hard ground to drive in the tent stakes to support shelter for their men in camp. Local leaders adapted guidelines in a similar manner to meet their particular needs or problems.

Frontier communities expected businessmen to enforce moral behavior in exchange for being able to conduct business. In order to maintain control, county governments issued licenses that had to be renewed yearly and for licensees to be bonded.⁶³¹ Contemporary communities defined moral issues to include what prices businessmen could charge for required services such as taverns and ferries. Francis Giddens and his partner's license required they be bonded for twenty-five hundred dollars to the governor and provided the following stipulations:

Shall constantly find and provide in his said ordinary good, clean, wholesome diet and lodging for travelers, and stabling with corn, fodder, hay, oats, or pasturage for their horses, as the season of the year may require, for and during the term of one year from the date hereof, and shall not permit any gaming in his house, nor on the sabbath day suffer any person to tipple or drink more than is necessary⁶³²

⁶³⁰ Howe, "Howe Orderly Book," May 10, 1778. "The pinning down the borders of the tents with bayonets seems to be too prevalent in camp. And to the other astonishment of the general he saw it at a tent yesterday, which, by the label appeared to belong to an officer. The practice is absolutely forbidden under pain of punishment."

⁶³¹ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 1. [June 3, 1818] "We the commissioners for Pickaway County think proper that the rates of license for taverns, stores, ferries [?] Should remain the present year in said county at the same rates as last year"; Williamson County, Tennessee. "Taverns & Ordinary Licenses." County Court, box 5 Business and Industry Licenses, folder Taverns-Ordinary, WCTNA. ; Tennessee Williamson County. July 15, 1808, "Francis Giddens Ordinary License." County Court, box 5 Business and Industry Licenses, folder Taverns-Ordinary, WCTNA. ; Williamson County, Tennessee. January 12, 1808, "Robert Carothers and David Johnston Ordinary License." County Court, box 5 Business and Industry Licenses, folder Taverns-Ordinary, WCTNA.

⁶³² Tennessee Williamson County. 1808, "Francis Giddens Ordinary License." County Court, box 5 Business and Industry Licenses, folder Taverns-Ordinary, WCTNA.

Williamson County insisted Giddens and his partner maintain a safe and moral environment similar to what Continental Army senior leaders demanded of sutlers in their encampments. Like the Army, Williamson County had previously set prices on goods and services for taverns.

The court approves the following and no other rates for ordinary keepers in the county. For every half pint of good proof whiskey or brandy 12 1/2 cents, Rum per half pint good proof twenty five cents, Good proof French brandy twenty five cents. For lodging on a bed and a night eight cents, for each gallon of oats or corn eight cents, for dinner twenty five cents for breakfast or supper eighteen and three fourths cents.⁶³³

Such price setting prevented price gouging for residents and travelers where alternatives did not exist.

Veterans understood taverns could be very profitable for both the proprietors and the county as long as they were well run. County governments collected license fees, while owners made money from residents' desire for alcoholic beverages and a traveler's need for lodging.⁶³⁴ Proprietors who could not maintain a safe and orderly environment risked non-renewal of their annual licenses. Licensing also restricted competition. Sergeant Timothy Rose relied on his military training to maintain order within his establishment.⁶³⁵ After running a successful tavern and being a land agent for the Licking Land Company, he was the first postmaster, and later became one of the first county judges and directors of the Granville library. Sergeant Rose's time in the military might have exposed

⁶³³ Williamson County, "County Minutes, 1800-1812," 6.

⁶³⁴ Greene County, Ohio, "Commissioner Journal, 1813-1824," 57. [June 6, 1815] "Ordered that Tavern Keepers be rated as follow in the town of Xenia nine dollars and in the town of Fairfield seven dollars & fifty cents and all other places in the county six dollars—"

⁶³⁵ N.N. Jr. Hill, *History of Licking County, Ohio*, (Newark, OH: A.A. Graham & Co., 1881), 275, 443.; "Sergeant Timothy Rose, Revolutionary Records," *Daughters of the American Revolution* vol. 35, (1909) , 621. ; Bowyer, "Justice Rose"

him to many additional possibilities while giving him the training to succeed. His postwar success demonstrated he did take advantage of the available opportunities.

Another opportunity that several veterans seized was in starting ferry ventures.⁶³⁶ The Continental Army's movements during the war exposed soldiers to the business potential of well-placed ferries. Several of the Army's notable successes relied on the ability to cross rivers and could not have escaped the junior leaders' notice. Leaders continually required men with knowledge of water operations and boats.⁶³⁷ Units guarded ferry crossings and observed their daily operations and equipment requirements. Officers understood the importance and operation of ferries to a transportation network and the movement of goods. Once veterans moved west, the settlers' need to be able to cross rivers would have been obvious and presented a valuable business opportunity. Local county officials also understood the necessity of reliable ferry operations for their transportation networks and economic growth. County governments did not miss the opportunity to regulate through licensing, raise revenue through taxation, and maintain services by restricting competition.⁶³⁸ Local governments managed their

⁶³⁶ Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809," 133. "The commissioners proceeded to fix the price of the ferry across the Ohio by Nathaniel Cushing in Belpre..."; Benjamin, *Brief notice of lieutenant Samuel Benjamin*, 48. "Soon after moving to the east side of the river he established a ferry near his home, which was widely known as "Benjamin's Ferry," and was maintained by him for several years...."; George H. Yater, *Two hundred years at the falls of the Ohio: A history of Louisville and Jefferson County*, (Louisville, KY: Filson Club, 1987). "An attempt to revive the canal idea was made by William Lytle of Cincinnati shortly after the steamboat made its appearance on the western rivers."

⁶³⁷ Marshall, "Orderly book" [August 30, 1781] "A number of Mill Wrights, Coopers, Ship Carpenters and Boat Builders are immediately wanted. The names of such men in this army and the regiments they belong to are to be given in tomorrow morning at orderly time." Frost, "Sixth Massachusetts Regiment Orderly Book Vol. 3," 65. [March 14, 1780]

⁶³⁸ Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809,"

county's ferries' numbers and quality of service through a licensing process. Ferry operators had to apply yearly for a license to operate, and it had to be approved by elected officials. County governments did not limit their intervention into economic areas solely to ferries and taverns.

Counties also licensed businesses within their boundaries without dictating prices.⁶³⁹ Perhaps owing to their experiences in supplying their soldiers and the perceived wealth accumulated by civilians during the war, several junior officers became merchants after the war. This was especially true of former commissary, quartermaster, or artificer officers. Nineteen cohort officers tried their hands at running a business. Greenman and Sproat were ones who failed as merchants and immigrated to Ohio. Other officers such as Elias Langham and William Croghan seemed to have prospered once arriving in Ohio and Kentucky. Even though these individuals all presumably tried to become wealthy from their endeavors, they provided valuable services in establishing order for their communities.⁶⁴⁰ Veterans' practical experience in running a supply system dependent on detailed record keeping during the war prepared them to manage credit accounts for their cash-poor customers. As mentioned earlier, at least one

101. "The commissioner proceeded to fix the price of ferry licenses..."; Joseph Beatty Doyle, *20th Century history of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio and representative citizens*, (Chicago, IL: Richmond-Arnold Pub. Co., 1910), 152. "Ferry lines on July 7 were fixed as follows, mouth of Yellow Creek, \$6, Philip Cable"

⁶³⁹ Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 216. "On application of John Brodreck he ordered that they have license to [?] merchandise in the town of London for one year on their complying with the law in such case made provided...S Baskerville"

⁶⁴⁰ Clark, "The Ohio Country and the Political Economy of Nation Building," 157. "The operation of rural, cash-poor, quasi-barter economies depended to a great extent on the presence of merchants and storekeepers to provide credit, goods, and means of executing complicated third-party arrangements."

former Continental Army officer, Captain Isaac Craig, took his familiarity with producing gunpowder and cannons during the war and parleyed it into supervising glassmaking and other manufacturing operations.

Several individuals tried their luck at operating mills. Mills could sometimes be contentious due to their placement on creeks and streams. Waterways often served as boundaries between landowners and counties. A mill may have required a dam to be constructed to allow for a constant water supply during all seasons.⁶⁴¹ Damming a stream would probably flood an adjacent landowner's property and remove it from agricultural uses. As such, the landowner would be owed compensation. In a manner similar to road surveys, county executives appointed a panel to survey the mill site and determine whether to grant the license and compensation.⁶⁴²

Numerous county officials and citizens could be involved in approving a mill. The process became especially bureaucratic when the waterway was a county boundary. To start, the individual had to submit a petition in the correct format.⁶⁴³ Then the county clerk appointed a jury to view and value the property.⁶⁴⁴ The

⁶⁴¹ Dodge, "Sullivan Expedition orderly book," 183.[November 10, 1779] "The General is under the necessity of informing the troops that the long continuance of dry weather has prevented the mills from grinding which renders the article of flour very scarce at present" Some officers may have remembered the problems encountered by the Continental Army when the rivers ran low and men did not have flour to make bread.

⁶⁴² Tennessee Williamson County. "Mill Licenses, 1801-1818." County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA.

⁶⁴³ Tennessee Williamson County. 1802, "Petition to erect a mill on the Big Harpeth River." County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA. "To the worshipful justices of the court of pleas and quarter sessions for the county of Williamson...The petition of...that he is the legal proprietor of a tract or parcel of land lying on the river Big Harpeth...and that he is desirous to erect a water grist mill on said river"

⁶⁴⁴ Williamson County, Tennessee. May 3, 1802, "Sheriff Summons for Jury report on Harpeth River Mill site." County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA. "To the sheriff of Williamson County Greeting, Summon Henry Rutherford, John Johnson, James Buford and Ewen Cameron to meet at such convent time as you shall appoint upon the premises

sheriff might need to summon individuals from adjoining counties.⁶⁴⁵ Finally, written permission could be obtained from the affected landowner.⁶⁴⁶ The process required paperwork in the correct format and that all the appropriate agencies be contacted. The system would have been relatively easy for someone with knowledge of how a bureaucracy operated, but probably frustrating to someone who did not understand. Major Abraham Maury received approval in a matter of months by ensuring he met deadlines dictated by Common Pleas and Quarter sessions schedules. Had Maury not received approval by the August session, his mill would have been delayed until too late to build during the winter. As a result, Maury could not have completed his dam in time to capture water from the spring run-off. August-October would have been the best time to construct a dam with the water levels low. Timing the bureaucracy and work schedules came with experience.

County leaders understood the need for mills in an agriculturally dependent economy to process crops and for mill owners to make a return on their

at the place where William Segate had a powder mill on Big warpath to view and value upon oath one acre of the land of Anthony Sharp [and] also one acre of the lands of Abraham Maury for the purpose of erecting a mill and make a report of their opinion.”; Williamson County, “Jury report on Harpeth River Mill site.” “In pursuant of an order of this county of Williamson County, We the under named being a jury appointed to view and value one acre of land the property of...on the north bank of the big Harpeth,”

⁶⁴⁵ Williamson County, Tennessee. May 8, 1802, “Sheriff Summons to Sumner County Sheriff for Anthony Sharp on Harpeth River Mill site.” County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA. “To the sheriff of Sumner County Greeting, Summon Anthony Sharp to make his personal appearance before Justices of our County Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions...and there should he contest the allegations contained...relative to his building a mill... adjoining the lands of said Sharp”

⁶⁴⁶ Tennessee Williamson County. July 13, 1802, “Anthony Sharp to Maj Abraham Maury- Permission to erect mill.” County Court, box Business and Industry Licenses, folder Mills, WCTNA. “Dear Sir, I read your letter a few days ago asking my concurrence with respect to building a mill and should have answered it before now, but expected to see you in this place at this court. With respect to building the mill you have my approbation to erect one upon condition of being indemnified for any damage I may at any time sustain thereby...Anthony Sharp”

investment and a reasonable profit. Recognizing the profit potential, ten former officers entered into partnerships to build mills and worked the bureaucracy to obtain the necessary permits. From the records, mills often appeared to have been one of the first businesses or partnerships mentioned in a county's records. This is not surprising when one considers the planning and investment needed to build and operate a profitable mill in a newly settled area. Farmers needed roads and possibly ferries to deliver their products to the mill and proprietors required a good site, skilled workers, and machinery to build a mill along with warehousing capacity to potentially store the finished product. Each phase needed capital and credit to proceed. A successful mill served as a good indicator of the county's executives' managerial abilities. A town's success or failure could be dependent on the county governance.

Town Founder

Not surprisingly, former Continental Army veterans received prominent acknowledgement in the historical records and narratives of the early twentieth century as being first settlers or recognized as town founders. Historians and archival evidence recognize twelve individuals in the cohort as town founders.⁶⁴⁷ A town founder was an individual who settled or arrived at the town location first, surveyed the lots for occupation, donated land, or laid out the town's boundaries. Town founders could also have been part of the initial group who petitioned for recognition by state or territory authorities. Other than mentioning the fact, few traces of what they actually did survive in the narrative. Claiming to have been

⁶⁴⁷ See Appendix A (Town Founder)

founded by a Revolutionary War veteran could have been a matter of attempting to boost a town's civic pride. With Joseph Plumb Martin's obituary, records do tend to support positive actions by the veterans towards law and order and economic growth.⁶⁴⁸ Martin used the knowledge gained in the military on interacting with the bureaucracy and his local and state political experience to secure an act of incorporation for Stockton Springs.

Understanding who was actually "first" in a location matters less than who made a lasting impact. Who actually stayed and influenced their present surroundings and peers? A "squatter" might have been first on site but could not hold his claim nor influence. While being the first white man on the spot had advantages, it was more important to convince other individuals to settle near them. This persuasion could have been because of family ties, good location, or desire for security from someone who had experience. It is not impossible to imagine that prior military service would have arisen in conversation or correspondence. Experience as a sapper or quartermaster in the Continental Army lent an air of authority to individuals when they conversed with other people.

Sometimes describing an individual as "town founder" is relatively straightforward. Former Captain Moses Cleaveland, a Continental Army sapper officer, surveyed the land and the town lots as well as led an expedition for that express purpose.⁶⁴⁹ Other instances include Captain William Lytle who donated land for

⁶⁴⁸ Williamson, "Biographical Sketch of Joseph P. Martin." "in securing an act of incorporation for his adopted town, in reducing the place to a system and order as a civil community, he bore a prominent part"

⁶⁴⁹ Moses Cleaveland. August 5, 1796, "Letter, Moses Cleaveland to Board (Copy)." vol. 1,

Murfreesboro, Tennessee and appeared to have influenced his neighbors to vote for his location over the objections of the state-appointed commissioners' recommendation. Once the decision had been made, Lytle donated more land for specific entities such as the Presbyterian Church and served as a trustee at an educational academy. He was one of the first individuals who settled in the area, served as a justice of the peace, judge for elections, established businesses, and clearly influenced the developments which led to the town's establishment.⁶⁵⁰ Veterans' military experience after 1778 in establishing new encampments, like Morristown or New Windsor, showed that establishing a new town did not seem an insurmountable task to them. Unlike most of their peers in the Atlantic coast states, these veterans were well versed in how to create a town out of wilderness.

Officers and non-commissioned officers knew how to build dwellings from the wilderness, which was not inconsequential considering one needed structures for a town. Buildings attracted other settlers looking for traces of civilization. At the New Windsor encampment, soldiers even built large community buildings.⁶⁵¹ Town founders' main challenge in Ohio when they first arrived was procuring a

Moses Cleaveland Papers, 1796-1805, Mss 3233, WRHS. ; Oliver Phelps. August 26, 1796, "Letter, Phelps to Moses Cleaveland." vol. 1, Papers, 1796-1805, Mss 3233, WRHS.

⁶⁵⁰ Mabel Pittard, *Rutherford County*, ed. Robert E Corlew (Memphis, TN: Memphis State University Press, 1984), 16, 26-27, 28-29, 55.; Rutherford County, Tennessee. 1937, "Records of Rutherford County, Tennessee Minutes 1807-1808." vol. B, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 4.; Rutherford County, Tennessee. 1940, "Transcriptions of the County Archives of Tennessee No. 75 Rutherford County (Murfreesboro)." County Court Minutes Book L 1817-1818, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 2.; John C Spence, *The Annals of Rutherford County*, (Murfreesboro, TN: The Rutherford County Historical Society, 1991), 64, 74, 85, 103.

⁶⁵¹ Dempsey, *Washington's Last Cantonment*, 113.

stable source of labor to complete their projects.⁶⁵² The lucky ones who moved with families could effectively organize work parties from neighbors and relatives to construct substantial dwellings that would last the winter. Their dwellings were a considerable improvement over the squatters' hovels. A squatter's shack's only advantage was that the structure could be quickly replaced once destroyed.⁶⁵³ While many might have thought they knew how to construct a log cabin, for the design looked simple enough from the outside, the challenge often came in having tools and technique. Soldiers acquired the construction knowledge for walls and chimneys, and especially leak-proof roofs, through trial and error from Valley Forge to New Windsor. Frame buildings came later when saw mills, ironworks for nails, and more carpenters became available for hire. As buildings became more common, complex, and expensive, land values rose.⁶⁵⁴

Real Estate

The real estate business attracted many former army officers after the war. Veterans had several advantages in entering the contemporary real estate market. They had the technical and woodsman skills necessary to conduct surveying operations. The paperwork for registering land claims could prove daunting to those unfamiliar with its requirements or not used to working in a bureaucracy. Most importantly, the federal and state governments awarded them

⁶⁵² Turhand Kirtland. "Diary of Turhand Kirtland During His Visits to Ohio, 1798-1800 (Transcription)." vol. 1, Turhand Kirtland (1755-1844), MSS.737, WRHS. , 19-29.; Harmon, "Harmon Diary," July 11, 1807.

⁶⁵³ Nichols, *Red Gentlemen & White Savages*, 61.

⁶⁵⁴ Pickaway County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Pickaway County, 1818-1830," 65. [June 7, 1821] "in consequence of the County of Pickaway being in debt for public buildings, the rate of the county levy or tax for the present year to be the same rate as last year"

land grants in the west. Many former officers were absentee owners who needed someone they could trust to manage their holdings.⁶⁵⁵ Surviving correspondence indicated officers used contacts made during military service. Managing the properties for sale or rent required managerial skills such as meticulous record keeping and drafting reports. Most veterans who worked as land agents appeared to do so for additional income instead of full-time work. Unfortunately, the real estate business in the early West functioned in a murky legal situation caused by past colonial, state, and federal efforts to award land. Depending on the state, lawyers had more business opportunities in real estate than managers.

The best thing that can be said about Kentucky's development is that it provided a cautionary example of what not to do. Fortunately, Congressional leaders attempted to integrate many of Kentucky's lessons into the Northwest Ordinance. By the time most Continental Army junior leaders moved west, lawsuits raged over Kentucky and Tennessee's land claims. While a few former Virginia officers had amassed large land-holdings, most immigrants failed to obtain clear title to lands.⁶⁵⁶ They might have lived on the land and improved it, but state authorities did not recognize their claims. The failure of many lower-class immigrants to obtain clear title affected Kentucky's economic and political development for many years.⁶⁵⁷

The postwar legal situation in Kentucky and Tennessee was burdensome but

⁶⁵⁵ Hutchinson, *The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio*, 95.

⁶⁵⁶ Joan. Brookes-Smith, *Master index, Virginia surveys and grants, 1774-1791*, (Frankfort, KY: Kentucky Historical Society, 1976), 20. Alexander Breckinridge amassed 11,788 acres by 1785.

⁶⁵⁷ For more on Kentucky's economic and legal heritage, see Aron, *How the West was Lost*

not inherently corrupt.⁶⁵⁸ Some historians portrayed the legal situation as tilted in the elite's favor, but that did not mean that it was unavailable to the common man. Often what was portrayed as malfeasance was actually incompetence. Common sense and legal sense did not always coincide, and property rights required precise paperwork. The locations of court houses and the requisite paperwork often made the bureaucracy difficult to navigate. People used large amounts of time and expense to safeguard claims only to have counter claims filed against their land. Surveyors sometimes made mistakes. While many Continental Army officers did surveying work after the war, few practiced law, and even fewer worked property claims in the court system.

While the federal government awarded large grants, such as the Western Reserve and the Ohio Company purchase, the supply of good land, tax policy, and economic conditions thwarted proprietors' efforts to get rich quickly. Unlike the situation Joseph Plumb Martin encountered in Maine with his property battles, more than enough good land was available in Ohio. Those hoping to hold the land for long-term gains encountered problems when the tax laws changed in Ohio. Ohio's main source of revenue was a land tax that rose by 25% in the state's early years and hindered individuals hoping for future gains.⁶⁵⁹ Ohio land owners often had to sell for a lower price than most expected to meet tax

⁶⁵⁸ Neal O. Hammon, and James Russell Harris, "Daniel Boone the Businessman: Revising the Myth of Failure," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* vol. 112, no. 1 (2014), 7. http://muse.jhu.edu/content/crossref/journals/register_of_the_kentucky_historical_society/v112/112.1.hammon.html; Aron, *How the West was Lost*, 82, 84.

⁶⁵⁹ Ohio Washington County. 1804, "List of land belonging to nonresident proprietors lying in the county of Washington in the state of Ohio subject to the state tax for the year 1804." State Archives Series 7341, GRVF44, folder 10, OHC.

requirements and cash flow demands.⁶⁶⁰ While large landowners held the property, it was not producing income. This was a situation that not many could tolerate for any length of time. Additionally, federal rules governing homesteading or squatting allowed more individuals to keep land and gain title than previously had been possible.⁶⁶¹ These factors created an environment where more individuals could acquire clear title to property in Ohio than some other states. As veterans faced diminished prospects in the east, Ohio looked more promising. Even many former Kentucky residents crossed over the Ohio river to the north for better prospects.

Like other real estate investors, Continental Army veterans desired law and order to spur development and increase their land's value and their own economic prospects. Many served as agents in buying and collecting warrants from fellow officers.⁶⁶² Although many veterans held land warrants, most had no desire to move and simply saw the land as an investment opportunity. This financial strategy probably accounted for the few Continental Army veteran junior leaders who actually moved to their warrant lands. Their children often maintained land warrants and claims and employed lawyers such as Thomas Lewis for years after the veteran's death in hopes of reaping economic

⁶⁶⁰ Ratcliffe, "Worthington," 44.

⁶⁶¹ "Harrison Land Act of 1800." last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019. [http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Harrison_Land_Act_of_1800_\(Transcript\)](http://www.ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Harrison_Land_Act_of_1800_(Transcript)).

⁶⁶² John Callaway. January 15, 1788, "Letter to John Preston." Preston family papers, Mss P92671FA2, VHS. "left an order for me to apply to Capt B. Price for some land warrants & to send them up to you; the one inclosed of 7,000 acres is all I have received, but I expect to get another 3000 acres which Price says is all he has anything to do with" Captain Benjamin Price died at St Clair's Defeat in 1792.; Alexander Breckinridge. October 16, 1794, "Survey Fees." Beall-Booth Family Papers, Norborne Beall Papers, Mss A B365, FHS.

rewards.⁶⁶³ Many officers, especially from Virginia, went west and worked as surveyors, but did not remain permanently. As payment, the surveyors often received a portion of the claim. If they did not have lands to immediately inherit back East, work in the West would have been a good means to accumulate land for resale.

Surveying lands often took decades to be properly registered to allow uncontested claims.⁶⁶⁴ Records became vital in court cases which arose years later disputing claims.⁶⁶⁵ Many junior leaders such as Sergeant Timothy Rose and Captain Abraham Skinner served as land agents for senior officers who had lands in Ohio and Kentucky. Captain Skinner served as General Henry Champion's agent in Ohio for many years.⁶⁶⁶ Captain Alexander Breckinridge

⁶⁶³ Thomas M. Lewis. August 27, 1811, "Thomas M. Lewis to Robert Harrison." R. Baylor Hickman, Mss HA.H628, FHS. "Dear Sir, in July 1797 the late Mr. John Breckenridge entered into an agreement with the executors of Mr. Peter Manson deceased; whereby the former engaged to investigate the title to a tract of 1089 acres of land patented in the name of said Manson, in the letter to allow him one third part of all that might be saved. In the fall of that year assent suit was commenced in the name of Manson's executors against some of the interfering claimants who held older patents than that of managers; leaving out however the oldest patent upon the ground which belonged to Louis Craig senior and which interfered with Manson's track between 800 and 900 acres; sometime after which Craig commenced his suit in the same court, against nearly the whole of the persons included in the main lawsuit, which he carried through the said court and Court of Appeals in less time than that of Manson's by nearly 5 years: the consequence was that Craig took possession and sold most of the land embraced by his said claim, to persons aware I presume of Manson's claim hanging over them, and who were therefore determined to make the most of their bargains, by cutting and carrying off all the timber which would make shingles, plate, scheduling, posts and railing, house or cabin logs and slabs, to an enormous amount"

⁶⁶⁴ John Radford. January 18, 1810, "Letter to John Preston." Preston family papers, Mss1P92671FA2, folder February 12, VHS. "I expected to have met Col Langham there but he was out in the woods surveying. I have been trying to get some land from him but he will not give me such titles as I think good."

⁶⁶⁵ Alexander Breckinridge. October 15, 1789, "James Mercer and Samuel Beall Partnership, 1780-1783." Beall-Booth Family Papers, Samuel Beall Papers, Mss A B365, FHS. Captain Alexander Breckinridge joined the Continental Army in 1777, was captured at Charleston and retired after his release in 1781.

⁶⁶⁶ Abraham Skinner. 1796, "Accounts for Henry Champion managed by Abraham Skinner, 1796-1824." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. September 2, 1800, "Letter, Henry Champion to Abraham Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS. ; Abraham Skinner. November 3, 1819, "Letter, Henry

kept ledgers on land warrant sales and registrations involving many Kentucky investors.⁶⁶⁷ Keeping all the records straight was not an easy task as one of Breckinridge's diagrams shows.

Champion to Abraham Skinner." vol. 1, Abraham Skinner Papers (1755-1826), Mss 1270, WRHS.
⁶⁶⁷ Breckinridge, "James Mercer and Samuel Beall Partnership, 1780-1783."; Breckinridge, "Survey Fees."; Breckinridge, "Partnership Ledgers."

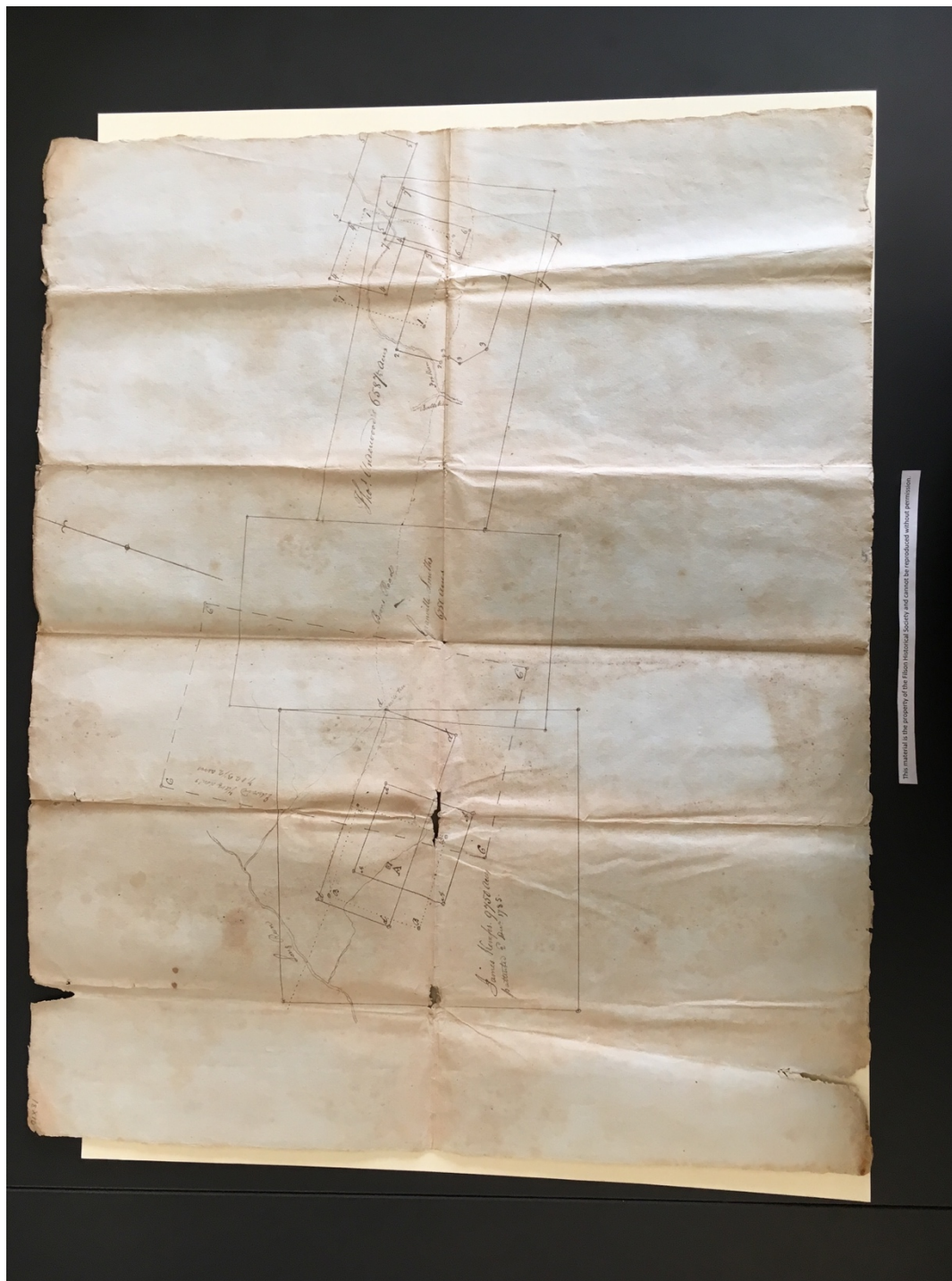


Image #19 Diagram from Breckinridge's files on contested land claims. Note the overlapping claims and claims within claims with Boone's Road in the center as a reference.⁶⁶⁸ Courtesy of

⁶⁶⁸ Alexander Breckinridge. 1785, "Land Plots and diagrams." Beall-Booth Family Papers, Samuel Beall Papers, Mss A B365, FHS.

Kentucky's contentious development and legal history might have been a factor in affecting how former Continental Army veterans applied their hard-won knowledge. Unlike the case in the old Northwest territory, the federal government had not taken the lead in signing treaties with Native Americans in Kentucky and Tennessee. Virginia insisted that the new states give legal protection to prior claims which resulted in land ownership problems for decades and ineffective land distribution.⁶⁶⁹ Many of these lawyers who arrived in the late 1780s were too late to obtain any large tracts of land for themselves and made money off the individuals who had the land and those who contested their claims.⁶⁷⁰ Legal suits continued to be fought for decades over boundaries based on trails and river crossings.⁶⁷¹ When lawyers were the ones making money, business suffered.

The legal status of various land claims hindered an individual's ability to employ any managerial skills in business. The risk involved in developing property that could be encumbered by conflicting claims increased the hazards owners encountered in trying to develop or operate businesses in Kentucky or Tennessee. Political leaders understood the problems, but solutions remained difficult. Unfortunately for some officers, especially in Kentucky, lawsuits required their testimony on previous jobs for decades afterwards.⁶⁷² Their experience was

⁶⁶⁹ Ratcliffe, "Worthington," 44.

⁶⁷⁰ Christopher L. Leadingham, "To Open "the Doors of Commerce": The Mississippi River Question and the Shifting Politics of the Kentucky Statehood Movement," *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* vol. 114, no. 3-4 (2016) , 347. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/630891>.

⁶⁷¹ Hammon, and Harris, "Daniel Boone the Businessman," 40-41.

⁶⁷² James Guthrie. August 22, 1811, "Deposition of James Guthrie in Stansberry vs Hornbeck." vol. 11, Robert Emmett McDowell Collection, 1774-1869, Mss. A M138a, folder 11, FHS. ; James Guthrie. June 25, 1814, "Deposition of James Guthrie in Saunders & Rogers vs Summers." vol. 11, Robert Emmett McDowell Collection, 1774-1869, Mss A M138a, FHS. ;

not unusual. Daniel Boone suffered through a similar fate. Although popular perception is that Boone left Kentucky penniless, Neal O. Hammon and James R. Harris contend facts do not support this conclusion.⁶⁷³ Kentucky's business environment favored lawyers over those with managerial ability. For example, Captain Alexander Breckinridge's ledgers and records appear more focused on protecting the legal claims to land than in producing income through sale, rent, or development.⁶⁷⁴ Breckinridge maintained the books and conducted the surveys that provided the fodder for legal suits over conflicting claims. Breckinridge's focus was probably prudent given Kentucky's development history and might offer insight into why more Continental Army officers pursued opportunities in Ohio versus Kentucky.

Religion

Changes in the American religious landscape in the Revolutionary War's aftermath provided an opportunity for many former officers to support their communities and use their skills as religious leaders.⁶⁷⁵ Most did not work on spreading the gospel as ordained ministers, but many did serve various important lay functions within the church such as deacon, elder, and council

James Guthrie. June 25, 1814, "Deposition of James Guthrie in Taylor vs Stringer." vol. 14, Robert Emmett McDowell Collection, 1774-1869, Mss A M138a, FHS. ; John Hawkins. January 14, 1805, "Deposition of John Hawkins." vol. 13, Robert Emmett McDowell Collection, 1774-1869, Mss A M138a, FHS.

⁶⁷³ Hammon, and Harris, "Daniel Boone the Businessman," 43.

⁶⁷⁴ Breckinridge, "Partnership Ledgers." "Samuel Beall being apprehensive that the entries made by him yesterday of 19,346 acres on Hardin's Creek or Lince Stone as also 1000 acres part of his entry of 7,000 acres adjoining "; Breckinridge, "James Mercer and Samuel Beall Partnership, 1780-1783."

⁶⁷⁵ For more on the religious environment in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The democratization of American Christianity*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 88-101, 125-140.; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), 237-41.

member. Church hierarchy developed unevenly in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Congregations yearned for a means of maintaining order amongst their members. Most individuals did not move into the areas to establish religious communities.⁶⁷⁶ Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury confided in his journal: “When I consider where they came from, where they are, and how they are, and how they are called to go further, their being unsettled, with so many objects to take their attention, with the health and good air they enjoy, and when I reflect that not one in a hundred came here to get religion; but rather to get plenty of good land, I think it will be well if some or many do not eventually lose their souls.⁶⁷⁷” Some families and likeminded individuals started congregations and churches to provide religious services, but many did not.

A few former Continental Army junior leaders found callings as Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist pastors on the early Republic’s frontier. While some denominations such as Presbyterians and Congregationalists desired their ministers to have formal seminary training, Baptist and Methodists welcomed pastors without college educations to be ministers. Commissioned officers found callings as Presbyterians while more non-commissioned officers preached within the Methodist or Baptist churches. A few junior leaders were actually ordained (four), but many more junior leaders (nine) took on lay leadership roles in establishing and running new churches.⁶⁷⁸ Even with a calling, leadership and

⁶⁷⁶ Durham, *Before Tennessee*, 242-46.

⁶⁷⁷ Francis Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church from August 7, 1771 to December 7, 1815.*, vol. II, (New York, NY: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1821), 286. Asbury wrote this passage in Tennessee on Saturday, March 25, 1797.

⁶⁷⁸ See Appendix A: Religious Leaders

managerial skills made the individual more successful in his mission. Veterans also had gained the ability to deal with stressful situations and death in a calm, orderly manner in military service. Often religious leaders had to negotiate complex theological controversies and form alliances with other denominations for their flocks. Pastors and congregations had to be supported financially and with managerial expertise. Asbury's journal reflected the many managerial challenges his position required as he made his circuit: "Satan has been sowing discord here, and has hindered the work of God; but I hope the approaching quarterly meeting will be a blessing to them; and that we shall not toil in vain. The loss of sleep, and other circumstances, made me very heavy, and brought on a sick headache, which I had not felt for some time."⁶⁷⁹ Besides the physical toll, the emotional stress is evident when reading his entries and observations. The managerial and leadership challenges brought more discomfort than any of the hardships in preaching the gospel.

In a remarkable similarity to the Army's courts-martial records, church journals record leaders having to adjudicate discipline issues. Authorities in the Mill Creek church in Davidson County, Tennessee had several matters to decide during a Saturday meeting.

Saturday the 18th April [1801] took under consideration the above matter respecting Alley forbid her of C. privilege, the matter was defer'd. for trial at our May meeting. Rec'd. charges against Bro. Meneese's Sam, trial defer'd. to May meeting. The matter affecting White's C. Church under grievances with Bro. Davis of this Church was taken up, the Delegates appointed to attend the inquest brought in their report, and after considerable debate,

⁶⁷⁹ Asbury, *The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury*, 167. [June 1, 1793]

resolve to lay it over until May meeting.⁶⁸⁰
Congregations also established rules for governance that would have been familiar to veterans used to roll calls, a chain of command, and excuses for absences reported. Another church in Davidson County felt the need to write down rules for its members:

Rules of decorum as established by the Big Cedar Lick Creek... we the Baptist Church of Jesus Christ...

1st) We have unanimously agreed to meet together on the before appointed days to confer upon matters that respect the glory of God and our union.

2nd) When met together the conference shall be excused.

3rd) then moderator may be chosen and a clerk appointed

4th) then if required the decorum may be received

5th) then if need be the members names may be called over and those who is absent to make their excuses at the next conference...⁶⁸¹

Over the next couple of years, the congregation added more rules dealing with disciplining members, attendance, and maintaining order during meetings: "It shall be the duty of each member and especially the male members to attend regularly at conference and in case of neglect of this duty, the church shall act as she think proper" and "only one member shall speak at a time who shall rise from his seat and who addresses the moderator under the approbation of brother moderator."⁶⁸² The journals demonstrate that the congregations could not rely solely on good intentions for discipline.

Methodists outnumbered all the established hierarchal religions such as the

⁶⁸⁰ *Mill Creek Church*, 8.

⁶⁸¹ McCrory's Creek Baptist Church, Davidson, Tennessee. "Record book, 1811-1816." Manuscripts, C.1 (Mixed Materials), box M-30, TSLA. [1811]

⁶⁸² McCrory's Creek Baptist Church, Davidson, Tennessee, "Record book, 1811-1816." [1813]

Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians.⁶⁸³ Ordination as a Methodist preacher was less structured than other denominations. Methodist ministers did not require a college education or special training. They only needed a calling and denominational sponsorship. The elimination of the education barrier allowed the Methodists to deploy many more religious leaders than the more hierarchical religions. Methodists also used circuit riders to visit parishioners in lieu of building a structure (church) and expecting a flock to appear. Methodists conditioned individuals to expect a colloquial style of sermons that “wove scripture text together with anecdotes and illustrations from everyday life.”⁶⁸⁴

Methodism influenced the population’s support of Republicanism with its perceived more open system while the more hierarchical religions tended to support the Federalist party.⁶⁸⁵ The region’s inhabitants came to expect a less deferential and hierarchical social structure. Religious leaders had to communicate in a way that the lower classes could understand without talking down to them. Sheer numbers and ubiquity forced the hierarchical denomination’s religious leaders to modify their approach to appeal to their congregations. Religious and political leaders had to demonstrate competence

⁶⁸³ John Wigger, “Ohio Gospel: Methodism in Early Ohio,” in *The Center of a Great Empire: The Ohio Country in the Early American Republic*, ed. Andrew Robert Lee Cayton, and Stuart Dale Hobbs (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005), 62-63. “Methodism entered the Ohio Country in earnest in the 1790s, prospering there in a way that was remarkable even by the standards of early Methodist growth. Methodist expansion in Ohio quickly outstripped growth in nearly every other state or region, making the future state a model of Methodist success. Methodism was the largest and most dynamic popular religious movement in America between the Revolution and the Civil War.”

⁶⁸⁴ Wigger, “Ohio Gospel: Methodism in Early Ohio,” 65.

⁶⁸⁵ Ratcliffe, “Worthington,” 47.

as well as the same ability to identify with the common man to maintain their positions.⁶⁸⁶ Officers had already mastered this technique during the war. As Baron von Steuben noted, leaders had to explain why to an American soldier. Often, American citizens and congregants expected the same courtesy and effort.

Major Charles Pelham converted to Methodism later in life and made enough of an impact that he merited special attention in a nineteenth-century Methodist history of Kentucky:

Another name, too prominent to be forgotten, is that of Major Charles Pelham...Mr. Pelham passed through our Revolutionary struggle, entering it at the commencement, and remaining in it till the close of the war, and received a pension for his services while he lived. In 1790, he came to Kentucky, and settled in Mason county, where he spent the remainder of his life. We regret that it was not in the early morn of life that this distinguished man became a servant of God. He had more than passed his threescore years when he was awakened and converted. During the revivals that prevailed throughout the State in 1811, in the "sear and yellow leaf" of life, he became a member of the Church. His wife was a lady of great personal accomplishments, an intellect highly cultivated, ...They were not only the center of every circle, giving an additional charm to society, but they exerted an influence in the Church that led many to Christ.⁶⁸⁷

Virginia commissioned Pelham a 1st lieutenant in 1776 and fought throughout the war and retired as Major in 1783 when the Army disbanded. He experienced the hardships and trauma of combat and served a junior leader for half the war. Once he joined the Methodist Church in 1811, his military and life experience helped him exert an influence in the church, and he continued to lead and provide order as his entry in *The History of Methodism in Kentucky* highlighted.

⁶⁸⁶ Wigger, "Ohio Gospel: Methodism in Early Ohio," 62-65.

⁶⁸⁷ Albert Henry Redford, *The History Of Methodism In Kentucky: From the Conference Of 1808 to the Conference Of 1820.*, vol. 2, (Nashville, TN: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1870), 230.

Order was an important foundation of religious worship in Protestant Churches in America. The religious history of early Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio contains many instances of religious strife between conflicting interpretations of the Gospel and worship. Religious leaders spent a great deal of time with issues of order. For example, *The Form of Government and Discipline* is a foundational document of Presbyterian churches which explains church governance.⁶⁸⁸ Newcomers to the West seldom migrated en masse with an established and functioning church body. Leaders would have needed to establish governance with other members of the faith whom they only recently met. Building a functioning group held together by voluntary allegiance whom might not have shared a previous history would have required tact and patience. Leaders could not force people to be church members; they had to persuade them to be congregants.

Newly planted churches needed men and women with leadership and managerial skills to maintain order within the congregations as the meadows, front yards, meeting houses, itinerant preachers, and lay leaders transformed into dedicated buildings and staff. Past experience in working with individuals from different areas would have been helpful in forming a congregation focused on worship rather than individual or cultural differences. Church members wanted an organization where they felt their concerns could be addressed and discipline maintained. The process of establishing order within a religious community

⁶⁸⁸ James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians*, (Louisville, KY: Geneva Press, 1996), 63.

required leaders dedicated to the effort and unafraid of challenging work.

As Joseph Plumb Martin's obituary noted, community inhabitants respected and acknowledged the individuals who brought order to their towns. A functioning system of law and order required men with the capacity to enforce the rules and processes to develop and govern their locales. A resident had to understand how and why he would be called to serve as a jury member or part of a road maintenance crew. Justices of the peace informed citizens of court appearances through summons issued through sheriffs. Constables supervised the grand juries and overseers of the road managed the maintenance crews to accomplish the unpopular tasks. Leaders brought order to the county's developing economy through a system of licensing, price setting, and bureaucratic processes to support certain businesses while preventing price-gouging of residents. Navigating this delicate balance and fending off charges of favoritism of one proprietor over another required tact and skill in handling competing priorities. Without academic training, state regulations, or extensive textbooks, leaders relied on their past experiences or methods from back east. Those with knowledge and wisdom gained from repeated participation in such activities could better serve their communities. Cohort members gained an edge because of their wartime tasks over those civilians who did not have the same life experience in imposing and managing order. Continental Army service bestowed an advantage that junior leaders employed in maintaining law and order in their new communities.

Conclusion

The evidence demonstrates that military service did not hinder company grade officers' postwar prospects. In fact, it generally did quite the opposite. The military prepared them to be more than just farmers, day laborers, and soldiers. Many held numerous occupations over their lives and switched careers or maintained their livelihood while performing public service. While very few practiced trades such as blacksmithing, brick masonry, or stone cutting after the war, they were not without talents. One in five cohort members served as agents of law and order for their neighbors in such jobs as justice of the peace, sheriff, judge, commissioner, and overseer of the roads. Ten percent held a political office at the local, state, or federal levels. These positions proved they had succeeded in the communities and earned the trust of their neighbors.

Veterans' military service provided them with a set of skills that they used to enter new career fields and leadership positions in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Veterans received instruction and repeated practice in leading diverse individuals under arduous conditions, functioning within a bureaucracy, performing managerial tasks, and establishing law and order in communities. The answer to the question of how this happened can be seen in the adoption of Baron von Steuben's Blue Book and the Army's senior leaders' constant reinforcement of its, and other lessons in leadership and management in the unit orderly books. When one examines the type of civilian jobs veteran junior leaders held after the war and the skills they required, one can see they obtained familiarity with the necessary qualifications during their service in the army. Much

of the knowledge obtained in the Army was readily transferred to civilian activities. Far from retarding them in their civilian pursuits, Continental Army service provided veterans with clear advantages in their new occupations.

Neither did military service predestine junior leaders to financial poverty. Only thirty-two percent qualified for needs-based assistance according to the 1820 Pension Act guidelines. Additionally, many former junior leaders qualified for pensions *after* having served their communities in leadership positions. The veterans did not grow wealthy from their public service occupations, but their training did benefit their neighbors. Their education enabled them to pursue alternatives as former Major David Ziegler discovered. When Ziegler had decided after a year that farming the land did not appeal to him, he used his education to open a store. Ziegler had a choice. Soldiering did not consign him or others to reduced circumstances in livelihood or life. Unlike Resch's cohort who returned to Peterborough, New Hampshire, the junior leaders who moved west apparently made up for lost time on marriage and children. The cohort's veterans married and fathered children at similar rates to their civilian counterparts—there were plenty of individuals to claim their pension benefits.

After the army disbanded, the soldiers had many more years of service left in them. Most veterans did their jobs as leaders and then continued their lives—wiser for the experience. Veteran junior leaders typically lived long lives. Within the cohort, the average age at death was 75 years. Despite physical and mental wounds, a majority of junior leaders spent decades serving their communities and making use of the skills they acquired leading and fighting in the

Revolutionary War. Not surprisingly, former Continental Army privates did serve in positions of authority in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, albeit at significantly lower percentages.

The company grade officers' time in the Continental Army differed from what the private or militia soldier experienced. The junior leaders gained more from his time in the Army than the private who only served a few or more years but did not attain any additional rank or responsibility. Understanding the difference between the junior leaders' and privates' training is key to understanding why the company grade officer gained more of an advantage from his service than the private did. In the private's case, he seldom left with any tangible benefit other than pride in service to his country.

Even though all were soldiers, each rank or class of leader perceived the war differently depending on his job and level of responsibility. The private seldom viewed military service the same way a sergeant, company grade officer, or a senior leader did. The private might be focused solely on his part of a task that had to be accomplished under the supervision of a sergeant, while the junior leaders thought about when and where the task had to be done along with making sure the unit had all the supplies it needed. These different perspectives affected how the various ranks' military duties prepared them for postwar life. The private who enlisted for a few weeks or months as a militia soldier was exposed to very different wartime circumstances than men who served for three or more years. The sergeant who had responsibility for several men learned substantially more than a private. Also, dividing the Continental Army solely

between enlisted soldiers and officers for analytical and argumentative reasons obscures the reality of their military service. The company, field grade, and general officer ranks all had different concerns while in uniform and left the army with sets of skills that prepared them for numerous postwar civilian opportunities. One must be careful when generalizing the effect of military service across the Army's many different parts based on a sample of those who filed pension applications thirty-five years after the war ended. The varied ranks left the army with different training and knowledge.

In the case of the junior leaders, they also passed on their experience to new communities and set the standards for later officeholders. These veterans influenced their communities in a manner that does not reveal itself without understanding their military service. As noted, Lieutenant Baskerville mimicked Steuben's "instructions for" when he served as a judge and issued guidance for court officers in a similar format. If one did not understand the training Baskerville and other junior leaders underwent in the Continental Army, one would miss the correlation between Baskerville's military experience and subsequent duty as a judge. Baskerville's case was not unique as the postwar achievements of other cohort members demonstrates.

Until recently, establishing the connections between knowledge gained during military service and subsequent civilian leadership positions was difficult. The veterans' postwar lives left few traces in documents such as pension applications, wills, tax records or papers in archives. In local elective office, few left easily retrievable written records for historians to peruse or discourse to

parse. Considering the paucity of extant sources, it is not surprising that scholars (with the exception of local historians) overlooked these men's contributions, specifically their successful efforts in employing military experience in postwar civilian occupations. Their actions in choosing to serve, while harder to track down, provide an insight into the veterans' values, influence, and knowledge gained in the army.

This study should not be understood as an attempt to construct something akin to a hagiography of the Continental Army's company grade officers. Given the training structure Steuben and Washington imposed on the junior leaders, it would be even more puzzling if the officers did not obtain and display the skills they exhibited throughout their lives and occupations. Many officers had four or more years to hone their skills through multiple iterations of campaigning and encampments. The Continental Army did not persist solely through luck, divine intervention, or the bravery of its soldiers on the battlefield. The United States won its independence because the Continental Army endured until the Treaty of Paris. The sergeants and company grade officers played a critical role in maintaining the army in the field. What has not been previously understood is that they carried the same skills they used in maintaining the Army into postwar occupations on the frontier during the early Republic.

What did the Continental Army leadership development program accomplish during its four years of operation? Besides increasing the Army's battlefield proficiency, it educated a generation of junior leaders at the NCO and commissioned officers' ranks for subsequent leadership in law and order

positions in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. Of the 180 cohort members, fifty-eight percent served in some leadership capacity after the war in either law enforcement, governance, religious life, or business occupations. These numbers are impressive when one considers that twenty-seven percent rose through the enlisted ranks to become commissioned officers, a job they had to learn how to perform. Much like today's advanced education programs, the Continental Army did not make graduates immediately wealthy. However, it did provide the knowledge, textbooks, tests, and on-the-job training necessary to master the skills that would prove beneficial in civilian life.

The Continental Army's company grade leaders took advantage of their military-based training and education to perform in various occupations in their postwar lives. Their experiences should prompt historians to re-examine the effects of military training and allow discourse to move beyond platitudes of "thank you for your service," or the irrational fears of the dangers that PTSD-traumatized veterans pose to society. Not all veterans are scarred by serving in the Army, walking off battlefields or out of encampments as permanently damaged goods. It is time to engage with the benefits military service accords veterans and how their skills were and are employed in their communities.

Appendix A Reports on Cohort members

The following reports contain a list of postwar occupation referenced in the main body. Also included is a list of men promoted from the enlisted ranks to become commissioned officers and a list of pensioners.

Law Enforcement Positions

The following individuals served in law enforcements positions at the local and state level.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Position
Allin	Thomas	KY	Mercer County	Sheriff
Baskerville	Samuel	OH	Madison County	Judge
Breckinridge	Robert	KY	Jefferson County	Justice of the Peace
Carpenter	Benjamin	OH	Delaware County	Judge
Cass	Jonathan	OH	Muskingum County	Sheriff
Cilley	Jonathan	OH	Hamilton County	Justice of the Peace, Judge
Clark	Jonathan	KY	Jefferson County	Justice of the Peace
Cowan	John	KY	Boyle County	Judge
Crockett	Joseph	KY	Jessamine County	Justice of the Peace, Judge
Daniels	David	OH	Portage County	Justice of the Peace
Goforth	William	OH	Hamilton County	Judge
Graham	James	OH	Meigs County	Justice of the Peace
Greenman	Jeremiah	OH	Washington County	Justice of the Peace
Hardin	John	KY	Shelby County	Justice of the Peace
Hays	Robert	TN	Davidson County	Justice of the Peace, Judge
Higginbotham	William	TN	Perry County	Justice of the Peace
Hinsdale	Elisha	OH	Medina County	Justice of the Peace
Johnson	Benjamin	OH	Harrison County	Justice of the Peace
Jones	john	OH	Hamilton County	Justice of the Peace
Kirkwood	Robert	OH	Mercer County	Justice of the Peace

Law Enforcement Positions (Continued)

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Justice of the Peace
Lamme	Nathan	OH	Greene County	Sheriff
Loring	Daniel	OH	Washington County	Justice of the Peace
Lytle	William	TN	Rutherford County	Justice of the Peace, Judge
McDaniel	James	OH	Jackson County	Justice of the Peace
McMurtry	John	TN	Sumner County	Justice of the Peace
Moore	James	KY	Jefferson County	Judge
Munro	Josiah	OH	Washington County	Judge
Norvell	Lipscomb	TN	Davidson County	Justice of the Peace
Oliver	Robert	OH	Washington County	Justice of the Peace, Judge
Price	Stephen	OH	Franklin County	Justice of the Peace
Rice	Oliver	OH	Washington County	Judge
Robinson	William	OH	Coshocton	Sheriff
Rose	Timothy	OH	Licking County	Judge
Skinner	Abraham	OH	Lake County	Sheriff
Sproat	Ebenezer	OH	Washington County	Sheriff
Tanner	Tyral	OH	Mahoning County	Sheriff
Tate	David	TN	Grainger County	Justice of the Peace
Taylor	Richard	KY	Jefferson County	Judge
Thompson	Isaac	OH	Geauga County	Justice of the Peace
Vanhorne	Isaac	OH	Muskingum County	Justice of the Peace
Waller	John	KY	Pendleton County	Justice of the Peace
Williams	Daniel	TN	Dickson County	Justice of the Peace
Winlock	Joseph	KY	Shelby County	Justice of the Peace
Younglove	Samuel	KY	Christian County	Justice of the Peace, Sheriff
Ziegler	David	OH	Montgomery County	Justice of the Peace

Political Leaders

The following individuals served in political positions at the local and state level.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Political Ldr: State & Local
Allin	Thomas	KY	Mercer County	State
Brown	Benjamin	OH	Athens	State
Clark	Jonathan	KY	Jefferson County	Local
Cowan	John	KY	Boyle County	Local
Crockett	Joseph	KY	Jessamine County	State/Local
Crockett	Anthony	KY	Franklin County	State
Croghan	William	KY	Jefferson County	State
Goforth	William	OH	Hamilton County	State
Hinsdale	Elisha	OH	Medina County	State
Hogg	Samuel	TN	Smith County	Local
Jones	John	OH	Hamilton County	State/Local
Moore	James	KY	Jefferson County	State
Mott	John	OH	Knox County	State/Local
Mulloy	Hugh	OH	Clermont County	Local
Munn	James	OH	Scioto County	Local
Oliver	Robert	OH	Washington County	State
Robinson	William	OH	Coshocton	Local
Taylor	Richard	KY	Jefferson County	State
Vanhorne	Isaac	OH	Muskingum County	State
Waller	John	KY	Pendleton County	State
Winlock	Joseph	KY	Shelby County	State
Ziegler	David	OH	Montgomery County	Local

Businessmen

The following individuals pursued opportunities in business after the war.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Occupation
Allin	Thomas	KY	Mercer County	Mill Owner
Cannon	James	OH	Shelby County	Mill Owner
Clark	Jonathan	KY	Jefferson County	Tavern Owner
Cotton	John	OH	Mahoning County	Merchant
Croghan	William	KY	Jefferson County	Merchant
Davidson	Joshua	OH	Brown County	Mill Owner
Dunn	Abner	OH	Hamilton County	Merchant
Farnum	John	OH	Summit County	Mill Owner
Faulkner	William	OH	Adams County	Tavern Owner/Merchant
Greenman	Jeremiah	OH	Washington County	Merchant
Hogg	Samuel	TN	Smith County	Merchant
Jackson	Samuel	TN	Washington County	Merchant
Langham	Elias	OH	Madison County	Tavern Owner/Merchant
Lytle	William	TN	Rutherford County	Mill Owner
Moore	James	KY	Jefferson County	Merchant
Mott	John	OH	Knox County	Tavern Owner
Munn	James	OH	Scioto County	Mill Owner
Oliver	Robert	OH	Washington County	Mill Owner
Pelham	Charles	KY	Mason County	Mill Owner
Reed	James	OH	Montgomery County	Tavern Owner
Robinson	William	OH	Coshocton	Merchant
Rodgers	William	OH	Ross County	Tavern Owner
Rose	Timothy	OH	Licking County	Tavern Owner

Businessmen (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Occupation
Sedam	Cornelius	OH	Hamilton County	Merchant
Skinner	Abraham	OH	Lake County	Merchant
Sproat	Ebenezer	OH	Washington County	Merchant
Tanner	Tyral	OH	Mahoning County	Tavern Owner/Mill Owner/Merchant
Vanhorne	Isaac	OH	Muskingum County	Tavern Owner
Wagnon	John	TN	Sumner County	Tavern Owner/Merchant
Wallace	William	KY	Anderson County	Merchant
Waller	John	KY	Pendleton County	Tavern Owner
White	Hatfield	OH	Washington County	Mill Owner/Merchant
Williams	Daniel	TN	Dickson County	Tavern Owner
Wilson	Robert	KY	Jefferson County	Merchant
Ziegler	David	OH	Montgomery County	Merchant

Religious Leader

The following individuals served as religious leaders in their communities.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality
Butler	Stephen	OH	Summit County
Cochrun	Simon	OH	Allen County
Fuller	Joseph	OH	Lake County
Goforth	William	OH	Hamilton County
Hoskinson	Josiah	OH	Scioto County
Loring	Daniel	OH	Washington County
Rose	Timothy	OH	Licking County
Stone	Benjamin	OH	Harrison County
Tanner	Tyral	OH	Mahoning County
Tharp	John	OH	Warren County
Pelham	Charles	KY	Mason County
McMurtry	John	TN	Sumner County
Walker	Samuel	TN	Roane County

Town Founders

The named individuals are recognized in the extant sources as town founders.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality	Town
Cannon	James	OH	Shelby County	Sidney, OH
Goforth	William	OH	Hamilton County	Columbia, OH
Mulloy	Hugh	OH	Clermont County	Monmouth, ME
Sedam	Cornelius	OH	Hamilton County	Sedamsville, OH
Tharp	John	OH	Warren County	Lebanon, OH
Thompson	Isaac	OH	Geauga County	Middlefield, OH
White	Hatfield	OH	Washington County	Marietta, OH
Waller	John	KY	Pendleton County	Falmouth, KY
Skinner	Abraham	OH	Lake County	Grandon (Fairport), OH
Taylor	Richard	KY	Jefferson County	Taylorville, KY
Winlock	Joseph	KY	Shelby County	Shelbyville, KY
Lytle	William	TN	Rutherford County	Murfreesboro, TN

Militia Officer

The following officers served as militia officers after the war.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality
Allin	Thomas	KY	Mercer County
Barbee	Thomas	KY	Boyle County
Cilley	Jonathan	OH	Hamilton County
Craddock	Robert	KY	Warren County
Crockett	Anthony	KY	Franklin County
Croghan	William	KY	Jefferson County
Curtis	Eleazer	OH	Washington County
Faulkner	William	OH	Adams County
Geer	Guerdon	OH	Summit County
Goodale	Nathan	OH	Washington County
Harrison	John	KY	Jefferson County
Hays	Robert	TN	Davidson County
Higginbotham	William	TN	Perry County
Hynes	Andrew	KY	Nelson County
Jones	John	OH	Hamilton County
Munn	James	OH	Scioto County
Owry	George	OH	Mahoning County
Reed	James	OH	Montgomery County
Reeves	Luther	OH	Ashtabula County
Rice	Oliver	OH	Washington County
Sedam	Cornelius	OH	Hamilton County
Stoddard	Amos	OH	Wood County
Taylor	Richard	KY	Jefferson County
Tupper	Anselm	OH	Washington County
Vanhorne	Isaac	OH	Muskingum
Walker	Samuel	TN	Roane County
White	Hatfield	OH	Washington County

Militia Officers (Continued)

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality
White	John	OH	Meigs County
Winlock	Joseph	KY	Shelby County
Ziegler	David	OH	Montgomery County

Promoted from Enlisted Soldier to Commissioned Officer

The following individuals entered the Continental Army as enlisted soldiers and received commissions.

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality
Albaugh	Zachariah	OH	Licking County
Allin	Thomas	KY	Mercer County
Baskerville	Samuel	OH	Madison County
Cannon	James	OH	Shelby County
Carter	Daniel	TN	Maury County
Cass	Jonathan	OH	Muskingum County
Cilley	Jonathan	OH	Hamilton County
Cooper	Ezekiel	OH	Belmont County
Cotton	John	OH	Mahoning County
Craddock	Robert	KY	Warren County
Crockett	Anthony	KY	Franklin County
Crozier	John	OH	Cuyahoga County
Curtis	Eleazer	OH	Washington County
Davidson	Joshua	OH	Brown County
Eldred	SAMUEL	OH	Lorain County
Ferguson	William	OH	Hamilton County
Geer	Guerdon	OH	Summit County
Goodale	Nathan	OH	Washington County
Graham	James	OH	Meigs County
Gray	William	OH	Washington County
Greenman	Jeremiah	OH	Washington County
Higginbotham	William	TN	Perry County
King	Zebulon	OH	Washington County
Langham	Elias	OH	Madison County
Mahan	John	KY	Boyle County

Promoted from Enlisted Soldier to Commissioned Officer (continued)

Last Name	First Name	Burial Place State	Burial Place Locality
McMurtry	John	TN	Sumner County
Meriwether	William	KY	Hickman County
Mott	John	OH	Knox County
Mulloy	Hugh	OH	Clermont County
Norsworthy	James	TN	Bedford County
Norvell	Lipscomb	TN	Davidson County
Shaw	Benjamin	OH	Washington County
Stoddard	Amos	OH	Wood County
Strong	David	OH	Hamilton County
Tanner	Tyral	OH	Mahoning County
Thompson	Isaac	OH	Geauga County
Van Gorden	Alexander	OH	Butler County
Wagnon	John	TN	Sumner County
Waller	John	KY	Pendleton County
White	John	OH	Meigs County
Wilson	James	OH	Mahoning County
Winlock	Joseph	KY	Shelby County

Pensioners under the 1820 Act

The following individuals qualified for pensions under the 1820 provisions. Not everyone qualified in 1820. Some entered the rolls later when their financial situation deteriorated. Some appear to have been removed from the list when they later qualified for the 1828 Act which awarded 1/2 pay to certain officers.

Last Name	First Name	State	Burial Place Locality	Pensi on Year	Pension Act
Abbott	John	TN	Grainger County	1826	1820
Allen	Moses	TN	Wilson County	1832	1820
Allis	Moses	OH	Lorain County	1820	1820
Anderson	Augustine	OH	Morgan county	1820	1820
Atkins	Josiah	OH	Ashtabula County	1820	1820
Baskerville	Samuel	OH	Madison County	1823	1820
Bay	Andrew	TN	Wilson County	1820	1820
Bierce	William	OH	Portage County	1820	1820
Blackman	Elijah	OH	Portage County	1820	1820
Bradford	Robert	OH	Washington County	1820	1820
Britton	Joseph	TN	Hawkins County	1824	1820
Buker	Israel	OH	Muskingum County	1820	1820
Butler	Stephen	OH	Summit County	1820	1820
Chandley	William	TN	Greene County	1821	1820
Christian	William	OH	Ross County	1821	1820
Cilley	Jonathan	OH	Hamilton County	1820	1820
Cotton	John	OH	Mahoning County	1819	1820
Crabb	Benjamin	TN	Wilson County	1820	1820
Craddock	Robert	KY	Warren County	1832	1828
Craig	Thomas	OH	Vinton County	1820	1820

Last Name	First Name	State	Burial Place Locality	Pension Year	Pension Act
Crozier	John	OH	Cuyahoga County	1818	1820
Eldred	Samuel	OH	Lorain County	1820	1820
Eppes	Richard	TN	Dickson County	1820	1820
Faulkner	William	OH	Adams County	1832(?)	1818
Finley	Joseph	OH	Adams County	1820	1820
Hall	Clement	TN	Davidson County	1820	1820
Harrison	William	TN	Rutherford County	1820	1820
Hays	Robert	TN	Davidson County	1820	1820
Higginbotham	William	TN	Perry County	1829	1820
Hinsdale	Elisha	OH	Medina County	1820	1820
Hogg	Samuel	TN	Smith County	1820	1820
Hoskinson	Josiah	OH	Scioto County	1820	1820
Howe	John	KY	Hardin County	1820	1820
Jones	Solomon	OH	Delaware County	1820	1820
Kelly	Charles	TN	Jefferson County	1820	1820
Langham	Elias	OH	Madison County	1820	1820
Larkins	James	OH	Harrison County	1818	1818
Lemaster	Joseph	TN	Williamson County	1823	1820
Marshall	Dixon	TN	Smith County	1824	1820
Mulloy	Hugh	OH	Clermont County	1820	1820
Nelson	John	KY	Fayette County	1820	1820
Owry	George	OH	Mahoning County	1832(?)	1820
Pelham	Charles	KY	Mason County	1820	1820
Pierson	Daniel	OH	Montgomery County	1820	1820
Porter	Robert	OH	Harrison County	1820	1820
Reeves	Luther	OH	Ashtabula County	1820	1820
Rice	Oliver	OH	Washington County	1820	1828

Pensioners under the 1820 Act

Last Name	First Name	State	Burial Place Locality	Pension Year	Pension Act
Sage	Samuel	OH	Vinton County	1820	1820
Seypeart	Robert	TN	Wayne County	1828	1820
Spradling	James	TN	Claiborne County	1829	1820
Thompson	Isaac	OH	Geauga County	1820	1820
Townson	John	TN	Carroll County	1828	1820
Tucker	William	KY	Casey County	1820	1828
Wagnon	John	TN	Sumner County	1828	1820
Walker	Samuel	TN	Roane County	1822	1820
White	John	OH	Meigs County	1832	1832
Willis	Jarvis	TN	Franklin County	1824	1820
Wood	Matthew	TN	Giles County	1823	1820

Appendix B Cohort Biographies

The inclusion of the commercial websites indicates that source documentation was found. The Ancestry.com database primarily furnished data on marriage dates, number of children, and possible movement dates to Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio. A question mark (?) denotes conflicting or missing information. The absence of either the Ancestry.com or Fold3 in the notes reveals the lack of, or conflicting, information found on the subject(s).

John Abbott (1756-1828) served in the Continental Army (1781-1782) as a sergeant in the 10th North Carolina regiment. By 1818, Abbott moved to Tennessee. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Grainger County, Tennessee.⁶⁸⁹

Zachariah Albaugh (1758-1857) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as private through major in the 1st Maryland regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to Pennsylvania after the war and then to Ohio in 1817. He married and had three children He is buried in Licking County, Ohio.⁶⁹⁰

John Albin (1740-1820) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as sergeant in a Virginia regiment. He served as an overseer of roads before the war. After 1794, Albin had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Clark County, Ohio.⁶⁹¹

Moses Allen (1754-1843) served in the Continental Army (1776-1782) as private, corporal, and orderly sergeant in the 3rd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1829, Allen moved to Tennessee. He married twice and had three children. He is buried in Wilson

⁶⁸⁹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Will Graves. "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters." Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters. last modified April 8, 2019. accessed April 12, 2019. <http://revwarapps.org>. [Original Source: NARA, Case Files of Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Applications Based on Revolutionary War Service, compiled ca. 1800 - ca. 1912, documenting the period ca. 1775 - ca. 1900, M804.] ; J.D. Lewis. "The Continental Army in North Carolina." The American Revolution in North Carolina. last modified 2012. accessed April 9, 2019. http://www.carolana.com/NC/Revolution/revolution_continental_army.html. ; "Ancestry." last modified 2018. <https://www.ancestry.com>.

⁶⁹⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 5.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 13.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁶⁹¹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 5.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 13.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

County, Tennessee.⁶⁹²

Thomas Allin (1757-1833) served in the Continental Army (1779-1781?) as forage master and quartermaster in the North Carolina regiment and the Illinois regiment. He served as a deputy sheriff, county clerk, and Captain and Major in the Regular Army. By 1781, Allis had moved to Kentucky. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Mercer County, Kentucky.⁶⁹³

Moses Allis (1754-1842) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as a private and a first sergeant in the 8th Massachusetts regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to New York after the war and then to Ohio by 1797. He married and had five children. He is buried in Lorain County, Ohio.⁶⁹⁴

Augustine Anderson (1748-1834) served in the Continental Army (1777-1778) as an ensign and lieutenant in Spencer's Continental regiment. By 1818, Anderson had moved to Ohio. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He married twice and had nine children. He is buried in Morgan County, Ohio.⁶⁹⁵

Richard Apperson (1750-1826) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as 2nd lieutenant, 1st lieutenant and captain in the 6th Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1807 Apperson had moved to Kentucky. He married and had no children. He is buried in Franklin County, Kentucky.⁶⁹⁶

Josiah Atkins (1757-1828) served in the Continental Army (1775-1780) as a private and a sergeant in the 7th Connecticut regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved from Connecticut to Ohio

⁶⁹² J.C. Calhoun, *Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a report of the names, rank, and line of every person placed on the pension list, in pursuance of the act of the 18th March, 1818, & c. January 20, 1820. Read, and ordered to lie on the table*, (Southern Book Company, Baltimore, MD 1955), (Washington, DC: Gales & Seaton, 1820), 554.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁶⁹³ Anderson Chenault Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky: containing a roll of the officers of Virginia line who received land bounties; a roll of the Revolutionary pensioners in Kentucky; a list of the Illinois regiment who served under George Rogers Clark in the Northwest campaign, also a roster of the Virginia Navy*, (Baltimore, MD: Southern Book Company, 1895), 193.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁶⁹⁴ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 342.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 9.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 15.; "Fold3."; "Ancestry.com"

⁶⁹⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 70.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 473.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 13.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 16.

⁶⁹⁶ Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 89.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

prior to 1818. He married twice and had nine children. He is buried in Ashtabula County.⁶⁹⁷

Thomas Barbee (1752-1797) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant and captain in the 10th and 6th Virginia regiments. He served as a militia officer (brigadier general), postmaster, and state representative. By the late 1780s, Barbee had moved to Kentucky. He married twice and had one child out of wedlock. He is buried in Boyle County, Kentucky.⁶⁹⁸

Samuel Baskerville (1754-1830) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as an ensign, 2nd lieutenant, and 1st lieutenant in the 6th and 10th Virginia regiments. He also worked as a quartermaster. He moved from Virginia to Ohio in 1795. Baskerville worked as a farmer, judge, and county commissioner. He married twice and had ten children. He is buried in Madison County, Ohio.⁶⁹⁹

Andrew Bay (1755-1833) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as sergeant and sergeant major in North Carolina regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. In 1790, Bay moved to Sumner County, Tennessee. He married and had six children. He is buried in Wilson County, Tennessee.⁷⁰⁰

Reuben Beach (1757-1844) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as a private and a sergeant in the 2nd Connecticut regiment. Beach worked as a successful farmer, and involved himself in community activities, but no further information is known about his postwar occupations. He moved from Connecticut to Ohio in 1815. He married and had four children. He is buried in

⁶⁹⁷ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 629.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 23.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 20.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁶⁹⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 86.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 122; Patty Gschwender. "Memorial page for Gen Thomas Barbee (29 Nov 1752–22 Feb 1797), Find A Grave Memorial no. 36851975, citing Bellevue Cemetery, Danville, Boyle County, Kentucky, USA." Find A Grave, database and images, last modified 2009. ; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁶⁹⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 91.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 631.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 45.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 30.; Bryan, *History of Madison County Ohio*, 62.; Madison County, Ohio. 1828, "Abstract of Votes." State Archives Series 3691, GRVF33, folder 8, OHC. ; Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834."; William A. Taylor, and Aubrey Clarence Taylor, *Ohio Statesmen and Annals of Progress: From the Year 1788 to the Year 1900*, vol. 1, (Columbus, OH: Press of the Westbote, 1899), 63.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁰⁰ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 624.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"

Summit County, Ohio.⁷⁰¹

William Bierce (1753-1835) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as private and orderly sergeant in the Connecticut regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1816, Bierce had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Portage County, Ohio.⁷⁰²

Elijah Blackman (1740-1822) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as captain in the Connecticut regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1809, Blackman had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Portage County, Ohio.⁷⁰³

John Blackwell (1755-1831) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 3rd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1822, Blackwell had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Pickaway County, Ohio.⁷⁰⁴ (Some dispute)

Robert Bradford (1750-1823) served in the Continental Army (1775-1781) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant, captain, and major in the 2nd Massachusetts regiment. He served as a possible militia officer. By 1788, Bradford had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁰⁵

Alexander Breckinridge (1743-1813) served in the Continental Army as a 2nd lieutenant, 1st lieutenant, and a captain in Gist's Additional Continental regiment. Breckinridge worked as a land agent, business manager, and real estate investor. He moved from Virginia to Kentucky in 1783. He married and had five children. He is buried in Bourbon County, Kentucky.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰¹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 50.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 32.; Charles Cook Bronson, *History of Tallmadge and the Western Reserve*, vol. 1, ed. Tobi Battista (Tallmadge, OH: Tallmadge Historical Society, 1866), 73; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3.";

⁷⁰² Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 66.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 39.; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁰³ Heitman, *Register*, 105.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 630.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 72.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 41.; "Fold3."; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁰⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 105.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 72.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 42.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁰⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 116.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 631.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 86.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 48.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 370.; "Fold3."; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁰⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 115.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 105, 154, 155.; Breckinridge, "Partnership Ledgers."; Breckinridge, "Survey Fees."; John Jay. April 23, 1779, "Alexander Breckinridge Commission as Captain in Continental Army." Alexander Breckinridge, Mss C B, FHS. ; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75.; E. Polk Johnson, *A history of Kentucky and Kentuckians: the leaders and representative men in commerce, industry and*

Robert Breckinridge (1754-1833) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the 8th Virginia regiment. He served as a justice of the peace, commissioner, state representative, and speaker of the House for Kentucky (1792). By 1783, Breckinridge had moved to Kentucky. He never married. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁰⁷

Joseph Britton (1753-1842) served in the Continental Army (1777-1781) as ensign and 2nd lieutenant in Gist's Maryland regiment. He served as a justice of the peace. By 1790, Britton had moved to Tennessee. He married and had fifteen children. He is buried in Hawkins County, Tennessee.⁷⁰⁸

Benjamin Brown (1745-1821) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 8th Massachusetts regiment. He served in various township offices. By 1797, Brown had moved to Ohio. He married and had twelve children. He is buried in Athens County, Ohio.⁷⁰⁹

Israel Buker (1756-1848) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, corporal, sergeant, and sergeant major in the 13th New York regiment. He served as a teacher. After the war, Buker moved to Maine and by 1811, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had twenty-one children. He is buried in Muskingum County, Ohio.⁷¹⁰

Stephen Butler (1758-1839) served in the Continental Army (1778-1783) as private, corporal, and sergeant in the 3rd Connecticut regiment. He served as a Presbyterian deacon. After the war, Butler moved to New York and by 1820, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in

modern activities, (Chicago, IL: Lewis Pub. Co., 1912), 1456.; Brookes-Smith, *Master index, Virginia surveys and grants, 1774-1791*, 20.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁰⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 115.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Robert Breckinridge. January 15, 1820, "Justice of the Peace signed document." Bullitt Family Papers-Oxmoor Collection, Mss A B937c, FHS. ; James C Klotter, *The Breckinridges of Kentucky, 1760-1981*, (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 8.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁰⁸ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Washington County, "Washington County, Tn Minutes 1787-1798," 312, 317.; Washington County, Tennessee. 1939, "Records of Washington County Minutes of Court Pleas & Quarter Sessions 1802-1808." vol. 3, Historical Records Project, TSLA. , Index.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁰⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 124.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 100.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 54.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹⁰ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 630.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 112.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 58.; Norman Newell Hill, and Albert Adams Graham, *History of Coshocton County, Ohio: its past and present, 1740-1881. Containing a comprehensive history of Ohio; a complete history of Coshocton County. a history of its soldiers in the late war. biographies and histories of pioneer families, etc*, (Newark, OH: A.A. Graham & Co., 1881), 545.; Kelsey Ford. "Descendants of patriot gather for family reunion." (Longview, WA: The Daily News, last modified 2007. accessed April 8, 2019. https://tdn.com/business/local/descendants-of-patriot-gather-for-family-reunion/article_d2624be9-8d03-5ca0-a252-23b7bed2af28.html. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

Summit County, Ohio.⁷¹¹

Percival Butler (1760-1821) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 3rd, 2nd and 1st Pennsylvania regiments. He served as the Kentucky Adjutant General, a militia officer, and clerk of the county. By 1787, Butler had moved to Kentucky. He married and had six children. He is buried in Gallatin County, Kentucky.⁷¹²

James Cannon (1756-1828) served in the Continental Army (1777(?)-1779) as private and lieutenant in the 5th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a town founder (Sydney, OH) and tannery operator. By 1795, Cannon had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Shelby County, Ohio.⁷¹³

Benjamin Carpenter (1750-1827) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as ensign, 2nd, and 1st lieutenant in the 10th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a judge and a state representative. By 1808, Carpenter had moved to Ohio. He married and had three children. He is buried in Delaware County, Ohio.⁷¹⁴

Daniel Carter (1761-1844) served in the Continental Army (1778-1782?) as private and lieutenant in South Carolina regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. In 1812, Carter moved to Williamson County, Tennessee. He married and had fifteen children. He is buried in Maury County, Tennessee.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹¹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 630.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 121.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 62.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹² Heitman, *Register*, 137.; Andrew Jackson. November 21, 1805, "Andrew Jackson to Percival Butler." Presidential Papers Vault, FHS. ; Collins, and Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 120-21.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Helaine M. Larina, "Memorial page for Gen Percival "Pierce" Butler (4 Apr 1760–9 Sep 1821)." Find-a-grave, last modified 2006. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹³ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 133.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 67.; *History of Shelby County, County with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, (Philadelphia, PA: R. Sutton & County, 1883), 78, 160, 363.; Sherrie Casad-Lodge. "Cannon, Earl, Mellinger." *Traveling Through Time*. Shelby County Historical Society, last modified 1997. <https://www.shelbycountyhistory.org/schs/pioneers/1806cannearlme.htm>. ; A.B.C Hitchcock, *History of Shelby County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, (Chicago, IL: Richmond-Arnold Publishing Co., 1913), 21, 160, 170.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 362[?]; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 145.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 135.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 68.; James R. Lytle, *20th Century History of Delaware County, Ohio and Representative Citizens*, (Chicago, IL: Biographical Publishing Company, 1908), 100, 298, 378.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹⁵ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Louise Gillespie. Lynch, *Our Valiant Men: soldiers and patriots of the Revolutionary War who lived in Williamson County, Tennessee*, (Franklin, TN: L.G. Lynch, 1976), 29.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

Joseph Casky (1749-1847) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as a sergeant in the 3rd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1797, He had moved to Kentucky. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Christian County, Kentucky.⁷¹⁶

Jonathan Cass (1752-1830) served in the Continental Army (1775-1779?) as private, ensign, lieutenant, captain, and major in the New Hampshire regiment. He served as a Regular Army Officer and US Marshall. By 1809, Cass had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Muskingum County, Ohio.⁷¹⁷

William Chandley (1755-1827) served in the Continental Army (1778-1781) as an orderly sergeant in the 10th and 5th Virginia regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1799, Chandley had moved to Tennessee. He married twice and had thirteen children. He is buried in Greene County, Tennessee.⁷¹⁸

Constant Chapman (1761-1850) served in the Continental Army (1778?-1783) as private, sergeant, and sergeant major in the Connecticut regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1821, Chapman had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Portage County, Ohio.⁷¹⁹

William Chenoweth (1760-1838) served in the Continental Army as private and sergeant in a Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He may have been a blacksmith. By 1804/10, Chenoweth had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had fifteen children. He

⁷¹⁶ Charles Mayfield Meacham, *A history of Christian county, Kentucky, from oxcart to airplane*, (Nashville, TN: Printed by Marshall & Bruce Co., 1930), 46.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷¹⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 147.; Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio*, vol. 1, (Cincinnati, OH: C.J. Krebiel & CO, 1907), 344.; *History and Biographical Cyclopaedia of Butler county, Ohio: with illustrations and sketches of its representative men and pioneers*, vol. 1, (Cincinnati, OH: Western Biographical Pub. Co., 1882), 283.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 72.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 143.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3.";

⁷¹⁸ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Greene County, Tennessee. 1936, "Minutes of Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, 1820-1822." vol. 10, Historical Records Project, TSLA. , 58.; Greene County, Tennessee. 1937, "Minutes of Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, 1807-1809." vol. 4, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 217, 329.; Greene County, Tennessee. 1938, "Minutes of Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, 1812-1814." vol. 6, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 465-44-3-115, TSLA. , 196.; Greene County, Tennessee. "Tax book, 1809-1817." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 65-44-1468, TSLA. , 14, 44.; "Ancestry.com"

⁷¹⁹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 149.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 74.; *History of Portage County*, (Chicago, IL: Warner, Beers & Company, 1885), 606.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

is buried in Allen County, Ohio.⁷²⁰

William Christian (1749-1833) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as lieutenant and captain in the 10th and other Virginia regiments and militia forces. No further information known about his postwar occupations except he was a farmer. In 1831, Christian had moved to Ohio to be with children. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Ross County, Ohio.⁷²¹

Jonathan Cilley (1762-1807) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, an ensign, and 1st lieutenant in New Hampshire regiments. He served as a justice of the peace, militia officer, and judge. In 1804, Cilley moved to Ohio. He married and had 8 children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷²²

Edmund Clark (1762-1815) served in the Continental Army (1780-1783) as ensign and lieutenant in the 6th and 1st Virginia regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. Clark had moved to Kentucky by 1799(?). He married and no further information on children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷²³

Jonathan Clark (1750-1811) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as captain, major, and lieutenant colonel in the 8th Virginia regiment. He served as a magistrate, overseer of the poor, and militia officer. By 1802, Clark had moved to Kentucky. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷²⁴

Robert Clark (1761-1837) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as private and sergeant in the 13th and 1st Virginia regiments. By 1812, Clark had moved to Tennessee. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He married twice and had twenty-one children. He is buried in Tipton County, Tennessee.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 152.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 75.; Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 15.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²¹ Heitman, *Register*, 154[?]; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 604.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 155.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 76.; "Fold3.";

⁷²² Heitman, *Register*, 155.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 15.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 157.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 77.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²³ Heitman, *Register*, 156.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 242.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 79.; "Ancestry.com"

⁷²⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 157.; Jonathan Clark. "Diary, 1770-1811." Mss A C 593a, FHS. , 109, 129.; Jonathan Clark. "Papers, 1801-1812." Clark, Jonathan 1750- 1811, Papers, Mss. A C593d, FHS. ; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²⁵ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; *Tipton County History of Tennessee*, (Nashville, TN:

Samuel Cobb (1768-1835) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the 2nd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1820, Cobb had moved to Kentucky. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Madison County, Kentucky.⁷²⁶

Asa Coburn (1741-1789) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as lieutenant, captain, and major in the 1st Massachusetts regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1788, Coburn had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷²⁷

Samuel Cochran (1760-1842) served in the Continental Army (1777-1781) as private, corporal, and sergeant in the 14th Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1798, Cochran had moved to Kentucky and then Tennessee. He married and had fourteen children. He is buried in Sumner County, Tennessee.⁷²⁸

Simon Cochrun (1755-1845) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as private and sergeant in the 6th Virginia regiment. He served as a religious leader (Methodist preacher). By 1805, Cochrun had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Allen County, Ohio.⁷²⁹

Thomas Cook (1749-1831) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as lieutenant and captain in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. Cook had moved to Ohio prior to his death. He married and had eight (?) children. He is buried in Guernsey County, Ohio.⁷³⁰

Ezekiel Cooper (1745-1808) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as an

The Goodspeed Publishing Co, 1887), 2.; Tipton County, Tennessee. 1939, "Minute Book, 1823-1831." vol. A, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 15.; Tipton County, Tennessee. 1939, "Minute Book, 1931-1833." vol. B, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 5.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 162.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 79.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 162.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 164.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 80.

⁷²⁸ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Edythe Rucker Whitley, *Sumner County Tennessee: Abstracts of Will Books 1 and 2 (1788-1842)*, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc., 1978), 74.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷²⁹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 165.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 81.; William Rusler, and Historical Society. American, *A Standard History of Allen County, Ohio An Authentic Narrative of the Past, with Particular Attention to the Modern Era in the Commercial, Industrial, Educational, Civic and Social Development*, vol. 1, (Chicago, IL: American Historical Society, 1921), 42.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³⁰ Heitman, *Register*, 169.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 175.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 87.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

- ensign, 1st lieutenant, and captain in Massachusetts regiments. In 1788, Cooper served a leader for the first settlers in Marietta, Ohio and later moved to Warrentown, Ohio in 1807. He married and had two children. He is buried in Belmont County, Ohio.⁷³¹
- John Cooper (1757-1835) served in the Continental Army (1780-1782) as ensign in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. Cooper had moved to Ohio prior to his death. He married and had at least two children. He is buried in Brown County, Ohio.⁷³²
- John Cotton (1746-1831) served in the Continental Army (1775-1780) as an ensign, quartermaster, and lieutenant the 5th Massachusetts regiment and an artificer in under Colonel Benjamin Flowers. He was a farmer and merchant after the war. By 1819, Cotton had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Mahoning County, Ohio.⁷³³
- John Cowan (1748-1823) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780?) as a private (?) in the 14th Virginia regiment and a captain in the Illinois regiment. He served as a judge and collector of taxes. By 1782, Cowan had moved to Kentucky. He married and had six children. He is buried in Boyle County, Kentucky.⁷³⁴
- Benjamin Crabb (1753-1829) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as private and sergeant in the 4th and 10th North Carolina regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1818, Crabb moved to Wayne County, Tennessee. He married and had three children. He is buried in Wilson County, Tennessee.⁷³⁵
- Robert Craddock (1757-1837) served in the Continental Army (1777?-1781?) as sergeant, 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the 4th Virginia regiment. He served as a militia officer (captain) and was a businessman, civic leader, and farmer. By

⁷³¹ Heitman, *Register*, 170.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 87.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 181.; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 8.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³² Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 182.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 87.; *Year Book of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of Illinois*, ed. Frederick Dickson (Chicago, IL: 1913), 109.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; *The History of Brown County, Ohio*, (Chicago, IL: W.H. Beers & Co, 1883), 502.

⁷³³ Heitman, *Register*, 172.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 634.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 185.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 89.; *History of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, vol. II, (Cleveland, OH: H.Z. Williams & Bros, 1882), 88, 129, 132.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³⁴ Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 4, 58.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³⁵ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 584.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

1791, Craddock had moved to Kentucky. He never married. He is buried in Warren County, Kentucky.⁷³⁶

Thomas Craig (1752-1832) served in the Continental Army (1776-1784) as private and sergeant in the Rawlings regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1818, Craig had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had nine children. He is buried in Vinton County, Ohio.⁷³⁷

Anthony Crockett (1756-1838) served in the Continental Army (1778-1778) as a private in the 7th Virginia regiment and a 1st lieutenant in the Illinois regiment. He served as a state representative and militia officer (colonel). By 1782, Crockett had moved to Kentucky. He married and had three sons. He is buried in Franklin County, Kentucky.⁷³⁸

Joseph Crockett (1742-1829) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as lieutenant, captain, and lieutenant colonel in the 7th Virginia regiment and lieutenant colonel in the Illinois regiment. He served as a state representative and senator, magistrate, judge, and US Marshal. By 1784, Crockett had moved to Kentucky. He married and had six children. He is buried in Jessamine County, Kentucky.⁷³⁹

⁷³⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 174.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 79, 235, 255.; Thomas Crittenden Cherry. "Filson Club. Lectures, 1887-1992 "Robert Craddock and Peter Tardiveau"." Cherry, T.C. (Thomas Crittenden), Mss BI F489b, FHS. ; Tim Talbott. "Willis Russell House." *ExploreKYHistory*. last modified n.d. <http://explorekyhistory.ky.gov/items/show/166>. ; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 40, 102, 180.; Karen Mauer Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, 1985), 36, 109.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³⁷ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 633.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 192.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 92.; Jackson County, Ohio, Genealogical Society, *Jackson County, Ohio: History and Families, 175th Anniversary, 1816-1991*, (Paducah, KY: Turner Pub. Co., 1991), 29.; Louise Ogan Biggs, *A Brief History of Vinton County*, (Columbus, OH: The Heer Printing, 1950), 117.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷³⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 178.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 147, 255.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; W. W. Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee with illustrations and biographical sketches of its prominent men and pioneers.*, (1971), (Philadelphia, PA: J.W. Lewis & Co., 1880), 454.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 57, 182, 238, 269.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 52, 276.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3.";

⁷³⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 178.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 74, 88, 255.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Joseph Crockett. "To Thomas Jefferson from Joseph Crockett, 1 November 1825." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 8, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5631>. [Original Source: Jefferson, Thomas. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.] ; Bennett H. Young. "Joseph Crockett." Jessamine County KyArchives Biographies. last modified August 4, 2007. accessed April 8, 2019. <http://files.usgwarchives.net/ky/jessamine/bios/crockett379gbs.txt>. ; John E. Kleber, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1992), 242.; The Political Club of

William Croghan (1752-1822) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as captain and major in the 8th Virginia regiment. He served as a commissioner, state representative, trustee for Louisville, militia officer (major), town founder (Shelbyville, KY), and was a successful businessman. By 1785, Croghan had moved to Kentucky. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁴⁰

John Crozier (1751-1823) served in the Continental Army (1775-1780) as private, corporal, sergeant, ensign, and 2nd lieutenant in the 1st artillery regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1816, Crozier had moved to Ohio. He married three times and had thirteen children. He is buried in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.⁷⁴¹

Eleazer Curtis (1759-1801) served in the Continental Army (1775-1778) as private and sergeant in the 7th Connecticut regiment. Militia officer (captain) after the war. By 1791, Curtis had moved to Ohio. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁴²

Nathaniel Cushing (1753-1814) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as 1st lieutenant, captain, Brigade IG, and major in the 1st Massachusetts regiment. He served as a militia officer (colonel) and operated a ferry. By

Danville, Kentucky. 1788, "Committee Members." The Political Club, Danville, Kentucky. Records, 1786-1790, Mss BE P769, FHS. ; The Political Club of Danville, Kentucky. 1790, "Kentucky Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge. Ballots, 1787-1788." The Political Club, Danville, Kentucky Records, 1786-1790, Mss BE P769, FHS. ; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3.";

⁷⁴⁰ Heitman, *Register*, 178.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75.; *History of the Ohio falls cities and their counties, with illustrations and bibliographical sketches.*, (Cleveland, OH: L.A. Williams & Co., 1882), 597.; Kleber, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, 242.; Benjamin Logan. n.d., "Pioneer Days in Shelby County." Bullitt Family Papers-Oxmoor Collection 1683-2003, Mss A B937c 518, FHS. , 18.; William Croghan. August 31, 1815, "William Croghan to John Fallon, Aide De Camp to General Harrison." Croghan (William) family papers, Mss A C941, FHS. ; William Croghan. "Journal, November 28, 1779—April 10, 1781." Papers, Mss. A C941, FHS. ; James R. Bentley, *Early Kentucky settlers: The records of Jefferson County, Kentucky, from the Filson Club history quarterly*, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1988), 223, 429.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁷⁴¹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 633.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 204.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 98.; William Heath. "To George Washington, May 29, 1779." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 9, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-20-02-0620>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 20, 8 April–31 May 1779, ed. Edward G. Lengel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010, pp. 678–680]; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴² William C. Rowe. "Deodatus Curtis of Braintree, Rhode Island." Curtis, American Colonial Origins. last modified 2015. accessed April 13, 2019. <http://www.amcolan.info/curtis/index>. [Original Source: Laura Guthrie (Curtis) Preston, *The Curtis Family*, printed privately, 1945]; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 210.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 99.; C. E. Dickinson, and Samuel P. Hildreth, *A History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio*, (Parkersburg, W. Va.: Pub. for the author by Globe Print. & Binding Co., 1920), 80.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

1788, Cushing had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁴³

David Daniel(s) (1759-1842) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as private and sergeant in the 5th Connecticut regiment. By 1799, Daniel had moved to Ohio. He served as the first justice of the peace, trustee, and commissioner. He married and had six children. He is buried in Portage County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁴

Joshua Davidson (1754-1844) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as a sergeant and ensign in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. He was a mill owner. In 1790, Brown moved to Kentucky and by 1807, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Brown County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁵

James DeCamp (1735-1827) served in the Continental Army (1778-1782) as sergeant, ensign, and 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd and 3rd New Jersey regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1812, DeCamp had moved to Ohio. He married and had two children. He is buried in Clermont County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁶

Abner Dunn (1755-1795) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as an ensign, 2nd, and 1st lieutenant in the 9th and 5th Pennsylvania regiments. He served as a postmaster and was a businessman and prosecuting attorney. Dunn first moved to Kentucky, and by 1792, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴³ Heitman, *Register*, 182.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 212.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 100.; Dickinson, and Hildreth, *A History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio*, 64, 180.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 340.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁴ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 217.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 101.; *History of Portage County*, 138, 232, 251, , 419, 503.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁵ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 220.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 103.; Carl N. Thompson, *Historical collections of Brown County, Ohio*, (Piqua, Ohio: Printed by Hammer Graphics, 1969), 96.; Ailee M. Whitt, *Clermont County, Ohio Revolutionary War Veterans*, vol. 2, (New Richmond, OH: 1990), 171.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁶ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 234.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 109.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 207.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 264.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 121.; Abner M. Dunn. "To Philip Audebert requesting status of the accounts of Captain Alexander Breckenridge September 15, 1787." Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800, last modified May 15, 2018. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=2623%20Alexander%20Breckenridge%201787>. ; Anthony J. Christensen, *A branch of the Piscataway Dunn family : a few members of the Dunn family whose branches spread from Piscataqua, New Hampshire, to Piscataway, New Jersey, to Southwestern Pennsylvania, to Harrison County, Kentucky, and to points West*, (Salem, UT: Mac Anthony Corp., 1998), 2, 21.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 32, 36.; "Captain Abner Martin Dunn." Pennsylvania Revolutionary War Veterans. last modified June 7,

Jacob Duval (1748-1806) served in the Continental Army as ensign in the Captain McGill's company, Maryland regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1806, Duval had moved to Ohio. He married and had children. He is buried in Morgan County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁸

Samuel Eldred (1744-1825) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as sergeant, ensign and 1st lieutenant in the 4th and 2nd Massachusetts regiment. He worked as a shipwright after the war and raised sheep in Ohio. By 1813, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Lorain County, Ohio.⁷⁴⁹

Richard Eppes (1756-1829) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as private and orderly sergeant in the 14th and 1st Virginia regiments. He served as a constable. By 1812, Eppes had moved to Tennessee. He married and had four children. He is buried in Dickson County, Tennessee.⁷⁵⁰

John Farnum (1761-1834) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private and corporal in the 2nd Connecticut regiment. He served as a supervisor of roads and was a mill owner. By 1811, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Summit County, Ohio.⁷⁵¹

William Faulkner (1756-1835) served in the Continental Army (1778-1781) as a private, non-commissioned officer in the 4th Pennsylvania regiment. He was a tavern keeper, merchant, militia officer, and regular army officer (captain). He moved to Ohio from Pennsylvania. He married twice and had seven children. He is buried in Adams County, Ohio.⁷⁵²

2012. accessed April 9, 2019. [https://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Abner_Dunn_\(9\)](https://www.werelate.org/wiki/Person:Abner_Dunn_(9)). ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁸ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 261.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 122.; "Fold3."

⁷⁴⁹ Lawrence Chandler Daniels, *The Samuel Eldred family of Massachusetts and Ohio: a genealogical history of the ancestry and descendants of Samuel Eldred (1744-1825) of Rochester, Hawley, and Plainfield, Mass. and later Geauga and Lorain counties, Ohio: a soldier and officer of the Revolutionary War*, (Buenos Aires, Argentina: L.C. Daniels, 1978), 8.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 636.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 276.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 125.; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁰ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 625.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Carol Wells, *Pioneers of Dickson County Tennessee: A Genealogical Abstract of the Earliest Minute Books March 1804-January 1807, January 1812-January 1814, July 1816-January 1818*, (Nacogdoches, TX: Ericson Books, 1988), 142, 159.; Dickson County, Tennessee. 1936, "Records of Dickson County Minute Book 1810-1815." vol. 2, Historical Record Project, Official Project No. 65-44-1445, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 58.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵¹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 286.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 87.; "Early Ritchfield History." last modified 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://www.richfieldohiohistoricalsociety.org/richfield-history.html>. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵² Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 637.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 297.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 134.; Nelson W. Evans, and Emmons B. Stivers, *A History of Adams County, Ohio from its earliest*

William Ferguson (1755-1791) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, captain-lieutenant, and captain in the 4th Artillery regiment. He served in the regular army as a major and died at St. Clair's Defeat. He married. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷⁵³

Joseph Finley (1753-1839) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as lieutenant, captain and major in the 13th and 8th Pennsylvania regiments. He was severely wounded in the war. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1819, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Adams County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁴

Joseph Fuller (1758-1846) served in the Continental Army (1777-1782) as private, corporal, and sergeant in the 4th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a religious leader (deacon). By 1818, he had moved from Vermont to Ohio. He married twice and had ten children. He is buried in Lake County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁵

Gu[e]rdon Geer (1756-1828) served in the Continental Army (1777-1782) as private and sergeant in the regiment. He served as a militia officer (captain) in the War of 1812 and was a partner in the first county newspaper. By 1812, Geer had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Summit County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁶

William Goforth (1731-1807) served in the Continental Army (1775-1779) as captain, major and lieutenant colonel in the 5th New York regiment. He served as a judge, attorney, commissioner, constitutional convention attendee, religious leader in the Baptist church, town founder (Columbia, OH) and

Settlement to the present time, (West Union, OH: E.B. Stivers, 1900), 125, 338, 387.;
"Revolutionary War Soldiers." Adams County, Ohio, Genealogy Trails History Group. last modified 2018. accessed April 9, 2019.

<http://genealogytrails.com/ohio/adams/revwarsoldiers.html>. [Original Source: "A General History of Adams County." by Nelson W. Evans and Emmons B. Stivers; pub. 1900; Transcribed by J. Rice]; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵³ Heitman, *Register*, 225.; Joseph Howell. "Letter to William Ferguson regarding Ferguson's Certificate of Pay, March 25, 1786." *Papers of the War Department, 1784-8000*. last modified 2018. <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=1379>. ; Henry Knox. "Letter to Mrs. Ferguson regarding her entitlements, January 3, 1793." Pierpont Morgan Library: Henry Knox Papers, Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800. last modified 2018. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/docimage.php?id=7861&docCollID=8531>. ; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 304.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 137.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 226.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 637.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 308.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 139.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁵ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 637.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 338.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 149.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁶ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 353.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 155.; Charles Cook Bronson, *History of Tallmadge and the Western Reserve*, vol. 5, ed. Tobi. Battista (Tallmadge, OH: Tallmadge Historical Society, 1866), 59.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

federal official (Receiver of Public Moneys). By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁷

Nathan Goodale (1743-1793) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant, captain, and major in the 5th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a militia officer (major) and was a bricklayer and farmer. By 1790, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had ten children. He died in the Indian wars. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁸

James Graham (1756-1834) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as private, sergeant, commissary officer, and captain in the 9th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a justice of the peace. By 1812, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Meigs County, Ohio.⁷⁵⁹

George Gray (1745-1822) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as ensign, lieutenant, and captain in the 3rd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1782, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had twelve children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁶⁰

William Gray (1761-1812) served in the Continental Army (1778-1783) as private, 2nd lieutenant and captain in the Massachusetts regiment. He served as a

⁷⁵⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 251.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 365.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 159.; James Findlay, William Goforth, and John Reily. "Information: Whereas Pursuant to a Law of the United States, Entitled "An Act Giving a Right of Pre-emption to Certain Persons Who Have Contracted With John Cleves Symmes, or His Associates, for Lands Lying between the Miami Rivers, in the Territory of the United States North-west of the Ohio". William Goforth and John Reily, With the Receiver of Public Monies, Have Been Appointed Commissioners to Adjust the Claims, 1801." (Cincinnati, OH: last modified n.d. <https://library.villanova.edu/Find/Record/953221/Details>. ; Taylor, and Taylor, *Ohio Statesmen and Annals of Progress: From the Year 1788 to the Year 1900*, 22, 42.; "William Goforth." last modified n.d. <https://www.revolvvy.com/page/William-Goforth>. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 251.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 367.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, #.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 358.; Inhabitants of Belpre. "To George Washington from the Inhabitants of Belpre, 14 March 1793." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 9, 2019. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-12-02-0244>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, vol. 12, 16 January 1793–31 May 1793, ed. Christine Sternberg Patrick and John C. Pinheiro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005, pp. 316–318.] ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁵⁹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 370.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 161.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁶⁰ Heitman, *Register*, 257.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 606.; R.C. Ballard Thruston Chapter, "Captain George Gray dedication of burial site Papers, 1960-1961."; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 76.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 17.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 167, 168.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

militia officer, town founder, and farmer. By 1791, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁶¹

Jeremiah Greenman (1758-1828) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as a private, sergeant, first sergeant, ensign, and lieutenant in the 1st and 2nd Rhode Island Regiments. Greenman worked as a merchant, ship captain, and farmer. He moved from Connecticut to Ohio in 1806. He served as the justice of the peace from 1812-1816. He married in 1784 and had two sons and a daughter.⁷⁶²

John Guthrie (1735-1791) served in the Continental Army (1778-1781) as lieutenant, captain, and adjutant regiment. He married and had five children. He was killed at St. Clair's defeat and is buried in Mahoning County, Ohio.⁷⁶³

Joshua Hadley (1753-1830) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as an ensign, 1st lieutenant, and captain in the 6th and 1st North Carolina regiments. He served as a state representative, regular Army Officer, overseer of road, and land investor. In 1799, Hadley moved to Tennessee. He married twice and had 9 children. He is buried in Sumner County, Tennessee.⁷⁶⁴

Clement Hall (1747-1824) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as 1st lieutenant, captain, and major in the 2nd North Carolina regiment. He served as a state representative and militia officer. By 1818, Hall had moved to west Tennessee. He never married nor had children. He is buried in Davidson County, Tennessee.⁷⁶⁵

⁷⁶¹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 345.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 163.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 399.; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 10.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁶² Greenman, *Diary*; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 638.; Heitman, *Register*, 261.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 379.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 164.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁶³ Heitman, *Register*, 265.; "Find A Grave." last modified 2018. <https://www.findagrave.com>.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 353.

⁷⁶⁴ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Whitley, *Sumner County Tennessee: Abstracts of Will Books 1 and 2 (1788-1842)*, 1.; Lynch, *Our Valiant Men*, 76.; Alma Lackey Wilson, *Veterans of the American Revolutionary War of Sumner County, Tennessee*, (S.I.: A.L. Wilson, 1962), 22.; Shirley Wilson, *Sumner County, Tennessee bond book, 1787-1835*, (Hendersonville, TN: S. Wilson, 1994), 5, 6.; Sumner County, Tennessee. 1936, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1787-1790." vol. I, Historical Records Project, Official Project No 65-44-1499, TSLA. , 28.; Sumner County, Tennessee. 1936b, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1796-1802." vol. III, Historical Records Project, Official Project No 65-44-1499, TSLA. , 322.; Sumner County, Tennessee. 1936, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1801-1804." vol. IV, Historical Records Project, Official Project No 65-44-1499, TSLA. , 23.; "Fold3."

⁷⁶⁵ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 625.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Clement Hall. "To George Washington from Clement Hall, January 15, 1790." Founders Online. last modified January 18, 2019. accessed April 8, 2019. <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-04-02-0388>. [Original Source: The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, vol. 4, 8 September 1789–15 January 1790,

John Hardin (1753-1792) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as 1st lieutenant in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a justice of the peace and militia officer. By 1786, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had six children. He is buried in Shelby County, Kentucky.⁷⁶⁶

John Peyton Harrison (1754-1821) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as ensign, 2nd and 1st lieutenant and Captain-lieutenant in the 13th, 9th, and 7th Virginia regiment. He served as a militia officer (major). By 1790, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had five children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁶⁷

William P. Harrison (1749-1833) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as ensign, 2nd lieutenant, 1st lieutenant, and a captain in the 7th North Carolina regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1815, Harrison had moved to Tennessee. He married and had eleven children. He is buried in Rutherford/Bedford County, Tennessee.⁷⁶⁸

Jonathan Haskell (1755-1814) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as ensign, lieutenant, and adjutant in the 14th and 2nd Massachusetts regiment. He served as a major in the Regular Army and commissioner. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He helped start a masonic lodge at his home. He married and had four children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁶⁹

ed. Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, pp. 584–585.]] ; J.D. Lewis. "Capt. Clement Hall." *The American Revolution in North Carolina*. last modified 2012. accessed April 9, 2019.

http://www.carolana.com/NC/Revolution/patriots_nc_capt_clement_hall.html. ; Carol Wells, *Davidson County, Tennessee county court minutes, 1799-1803*, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books Inc, 1991), 206.; Lynch, *Our Valiant Men*, 77, 195.; Williamson County, "County Minutes, 1800-1812," 83.; Marjorie Hood Fischer, *Tennesseans before 1800 Davidson County*, (Galveston, TX: Frontier Press, 1997), 148.; Edythe Rucker Whitley, *Pioneers of Davidson County, Tennessee*, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub. Co, 1979), 49.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁶⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 273.; William Logan Fenley. October 9, 1940, "Biographical Sketches of Col. John Hardin." Fenley Family Papers, 1883 – 1946, Mss C F Oversize, FHS. ; Kleber, *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*, 403; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 245.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁶⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 276.; John Harrison. June 20, 1808, "John Harrison vs Robert Breckinridge." Robert Emmett McDowell Collection, 1774 – 1869, Mss A M138a, FHS. ; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 76, 80.; Bentley, *Early Kentucky settlers*, 281, 388, 389, 402.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 23.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 15.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁷⁶⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 277.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 621. Listed as private from Maryland; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3." Paperwork for North Carolina line lieutenant in West Tennessee.

⁷⁶⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 279.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 416.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 177.; Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809," 38. [May 17, 1799]; Dickinson, and Hildreth, *A History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio*, 67, 190, 191.; Hildreth,

Robert Hays (1758-1819) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as ensign, 2nd lieutenant, and 1st lieutenant in the 4th and 1st North Carolina regiments. He served as a militia officer (Colonel), justice of the peace, and businessman. By 1782, Hays moved to Tennessee. He married and had twelve children. He is buried in Davidson County, Tennessee.⁷⁷⁰

William Higginbotham (1755-1842) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as private, sergeant, and lieutenant in 2nd and 5th Virginia regiments. He served as a justice of the peace, and militia officer. After the war, Higginbotham moved from Virginia to Kentucky, Georgia, and then to Tennessee. He married and had five children. He is buried in Perry County, Tennessee.⁷⁷¹

Elisha Hinsdale (1761-1827) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as private and sergeant in Connecticut regiments. He served as a justice of the peace, commissioner, militia officer (captain), and state politician. He worked as jeweler and blacksmith. In 1816, Hinsdale moved to Ohio. He married and had six children.⁷⁷²

Isaac Hite (1753-1794) served in the Continental Army (1780-1783) as an ensign and lieutenant in the 8th Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1788, he had moved to Kentucky. He

Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio, 345.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁷⁰ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Wells, *Davidson County, Tennessee county court minutes, 1799-1803*, 42, 58.; Fischer, *Tennesseans before 1800 Davidson County*, 165-66.; Davidson County, Tennessee. 1938, "Records of Davidson County Minutes of the Superior Court of North Carolina including Mero District 1788-1803." vol. I, 1788-1798, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 465-44-44-3-115, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 64.; Whitley, *Pioneers of Davidson County, TN*, 50.; Carol Wells, *Davidson County, Tennessee county court minutes, 1783-1792*, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books Inc, 1990), 21, 90, 167, 179, 184, 219.

⁷⁷¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Edward E. Van Schaick, *Some Georgia county records: being some of the legal records of Effingham, Morgan, and Warren Counties*, (Greenville, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1997), 98, 112.; Frank Parker. Hudson, *A 1790 census for Wilkes County, Georgia: prepared from tax returns: with abstracts of the 1790 tax returns*, (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Co., 1988), 13.; Daughters of the American Revolution, State Society. Georgia, and Cook Peel Memorial Committee. Lucy, *Elbert County, Georgia records. Deed books "A", "B", "C", & "D"*, Historical collections of the Georgia chapters, Daughters of the American revolution, vol. III, (Atlanta, Ga.: C.P. Byrd, State printer, 1926), Book A, 166.; Georgia State Society, and Daughters of the American Revolution, *Elbert County Land court records, 1791-1822*, Historical collections of the Georgia chapters, Daughters of the American Revolution, vol. III, (Atlanta, GA: C.P. Byrd, State printer, 1926), 214, 215.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁷² Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 639.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 187.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 440.; Herbert Cornelius Andrews, Sanford Charles Hinsdale, and Alfred L. Holman, *Hinsdale genealogy: descendants of Robert Hinsdale of Dedham, Merfield, Hadley, and Deerfield, with an account of the French family of De Hinnisdal*, (Boston, MA: New England Historic and Genealogical Society, 1998), 114, 317. NOT SURE on sergeant —listed as CPT but probably in militia.

married and had five (?) children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁷³

Joseph Hite (1757-1831) served in the Continental Army (1779-1780) as cadet and ensign in the 8th Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to Kentucky prior to his death. He married and had seven (?) children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁷⁷⁴

Samuel Hogg (1756-1832) served in the Continental Army (1776-1782) as ensign, 2nd lieutenant, and captain in the 1st Virginia regiment. He was a commissioner and merchant after being injured in the war. By 1818, Hogg had moved to Tennessee. He married and had two children. He is buried in Smith County, Tennessee.⁷⁷⁵

John Hosbrook (1760-1798) served in the Continental Army as sergeant in the 1st New Jersey regiment. He possibly served as a surveyor and was a farmer. By 1794, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had three children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷⁷⁶

Josiah Hoskinson (1759-1836) served in the Continental Army (1778-1779) as sergeant major and adjutant in the Colonel Rawlings regiment. He served as a religious leader (Reverend) and worked as a farmer. By 1811, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had five children. He is buried in Scioto County, Ohio.⁷⁷⁷

John How(e) (1754-1830) served in the Continental Army (1776-1776) as private

⁷⁷³ Heitman, *Register*, 292.wrong date of death; Isaac Hite. April 26, 1783, "Isaac Hite to Abraham Hite." Clark-Hite-Shiell Papers, Mss C H, FHS. ; Isaac Hite. February 8, 1795, "Isaac Hite Will." Clark-Hite-Shiell Papers, Mss C H, FHS. ; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 10.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 80.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁷⁷⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 292.; Hite, "Isaac Hite to Abraham Hite."; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 80.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁷⁷⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 294.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 626.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Whitley, *Pioneers of Davidson County, TN*, 50.; *History of Tennessee: From the Earliest Time to the Present; Together with an Historical and a Biographical Sketch of Maury, Williamson, Rutherford, Wilson, Bedford, and Marshall Counties; Besides a Valuable Fund of Notes, Reminiscences, Observations*, (Nashville, TN: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1886), 853.; "Fold3."

⁷⁷⁶ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 453.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 192.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁷⁷ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 640.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 453.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 192.; Nelson W Evans, *A History of Scioto County, Ohio*, (Portsmouth, OH: N.W. Evans, 1903), 208, 672; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3.";

- and sergeant in Rawlings regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1790, Howe had moved to Kentucky. He married and had thirteen children. He is buried in Hardin County, Kentucky.⁷⁷⁸
- Andrew Hynes (1750-1800) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as captain in the 6th Maryland regiment. He served as a trustee for the city of Louisville, Kentucky and militia officer (Colonel). By 1783, Hynes had moved to Kentucky. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Nelson County, Kentucky.⁷⁷⁹
- Samuel Jackson (1755-1836) served in the Continental Army (1778-1780) as a lieutenant in the 1st Georgia regiment. He was an overseer of roads and merchant after being wounded in the war. By 1803, Jackson had moved to Tennessee. He married and had fourteen children. He is buried in Washington County, Tennessee.⁷⁸⁰
- Benjamin Johnson (1758?-1825?) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as private, corporal, and sergeant in the Connecticut regiment. He served as the first justice of the peace. By 1802, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice(?) and had eleven(?) children. He is buried in Geauga or Harrison County, Ohio.⁷⁸¹
- John Jones (1764-1821) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant, and captain in the 7th and 4th Maryland regiments. He served as a militia officer (captain), a first justice of the peace, trustee, and s state representative. By 1790, he had moved to Kentucky and to Ohio in 1795. He married and had three children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁸ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 607.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 159, 262.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Fold3.com

⁷⁷⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 291.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; William Pope, *et al.* June 4, 1783, "Board of Trustees, Louisville, Kentucky to William Christy and James Macauley – Indentures." Durrett, Reuben T. Collection. Louisville, Kentucky Board of Trustees Records, box 1, folder 1, UCL. ; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 149.; "Fold3."

⁷⁸⁰ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Washington County, Tennessee, "Washington County, TN Minutes 1809-1817," Index.; Washington County, Tennessee. 1938, "Superior Court Minutes, 1804-1815." vol. 3, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 465-44-115, TSLA. , 154.; Washington County, Tennessee, "Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions of Washington County 1829-1831," Index.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸¹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 640.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 483.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 203.; Historical Society of Geauga County, Ohio, *Pioneer and General History of Geauga County, with Sketches of Some of the Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 1880), 441, 469, 468.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸² Heitman, *Register*, 324.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 430.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 205.; *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio: their past and present, including. biographies and portraits of pioneers*

Solomon Jones (1753-1822) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as ensign in the 6th Massachusetts regiment. He left as a supernumerary. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1818, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Delaware County, Ohio.⁷⁸³

Charles Kelly (1748-1834) served in the Continental Army (1777-1781) as private and sergeant in 10th and 1st North Carolina regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1793, Kelly moved to Tennessee. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Tennessee.⁷⁸⁴

Zebulon King (1750-1789) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as lieutenant and captain lieutenant in the 7th, 12th and 14th Massachusetts regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁷⁸⁵

Robert Kirkwood (1756-1791) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as 1st lieutenant, captain, and brevet major in the Delaware regiment. He served as a justice of the peace and Regular Army officer who was killed at St. Clair's defeat in 1791. In 1787, Kirkwood moved to Ohio territory. He married and had two children.⁷⁸⁶

Nathan Lamme (1745-1834) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant, and captain in the 10th, 6th and 3rd Virginia regiments. He served as a sheriff. After the war he moved to Kentucky, and by 1797, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had three children. He is buried in Greene County, Ohio.⁷⁸⁷

and representative citizens, etc.: illustrated., (Cincinnati, OH: S.B. Nelson & Co., 1894), 247, 387, 388, 608.; Henry A. Ford, and Kate B. Ford, *History of Hamilton County, Ohio, with Illustrations and biographical sketches*, (Cleveland, OH: L.A. Williams, 1881), 238, 273.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸³ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 640.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 489.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 205.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸⁴ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 621.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Tennessee Jefferson County. "Circuit Court Minutes, 1817-1831." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6502, TSLA. , 67.; "Ancestry.com"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements";

⁷⁸⁵ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 514.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 214.; Dickinson, and Hildreth, *A History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio*, 10, 70, 189.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 334.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 517.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 215.; Kirkwood, *Delaware Regiment Orderly Book*, 5.

⁷⁸⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 339.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 528.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 219.; Greene County, Ohio, and Paul, "Greene County Journal, 1804-1807," 15.; George F. Robinson, *History of Greene*

Elias Langham (1757-1830) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, corporal, sergeant, and 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd artillery regiment. He served as a militia officer (colonel), examiner of surveyors, jury foreman, and tavern owner. By 1800, Langham had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Madison County, Ohio.⁷⁸⁸

James Larkins (1749-1828) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as sergeant in the 4th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1820, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Harrison County, Ohio.⁷⁸⁹

Valentine Leach (1755-1831) served in the Continental Army (1781) as sergeant in the Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1821, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Pickaway County, Ohio.⁷⁹⁰

Joseph Lemaster (1748-1826) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as private and orderly sergeant in 9th and 13th Virginia regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1794, Lemaster had moved to Maury County, Tennessee. He married twice and had eight children. He is buried in Williamson County, Tennessee.⁷⁹¹

Thomas Lewis (1749-1809) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as 1st and 2nd lieutenant in the 15th and 11th Virginia regiments. He served as Regular Army officer from 1792-1801 and possible militia officer. By 1785, Lewis had moved to Kentucky. He married and had fourteen children. He is buried in Fayette County, Kentucky.⁷⁹²

County, Ohio; embracing the organization of the county, its division into townships, sketches of local interest gleaned from the pioneers from 1803 to 1840, together with a roster of the soldiers of the Revolution and the War of 1812, who were residing in the county, also, a roster of ten thousand of the early settlers from 1803 to 1840, (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1902), 21, 41, 48, 68, 76.; "Fold3". Incorrectly cited in records as 13th Pennsylvania regiment. "Ancestry.com";

⁷⁸⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 340.; Madison County, Ohio, and Courts, "Court of Common Pleas Civil Journal, 1810-1817, 1834," 2, 3, 5.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 641.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 221.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 533.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁸⁹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 642.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 534.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 221.; H.J. Eckley, and William T. Perry, *History of Carroll and Harrison Counties, Ohio*, vol. 1, (Chicago, IL: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1921), 295.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 537.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 222.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Williamson County, Tennessee. 1827, "Joseph Lemaster Will." vol. 4, Sales, Page 185, WCTNA. ; Lynch, *Our Valiant Men*, 101.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹² Heitman, *Register*, 350.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 275, 78.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Julia Spencer

Andrew Lilburn (1755-1839) served in the Continental Army (1775-1778) as private and sergeant in 12th Virginia regiment. He was illiterate and may have not been able to re-enlist as a sergeant. While not a community leader, he served on numerous juries through the years. By 1795, Lilburn moved to Washington County, Tennessee. He married and had four children. He is buried in Washington County, Tennessee.⁷⁹³

William Lindsay (1757-1838) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as cornet, lieutenant and captain in the Lee's Legion. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Clermont County, Ohio.⁷⁹⁴

Daniel Loring (1740-1825) served in the Continental Army (1776-?) as private and sergeant in Massachusetts regiments. He served as a justice of the peace. He worked as a farmer, secretary of local Free Masons chapter, and Universalist priest. During "the early period of settlement," Loring moved from Massachusetts to Ohio. He married and had eight children.⁷⁹⁵

William Lytle (1755-1829) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as an ensign, lieutenant, and captain in the 9th, 1st, and 4th North Carolina regiments. He served as a town founder (Murfreesboro, TN), election judge, justice of the peace, and a school academy trustee, and operated a mill and cotton gin. In 1798, Lytle moved to Tennessee. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Rutherford County, Tennessee.⁷⁹⁶

Arbery, Kentucky Records: Early wills and marriages copied from court house records by regents, historians and the State historian., vol. I, (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Pub. Co., 1965), 37.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹³ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Washington County, Tennessee, "Washington County, Tn Minutes 1802-1808," Index.; Washington County, Tennessee, "Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions of Washington County 1829-1831," 80.; Tennessee Williamson County. "Minute Book 1800-1812." vol. 1, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 293.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁹⁴ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 550.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 227.; Whitt, *Clermont County, Ohio Revolutionary War Veterans*, 171.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁷⁹⁵ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 560.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 230.; Dickinson, and Hildreth, *A History of Belpre, Washington County, Ohio*, 190, 202, 222.; Daniel Loring. July 9, 1792, "Receipt for proportional dividend of the Ohio Company's residuary funds." Manuscripts and Documents of the Ohio Company of Associates, Mss 001 Series 1 Box 5, Marietta College Special Collections, Marietta College Library. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹⁶ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Spence, *The Annals of Rutherford County*, 64-64, 110.; Pittard, *Rutherford County*, 28.; Rutherford County, Tennessee. 1937, "Records of Rutherford County, Tennessee Minutes 1804-1807." vol. A, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 88.; Rutherford County, Tennessee, "Records of Rutherford County, Tennessee Minutes 1807-1808," 4.; Rutherford County, Tennessee. 1937,

John Mahon (Mahan) (1755-1830) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as Ensign and 2nd lieutenant in Hartley's Continental regiment and 11th, 6th, and 2nd Pennsylvania regiments. He served as a possible militia officer. By 1786, Mahon had moved to Kentucky. He married and had fourteen children. He is buried in Boyle County, Kentucky.⁷⁹⁷

Dixon Marshall (1753-1824) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as an ensign, 2nd lieutenant, and 1st lieutenant in the 1st North Carolina regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1820, Marshall had moved to Tennessee. He married and had an unknown number of children. He is buried in Smith County, Tennessee.⁷⁹⁸

James McDaniel (1755-1847) served in the Continental Army (1778-1783) as private and sergeant in the Virginia regiment. He served as a justice of the peace and taught school. By 1792, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had seven (?) children. He is buried in Jackson County, Ohio.⁷⁹⁹

John McMurtry (1752-1841) served in the Continental Army (1775-1780) as private, sergeant, sergeant major, and ensign in the 1st Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a justice of the peace, coroner, civic leader, and religious leader. In 1785, McMurtry moved to Tennessee. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Sumner County, Tennessee.⁸⁰⁰

John Medearis (1744-1834) served in the Continental Army (1777-1782) as lieutenant, quartermaster, and captain in the 5th North Carolina regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. In 1809, Medearis

"Records of Rutherford County, Tennessee Minutes 1811-1812." vol. E, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, Tennessee State Library, TSLA. , 51.; Rutherford County, Tennessee, "Transcriptions of the County Archives of Tennessee No. 75 Rutherford County (Murfreesboro)," 2.; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁹⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 377.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 108.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁷⁹⁸ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"

⁷⁹⁹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 581.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 239.; D. W. Williams, *A history of Jackson County, Ohio.*, vol. I The Scioto Salt Springs, (Jackson, OH: Higginson Book Co., 1900), 113, 160.; "Fold3."

⁸⁰⁰ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Otis D. McMurtry. "McMurtry Clan Family Papers in Tennessee, 1752-2006." Archival Records, IL-L-6, box 1, folder 4, microfilm 1883, TSLA. ; Whitley, *Sumner County Tennessee: Abstracts of Will Books 1 and 2 (1788-1842)*, 38, 72.; McMurtry, "McMurtry Papers."; Wilson, *Veterans of the American Revolutionary War of Sumner County, Tennessee*, 32.; Sumner County, Tennessee, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1801-1804," 467, 484.; Sumner County, Tennessee, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1796-1802," 343.; Sumner County, Tennessee. 1936, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1804-1805." vol. V, Historical Records Project, Official Project No 65-44-1499, TSLA. , 571, 609.; Sumner County, Tennessee, "Tennessee Records of Sumner County, County Court Minutes 1787-1790," 160.; "Fold3."

moved to Tennessee. He married and had eleven children. He is buried in Bedford County, Tennessee.⁸⁰¹

William Meriwether (1758-1842) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as cadet, first sergeant and lieutenant in a Virginia regiment and Clark's Illinois regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He had extensive landholdings in numerous counties. By 1788, Meriwether had moved to Kentucky. He married twice and had six children. He is buried in Hickman County, Kentucky.⁸⁰²

Christian Meyer (1750-1789) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant and captain in the German regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1789, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Wayne County, Ohio.⁸⁰³

James Francis Moore (1751-1809) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 13th and 8th Pennsylvania regiments. He served as a commissioner, businessman, judge, and state senator. By 1786, Moore had moved to Kentucky. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸⁰⁴

John Mott (1748-1831) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as sergeant, lieutenant, and captain in the Warner's Vermont regiment. He served as a state representative, religious leader (Baptist deacon), tavern owner, and selectman. By 1812, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Knox County, Ohio.⁸⁰⁵

⁸⁰¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; William Howard Norwood, *Genealogy of Yancey, Medearis, and related lines*, (Corsicana, TX: Blackford Print. Co., 1958), 157.; Helen C. Marsh, and Timothy R. Marsh, *Soldiers of the Revolution in Bedford County, TN*, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1989), 158.

⁸⁰² Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 267, 172.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 219, 221, 223.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸⁰³ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 622.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 255.; Charles Francis Stein. "The German Battalion Of The American Revolution." last modified 1975. accessed April 8, 2019., 28, 37. <https://loyolanotredamelib.org/php/report05/articles/pdfs/Report36Steinp26-50.pdf>. ; "Ancestry.com"

⁸⁰⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 399.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; General Assembly of Virginia, "Appointment of Commissioners."; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 40, 58.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 19, 32.

⁸⁰⁵ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 650.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 265.; "Brandon, Vermont Township Information." last modified November 7, 2003. accessed April 14, 2019. <http://sites.rootsweb.com/~vermont/RutlandBrandon.html>. [Original Source: History of Rutland County Vermont: with Illustrations & Biographical Sketches of Some of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers Edited by H. Y. Smith & W. S. Rann Syracuse, N. Y. D. Mason & Co., Publishers 1886 CHAPTER XXI. History of the Town of Brandon (Pages - 473-516)]; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

Hugh Mulloy (Malloy) (1751-1845) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as an ensign and 2nd lieutenant in the 11th Massachusetts regiment. He was a clerk and potential town-founder in Monmouth, Maine. By 1817, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had two children. He is buried in Clermont County, Ohio.⁸⁰⁶

James Munn (1755-1839) served in the Continental Army (1778-1779) as a captain and adjutant in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. He was severely wounded in the war and allowed a pension. He served as a coroner, militia officer, town-founder, set up a mill and worked as a farmer. He first moved to Kentucky in 1795 and then Ohio by 1796. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Scioto County, Ohio.⁸⁰⁷

Josiah Munro (1745-1801) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as ensign, 2nd lieutenant, and captain in the 1st New Hampshire regiment. He served as a judge and postmaster. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had two children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸⁰⁸

John Nelson (1755-1838) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as ensign, 1st and 2nd lieutenant, and captain in the 7th, 5th, and 6th Virginia regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1795, Nelson had moved to Kentucky. He married and had three children. He is buried in Fayette County, Kentucky.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁶ Harry H. Cochrane, *History of Monmouth and Wales*, vol. 1, (East Winthrop, ME: Banner Company, 1894), 31, 44, 45.; Heitman, *Register*, 407.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 643.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 652.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 266.; Michael J. O'Brien, "Examples of the "Scotch-Irish" in America," *The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* vol. XIV, Published by the Society, (1915) , 276. ; Ailee M. Whitt, *Clermont County, Ohio Revolutionary War Veterans*, vol. 1, (New Richmond, OH: 1990a), 35, 90.; Geo. J Varney. "History of Monmouth, Maine." A Gazetteer of the State of Maine, 1886 Transcribed by Betsey S. Weber, (Boston, MA: B.B. Russell, last modified n.d. <http://history.rays-place.com/me/monmouth-me.htm>. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁰⁷ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 653.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 266.; Evans, *A History of Scioto County, Ohio*, 218, 219, 846.; "Fold3.";

⁸⁰⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 407.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 653.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 266.; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 20.; Alfred Mathews, *The History of Washington County with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, (Cleveland, OH: H.Z. Williams & BRO., 1881), 48, 93, 112, 359, 393.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁰⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 411.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 613.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 141, 268.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 215.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 127.; Anderson Chenault Quisenberry, "'Heads of Families" in Fayette County, Census of 1810," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* vol. 20, no. 59 Kentucky Historical Society, (1922) , 146. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23372910>.; Lewis, "The Continental Army in North Carolina"

James Norsworthy (1755-1829) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as sergeant, first sergeant, and adjutant in the 7th and 1st North Carolina regiments. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1809, Norsworthy had moved to Tennessee. He married and had two children. He is buried in Bedford County, Tennessee.⁸¹⁰

Lipscomb Norvell (1756-1843) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, 2nd lieutenant, regimental paymaster, and 1st lieutenant in the 5th and 3rd Virginia regiments. He served as a justice of the peace. In 1787, Norvell moved to Kentucky and then Tennessee. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Davidson County, Tennessee.⁸¹¹

Robert Oliver (1738-1811) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as lieutenant, captain, major and lieutenant colonel in the 3rd and 10th Massachusetts regiments. He served as a state representative, trustee, president of the legislative council, judge, militia officer (colonel), established the Masonic grand lodge, and set up saw and grist mills. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸¹²

George Owry (1757-1844) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as ensign in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1833, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Mahoning County, Ohio.⁸¹³

Charles Pelham (1748-1829) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as a private, 1st lieutenant, captain and major in the 1st and 2nd Virginia regiment. He served as a religious leader (Methodist), mill owner, and farmer. By 1790, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Mason County, Kentucky.⁸¹⁴

⁸¹⁰ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 627.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸¹¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; John Norvell, *Lt Lipscomb Norvell of the Virginia line: his ancestors, descendants, and related families*, (Canadaiga, NY: J.E. Norvell, 2012), 31, 33, 42.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Clayton, *History of Davidson County, Tennessee*, 321.; Whitley, *Pioneers of Davidson County, TN*, 53.; "Fold3."

⁸¹² Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 679.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 275.; Taylor, and Taylor, *Ohio Statesmen and Annals of Progress: From the Year 1788 to the Year 1900*, 18.; Mathews, *The History of Washington County*, 53, 55, 89, 104, 420, 434, 461.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 391.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸¹³ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 686.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 279.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸¹⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 434.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 613.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 167.; Redford, *The History Of Methodism In Kentucky: From the Conference Of 1808 to the Conference Of 1820*, 230.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75, 190, 269.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in

Daniel Pierson (1760-1837) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the 8th New Jersey regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1815, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had seven children. He is buried in Montgomery County, Ohio.⁸¹⁵

Robert Porter (1748-1826) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private and orderly sergeant in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to Kentucky by 1818 and then to Ohio. He married and had three (?) children. He is buried in Harrison County, Ohio.⁸¹⁶

Basil Prather (1731-1803) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as 1st lieutenant in the 8th Pennsylvania regiment and in Clark's Illinois regiment. He served as a trustee/commissioner of Louisville, Kentucky. By 1789, Prather had moved to Kentucky. He married and had two children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸¹⁷

Stephen Price (1757-1832) served in the Continental Army (1777-1781) as corporal and sergeant in the 2nd and 6th Maryland regiment and quartermaster sergeant. He served as a justice of the peace. By 1815, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Franklin County, Ohio.⁸¹⁸

Thomas Quirk (1749-1803) served in the Continental Army (1775-1781) as a sergeant, ensign, and captain in the 7th, 5th Virginia regiments and major in

Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁸¹⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 441.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 646. Listed in error as David Pierson, private, New Jersey; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 716.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 290.; Shirley Keller. Mikesell, *Early settlers of Montgomery County, Ohio: Genealogical abstracts from common pleas court records, civil and probate*, vol. II, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992), 195, 204, 225, 226, 230; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸¹⁶ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 728.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 293.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 613.; Charles Augustus Hanna, *Historical collections of Harrison County, in the state of Ohio, with lists of the first land-owners, early marriages (to 1841), will records (to 1861), burial records of the early settlements, and numerous genealogies*, (New York, NY: Privately Printed, 1900), 557.; "Fold3."

⁸¹⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 450.; Alice E. Trabue. "Tombstone Inscriptions, Jefferson County." Vol. 39(3), last modified 2004. accessed April 14, 2019., 163.

https://history.ky.gov/pdf/Publications/Ancestors_v39n3_pt3.pdf. [Original Source: Register of the Kentucky Historical Society, January 1929, Vol. 27] ; Kathleen Jennings, *Louisville's First Families: A Series of Genealogical Sketches*, (Louisville, KY: The Standard Printing Company, 1920), 40.; April Rarick. "William Basil Prather (1731-1803)." last modified July 5, 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Prather-429#_ref-5. ; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸¹⁸ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 735.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 296.; *History of Franklin and Pickaway counties, Ohio*, (Cleveland, OH: Williams Bros., 1880), 485.; "Fold3."

Clark's Illinois regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1795, Quirk had moved to Kentucky. He married. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸¹⁹

James Reed (1750-1820) served in the Continental Army (1776-1782) as lieutenant and captain in the 1st North Carolina regiment. He served as a militia officer (colonel) and operated a tavern. By or 1799 or 1805, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had three children. He is buried in Montgomery County, Ohio.⁸²⁰

Luther Reeve (1760-1843) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as sergeant in the 5th Connecticut regiment. He served as a militia officer (captain). By 1840, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Ashtabula County, Ohio.⁸²¹

Oliver Rice (1752-1836) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783?) as private, sergeant, sergeant major, ensign, and lieutenant in the 9th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a commissioner, judge and militia officer (major). By 1818, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸²²

Benjamin Roberts (1750-1837) served in the Continental Army (1778-1781) as a captain in Clark's Illinois regiment. He served as a representative and judge. By 1789, Roberts moved to Kentucky. He married twice and had six children. He is buried in Shelby County, Kentucky.⁸²³

William Robinson (1743-1815) served in the Continental Army as lieutenant and adjutant in the 5th and 9th Virginia regiment. He served as a sheriff, militia officer (colonel) and was a merchant. By 1801, he had moved to Ohio. He

⁸¹⁹ Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 75.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 115.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 756.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 302.; *History of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, 14.; *The History of Montgomery County, Ohio*, (Chicago, IL: W.H. Beers & Co, 1882), 105.; Mikesell, *Early settlers of Montgomery County, Ohio Vol. II*, 7, 151.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²¹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 273.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 760.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 304.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²² Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 647.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 767.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 307.; Washington County, Ohio, and Commissioners, "Washington County Journal, 1797-1809," 38.; Mathews, *The History of Washington County*, 504, 513.; Martin Register Andrews, and Seymour J. Hathaway, *History of Marietta and Washington County, Ohio, and representative citizens*, (Chicago, IL: Biographical Pub. Co., 1902), 433.; "Fold3."

⁸²³ Heitman, *Register*, 468.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 87.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 54, 58.; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

married and had ten children. He is buried in Coshocton County, Ohio.⁸²⁴

William Rodgers (1750-1824) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant, and captain in the 4th and 5th Virginia regiment. He operated a tavern. He first moved to Kentucky in 1787 and then to Ohio in 1798. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Ross County, Ohio.⁸²⁵

Joseph Rogers (1741-1791) served in the Continental Army as a lieutenant in the 11th Virginia regiment. He served as a militia officer (captain). By 1791, he had moved to Ohio. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸²⁶

Timothy Rose (1762-1813) served in the Continental Army (1779-1783) as private and sergeant in the 15th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a land agent, judge, deacon, first postmaster, and tavern owner. By 1805, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Licking County, Ohio.⁸²⁷

Joseph Rowland (1760-1856) served in the Continental Army (1777-1778?) as private, corporal, sergeant and commissary officer in the 7th Pennsylvania regiment. He was a tailor and farmer. By 1825, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Wyandot County, Ohio.⁸²⁸

Samuel Sage (1756-1824) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as private and sergeant in the 11th Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1806, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had two children. He is buried in Vinton County, Ohio.⁸²⁹

⁸²⁴ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 780.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 312.; Hill, and Graham, *History of Coshocton County, Ohio*, 244, 255, 493.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²⁵ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 784.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 312.; Henry Holcomb Bennett, *The County of Ross: The History of Ross County, Ohio, from the earliest days, with special chapters on the Bench and Bar, medical profession educational development, industry and agriculture, and biographical sketches*, (Madison, WI: Selwyn A. Brant, 1902), 66.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 472(?).; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 783.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 313.; Mathews, *The History of Washington County*, 74.

⁸²⁷ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 789.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 314.; Fant, "Revolutionary Records: Records of soldiers buried in Licking County, Ohio," 621.; Bushnell, *History of Granville, Licking County, Ohio*, 31, 51, 52.; L. H. Everts, *1875 history of Licking County, Ohio: plus new indexes : adapted from the 1875 atlas of Licking County by L.H. Everts.*, (Knightstown, IN: The Bookmark, 1975), 75.; Hill, *History of Licking County, Ohio*, 275, 443.

⁸²⁸ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 796.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 317.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸²⁹ Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 649.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 808.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 321.; Biggs, *A Brief History of Vinton County*, 117.; "Fold3."

Cornelius Sedam (1759-1823) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as a private, an ensign in the 1st New Jersey regiment. He served as a regular army officer (captain) for a total of fifteen years and was a town-founder (Sedamsville, OH), militia officer (colonel), merchant and farmer. By 1790, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁸³⁰

Robert Seypeart (Sypert) (1755-1851) served in the Continental Army (1775-1778) as private and sergeant in the 3rd North Carolina regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1812, Seypeart had moved to Tennessee. He married and had two children. He is buried in Wayne County, Tennessee.⁸³¹

Benjamin Shaw (1753-1838) served in the Continental Army (1775-1781) as private, sergeant major, ensign, and lieutenant in the 11th Massachusetts regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸³²

Joseph Shaylor (1746-1816) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as ensign, 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the 6th, 4th, and 1st Connecticut regiment. He served as a regular army officer from 1791-1797 and church founder. By 1792, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had seven (?) children. He is buried in Clermont County, Ohio.⁸³³

John Shreve (1762-1854) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as ensign, 2nd, and 1st lieutenant in the 2nd New Jersey regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1831, he had moved to Ohio. He

⁸³⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 821.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 326.; Ford, and Ford, *History of Hamilton County, Ohio*, 239.; Kamuf, Betty, "Pioneers Tamed Wilderness to Give Us Ohio, Kentucky." *The Enquirer*, June 28, 2017. accessed on April 14, 2019
<https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/local/community-news/2017/06/28/column-pioneers-tamed-wilderness-give-us-ohio-kentucky/103143610/>; "Fold3."; "Col Cornelius Riker Sedam, Sr." Find a Grave. last modified 2007. accessed April 8, 2019.
<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/18120990/cornelius-riker-sedam>. [Original Source: Find A Grave, database and images (<https://www.findagrave.com> : accessed 12 October 2018), memorial page for Col Cornelius Riker Sedam, Sr (1759–9 May 1823), Find A Grave Memorial no. 18120990, citing Spring Grove Cemetery, Cincinnati, Hamilton County, Ohio, USA; Maintained by K Guy (contributor 46886706).]

⁸³¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Ancestry.com"

⁸³² Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 829.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 329.; Mathews, *The History of Washington County*, 48.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸³³ Heitman, *Register*, 492.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 831.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 330.; M. Jennie Atwood, "Ancestry: Major Shaylor," *The American Monthly Magazine* vol. VIII, Daughters of the American Revolution, (1896) , 402. ; "Ancestry.com"

married and had nine children. He is buried in Stark County, Ohio.⁸³⁴

Abraham Skinner (1755-1826) served in the Continental Army (1776-1780) as an ensign, 2nd lieutenant in the 1st Pennsylvania regiment and commissary general of prisoners. He served as a constable, supervisor of highways, tax collector, land agent, election judge, merchant, and town founder (Grandon (Fairport), OH). He was an unsuccessful candidate for justice of the peace in 1806. By 1803, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Lake County, Ohio.⁸³⁵

James Spradling (1750-1835) served in the Continental Army (1776-1779) as private and orderly sergeant in 3rd Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1818, Spradling had moved to Tennessee. He married and had one child. He is buried in Claiborne County, Tennessee.⁸³⁶

Ebenezer Sproat (1752-1805) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as captain, major, and lieutenant colonel in the 2nd Massachusetts regiment. He served as a sheriff and militia officer. By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one daughter. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸³⁷

William Stacey (1733-1804) served in the Continental Army (1775-1782) as captain, major, and lieutenant colonel in the 4th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a supervisor of construction for fort at Marietta, grand jury foreman, and worked as a farmer. By 1789, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice (?) and had eight children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸³⁸

⁸³⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 495.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 842.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 333.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸³⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 499.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 850.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 336.; Skinner, "Skinner Papers.;" Lake County Historical Society, *The Bicentennial Edition Lake County History*, ed. Janice M. Ahlstrom (Mentor, OH: Lake County Historical Society and Board of Lake County Commissioners, 1976), 9, 33, 217.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸³⁶ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Claiborne County, Tennessee. 1937, "Court Minutes, 1803-1806." vol. 2, Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6502, TSLA. , 110.; Claiborne County, Tennessee. 1937, "Minute Docket, 1806-1808." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 39.; Claiborne County, Tennessee. 1938, "Minute Docket, 1812-1814." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 465-44-3-115, TSLA. , Index.; "Fold3."

⁸³⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 513.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 885.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 347.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 230.; Kamuf, Betty, "Ebenezer Sproat Was First Sheriff of Ohio." *The Enquirer*, June 24, 2015.accessed on March 3, 2019 <https://www.cincinnati.com/story/news/local/community-news/2015/06/24/column-ebenezer-sproat-first-sheriff-ohio/71244962/>; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 15.; Ohio Washington County. June 28, 1804, "Clerk of courts, Correspondence from state auditor." State Archives Series 7328, GRVF44, folder 14, OHC. ; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸³⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 513.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 888.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 348.; Mathews, *The History of*

Amos Stoddard (1762-1813) served in the Continental Army (1779) as private, sergeant in the 12th Massachusetts regiment. He served as a law clerk, Regular Army officer, deputy quartermaster, and militia officer. He died on duty at Fort Meigs, Ohio. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Wood County, Ohio.⁸³⁹

Benjamin Stone (1743-1833) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as sergeant in the 2nd, 4th, 6th, and 9th South Carolina regiments. He served as a Baptist minister. By 1818, he had moved to Ohio to live with his son. He married and had eleven children. He is buried in Harrison County, Ohio.⁸⁴⁰

David Strong (1744-1801) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as sergeant, 1st lieutenant, captain-lieutenant, and captain in the 5th and 2nd Connecticut regiments. He served as a Regular Army Officer (lieutenant colonel). By 1794, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Hamilton County, Ohio.⁸⁴¹

Tyral Tanner (1751-1833) served in the Continental Army (1775-1780) as sergeant, ensign, 2nd and 1st lieutenant, and adjutant in the 7th Connecticut regiment. He served as a sheriff and ran a tavern, invested in a sawmill, founded first Episcopal church in Western Reserve, and worked as a merchant and farmer. By 1802, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had eight children. He is buried in Mahoning County, Ohio.⁸⁴²

David Tate (1757-1838) served in the Continental Army (1780-1782) as private and orderly sergeant in Virginia regiments. He served as a justice of the peace and election judge. By 1797, Tate had moved to Tennessee. He married and had nine children. He is buried in Grainger County, Tennessee.⁸⁴³

Richard Taylor (1744-1829) served in the Continental Army (1775-1781) as 1st

Washington County, 115, 465, 609.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸³⁹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 906.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 354.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁴⁰ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 907.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 355.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁴¹ Heitman, *Register*, 525.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 914.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 357.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁴² Heitman, *Register*, 532.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 928.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 362.; *History of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, 17, 37, 38.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸⁴³ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Grainger County, Tennessee. 1939, "Minutes of Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, 1802-1812." vol. 2, part II, Historical Records Survey, TSLA. , 176, 342, Index.; Grainger County, Tennessee. 1939, "Minutes of Court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, 1812-1816." vol. 3, Historical Records Survey, TSLA. , 186.; Allen, Penelope Johnson, "Leaves From the Family Tree; Tate Family of East Tennessee Descended From David Tate, Who Migrated From England At an Early Date and Settled in Botetourt County, Virginia-Great-granddaughter in Grainger County Gives Anecdotes of Activities of Ancestors in Revolutionary War." *The Chattanooga Sunday Times*, November 29, 1936; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

lieutenant, captain, major and lieutenant colonel in the several Virginia regiment. He served as a state delegate, judge, militia officer, and town founder (Taylorsville, Kentucky). By 1785, Taylor had moved to Kentucky. He married and had two children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸⁴⁴

Rueben Taylor (1757-1824) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 2nd Canadian (Hazen)regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1799, Taylor moved to Kentucky. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸⁴⁵

John Tharp (1751-1819) served in the Continental Army (1776-1785) as lieutenant and artificer in the New Jersey regiments and militia. He served as a Regular Army officer, religious leader, and town founder (Lebanon, Ohio). By 1800, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Warren County, Ohio.⁸⁴⁶

Isaac Thompson (1751-1823) served in the Continental Army (1775-1778) as a private and 2nd lieutenant in the 6th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a justice of the peace, worked as a farmer and town-founder (Middlefield, OH). By 1803, he had moved to Ohio. He married twice and had eight children. He is buried in Geauga County, Ohio.⁸⁴⁷

John Townson (1753-1837) served in the Continental Army (1778-1783) as sergeant in the 1st Regiment Light Dragoons. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved from Virginia after the war to Tennessee and later to Kentucky. He married and had four children. He is buried in Carroll County, Tennessee.⁸⁴⁸

William Tucker (1752-1829) served in the Continental Army (1777-1779) as an ensign and lieutenant in the 14th Virginia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1818, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had twelve children. He is buried in Casey County,

⁸⁴⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 534.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 173.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 47, 54, 58, 162, 201, 239.; "Ancestry.com"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Fold3."

⁸⁴⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 534.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 78.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 81.; "Fold3."

⁸⁴⁶ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 940.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 365.; *The History of Warren County, Ohio*, (Chicago, IL: W.H. Beers & Co, 1882), 438, 451, 471, 472, 495, 279.; "Fold3."

⁸⁴⁷ Heitman, *Register*, 540.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 651.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 943.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 366.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁴⁸ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; "Fold3."

Kentucky.⁸⁴⁹

Anselm Tupper (1763-1808) served in the Continental Army (1779-1783) as 1st lieutenant and adjutant in the 11th, 10th, 6th, and 2nd Massachusetts regiments. He worked as a surveyor, school teacher, and served as a militia officer (major). By 1788, he had moved to Ohio. He never married. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸⁵⁰

Alexander Van Gorden (1752-1820) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, ensign, and lieutenant in the Pennsylvania regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1796, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had five children. He is buried in Butler County, Ohio.⁸⁵¹

Isaac Vanhorne (1754-1831) served in the Continental Army (1776-1781) as an ensign and captain in the 5th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a congressman, Federal Officer (Receiver of the Land Office), militia officer (General) and operated a tavern. By 1805, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Muskingum County, Ohio.⁸⁵²

John Peter Wagon (1758-1828) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as private, sergeant, sergeant major, 2nd, and 1st lieutenant in the 1st Georgia regiment. He worked as a merchant and tavern owner served as a militia officer (Major). By 1800, Wagon had moved to Kentucky and then to Tennessee by 1811. He married and had three children. He is buried in Sumner County, Tennessee.⁸⁵³ Wagon is occasionally listed as Waggoner in official records.

⁸⁴⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 550.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 101, 276.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁸⁵⁰ Heitman, *Register*, 551.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 966.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 374.; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 26.; Mathews, *The History of Washington County*, 115, 443, 458, 465, 466.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁵¹ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 977.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 378.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁵² Heitman, *Register*, 556.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 979.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 378.; J. F. Graham Everhart, Albert Adams, *History of Muskingum County, Ohio, with illustrations and biographical sketches of prominent men and pioneers*, (Columbus, OH: F.J. Everhart & Co, 1882), 79, 157, 187.; Thomas W. Lewis, *Zanesville and Muskingum County, Ohio: A history of the Indians who trod this section ere the white man came, of the making of city and county by the heroic pioneers and the growth of local civilization during six score fruitful years*, vol. I, (Chicago, IL: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1927), 140.; Schneider, Norris F., "Gen. Van Horne." *Zanesville Times Recorder*, February 3, 1963; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁵³ Heitman, *Register*, 563.; Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Roster of the Revolution: Containing a List of the State's Defenders; Officers and Men; Soldiers and Sailors; Partisans and Regulars; Whether Enlisted from Georgia or Settled in Georgia After the Close of Hostilities*, (Atlanta, GA: Index Printing Co, 1920), 431.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 13, 52, 94, 158.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

Samuel Walker (1748-1830) served in the Continental Army (1777-1778) as 2nd lieutenant in Gist's additional regiment. He served as a militia officer (colonel), religious leader (Presbyterian elder), and overseer of road. In 1811, Walker moved to Tennessee. He married and had two children. He is buried in Roane County, Tennessee.⁸⁵⁴

William Wallace (1757-1833) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant in the Grayson's and Gist's regiment and the 1st Artillery regiment. He served as a militia officer and worked as a merchant. By 1826, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had ten children. He is buried in Anderson County, Kentucky.⁸⁵⁵

John Waller (1758-1823) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private and sergeant in the 10th Virginia regiment. He served as a militia officer (captain), commissioner of tax, justice of the peace, state representative, operated a tavern, and town founder (Falmouth, KY). By 1785, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had two (?) children. He is buried in Pendleton County, Kentucky.⁸⁵⁶

John Wheeler (1760-1832) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as corporal and sergeant in the 1st Artillery regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1819, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had one child. He is buried in Ross County, Ohio.⁸⁵⁷

Hatfield White (1739-1818) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as 1st

⁸⁵⁴ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Sydnor E. Roberts, *Roots of Roane County, Tennessee 1792-*, (Kingston, TN: Roane County Publishing Co., 1981), 153.; Robert L. Bailey, *Roane County, Tennessee newspaper abstracts 1808-1879 : (obituaries, marriages, and other items of genealogical interest)*, (n.p.: R.L. Bailey, 1998), 102.; Roane County, Tennessee, "Records of Roane County Minute Book 1808-1812," Index.; Roane County, Tennessee. 1937, "Tennessee Records of Roane County Minute Book 1816-1818." Historical Records Project, Official Project No. 165-44-6999, TSLA. , 50.; Roane County, Tennessee. 1942, "Minutes of the County Court of Roane County 1821-1823." vol. I, Transcription of the County Archives of Tennessee, TSLA. , 42.; Emma Middleton Wells, *The History of Roane County, Tennessee: 1801-1870.*, (1975), (Baltimore, MD: Regional Publishing Company, 1927), 42, 47.

⁸⁵⁵ Heitman, *Register*, 567.; Stafford County Virginia Historical Society. "Capt. William Brown Wallace (1757-1833)." last modified 2018. accessed April 15, 2019. <https://staffordhistorical.org/capt-william-brown-wallace-1757-1833/>. ; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 81, 106.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁸⁵⁶ Unknown. "Obituary, First Citizen John Waller." Sterne-Waller Family. Papers, 1775-1917, Mss A S839, FHS. ; Mountjoy, "Pendleton County Sheriff to Mason County Sheriff."; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 53, 58.; "Captain John Waller." Bourbon County, Kentucky, Waller Family. last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019. <http://www.alleylaw.net/shonert.html>. [Original Source: Hartman, Margaret Strebel, Life History, Captain John Waller, Privately Published, 1985] ; "Fold3."; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁸⁵⁷ Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1031.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 394.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

lieutenant, captain, and adjutant in the 5th Massachusetts regiment. He was a town founder (Marietta, OH), operated a mill and served as the commissary for the first group of Marietta, Ohio settlers. By 1787, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had six children. He is buried in Washington County, Ohio.⁸⁵⁸

John White (1758-1845) served in the Continental Army (1777-1783) as private, sergeant, ensign, and 2nd lieutenant in the 6th, 2nd and 4th Connecticut regiments. He served as a militia officer (major). By 1789, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had three children. He is buried in Meigs County, Ohio.⁸⁵⁹

Daniel Williams (1751-1831) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 6th North Carolina regiments. He served as a justice of the peace, town founder, tavern owner, and possible merchant. In 1810, Williams moved to Tennessee. He married and had eight children. He is buried in Dickson County, Tennessee.⁸⁶⁰

Jarvis Willis (1752-1850) served in the Continental Army (1777-1780) as a corporal in the 5th Maryland regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1817, Willis moved to Tennessee and later moved to Alabama about 1836. He married and had two children. He is buried in Franklin County, Tennessee.⁸⁶¹

James Wilson (1744-1835) served in the Continental Army (1776-1783) as private and ensign in the 4th Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a supervisor of roads. By 1799, he had moved to Ohio. He married and had four children. He is buried in Mahoning County, Ohio.⁸⁶²

Robert Wilson (1754-1835) served in the Continental Army (1775-1781) as lieutenant, captain, and major in the 6th and 7th Pennsylvania regiments and quartermaster in the Western Army. He worked as a businessman in several ventures. By 1808, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had six children. He is buried in Jefferson County, Kentucky.⁸⁶³

⁸⁵⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 585.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1035.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 396.; Cutler, *The Founders of Ohio*, 8.; Hildreth, *Biographical and historical memoirs of the early pioneer settlers of Ohio*, 396.; "Fold3."

⁸⁵⁹ Heitman, *Register*, 586.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1036.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 396.; Stillman Carter Larkin, *The Pioneer History of Meigs County*, (Columbus, OH: Berlin Printing Company, 1908), 94.

⁸⁶⁰ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Marjorie Pickens Milner, *Ancestors and descendants of Daniel Williams, 1810-1862 and Sarah Ewing Hill, 1815-1892*, (Urbana, IL: M.P. Milner, 1984), 10-12.; Wells, *Pioneers of Dickson County Tennessee*, 97, 105, 178.; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁶¹ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; "Fold3."

⁸⁶² Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1057.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 404.; *History of Trumbull and Mahoning Counties with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches*, 197, 244, 348.; "Fold3."

⁸⁶³ Heitman, *Register*, 599.; Calhoun, *Pension List on January 19, 1820*, 618.; Green, *The*

Joseph Winlock (1758-1831) served in the Continental Army (1779-1783) as private, corporal, ensign, and 2nd lieutenant in the 9th and 7th Virginia regiments. He worked as a land surveyor and served as state senator, a justice of the peace, and town-founder, and militia officer (BG). By 1787, he had moved to Kentucky. He married and had fourteen children. He is buried in Shelby County, Kentucky.⁸⁶⁴

Matthew Wood (1761-1832) served in the Continental Army (1776-1778) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the 3rd North Carolina regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. By 1795, Wood had moved to Tennessee. He married and had eleven children. He is buried in Giles County, Tennessee.⁸⁶⁵

Shadrach Wright (1750-1816) served in the Continental Army (1776-1782) as 1st lieutenant and captain in the Georgia regiment. No further information known about his postwar occupations. He moved to Ohio prior to his death. He married and had one son(?). He is buried in County, Ohio.⁸⁶⁶

Samuel Younglove (1763-1846) served in the Continental Army (1777-1782) as private and an orderly sergeant in various New York continental and militia regiments. He served as a sheriff and justice of the peace. By 1805, Younglove had moved to Kentucky. He married twice and had seven children. He is buried in Christian County, Kentucky.⁸⁶⁷

David Ziegler (1748-1820) served in the Continental Army (1775-1783) as 2nd and 1st lieutenant and captain in the 1st Pennsylvania regiment. He served as a Regular Army officer (major), justice of the peace, Mayor (Cincinnati) and worked as a merchant. By 1792, he had moved to Ohio. He married and

Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts, 105, 114, 117, 169.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 172, 173.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; "Fold3."

⁸⁶⁴ Heitman, *Register*, 600.; Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 81, 227.; Green, *The Kentucky Gazette 1787-1800*, 58, 184, 190, 238, 259.; Green, *The Kentucky gazette, 1801-1820: Genealogical and historical abstracts*, 170.; Logan, "Pioneer Days in Shelby County," 13.; Sanders, "General Joseph Winlock"; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; "Ancestry.com"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"

⁸⁶⁵ Koonce, "Tennessee in the Revolutionary War"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Lynch, *Our Valiant Men*, 194.; Giles County, Tennessee. 1942, "County court minutes, 1823-1825." vol. H Part II, Tennessee Historical Records Survey, TSLA. , 368.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸⁶⁶ Heitman, *Register*, 608.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1073.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 411.; *Lineage Book: National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution*, vol. 96, (Washington, DC: Judd & Detweiler, 1927), 38.; "Ancestry.com"

⁸⁶⁷ Quisenberry, *Revolutionary Soldiers in Kentucky*, 128, 278.; Sons of the American Revolution, Kentucky Society, "Patriots Buried in Kentucky"; Graves, "Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Pension Statements"; Meacham, *A history of Christian county, Kentucky, from oxcart to airplane*, 30, 46, 48.; "Fold3."; "Ancestry.com"

had no children. He is buried in Montgomery County, Ohio.⁸⁶⁸

⁸⁶⁸ Heitman, *Register*, 611.; Gunn, and Blum, "Revolutionary War Patriots Buried in Ohio," 1080.; Henderson, *DAR Revolutionary War Patriots buried in Ohio*, 414.; Katzenberger, "Major David Ziegler."; *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio*, 269.; "Fold3."

Appendix C Pensions

While pension applications are a rich source of evidence about some soldiers' lives and experiences during the war, these documents contained virtually nothing about what soldiers did after the war. I contend that basing conclusions on a sample and a process that required individuals to highlight their financial distress to the federal government to obtain compensation they felt they deserved was problematic at best. Even though soldiers of all ranks expressed disappointment and disgust at Congress' actions in failing to adequately compensate them at the war's end, many soldiers had productive lives and assumed leadership positions at the local level which did not make them rich.⁸⁶⁹ This phenomenon appeared to be especially true of men who were selected and promoted based on merit to the junior leader ranks (sergeant, ensign, lieutenant, and captain). In order to comprehend why the pension applications are questionable source for forming assessments about the harm or benefits conferred by military service, one must understand the purpose of the different laws Congress passed from 1818 onwards on Revolutionary War pensions.

President James Monroe signed the Revolutionary War Pension Act on March 18, 1818.⁸⁷⁰ This new law differed from earlier legislation where combat

⁸⁶⁹ Martin, *A Narrative*, 205. "When the country had drained the last drop of service it could screw out of the poor soldiers, they were turned adrift like old worn out horses, and nothing said about land to pasture them upon. Congress did, indeed, appropriate lands under the denomination of "Soldier's Land," in Ohio State, or some State, or a future state, but no care was taken that the soldiers should get them."; Gilbert, *Winding Down*, 86. "Now for Congress. They have been pleased to resolve that they will neither settle nor commute with us, nor recommend it to our states. In addition to their good Offices they have resolved that they will not allow any settlement made by the different states,...(March 1, 1783)"

⁸⁷⁰ For information on the Revolutionary War pension acts of 1818 and 1820 and contentious debates, see Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 93.; US Congress, *Acts of the 15th Congress of the*

injuries determined a soldier's pension eligibility. Pensions for war wounds generated little controversy.⁸⁷¹ However, pensions awarded solely on service with no identifiable injuries aroused an entirely different reaction. The first Act in 1818 applied only to Continental Army veterans in "reduced circumstances."⁸⁷² The original act had problems in implementation and included no definition of "reduced circumstances" to determine a soldier's eligibility. Many more individuals enrolled than had been projected by the bill's supporters.⁸⁷³ In order to rescue the program from insolvency in the middle of the Panic of 1819, Congress passed additional legislation.

Congress amended the original Act, and the changes became effective on May 1, 1820. All individuals who applied for pensions under the 1818 law were dis-enrolled and had to reapply under the law's revised 1820 statutes. The Secretary of War, responsible for administering the program, developed a form to record assets, proof of service, and witnesses' testimony.⁸⁷⁴ Department clerks did not consider debts or losses while in service when adjudicating claims. The

United States, (Washington, D.C.: 1818), 410.; National Archives. "Pamphlet Describing M804." Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty—Land—Warrant Application Files, National Archives Microfilm Publications, last modified 1974. accessed April 8, 2019. <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/microfilm/m804.pdf>.

⁸⁷¹ Laurel Daen, "Revolutionary War Invalid Pensions and the Bureaucratic Language of Disability in the Early Republic," *Early American Literature* vol. 52, no. 1 (2017) , 142-43. Project Muse.

⁸⁷² US Congress, *Revolutionary War Pension Act of 1818*, 410.

⁸⁷³ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 142. The Revolutionary War Veterans Act came into force just before the Panic of 1819 which eliminated the US government surplus by which the veterans were going to be paid. Congress's initial estimate was that only three thousand veterans would apply. By the December 1819, over 25,000 had applied.

⁸⁷⁴ US Congress, *Revolutionary War Pension Act of 1820*; Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 152. Under the auspices of the 1820 revisions, the Secretary of War cleansed the roles of many fraudulent claims as well as defined the Continental establishment. Within two years, the War Department also clarified definitions, procedures, and requirements. The means test's upper limit for eligibility was \$400 in assets.

form reflected a snapshot in time when the soldier had to provide verifiable information to receive a pension. As the Act was only concerned with documenting a veteran's financial condition at the time of his application submission, the 1820 Act made no provision for recording what had occurred to the individual in the thirty-seven years since the Continental Army disbanded. Nothing before the date of the application mattered unless the claimant made an effort to divest himself of property to appear poorer. The department eventually adopted a liberal understanding of retirement contracts to reduce the veterans' net worth.⁸⁷⁵ While some veterans regarded the pension as a just reward for past service despite their present assets, the bureaucracy strictly enforced standards and disapproved all requests not meeting the guidelines.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷⁵ Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 53. "Retirement contracts generally involved parents deeding property to their children upon their death. Rather than give the property outright to their offspring, parents maintain the title to ensure their children would take care of them in their old age. While some saw these retirement contracts as disqualifying for pensions, others argued that these contracts were payments on debt that the children incurred in caring for their elderly parents."

⁸⁷⁶ For an account of the War Department's process in combatting fraud and eligibility, see Resch, *Suffering Soldiers*, 146.

BRIEF objections to the admission of Pension Claims, of which these answered in the negative, in red ink, will apply to the claim of *Elijah Alford* which require further proof or explanation.

I. Does the declaration show where the applicant resides? *Yes*

II. Did the declarant make the declaration in the county where he resides? *Yes*

III. If the applicant did not make the declaration in the county where he resides, is there any reason assigned for the fact being so? *No*

IV. Has the declarant mentioned the period or periods of the war when he served? *Yes*

V. Has he mentioned with precision the length of his service, and the different grades in which he served, in language so definite as to enable the department to determine to what amount of pension he is entitled? *No*

VI. Has he given the names of the officers under whom he served, in conformity with the regulations? *Yes*

VII. Has he made a relinquishment of every claim to any other pension than the one under the Act of June 7, 1837? *Yes*

VIII. Has the Court given their opinion? *The J. B. Marmot*

IX. Has the Clerk given his certificate? *Yes*

X. Is the Clerk's seal affixed? And if so, has it a device or inscription by which it can be distinguished from any other seal? *Yes*

Image #20 Elijah Alford Pension Rejection Form Letter from the War Department bureaucracy.⁸⁷⁷ The form letter explains what must be included in the application and even provides recommended language for officials. The process was very simple and straightforward for applications. While the new process was a vast improvement

⁸⁷⁷ The War Department, United States. "Elijah Alford Pension Rejection Form." Fold3, last modified 1912. accessed NARA. <https://www.fold3.com/image/11410845>. [Original Source: Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, M804, Record Group 15, Roll 31, Alford, Elijah, Massachusetts, Continental Army Massachusetts, Pension Number R.92.]

in taking care of veterans, not every group was satisfied.

Concurrently, officers who did not fall below the “reduced circumstances” line continued to petition for pensions promised by Congress during the war.⁸⁷⁸ Officers encountered several problems in obtaining pension for service. After the war, Congress reneged on its promises of half-pay pensions once the danger had passed because of the influence of more radical members who saw pensions as emblematic of an aristocracy and an unnecessary financial burden on the new Republic. They argued the people and the militia had won the war—not the mercenary Continental Army. The Continental Army Officers’ Society of the Cincinnati which bestowed membership to officers’ sons intensified these radical members’ fears.⁸⁷⁹ The outbreak of revolution in France further divided Congress, and doomed Continental Army officers’ attempts at redress for decades. Individual officers’ petitions took a legislative act, and Congress voted on each request (memorandum) separately. Few petitions were granted, and almost all dealt with senior officers who were in financial distress. Not until ten years after the initial pension act on May 15, 1828, did some officers obtain the half pay they had been promised in 1780.⁸⁸⁰ Some officers who qualified under

⁸⁷⁸ William Jackson. 1817, “Memorial of the Subscribers on behalf of the surviving officers of the Revolutionary Army of the United States.” William Jackson Papers, 1782-1828, Microfilm. ; William Jackson. December 7, 1819, “Memorial of the Subscribers on behalf of the surviving officers of the Revolutionary Army of the United States.” William Jackson Papers, 1782-1828, Microfilm.

⁸⁷⁹ William Doyle, *Aristocracy and its Enemies in the Age of Revolution*, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009), 114.

⁸⁸⁰ US Congress. “Shall be entitled to half pay during life, October 21, 1780.” Journals of the Continental Congress, *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*. last modified n.d. accessed April 8, 2019., 958. https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:1./temp/~ammem_HEXN:. ; US Congress, *Revolutionary War Pension Act of 1828*, 269-70.

the 1820 Act would later reapply for 1828 Act pensions. This change in status can often hinder the historian's ability to accurately determine if an individual originally qualified under the 1820 provisions.

In 1832, Congress substantially broadened the Act's eligibility requirements.⁸⁸¹ Financial need was no longer the determining factor. The biggest change allowed state militia members as well as all Continental Army soldiers and their widows to apply. A significant number of pensions filed under the 1832 law and its revisions later came from widows and children of Revolutionary War militia members. These pensions contain little information on the soldiers' wartime service other than documenting that the individual served, and that the woman married the service member within the prescribed time frame and had not since remarried. Coming almost fifty years after the end of the war, it is not surprising that very few Continental Army soldiers actually collected any benefits. Younger militia members who served brief stints later in the war became the primary beneficiaries.⁸⁸² Most Revolutionary War veterans buried in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee had performed militia service instead of enlisting in the Continental Army. Grave markers or records annotated an individual's highest rank achieved during his lifetime and not necessarily his rank during the Revolutionary War. This happened when individuals who had Continental Army

⁸⁸¹ US Congress, *Chap. CXXVI, Revolutionary War Pension Act of 1832*, 529-30.; US Congress, *Chap. CCCLXII An Act granting half pay to widows or orphans, where their husbands and fathers have died of wounds received in the military service of the United States, in certain cases, and for other purposes. July 4, 1836.*, Statutes at Large of the United States of America, 1789-1873, (Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846). Congress later passed amendments to include more widows and children of pensioners.

⁸⁸² Will Graves. "Pension Acts: An Overview of Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Legislation and the Southern Campaigns Pension Transcription Project." Revwarapps.org. last modified March 28, 2017. accessed April 9, 2019. <http://revwarapps.org/revwar-pension-acts.htm>.

or militia enlisted service might have been later elected to the commissioned officer ranks or appointed as non-commissioned officers during conflicts in the 1790s and the War of 1812 and was still listed as a Revolutionary War veteran on his tombstone. If the individual died before applying for an 1832 pension, it can be difficult to determine at what rank and component he served during the war unless pay records exist. As can be surmised, pay records exist for only a small portion of soldiers.⁸⁸³

The 1820 Revolutionary War Pension Act figured prominently for analysis for the cohort because it established the economic threshold for Continental Army soldiers. Soldiers who could demonstrate financial need to their peers and the court system as well as to War Department bureaucrats received pensions. Individuals who qualified for an invalid pension before 1818 are not included even though few are recorded as living in my target area. Their wounds probably prevented them moving to the frontier where life would have been substantially harder. Pensions filed under 1832 and later laws only document Continental Army or state militia service for my purposes. As is shown, pension applications provide an incomplete picture of the Continental Army's junior leaders' lives after the war. Extrapolating assessments from the small sample of approved pension applications and then drawing or implying conclusions of the enduring harm

⁸⁸³ See also Prechtel-Klusken, "Follow the Money: Tracking Revolutionary War Army Pension Payments"; US Government, "War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records" "Most records in War Department custody were destroyed by fire, November 8, 1800. Many of the remaining Revolutionary War records were lost during the War of 1812...In 1914 and 1915, under authority of an act of March 2, 1913 (37 Stat. 723), the War Department made photographic copies of Revolutionary War records in the custody of public and private institutions in VA, NC, and MA. The entire collection was transferred to the National Archives in 1938. Although its contents span the period 1629-1915, the bulk of the information deals with the period 1775-83."

military service inflicted on soldiers after they left the army seems to be rife with problems.

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Abbreviations used in citations for archives

Clements	William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan
SOC	Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, D.C.
FHS	Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky
NYHS	New York Historical Society
OHC	Ohio History Connection, Columbus, Ohio
TSLA	Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee
VHS	Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia
WRHS	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
WCTNA	Williamson County, Tennessee Archives

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