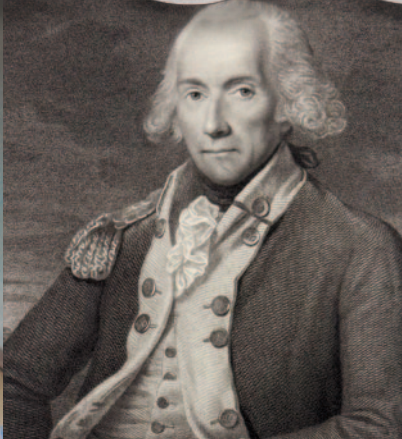
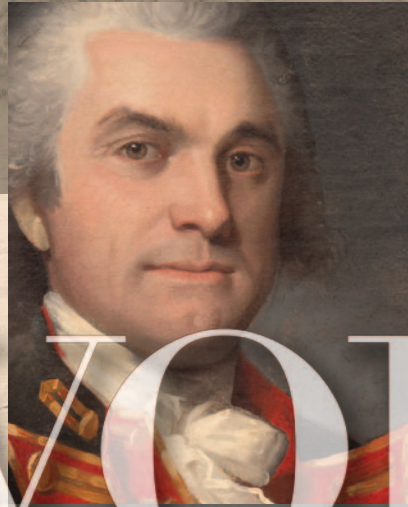
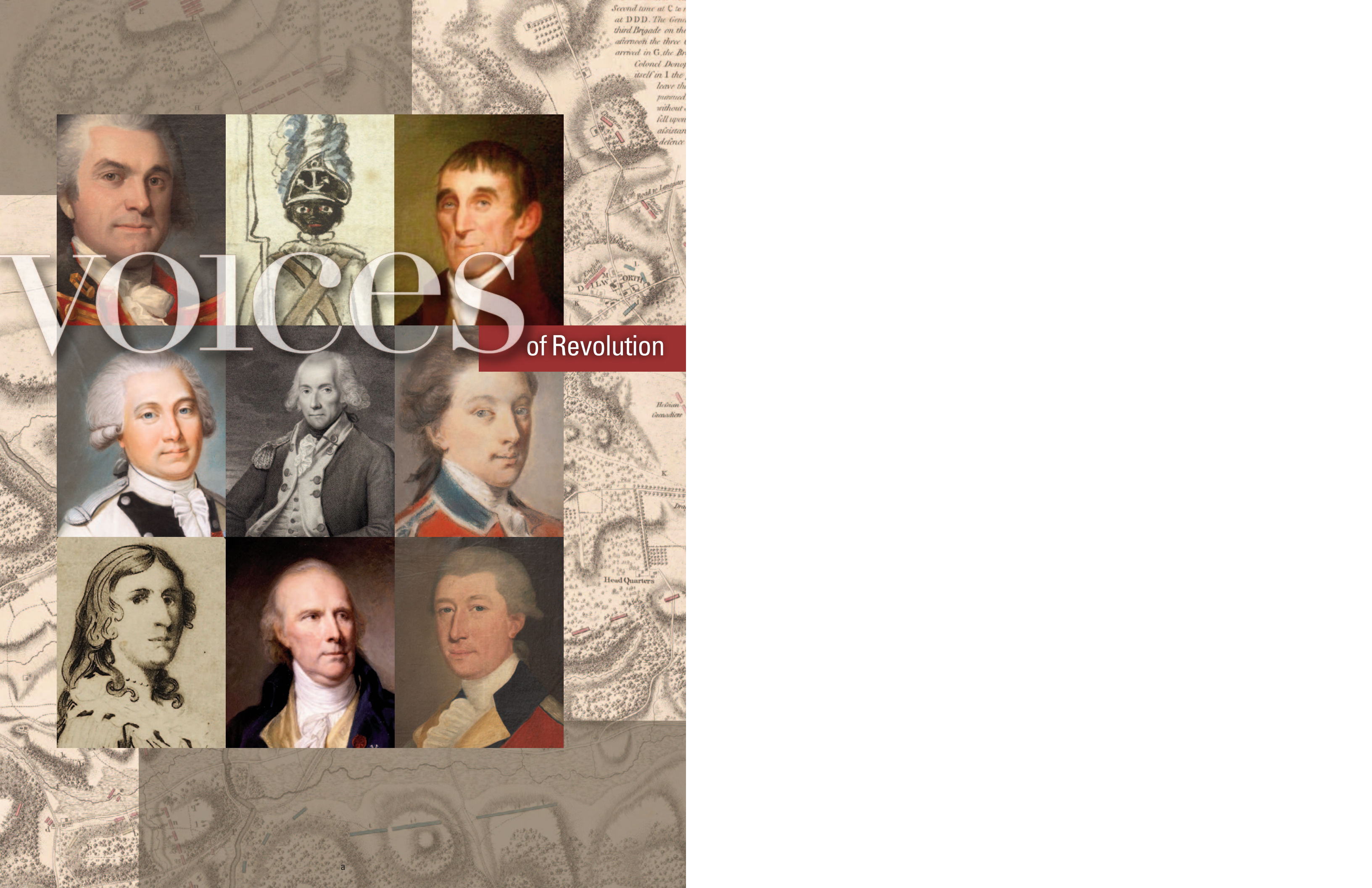


# VOICES

of Revolution



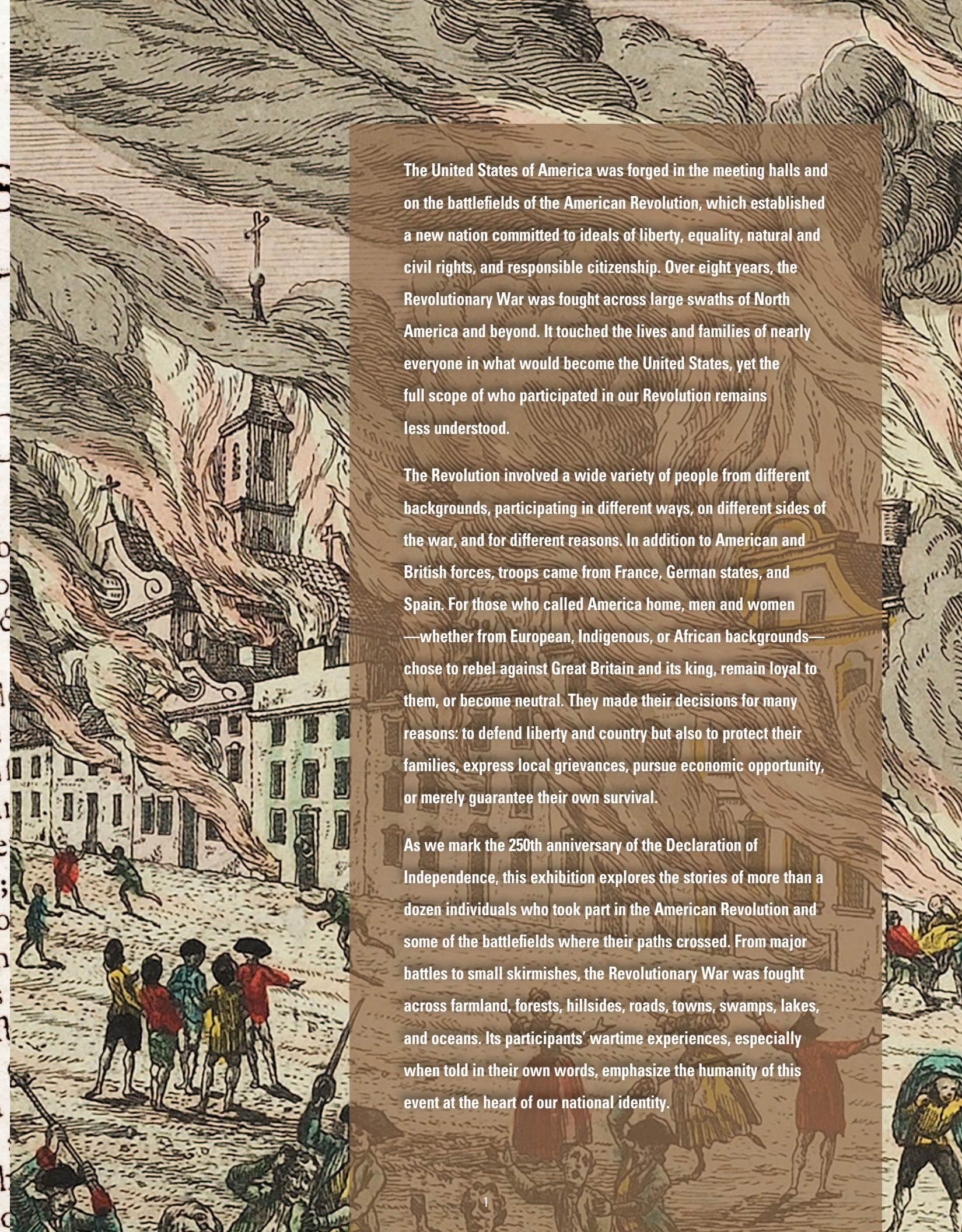
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# DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of Nature's God, a decent Respect to the Separation.

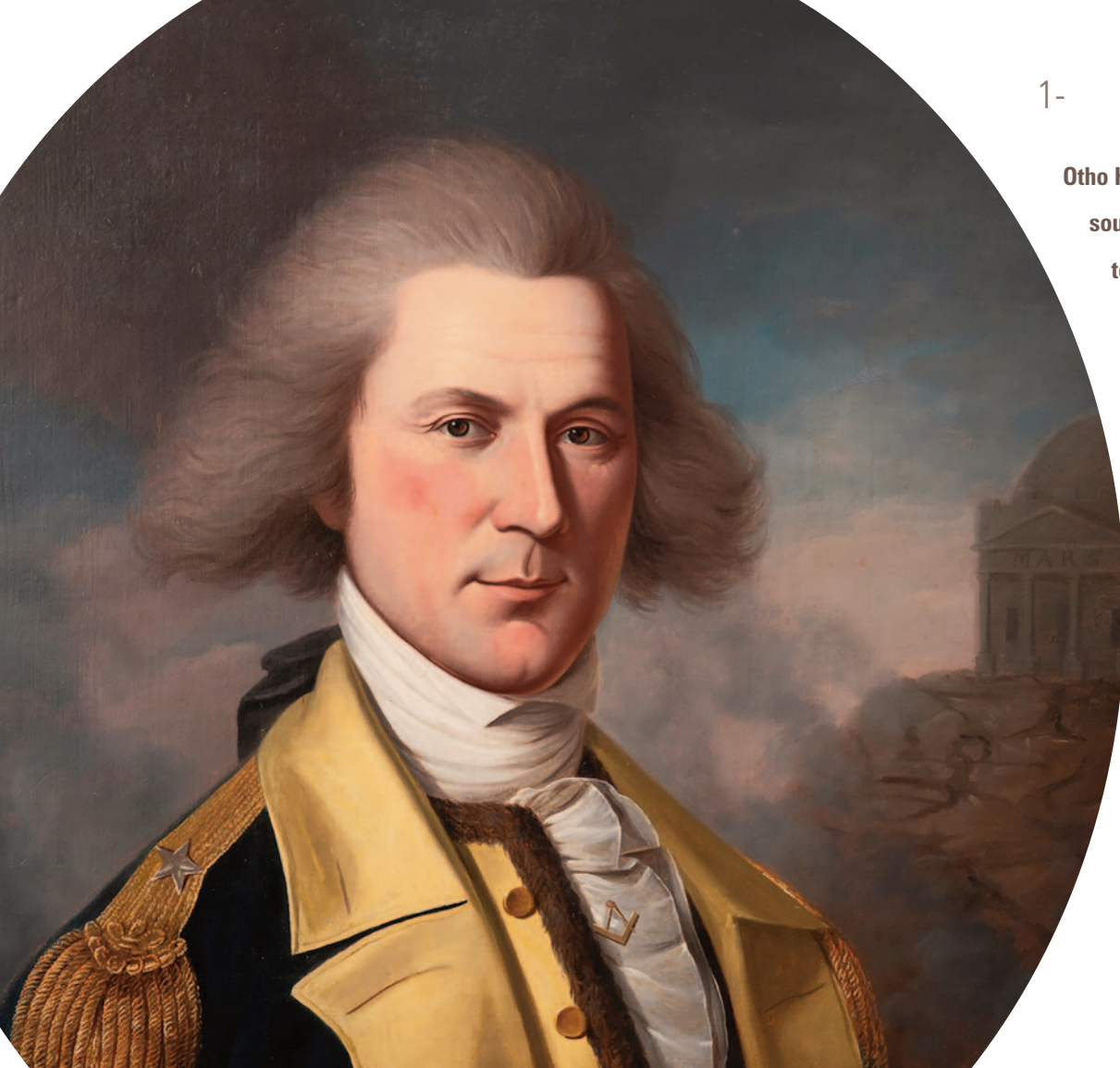
We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that among these are unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to promote their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and that Reformations in them should be effected by a Peaceable and Bloodless Revolution, if the Malice of the Rulers will permit. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, which have assumed a Character of Consequence, evinces a Design to reduce them to absolute Tyranny, it is their Duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the Patient Sufferance of these United States, and now it is their Duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the Patient Sufferance of these United States, and now it is their Duty to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security.



The United States of America was forged in the meeting halls and on the battlefields of the American Revolution, which established a new nation committed to ideals of liberty, equality, natural and civil rights, and responsible citizenship. Over eight years, the Revolutionary War was fought across large swaths of North America and beyond. It touched the lives and families of nearly everyone in what would become the United States, yet the full scope of who participated in our Revolution remains less understood.

The Revolution involved a wide variety of people from different backgrounds, participating in different ways, on different sides of the war, and for different reasons. In addition to American and British forces, troops came from France, German states, and Spain. For those who called America home, men and women—whether from European, Indigenous, or African backgrounds—chose to rebel against Great Britain and its king, remain loyal to them, or become neutral. They made their decisions for many reasons: to defend liberty and country but also to protect their families, express local grievances, pursue economic opportunity, or merely guarantee their own survival.

As we mark the 250th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, this exhibition explores the stories of more than a dozen individuals who took part in the American Revolution and some of the battlefields where their paths crossed. From major battles to small skirmishes, the Revolutionary War was fought across farmland, forests, hillsides, roads, towns, swamps, lakes, and oceans. Its participants' wartime experiences, especially when told in their own words, emphasize the humanity of this event at the heart of our national identity.



1-  
**Otho Holland Williams left the southern army in February 1782 to return home. Congress promoted him to brigadier general in May on the recommendation of Gen. Nathanael Greene. Shortly after, Williams commissioned this portrait, which depicts him wearing the blue-and-buff uniform of a Continental Army general, along with a gold Masonic pin.**

## *Otho Holland Williams and the Southern Campaign*

More than 250,000 American revolutionaries fought for independence during the Revolutionary War. As many as ninety thousand of them served in the Continental Army, authorized by Congress and led by General George Washington. One of Maryland's Continental Army officers was Otho Holland Williams, a shopkeeper in western Maryland when the war began. He embraced the cause for independence and joined a rifle company in 1775. The next year, he was wounded and captured during the Battle of Fort Mifflin on Manhattan Island. Upon his exchange after two years in captivity, Williams took command of the Sixth Maryland Regiment as its colonel and was later appointed deputy adjutant general of the southern army.

During the southern campaign, Williams commanded Maryland soldiers in battle while managing the administration of the southern army. When Williams and the Maryland Line marched south in spring 1780, the British had already captured Savannah and Charleston and continued their campaign to subdue the entire South. The American revolutionaries hoped to reverse the enemy's successes and marched against Camden, a British supply depot in the South Carolina backcountry, but suffered a disastrous defeat—which would have been even worse if not for the Marylanders' rearguard action during the American retreat. In 1781 the southern army enjoyed more success, defeating British forces at Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, and claiming victory at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina. Eutaw Springs, the last major battle in the South, was an unusually brutal fight, with Williams and the Marylanders at the center of the action.

After the war, Williams became collector of the port of Baltimore but struggled with declining health. In 1794, at the age of forty-six, he died from a pulmonary disease, probably resulting from his imprisonment during the war.

**Otho Holland Williams blamed the defeat at the Battle of Camden, in part, on the failure of the militia to stand their ground. As one of the few officers on Gen. Horatio Gates's staff to remain on the field after the militia fled, Williams tried to rally the remaining Continentals. "A tremendous fire of musketry was, for some time, kept up on both sides, with equal perseverance and obstinacy," until a charge of British dragoons and infantrymen with fixed bayonets won the day for the Crown. The American revolutionaries fled north to Hillsborough, North Carolina, where this muster roll of Maryland troops was made three months later.**

"The water in our canteens had been exhausted early in the battle. The day was extremely sultry, and the cry for water was universal."

Col. Col. Otho Holland Williams of the Maryland Brigade at the Battle of Eutaw Springs

2-

*Return of Inspection of the Maryland Division of Troops in Service of the United States.*

Oct. 31st 1780.	Field.		Commissioned.		Staff.		Non-commissioned.		Artillery.		Ammunition.		Munitions.		Stores.		Total.		
	Colonels.	Lieut. Colonels.	Major Generals.	Brigadier Generals.	Adjutants.	Quartermasters.	Surgeons.	Drummers.	Trumpeters.	Artillery.	Small Arms.	Heavy Arms.	Small Arms.	Heavy Arms.	Small Arms.	Heavy Arms.	Small Arms.	Heavy Arms.	
Present fit for duty	1	3	3	15	2	35	13	6	4	4	5	4	7	6	4	120	12	1350	1405
Such absent	2	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	68	36	39
On Parole	2	2	15	20	3	1	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	2	95	20
On Detachment	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	16	725	679
On Leave	1	1	3	3	3	3	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5	19	3	2
Missing	1	1	5	6	39	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	27	17	1105
Establishment	5	7	14	56	65	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	120	12	1350	1405
<i>Musters since last Return.</i>																			

1. *Otho Holland Williams*  
 By Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827)  
 ca. 1782-1784  
 Oil on canvas  
 On loan from the Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland

2. "Muster roll of the late seventh Maryland Regiment, now the fourth company in the first battalion of Colonel Williams Regiment of Infantry serving in the Southern Army of the United States for the month of October, 1780"  
 November 10, 1780  
 The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

# Mordecai Sheftall and the Capture of Savannah

American revolutionaries came from a variety of religious backgrounds. A small but active number of them were Jewish, particularly from cities like Philadelphia and Savannah. The highest-ranking Jewish officer in the Continental Army was Mordecai Sheftall. A Savannah native, Sheftall prospered before the war as a merchant and land speculator. The taxes imposed by Parliament's Sugar and Tea acts in the 1760s pushed him towards revolution. In 1777 Sheftall became commissary general to the Continental troops in Georgia, later receiving a commission as colonel. He was responsible for purchasing and distributing food and related supplies to the army—which he funded using his personal fortune when the government did not have money for the commissary department.

Sheftall fought in his first and only battle in December 1778, when the British attacked Savannah—the first target in a campaign to subdue the southern colonies. On December 29, the British landed near Brewton Hill, a high bluff just outside Savannah, and advanced into the city. A small force of less than a thousand Continental troops and militia men defended Savannah. Although not part of a combat unit, Mordecai Sheftall fought to defend his hometown. Under heavy enemy fire, Mordecai and his sixteen-year-old son Sheftall Sheftall retreated to Musgrove Creek, where other revolutionaries escaped. But Sheftall Sheftall could not swim, and Mordecai would not leave his son, so both were captured as the British took Savannah.

Mordecai and Sheftall remained prisoners until mid-1780. After Mordecai's release, he relocated to Philadelphia, where he purchased a privateering vessel. He returned to Savannah shortly after the war to reestablish his business and family but was never repaid for the money he spent feeding Georgia's troops.

**For the first three months of their captivity, Mordecai Sheftall and his son Sheftall Sheftall were kept on the British prison ship *Nancy* in miserable conditions. On January 30, 1779, fellow prisoner the Reverend Moses Allen recorded in his diary: "A Bit of pork for dinner. The Jews Mr. Sheftall & son refused to eat their pieces, & their knives & forks were ordered to be greased with it." Years later, Mordecai Sheftall recalled their treatment on the *Nancy*: "Humanity must shudder at the thought of what immediately presented itself to our view." The Sheftalls were transferred to Sunbury, Georgia, in April 1779, shipped to Antigua that fall, and finally paroled in 1780, arriving in Philadelphia by December.**

3. Diary of the Reverend Moses Allen  
December 29, 1778-January 31, 1779  
Private Collection of a Sheftall Descendant

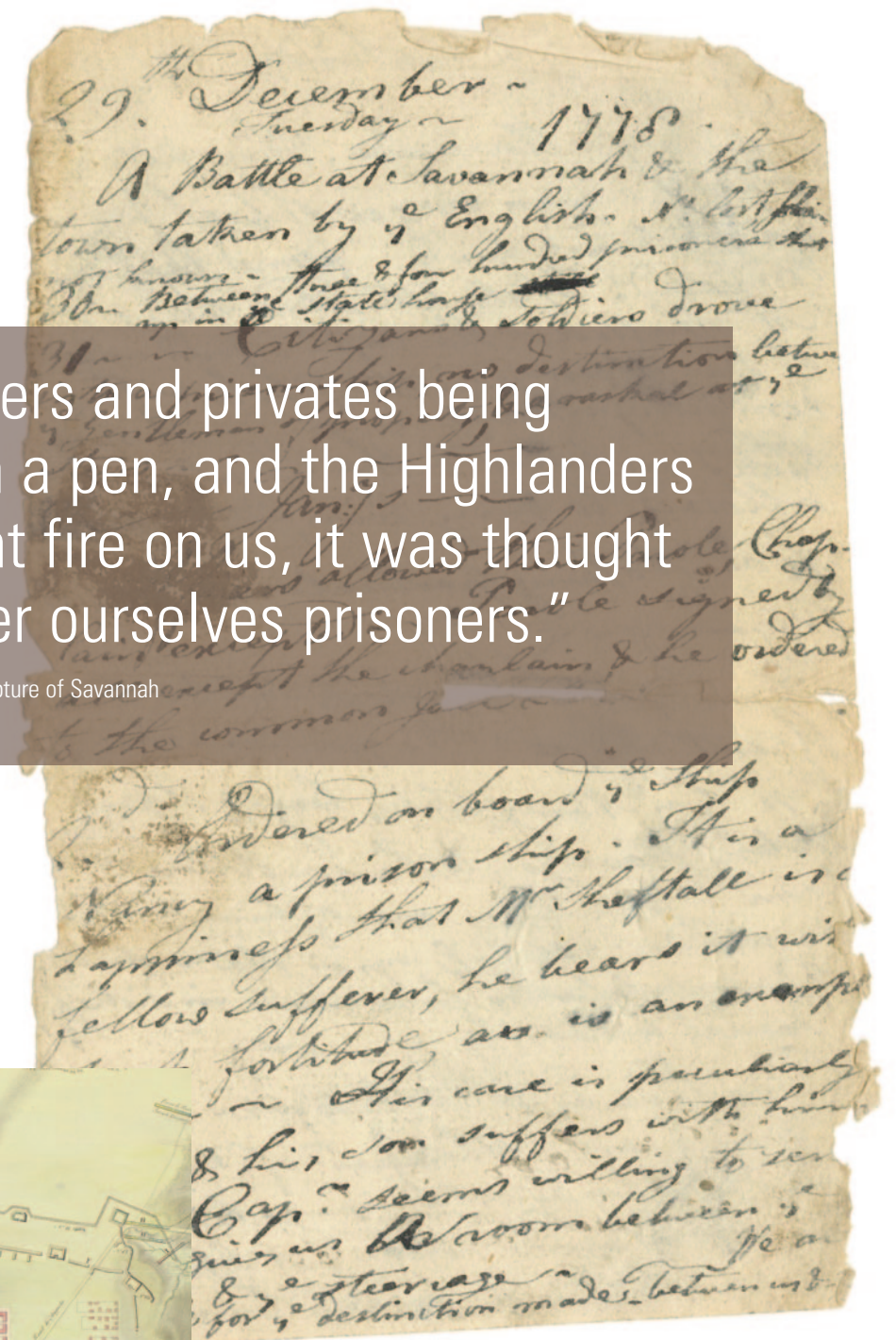
4. Detail of "Plan of the Town of Savannah, With the works constructed for its Defence," from a survey by John Wilson, [1779]  
William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

5. Mordecai Sheftall to Capt. Joseph McLellan  
February 24, 1790  
Private Collection of a Sheftall Descendant

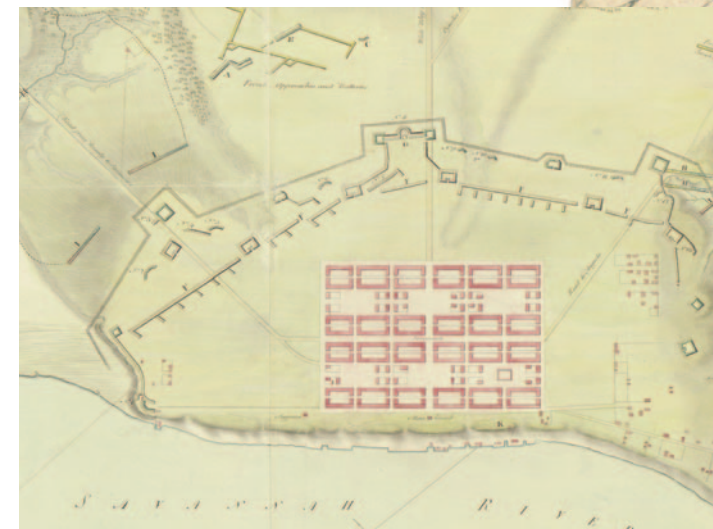
3-

"With about 186 officers and privates being caught, as it were, in a pen, and the Highlanders keeping up a constant fire on us, it was thought advisable to surrender ourselves prisoners."

Col. Mordecai Sheftall of the Continental Army at the capture of Savannah



4-



5-

6-



7-



## First Rhode Island Regiment and the Battle of Rhode Island

The armies of the Revolutionary War included Black soldiers from the first days of the conflict. The American revolutionary forces were initially integrated. For free Blacks—who were among the poorest in American society—military service promised steady pay and cash bounties and offered hope for improving their quality of life and position in their communities. Enslaved Black men were often forced into military service as substitutes for white men. In the Continental Army, Black soldiers became laborers as well as armed combatants, working to dig trenches, drive wagons, and prepare food.

In 1778, enslaved men in Rhode Island had the opportunity for a different outcome. That February, the Rhode Island General Assembly passed the Slave Enlistment Act, allowing enslaved men to enlist in the army in exchange for their freedom. Those who enlisted under the act joined the First Rhode Island Regiment, which became a segregated unit, with free and formerly enslaved men of color led by white officers. Commanded by Col. Christopher Greene, the First Rhode Island saw its first action at the Battle of Rhode Island. Later in the war, as part of the consolidated Rhode Island Regiment, the men fought against Loyalist units in New York and Connecticut and at the Siege of Yorktown.

The Battle of Rhode Island, fought on August 29, 1778, was the first major joint operation of American and French forces of the war. Their goal was to drive British troops from Newport, a key naval base. After the French fleet was damaged in a storm and abandoned the campaign, the Continentals and local militia attempted to hold their positions in the face of attacking British and German infantry and artillery. The First Rhode Island Regiment held their ground in the fierce fighting on Quaker Hill just north of town, helping to allow the eventual American retreat.

The men who enlisted in the army under the Slave Enlistment Act joined the First Rhode Island Regiment, which became a segregated unit as a result of the act. This muster roll for a company of the First Rhode Island records the names of thirty-five enlisted men on the eve of the Battle of Rhode Island. One of them, Sharper Gardner of South Kingstown, Rhode Island, enlisted on February 27, 1778. The son of an enslaved Black man and Narragansett woman, he deserted the regiment in 1781, was captured and pardoned the next year, and was finally discharged in June 1783.

Muster Roll of Capt. Jn. S. Dexter's Co. in the 1st Battalion of Rhode Island Troops in the Service of the United States  
 Commanded by Capt. Jn. S. Dexter  
 August 1, 1778

No.	Name	Rank	Age	Color	Place of Birth	Enlisted	Discharged
1	Amos Smith	Soldier	25	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
2	John Smith	Soldier	22	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
3	John Smith	Soldier	20	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
4	John Smith	Soldier	18	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
5	John Smith	Soldier	16	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
6	John Smith	Soldier	14	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
7	John Smith	Soldier	12	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
8	John Smith	Soldier	10	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
9	John Smith	Soldier	8	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783
10	John Smith	Soldier	6	Black	South Kingstown	Feb 27 1778	June 1 1783

6. Detail of a Rhode Island Regiment soldier from "Soldiers in Uniform" by Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, 1781  
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University

7. *The Siege of Rhode Island, taken from Mr. Brindley's House, on the 25th of August 1778*  
 Published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* [London, 1779]  
 The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

8. "Muster Roll of Capt. Jn. S. Dexter's Co. in the 1st Battalion of Rhode Island Troops in the Service of the United States" August 1, 1778  
 Rhode Island Historical Society

8-

"In a skirmish with the Enemy he saw a drummer killed (near him) ... and another man wounded in the ankle."

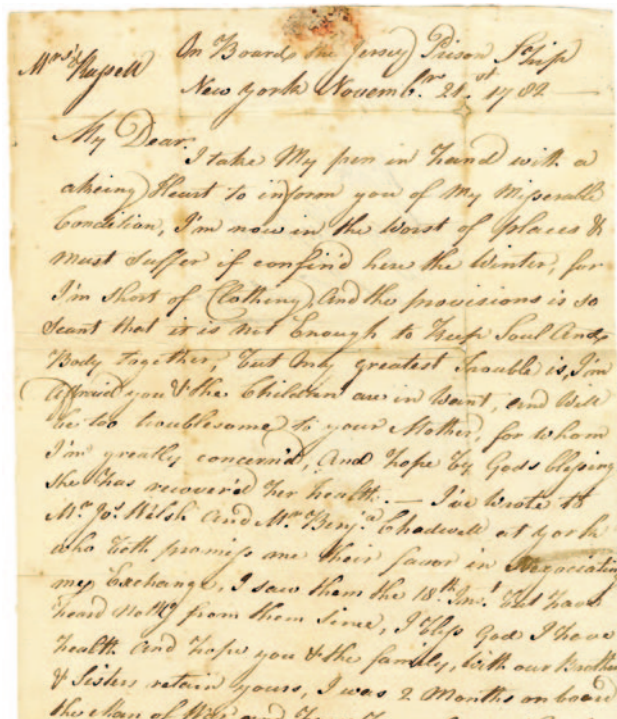
Caesar Babcock of the Kings County militia at the Battle of Rhode Island

# American Sailors off the New England Coast

A significant portion of the Revolutionary War took place at sea, and naval power helped to influence the outcome of the war itself. The fledgling Continental Navy and Marines included some 3,500 men, who primarily intercepted British supply ships and escorted merchant convoys, although American vessels did occasionally engage in naval battles. Silas Talbot—a native of Dighton, Massachusetts, and resident of Providence, Rhode Island, at the outbreak of the war—began commanding ships against the British in 1778 in Narragansett Bay. He received a commission as a Continental Navy officer in 1779 and patrolled from Long Island to Nantucket. In 1780, while commanding the *George Washington* off of Newport, Captain Talbot and his crew were captured. He was imprisoned for almost two years, both in America and England. After the war, Talbot settled in New York and returned to the U.S. Navy, taking his final and most famous post as commander of the USS *Constitution* in 1799.

The American revolutionaries made use of even more privateers, civilians who were authorized to seize enemy vessels for private gain. In 1779, William Russell moved from serving in the local militia to becoming a privateer in order to better support his family. A native of Boston, Massachusetts, he served on vessels off the coasts of New England and Newfoundland. He was captured twice at sea and spent nearly three years in captivity. He was finally paroled in spring 1783, but he died within a year of returning to his family at the age of thirty-six.

**William Russell participated in the Boston Tea Party and served in the local militia early in the Revolution, before becoming a privateer in 1779. That September, he was captured for the first time and confined to Mill Prison in southern England until his release in June 1782. Upon returning to America, Russell joined another privateer and was captured again, this time imprisoned on the infamous *Jersey* prison ship in New York Harbor. He wrote this letter to his wife, Mary, shortly after arriving on the *Jersey*. "I take my pen in hand with a [aching] Heart to inform you of my miserable Condition, I'm now in the worst of places & must suffer if confin'd here the Winter."**

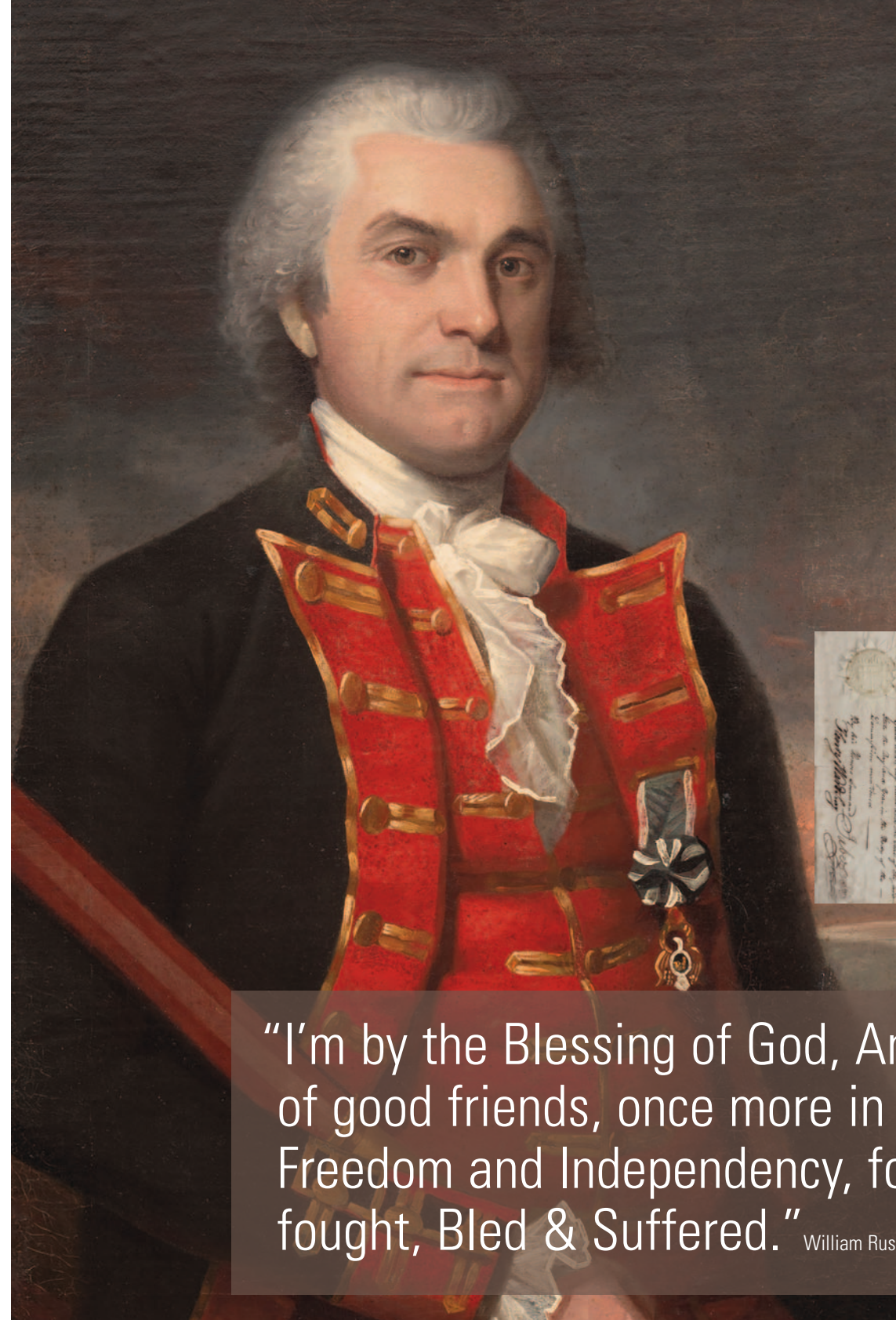


9-

9. William Russell to Mary Russell  
November 21, 1782  
The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

10. Silas Talbot  
By Ralph Earl (1751-1801)  
1785  
Oil on canvas  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of William R. Talbot, Jr., New York State Society of the Cincinnati, 2024

11. Commission of Silas Talbot as commander of the *Argo*  
April 14, 1780  
Rhode Island Historical Society



Painted in Providence, Rhode Island, this portrait depicts Silas Talbot in naval uniform just after the war ended, holding a spy glass and hat and wearing a Society of the Cincinnati Eagle insignia.

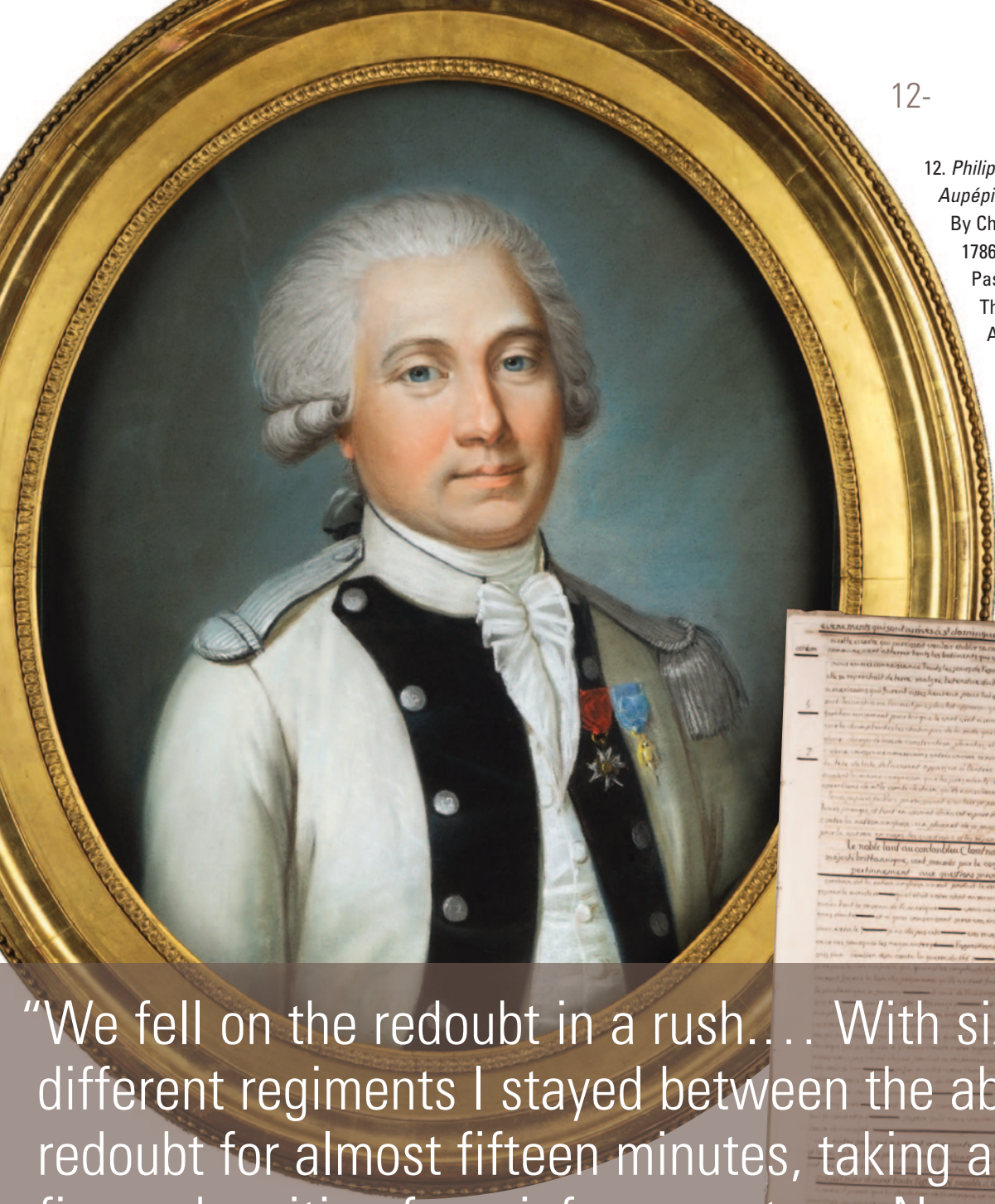
10-



11-

**"I'm by the Blessing of God, And the Assistance of good friends, once more in the Land of Freedom and Independency, for which I've fought, Bled & Suffered."** William Russell, American privateer

**While holding the rank of captain in the Continental Navy, Silas Talbot also occasionally commanded privateering vessels. By December 1779, the State of Rhode Island had given him command of the sloop *Argo* and ordered him to sail for three months to the Caribbean and back to Providence in search of enemy ships. Four months later, Talbot received this official commission as commander of the *Argo* and its crew of sixty men, signed by representatives of both the Continental Congress and the State of Rhode Island.**



12-

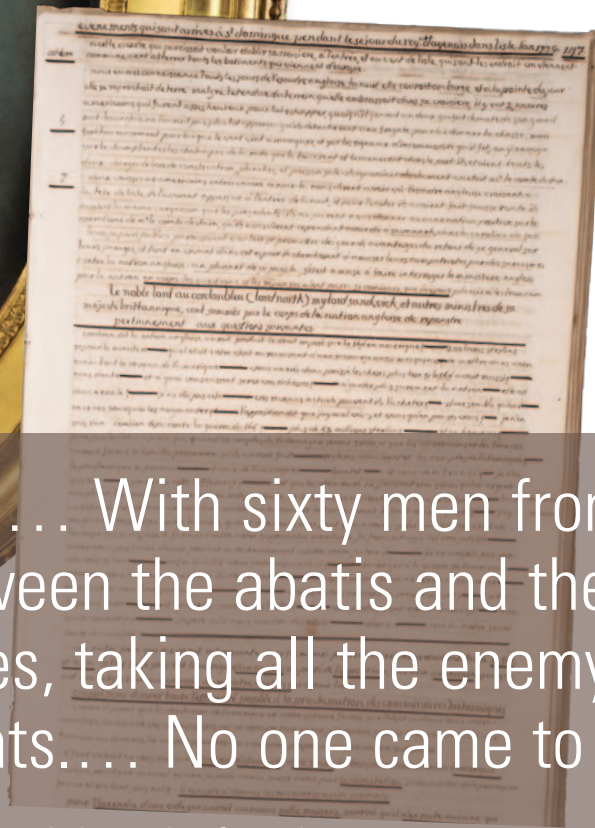
12. *Philippe-Jacques-François Aupépin de Lamothe*  
By Charles Thévenin (1764-1838)  
1786  
Pastel on paper  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum  
Acquisitions Fund purchase, 2021

## *Philippe-Jacques-François Aupépin de Lamothe and the Siege of Savannah*

After France and the United States agreed to a formal alliance in 1778, the first French force sent to war in America was a fleet commanded by Admiral Charles-Hector, comte d'Estaing. The fleet assisted American operations off the coast of New York and Rhode Island then sailed for the Caribbean, where the British and French empires fought over their valuable sugar islands. Philippe-Jacques-François Aupépin de Lamothe served in d'Estaing's fleet as a lieutenant in the Auxerrois Regiment. Bringing more than ten years of experience in the French army, he primarily fought in the Caribbean during the Revolution. His only service on the mainland came in the disastrous Franco-American siege of Savannah, Georgia.

In the fall of 1779, a joint Franco-American force attempted to retake Savannah nearly a year after its capture by the British. Continental Army general Benjamin Lincoln and French admiral Charles-Henri, comte d'Estaing, coordinated the operation. D'Estaing's fleet arrived off the Georgia coast in September carrying four thousand land troops—French army soldiers as well as the Chasseurs-Volontaires de Saint-Domingue, a unit of free Blacks from what would become Haiti. They were joined by South Carolina and Georgia Continentals and militia men, and a cavalry legion led by Polish general Casimir Pulaski. Three thousand British troops defended the city. After several weeks besieging Savannah, d'Estaing and Lincoln decided to attack the city on October 9, focusing their assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt. Delays and confusion among the allied forces, combined with a robust British defense, doomed the attack. D'Estaing's forces suffered almost six hundred casualties in the defeat and retreated to the Caribbean.

After three more years at war, the Auxerrois Regiment arrived back in France in July 1783. Aupépin de Lamothe continued to serve in the French army until 1793, when the French Revolution became more radical.



13-

“We fell on the redoubt in a rush.... With sixty men from different regiments I stayed between the abatis and the redoubt for almost fifteen minutes, taking all the enemy fire and waiting for reinforcements.... No one came to my support.”  
Capt. Phillipe Séguier de Terson of the Agénois Regiment in the assault on Savannah

This portrait depicts Aupépin de Lamothe in the uniform of a captain-commandant in the Auxerrois Regiment, as he appeared at the end of his service in America. Painted at the age of thirty-four, he wears the cross of the Order of Saint Louis, a French award that he received for his conduct in the capture of St. Eustatius in 1781, and the Eagle insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati, a hereditary organization founded by American and French veterans of the Revolutionary War.

Jean-Baptiste Dupleix de Cadignan participated in the Siege of Savannah as a lieutenant colonel in the Agénois Regiment of the French army, fighting as part of a company of grenadiers. He recorded the experience in his journal, which covered his participation in the American Revolutionary War as part of his nearly thirty-year military career.

French grenadiers—elite soldiers drawn from infantry regiments—led the assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt at Savannah on October 9, 1779.



14-

13 “Journal des différentes campagnes que j’ay fait soit par terre ou par mer, depuis qu je suis entré au service”  
Jean-Baptiste Dupleix de Cadignan  
The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

14. French Model 1767 grenadier saber  
Made in Klingenthal, France  
ca. 1767-1783  
Steel and brass  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum Acquisitions Fund purchase, 2018

## François-Ignace Ervoil, chevalier d'Oyré, and the Siege of Yorktown

France committed twelve thousand soldiers to support the American revolutionaries over the course of the war, half of which arrived as part of General Rochambeau's expeditionary force in 1780. One of Rochambeau's officers was François-Ignace Ervoil, chevalier d'Oyré, a captain in the Royal Corps of Engineers. The son of a high-ranking military officer, Oyré trained at an engineering school and joined the French army in 1759. He came to America with Rochambeau's expeditionary force, authorized by King Louis XVI as part of France's formal alliance with the revolutionaries. The French force arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780 and set out the following year on a march to Virginia, where the decisive battle of the war would take place.

In September 1781, the combined French and American forces under Generals Washington and Rochambeau began a siege of Yorktown, a port town in southeastern Virginia. The British army under General Charles, Lord Cornwallis, occupied Yorktown to resupply before continuing its conquest of Virginia. While the allied armies trapped Cornwallis's troops by land, a French naval fleet commanded by Admiral de Grasse controlled the entrance to the Chesapeake Bay, preventing British aid from coming by sea. The American and French troops methodically advanced their siege lines, bombarded British defenses, and attacked outer redoubts. With his position threatened and no relief in sight, Cornwallis surrendered on October 19.

After the war, Oyré joined the French branch of the Society of the Cincinnati to commemorate his participation in the American War for Independence. He remained in the French army until retiring in the early years of the French Revolution.

**At Yorktown, Captain Oyré and his fellow engineers designed and directed the construction of complex siege lines, trenches, batteries, and redoubts that allowed the allied soldiers and their artillery to approach closer to the British lines. In the midst of the siege, Oyré wrote a letter to one of his sisters, chronicling the allies' success in pressuring the British in Yorktown. "The enemy, who had been announced to us as so enterprising let us tighten the ring around him without any other effort than firing, often very lively, from his batteries, which could not have done us less harm."**

15. General François-Ignace Ervoil d'Oyré

By Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805)

1798

Oil on wood panel

The Schorr Collection

16. François-Ignace Ervoil, chevalier d'Oyré, to Magdeleine Louise Ervoil d'Oyré

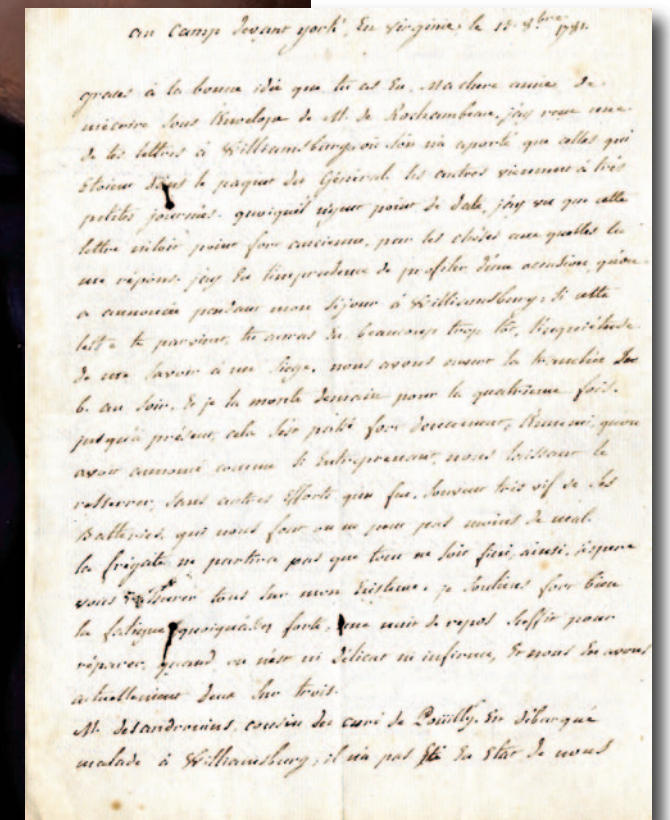
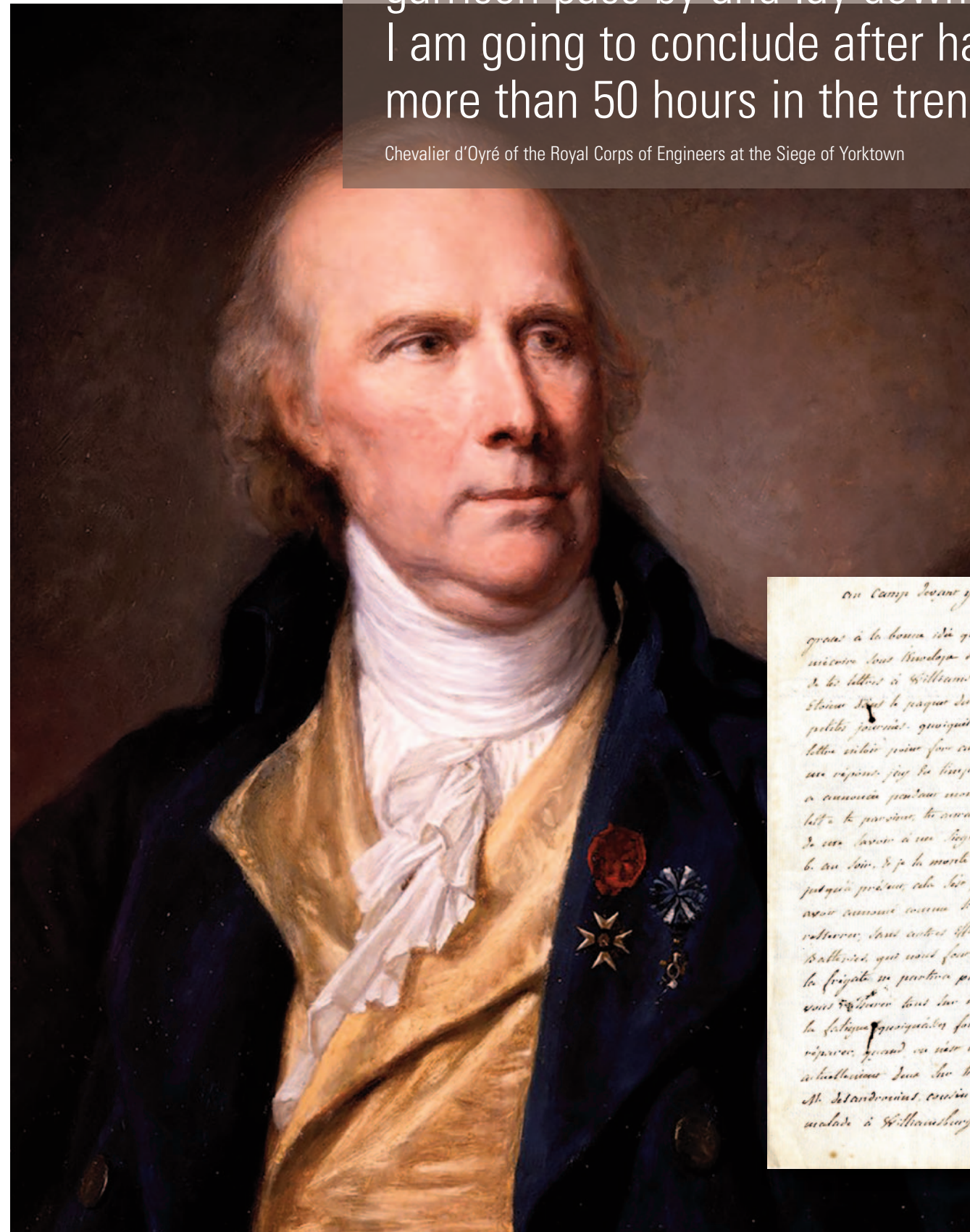
October 13, 1781

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

"The siege is over; I have seen the English garrison pass by and lay down its arms.... I am going to conclude after having spent more than 50 hours in the trenches."

Chevalier d'Oyré of the Royal Corps of Engineers at the Siege of Yorktown

Born in Soudan in western France, Oyré was forty-one years old when he arrived in America. He commissioned this painting a year before his death, depicting him wearing the medals of the Order of Saint Louis and the Society of the Cincinnati.



15-

16-

Head Quarters - April 16<sup>th</sup>  
 The Commander in Chief direct  
 each brigade who  
 within the time  
 of the brigade, I shall sell liquors at  
 I shall sell liquors at the 10<sup>th</sup>

"I marched with him and assisted in  
 Cooking & washing for the Troops."

Anna Ellmore, wife of Private Frederick Wilhelm Ellmore of the Continental Army

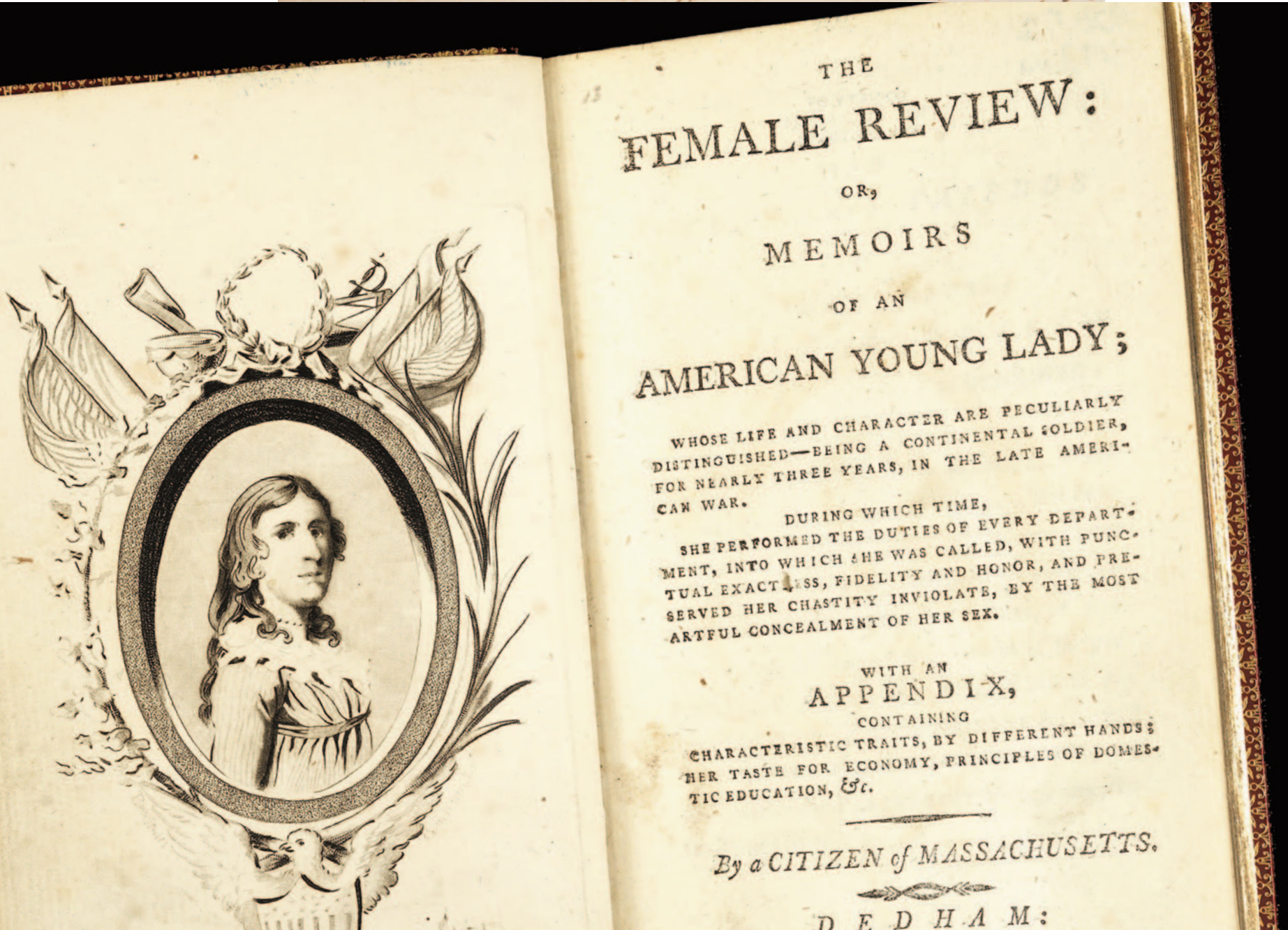
## Women and the Battle of Monmouth

Eighteenth-century armies were communities, gathering people from different backgrounds and relying on more than just military men to wage war. Women were an integral part of the army community, some accompanying their husbands to war and others seizing an opportunity to support themselves or contribute to a cause. During the Revolutionary War, women traveled from American towns to join the army and also sailed across the Atlantic with the British and German forces. Known as camp followers, these women worked for and lived with the army. They served as sutlers (selling goods in camp), washerwomen, seamstresses, cooks, domestic servants, and nurses and caregivers. General George Washington allocated official funds for some female workers to be paid for their services. Their work was critical to the army's success, helping to keep its soldiers fed, clean, and healthy. In certain circumstances during the war, American women assisted on the battlefield by carrying water or ammunition to soldiers or even acted as soldiers themselves.

The wide range of women's roles with the Continental Army were evident during the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey. Emerging from the Valley Forge encampment in June 1778, the Continental Army and its followers marched into New Jersey chasing the British Army, which had just evacuated Philadelphia. The American revolutionaries attacked the Crown forces on June 28 in what would become the longest single day of combat of the war—fought in one-hundred-degree heat. George Washington's Continentals recovered from an initial retreat to force the British from the field. The day also inspired the enduring character of Molly Pitcher, a legend largely based on Mary Ludwig Hays, who brought water to artillerymen and is said to have taken her wounded husband's place in a gun crew.

Female camp followers often worked as sutlers—merchants who sold produce, liquor, and other goods in camp. Their work was regulated by numerous orders issued by the army, several of which appear in this orderly book of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment. In the period covered by this orderly book, the Ninth Pennsylvania and its camp followers departed Valley Forge, marched through New Jersey, and fought in the Battle of Monmouth.

Deborah Sampson disguised herself as a man to enlist in the Massachusetts Continental Line in May 1782 at the age of twenty-one. As part of an elite light infantry company, she was wounded in a skirmish near Tarrytown, New York, and removed the musket ball from her thigh herself to avoid detection. She was honorably discharged in October 1783. After the war, an author wrote this imaginative account of Sampson's wartime service to help make money for her struggling family.



17. Orderly book of the Ninth Pennsylvania Regiment  
 Possibly kept by Capt. John Davis  
 January 5 – July 9, 1778  
 The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Mrs. Sanford  
 Walker Smith, 1971

18. *The Female Review: or, Memoirs of an American Young Lady*  
 By Herman Mann  
 Dedham, [Mass.]: Printed by Nathaniel and Benjamin Heaton,  
 for the Author, 1797  
 The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence  
 Fergusson Collection

# Thomas Musgrave and the Battle of Germantown

In eighteenth-century Britain, a man might become an officer in the army for prestige, connections, adventure, a sense of duty, or family tradition. Whatever their motive, they were asked to do their duty for king and country, to do right by the men they commanded and their comrades, and come the 1770s, to put an end to the American rebellion. Thomas Musgrave entered the British Army in 1754 at the age of sixteen. He arrived in America in 1769 as a captain in the 64th Regiment of Foot, dispatched to Boston as colonial tensions rose. Once war broke out, he fought in the New York and Philadelphia campaigns, went on to serve in the Caribbean, and closed the Revolutionary War as the last British commandant of New York City.

Musgrave and the 40th Regiment of Foot, which he then commanded, played a pivotal role in the Battle of Germantown, fought outside Philadelphia on October 4, 1777. After capturing the rebel capital, the British had stationed nine thousand regulars and German auxiliaries seven miles away in Germantown. One week later, George Washington's American forces surprised the British with an early morning attack. Forced back, Musgrave's 40th Foot took refuge in the home of Benjamin Chew, named Cliveden. Some of the most intense fighting of the day centered on the Chew house—a battle within a battle. Elsewhere on the field, British reinforcements combined with the Americans' confusion in the fog secured the day for the redcoats.

Musgrave's service in the American war propelled him to higher rank in the army. He was given command of the newly raised 76th Regiment, then spent almost four years in India. In 1802, Musgrave was promoted to full general after forty-eight years of service with the British Army.

**This manuscript account of the Battle of Germantown describes the actions of Thomas Musgrave and the 40th Regiment of Foot at the Chew House: "tho[ugh] surrounded by a Brigade with 4 pieces of Cannon which forced open the Doors & the bravest of the Enemy advanced in to the steps & windows, yet Col. Musgrave defended himself with so much Resolution & Intrepidity & kept up so sever a Fire, that the Enemy unable to make the least impression were repulsed with great Loss."**

19. "Memorandum of the Campaigns 1776 & 1777"

Attributed to Thomas Musgrave

ca. 1780s

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

20. Germantown medal

Struck by John Milton (1759-1805)

ca. 1786-1789

Copper

Private collection

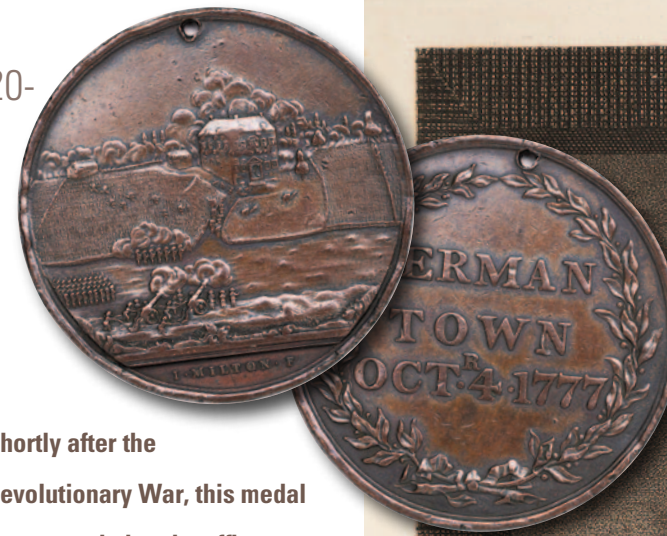
21. Lieutenant General Thomas Musgrave

Engraved by Georg-Siegmund Facius after Lemuel Francis Abbot

1797

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

20-



Shortly after the Revolutionary War, this medal was awarded to the officers and men of the 40th Regiment of Foot who participated in the Battle of Germantown.

The medal's reverse features a rendering of the regiment's defense of Chew House.

In 1786, London artist Lemuel Francis Abbot painted Musgrave's portrait with the Chew House in the right background, recalling the much-heralded defense of the building by the 40th Regiment of Foot. This engraving of the portrait was published eleven years later.

"Col. Musgrave ... threw himself with about a 100 Men into a house in the village of German Town, which he defended near two hours, though attacked with the most desperate courage on every side, & though both the Doors were broke open by cannon shot."

Capt. Richard Fitzpatrick of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards at the Battle of Germantown

## Francis, Lord Rawdon and the Battle of Hobkirk Hill

The British forces during the Revolutionary War consisted of professional soldiers from Great Britain, known as regulars, as well as German auxiliaries and American Loyalists. Francis, Lord Rawdon, a career army officer born in Ireland to an aristocratic family, would lead both regulars and Loyalists during the Revolution. He left for America in 1774 as a nineteen-year-old lieutenant in the Fifth Regiment of Foot, which was ordered to Boston as tensions rose.

After war broke out, Rawdon saw extensive action, first at the Battle of Bunker Hill and later in the New York and Rhode Island campaigns. In 1778, while serving as captain and aide-de-camp to General Sir Henry Clinton, Rawdon proposed raising the Volunteers of Ireland, a Provincial regiment of Loyalist regulars, mostly Irish-born. Rawdon oversaw its organization and training before they were dispatched south in 1780. Despite enjoying a string of successes against the American revolutionaries, ill health ended Rawdon's service in America, and he sailed for home in the summer of 1781. After the war, he took his seat in the Irish Parliament and later resumed service in the British Army.

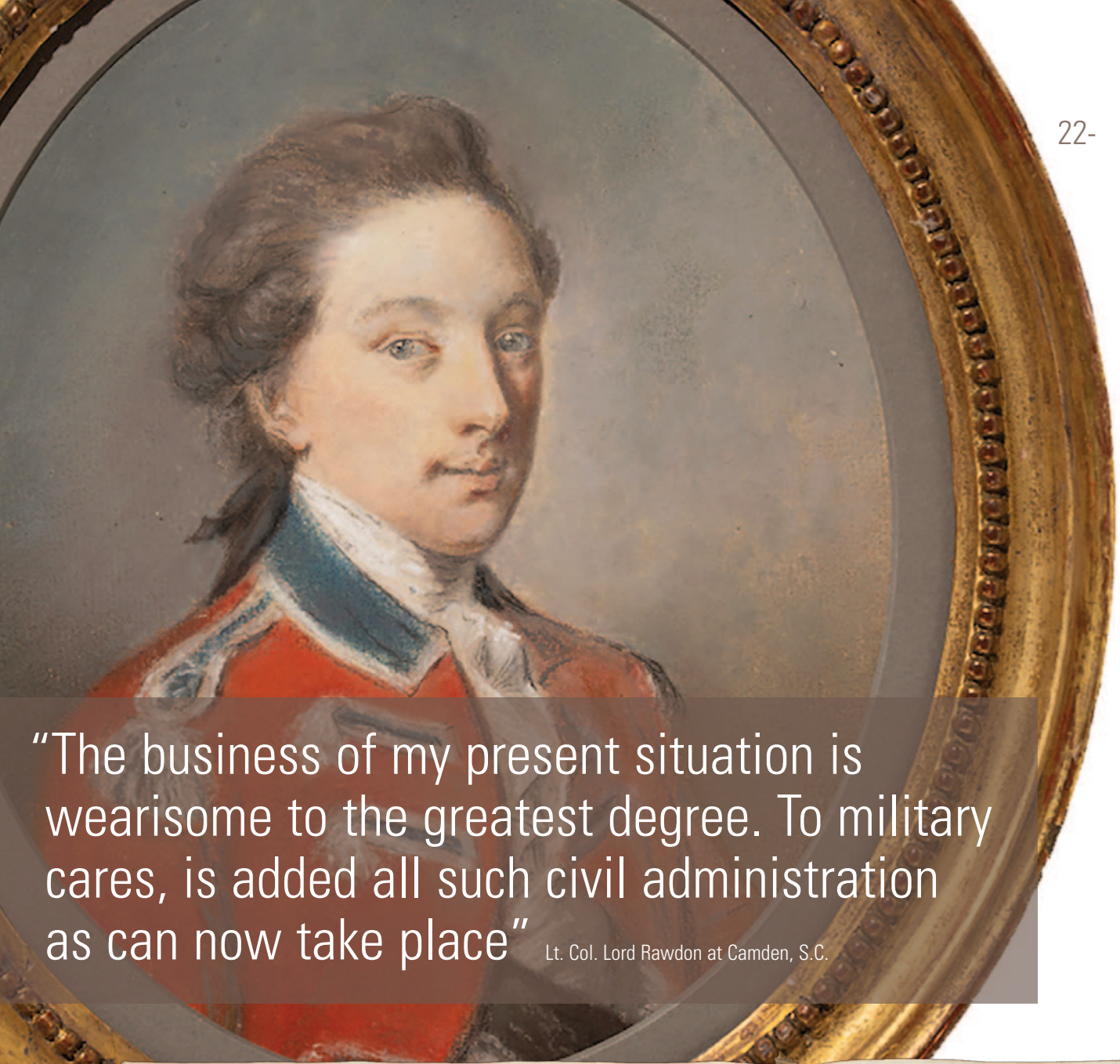
One of Rawdon's successes in the American war was the British victory at Hobkirk Hill, just outside Camden, South Carolina, in April 1781. Camden was a vital British supply base in the interior of the state—and Continental Army general Nathanael Greene was determined to capture it in his push to force the enemy out of South Carolina. Rawdon commanded the garrison at Camden: one British regiment and five Provincial Loyalist corps, including his Volunteers of Ireland. On April 25, Greene's Continentals occupied Hobkirk Hill, one mile north of Camden. Rawdon ordered his men to attack the American left flank uphill, confusing the rebels and opening gaps in their lines, forcing them to retreat.

This pastel portrait of Lord Rawdon depicts him wearing the uniform of the Volunteers of Ireland, of which he was colonel during the American war. It was likely painted during his return visit to the British Isles in 1777. Hugh Douglas Hamilton, the son of a Dublin wig maker, was a leading portrait painter in his native Ireland.

Beginning in August 1780, Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour served as the British commandant of Charleston, South Carolina. His letter book contains dozens of references to and reports from Lord Rawdon, including on the Battle of Hobkirk Hill. On May 1, 1781, Balfour wrote to Lord George Germain, Britain's secretary of state for the American department: "Lord Rawdon, with the most mark'd Decision, on the morning on the 25th marched out the greater Part of his force to meet him, and about 10 O'Clock attacked the Rebels in their Camp at Hobkirk's Hill, with that spirit."

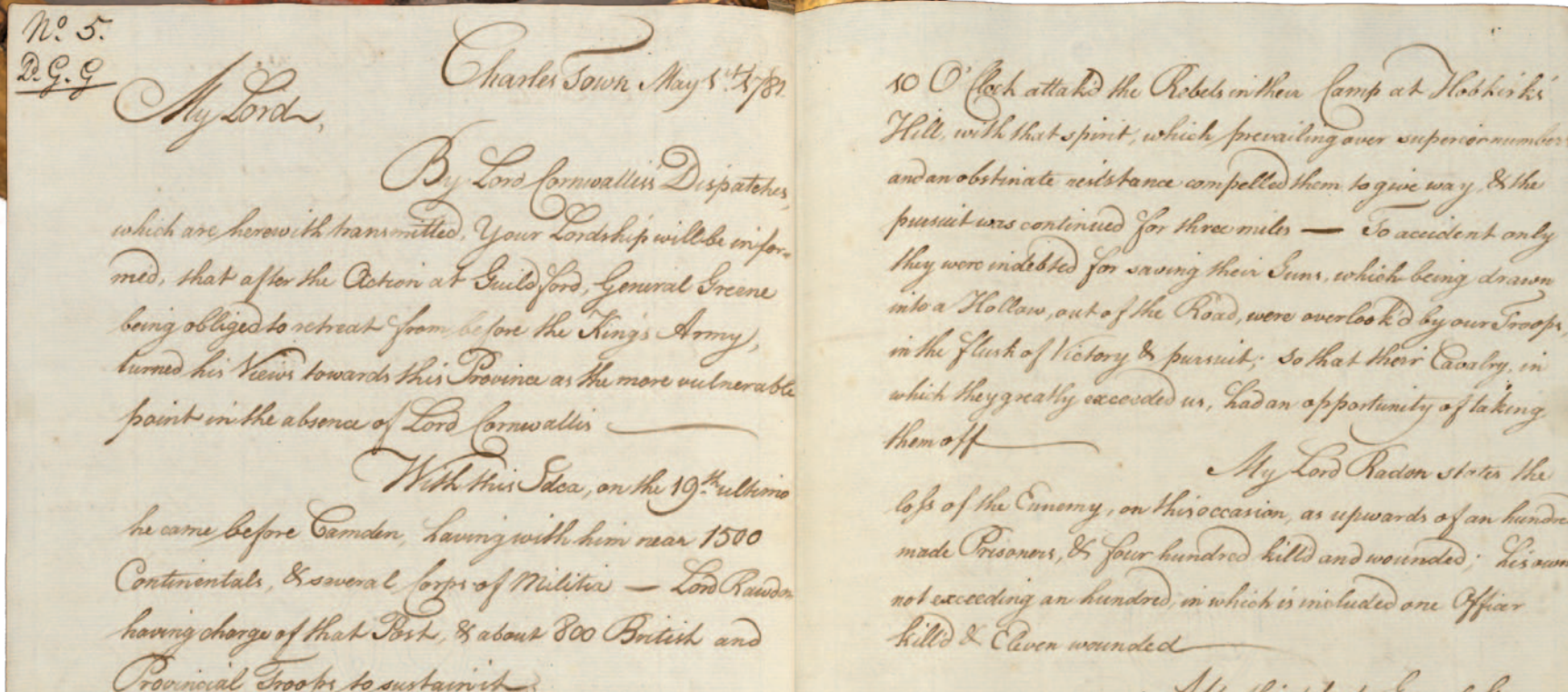
22. Captain Francis, Lord Rawdon  
By Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1740-1808)  
ca. 1777  
Pastel on paper  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum purchase, 2018

23. Letter book of Lt. Col. Nisbet Balfour  
January 1 – December 31, 1781  
The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection



"The business of my present situation is wearisome to the greatest degree. To military cares, is added all such civil administration as can now take place"

Lt. Col. Lord Rawdon at Camden, S.C.



# Third Waldeck Regiment and the Siege of Pensacola

More than thirty thousand German soldiers served with the British Army during the Revolutionary War, at one point making up more than one-third of the British regulars in North America. Great Britain hired these troops from six German territories—a common practice in eighteenth-century Europe to grow an army quickly. The majority of these German soldiers came from Hessen-Kassel and Hessen-Hanau, resulting in the term “Hessians” being applied to all Germans regardless of their origin.

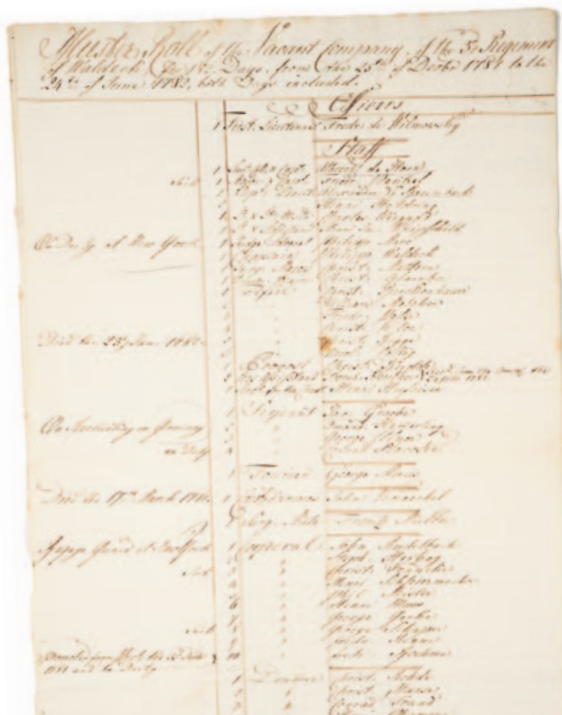
Waldeck was the smallest German territory to supply soldiers to Britain and raised the Third Waldeck Regiment for service in America. Its officers largely volunteered, but the men had to be recruited, sometimes forcibly. The regiment landed in New York in October 1776 with an initial force of 670 soldiers, plus 50 women and children. The Waldeckers later served in British West Florida, where they spent a difficult two years enduring failed campaigns against the Spanish and struggles with the environment, disease, and native inhabitants.

During the Spanish siege of Pensacola in 1781, the Third Waldeck Regiment joined British regulars, American Loyalists, local militia, and Muscogee (Creek) and Choctaw allies in defending the capital of West Florida. The Gulf Coast became a frontier theater of the war in 1779 when Spain declared war on Britain. Forces from Spanish Louisiana and British West Florida clashed for more than a year, culminating in the two-month-long siege of Pensacola. In March 1781, a Spanish fleet entered Pensacola Bay, blockading the town. The outnumbered Pensacola garrison held on until early May, when Spanish artillery fire blew a devastating hole in the British defenses, allowing them to capture the city. The men, women, and children of the Waldeck regiment were among the prisoners. After being allowed to return to New York, the Waldeckers finally left America for home in July 1783.

The Third Waldeck Regiment numbered 303 soldiers and followers when it was captured at Pensacola in May 1781. In the terms of the surrender, Spain offered to transport the Waldeck regiment to New York as long as they did not fight against Spain. That summer, the Waldeckers arrived in New York from Pensacola and rejoined the British Army. This muster roll documents slightly more than two hundred men of the regiment encamped on Long Island.



25- During the Revolution, Spain launched campaigns into British-held East and West Florida to try to regain its former colonies, which it had lost after the Seven Years' War. Once the Third Waldeck Regiment arrived at Pensacola in early 1779, its men were dispatched to British forts along the Mississippi River and fought in engagements at Fort Bute, Baton Rouge, and Mobile.



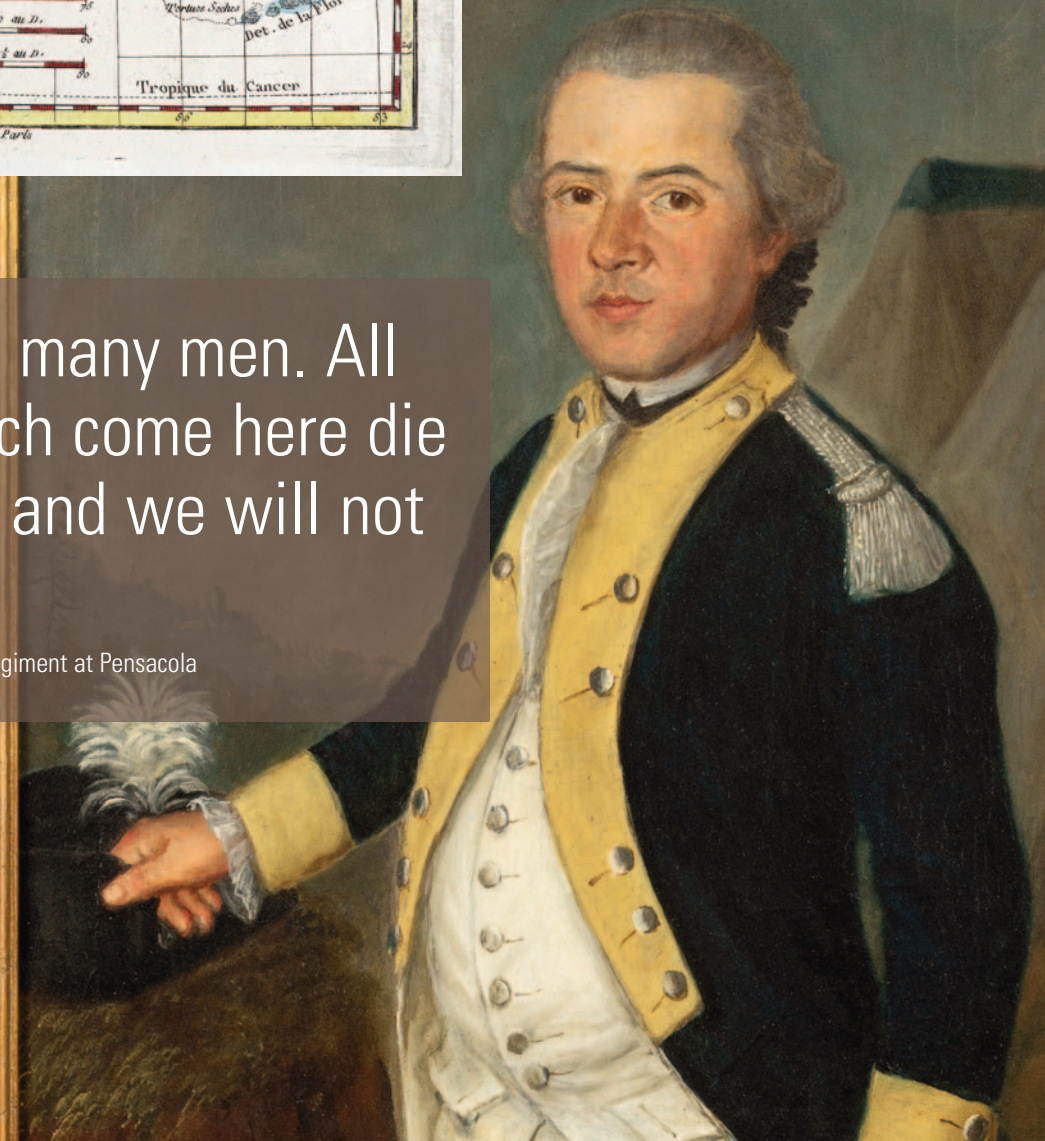
24. "Muster Roll of the Vacant Company of the 3d Regiment of Waldeck, for 182 Days, from the 25th of Decbr 1781 to the 24th of June 1782, both Days included" June 12, 1782 The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

25 *Carte de la Louisiane, et de la Floride* [Genève, 1783?] The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Kent Dean Worley, State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, 2016

26. Detail of a portrait of an officer of the Third Waldeck Regiment, ca. 1776 Museum of the American Revolution

"I fear we will lose many men. All the regiments which come here die out in a few years and we will not be an exception."

Chaplain Philipp Waldeck of the Third Waldeck Regiment at Pensacola



“Those, therefore, who have been under the unhappy necessity of submitting to the mandates of Congress and Committees ... will have an opportunity, (by joining the King’s Army,) to restore peace and tranquillity to this distracted land.”

Brig. Gen. Donald MacDonald of Loyalist troops in North Carolina



**Donald MacDonald was released in a prisoner exchange in fall 1776. Not much is known of the rest of his military career. After the war, he and his wife returned to Britain, where this portrait—depicting him in his Royal Highland Emigrants uniform—may have been painted.**

27-

## *Donald MacDonald and the Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge*

American colonists who remained loyal to the British Crown during the Revolutionary War came from various economic and social backgrounds and regions. Those who took up arms to fight in the war generally served in Provincial units—organized and equipped similarly to the regular British Army—or local militia. Scottish native Donald MacDonald was appointed a major in a Provincial Loyalist unit, the Royal Highland Emigrants, in 1775. He had settled in the American colonies after serving with the British Army during the Seven Years’ War. In summer 1775, MacDonald was ordered from Boston to North Carolina to recruit from the significant Scottish population in the colony. Upon his arrival, royal governor Josiah Martin granted MacDonald the local rank of brigadier general and placed him in command of all Loyalist forces in North Carolina.

In January 1776, a British expeditionary force commanded by General Henry Clinton sailed for Cape Fear, North Carolina, to reassert royal authority in the South. Clinton planned to combine his regulars with MacDonald’s Loyalists and crush the Revolution in the region. MacDonald gathered his men at Cross Creek (now Fayetteville) and began to march for Wilmington, where he planned to meet Clinton’s troops. On February 27, 1776, at Moore’s Creek Bridge, the Loyalists encountered American revolutionaries from the North Carolina militia, blocking the path to Wilmington. The revolutionaries had partially dismantled the bridge and shot musket and artillery fire from freshly constructed earthworks, which quickly halted the Loyalist advance. MacDonald was among the Loyalists captured as the rest scattered.

**Many of the Loyalist soldiers at the Battle of Moore’s Creek Bridge were Scottish Highlanders, who began settling in North Carolina in the 1740s and largely remained loyal to the king at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Accounts of the battle describe these soldiers attacking with a Highland charge, running at the rebel militia with their sword in hand. The basket-hilted sword they carried was the iconic Scottish weapon of the period. This example was a British Army pattern that was mass-produced in England and issued to the army’s Highland infantry regiments during the revolutionary era.**

28-



27. *Donald MacDonald*  
By an unidentified artist  
1786  
Pastel on paper  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum purchase, 2025

28. Basket-hilted sword and scabbard  
Made by Dru Drury, London, England  
ca. 1771-1784  
Steel, iron, wood, and leather  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum purchase, 2026

## James DeLancey and the Battle of Young's House

Many of the American Loyalists who took up arms to support the Crown served in local militias. One of the most effective and notorious Loyalist militias was the Westchester Refugees, also known as DeLancey's Cowboys, which operated in New York and Connecticut for much of the war. Raised in 1777 in Westchester County, New York, the unit was led by Col. James DeLancey, the commander of the county's militia. Twenty-eight years old at the start of the war, DeLancey was born into a prominent and wealthy family that was active in New York politics, had strong ties to royal officials, and chose loyalty to Britain when the Revolution came.

DeLancey and the Westchester Refugees obtained provisions for the British Army, escorted prisoners for exchange, captured British deserters, and protected the critical British post at Kingsbridge controlling access to Manhattan Island. They fought in more than forty engagements, including a skirmish in Pines Bridge, New York, against the Rhode Island Regiment in which its commander, Col. Christopher Greene, was killed. DeLancey's unit had a reputation as a savage and lawless group, but he tried to maintain discipline and order, and his men acted similarly to the American revolutionary militias that also patrolled the area—a neutral ground between the British and American lines.

In February 1780, DeLancey and his men joined British and German regulars to attack the Continental garrison at Young's House in Westchester County, part of a string of American outposts outside British-held New York City. German and Loyalist cavalry advanced first, with the ensuing fight centered on the stone house and nearby orchard. The British force won the day and captured more than eighty prisoners before returning to New York City.

**The Young's House post was guarded by 250 Massachusetts Continentals led by Lt. Col. Joseph Thompson when the British attacked on February 3, 1780. Lt. John Maynard of the Third Massachusetts Regiment, who owned these beakers, was wounded and captured in the battle. The captured officers were paroled and lived on Long Island until they could be exchanged, while the enlisted men were taken to a prison on Manhattan Island.**



29-

29. Pair of beakers  
Made by James Tyler, Boston, Mass.  
ca. 1770-1775  
Silver  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Gift of Arthur Warren Maynard, Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, 1947

30. *James DeLancey*  
By an unidentified artist  
ca. 1780-1785  
Oil on canvas  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum purchase, 2017

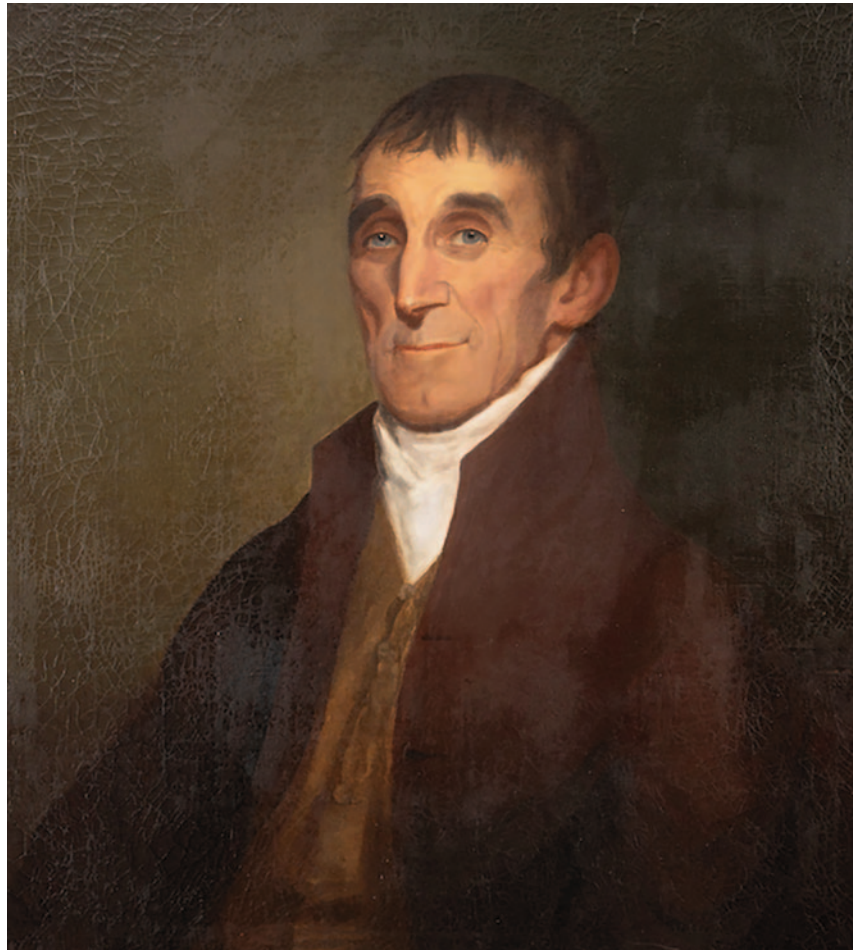
**James DeLancey commissioned this portrait depicting him in a Revolutionary War uniform, with the hilt of a light cavalry saber at lower right. In spring 1783, he resigned his command of the Westchester Refugees and fled New York for Nova Scotia. Settling in Canada with his family, he became a prominent landowner, politician, and militia colonel.**

30-



"We were not long before we reached the Orchard (adjoining to the House) where we found the Party I had described, they received us with Courage and Coolness, and I should do them Injustice did I not say they behaved well on the Occasion."

Lt. Col. Charles Norton of the First Battalion of Guards at the Battle of Young's House



31-

In the 1790s, Joseph Townsend founded the Baltimore Equitable Society for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire. The company commissioned this portrait shortly before Townsend's death in 1841.

## Joseph Townsend and the Battle of Brandywine

The Quakers of Pennsylvania were in a precarious situation throughout the American Revolution. Committed to peace and neutrality as members of the Religious Society of Friends, they refused to bear arms for either side and attempted to isolate themselves from the war. Joseph Townsend, a Quaker living in Chester County, Pennsylvania, was among them. In fall 1777, the twenty-one-year-old was suddenly and brutally engulfed by the conflict.

On September 11, 1777, the Battle of Brandywine raged across the countryside near Townsend's home. As the British and German forces under Gen. William Howe outflanked American general George Washington's army, Townsend was among several Quakers detained by the British, to prevent them from betraying British movements to the American revolutionaries. Townsend witnessed the battle's heaviest fighting from afar and under guard. After the Americans were defeated and fled the battlefield, he saw the carnage of battle and atrocities committed by the remaining Crown forces. During the five-day occupation of Howe's army that followed the engagement, Townsend helped to care for wounded soldiers and witnessed the looting and pillaging of his peaceful neighbors' property.

Townsend's experiences during the Battle of Brandywine had a profound effect on him. Shortly after the war, he abandoned his native Chester County and relocated to Baltimore, Maryland, where he contributed to civic, business, and humanitarian efforts.

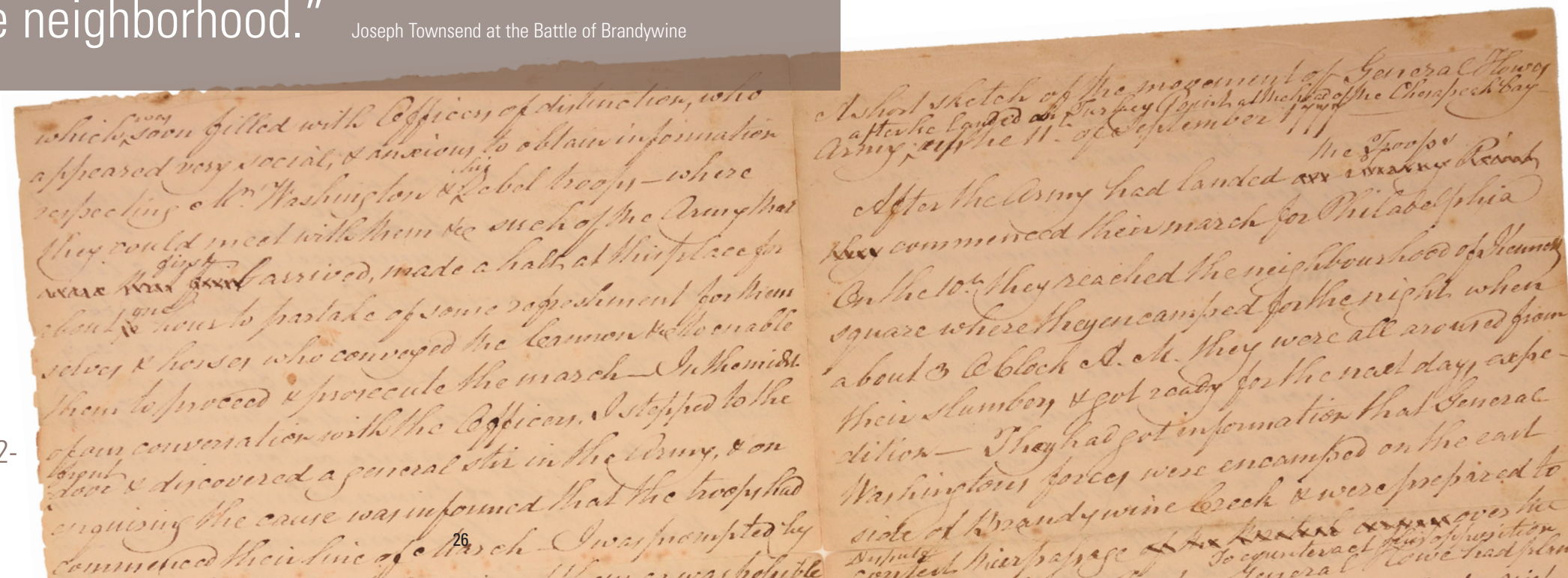
Sometime after the Battle of Brandywine, Quaker Joseph Townsend wrote this account of the fighting and its aftermath. He recalled several impactful moments, including his initial contact and interactions with the Crown forces attempting to outflank the Continental Army, his witnessing of the heaviest action of the day from British lines, his horrific observations of the dead and wounded from both armies, and the effects of British plundering after the battle. Townsend's manuscript remains one of the most insightful accounts of the Battle of Brandywine from a civilian's perspective.

31. Joseph Townsend  
By an unidentified artist  
ca. 1830s-1840s  
Oil on canvas  
On Loan from Baltimore Equitable Society's Private Collection

32. "A short sketch of the movement of General Howe's Army after he landed at Turkey Point at the head of the Chesapeake Bay to the 11th of September 1777"  
By Joseph Townsend  
Late 18th – early 19th century  
Courtesy of The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Bureau of Historic Sites and Museums, Brandywine Battlefield Park

"We had the full opportunity of beholding the destruction and wanton waste committed on the property of the peaceful inhabitants of the neighborhood."

Joseph Townsend at the Battle of Brandywine



32-

The American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati, Inc., recognizes the generosity and enthusiasm of the following individuals and organizations whose contributions made this exhibition possible.

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Detail of broadside of the Declaration of Independence printed by John Dunlap, Philadelphia, July 4-5, 1776  
Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of New Hampshire

Special thank you to Lorna Hainesworth, whose generosity made the printing of this exhibition catalog possible.



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This catalog accompanies the exhibition *Voices of Revolution*, on view February 28, 2026 - January 10, 2027, at Anderson House, headquarters of the American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati, Inc., 2118 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20008. Curated by Emily L. Parsons. Designed by Glenn A. Hennessey. Text by Emily L. Parsons, Paul Newman, and Andrew Outten.

Back cover: Detail of *Battle of Brandywine in which the Americans were defeated September the 11th, 1777*, engraved by William Faden ([London]: Published by Wm. Faden, 1784). The Society of the Cincinnati, The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection.



The American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati, Inc., promotes knowledge and appreciation of the achievement of American independence, fulfilling the aim of the Continental Army officers who founded the Society of the Cincinnati in 1783 to perpetuate the memory of that vast event. The Institute supports advanced study, presents exhibitions and other public programs, advocates preservation and provides resources to teachers and students to enrich understanding of our War for Independence and the principles of the men and women who secured the liberty of the American people. Exhibitions such as this are only possible thanks to philanthropy. Please consider scanning the QR code to support our future museum exhibitions and projects.

The *Voices of Revolution* exhibition was made possible, in part, through a Battlefield Interpretation Grant from the American Battlefield Protection Program, a division of the National Park Service and Department of the Interior.