Books in the Field
STUDYING THE ART OF WAR IN REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA
The young officers of the Continental Army who pledged their lives to the cause of American independence were enthusiastic and ambitious, but most entered service without military experience or training. Even the senior commanders were self-taught warriors, relying on knowledge learned from books to expand on lessons learned in the field. George Washington and other leaders urged their men to study the growing literature on the art of war to prepare for the role of leading troops in battle against the British army.

To meet the demand for military texts, a flood of printings began to appear from the American presses. Much of this activity was centered in Philadelphia, where more than thirty works on military subjects were published in the years 1775 and 1776 alone. Initially these books were reprints or new editions of British or European standards, but publishers quickly turned to a new generation of American military authors whose works reflected the immediacy of the war.

In 1779, Congress ordered the publication of the first official manual for the Continental Army, Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States. Written by Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm Steuben, the Prussian volunteer who had transformed the army at Valley Forge, the Regulations codified the governance of the army, from the basic drill to the specific duties of each officer rank. Finally Washington’s army was reading from the same book, a crucial step in building the fighting force that would win American independence.
The importance of books and reading to early American military training is modeled in the career of George Washington. He purchased his first military book at age twenty-three—a copy of Humphrey Bland’s *Treatise of Military Discipline* ordered from London shortly after he volunteered to serve in General Braddock’s campaign in 1755. The following year, as colonel of the Virginia Regiment, Washington recommended Bland and other treatises to his officers, advising them, “as we now have no opportunities to improve from example, let us read.”

Washington’s emphasis on study as an essential ingredient of military training carried though to his command of the Continental Army. Upon his arrival in Philadelphia in 1775, he purchased a half dozen military books and he continued to patronize and encourage American printers in the publication of military texts throughout the war. In 1776, he ordered a traveling bookcase lined in green baize cloth to house and protect his growing field library. Through general orders and personal letters he urged his officers to follow his example of reading. When Col. William Woodford of the Second Virginia Regiment voiced doubts about his own ability to command troops, Washington wrote to reassure him that “the inexperience you complain of is a common case and only to be remedied by practice and close attention.” He recommended that Woodford read several of the works that had been key to Washington’s military education: “As to the manual exercise, the evolutions and manoeuvres of a regiment, with other knowledge necessary to the soldier, you will acquire them from those authors who have treat upon these subjects, among whom Bland (the newest edition) stands foremost; also an Essay on the Art of War; Instructions for Officers, lately published in Philadelphia; the Partisan; Young; and others.”
The study of the art of war was not limited to those in active military service. In 1775, John Adams, a Massachusetts delegate to Congress, sought the advice of his military friends for compiling “a perfect list of the best authors” on the art and science of warfare. “We must make our young Genuis’s perfect Masters in the Art of War, in every Branch,” Adams wrote to William Tudor, judge advocate of the Army. He also asked Henry Knox to find out what military books were in the Harvard College library. Several of the works on Adams’s master list can be found on the inventory of his personal library, including Saxe’s *Reveries*, *Extracts from a Military Essay* and Thomas Simes’s *The Military Guide for Young Officers*.

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Advice from Henry Knox

Henry Knox exemplifies the American soldier-scholar of the Revolution. As the proprietor of a bookshop in Boston before the war, he read extensively on military art and science, and he advised and sold books to many young revolutionaries, among them Nathanael Greene. Knox left his business to volunteer under Gen. Artemas Ward during the Battle of Bunker Hill. He impressed George Washington on their first meeting in July 1775, and before the end of that year, Knox received the appointment of colonel of the newly created Continental Regiment of Artillery.

Congratulating Knox on his commission, John Adams wrote, "I have been impressed with an Opinion of your Knowledge and Abilities in the military Way for several years." He asked Knox to send him a list of recommended books "upon the Military Art in all its Branches." It took six months for Adams' letter to reach Knox, who in the interim had undertaken a daring expedition to Fort Ticonderoga, bringing back to Boston a supply of British ordnance that had been captured earlier by Ethan Allen. Knox finally wrote back to Adams from New York in May 1776, enumerating more than a dozen works he felt would be indispensable to the patriot cause. His list included the great European masterworks of the seventeen and eighteenth centuries by such authors as Saxe, Vauban, Coehorn and Belidor, as well as the latest treatises on artillery and field fortification out of England. He urged Adams to support the publication and circulation of these books to the army: "The Cause in which we are engag'd is of such infinite moment to America that no cost or pains can be too great to make the Conclusion happy."
Otho Holland Williams was a twenty-six-year-old clerk when he joined a Maryland rifle corps in June 1775. He immediately marched north with his regiment to join Washington’s army at Boston, and then went on to New York, where he was wounded and taken prisoner in the British capture of Fort Washington in November 1776. Upon his release in 1778, he rejoined the army as colonel of the Sixth Maryland Regiment. Williams is best remembered for his distinguished service under the command of Gen. Nathanael Greene during the southern campaign, where he fought valiantly in the battles of Guilford Court House, Hobkirk’s Hill and Eutaw Springs. He retired from the army in 1783 as a brigadier general.

George Washington Greene, General Greene’s grandson and biographer, wrote of Williams’ by-the-book discipline in leading troops: “Beginning his career with no advantages of military training, his rare intelligence led him directly to the true sources, and gave him a clear perception of the fundamental principles of the science.” Evidence of this study is found in his manuscript of selected passages from an English translation of De Re Militari by the classical Roman author Vegetius.
The American printing trades were transformed by the Revolution. Free from British regulation but no longer able to import equipment and supplies, American printers and publishers had to adapt and improvise under the new wartime conditions. By necessity and out of a sense of patriotic duty, printers now had to “buy American” to supply their shops. In response, local manufactures of printing presses, type and paper stepped up operations to meet the new demand.

In 1769, Isaac Doolittle of New Haven constructed “an elegant Mahogany Press” for William Goddard of Philadelphia, launching a new industry of press building in America. By 1775 presses were being manufactured in Philadelphia and Hartford. An advertisement in the inaugural issue of the Pennsylvania Mercury in the spring of 1775 announced that John Willis and Henry Vogt were accepting orders for printing presses, cases, frames, and accompanying equipment. The publishers of the Pennsylvania Mercury also noted that their newspaper was printed with types of American manufacture: “should it by this means fail of giving such entire satisfaction to the judicious and accurate eye, they hope every patriotic allowance will be made in its favour.”

Although paper mills had been operating in America since the 1690s, paper remained one of the scarcest commodities for printers to procure in sufficient quantities during the war. Their ingenuity for saving paper can be seen in the small formats and dense text blocks of their publications. Nothing went to waste. The printer Robert Aitken sold rejected sheets from his run of the official Journals of Congress to the Continental Army to be used for cartridge paper, and he repurposed an overrun of sheets from his Pennsylvania Magazine as endpapers for the first edition of Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States.
There was healthy competition among American printers who were racing to get new military works into the hands of an eager public. But there was also a great deal of cooperation within the printing trades during the war years. In June 1775, Robert Aitken of Philadelphia joined forces with two other printers, James Humphreys, Jr., and Robert Bell, to publish the first American edition of Thomas Simes’s *The Military Guide for Young Officers*, which was issued as a two-volume set with *A New Military, Historical and Explanatory Dictionary*. The title pages of both volumes bear the imprint of all three printers, who each ran a separate establishment. In other examples, a single printer’s name might appear on the title page though the gathering, sewing and binding had been subcontracted to other firms.

Printers risked their livelihoods in working for the American cause. For some of them, their wartime operations made the reputation upon which they would build a thriving business through the early years of the new republic. Others never quite recovered from the war’s economic hardships. Benjamin Edes, a prominent printer in Boston, recalled his sacrifices when he shut down operations in 1798: “But alas! The cause of Liberty is not always the channel of preferment or pecuniary reward…. However, it is beneath a patriot to mourn his own misfortunes. – The Independence of America, being obtained, he enjoys the pleasing contemplation that the same virtuous sentiments which led the acquisition will not cease to operate for its continuance.”

Thomas Simes, *The Military Guide for Young Officers* (London, Printed; Philadelphia: Re-printed by J. Humphreys, R. Bell and R. Aitken, 1776). The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection. Simes’s Guide was a synthesis of the works of several military authors, including Humphrey Bland and the comte de Saxe. This copy was owned by William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Opposite: *R. Aitken, Printer, Book-binder, and Bookseller* (Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1779). Courtesy of the Library Company of Philadelphia. This mid-war advertisement from Robert Aitken’s shop lists several military works among the titles to be sold “Single or by the Dozen.” At the bottom of the sheet he notes “The Highest Price given at the above Store, for Clean Linen Rags,” which would be used for making paper.
While the patriot printers were finding a ready audience for anything military, the works that were being published ranged in quality and in relevance to the American campaign. General Washington was especially concerned with the difficulty of getting manuals that reflected the immediate needs of the army into the hands of his officers. He strongly supported the efforts of the American military writers who emerged during this period, among them Timothy Pickering, Lewis Nicola and Thomas Hanson.

Each of these authors sought to simplify and focus the procedures of military drill and discipline for training new recruits. Timothy Pickering’s *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia*, first published in 1775, and reprinted the following year, was so successful that it was adopted as the official manual of Massachusetts. Lewis Nicola’s *Treatise of Military Exercise Calculated for the Use of the Americans* (Philadelphia, 1776) also presented only the essential elements of drill, omitting what he considered was only “for show and parade.” Thomas Hanson’s *The Prussian Evolutions* (Philadelphia, 1775) adapted Frederick the Great’s system of military discipline for the use of Americans. In his introduction, Hanson wrote that the “present Alarming Situation of American Affairs,” had prompted him to write a manual “for the Instruction of those who have yet to Learn [and] who in a little time, may have occasion to go on the actual service of their Country.”

Left: Timothy Pickering, *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia* (Boston: Printed and sold by S. Hall, 1776). The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection. Pickering’s Plan was praised for not being “clogged with many superfluous motions which only serve to burden the memory and perplex the learner.” This plate from it suggests that his manual exercise was complex enough.

Opposite: Thomas Hanson, *The Prussian Evolutions in Actual Engagements* (Philadelphia: Printed for the author, by J. Douglass McDougall, 1775). The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection. George Washington, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin are among the 230 names on the subscribers list of this book—a veritable roster of American patriots who each put up one dollar in advance to support its publication as their country prepared for war.
When the Revolutionary War began, American publishers sought out medical texts to meet the needs of the new army's physicians. The earliest published was *Plain Concise Practical Remarks on Treating Wounds and Fractures*, an original work by Dr. John Jones, a veteran of the French and Indian War and professor of surgery at King’s College in New York. His work appeared first in New York in 1775, and then, in an expanded edition, in Philadelphia in 1776, and it remained the principal manual in use by American surgeons through the war. Another useful text was an English translation of an important Dutch work, Baron van Swieten’s *Diseases Incident to the Armies*, edited specifically for American physicians. The first American *Pharmacopoeia* was also published during the war in an effort to standardize the dispensing of medicine in army hospitals.

James Tilton, a senior surgeon of the Continental Army, observed that by learning discipline and order officers also learned to keep their regiments healthy. Benjamin Rush took the idea of preventive medicine a step further by publishing an essay titled *Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers*. His work so impressed the Board of War that it ordered four thousand copies to be printed and distributed to the officers of the army.

Benjamin Rush, *Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers: Recommended to the Consideration of the Officers of the Army of the United States* (Lancaster, Pa.: Printed by John Dunlap, 1778). The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection. Dr. Rush’s essay emphasizes the importance of diet, dress and camp hygiene to the maintenance of a soldier’s health.
The Americans’ emphasis on book learning made a strong impression on at least one observer from the other side. Johann von Ewald, a Hessian officer in British service, published a military treatise in 1798 in which he recounted his experience with the Americans at the Battle of Stony Point two decades earlier: “I was sometimes astonished when American baggage fell into our hands during that war to see how every wretched knapsack, in which were only a few shirts and a pair of torn breeches, would be filled up with military books. . . . This is a true indication that the officers of this army studied the art of war while in camp, which was not the case with the opponents of the Americans, whose portmanteaus were rather filled with bags of hair-powder, boxes of sweet smelling pomatum, cards (instead of maps), and then often, on top of all, some novels and stage plays.”

As a well-trained professional soldier, Captain Ewald was familiar with many of the titles he found in these American knapsacks, making note that “the Instructions of the King of Prussia to his Generals, Tielke’s Field Engineer, the partisans Jenny and Grandmaison and other similar books . . . came into my hands a hundred times” from captured American soldiers.
From the beginning of the war, General Washington recognized the dire need for a single standardized drill manual that would bring unity and consistency to the training of the American forces. The opportunity to accomplish this daunting task was finally fulfilled by the arrival of Friedrich Wilhelm Steuben, a Prussian volunteer to the American cause. Joining Washington at Valley Forge in February 1778, Steuben quickly made himself indispensable in bringing new order and discipline to the troops suffering under wretched winter conditions. Recognizing his genius as a military instructor, Washington petitioned Congress to appoint Steuben inspector general of the army with the rank of major general.

At the close of the campaign of 1778, Washington assigned Steuben and his staff to Philadelphia to begin work on a formal manual of regulations for the army. The writing process took more than six months, with Steuben, who spoke no English, composing the text in French, an aide translating it into English and General Washington reviewing and editing their work. The final draft was approved by the Board of War and forwarded on to Congress. On March 29, 1779, Congress passed a resolution adopting the Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States and giving the Board of War authority to “cause as many copies thereof to be printed as they shall deem requisite for the use of the troops.” The Regulations would remain the official manual of the United States Army until the War of 1812.
Advice from Henry Knox


Taking Notes

Otho Holland Williams. Undated manuscript notes titled “From Vegetius.”


Revolutionary Printing


Patriot Printers


Thomas Simes. A New Military, Historical, and Explanatory Dictionary. Philadelphia: Sold by Humphreys, Bell, and Aitken, 1776.


American Authors


Military Medicine


Benjamin Rush. Directions for Preserving the Health of Soldiers: Recommended to the Consideration of the Officers of the Army of the United States. Lancaster, Pa: Printed by John Dunlap, 1778.

A Hessian’s View


Frederick II. Military Instructions, Written by the King of Prussia, for the Generals of his Army. London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1762.


Steuben’s Regulations


Steuben’s Exercise. Undated printed aide-memoire, inscribed, “This copy belonged to Captain Chester of the Ct. Regiment.”


The Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection

Nearly every book in this exhibition is drawn from the Society of the Cincinnati’s Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson Collection. Established thirty years ago, in 1988, the Ferguson Collection honors the memory of a young twentieth-century Cincinnatus who gave his life in service to his country. Robert Charles Lawrence Ferguson (1943-1967) was elected to the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia in 1966, representing Capt. Benjamin Biggs of the Virginia Continental Line. The following year, as a first lieutenant in the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army, he was fatally wounded while commanding an infantry company in combat in Vietnam. For his valor and sacrifice, Lieutenant Ferguson was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the Bronze Star Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Purple Heart. The growing collection that bears his name includes early printed and manuscript works documenting the theory and practice of the art of war in the age of the American Revolution.
The American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati promotes knowledge and appreciation of the achievement of American independence, fulfilling the aim of the Continental Army officers who founded the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 to perpetuate the memory of that vast event. The Institute supports advanced study, presents exhibitions and other public programs, advocates preservation and provides resources to teachers and students to enrich understanding of our War for Independence and the principles of the men and women who secured the liberty of the American people.