New Hampshire in the American Revolution

An Exhibition by
The Society of the Cincinnati

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1783

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This catalog has been produced in conjunction with the exhibition *New Hampshire in the American Revolution* on display from November 13, 2010, to May 7, 2011, at Anderson House, the headquarters, library, and museum of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, D.C. The exhibition is the thirteenth in a series focusing on the contributions to the American Revolution made by the original thirteen states and France.

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Text by Emily L. Schulz.

Cover illustration: Gilbert Stuart (United States, 1755–1828), *Major General Henry Dearborn (1751–1829)*, 1812. Oil on panel, 28 1/8" x 22 9/16". Portland Museum of Art, Maine. Gift of Mary Gray Ray in memory of Mrs. Winthrop G. Ray, 1917.23. See page 37.

The particular and spirited exertions of the State of New Hampshire to fulfil the objects which we have in view cannot but meet the warmest applause of every lover of their Country.

— George Washington
  to Meshech Weare,
  president of New Hampshire,
  July 26, 1780

Major General John Sullivan (1740–1795) engraved by Richard Purcell (ca. 1736–ca. 1765). London: Thomas Hart, 1776. The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection.

INTRODUCTION

New Hampshire, a merchant's haven on the northern edge of Britain's North American empire, was one of the smallest and least populous American colonies, but one of the most fiercely independent. Settled in 1623 by English fishermen, the land from the coast west to the Merrimack River was granted by King James I to Capt. John Mason, who named the tract New Hampshire. Towns established on the Piscataqua River, including modern Portsmouth, Dover, and Exeter, attracted shipbuilders, merchants, hunters, and adventurers. New Hampshire briefly became a separate royal province in the late seventeenth century, but for most of the colonial period was subject to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and its governor.

Yearning for greater autonomy, New Hampshire's leaders finally achieved separation from their southern neighbor in 1741, when the province's new royal governors began encouraging westward expansion. Despite clashes with the native Algonkian Indians and other colonists claiming the same land, New Hampshire continued to grow through the eighteenth century. But its relationship with the Crown grew increasingly strained after the French and Indian War (1754–1763), when many New Hampshire men fought as English soldiers to maintain an empire that slowly began to encroach on their liberties. At the beginning of the momentous year 1775, the Provincial Congress warned New Hampshire's residents that "Tyranny already begins to waive its banners in your borders, and to threaten these once happy regions with infamous and detestable slavery."[1]

The American Revolution in New Hampshire was primarily a political movement to establish a government that would preserve the rights and freedoms its residents had come to cherish. Before any other American colony, New Hampshire drafted a constitution in January 1776 that effectively declared the province independent from Great Britain. To defend themselves from British troops "Destroying the Lives and Properties of the Colonists in many Places with Fire & Sword," New Hampshire patriots assembled an army of militiamen that would serve bravely alongside their fellow colonists in the coming Revolutionary War.[2]

Rebellion Dawning

As tensions heightened in New Hampshire in 1774, royal governor John Wentworth sent word to England that "the Province is much more moderate than any other to the southward, although the spirit of enthusiasm is spread, and requires the utmost vigilance and prudence to restrain it from violent excess."[3] When the British blockaded the port of Boston as punishment for the city's tea party, New Hampshire's local committees of correspondence pledged aid to Massachusetts, which was "standing bravely in the gap between us and slavery."[4] On December 13, 1774, Paul Revere rode to Portsmouth with a warning that British warships and soldiers were on their way to New Hampshire to reinforce Fort William and Mary, a tiny garrison guarding the entrance to Portsmouth's harbor. Over the next two days, hundreds of men descended on the fort and seized its gunpowder before the British arrived. Governor Wentworth declared the raids' participants—including future leaders John Sullivan, John Langdon, and Alexander Scammell—to have acted "in the most daring and rebellious Manner" and committed "many treasonable Insults and Outrages."[5] With his colony in open rebellion, Wentworth fled the governor's house in June 1775 and sailed for Boston.

To replace royal authority, New Hampshire's patriot leaders created a temporary legislature, the Provincial Congress, in July 1774 to meet periodically in Exeter, just inland from Portsmouth. The legislature advised towns to prepare their militias, "Should our restless enemies drive us to arms in defence of everything we hold dear," and elected delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.[6] At its last session in January 1776, the Provincial Congress approved a plan for a more permanent, independent government for New Hampshire. This constitution—the first of its kind in the American colonies—established a two-body legislature to govern the province through the coming Revolution. Six months later, New Hampshire joined its fellow colonies in pronouncing a formal separation from Great Britain, with Josiah Bartlett, Matthew Thornton, and William Whipple signing their names to the Declaration of Independence.

A Map of the most Inhabited part of New England, containing the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, with the Colonies of Conecticut and Rhode Island … engraved by Thomas Jefferys (1719–1771). London: Published … by Thos. Jefferys …, 1774.

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

(See illustration on pages 4–5.)

New Hampshire was settled overwhelmingly by Englishmen and Scots, most either Anglican or Puritan, who concentrated at first along the southeast coast near Piscataqua Harbor. In the mid-eighteenth century, New Hampshire's royal governors encouraged expansion by making land grants west of the Connecticut River, territory that New York also claimed. These western townships became known as the Grants and later formed the state of Vermont. Even counting these settlers, New Hampshire was one of the smaller American colonies on the eve of the Revolution with just over eighty thousand inhabitants.

This map, the first detailed, large-scale depiction of New England, was originally published in two folding sheets in Thomas Jefferys' 1775 *North American Atlas*. The elaborate cartouche in the lower right corner idealizes the Pilgrims' landing at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts, in 1620. Although a seemingly idyllic setting, it also represents New England's resources in fur pelts, timber, and fish that attracted Britain's commercial interests.

A Map of the most Inhabited part of New England, containing the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire … *engraved by Thomas Jefferys (1719–1771). London: Published … by Thos. Jefferys …, 1774.*

For Promoting Military Discipline: this Plan of Exercise, Extracted From the Plan practiced by the Norfolk Militia, Is presented to [blank] of the Regiment of Militia, by the Province of New-Hampshire **by William Windham and George Townshend. Portsmouth, [N.H.]: Printed, and Sold by D. and R. Fowle ..., 1771.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

In 1771, Gov. John Wentworth ordered that his colony's militia adopt this English military manual to train its men in basic procedures including commands, saluting, carrying and using arms, marching, and funerals. Originally published in 1759 for the Norfolk County militia in England, the "Norfolk Plan" established the first formal militia system in England and was commonly used in the northern American colonies in the early 1770s. The title page of the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, printing of the manual left a space for each militiaman's name to be inscribed, although that space on this copy was left blank.

A Sermon on Military Duty ... **by Jeremy Belknap. Salem, [Mass.]: Printed by S. and E. Hall ..., 1773.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

As colonial tensions increased in the early 1770s, many Americans struggled to reconcile their desire to be rid of British tyranny with their identity as British citizens. Jeremy Belknap's *Sermon on Military Duty*, given in Dover, New Hampshire, on November 10, 1772, before the royal governor, reflects this conflict. The minister put forth Christian rationales for the use of violence and war in self-defense, including support for a regular militia and the study of the art of war in proper preparation for defense of one's laws or people. He argued that God himself "presides over the events of war ... often bringing about revolutions quite different from the intention of the combatants." But Belknap

still considered himself and the colonies part of the British empire and acknowledged the happiness enjoyed under Governor Wentworth's "mild administration."

Belknap, a Boston-born clergyman and historian, settled in New Hampshire in 1764. He led the Congregational Church in Dover for more than twenty years. After the Battles of Lexington and Concord, he accompanied Dover militiamen to besiege Boston and served as chaplain to all the New Hampshire troops through the next winter. Belknap wrote the first history of New Hampshire, published between 1784 and 1792, thought to be the first work of modern history by an American.

Major General John Sullivan **(1740–1795) engraved by Richard Purcell (ca. 1736–ca. 1765). London: Thomas Hart, 1776.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection
(See illustration on page iv.)

John Sullivan, a lawyer living in Durham before the Revolution, would become New Hampshire's highest ranking military officer by the end of the war. His increasingly radical outlook on Britain's treatment of the colonies led to his leadership in the raids on Fort William and Mary in December 1774. After serving in the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1775, Sullivan was appointed brigadier general in the Continental Army and sent to join the American troops outside Boston.

At the time this mezzotint portrait was published in August 1776, the newly commissioned major general had taken command of the American troops on Long Island after leading the army out of Canada after a failed invasion. Sullivan later wrote that having marched the "enfeebled Army" out of Canada "in the face of a veteran & numerous foe ... & brought them off without a Loss" was one campaign for which he most wanted to be remembered.[7]

***A Plan of Boston, and its environs shewing the true Situation of His Majesty's Army, and also those of the Rebels.* London: Published ... by Andrew Dury, 1776.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The day after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, New Hampshire men began leaving their homes to join the growing army of American troops outside Boston. The largest of these loosely organized units included five hundred men led by John Stark of Derryfield (now Manchester). By April 23, 1775, two thousand New Hampshire soldiers had gathered in Cambridge, ready for war.

This map of the area depicts the ring of American fortifications that would surround Boston for the next year. Considered the best contemporary map of the city during this period, the plan includes Charlestown and Cambridge to the north and Dorchester to the south.

Canteen owned by William Adrian Hawkins. American, late 18th century. Hickory, paint, wood, and iron.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum Acquisitions Fund purchase, 2005

On June 17, 1775, two thousand British regulars attacked soldiers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire on Bunker Hill in the first pitched battle of the Revolution. Although the British succeeded in dislodging the Americans from their hastily built fortifications overlooking Boston, its army suffered heavy losses, especially among its officer corps. New Hampshire contributed as many as one thousand soldiers to the fight— more than the other two

colonies combined—among them John Stark, James Reed, and Henry Dearborn.

William Adrian Hawkins carried this stave canteen into the battle as a sergeant in Reed's Second New Hampshire Regiment. Hawkins went on to serve for five more years, finishing his military career in 1780 as a captain in the Third Regiment of the New Hampshire Continental Line.

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Powder horn owned by Benjamin Stanley. Attributed to Jacob Gay (active 1758–1787), 1775. Horn and wood.

New Hampshire Historical Society

In the early years of the Revolution, soldiers carried gunpowder in vessels made of animal horns which were often decorated with their name, animals, towns, and patriotic symbols and mottos. Some of the most elaborate were engraved outside Boston during the American siege of 1775 and 1776. This powder horn, inscribed "Benjamin Standly / His Horn M At Winter / Hill October the 4 1775," was engraved in the New Hampshire regiments' camp at Winter Hill near Cambridge. It was likely decorated by professional carver Jacob Gay, one of the few American engravers to decorate powder horns in both the French and Indian War and Revolutionary War. He was known for depicting whimsical animals and embellished calligraphy. Benjamin Stanley of Hopkinton, New Hampshire, served in John Stark's First New Hampshire Regiment during the siege.

"Edward Parsons' Collections of the Practice of the American Army" by Edward Parsons and William Parsons, January 1, 1776–1779.

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

In this commonplace book, 2d Lt. Edward Parsons compiled miscellaneous materials on the soldier's profession and his service in the Revolutionary War. Several pages are devoted to general reference information including military terms covering sentry's commands, countersigns, and parole; an illustrated description of how to parade; and an excerpt from a text titled "Lessons of the Broad Sword." The majority of the book contains pay abstracts and returns for New Hampshire units, including Col. Enoch Poor's New Hampshire regiment in which Parsons served. One return for Colonel Poor's regiment dated March 16, 1776, lists nearly six hundred officers and rank-and-file soldiers using symbols for each rank and status as described on the book's title page. After Edward Parsons' death in October 1776, another soldier William Parsons added to the book until 1779.

ORGANIZING AN ARMY

The New Hampshire soldiers who fought for American independence served in a variety of units, from the Continental Army to state regiments and militia to less organized local forces. One month after the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the Provincial Congress authorized a state army of two thousand men to help besiege Boston. John Stark, James Reed, and Enoch Poor were appointed colonels in command of the three regiments. In mid-June, three days before the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Continental Congress created the Continental Army with Gen. George Washington at its head and incorporated all the troops outside Boston into America's first national army. The three regiments under Stark, Reed, and Poor became the New Hampshire Continental Line and went on to serve throughout the northern colonies and Canada, including at the Siege of Quebec and the Battles of Trenton and Princeton. Col. Joseph Cilley, Col. Alexander Scammell, Lt. Col. Henry Dearborn, Lt. Col. Nathan Hale, and Lt. Col. George Reid later spent time in command of New Hampshire Continental troops. Throughout the Revolution, New Hampshire recruited several thousand men to fill its Continental Army quotas.

The most famous unit that assembled New Hampshire men for service in the Revolution was the Green Mountain Boys. The militia group was founded in the 1760s in the New Hampshire Grants west of the Connecticut River to defend their towns from New York authorities who claimed the same land. In June 1775, the Continental Congress encouraged the Green Mountain Boys to join the fight against the British. Ethan Allen led the militiamen through the first year of the Revolution, during which they played a crucial role in the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. After joining the northern part of the Continental Army in late 1775 for a failed invasion of Canada, during which Allen was captured, the Green Mountain Boys returned to New Hampshire for service closer to home. The Grants separated from New Hampshire in 1777 to become the independent state of Vermont, and the Green Mountain Boys formed the basis for the new state's militia.

Enoch Poor (1736–1780). By an unknown artist after Tadeusz Kosciuszko (Polish, 1746–1817), 19th century. Oil on cardboard.

Collection of Bradbury Poor Foss and Stephani Foss

A wealthy shipbuilder, French and Indian War veteran, and member of the Provincial Congress, Enoch Poor was one of the first three officers appointed to lead New Hampshire troops in the Revolution. His distinguished career spanned the Siege of Boston; Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Saratoga, and Monmouth Court House; winter at Valley Forge; and John Sullivan's Indian campaign. Upon Poor's death in New Jersey in September 1780, New Hampshire captain Jeremiah Fogg, who had served under Poor since joining the army in 1775, grieved, "My general is gone. A cruel, stubborn fever has deprived us of the second man in the world."[8]

The original watercolor portrait of Poor, shown wearing his Continental Army general's uniform, was painted by the Polish general Tadeusz Kosciuszko in 1780, just months before Poor's death. This nineteenth-century copy descended in the family of Col. Joseph Cilley, a friend and fellow New Hampshire officer whose two sons married two of Poor's daughters.

Russell's American Almanack, For the Year of our Redemption, 1780…Containing also a Narrative of the Voyages, Travels and Sufferings of the Hon. Col. Ethan Allen, of the State of Vermont by **Benjamin West. Danvers, [Mass.]: Printed by E. Russell, 1779.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Lt. Col. Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys helped Connecticut colonel Benedict Arnold capture Fort Ticonderoga in May 1775—an unexpected American success that brought cannon to the Siege of Boston and fame to its leaders. Later that year, Allen and his militiamen joined the failed American invasion of Canada. He was captured near Montreal in September 1775 while recruiting Canadians to join the American cause.

Allen's account of his service and captivity was widely distributed in pamphlets like this Massachusetts almanac, which roused patriotism while promoting his fame. His words to his men just before attacking Ticonderoga were appropriately dramatic: "we mull this morning either quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress in a few minutes." The woodcut profile portrait of Allen on the cover of this almanac is the only known contemporary image of the militia leader, who received the brevet rank of colonel from the Continental Congress in 1778.
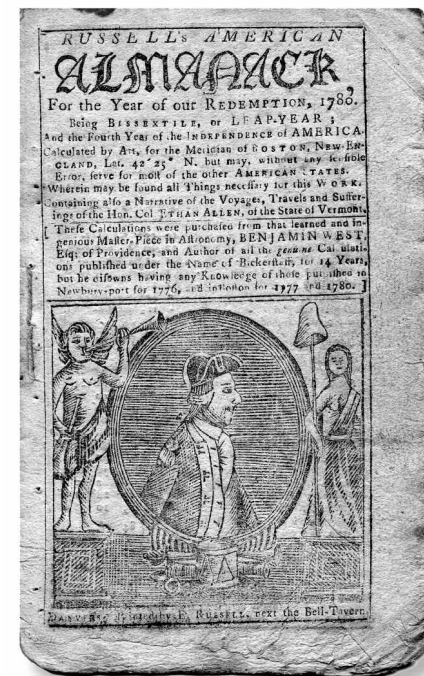
Small sword. English, ca. 1770. Silver and steel.

New Hampshire Historical Society

One of the strategic garrisons targeted by the American army in Canada in 1775 was St. Johns, a British fort on the Richelieu River just east of Montreal that guarded the entrance to the province of Quebec. New Hampshire militiamen and regulars helped capture and raid Fort St. Johns twice that year—in May with Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, and in September as part of the campaign to Quebec led by Continental Army generals Philip Schuyler and Richard Montgomery. This silver-hilted English small sword was captured during one of those missions by New Hampshire soldier Joseph Badger, Jr., of Gilmanton.

An accurate Map of New Hampshire in New England from a late Survey. [London: Published in the *Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure,* 1781].

The Society of the Cincinnati, Given in recognition of Edward Franklin Woods' lifelong devotion to the Society of the Cincinnati, by Mr. William Hedge Woods; Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Westcott Norwood, Jr.; Mr. and Mrs. Robert Bruce Spofford; and Mr. and Mrs. Jonathan Tufts Woods

British audiences learned of news from America largely through newspapers and monthly magazines. *The Universal Magazine* ran a series of maps of the American colonies during the Revolution, including

this map of New Hampshire from the February issue. Detailing the state's topography, towns, and forts, this map also includes parts of Vermont and Maine as if they were part of New Hampshire.
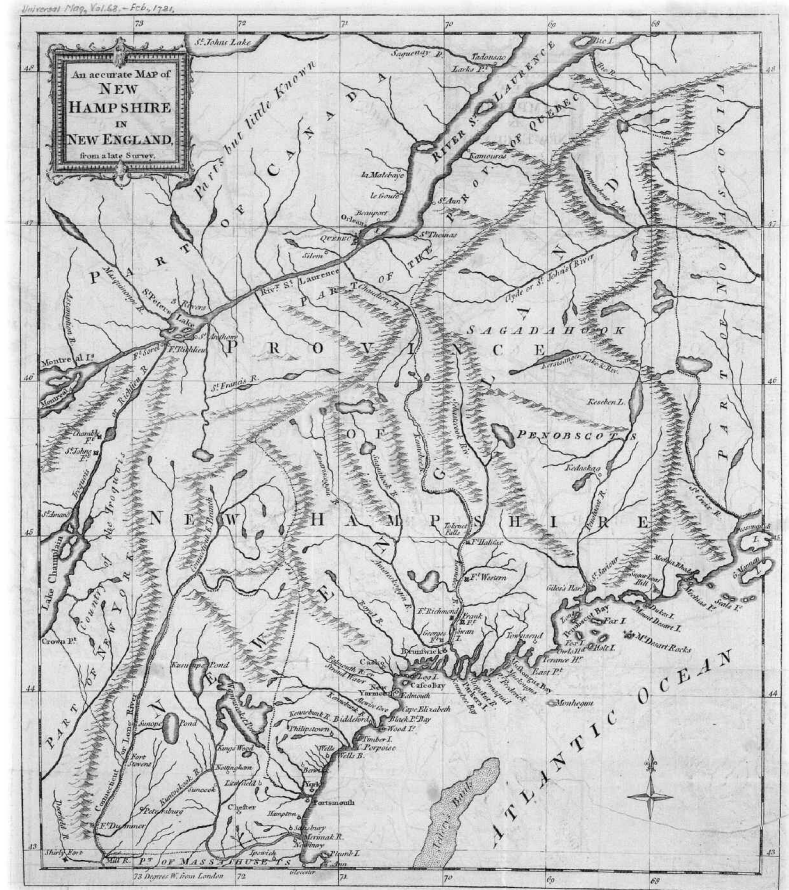
"Abstract of Rations due to the Officers & Soldiers in Captain Daniel Livermore's Company in the 3rd New Hampshire Battalion in the Service of the United States, Commanded by Colo. Scammell," [1777].

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The Third New Hampshire Regiment, commanded by Col. Alexander Scammell, served with George Washington's main army through the winter of 1776–1777, crossing the Delaware River with the commander in chief and fighting in the successful Battles of Trenton and Princeton. One of Scammell's junior officers, Capt. Daniel Livermore, kept this three-page account of rations owed to sixty-seven privates in his company of the regiment from November 1776 to August 1777. The date of each soldier's commission, their name, pay rate, and total days in their former corps fill the chart, which was submitted to the army to track men and supplies.

Orderly book of the New Hampshire State Regiment raised for the defense of Rhode Island, May 25–August 25, 1778.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Dr. William B. Parsons and Mrs. Rudolph Weld, 1958

In late December 1777, the New Hampshire House of Representatives resolved to raise a state regiment to serve in Rhode Island and appointed Col. Stephen Peabody its leader. Peabody's men joined soldiers from Rhode Island and Massachusetts and French and Continental Army forces in an attempt to dislodge the British from the island of Rhode Island. If successful, the campaign would reopen Narragansett Bay to French and American naval traffic, allowing the French fleet under Admiral Charles-Hector Theodat, comte d'Estaing carrying infantry reinforcements to land. Peabody's New Hampshire regiment arrived in Providence at the end of May 1778, when this orderly book begins to document the troops' service.

Kept by Capt. Sylvanus Reed of Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, the orderly book compiles the orders for the regiment, which was assigned to Rhode Island colonel Christopher Greene's brigade. As head of the Continental Army's Rhode Island Department, Gen. John Sullivan directed the campaign. After two months of patrolling the coast for enemy ships and time in camp addressing the troops' provisions, interactions with local residents, courts martial, and deserters, the New Hampshire men began preparing for battle in mid August. On the eve of the regiment's march to British-held Newport, Colonel Greene spoke to his troops, offering "his most cordial thanks to the brave Officers, Volunteers & Soldiers who have with so much alacrity repaired to this place to give there assistance in Exrepating the brutish Tirants from this Country. The zeal & Spirit which they discovuared are to him the Most Plesing Progress of Victory." The battle that finally took place on August 29—the war's first joint French-American operation—resulted in a stalemate that left Newport and part of the island in British hands.

Charles Miller to John Langdon, October 26, 1778.

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

The sixteen French ships under Admiral d'Estaing, after being turned back at Newport, finally landed at Boston with four thousand soldiers in late August 1778. But instead of returning to the Americans' aid in Rhode Island, the Frenchmen stayed in port while slowly repairing hurricane damage sustained by their ships. The local communities struggled to support the influx of troops and sought help from neighboring states. John Langdon, the Continental agent at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and speaker of the state's House of Representatives, received this request for ships carrying bread and flour to feed the French troops. After rioting in Boston over d'Estaing's refusal to rejoin the effort to capture Rhode Island, the French admiral abandoned New England in November 1778 and sailed for the West Indies.

An Act for raising Six Hundred Men towards compleating the Battalions of this State in the Continental Army. [Exeter, N.H.: Zechariah Fowle], 1780.

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Congress expected New Hampshire to maintain its three Continental regiments with new enlistments throughout the war. The state's legislature passed a series of acts in 1780 to fill the units by "voluntary Inlistment or Draft." This broadside announcing the July 16 act lists the individual units to be raised, their commanding officers, and pay rates. Each new recruit was expected to "furnish himself with suitable Cloathing, Knapsack and Blanket" and serve until the following December.

Cartridge box, ca. 1770–1780. Leather, wood, and brass.

New Hampshire Historical Society

Once gunpowder became more readily available in cylindrical paper cartridges, many soldiers began carrying leather cartridge boxes instead of powder horns. A member of the Whidden family of Rye, New Hampshire, carried this cartridge box during the Revolutionary War. Its interior wooden block has holes to carry twenty-four cartridges and is covered by a tooled leather flap secured with a brass clasp.

THE BATTLE OF BENNINGTON

The major British campaign of the summer of 1777 aimed to take possession of the Hudson River Valley and split the American army, strangling New England from the rest of the colonies. British general John Burgoyne marched south from Canada with eight thousand men and, within two days in early July, captured Fort Ticonderoga and two smaller American posts in northern New York. Crossing into Vermont, the British were surprised to encounter an energetic rear guard under American colonel Seth Warner at Hubbardton. Warner's Green Mountain Boys, along with New Hampshire and Massachusetts militia, harassed and delayed Burgoyne's troops long enough to allow the retreating American army to escape.

Exhausted from a long march through muddy roads and thick brush, Burgoyne sent eight hundred men towards Bennington, Vermont, on a foraging mission for horses, provisions, and other supplies. On August 16, they encountered two thousand Americans under New Hampshire general John Stark defending the town. Hessian lieutenant colonel Friedrich Baum and his British troops, although entrenched on higher ground, were surrounded by the Americans and the majority captured. Baum's detour to Bennington cost the British army crucial men and supplies and contributed to Burgoyne's surrender one month later at the pivotal Battle of Saratoga, New York.

John Stark (1728–1822). By Samuel F. B. Morse (1791–1872), ca. 1810–1820. Oil on canvas.

Collection of Peter Brady

John Stark—daring, stubborn, and short-tempered—entered the Revolutionary War with military experience, knowledge of the northern frontiers, and a growing reputation. Within hours of learning of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, he mustered hundreds of soldiers for service in Massachusetts. As colonel of the First New Hampshire Regiment, Stark led troops into battle at Bunker Hill, Trenton, and Princeton. But he abruptly resigned his commission in March 1777 after learning that another New Hampshire officer, Enoch Poor, was promoted to brigadier general ahead of him. Four months later, concerned for the safety of New Hampshire's borders, Stark accepted an independent command from the state and assembled nearly 1,500 men to meet part of the invading British army at Bennington.

Samuel F. B. Morse, better known as the inventor of a telegraph than an artist, likely painted this portrait of Stark without ever setting eyes on the aging general. John Stark's son Caleb traveled to Boston in December 1816 or January 1817 presumably to solicit Morse to paint a portrait of his father, who was then eighty-eight years old. The result is a vibrant yet awkward composite of facial features likely drawn from a sitting with Caleb Stark and a War of 1812 uniform his father never wore. A student of Gilbert Stuart's military portraits, particularly his likeness of Henry Dearborn, Morse's work attempts to mimic the elder artist's off-center composition, dramatic use of light, and saturated colors. Morse's portrait of Stark, although somewhat stiff, nonetheless conveys the general's stern and dramatic presence.[9]

Position of the Detachment under Lieut. Col. Baum, at Walmscock near Bennington engraved by William Faden (ca. 1750–1836). London: W. Faden, 1780.

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

(See illustration on page 23.)

An enemy detachment of British infantry, Hessian dragoons, and loyalists marched towards the supply depot at Bennington in early August 1777, looking to capture horses and supplies for the army. The British force, under the command of Lt. Col. Friedrich Baum, took up position on a steep hill outside of town bordered on one side by the Walloomsac River. On the afternoon of August 16, 1777, John Stark's militiamen, with well-timed support from the Green Mountain Boys under Seth Warner, launched a joint attack from three sides that won the day and left Baum mortally wounded.

This hand-colored battle plan locates the high bluff that the British and Hessian troops occupied and the routes the encircling American units took to defeat them. Drawn by a British engineer at the battle, the map was engraved as a plate in John Burgoyne's book *A State of the Expedition from Canada*, which defended his conduct leading the failed British campaign through northwestern New England.

Sword. German, ca. 1770–1777. Steel, iron, and wood.

New Hampshire Historical Society

In the victory at Bennington, John Stark and his men "obtained four pieces of brass cannon, one thousand stores stand of arms, several Hessian swords, eight brass drums, and seven hundred and fifty prisoners."[10] This Hessian dragoon's sword was among the arms captured by the Americans.
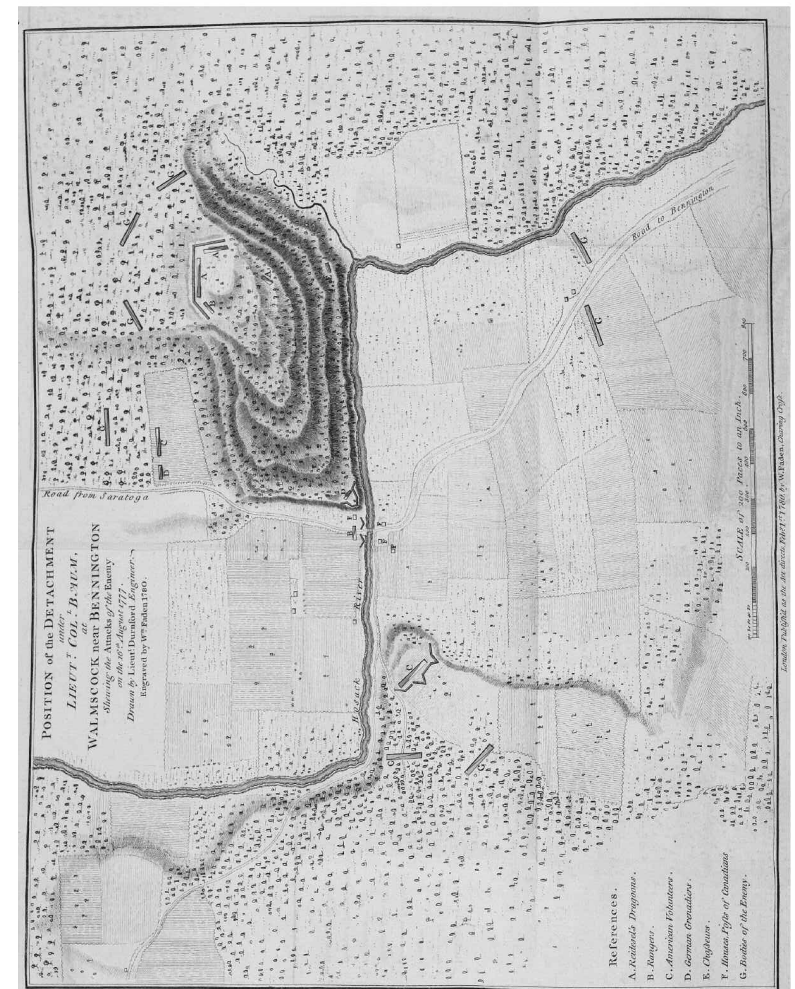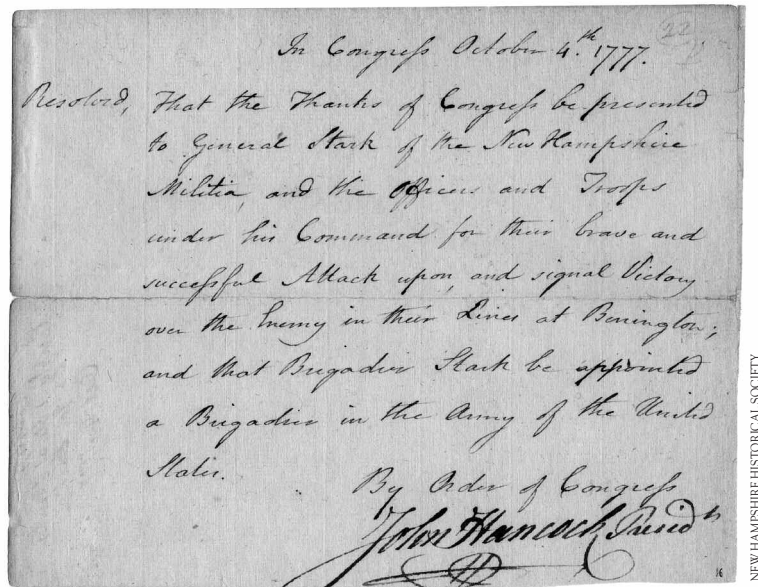
Resolution of the Continental Congress and commission of John Stark as brigadier general, October 4, 1777.

New Hampshire Historical Society

This manuscript resolution signed by John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, acknowledged John Stark "of the New Hampshire Militia, and the Officers and Troops under his Command for their brave and successful Attack upon, and signal Victory over the Enemy in their Lines at Bennington" almost two months after the battle. The document also appointed Stark to his long-sought-after brigadier general's rank in the Continental Army as a result of his "distinguished Conduct on that Occasion, and the Service you rendered the Cause of Freedom and your Country."[11] Stark went on to serve with the Continental Army through the rest of the war, commanding the army's Northern Department three times and sitting on the jury that convicted British spy John André.

LATER YEARS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONTINENTAL LINE

The New Hampshire Continental Line began the winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge, where the troops suffered "for want of shirts, Britches, Blankitts, Stockens and shoes," according to Gen. Enoch Poor.[12] When campaigning resumed, George Washington ordered Gen. Charles Lee's brigade, including the New Hampshire troops, to pursue the British army marching from Philadelphia to New York. Lee and the Americans caught up with the enemy, led by Gen. Charles Cornwallis, at Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, in late June 1778. At the height of the battle, Alexander Scammell, then in command of the Third New Hampshire Regiment, rallied his troops in the face of Lee's desertion and helped the American army fight to a stalemate.

The New Hampshire Continentals spent the rest of the war in New York, primarily as part of the garrison at West Point and at other posts along the Hudson River. Gen. John Sullivan provided a break from this routine in the summer of 1779, when the New Hampshire troops joined his campaign against the Iroquois Indians. The brutal campaign aimed to subdue the Iroquois confederation, which was largely pro-British. The following year, the New Hampshire men returned to West Point in the wake of the treason of Benedict Arnold, under whom some of them had served during the first year of the war.

As George Washington made preparations for the march to Yorktown in 1781, he left the remaining two New Hampshire regiments behind to monitor the British force occupying New York City. But a small number of New Hampshire soldiers participated in the Siege of Yorktown and witnessed the British surrender. In late 1781, the New Hampshire Continentals, numbering less than eight hundred men, returned to their familiar quarters along the Hudson to await the formal end of the war. They were finally discharged and the regiments disbanded in November 1783.

Flintlock musket. Royal Armory, Charleville, France, 1766. Walnut and iron.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of John Sanderson du Mont, New York State Society of the Cincinnati, 1978

Many of the weapons that American soldiers used during the Revolution came into the country through Portsmouth, New Hampshire, one of the nation's busiest ports and shipbuilding cities. The French government sent shipments of arms, uniforms, and other supplies even before the formal Treaty of Alliance with America was concluded in 1778. This Charleville flintlock musket arrived from Nantes aboard the *Mercury* in 1777—part of a cargo of hundreds of weapons purchased by the Continental Congress. Lighter in weight than its British counterpart, the twelve-pound Brown Bess, the Charleville musket became the standard longarm for American troops. This musket was acquired by the State of New Hampshire, which ordered it stamped on the barrel with the battalion number and rack number of the gun. Bearing the mark "NH 2 B No. 520," this musket, number 520, would have been carried by a soldier in New Hampshire's Second Regiment.

"The United States of America in Accot. with John Sullivan Esqr. Dr. for Rations for himself & Family from 20th February 1777 to 20th March 1779," March 20, 1779.

New Hampshire Historical Society

This manuscript account tallies the expenses John Sullivan personally paid—totaling just over £2,091 or $6,972—to provide rations for himself and officers in his military "family," or staff. During the two years covered by this account, Sullivan and his aides-de-camp served with the Continental Army in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, including the Battles of Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. One of Sullivan's aides was a fellow New Hampshire native, Maj. Edward Sherburne, who was killed during the Battle of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in October 1777.

"Return of Prisoners taken at the surrender of the British Garrisons of York and Gloucester in Virginia ...," October 19, 1781.

Courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati Collection of the American Independence Museum, Exeter, NH

Although most of the New Hampshire Continentals stayed in the North in the fall of 1781, several companies and officers served in the campaign to Yorktown. The marquis de Lafayette's light infantry division included several companies of New Hampshire troops, and Henry Dearborn, Enoch Poor, Alexander Scammell, and Nicholas Gilman were among the Continental Army general officers and staff at the siege. The day of the British surrender, Nicholas Gilman penned this return of British soldiers taken prisoner at Yorktown, "exclusive of Marine prisoners and Officers & Soldiers taken during the Siege." The document counts more than seven thousand prisoners listed by regiment. Gilman was then serving as assistant adjutant general in the Continental Army after having spent the rest of the war as a captain in Alexander Scammell's Third New Hampshire Regiment.

Orderly book of the New Hampshire Brigade, October 5, 1780–March 5, 1781.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Grandin Ward Schenck, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Jersey, 1965

This manuscript book records the orders received by the New Hampshire Brigade, consisting of all three of the state's Continental regiments, during its activities in New York and New Jersey over the winter of 1780–1781. The orderly book documents the mundane yet crucial daily activities of the brigade, from guard duty and marching orders to rations and courts martial, as well as news of the war elsewhere. The entry for October 15 details improvements that had been made to ensure West Point's security several weeks after Benedict Arnold's "Desertion and desire to serve the Enemy." Capt. Richard Lloyd, a New Jersey native then serving as brigade major to the New Hampshire unit, recorded the orders in this book, which still retains its contemporary leather cover.

Nicholas Gilman **(1755–1814). By John Ramage (American, ca. 1748–1802), 1787–1794. Watercolor on ivory, gold, and glass.**

Winterthur Museum, Museum purchase with funds provided by Collector's Circle

Nicholas Gilman was raised in a prominent Exeter family that had made its living in politics and business. His father, Nicholas Gilman, Sr., became New Hampshire's first treasurer and was a successful merchant and shipbuilder. After the Revolution, the younger Nicholas Gilman contributed to his family's legacy in public service as a delegate to the Continental Congress (1787–1789), a U.S. Congressman (1787–1797), and a U.S. senator (1804–1814). He was instrumental in securing his state's support of the Constitution in 1787 and was one of New Hampshire's two signers of the document.

That year, John Ramage began painting this distinguished portrait of Gilman in New York during the height of the politician's career. Ramage, an Irish-born artist who had settled in New York in 1777, also served during the Revolutionary War, although had an ambiguous military record—he served first with other loyalists in the Royal Irish Volunteers, then later in the patriot New York City militia. After the war, he enjoyed a reputation as one of the finest miniature portraitists of his day and painted likenesses of George Washington and other prominent Americans. Ramage's portrait of Gilman—an expensive keepsake for a family member or close friend—portrays him in finely detailed civilian dress and is encased in an intricate gold frame.

"Purple Heart" Badge of Military Merit. American, ca. 1782–1792. Silk, silver braid, and wool twill.

Courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati Collection of the American Independence Museum, Exeter, NH

To "foster and encourage every species of Military merit" among American enlisted men, George Washington established the Badge of Military Merit, nicknamed the Purple Heart, in August 1782. His order directed that "whenever any singularly meritorious action is performed, the author of it shall be permitted to wear on his facings over the left breast, the figure of a heart in purple cloth, or silk, edged with narrow lace or binding. Not only instances of unusual gallantry, but also of extraordinary fidelity and essential service in any way shall meet with a due reward ... The road to glory in a patriot army and a free country is thus open to all."[13]

One of only two eighteenth-century Purple Hearts known to exist today, this faded silk example was discovered in Deerfield, New Hampshire, in the 1920s stitched to a fragment of a wool uniform.[14] The original recipient of this badge remains unknown. The Badge of Military Merit fell into disuse after the Revolutionary War, only to be revived in 1932 as the modern Purple Heart Medal which now bears Washington's portrait.
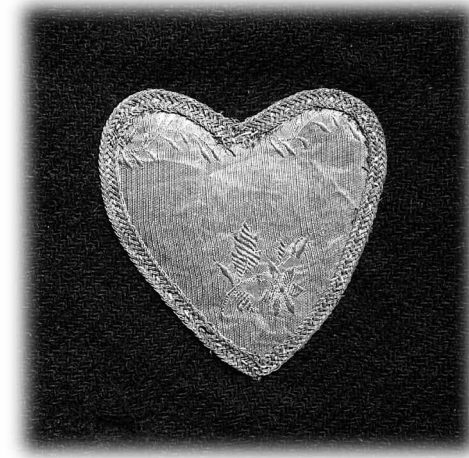
COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE MUSEUM, EXETER, NH

The Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Hampshire

Senior officers of the Continental Army, led by Massachusetts general Henry Knox, founded the Society of the Cincinnati in May 1783 while encamped along the Hudson River in New York awaiting news of the formal conclusion of the Revolutionary War. Taking its name from the ancient Roman citizen-soldier Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, the veterans' organization was established to memorialize the achievement of American independence, help preserve the republic that resulted, and support the brotherhood of soldiers forged through eight years of war. The Society's founding document, the Institution, declared these "Immutable Principles" and directed that a branch be formed in each of the thirteen American states and France. More than 2,200 officers of the Continental Army and Navy and their French counterparts ultimately became original members of the Society. George Washington served as their first president general.

Although two New Hampshire regiments were stationed at Newburgh, New York, when the Society was founded, they followed the lead of their commanding officer, Brig. Gen. John Stark, and took no part in the proceedings. Stark did not support the new organization, concerned its perceived elitism would dilute the ideals for which he and his comrades had risked their lives. Instead, the Society's temporary president Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben wrote to Maj. Gen. John Sullivan in June 1783 to encourage New Hampshire's veterans to organize a state branch:

> Not only your character and station in civil live, but the superior Rank you held in the Army of the United States point you out as the most proper person in the State of New Hampshire, to whom the forming the Society in that State can be committed. Your friendship for the officers of the American Army with whom You were so long Acquainted induces me to believe that You will imbrace with pleasure the Opportunity of Joining them in an institution the chief Motive of which is to perpetuate that Virtuous affection which in so examplary a manner existed among them while in Arms for the defence of their Country.[15]

The Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Hampshire was founded on November 28, 1783, at Folsom Tavern in Exeter, New Hampshire—the last of the American branches to be organized. The New Hampshire Society went on to include thirty-one original members. It soon struggled to attract attendees to its annual meetings, which were held primarily in taverns and homes in Exeter and Portsmouth. By the 1790s, meetings regularly drew less than ten members. It persisted until July 4, 1824, when the New Hampshire Society went dormant until descendents of the original members began reviving it seventy years later.

COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE MUSEUM, EXETER, NH

Membership and minute book, 1783–1823.

Courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati Collection of the American Independence Museum, Exeter, NH

At the New Hampshire Society's first meeting on November 28, 1783, its founders "Unanimously Voted That they chearfully embrace the Opportunity of forming a Society in this State And hereby engage to become Members of the Order of the Cincinnati, and to Regulate themselves, and support the honour and intent of the institution." The group then elected its first officers: John Sullivan, president; Henry Dearborn, vice president; Ebenezer Sullivan, secretary; Joseph Cilley, treasurer; and Jonathan Cass, assistant treasurer.

Lastly, the officers pledged themselves to a covenant written by the New Hampshire Society: "We the subscribers Officers of the American Army do hereby Voluntarily become parties to the foregoing institution And bind ourselves to Observe and be Governed by the principles therein contained: for the performance Whereof We do pledge to each Other Our Sacred honour." Instead of signing a parchment copy of the Institution, as most state societies did, members of the New Hampshire branch signed their names to this book, from the first founders in 1783 to the last son of an officer elected a hereditary member in 1815.

"A List of the Members of the Society of the Cincinnati for the State of New Hampshire," ca. 1784.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives

The thirty-one original members of the New Hampshire Society joined the group at various times from its founding in 1783 to as late as 1805. Its roster included twenty-four members in 1784 when this list was compiled, probably for the Society's first general meeting that May. The list documents each member's rank, length of service, time of resignation, and place of residence. Among these original members were at least two sets of brothers (John and Ebenezer Sullivan and Joseph and Jonathan Cilley), the son of an officer killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill (James Harvey McClary), and men settling into civilian life as farmers, blacksmiths, and politicians. The New Hampshire Society later elected one honorary member, Col. Seth Walker, in 1806.

Sketch of the Society of the Cincinnati Eagle. By Pierre L'Enfant (French, 1754–1825), 1783. Watercolor on paper.

Courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati Collection of the American Independence Museum, Exeter, NH

In June 1783, the Society approved a design for a gold insignia drawn by Pierre L'Enfant, the French artist and engineer who went on to plan the capital city of Washington, D.C., and was an original member of the Society. The double-sided emblem took the shape of an eagle and bore scenes of Cincinnatus in oval medallions on the bird's breast. The gold insignia would be suspended from a blue-and-white ribbon, symbolic of the French-American alliance that helped win the war.

L'Enfant convinced the Society's founders, still assembled near West Point in New York, that only a French craftsman would be capable of producing the gold Eagles, as the insignia came to be known. He quickly prepared for a journey to Paris in the fall of 1783. To encourage advanced orders of the Eagle, which members paid the hefty sum of $25 each to obtain, L'Enfant sent a watercolor drawing of the insignia to each state society. John Sullivan noted receipt of the New Hampshire Society's copy before its first meeting in November 1783.[16] The sketch is double-sided, as the gold medal would be.

Society of the Cincinnati Eagle of Henry Dearborn. Duval and Francastel, Paris, 1784. Gold, enamel, and silk.

Courtesy of The American Numismatic Society

The only Eagle owned by an original member of the New Hampshire Society still known to exist is this one worn by Henry Dearborn, the first vice president of the state branch and its delegate to the Society's first general meeting in May 1784. Dearborn's Eagle was part of a group of 140 insignias made in Paris under Pierre L'Enfant's supervision in early 1784 and delivered to the general meeting in Philadelphia that May. If Dearborn did not

order his Eagle before L'Enfant left for France in 1783, the general could have purchased one of the additional insignias the artist commissioned to sell to members later.

General Dearborn's Eagle retains its original silk ribbon and metal clasp, which would have secured the insignia through a buttonhole on the left side of his coat. The thin black thread woven vertically through the middle was likely added to mourn George Washington's death in late 1799 or 1800. Several state societies directed their members to wear black crepe around their arm or black fabric through their Eagle in observance of their president general's death.

Major General Henry Dearborn (1751–1829). By Gilbert Stuart (American, 1755–1828), 1812. Oil on panel.

Portland Museum of Art, Maine. Gift of Mary Gray Ray in memory of Mrs. Winthrop G. Ray.

Henry Dearborn emerged from the Revolutionary War a popular leader and, through the rest of the eighteenth century, rose steadily through the new nation's military and political ranks. In 1801, he became secretary of war and held the position during both of Thomas Jefferson's terms as president. In January 1812, President James Madison, a fellow original member of the Society, elevated Dearborn to the senior major general of the U.S. Army in command of the major theater of the War of 1812. But under Dearborn's short-lived command, the U.S. Army lost several key forts to the British and sustained heavy casualties. He angrily relinquished the position the following year.

Gilbert Stuart began his portrait of General Dearborn in 1812 in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where both men lived. This is one of three original versions of the portrait Stuart painted between 1812 and 1815, each with slight variations.[17] Stuart's robust depiction of the New Hampshire native features his elaborately embroidered major general's uniform, which may have been finished by another artist in Stuart's studio. The portrait also includes Dearborn's Society Eagle, complete with black lines on the ribbon suggesting the thread added to the original insignia.
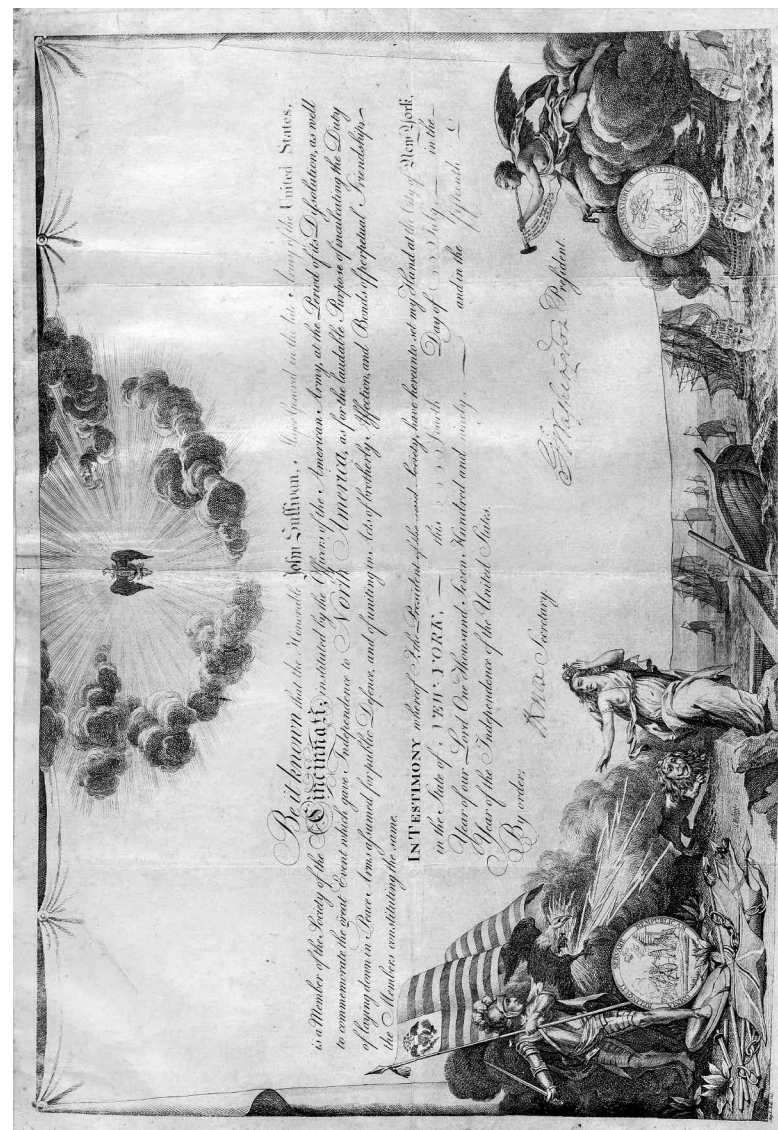
Society of the Cincinnati membership certificate of John Sullivan, July 4, 1790.

Courtesy of the Society of the Cincinnati Collection of the American Independence Museum, Exeter, NH

Society members could also purchase a parchment certificate, known as the diploma, to attest to their membership. Filled with patriotic symbols, Pierre L'Enfant's design for the diploma honored the men who helped win American independence. An armored soldier and a bald eagle threaten a cowering lion and retreating figure of Britannia on the left, while the angel Fame trumpets the American victory on the right. Medallions bearing images of Cincinnatus flank the scene while the Society Eagle radiates from above. The first diplomas were printed in Philadelphia in late 1784, then signed by George Washington and Henry Knox, the Society's president general and secretary general. Batches of signed blanks were periodically forwarded to each state society for distribution.

Dated on the fourteenth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, this diploma belonged to the New Hampshire Society's first president, John Sullivan. Sullivan led the state branch until 1794, the year before his death, while also maintaining an active political career that included stints as governor of New Hampshire and a federal judge.

Circular letter of the New Hampshire Society, February 3, 1785.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives

The Society's first general meeting, to which the New Hampshire members sent Henry Dearborn as their delegate, was a momentous gathering in Philadelphia in May 1784. The most controversial topic of discussion was George Washington's proposal to revise the Institution. The president general called for abolishing the hereditary principle of membership, requiring constituent societies to be chartered by their state government, and refusing donations from foreigners (most notably, the French). Dearborn reported that, while the proposed revisions were widely unpopular, "we found our selves reduced to the single alternative of making such alterations as we have, or attempt to stand without the President Genl."[18] The meeting issued a circular letter explaining the changes, leaving final approval of the amended Institution to the constituent societies. Few took action, and the proposal was finally abandoned the year after Washington's death.

At its annual meeting in July 1784, the New Hampshire Society appointed a committee of John Sullivan, Joseph Cilley, and Jeremiah Fogg to draft a circular letter in response voicing their objections. This final letter, approved at the New Hampshire Society's next meeting for distribution to every constituent society, vigorously defended the Society's original charter and principles:

> Nothing could afford us more pleasure than to quiet the minds, and remove the fears of our fellow citizens, but to yield to arguments that have no force; to acknowledge dangers that cannot exist; to recede from a plan founded on the most laudable principles, thereby stamping the mark of suspicion on the most virtuous actions; or to adopt a conduct which might imply a concession that by our serving as soldiers we have forfeited our right as citizens ... would be making a sacrifice which they have no right to expect.

A Sermon, Delivered at the South Church in Portsmouth, on the V January, M,DCCC. Occasioned by the sudden and universally lamented Death of George Washington **by Timothy Alden. Portsmouth, (New-Hampshire): Printed at the United States' Oracle-Office, By Charles Peirce, 1800.**

The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Three weeks after George Washington's death, Timothy Alden joined orators throughout the United States in memorializing the nation's first president and commander in chief. Alden recalled comparisons between Washington and the ancient Roman Cincinnatus when chronicling the American's entrance into the Revolutionary War: "When we behold him leaving those domestic recreations, at his country's call, for the helm of state, it brings to mind the celebrated Cincinnatus, who left his plow, when his country was in the most imminent danger, for the dictatorship of Rome."

END NOTES

[1] Second Provincial Congress to the Inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire, January 25, 1775, in Nathaniel Bouton, ed., *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New-Hampshire*, vol. 7 (Nashua, N.H.: Oren C. Moore, State Printer, 1873), 443.

[2] Constitution of New Hampshire, January 5, 1776, in Nathaniel Bouton, ed., *Documents and Records relating to the State of New-Hampshire*, vol. 8 (Concord, N.H.: Edward A. Jenks, State Printer, 1874), 2.

[3] John Wentworth to the earl of Dartmouth, August 29, 1774, in Bouton, *Documents and Records relating to the Province of New-Hampshire*, vol. 7, 411.

[4] *Essex Journal*, December 7, 1774.

[5] Wentworth, "A Proclamation by the Governor," December 26, 1774, in Bouton, *Documents and Records relating to the Province*, vol. 7, 423.

[6] Second Provincial Congress to the Inhabitants of the Province of New Hampshire, January 25, 1775, in Bouton, *Documents and Records relating to the Province*, vol. 7, 443.

[7] John Sullivan to John Wendell, February 18, 1785, in Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army*, vol. 3 (Concord, N.H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1939), 398.

[8] Samuel Collins Beane, "General Enoch Poor, Given before the New Hampshire Historical Society, April 12, 1899," [1899], 32.

[9] Paul J. Staiti, "Samuel F. B. Morse's Search for a Personal Style: The Anxiety of Influence" in *Winterthur Portfolio* 16, no. 4 (Winter 1981): 271.

[10] John Stark to Horatio Gates, August 23, 1777, in Caleb Stark, ed., *Memoir and Official Correspondence of Gen. John Stark* (Concord, N.H.: Edson C. Eastman, 1877), 131.

[11] John Hancock to John Stark, October 5, 1777, John Stark Papers, New Hampshire Historical Society.

[12] Enoch Poor to Thomas Odiorne, December 7, 1777, in Bouton, *Documents and Records relating to the State*, vol. 8, 735.

[13] George Washington, General Orders, August 7, 1782, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–179I*, vol. 24 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), 488.

[14] Nelson C. Metcalf, "The Last of Three Original Purple Hearts," *Boston Evening Transcript*, October 22, 1932. The other original Purple Heart, awarded to Elijah Churchill, is in the collections of the New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site in New York.

[15] *The Institution and Records of the New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati* (Concord, N.H.: Ira C. Evans, Printer, 1893), 14.

[16] *Institution and Records*, 14.

[17] The other two portraits are in the collections of the Art Institute of Chicago and the Henry Ford. For more on the portraits, see *Gilbert Stuart* by Carrie Rebora Barratt and Ellen G. Miles (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004): 304-306.

[18] Henry Dearborn to John Sullivan, June 8, 1784, in *Institution and Records*, 53.

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The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

Established in 1988, the Fergusson Collection honors the memory of Lt. Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson (1943–1967), a member of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia who died of wounds sustained in combat in Vietnam. Lieutenant Fergusson 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 rare books, broadsides, manuscripts, maps, works of art, and artifacts pertaining to the military history of the American Revolution and the art of war in the eighteenth century.