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# VIRGINIA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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An Exhibition by The Society of the Cincinnati

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# VIRGINIA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

### An Exhibition by The Society of the Cincinnati



Anderson House Washington, D.C. September 19, 2009–March 6, 2010 This catalogue has been produced in conjunction with the exhibition Virginia in the American Revolution on display from September 19, 2009, to March 6, 2010, at Anderson House, the headquarters, library, and museum of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, D.C. The exhibition is the twelfth in a series focusing on the contributions to the American Revolution made by the original thirteen states and France.

Generous support for this exhibition and catalogue was provided by the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia.

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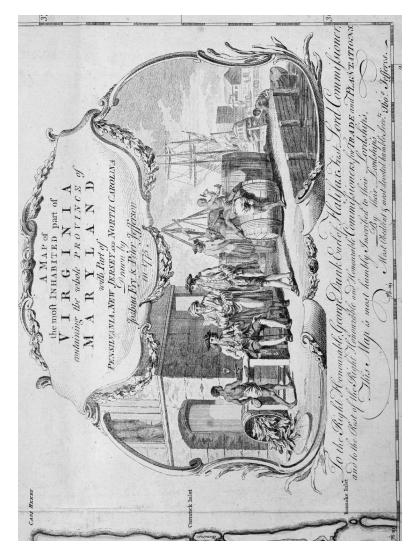
Text by Emily L. Schulz.

Cover illustration: Plan of the Investment of York & Gloucester by the Allied Armies ..., 1785. See page 27.

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hen we assumed the Soldier, we did not lay aside the Citizen, & we shall most sincerely rejoice with you in that happy Hour, when the Establishment of American Liberty on the most firm, & solid Foundations, shall enable us to return to our private Stations in the bosom of a free, peaceful, & happy Country.

> George Washington, Address to the New York Provincial Congress, June 26, 1775



Cartouche of A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia ... drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson. London: Printed for Robt. Sayer ... & Thos. Jefferys ..., 1775. The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection.

### INTRODUCTION

irginia was the oldest, largest, and most populous of Great Britain's American colonies on the eve of the American Revolution. It may have also been the most valuable, with enormous tobacco crops making their way to Britain each year and untapped natural resources luring more settlers to Virginia's shores. Sir Walter Raleigh, under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth I, was the first to attempt to colonize the region, which he named Virginia in the 1580s. The earliest permanent settlement in the Old Dominionand the first English one in North America-took root at Jamestown in 1607. Over the next 150 years, Virginia's leaders honed its laws and government while frequently clashing with Indians from the Powhatan, Rappahannock, Monacan, and other tribes. Residents of the Old Dominion thus grew accustomed to both colonial autonomy and the reality of war long before the American Revolution.

Like its colonial history, Virginia's path to independence was both extraordinary and commonplace. It surpassed all other American colonies with political and military talent—George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Mason among them. These men produced some of the most significant and lasting words of the eighteenth century, from Henry's "give me liberty, or give me death" speech to Richard Henry Lee's resolution that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." But Virginians hesitated just as their fellow colonists did to break ties with the mother country. Having been led by a conservative and wealthy class of planters for the majority of the eighteenth century, Virginians considered their economic and cultural prosperity dependent on good relations with Great Britain. As circumstances rapidly changed following the French and Indian War—with the expansion of settlements in the interior, an increasingly diverse population, the impact of a slave labor system, and oppressive British taxes-many Virginians became disenchanted with royal rule.

### **Declaring Independence**

ost Virginians approached the growing crisis with Great Britain as loyal but disgruntled subjects of King George III. Their objections grew more numerous in 1774. Parliament imposed harsh punishments on Bostonians, including closing the port, for the destruction of property in the Boston Tea Party. Sensing his colonists' sympathy for their northern brethren, royal governor John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, dissolved the House of Burgesses that May. Three months later patriots convened the first Virginia Convention, which assumed the colony's legislative duties. Dunmore, afraid he was losing control of Virginia, abandoned the governor's palace in May 1775. From a British ship anchored at Yorktown, he planned an invasion of the colony to regain power. Dunmore also issued a proclamation on November 7, 1775, emancipating any slave who took up arms for Great Britain.

The Convention in Williamsburg gradually assumed greater responsibility for governing the colony. It appointed local officials, issued currency, authorized army regiments, and established a committee of safety to prepare to defend Virginia from a rumored British invasion. In March 1775 one of its delegates, Patrick Henry, issued a call to arms to Virginians, arguing "there is no peace. The war is actually begun!" and closing with the now-famous words: "give me liberty, or give me death!"<sup>1</sup> Henry, a native of Hanover County, had argued for colonial rights since the Stamp Act crisis in 1765 and become Virginia's most important political figure. Nine months after Henry's speech, Virginia troops clashed with Dunmore's British and loyalist forces at the Battle of Great Bridge outside Norfolk—hostilities that pushed most Virginians to abandon hope for reconciliation with the crown.

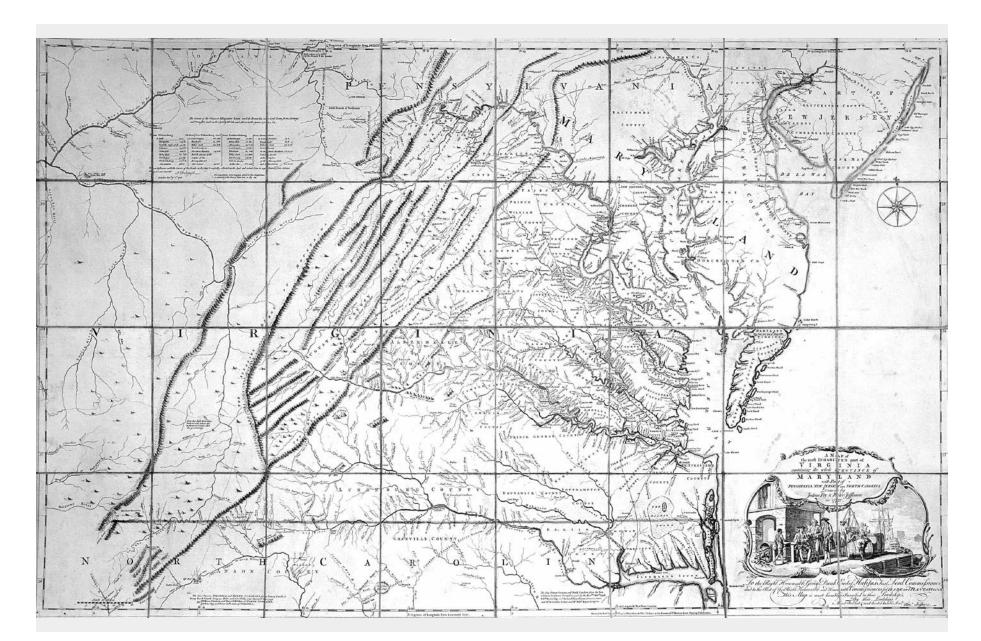
In May 1776 the Convention began drafting a constitution and Declaration of Rights, authored by George Mason, which established a new General Assembly. The next month, Virginia's own Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution for independence in the Continental Congress. After days of debate and a lengthy adjournment, Congress voted for American independence on July 2, with Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence approved two days later. The document was later read publicly at the courthouse in Williamsburg, with a parade, cannon fire, and "illuminations in the evening."<sup>2</sup>

# A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia ... drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson. London: Printed for Robt. Sayer ... & Thos. Jefferys ..., 1775.

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

(See pages 4-5.)

O riginally produced in 1751 by surveyors Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, this map was the first to chart Virginia's entire river system and accurately locate the Appalachian Mountains. The 1775 version appeared in Thomas Jefferys' *American Atlas*, one of the most important atlases of the Revolutionary War period. This map's four pieces have been joined and the whole cut into rectangular sections and backed on rough linen—an eighteenthcentury technique that allowed for easier folding and provided added strength. Fry and Jefferson's map remained the most authoritative depiction of Virginia into the nineteenth century.



A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia ... drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson. London: Printed for Robt. Sayer ... & Thos. Jefferys ..., 1775.



# Levin Powell (1737–1810) engraved by Charles B. J. F. de Saint-Mémin (French, 1770–1852). Philadelphia, 1800.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of John Daniel Evans, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1941

Wirginia politician Levin Powell was one of more than fifty signers of the Loudoun Resolves, proclaimed at the Loudoun County Courthouse in Leesburg on June 14, 1774. Outraged by Great Britain's flurry of taxes and restrictive laws—described in the Resolves as "a despotic exertion of unconstitutional power designedly calculated to enslave a free and loyal people"—the county's residents vowed to oppose British taxation of the American colonies without their consent and the use of the military to enforce acts of Parliament.<sup>3</sup> They also pledged to boycott British goods. One of the most densely populated Virginia counties in the 1770s, Loudoun County was also one of its most fervent in support of the Revolution. Loudoun's Resolves was among more than thirty similar resolutions made in 1774 by Virginia towns or counties. Powell served briefly with the Virginia Continental Line in 1777 and 1778 and went on to become a member of the House of Delegates and United States Congress. The Virginian was depicted after the war by French engraver Charles B. J. F. de Saint-Mémin, who was known for his profiles.

Burwell Bassett (1734–1793) by Charles Willson Peale (American, 1741–1827), 1778. Watercolor on ivory and gold.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Burwell Bassett Smith, 1960

Shoe buckle owned by Burwell Bassett, 18th century. Silver and stones. The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Burwell Bassett Smith, 1961



**B** orn into a prominent Virginia family in the Tidewater region, Burwell Bassett began his political career as a member of the colonial House of Burgesses from 1762 to 1774. He was an early supporter of the American Revolution and participated in four Virginia Conventions from 1774 to 1776. Two years later, he paid \$100 for Charles Willson Peale to paint his miniature portrait. The back of the gold case bears a watercolor mourning scene for Bassett, whose passing in 1793 saddened George Washington: "Death has snatched from us my old acquaintance & friend."<sup>4</sup> Bassett also owned this shoe buckle, which he may have worn on official occasions in Williamsburg before the outbreak of the war.

### J. Marshall engraved after Alonzo Chappel (American, 1828–1887). New York: Johnson, Fry & Co., ca. 1863.

The Society of the Cincinnati

### Spectacles owned by John Marshall. Made in America, ca. 1835. Metal and glass.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Capt. William Jeffries Chewning, Jr., Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1972

John Marshall, one of the most important legal minds in early America, began his law practice in Fauquier County during the Revolution. He also served as an officer in the Continental Army in the late 1770s and a member of the House of Delegates and Council of State in the early 1780s. Alonzo Chappel may have based his posthumous portrait of Marshall in part on Henry Inman's stately painting of the chief justice in 1834. These spectacles, similar to the ones Marshall holds in his left hand in the engraved portrait, may have been used by the Virginian during the last year of his life.

#### Notes on the State of Virginia by Thomas Jefferson. Philadelphia: Printed for Mathew Carey, 1794.

The Society of the Cincinnati

In the fall of 1780, Virginia governor Thomas Jefferson began composing answers to twenty-two questions about his state posed by the secretary of the French legation to the Unites States, François Marbois. The result was the classic *Notes on the State of Virginia*, first published in 1787. Jefferson, serving his second term as governor, tackled the range of inquiries—from history and politics to science and demographics—with his characteristic knowledge and eloquence that made the book a commentary on the new nation itself. He recorded 567,614 inhabitants of Virginia in 1782, nearly half of them slaves, and 49,971 members of the Virginia militia. Jefferson also offered his definition of a loyalist as "a traitor in thought but not in deed." This second American edition of the book was owned by James Giles, a lieutenant in the New York Continental Line.

#### Land patent to Aaron Milhado, April 8, 1783.

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

The General Assembly passed two laws in 1779 permitting the seizure and sale of property owned by loyalists. Near the Revolutionary War's end, Virginia began selling confiscated lands to its residents by issuing land patents signed by the governor. This patent, authorized by Benjamin Harrison, documents Aaron Milhado's purchase of a plot of land in the Tidewater town of Portsmouth for  $\pounds1,750$ .

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### IN DEFENSE OF VIRGINIA

ostilities broke out in Virginia in September 1775 as the patriots battled Governor Dunmore, who refused to abandon his colony without a fight. That month, Williamsburg militia seized a British ship that had run aground near Hampton in a hurricane and captured its crew, although promptly released the prisoners. This action was the first of the Revolution in the South. Dunmore called for a blockade of Hampton Roads and began fortifying Norfolk, a loyalist stronghold, while the patriot Committee of Safety authorized nine regiments to be raised in defense of Virginia.

Months of raids and skirmishes culminated in Virginia's first pitched battle of the Revolution at Great Bridge south of Norfolk. Col. William Woodford commanded the Virginia troops that sought to prevent Dunmore's army from crossing the Elizabeth River and marching on other towns. After Woodford's men turned back the British attack, he proclaimed victory, declaring that the battle "was a second *Bunker's Hill* affair, in miniature, with this difference that we kept our post."<sup>5</sup> Dunmore evacuated Virginia in July 1776, bringing royal rule in the colony to an end. The Virginia soldiers who served in state regiments and local militias went on to fight Great Britain's troops and its allies throughout the South and along the western frontier. The state also raised its own navy, an act initiated by Patrick Henry and authorized by the Convention in December 1775.

#### Private book of accounts, 1771–1802.

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

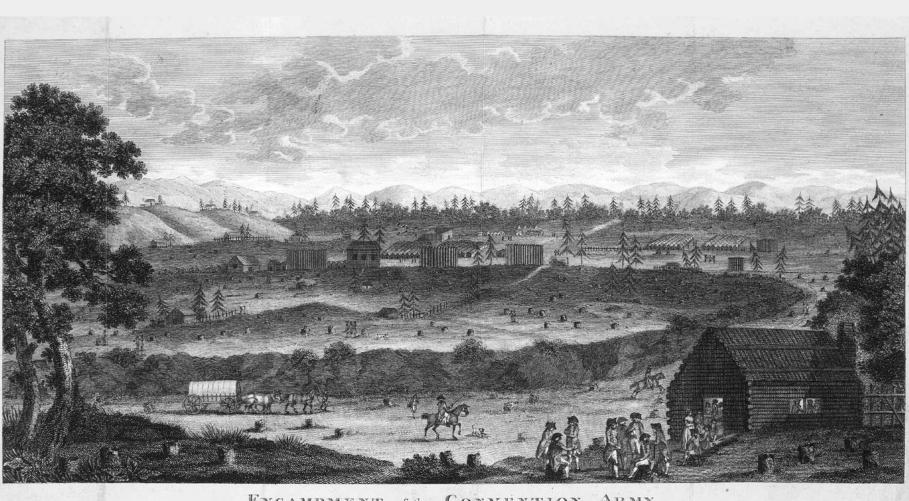
**E** dward Stevens, a land owner and merchant in Caroline County, kept this private book of accounts to tally both his business and military expenses. As a brigadier general in the Virginia militia, Stevens was responsible for obtaining his own uniform, weapons, and other equipment. One entry records his purchase of a uniform in 1775, consisting of a hat, hunting shirt, breeches, and jacket. The frontiersman's hunting shirt that became a hallmark of the Virginia troops, especially riflemen, inspired the British to nickname them "shirtmen." Other entries show that Stevens also bought a small sword, pair of epaulets, and camp table during the war.

#### Encampment of the Convention Army At Charlotte Ville in Virginia after they had surrendered to the Americans. London: Publish'd by ... William Lane, 1789.

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

(See pages 12-13.)

When British general John Burgoyne surrendered after the Battle of Saratoga in September 1777, his troops were first marched to Boston, then transferred to the Albemarle Barracks near Charlottesville. The British force was named the Convention Army after the Articles of Convention that dictated their surrender. The Continental Army, which delayed exchanging its prisoners for captured American soldiers until 1779, relied largely on local Virginia troops to guard the camp. This view of the barracks was engraved for Thomas Anburey's *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*.



ENCAMPMENT of the CONVENTION ARMY . At Charlotte Ville in Virginia after they had surrendered to the Americans Hildiskit as the Ha directs fan har on by William Lane. Jeadenhall Sevel London 2

Encampment of the Convention Army At Charlotte Ville in Virginia after they had surrendered to the Americans. London: Publish'd by ... William Lane, 1789.

# Wilson Cary Selden (1761–1835) by an unknown artist, late 18th century. Watercolor on ivory, gold, and hair.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Mrs. Thomas Armat in memory of her husband, 1957

Wilson Cary Selden, a prominent physician in Leesburg, joined the Virginia militia as a surgeon at the start of the southern campaigns in 1779. His first post was at the marine hospital in Hampton. He later served in a Virginia state artillery company and fought in the disastrous American defeat at Camden, South Carolina. Few other details of Selden's military career are known, but it is estimated that he did not serve for much longer than one year. A close family member likely owned this miniature portrait of the surgeon, whose treasured likeness was set in a gold frame with human hair woven on the reverse.

# George Rogers Clark (1752–1818) after Matthew Harris Jouett (American, 1788–1827), 19th century. Watercolor on ivory.

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

#### "Extract of a letter from Colonel George Rogers Clarke, to his Excellency the Governour ..." in *The Pennsylvania Packet*, October 24, 1780. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by John Dunlap and David C. Claypoole.

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

George Rogers Clark, a Virginia militia officer during the Revolutionary War, led an army against British forces and their Indian allies in the Northwest territories of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Clark's campaigns prevented the enemy, which hoped to push American settlers back across the Appalachian Mountains, from threatening the main Continental Army from the west. Clark succeeded in capturing the British fort at Vincennes, Indiana, but fell short of his ultimate goal of taking the enemy's stronghold at Detroit. This portrait of the militia general was painted after Matthew Harris Jouett's oil composition done in the 1820s.

Clark's dramatic exploits in Indian country captivated American newspaper readers during the war. In retaliation for Indian raids on Kentucky in June 1780, Clark and his men clashed with "300 warriors, Shawanese, Mingoes, Wiandatts, and Delawares" at Pickaway on the Miami River in present-day Ohio. In October *The Pennsylvania Packet* reprinted Clark's account of his army's rout of the Indians, "having done the Shawanese all the mischief in our power." He credited his troops for the victory: "Nothing could excel the few regulars and Kentuckyans that composed this little army, in bravery and implicit obedience to orders."



#### Orderly book of the Virginia Brigade, October 25, 1780-April 17, 1781.

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

In 1780 and 1781, a mixed force of Virginia militia and Continental troops combined to form the Virginia Brigade, charged with defending the state, its lands, and citizens from a British invasion. The brigade's orderly book for this period, kept by an unrecorded junior officer, reveals the unit's struggles to maintain discipline, control desertions, and protect the countryside, as well as its orders to observe or

engage the enemy. One of the manuscript book's early entries, dated November 21, details the formation of a light infantry corps within the brigade to consist of "active sprightly men, Old Soldiers or Riflemen." The brigade operated under the command of Brig. Gen. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, a Lutheran and Anglican clergyman from Pennsylvania who settled in Woodstock, Virginia, in the 1770s.

### THE VIRGINIA CONTINENTAL LINE

n addition to state and local soldiers, Virginia raised regiments to serve under Gen. George Washington in the Continental Army, which Congress established on June 14, 1775. The same day, Congress ordered Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania to raise ten regiments of riflemen to join the New England troops already gathered outside Boston. Daniel Morgan, newly commissioned a captain by Congress, commanded one of the two celebrated corps of rifleman from Virginia. This bold step created the first national army in American history. To its ranks Virginia would contribute as many as twenty-five thousand Continental soldiers in fifteen regiments—an effort surpassed only by Massachusetts. Virginia officers including Charles Lee, Horatio Gates, Hugh Mercer, and Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee made names for themselves leading these men against the British army.

Other than the riflemen's foray into New England and Canada in 1775, the Virginia Continental Line served primarily in the army's Southern Department. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg's Eighth Virginia Regiment, raised in the Shenandoah Valley, was the first to see action outside the state when it helped thwart the British siege of Charleston in June 1776. For the next three years, Virginia Continentals fought in the Mid-Atlantic at the failed defenses of New York City and Philadelphia and important victories at Saratoga, New York, and Monmouth Court House, New Jersey. Attention shifted back to the South in late 1778, when British general Henry Clinton and 8,500 troops left New York City to invade Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. Gen. Nathanael Greene regrouped the American forces after disastrous American defeats at Camden and Charleston, South Carolina-where nearly the entire southern army was captured. Greene's game of cat and mouse with British general Charles, Lord Cornwallis, entered Virginia in January 1781 and canvassed the southern portions of the state on the way to Yorktown.

# Tankard owned by John Dandridge. Made by Thomas Heming, London, ca. 1770. Silver and leather.

On loan from the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia

George Washington reportedly gave this tankard to John Dandridge, one of his wife's nephews, on the eve of the Revolution. Dandridge received a commission

as captain in the First Continental Artillery Regiment in 1777. He was taken prisoner with the American army captured at Charleston in 1780, but remained in Continental service through the end of the war. Dandridge is said to have carried this drinking vessel, made of varnished leather with a silver liner, throughout the war.



Dueling pistols owned by Richard Clough Anderson. Made by John Twigg, London, ca. 1775. Iron, gold, brass, and mahogany.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Alexander Ferguson Anderson, 1966





#### Richard Clough Anderson (1750–1826) possibly by Matthew Harris Jouett (American, 1788–1827), early 19th century. Oil on wood.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Isabel Anderson, 1941

The military career of Richard Clough Anderson, who was born near Richmond, is a chronicle of most major campaigns of the war. He was commissioned a captain in the Fifth Virginia Continental Regiment in March 1776. Anderson was wounded at the Battle of Trenton, but went on to see action at Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth Court House. He was again wounded at Savannah in 1779, where he suffered the death of his friend Gen. Casimir Pulaski. As an aide-de-camp to the marquis de Lafayette, Anderson guided the Frenchman's troops through Virginia on the way to Yorktown in 1781. The pistols Anderson acquired at the outset of the Revolution remain in the original mahogany case, complete with a bullet mold and accessories for cleaning the arms. The butt of each pistol bears his initials inlaid in gold. A brass plate on the top of the case is engraved with his rank, regiment, and the year 1778, suggesting that he carried these pistols during the later years of the war.

After the war, Anderson settled near Louisville, Kentucky, at a homestead named "Soldier's Retreat," where he entertained guests including Lafavette, Aaron Burr, and Andrew Jackson. Anderson prospered as a land speculator and served as surveyor general distributing bounty lands in Kentucky and Ohio awarded to veterans of the Virginia Line. A devoted Mason, he became the first master of Lexington Lodge No. 1 in 1788. In the early nineteenth century an artist, possibly Matthew Harris Jouett, painted his portrait depicting him in a post-Revolutionary War uniform in front of an unfurling American flag. The patriotic composition descended in Anderson's family to his grandson, Nicholas Longworth Anderson, who installed the portrait in his Washington, D.C., home, and great grandson Larz Anderson, who displayed the painting at Anderson House.

# William Brown Wallace (1757–1833) by Matthew Harris Jouett (American, 1788–1827), ca. 1826–1827. Oil on canvas.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Branch Price Kerfoot, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1984

While a second lieutenant in Grayson's Additional Continental Regiment in September 1777, William Brown Wallace fought at Saratoga under Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, a former British officer who settled in Virginia before the war. Brown witnessed the surrender of British general John Burgoyne and afterwards wrote, "the friends to Liberty may now with propriety rejoyce."<sup>6</sup> After parting briefly with the army in the summer of 1779, Wallace joined the First Continental Artillery Regiment for the southern campaigns. In 1780 he was captured at Camden, South Carolina—a defeat as total for the Americans as Saratoga was for the British. Kentucky artist Matthew Harris Jouett painted this portrait of Wallace, who had joined the Virginia branch of the Society of the Cincinnati after the war, for the aging veteran's daughter, Anne Wallace Daviess.

## Oliver Towles (1736–1821) by an unidentified artist, early 19th century. Oil on canvas.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Mrs. Marion Towles Beckwith, 1985

t. Col. Oliver Towles of Spotsylvania County joined the Sixth Virginia Regiment in February 1776. The following year he was wounded during the American defeat at Germantown, captured, and imprisoned in a British ship in New York's harbor. There he "lost his health by long confinement in the miserable,



unhealthy prison hulks," according to his great granddaughter.<sup>7</sup> After the war Towles established a law practice, eventually settling in Lynchburg. He served as the first secretary of the Virginia Society from its formation to 1786. The colonel is pictured later in life in this portrait, holding a book by William Blackstone, an English jurist whose legal commentaries helped to shape America's founding documents and laws.

## Orderly book of the First Continental Artillery Regiment, September 5–November 25, 1778.

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

rganized in the Williamsburg area in the spring and summer of 1777, the First Continental Artillery Regiment served in the defense of Philadelphia and Charleston and at the siege of Yorktown. The unit, known during its first few years as Harrison's Continental Artillery Regiment after its commander Col. Charles Harrison, consisted primarily of Virginia soldiers. One of its junior officers, Capt. James Pendleton, kept this orderly book during the fall of 1778, recording all of the brigade and regimental orders the unit received. Its pages document marching orders, scouting and foraging parties, courts martial and punishments, furloughs, promotions, and other daily events. The back of the book also contains lists of clothing and supplies received by the regiment, as well as several of its muster rolls, providing statistics on the regiment's strength. The muster roll for October 1777 records twenty-seven men, organized according to rank, and reflects their readiness for active duty with comments on those who were sick or discharged.

# George Baylor (1752–1784) by Charles Willson Peale (American, 1741–1827), 1778. Watercolor on ivory, gold, and hair.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of William R. Robins, Jr., 1967

Wirginian George Baylor was just twenty-three years old when, in August 1775, he obtained a lieutenant colonel's commission in the Continental Army and a coveted assignment as an aide-de-camp to George Washington. Baylor served with the general through the campaign of Princeton and Trenton in 1776–1777, after which Washington dispatched him to carry the news of the victory at Trenton to Congress. While encamped at Valley Forge in the spring of 1778, Baylor, who was then a colonel in the Third Continental Dragoons, paid the artist Charles Willson Peale \$100 to paint his miniature portrait. Peale spent time with Baylor's regiment the following winter and noted that the Virginians in Baylor's unit were "much adicted to swearing much more so than any of the more northern States."8



In September 1778, a British soldier bayoneted Baylor in the chest during a surprise attack in New Jersey that left more than two-thirds of Baylor's men killed, wounded, or captured. Baylor served until the end of the war, but he never fully recovered from the wound. After the war he went to Barbados to regain his health, but died there in March 1784.

#### Fielding Lewis to George Washington, March 2, 1779.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Burwell Bassett Smith, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1961

**F** ielding Lewis, who married George Washington's sister Betty, frequently corresponded with the commander in chief during the war about Virginia politics, the army's campaigns, and news of their friends and family. Although Lewis did not join the military, he sacrificed his considerable wealth to build and operate an arms manufactory in Fredericksburg, as well as to obtain other supplies for the American troops.

This letter concerns recruiting for Virginia Continental units, for which Lewis reported "the men are inlisting very

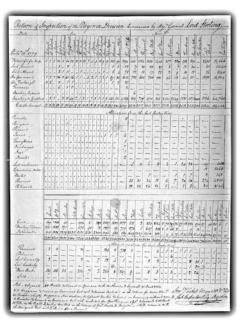
fast." Lewis appealed to Washington for a Continental Army officer to assemble the new recruits and march them to the army, as a Virginia act required the commander in chief to appoint someone for this task. The letter also offers thoughts from Lewis and others on the war's progress: "The King of G. Britain by his speech seems desirous of continuing the war with us which I now expect will be for some time ... Colo. Baylor ... seems to be of opinion that the Enemy will not be able to make any extraordinary effort this next summer."

#### "Return of Inspection of the Virginia Division Commanded by Majr. Genl. Lord Stirling," October 13, 1779.

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

S imilar to a muster roll, a return of inspection accounted for the soldiers and supplies available to an army unit. This return for the Virginia Division—assigned to the self-

styled aristocrat Gen. William Alexander, Lord Stirling, while campaigning in New Jersey in the fall of 1779documents 6,747 men. The second table of the return records equipment and supplies carried by the division's troops, as well as notes of the condition of goods such as weapons and



clothing. Lt. Col. Samuel J. Cabell, whose signature appears in the lower right, sent a copy of this or a similar return to Governor Thomas Jefferson, who used the numbers "to see what proportion of the Continental army is contributed by" Virginia.<sup>9</sup>

#### Anthony Wayne to James Jackson, April 24, 1781.

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

In early 1781, George Washington ordered regiments of the Virginia Line south under the command of Anthony Wayne, a daring and sometimes impetuous general from Pennsylvania. Wayne's army struggled through Virginia in the spring, lacking clothes and rations. "The Virginians have marched upwards of three hundred miles barefoot in which situation they still continue," Wayne complained to Georgia colonel James Jackson, who led the general's advance corps. After lingering in the state through the joint American-French victory at Yorktown in October 1781, Wayne and the Virginia Continentals continued south to confront the few remaining British strongholds in South Carolina and Georgia.

### YORKTOWN

n the late summer of 1781, George Washington and a combined American-French army marched south to Virginia to confront British general Charles, Lord Cornwallis, and his forces in an effort to force their surrender and bring the war to an end. Cornwallis and his army occupied Yorktown in August, planning to rest and resupply before continuing the conquest of Virginia. Although it made a convenient port, Yorktown was located on a narrow peninsula between the James and York rivers that offered Cornwallis little hope of escaping by land. A small army under the command of the marquis de Lafayette managed to contain the British army on the peninsula, while a French fleet under Admiral de Grasse trapped the British from the sea. As the American-French army rushed south to close the trap, Cornwallis waited for assistance that never came.

The arrival of more than ten thousand allied troops put an enormous strain on the resources and government of Virginia, which was entirely unprepared for the challenge. Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr., who was also commander in chief of the state's military, spent more time with the gathering troops than he did the Council in Richmond, leaving only a "shadow of an Executive."<sup>10</sup> State officials and generals of the Continental and French forces bickered over who had the authority to enlist soldiers and purchase food and supplies for the army. Despite these logistical problems, Washington deemed the preparations sufficient in late September and gave the order to attack the British lines. After nearly three weeks of siege operations, which included artillery bombardments and infantry advancements, the British raised the white flag on October 17. Cornwallis formally surrendered two days later.

#### Washington et Rochambeau donnant les derniers orders pour l'attaque d'Yorck-Town engraved by Felix Massard after Louis Charles-Auguste Couder (French, 1790–1873), ca. 1840.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Benjamin Lincoln, Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1982

#### Plan of the Investment of York & Gloucester by the Allied Armies in Septr. & Octr. 1781. Trenton, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1785.

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

**F**rance agreed to a formal Treaty of Alliance with the United States in May 1778, but had been reluctant to send its own soldiers and sailors until two years later. In July 1780, nearly six thousand French troops under the command of Lt. Gen. Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, arrived in America with orders to subordinate themselves to George Washington. French artist Louis Charles-Auguste Couder emphasized the close relationship between Washington and Rochambeau in an oil painting, from which this engraving was made. Rochambeau stands with Washington behind the siege lines, directing the French troops into action. The French infantry units took the left side of the allied lines with the Americans on the right, as depicted in this colorful map. The plan also locates Washington's and Rochambeau's headquarters below "The Field where the British laid down their Arms."

Thomas Nelson, Jr., to Lewis Burwell, September 30, 1781.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Alexander Ferguson Anderson, 1966

The day that Governor Nelson wrote this letter to Virginia militia colonel Lewis Burwell from "Camp before York," the American and French troops had begun constructing approach works from which to attack the British lines, while enemy artillery fire attempted to disrupt them. Having already summoned Burwell's troops to Yorktown, Nelson advised him on the "most Expeditious Route to Gloucester camp," where weapons were available for the colonel's men. The governor urged Burwell to "be as Expeditious as possible in Joining General Weedon, as it is not improbable that the Enemy, induced by his present weakness, may make a push at him." Continental Army general George Weedon and his 1,500 Virginia militia soldiers stationed on Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown, struggled to contain the British troops fortifying the point.

# Thomas Posey (1750–1818) by James Peale (American, 1749–1831), 1795. Watercolor on ivory and gold.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Addison Cecil Posey, 1982

Thomas Posey, an adventurous and dashing orphan who moved from his native Fairfax County to western Virginia at the age of nineteen, sought a military career at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. During his eight years of service in the Continental Army, he marched in Daniel Morgan's legendary Virginia rifle corps, spent a winter at Valley Forge, and fought in battles at Saratoga, Monmouth Court House, and Stony Point. At the siege of Yorktown, he led a Virginia regiment in the marquis de Lafayette's division. In the journal he carried throughout the war, Posey listed the British forces he witnessed surrender at Saratoga and Yorktown, noting he "had the happiness to see the two foregoing armies, Burgoins & Cornwallaces, defeated and lay down their arms."<sup>11</sup>

When James Peale painted this miniature portrait, Posey had recently moved to Kentucky after a year of service as a brigadier general in Anthony Wayne's campaign against a confederation of Indians in the Northwest Territory. The Virginian went on to political prominence in the early nineteenth century as lieutenant governor of Kentucky, United States senator from Louisiana, and governor of the Indiana Territory.



### The Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia

The Society of the Cincinnati, considered the nation's oldest patriotic organization, was organized by Massachusetts general Henry Knox and other senior officers of the Continental Army encamped along the Hudson River in New York in May 1783. While awaiting the end of war and anticipating the dissolution of the army, the officers formed the Society to promote the ideals of American independence for which they had fought, preserve the union of states that resulted, and foster fellowship among the soldiers who had served together through eight years of war. The veterans' organization took its name from Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, an ancient Roman citizen-soldier. More than 2,200 officers of the Continental Army and Navy became original members of the Society in its fourteen constituent societies—one in each of the thirteen states and France.

On October 6, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia became the tenth constituent society to organize. Meeting for the next three days at the Town House tavern in Fredericksburg, slightly more than one hundred veterans of the Virginia Continental Line approved the Society's founding document, the Institution, and committed themselves to its "Immutable Principles" by signing their names to a copy of it.<sup>12</sup> Membership in the Society also required dues of one month's pay at the officers' former army rank. More than three hundred veterans of the Virginia Line ultimately became original members of the state branch, making it the second largest constituent society after Massachusetts.

Beginning in November 1786, the Virginia Society moved its annual meetings to Richmond, where the group gathered in taverns or the Hall of Delegates in the State Capitol. Attendance at meetings began to dwindle due in part to members scattered across a large geographic area, difficulty traveling, and economic hardships. This lack of interest caused the Virginia Society to disband in 1824. The group voted to transfer its remaining treasury, totaling approximately \$25,000, to Washington College in Lexington, Virginia (now Washington and Lee University). Descendents of the Virginia Society's founding members succeeded in reviving the dormant society in 1896.

## George Weedon to George Washington, December 12, 1783.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives

Two months after the Virginia Society's founding, president pro temp George Weedon transmitted to George Washington the printed proceedings of the group's first meeting, which, Weedon wrote, "I have never been able to procure ... till lately." The proceedings documented the Virginia Society's election of officers on October 9: Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, president; Maj. Gen. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, vice president; Lt. Col. Oliver Towles, secretary; Lt. Col. Edward Carrington, treasurer; and Capt. Henry Young, assistant treasurer. The group also nominated five honorary members—men who "have manifested Throughout the whole course of the contest the most unshaken patriotism and an uniform and unequivocal attachment to the great cause of this Country," including politician Edmund Randolph—but it is uncertain if a vote to approve the nominations ever took place.<sup>13</sup>

### Society of the Cincinnati Eagle of Oliver Towles. Made by Duval and Francastel, Paris, 1784. Gold and enamel.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Mrs. Marion Towles Beckwith, 1987

#### Society of the Cincinnati Eagle of Richard Clough Anderson. Made by Jeremiah Andrews, Philadelphia, ca. 1790. Gold and enamel.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Isabel Anderson, 1938

The Society of the Cincinnati's insignia, designed by French artist and engineer Pierre L'Enfant and adopted by the Society in June 1783, took the form of a double-sided badge in the shape of an eagle. On both sides of the eagle's chest appear oval medallions with scenes of Cincinnatus, depicting the hero



accepting a sword from Roman senators and returning triumphant to his plow. The badge, commonly called the Eagle, is suspended from a blue-and-white ribbon, representing the French-American alliance that had helped secure American independence.

L'Enfant chose a French firm, Duval and Francastel, to translate his design into the first gold Eagles. Oliver Towles purchased one of the more than two hundred Eagles made in Paris during the first half of 1784. His Eagle, with its medallions missing, reveals how these badges were constructed with the body and medallions cast separately, then assembled and decorated by hand. Only six months after L'Enfant arrived in America with the French Eagles, Philadelphia goldsmith Jeremiah Andrews began producing his own version of the insignia in December 1784. Its distinctly different form features broad, square wings with a more pronounced beak and larger, more elaborate medallions. He advertised and sold them to members as far south as Savannah, Georgia, including Virginia Society member Richard Clough Anderson. Andrews, the first American jeweler to manufacture the Society Eagle, did so until about 1791.

## Society of the Cincinnati membership certificate of William Brown Wallace, March 1, 1787.

Lent by Branch Price Kerfoot, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1956

A t the same time that Pierre L'Enfant was in Paris directing the manufacture of Eagles, he had another of his sketches for an emblem of Society membership—a certificate known as the diploma—engraved onto a copper plate for use in printing parchment certificates. L'Enfant's drawing, which was altered slightly for the engraving



process, assembled patriotic symbols to commemorate the achievement of American independence. On the left, an American eagle shoots lightning bolts at a cowering British lion and the female figure of Britannia, with a soldier representing American liberty standing nearby. The French fleet sails to the Americans' aid in the center, while the angel Fame trumpets their victory on the right. The Eagle of the Society radiates above the scene. Henry Knox, the Society's first secretary general, called L'Enfant's work on the diploma "a noble effort of genius."<sup>14</sup>

The first Society diplomas were printed in late 1784 after a Philadelphia engraver added the text to the center of the plate. Blank copies were signed by President General George Washington and Secretary General Henry Knox, before being sent to the constituent societies to be inscribed to individual members. This diploma attests to the membership of William Brown Wallace and bears a curiosity of the Virginia Society. The group resolved in April 1787 that all diplomas issued by that society would from then on be dated March 1, 1787—a suggestion made by Virginia Society president George Weedon, who thought "that their dates ought to correspond."<sup>15</sup>

#### "Application from R. C. Anderson & others for establishing a Society of the Cincinnati in Kentucky," April 14, 1808.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives

**B** y the turn of the nineteenth century, dozens of members of the Virginia Society had moved west to Kentucky. They seldom traveled to Richmond for Society meetings, especially after the Virginia Society resolved to send notices of meetings only to members living in the state. In 1808, five Virginia Society members appealed to the "Officers and Members of the General Society of the Cincinnati" to establish a state society in Kentucky. In addition to Richard Clough Anderson, the letter was signed by his fellow Kentucky residents William Croghan, Abraham Hill, Robert Breckinridge, and George Gray.

They applied on behalf of "Several original members, and a more considerable number of those who have been admitted by right of succession are residents in this Country, and all appear solicitous to have a branch of the Society established in this state." Their request continued: "There are also, here, many worthy sons of our deceased brothers who by this means would be enabled to wear the honorable order of their fathers." The only reply that the men received was from William Jackson, the Society's secretary general, who was sympathetic to the request but did not have the authority to approve it. He forwarded it to President General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, but there is no evidence of additional comments or action on the matter. Despite a resolution passed at the Society's 1829 triennial meeting "that the member residing in any State not having a State Society of the Cincinnati, may form themselves into such State Society," no constituent societies other than the original fourteen were ever established.16

### George Washington: The American Cincinnatus

n naming the Society of the Cincinnati after Cincinnatus, its founders lauded the service of all American soldiers L who put aside their civilian lives to fight for their country's independence. In the fifth century BC, Cincinnatus was called from his plow by Roman senators to defend his nation from foreign invaders, then relinquished his titles and arms to return to his farm following victory. To many, Washington was the Roman's modern-day counterpart. He led American troops in defense of their liberties against Great Britain, then resigned his commission and settled into domestic life at his Virginia plantation. Washington's officers, and particularly those men who became original Society members, closely identified with this citizen-soldier ideal. The willingness of these officers to abandon their swords and support the subordination of military power to civilian rule also helped define the new American republic.

Washington was the most famous Virginian of his day in the Society as well as the nation. As the commander in chief of the Continental Army, he was the only veteran officer considered a member at large of the international Society of the Cincinnati. He signed the Society's Institution at Newburgh, New York, in May 1783, but did not add his signature to any of the parchment rolls of the constituent societies. Even so, his collateral descendents in the Society have long been claimed by the Virginia Society. Washington was elected the Society's first president general at a small meeting in Newburgh on June 19, 1783. He was frequently engaged in Society business in its earliest years, encouraging states to organize branches and arguing for revisions to the Institution. Washington presided over the Society's first general meeting in 1784, and his former officers continually reelected him president general until his death in 1799.

# Wine glass. Made in England, early 18th century. Blown glass.

On loan from William Innes Forbes III, M.D., Ph.D., Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia

**B** orn in 1732 on his father's plantation on Pope's Creek in Westmoreland County, Virginia, George Washington was the oldest of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington's six children. The future commander in chief was christened on April 5, 1732, at the home of his aunt and godmother Mildred Washington Gregory. Family tradition maintains that Augustine Washington used this wine glass to toast his newborn son at the christening. Nineteenth-century sources document that George Washington drank from the same glass during a dinner

with his mother in Fredericksburg shortly following the victory at Yorktown in October 1781.<sup>17</sup>



#### Commemorative medal. Made in Paris, 1778. Bronze.

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

The first medal struck in George Washington's honor was produced in France in the midst of the Revolutionary War. A collaboration of Benjamin Franklin and the French philosopher Voltaire, the medal bears on its obverse a profile portrait of Washington. As no true likenesses of the general existed in France at the time, the image on the medal is thought to depict Voltaire or British humanitarian Jeremy Bentham instead. The medal's reverse displays military symbols, including cannon, cannonballs and a drum, and a Latin inscription meaning, "Washington combines in a single union the talents of a warrior and the virtues of a philosopher."

# Inkstand. Probably made in England, 18th century. Wood and metal.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Brooke Alexander, Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Virginia, 1991

eorge Washington resigned his commission as commander in chief before Congress assembled in Annapolis in December 1783, after which he retired to Mount Vernon to pursue a planter's life. From his desk in Virginia, Washington wrote hundreds of letters to his former soldiers and fellow Society members, among them Horatio Gates, Nathanael Greene, and the marquis de Lafayette. This inkstand is said to have been among his desk accessories. The top surface would have held two bottles for ink and sand (sprinkled on letters to dry the ink) along with quill pens, while paper was stored in the drawer below. The two holes drilled in the surface would have originally held a metal handle for ease of carrying, although the inkstand was not intended for travel. Chief Justice John Marshall acquired the inkstand from the Washington family, perhaps as he was writing his Life of George Washington (published between 1804 and 1807).

# Society of the Cincinnati dinner plate. Made in Jingdezhen, China, ca. 1785. Porcelain and enamel.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Mrs. A. D. Pollock Gilmour and Miss Lilias Janney, 1963

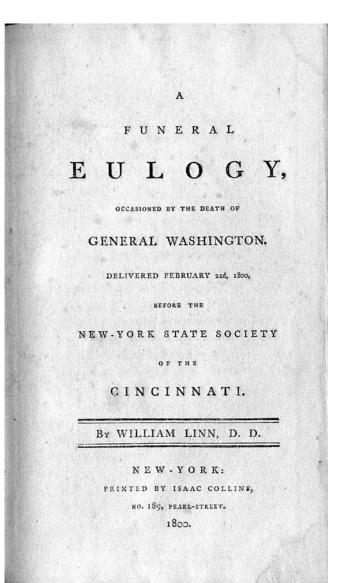
n 1786 George Washington purchased a set of stylish L porcelain dinnerware bearing the Society Eagle, made in China for export to America. Its design was largely created by Capt. Samuel Shaw, a merchant and original member of the Massachusetts branch of the Society. Shaw sailed to Canton in 1784 to oversee production of several hundred pieces of Society china. He intended the porcelain to feature a military figure of "the American Cincinnatus" representing the Society's citizen-soldiers, along with the Society Eagle and the allegorical figure of Fame, but Shaw struggled to find artists he deemed capable of executing his idea.<sup>18</sup> He ultimately simplified the design to include Fame trumpeting the American victory while carrying the Eagle suspended from a ribbon. For the work, Chinese artists referenced Pierre L'Enfant's watercolor drawing of the Eagle and an engraved image of Fame, both in Shaw's possession. The first pieces of Society porcelain arrived in New York aboard the Empress of China in 1785. This dinner plate was on that ship, part of a 302-piece set that Washington sought for use at Mount Vernon. He purchased the porcelains for \$150 in the summer of 1786 through his fellow Virginian Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee.

A Funeral Eulogy, Occasioned by the Death of General Washington by William Linn. New-York: Printed by Isaac Collins, 1800.

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

When their president general and former commander in chief died on December 14, 1799, Society members mourned with processions, black armbands or ribbon, and funeral orations. Three constituent societies organized public orations, most held on February 22, 1800, which would have been George Washington's sixty-eighth birthday. The talks frequently referenced Cincinnatus. With printed copies sold throughout the nation, their words reminded American mourners of the sacrifices of the Revolutionary War generation and the significance of the citizen-soldier ideal that Washington embodied.

Reverend William Linn gave one of these orations at the request of the New York Society, which elected him an honorary member in recognition of his stirring speech. Linn targeted the oration to his audience of Society members: "As General Washington, like Cincinnatus, left his retirement and the pursuits of agriculture merely for the service of his country, so when his work was finished, he returned with the most heart-felt satisfaction." The dedication in the printed version proclaims: "He was your Leader in war, and the President of your General Society. The only objection to your claim of chief mourners is, that none can be chief where all our citizens so deeply lament."



# Mantel clock. Made by Jean-Baptiste DuBuc (French, b. 1743), Paris, ca. 1800–1810. Gilt brass and enamel.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of David Gordon Sutton, Frank Taylor Sutton III, and Frank Taylor Sutton IV, 2001

G eorge Washington's death inspired artists and craftsmen in America, France, and Great Britain to produce commemorative ceramics, medals, textiles, and other objects memorializing the first president. This Neoclassical mantel clock, designed for the American market, features a standing figure of Washington in military uniform. The French clock's maker modeled the image of Washington after John Trumbull's 1792 portrait of the general before the battlefield at Trenton. The scroll held in Washington's right hand may allude to his resignation of his commission, an act comparable to Cincinnatus putting down his sword and returning to his plow.



### **END NOTES**

<sup>1</sup> William Wirt, Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1818), 123.

<sup>2</sup> Virginia Gazette (Dixon and Hunter), July 29, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> Brent Tarter, ed., *Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence*, vol. 7, part 2 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 733.

<sup>4</sup> George Washington to Henry Lee, January 20, 1793, in *The Papers of George Washington*, *Presidential Series*, ed. Philander D. Chase, vol. 12 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 30-31.

<sup>5</sup> William Woodford to the Virginia Convention, December 10, 1775, in "The Letters of Col. William Woodford, Col. Robert Howe and Gen. Charles Lee to Edmund Pendleton," *Richmond College Historical Papers* 1, no. 1 (1915): 120.

<sup>6</sup> William Brown Wallace to Michael Wallace, October 23, 1777, in A Salute to Courage: The American Revolution as Seen Through Wartime Writings of Officers of the Continental Army and Navy, ed. Dennis P. Ryan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 106-107.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret Rives King, A Memento of Ancestors and Ancestral Homes (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1890).

<sup>8</sup> Lillian B. Miller, ed., The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family, vol. 1 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1983), 301.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Jefferson to George Washington, November 28, 1779, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 3 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), 204.

<sup>10</sup> David Jameson to Thomas Nelson, Jr., September 17, 1781, in *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts*, ed. William P. Palmer, vol. 2, rev. ed. (Richmond: 1881; repr., New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1968), 448.

<sup>11</sup> John Thornton Posey, "We began to appear very formidable': Thomas Posey's Revolutionary War Journal, 1776–1777," *Virginia Cavalcade* 44, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 159.

<sup>12</sup> The Virginia Society's Institution is in the collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

<sup>13</sup> Proceedings of the Virginia State Society of the Cincinnati From the 6th of October, 1783, to the Disbanding of the Society on October 13th, 1824 (Richmond, Va.: Wm. Ellis Jones, 1896), 6.

<sup>14</sup> Henry Knox to George Washington, October 16, 1783, The Society of the Cincinnati Archives.

<sup>15</sup> George Weedon to Theodorick Bland, February 28, 1787, The Society of the Cincinnati.

<sup>16</sup> Proceedings of The General Society of the Cincinnati, 1784–1884 (Philadelphia: Review Printing House, 1887), 83.

<sup>17</sup> Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association at the Annual Meeting, June 23, 1875 (Boston: Bunker Hill Monument Association, 1875), 102.

<sup>18</sup> Josiah Quincy, ed., *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (Boston: William Crosby, 1847), 198.

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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.

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