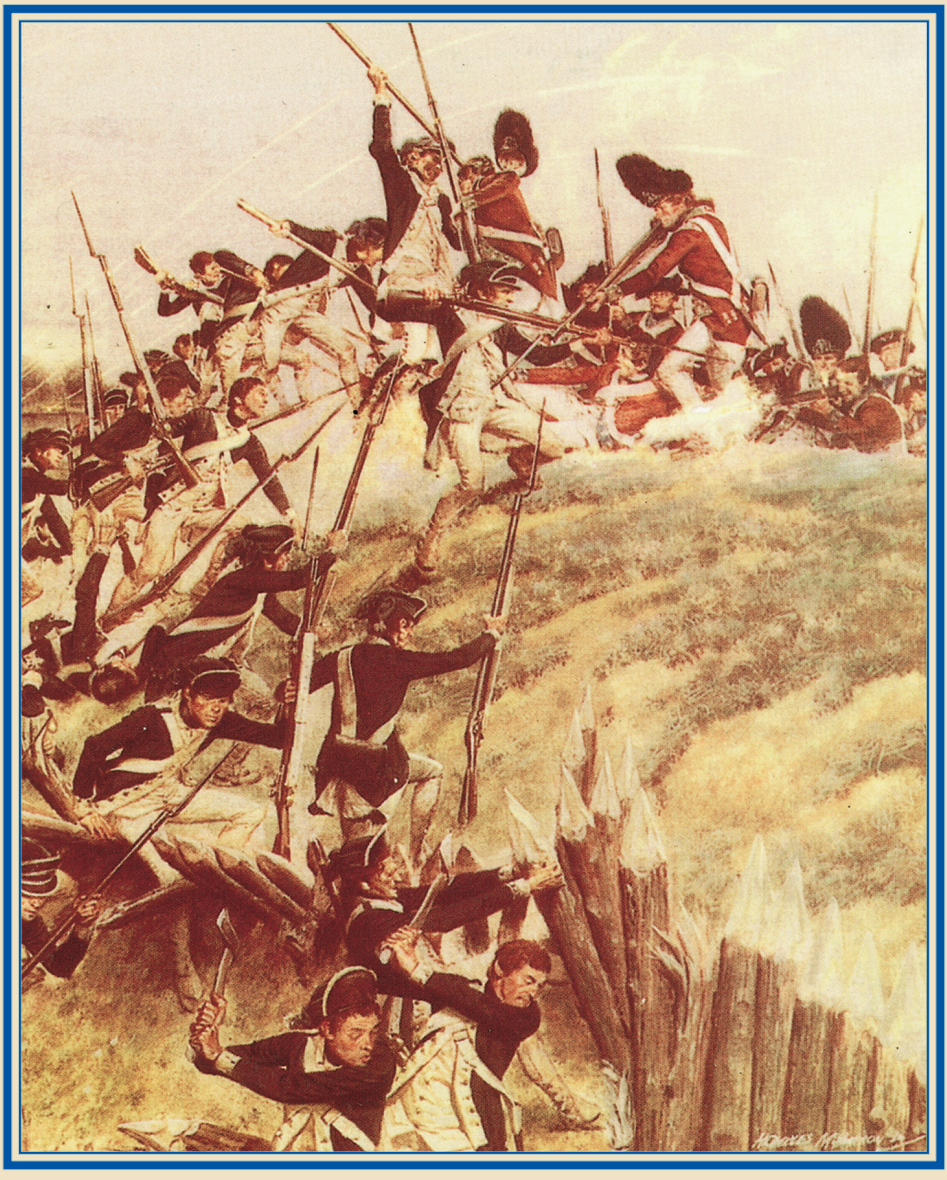
The War of the American Revolution



Robert W. Coakley
and
Stetson Conn

BICENTENNIAL PUBLICATION

The War of the American Revolution

NARRATIVE, CHRONOLOGY, AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

by
Robert W. Coakley
and
Stetson Conn

CENTER OF MILITARY HISTORY
UNITED STATES ARMY
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Foreword

The American Revolution, the Bicentennial of which we are celebrating in 1975 and 1976, was an event of utmost significance in the history of both this country and the world. It brought into being a nation, dedicated to the ideals of liberty and justice, that was destined to become, in less than two centuries, the leader of the western world. And it marked the beginning of vast changes that would sweep that western world in the century following, thrusting aside old monarchical institutions in favor of representative government and free economic institutions. Albeit fought on the battlefields much like other eighteenth century wars, it also carried within it the seeds of change in the military sphere that were to sprout and grow in the French Revolution less than two decades later. It was, in this sense, a war of transition between the epoch of limited wars fought by professional armies and people's wars fought by the "nation in arms."

Our first national army, the Continental Army, was created to fight the Revolution. As the forebear of the United States Army of today, the Continental Army established many of the traditions and practices still honored in our service. The War of the American Revolution was, until Vietnam at least, the Army's longest war. It is altogether fitting and proper then that the United States Army should pay particular attention to the study of its origins during the bicentennial years and commemorate the events of the Revolution in which the Continental Army and its adjunct, the militia, participated.

The purpose of this small volume is to provide a ready reference for such study and observance. The American Revolution has been intensively studied and written about in the two hundred years that have elapsed since 1775. There is much good scholarship as well as popular writing, both old and new, covering all aspects of the conflict and the political and social changes that accompanied it. The military conflict, though largely neglected by professional historians in the first part of this century, has come in for its share of attention since World War II. In offering this volume on the occasion of the Bicentennial, the Center of Military History is making no attempt to add to the large body of original scholarship on the war. This work is rather an introduction and a reference, a

distillation of existing scholarship in the form of a summary and chronology of events, and a bibliography which provides the basis for additional reading, study, or research. In adopting this approach rather than seeking to provide some more ambitious history of the Continental Army or of the course of the land war, the Center is following a long established policy of concentrating original research in more modern areas where Army historians can operate more effectively than can outside scholars. In contrast to World War II, the Korean War, and the War in Vietnam, the sources for study of the military actions of the Revolution are not concentrated in federal military archives but are widely dispersed. Historians outside the Army, and particularly those in our academic centers, are in many ways more favorably situated to undertake research and writing projects on the War of the American Revolution than are those in the U.S. Army Center of Military History. And indeed they have exploited these sources, as the bibliography included in this volume shows, to such a degree that the production of a new history of the war on land by the Center would appear superfluous. Instead, in publishing this pamphlet, the Center is acting as a broker in offering information on the products of outside scholarship that the Army can use with profit in observing the Bicentennial of the American Revolution.

This book then is intended primarily for internal use within the Army as a ready reference on dates, places, and other factual matter during the period of the Bicentennial. It is essentially a book of facts on the military history of the American Revolution, and of references to places where other and more detailed facts and interpretations may be found by those who are seeking them. It is to be hoped that in addition to its primary purpose it may also serve a broader one of assisting students, teachers, and even serious scholars, both during the Bicentennial and afterward, to a better understanding of the military struggle in which this nation was born.

Washington, D.C.
24 June 1974

JAMES L. COLLINS, JR.
Brigadier General, USA
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of Military History

Preface

This reference work on the American Revolution consists of three parts—a brief narrative history of the war, a chronology of military events, and a bibliography. Each part requires a word of explanation.

The narrative consists of one chapter on the colonial background of American military history and two on the Revolution itself. These three chapters are reprints of Chapters 2–4 of *American Military History,* edited by Maurice Matloff, a volume prepared by the predecessor agency of the Center of Military History, the Office of the Chief of Military History, the most recent edition published in 1973. *American Military History* is a volume in the Army Historical Series, whose primary purpose is to serve as an ROTC text, although it has also found numerous other uses in the academic world. The narrative presented in these chapters reprinted here is the same as that in the original 1969 edition of *American Military History;* it was drawn very largely from secondary sources and reflects, insofar as possible, the best of modern scholarship on the military conflict as interpreted by the author.

Part Two is a chronology, oriented toward military events, covering the period between the signing of the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years War in 1763 and the ratification by the Continental Congress some twenty years later of a second Treaty of Paris confirming American independence. These were an eventful twenty years both in the history of the United States and of the world, and no attempt has been made to include all the important events of that period. The emphasis has been placed on the events of the land war, 1775–1783, and on events that relate to the institutional history of the Army—hence the designation of an Army Chronology. The chronology includes major milestones on the road to war, 1763–1775, and major political and diplomatic developments afterward, but the focus is on the military conflict. And within this area of concentration, only the more important events of the war at sea receive notice. A chronology by its very nature lacks selective emphasis. The small skirmish is likely to receive as much attention as the great battle, depending on the space required to make clear what the event described was rather than on its intrinsic historical significance. The selective emphasis appears in the narrative; the chronol-

ogy is to provide a reference on specific dates and places and to place all events listed in their proper time relationship. This our Army Chronology attempts to do.

Part Three, the bibliography, contains listings of over a thousand titles of books, articles, and published source material on the American Revolution. The emphasis is again on the land war, but proportionately the bibliography gives more attention to the political, social and economic aspects of the Revolution and to its naval phase than do either the narrative or the chronology. It is not an annotated bibliography. The author found himself faced with alternatives of presenting a much more select and critical bibliography, containing his own personal opinion on each work, or of providing a much larger number of listings without critical comment. He opted for the latter alternative in the belief that there are, in the works he has listed, many more evaluative bibliographical essays than there are comprehensive listings of the great multitude of works that have been published on the military history of the American Revolution in the last two hundred years. Even with the multitude of listings, however, this bibliography is by no means a complete one of books and articles in print. Its organization and its limitations are set forth further in the introduction to Part Three.

Dr. Stetson Conn, while still Chief Historian, developed the concept for this volume and prepared the draft of the chronology before his departure from the Office of the Chief of Military History in 1971. Dr. Robert W. Coakley, currently Deputy Chief Historian, Center of Military History, is the author of the chapters reprinted from *American Military History,* revised the chronology for publication, and compiled the bibliography. Acknowledgments are due to Dr. Howard H. Peckham of the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Mr. Donald H. Kent, Director of the Bureau of Archives and History, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Colonel Thomas E. Griess, Professor and Head of the Department of History, U.S. Military Academy, Dr. William B. Willcox of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Lieutenant General Joseph M. Heiser, Jr., USA, and Dr. Brooks E. Kleber, Chief Historian, U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command for helpful comments on the chronology. Mrs. Mary Thomas, Miss Evelina Mounts, Mrs. Anita Dyson, and Mrs. Arlene Morris did yeoman service in typing a difficult manuscript. Mr. Joseph Friedman and Mr. Duncan Miller edited the manuscript in preparation for the printer. The authors, however, acknowledge responsibility for all errors of fact or interpretation found herein.

Washington, D.C.
24 June 1974

ROBERT W. COAKLEY
STETSON CONN

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PART ONE

NARRATIVE

I. The Beginnings

The United States as a nation was, in its origins, a product of English expansion in the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—a part of the general outward thrust of western European peoples in this epoch. British people and institutions, transplanted to a virgin continent and mixed with people of different origins, underwent changes that eventually produced a distinctive American culture. In no area was the interaction of the two influences—European heredity and American environment—more apparent than in the shaping of the military institutions of the new nation.

The European Heritage

The European military heritage reaches far back into the dim recesses of history. Many centuries before the birth of Christ, organized armies under formal discipline and employing definite systems of battlefield tactics appeared in the empires of the Near East, rivaling in numbers and in the scope of their conflicts anything that was to appear in the Western World before the nineteenth century. In the fourth century B.C., Alexander the Great of Macedonia brought all these empires and dominions, in fact most of civilization known to the Western World, under his suzerainty in a series of rapid military conquests. In so doing, he carried to the highest point of development the art of war as it was practiced in the Greek city-states. He utilized the phalanx—a solid mass infantry formation using pikes as its cutting edge—as the Greeks had long done, but put far greater emphasis on heavy cavalry and contingents of archers and slingers to increase the maneuverability of his armies.

The Romans eventually fell heir to most of Alexander's empire and extended their conquests westward and northward to include present-day Spain, France, Belgium, and England, bringing these areas within the pale of Roman civilization. The Romans built on the achievements of Alexander and brought the art of war to its zenith in the ancient world. They perfected, in the legion, a tactical military unit of great maneuverability comparable in some respects to the modern division, performed remarkable feats of military

engineering, and developed elaborate systems of fortification and siegecraft.

For all their achievements, the Romans made no real progress in the development of new weapons, and Roman military institutions, like Roman political organization and economy, underwent progressive decay after the second century A.D. The Roman Empire in the west was succeeded first by a congeries of barbarian kingdoms and eventually by a highly decentralized political system known as feudalism, under which a multitude of warring nobles exercised authority over local areas of varying size. The art of war underwent profound change with the armored knight on horseback succeeding to the battlefield supremacy that, under the Greeks and Romans, had belonged to disciplined formations of infantry. Society in the Middle Ages was highly stratified, and a rigid division existed between the knightly or ruling noble class and the great mass of peasants who tilled the soil, most of them as serfs bound to the nobles' estates. Warfare became for the most part a monopoly of the ruling classes, for only men of substance could afford horse and armor. Every knight owed a certain number of days of military service to his lord each year in a hierarchical or pyramid arrangement, the king at the apex and the great mass of lesser knights forming the base. But lords who were strong enough defied their superiors. Fortified castles with moat and drawbridge, built on commanding points of terrain, furnished sanctuaries where lesser lords with inferior forces could defy more powerful opponents.

Wherever freemen were found, nonetheless, in town or countryside, they continued to bear arms on occasion as infantry, often as despised adjuncts to armies composed of heavy cavalry. This yeoman class was always stronger in England than on the Continent, except in such remote or mountainous areas as Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries. Even after the Norman conquest had brought feudal institutions to England, the ancient Saxon tradition of the fyrd that required every freeman between sixteen and sixty to bear arms in defense of his country remained alive. In 1181 the English King Henry II declared in his Assize of Arms that every freeman should keep and "bear these arms in his [the king's] service according to his order and in allegiance to the lord King and his realm."

Vestiges of feudal institutions survived well into the twentieth century, nowhere more prominently than in European military organizations where the old feudal nobility long dominated the officer ranks and continued its traditions of honor and chivalry. At the other end of the scale, the militia system, so prominent in British and American history, owed much to medieval precedents, for the Saxon fyrd and Henry II's Assize of Arms underlay the militia tradition transplanted from England to America.

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the feudal order as the basic political organization of European society gave way gradually to new national states under the dynastic rule of royal families. The growth of towns with their merchant and artisan classes and the consequent appearance of a money economy enabled ambitious kings to levy taxes and borrow money to raise and support military forces and to unify and rule their kingdoms. The Protestant Reformation shattered the religious unity of Western Christendom. A long series of bloody wars ensued in which the bitter animosity of Protestant and Catholic was inextricably mixed with dynastic and national ambition in provoking conflict.

Changes in military organization, weapons, and tactics went hand in hand with political, social, and economic change. In the later Middle Ages formations of disciplined infantry using longbow, crossbow, pike, and halberd (a long-handled ax with a pike head at the end), reasserted their superiority on the battlefield. The introduction of gunpowder in the fourteenth century began a process of technological change in weapons that was to enhance that superiority; more immediately, gunpowder was used in crude artillery to batter down the walls of medieval castles. The age of the armored knight and the castle gave way to an age of mercenary infantry.

In the religious and dynastic wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as mercenary armies came more and more to be national armies, various weapons employing gunpowder gradually replaced pike and halberd as the standard infantry weapons, and armor gradually disappeared from the bodies of both infantry and cavalry soldiers. At first musketeers were employed alongside pikemen in square formations, the pikemen protecting the musketeers while they reloaded. As the wheel lock musket succeeded the harquebus as a shoulder arm and the flintlock in turn supplanted the wheel lock, armies came to rely less and less on the pike, more and more on firepower delivered by muskets. By 1700, with the invention of a socket bayonet that could be fitted onto the end of the flintlock musket without plugging the barrel, the pike disappeared entirely and along with it the helmet and body armor that had primarily been designed for protection against pikes. Meanwhile, commanders learned to maneuver large bodies of troops on the battlefield and to employ infantry, cavalry, and artillery in combination. National armies composed of professional soldiers came once again to resemble the imperial forces that had served Alexander the Great and the Roman emperors.

In the destructive Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618–48), religious passions finally ran their course. European warfare would henceforth be a matter of clashes of dynastic and national rather than local or religious interests.

After the chaos and destruction that had attended the religious wars, rulers and ruling classes in all countries sought stability and order. Beginning with the wars of Louis XIV of France in 1660, dynastic rivalries were to be fought out by professional armies within the framework of an established order which, in its essentials, none sought to disturb. The eighteenth century European military system that resulted constituted an important part of the world environment in the period the United States came into being.

Eighteenth Century European Warfare

In contrast to the great world wars of the twentieth century, eighteenth century warfare was limited in character, fought by rival states for restricted territorial gains and not for the subjugation of whole peoples or nations. It was conducted by professional armies and navies without the mobilization of men, economic resources, and popular opinion of entire nations that has characterized twentieth century war, and without the passion and hatred of the religious wars. Except in areas where military operations took place, the people in the warring nations carried on their everyday life as usual.

The professional armies employed in this "formal" warfare reflected the society from which they sprang. Although Europe's titled nobles no longer exercised political power independent of their kings, they remained the dominant privileged class, proprietors of the great estates and leaders of the national armies. The great masses of people remained for the most part without property or voice in the government, either tilling the soil on the nobles' estates or working in the shops and handicraft industries in the towns. Absolute monarchy was the prevailing form of government in every European country save England and certain smaller states on the Continent. In England, where the constitutional power of Parliament had been successfully established over the king, Parliament was by no means a democratic institution but one controlled by the landed gentry and wealthy merchants.

The military distinction nobles had formerly found in leading their own knights in battle they now sought as officers in the armies of their respective kings. Princes, counts, earls, marquises, and barons, men who held position by hereditary right, royal favor, or purchase, filled the higher commands, while "gentlemen" of lesser rank usually served as captains and lieutenants. Advancement to higher ranks depended as much on wealth and influence at court as on demonstrated merit on the battlefield. Eighteenth century officers were hardly professionals in the modern sense of the word, for they might well first enter the service as mere boys through inheritance or purchase of a commission, and,

except for technical specialists in artillery and engineering, they were not required to attend a military school to train for their duties.

As the officers came from the highest classes, so the men in the ranks came from the lowest. They were normally recruited for long terms of service, sometimes by force, from among the peasants and the urban unemployed, and more than a sprinkling of paupers, ne'er-do-wells, convicts, and drifters were in the ranks. Since recruiting extended across international boundaries, foreign mercenaries formed part of every European army. Discipline, not patriotic motivation, was the main reliance for making these men fight. Penalties for even minor offenses ran as high as a thousand lashes, and executions by hanging or firing squad were frequent. The habit of obedience inculcated on the drill ground carried over into battle where, it has often been said, the men advanced because they preferred the uncertainties of combat to the certainty of death if orders were disobeyed.

Most of the significant European wars of the period were fought over terrain that was open, relatively flat, and thickly populated. Normally, fighting took place only during favorable weather and during daylight hours; rain or darkness quickly called a halt to a battle, and by December opposing armies usually retired to winter quarters where they awaited spring to resume hostilities. Road and river transportation systems were, for the time, highly developed, facilitating the movement of men and supplies. Food for men and forage for horses were usually available in the areas of military operations, but all supplies were customarily obtained by systematic and regular procedures, not by indiscriminate plunder. Each nation set up a series of fortresses or magazines along the line of march of its army in which replacement supplies and foodstuffs could be stored.

Eighteenth century armies were composed predominantly of infantry, with cavalry and artillery as supporting elements. Because battles were usually fought in open country, cavalry could be employed to full advantage. As for artillery, it was used in both attack and defense, either in campaigns of maneuver or in siege warfare. Some eighteenth century commanders used the three arms skillfully in combination, but it was the clash of infantry that usually decided the issue. In the eighteenth century infantry was truly the "Queen of Battle."

The standard infantry weapon of the time was the flintlock musket with bayonet. Probably the most famous model was Brown Bess, the one used in the British Army. Brown Bess had a smoothbore barrel 3 feet 8 inches long with a 14-inch bayonet and fired a smooth lead ball about three-quarters of an inch in diameter. The musket was highly inaccurate since the barrel had no rifling and the charge necessarily fitted loosely, permitting the escape of gas and

reducing the effect of the propelling charge. It misfired occasionally and was useless when the powder in the priming pan got wet. The rate of fire was, at best, about three rounds per minute. When the ball hit within its effective range, 150 to 200 yards, its impact was terrific, tearing ghastly holes in flesh and shattering bone, but the inaccuracy of the weapon practically precluded its use, even for volley fire, at ranges greater than 50 to 100 yards. The inefficiency of the smoothbore musket as a firearm made its attached bayonet almost as important as its firepower, and infantry relied on the bayonet for shock action against an enemy softened by musketry fire.

Cavalrymen were variously armed with pistol and lance, carbine and sword, depending on the country and the time. Pistol and carbine were discharged at close range against the ranks of opposing infantry or cavalry, while lance and sword were used for close-in shock action.

There were many different kinds of artillery. The larger pieces were mainly for siege warfare and were relatively immobile. Artillery used in the field was lighter and mounted on wheeled carriages pulled by men or horses. Whether siege or field, these artillery pieces were, like the muskets, smoothbore muzzle-loaders, very limited in range and highly inaccurate. Loading and firing were even slower than in the case of the musket, for the cannon barrel had to be swabbed out after each round to prevent any residue of burning powder from causing a premature explosion. There was no traverse and the whole carriage had to be moved to change the direction of fire. Cannon fired mainly solid iron balls, or at shorter ranges, grapeshot and canister. Grapeshot was a cluster of small iron balls attached to a central system (thus resembling a bunch of grapes) and dispersed by the explosion of a propellent charge; canister consisted of loose pellets placed in a can and when fired had even greater dispersion than grape.

The nature of the soldiers, their weapons, and the terrain go far to explain the tactics used. These tactics were usually designated *linear* tactics to distinguish them from earlier mass formations such as the Spanish Square and the column formations employed later by Napoleon. Linear tactics were first used by Gustavus Adolphus, the Swedish king and military innovator, in the Thirty Years' War, and they came into general use in European armies in the later dynastic wars of Louis XIV of France with the invention of the socket bayonet. Frederick the Great of Prussia carried them to their ultimate state of perfection, and his armies were the most methodically ordered in Europe. In the mid-eighteenth century the Frederician system was the model that others imitated.

In the employment of linear tactics, troops marched onto the battlefield in columns and then deployed into line. A line consisted of a number of battalions

or regiments—the terms were then practically synonymous—formed three or more ranks deep. In the ranks the men stood shoulder to shoulder and delivered their fire. Loading, firing, and bayonet charge were all performed at command in a drill involving many separate motions. Firing, insofar as officers were able to maintain rigid discipline, was entirely by volley, the purpose being to achieve the greatest mass of firepower over a given area. The goal was always the "perfect volley." Individual, aimed fire, given the characteristics of the flintlock musket, was deemed to be of little value.

Artillery was deployed in the line with the infantry, cavalry on the flanks or in the rear. Usually commanders also kept an infantry force in reserve for use at a critical point in the battle. In the traditional eighteenth century battle, both forces would be drawn up in similar formation, and the battle would be opened by artillery fire from both sides. In the midst of this fire, the attacking infantry would move forward, maintaining the rigid linear formation in which it was trained, stopping as frequently as necessary to dress its lines. At a range of 50 to 100 yards, the attacking line would halt on the command of its officers. At a second command, a volley would be fired and answered by the opposing line; or there might be a great deal of jockeying over who should fire first, for it was considered an advantage to take, not to give, the first volley and to deliver one's own answering volley at closer range. In any case, the exchange of volleys would continue until one side determined to try to carry the field by bayonet or cavalry charge, usually committing its reserves in this action. If either side was able to carry the field, the victorious commander then sought to execute a successful pursuit, destroying the enemy's army; the defeated commander attempted to withdraw his force in a semblance of order to a fortress or other defensive position, there to re-form and fight another day.

Eighteenth century battles were bloody affairs. At Zorndorf in 1758, for instance, the victorious army of Frederick lost 38 percent of its effectives, the defeated Russians about half of theirs. Professional soldiers were difficult to replace for there was no national reservoir of trained manpower to draw on, and it took two years or more to train a recruit properly. Commanders, therefore, sparing of the blood of their soldiers, sought to avoid battle and to overcome the enemy by a successful series of maneuvers against his line of communications. They also tried to take advantage of terrain features and of fortified positions, to strike by surprise or against the flanks of the enemy, forcing him to realign his forces while fighting, and to employ artillery and cavalry to the greatest advantage in paving the way for infantry assault. Fortresses, normally constructed along the frontiers to impede the advance of an invading army, played a vital role in these maneuvers. It was considered

axiomatic that no army could leave a fortress in its rear athwart its line of communications, that any major fortified point had to be reduced by siege. By 1700 the arts of both fortification and siegecraft had been reduced to certain geometric principles by Marshal Sebastien Vauban, a distinguished soldier and engineer in the service of Louis XIV of France.

Vauban's fortresses were star-shaped, with walls partially sunk in the earth and covered with earthen ramparts on which cannon could be mounted; projections or bastions with mutually supporting fields of fire jutted forth from the main walls; a ditch was dug around the whole and a second smaller wall erected in front of it, with earth also sloped against it to absorb the shock of cannon balls.

Vauban's system for attacking this or any other type of fortified position was known as an approach by parallel lines. Once a fortress had been surrounded and outside aid cut off, batteries of siege artillery were brought up within about 600 yards of the fortress walls, the guns being so placed as to rake the lengths of the bastions with enfilade fire; behind these guns the first parallel trench was dug to protect the gunners and assault troops. Zigzag approach trenches were then dug forward about 200 yards to the points from which a second parallel was constructed, then the same process was repeated and a third parallel was dug. Infantry and siege artillery were moved forward as each parallel was completed until, in the third, they were beneath the outer wall of the fortress. From this vantage point the artillery could breach the main wall and the infantry could take the fortress by storm, but usually the fortress commander surrendered to avoid further bloodshed. Under Vauban's system the capture of a fortress by a superior besieging force was usually only a matter of time, and the siege was conducted, often in leisurely fashion, along lines as rigidly fixed as those of the formal battle in the open field.

Perhaps the most indelible picture of formal eighteenth century warfare that has survived is one of French and British officers at the Battle of Fontenoy in 1746, bowing politely to each other and each inviting the other side to fire the first volley, thus starting the carnage that was to follow. This picture has a certain ludicrous quality about it, but there was method in their madness as there was in eighteenth century warfare generally. The eighteenth century army was adapted to the European environment of the time, to the political and social climate as well as to the geography and terrain. Men knowledgeable in military matters at the time firmly believed that no body of semitrained citizens, however numerous and inspired, could stand before the disciplined ranks of professionals. If today we can see many of the weaknesses in the eighteenth century military system that were not so obvious to contemporaries—

its basic lack of flexibility, a paucity of true professional leadership, and its failure effectively to mobilize national resources for war—these perceptions result from a vastly different social and political environment.

The Colonial Scene

The environment in the British colonies of North America was different from that of Europe. America was a new continent, heavily forested and sparsely populated. The main enemy with whom the English colonists had first to contend was the primitive and savage Indian, who neither knew the rules of formal warfare nor cared to learn them. Colonial society from its very beginnings developed along more democratic and individualistic lines than society in England or continental Europe. Military institutions and practices, though heavily influenced by English patterns, also evolved in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries along different lines. It would be a mistake to call the society that took form in the thirteen English colonies in North America a new society, for in most respects it followed the English pattern of social, economic, and political organization. But England itself had stronger democratic traditions than existed on the Continent, and important differences in the environment gave these English traditions much stronger force in America. Here there was no titled nobility exercising a monopoly on governmental office or holding a vested title to most of the land. While an aristocracy of wealth soon appeared, it was never able to exercise the same prerogatives as a titled nobility. Besides, it was far easier to move from the poorer to the wealthier class, since acquisition of landed wealth was easier in a country where land was plentiful and labor to work it scarce. If older settled areas tended to develop something approaching the pattern of European class distinction, new frontiers were constantly opening up where dissatisfied individuals could move and find new opportunities. Life under these conditions bred a spirit of individualism and self-reliance.

In political life, this spirit found expression in the popular assemblies that played an increasingly important part in the government of each of the colonies. Each colony had a government modeled generally on England's. Though there were variations in the pattern, the prevailing form consisted of a royal governor appointed by the British Crown, a council appointed by the governor from the ranks of the colonial aristocracy, and a popular assembly elected by the landholders. Modeled on the British House of Commons, these popular assemblies in the colonies rested on a much broader democratic base, since property ownership—the main qualification for voting in Britain and America in this age—

was far more widespread in the colonies. The colonial assemblies claimed the same prerogatives vis-à-vis the royal governor that the British Parliament exercised in its relations with the Crown, including control of the purse and regulation of the military establishment of the colony.

The Indian method of warfare in the forest, perforce adopted by the white man also, was the most significant influence in developing and preserving the spirit of individualism and self-reliance in the military sphere. When the white man came, the Indian relied on bow and spear, or tomahawk and knife, but he soon learned the value of the white man's muskets and was not long in obtaining them in trade for his valuable furs. With bow or musket, his method of fighting was the same. Indian tribes had no organized system of war; warriors simply formed voluntary bands under war chiefs and took off on the warpath. In battle each Indian fought a separate opponent without regard for his fellows. Indians avoided pitched battle whenever possible, instead seeking victory by surprise and carefully utilizing cover and concealment. Only when they had the advantage did they close in for hand-to-hand combat. In such combat the Indian brave lacked neither skill nor courage. Since he cared little about the rules of civilized warfare, he slaughtered men, women, and children indiscriminately. The favorite Indian tactic was a surprise raid on an isolated settlement. When the settlers organized a pursuit, the Indians lay in wait and ambushed them.

The white man soon adapted his tactics to the Indian's, quickly learning the value of surprise and stealth himself. To avoid ambush he sent out scouts as the Indians did, frequently employing friendly Indians in the role. Instead of fighting in the closed formations of Europe, he too adopted the open formation and fought from behind trees, rocks, and fences. In such fighting more depended on individual initiative and courage than on strict discipline and control.

The white settler learned to benefit from some of the enemy's weaknesses. For all their cunning, the Indians never learned the lesson of proper security and did not post guards at night. Nor did they like to fight in winter. Expeditions into the Indian country used as their favorite technique an attack on an Indian village at dawn and in the winter season. This attack almost invariably came as a surprise, and the white man, imitating the savagery of his opponent, burned the Indian's villages and sometimes slaughtered braves, squaws, and papooses.

The settlers tried to provide some permanent protection for their frontiers by erecting forts along the westernmost line of settlement in each colony, moving them forward as the line of settlement moved. These forts were not the elaborate earth and masonry structures of Europe, but simple rectangular inclosures, their walls constructed of upright pointed logs. Usually there were wooden blockhouses at each corner. These rude frontier forts served as points to which settlers

and their families could retreat for protection in time of Indian troubles. Having no artillery, the Indians found the forts hard to take and could rely only on burning arrows to set them afire, on surprise attack, or on direct frontal assault. From the last alternative they almost invariably shrank. Their war chiefs possessed no power to order any group of braves to undertake an assault in which they would suffer heavy casualties for the sake of gaining an objective.

Colonial Militia

For fighting Indians, colonial governments were in no position to form professional armies, even had the nature of Indian warfare lent itself to such a practice. Instead they fell back on the ancient British tradition of the militia. This tradition took on new vitality in America at the same time that it was declining in England where, after Oliver Cromwell's time, England's wars were fought on the sea and in foreign lands. The British Government came to rely on its Regular Army and Navy just as other European states did, despite a continuing tradition of opposition to a standing army. Each of the thirteen colonies, except for Pennsylvania where Quaker influence was dominant, enacted laws providing for a compulsory militia organization, generally based on the principle of the Saxon fyrd that every able-bodied free male from sixteen to sixty should render military service. Each member of the militia was obligated to appear for training at his county or town seat a certain number of days each year, to provide himself with weapons, and to hold himself in readiness for call in case of Indian attack or other emergency.

Each colony maintained its separate militia establishment, and each concentrated on the problems of protecting or extending its own frontiers; co-operation among the militias of the various colonies was confined to specific expeditions in which two or more colonies had an interest. The militia was by and large a local institution, administered in county and town or township under the general militia laws of each colony. It was closely integrated with the social and economic structure of colonial society. Though the royal governors or colonial assemblies appointed the general officers and the colonels who commanded militia districts, the companies in each locality elected their own officers. This practice seemingly put a premium on popularity rather than wealth or ability, but rank in the militia generally corresponded with social station in the community.

Each individual militiaman was expected to provide his own weapon—usually a smoothbore musket—and ammunition, clothing, and food for a short expedition, just as the British knight had been required to provide his own

horse, armor, and suitable weapons for feudal warfare. Local authorities maintained reserve supplies of muskets to arm those too poor to buy them and collected stores of ammunition and sometimes small cannon that could be dragged along through the wilderness. For really long campaigns, the colonial government had to take charge, the assembly appropriating the money for supplies and designating the supply officers or contractors to handle purchasing and distribution.

Although the militia was organized into units by county or township, it hardly ever fought that way. Instead the local unit served as a training and mobilization base from which individuals could be selected for active operations. When a particular area of a colony was threatened, the colonial government would direct the local militia commander to call out his men and the commander would mobilize as many as he could or as he thought necessary, selecting the younger and more active men for service. For expeditions into the Indian country, individuals from many localities were usually selected and formed into improvised units for the occasion. Selection was generally by volunteering, but local commanders could draft both men and property if necessary. Drafted men were permitted the option of hiring substitutes, a practice that favored the well to do. Volunteer, drafted man, and substitute alike insisted on the militiaman's prerogative to serve only a short period and return to home and fireside as quickly as possible.

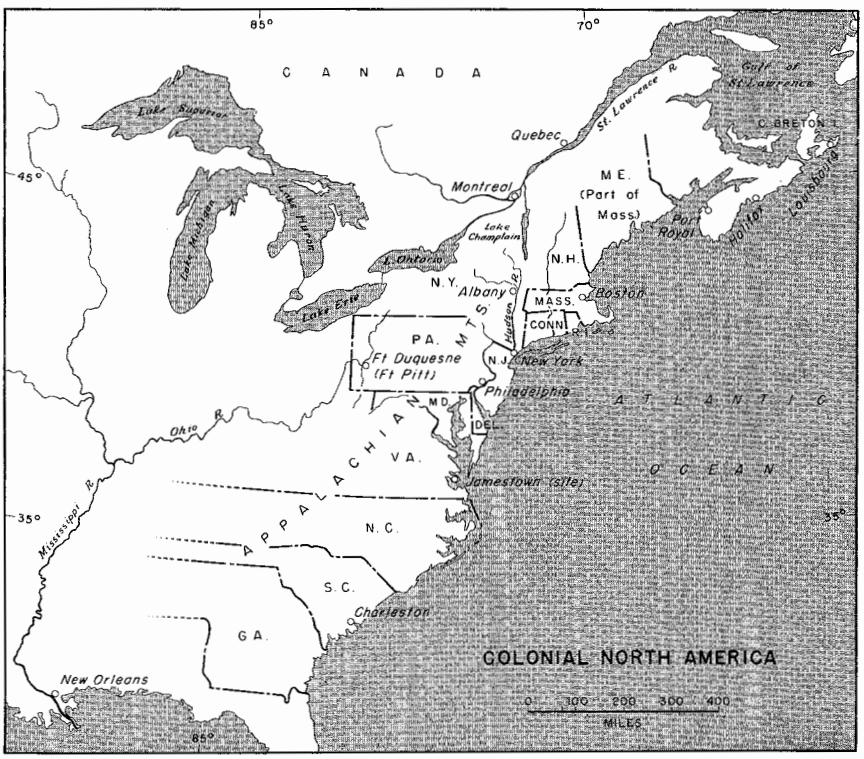
As a part-time citizen army, the militia was naturally not a well-disciplined, cohesive force comparable to the professional army of the age. Moreover, its efficiency, even for Indian fighting, varied from colony to colony and even from locality to locality within the same colony, depending on the ability and determination of commanders and the presence or absence of any threat. When engaged in eliminating an Indian threat to their own community, militiamen might be counted on to make up in enthusiasm what they lacked in discipline and formal training, but when the Indian threat was pushed westward there was a tendency for people along the seaboard to relax. Training days, one a week in the early days of settlement, fell to one a month or even one a year. Festivities rather than military training increasingly became the main purpose of many of the gatherings, and the efficiency of the militia in these regions declined accordingly. In some towns and counties, however, the military tradition was kept alive by volunteers who formed units of their own, purchased distinctive uniforms, and prepared themselves to respond in case of war or emergency. These units became known as the volunteer militia and were the predecessors of the National Guard of the United States. In Pennsylvania, which

lacked a militia law until 1755 and then passed one that made militia service voluntary rather than compulsory, all units were composed of volunteers.

On the frontier, where Indian raids were a constant threat, training days were more frequent and militia had to be ready for instant action. Except on the frontier, where proficiency in this sort of warfare was a matter of survival, it is doubtful that colonial militia in general were really adept in forest fighting. Training days were devoted not to the techniques of fighting Indians but to learning the drill and motions required on a European battlefield.

The Colonies in the World Conflict, 1689–1783

While England was colonizing the eastern seaboard from Maine to Georgia, France was extending its control over Canada and Louisiana and asserting its claim to the Great Lakes region and the Mississippi Valley in the rear of the British colonies. (*Map 1*) Spain held Florida, an outpost of its vast colonial domains in Mexico, Central and South America, and the West Indies. England



MAP 1

and France were invariably on opposite sides in the four great dynastic coalition wars fought in Europe between 1689 and 1763. Spain was allied with France in the last three of these conflicts. Each of these European wars had its counterpart in a struggle between British and French and Spanish colonists in America, intermingled with a quickening of Indian warfare all along the frontiers as the contestants tried to use the Indian tribes to their advantage. Americans and Europeans called these wars by different names. The War of the League of Augsburg (1689–97) was known in America as King William's War, the War of Spanish Succession (1701–13) as Queen Anne's War, the War of Austrian Succession (1744–48) as King George's War, and the final and decisive conflict, the Seven Years' War (1756–63), as the French and Indian War. In all of these wars one of the matters involved was the control of the North American continent; in the last of them it became the principal point at issue in the eyes of the British Government.

The main centers of French strength were along the St. Lawrence River in Canada—Quebec and Montreal—and the strategic line along which much of the fighting took place in the colonies lay between New York and Quebec, either on the lake and river chain that connects the Hudson with the St. Lawrence in the interior or along the seaways leading from the Atlantic up the St. Lawrence. In the south, the arena of conflict lay in the area between South Carolina and Florida and Louisiana. In 1732 the British Government established the colony of Georgia primarily as a military outpost in this region.

In the struggle for control of North America, the contest between England and France was the vital one, the conflict with Spain, a declining power, important but secondary. This latter conflict reached its height in the "War of Jenkins' Ear," a prelude to the War of Austrian Succession, which began in 1739 and pitted the British and their American colonists against the Spanish. In the colonies the war involved a seesaw struggle between the Spanish in Florida and the West Indies and the English colonists in South Carolina and Georgia. Its most notable episode, however, was a British expedition mounted in Jamaica against Cartagena, the main port of the Spanish colony in Colombia. The mainland colonies furnished a regiment to participate in the assault as British Regulars under British command. The expedition ended in disaster, resulting from climate, disease, and the bungling of British commanders, and only about 600 of over 3,000 Americans who participated ever returned to their homes. The net result of the war itself was indecisive.

The first three wars with the French were also indecisive. The nature of the fighting in them was much the same as that in the Indian wars. Although the French maintained garrisons of Regulars in Canada, they were never

sufficient to bear the brunt of the fighting. The French Canadians also had their militia, a more centralized and all-embracing system than that in the English colonies, but the population of the French colonies was sparse, scarcely a twentieth of that of the British colonies in 1754. The French relied heavily on Indian allies, whom they equipped with firearms. They were far more successful than the British in influencing the Indians, certainly in part because their sparse population posed little threat to Indian lands. The French could usually count on the support of the Indian tribes in the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley regions, though the British colonists did maintain greater influence with the powerful Iroquois confederacy in New York. The French constructed forts at strategic points and garrisoned them with small numbers of Regulars, a few of whom they usually sent along with militia and Indian raiding parties to supervise operations. Using guerrilla methods, the French gained many local successes and indeed kept the frontiers of the English colonies in a continual state of alarm, but they could achieve no decisive results because of the essential weakness of their position.

The British and their colonists usually took the offensive and sought to strike by land and sea at the citadels of French power in Canada. The British Navy's control of the sea made possible the mounting of sea expeditions against Canada and at the same time made it difficult for the French to reinforce their small Regular garrisons. In 1710 a combined British and colonial expedition captured the French fort at Port Royal on Nova Scotia, and by the treaty of peace in 1713 Nova Scotia became an English possession. In 1745 an all-colonial expedition sponsored by Massachusetts captured Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island in what was perhaps the greatest of colonial military exploits, only to have the stronghold bargained away in 1748 for Madras, a post the French had captured from the British in India.

While militia units played an important part in the colonial wars, colonial governments resorted to a different device to recruit forces for expeditions outside their boundaries such as that against Louisbourg. This was the volunteer force, another institution that was to play an important part in all American wars through the end of the nineteenth century. Unlike the militia units, volunteer forces were built from the top down. The commanding officers were first chosen by one of the colonial governors or assemblies and the men were enlisted by them. The choice of a commander was made with due regard for his popularity in the colony since this was directly related to his ability to persuade officers and men to serve under him. While the militia was the main base for recruitment, and the officers were almost invariably men whose previous experience was in the militia, indentured servants and drifters without military

obligation were also enlisted. The enlistment period was only for the duration of a campaign, at best a year or so, not for long periods as in European armies. Colonial assemblies had to vote money for pay and supplies, and assemblies were usually parsimonious as well as unwilling to see volunteer forces assume any of the status of a standing Regular Army. With short enlistments, inexperienced officers, and poor discipline by European standards, even the best of these colonial volunteer units were, like the militia, often held in contempt by British officers.

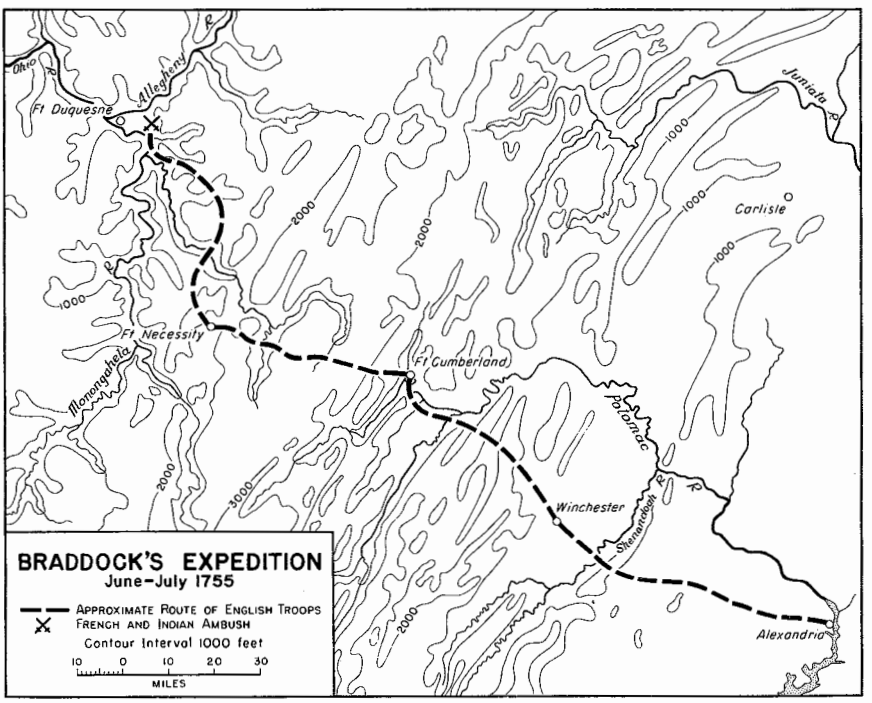
The only positive British gain up to 1748 was Nova Scotia. The indecisive character of the first three colonial wars was evidence of the inability of the English colonies to unite and muster the necessary military forces for common action, of the inherent difficulty of mounting offensives in unsettled areas, and of a British preoccupation with conflicts in Europe and other areas. Until 1754 the British Government contented itself with maintaining control of the seas and furnishing Regulars for sea expeditions against French and Spanish strongholds; until 1755 no British Regulars took part in the war in the interior, though small "independent companies" of indifferent worth were stationed continuously in New York and occasionally in other colonies. No colony, meanwhile, was usually willing to make any significant contribution to the common cause unless it appeared to be in its own interest. Efforts to form some kind of union, the most notable of which was a plan advanced by Benjamin Franklin in a colonial congress held at Albany in 1754, all came to naught.

Between 1748 and 1754 the French expanded their system of forts around the Great Lakes and moved down into the Ohio Valley, establishing Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers in 1753 and staking a claim to the entire region. In so doing, they precipitated the final and decisive conflict which began in America two years before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe. In 1754 Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia sent young George Washington at the head of a force of Virginia militia to compel the French to withdraw from Fort Duquesne. Washington was driven back and forced to surrender. The British Government then sent over two understrength regiments of Regulars under Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock, a soldier of some forty-five years' experience on continental battlefields, to accomplish the task in which the militia had failed. Accustomed to the parade ground tactics and the open terrain of Europe, Braddock placed all his faith in disciplined Regulars and close order formations. He filled his regiments with American recruits and early in June 1755 set out on the long march through the wilderness to Fort Duquesne with a total force of about

2,200, including a body of Virginia and North Carolina militiamen. (*Map 2*) George Washington accompanied the expedition, but had no command role.

Braddock's force proceeded westward through the wilderness in traditional column formation with 300 axmen in front to clear the road and a heavy baggage train of wagons in the rear. The heavy wagon train so slowed his progress that about halfway he decided to let it follow as best it could and went ahead with about 1,300 selected men, a few cannon, wagons, and packhorses. As he approached Fort Duquesne, he crossed the Monongahela twice in order to avoid a dangerous and narrow passage along the east side where ambush might be expected. He sent Lt. Col. Thomas Gage with an advance guard to secure the site of the second crossing, also deemed a most likely spot for an ambush. Gage found no enemy and the entire force crossed the Monongahela the second time on the morning of July 9, 1755, then confidently took up the march toward Fort Duquesne, only seven miles away.

About three quarters of a mile past the Monongahela crossing, Gage's advance guard suddenly came under fire from a body of French and Indians concealed in the woods. Actually it was a very inferior force of 70 French



MAP 2

Regulars, 150 Canadian militia (many mere boys), and 650 Indians who had just arrived on the scene after a hasty march from Fort Duquesne. Some authorities think Gage might have changed the whole course of the battle had he pushed forward, forcing the enemy onto the open ground in their rear. Instead he fell back on the main body of Braddock's troops, causing considerable confusion. This confusion was compounded when the French and Indians slipped into the forests on the flanks of the British troops, pouring their fire into a surprised and terrified mass of men who wasted their return volleys on the air. "Scarce an officer or soldier," wrote one of the participants, "can say they ever saw at one time six of the Enemy and the greatest part never saw a single man. . . ."

None of the training or experience of the Regulars had equipped them to cope with this sort of attack, and Braddock could only exhort them to rally in conventional formation. Two-thirds of his officers fell dead or wounded. The militia, following their natural instincts, scattered and took positions behind trees, but there is no evidence they delivered any effective fire, since French and Indian losses for the day totaled only 23 killed and 16 wounded. The few British cannon appear to have been more telling. Braddock, mortally wounded himself, finally attempted to withdraw his force in some semblance of order, but the retreat soon became a disordered flight. The panic-stricken soldiers did not stop even when they reached the baggage wagons many miles to their rear.

Despite the completeness of their victory, the French and Indians made no attempt to follow it up. The few French Regulars had little control over the Indians, who preferred to loot the battlefield and scalp the wounded. The next day the Indians melted back into the forest, and the French commandant at Duquesne noted in his official report: "If the enemy should return with the 1,000 fresh troops that he has in reserve in the rear, at what distance we do not know, we should perhaps be badly embarrassed." The conduct of the battle was not so reprehensible as the precipitate retreat of the entire force back to the safety of the settled frontiers, when no enemy was pursuing it.

Although Braddock had been aware of the possibilities of ambush and had taken what he thought were necessary precautions, in the broader sense he violated the principles of security and maneuver; for when the ambush came he had little idea how to cope with Indian tactics in the forest. As he lay dying on the wagon that transported him from the battlefield, the seemingly inflexible old British general is alleged to have murmured, "Another time we shall know better how to deal with them."



BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

Braddock could not profit from his appreciation of the lesson but the British Army did. "Over the bones of Braddock," writes Sir John Fortescue, the eminent historian of the British Army, "the British advanced again to the conquest of Canada."

After a series of early reverses, of which Braddock's disastrous defeat was only one, the British Government under the inspired leadership of William Pitt was able to achieve a combination of British and colonial arms that succeeded in overcoming the last French resistance in Canada and in finally removing the French threat from North America. In this combination British Regular troops, the British Navy, British direction, and British financial support were the keys to victory; the colonial effort, though considerable, continued to suffer from lack of unity.

As an immediate reaction to Braddock's defeat, the British Government sought to recruit Regulars in America to fight the war, following the precedent set in the Cartagena expedition. Several American regiments were raised, the most famous among them Col. Henry Bouquet's Royal Americans. On the whole, however, the effort was a failure, for most Americans preferred short service in the militia or provincial volunteer forces to the long-term service and rigid discipline of the British Army. After 1757 the British Government under Pitt, now convinced that America was the area in which the war would be won or lost, dispatched increasing numbers of Regulars from England—a

total of 20,000 during the war. The British Regulars were used in conjunction with short-term militia and longer term volunteer forces raised in the service of the various individual colonies. The British never hit upon any effective device to assure the sort of colonial co-operation they desired and the burdens of the war were unequally divided since most colonies did not meet the quotas for troops, services, and supplies the British Government set. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York furnished about seven-tenths of the total colonial force employed. The British found it necessary to shoulder the principal financial burden, reimbursing individual colonies for part of their expenses and providing the pay and supply of many of the colonial volunteer units in order to insure their continued service.

Braddock's defeat was not repeated. In no other case in the French and Indian War was an inferior guerrilla force able to overcome any substantial body of Regulars. The lessons of the debacle on the Monongahela, as the British properly understood, were not that Regular forces or European methods were useless in America or that undisciplined American militia were superior to Regular troops. They were rather that tactics and formations had to be adapted to terrain and the nature of the enemy and that Regulars, when employed in the forest, would have to learn to travel faster and lighter and take advantage of cover, concealment, and surprise as their enemies did. Or the British could employ colonial troops and Indian allies versed in this sort of warfare as auxiliaries, something the French had long since learned to do.

The British adopted both methods in the ensuing years of the French and Indian War. Light infantry, trained as scouts and skirmishers, became a permanent part of the British Army organization. When engaged in operations in the forest, these troops were clad in green or brown clothes instead of the traditional red coat of the British soldier, their heads shaved and their skins sometimes painted like the Indians'. Special companies, such as Maj. Robert Rogers' Rangers, were recruited among skilled woodsmen in the colonies and placed in the Regular British establishment.

Despite this employment of light troops as auxiliaries, the British Army did not fundamentally change its tactics and organization in the course of the war in America. The reduction of the French fortress at Louisbourg in 1758 was conducted along the classic lines of European siege warfare. The most decisive single battle of the war was fought in the open field on the Plains of Abraham before the French citadel of Quebec. In a daring move, Maj. Gen. James Wolfe and his men scaled the cliffs leading up to the plain on the night of September 12, 1759, and appeared in traditional line of battle before the city the next morning. Major General the Marquis de Montcalm, the

able French commander, accepted the challenge, but his troops, composed partly of militia levies, proved unable to withstand the withering "perfect volleys" of Wolfe's exceptionally well-disciplined regiments.

The ultimate lesson of the colonial wars, then, was that European and American tactics each had its place, and either could be decisive where conditions were best suited to its use. The colonial wars also proved that only troops possessing the organization and discipline of Regulars, whatever their tactics, could actually move in, seize, and hold objectives, and thus achieve decisive results.

Other important lessons lay in the realm of logistics, where American conditions presented difficulties to which European officers were unaccustomed. The impediments to supply and transport in a vast, undeveloped, and sparsely populated country limited both the size and variety of forces employed. The settled portions of the colonies produced enough food, but few manufactured goods. Muskets, cannon, powder, ball, tents, camp kettles, salt, and a variety of other articles necessary for even the simple military operations of the period almost all had to come from Europe. Roads, even in the settled areas, were poor and inadequate; forces penetrating into the interior had to cut their roads as they went, as Braddock did. These logistical problems go far to explain why the fate of America was settled in battles involving hardly one-tenth the size of forces engaged in Europe in the Seven Years' War, and why cavalry was almost never employed and artillery to no great extent except in fixed fortifications and in expeditions by sea when cannon could be transported on board ship. The limited mobility of large Regular forces, whatever the superiority of their organization and tactics, put a premium both on small bodies of trained troops familiar with the terrain and on local forces, not so well trained, already in an area of operations. Commanders operating in America would ignore these logistical limitations at their peril.

The American Rifle

By the end of the French and Indian War, a new weapon had appeared on the frontier in Pennsylvania and to the southward, one far better suited to guerrilla warfare than the musket. This weapon was later to become renowned as the Kentucky rifle. The effects of rifling a gun barrel, that is, of making spiral grooves that imparted a spinning effect to the bullet, giving it greater range and accuracy, had been known for some centuries in Germany and Switzerland. But the early rifles made there were too heavy and slow to load to be of military use. The Germans who settled in Pennsylvania developed, around 1750, a much

lighter model, far easier and faster to load. They used a bullet smaller than the bore and a greased patch to keep the fit tight. This early American rifle could, in proper hands, hit a target the size of a man's head at 200 yards.

Despite its superior range and accuracy, the rifle was to undergo almost a hundred years of development before it would supplant the musket as the standard infantry weapon. At first each individual piece was handmade and each required a separate bullet mold. The standard bayonet would fit none of them. The rifle was effective only in the hands of an expert trained in its use. The rate of fire was only about one-third that of the musket, and therefore, without bayonet, the rifle could hardly be used by troops in the line. For the guerrilla tactics of the frontier, where men did not fight in line but from behind trees, bushes, and rocks, it was clearly a superior weapon. Thus, like the tactics of the American forest, it would have its place in any future war fought in America.

The Colonial Heritage

In the Indian wars and the colonial wars with France, Americans gained considerable military experience, albeit much of it in guerrilla warfare that did not require the same degree of organized effort and professional competence as the European style of warfare. The major effort against the French in Canada had, after all, been directed by the British Government. Many colonials later to become famous in the Revolution had served their military apprenticeship as officers of middle rank in the French and Indian War: George Washington, Israel Putnam, Philip Schuyler, and John Stark, for instance, in provincial forces; Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, and Richard Montgomery in the British Army.

Certain traditions had been established that were to influence American military policy and practice right down to the two great world wars of the twentieth century. One of these was primary reliance on the militia for defense and on volunteer forces for special emergencies and expeditions. Another was that relatively permanent volunteer units should be formed within the militia. The fear of a standing army of professionals, an English heritage, had become an even stronger article of faith in America. The colonial experience also established a strong tradition of separatism among the colonies themselves, for each had for a long period of years run its own military establishment. Within each colony, too, the civilian authority represented in the popular assembly had always kept a strict rein on the military, another tradition that was to have marked effect on American military development.

Certain characteristics of the American soldier that were to be fairly constant throughout all future wars had also made their appearance. The American soldier was inclined to be highly individualistic and to resent discipline and the inevitable restrictions of military life; he sought to know why he should do things before he would put his heart into doing them; and if in the end he accepted discipline and order as a stern necessity he did so with the idea of winning victory as quickly as possible so that he could return to his normal civilian pursuits.

These traditions and these characteristics were the product of a society developing along democratic lines. The military strengths and weaknesses they engendered were to be amply demonstrated when the American soldier took up arms against his erstwhile comrade, the British Regular, in the American Revolution.

II. The American Revolution: First Phase

The American Revolution came about, fundamentally, because by 1763 the English-speaking communities on the far side of the Atlantic had matured to an extent that their interests and goals were distinct from those of the ruling classes in the mother country. British statesmen failed to understand or adjust to the situation. Ironically enough, British victory in the Seven Years' War set the stage for the revolt, for it freed the colonists from the need for British protection against a French threat on their frontiers and gave free play to the forces working for separation.

In 1763 the British Government, reasonably from its point of view, moved to tighten the system of imperial control and to force the colonists to contribute to imperial defense, proposing to station 10,000 soldiers along the American frontiers and to have the Americans pay part of the bill. This imperial defense plan touched off the long controversy about Parliament's right to tax that started with the Stamp and Sugar Acts and ended in December 1773, when a group of Bostonians unceremoniously dumped a cargo of British tea into the city harbor in protest against the latest reminder of the British effort to tax. In this 10-year controversy the several British ministries failed to act either firmly enough to enforce British regulations or wisely enough to develop a more viable form of imperial union, which the colonial leaders, at least until 1776, insisted that they sought. In response to the Boston Tea Party, the king and his ministers blindly pushed through Parliament a series of measures collectively known in America as the Intolerable Acts, closing the port of Boston, placing Massachusetts under the military rule of Maj. Gen. Sir Thomas Gage, and otherwise infringing on what the colonists deemed to be their rights and interests.

Since 1763 the colonial leaders, in holding that only their own popular assemblies, not the British Parliament, had a right to levy taxes on Americans, had raised the specter of an arbitrary British Government collecting taxes in America to support red-coated Regulars who might be used not to protect the frontiers but to suppress American liberties. Placing Massachusetts under military rule gave that specter some substance and led directly to armed revolt.

The Outbreak

The First Continental Congress meeting at Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, addressed respectful petitions to Parliament and king but also adopted nonimportation and nonexportation agreements in an effort to coerce the British Government into repealing the offending measures. To enforce these agreements, committees were formed in almost every county, town, and city throughout the colonies, and in each colony these committees soon became the effective local authorities, the base of a pyramid of revolutionary organizations with revolutionary assemblies, congresses, or conventions, and committees of safety at the top. This loosely knit combination of *de facto* governments superseded the constituted authorities and established firm control over the whole country before the British were in any position to oppose them. The *de facto* governments took over control of the militia, and out of it began to shape forces that, if the necessity arose, might oppose the British in the field.

In Massachusetts, the seat of the crisis, the Provincial Congress, eyeing Gage's force in Boston, directed the officers in each town to enlist a third of their militia in minutemen organizations to be ready to act at a moment's warning, and began to collect ammunition and other military stores. It established a major depot for these stores at Concord, about twenty miles northwest of Boston.

General Gage learned of the collection of military stores at Concord and determined to send a force of Redcoats to destroy them. His preparations were made with the utmost secrecy. Yet so alert and ubiquitous were the patriot eyes in Boston that when the picked British force of 700 men set out on the night of April 18, 1775, two messengers, Paul Revere and William Dawes, preceded them to spread the alarm throughout the countryside. At dawn on the 19th of April when the British arrived at Lexington, the halfway point to Concord, they found a body of militia drawn up on the village green. Some nervous finger—whether of British Regular or American militiaman is unknown to this day—pressed a trigger. The impatient British Regulars, apparently without any clear orders from their commanding officer, fired a volley, then charged with the bayonet. The militiamen dispersed, leaving eight dead and ten wounded on the ground. The British column went on to Concord, destroyed such of the military stores as the Americans had been unable to remove, and set out on their return journey.

By this time, the alarm had spread far and wide, and both ordinary militia and minutemen had assembled along the British route. From behind walls, rocks, and trees, and from houses they poured their fire into the columns of Redcoats, while the frustrated Regulars found few targets for their accustomed

volleys or bayonet charges. Only the arrival of reinforcements sent by Gage enabled the British column to get back to the safety of Boston. At day's end the British counted 273 casualties out of a total of 1,800 men engaged; American casualties numbered 95 men, including the toll at Lexington. What happened was hardly a tribute to the marksmanship of New England farmers—it has been estimated 75,000 shots poured from their muskets that day—but it did testify to a stern determination of the people of Massachusetts to resist any attempt by the British to impose their will by armed force.

The spark lit in Massachusetts soon spread throughout the rest of the colonies. Whatever really may have happened in that misty dawn on Lexington Green, the news that speedy couriers, riding horses to exhaustion, carried through the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia was of a savage, unprovoked British attack and of farmers rising in the night to protect their lives, their families, and their property. Lexington, like Fort Sumter and Pearl Harbor, furnished an emotional impulse that led all true patriots to gird themselves for battle. From the other New England colonies, militia poured in to join the Massachusetts men and together they soon formed a ring around Boston. Other militia forces under Ethan Allen of Vermont and Benedict Arnold of Connecticut seized the British forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, strategic positions on the route between New York and Canada. These posts yielded valuable artillery and other military stores. The Second Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775, found itself forced to turn from embargoes and petitions to the problems of organizing, directing, and supplying a military effort.

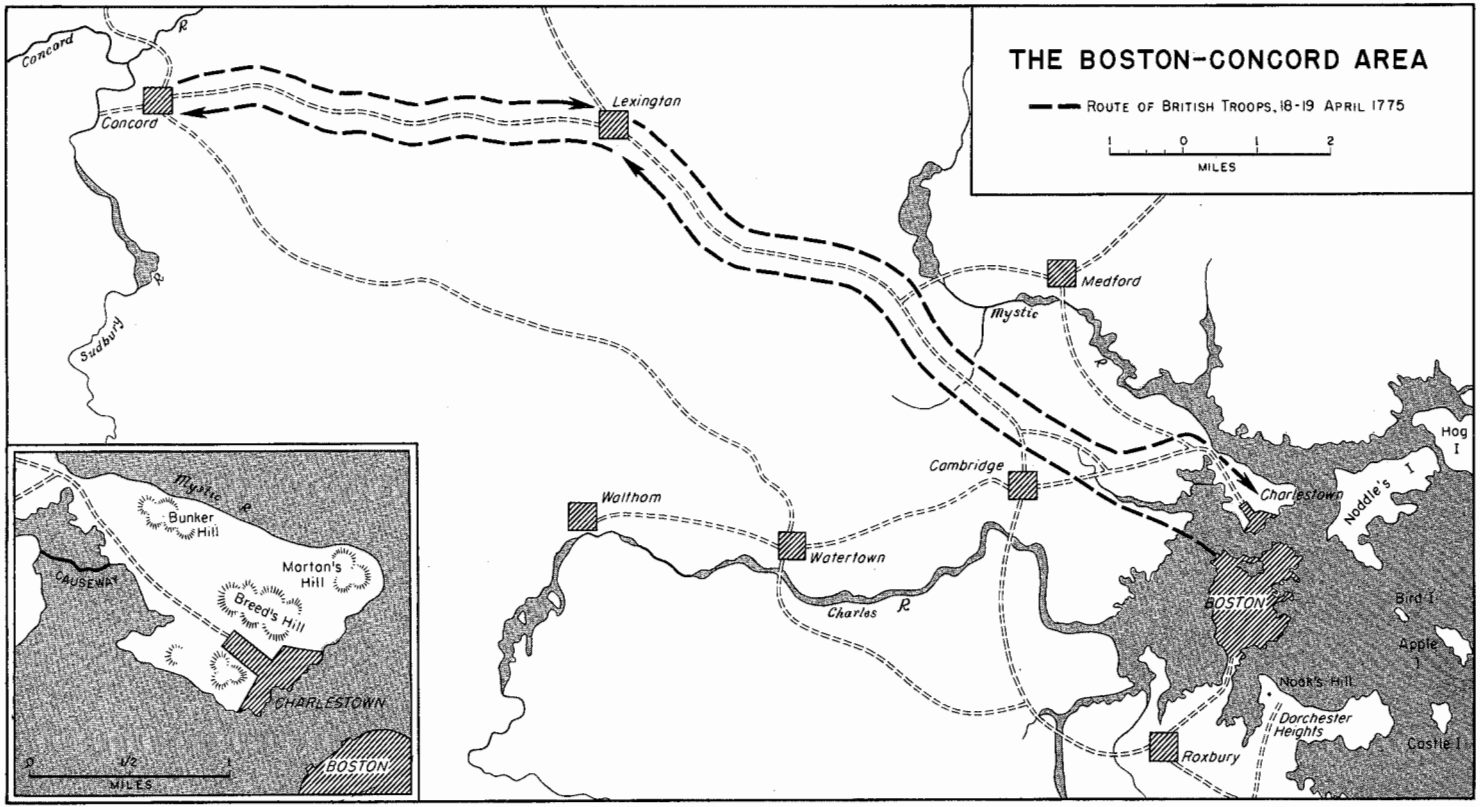
Before Congress could assume control, the New England forces assembled near Boston fought another battle on their own, the bloodiest single engagement of the entire Revolution. After Lexington and Concord, at the suggestion of Massachusetts, the New England colonies moved to replace the militia gathered before Boston with volunteer forces, constituting what may be loosely called a New England army. Each state raised and administered its own force and appointed a commander for it. Discipline was lax and there was no single chain of command. Though Artemas Ward, the Massachusetts commander, exercised over-all control by informal agreement, it was only because the other commanders chose to co-operate with him, and decisions were made in council. While by mid-June most of the men gathered were volunteers, militia units continued to come and go. The volunteers in the Connecticut service were enlisted until December 10, 1775, those from the other New England states until the end of the year. The men were dressed for the most part in homespun clothes and armed

with muskets of varied types; powder and ball were short and only the barest few had bayonets.

Late in May Gage received limited reinforcements from England, bringing his total force to 6,500 rank and file. With the reinforcements came three major generals of reputation—Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir John Burgoyne—men destined to play major roles in England's loss of its American colonies. The newcomers all considered that Gage needed more elbowroom and proposed to fortify Dorchester Heights, a dominant position south of Boston previously neglected by both sides. News of the intended move leaked to the Americans, who immediately countered by dispatching a force onto the Charlestown peninsula, where other heights, Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill, overlooked Boston from the north. (*Map 3*) The original intent was to fortify Bunker Hill, the eminence nearest the narrow neck of land connecting the peninsula with the mainland, but the working party sent out on the night of June 16, 1775, decided instead to move closer in and construct works on Breed's Hill—a tactical blunder, for these exposed works could much more easily be cut off by a British landing on the neck in their rear.

The British scorned such a tactic, evidently in the mistaken assumption that the assembled "rabble in arms" would disintegrate in the face of an attack by disciplined British Regulars. On the afternoon of the 17th, Gage sent some 2,200 of his men under Sir William Howe directly against the American positions, by this time manned by perhaps an equal force. Twice the British advanced on the front and flanks of the redoubt on Breed's Hill, and twice the Americans, holding their fire until the compact British lines were at close range, decimated the ranks of the advancing regiments and forced them to fall back and re-form. With reinforcements, Howe carried the hill on the third try but largely because the Americans had run short of ammunition and had no bayonets. The American retreat from Breed's Hill was, for inexperienced volunteers and militia, an orderly one and Howe's depleted regiments were unable to prevent the Americans' escape. British casualties for the day totaled a staggering 1,054, or almost half the force engaged, as opposed to American losses of about 440.

The Battle of Bunker Hill (for it was Bunker that gave its name to a battle actually fought on Breed's Hill) has been aptly characterized as a "tale of great blunders heroically redeemed." The American command structure violated the principle of unity of command from the start, and in moving onto Breed's Hill the patriots exposed an important part of their force in an indefensible position, violating the principles of concentration of force, mass, and maneuver. Gage and Howe, for their parts, sacrificed all the advantages the American blunders gave


THE BOSTON-CONCORD AREA
ROUTE OF BRITISH TROOPS, 18-19 APRIL 1775
1 0 1 2
MILES
Concord
R.
Concord
Lexington
Sudbury
R.
Medford
Mystic
R.
Cambridge
Charlestown
Hog I
Noddle's I
Waltham
Watertown
Charles
R.
BOSTON
Bird I
Apple I
Nook's Hill
Dorchester Heights
Roxbury
Castle I
Mystic R.
Bunker Hill
Morton's Hill
Breed's Hill
CAUSEWAY
CHARLESTOWN
BOSTON
0 1/2 1
MILES

MAP 3

them, violating the principles of maneuver and surprise by undertaking a suicidal attack on a fortified position.

Bunker Hill was a Pyrrhic victory, its strategic effect practically nil since the two armies remained in virtually the same position they had held before. Its consequences, nevertheless, cannot be ignored. A force of farmers and townsmen, fresh from their fields and shops, with hardly a semblance of orthodox military organization, had met and fought on equal terms with a professional British Army. On the British this astonishing feat had a sobering effect, for it taught them that American resistance was not to be easily overcome; never again would British commanders lightly attempt such an assault on Americans in fortified positions. On the Americans, the effect was hardly sobering, and in the long run was perhaps not salutary. Bunker Hill, along with Lexington and Concord, went far to create the American tradition that the citizen soldier when aroused is more than a match for the trained professional, a tradition that was to be reflected in American military policy for generations afterward.

Formation of the Continental Army

The response of George III and his ministers to the events at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill was a determined effort to subdue the rebellious colonists by force. It took time to mount this effort, and after Bunker Hill the Americans enjoyed a respite lasting almost a year. During most of this period the Second Continental Congress, though forced by events in New England to take on itself the leadership of an armed revolt, proceeded hesitantly, still seeking a formula for reconciliation that would preserve American rights. Military preparations were designed for a short struggle, to endure no longer than the end of the year 1776. Nevertheless the Americans took advantage of the respite to create a national army, to consolidate their hold on the governmental machinery throughout the thirteen colonies, to invade Canada, and finally to force the British to evacuate Boston.

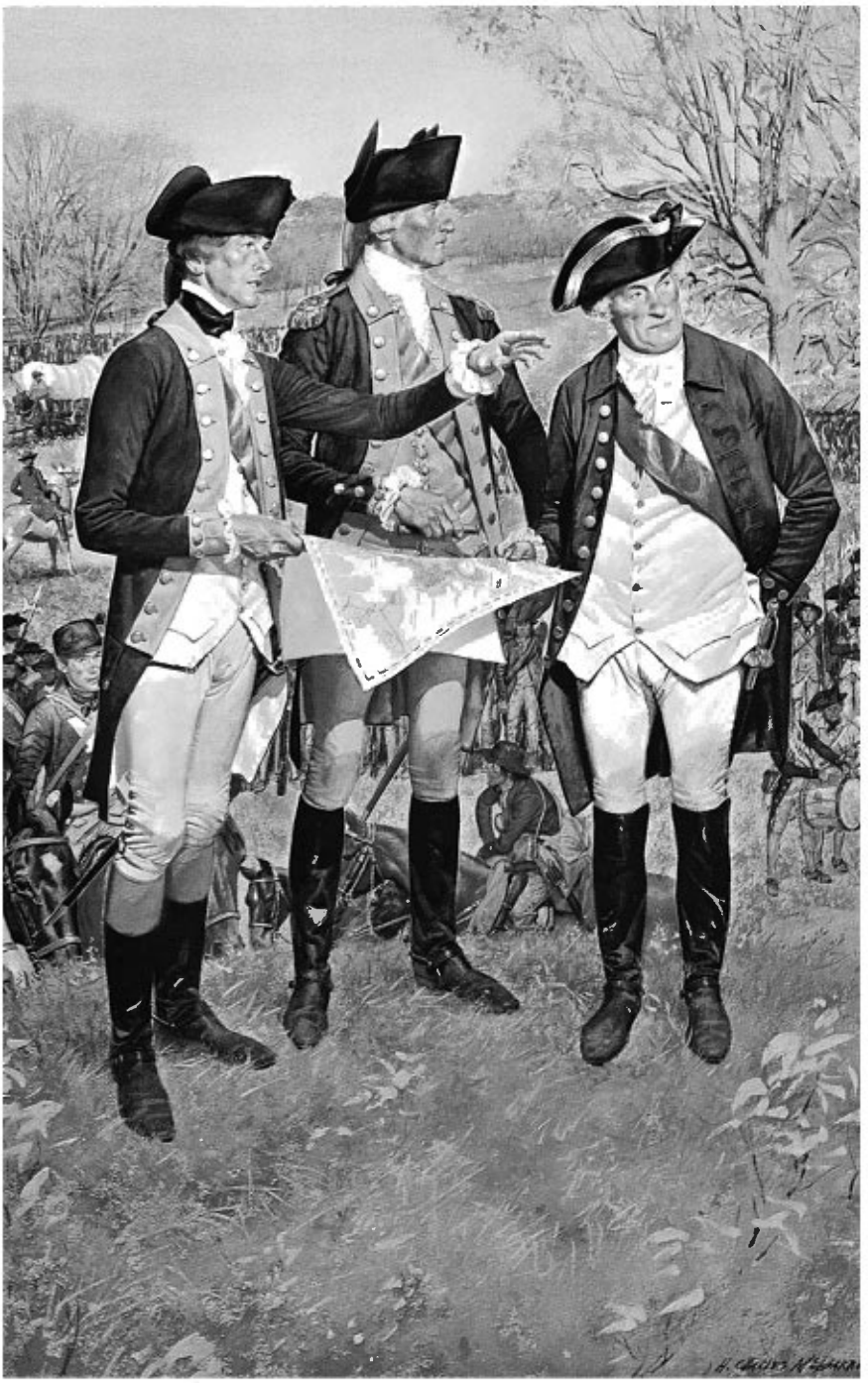
The creation of a Continental Army was in the long run perhaps their most significant achievement. Some time before Bunker Hill the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, aware of the necessity of enlisting the support of all the colonies in the struggle against the British, appealed to the Continental Congress to adopt the New England army. Although there is no formal record of the action, Congress evidently did vote to adopt it on June 14, 1775—the accepted birthday of the U.S. Army. On the same day it voted to raise ten companies of riflemen—the first soldiers to be enlisted directly in the Continental service—in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to march north to join the army before Boston.

The next day, June 15, Congress chose George Washington, a Virginian, to be Commander in Chief. The choice was made for geographical and political as much as for military reasons. The New Englanders felt that in order to enlist the support of the southern colonies, a southerner should be chosen for the post of command. Washington's military experience was perhaps greater than that of any other southerner, and he came from the largest and most important of the southern colonies. His impressive appearance, quiet and confident manner, and good work in the military committees of Congress had impressed all.

The choice proved fortunate. Washington himself recognized, when he accepted the command, that he lacked the requisite experience and knowledge in handling large bodies of men. His whole military experience had been in frontier warfare during the French and Indian War. But experience as a political leader in his native Virginia and in directing the business affairs of his large plantation at Mount Vernon also stood him in good stead. He brought to the task traits of character and abilities as a leader that in the end more than compensated for his lack of professional military experience. Among these qualities were a determination and a steadfastness of purpose rooted in an unshakable conviction of the righteousness of the American cause, a scrupulous sense of honor and duty, and a dignity that inspired respect and confidence in those around him. Conscious of his own defects, he was always willing to profit by experience. From the trials and tribulations of eight years of war he was to learn the essentials of strategy, tactics, and military organization.

Congress also appointed four major generals and eight brigadiers to serve under Washington, set up a series of staff offices closely resembling those in the British Army, prescribed a pay scale and standard ration, and adopted Articles of War to govern the military establishment. The same mixture of geographical, political, and military considerations governed the choice of Washington's subordinates. Two-thirds of them came from New England, in recognition of the fact that the existing army was a New England army. Three others—Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, and Richard Montgomery—were chosen because of their experience in the British Army. Lee, in particular, who had come from England to the colonies in 1773, was in 1775 deemed the foremost military expert in America, and he was for a time to be Washington's first assistant.

The army of which Washington formally took command on July 3, 1775, he described as "a mixed multitude of people . . . under very little discipline, order or government." Out of this "mixed multitude," Washington set out to create an army shaped in large part in the British image. Basing his observations on his experience with British Regulars during the French and Indian War, he wrote: "Discipline is the soul of an army. It makes small numbers formidable;



GENERAL WASHINGTON (*center*) WITH MAJ. GEN. ARTEMAS WARD (*right*) *and an aide* (*left*) *visiting the field, July 1775.*

procures success to the weak and esteem to all." Employing Gates, his experienced adjutant general, to prepare regulations and orders, the Commander in Chief set out to inculcate discipline. A strenuous effort was made to halt the random comings and goings of officers and men and to institute regular roll calls and strength returns. Suspicious of the "leveling" tendencies of the New Englanders, Washington made the distinction between officers and enlisted men more rigid. Various punishments were introduced—lash, pillory, wooden horse, and drumming out of camp—and courts-martial sat almost constantly.

While establishing discipline in the existing army, Washington had at the same time to form a new one enlisted directly in the Continental service. Out of conferences with a Congressional committee that visited camp in September 1775 emerged a plan for such an army, composed of 26 regiments of infantry of 728 men each, plus one regiment of riflemen and one of artillery, 20,372 men in all, to be uniformly paid, supplied, and administered by the Continental Congress and enlisted to the end of the year 1776. Except for the short term of enlistment, it was an excellent plan on paper, but Washington soon found he could not carry it out. Both officers and men resisted a reorganization that cut across the lines of the locally organized units in which they were accustomed to serve. The men saw as their first obligation their families and farms at home, and they were reluctant to re-enlist for another year's service. On December 10, despite pressures and patriotic appeals, most of the Connecticut men went home and militia from New Hampshire and Massachusetts had to be brought in to fill their places in the line. Others, who had jeered and hooted when the Connecticut men left, also went home when their enlistment expired only three weeks later. On January 1, 1776, when the army became "Continental in every respect," Washington found that he had only slightly more than 8,000 enlistments instead of the 20,000 planned. Returns in early March showed only a thousand or so more. "I have often thought how much happier I would have been," wrote a sorely tried commander, "if, instead of accepting a command under such circumstances, I had taken up musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks, or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country and lived in a Wigwam."

With enlistments falling short, the only recourse was to continue to use short-term militia to fill the gaps in the lines. A Continental Army had been formed, but it fell far short of the goals Washington and Congress had set for it. This army was enlisted for but a year and the whole troublesome process would have to be repeated at the end of 1776. The short term of enlistment

was, of course, a cardinal error, but in 1775 everyone, including Washington, anticipated only a short campaign.

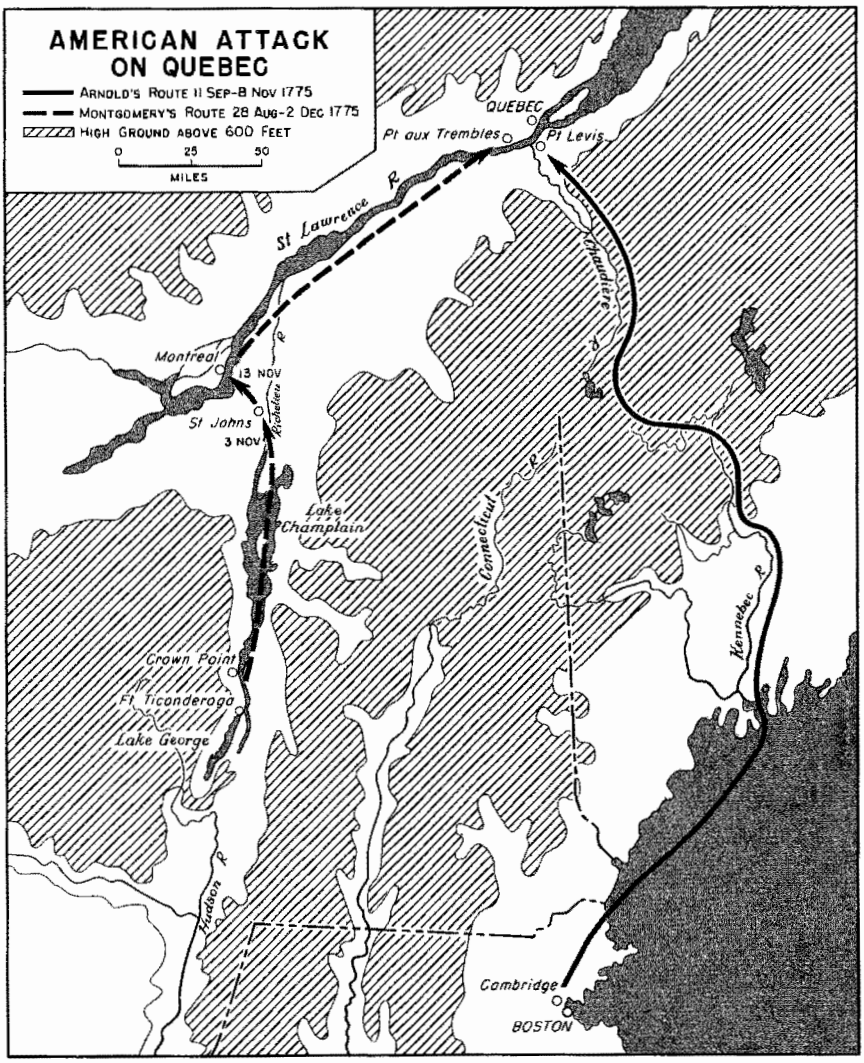
While organizing and disciplining his army, Washington had also to maintain the siege of Boston and overcome his deficiencies in supply. In these efforts he was more successful. Congress and the individual colonies sponsored voyages to the West Indies, where the French and Dutch had conveniently exported quantities of war materials. Washington put some of his troops on board ship and with an improvised navy succeeded in capturing numerous British supply ships. He sent Col. Henry Knox, later to be his Chief of Artillery, to Ticonderoga, and Knox in the winter of 1775–76 brought some fifty pieces of captured cannon to Cambridge over poor or nonexistent roads in icebound New York and New England. By March 1776, despite deficiencies in the number of Continentals, Washington was ready to close in on Boston.

The Invasion of Canada and the Fall of Boston

The major military operations of 1775 and early 1776 were not around Boston but in far-distant Canada, which the Americans tried to add as a fourteenth colony. Canada seemed a tempting and vulnerable target. To take it would eliminate a British base at the head of the familiar invasion route along the lake and river chain connecting the St. Lawrence with the Hudson. Congress, getting no response to an appeal to the Canadians to join in its cause, in late June 1775 instructed Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler of New York to take possession of Canada if "practicable" and "not disagreeable to the Canadians."

Schuyler managed to get together a force of about 2,000 men from New York and Connecticut, thus forming the nucleus of what was to become known as the Northern Army. In September 1775 Brig. Gen. Richard Montgomery set out with this small army from Ticonderoga with the objective of taking Montreal. To form a second prong to the invasion, Washington detached a force of 1,100 under Col. Benedict Arnold, including a contingent of riflemen under Capt. Daniel Morgan of Virginia, to proceed up the Kennebec River, across the wilds of Maine, and down the Chaudière to join with Montgomery before Quebec. (*Map 4*)

Montgomery, advancing along the route via Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the Richelieu River, was seriously delayed by the British fort at St. Johns but managed to capture Montreal on November 13. Arnold meanwhile had arrived opposite Quebec on November 8, after one of the most rugged marches in history. One part of his force had turned back and others were lost by



MAP 4

starvation, sickness, drowning, and desertion. Only 600 men crossed the St. Lawrence on November 13, and in imitation of Wolfe scaled the cliffs and encamped on the Plains of Abraham. It was a magnificent feat, but the force was too small to prevail even against the scattered Canadian militia and British Regulars who, unlike Montcalm, shut themselves up in the city and refused battle in the open. Arnold's men were finally forced to withdraw to Point aux Trembles, where they were joined by Montgomery with all the men he

could spare from the defense of Montreal—a total of 300. Nowhere did the Canadians show much inclination to rally to the American cause; the French *habitants* remained indifferent, and the small British population gave its loyalty to the governor general. With the enlistments of about half their men expiring by the new year, Arnold and Montgomery undertook a desperate assault on the city during the night of December 30 in the middle of a raging blizzard. The Americans were outnumbered by the defenders, and the attack was a failure. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded.

The wounded Arnold, undaunted, continued to keep up the appearance of a siege with the scattered remnants of his force while he waited for reinforcements. The reinforcements came—Continental regiments raised in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—but they came in driblets and there were never enough to build a force capable of again taking the offensive, though a total of 8,000 men were eventually committed to the Canadian campaign. Smallpox and other diseases took their toll and never did the supply line bring in adequate food, clothing, or ammunition. Meanwhile, the British received reinforcements and in June 1776 struck back against a disintegrating American army that retreated before them almost without a fight. By mid-July the Americans were back at Ticonderoga where they had started less than a year earlier, and the initiative on the northern front passed to the British.

While the effort to conquer Canada was moving toward its dismal end, Washington finally took the initiative at Boston. On March 4, 1776, he moved onto Dorchester Heights and emplaced his newly acquired artillery in position to menace the city; a few days later he fortified Nook's Hill, standing still closer in. On March 17 the British moved out. It would be presumptuous to say that their exit was solely a consequence of American pressure. Sir William Howe, who succeeded Gage in command, had concluded long since that Boston was a poor strategic base and intended to stay only until the transports arrived to take his army to Halifax in Nova Scotia to regroup and await reinforcements. Nevertheless, Washington's maneuvers hastened his departure, and the reoccupation of Boston was an important psychological victory for the Americans, balancing the disappointments of the Canadian campaign. The stores of cannon and ammunition the British were forced to leave behind were a welcome addition indeed to the meager American arsenal.

The New Nation

The Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776, established a new nation and transformed a limited revolt to secure rights within the British empire

into a far-reaching one, aimed at complete independence from British control. Since the king and his ministers had determined to restore British rule, the Americans now faced a long, hard struggle for independence requiring a sustained national effort such as they had not expected in 1775.

The new nation was still a weak confederation of thirteen independent states. Such national feeling as existed was a new phenomenon growing out of common opposition to British measures. Colonial tradition, divided loyalties, the nature of the economy, and the spirit of a revolt born in opposition to the use of military force to suppress popular liberties, all worked against the creation of any new strong central authority capable of mobilizing resources effectively for the long struggle that lay ahead.

The thirteen states proclaiming their independence in 1776 possessed a total population of about two and a half million people, but not all the males of military age were part of the military potential. About 20 percent were Negro slaves who except under special circumstances were not eligible for service, though Negroes did serve in the Revolution and not in segregated units. Perhaps one-third of the "politically active" Americans remained loyal to the British Government. As in any society there were also the apathetic and indifferent who swayed with the tide. The genuine patriots still provided a far larger potential of military manpower than the British could possibly transport and supply across the Atlantic, but most of the men of military age were farmers who married young and immediately started large families. Whatever their patriotic sentiments, few were ready to undertake long terms of military service, fearing that if they did their farms and families at home would suffer. Accustomed to the tradition of short-term militia service under local commanders, they infinitely preferred it to long-term service in the Continental Army.

The economy of the thirteen new states was neither self-sufficient nor truly national. The states were essentially a collection of separate agricultural communities, accustomed to exchanging their agricultural surplus for British manufactured goods and West Indian products. Manufacturing was still in its infancy and America produced few of the essentials of military supply. Despite diligent efforts to promote domestic production during the war years, the Continental Army had to rely primarily on captures and imports from Europe and the West Indies, run through a British blockade, for much of its military hardware and even for clothing. While the country produced foodstuffs in ample quantity, transport from one area to another was difficult. The normal avenues of commerce ran up and down the rivers, not overland; roads running north and south were few and inadequate. There was always a

shortage of wagons, boats, and other means of transportation. Under these circumstances, it was far easier to support local militia for a few days or weeks than any sizable and continuously operating national army in the field.

The governmental machinery created after the Declaration was characterized by decentralization and executive weakness. The thirteen new "free and independent states" transformed their existing *de facto* revolutionary governments into legal state governments by adopting constitutions. Almost invariably, these constitutions vested most of the powers of government in the state legislatures, successors to the popular assemblies of the colonial period, and severely restricted the executive authority of the governors. At the national level, the same general distrust of strong authority was apparent, and the existing Continental Congress, essentially a gathering of delegates chosen by the state legislatures and without either express powers of its own or an executive to carry out its enactments, was continued as the only central governing body. Articles of Confederation stipulating the terms of union and granting Congress specific but limited powers were drawn up shortly after the Declaration, but jealousies among the states prevented ratification until 1781. In the interim, Congress exercised most of the powers granted it under the Articles, but they did not include either the right to levy taxes or the power to raise military forces directly under its auspices. Congress could only determine the Confederation's need for troops and money to wage war and set quotas for the states to meet in proportion to their population and wealth. It had no means of insuring that the states met their quotas, and indeed they seldom did.

The decentralized structure provided no adequate means of financing the war. The state legislatures, possessing the power to tax that Congress lacked, hesitated to use it extensively in the face of popular opposition to taxation, and were normally embarrassed to meet even their own expenses. Congress very early took unto itself the power to issue paper money and to negotiate domestic and foreign loans, but it shared these powers with the states, which also printed paper money in profusion and borrowed both at home and abroad to the extent they could. The paper money was a useful expedient in the early part of the war; indeed the Revolution could not have been carried on without it. But successive issues by Congress and the states led to first gradual and then galloping inflation, leaving the phrase "not worth a Continental" as a permanent legacy to the American language. The process of depreciation and the exhaustion of credit gradually robbed both the states and Congress of the power to pay troops, buy supplies, and otherwise meet the multitudinous expenses of war.

Evolution of the Continental Army

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that Washington never got the kind of army, molded in the British image, that he desired. The experience before Boston in 1775 was repeated many times, as local militia had to be called in continually to give the American Army a numerical superiority in the field. The Continental Army, nevertheless, became the center of American resistance, and its commander, Washington, the symbol of the patriot cause. The extent to which militia could be expected to rally to that cause was very largely determined by the Continental Army's success or failure in the field.

Though the militia belonged to the states, the Continental Army was a creation of the Continental Congress. Congress prescribed its size and composition, chose its generals, and governed the system for its administration and supply. Suspicious on principle of a standing army and acutely aware of historic examples of seizure of political power by military leaders, its members kept a watchful eye on the Army's commanders and insisted they defer to civilian authority. Washington countered these suspicions by constantly deferring to Congressional wishes, and he was rewarded by the assiduity with which Congress usually adopted his recommendations.

Lacking an executive, Congress had to rely on committees and boards to carry out its policies—unwieldy devices at best and centers of conflicting interest and discord at worst. In June 1776 it set up a Board of War and Ordnance, consisting of five of its members, the lineal ancestor of the War Department. In 1777 Congress changed the composition of the board, directing that it henceforth be made up of persons outside Congress who could devote full time to their military duties. Neither of these devices really worked well, and Congress continually handled administrative matters by action of the entire membership or by appointment of special committees to go to camp. In 1781 the board was replaced by a single Secretary at War.

Under the Articles of Confederation the states were responsible for raising troops for the Continental Army, for organizing and equipping them, and for appointing officers through the rank of colonel. State authorities called out militia sometimes at the request of Congress and sometimes on their own initiative. When they joined the main army, militia normally shared in its supplies and equipment. The states, however, maintained an interest in supplying and administering the troops of their own "lines" as well as their militia, and the Continental agents had continually to enlist state assistance in their own efforts. Lines of authority crisscrossed at every turn.

It was an inefficient military system for an organized national effort. Washington could never depend on having enough trained men or supplies. He continually inveighed against sending militia to fight his battles and by early 1776 had concluded that he needed an army enlisted for the duration of the war. Congress did not, as has often been charged, ignore his wishes. In October 1776 it voted a new establishment, superseding the plan developed for the army before Boston in 1775 and haphazard arrangements made in the interim for raising Continental regiments in various states. This establishment was to contain 88 battalions of infantry, or about 60,000 men, enlisted to serve three years or "during the present war," with each state assigned a quota in proportion to its population under the system set up in the Articles. After the disastrous retreat across New Jersey in December 1776, Congress went further and authorized an additional 22 battalions to be recruited by Washington's officers directly into the Continental service. These 110 battalions remained the authorized strength of the Continental Army until 1781, when Congress cut it to 59.

Neither the 88 battalions, nor the 110, nor even the 59 ever existed except on paper. The Continental Army never had as many as 30,000 men at any one time, and very rarely was Washington able to muster as many as 15,000 effectives in the field. The states were simply unable to meet their quotas. By the winter of 1777–78, the effort to enlist men for three years or the duration collapsed, and the following spring, with the sanction of Washington, Congress reverted to a system of one-year enlistments and recommended to the states that they institute a system of drafting men from the militia for one year's service. This first American wartime draft was applied irregularly in the various states and succeeded no better than had earlier methods in filling the Continental ranks. Bounties, instituted by both the states and the Congress very early in the war and progressively increased one step behind the pace of inflation, also produced only temporary and irregular results.

The coin did have another side. In reality the shortage of arms and ammunition and of facilities for producing them limited the number of men who could be kept continuously in the field as effectively as did the failure of enlistment drives. The militia system enabled many able-bodied males to perform part-time military service and still remain most of the time in the labor force that kept the economy going. It is doubtful whether the American economy could have sustained such an army as Washington and Congress proposed in 1776, even had there been a central administration with adequate power. As it was, the small Continental Army that did remain in the field intermittently suffered extreme hardship and near starvation. On the other

hand, American ability to raise local armies in any threatened region helped to balance the strategic mobility that the British Fleet gave to the British Army. Although militia generally did not perform well in regular warfare, when highly motivated and ably led, they could fight well on terrain suited to their capabilities. Given the conditions under which the Revolution was fought, the American military system was more effective than its critics have recognized, though it failed to provide adequately for a sustained military effort over a period of years.

Perhaps Washington's greatest achievement was simply in maintaining the Continental Army continuously in the field. Despite its many vicissitudes, that army did take shape during the war as the first distinctively American military organization, neither quite a replica of the professional British Army on which it was modeled nor yet the type of national army raised by conscription that was to appear in France after the Revolution of 1789.

The Continental Army operated in three main territorial divisions or departments—the main army under Washington largely in the Middle States, the Northern Army in northern New York, and the Southern Army in the Carolinas and Georgia. Although Washington was Commander in Chief of the whole, the commanders of the Northern and Southern Armies still operated with a considerable measure of independence. Congress, rather than Washington, named their commanders and communicated directly with them. Of the two "separate armies," the Northern Army was by far the most important until 1777 and the Southern Army existed largely on paper; by 1780 the situation was reversed as the British transferred their main effort to the southern states.

The Continental Army was composed mainly of infantry and artillery, with very little cavalry. The basic unit of infantry organization was the regiment or battalion composed of eight companies. Organization above this level was highly flexible. A brigade was usually formed of several regiments and was commanded by a brigadier general; a division consisted of a similar grouping of several brigades commanded by a major general. Artillery was organized into a brigade of four regiments under a Chief of Artillery, Brig. Gen. Henry Knox, but the various companies were distributed among the infantry battalions. There was a small corps of engineers and an even smaller contingent of artificers, who handled the servicing and repair of ordnance.

Washington was provided with a staff generally corresponding to that of the British Army. The most important staff officer was the Quartermaster General, responsible not only for transportation and delivery of supplies but also for arranging the camp, regulating marches, and establishing the order of battle of the army. There were also an Adjutant General, a Judge Advocate

General, a Paymaster General, a Commissary General of Musters, a Commissary General of Provisions, a Clothier General, a Chief Surgeon, and a Chief Engineer. Each of the separate armies also usually had staff officers in these positions, designated as deputies to those of the main army.

All these staff officers had primarily administrative and supply functions. The modern concept of a general staff that acts as a sort of collective brain for the commander had no real counterpart in the eighteenth century. For advice on strategy and operations, Washington relied on a Council of War made up of his principal subordinate commanders, and, conforming to his original instructions from Congress, he usually consulted the council before making major decisions.

Both organization and staff work suffered from the ills that afflicted the whole military system. Regiments were constantly understrength, were organized differently by the various states, and employed varying systems of drill, discipline, and training. In the promotion of officers in the state lines, Continental commanders shared authority with the states, and the confused system gave rise to all sorts of rivalries, jealousies, and resentment, leading to frequent resignations. Staff officers were generally inexperienced, and few had the patience and perseverance to overcome the obstacles posed by divided authority, inadequate means, and poor transportation and communication facilities. The supply and support services of the Continental Army never really functioned efficiently, and with the depreciation in the currency they came close to collapse.

The British Problem

Whatever the American weaknesses, the British Government faced no easy task when it undertook to subdue the revolt by military force. Even though England possessed the central administration, stable financial system, and well-organized Army and Navy that the Americans so sorely lacked, the whole establishment was ill-prepared in 1775 for the struggle in America. A large burden of debt incurred in the wars of the preceding century had forced crippling economies on both Army and Navy. British administrative and supply systems, though far superior to anything the Americans could improvise, were also characterized by division and confusion of authority, and there was much corruption in high places.

To suppress the revolt, Britain had first to raise the necessary forces, then transport and sustain them over 3,000 miles of ocean, and finally use them effectively to regain control of a vast and sparsely populated territory. Recruiting men for an eighteenth century army was most difficult. The British Government

had no power to compel service except in the militia in defense of the homeland, and service in the British Army overseas was immensely unpopular. To meet Sir William Howe's request for 50,000 men to conduct the campaign in 1776, the ministry resorted to hiring mercenaries from the small German states, particularly Hesse-Cassell (hence Hessians). These German states were to contribute almost 30,000 men to the British service during the war—complete organizations with their own officers up to the rank of major general and schooled in the system of Frederick the Great. Howe did not get his 50,000 men but by midsummer 1776 his force had passed 30,000 British and Hessians, and additional reinforcements were sent to Canada during the year. Maintaining a force of this size proved to be virtually impossible. The attrition rate in America from battle losses, sickness, disease, and desertion was tremendously high. English jails and poorhouses were drained of able-bodied men, bounties were paid, patriotic appeals were launched throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all the ancient methods of impressment were tried, but the British were never able to recruit enough men to meet the needs of their commanders in America.

Providing adequate support for this army over a long ocean supply line was equally difficult. Even for food and forage, the British Army had to rely primarily on sea lines of supply. Transports were in short supply, the hardships of the 2- to 4-month voyage terrible, and the loss of men and supplies to natural causes heavy. Moreover, though the Americans could muster no navy capable of contesting British control of the seas, their privateers and the ships of their infant navy posed a constant threat to unprotected troop and supply transports. British commanders repeatedly had to delay their operations, awaiting the arrival of men and supplies from England.

Once in America, British armies could find no strategic center or centers whose capture would bring victory. Flat, open country where warfare could be carried on in European style was not common; and woods, hills, and swamps suited to the operations of militia and irregulars were plentiful. A British Army that could win victories in the field over the Continentals had great difficulty in making those victories meaningful. American armies seemed to possess miraculous powers of recuperation, while a British force, once depleted or surrendered, took a tremendous effort to replace.

As long as they controlled the seas, the British could land and establish bases at nearly any point on the long American coast line. The many navigable rivers dotting the coast also provided water avenues of invasion well into the interior. But to crush the revolt the British Army had to cut loose from coastal bases and rivers. When it did so its logistical problems multiplied and its lines of com-

munications became vulnerable to constant harassment. British armies almost inevitably came to grief every time they moved very far from the areas where they could be nurtured by supply ships from the homeland. These difficulties, a British colonel asserted in 1777, had "absolutely prevented us this whole war from going fifteen miles from a navigable river."

The British could not, in any case, ever hope to muster enough strength to occupy with their own troops the vast territory they sought to restore to British rule. Their only real hope of meaningful victory was to use American loyalists as an instrument for controlling the country, as one British general put it, to help "the good Americans to subdue the bad." There were many obstacles to making effective use of the Tories. Patriot organization, weak at the center, was strong at the grass roots, in the local communities throughout America, whereas the Tories were neither well organized nor energetically led. The patriots seized the machinery of local government in most communities at the outset, held it until the British Army appeared in their midst, and then normally regained it after the British departed. Strong local control enabled the patriots to root out the more ardent Tories at the very outset, and by making an example of them to sway the apathetic and indifferent. British commanders were usually disappointed in the number of Tories who flocked to their standards and even more upset by the alacrity with which many of them switched their allegiance when the British Army moved out. They found the Tories a demanding, discordant, and puzzling lot, and they made no really earnest effort to enlist them in British forces until late in the war. By 1781 they had with their armies some 8,000 "provincial rank and file"; perhaps 50,000 in all served the British in some military capacity during the war.

On the frontiers the British could also expect support from the Indian tribes who almost inevitably drifted into the orbit of whatever power controlled Canada. But support of the Indians was a two-edged sword, for nothing could raise frontier enthusiasm for battle like the threat of an Indian attack.

Finally, the British had to fight the war with one eye on their ancient enemies in Europe. France, thirsting for revenge for defeat in the Seven Years' War, stood ready to aid the American cause if for no other purpose than to weaken British power, and by virtue of a Family Compact could almost certainly carry Spain along in any war with England. France and Spain could at the very least provide badly needed money and supplies to sustain the American effort and force the British to divert their forces from the contest in America. At most the combined Franco-Spanish fleet might well prove a match for the British Fleet and neutralize that essential control of the seas needed by the British to carry on the American war.

Of Strategy

The story of the American Revolution can hardly be told in terms of long-term strategy and its success or failure. Neither side ever had any really consistent plan for the conduct of the war. The British, who retained the strategic initiative most of the time, failed to use it to great advantage. They were highly uncertain about their objective; plans were laid from year to year and seldom co-ordinated even for a single year. Blame for this uncertain approach falls in almost equal part on the administration in England and the commanders in America. If King George III, Lord North, his Prime Minister, and Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the American Department—the three British officials mainly responsible for the conduct of the war—never provided the timely guidance that might have been expected of them, their inability to do so came about in part because the commanders in the field never furnished accurate enough predictions of what to expect and differed so much among themselves as to the proper course to pursue. In assessing blame in this fashion, one must keep in mind the difficulties of logistics and communications under which the British labored, for these difficulties made it virtually impossible to co-ordinate plans over great distances or to assemble men and materials in time to pursue one logical and consistent plan.

American strategy was primarily defensive and consequently had to be shaped largely in terms of countering British moves. Uncertainties as to the supply of both men and materials acted on the American side even more effectively to thwart the development of a consistent plan for winning the war. Yet Washington was never so baffled by the conditions of the war or uncertain of his objective as were the various British commanders. After some early blunders, he soon learned both his own and the enemy's strengths and weaknesses and did his best to exploit them. Though unable to develop a consistent plan, he did try to develop a consistent line of action. He sought to maintain his principal striking force in a central position blocking any British advance into the interior; to be neither too bold nor too timid in seeking battle for limited objectives; to avoid the destruction of his army at all costs; and to find some means of concentrating a sufficient force to strike a decisive offensive blow whenever the British overreached themselves. He showed a better appreciation than the British commanders of the advantages in mobility their Navy gave them, and after 1778, when the French entered the war, he clearly saw that the decisive blow he desired could be struck only by a combined effort of the Continental Army and the French Fleet.

The British Offensive in 1776

If the British ever had a single strategic objective in the war, it was the Hudson River–Lake Champlain line. By taking and holding this line the British believed they could separate New England, considered to be the principal center of the rebellion, from the more malleable colonies to the southward. Howe proposed to make this the main objective of his campaign in 1776 by landing at New York, securing a base of operations there, and then pushing north. He wanted to concentrate the entire British force in America in New York, but the British Government diverted part of it to Canada in early 1776 to repel the American invasion, laying the groundwork for the divided command that was so to plague British operations afterward.

After the evacuation of Boston, Howe stayed at Halifax from March until June, awaiting the arrival of supplies and reinforcements. While he tarried, the British Government ordered another diversion in the south, aimed at encouraging the numerous loyalists who, according to the royal governors watching from their havens on board British warships, were waiting only for the appearance of a British force to rise and overthrow rebel rule. Unfortunately for the British, the naval squadron sent from England under Admiral Sir Peter Parker was delayed and did not arrive off the American coast until late in May. By this time all hopes of effective co-operation with the Tories had been dashed. Loyalist contingents had been completely defeated and dispersed in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Parker, undeterred by these developments, determined to attack Charleston, the largest city in the south. There South Carolina militia and newly raised Continentals had prepared and manned defenses under the guidance of Maj. Gen. Charles Lee, whom Washington had dispatched south to assist them. The South Carolinians, contrary to Lee's advice, centered their defenses in Fort Moultrie, a palmetto log fort constructed on Sullivan's Island, commanding the approach to the harbor. It was an unwise decision, somewhat comparable to that at Bunker Hill, but fortunately for the defenders the British had to mount an un-co-ordinated attack in haste. Clinton's troops were landed on nearby Long Island, but on the day the Navy attacked, June 28, the water proved too deep for them to wade across to Sullivan's Island as expected. The British Army consequently sat idly by while the gunners in Fort Moultrie devastated the British warships. Sir Peter Parker suffered the ultimate indignity when his pants were set afire.

The battered British Fleet hastily embarked the British soldiers and sailed northward to join Howe, for it was already behind schedule. For three years following the fiasco at Charleston the British were to leave the south un-

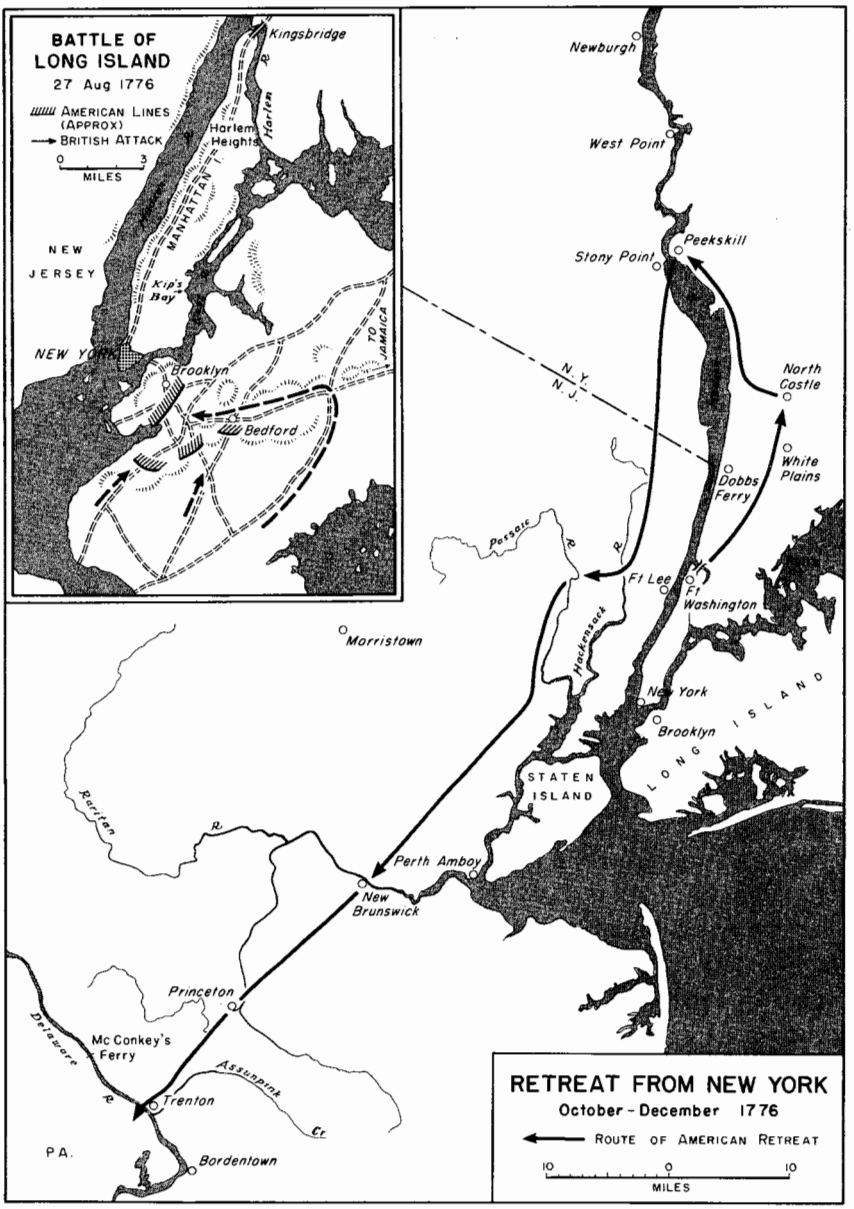
molested and the Tories there, who were undoubtedly numerous, without succor.

Howe was meanwhile beset by other delays in the arrival of transports from England, and his attack did not get under way until late August—leaving insufficient time before the advent of winter to carry through the planned advance along the Hudson–Lake Champlain line. He therefore started his invasion of New York with only the limited objective of gaining a foothold for the campaign the following year.

The British commander had, when his force was all assembled, an army of about 32,000 men; it was supported by a powerful fleet under the command of his brother, Admiral Richard Howe. To oppose him Washington had brought most of his army down from Boston, and Congress exerted its utmost efforts to reinforce him by raising Continental regiments in the surrounding states and issuing a general call for the militia. Washington was able to muster a paper strength of roughly 28,500 men, but only about 19,000 were present and fit for duty. As Christopher Ward remarks, "The larger part of them were raw recruits, undisciplined and inexperienced in warfare, and militia, never to be assuredly relied upon."

Washington and Congress made the same decision the South Carolinians had made at Charleston—to defend their territory in the most forward positions—and this time they paid the price for their mistake. The geography of the area gave the side possessing naval supremacy an almost insuperable advantage. The city of New York stood on Manhattan Island, surrounded by the Hudson, Harlem, and East Rivers. (*Map 5*) There was only one connecting link with the mainland, Kingsbridge across the Harlem River at the northern tip of Manhattan. Across the East River on Long Island, Brooklyn Heights stood in a position dominating the southern tip of Manhattan. With the naval forces at their disposal, the Howes could land troops on either Long Island or Manhattan proper and send warships up either the East or Hudson Rivers a considerable distance.

Washington decided he must defend Brooklyn Heights on Long Island if he was to defend Manhattan; he therefore divided his army between the two places—a violation of the principle of mass and the first step toward disaster. For all practical purposes command on Long Island was also divided. Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, to whom Washington first entrusted the command, came down with malaria and was replaced by Maj. Gen. John Sullivan. Not completely satisfied with this arrangement, at the last moment Washington placed Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam over Sullivan, but Putnam hardly had time to become acquainted with the situation before the British struck. The forces on Long



MAP 5

Island, numbering about 10,000, were disposed in fortifications on Brooklyn Heights and in forward positions back of a line of thickly wooded hills that ran across the southern end of the island. Sullivan was in command on the left

of the forward line, Brig. Gen. William Alexander (Lord Stirling) on the right. Four roads ran through the hills toward the American positions. (*inset, Map 5*) Unfortunately Sullivan, in violation of the principle of security, left the Jamaica-Bedford road unguarded.

Howe was consequently able to teach the Americans lessons in maneuver and surprise. On August 22 he landed a force of 20,000 on the southwestern tip of Long Island and, in a surprise attack up the Jamaica-Bedford road against the American left flank, crumpled the entire American position. Stirling's valiant fight on the right went for naught, and inexperienced American troops fled in terror before the British and Hessian bayonets, falling back to the fortifications on Brooklyn Heights. It seems clear that had Howe pushed his advantage immediately he could have carried the heights and destroyed half the American Army then and there. Instead he halted at nightfall and began to dig trenches, signaling an intent to take the heights by "regular approaches" in traditional eighteenth century fashion. Washington managed to evacuate his forces across the East River on the night of August 29. According to one theory, wind and weather stopped the British warships from entering the river to prevent the escape; according to another, the Americans had placed impediments in the river that effectively barred their entry. In any case, it was a narrow escape, made possible by the skill, bravery, and perseverance of Col. John Glover's Marblehead Regiment, Massachusetts fishermen who manned the boats.

Washington had two weeks to prepare his defenses on Manhattan before Howe struck again, landing a force at Kip's Bay above the city of New York (now about 34th Street) on September 15. Raw Connecticut militia posted at this point broke and ran "as if the Devil was in them," defying even the efforts of a raging Washington to halt them. Howe once again had an opportunity to split the American Army in two and destroy half, but again he delayed midway across the island to wait until his entire force had landed. General Putnam was able to bring the troops stationed in the city up the west side of Manhattan to join their compatriots in new fortifications on Harlem Heights. There the Americans held out for another month, and even won a skirmish, but this position was also basically untenable.

In mid-October Howe landed again in Washington's rear at Pell's Point. The American commander then finally evacuated the Manhattan trap via Kingsbridge and took up a new position at White Plains, leaving about 6,000 men behind to man two forts, Fort Washington and Fort Lee, on opposite sides of the Hudson. Howe launched a probing attack on the American position at White Plains and was repulsed, but Washington, sensing his inability to meet the British in battle on equal terms, moved away to the north toward the New

York highlands. Again he was outmaneuvered. Howe quickly moved to Dobbs Ferry on the Hudson between Washington's army and the Hudson River forts. On the advice of General Greene (now recovered from his bout with malaria), Washington decided to defend the forts. At the same time he again split his army, moving across the Hudson and into New Jersey with 5,000 men and leaving General Lee and Maj. Gen. William Heath with about 8,000 between them to guard the passes through the New York highlands at Peekskill and North Castle. On November 16 Howe turned against Fort Washington and with the support of British warships on the Hudson stormed it successfully, capturing 3,000 American troops and large quantities of valuable munitions. Greene then hastily evacuated Fort Lee and by the end of November Washington, with mere remnants of his army, was in full retreat across New Jersey with Lord Charles Cornwallis, detached by Howe, pursuing him rapidly from river to river.

While Washington was suffering these disastrous defeats, the army that had been gathered was slowly melting away. Militia left by whole companies and desertion among the Continentals was rife. When Washington finally crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania in early December, he could muster barely 2,000 men, the hard core of his Continental forces. The 8,000 men in the New York highlands also dwindled away. Even more appalling, most enlistments expired with the end of the year 1776 and a new army would have to be raised for the following year.

Yet neither the unreliability of the militia nor the short period of enlistment fully explained the debacle that had befallen the Continental Army. Washington's generalship was also faulty. Criticism of the Commander in Chief, even among his official family, mounted, centering particularly on his decision to hold Fort Washington. General Lee, the ex-British colonel, ordered by Washington to bring his forces down from New York to join him behind the Delaware, delayed, believing that he might himself salvage the American cause by making incursions into New Jersey. He wrote Horatio Gates, ". . . *entre nous,* a certain great man is most damnably deficient. . . ."

There was only one bright spot in the picture in the autumn of 1776. While Howe was routing Washington around New York City, other British forces under Sir Guy Carleton were attempting to follow up the advantage they had gained in repulsing the attack on Canada earlier in the year. Carleton rather leisurely built a flotilla of boats to carry British forces down Lake Champlain and Lake George, intending at least to reduce the fort at Ticonderoga before winter set in. Benedict Arnold countered by throwing together a much weaker flotilla of American boats with which he contested the British passage. Arnold lost this naval action on the lakes, but he so delayed Carleton's advance that the British

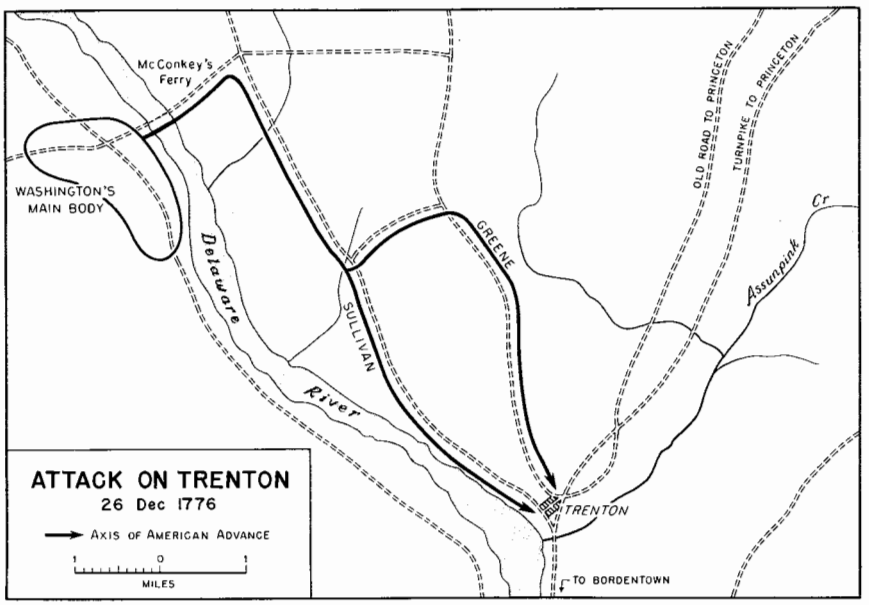
commander reached Ticonderoga too late in the year to consider undertaking a siege. He returned his army to winter quarters in Canada, leaving the British with no advance base from which to launch the next year's campaign.

Although its consequences were to be far reaching, this limited victory did little to dispel the gloom that fell on the patriots after Washington's defeats in New York. The British, aware that Continental enlistments expired at the end of the year, had high hopes that the American Army would simply fade away and the rebellion collapse. Howe halted Cornwallis' pursuit of Washington and sent Clinton with a detachment of troops under naval escort to seize Newport, Rhode Island. He then dispersed his troops in winter quarters, establishing a line of posts in New Jersey at Perth Amboy, New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and Bordentown, and retired himself to New York. Howe had gained the object of the 1776 campaign, a strong foothold, and possibly, as he thought at the time, a great deal more.

Trenton and Princeton

While Howe rested comfortably in New York, Washington desperately sought to reconcentrate his forces and redeem the defeat in New York. General Lee had the misfortune to fall into British hands on December 12, and his 2,000 remaining men then made haste to join Washington. Eight decimated regiments were also pulled from the Northern Army, and with some Pennsylvania militia Washington was able to assemble a force totaling about 7,000 by the last week of December 1776. If he was to use this force, he would have to do so before the enlistments expired on December 31. With great boldness, Washington formulated a plan to strike by surprise at the Hessian garrisons at Trenton and Bordentown on Christmas night, when the troops might be expected to relax their guard for holiday revelry. A Continental force of 2,400 men under Washington's personal command was to cross the Delaware at McConkey's Ferry above Trenton and then proceed in two columns by different routes, converging on the opposite ends of the main street of Trenton in the early morning of December 26. (*Map 6*) A second force, mainly militia, under Col. John Cadwalader was to cross below near Bordentown to attack the Hessian garrison there; a third, also militia, under Brig. Gen. James Ewing, was to cross directly opposite Trenton to block the Hessian route of escape across Assunpink Creek.

Christmas night was cold, windy, and snowy and the Delaware River was filled with blocks of ice. Neither Cadwalader nor Ewing was able to fulfill his part of the plan. Driven on by Washington's indomitable will, the main force did cross as planned and the two columns, commanded respectively by Greene and Sullivan, converged on Trenton at eight o'clock in the morning of December 26,



MAP 6

taking the Hessians completely by surprise. A New England private noted in his diary for the 26th: "This morning at 4 a clock we set off with our Field pieces and Marched 8 miles to Trenton whare we ware attacked by a Number of Hushing and we Toock 1000 of them besides killed some. Then we marched back and got to the River at Night and got over all the Hushing." This rather undramatic description of a very dramatic event was not far wrong, except in attributing the attack to the "Hushings." The Hessians surrendered after a fight lasting only an hour and a half. Forty were killed and the prisoner count was 918. Only 400 escaped to Bordentown, and these only because Ewing was not in place to block their escape. The Americans lost only 4 dead and 4 wounded.

Encouraged by this success, Washington determined to make another foray. By an impassioned appeal to the patriotism of the men, supplemented by an offer of a $10 bounty in hard money, he was able to persuade at least part of his old army to remain for six more weeks. With a force of around 5,000 Washington again crossed the Delaware on the night of December 30–31. By this time Cornwallis had hastily gathered together the scattered British garrisons in New Jersey, and took up a position confronting Washington at Trenton on January 2, 1777. Convinced that he had the Americans in a trap, he put off battle until the next day because of the exhausted state of his troops. In the night Washington slipped away, leaving campfires burning brightly to deceive the British. The



ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S ARTILLERY AT TRENTON, *with a 6-pounder brass field gun in the foreground.*

next morning he struck another surprise blow at Princeton, inflicting heavy losses on two British regiments just leaving the town to join Cornwallis. Washington then went into winter quarters in the hills around Morristown, New Jersey. Cornwallis did not pursue. The British had had enough of winter warfare, and Howe drew in his outposts in New Jersey to New Brunswick and Perth Amboy.

Trenton and Princeton not only offset the worst effects of the disastrous defeats in New York but also restored Washington's prestige as a commander with friend and foe alike. In the execution of the two strokes east of the Delaware, Washington had applied the principles of offensive, surprise, and maneuver with great success and finally achieved stature as a military commander. If these victories did not assure him that he could recruit such an army as Congress had voted, they did at least guarantee that he would be able to field a force the following year. Sir William Howe found that, despite his smashing rout of the Americans in New York, he was left with little more than that city, a foothold in New Jersey, and the port of Newport in Rhode Island.

III. The Winning of Independence

1777–1783

The year 1777 was most critical for the British. The issue, very plainly, was whether they could score such success in putting down the American revolt that the French would not dare enter the war openly to aid the American rebels. Yet it was in this critical year that British plans were most confused and British operations most disjointed. The British campaign of 1777 provides one of the most striking object lessons in military history of the dangers of divided command.

The Campaign of 1777

With secure bases at New York and Newport, Howe had a chance to get the early start that had been denied him the previous year. His first plan, advanced on November 30, 1776, was probably the most comprehensive put forward by any British commander during the war. He proposed to maintain a small force of about 8,000 to contain Washington in New Jersey and 7,000 to garrison New York, while sending one column of 10,000 from Newport into New England and another column of 10,000 from New York up the Hudson to form a junction with a British force moving down from Canada. On the assumption that these moves would be successful by autumn, he would next capture Philadelphia, the rebel capital, and then make the southern provinces the "objects of the winter." For this plan, Howe requested 35,000 men, 15,000 more effective troops than he had left at the end of the 1776 campaign. Sir George Germain, the American Secretary, could promise him only 8,000. Even before receiving this news, but evidently influenced by Trenton and Princeton, Howe changed his plan and proposed to devote his main effort in 1777 to taking Philadelphia. On March 3, 1777, Germain informed Howe that the Philadelphia plan was approved, but that there might be only 5,500 reinforcements. At the same time Germain and the king urged a "warm diversion" against New England.

Meanwhile, Sir John Burgoyne, who had succeeded in obtaining the separate military command in Canada, submitted his plan calling for an advance southward to "a junction with Howe." Germain and the king also approved this plan on March 29, though aware of Howe's intention to go to Philadelphia. They seem to have expected either that Howe would be able to form his junction by the "warm diversion," or else that he would take Philadelphia quickly and then turn north to aid Burgoyne. In any case, Germain approved two separate and un-co-ordinated plans, and Howe and Burgoyne went their separate ways, doing nothing to remedy the situation. Howe's Philadelphia plan did provide for leaving enough force in New York for what its commander, General Clinton, called "a damn'd starved offensive," but Clinton's orders were vague. Quite possibly Burgoyne knew before he left England for Canada that Howe was going to Philadelphia, but ambitious "Gentleman Johnny" was determined to make a reputation in the American war, and evidently believed he could succeed alone. Even when he learned certainly on August 3, 1777, that he could not expect Howe's co-operation, he persisted in his design. As Howe thought Pennsylvania was filled with royalists, Burgoyne cherished the illusion that legions of Tories in New York and western New England were simply awaiting the appearance of the king's troops to rally to the colors.

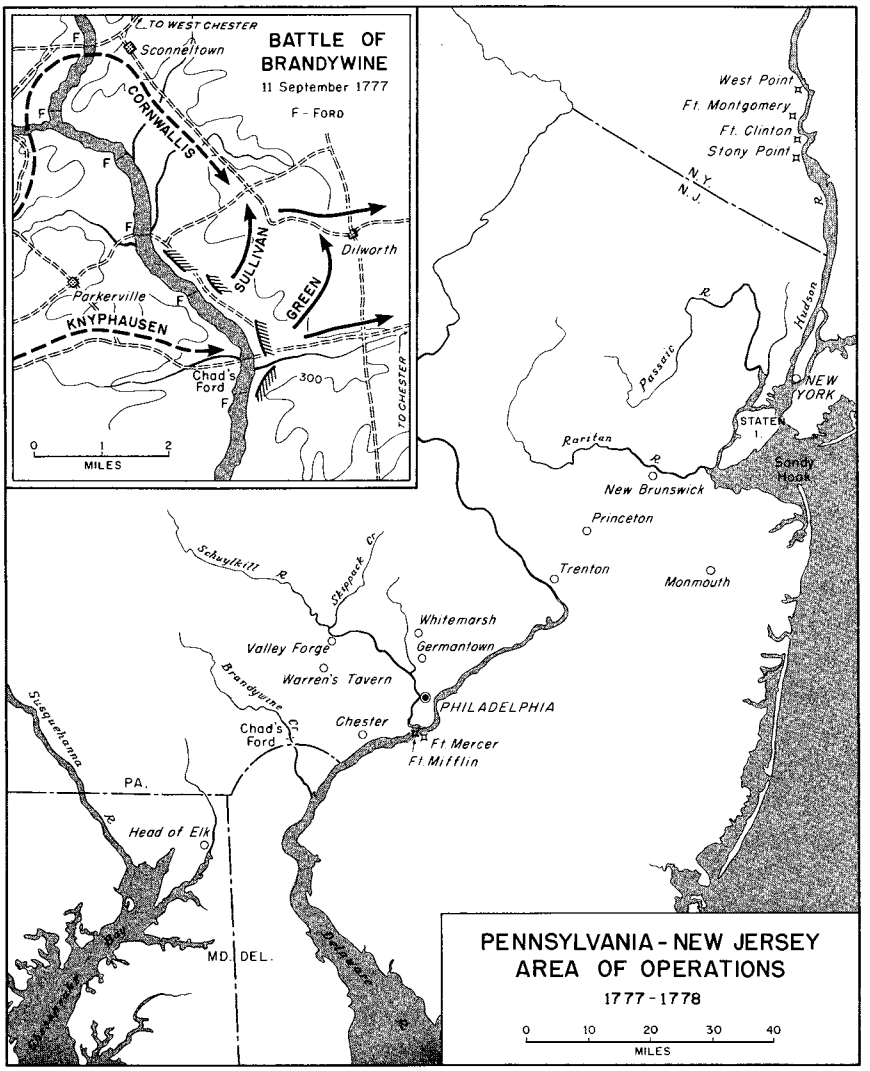
Again in 1777 the late arrival of Howe's reinforcements and stores ships gave Washington time that he sorely needed. Men to form the new Continental Army came in slowly and not until June did the Americans have a force of 8,000. On the northern line the defenses were even more thinly manned. Supplies for troops in the field were also short, but the arrival of the first three ships bearing secret aid from France vastly improved the situation. They were evidence of the covert support of the French Government; a mission sent by Congress to France was meanwhile working diligently to enlist open aid and to embroil France in a war with England. The French Foreign Minister, the Comte de Vergennes, had already decided to take that risk when and if the American rebels demonstrated their serious purpose and ability to fulfill it by some signal victory in the field.

With the first foreign material aid in 1777, the influx of foreign officers into the American Army began. These officers were no unmixed blessing. Most were adventurers in search of fortune or of reputation with little facility for adjusting themselves to American conditions. Few were willing to accept any but the highest ranks. Nevertheless, they brought with them professional military knowledge and competence that the Continental Army sorely needed. When the misfits were culled out, this knowledge and competence were used

to considerable advantage. Louis DuPortail, a Frenchman, and Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a Pole, did much to advance the art of engineering in the Continental Army; Casimir Pulaski, another Pole, organized its first genuine cavalry contingent; Johann de Kalb and Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben, both Germans, and the Marquis de Lafayette, an influential French nobleman who financed his own way, were all to make valuable contributions as trainers and leaders. On the Continental Army of 1777, however, these foreign volunteers had little effect and it remained much as it had been before, a relatively untrained body of inexperienced enlistees.

When Howe finally began to stir in June 1777, Washington posted his army at Middlebrook, New Jersey, in a position either to bar Howe's overland route to Philadelphia or to move rapidly up the Hudson to oppose an advance northward. Washington confidently expected Howe to move northward to form a junction with Burgoyne, but decided he must stay in front of the main British Army wherever it went. Following the principle of economy of force, he disposed a small part of his army under General Putnam in fortifications guarding the approaches up the Hudson, and at a critical moment detached a small force to aid Schuyler against Burgoyne. The bulk of his army he kept in front of Howe in an effort to defend Philadelphia. Forts were built along the Delaware River and other steps taken to block the approach to the Continental capital by sea.

In the effort to defend Philadelphia Washington again failed, but hardly so ignominiously as he had the year before in New York. After maneuvering in New Jersey for upward of two months, Howe in August put most of his army on board ship and sailed down the coast and up the Chesapeake Bay to Head of Elk (a small town at the head of the Elk River) in Maryland, putting himself even further away from Burgoyne. (*Map 7*) Though surprised by Howe's movement, Washington rapidly shifted his own force south and took up a position at Chad's Ford on Brandywine Creek, blocking the approach to Philadelphia. There on September 11, 1777, Howe executed a flanking movement not dissimilar to that employed on Long Island and again defeated Washington. The American commander had disposed his army in two main parts, one directly opposite Chad's Ford under his personal command and the other under General Sullivan guarding the right flank upstream. While Lt. Gen. Wilhelm von Knyphausen's Hessian troops demonstrated opposite the ford, a larger force under Lord Cornwallis marched upstream, crossed the Brandywine, and moved to take Sullivan from the rear. Washington lacked good cavalry reconnaissance, and did not get positive information on Cornwallis' movement until the eleventh hour. Sullivan was in the process of changing front when



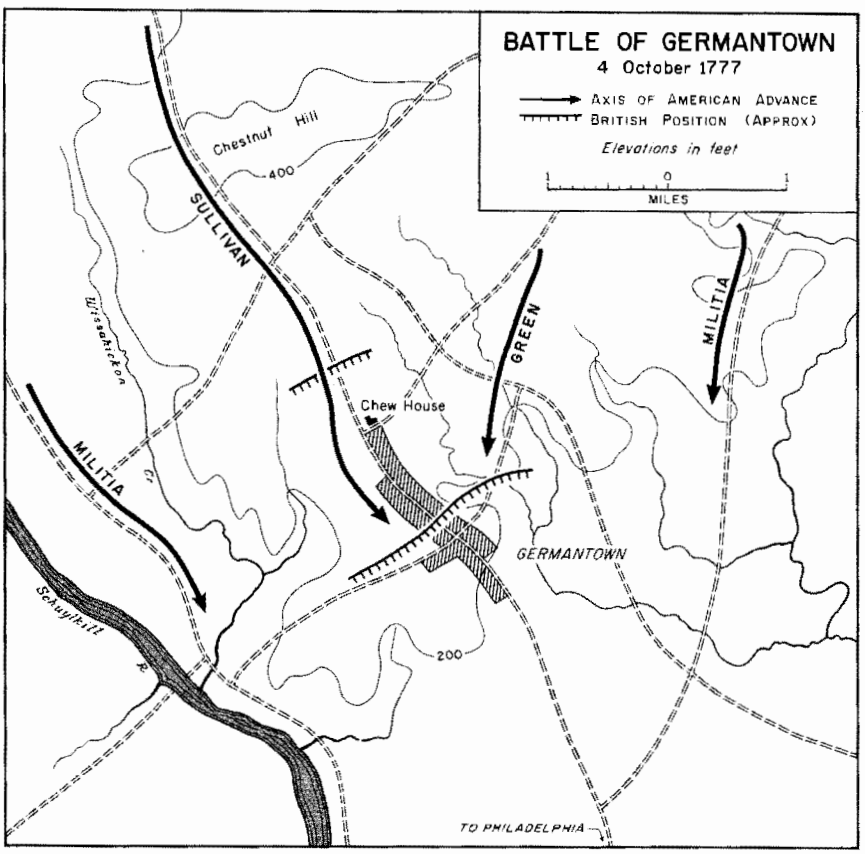
MAP 7

the British struck and his men retreated in confusion. Washington was able to salvage the situation by dispatching General Greene with two brigades to fight a valiant rear-guard action, but the move weakened his front opposite Kynphausen and his forces also had to fall back. Nevertheless, the trap was averted and the Continental Army retired in good order to Chester.

Howe followed with a series of maneuvers comparable to those he had executed in New York, and was able to enter Philadelphia with a minimum of

fighting on September 26. A combined attack of British Army and Navy forces shortly afterward reduced the forts on the Delaware and opened the river as a British supply line.

On entering Philadelphia, Howe dispersed his forces, stationing 9,000 men at Germantown north of the city, 3,000 in New Jersey, and the rest in Philadelphia. As Howe had repeated his performance in New York, Washington sought to repeat Trenton by a surprise attack on Germantown. The plan was much like that used at Trenton but involved far more complicated movements by much larger bodies of troops. Four columns—two of Continentals under Sullivan and Greene and two of militia—moving at night over different roads were to converge on Germantown simultaneously at dawn on October 4. (*Map 8*) The plan violated the principle of simplicity, for such a maneuver was



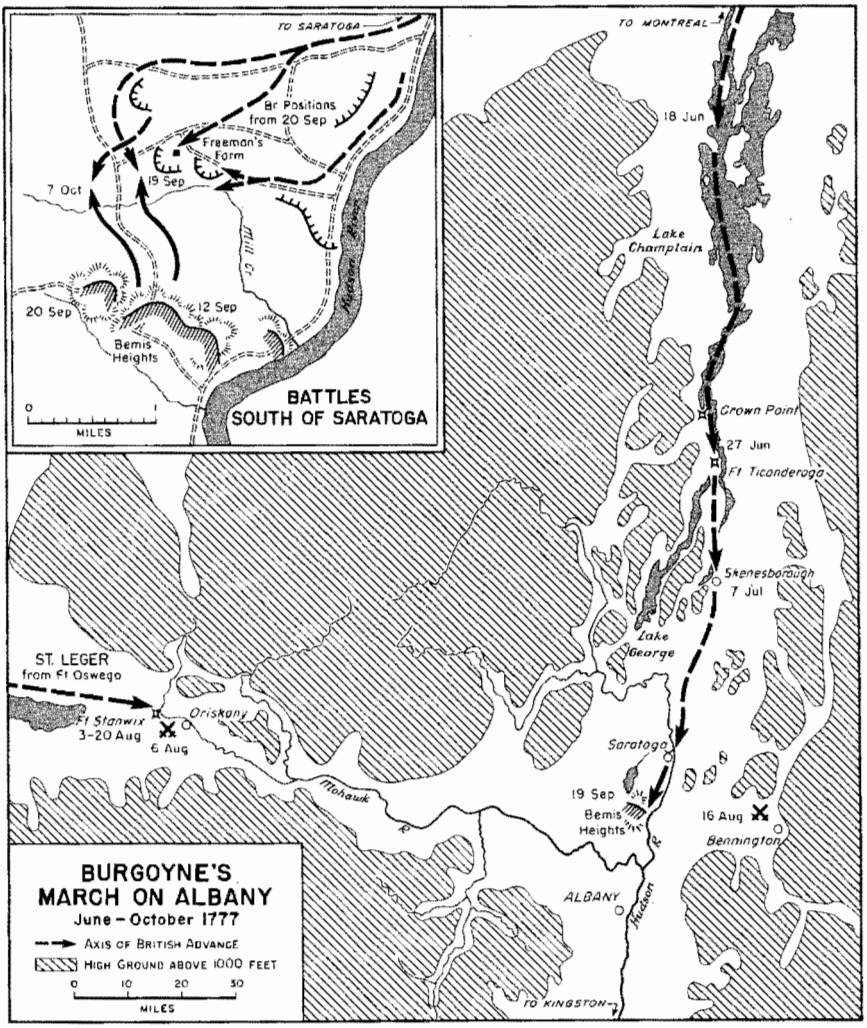
MAP 8

difficult even for well-trained professionals to execute. The two columns of Continentals arrived at different times and fired on each other in an early morning fog. The two militia columns never arrived at all. British fire from a stone house, the Chew Mansion, held up the advance while American generals argued whether they could leave a fortress in their rear. The British, though surprised, had better discipline and cohesion and were able to re-form and send fresh troops into the fray. The Americans retreated about 9:00 a.m., leaving Howe's troops in command of the field.

After Germantown Howe once again concentrated his army and moved to confront Washington at Whitemarsh, but finally withdrew to winter quarters in Philadelphia without giving battle. Washington chose the site for his own winter quarters at a place called Valley Forge, twenty miles northwest of the city. Howe had gained his objective but it proved of no lasting value to him. Congress fled west to York, Pennsylvania. No swarms of loyalists rallied to the British standards. And Howe had left Burgoyne to lose a whole British army in the north.

Burgoyne set out from Canada in June, his object to reach Albany by fall. (*Map 9*) His force was divided into two parts. The first and largest part—7,200 British and Hessian Regulars and 650 Tories, Canadians, and Indians, under his personal command—was to take the route down Lake Champlain to Ticonderoga and thence via Lake George to the Hudson. The second—700 Regulars and 1,000 Tories and Indian braves under Col. Barry St. Leger—was to move via Lake Ontario to Oswego and thence down the Mohawk Valley to join Burgoyne before Albany. In his preparations, Burgoyne evidently forgot the lesson the British had learned in the French and Indian War, that in the wilderness troops had to be prepared to travel light and fight like Indians. He carried 138 pieces of artillery and a heavy load of officers' personal baggage. Numerous ladies of high and low estate accompanied the expedition. When he started down the lakes, Burgoyne did not have enough horses and wagons to transport his artillery and baggage once he had to leave the water and move overland.

At first Burgoyne's American opposition was very weak—only about 2,500 Continentals at Ticonderoga and about 450 at old Fort Stanwix, the sole American bulwark in the Mohawk Valley. Dissension among the Americans was rife, the New Englanders refusing to support Schuyler, the aristocratic New Yorker who commanded the Northern Army, and openly intriguing to replace him with their own favorite, Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates. Ticonderoga fell to Burgoyne on June 27 all too easily. American forces dispersed and Burgoyne pursued the remnants down to Skenesborough. Once that far along, he decided to continue overland to the Hudson instead of returning to Ticonderoga to float his force



MAP 9

down Lake George, though much of his impedimenta still had to be carried by boat down the lake.

The overland line of advance was already a nightmare, running along wilderness trails, through marshes, and across wide ravines and creeks that had been swollen by abnormally heavy rains. Schuyler adopted the tactic of making it even worse by destroying bridges, cutting trees in Burgoyne's path, and digging trenches to let the waters of swamps onto drier ground. The British were

able to move at a rate of little more than a mile a day and took until July 29 to reach Fort Edward on the Hudson. By that time Burgoyne was desperately short of horses, wagons, and oxen. Yet Schuyler, with a unstable force of 4,500 men discouraged by continual retreats, was in no position to give battle.

Washington did what he could to strengthen the Northern Army at this juncture. He first dispatched Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold, his most aggressive field commander, and Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, a Massachusetts man noted for his influence with the New England militia. On August 16 he detached Col. Daniel Morgan with 500 riflemen from the main army in Pennsylvania and ordered them along with 750 men from Putnam's force in the New York highlands to join Schuyler. The riflemen were calculated to furnish an antidote for Burgoyne's Indians who, despite his efforts to restrain them, were terrorizing the countryside.

It was the rising militia, rather than Washington, who were to provide the Northern Army with its main reinforcements. Nothing worked more to produce this result than Burgoyne's employment of Indians. The murder and scalping of a beautiful white woman, Jane McCrea, dramatized the Indian threat as nothing else probably could have done. New England militiamen now began to rally to the cause, though they still refused to co-operate with Schuyler. New Hampshire commissioned John Stark, a disgruntled ex-colonel in the Continental Army and a veteran of Bunker Hill and Trenton, as a brigadier general in the state service (a rank denied him by Congress), and Stark quickly recruited 2,000 men. Refusing Schuyler's request that he join the main army, Stark took up a position at Bennington in southern Vermont to guard the New England frontier. On August 11 Burgoyne detached a force of 650 men under Hessian Col. Friedrich Baum to forage for cattle, horses, and transport in the very area Stark was occupying. At Bennington on August 16 Stark nearly annihilated Baum's force, and reinforcements sent by Burgoyne arrived on the field just in time to be soundly thrashed in turn. Burgoyne not only failed to secure his much-needed supplies and transport but also lost about a tenth of his command.

Meanwhile, St. Leger with his Tories and Indians had appeared before Fort Stanwix on August 2. The garrison, fearing massacre by the Indians, determined to hold out to the bitter end. On August 4, the Tryon County militia under Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer set out to relieve the fort but were ambushed by the Indians in a wooded ravine near Oriskany. The militia, under the direction of a mortally wounded Herkimer, scattered in the woods and fought a bloody afternoon's battle in a summer thunderstorm. Both sides suf-

fered heavy losses, and though the militia were unable to relieve Stanwix the losses discouraged St. Leger's Indians, who were already restless in the static siege operation at Stanwix.

Despite his own weak position, when Schuyler learned of the plight of the Stanwix garrison, he courageously detached Benedict Arnold with 950 Continentals to march to its relief. Arnold devised a ruse that took full advantage of the dissatisfaction and natural superstition of the Indians. Employing a half-wit Dutchman, his clothes shot full of holes, and a friendly Oneida Indian as his messengers, Arnold spread the rumor that the Continentals were approaching "as numerous as the leaves on the trees." The Indians, who had special respect for any madman, departed in haste, scalping not a few of their Tory allies as they went, and St. Leger was forced to abandon the siege.

Bennington and Stanwix were serious blows to Burgoyne. By early September he knew he could expect help from neither Howe nor St. Leger. Disillusioned about the Tories, he wrote Germain: "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with Congress in principle and zeal; and their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equalled. Wherever the King's forces point, militia in the amount of three or four thousand assemble in twenty-four hours; they bring with them their subsistence, etc., and the alarm over, they return to their farms. . . ." Nevertheless, gambler that he was, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson to the west side during September 13 and 14, signaling his intention to get to Albany or lose his army. While his supply problem daily became worse, his Indians, with a natural instinct for sensing approaching disaster, drifted off into the forests, leaving him with little means of gaining intelligence of the American dispositions.

The American forces were meanwhile gathering strength. Congress finally deferred to New England sentiment on August 19 and replaced Schuyler with Gates. Gates was more the beneficiary than the cause of the improved situation, but his appointment helped morale and encouraged the New England militia. Washington's emissary, General Lincoln, also did his part. Gates understood Burgoyne's plight perfectly and adapted his tactics to take full advantage of it. He advanced his forces four miles northward and took up a position, surveyed and prepared by the Polish engineer, Kosciusko, on Bemis Heights, a few miles below Saratoga. Against this position Burgoyne launched his attack on September 19 and was repulsed with heavy losses. In the battle, usually known as Freeman's Farm, Arnold persuaded Gates to let him go forward to counter the British attack, and Colonel Morgan's riflemen, in a wooded terrain well suited to the use of their specialized weapon, took a heavy toll of British officers and men.

After Freeman's Farm, the lines remained stable for three weeks. Burgoyne had heard that Clinton, with the force Howe had left in New York, had started north to relieve him. Clinton, in fact, stormed Forts Clinton and Montgomery on the Hudson on October 6, but, exercising that innate caution characteristic of all his actions, he refused to gamble for high stakes. He simply sent an advance guard on to Kingston and he himself returned to New York.

Burgoyne was left to his fate. Gates strengthened his entrenchments and calmly awaited the attack he was sure Burgoyne would have to make. Militia reinforcements increased his forces to around 10,000 by October 7. Meanwhile Burgoyne's position grew more desperate. Food was running out; the meadows were grazed bare by the animals; and every day more men slipped into the forest, deserting the lost cause. With little intelligence of American strength or dispositions, on October 7 he sent out a "reconnaissance in force" to feel out the American positions. On learning that the British were approaching, Gates sent out a contingent including Morgan's riflemen to meet them, and a second battle developed, usually known as Bemis Heights. The British suffered severe losses, five times those of the Americans, and were driven back to their fortified positions. Arnold, who had been at odds with Gates and was confined to his tent, broke out, rushed into the fray, and again distinguished himself before he was wounded in leading an attack on Breymann's Redoubt.

Two days after the battle, Burgoyne withdrew to a position in the vicinity of Saratoga. Militia soon worked around to his rear and cut his supply lines. His position hopeless, Burgoyne finally capitulated on October 17 at Saratoga. The total prisoner count was nearly 6,000 and great quantities of military stores fell into American hands. The victory at Saratoga brought the Americans out well ahead in the campaign of 1777 despite the loss of Philadelphia. What had been at stake soon became obvious. In February 1778 France negotiated a treaty of alliance with the American states, tantamount to a declaration of war against England.

Valley Forge

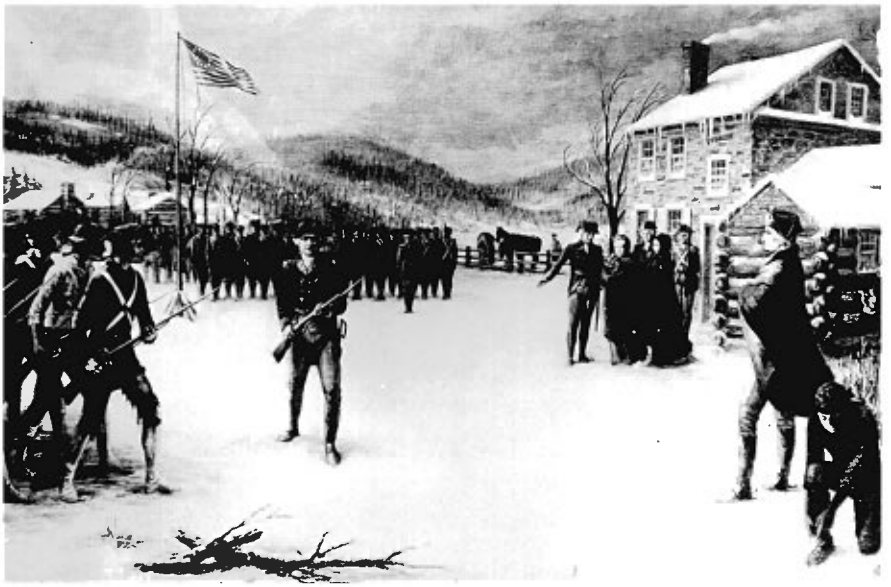
The name of Valley Forge has come to stand, and rightly so, as a patriotic symbol of suffering, courage, and perserverance. The hard core of 6,000 Continentals who stayed with Washington during that bitter winter of 1777–78 indeed suffered much. Some men had no shoes, no pants, no blankets. Weeks passed when there was no meat and men were reduced to boiling their shoes and eating them. The wintry winds penetrated the tattered tents that were at first the only shelter.

The symbolism of Valley Forge should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the suffering was largely unnecessary. While the soldiers shivered and went hungry, food rotted and clothing lay unused in depots throughout the country. True, access to Valley Forge was difficult, but little determined effort was made to get supplies into the area. The supply and transport system broke down. In mid-1777, both the Quartermaster and Commissary Generals resigned along with numerous subordinate officials in both departments, mostly merchants who found private trade more lucrative. Congress, in refuge at York, Pennsylvania, and split into factions, found it difficult to find replacements. If there was not, as most historians now believe, an organized cabal seeking to replace Washington with Gates, there were many, both in and out of the Army, who were dissatisfied with the Commander in Chief, and much intrigue went on. Gates was made president of the new Board of War set up in 1777, and at least two of its members were enemies of Washington. In the administrative chaos at the height of the Valley Forge crisis, there was no functioning Quartermaster General at all.

Washington weathered the storm and the Continental Army was to emerge from Valley Forge a more effective force than before. With his advice, Congress instituted reforms in the Quartermaster and Commissary Departments that temporarily restored the effectiveness of both agencies. Washington's ablest subordinate, General Greene, reluctantly accepted the post of Quartermaster General. The Continental Army itself gained a new professional competence from the training given by the Prussian, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben.

Steuben appeared at Valley Forge in February 1778 arrayed in such martial splendor that one private thought he had seen Mars, the god of war, himself. He represented himself as a baron, a title he had acquired in the service of a small German state, and as a former lieutenant general on the staff of Frederick the Great, though in reality he had been only a captain. The fraud was harmless, for Steuben had a broad knowledge of military affairs and his remarkable sense of the dramatic was combined with the common touch a true Prussian baron might well have lacked.

Washington had long sensed the need for uniform training and organization, and after a short trial he secured the appointment of Steuben as Inspector General in charge of a training program. Steuben carried out the program during the late winter and early spring of 1778, teaching the Continental Army a simplified but effective version of the drill formations and movements of European armies, proper care of equipment, and the use of the bayonet, a weapon in which British superiority had previously been marked. He attempted to consolidate the understrength regiments and companies and organized light



STEUBEN TRAINING AMERICAN FORCES AT VALLEY FORGE

infantry companies as the elite force of the Army. He constantly sought to impress upon the officers their responsibility for taking care of the men. Steuben never lost sight of the difference between the American citizen soldier and the European professional. He early noted that American soldiers had to be told why they did things before they would do them well, and he applied this philosophy in his training program. His trenchant good humor and vigorous profanity, almost the only English he knew, delighted the Continental soldiers and made the rigorous drill more palatable. After Valley Forge, Continentals would fight on equal terms with British Regulars in the open field.

First Fruits of the French Alliance

While the Continental Army was undergoing its ordeal and transformation at Valley Forge, Howe dallied in Philadelphia, forfeiting whatever remaining chance he had to win a decisive victory before the effects of the French alliance were felt. He had had his fill of the American war and the king accepted his resignation from command, appointing General Clinton as his successor. As Washington prepared to sally forth from Valley Forge, the British Army and the Philadelphia Tories said goodbye to their old commander in one of the most lavish celebrations ever held in America, the *Mischianza,* a veritable Belshazzar's feast. The handwriting on the wall appeared in the form of orders,

already in Clinton's hands, to evacuate the American capital. With the French in the war, England had to look to the safety of the long ocean supply line to America and to the protection of its possessions in other parts of the world. Clinton's orders were to detach 5,000 men to the West Indies and 3,000 to Florida, and to return the rest of his army to New York by sea.

As Clinton prepared to depart Philadelphia, Washington had high hopes that the war might be won in 1778 by a co-operative effort between his army and the French Fleet. The Comte d'Estaing with a French naval squadron of eleven ships of the line and transports carrying 4,000 troops left France in May to sail for the American coast. D'Estaing's fleet was considerably more powerful than any Admiral Howe could immediately concentrate in American waters. For a brief period in 1778 the strategic initiative passed from British hands, and Washington hoped to make full use of it.

Clinton had already decided, before he learned of the threat from d'Estaing, to move his army overland to New York prior to making any detachments, largely because he could find no place for 3,000 horses on the transports. On June 18, 1778, he set out with about 10,000 men. Washington, who by that time had gathered about 12,000, immediately occupied Philadelphia and then took up the pursuit of Clinton, undecided as to whether he should risk an attack on the British column while it was on the march. His Council of War was divided, though none of his generals advised a "general action." The boldest, Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne, and the young major general, the Marquis de Lafayette, urged a "partial attack" to strike at a portion of the British Army while it was strung out on the road; the most cautious, General Lee, who had been exchanged and had rejoined the army at Valley Forge, advised only guerrilla action to harass the British columns. On June 26 Washington decided to take a bold approach, though he issued no orders indicating an intention to bring on a "general action." He sent forward an advance guard composed of almost half his army to strike at the British rear when Clinton moved out of Monmouth Court House on the morning of June 27. Lee, the cautious, claimed the command from Lafayette, the bold, when he learned the detachment would be so large.

In the early morning, Lee advanced over rough ground that had not been reconnoitered and made contact with the British rear, but Clinton reacted quickly and maneuvered to envelop the American right flank. Lee, feeling that his force was in an untenable position, began a retreat that became quite confused. Washington rode up amidst the confusion and, exceedingly irate to find the advance guard in retreat, exchanged harsh words with Lee. He then

assumed direction of what had to be a defense against a British counterattack. The battle that followed, involving the bulk of both armies, lasted until nightfall on a hot, sultry day with both sides holding their own. For the first time the Americans fought well with the bayonet as well as with the musket and rifle, and their battlefield behavior generally reflected the Valley Forge training. Nevertheless, Washington failed to strike a telling blow at the British Army, for Clinton slipped away in the night and in a few days completed the retreat to New York. Lee demanded and got a court-martial at which he was judged, perhaps unjustly, guilty of disobedience of orders, poor conduct of the retreat, and disrespect for the Commander in Chief. As a consequence he retired from the Army, though the controversy over his actions at Monmouth was to go on for years.

Washington, meanwhile, sought his victory in co-operation with the French Fleet. D'Estaing arrived off the coast on July 8 and the two commanders at first agreed on a combined land and sea attack on New York, but d'Estaing feared he would be unable to get his deep-draft ships across the bar that extended from Staten Island to Sandy Hook, in order to get at Howe's inferior fleet. They then decided to transfer the attack to the other and weaker British stronghold at Newport, Rhode Island—a city standing on an island with difficult approaches. A plan was agreed on whereby the French Fleet would force the passage on the west side of the island and an American force under General Sullivan would cross over and mount an assault from the east. The whole scheme soon went awry. The French Fleet arrived off Newport on July 29 and successfully forced the passage; Sullivan began crossing on the east on August 8 and d'Estaing began to disembark his troops. Unfortunately at this juncture Admiral Howe appeared with a reinforced British Fleet, forcing d'Estaing to re-embark his troops and put out to sea to meet Howe. As the two fleets maneuvered for advantage, a great gale scattered both on August 12. The British returned to New York to refit, and the French Fleet to Boston, whence d'Estaing decided he must move on to tasks he considered more pressing in the West Indies. Sullivan was left to extricate his forces from an untenable position as best he could, and the first experiment in Franco-American co-operation came to a disappointing end with recriminations on both sides.

The fiasco at Newport ended any hopes for an early victory over the British as a result of the French alliance. By the next year, as the French were forced to devote their major attention to the West Indies, the British regained the initiative on the mainland, and the war entered a new phase.

The New Conditions of the War

After France entered the war in 1778, it rapidly took on the dimensions of a major European as well as an American conflict. In 1779 Spain declared war against England, and in the following year Holland followed suit. The necessity of fighting European enemies in the West Indies and other areas and of standing guard at home against invasion weakened the British effort against the American rebels. Yet the Americans were unable to take full advantage of Britain's embarrassments, for their own effort suffered more and more from war weariness, lack of strong direction, and inadequate finance. Moreover, the interests of European states fighting Britain did not necessarily coincide with American interests. Spain and Holland did not ally themselves with the American states at all, and even France found it expedient to devote its major effort to the West Indies. Finally, the entry of ancient enemies into the fray spurred the British to intensify their effort and evoked some, if not enough, of that characteristic tenacity that has produced victory for England in so many wars. Despite their many new commitments, the British were able to maintain in America an army that was usually superior in numbers to the dwindling Continental Army, though never strong enough to undertake offensives again on the scale of those of 1776 and 1777.

Monmouth was the last general engagement in the north between Washington's and Clinton's armies. In 1779 the situation there became a stalemate and remained so until the end of the war. Washington set up a defense system around New York with its center at West Point, and Clinton made no attempt to attack his main defense line. The British commander did, in late spring 1779, attempt to draw Washington into the open by descending in force on unfinished American outpost fortifications at Verplanck's Point and Stony Point, but Washington refused to take the bait. When Clinton withdrew his main force to New York, the American commander retaliated by sending Maj. Gen. Anthony Wayne on July 15, 1779, with an elite corps of light infantry, on a stealthy night attack on Stony Point, a successful action more notable for demonstrating the proficiency with which the Americans now used the bayonet than for any important strategic gains. Wayne was unable to take Verplanck's, and Clinton rapidly retook Stony Point. Thereafter the war around New York became largely an affair of raids, skirmishes, and constant vigilance on both sides.

Clinton's inaction allowed Washington to attempt to deal with British-inspired Indian attacks. Although Burgoyne's defeat ended the threat of invasion from Canada, the British continued to incite the Indians all along the

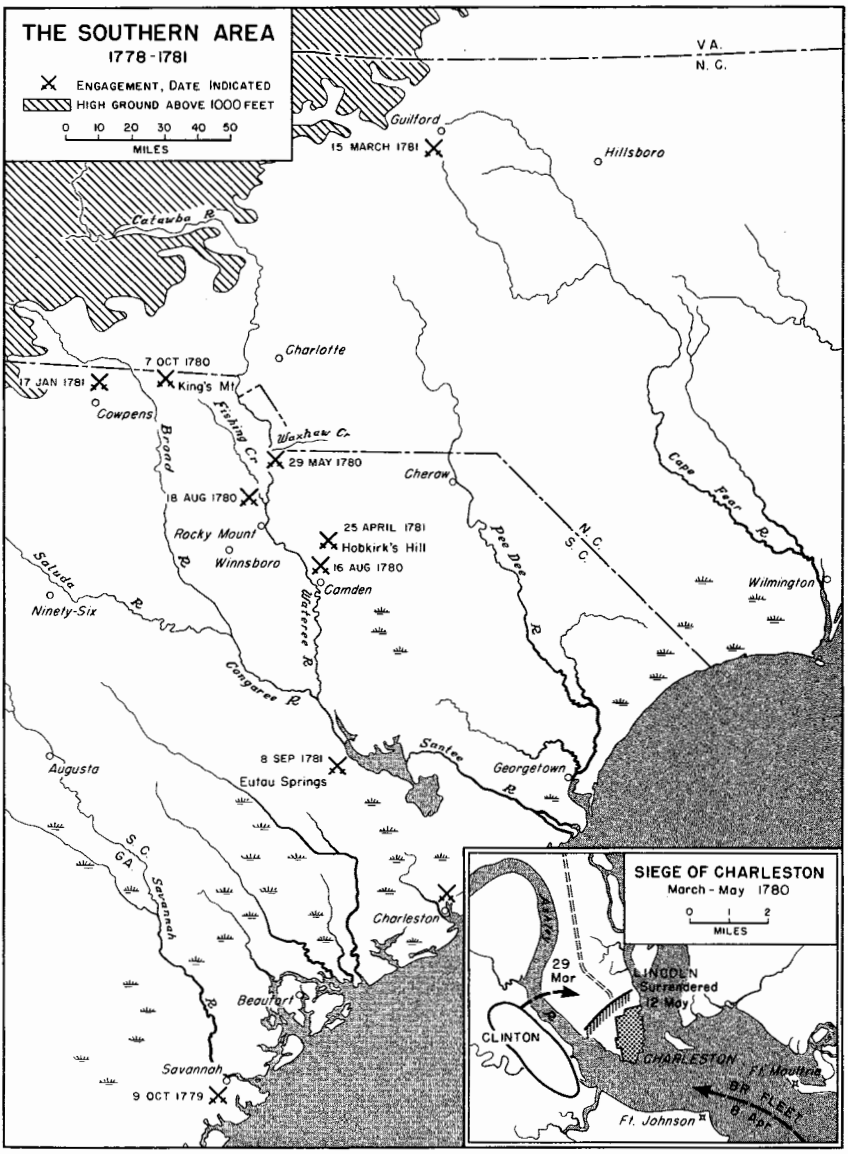
frontier to bloody raids on American settlements. From Fort Niagara and Detroit they sent out their bands, usually led by Tories, to pillage, scalp, and burn in the Mohawk Valley of New York, the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania, and the new American settlements in Kentucky. In August 1779 Washington detached General Sullivan with a force to deal with the Iroquois in Pennsylvania and New York. Sullivan laid waste the Indians' villages and defeated a force of Tories and Indians at Newtown on August 29.

In the winter of 1778–79, the state of Virginia had sponsored an expedition that struck a severe blow at the British and Indians in the northwest. Young Lt. Col. George Rogers Clark with a force of only 175 men, ostensibly recruited for the defense of Kentucky, overran all the British posts in what is today Illinois and Indiana. Neither he nor Sullivan, however, was able to strike at the sources of the trouble—Niagara and Detroit. Indian raids along the frontiers continued, though they were somewhat less frequent and severe.

British Successes in the South

Late in 1778 the British began to turn their main effort to the south. Tory strength was greater in the Carolinas and Georgia and the area was closer to the West Indies, where the British Fleet had to stand guard against the French. The king's ministers hoped to bring the southern states into the fold one by one, and from bases there to strangle the recalcitrant north. A small British force operating from Florida quickly overran thinly populated Georgia in the winter of 1778–79. Alarmed by this development, Congress sent General Benjamin Lincoln south to Charleston in December 1778 to command the Southern Army and organize the southern effort. Lincoln gathered 3,500 Continentals and militiamen, but in May 1779, while he maneuvered along the Georgia border, the British commander, Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost, slipped around him to lay siege to Charleston. The city barely managed to hold out until Lincoln returned to relieve it. (*Map 10*)

In September 1779 d'Estaing arrived off the coast of Georgia with a strong French Fleet and 6,000 troops. Lincoln then hurried south with 1,350 Americans to join him in a siege of the main British base at Savannah. Unfortunately, the Franco-American force had to hurry its attack because d'Estaing was unwilling to risk his fleet in a position dangerously exposed to autumn storms. The French and Americans mounted a direct assault on Savannah on October 9, abandoning their plan to make a systematic approach by regular parallels. The British in strongly entrenched positions repulsed the attack in what was essentially a Bunker Hill in reverse, the French and Americans suffering



MAP 10

staggering losses. D'Estaing then sailed away to the West Indies, Lincoln returned to Charleston, and the second attempt at Franco-American co-operation ended in much the same atmosphere of bitterness and disillusion as the first.

Meanwhile Clinton, urged on by the British Government, had determined to push the southern campaign in earnest. In October 1779 he withdrew the British garrison from Newport, pulled in his troops from outposts around New York, and prepared to move south against Charleston with a large part of his force. With d'Estaing's withdrawal the British regained control of the sea along the American coast, giving Clinton a mobility that Washington could not match. While Clinton drew forces from New York and Savannah to achieve a decisive concentration of force (14,000 men) at Charleston, Washington was able to send only piecemeal reinforcements to Lincoln over difficult overland routes. Applying the lessons of his experience in 1776, Clinton this time carefully planned a co-ordinated Army-Navy attack. First, he landed his force on John's Island to the south, then moved up to the Ashley River, investing Charleston from the land side. Lincoln, under strong pressure from the South Carolina authorities, concentrated his forces in a citadel defense on the neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers, leaving Fort Moultrie in the harbor lightly manned. On April 8 British warships successfully forced the passage past Moultrie, investing Charleston from the sea. The siege then proceeded in traditional eighteenth century fashion, and on May 12, 1780, Lincoln surrendered his entire force of 5,466 men, the greatest disaster to befall the American cause during the war. Meanwhile, Col. Abraham Buford with 350 Virginians was moving south to reinforce the garrison. Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton with a force of British cavalry took Buford by surprise at the Waxhaws, a district near the North Carolina border, and slaughtered most of his men, refusing to honor the white flag Buford displayed.

After the capture of Charleston, Clinton returned to New York with about a third of his force, leaving General Cornwallis with 8,000 men to follow up the victory. Cornwallis established his main seaboard bases at Savannah, Beaufort, Charleston, and Georgetown, and in the interior extended his line of control along the Savannah River westward to Ninety-Six and northward to Camden and Rocky Mount. Cornwallis' force, however, was too small to police so large an area, even with the aid of the numerous Tories who took to the field. Though no organized Continental force remained in the Carolinas and Georgia, American guerrillas, led by Brig. Gens. Thomas Sumter and Andrew Pickens and Lt. Col. Francis Marion, began to harry British posts and lines of communications and to battle the bands of Tories. A bloody, ruthless, and confused civil war ensued, its character determined in no small degree by Tarleton's action at the Waxhaws. In this way, as in the Saratoga campaign, the American grass roots strength began once again to assert itself and to deny the British the fruits of military victory won in the field.

On June 22, 1780, two more understrength Continental brigades from Washington's army arrived at Hillsboro, North Carolina, to form the nucleus of a new Southern Army around which militia could rally and which could serve as the nerve center of guerrilla resistance. In July Congress, without consulting Washington, provided a commander for this army in the person of General Gates, the hero of Saratoga. Gates soon lost his northern laurels. Gathering a force of about 4,000 men, mostly militia, he set out to attack the British post at Camden, South Carolina. Cornwallis hurried north from Charleston with reinforcements and his army of 2,200 British Regulars made contact with Gates outside Camden on the night of August 15. In the battle that ensued the following morning, Gates deployed his militia on the left and the Continentals under Maj. Gen. Johann de Kalb on the right. The militia were still forming in the hazy dawn when Cornwallis struck, and they fled in panic before the British onslaught. De Kalb's outnumbered Continentals put up a valiant but hopeless fight. Tarleton's cavalry pursued the fleeing Americans for 30 miles, killing or making prisoner those who lagged. Gates himself fled too fast for Tarleton, reaching Hillsboro, 160 miles away, in three days. There he was able to gather only about 800 survivors of the Southern Army. To add to the disaster, Tarleton caught up with General Sumter, whom Gates had sent with a detachment to raid a British wagon train, and virtually destroyed his force in a surprise attack at Fishing Creek on August 18. Once more South Carolina seemed safely in British hands.

Nadir of the American Cause

In the summer of 1780 the American cause seemed to be at as low an ebb as it had been after the New York campaign in 1776 or after the defeats at Ticonderoga and Brandywine in 1777. Defeat in the south was not the only discouraging aspect of patriot affairs. In the north a creeping paralysis had set in as the patriotic enthusiasm of the early war years waned. The Continental currency had virtually depreciated out of existence, and Congress was impotent to pay the soldiers or purchase supplies. At Morristown, New Jersey, in the winter of 1779–80 the army suffered worse hardships than at Valley Forge. Congress could do little but attempt to shift its responsibilities onto the states, giving each the task of providing clothing for its own troops and furnishing certain quotas of specific supplies for the entire Army. The system of "specific supplies" worked not at all. Not only were the states laggard in furnishing supplies, but when they did it was seldom at the time or place they were needed. This breakdown in the supply system was more than even General Greene,

as Quartermaster General, could cope with, and in early 1780, under heavy criticism in Congress, he resigned his position.

Under such difficulties, Washington had to struggle to hold even a small Army together. Recruiting of Continentals, difficult to begin with, became almost impossible when the troops could neither be paid nor supplied adequately and had to suffer such winters as those at Morristown. Enlistments and drafts from the militia in 1780 produced not quite half as many men for one year's service as had enlisted in 1776 for three years or the duration. While recruiting lagged, morale among those men who had enlisted for the longer terms naturally fell. Mutinies in 1780 and 1781 were suppressed only by measures of great severity.

Germain could write confidently to Clinton: "so very contemptible is the rebel force now . . . that no resistance . . . is to be apprehended that can materially obstruct . . . the speedy suppression of the rebellion . . . the American levies in the King's service are more in number than the whole of the enlisted troops in the service of the Congress." The French were unhappy. In the summer of 1780 they occupied the vacated British base at Newport, moving in a naval squadron and 4,000 troops under the command of Lieutenant General the Comte de Rochambeau. Rochambeau immediately warned his government: "Send us troops, ships and money, but do not count on these people nor on their resources, they have neither money nor credit, their forces exist only momentarily, and when they are about to be attacked in their own homes they assemble . . . to defend themselves." Another French commander thought only one highly placed American traitor was needed to decide the campaign.

Clinton had, in fact, already found his "highly placed traitor" in Benedict Arnold, the hero of the march to Quebec, the naval battle on the lakes, Stanwix, and Saratoga. "Money is this man's God," one of his enemies had said of Arnold earlier, and evidently he was correct. Lucrative rewards promised by the British led to Arnold's treason, though he evidently resented the slights Congress had dealt him, and he justified his act by claiming that the Americans were now fighting for the interests of Catholic France and not their own. Arnold wangled an appointment as commander at West Point and then entered into a plot to deliver this key post to the British. Washington discovered the plot on September 21, 1780, just in time to foil it, though Arnold himself escaped to become a British brigadier.

Arnold's treason in September 1780 marked the nadir of the patriot cause. In the closing months of 1780, the Americans somehow put together the ingredients for a final and decisive burst of energy in 1781. Congress persuaded

Robert Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, to accept a post as Superintendent of Finance, and Col. Timothy Pickering, an able administrator, to replace Greene as Quartermaster General. Greene, as Washington's choice, was then named to succeed Gates in command of the Southern Army. General Lincoln, exchanged after Charleston, was appointed Secretary at War and the old board was abolished. Morris took over many of the functions previously performed by unwieldy committees. Working closely with Pickering, he abandoned the old paper money entirely and introduced a new policy of supplying the army by private contracts, using his personal credit as eventual guarantee for payment in gold or silver. It was an expedient but, for a time at least, it worked.

Greene's Southern Campaign

It was the frontier militia assembling "when they were about to be attacked in their own homes" who struck the blow that actually marked the turning point in the south. Late in 1780, with Clinton's reluctant consent, Cornwallis set out on the invasion of North Carolina. He sent Maj. Patrick Ferguson, who had successfully organized the Tories in the upcountry of South Carolina, to move north simultaneously with his "American Volunteers," spread the Tory gospel in the North Carolina back country, and join the main army at Charlotte with a maximum number of recruits. Ferguson's advance northward alarmed the "over-mountain men" in western North Carolina, southwest Virginia, and what is now east Tennessee. A picked force of mounted militia riflemen gathered on the Catawba River in western North Carolina, set out to find Ferguson, and brought him to bay at King's Mountain near the border of the two Carolinas on October 7. In a battle of patriot against Tory (Ferguson was the only British soldier present), the patriots' triumph was complete. Ferguson himself was killed and few of his command escaped death or capture. Some got the same "quarter" Tarleton had given Buford's men at the Waxhaws.

King's Mountain was as fatal to Cornwallis' plans as Bennington had been to those of Burgoyne. The North Carolina Tories, cowed by the fate of their compatriots, gave him little support. The British commander on October 14, 1780, began a wretched retreat in the rain back to Winnsboro, South Carolina, with militia harassing his progress. Clinton was forced to divert an expedition of 2,500 men sent to establish a base in Virginia to reinforce Cornwallis.

The frontier militia had turned the tide, but having done so, they returned to their homes. To keep it moving against the British was the task of the new commander, General Greene. When Greene arrived at Charlotte, North Carolina, early in December 1780, he found a command that consisted of 1,500 men

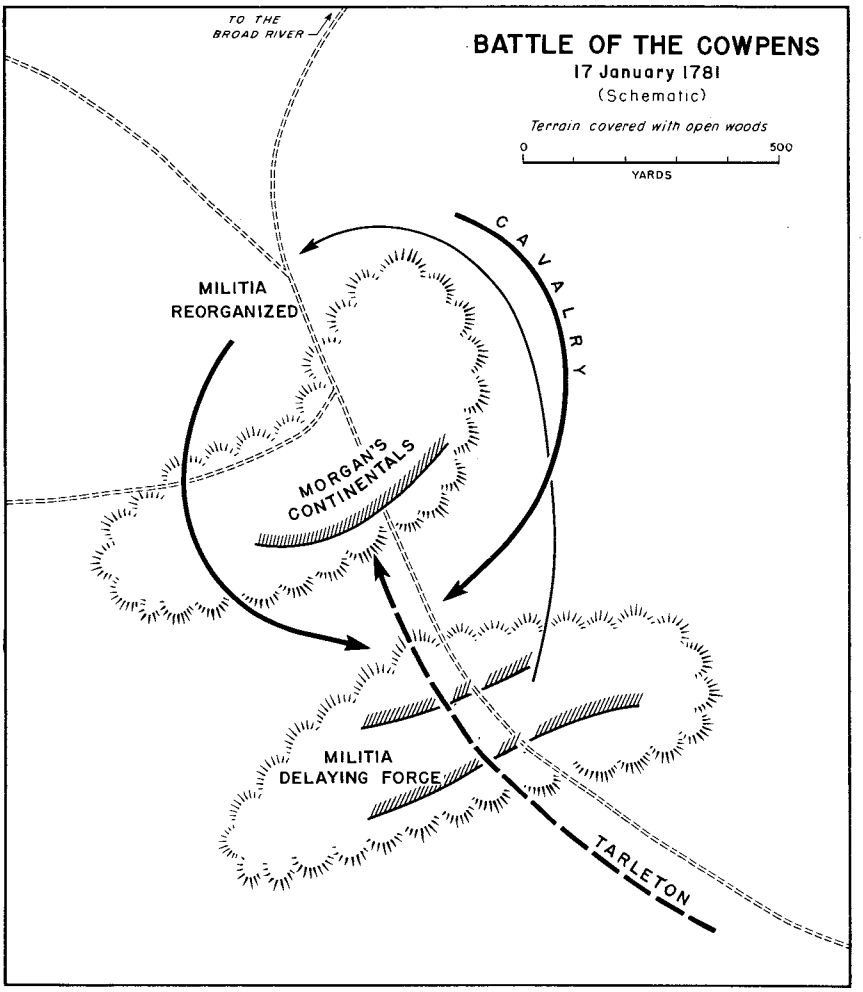
fit for duty, only 949 of them Continentals. The army lacked clothing and provisions and had little systematic means of procuring them. Greene decided that he must not engage Cornwallis' army in battle until he had built up his strength, that he must instead pursue delaying tactics to wear down his stronger opponent. The first thing he did was to take the unorthodox step of dividing his army in the face of a superior force, moving part under his personal command to Cheraw Hill, and sending the rest under Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan west across the Catawba over 100 miles away. It was an intentional violation of the principle of mass. Greene wrote:

I am well satisfied with the movement . . . . It makes the most of my inferior force, for it compels my adversary to divide his, and holds him in doubt as to his own line of conduct. He cannot leave Morgan behind him to come at me, or his posts at Ninety-Six and Augusta would be exposed. And he cannot chase Morgan far, or prosecute his views upon Virginia, while I am here with the whole country open before me. I am as near to Charleston as he is, and as near Hillsborough as I was at Charlotte; so that I am in no danger of being cut off from my reinforcements.

Left unsaid was the fact that divided forces could live off the land much easier than one large force and constitute two rallying points for local militia instead of one. Greene was, in effect, sacrificing mass to enhance maneuver.

Cornwallis, an aggressive commander, had determined to gamble everything on a renewed invasion of North Carolina. Ignoring Clinton's warnings, he depleted his Charleston base by bringing almost all his supplies forward. In the face of Greene's dispositions, Cornwallis divided his army into not two but three parts. He sent a holding force to Camden to contain Green, directed Tarleton with a fast-moving contingent of 1,100 infantry and cavalry to find and crush Morgan, and with the remainder of his army moved cautiously up into North Carolina to cut off any of Morgan's force that escaped Tarleton.

Tarleton caught up with Morgan on January 17, 1781, west of King's Mountain at a place called the Cowpens, an open, sparsely forested area six miles from the Broad River. (*Map 11*) Morgan chose this site to make his stand less by design than necessity, for he had intended to get across the Broad. Nevertheless, on ground seemingly better suited to the action of Regulars, he achieved a little tactical masterpiece, making the most effective use of his heterogeneous force, numerically equal to that of Tarleton but composed of three-fourths militia. Selecting a hill as the center of his position, he placed his Continental infantry on it, deliberately leaving his flanks open. Well out in front of the main line he posted militia riflemen in two lines, instructing the first line to fire two volleys and then fall back on the second, the combined line to fire until the British pressed them, then to fall back to the rear of the Continentals and re-form as a reserve. Behind the hill he placed Lt. Col. William Washing-



MAP 11

ton's cavalry detachment, ready to charge the attacking enemy at the critical moment. Every man in the ranks was informed of the plan of battle and the part he was expected to play in it.

On finding Morgan, Tarleton ordered an immediate attack. His men moved forward in regular formation, were momentarily checked by the militia rifles, but, taking the retreat of the first two lines to be the beginning of a rout, rushed headlong into the steady fire of the Continentals on the hill. When the British were well advanced, the American cavalry struck them on the right flank and the militia, having re-formed, charged out from behind the hill to

hit the British left. Caught in a clever double envelopment, the British surrendered after suffering heavy losses. Tarleton managed to escape with only a small force of cavalry he had held in reserve. It was on a small scale, and with certain significant differences, a repetition of the classic double envelopment of the Romans by a Carthaginian army under Hannibal at Cannae in 216 B.C., an event of which Morgan, no reader of books, probably had not the foggiest notion.

Having struck his fatal blow against Tarleton, Morgan still had to move fast to escape Cornwallis. Covering 100 miles and crossing two rivers in five days, he rejoined Greene early in February. Cornwallis by now was too heavily committed to the campaign in North Carolina to withdraw. Hoping to match the swift movement of the Americans, he destroyed all his superfluous supplies, baggage, and wagons and set forth in pursuit of Greene's army. The American general retreated, through North Carolina, up into southern Virginia, then back into North Carolina again, keeping just far enough in front of his adversary to avoid battle with Cornwallis' superior force. Finally on March 15, 1781, at Guilford Court House in North Carolina, on ground he had himself chosen, Greene halted and gave battle. By this time he had collected 1,500 Continentals and 3,000 militia to the 1,900 Regulars the British could muster. The British held the field after a hard-fought battle, but suffered casualties of about one-fourth of the force engaged. It was, like Bunker Hill, a Pyrrhic victory. His ranks depleted and his supplies exhausted, Cornwallis withdrew to Wilmington on the coast, and then decided to move northward to join the British forces General Clinton had sent to Virginia.

Greene, his army in better condition than six months earlier, pushed quickly into South Carolina to reduce the British posts in the interior. He fought two battles—at Hobkirk's Hill on April 25, and at Eutaw Springs on September 8—losing both but with approximately the same results as at Guilford Court House. One by one the British interior posts fell to Greene's army, or to militia and partisans. By October 1781 the British had been forced to withdraw to their port strongholds along the coast—Charleston and Savannah. Greene had lost battles, but won a campaign. In so doing, he paved the way for the greater victory to follow at Yorktown.

Yorktown: The Final Act

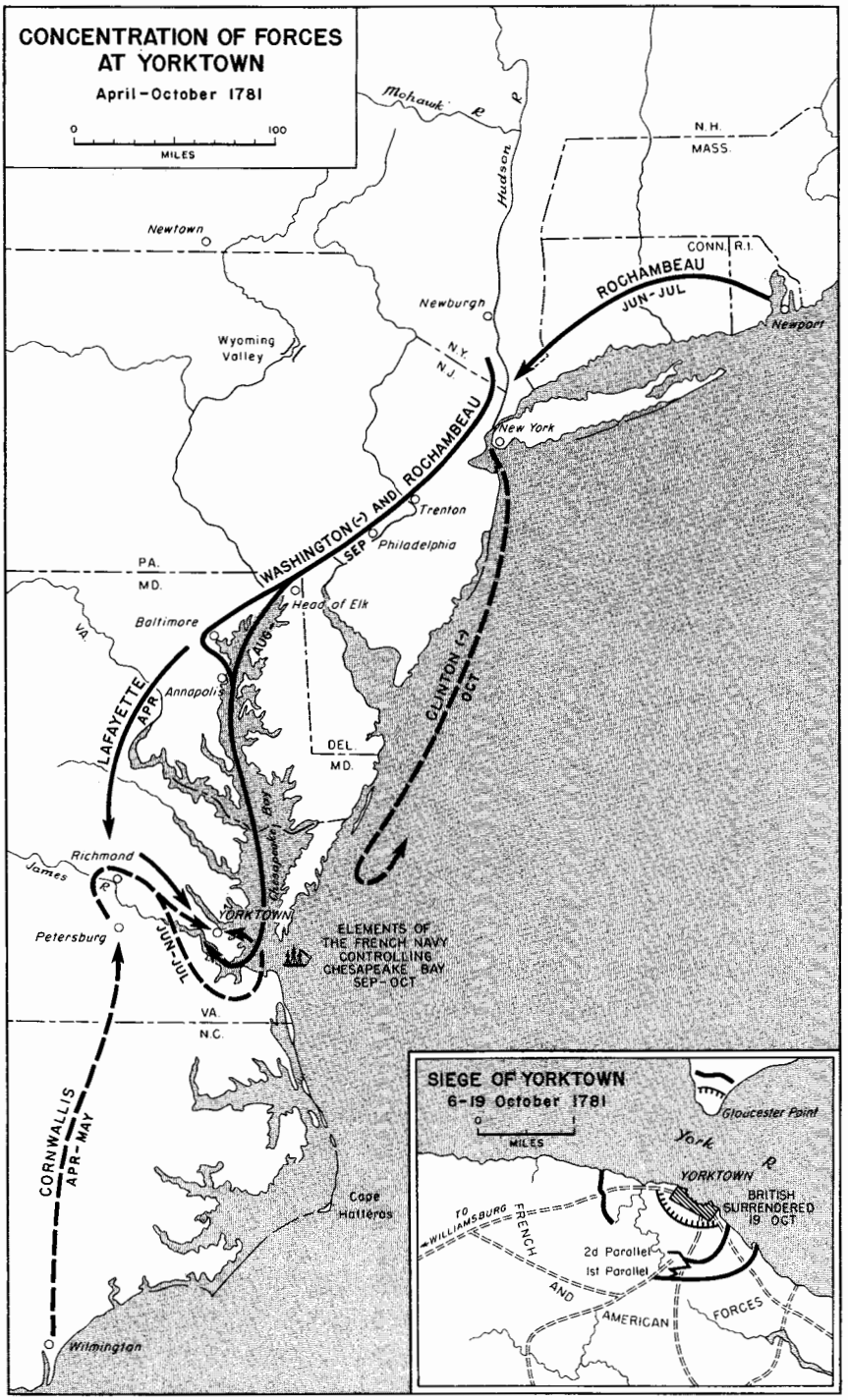
As Howe and Burgoyne went their separate ways in 1777, seemingly determined to satisfy only their personal ambitions, so Clinton and Cornwallis in 1781 paved the road to Yorktown by their disagreements and lack of co-

ordination. Clinton was Cornwallis' superior in this case, but the latter enjoyed the confidence of Germain to an extent that Clinton did not. Clinton, believing that without large reinforcements the British could not operate far from coastal bases, had opposed Cornwallis' ventures in the interior of the Carolinas, and when Cornwallis came to Virginia he did so without even informing his superior of his intention.

Since 1779 Clinton had sought to paralyze the state of Virginia by conducting raids up its great rivers, arousing the Tories, and establishing a base in the Chesapeake Bay region. (*Map 12*) He thought this base might eventually be used as a starting point for one arm of a pincers movement against Pennsylvania for which his own idle force in New York would provide the other. A raid conducted in the Hampton Roads area in 1779 was highly successful, but when Clinton sought to follow it up in 1780 the force sent for the purpose had to be diverted to Charleston to bail Cornwallis out after King's Mountain. Finally in 1781 he got an expedition into Virginia, a contingent of 1,600 under the American traitor, Benedict Arnold. In January Arnold conducted a destructive raid up the James River all the way to Richmond. His presence soon proved to be a magnet drawing forces of both sides to Virginia.

In an effort to trap Arnold, Washington dispatched Lafayette to Virginia with 1,200 of his scarce Continentals and persuaded the French to send a naval squadron from Newport to block Arnold's escape by sea. The plan went awry when a British fleet drove the French squadron back to Newport and Clinton sent another 2,600 men to Virginia along with a new commander, Maj. Gen. William Phillips. Phillips and Arnold continued their devastating raids, which Lafayette was too weak to prevent. Then on May 20 Cornwallis arrived from Wilmington and took over from Phillips. With additional reinforcements sent by Clinton he was able to field a force of about 7,000 men, approximately a quarter of the British strength in America. Washington sent down an additional reinforcement of 800 Continentals under General Wayne, but even with Virginia militia Lafayette's force remained greatly outnumbered.

Cornwallis and Clinton were soon working at cross-purposes. Cornwallis proposed to carry out major operations in the interior of Virginia, but Clinton saw as little practical value in this tactic as Cornwallis did in Clinton's plan to establish a base in Virginia for a pincers movement against Pennsylvania. Cornwallis at first turned to the interior and engaged in a fruitless pursuit of Lafayette north of Richmond. Then, on receiving Clinton's positive order to return to the coast, establish a base, and return part of his force to New York, Cornwallis moved back down the Virginia peninsula to take up station at Yorktown, a small tobacco port on the York River just off Chesapeake Bay. In the face of


CONCENTRATION OF FORCES AT YORKTOWN
April - October 1781
0
100
MILES
Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
N.H.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
Newtown
Newburgh
Wyoming Valley
N.Y.
N.J.
ROCHAMBEAU JUN - JUL
Newport
New York
WASHINGTON (-) AND ROCHAMBEAU SEP
Trenton
Philadelphia
PA.
MD.
Head of Elk
Baltimore
VA.
AUG
Annapolis
LAFAYETTE APR
CLINTON (-) OCT
DEL.
MD.
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
Richmond
James R.
YORKTOWN
Petersburg
JUN - JUL
ELEMENTS OF THE FRENCH NAVY CONTROLLING CHESAPEAKE BAY SEP - OCT
VA.
N.C.
CORNWALLIS APR - MAY
Cape Hatteras
Wilmington
SIEGE OF YORKTOWN
6 - 19 October 1781
0
1
MILES
Gloucester Point
York R.
YORKTOWN
BRITISH SURRENDERED 19 OCT
TO WILLIAMSBURG
FRENCH AND AMERICAN FORCES
2d Parallel
1st Parallel

MAP 12

Cornwallis' insistence that he must keep all his troops with him, Clinton vacillated, reversing his own orders several times and in the end granting Cornwallis' request. Lafayette and Wayne followed Cornwallis cautiously down the peninsula, lost a skirmish with him at Green Spring near Williamsburg on July 6, and finally took up a position of watchful waiting near Yorktown.

Meanwhile, Washington had been trying to persuade the French to co-operate in a combined land and naval assault on New York in the summer of 1781. Rochambeau brought his 4,000 troops down from Newport in April and placed them under Washington's command. The prospects were still bleak since the combined Franco-American force numbered but 10,000 against Clinton's 17,000 in well-fortified positions. Then on August 14 Washington learned that the French Fleet in the West Indies, commanded by Admiral Francois de Grasse, would not come to New York but would arrive in the Chesapeake later in the month and remain there until October 15. He saw immediately that if he could achieve a superior concentration of force on the land side while de Grasse still held the bay he could destroy the British army at Yorktown before Clinton had a chance to relieve it.

The movements that followed illustrate most effectively a successful application of the principles of the offensive, surprise, objective, mass, and maneuver. Even without unified command of Army and Navy forces, Franco-American co-operation this time was excellent. Admiral Louis, Comte de Barras, immediately put out to sea from Newport to join de Grasse. Washington sent orders to Lafayette to contain Cornwallis at Yorktown and then, after making a feint in the direction of New York to deceive Clinton, on August 21 started the major portion of the Franco-American Army on a rapid secret movement to Virginia, via Chesapeake Bay, leaving only 2,000 Americans behind to watch Clinton.

On August 30, while Washington was on the move southward, de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with his entire fleet of twenty-four ships of the line and a few days later debarked 3,000 French troops to join Lafayette. Admiral Thomas Graves, the British naval commander in New York, meanwhile had put out to sea in late August with nineteen ships of the line, hoping either to intercept Barras' squadron or to block de Grasse's entry into the Chesapeake. He failed to find Barras, and when he arrived off Hampton Roads on September 5 he found de Grasse already in the bay. The French admiral sallied forth to meet Graves and the two fleets fought an indecisive action off the Virginia capes. Yet for all practical purposes the victory lay with the French for, while the fleets maneuvered at sea for days following the battle, Barras' squadron slipped into the Chesapeake and the French and American troops got past into the James River. Then de Grasse got back into the bay and joined Barras, con-



SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS

fronting Graves with so superior a naval force that he decided to return to New York to refit.

When Washington's army arrived on September 26, the French Fleet was in firm control of the bay, blocking Cornwallis' sea route of escape. A decisive concentration had been achieved. Counting 3,000 Virginia militia, Washington had a force of about 9,000 Americans and 6,000 French troops with which to conduct the siege. It proceeded in the best traditions of Vauban under the direction of French engineers. Cornwallis obligingly abandoned his forward position on September 30, and on October 6 the first parallel was begun 600 yards from the main British position. Artillery placed along the trench began its destructive work on October 9. By October 11 the zigzag connecting trench had been dug 200 yards forward, and work on the second parallel had begun. Two British redoubts had to be reduced in order to extend the line to the York River. This accomplished, Cornwallis' only recourse was escape across the river to Gloucester Point where the American line was thinly held. A storm on the night of October 16 frustrated his attempt to do so, leaving him with no hope but relief from New York. Clinton had been considering such relief for days, but he acted too late. On the very day, October 17, that Admiral Graves set sail from New York with a reinforced fleet and 7,000 troops for the relief of Yorktown, Cornwallis began negotiations on terms of surrender. On October 19 his entire

army marched out to lay down its arms, the British band playing an old tune called "The World Turned Upside Down."

So far as active campaigning was concerned, Yorktown ended the war. Both Greene and Washington maintained their armies in position near New York and Charleston for nearly two years more, but the only fighting that occurred was some minor skirmishing in the South. Cornwallis' defeat led to the overthrow of the British cabinet and the formation of a new government that decided the war in America was lost. With some success, Britain devoted its energies to trying to salvage what it could in the West Indies and in India. The independence for which Americans had fought thus virtually became a reality when Cornwallis' command marched out of its breached defenses at Yorktown.

The Summing Up: Reasons, Lessons, and Meaning

The American victory in the War of the Revolution was a product of many factors, no one of which can be positively assigned first importance. Washington, looking back on the vicissitudes of eight years, could only explain it as the intervention of "Divine Providence." American historians in the nineteenth century saw that "Divine Providence" as having been manifested primarily in the character and genius of the modest Commander in Chief himself. Washington's leadership was clearly one of the principal factors in American success; it seems fair to say that the Revolution could hardly have succeeded without him. Yet in many of the events that led to victory—Bennington, Saratoga, King's Mountain, and Cowpens, to name but a few—his personal influence was remote.

Today many scholars stress not the astonishment that Washington felt at the victory of a weak and divided confederation of American states over the greatest power of the age, but the practical difficulties the British faced in suppressing the revolt. These were indeed great but they do not appear to have been insuperable if one considers military victory alone and not its political consequences. The British forfeited several chances for military victory in 1776–77, and again in 1780 they might have won had they been able to throw 10,000 fresh troops into the American war. American military leaders were more resourceful and imaginative than the British commanders, and they proved quite capable of profiting from British blunders. In addition to Washington, Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, Daniel Morgan, and Benedict Arnold showed remarkable military abilities, and of the foreign volunteers Steuben and the young Lafayette were outstanding. The resourcefulness of this extraordinary group of leaders was matched by the dedication of the Continental rank and file to the cause. Only men so dedicated could have endured the hardships of the

march to Quebec, the crossing of the Delaware, Valley Forge, Morristown, and Greene's forced marches in the southern campaign. British and Hessian professionals never showed the same spirit; their virtues were exhibited principally in situations where discipline and training counted most.

The militia, the men who fought battles and then went home, also exhibited this spirit on many occasions. The militiamen have been generally maligned as useless by one school of thought, and glorified by another as the true victors in the war. In any balanced view it must be recognized that their contributions were great, though they would have counted for little without a Continental Army to give the American cause that continued sustenance that only a permanent force in being could give it. It was the ubiquity of the militia that made British victories over the Continentals in the field so meaningless. And the success with which the militia did operate derived from the firm political control the patriots had established over the countryside long before the British were in any position to challenge it—the situation that made the British task so difficult in the first place.

For all these American virtues and British difficulties and mistakes, the Americans still required French aid—money, supplies, and in the last phase military force—to win a decisive and clear-cut military victory. Most of the muskets, bayonets, and cannon used by the Continental Army came from France. The French contested the control of the seas that was so vital to the British, and compelled them to divert forces from the American mainland to other areas. The final stroke at Yorktown, though a product of Washington's strategic conception, was possible only because of the temporary predominance of French naval power off the American coast and the presence of a French army.

French aid was doubly necessary because the American war effort lacked strong national direction. The Revolution showed conclusively the need for a central government with power to harness the nation's resources for war. It is not surprising that in 1787 nearly all those who had struggled so long and hard as leaders in the Continental Army or in administrative positions under the Congress were to be found in the ranks of the supporters of a new constitution creating such a central government with a strong executive and the power to "raise armies and navies," call out the militia, and levy taxes directly to support itself.

Strictly military lessons of the Revolution were more equivocal. Tactical innovations were not radical but they did represent a culmination of the trend, which started during the French and Indian War, toward employment of light troops as skirmishers in conjunction with traditional linear formations. By the end of the war both armies were fighting in this fashion. The Americans

strove to develop the same proficiency as the British in regular line-of-battle tactics, while the British adapted to the American terrain and tactics by themselves employing skirmishers and fighting when possible from behind cover. Washington was himself a military conservative, and Steuben's training program was designed to equip American troops to fight in European fashion with modifications to provide for the increased use of light infantry. The guerrilla tactics that characterized many actions, principally those of the militia, were no product of the design of Washington or his leading subordinates but of circumstances over which they had little control. The American rifle, most useful in guerrilla actions or in the hands of skirmishers, played no decisive role in the Revolution. It was of great value in wooded areas, as at Saratoga and King's Mountain, but for open-field fighting its slow rate of fire and lack of a bayonet made it inferior to the musket.

Since both militia and Continentals played roles in winning the war, the Revolutionary experience provided ammunition for two diametrically opposed schools of thought on American military policy: the one advocating a large Regular Army, the other reliance on the militia as the bulwark of national defense. The real issue, as Washington fully recognized, was less militia versus Regulars—for he never believed the infant republic needed a large standing army—than the extent to which militia could be trained and organized to form a reliable national reserve. The lesson Washington drew from the Revolution was that the militia should be "well regulated," that is, trained and organized under a uniform national system in all the states and subject to call into national service in war or emergency.

The lesson had far greater implications for the future than any of the tactical changes wrought by the American Revolution. It balanced the rights of freedom and equality, proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, with a corresponding obligation of all citizens for military service to the nation. This concept, which was to find explicit expression in the "nation in arms" during the French Revolution, was also implicit in the American, and it portended the end of eighteenth century limited war, fought by professional armies officered by an aristocratic class. As Steuben so well recognized, American Continentals were not professional soldiers in the European sense, and militia even less so. They were, instead, a people's army fighting for a cause. In this sense then, the American Revolution began the "democratization of war," a process that was eventually to lead to national conscription and a new concept of total war for total victory.

PART TWO

AN ARMY CHRONOLOGY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

An Army Chronology of the American Revolution

1763

10 February: Treaty of Paris, ending Seven Years' War signed, in which France ceded mainland North American possessions east of Mississippi River, and Spain ceded Florida, to Great Britain. France and Spain, smarting in defeat, were to find their opportunity for revenge in American Revolution. Coincidentally with signing of treaty, the British Government proposed to maintain 15 regiments in America and to collect at least part of cost of maintaining them from the colonies, thus laying the basis for the agitation and debate over constitutional issues that was eventually to lead the 13 coastal colonies from New England to Georgia to armed rebellion.

16 November: General Thomas Gage arrived in New York City to assume his new assignment as Commander-in-Chief of British Army in America.

1764

5 April: In Revenue Act, British Parliament asserted its authority to levy duties on colonial trade to raise revenue in order to defray expenses of defending and securing British Empire.

1765

22 March: Parliament passed Stamp Act to be effective 1 November 1765, placing tax on printed matter and legal documents with objective of raising part of costs of maintaining British troops in American colonies.

7–25 October: Stamp Act Congress, meeting in New York City, to which nine colonies sent delegates, formulated Declaration of Rights and Grievances which denied Parliament's right to tax colonies. It also gave impetus to informal agreements not to import British goods until act was repealed, beginnings of non-importation as measure of economic coercion.

1766

18 March: Stamp Act repealed, but on same day Parliament passed Declaratory Act asserting its authority to make laws binding on American colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

1767

29 *June:* King George III approved Townshend Revenue Act imposing duties on selected colonial imports to obtain revenue to help defray costs of military defense and provide independent source of income for paying royal officials. Americans again countered with nonimportation.

1768

1 *October:* British troops arrived in Boston, Massachusetts, to enforce customs laws.

1769

16 *May:* Virginia Resolves drafted by George Mason and introduced in House of Burgesses by George Washington asserted that only governor and colony's own legislature had right to levy taxes in Virginia, and condemned Parliamentary proposal to send Americans to England for trial.

1770

19 *January:* "Battle" of Golden Hill in New York City followed several days of excitement after cutting down of Liberty Pole by British troops, and was outgrowth of long conflict over British attempts to enforce quartering provisions of Mutiny Act of 5 May 1765. In this scuffle British troops attacking Sons of Liberty party with bayonets wounded several seriously.

5 *March:* Boston "Massacre" climaxed rioting in front of customs house, with British guards firing into mob killing five and wounding six others. Whatever the provocation, and misrepresentation of this incident in patriot propaganda, it was significant action in stirring anti-British feeling and leading toward armed rebellion and independence.

12 *April:* Parliament repealed all Townshend Revenue Act duties except tax on tea.

9 *June:* British armed revenue schooner *Gaspee,* having run aground in Narragansett Bay seven miles below Providence, Rhode Island, was attacked and burned by a party of local patriots.

2 *November:* First Committee of Correspondence was established in Boston, Massachusetts; other colonies followed this example, and these committees served as vehicles to link patriot anti-British agitation and to organize public opinion against British actions.

1773

10 *May:* Parliament passed Tea Act which, although it retained tea duty from Townshend Act, made it possible for British East

1773—Continued

India Company to undersell smuggled tea in American colonies—if it could be sold. Tea was subsequently turned back or impounded in New York City, Philadelphia, and Charleston, burned in Annapolis, and dumped in Boston.

16 December: Boston Tea Party occurred when a group organized by Samuel Adams boarded tea ships in Boston harbor and threw overboard 342 tea chests valued at $90,000. This action led to British Coercive Acts of 1774, termed by Americans the Intolerable Acts.

1774

31 March: Parliament passed Boston Port Bill, first of Coercive Acts, ordering closing of port on 1 June 1774 until tea destroyed in "Tea Party" was paid for.

17 May: General Gage landed in Boston to assume duties as Massachusetts Governor in addition to those as British Army Commander-in-Chief.

20 May: Massachusetts Government Act, another of Coercive Acts, virtually annulled colonial charter and gave governor control of local town meetings.

1 June: Boston harbor was closed to trade.

2 June: Parliament passed Quartering Act at request of General Gage, specifically requiring colonists to furnish barracks and supplies to British troops when needed. Colonists viewed this law as another of Intolerable Acts.

22 June: George III approved Quebec Act, granting religious toleration to French Canadians and extending Canada's boundaries in west to Ohio River. Most inhabitants of 13 coastal colonies found both provisions highly objectionable, and thus construed this rather enlightened action to be one of Intolerable Acts.

1 September: General Gage seized Massachusetts stock of powder at Charlestown, across Charles River from Boston, Massachusetts.

5 September: First Continental Congress, with representatives from 12 colonies, met in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

14 September: First Continental Congress approved Suffolk Resolve, drafted by convention meeting in Suffolk County, Massachusetts, which declared so-called Intolerable Acts to be unconstitutional, urged Massachusetts to set up a government independent of Crown until these acts were repealed, advised people to arm, and recommended economic sanctions against Great Britain.

5 October: Massachusetts Assembly met in Salem and two days later adjourned to Concord where its members organized as

1774—Continued

Provincial Congress. This extralegal body with John Hancock as president thereafter governed Massachusetts outside of Boston. In due course other colonies established similar provincial congresses.

14 October: First Continental Congress adopted Declaration of Rights and Grievances summarizing colonial arguments of protest and denying Parliament's jurisdiction over American colonies except for regulation of colonial commerce and strictly imperial affairs.

19 October: At Annapolis, Maryland, owner of ship *Peggy Stewart,* arriving with tea aboard on which tax had been paid, was forced to burn his own vessel to avert mob action toward same end.

20 October: First Continental Congress approved Continental Association, economic boycott of Great Britain to stop in due course import, export, and consumption of British goods, an action that led to 90 percent decline in British imports by spring 1775. By that time, committees organized for enforcement had become de facto local governments.

26 October: First Continental Congress adjourned.

26 October: Massachusetts Provincial Congress directed that militia-men of colony be reorganized so that the most able-bodied third would be in separate companies of minute men.

9–10 December: Patriots seized ordinance at Newport, Rhode Island, and carried it to Providence.

14 December: Patriots in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, seized 100 barrels of powder and some ordinance from Castle William and Mary. (Similar actions followed in other colonies.)

1775

26 February: British troops went by sea via Marblehead to destroy ordnance gathered by patriots at Salem, Massachusetts. Tense confrontation developed with Salem militia, and first, though slight, bloodshed occurred between British troops and militia—prelude to Lexington and Concord.

23 March: Virginia Convention resolved that colony ought immediately to be put into posture of defense, and Patrick Henry in this connection delivered his "liberty or death" speech.

15 April: In Boston, 23 flank (light infantry and grenadier) companies of 11 British regiments then composing garrison were detached, ostensibly for separate training.

18 April: In late evening, British assembled flank companies in Boston for expedition to destroy colonial stores at Concord, and Paul Revere and William Dawes set out with this news to

1775—Continued

arouse militia and minutemen of towns along and surrounding line of march.

19 April: In battles of Lexington, Concord, and during British retreat to Boston, about 4,000 patriot minutemen and militia and about 1,800 British troops were engaged, sustaining losses totaling about 95 on patriot side and 270 on British. Lexington and Concord marked transition from agitation to armed rebellion, and patriot propagandist versions of action did much to cement popular sentiment in 13 colonies behind armed rebellion.

19 April: Secret committee in Charleston, South Carolina, seized mail arriving on British packet ship *Swallow* disclosing intentions of British Government to coerce colonies into submission. This action gave timely warning to patriots in Carolinas and Georgia, and disclosed to Second Continental Congress first clear evidence of British intentions.

19 April 1775—17 March 1776: Patriot forces beseiged Boston for nearly a year, although officially designated Boston Campaign dates from 17 June rather than 19 April.

20 April: Massachusetts Committee of Safety, acting on behalf of Provincial Congress, called out entire militia of colony.

20–21 April: When Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore (John Murray) seized provincial powder supply at Williamsburg, open fighting with patriots was barely averted.

21 April: Patriots in Charleston, South Carolina, seized all powder from public magazines.

23 April: Massachusetts Provincial Congress resolved that volunteer New England Army of 30,000 should be raised, to which Massachusetts would contribute 13,600. The other New England Colonies were asked to furnish the rest.

25 April: People of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, after hearing news of Lexington and Concord, agreed to associate "for the purpose of defending with arms, their lives, their property, and liberty."

1 May: People of New York City chose Committee of One Hundred to "stand or fall with the liberty of the continent."

10 May: Second Continental Congress met in State House (Independence Hall), in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Delegates from all colonies except Georgia were present.

10 May: Fort Ticonderoga, New York, guarding portage between Lake Champlain and Lake George on strategic Montreal–New York waterway, was captured by mixed force of Green Mountain Boys and others led by Ethan Allen and Col. Benedict Arnold (Ticonderoga Campaign). Capture included 50 British soldiers and large quantities of cannon and other ordnance supplies.

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11 May: Patriots in Savannah, Georgia, seized powder from royal magazine.

12 May: Patriots captured Crown Point, New York, British post on Lake Champlain 10 miles north of Ticonderoga, and its ordnance stores.

15 May: Acting on request of City and County of New York through colony delegates, Continental Congress appointed committee to determine military posts and number of troops needed to man them in New York, first step toward absorbing New York forces into a Continental army.

17–18 May: St. Johns, Canada, on Richelieu River east of Montreal, was occupied briefly by Col. Benedict Arnold and on next day by Ethan Allen and Green Mountain Boys.

25 May: Maj. Gens. John Burgoyne, Henry Clinton, and William Howe arrived in Boston as part of reinforcements for General Gage. By mid-June British had force of 6,500 rank and file in Boston.

25 May: Acting on committee report, Continental Congress resolved that posts were needed at Kings Bridge, Hudson Highlands, and Lake George in New York, which should be manned by not not more than 3,000 men, with action by New York provincial Congress "until further order is taken by this Congress."

27 May: Patriot attack on Noddle's (now East Boston) and Hog Islands in Boston harbor included destruction of British armed schooner *Diana.* In day of skirmishing four patriots were slightly wounded and two British killed and several wounded.

31 May: Mecklenburg Resolves (Mecklenburg County, North Carolina) declared British laws null and void.

31 May: Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina fled from New Bern first to Fort Johnson on Cape Fear and then on 18 July to British sloop *Cruzier* in Cape Fear River.

2 June: Massachusetts requested Continental Congress to take over regulation and direction of New England Army, since it had been raised for general defense of American rights.

2 June: Provincial Congress of South Carolina avowed citizens of colony "ready to sacrifice their lives and their fortunes" in patriot cause.

8 June: Flight of Governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, to British warship *Fowey* at Yorktown, marked beginning of open conflict between patriots and loyalists in Virginia.

12 June: At Machias, Maine, patriots seized British armed cutter *Margaretta* with loss of seven on each side. Captain of British vessel was killed.

14 June: BIRTHDAY OF UNITED STATES ARMY. On or be-

1775—Continued

fore this day Continental Congress secretly adopted New England forces besieging Boston and New York forces guarding strategic positions; and openly this day Congress appointed committee to draft regulations for new Continental Army and authorized addition of 10 companies of riflemen to be drawn from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. These actions also mark establishment of Infantry on this date.

15 June: Continental Congress appointed George Washington General and Commander-in-Chief of Continental Army.

16 June: Congress appointed for Continental Army two major generals, eight brigadier generals, Adjutant General, Quartermaster General and deputy, Commissary General of Stores and Provisions, Commissary of Musters, Paymaster General and deputy, and Chief Engineer and two assistants. These actions mark establishment of Adjutant General's Corps, Quartermaster Corps, Finance Corps, and Corps of Engineers.

17 June: Battle of Bunker Hill followed overnight patriot fortification of Breed's Hill, in front of Bunker, overlooking Charlestown, Massachusetts. In action about 2,000 patriots fought 2,500 British troops, and resulting casualties in killed and wounded were among heaviest of Revolutionary War engagements—the patriots losing 441, including 140 killed, and British 1,150 (40 percent of those engaged), including 251 killed.

22 June: Congress resolved to issue $2,000,000 in bills of credit—first Continental currency.

25 June: Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler named commander of the Northern Department by Washington.

27 June: Schuyler directed by Congress to proceed to Ticonderoga and Crown Point and if found practicable and "agreeable to the Canadians" to take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and other parts of Canada.

30 June: Congress approved rules and regulations for governance of Continental Army.

3 July: At Cambridge, Massachusetts, General George Washington assumed command of Continental Army forces besieging Boston.

5 July: Continental Congress adopted "Olive Branch Petition" which, while reiterating grievances of colonists, professed their attachment to the king and desire for reconciliation and avoidance of further hostile action. George III refused to receive this petition, and instead issued his 23 August proclamation declaring colonies to be in state of rebellion.

6 July: Congress adopted Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, which endorsed further resistance by

1775—Continued

force rather than unconditional submission to Great Britain, and threatened dissolution of ties with mother country if no just resolution of differences was forthcoming.

10 July: Georgia sent out first patriot vessel commissioned for naval warfare.

18 July: Congress recommended that colonies adopt a uniform organization and equipment of militia, that one-fourth of it be segregated into separate minuteman organizations, that each colony appoint committee of safety to direct its defense, and that each provide armed vessels as required to protect its harbors and navigation along its coasts.

19 July: Congress authorized Washington to appoint Commissary-General of Military Stores marking beginning of Ordnance Department.

20 July: Patriots in surprise raid seized royal stores and their guard at Turtle Bay, Manhattan Island (presently 47th St. at East River), and sent stores to patriot forces at Boston and on Lake Champlain.

21 July: Patriot forces raided Nantasket Point in Boston harbor, driving off guard and seizing forage, then destroyed equipment on adjacent Light-House (Great Brewster) Island, at harbor entrance, with casualties of two patriots wounded.

25 July: First of rifle companies authorized by Congress on 14 June, led by Capt. Michael Doudel of York County, Pennsylvania, reached Continental force besieging Boston.

27 July: Action of Congress setting up "hospital" or medical service for army of 20,000 headed by "Director General and Chief Physician" marks establishment of Army Medical Department.

29 July: Congressional action authorizing $20.00 monthly pay for chaplains then in Continental service, earliest official recognition of chaplaincy in Army, marks establishment of Chaplain's Corps.

29 July: Congressional action authorizing $20.00 monthly pay for Army Judge Advocate, and electing William Tudor, Esquire, to this position, marks establishment of Judge Advocate General's Corps.

31 July: Patriots again attacked Great Brewster (Light-House) Island in Boston harbor, destroying repair work and capturing 33-man British marine guard and 10 workmen. Several British and two patriots were wounded.

8–9 August: British sloop *Falcon* on 8 August pursued American schooner into harbor of Gloucester, Massachusetts but intense shore fire drove *Falcon* away without its prizes and with 35 wounded aboard. Patriots seized 26 British sailors (prize crews) as prisoners of war.

1775—Continued

14 August: Patriot ships raided Bermuda, capturing its forts and carrying off all powder in their magazines.

18 August: New York provincial Congress recommended that the Hudson River Highlands be fortified immediately; appointed commission to supervise construction on Constitution Island (opposite West Point).

23 August: King George III issued proclamation declaring 13 American colonies to be in state of rebellion and sedition and directing suppression of American resistance.

28 August: Patriot invasion of Canada from Lake Champlain began from Ticonderoga under leadership of Generals Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery.

30 August: British naval bombardment of Stonington, Connecticut, killed two and destroyed a number of houses.

5 September: Advanced detachment of General Schuyler's patriot force was ambushed near St. Johns, Canada, by Indian force led by New York loyalist. Patriots drove Indians off in bush fight but not before losing eight killed and eight wounded.

11 September: Col. Benedict Arnold's march to Quebec began. Departing Cambridge, Massachusetts, this date, 1,150 men traveled mostly by water to and up Kennebec River in Maine, then by portages across height of land to Chaudiere River and thence to St. Lawrence River opposite Quebec. Only 600 reached this destination on 9 November after one of the most remarkable military marches in history.

15 September: Lord William Campbell, Royal Governor of South Carolina, took refuge on British sloop *Tamar*.

16 September–2 November: Patriot troops under General Montgomery beseiged St. Johns, Canada, key to defense of Montreal.

25 September: Leading impulsive and premature attack on Montreal, Canada, Ethan Allen and about 40 of his men were captured after some brisk skirmishing. Eventually (1778) exchanged, Allen became Continental Army colonel but spent remainder of war in Vermont.

7 October: Small British fleet operating out of Newport bombarded Bristol, Rhode Island, until its inhabitants provided 40 sheep for British Army consumption. This was only first of series of marauding attacks on islands and shores of Narragansett Bay that led to virtual extinction of loyalist support in area.

10 October: General William Howe replaced General Gage as Commander of British Army forces in Boston, and formally succeeded Gage as Commander-in-Chief of British Army forces in the United Colonies in April 1776.

13 October: BIRTHDAY OF UNITED STATES NAVY. Congress

1775—Continued

this day directed fitting out of two vessels to intercept ships carrying warlike stores and other supplies to British forces, and appointed "Marine Committee" to administer this action.

18 October: Governor William Tryon of New York took refuge on British warship *Halifax* in New York harbor.

18 October: Two British warships bombarded and burned West Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, destroying 400 of its 500 buildings and burning or capturing 15 ships.

19 October: During siege of St. Johns, Canadian-American patriot force with some 9-pounders attacked thin-walled fortress at Chambly, Canada, and forced surrender of its 88 British regulars and other inhabitants and seized quantities of powder and ordnance supplies. This action cut water escape from St. Johns and expedited its surrender.

24–25 October: Lord Dunmore sent British naval captain and several small ships to bombard and destroy Hampton, Virginia. Militia riflemen drove off landing party on first day of bombardment, and with addition of another rifle company repelled second day's attack with heavy loss to British in men and ships.

30 October: Congress authorized construction of four armed vessels "for the protection and defense of the United Colonies"—thus providing first ships of Continental Navy.

2 November: British post of St. Johns, Canada, and its garrison of about 600 regulars and militia, surrendered. While this action opened way to capture of Montreal, British "forward" defense at St. Johns and Chambly forced patriots into costly and unsuccessful winter campaign and may have saved Canada for British.

4 November: Congress approved reorganization of Continental Army before Boston, effective with new year; reorganized force was to consist of 20,372 officers and men to be enlisted through calendar year 1776; Congress also established a uniform ration for the Army.

7 November: Lord Dunmore, Virginia Governor, ordered colony placed under martial law.

9 November: Colonel Arnold's force of 600 arrived at St. Lawrence River opposite Quebec, Canada.

10 November: BIRTHDAY OF UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS. Although colonies and Continental Army had employed marines since spring of this year, action of Congress on this day directing that two marine battalions be raised and appropriately officered is counted as beginning of Marine Corps. These battalions were to be part of Continental Army establishment under Washington's command.

13 November: General Montgomery's troops occupied Montreal,

1775—Continued

Canada, after small British force under General and Governor Sir Guy Carleton withdrew on 11 November.

17 November: Appointment of Col. Henry Knox to command of Continental Regiment of Artillery marks formal establishment of Artillery.

19 November: Patriot forces blocking St. Lawrence River near Sorel, Canada, captured three British armed vessels and eight smaller craft with their crews and cargoes, and also British Montreal garrison except General Carleton who escaped in disguise with one or two of his officers.

19 November: Arnold, after laying seige to Quebec, withdrew forces to Point aux Trembles in face of threatened British sortie with superior force.

22 November: Patriot force of more than 4,000 overawed smaller loyalist force at Reedy River, South Carolina (south of modern Greenville), leading to capture of principal loyalist leaders and collapse of armed loyalist opposition in South Carolina almost without bloodshed.

27 November: Capt. John Manley, commissioned by General Washington in Continental Army and master of armed schooner *Lee,* captured British ordnance brig *Nancy* at entrance of Boston harbor with cargo of tremendous value to patriot force beseiging Boston—most notable of a number of captures by Washington's "Navy" in fall and winter of 1775–1776.

29 November: Congress appointed 5-man Secret Committee of Correspondence to develop foreign ties and support—embryo of Department of State.

2 December: First of General Montgomery's troops joined Arnold's at Point aux Trembles and combined patriot force of 800 effectives began seige of Quebec, a well fortified city defended by 1,800 British regulars and British and French-Canadian militia.

9 December: Lord Dunmore sent force of 400 or so, half British regulars, to intercept patriot force advancing on Norfolk, Virginia. In rashly attacking instead of defending crossing at Great Bridge, Virginia, British forces suffered 62 casualties as against one patriot slightly wounded, and were completely routed in this first military action of war in Virginia.

10 December: Connecticut men in Washington's Army, enlisted only until this date, departed for home, emphasizing Washington's problem in enlisting an adequate army.

13 December: After action at Great Bridge, Norfolk, Virginia, was occupied by patriots.

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13 December: Congress authorized construction of thirteen ships—five 32's, five 28's, and three 24's—for Continental Navy.

22 December: Parliament passed Prohibitory Act, interdicting foreign trade and intercourse with thirteen revolting colonies.

31 December: With enlistments expiring, Montgomery and Arnold led 800 patriots in desperate and unsuccessful attack on Quebec, Canada (Quebec Campaign), during blinding snowstorm in early morning hours of new year. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded among 60 patriots killed and wounded and 426 captured. British lost 5 killed and 13 wounded.

1776

1 January: American forces besieging Boston reorganized in accordance with Congressional resolve of preceding November, making this portion of patriot Army "Continental in every respect"; but only about 5,500 were present and fit for duty.

1 January: First patriot flag bearing seven red and six white stripes raised at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in recognition of reorganization of Continental forces before Boston.

1 January: Governor Dunmore, following patriot refusal to allow him to send ashore parties for provisions, bombarded and set fire to Norfolk, Virginia's largest town.

5 January: New Hampshire adopted new written constitution replacing its colonial charter, first of 13 colonies to do so.

5 January: Continental Congress ordered work on Constitution Island (opposite West Point) suspended and emphasis placed on Fort Montgomery.

6 January: Alexander Hamilton's New York artillery battery constituted organization that became only Continental Army unit to have officially recognized modern active army descendant, the lst Battalion, 5th Artillery.

10 January: Royal Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina, from aboard British sloop *Scorpion,* urged loyalists to gather near Wilmington on Cape Fear River to collaborate with forthcoming British Army offensive in South.

10 January: Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* published in Philadelphia, urging American declaration of independence.

12–14 January: Sailors from British ships stationed at Newport raided Patience, Hope, and Prudence Islands in Narragansett Bay, Rhode Island, and on Prudence engaged militia from Bristol and Warren in 3-hour fight.

20 January: Patriot General Philip Schuyler in New York leading 3,000 militia forced Sir John Johnson of Johnstown, New York, and 700 other loyalists, to surrender, thereby breaking back of

1776—Continued

loyalist resistance in Albany area and assuring neutrality of neighboring Indians for some time to come.

20 January: General Henry Clinton left Boston with about 1,200 troops to lead British expedition against Carolinas.

23 January: Patriot group from Elizabethtown (modern Elizabeth), New Jersey, led by William Alexander (better, if inaccurately, known as Lord Stirling) and Elias Dayton, captured British supply ship *Blue Mountain Valley* 40 miles off Sandy Hook.

24 January: Col. Henry Knox, Washington's artillery chief, who on preceding 15 November had been sent to fetch cannon captured at Ticonderoga, returned to Cambridge, Massachusetts, with 55 guns.

27 February: Congress resolved to establish separate Middle and Southern Departments of Continental Army, former including New York through Maryland and latter Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

27 February: Loyalist force of 1,400 including 1,000 Scotch Highlanders advancing toward Wilmington in hope of joining up with British Army force under Clinton was ambushed at Moore's Creek Bridge, North Carolina, about 15 miles north of Wilmington, and then caught between patriot forces in front and rear. In the fight at bridge, loyalists lost 50–70, patriots 2; but afterward more then 850 loyalists were taken prisoner.

2–5 March: Heavy patriot bombardment of Boston began on 2 March, and on night of 4–5 March darkness concealed Washington's occupation of Dorchester Heights and emplacement there of cannon from Ticonderoga.

3 March: Secret Committee of Correspondence decided to send "commercial" agent to France to purchase military supplies, and Congress selected Silas Deane of Connecticut for this mission.

3–4 March: Patriot sailors and marines attacked New Providence (now Nassau) in Bahamas, capturing 100 cannon and mortars and a large quantity of other useful military stores. This action was first in which American marines participated as an organized unit.

7 March: Royal Governor Sir James Wright, who fled Savannah, Georgia, on 11 February to take refuge on British warship, returned with naval reinforcements on 6 March, captured 11 rice laden merchant ships, and threatened to attack Savannah from Hutchinson's Island opposite. Counterattack drove off British and left patriots in control of Savannah for next three years.

9–13 March: British sloop *Otter* sailing up Chesapeake Bay was attacked and driven away by Maryland ship *Defense* and two

1776—Continued

Maryland militia companies stationed at Chariton Creek, Northampton County, Virginia.

17 March: General Howe having abandoned initial plan to attack new patriot fortifications on Dorchester Heights and realizing they made British position in Boston untenable, had decided on 7 March to evacuate Boston and on this date did so, taking with him 1,000 loyalists, and sailing to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

23 March: Congress authorized privateering, resolving "that the inhabitants of these colonies be permitted to fit out armed vessels, to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies."

25 March: Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Charles Carrol of Carrolton, and Samuel Chase left Philadelphia as envoys of Congress to Canada, to negotiate with Canadians toward union with 13 coastal colonies in rebellion.

6 April: Congress, disregarding British Navigation Acts and Prohibitory Act of December 1775, opened ports of United Colonies to trade of all nations, except for trade with British dominions and in British goods, and except also for import of slaves.

12 April: Provincial Congress of North Carolina instructed its delegates in Continental Congress to vote for independence—first of new governments of United Colonies to do so.

13 April: General Washington arrived in New York, to which bulk of Continental forces that had besieged Boston had already been moved.

2 May: France secretly allotted munitions from royal arsenals valued at one million livres ($200,000) to American patriots, and Spain followed suit.

4 May: Act known as "Rhode Island Declaration of Independence" passed by its General Assembly. While not mentioning independence specifically it denied King's authority and authorized Rhode Island delegates to accept any Congressional measures they deemed prudent and effectual.

6 May: With large reinforcements under General John Burgoyne about to reach Quebec, Canada, General Carleton led sally from city that ended American siege begun preceding December and started patriot troops under General John Thomas on precipitous retreat.

8–9 May: Thirteen Pennsylvania galleys attacked two British warships in Delaware River off mouth of Christiana Creek (near Wilmington), Delaware, and drove them down the river. Patriots lost one killed and two wounded in actions on successive days.

15 May: Virginia Convention instructed Richard Henry Lee and its

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other delegates to Continental Congress to propose independence.

16 May: At The Cedars, Canada, on St. Lawrence River about 30 miles below Montreal, patriot force of 400 surrendered almost without fighting and smaller relieving force was also overwhelmed.

19 May: Near Nantasket, Massachusetts, long boats from British men-of-war attempted to board patriot ships *Franklin* and *Lady Washington,* but were driven off after hand-to-hand fighting in which captain of *Franklin* and one other were killed and British may have lost as many as 70 killed including those drowned.

4 June: British expeditionary force of more than 2,000 troops under General Clinton and nine warships under Admiral Sir Peter Parker arrived off Charleston, South Carolina. General Charles Lee, assigned by Congress to command Southern Department, arrived same day to direct defenses.

7 June: Richard Henry Lee, delegate from Virginia, proposed resolution by Congress declaring independence of 13 United Colonies from Great Britain.

8–9 June: After retreat from Quebec, 2,000 of best troops of reinforced patriot Army in Canada attacked Three Rivers (Trois Rivères), half way between Montreal and Quebec. Unknown to patriots Three Rivers had been heavily reinforced and attackers lost nearly 400 in casualties, British 17. This action ended any American hope of maintaining hold on St. Lawrence valley.

9 June: Montreal, Canada, evacuated by patriot force of 300 under General Arnold.

10 June: Pierre Augustin Caron Beaumarchais, French playwright and watchmaker, who had set up fictitious Hortalez et Cie as intermediary to transmit French and Spanish munitions to American patriots, received one million livres in gold from French government to initiate financing of his operations.

11 June: Congress appointed committee of five delegates to draft declaration of independence.

12 June: Virginia Convention adopted Declaration (or Bill) of Rights, drafted by George Mason.

12 June: Remnants of American forces, beaten at Trois Rivères and subject to numerous ambushes en route, arrived at base at Sorel, Canada.

12–13 June: On 12 June, Congress resolved to establish Board of War and Ordnance, to consist of five of its members, and next day this board, ancestor of War Department–Department of the Army headquarters, was established.

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14 June: Remnant of American troops in St. Lawrence valley, now under General John Sullivan, began retiring from Sorel, Canada, pressed by advancing British forces. Patriots retreated first to Isle aux Noir at north end of Lake Champlain and by early July to Crown Point, New York, thus ending Canadian invasion of 1775–76.

25 June: General William Howe arrived off Sandy Hook, New Jersey, with small British force, but one that was to grow to nearly 32,000 encamped on Staten Island, New York, by 12 August, largest single military body in America during Revolutionary War.

28 June: In New York City Thomas Hickey, belonging to General Washington's personal guard, executed for "sedition and mutiny," after discovery of loyalist inspired plot that allegedly included plan to assassinate Washington and other patriot generals.

28 June: British naval forces attacked fortified Sullivan's Island guarding entrance to harbor of Charleston, South Carolina. Coordinated land attack by Clinton's troops from neighboring Long Island proved impossible because of deep water, and British warships were worsted in spirited exchange of fire with patriot forces. Patriots lost about 37, the British 225, and British gave up and sailed away, ending efforts to invade South for nearly three years.

2 July: General Howe with 9,300 troops landed unopposed on Staten Island, New York.

2 July: Congress at Philadelphia approved resolution of independence introduced by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia on 7 June.

4 July: Congress at Philadelphia approved formal Declaration of Independence, as drafted by Thomas Jefferson and other members of committee appointed for this purpose, and in doing so "solemnly published and declared that these United Colonies are, and of Right, ought to be Free and Independent States."

8–10 July: Patriot forces attacked and captured Gwynn Island, Virginia, off western shore of Chesapeake Bay where Governor Dunmore had taken refuge with some 500 white and Negro loyalists troops. Dunmore and survivors were forced to flee, and after raid up Potomac River went to Lynnhaven Roads near Cape Henry and then to New York.

16 July: Lord Dunmore landed some of his force on St. George's Island, Maryland, near mouth of Potomac River, but was driven off by local militia.

23 July: Lord Dunmore in sailing up Potomac River destroyed several plantations and then turned into Occoquan Creek,

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Virginia, to its falls and village, where he destroyed mill before being driven off by Prince William County militia.

22 *August:* British disembarked 15,000 troops on Long Island, New York, and during next few days Washington sent large patriot reinforcements to Long Island to meet this threat and British also built up their initial landing force.

27 *August:* Battle of Long Island (Long Island Campaign) fought between about 10,000 American defenders and 22,000 British and German troops. Americans were badly defeated and pushed into narrow confinement of Brooklyn Heights, losing about 1,400 (1,100 captured) against British losses of 375.

28 *August:* At Jamaica, New York, after British victory day before, militia detachment of 100 commanded by patriot General Nathaniel Woodhull was overwhelmed by much larger British force.

29–30 *August:* Washington first reinforced Brooklyn Heights after defeat in Battle of Long Island, then in masterly fashion secretly withdrew his entire force at night across the East River onto Manhattan Island, above New York City, without loss.

6–7 *September:* In New York harbor Sgt. Ezra Lee attempted first submarine attack in history of warfare in David Bushnell's "American Turtle," but copper bottoms of British ships off Governor's Island were too thick to be damaged by powder charges released from "Turtle."

9 *September:* Congress resolved that in future all of its commissions and other instruments should be issued in name of United States instead of United Colonies as heretofore.

11 *September:* Three-man delegation from Congress (Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge) discussed possibilities of peace with Admiral Lord Richard Howe on Staten Island, but fruitlessly when Americans discovered Howe had no powers to negotiate, only to refer proposals to London.

15 *September:* British troops from Long Island, under protection of warships, crossed East River and routed patriot forces at Kip's Bay (presently 34th Street) on Manhattan Island almost without firing shot. Washington managed to extricate his troops from New York City which British then occupied.

16 *September:* After Washington withdrew his army to heights of northwestern Manhattan Island, he sent out small reconnaissance force to check British near site of present Columbia University. With both sides putting in reinforcements battle of Harlem Heights developed. Patriots lost 130, British and German troops involved about 170, and American morale was much improved by this successful holding action.

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16 September: Congress resolved that 88 battalions of Continental Army troops, apportioned among the states according to population, should be enlisted as soon as possible for duration of war. This action was essential since existing Continental forces were enlisted only to end of 1776.

20 September: Congress adopted Articles of War, "rules and articles to govern the armies of the United States."

21–22 September: Capt. Nathan Hale of Connecticut captured by British on Manhattan Island while returning to American lines, and executed as spy. On 12 September he had volunteered for intelligence mission within British lines on Long Island.

23 September: Patriot force of 240 attempted to recapture Montresor's (now Randall's) Island, New York, at East River end of Harlem River, but was repulsed with loss of 14.

26 September: Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson as commissioners to court of France. When Jefferson declined to serve, Arthur Lee was appointed in his place.

11–13 October: By June 1776 British had 13,000 troops in Canada, but invasion path by water route southward from the St. Lawrence River was barred until October by flotilla hastily constructed by General Benedict Arnold on Lake Champlain. On 11 October, Arnold led his ships northward and met principal British ships at Valcour Island, New York, then lost most of his ships in next two days and a quarter of his troops were casualties. Although Arnold was defeated, his operations thwarted British invasion from Canada in 1776, when it might have been fatal to patriot cause.

12 October: General Howe's attempt to flank Washington's force in northern Manhattan started with landing at Throg's Neck, New York (northern end of modern Throg's Neck Bridge over Long Island Sound), but British were unable to get across bridge and causeway to dry ground because of stiff patriot rifle and cannon fire.

14 October: After defeating Arnold's flotilla on Lake Champlain, General Carleton's invading force on this date occupied Crown Point, New York, but because of American strength at Ticonderoga and lateness of season withdrew to Canada on 3 November.

18 October: Frustrated at Throg's Neck, General Howe shifted northward to Pell's Point and fought an action at Pelham, New York. American units posted there delayed British advance and helped Washington's safe withdrawal with main Continental force from Manhattan to White Plains.

1776—Continued

22–23 October: Force of Continentals attempted to surprise and cut off from main British Army Maj. Robert Rogers' "Queen's American Rangers," stationed at Mamaroneck, New York. Surprise was incomplete, but patriots came off with 36 prisoners and booty, at cost of 15 casualties.

27 October: British attacked Fort Washington, New York, from both land and river sides, but attack was driven off with considerable loss to enemy, including one warship badly damaged.

28 October: Having failed to flank Washington's main force of 14,500, Howe attacked it with 13,000 at White Plains, New York. Although Americans again withdrew northward after battle, British suffered heavier losses (300 or more to 150) and once again failed to trap and destroy Washington's army.

9–10 November: Washington with part of his army crossed Hudson River and moved into northeastern New Jersey.

13–29 November: Patriots from Machias, Maine, and Bay of Fundy region, attacked and besieged Fort Cumberland, Nova Scotia (near modern Amherst), but were repelled when reinforcements arrived from Halifax. This was principal armed effort of American patriots to get New England settlers of Acadia aligned with American cause.

16 November: Fort Washington, New York, surrendered to British. After battle of White Plains, Howe pulled his army back for another attack on Fort Washington on northern Manhattan Island overlooking Hudson River. Using 8,000 troops he forced surrender of more than 2,800 Continentals after fighting that cost enemy about 450 killed and wounded and Americans about 300.

20 November: Fort Lee, New Jersey, on Hudson River opposite Fort Washington, made untenable after latter's capture, was abandoned to British with heavy losses in materiel, and some 160 Americans were taken prisoner.

21 November–7 December: After loss of Fort Lee, Washington with about 4,000 troops retreated across New Jersey and Delaware River into Pennsylvania, with some of Howe's forces under General Charles Cornwallis following in close pursuit to Delaware.

8 December: With Washington's forces safely across Delaware River and in possession of all small boats that might have been used to follow him across, Howe's advanced forces occupied Trenton, New Jersey.

12 December: Constitution by Congress of regiment of light dragoons and appointment of Elisha Sheldon of Connecticut as its commander mark establishment of Cavalry.

1776—Continued

13 December: American General Charles Lee captured at Basking Ridge, New Jersey, after two of his guard were killed and two wounded.

19 December: Opening tract of *The Crisis,* "these are the times that try men's souls," by Thomas Paine, published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

20 December: Congress, with British so near, adjourned at Philadelphia and on this date met in Baltimore, Maryland.

26 December: General Clinton and Admiral Parker with 6,000 British troops occupied Newport, Rhode Island, providing the British with an important naval base in New England.

26 December: About 2,400 patriot troops under Washington having recrossed Delaware River surprised 1,400-man Hessian garrison at Trenton, New Jersey (Trenton Campaign), killing and wounding about 105 and capturing 918, with American losses at most 4 killed and 4 wounded.

27 December: In view of critical situation, Congress in Baltimore resolved to grant General Washington almost dictatorial powers over military affairs for ensuing six months including authority to recruit 22 additional battalions.

29–31 December: After escorting Hessians captured on 26 December across Delaware, Washington returned to New Jersey and reoccupied Trenton.

1777

2 January: When Cornwallis approached Trenton, New Jersey, with much stronger force than Washington had, latter retreated across Assunpink Creek south of town and then repulsed British attempts to cross creek.

3 January: From south of Trenton Washington side-slipped British force under Cornwallis during night of 2–3 January, and next morning attacked and defeated British rear guard at Princeton, New Jersey (Princeton Campaign), British losing about 275 and patriots 40 in action. Victories at Trenton and Princeton did much to revive patriot cause from its lowest ebb.

6 January: Washington moved into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

10 January: British withdrew all forces from New Jersey except for those at posts at (New) Brunswick and (Perth) Amboy, covering winter quarters in and around New York City.

17–25 January: Mixed Militia–Continental force under General William Heath attempted to take Fort Independence guarding approaches to New York. After several days of maneuvering and skirmishing, British sallied forth and scattered Heath's force.

1777—Continued

7–9 February: After patriots seized Georgia, many loyalists fled to St. Augustine in British East Florida. Expedition including Continental troops under General Robert Howe mounted against them in August 1776 failed, and remnant of patriots were overwhelmed on these dates at Fort McIntosh in present Camden County, Georgia, bordering Florida.

12 March: Congress having returned from Baltimore met in Philadelphia.

23–24 March: British raiding party sailing up Hudson River attacked American supply base at Peekskill, New York. Counter-attack on following day drove British off but not before they had destroyed large quantity of Continental Army supplies.

13 April: British force of 2,000 under Cornwallis attacked patriot outpost at Bound Brook, New Jersey, manned by 500 Continentals under command of General Benjamin Lincoln. Lincoln managed to extricate most of his force with loss of 35 or so.

14 April: Congress approved establishment of magazine and laboratory in Springfield, Massachusetts, genesis of Springfield Arsenal and Springfield Armory.

25–28 April: British raiding force of 2,000 from New York landed near Fairfield, Connecticut, and next day attacked and largely destroyed important patriot supply depot at Danbury, Connecticut, together with a number of dwellings. While unopposed at Danbury, raiding force was harried by militia on its return, at Ridgefield on 27th and at Compo Hill near its embarkation point on 28th. Patriots killed and wounded in these actions totalled 80, British, 154.

10 May: Continental force under General Adam Stephen attempted to surprise British Highland regiment stationed at Piscataway, New Jersey, east of Brunswick, but was repulsed, patriots losing 65 or more, Highlanders 28.

23–24 May: Patriot raiding force from Guilford, Connecticut, crossed Long Island Sound and surprised British foraging party at Sag Harbor, New York. After destroying 12 vessels, and killing 6 and capturing 90 of British party, raiders got back to Guilford without losing a man.

29 May: Washington moved main Continental Army from winter quarters at Morristown into positions to oppose any movement of Howe toward Philadelphia; began month of maneuvering between two armies.

13 June: The Marquis de Lafayette and Johann Kalb, who were to distinguish themselves as military leaders in patriot cause, landed at Georgetown, South Carolina.

14 June: Congress "Resolved, that the flag of the thirteen United

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States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

18 June: General John Burgoyne's expedition to invade and split American states set out on this date from St. Johns, Canada, reaching Crown Point, New York, on 27 June and Ticonderoga on 1 July.

22 June: Pursuing British who were retiring to Staten Island to embark for Philadelphia, Washington's leading forces attacked enemy rear guard at Brunswick, New Jersey, although only American riflemen inflicted any significant damage

26 June: As his final maneuver in New Jersey before embarking for Philadelphia campaign, General Howe attacked General Alexander's (Lord Stirling's) division at Metuchen, New Jersey, but Continentals withdrew with only modest loss.

6 July: Fort Ticonderoga, New York, occupied by British after Burgoyne's invading force of about 10,000 outflanked fortress on two sides and forced its 3,300 defenders to abandon it.

6 July: Pursuing patriot force withdrawing from Ticonderoga, British troops attacked it at Skenesboro (modern Whitehall), New York, at southern end of Lake Champlain, and while inflicting few casualties forced patriots to burn their shipping and supplies.

7 July: Part of patriot force retreating from Ticonderoga, numbering about 1,000 men, struck by surprise attack of 750 British and German troops at Hubbardton, Vermont. Americans were routed after heavy fighting, in which enemy lost 170 and patriots 400 including prisoners.

8 July: Patriot force at Fort Anne, New York, superior in numbers, after skirmish with British burned Fort Anne and fell back on Fort Edward.

9–10 July: Patriot raiding party led by Maj. William Barton captured British General Richard Prescott at Newport, Rhode Island; he was exchanged following year for General Charles Lee.

23 July: General Howe with 15,000 troops departed from Staten Island on 260 ships for operation against Philadelphia.

26 July: British Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger, with about 2,000 men, half of them Indians and including only about 350 British regulars, started his expedition from Oswego, New York, on Lake Ontario toward Mohawk Valley and projected link-up with Burgoyne near Albany.

27 July: Advance band of Indians from Burgoyne's force seized two

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loyalist ladies at Fort Edward, New York, and on way back to Burgoyne's base at Fort Anne murdered and scalped younger one, Jane McCrea. Propaganda spread by patriots about this incident had much to do with gathering of militia that helped lead to Burgoyne's downfall.

30 July–17 October: The officially designated Saratoga Campaign began day after Burgoyne reached Fort Edward, New York, and ended with his surrender.

31 July: Congress commissioned the Marquis de Lafayette major general in Army of the United States.

3–23 August: St. Leger's force besieged Fort Stanwix, New York, American defense post at head of navigation on Mohawk River and key to advance down it to Hudson River. Siege was broken by approach of relief force led by General Benedict Arnold.

4 August: Congress, having received letter from Washington asking "to be excused from making the appointment of an officer to command the northern army," appointed General Horatio Gates to succeed General Philip Schuyler as commander of army facing Burgoyne. This move helped to bring out large numbers of New England militia, who distrusted Schuyler, to reinforce Continental nucleus of northern army.

6 August: Militia force of 800 led by General Nicholas Herkimer enroute to relieve Fort Stanwix was ambushed at Oriskany, New York, six miles from Stanwix, by 400 Indians and a few whites sent out by St. Leger. Fighting was bitter, but loss figures are uncertain—perhaps 200 from Herkimer's force and 100 Indians. Since Herkimer was turned back this action was a tactical defeat for patriots.

15 August: General Howe's army and fleet entered Chesapeake Bay en route to head of bay and march on Philadelphia. Patriot forts, ships, and obstructions appeared to bar more direct water approach to Philadelphia by way of Delaware Bay and Delaware River.

16 August: Burgoyne on 11 August sent out foraging party of 800 German and loyalist troops, and subsequently relief force of 640 Germans, that on this date were both decisively defeated in battle of Bennington, Vermont (actually fought in New York State), by 2,000 militia led by Col. John Stark. Patriot losses were 70 or less, enemy losing 207 killed and 700 captured.

19 August: General Gates took over command of Northern Army from General Schuyler at Stillwater, New York.

22 August: General Sullivan's division, left behind when Washington moved south to meet Howe, raided Staten Island, New

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York. Although it captured about 130 British troops while moving toward Richmond, division was stopped and then forced to withdraw with loss of at least 170.

23 August: Seige of Fort Stanwix abandoned by St. Leger after his Indians fled—partly a result of Arnold's use of half-wit messenger to spread word that Continentals approaching were as thick as leaves on trees.

25 August: General Howe debarked his army at north end of Chesapeake Bay at Head of Elk (now Elkton), Maryland.

31 August–1 September: Fort Henry, Virginia (modern Wheeling, West Virginia), frontier outpost on Ohio River, attacked by 400 Indians. After substantial losses on both sides, Indians were driven off by arrival of reinforcements on second day.

3 September: Washington had sent forward recently formed light infantry corps to delay Howe's advance from Head of Elk, and five miles northeast near Cooch's Bridge, Delaware, German troops attacked and after spirited action drove back this patriot force, with loss of 30–40 killed and wounded on each side. This action was only land combat in state of Delaware during Revolution.

11 September: Washington's main effort to stop Howe's advance on Philadelphia took place along Brandywine Creek (Brandywine Campaign), Pennsylvania, about 25 miles southwest of city. Howe outflanked Washington's army and forced its retreat after heavy action; the patriots lost more than 1,200 including 400 prisoners out of 11,000 engaged, and the British forces nearly 600 out of 12,500 engaged.

12 September: Gates' Northern army began to fortify position on Bemis Heights, below Saratoga, New York.

16 September: The British and American armies prepared for a major engagement in the vicinity of Warren or White Horse Tavern, Pennsylvania, but heavy rain wet cartridge boxes and Americans withdrew.

18 September: Congress at Washington's urging left Philadelphia this date and, after meeting briefly at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on 27 September, met beginning 30 September at York, Pennsylvania.

18 September: American detachments raided vicinity of Fort Ticonderoga, New York, capturing 300 of enemy as well as recovering 100 patriot prisoners. While not complete success, this raid was ominous blow to Burgoyne's line of communications.

19 September: With patriot forces strongly entrenched on Bemis Heights guarding line of advance, Burgoyne sent out strong reconnaissance to test American defenses. When General Ar-

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nold's division advanced in response, British force engaged built up to 2,500. In bloody struggle enemy lost about 600, Americans about 320, and Burgoyne decided to hold his position rather than attempt further advance. This battle is variously called first Freeman's Farm, Bemis Heights, Stillwater, or Saratoga.

21 September: Five British regiments launched surprise early morning attack on General Anthony Wayne's division of 1,500 Continentals stationed near Paoli Tavern, Pennsylvania, 20 miles northwest of Philadelphia. Wayne lost about 150, British 30 or less, and because British attacked in stealth with bayonets the affair became known as the "Paoli Massacre."

26 September: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, capital and largest city of new United States of America, occupied by British army of General Howe.

4 October: In battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania (Germantown Campaign), six miles northwest of Philadelphia, Washington with 11,000 troops attacked Howe's main body of 9,000. Fog and confusion turned early patriot success into defeat, with patriot losses of 673 killed and wounded and over 400 captured and British losses of 537 killed and wounded and 14 captured.

6 October: In diversionary move to help Burgoyne, General Sir Henry Clinton with 3,000 British, German, and loyalist troops attacked and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery (near Bear Mountain), New York, guarding entrance to Hudson River narrows through Highlands. British forces lost about 300, patriots 250 or nearly half of 600 defenders.

7 October: Burgoyne, with his dwindling army nearly surrounded, sent out another strong reconnaissance toward left of American defensive positions at Bemis Heights. Americans with Arnold in lead outflanked British and inflicted 600 casualties, four times their own loss. After this action Burgoyne withdrew his army to Saratoga. This battle is variously called second Freeman's Farm, Bemis Heights, Stillwater, or Saratoga.

8 October: British force under General Sir Henry Clinton occupied then destroyed patriot fortifications on Constitution Island (opposite West Point.)

16 October: Part of Clinton's force pushed northward and attacked and burned Esopus (modern Kingston), New York. Clinton's expedition while not saving Burgoyne helped to persuade General Gates to grant him more liberal terms.

17 October: At Saratoga, New York, General Burgoyne, surrounded by 17,000 patriot troops and under intense artillery fire, surrendered his army of 5,728 officers and men to General Gates.

1777—Continued

17 October: Congress established new Board of War consisting of three persons not members of Congress (increased to five on 24 November), another step in evolution of Army headquarters.

22 October: Hessian force of 2,000 attacked Fort Mercer, New Jersey, which with Fort Mifflin on Pennsylvania side of Delaware River blocked water route to British forces in Philadelphia. Hessians were repulsed, losing 371, while entrenched patriots lost only 37.

23 October: Guns of Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania, inflicted heavy damage on British warships attempting to break through Delaware River defenses and reach Philadelphia; two warships were destroyed.

10–15 November: Land and floating batteries and warships bombarded Fort Mifflin, Pennsylvania, until patriots were forced to evacuate after every gun was silenced. Americans lost 250 in killed and wounded, British 12.

15 November: Congress approved Articles of Confederation, first constitution of new United States, but because of required ratification by all thirteen states Articles did not become effective until 1 March 1781.

20–21 November: Loss of Fort Mifflin made Fort Mercer, New Jersey, untenable, and as British prepared for assault, patriots pulled out, thus opening Delaware to British shipping.

25 November: At Gloucester, New Jersey, patriot force of 300 under Lafayette skirmished with and bested more numerous force of Hessians.

5 December: Vanguard of Howe's army clashed with 600 patriot militia at Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, patriots retreating after heavy firing from both sides.

7 December: Howe moved to attack Washington's main and well-entrenched position at Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania, but after skirmishing decided it was too strong to risk full attack. Casualties were about 50 on each side.

10 December: Patriot raid from Connecticut to Long Island, New York, was broken up by British warships and Col. Samuel B. Webb and his regiment were captured.

11 December: Washington's army, beginning its move toward Valley Forge, at Mason's Ford (modern West Conshohocken), Pennsylvania, crossing of Schuylkill River met 3,500-man British foraging party under Cornwallis and skirmished with it.

13 December: Action of Congress creating two inspector general positions in Continental Army and defining duties to be performed by their incumbents marks establishment of Office of The Inspector General.

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17 *December:* After receiving news on 4 December of Burgoyne's surrender French Foreign Minister promised American commissioners in Paris that France would recognize American independence and make treaty.

19 *December:* Washington's army moved into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

1778

8 *January:* Washington in general orders observed that vice of gambling was again becoming prevelant and directed "exemplary punishment" of any officer or enlisted man caught gambling, or playing with cards and dice in any way. This order was only one of many issued during war to curb gambling.

25 *January:* Washington ordered West Point be fortified.

27 *January:* Marines and seamen from U.S. Navy sloop *Providence* raided New Providence (Nassau), Bahamas, and seized forts, marking first time Stars and Stripes appeared over foreign stronghold.

6 *February:* Representatives of France and the United States signed treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce.

14 *February:* Stars and Stripes was first seen and saluted in European waters at Quiberon, France.

23 *February:* Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben arrived at Valley Forge, where he instituted training program that transformed Washington's army into much more effective fighting force.

26 *February:* Congress requested states to institute drafts from their militia for nine months Continental service in order to fill their respective regiments. First national draft in American history.

9 *March:* As measure to dissuade Americans from ratifying Franco-American treaty of alliance, Parliament approved British Prime Minister Lord North's proposals for conciliation, including suspension, as necessary, of all acts passed since 1753 to which Americans objected.

18 *March:* British and patriot foraging parties clashed at Quinton's Bridge, New Jersey, three miles south of Salem. Patriots, deceived by clever trap, lost about 40, British only one mortally wounded.

20 *March:* King Louis XVI of France formally received American commissioners Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee.

21 *March:* Loyalist force made murderous attack on patriot militia group at Hancock's Bridge, New Jersey, killing some loyalists as well as patriots in process.

21 *March:* Final orders issued to General Sir Henry Clinton, who

1778—Continued

was to relieve Howe as British commander in North America, to send a force of 5,000 to the West Indies and 3,000 men to Florida, and to withdraw the rest of his troops in Philadelphia to New York.

23–24 April: John Paul Jones, commanding USS *Ranger,* raided Whitehaven, England, nearby St. Mary's Isle off Scotland, then engaged and defeated HMS *Drake,* off Belfast, Ireland.

30 April: Great chain stretched across Hudson River between West Point and Constitution Island to hinder British attempts to ascend the river.

1 May: British force of 700 attacked patriot outpost with hardly a tenth of this strength at Crooked Billet Tavern, in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. Patriots lost about 40, British nine.

4 May: Congress ratified treaties of alliance and of amity and commerce between United States and France.

5 May: Congress approved Washington's plan for a well organized inspectorship and appointed General Steuben Inspector General.

18 May: British Army bade farewell to its commander, Sir William Howe, in an extravagant festival—*The Mischianza*—in Philadelphia.

20 May: Learning that British were preparing to evacuate Philadelphia, Washington, from Valley Forge, sent out reconnaissance force of 2,200 under Lafayette that took a position at Barren Hill, Pennsylvania, half way toward city. British force of 5,000 tried to trap Continentals, but after minor skirmishing Lafayette cleverly escaped back across Schuylkill with only minor loss.

24 May: From Newport, British dispatched raiding party of 500 that first burned and plundered Warren, Rhode Island, then destroyed 22 dwellings and a church in neighboring Bristol.

25 May: General Howe departed from Philadelphia for England, and General Sir Henry Clinton succeeded him as British Commander-in-Chief.

27 May: Congress approved new establishment for Continental Army, including reorganization of infantry, artillery, and cavalry units, establishment of provost corps and three engineer companies, and other changes.

6 June: Carlisle Peace Commission, bearing Lord North's proposals for conciliation with Americans, arrived in Philadelphia.

13–17 June: Congress, meeting at York, Pennsylvania, received Lord North's conciliatory proposals and four days later informed Carlisle Peace Commission that United States would negotiate with Great Britain only on bases of independence and of treaty

1778—Continued

of peace and commerce consistent with treaty already entered into with France.

18 June: British army of 10,000 under Clinton evacuated Philadelphia for overland march to New York, and on same day Washington's army left Valley Forge in pursuit.

28 June: Washington's forward troops under General Charles Lee attacked Clinton's column withdrawing to New York at Monmouth, New Jersey (Monmouth Campaign), and last major engagement of war in North developed. Outcome was tactical draw, but British losses, including deserters, which may have totalled 1,200, exceeded American of 350 or so.

2 July: American Congress again met in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, following British evacuation.

3–4 July: Mixed loyalist–Indian force entering Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania (north and south of modern Wilkes-Barre), first defeated patriot defending force and then plundered upper valley and massacred prisoners before withdrawing to New York.

4 July: Lt. Col. George Rogers Clark, on commission from Virginia with about 200 frontiersmen, surprised British post at Kaskaskia, Illinois, on east bank of Mississippi River south of St. Louis, and captured it without firing a shot.

8 July: Admiral Jean Comte d'Estaing arrived off Delaware Capes with fleet of 16 ships and 4,000 soldiers, first direct French military reinforcement of American patriots. Accompanying fleet was newly appointed French minister to the United States, Conrad Gerard, first diplomatic representative to new nation.

11–22 July: D'Estaing's fleet moved to Sandy Hook on 11 July and stayed for 11 days before the French commander abandoned hope of getting his ships over the sandbar to attack Lord Richard Howe's inferior British fleet. On the 22nd, D'Estaing sailed for Newport.

18 July: Indians led by Joseph Brant plundered and burned settlement at Andrustown, New York.

20 July: English post at Vincennes, Indiana, like Kaskaskia inhabited mostly by French, agreed to shift its allegiance to American side without resistance, and in early August small party from Clark's expedition took over fort and command of local militia.

27 July: Naval battle off Ushant (modern Ile d'Ouessant), Brittany, opened hostilities between France and Great Britain.

29 July: D'Estaing arrived at Point Judith, Rhode Island, and began concerting measures with American General John Sullivan for attack on Newport.

5 August: French Admiral Suffren forced Sakonnet (East) Passage

1778—Continued

at Newport, leading to destruction of number of British ships and clearing way for French ships to move up Middle Passage and land troops.

8–9 August: American troops under Sullivan moved into position and some French troops landed in Rhode Island for attack on Newport.

10–11 August: D'Estaing re-embarked French troops and sailed out to meet Admiral Richard Howe's British fleet off Newport. Fleets were dispersed by a violent storm before becoming seriously engaged. D'Estaing then returned off Newport but refused to enter passage and disembark troops to cooperate with Sullivan. Instead on 21 August he sailed off to Boston for repairs to his fleet, leaving Sullivan's force beseiging Newport stranded.

29 August: After departure of French, Sullivan's force abandoned seige of Newport and while withdrawing to north end of Rhode Island was attacked by British at Quaker Hill. In heavy fighting Americans lost more than 200 of 1,500 engaged, British more than 250 of somewhat larger attacking force. Regiment of Rhode Island Negro soldiers distinguished itself in this battle.

4 September: The United States and The Netherlands signed treaty of amity and commerce.

5–6 September: British raiding force landing near New Bedford, Massachusetts, destroyed 70 vessels and large number of buildings there, then destroyed mills and houses at Fairhaven on opposite shore of Acushnet River.

8 September: British force that had raided New Bedford area next attacked island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, destroying vessels and seizing large number of sheep and oxen for British Army consumption and use.

13 September: Force of 300 loyalists and 150 Indians raided German Flats (modern Herkimer), New York, burning most of its buildings and carrying away livestock; but forewarned patriots had taken refuge in fort and casualties were slight.

14 September: Congress appointed Benjamin Franklin minister plenipotentiary to court of France.

24 September: Two large British foraging expeditions left New York City and marched up Hudson, Cornwallis on west side with 5,000 men and Knyphausen on east side with 3,000 men. Washington sent out small bodies to harass them and check movement.

25 September: Congress appointed General Benjamin Lincoln commander of the Southern Department and requested Virginia and North Carolina to come to the aid of South Carolina and Georgia with men and supplies without loss of time.

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28 September: British force surprised about 100 sleeping Continental dragoons at Old Tappan, New Jersey, bayoneting 30 and capturing 50.

6–7 October: Force of 400 landing from British ships did heavy damage to patriot privateering base near Great Bay (Egg Harbor), New Jersey.

6–8 October: Continental detachment raided Unadilla, New York, where Joseph Brant had established base after settlers evacuated in face of Indian pressure.

15 October: British troops that had attacked Great Bay area surprised advanced post of infantrymen from General Casimir Pulaski's patriot legion, sent to drive enemy away, and before main patriot body could intervene British killed about 40 Americans before withdrawing to their ships.

4 November: Sir Henry Clinton finally carried out orders to detach troops to West Indies; on this date 5,800-man force under General James Grant departed New York to take part in expedition against St. Lucia.

11 November: Loyalists and Indians attacked Cherry Valley, New York, killing several soldiers and more than 30 non-combatants and carrying off 71 prisoners.

27 November: British expeditionary force of 3,500 sailed from New York harbor for attack on Georgia, leaving Clinton with total force of about 17,000 in New York.

17 December: British force from Detroit, increased by Indian allies picked up along the way, recaptured Vincennes, Indiana.

28 December: French island of St. Lucia surrendered to British after heavy fighting, marking opening of major Anglo-French operations in the West Indies.

29 December: Savannah, Georgia, was captured by British expeditionary force that had landed on Savannah River below town and then outmaneuvered and overwhelmed American defending force under General Robert Howe. British lost only 13. Americans lost 83 killed or drowned and 453 taken prisoner.

1779

9 January: After 3-day siege British force of 2,000, including Indians, from St. Augustine, Florida, under General Augustine Prevost captured Sunbury (Fort Morris), Georgia, and its 200 Continental defenders. Casualties were light on both sides.

29 January: Following capture of Savannah British advanced northwestward and occupied Augusta, Georgia, almost without opposition.

3 February: British force of 200 was defeated by patriot body of

1779—Continued

300 under General William Moultrie at Beaufort on Port Royal Island, South Carolina. Americans lost 30 in killed and wounded, British many more but number is unknown.

14 February: Group of 700 Carolina loyalists marching to join British and loyalists victors in Georgia, after crossing into Georgia was attacked and defeated at Kettle Creek by 350 patriots under Col. Andrew Pickens. Patriots lost 32 in killed and wounded, loyalists 110, and loyalist movement in Carolinas suffered serious setback.

18 February: Congress established Department of Inspector General, to be commanded by a major general. Steuben served as first head of this department.

24 February: George Rogers Clark led expedition overland from Kaskaskia, Illinois, and recaptured Vincennes, Indiana, and its British garrison of 80.

25 February: Congress authorized enlistment of corps of five companies of rangers to protect frontier settlements of Pennsylvania.

26 February: Royal Governor William Tryon of New York led raid from Kings Bridge, New York, eastward, and his 600 troops easily overwhelmed General Israel Putnam and 150 militiamen at Horseneck Landing (West Greenwich), Connecticut, which they then plundered with slight loss.

3 March: Patriot force of 1,500, mostly North Carolina militia, forced British out of Augusta and pursued southward on Georgia side of river toward Savannah. Counterattacking British force of 900 caught patriots unprepared at Briar Creek, Georgia, and inflicted crushing defeat, causing nearly 400 casualties to enemy loss of 16 and stopping patriot efforts to recover Georgia.

11 March: Congress resolved that military engineers in service of the United States should be formed into a Corps of Engineers.

29 March: In view of shortage of white manpower in South Carolina and Georgia Congress recommended that they raise force of 3,000 Negroes, to be commanded by white commissioned and noncommissioned officers, owners of each Negro to be paid up to $1,000, and each that served faithfully through war to be emancipated and paid $50.

29 March: Congress ordered that regulations prepared by Inspector General von Steuben be observed by troops of the United States and that the Board of War have as many copies as necessary printed.

19 April: Patriot force under Gose van Schaick destroyed Onondaga Castle, New York, in surprise raid.

9–11 May: British expedition under Admiral Sir John Collier conducted devastating raid in Hampton Roads area in Virginia

1779—Continued

capturing or destroying large quantities of ships and supplies to an estimated value of 2 million sterling without loss of a man.

11–12 May: When main Continental force in South Carolina under General Benjamin Lincoln crossed into Georgia and reoccupied Augusta; British troops approached Charleston, South Carolina, and, finding it thinly defended, pressed for its surrender. News of imminent return of Lincoln's troops persuaded British to withdraw to Stono Ferry south of Charleston.

1 June: British force moving up Hudson captured patriot forts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, New York, guarding principal American-controlled ferry crossing between New England and area west of river and also entrance of river into Highlands.

18 June–15 October: General John Sullivan led expedition of 2,500 from Easton, Pennsylvania, against New York Indians, with objective of carrying the war home to the Indians of the six nations. Patriot General James Clinton with 1,500 starting from Mohawk Valley joined Sullivan on 19 August. After battle near modern Elmira and destruction of Indian crops and towns Sullivan turned back.

20 June: Patriot force of 1,200 attacked British and Hessian rearguard at Stono Ferry, South Carolina, with losses of more than 300 on patriot side and 130 on British; later held their ground but soon thereafter withdrew further south.

21 June: Spain declared war on Great Britain.

2 July: Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton with 360 men including 70 dragoons attacked and overwhelmed 90-man patriot dragoon force at Poundridge, New York, where church and other buildings were burned.

5–6 July: British troops numbering 2,600 from New York attacked and plundered New Haven, Connecticut, but left with 45 prisoners as militia in substantial numbers began to gather.

8 July: British force that had attacked New Haven landed at Fairfield, Connecticut, and plundered and burned most of town.

9 July: After burning Fairfield British raiding force looted and burned village of Green's Farms, Connecticut.

11 July: Continuing raid along Connecticut coast, British, against slight opposition, plundered and burned Norwalk, Connecticut, which suffered greatest damage of any place attacked in this marauding expedition.

16 July: General Anthony Wayne leading 1,350 Continentals launched surprise attack on British garrison at Stony Point, New York. Patriot casualties numbered 98. British lost 94 killed and wounded and nearly 550 captured or missing. Because Washington's army could not also recapture Verplanck's Point,

1779—Continued

patriots soon thereafter withdrew from Stony Point fortifications and British reoccupied them.

19–22 July: On night of 19–20 July, Mohawk Indian Chief Joseph Brant led Indian and loyalist party in raid on frontier settlement of Minisink, New York, 10 miles northwest of Goshen, principally to gain booty and food rather than to take lives. Militia pursuing raiders on 22 July was overcome near present Port Jervis and, of about 160 patriot participants, only 30 survived.

25 *July–13 August:* Massachusetts expedition of 2,000 in 20 armed vessels landed to attack British post established on Penobscot Bay near present Castine, Maine; but while preparations were underway British force of 10 more powerful warships and 1,600 men arrived from New York and overwhelmed patriots, latter losing 474 men and enemy only 13.

11 *August–14 September:* In conjunction with Sullivan's expedition against New York Indians, Col. Daniel Brodhead led 600 men from Pittsburgh up Allegheny River valley and destroyed 10 Indian villages in northern Pennsylvania, including one at modern Warren.

19 *August:* Patriot force of 300 under Henry (Light-Horse Harry) Lee after long forced march made surprise attack on British post at Paulus Hook (in modern Jersey City), New Jersey, and, with light loss, killed, wounded, or captured most of its British–German combat garrison of 250.

29 *August:* Sullivan's force of 4,000 attacked and defeated an Indian–loyalist force at Newtown, New York (6 miles southeast of modern Elmira); casualties on both sides were relatively light, and patriots did not pursue vigorously after their victory.

5 *September:* Patriot body of 150 from Shippan Point (near Stamford), Connecticut, crossed Long Island Sound and surprised 500 loyalists at Lloyd Neck, New York, capturing most of them without losing a man.

11–12 September: Admiral D'Estaing's French fleet, returned from the West Indies to southern coast, began to debark troops at Beaulieu, a point 14 miles south of Savannah, Georgia, with intention of attacking British in Savannah.

16 *September–10 October:* Combined force of 1,500 Americans under General Lincoln and more than 5,000 Frenchmen from D'Estaing's fleet laid seige to Savannah, Georgia, defended, after outposts were gathered in, by about 3,200 British regulars.

21 *September:* Following outbreak of war between Spain and Great Britain, Spanish Governor of Louisiana Bernardo de Galvez attacked and captured British post and garrison at Baton

1779—Continued

Rouge, Louisiana. Capitulation included surrender of Natchez, Mississippi, and other British posts on Mississippi River.

23 September: John Paul Jones on *Bonhomme Richard* defeated British warship *Serapis.*

9 October: D'Estaing's fears for safety of French fleet led to Franco-American attack on entrenched British at Savannah, Georgia, which was repulsed with heavy casualties, French losing 650 out of 3,500 engaged, Americans 150 or more out of 1,500, much greater than enemy loss of 120 or so.

25 October: The 3,000 British troops in Newport, Rhode Island, which had been held by British since 1776, were evacuated to provide additional strength for major British campaign in South.

28 October: Congress established Board of Admiralty and gave it control of all naval affairs. Board consisted of three commissioners not members of Congress and two that were.

1 December: Washington's main force went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. During winter of record cold, suffering of troops there was far greater than at Valley Forge two years before.

26 December: General Clinton with 8,700 British troops sailed from New York to attack Carolinas and with specific goal of capturing Charleston, South Carolina.

1780

14–15 January: Patriot General William Alexander led 3,000 men across ice to Staten Island, New York, to attack British posts, but enemy was not surprised and Americans withdrew with 17 prisoners and some booty after losing 6 killed and about 500 "slightly frozen" in bitter winter weather.

3 February: British force of 550 from Manhattan attacked patriot body of 450 at Young's House (Mt. Pleasant), New York, and after sharp action forced patriots to retreat. Latter lost 51 killed and wounded, 74 captured; British, 23 killed and wounded.

10–11 February: After a detour to Savannah for repairs and reorganization, Sir Henry Clinton's southern expedition landed on Simmons Island and began slow but steady movement toward Charleston, South Carolina.

25 February: Congress, because of lack of financial resources, resolved to call upon the states for specific supplies to support the Army and established quotas for each state for the coming campaign.

29 February: Russian issued proclamation of Armed Neutrality containing principles for protection of neutral commerce in

1780—Continued

wartime, which helped to align European continental nations against Great Britain and led to involvement of The Netherlands as combatant.

14 March: Expedition led by Spanish Lousiana Governor Bernardo de Galvez captured British Fort Charlotte at present Mobile, Alabama, then in West Florida.

1 April: After series of maneuvers placed them in striking distance, British forces under General Clinton began siege of patriot forces under General Lincoln at Charleston.

2 April: Force of Indians and loyalists struck exposed settlement of Harpersfield, New York, killing several of inhabitants and capturing 19.

14 April: British force under Colonel Tarleton made surprise early morning attack on patriot supply depot at Monck's Corner, South Carolina, guarded by 500 mounted Continentals and militia. Patriots were routed, with 80 or so casualties and loss of 200–400 horses, while British claimed only three casualties; also, this defeat cut last outside link of American force bottled up in Charleston.

24 April: Patriot sortie from Charleston, South Carolina, overran first line of British siege works and inflicted 62 casualties at cost of only three, but Charleston defenders were too weak to make any greater effort toward breakout.

6 May: Patriot cavalry group after capturing 18 British soldiers south of Santee River moved to Lenud's Ferry, South Carolina, to recross river and join larger force of Col. Abraham Buford. Before smaller force could cross river it was struck in surprise attack by Tarleton's dragoons, patriots losing more than 100 in killed, wounded, and captured and British few or none.

7 May: Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, guarding entrance to Charleston harbor, captured by British from land side, American garrison of 200 surrendering without firing a shot.

12 May: After six-week seige, British forces totalling 17,200 troops and seamen forced surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, and its garrison of nearly 5,500, about half of them Continentals. During siege patriot combat losses totalled about 230, British about 265. This surrender was worst such disaster for new United States during Revolution; it was followed by British overrunning of most of South Carolina.

21–27 May: Sir John Johnson led raiding party of 400 other loyalists and 200 Indians from Crown Point to Mohawk Valley where on 22 May it burned Caughnawaga and on 23 May Johnstown, New York, as well as other settlements, slaughtering

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male inhabitants and on 27 May withdrawing with 40 prisoners.

25 May: At Morristown, New Jersey, two Connecticut regiments prepared to march off and go home without orders, in protest against no pay and short rations for preceding five months. This mutinous conduct, however justified, was suppressed, with some leaders lightly punished; but incident presaged more serious mutinies to come among Continental soldiers on same accounts.

26 May: British expedition of regulars and Indians from Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan, was repulsed in attack on Spanish settlement at St. Louis, Missouri.

29 May: Pursuing Buford's Continentals northward, Tarleton attacked force nearly twice his number at Waxhaws, South Carolina, and inflicted crushing defeat on only remaining organized patriot body in South Carolina. Tarleton reported his casualties as 19 of 200 engaged, with patriots losing more than 300 of 400 engaged, including 113 killed in British bayonet attack. Patriots claimed men trying to surrender were bayonetted.

29 May: Loyalist group near Winnsboro, South Carolina, was defeated and dispersed by patriot irregulars, marking beginning of effective patriot resurgence in Carolinas.

7–23 June: British force from Staten Island launched raid toward Morristown because of reported disaffection among Continental troops stationed there; but in engagements on 7 June at Connecticut Farms (now Union), and on 23 June at nearby Springfield, New Jersey, stout American defense turned back British and ended their offensive operations in New Jersey. Casualties in these engagements are uncertain, but British burning of towns involved helped stifle remaining loyalist sentiment in state.

20 June: Premature gathering of loyalists to join planned British invasion of North Carolina was broken up by patriots in bitter fight at Ramsour's Mill (near modern Lincolnton), North Carolina, each side losing more than 150 in killed and wounded. Result was weak loyalist support of Cornwallis' invasion when it did occur.

10 July: General Jean Comte de Rochambeau, commanding French army of 5,500 troops, arrived with them at Newport, Rhode Island, under orders to collaborate with Washington under latter's general direction.

12 July: Patriot militia under Col. Thomas Sumter made surprise dawn attack on larger enemy force including some of Tarleton's cavalry at Williamson's Plantation (near present Rock Hill), South Carolina, and inflicted heavy loss at slight cost to attackers.

13 July: Congress unanimously resolved that Maj. Gen. Horatio

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Gates of Saratoga fame should take command of the Southern Department and set up a committee of five to plan the defense of that department.

16 July: Near Fisher Summit in Bedford County, Pennsylvania, raiding party of British and Indians surprised Capt. William Phillips' rangers, killed ten and carried Capt. Phillips off prisoner to Niagara.

21 July: Washington sent sizeable force under General Wayne to attack loyalist stockaded blockhouse at Bull's Ferry (present West New York), New Jersey, but Wayne's cannon were unable to destroy blockhouse, and impetuous and unsuccessful charge cost patriots 15 killed and 49 wounded, loyalist defenders sustaining 21 casualties.

30 July: Patriot force of 600 persuaded loyalist garrison of Fort Anderson (Thicketty Fort), South Carolina (10 miles southeast of Cowpens), to surrender without firing a shot.

1 August: Patriot partisan leader Thomas Sumter with 600 men attacked British fortified position at Rocky Mount, South Carolina; but lacking artillery Sumter could not capture inner circle of fortified houses and gave up after each side suffered about 12 casualties.

1 August: Skirmish at Green Spring, South Carolina, between 210 Tories of Major Ferguson's command and 196 patriots—a prelude to King's Mountain. Patriots drove back Tories in brisk 15-minute fire fight in which casualties were proportionately heavy on both sides.

2 August: Party of 500 Indians and loyalists under Joseph Brant attacked settlement of Fort Plank, New York, and although unable to capture fort burned most of Canajoharie settlement buildings and carried off several women and children as prisoners.

3 August: As step in his treasonous negotiations, which began in May 1779, General Benedict Arnold assumed command of post at West Point, New York, and its vicinity with intent of facilitating its capture by British.

6 August: After unsuccessful attack on Rocky Mount, Sumter's partisans attacked British post about 20 miles to east at Hanging Rock, South Carolina, and in sharp fight defeated its loyalist garrison, defenders losing nearly 200, patriots 53.

8 August: George Rogers Clark leading expedition against British-supported Ohio Indians defeated them with heavy loss and destroyed their settlement on Little Miami River.

15 August: Detachment under Sumter's command captured British post guarding Wateree Ferry, South Carolina, and its garrison

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of 30, together with a large stock of supplies and wagons enroute to British main force under Cornwallis at nearby Camden.

16 August: In battle seven miles north of Camden, South Carolina, British under Cornwallis annihilated patriot army under General Gates, the most crushing defeat suffered by United States on a major field of battle during Revolution. Only 700 of 4,000 in Gates' army were able to rally after battle at Hillsboro, North Carolina. Estimates of Americans killed, wounded, and captured approach 2,000; dead included General Kalb. British losses totalled about 325 out of about 2,240 engaged.

18 August: In ambuscade two miles from Musgrove's Mill, South Carolina, on north bank of Enoree River, patriots inflicted about 225 casualties on attacking loyalist force, with patriot loss of only 12 in killed and wounded.

18 August: Tarleton with 160 dragoons and mounted infantry surprised Sumter's partisans west of Wateree River at Fishing Creek, South Carolina, at cost of 16 casualties. Tarleton killed 150 patriots, captured 300, and recovered 100 British prisoners and most of booty seized at Wateree Ferry three days earlier.

20 August: Francis Marion, newly commissioned as brigadier general by governor of South Carolina, began his exploits by surprising British guard escorting 150 American prisoners to Charleston at Nelson's Ferry (Great Savannah) crossing of Santee River, South Carolina, and killing or capturing 24 of enemy as well as releasing patriots.

4 September: General Francis Marion with group of about 50 partisans routed Tory force of 250 men at Blue Savannah, South Carolina.

14–18 September: Patriot militia drove in outposts and captured Forts Cornwallis and Grierson at approaches to Augusta, Georgia, but were unable to take the city by assault and arrival of British reinforcements forced patriots to flee. Action caused new outbreak of Tory vindictiveness in area.

21 September: At Wahab's Plantation (on west bank of Catawba River about 10 miles southwest of Charlotte), North Carolina, patriot group of 150 surprised 60 loyalists and killed or wounded all of them.

21–25 September: Benedict Arnold and Maj. John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, met in woods on banks of Hudson inside American lines on night of 21–22 September to arrange final details of Arnold's treason. Circumstances dictated André seek to return to British lines overland and he was captured near Tarrytown, 23 September, in disguise and carrying papers containing information on defenses of West Point.

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Arnold learned of André's capture and escaped to British ship in Hudson on 25 September, just before Washington arrived at his headquarters to uncover the treason. André was left to his fate.

26 September: Advancing into North Carolina, Cornwallis occupied Charlotte, but not until after some sharp skirmishing there with patriot militia.

29 September: General Marion with 50 men defeated loyalist body of about same size at Black Mingo Creek (20 miles southwest of Georgetown), South Carolina, with at least 20 of loyalists killed, wounded, or captured.

2 October: Major André was hanged as spy at Tappan, New York.

3 October: Congress reduced authorized strength of Continental Army to 58 regiments—49 infantry, 4 artillery, 4 cavalry, 1 artificer—and made other provisions for its organization and state contributions to it.

5 October: Congress approved principles embodied in Russia's Declaration of Armed Neutrality.

7 October: Patriot force of 900 overwhelmed somewhat larger loyalist force led by British regular Maj. Patrick Ferguson at King's Mountain, South Carolina. In this battle, turning point of war in South in patriot favor, patriots lost 28 killed and 64 wounded, enemy losing Major Ferguson and 157 others killed, 163 badly wounded, and another 698 captured.

14 October: At the request of Congress to select a commander to replace Gates as head of the Southern Department, Washington appointed General Nathanael Greene.

15–17 October: Indian–loyalist force led by Sir John Johnson attacked Schoharie Valley of New York, but three forts (Upper, Middle, Lower) held out and principal damage was to houses and crops.

19 October: After passing through Schoharie Valley Johnson's raiding party moved up north bank of Mohawk River where it was first attacked in front by much smaller force at Fort Keyser, then defeated by patriot force attacking from rear at Kock's Field, New York (both in Palatine township). At least 40 patriots were killed in first attack and losses in second are uncertain.

26 October: Marion dispersed Tory force assembling near Tearcourt Swamp, South Carolina, in surprise attack. Killed three and wounded 14, captured horses and other booty without loss.

30 October: Congress approved Greene as commander of Southern Army, ordered Henry Lee's and Stuben's forces to the south,

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and assigned all units drawn from Delaware and states southward to the Southern Army.

9 November: Cornwallis sent detachment of 140 to attack Sumter's militia force of 300, and in surprise (to both sides) early morning meeting at Fishdam Ford, South Carolina, 25 miles northwest of British headquarters at Winnsboro, British were beaten with considerably heavier losses than patriots.

20 November: Tarleton with about 270 dragoons and mounted infantry was defeated by upward of 1,000 militia under Sumter at Blackstocks, South Carolina, on south bank of Tyger River. British lost at least 30 killed and wounded, patriots only eight or nine; but Sumter himself was badly wounded and put out of action for weeks thereafter.

23 November: Force of 80 dismounted Continental dragoons crossed Long Island Sound from Fairfield, Connecticut, then marched across Long Island and attacked loyalist Fort George (near Brookhaven), New York. Patriots lost only one wounded, loyalist seven killed or wounded and about 200 captured who were taken back to Connecticut.

3 December: General Greene took command of Southern Department of Continental Army at Charlotte, North Carolina. His southern "army" then numbered under 2,500, less than half Continentals, and of the whole no more than one-third were properly clothed and equipped.

4 December: At Rudgeley's Mill, South Carolina, Col. William Washington's cavalry used fake cannon to procure surrender of body of over 100 Tories in fortified log barn.

12–13 December: Skirmish at Halfway Swamp, South Carolina, between Marion's men and British force escorting recruits to Hillsboro with inconclusive results.

20 December: Great Britain declared war on The Netherlands.

28 December: Patriot group of 280 Continental cavalry and mounted militia attacked 250 loyalists at Hammond's Store (near modern Newberry), South Carolina, killing or wounding 150 and capturing 40, and with related operations discouraged loyalist support of Cornwallis.

30 December: British force of 1,200 under traitor (and now British Brigadier) Benedict Arnold arrived in Hampton Roads to begin raiding expeditions up James River.

1781

1–10 January: On 1 January about 1,500 Pennsylvania Continentals principally from regiments under General Wayne mutinied at

1781—Continued

their winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, and marched to and occupied Princeton. Troops claimed their three-year enlistments had expired, and demanded immediate discharge with back pay due. After 10 days of tense negotiations, about 1,300 were discharged, many of whom subsequently re-enlisted.

5–7 January: Arnold's raiding force occupied Richmond, Virginia, state capital since May 1779, after brief skirmish with its 200 militia defenders. Arnold burned tobacco warehouses and some private and public buildings before withdrawing on 7th.

8 January: Detachment of 40 mounted rangers from Arnold's raiding force surprised and defeated 150 patriot militia at Charles City Court House, Virginia, killing two and capturing number of others.

17 January: About 1,025 Continentals and Militia under General Daniel Morgan, left wing of Greene's force, overwhelmingly defeated 1,100 British troops under Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina. In classic double envelopment engagement patriots at cost of 12 killed and 60 wounded inflicted 329 combat casualties on enemy and captured 600 more of them unwounded.

20–27 January: Influenced by mutiny of Pennsylvania troops and their successful negotiation of grievances, about 500 New Jersey Continentals mutinied at their winter quarters at Pompton, New Jersey, marched to Chatham, then back to Pompton. This time Washington took strong steps to suppress disturbance, surrounding Pompton with loyal troops supported by artillery; mutineers surrendered, and two of their leaders were executed.

22 January: Patriot raiding party from Connecticut attacked loyalist outpost in Morrissania (in modern Bronx), New York, and installations in its vicinity including bridge over Harlem River. Patriots sustained about 25 casualties and captured 52 prisoners, loyalists losing about 50 killed and wounded and capturing 17 prisoners.

24 January: Henry Lee and Francis Marion with combined forces raided Georgetown, South Carolina, and captured British commander but, not possessing necessary siege equipment, withdrew when British garrison refused to come out and give battle.

1 February: Pursuing Morgan after Cowpens, Cornwallis' army of 3,000 first moved to Ramsour's Mills, then eastward to cross Catawba River northwest of Charlotte, North Carolina. With some loss main British body forced crossing at Cowan's Ford, then Tarleton pursuing militia defenders finished dispersing them at Tarrant's Tavern (near modern Mooresville), North Carolina.

1781—Continued

1 February: British under Maj. James Craig occupied Wilmington, North Carolina.

3 February: In West Indies, British captured Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which had been prime way station for contraband trade between Europe and American patriots since early in war. Though French recaptured island on 25 November 1781, it never regained earlier prominence.

7 February: Congress replaced Board of War with a Department of War under a single Secretary at War, but appointed no one immediately to fill the position.

12 February: Spanish expedition from St. Louis captured British post at Fort St. Joseph, Michigan, although holding it only for one day before withdrawing.

14 February: Greene, having joined Morgan, escaped from Cornwallis' pursuing army into Virginia across lower Dan River crossings, leaving British temporarily in possession of Carolinas but far out of touch with their supply bases.

20 February: Robert Morris appointed Superintendent of Finance by Congress. In this position he became *de facto* principal supply officer of the Army and by various means managed to provide sinews for the Yorktown campaign.

25 February: Recrossing Dan into North Carolina, Lt. Col. Henry Lee's Continental Legion and local militia caught 400 loyalist militia in trap at Haw River, North Carolina, killing 100 or more of them and dispersing rest, thereby thoroughly discouraging loyalist support of Cornwallis.

1 March: Articles of Confederation ratified and on next day Second Continental Congress became "The United States in Congress Assembled" as governing body of new nation.

2 March: Skirmish between American detachment under Henry Lee and advance guard of British Army under Tarleton at Clapp's Mill, North Carolina.

6 March: In principal action of regular forces during maneuvering preceding Guilford battle, Tarleton's cavalry and 1,000 British infantry attacked "light corps" of Greene's army at Wetzell's Mill, North Carolina. Weaker patriot force withdrew after casualties of 50 or so on each side.

15 March: In major engagement at Guilford Court House (near modern Greensboro), North Carolina, Cornwallis with about 2,000 regulars defeated Greene's army of about 4,500 including 2,800 militia, but British suffered exceptionally heavy casualties that forced quick withdrawal to seacoast. Patriots lost over 400 killed, wounded, and missing, British 532 (more than quarter of those engaged) in killed and wounded alone.

1781—Continued

16 March: First "Battle of the Capes" forming entrance to Chesapeake Bay fought between French and British fleets of about equal size. French had slightly the better of action, but left British guarding Bay and thus able to reinforce and supply their troops in Virginia.

16 April–5 June: Patriots besieged Augusta, Georgia, and captured its strongest fortification after building Maham tower (see 23 April) and mounting 6-pounder on it. Patriot losses during siege numbered 40, loyalists 52 killed and 334 captured.

23 April: Fort Watson, South Carolina (60 miles northwest of Charleston on Santee River, at site now covered by waters of Lake Marion), and its British loyalist garrison of 120 surrendered to patriots after latter adopted Col. Hezekiah Maham's suggestion of erecting a log crib with platform on top from which riflemen could deliver plunging fire into stockaded area. This strategem worked successfully on several later occasions.

25 April: Greene, who after Guilford turned toward South Carolina instead of following Cornwallis toward Wilmington, North Carolina, advanced to Hobkirk's Hill (just north of Camden), South Carolina. Lord Rawdon defending Camden chose to attack with only about half Greene's strength of 1,550; in hard fought battle British scored tactical victory, but afterward had to retreat toward Charleston. British casualties numbered 258 including 38 killed, American, 260 including 18 killed.

25 April: British, after adding 2,000 more troops to Arnold's in Virginia, under overall command of Maj. Gen. William Phillips, attacked and defeated 1,000 patriot militiamen defending Petersburg, Virginia. Losses in killed and wounded were about 60–70 on each side, and although British refrained from burning town they destroyed tobacco and shipping.

27 April: British force under Arnold attacked and scattered patriot militia at Osborne's, Virginia, on James River 15 miles below Richmond, then destroyed patriot flotilla of two dozen ships preparing for operation in Hampton Roads area.

29 April: General Lafayette, sent by Washington with 1,200 Continentals to check British depredations in Virginia, reached Richmond.

10 May: British abandoned Camden, their main interior post in South Carolina.

10 May: Spanish under Bernardo de Galvez captured British post of Pensacola, Florida, after seige that began on 9 March; and with Pensacola all of West Forida was surrendered to Spain. During siege attacking forces, which reached 7,000 in strength,

1781—Continued

had 227 casualties in killed and wounded; defenders had about 200 casualties, and 1,113 British prisoners were taken.

11 May: British post at Orangeburg, South Carolina, 50 miles south of Camden, with garrison of 15 regulars and 70 Tory militia surrendered to Sumter's partisans.

12 May: British garrison at Fort Motte, South Carolina, surrendered to force under Henry Lee and Francis Marion.

14 May: Tories surprised patriot outpost at Croton River, New York, killed commander Col. Christopher Green and Maj. Ebenezer Flagg. Total American losses 44 killed, wounded, and missing.

15 May: Fort Granby, South Carolina, surrendered to Henry Lee.

20 May: General Cornwallis, marching overland from Wilmington, North Carolina, reached Petersburg, Virginia, with 1,500 troops, but by taking over command of other British troops in Virginia his force soon swelled to 7,200. Outflanking Lafayette, he forced patriot evacuation of Richmond on 27 May and reached North Anna River by 1 June.

21 May: Lee's Legion attacked and captured two loyalist companies and quantity of needed supplies at Fort Galphin, South Carolina, on Savannah River about 12 miles below Augusta, losing only one man in doing so.

21–22 May: Generals Washington and Rochambeau met at Wethersfield, Connecticut, to plan joint Franco-American military operations.

22 May–19 June: General Greene with about 1,000 Continentals besieged British post at Ninety-Six, South Carolina, most important British post in interior after evacuation of Camden. Before formal siege operations could be completed approaching British relief force persuaded Greene to make unsuccessful assault. He then had to retreat in face of superior force. During siege, patriots lost about 150 in killed and wounded, British 85.

4 June: Governor Thomas Jefferson and state legislature having adjourned to Charlottesville, Virginia, Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton with 250 mounted men in raid to capture them. Jefferson escaped by 20-minute margin with most of legislators to Staunton, Virginia, on other side of Blue Ridge Mountains.

5 June: Simultaneously with Charlottesville raid, Cornwallis sent 400 troops to attack main patriot supply depot at Point of Fork (Fort Union), Virginia, on James River 45 miles above Richmond. British feinted 500 Continentals under Steuben out of position, captured 30-man patriot rear guard, and destroyed supplies.

1781—Continued

10 June: General Wayne with 1,000 Continentals joined Lafayette's force in Virginia.

14 June: Congress, accepting mediation proposed by Empress of Russia and "Emperor of Germany," appointed five ministers plenipotentiary to negotiate treaty of peace with Great Britain.

26 June: During June, British under Cornwallis moved eastward to Williamsburg, with Lafayette and his 4,500 rank and file following. On this day detachments of two armies clashed at Spencer's Tavern, Virginia, near Williamsburg, with casualties of 35 or more on each side.

3 July: Patriot and French troops attempted to surprise British detachments around Kings Bridge, New York, but enemy was alerted in time to retire after some skirmishing to defensive positions too strong to attack.

6 July: General Wayne with 900 Continentals moved against what he thought was Cornwallis' rear guard at Green Spring (near Jamestown), Virginia, but found himself facing British army of 7,000. In sharp fight Wayne with Lafayette's help extricated his force, at cost of about 140 casualties, with British losing 75 killed and wounded.

6 July: French army under Rochambeau joined Washington's main army at White Plains, New York.

9 July: Several hundred loyalists and Indians attacked Currytown, New York (four miles south of Canajoharie), burning 12 houses and killing or capturing a number of people.

9–24 July: From British base at Suffolk, Virginia, Col. Banastre Tarleton conducted raids along south side of James River as far west as Bedford County, returning to Suffolk when threatened by forces under Anthony Wayne.

10 July: Patriot militia force of 150 from Canajoharie attacked much larger loyalist–Indian party that had raided Currytown day before, at Sharon Spring Swamp, New York. Patriots outsmarted and badly defeated enemy force, killing 40 at cost of about 15 killed and wounded.

17 July: Superior patriot numbers forced British garrison at Monck's Corner to retreat toward Charleston, and Marion's advance corps attacked withdrawing British at Quimby's Creek Bridge, South Carolina, on east bank of Cooper River about 15 miles from Charleston. After initial success in sharp action patriots had to withdraw, Marion's corps sustaining about 50 casualties and British about 70.

1 August: Cornwallis occupied Yorkstown, Virginia, which with Gloucester Point across York River became main British base in Virginia.

1781—Continued

1–19 August: Maj. James Craig with force of 250 British Regulars and 380 Tories conducted raids from Wilmington to New Bern, North Carolina, entering New Bern on 19 August.

5 August: Dutch fleet defeated by British in battle of Dogger Bank in North Sea.

6 August: Party of 60 loyalists and Indians attacked Shell's Bush, New York (five miles north of Little Falls), but stout defense of Shell family from blockhouse killed 20 and wounded six of attackers without loss of a man.

21 August: Having received definite news of planned French naval concentration at mouth of Chesapeake Bay, Washington began move of his Continentals southward in hope of bottling up Cornwallis' army at Yorktown, Virginia.

22 August: Raiding party of 400 loyalists and Indians attacked and destroyed isolated settlements in Ulster County, New York, until driven off with considerable loss by patriot militia, principal action being on this date at Warwarsing.

24 August: Pennsylvania volunteers under Col. Archibald Lochry, en route to join George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia, were surprised and virtually annihilated by Indian force under Joseph Brant along Ohio River near present-day Aurora, Indiana. Americans lost 41 killed, 60 captured.

25 August: Rochambeau's French army joined Washington's in New Jersey, for movement southward toward Yorktown, Virginia.

30 August: Patriots under Marion set up ambuscade at Parker's Ferry crossing of Edisto River, South Carolina, and claimed to have killed or wounded 100 of 200 dragoons sent out from Charleston (30 miles to east) to support local loyalist uprising.

2 September: French fleet of 34 warships under Admiral François, Comte de Grasse, which had arrived off Virginia capes on 26 August, began landing 3,000 French soldiers brought from West Indies, adding materially to forces that would soon besiege Yorktown, Virginia.

5 September: Second "Battle of the Capes" fought outside Chesapeake Bay by French fleet under Admiral de Grasse and smaller British fleet. After action, as two main fleets drifted at sea, a smaller French fleet from Newport slipped into bay unopposed, and on 11 September the two French fleets joined inside bay to cut Cornwallis off from any hope of relief by sea.

6 September: Benedict Arnold led raiding force of 1,700 British and German troops against New London, Connecticut, destroying 143 buildings and 12 ships, and in hard fighting captured Fort Griswold in Groton on opposite bank of Thames River.

1781—Continued

British casualties totalled almost 200; Americans, 140, including 80 or so killed after they surrendered.

8 September: In one of hardest fought battles of war, Greene with 2,200 Continentals, state troops, and militia was bested by British force of 2,000 at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, the patriots losing more than 500 killed and wounded and British 700–850 killed, wounded, and missing. Whatever their tactical triumph, British were left so weak that they had to withdraw to vicinity of Charleston, leaving most of South Carolina under patriot control.

12 September: Force of nearly 1,000 loyalists, with nucleus starting from Wilmington on coast, made surprise attack on patriot capital of Hillsboro, North Carolina, and at slight cost killed 15 and wounded 20 defenders and captured more than 200, including Governor Thomas Burke. While withdrawing with prisoners later same day loyalist force was attacked by 400 Continentals at Cane Creek (Lindley's Mill) in sharp action in which patriots lost 125 and loyalists more than 100.

14 September: Washington and Rochambeau arrived on the Virginia peninsula, conferred with De Grasse to assure he would stay in the Bay long enough to complete coup against Cornwallis.

18–26 September: Washington's and Rochambeau's troops with aid of French Navy were transported down Chesapeake Bay and landed on north shore of James River near Williamsburg, Virginia.

28 September–19 October: After juncture of American and French forces in Virginia they moved from Williamsburg to begin seige of British army at Yorktown that lasted until Cornwallis' surrender (Yorktown Campaign).

3 October: About four miles from Gloucester, Virginia, foraging party under Tarleton was attacked by French cavalry force and pushed back after skirmishing that cost each side about two dozen casualties. Larger French forces following, and Virginia militia, then began formal seige of Gloucester Point, on opposite shore of York River from Yorktown, helping to block Cornwallis from escaping overland.

14 October: American and French detachments took Redoubts 9 and 10 in British defenses at Yorktown by assault, tightening the ring around Cornwallis.

16–17 October: Cornwallis' effort to ferry his forces across York River to Gloucester Point frustrated by storm.

19 October: British force numbering about 10,000 under Cornwallis surrendered to about 11,000 American and 9,000 French soldiers and sailors at Yorktown, Virginia. Before surrender, formal

1781—Continued

siege operations had pushed allied artillery into close-in positions that made British position in Yorktown untenable. British casualties during siege totalled 600, American and French 400.

25 October: British force of 700, including 130 Indians, that on 16 October had left Oswego, New York, and ravaged Mohawk Valley to within 12 miles of Schenectady, attacked on return by 400 patriot militia at Johnstown. After patriots lost 35 and enemy 65 or so, latter withdrew up the valley.

30 October: After encounter at Johnstown, patriot militia took up pursuit of British force now withdrawing toward St. Lawrence Valley, and engaged in fire fight with it at Jerseyfield (on West Canada Creek near present Poland), New York. Among relatively few casualties was famous loyalist and Indian leader Walter Butler. This was last action of any significance in border warfare in New York.

30 October: General Benjamin Lincoln was appointed Secretary at War in new Confederation government; he was to serve in this position until November 1783.

18 November: British evacuated Wilmington, North Carolina, forces under Maj. James Craig moving to Johns Island, near Charleston, South Carolina.

27 November: Patriot militia under Cols. Isaac Shelby and Hezekiah Maham captured strong British post at Fair Lawn, South Carolina.

1 December: General Greene led 400 patriot troops, half of them cavalry, against enemy force of 850 posted at Dorchester, South Carolina. After some skirmishing the enemy, thinking Greene's whole army was about to attack them, withdrew to within five miles of Charleston.

12 December: In Second Battle of Ushant off Brittany, British defeated Franco–Spanish escorting squadron and captured 20 transports.

13 December: News of Yorktown surrender was recognized in Congress as indicating decisive turn in war and toward peace. Among other actions Congress issued proclamation designating this date as day of thanksgiving and prayer throughout the new nation, and it was so observed.

28–29 December: Henry Lee attempted attack on Johns Island, South Carolina, near Charleston that miscarried when one of his columns lost its way.

1782

27 February: British House of Commons, after receiving news of surrender at Yorktown, urged King George III to end war with America.

1782—Continued

7–8 March: American militia attacked Indian settlement at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, killing 100 or more men, women, and children, many of them in cold blood, touching off new and vicious wave of Indian warfare in Ohio–Kentucky area.

9–12 April: In major naval battle off of Saintes Passage in West Indies, British fleet of 37 ships defeated French fleet of 33, British capturing Admiral de Grasse and his flagship and four other French ships.

12 April: After fall of wartime North Ministry on 20 March, representative of succeeding Rockingham Ministry began informal peace talks with Benjamin Franklin in Paris.

19 April: The Netherlands recognized independence of United States.

8 May: Spanish force from Havana captured New Providence (Nassau), Bahamas, its British garrison of over 600, and all of Bahamas occupied by British.

4–5 June: In two-day skirmish three miles northeast of Upper Sandusky, Ohio, patriot militia force of about 500 appeared to be winning over 300 rangers and Indians when reinforcements for latter arrived. Casualties were light in skirmishing and withdrawal of patriots, but 10 of latter, including leader Maj. William Crawford, were captured and killed by Indians.

11 July: British evacuated Savannah, Georgia, after occupying it for two and one-half years.

13 July: Hannastown, Pennsylvania, burnt by Indians. Last action of Revolution in Pennsylvania.

7 August: General George Washington established Badge of Military Merit (or Purple Heart) as award for "singular meritorious action." Three awards to Revolutionary War soldiers were made.

19 August: Force of 180 frontiersmen pursuing party of 240 loyalist and Indian raiders caught up with them at Blue Lick (Blue Lick Springs, on Licking River), Kentucky. Patriots were routed after impetuous attack with loss of 70 killed and captured.

27 August: Continental Army operations against British regular-loyalist force at ferry over Combahee River, South Carolina (40 miles southwest of Charleston), is chiefly notably for loss, among two Americans killed, of Col. Henry Laurens, gifted son of President of Continental Congress and Washington's aide-de-camp 1779–81.

11–13 September: In what has been described at last "battle" of American Revolution, Fort Henry, Virginia, withstood 3-day attack by 250 Indians and 40 loyalists. (Presumably Indians

1782—Continued

along Great Miami in Ohio would have contended that Clark's raid two months later was last.)

13–14 September: After 4-year siege, Spanish and French forces assaulted Gibraltar without success, paving way toward early negotiated peace between Great Britain and Bourbon allies.

27 September: Formal peace negotiations between American and British commissioners began in Paris.

4 November: Americans drove off British foraging party in vicinity of Johns Island, South Carolina, and Capt. William Wilmot of 2nd Maryland Continentals was killed in what is said to be last bloodshed of Continental Army in war.

10 November: George Rogers Clark led 1,050 mounted riflemen out of Kentucky north to Indian settlement at Chillicothe (modern Piqua), Ohio. Indians escaped with no more than 20 casualties, but Kentuckians burned Chillicothe and five neighboring towns and destroyed Indian food stores.

30 November: The United States and Great Britain signed preliminary treaty of peace, recognizing American independence, and providing that cessation of hostilities would occur when Britain and France signed similar preliminaries.

14 December: British troops evacuated Charleston, South Carolina, taking with them 3,800 loyalists and 5,000 Negro slaves. Evacuation completed British withdrawal from southern United States.

24 December: French army of Rochambeau, after moving from Virginia to Rhode Island in fall of 1782, embarked from Boston, Massachusetts, for home.

1783

20 January: Great Britain, France, and Spain signed preliminary articles of peace, and in doing so established military armistice both among themselves and between Great Britain and United States.

4 February: Great Britain proclaimed cessation of hostilities with United States.

15 February: Portugal recognized American independence.

10–15 March: Officers of Continental Army at its Newburgh, New York, headquarters on 10 and 12 March issued addresses complaining of Congress' failure to honor its promise of pensions, and of other grievances. On 15 March Washington quelled this unrest in masterly response that illustrated his outstanding leadership.

24 March: Spain recognized American independence.

11 April: Congress of United States proclaimed cessation of hostilities.

1783—Continued

15 April: Congress of United States ratified preliminary treaty of peace signed 30 November 1782.

18 April: General Washington ordered that cessation of hostilities between United States and Great Britain should be publicly proclaimed at noon on following day to every regiment and corps of Continental Army at and around Newburgh headquarters.

26 May: Congress ordered General Washington to furlough all Continental troops enlisted for duration of war, and subsequently (11 June) authorized Secretary at War to furlough troops of middle states not already released. Later, on 3 November 1783, Congress ordered discharge of all furloughed troops.

17 June: Pennsylvania troops at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, mutinied, then marched on Philadelphia and persuaded its garrison to join them in demonstrations before Congress to obtain back pay and settlement of other grievances before they would accept furloughs. Congress fled to Princeton, New Jersey, and Washington sent 1,500 troops to Pennsylvania to suppress outbreak.

3 September: Definitive treaties of peace signed by Great Britain, United States, France, Spain, and The Netherlands.

24 September: Congress authorized General Washington to discharge "such parts of the Federal Army now in service as he shall deem proper and expedient."

2 October: Washington issued last general order to Continental Army.

25 November: British completed their troop evacuation of New York City. Before troop evacuation about 7,000 loyalists had left New York for Maritime Provinces, Canada, and Great Britain.

3 December: General Washington ordered reduction of infantry of Continental Army to strength of 500 rank and file, and of artillery to minimum strength needed to guard stores at West Point and elsewhere.

4 December: Withdrawal of last British troops from Staten Island and Long Island ended British occupation of Atlantic coast of new United States.

4 December: General Washington delivered farewell address to his officers at Fraunces' Tavern in New York City.

23 December: General Washington tendered his resignation as Commander in Chief of American Army to Congress meeting in Annapolis, Maryland.

1784

4 January: By this date Continental Army had been reorganized

1784—Continued

into infantry regiment numbering 500 privates, 64 noncommissioned officers, and 30 commissioned officers, and artillery corps of about 100.

14 January: Congress ratified definitive treaty of peace of 3 September 1783 between United States and Great Britain, thereby formally ending War of the American Revolution.

PART THREE

A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE ON THE MILITARY HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

A Select Bibliography of Historical Literature on the Military History of the American Revolution

The body of literature on the military history of the Revolution, quite apart from that on its political, economic, and social aspects, is voluminous—the product of several generations of historians, editors, collectors, memoir writers, and journalists on two continents. This vast published literature, most of it originally written in English or later translated into that language, includes both secondary works and printed source material. The printed source material includes Continental and state records, material from British and French archives, personal recollections, memoirs, collections of letters, diaries, journals, orderly books, travelers' accounts, and numerous other types of documents. The secondary literature includes both books and articles of varying degrees of utility in assisting our understanding of the military conflict.

As an introduction to the listings that follow, a brief note on the course of historiography of the War of the American Revolution is appropriate. The century that followed the end of the Revolution in 1783 was one of rampant American nationalism that sought its pantheon of national heroes in Washington and his comrades at arms. American historiography of the Revolution, seldom critical or impartial, portrayed the war in simple black and white colors with American heroes and British villains. British historians and memorialists tended to show an opposite bias; but after an early wave of self-justifying memoirs by leading participants, British writers were not nearly so prolific, since the Revolution was not a happy chapter in British history.

While some of the early writers on both sides benefited from a personal knowledge of men and events, nearly all suffered from a lack of written source materials since the collection and printing of documentary materials was a slow process, one that is, indeed, still under way. Some of the earliest histories of the Revolution, for instance, contained large sections simply copied verbatim from the British *Annual Register*. However, the collection of sources proceeded apace in the nineteenth century with state governments, historical societies, and private individuals, many with chiefly

antiquarian or genealogical interests, taking the lead. A whole host of memoirs, diaries, journals, letters, recollections, orderly books, travelers' accounts and similar material appeared in book form and in the historical magazines of the day. Though the editing was hardly up to modern standards, any student of the Revolution must rely heavily on this material today, and a sampling of it holds an important place in the listings in this bibliography. However, the major collection effort of the first half of the nineteenth century sponsored by the federal government, Peter Force's *American Archives,* never proceeded beyond 1776 because the Secretary of State cut off necessary funds.

In any case, as the collection of sources proceeded, there also appeared, under much the same private and state auspices, a good many articles and monographs covering battles and campaigns, an especially significant number appearing in the course of the Centennial celebration between 1875 and 1883. And then as now biographies of military figures were perhaps the most numerous of all book-length publications on the American Revolution. The nineteenth-century historians and collectors, for all their lack of objectivity, did establish a good factual foundation for the more critical historians of the twentieth century. If they incorporated little critical analysis, the new professional "scientific" historians who made their appearance late in the nineteenth century and came to dominate American historiography in the twentieth, did little to fill the gap in the military realm. Most of them chose rather to concentrate on economic, social, and political factors and changes. The gap was partially filled by military professionals who doubled as historians and by talented amateurs with military interests. Only a few of the historians trained in graduate seminars chose to write on the military history of the Revolution in the period between 1900 and 1945.

The new school of military historians of the Revolution, following the lead of Emory Upton, whose *Military Policy of the United States* (published posthumously by the War Department in 1902) drew heavily on the Revolution to demonstrate the inefficiencies of that military policy, were critical of the American military effort during the Revolution. These historians found the secret of American victory more in British blunders and French aid than in the efficacy of the American military effort. Francis Vinton Greene's *The Revolutionary War and the Military Policy of the United States,* published in 1911, endorsed Upton's critique of the militia and Congressional military policy; Charles Francis Adams in a series of essays collected in *Studies Military and Diplomatic* (1911) took on the paragon of American heroes, Washington

himself, charging that his conduct of the New York campaign was little short of disastrous and that his lack of appreciation of the value of cavalry cost the patriots dearly. Much of this approach found its way into the debunking literature of the 1920's.

In this and other respects, the military professionals and talented amateurs were generally more sophisticated than their predecessors and they along with a few interested academicians produced some solid critical works in the first four decades of the twentieth century when most professional historians scorned the military conflict as an area for analysis. To cite but a few from the listings below, Louis C. Hatch's *Administration of the Revolutionary Army* (1904), though unsatisfactory in many respects, remains today the best work dealing with what we would now call personnel administration. Admiral A. T. Mahan's *Major Operations of the Navies of the War of Independence* (1913) was a classic analysis by one of the most important American strategic thinkers. E. E. Curtis' *Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (1926) was one of the first works to call attention to the immense logistical obstacles the British faced in raising an Army, transporting it, and supporting it in America. Hoffman Nickerson's *The Turning Point of the Revolution; or Burgoyne in America* (1928) remains the classic study of the battles and tactics of Burgoyne's campaign, even though much of its analysis of British policy has been outdated by the discovery of new materials. Allen French's *The First Year of the Revolution* (1934) is a similarly meticulously researched account of the events of 1775–76, which perhaps overplays the ineptitude of the King's ministers and his commanders in America.

In the period since the Second World War, the interest of professional academic historians in the military conflict has been revived. The past three decades have seen the appearance of a great body of scholarly writings on the many facets of that conflict. These most recent studies, prepared on both sides of the Atlantic, neither follow the simple nationalist interpretations of the nineteenth century nor the debunking interpretations of the first part of the twentieth but constitute, for the most part, objective analyses. In the 1950's and 1960's a dozen general military histories of the Revolution appeared, though perhaps the best of the combat narratives, Chistopher Ward's two-volume *The War of the Revolution,* was still the work of a gifted amateur. In addition to the general histories, there have been innumerable special studies of individual campaigns and battles, military policy, logistics, the loyalists, blacks, and numerous other subjects. A revival of interest on the British side has produced such works as the study of British cabinet policy in Piers Mackesy's *War for America, 1775–1783*

(1964), and Eric Robson's brilliant series of essays in *The American Revolution in its Political and Military Aspects* (1955). The most recent general military history of the Revolution, Don Higginbotham's *The War of American Independence—Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practices* (1971), is a good synthesis of the post-World War II scholarship.

As will be apparent from the relative length of the listings, the emphasis in writings on the Revolution has always been on biography. And not surprisingly, the most significant recent works have been biographies, both of British and American military leaders. The best treatments of campaigns and battles, and of the evolution of policy and strategy, often emerge from these biographies. On the American side, the laudatory tone of the nineteenth-century biographies and the debunking tone of those of the twenties and thirties have been supplanted by a realistic approach that leaves Washington and his principal lieutenants as heroes but of quite human proportions. The most recent large-scale treatments of George Washington, for instance, by Douglas S. Freeman and James A. Flexner, portray him as an able leader but not as the marble god of the nineteenth century. Theodore Thayer's *Nathanael Greene: Strategist of the Revolution* (1960) paints Greene as Washington's most able subordinate and in so doing produces one of the better accounts of the war in the South. John R. Alden's *General Charles Lee: Traitor or Patriot* (1951) rehabilitates the character of a controversial American leader, and gives us a detailed account of the Battle of Monmouth. Louis R. Gottschalk's trilogy on Lafayette (1935–42) dispells much of the myth and legend that have surrounded the young French Marquis.

The recent treatments of British commanders have generally been less complete biographies than accounts of their role in the Revolution. John R. Alden's *General Gage in America: Being Principally a History of His Role in the American Revolution* (1948) treats the first of a series of British commanders in chief in America sympathetically. In *The Howe Brothers and the American Revolution* (1972) Ira D. Gruber is rather less flattering, and on the basis of extensive research in hitherto unexploited materials contends that their efforts to conciliate the Americans sacrificed the "ministry's best prospect of regaining the colonies." William B. Willcox's *Portrait of a General, Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* (1964) is a particularly significant study in the psychology of the British commander who held the position longer than any other during the Revolution. Franklin B. and Mary Wickwire's *Cornwallis, the American Adventure* (1970) portrays with

considerable sympathy the character and career of the British general who lost his army at Yorktown.

In two volumes, George A. Billias, as editor, has brought together sketches of the major military leaders on both sides, each essay written by a different author. The first volume, *George Washington's Generals* (1964), treats twelve American leaders; the second, *George Washington's Opponents: British Generals and Admirals of the American Revolution* (1969), contains sketches of twelve British leaders. These volumes serve as the best introduction for the general reader to the biography of Revolutionary military leaders on both sides.

The loyalists, long neglected or treated with extreme prejudice by American historians, have also come into their own recently as a subject for historical study. Three works of recent vintage that throw immense light on them are worthy of note—William H. Nelson, *The American Tory: A Study of the Loyalists in the American Revolution,* (1961); Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy* (1964); and Wallace Brown *The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (1969).

The collection and publication of documents that occupied so important a place in the nineteenth century has continued into the twentieth, with careful scholarly editing replacing the more haphazard older methods. *The Journals of the Continental Congress,* in 34 volumes, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford and others, appeared between 1904 and 1937 and is invaluable for the military student. Edmund C. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress,* in eight volumes, published between 1931 and 1936 is an indispensable adjunct to the journals. John C. Fitzpatrick's edition of the *Writings of George Washington,* in 39 volumes, published between 1931 and 1944 as a contribution to the Bicentennial of Washington's birth, is most important of all for any study of the military conduct of the war.

The recent effort, under the auspices of National Historical Publications Commission, to publish the papers of prominent Revolutionary leaders promises to produce far more comprehensive and sophisticated collections. New editions of the papers of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison and George Mason are in varying states of progress and a new edition of Washington's papers is under way, though no volume has yet been published. These new editions do or will include incoming correspondence and collateral documents and valuable explanatory essays and footnotes as well as the letters

and papers of the principal. The Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, has also undertaken a most ambitious documentary publication *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* of which six volumes have gotten the story only so far as October 1776. For most of the source materials relating to the military conflict on land reliance must still be placed on the older less satisfactory editions of documents, in many cases those published in scattered places in the nineteenth century. The upcoming bicentennial celebration has sparked the reprinting of many of these source materials as well as older secondary accounts.

There are of course, many bibliographies, bibliographic guides, and essays on the voluminous literature of the American Revolution. One of the earliest, Justin Winsor's *Readers Handbook of the American Revolution,* published in 1880, is still valuable as a guide to the earlier literature, and since that literature stressed the military struggle it merits mention here. The normal guides used in the study of American History, such as the *Harvard Guide to American History,* recently revised, are also useful for the study of the military phase of the American Revolution. And certainly some of the best bibliographic guides and essays are to be found in the various works cited in the lists below. For the most part specific bibliographic essays and surveys of the literature on the Revolution concentrate, like the scholars of the first half of this century, on causation, politics, economics, diplomacy, and consequences. Jack P. Greene's pamphlet *The Reappraisal of the American Revolution in Recent Historical Literature* (Publication No. 68 in the American Historical Association Service Center for Teachers of History Series) while a very useful work, takes this approach. The essay of Don Higginbotham, "American Historians and the Military History of the American Revolution," in the *American Historical Review* (vol. 70, October 1965, 18–34) is almost unique as a sketch of the evolution of American historiography on the military conflict. It might indeed serve well as an introduction to this bibliography. Two recent bibliographies published by the Library of Congress contain useful sections on the military conflict—*The American Revolution, A Selected Reading List* (1968) and *Periodical Literature on the American Revolution, Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895–1970,* compiled by Ronald M. Gephart (1971). The latter, in particular, was of considerable aid in locating articles from scholarly periodicals for this bibliography. Of equal value in identifying the sources in print on French participation in the war in America is the "Checklist of Journals, Memoirs, and Letters of French Officers serving in the American

Revolution" in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army* (1972).

The bibliographical listings that follow attempt to provide a judicious selection from both secondary literature and printed sources, covering writings over the broad span of 200 years and including published material in both books and scholarly periodicals. The emphasis in the bibliography has been placed on modern works, but for reasons that must be apparent from the foregoing sketch of historiography of the Revolution, many older works have been included. Particularly in handling original sources—diaries, journals, orderly books, etc.—printed in historical periodicals in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sampling techniques have been used.

An effort has been made to classify the secondary works by subject matter with the exception of biographies, listed alphabetically by the name of the subject. Classification has been in many cases difficult, and the results are something less than exact, since any number of works would fall into two or more categories. Since most of the printed sources cover more than one and sometimes all categories, no effort has been made to classify them by topic. They have instead been classified by their nature or type, that is as general collections of documents; collections of personal letters and other papers; memoirs, journals, diaries, travel accounts, personal recollections, and similar materials; and orderly books. No attempt has been made to separate official and unofficial publications, for the dividing line, in the case of Revolutionary materials, is somewhat indistinct. Classification of documents even under these broad headings has not been entirely satisfactory, particularly in distinguishing personal collections and general collections of documents. In general the dividing line has been whether the letters, papers, or other documents in question were those of a single individual like the *Writings of Washington* or pertained to a number of individuals like Jared Sparks' *Correspondence of the American Revolution.* Thus collections of documents are listed alphabetically by their editors while personal letters and papers are listed alphabetically by the original author or owner thereof.

This bibliography is intended to be one in military history, not political, economic, or social history. And it contains listings of few works that relate to the causes of the Revolution or of its political consequences. Admittedly, however, military history cannot be separated entirely from these other fields for the war was conducted within a political, economic, and social context that profoundly influenced its outcome. For this reason a sampling of the literature

in these other areas has been included as a separate category and indeed where works in the economic, political, and social areas seem to be particularly valuable for the study of the military conflict they have been included under appropriate topical headings. In making selections for inclusion, the compiler has adopted as a basic criterion the extent to which a book or article deals with the military aspects of the Revolution. The separation is hard to make and readers may well quarrel with the inclusion of some works and the exclusion of others. For instance, the compiler included John R. Alden's *The American Revolution, 1775–1783,* a general treatment of all aspects of the Revolution among the military accounts while listing most general accounts of this nature in the samplings of non-military literature. The decision was based on his judgment that Alden's emphasis on the military conflict justified inclusion in the listings of general military histories of the Revolution. There are a number of similar instances.

Other criteria have been used to select among the entries that fulfill the first prerequisite for inclusion. The principal one has been the extent to which the book or article appears to be a significant one for either the interested reader or the scholar. However, the compiler must confess that he has at times had to exercise relatively arbitrary judgment, relying heavily on opinions reflected in reviews in learned journals or in specialized bibliographies.

Because a certain amount of selection has been done, and because the compiler did not even seek to find every book or article that has ever been written on the military history of the Revolution (despite the inclusion of over 1,000 entries), this bibliography makes no claim to be a complete listing of such books and articles in print. It seeks instead to provide the general reader as well as the scholar with a listing of the principal printed works in which he may profitably study the War of the American Revolution as waged on the North American Continent. It does not deal with manuscript or archival sources, even a cursory survey of which would be a formidable task in itself. Some notes on this category of material are, however, included at the end of the listings. It does not include, either, contemporary newspapers, or the printed proceedings of the conventions, assemblies, and legislatures of the original thirteen states. These exclusions are perhaps arbitrary, but are generally based on the proposition that these materials are more useful to the political than to the military historian.

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Notes on the Manuscript Sources

Despite the large amount of source material on the military history of the American Revolution that has been printed, there is also a very great deal that exists only in manuscript. As noted in the introduction, however, this bibliography does not purport to provide any detailed listing of manuscript sources, so that what follows may be considered a general introduction to the subject, indicating only the most important depositories to which the student may want to turn.

For the British side, of course, the British Public Record Office and the British Museum in London are both important sources for the official materials on the British war effort. Charles M. Andrews' *Guide to the Materials for American History to 1783, in the Public Record Office of Great Britain* (2 vols., Washington, 1912) and Andrews and Frances C. Davenport's *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge* (Washington, 1908) are both still useful guides. It is not necessary to go to England, however, to consult many of these records; some portions of them have been copied and may be found in the Library of Congress. They are described in Grace Gardner Griffin, *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Repositories Reproduced for the Division of Manuscrips of the Library of Congress,* (Washington, 1946). And many of the British headquarters papers have found their way to the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. These include the papers of Sir Thomas Gage, Lord George Germain, Sir Henry Clinton and other notables. These were originally described in Howard H. Peckham, *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the William L. Clements Library,* Ann Arbor, Mich., 1942; Peckham's guide was updated by William S. Ewing in 1953.

Colonial Williamsburg Inc. has also acquired numerous British papers, among them those of Sir Guy Carleton, commander in Canada and the last of the British commanders in chief in North America. A good summary of the whole matter of the location of British military papers is Henry P. Beers, "The Papers of the British Commanders in Chief in North America, 1754–1783,"

Military Affairs, vol. 13, 1949, 79–94. Other British papers may be found in the Canadian Archives, and of course there is a great deal of manuscript material on French and Spanish participation in their respective archives.

On the American side the manuscript sources are quite scattered. The main federal repositories are the National Archives and the Library of Congress. The most important single collection at the Library of Congress is the Washington Papers which contain in a very real sense the headquarters papers of the Continental Army. There are also collections of numerous other military figures in the Library Manuscript Division and copies of manuscripts housed elsewhere, both in Britain and America. The collections at the National Archives, since the transfer of the Papers of the Continental Congress from the Library to that repository, are now of equal importance. However, the records of the Revolution at the Archives do not include any such systematic collection of papers on the Continental Army as those for the Union Army during the Civil War, or for the U. S. Army during World Wars I and II. There are, however, numerous fragmentary records that the student cannot afford to neglect. A *Preliminary Inventory of the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records* was published by National Archives in 1971.

Each of the original thirteen states played its part in the military effort and the archives of these states, most of them relatively unexploited, are a rich source for the history of the Revolution. Most state archival agencies have published guides to at least some of their holdings, and these should be consulted.

Other manuscript collections relating to the military history of the Revolution are so widely dispersed throughout the United States as almost to defy any short description. State and local historical societies, not only in the original thirteen states, but in a number of others have important holdings, as do various state and public libraries. The Nathaniel Greene Papers, for instance, are at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, the Horatio Gates Papers at the New York Historical Society, the Henry Knox and Artemas Ward Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society. At least some of the papers of Daniel Morgan are in the New York Public Library. The Draper Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society is perhaps the most important repository for holdings on frontier history during the Revolution. This is but a beginning of the list. The best guides are Philip M. Hamer, ed., *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States,* New Haven, 1961, and the Library of Congress' *National Union Catalog of Manuscripts,* which attempts to provide a complete listing of manuscript collections in the United States annually.

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