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# Music In The Continental Army

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School of Arts and Sciences  
History and Military Studies

The thesis for the master's degree submitted by

**Joseph Trudeau**

under the title

***Music In The Continental Army***

has been read by the undersigned. It is hereby recommended  
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AMERICAN PUBLIC UNIVERSITY SYSTEM

Charles Town, West Virginia

MUSIC IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the

Requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

MILITARY HISTORY – AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By

Joseph Trudeau

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the musicians of the Continental Army, whose service and dedication we may never fully appreciate.

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I wish to thank all of my professors at American Military University for their guidance during this extended degree program. Most importantly, I would like to thank my wife, Kellie, for her support, as she has never known marriage without this degree project lingering in the background.

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS  
MUSIC IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

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The following thesis explores the nature of music in the Continental Army during the American Revolution. The dual function of field musicians and “bands of music,” playing in the *harmoniemusik* style, explain the complex and integral role musicians played in the army. The development of music standardization, including Baron Steuben’s drum beatings in *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, corresponds to the appointment of Lieutenant John Hiwell as Inspector and Superintendent of Music. His five extant Music Returns are examined to show trends in personnel and equipment shortages in the later years of the war.

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## Introduction

Music served important combat and leisure functions to the Continental Army in the American Revolution. The American colonies modeled their militia units after the armies of continental Europe and followed the British militia tradition. Musical influences from European militaries as well as civilian Harmoniemusik fully permeated American cultural life. Church music, evening dances and socials, as well as political and military ceremonies utilized music to enhance the decorum of various occasions. Musicians served in the first colonial militia units as well as from the beginning of the Continental Army. In military life, musicians served both field and social functions. Field musicians supported camp life and signaled battlefield maneuvers in combat. Military musicians also formed Bands of Music that performed in the instrumentation and style of Harmoniemusik, both for the British and Continental armies. Typically, a Band of Music consisted of varying combinations of pairs of oboes, horns, and bassoons and sometimes included clarinets, performed between five and eight parts, with military significance to its function and use.<sup>1</sup> Officers recruited and paid professional musicians to serve in the army as members of bands of music while field musicians sometimes learned their instruments after appointment to music duties. Field musicians sometimes doubled as bandsman, a trend that increased throughout the eighteenth century.

The music that field musicians played in the Continental Army developed throughout the Revolutionary War, but officially included drum beats as specified by Baron Von Steuben in the army's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*.<sup>2</sup> In addition to writing the beats of a drum into regulation, the Continental Army enjoyed the appointment of

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<sup>1</sup> Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution*, (Westerville: Integrity Press, 1975), 29, 39.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. Von Stueben, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, (Boston: William Pelham, 1807).

John Hiwell as Inspector and Superintendent of Music by General Washington, with intent to ensure that all army musicians performed with accuracy and in unison with each other. This attention to musical quality demonstrates the importance of music to the general welfare and discipline of the army, and the Commander-in-Chief himself paid detailed attention to music. Subordinate musical leadership included fife majors and drum majors, both of which served to improve the effectiveness of their subordinate musicians. Leadership and standardization also improved the musicality of the Continental Army throughout the war.

The Continental Army and the militia units of the several states needed musicians, musical instruments, and music itself to remain effective in the field. Musicians provided support to ceremonies, played for funerals, maintained order in camp life, signaled battlefield maneuvering, and also provided evening social music. Challenges in obtaining and maintaining instruments remained constant throughout the war, but the focus on music from General Washington and Lieutenant Hiwell ensured that the combat effectiveness of the army improved, thus music provided an essential component of the army's success in the American Revolution. The army, as an institution that reflected society, influenced the music of the civil society through the concentration and training of musicians during the war.

### **Bands of Music and Field Music**

#### Harmoniemusik

The Continental Army's use of military musicians during the American Revolution followed the pattern of continental European armies: field musicians playing fifes and drums, sometimes trumpets or even bagpipes, and "bands of music," playing the instrumentation of Harmoniemusik and the current musical style, often referred to today as the non-specific and

overly general term, classical music. Harmoniemusik derives from German, described in French by the cognate, harmonie, and refers to a wind instrument band of specific but flexible instrumentation. The popular music of the era utilized string musicians, but in a military setting, wind bands emerged as a group possible to support the army while sometimes doubling as field musicians.<sup>3</sup> Harmoniemusik gained popularity as a style for civilian music and in a military setting, this band instrumentation followed the hautbois period of military music, which was roughly from the mid seventeenth to mid eighteenth centuries. Bands performed the instrumentation of Harmoniemusik popularly for the public and for the military from the middle to end of the eighteenth century. Military units, constantly adjusting to current social and musical norms, utilized this instrumentation until its replacement by the Janissary style, around the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Indeed some British regiments began integrating Janissary instruments during the years of the American Revolution, but they did not serve in America.<sup>5</sup>

Harmoniemusik encompassed the so-called 'bands of music' comprised of a semi-flexible instrumentation of a pair each of oboes, horns, and bassoons. Often clarinets were substituted for oboes or added to the ensemble, as well as the possible addition of trumpets or even stringed instruments, resulting in five to eight separate parts played by eight musicians or more. Further addition of players to enlarge the band sometimes occurred, though without separate or additional parts as was often the practice of a large, classic period orchestra. These additional players therefore resulted in a louder rendition of the same arrangement of parts.<sup>6</sup> The use of strings often required musicians to double, that is, to be able to play a wind instrument or

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<sup>3</sup> Camus, 31.

<sup>4</sup> Camus, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Camus, 38.

<sup>6</sup> Camus, 29, 30.

stringed instrument according to the occasion.<sup>7</sup> A significant point of clarity regarding these bands emerges in the use of the term ‘Hautboy.’ The earlier period of military music known as Hautboys refers to the sole use of oboes in military bands. Following the adoption of Harmoniemusik instrumentation, hautboy came to refer to all military musicians, whether they played oboes, bassoons, French horns, fifes, or even drums.<sup>8</sup> As for the drums, an additional point of clarification arises in that snare drums played with Hautboys ensembles but were utilized progressively less often with bands of music throughout the eighteenth century, such that at the time of the American Revolution, the drummers, sometimes called regimental drummers, marched separate from the band [of music], and played independently of the band.<sup>9</sup>

Eighteenth century armies often employed nobles as officers. Those officers, often being musicians themselves, enjoyed the prestige and entertainment of musical performances in evening and social occasions. Regimental authorizations limited formal pay to drummers and fifers, so Bands of Music required extra pay or complete subsistence at the grace of the commanding officer. This sometimes led to bandsman not even being officially enlisted as they served at the pleasure and expense of the commanding officer.<sup>10</sup> The officers, notes Camus, paid for the pleasure of a band, and as the payers determined the size and instrumentation, which usually reflected the common taste of Harmoniemusik instrumentation.<sup>11</sup> Camus asserts that throughout Europe, every nobleman of high or low means attempted to maintain a private band of music for his pleasure and the entertainment of his court. Elaborating further, Camus cites

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<sup>7</sup> Arthur Schrader, “‘The World Turned Upside Down’: A Yorktown March, or Music to Surrender by,” *American Music* 16, No. 2 (Summer, 1998): 182.

<sup>8</sup> Camus, 27, 43.

<sup>9</sup> Camus, 27-28 and Schrader 182.

<sup>10</sup> Camus, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Camus, 33.

Mozart's *Don Giovanni* opera, where the Don's personal Harmoniemusik octet performs for supper entertainment.<sup>12</sup> Examples of bands playing for social occasions include the Royal Irish Regiment (18<sup>th</sup> Foot) performing for the commencement of the College of Philadelphia in 1767, the British 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment's band of music performing in Boston for a funeral in December, 1774, and the Continental Army saluting General Lee's return from captivity at Valley Forge with evening dancing and music in April of 1777.<sup>13</sup>

Bands of Music in the Continental Army, as in the British army, existed unofficially. Officers desired bands and used them for recruitment, ceremonies, and entertainment. In the Continental Army, permanent bands existed under the regiments of Colonel Thomas Proctor's 4<sup>th</sup> Artillery Regiment, Colonel John Crane's 3<sup>rd</sup> Artillery Regiment, Colonel Samuel Webb's and Colonel Henry Jackson's Continental Infantry, Colonel Christian Febiger's 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment, and Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's 4<sup>th</sup> New York Regiment, and Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee's Partisan Corps.<sup>14</sup> Other bands existed for varying time periods and at varying levels of success.<sup>15</sup> These bands created a problem for paymasters and quartermasters when not normally enlisted into the service, as regimental officers sometimes paid for clothing and instruments with their own funds. In the case of the "Band of Musick belonging to the Officers of Col Sam B Webbs Battalion," the band served as privates but the officers paid for their instruments.<sup>16</sup> A dispute about payment for uniforms resolved following an argument about

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<sup>12</sup> Camus, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Camus, 53, 50, 79.

<sup>14</sup> Wright, Jr., 149, and Camus, 133, 138, 141, 146, and 147, and Harry M. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers: Policing the Continental Army*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), eBook, 61, 173.

<sup>15</sup> Camus, 132.

<sup>16</sup> Camus, 143.

whether the band could be ordered to play for the higher officers above the regiment, when the regimental officers owned the instruments. As the regimental commander saw it as “very Impolite to decline sending them with their Instruments,” the band played but their commander reminded the general that the officers already paid a great expense for musically training and equipping the band. The Rhode Island Brigade Commander, General James Varnum, ordered the band’s special uniforms to be paid for by the public, rather than the accepted practice of the regimental officers paying for the uniforms.<sup>17</sup>

### Field Music

Colonial militia units often modeled their drill and maneuvers on European and especially British drill manuals. The *Manual Exercise as Ordered by His Majesty in 1764* served as the official manual in use by the British army at the outset of the Revolutionary War. Publishers in the colonies reprinted this in Boston in 1773, and other manuals, which local militia units used to standardize, along with the obvious drill maneuvers, their drum beatings.<sup>18</sup> British regulations authorized two fifers for the grenadier company of a battalion, as well as twenty-four drummers or two per company.<sup>19</sup> In light of this limited authorization, most British regiments employed more fifers and drummers by the time of the American Revolution, and even utilized fife and drum majors, both of which often failed to be officially authorized.<sup>20</sup> Highland regiments, raised in Scotland, authorized bagpipes in place of fifes and mounted units

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<sup>17</sup> Wright, Jr., 52, and Camus, 141-144.

<sup>18</sup> Camus, 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> Camus, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Camus, 12, 13, 17.

replaced fifes with trumpets.<sup>21</sup> Prior to the outbreak of hostilities, colonists saw several regiments of the British Army that were stationed in the colonies, and read about British practices in various published regulations. The British performed concerts and military drill for the colonists, and the colonial militia units followed British musical traditions. As militia units developed, so did colonial military music.<sup>22</sup>

Early in the war, the Continental Army formed from various militia regiments. The Continental Army formed by adoption of the militia surrounding Boston in 1775 and incorporated the musicians of several colonies into a unified army. Though officially dissolved and reorganized after the end of 1776, the army continued to develop its music through appointed drum and fife majors in the regiments. Varying levels of music, not standardized throughout the army, inspired each colonel to improve his own musicians.<sup>23</sup> Without combined training, these musicians failed to inspire confidence from the new Commander-in-Chief, General George Washington, nor did they standardize among the various regiments. In his General Orders of October 27, 1776, Washington lamented, “The constant beating of Drums on all occasions is very improper--there should be no Drum but on the parade, and Main Guard.”<sup>24</sup> Confusion and excessive noise potentially could confuse the soldiers in camp. Washington continued, “All fatigue parties to march with the Fife, and no Drum to beat, on any account, after Retreat-Beating, but by special order.” Soon after leaving the 1776-1777 winter encampment he ordered “The music of the army being in general very bad; it is expected, that the drum and fife

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<sup>21</sup> Camus, 18-19.

<sup>22</sup> Camus, 44.

<sup>23</sup> Camus, 71.

<sup>24</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, October 27, 1776, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw060177%29%29>, (accessed November 12, 2014).

Majors exert themselves to improve it, or they will be reduced, and their extraordinary pay taken from them.”<sup>25</sup> Washington’s comments reflected recognition of the importance of music as well as the ability of poor music to annoy or even demoralize the army. His comments also preceded a renewed effort to improve the music of the army.

Washington attempted to standardize field music in the army through the use of general orders. Regarding the importance of music, Washington declared to the entire army that “Nothing is more agreeable, and ornamental, than good music; every officer, for the credit of his corps, should take care to provide it.”<sup>26</sup> Putting his subordinate commanders on notice regarding music, Washington continued the order by specifying the method for the drums to beat the commands of reveille, troop, and retreat:

The *revellie* to be beaten at day-break--the *troop* at 8 o'clock in the morning, and *retreat* at sunset. For the sake of regularity, the drum of the regiment, on the right of the line, to give three taps, allowing a sufficient equal space between each, as a warning to the drum of the one next on the left; which is to do the same, and so on, through the whole--the second line taking it by the right from the regiment in front, and the advanced Brigades, by the right from the regiment in the rear--These taps over, and a proper interval allowed for the warning to become general, the *drummer's call* must be given as the signal for what is to follow; and then the whole music of the line begin in concert--the *revellie*, *troop* or *retreat*, as it may happen.<sup>27</sup>

Washington’s orders regarding beatings for the above three commands precedes the standardization of Steuben during the Valley Forge encampment of 1777-1778, and indicates effort to normalize music in the Continental Army prior to the publication of the *Regulations for*

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<sup>25</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, June 4, 1777, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw080174%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014).

<sup>26</sup> Washington, June 4, 1777.

<sup>27</sup> Washington, June 4, 1777.



*the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*. The specification of the time of day as well as the use of a regimental drummer to signal the subordinate regimental, brigade, and company drummers, indicates a past lack of regularity. The first use of a three tap warning followed by a ‘drummer’s call’ clearly attempted to limit the confusion of various companies, regiments, or brigades from beating a cacophony of beats, possibly conflicting instructions, or just general noise. Soldiers and officers in the camp took instruction from drum beatings and any conflicting orders as well as poorly timed practicing afforded potential confusion in the ranks. This confusion prompted strict orders regarding daily practice throughout the American Revolution. Camus cites a common practice of assigning one hour in the morning and one in the afternoon for drum or fife practice, though extremes of four hours also occurred.<sup>28</sup>

The Continental Army regulated drum beatings as specified by Baron Von Steuben in the army’s *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, as well as other less official but ubiquitous patterns that Camus asserts as prevalent.<sup>29</sup> Drum beatings dictated the combat maneuvers as well as the camp life of Continental soldiers. This organization of drum beatings reflects a recognized need for standardization that failed to emerge until several years into the war. Steuben’s regulation, known colloquially as the ‘Blue Book,’ passed in Congress on March 29, 1779, but the war preceded this by four years.<sup>30</sup> The publication of Steuben’s regulation in April of 1779 followed the Congressional order to the Board of War to “cause as many copies ... to be printed as they shall deem requisite for the use of the troops.”<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Camus, 72.

<sup>29</sup> Steuben, and Camus, 98.

<sup>30</sup> Steuben, ii, and Continental Congress, “Journals of the Continental Congress—Monday March 29, 1779,” A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:3:./temp/~ammem\\_EOsN:](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:3:./temp/~ammem_EOsN:;), (accessed November 1, 2014).

<sup>31</sup> Continental Congress, March 29, 1779.

The Continental army, similar to the British, Hessian, and French armies, needed a standard drill for the infantry to maneuver, especially as related to music.<sup>32</sup> These practices emerged after years of disorganization and a lack of comprehensive policies. Fife tunes written in the Diary of Henry Blake indicate that no standardization existed for that instrument either, though it, like the drum, helped Officers to control both camp life and field maneuvering of the army.<sup>33</sup> Warren P. Howe asserts that the army provided no standardization due to the existence of Blake's slightly disordered manuscripts during a retrograde operation in the New York campaign of 1776. Howe also asserts that the performing ability of fifers and drummers at this time depended on the continued learning of the individual musicians and "was therefore inconsistent among units."<sup>34</sup> Howe's argument remains plausible so long as one considers only the campaign season of 1776. As previously shown, General Washington himself ordered uniformity of drum beatings and methods, though to a lesser level than Steuben, as early as June of 1777. Steuben's blue book appeared in the spring of 1779, showing a propensity for regulation among the senior leadership of the Continental Army. Continental musicianship clearly developed throughout the Revolutionary War.

Drum Beatings of the Continental Army began with relatively simple rhythms and rote learning, meaning that the new musicians learned through repetition under the instruction of veteran musicians or drum majors. Camus notes the condition of music in the newly-formed Continental Army when Washington assumed command in 1775 by describing various levels of

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<sup>32</sup> Warren P. Howe, "Early American Military Music," *American Music* 17, no. 1: 87-116, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/215871656?accountid=8289> (accessed August 14, 2014), 89.

<sup>33</sup> Howe, 87-88.

<sup>34</sup> Howe, 88.

experience and training, mostly by rote and in the British tradition.<sup>35</sup> Despite this limited beginning, Howe asserts the oral tradition of drumming, as “often the equal of-and can be more accurate than-a written tradition.”<sup>36</sup> Schrader asserts that duty calls and marches either originated as or became traditional.<sup>37</sup> This conclusion emerges through the dearth of evidence of drumming uniformity prior to Steuben’s Blue Book. Camus also notes that drummers of the period failed arise to a “high standard” as few rudiments were required of a company musician.<sup>38</sup> The various drumming calls, and as many drummers learned their skills in the army, the practicing and teaching of the drummers so annoyed both the military and civilians that Major General William Heath, commander of the Continental Army’s Eastern Department, ordered in Boston on May 29, 1777, that drumming should be away from the House of Representatives and the Court House.

“The Honble [sic] House of Representatives having represented that the frequent Drumming around and near the Court House greatly interrupts the Debates of the Assembly, and desire that a stop may be put thereto, the General therefore forbids any Beating of Drums during the sitting of the Council or House of Representatives (except on some special occasions) either for practicing or on Duty...Fife Major Hywill will fix a parade for the Musick of Colo Crane’s Battalion, somewhere without the before mentioned limits.”<sup>39</sup>

This incident shows that the Continental Army, when encamped, vexed its neighbors with regard to noise from practicing drummers and likely the fifers as well. This view is supported in Steuben’s Blue Book when the drummers are instructed to practice “a hundred paces in front of

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<sup>35</sup> Camus, 82.

<sup>36</sup> Howe, 97.

<sup>37</sup> Schrader, 182.

<sup>38</sup> Camus, 84.

<sup>39</sup> Howe, 90, and Camus, 75.

the battalion, at the hours fixed by the adjutant general.”<sup>40</sup> Elaborating further, the regulation instructs, “any drummer found beating at any other time, (except as ordered) shall be punished.”<sup>41</sup>

Early written drum music from the period of the American Revolution does not exist as prevalently as descriptions of drumming. Steuben’s Blue Book references specific drum beatings in a verbal fashion under a title of “The Signals.”<sup>42</sup> These signals are under Chapter XXI, called “Of the different Beats of the Drum,” and are limited to twelve signals.<sup>43</sup> The First Sergeant’s Call characterizes the more easily understood group of beatings, described as “one roll and three flams.”<sup>44</sup> Other specific drum beatings include “All non-commissioned officers call,” explained as “two rolls and five flams,” “To go for wood,” explained as “poing stroke and ten stroke roll,” “water,” explained as “two strokes and a flam,” and “Front to halt,” described in detail as “two flams from right to left, and a full drag with the right, a left hand flam and a right hand full drag.”<sup>45</sup> The above five signals maintain clarity to the modern musician and are easily performable by trained contemporary musicians, except for the poing stroke. Modern drumming fails to utilize a poing and no authority claims to understand the exact nature of the poing, resulting in theories that include a light flam near the hoop of the drum that lightly touches the hoop at the same time, a simple hard stroke, a hard or smart sliding stroke, a rim shot, or a single heavy glancing blow.<sup>46</sup> The rest of the drum signals reference commonly understood patterns to

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<sup>40</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>42</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>43</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>44</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>45</sup> Steuben, 51.

the Continental Army musicians and soldiers, but modern musicians cannot understand these signals without further explanation.

The first unexplained drum signal in the “The Signals” chapter is the “Adjutant’s call,” simply described to the Continental Army as the “first part of the troop.”<sup>47</sup> Without an explanation of the drum beat or accompanying fife music, the troop call remains unexplained. Additional signals that rely on a relative reference to another pattern or song include the “provisions,” simply called “roast beef,” the direction “for the front to advance quicker,” as “the long march,” “to march slower” as “the taps,” “For the drummers” as “the drummer’s call,” “for a fatigue party,” as “the pioneers’ march,” and “For the church call” as “the parley.”<sup>48</sup> These various signals indicate a universal understanding of the beatings, contrary to some accounts of disorder among varying units in the army and their conflicting drum beatings. Camus notes that army regulations prior to Steuben failed to regulate the performance of an instrument. When mentioned in British or other continental European army manuals, explanations consisted only of musicians’ positions within the ranks or ceremonial formations. A reliance on rote training by fife or drum majors failed to achieve uniformity in the Continental Army, an army with no institutional history upon which to rely for training.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to signaling the soldiers in camp life, the use of the drum while marching emerges as a crucial function of the Continental Army’s drums. Chapter XIV, “Of the March of an Army or Corps,” details the use of the following beatings: the general, the assembly,

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<sup>46</sup> Camus 102-103.

<sup>47</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>48</sup> Steuben, 51.

<sup>49</sup> Camus, 82.

marching, and the long roll are mentioned in describing movement.<sup>50</sup> Each short paragraph describes the movement of a large formation of soldiers, under command of officers and signal of drums, and indicates the primacy of the drum as a signaling device. “The signals for halting, marching slower and quicker, must be given by beat of drum,” as opposed to “calling out” or signal from an adjutant.<sup>51</sup> As for directions to the individual private, the Appendix called Instructions details how the soldier must “acquaint himself with the usual beats and signals of the drum, and instantly obey them.”<sup>52</sup>

A misconception of the use of the drums in field music arises when the image of a large unit of soldiers marches to a steady cadence or drumbeat. Though used to signal maneuvers, due to the size of formations, the Continental Army as well as the British army did not use their drums for a steady marching beat. An indication of this appears in the British rules and regulations manual of 1794 where the manual dictates, “MUSIC or DRUMS to regulate the march is absolutely forbid,” and “ordered and cadenced MARCH can be acquired and preserved from the eye and habit alone.”<sup>53</sup> The marching without music or beats emerges in opposition to distractions such as “drums, musick, or other circumstances” that may be challenge the ability of the soldiers to march.<sup>54</sup> While the regulation allows for parade use of music, to inspire the column of march, it clarifies the use of music to be limited “where unity of step is not so critically required.”<sup>55</sup> The regulation appears about ten years after the American Revolution, but

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<sup>50</sup> Steuben, 40-41.

<sup>51</sup> Steuben, 41.

<sup>52</sup> Steuben, 80.

<sup>53</sup> *Rules and Regulations for the Formations, Field-Exercise, and Movements of His Majesty's Forces*, (Homer's Head: J Walter, 1798), S. 71, and Camus, 35.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Rules and Regulations*, S. 71.

the influence of recent army activities cannot be overlooked. Drum beatings or signals affected maneuvering of formations but did not regulate the marching pace. The beatings played by the drums and fifes in camp life regulated the soldier's day far more than the few beatings used for maneuvering on the field.

Most Continental Army musicians enjoyed higher pay than their fellow soldiers of the same rank. Congress, on July 26, 1776, set pay for drummers and fifers at seven and two-thirds dollars per month for the private, which equaled the pay of a corporal. Drum and Fife Majors enjoyed additional pay above their actual rank. Initially, as with the British army, Drum and Fife Majors earned additional pay in the form of a four-shilling deduction from all musicians under their instruction, to be lifted when the musician gained full competence. General Washington proposed the additional payment of a dollar per month so that the soldiers would no longer lose pay, which Congress passed on July 26, 1776.<sup>56</sup> In a later reorganization of the army, the Continental Congress raised the pay of the drum and fife majors to nine dollars per month and included them on the regimental staff, allowing for another line musician to play in the company that the drum or fife major previously occupied. In the artillery regiments, musicians enjoyed slightly higher pay at eight and two-thirds dollars per month with drum and fife majors earning ten and thirty-eight nintieths, also called cents, though the dollar only contained ninety cents at that time.<sup>57</sup>

#### Additional Musical Duties

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<sup>56</sup> Ward, 168, 172.

<sup>57</sup> Camus, 74.

Continental Army musicians performed other functions in addition to daily camp life signals. Funerals or memorials for fallen comrades occurred as often as possible or required, and elevated in reverence and elaborateness as the rank of the deceased increased. Funerals required the assistance of musicians. Camus cites a likely drum pattern, known as the “Dead March,” as being common for drums.<sup>58</sup> References to muffled drums and the name, Dead March, survive, but no music is extant. As for fifes, the song, Roslin Castle, apparently learned from Scottish bagpipers in New York, certainly appeared by June of 1779 at a funeral with Colonel Proctor’s Band. The song appeared with text and music in the *Boston Magazine* in 1783, though without funeral reference. Camus cites the common publication of the song following the revolution as an indication of its prevalence at funerals during the war.<sup>59</sup>

Roslin Castle invoked strong feelings of regret and sorrow among the men attending funerals. A brigade chaplain, William Rogers, described a funeral for victims of an Indian scalping, during an expedition against the Six Nations in June of 1779: “Roslin Castle, the soft and moving notes of which, together with what so forcibly struck the eye, tended greatly to fill our breasts with pity, and to renew our grief for our worthy departed friends and brethren.”<sup>60</sup> Years of war likely forced numerous funeral procession duties on the musicians as well as the regular troops of the army. The effect of funerals, with their music, apparently created a “tendency to depress the Spirits of the Sick in camp,” according to General Nathaniel Greene, prompting his ordering of the southern army to discontinue the practice.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Camus, 116.

<sup>59</sup> Camus, 117.

<sup>60</sup> William Rogers in Camus, 140.

<sup>61</sup> Ward, 170.



Another ceremonial use of drummers and fifers arose when officers, soldiers, or even civilians were ‘drummed out’ of the army. The extreme discipline of armies of the eighteenth century utilized corporal punishment and ceremonial punishment as both restitution and deterrent. Troops assembled for lashings, running of the gauntlet, and even executions, all accompanied by drums and fifes. A ‘drumming out’ ceremony usually included the song, *Rogues March*. Often following lashings, crimes such as plotting to desert, defect, perjury, fraud, negligence, drinking, or theft sometimes incurred a ‘drumming out.’ An incident of theft led to a ‘drumming out’ of camp by fifty-two drums and as many fifes, such that the drums, “when accompanied by such screaming of whifes [sic] that I could not hear the next man to me, or however could not hear what he said.”<sup>62</sup> The idea of the loudness of the ceremony, combined with the humiliation of the lashings and assembly of the camp, intended to dissuade any later commitments of similar crimes within the army.<sup>63</sup>

### **Inspector and Superintendent of Music**

#### Appointment

Following the effort to standardize the daily duties of the army under Steuben, General Washington created a position called the Inspector and Superintendent of Music in the Army. Similar to Steuben’s duty as Inspector General and subordinate inspectors general appointed for each brigade, Washington desired that one person standardize and manage the musical effort of the army. In his general orders of August 19, 1778: “Lieutenant Hiwill of Colonel Cranes Regiment of Artillery is appointed Inspector and Superintendent of Music in the Army and is to

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<sup>62</sup> Camus, 111-112.

<sup>63</sup> Ward, 174-175.

be respected accordingly. His Pay and Rations to be made equal to a Captains in the Train.”<sup>64</sup>

John Hiwell formerly served as fife major of Colonel Crane’s Artillery Regiment and headed the regiment’s band of music. Originally from Henry Knox’s Regiment of Artillery, Hiwell rose from Sergeant to Fife Major, a position title without change in rank, to Commission as a Lieutenant in the Third (Crane’s) Regiment of Continental Artillery, in January, 1778.<sup>65</sup> Though still a lieutenant, Hiwell enjoyed the higher pay of a captain at fifty dollars per month vice thirty three and one-third dollars per month for a lieutenant.<sup>66</sup> Washington’s general order failed to specify Hiwell’s duties, but the appointment and title indicate the major portion of the job, to standardize and improve the army’s music. As already discussed, Steuben’s regulations described some drum beatings but showed no musical notation, and fife music and bands of music remained to be regulated as Steuben did not mention them. Washington also expected some regularity with practice and discipline among the fifers and drummers, as a month prior to Hiwell’s appointment he ordered “that no drums beat after Retreat beating 'till Reveillee, unless by a general Order. Commanding Officers of Regiments and Corps are desired to see this order punctually complied with.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, August 19, 1778, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120374%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014).

<sup>65</sup> Raoul F. Camus, “Hiwell, John,” Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2083933> (accessed October 19, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Camus, 129.

<sup>67</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, July 20, 1778, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120232%29%29>, (accessed November 12, 2014).

Lieutenant Hiwell served for the entire war and continued as Inspector and Superintendent of Music until end of the war.<sup>68</sup> Regarding Hiwell's name, spelling irregularities exist for unknown reasons, and his last name sometimes appears as Hiwill or Hywell.<sup>69</sup> Hiwell himself seems to have preferred Hiwill as the known returns of music that he signed use that spelling, but Hiwell is seen on the outside of a letter sent to General Henry Knox on January 27, 1782, though the inside signature remains Hiwill.<sup>70</sup> For clarity, the spelling will be Hiwell throughout this paper.

General Washington attempted to understand the supply situation regarding music prior to the appointment of Hiwell. On August 5, 1778, Washington requested "A Return of Drums, Fifes, Drum-heads &c. wanting in the respective Brigades to be made immediately."<sup>71</sup> Within two weeks of this order, Washington dictated "The Brigade Quarter Masters are to apply to the Deputy Commissary General of Military Stores tomorrow for their proportion of tin Cannisters, Wires and Brushes, Fifes, Drum-heads, Snares, Sticks &c. and proportion them to the several Regiments agreeable to a late order."<sup>72</sup> Whether made in preparation for Hiwell's appointment or leading to that same appointment, Washington's order indicates that music so occupied the

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<sup>68</sup> Note 47 in "George Washington, August 19, 1778, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120374%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014), and Camus, "Hiwell, John."

<sup>69</sup> Camus, 75.

<sup>70</sup> John Hiwell to Henry Knox, January 27, 1782, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collections/bcfb9ddc-d73b-4441-b748-354329435218?back=/mweb/search%3Fneedle%3Dknox%2520hiwell%29>, (accessed October 18, 2014).

<sup>71</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, August 5, 1778, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120318%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014).

<sup>72</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, August 16, 1778, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120367%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014).

Commander-in-Chief that the disposition of music supplies required specific general orders to the entire army. The order of August 16<sup>th</sup> also indicates that musical necessities shifted between regiments in order to allow for all to have the same capability to perform. As regiments used music to control camp life as well as maneuver on the battlefield, working instruments and accessories proved to be essential to the field music and thereby the regular operation of the units.

Musical notation from the Revolutionary War appears to have been less standardized than Steuben's blue book indicates. Washington's motive in appointing Hiwell to Inspector and Superintendent of Music shows a two-fold mission: to coordinate supplies and to regulate musicality among the regiments as well as subordinate companies. While supplies will be discussed later in this paper, the musical interpretation appears to have immediately concerned Washington. In the General Orders of September 11, 1778, a mere three weeks after Hiwell's appointment, Washington ordered that "The Drum and Fife Majors of the Regiments on the Ground are to attend at the Inspector of Musick's tent in the rear of the Park tomorrow morning ten o'Clock to receive his Instructions."<sup>73</sup> Washington's statement in his General Orders clarifies any possible ambiguity about the order of precedence amongst fife and drum majors across the several regiments. While the whole served as equals in their respective units, Lieutenant Hiwell maintained operational control and musical primacy throughout the music majors of the Continental Army.

Lieutenant Hiwell worked to regularize the musical supplies and share them among the various regiments of the army. During the Middle Brook cantonment over the winter of 1778-

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<sup>73</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, September 11, 1778, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw120455%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014) and Camus, 129.

1779, Hiwell appears to have made several supply problems known to General Washington. In a letter to the Board of War of the Continental Congress on April 22, 1779, Washington notes: “There are upwards of one hundred Drums wanting in this part of the Army and I imagine a proportion in the remainder. I shall be obliged by having means taken to procure them if it is not already done, and forwarded as fast as finished.”<sup>74</sup> Washington communicated with the board of war on a regular basis, making a declaration of this nature appropriate. The fact that music occupied enough priority to be mentioned as a specific request for drums does illustrate the esteem which Washington held music and the proper equipping of musicians. The Board of War returned Washington’s correspondence with a response less than three weeks later, quick considering the time of year and involvement in the Congressional committee required for a response. “The Board have been frequently applied to on the subject of Drums & Colours for the several Regiments. It is imposible to comply with all the Requisitions for these Articles as we have not materials to make either in sufficient Numbers.”<sup>75</sup> The board continued by explaining that, “We hope however to have in a short Time a competent Number of Drums so soon as they are made.”<sup>76</sup> The board’s recognition of Washington’s request and indication of efforts to acquire drums shows that the war board understood the serious need for music in the army’s field setting.

Lieutenant Hiwell worked to obtain instruments and supplies through the army while General Washington worked with the Board of War. Samual Hodgdon, the Commissary General

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<sup>74</sup> George Washington, “George Washington to Continental Congress War Board, April 22, 1779” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw140417%29%29> (accessed October 18, 2014)

<sup>75</sup> Board of War, “Continental Congress War Board to George Washington, May 10, 1779, two same date” George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799, American Memory <http://memory.loc.gov/mss/mgw/mgw4/058/0500/0567.jpg> (accessed October 18, 2014).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

of Military Stores, wrote to Major James Pearson, the Commissary of Quartermaster Stores, on May 14, 1779, regarding missing musical supplies from a recent order. “Four B. clarinet a small box of Cane suitable for reeds of bassoons and Clarinets, two French horns Concert and twelve D. Concert fifes,” are cited as not yet delivered, though requested by General Knox at the behest of Hiwell, who informed Knox that the band “Must cease Their Martial and Animating sounds for want of instruments.”<sup>77</sup> Hiwell’s assertions of dire need failed to achieve immediate results. Delays in obtaining the instruments appear to have been related to the Board of War’s discussion on what instruments were actually needed for a military band of music, and what reasonable cost to expect. Hodgdon later wrote that Hiwell “has been so disgusted at the delay that he has been almost ready to resign any further charge of the band- indeed the man has merited attention by indefatigable endeavors to promote the science of Musick in the Army.”<sup>78</sup> Hiwell’s persistence paid off as he eventually received two clarinets, a full seven months after the original correspondence began.<sup>79</sup>

The arrangement and layout of tents during camp life maintained a high priority with regard to the order and discipline of the Continental Army. The Middle Brook encampment, a full year following the Valley Forge encampment, appears to have further refined the tenting requirements with regard to musicians. Steuben’s blue book described and pictured the layout of the army in encampment, though the army already followed a system similar to the British in formally assigning an area to each unit and arrangement of tents for the officers, non-commissioned officers, and regimental supplies.<sup>80</sup> Though not mentioned specifically in

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<sup>77</sup> Samuel Hodgdon in Camus, 134.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>79</sup> Camus, 136.

<sup>80</sup> Camus, 125, and Steuben, Plate VII.

Steuben's layout, musicians served to signal each company and regiment several times during the day and clearly required a feasible location from which to perform these duties. Washington ordered on May 27, 1779, to reorganize or formalize the types and numbers of tents for each regiment, as well as who specifically used each. Authorizations included a common tent for the fife and drum majors of each regiment to share, similar to the Sergeant Major and Quartermaster Sergeant, and the same size as the tent authorized the rest of the non-commissioned officers of each company and for every six privates. Washington continued by specifying that drums and fifes were included in the ration of six privates per tent. Washington appears to have been motivated by differing interpretations of tent requirements as well as excess hindering the army: "No regiment to have a greater proportion of tents either for officers or privates than the above; not even if the officers would furnish themselves at their own expence, as it will increase the baggage of the Army and render its operations more slow and tardy."<sup>81</sup> Camus asserts that Lieutenant Hiwell worked to make the accommodation on the fife and drum majors' behalf.<sup>82</sup> Regardless of why the authorization appeared, it amounted to an increase in tents authorized for musicians and recognition of the esteem of the fife and drum majors, who already enjoyed higher pay than men of equal rank.

### Music Returns

Supply shortages for the Continental Army affected all aspects of military operations, including music. Lieutenant Hiwell's duties, though not specified in Washington's original appointment other than by his title, included tracking the number and condition of various items,

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<sup>81</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, May 27, 1779, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw150147%29%29> (accessed October 20, 2014)

<sup>82</sup> Camus, 130.

especially drums and fifes, but also other instruments, drum sticks, paper for music notation, and smaller parts of various instruments. Accounting for these supplies and soldiers occurred with the use of documents called Returns, which basically were spreadsheets annotating the number of various categories of soldiers and equipment. Returns originated when Adjutant General Horatio Gates established a general format in a grid system. His “Strength Return of the Continental Army,” compiled at the siege of Boston in March of 1776, guided later returns on pay, muster, and in Hiwell’s case, the status of music.<sup>83</sup> Officers compiled returns for various needs, sometimes on a weekly or monthly basis and otherwise as a special return. Washington refers to the weekly and monthly returns of the regiments in his General Orders for March 11, 1779, indicating that the past practice already included regular returns. Commanders of the regiments received further guidance to deliver their weekly returns to the brigades who were to examine and compile them. Further, Washington directed the oldest officer of each company to extend the “roll-call” into a morning report every Monday and Thursday to “be digested into field returns and delivered to the officer commanding the Brigade.”<sup>84</sup> Lieutenant Hiwell’s returns differed from the more general returns of the army due to the nature of his music-focused duty, and only five of Hiwell’s returns are extant. Like the regular returns of the army, Hiwell likely completed many more music returns at regular intervals, likely monthly, but only five extant returns can be studied. Washington’s order of March 11, 1779, included the sixteenth instruction following a seventeen item list of instructions regarding returns: “With the monthly returns are to be transmitted returns of clothing, arms, ammunition and accoutrements to the Adjutant General.

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<sup>83</sup> Howe, 90, and Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army*, (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1983), 31.

<sup>84</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, March 11, 1779, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw140223%29%29> (accessed October 21, 2014)



All the aforementioned returns to be made according to the blank printed forms which shall be delivered them.”<sup>85</sup> The normal strength returns followed a standard or sometimes pre-printed format while Hiwell’s returns, using hand-written column headings appear to have been written on one of the aforesaid blank printed forms. Returns of the army and music of the army appear regularly while other returns appear at irregular intervals, such as General Washington’s request that, “A return to be made to morrow, to the Adjutant General, of all the women belonging to the camp.”<sup>86</sup> This referred to the unofficial female camp followers that assisted with cooking, laundry, and other needs of the army. Returns appeared for various reasons at the request of Washington and other commanders.

General Washington modified the instructions regarding the format of the army returns to meet his needs, and detailed some changes in a publication of his General Orders for March 11, 1779. Under this revised guidance, continued effort to understand the number of officers and soldiers fit for duty remained, as was the inclusion of other categories such as the annotation of various other statuses. The ninth regulation of the day’s order specified a column titled “wanting to complete,” and instructed officers to annotate the number of “serjeants, drums and fifes and rank and file deficient of the establishment.”<sup>87</sup> Musicians’ inclusion in this column proves their value to the overall effectiveness, or ability to fight, of the regiments. Musicians mattered to the strength of the army and gathered the attention of the Commander-in-Chief through their inclusion on the general returns of the army. The columns on a general return detailed considerations for soldiers’ ability to be “fit for action,” and the only non-soldier considerations

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<sup>85</sup> Washington, March 11, 1779.

<sup>86</sup> Washington, June 4, 1777.

<sup>87</sup> Washington, March 11, 1779.

mentioned in this order were “Waggoners” and “Waggoners Wanting Cloaths.”<sup>88</sup> Washington in the next year revised the annotation of “Waggoners, Artificers and all others who are so employed as not to be counted upon as part of the effective force of the army,” but to be listed on an additional column under the heading of “Extra Service.”<sup>89</sup> This further refinement of non-soldiering actions reminds the officers compiling the returns that musicians were special in nature and part of the army’s strength. Musicians remained reflected in the strength of the army on the general returns of the army, even though Lieutenant Hiwell maintained more detailed musician records on his music returns.

Only five music returns of Lieutenant Hiwell remain extant. As mentioned previously, the Continental army regularly utilized returns to report the strength of units to the command. Returns, sometimes drafted into a grid by hand or otherwise written on pre-printed grids, when compiled and submitted to the next higher command, culminated at the Commander-in-Chief as a return of the entire Continental Army. Lieutenant Hiwell entitled his returns: Return of the Music of the Army... followed by the name of the commander of the specific army. For example, the first known return bears the title: “Return of the Music of the Army under the immediate Command of his Excellency General Washington.”<sup>90</sup> The heading also bore the location and date, in this case, “New Windsor, February 25<sup>th</sup>, 1781.”<sup>91</sup> The left side of the return lists the brigades currently under General Washington’s immediate command, listed as follows:

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<sup>88</sup> Washington, March 11, 1779.

<sup>89</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, January 22, 1780, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw170489%29%29> (accessed October 22, 2014).

<sup>90</sup> John Hiwell, “Return of the Music of the Army under the immediate Command of his Excellency General Washington, February 25, 1781,” GLC02437.00900, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed September 27, 2014).

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

Artillery, N[ew]. Hampshire, 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts, 2d Ditto (namely 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts), 3d Ditto, 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut, 2d Ditto (Connecticut), and Col Hazens Regiment. Colonel Hazen's Regiment, also known as Congress' Own or Hazen's Own, originally formed in Canada following the Quebec Campaign and did not belong to a specific state or brigade as most other regiments did, explaining its separate and unique listing on this return.<sup>92</sup> The bottom portion of the return featured a large space for comments to be written in prose as opposed to the numbered accounting that primarily occupied the rest of the document.

The February 25, 1781 music return lists five overall categories of equipment readiness as a heading on the top line: 'Fit for Duty,' 'unfit,' 'good,' 'bad,' and 'Wanting.' The first two categories refer to soldiers while the last three focus on equipment needs, namely instruments, replacement parts, and supplies. The next line below the heading perpendicularly lists the following under 'Fit for Duty:' 'Fife majors,' 'Fifers,' 'D[rum]. Majors,' and 'Drummers' while under the 'unfit' heading, 'Fifers' and 'Drummers' are listed. Beneath the 'good' and 'Bad' headings, 'Fifes' and 'Drums' occupy the only two columns in each respective heading. The 'Wanting' heading lists several desired instruments and supplies: 'B Clarinets,' 'Fifes,' 'Fife cases,' 'Drums,' 'D[rum]. cases,' 'D[rum]. Carriages,' 'D[rum]. cords,' 'D[rum]. sticks,' 'D[rum]. heads,' 'D[rum]. Snairs [sic],' 'Blank books,' and '[sheets] of Paper.' Under the various categories and in line with the specific regiment, the document forms a grid similar to a modern spreadsheet. As previously mentioned, comments elaborating upon or explaining the return appeared below the grid. In this case, a note explains that the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania lines are not included, but they will "want at least as great a proportion as those

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<sup>92</sup> "The Canadians Who Fought at Yorktown," Yorktown Battlefield, National Park Service, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070116131304/http://www.nps.gov/york/historyculture/the-canadians-who-fought-at-yorktown.htm> (accessed October 25, 2014).

mentioned here,” referring to the above enumerated regiments.<sup>93</sup> The other brigades and regiments likely received an accounting in the form of a separate return listed under their respective army commander.

When analyzing the numbers of the February 25, 1781 music return, each soldier and instrument present or wanting suggests a number of conclusions. Regarding fife majors, each brigade accounted for two except the Artillery and Colonel Hazen’s, both having one, and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts, noting three. This suggests the number of regiments present in each brigade, as the practice of employing a single fife major per regiment already established. General Washington reorganized the regiments into new brigades on January 1, 1781, in his General Orders of the day. The Massachusetts brigades comprised of the following: first brigade comprising of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> regiments, second brigade comprising the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> regiments, and third brigade comprised of 3<sup>rd</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> regiments. In a similar way, Washington organized the Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island regiments into three brigades. The first Connecticut brigade comprised of the 1<sup>st</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> Connecticut regiments. The second Connecticut brigade comprised of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Connecticut regiments. The final brigade, called the New Hampshire brigade, comprised of both the regiments of New Hampshire and Rhode Island. Colonel Hazen’s regiment “will be considered as a reserve and be unannexed to any brigade at this time,” Washington ordered, explaining Hazen’s Regiment as separately listed on Hiwell’s February 25, 1781 Music Return.<sup>94</sup> Considering the number of regiments assigned to each Brigade, the Artillery Regiment, second Massachusetts brigade, second Connecticut brigade, New Hampshire brigade, and Colonel Hazen’s regiment, all employed the

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<sup>93</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

<sup>94</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, January 1, 1781, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw210062%29%29>, (accessed October 30, 2014).

correct number of fife majors, meaning one per regiment. The remaining first Massachusetts brigade, short two fife majors, third Massachusetts brigade, short one fife major, first Connecticut brigade, short one fife major, all combine to show four fife majors unassigned under the above-named brigades. Put another way, four of the nineteen total regiments at New Windsor reported no fife major. The music return, while showing the number of fife majors in each brigade, fails to explain the low number of fife majors and which specific regiments lack the same. Possible explanations include casualties, expiring enlistments, or lack of qualified candidates to fill the positions.<sup>95</sup>

The question regarding Lieutenant Hiwell's duty being primarily as fife major or Director and Superintendent of the Music requires examination of the February 25, 1781 Music Return. Hiwell's duties already included regular practice sessions with the fife and drum majors of the regiments. Though dated after this return, the General Orders of July 20, 1781, show that Hiwell regularly instructed: "Until further orders the Drum and Fife Majors of the several Corps in Camp are to assemble every day at 10 o'clock A.M. in the wood in the rear of the second line to practice under the direction of the Inspector of Music who will attend for that purpose."<sup>96</sup> While Hiwell instructed drum and fife majors of the several regiments, his time allowed for playing fife with his regiment, just as any fife major did during camp life and ceremonies. Had the Artillery Regiment needed a second fife major, by this late in the war it likely would have trained one as Lieutenant Hiwell himself served in the Artillery Regiment. Camus assures that Hiwell maintained command of the band of music, namely the social and ceremonial band while also instructing fife majors and drum majors, as detailed in Washington's order of July 27, 1781,

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<sup>95</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

<sup>96</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, July 20, 1781, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw220436%29%29>, (accessed October 25, 2014).

where “Colonel Crane's Band of Music” was ordered to “attend the Grand Parade every Morning.”<sup>97</sup> Camus explains this order regarding the band as one that allowed Hiwell to continue training the fife and drum majors, rather than to lose time participating in the morning parade that normally included all regimental field musicians. The Artillery Regiment’s musicians, clearly capable of performing either as a band or with field instruments of drums and fifes, met this requirement of the Commander-in-Chief while their fife major and bandleader accomplished the standardization of the fife and drum majors, demonstrating the band’s proficiency and suggesting no need for a second fife major. Additionally, fife majors served to train subordinate musicians and the regimental level, not to play a separate roll in the performance of music, thus negating the need for a second fife major for the artillery regiment, who enjoyed the presence of the army’s top musician. The Artillery Regiment, therefore, only needed one fife major and Hiwell accounted for himself as that one fife major.<sup>98</sup>

The several brigades at New Windsor, which were those reflected on the February 25, 1781 music return, enjoyed three more drum majors at eighteen than the fifteen total fife majors. The Artillery Regiment, New Hampshire Brigade, second Massachusetts Brigade, third Massachusetts Brigade, first Connecticut Brigade, second Connecticut Brigade, and Colonel Hazen’s Regiment all enjoyed the full strength of one drum major per regiment. The first Massachusetts Brigade only reported two drum majors of four authorized positions, and the Artillery Regiment maintained one extra drum major. In total, the nineteen regiments suffered two less drum majors than authorized, though the Artillery Regiment maintained an extra drum major for unknown reasons. Possibilities include past separation of artillery companies requiring

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<sup>97</sup> Camus, 137, and George Washington, “George Washington, July 27, 1781, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw220468%29%29>, (accessed October 25, 2014).

<sup>98</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

an additional drum major or anticipation of a future loss of a drum major to illness, casualty, or expired enlistment.<sup>99</sup>

Analysis of the fifes raises questions not immediately answerable from the return itself. The February 25, 1781 return lists for the Artillery Regiment one fife major, four fifers, and ten more fifers under the unfit column, which should be interpreted to mean learning to play the fife as opposed to the practice on regular army returns of denoting sick or on-leave soldiers as unfit. Hiwell supports this explanation in later returns, where the column heading is changed to learners. Five fifers plus ten learners then compares to three fifes listed in the good column while seven appear to be bad, or ten total fifes. The return therefore accounts for fifteen total fifers that appear to play only ten fifes total. Further questions arise when sixteen fifes appear to be needed under the Wanting heading. Possible explanations include the likelihood that some of the current fifes, even though not enough in number, needed repair or replacement, or that the fife major intended on training new fifers in advance of old fifers leaving the duty position or the army, or even that the fife major or commander intended on increasing the total number of fife musicians in the regiment. It is unclear how the number of all the listings on this return, including fife majors and fifers, applied to the individual regiments within each brigade as the total number appear by brigade, save the separate artillery and Hazen regiments.<sup>100</sup>

The idea of the currently-possessed fifes wearing out appears to be supported by the request on the February 25, 1781 music return for sixteen fifes but only fourteen fife cases, suggesting possession of two more un-used cases. The fifes were fragile in the sense that their thin wood easily cracked when exposed to cold weather. A crack or leak immediately hindered

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<sup>99</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

<sup>100</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

the effectiveness of the instrument and made it more difficult to play. A confirmed issue from the previous summer regarding fifes arose when General Washington ordered “fife Majors are to attend...with all their old fifes for the purpose of having them properly sorted to the same Keys.”<sup>101</sup> The large number of requested fifes, therefore, likely arose due to mismatched keys of the instruments, though wear and tear likely contributed. Fifes, as an open-holed instrument, could not change key outside of slight tuning adjustments to the whole instrument. The clashing noise of the already shrill instruments therefore precluded fifes of differing keys playing together. Camus suggests the loudness of the instrument, as opposed to the contrasting softness of a modern flute, supports the ratio of only one fife per 100-man company.<sup>102</sup> The above detailed numbers regarding fifes remain consistent when tallied for the entire army: fifteen fife majors plus seventy-five fifers, plus forty-six unfit or learners, equals 136 fifes apparently needed to allow for one fife per fifer. On-hand fifes only numbered sixty-five good and thirty-seven bad, totaling 102 fifes on-hand, balanced by a request for ninety-one more fifes and 122 more fife cases.<sup>103</sup>

The question of whether fife majors appeared twice on the return under the Fife Major column and Fifer column appears unlikely. Fife Majors certainly required previous playing experience and additional training by the Inspector and Superintendent of Music, evidenced by Washington’s General Orders of September 11, 1778, that required the drum and fife majors to “attend at the Inspector of Musick's tent...to receive his Instructions.”<sup>104</sup> Fife Majors in the

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<sup>101</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, August 31, 1780, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw190530%29%29> (accessed October 25, 2014).

<sup>102</sup> Camus, 15-16.

<sup>103</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

<sup>104</sup> Washington, General Orders of September 11, 1778.



British Army maintained discipline and well-being of the fifers, and sometimes required an audition period of up to six months before being confirmed in their duty position. Even when confirmed, fife majors remained actively playing and marched within the ranks of the fifers.<sup>105</sup> In the same tradition, Pennsylvania authorized its militia in 1777 to select fife and drum majors as “persons experienced in the duties of their respective offices.”<sup>106</sup> Hiwell, more than two years into his position of Inspector and Superintendent of Music, and serving as fife major himself, likely separately listed the fife and drum majors on the return. Double-listing the fife and drum majors achieves no purpose except confusion, and both positions assumed perfect knowledge of the duty of the fifer and drummer respectively, thereby allowing for a full accounting by adding the columns together, rather than subtracting the fife or drum majors from the total fit for duty musicians. Senior leaders reading the return viewed total numbers of every category, so the idea of subtracting a double-listed person, even if in leadership, remains unlikely.

The situation regarding drums mirrors that of the fifes. While trained drum majors and drummers fulfilled daily camp duties, a need for a significant number of additional drum musicians and drums remained a challenge to the army. As an example on the February 25, 1781 music return, the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Brigade counted two drum majors and twenty-three trained drummers, along with five unfit or learning drummers. This total of thirty drummers utilized ten drums classified as good and five classified as bad. If those bad drums still functioned, there still appears to only have been one drum available for every two drummers in the regiment, a fifty percent equipment readiness rating. Even if only twenty-three drummers performed, or even only twenty-one if the drum majors were included in the twenty-three, there still only appears to have

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<sup>105</sup> Camus, 17-18.

<sup>106</sup> Camus, 57.

been fifteen drums available, and only ten if the five bad drums failed to function, twenty-three currently-proficient drummers, and for up to thirty total drummers. Similar to the fife accounting, a separate column noted the need for drum cases. Twenty-seven drum cases appear to be needed, though only nineteen drums are requested. Since the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts maintained fifteen drums total, it can be assumed that at least seven drums already had cases as the total number of drums, if fully supplied, would have exceeded the twenty-seven requested cases by seven. As with the fifes, when expanded to the entire army, the total number of drum majors, drummers, and learners at 173, far exceeded the available drums in good repair at seventy or even the total number of drums, which was ninety-eight if all twenty-eight bad drums were serviceable. Requested drums notated on the wanting column were eighty-eight along with 154 cases. If fulfilled, the drums requested plus the drums on-hand, including those under the 'Bad' heading, would have equaled 186, enough to give each drummer and learner their own drum.<sup>107</sup>

The drum, by their nature of requiring several component parts that wore with use and weather, often required repairs or installation of replacement parts. Lieutenant Hiwell noted several categories of drum parts on the return, including carriages, cords, sticks, heads, and snares. The 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut Bigade, for example, reported twelve serviceable drums and five bad drums. Besides requesting eight additional drums, the regiment desired twenty drum carriages, six drum cords, eight pairs of drum sticks, twenty drum heads, and four drum snares. The request of twenty carriages and heads exceeds the number of possessed drums at seventeen, which suggests an ongoing need for replacement parts, whether for the drums currently on hand or the increased number if the requested additional eight drums materialized. The requested parts certainly exceed the five drums listed as bad, suggesting that the parts needed to be continually

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<sup>107</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

replaced or repaired. If expanded to the full army under Washington's immediate command, the return suggests a similar dire need for parts across the army. For the seventy good and twenty-eight bad drums or a total of ninety-eight drums, if all could be played, the return lists the total need of the army at 107 carriages, sixty-one cords, fifty-seven pairs of drum sticks, ninety-three drum heads, and fifty-four drum snares. Some parts requested exceed the number of drums on-hand and confirm that the parts either wore quickly or the regiments assumed that some of the eighty-eight total requested drums could be supplied. The drum carriages present an alternate theory as well: that each individual drummer desired his own. This makes sense as the size of each drummer required adjustment to the straps holding the drum, not always quickly completed if the strap was worn or old. When compared to total number of 186 drums, if all requests were realized, the request for 107 carriages added to the seventy good drums one hand nearly equals that total number of one drum per drummer. The few short of 186 likely existed on a few of the twenty-eight 'Bad' drums. Again, even if the army received all requested or a partial order of new drums, maintenance parts clearly remained necessary for the ongoing function of the field drums used by the Continental Army.<sup>108</sup>

The last two columns under the Wanting heading refer to blank books of paper and paper for writing fife music. The fact that these books appear on the return indicates that musicians used the paper, and if using the paper some of the musicians achieved a level of music literacy. Howe asserts that the final column of the February 25, 1781 music return, more readable on later music returns as 'sheets of paper for fifers,' indicates that Continental musicians "were either musically literate or were in the process of achieving that capability."<sup>109</sup> Hiwell's annotation of

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<sup>108</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

<sup>109</sup> Howe, 95.

paper requests from the regiments appears to be fairly small in scope as no single regiment requested more than one book of blank paper or two sheets of paper for the fifers. Hiwell's limited paper requests also may be the result of challenges in the Continental army acquiring paper in general. Washington, in early 1778, explained to the Board of War that, "frequent complaints of the Brigade Majors and Adjutants, for want of Writing Paper" requires his and the board's attention.<sup>110</sup> He continues by elaborating about the dire need of paper and even suggests importing it as he speculates that none can be acquired from local sources. Even if challenges in paper supply persisted, Hiwell and the musicians of the army, desired paper, indicating that its use assisted the musical effort of the various regiments. Fife melodies developed throughout the war and likely changed as new tunes gained popularity. Since fifers learned some or all of their tunes while in the Continental Army, the need for paper suggests a teaching method utilizing literacy in music. The blank paper serves multiple uses and could have been used for music by drummers or fifers, or even just normal soldierly duties.<sup>111</sup>

The next available music return, titled "Return of the Musick of the Army under the command of the Hon. Maj. Genl. Heath," located at Continental Village, November 1, 1781, follows the same general format as the first return of February 25, 1781. Following a full campaign season since aforementioned return, this return compiles the musical personnel and supplies of the Massachusetts Regiment of Artillery, nine Massachusetts Regiments of Infantry, and five Connecticut Regiments of Infantry. This music return's accounting at the regimental level offers more direct insight to the individual regiments as the earlier February 25, 1781 return compiled numbers at the brigade level. Continental Village, located near another camp at New

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<sup>110</sup> George Washington, "George Washington to Continental Congress War Board, February 27, 1778," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw100483%29%29>, (accessed October 26, 2014).

<sup>111</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781.

Windsor, combined with the fortress at West Point to make up the Army Highland Department.<sup>112</sup> The headings remain the same: ‘Fit for Duty,’ ‘unfit,’ ‘Good,’ ‘Bad,’ and ‘Wanting.’ The column headings remain the same except for a couple variations under the wanting heading: namely that fife cases and drum cases no longer appear, and the ‘drum carriages’ column is replaced by the new heading of ‘D[rum]. Belts.’ The return bears the signature of Lieutenant Hiwell and a note on the bottom stating: “fifes are exceedingly wanted.”<sup>113</sup>

When compared to the previous return, the November 1, 1781 music return shows General Heath’s command of an army consisting of the regiments of Massachusetts and Connecticut infantry. When examining the music leadership strength of fife majors, no regiment exceeds the number of one fife major per regiment. Previously, the artillery regiment on November 1, 1781, maintained one fife major while the November 1, 1781 music return shows the artillery regiment as accounting for no fife majors. The lack of a fife major could appear for any of the previous reasons, though it also may reflect Lieutenant Hiwell as accounted for on another return, such as a Brigade or army level headquarters or guard section, rather than his own artillery regiment. As for the remaining fourteen infantry regiments shown on the November 1, 1781 music return, each of the nine Massachusetts and five Connecticut regiments maintain one fife major, as authorized. This reflects an improvement as the previous winter’s return accounted for only fifteen fife majors, or four short of the nineteen total regiments. As of February 25, 1781, the first Massachusetts Brigade showed a shortage of two fife majors, so two from the first, fourth, seventh, or tenth Massachusetts Infantry regiments gained fife majors. Similarly, as

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<sup>112</sup> Howe, 90.

<sup>113</sup> John Hiwell, “Return of the Music of the Army under the command of the Hon. Maj. Genl. Heath, November 1, 1781,” GLC02437.01278, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed September 21, 2014).

of February 25, 1781, the third Massachusetts Brigade gained a fife major in one of any of the third, sixth, or ninth regiments. Finally, the first Connecticut Brigade gained a fife major in one of the first, third, or fifth Connecticut Infantry Regiments. The combined addition of four fife majors and a full strength reflection across the army under General Heath's command indicate an ability of Lieutenant Hiwell and the fife majors to train new or replacement fife majors. Of the regiments reflected on both returns, a gain from twelve to fourteen fife majors, despite the loss from the Artillery Regiment, shows the total improvement.<sup>114</sup>

The leadership of drum majors fluctuated slightly between the February 25, 1781 and November 1, 1781 music returns. Previously, the artillery regiment maintained two drum majors, while the November 1, 1781 music return shows the artillery regiment as maintaining one drum major. Unknown reasons for the change in number of drum majors include the possibility of reassignment of one, or expiring enlistment or even casualty. On the February 25, 1781 music return, the first Massachusetts Brigade reported only two drum majors for its four regiments. The next return shows that three of the four regiments maintained a drum major and only the 7th Massachusetts Regiment of Infantry as short of a drum major, an improvement from two to three total for the brigade. This may, in fact, have completed the brigade's drum major quota as the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry regiment appeared within the February 25, 1781 return under the first Massachusetts brigade, but then was reassigned to the Northern Department under the New Hampshire Brigade later that year, preventing its inclusion on the November 1, 1781 music return.<sup>115</sup> The regiments of the second Massachusetts Brigade dropped from three total drum majors to two as the 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts Infantry regiment showed no drum major on November 1,

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<sup>114</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, Jr., 211.

1781. Similarly, the third Massachusetts Brigade dropped from three drum majors to two, as the 6<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry regiment reported no drum major on November 1, 1781. When compared to overall army reporting, the February 25, 1781 music return shows eighteen drum majors for nineteen regiments, and the November 1, 1781 music return shows twelve drum majors for fifteen regiments. The first return includes the New Hampshire brigade and Colonel Hazen's regiment, which do not show in the second return. Therefore, of the regiments shown on the second return, the number of drum majors dropped from fifteen to twelve, reflecting a loss of drumming leadership.<sup>116</sup>

As for the line fifiers, meaning not the fife majors, the 'fit for duty' fifiers of the November 1, 1781 return average less than five 'Fit for Duty,' per regiment, an increase over an average of slightly less than four per regiment on February 25, 1781. When only considering the regiments that appear on both returns, the February 25 average drops to less than four trained fifiers per regiment. The improvement in trained fifiers over the year also compares to an improvement in combined fit and unfit fifiers. On February 25, the nineteen total regiments averaged more than six total fifiers, whether learning or trained, per regiment. When limited to the common fifteen regiments of both returns, the February 25 total fifer average drops to less than six per regiment as the New Hampshire Regiment maintained a large number of fifiers at thirty-four. The sub-four average improved to more than eight per regiment on November 1, 1781. When considered in whole, the regiments common to both returns showed an improvement in both trained and learning fifiers, making the combined average of all fifiers increase to above eight per regiment.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

<sup>117</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

Unfortunately, the regiments' Congressional authorizations, effective January 1, 1781, called for ten fifiers per regiment plus the additional fife major. Nine of the fifiers served the eight regular companies and one light infantry company, while the tenth fifer served on the staff and often conducted recruiting duty in the sponsoring state of the regiment.<sup>118</sup> As for the individual regiments, the following regiments, when combining fit and unfit fifiers, met the authorization of ten fifiers: 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts, 9<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut, and 2<sup>nd</sup> Connecticut. The individual companies enjoying the 'unfit' musicians may have objected to the idea of being at full strength for fifiers, but in numbers alone, when averaged, the situation appears to have improved over the February 25, 1781 return. All other companies trailed the required authorization, including the Artillery Regiment.<sup>119</sup>

The number of drummers per regiment improved in all respects when comparing the music returns of February 25, 1781 and November 1, 1781. When only looking at the fifteen common regiments, the initial average number of 'Fit for Duty' drummers increased slightly from below five and half to above five and a half. The number of learners increased more significantly from above two to above three, making the overall number of drummers per regiment increase from under eight on February 25 to nearly nine on November 1. The improvement in numbers remains consistent even when considering the average from the four regiments not included on both returns. More importantly, the following seven regiments met the January 1, 1781 Congressional Authorization for field drummers: 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts, 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts, 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, which also reported an extra or eleventh drummer, 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut, 2<sup>nd</sup> Connecticut, 3<sup>rd</sup> Connecticut, and 4<sup>th</sup> Connecticut. As with the fifiers, some of

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<sup>118</sup> Wright, Jr., 158.

<sup>119</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.



the individual companies within the noted seven regiments enjoyed the services of a learning, rather than trained, drummer, but still met the authorized number. The remaining eight regiments failed to meet the quota with the 7<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts reporting the lowest combined number of drummers at seven. In regards to personnel, Lieutenant Hiwell reported an increase in both trained and learning drummers and fifers between the period of February 25, 1781, and November 1, 1781.<sup>120</sup>

The equipment of the November 1, 1781 music return appears to have resolved significantly with regard to both fifes and drums. While previously the total army under Washington required ninety-one new fifes, now only sixty-eight fifes appeared under the wanting heading for the fifteen regiments of the November 1 return. Similarly, the eighty-eight drums reduced down to only seven wanting on November 1, 1781. If the original request reduced from the nineteen total regiments to just the fifteen common regiments between the two returns, the requested fifes still numbered eighty-six and requested drums seventy-two, as of February 25. This reduction in needed equipment reflects a drop in average needed fifes from nearly six per regiment to under five per regiment. Similarly, the requested drums reached nearly five per regiment when averaged on the February 25 music return, and dropped to below one per regiment requested on November 1, 1781.<sup>121</sup>

Component parts of the drums, subject to wear and damage, appear to have arrived in significant numbers during the 1781 campaign season. The receipt of drum supplies allowed a reduction in need from 107 drum carriages to only nineteen belts, assuming the belts served the same function as drum carriages. The belt refers to a belt around the waist that tied to a drum

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<sup>120</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781, and Wright, Jr., 158.

<sup>121</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

while the carriage refers to an over-the-shoulder design of carrying the weight of the drum. The reduction in the request for carriages or belts remains significant when considering the 107 requested drum carriages accounted for nineteen total regiments, and when reduced to only the fifteen common regiments between the February 25 and November 1, 1781 returns, ninety-one belts or carriages still appeared under the wanting category on November 1. The request for blank books, paper likely used by the drum majors and drummers but possibly by fifers, also appears to have been met during the campaign season as the nineteen combined regiments requested nine blank books on February 25, and only one blank book request remained on November 1.<sup>122</sup>

Some equipment requests either remained unfulfilled or the need increased throughout the calendar year. The request for drum cords requires further examination as first look at the two returns shows a reduction of sixty-one drum cords requested to fifty-seven. When scrutinized to consider the sixty-one needed by the total army under General Washington reduced to only forty-seven for the common fifteen regiments, the request for drum cords actually increased to fifty-seven. Other component needs of drums increased similarly when considering that of the nineteen regiments under Washington's command, fifteen appear for comparison on the November 1, 1781 music return. Drum sticks requested by Washington's army reduced from fifty-seven pair to forty-two needed by the fifteen common regiments, then on November first fifty-nine pair appeared under the wanting heading; drum heads reduced from ninety-three in Washington's command to seventy-seven in the fifteen regiments, but increased to ninety-one on November 1; and drum snares reduced from fifty-four forty-six in the common fifteen regiments, but increased to forty-eight requested on November 1. Similarly to the drum

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<sup>122</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

cords, drum heads, and snares, increasing want for paper appeared as fifty sheets of paper were requested under the wanting column on the November 1 music return. This significant increase over the fifteen requested on February 1, 1781 likely relates to the paper shortage mentioned earlier, namely that paper availability challenged the supply chain of the Continental Army throughout the war. The mixed success in acquiring replacement component parts surely increased the number of drums listed as bad, but the November 1 number of fourteen drums in bad condition reduced from twenty-four the previous winter, indicating that replacement parts did indeed make it to the army over the summer campaign. As mentioned previously, wear and tear likely continued to force requests for parts than cannot fully be explained by examining the plain appearance of the numbers on the music returns.<sup>123</sup>

The next return available to the modern researcher dates from January 1, 1782, titled, “Return of the Music of the Army Under the Command of the Hon[ora]ble M[ajor]. General Heath.” The regiments listed on the return remain largely the same as the last return available from General Heath’s command, dated two months before, November 1, 1781. The inclusion of the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Infantry Regiment reflects the reassignment of the regiment back to the Highland Department after release from its attachment to the New Hampshire Brigade.<sup>124</sup> All other units remain the same as the return of two months prior, making regimental comparisons and supply changes accessible. The general appearance of the January 1 return shows a similar but more easily readable format as the column headings now slant to the right, easing the reading of the document’s columns. In contrast to the previous two returns, the lower portion of the page’s open space remains clear and reflects no notes to the recipient reiterating supply needs. At

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<sup>123</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

<sup>124</sup> Wright, Jr., 211.

the column headings, the last one shows a new category called “Cords for Cats,” likely an abbreviation for catgut, the common material of snares for snare drums.<sup>125</sup> This theory is not definitive as “Drum Snairs” [sic] appeared on the previous two returns and appears on this one. The column previously marked ‘Sheets of Paper’ now appears with the more specific, “Sheets of Paper for Music,” most likely intended for the fifers. The column noting “Drum Sticks” now shows an illegible abbreviation, possibly “prs” for peronal, meaning that the drummers maintain their own drumsticks. The first return of February 25, 1781 notated ‘D[rum]. Carriages,’ the second return of November 1, 1781 changed that heading to ‘Drum Belts,’ and this return changed the heading to ‘Drum Slings.’ Finally, it should be noted that “Fife Cases” and “Drum Cases” reappear on this return, as on the return on February 25, 1781 but not on the Return of November 1, 1781.<sup>126</sup>

A change occurred on the January 1, 1782 music return for the heading of the ‘Unfit’ columns; the heading now appears as “Learners.”<sup>127</sup> Several possible reasons exist for this change, not the least of which is that the term ‘learners’ more accurately describes the fifer or drummer previously called ‘unfit’. A simple preference by Lieutenant Hiwell, General Heath, or even General Washington possibly provoked this change. The term ‘unfit’ also carries connotations of a soldier failing to otherwise complete his military duty, a meaning surely not intended for those learning to play the instrument. However, the consideration of the changing authorizations of musicians merits examination. The trials of fulfilling the extensive “eight-eight

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<sup>125</sup> Kathleen Schlesinger, “Drum,” *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information, Volume 8, Eleventh Edition* (Google eBook), (New York, The Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1910), (accessed October 30, 2014), 599, and Hiwell, John, “Return of the Music of the Army Under the Command of the Hon.ble M. General Heath, January 1, 1782.” GLC02437.10498, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed October 10, 2014).

<sup>126</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

<sup>127</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

battalion resolve,” authorized on September 16, 1776, led to a reduced authorization of forty-nine infantry regiments on January 1, 1781.<sup>128</sup> Under the changes implemented on January 1, 1781, the regiments of the army maintained ten each of line drummers and fifers in addition to an eleventh of each, serving as the drum and fife majors, respectively. However, the change in authorization of drummers and fifers also brought a change in enlistment policies. A letter from the War Office dated December 21, 1781, to the Continental Congress lamented: “The method hitherto practiced in the Army of inlisting men to serve as fifers and drummers and paying them additional pay is attended with manifest injury to the service.”<sup>129</sup> The letter continues by deploring the sight of full-grown men, perceivably fit to serve as soldiers, playing fifes and drums, “whilst boys hardly able to bear arms are put into the ranks.”<sup>130</sup> The letter claims that commanding officers wield no power to remedy the situation without violating enlistment contracts for men originally contracted to serve as musicians. The prevalence of this problem merits debate, but the War Board, and in turn, the Continental Congress, aggrieved this situation and changed the practice of enlistment contracts for musicians, contracts that also merited additional pay above the normal soldier duties. The congress did not disprove of or discourage musicians, but did intend more flexibility for the officers in the army to move and modify duties

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<sup>128</sup> Continental Congress, “Journals of the Continental Congress—Monday September 16, 1776,” *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:3:/temp/~ammem\\_3SX8:](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:3:/temp/~ammem_3SX8:), (accessed November 1, 2014), and Wright, Jr., 92 and 157.

<sup>129</sup> Continental Congress, “Journals of the Continental Congress—Monday December 24, 1781,” *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875*, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:4:/temp/~ammem\\_3J8e::@@@mdb=mcc.nfor.aap.bbpix.cowellbib.calbkbib.consrvbib.bdsbib.gmd.vv.presp.varstg.suffrg.nawbib.toddbib.mgw.musdibib.hlaw.papr.lhbumbib.rbpebib.lbcoll.alad.aoadyssey.dcm.raelbib.runyon.lomaxbib.mtj.gottlieb.aep.coolbib.fpnas.relpet.amss.mff.afc911bib.mjm.mnwp.rbcmillerbib.molden.w2map.mfdipbib.afcnyebib.klpmap.rbaapcbib.mal.ncpm.lhbprbib.ftvbib.flwpabib.psbib.pin.coplandbib.cola.curt.mharendt.lhbcbbib.mesnbib.fine.afcwwgbib.llstbib.fawbib.berl.fmuever.cic.afcpearl.awh.awhbib.sgp.lhbtnbib.afcesnbib.spaldingbib.sgproto.scsmbib.afccalbib#N0409-529](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:4:/temp/~ammem_3J8e::@@@mdb=mcc.nfor.aap.bbpix.cowellbib.calbkbib.consrvbib.bdsbib.gmd.vv.presp.varstg.suffrg.nawbib.toddbib.mgw.musdibib.hlaw.papr.lhbumbib.rbpebib.lbcoll.alad.aoadyssey.dcm.raelbib.runyon.lomaxbib.mtj.gottlieb.aep.coolbib.fpnas.relpet.amss.mff.afc911bib.mjm.mnwp.rbcmillerbib.molden.w2map.mfdipbib.afcnyebib.klpmap.rbaapcbib.mal.ncpm.lhbprbib.ftvbib.flwpabib.psbib.pin.coplandbib.cola.curt.mharendt.lhbcbbib.mesnbib.fine.afcwwgbib.llstbib.fawbib.berl.fmuever.cic.afcpearl.awh.awhbib.sgp.lhbtnbib.afcesnbib.spaldingbib.sgproto.scsmbib.afccalbib#N0409-529), (accessed November 1, 2014).

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*

among soldiers as the situation dictated. Congress resolved on December 24, 1781, “That in future no recruit shall be enlisted to serve as a drummer or fifer. When such are wanted, they shall be taken from the soldiers of the corps, in such numbers and of such description as the Commander in Chief or the commanding officer of a separate army shall direct, and be returned back and others drawn out as often as the good of the service shall make necessary.”<sup>131</sup> This order modified future enlistment practices and did not alter those already serving. Washington reported the passing of the December 24, 1781 Resolves in his General Orders of January 22, 1782, where he quoted the above-mentioned section and continued Congress’ Resolve: “That all drummers and fifers, after being supplied each with a good drum and fife, shall keep the same in repair by stoppages from his pay, in such manner as the commanding officer of the corps shall direct.”<sup>132</sup> An unintended result of this general order and the Congressional Resolve appeared when learning musicians appeared on returns as ‘learners’ rather than ‘unfit,’ a term that may have prompted removal of increased pay for musician duties. Howe explains that the congressional pressure to economize the army following the Yorktown victory led Secretary of War Benjamin Lincoln and General Washington to attempt to preserve army authorizations by sacrificing musicians. This showed a decrease in pay obligations to the Congress but preserved musical integrity as the ‘learners’ category allowed for more musicians in an individual regiment.<sup>133</sup>

The January 1, 1782 music return offers a careful glimpse into several important musical considerations of the army. The number of fife majors, at thirteen, showed that the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, January 22, 1782, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw230515%29%29>, (accessed November 1, 2014).

<sup>133</sup> Howe, 98-99.

Massachusetts Regiments each lacked a fife major, positions marked as filled only two months previously on the November 1, 1781 music return. The third missing fife major appeared in the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, the unit recently re-attached to the Highland Department following duty with the New Hampshire Brigade.<sup>134</sup> The situation regarding drum major positions improved to full strength as all regiments reported a drum major. Previously, the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 7<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts regiments reported no drum majors a mere two months earlier. Regarding regular fifiers, the total number of 'fit for duty' fifiers increased slightly between the two returns, but statistically the change remains insignificant as the addition of the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts affects the average number of fifiers. When adding the 'unfit' or 'learners,' the statistical average actually decreases negligibly. The Drummers accounting reflects a similar, nearly unchanged but statistically insignificant decrease in the number of drummers, whether 'fit' or 'unfit.' In total, adding both 'fit' and 'unfit' musicians, the fifiers on January 1, 1782 averaged above eight per regiment with none exceeding the ten authorized, and the drummers combined averaged above nine per regiment, also with no regiment exceeding the authorization of ten drummers. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Connecticut regiment achieved the distinction of being the only regiment reporting a full quota of either fifiers or drummers with its compliment of ten drummers plus a drum major.<sup>135</sup>

Analysis of the January 1, 1782 music return offers insight regarding cases needed for drums and fifes. Comparison between the February 25, 1781 music return and the January 1, 1782 return offers accurate insights when subtracting the New Hampshire Brigade, which did not yet have the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment attached, as well as Colonel Hazen's separate regiment, from the totals of the first return. For example, the total request of 122 fife cases

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<sup>134</sup> Wright, Jr., 211.

<sup>135</sup> Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

reduces to eighty-eight requested on February 25, 1781, from the same sixteen regiments, who requested a total of 133 fife cases on the January 1, 1782 music return. This reflects a significant increase in case requests at forty-five, suggesting that the regiments either received new fifes without cases, the old fife cases broke, or the fifers realized that cases were required in the first place. Drum cases reflected a similar increase in need as the first return showed 117 drum cases requested for the common sixteen regiments, and the January 1, 1782 return showed the increased request of 144 drum cases.<sup>136</sup>

Analysis of the remaining equipment components listed on the three music returns offers trends when properly evaluated. The February 25, 1781 return shows nineteen regiments, including the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment within the first Massachusetts Brigade. When removing the New Hampshire Brigade and Colonel Hazen's Regiment, the sixteen remaining regiments compare favorably to the fifteen common regiments on the November 1, 1781 music return, and compare exactly to the January 1, 1782 music return. Unfortunately, the first return fails to provide a regimental accounting as the next two returns. With the variable of the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment understood, equipment requests showed varying levels of success.

The drumsticks category originally showed a need of forty-two pairs requested by the sixteen common regiments. By November 1, 1781 the request increased to fifty-nine, even without the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, and then sixty-six by the aggregate sixteen regiments on January 1, 1782. Following the same pattern of analysis, drum cords showed a similar increase in need from forty-eight to fifty-seven to seventy-five, drum heads increased from seventy-seven to ninety-one to ninety-seven, and drum snares from forty-six to forty-eight to fifty-two. All the above listed requests likely received partial fulfillment from the commissary department, but the

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<sup>136</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.



ongoing nature of the need perpetuated and with these items increased the need. An opposite trend occurred with the requests for drum carriages at ninety-one, to drum belts at nineteen, to drum slings, which the January 1, 1782 music return showed twenty total requested, but only thirteen if not counting the 10th Massachusetts Regiment. The positive trend of decreasing need for drum carrying equipment, whether carriages, belts, or slings, indicates that the need either fulfilled easier than other component equipment requests or even that the regiments or drummers fulfilled the requests themselves.<sup>137</sup>

The January 1, 1782 music return shows a marked decrease in need for “Blank Books” as only the artillery and 4<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts requested one each, a decrease from the previous February’s nine requested. The fifers requested a significantly higher amount of “Sheets of Paper for music.” The first return of February 25, 1781 showed a request of a total of twelve sheets of paper for the sixteen common regiments. By November 1, 1781, the regiments, excepting the 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts, increased their request to fifty sheets of paper. The January 1, 1782 shows a dramatic increase in paper requested at 172 sheets under the modified column heading that further specified the need of the paper for music. Howe notes that the mere presence of blank paper and staff paper proves some level of music literacy among the musicians.<sup>138</sup> The dramatic increase in requested staff paper presents a number of possibilities, including a new standard of music being taught by Lieutenant Hiwell or another fife major, a loss of previous paper supplies due to combat or weather like rain, or even just the length of time since the last paper resupply. Regardless of the reason, the huge increase in paper requests shows that the fifers used the paper.

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<sup>137</sup> Hiwell, Return of February 25, 1781, Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781, and Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

<sup>138</sup> Howe, 95.

The next available return, “Inspection Return of the Music in the Army Under the immediate Command of His Excellency General Washington.-West Point June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1782,” varies the titling of the return slightly by labeling it an “Inspection Return” rather than simply, ‘Return,’ as on the three previous music returns.<sup>139</sup> The overall format remains very similar to the January 1, 1782 music return, as slanted column headings appear on the top, and the heading of “Learners” remains in place of ‘unfit.’ The return lists the units by regiment, and includes the 3<sup>rd</sup> Artillery, which is the same as the Massachusetts Artillery Regiment named on the previous returns, all ten Massachusetts regiments, all five Connecticut regiments, as well as two New York regiments, one Rhode Island regiment, and a separately-listed unit of “His Excellency’s Guard.” The personnel categories remain similar to the previous returns except that fifes and drums switched places in all categories to list the drums first. The categories under the ‘Wanting’ heading specify equipment similarly to the January 1, 1782 music return, except that the correct spelling appears for “Drum Snares,” “Drum Slings” appear instead of belts or carriages, and ‘cords for cats’ now appears as “Cats.”<sup>140</sup>

The presence of all sixteen previous regiments on the June 1, 1782 music return allows for informed trending of personnel and equipment needs. For example, regarding fife leadership, seventeen of the nineteen listed regiments report as having a fife major; all except the 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiments and His Excellency’s Guard, which likely did not authorize a fife major. The previous return from January 1, 1782 showed that 2<sup>nd</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiments all lacked a fife major. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Massachusetts reported a fife major as of June 1. With

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<sup>139</sup> John Hiwell, “Inspection Return of the Music in the Army Under the immediate Command of His Excellency General Washington.-West Point June 1st, 1782,” GLC02437.01435, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed September 27, 2014).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

regard to drum majors, all regiments listed a drum major except for the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts, which did report a drum major on January 1, 1782. His Excellency's Guard also reported as not having a drum major, and similar to the fife major, likely was not authorized one.

The fifers listed on June 1<sup>st</sup> numbered 115 "Fit for Duty" and forty-four "Learners." The average number of fifers, per regiment excluding the guard, numbered nearly six fit for duty and two unfit or learners, making the average regiment under strength for fifers by about two, whether individual company fifers were trained or not. Only the Artillery Regiment and 2<sup>nd</sup> Connecticut Regiment claimed to have ten total fifers, though six of the Artillery fifers were learners. The regiments reported a better average of drummers at nearly seven "Fit for Duty" per regiment and 130 total fit or trained. Averaging more than two learners per regiment for forty-three total learners, the number of 'fit for duty' and learners brought the regimental average to nearly nine, making the strength of nearly nine drummers slightly higher than the strength of eight fifers per regiment. Several individual regiments maintained the authorized ten drummers: the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts, 3<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts, 4<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, and 1<sup>st</sup> New York regiments. As with the previous returns, the status of individual companies or whether each learning musician even functioned cannot be claimed by looking at the returns, though the regimentally-digested provide more specific information than the February 25, 1781 brigade-level accounting.<sup>141</sup>

A significant improvement appears when analyzing the musical instruments on the returns. Fifes, always too little in number and as discussed earlier, often in the wrong key or bad condition, appear to have arrived to the regiments. One hundred fifty-one fifes appear in the good column and only ten appear in the bad column. This contrasts sharply from previous music returns, even the most recent from January 1, which reported thirty-nine good and twenty bad

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<sup>141</sup> Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782.

fifes. When evenly comparing the number of regiments at the sixteen common between the returns, 135 good fifes shows that the regiments likely received ninety-six new fifes. It is unlikely that some of the bad fifes from the previous return appeared in the current return as good: fifes use less wearable or replaceable parts than drums. Only the status of a case seems to be a reasonable equipment status or condition that could improve a fife, and that appears not to be the situation as cases appear in separate columns on all returns except the November 1, 1781 music return. The lower number of bad fifes likely appears due to a trade when new fifes arrived. The likelihood of sorting the good fifes to key when receiving the new fifes may also have decreased the number of bad fifes as fife majors likely considered a fife in the wrong key a bad fife. No written record confirming this exchange exists for the time period between January 1 and June 1, 1782, but past practice indicates the likelihood. Even so, the reduction from twenty bad fifes to ten bad fifes only reduces the likely reception of ninety-six new fifes by up to ten.<sup>142</sup>

Similarly, the number of “Wanting” fifes, those additionally requested, numbered ninety-eight in January and only twenty-three on the June 1 music return. The significance of the new fifes increases when considering that Lieutenant Hiwell wrote in January that, “Some Regiments have nine or ten Fifers and only one fife to play on,” showing the significant need for fifes by the beginning of 1782.<sup>143</sup> Three regiments still maintained more fifers than fifes: the 1<sup>st</sup> New York with nine “Fit for Duty” fifers but only possessed six bad fifes, the 2<sup>nd</sup> New York with seven fit and two learners attempting to play on four good and three bad fifes, and the Artillery regiment which listed four fit and six learning fifers, but only possessed eight good fifes. When

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<sup>142</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782.

<sup>143</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

considering the dire situation of the previous winter, the status of these three regiments shows marked improvement with the reception of eighty-six or more fifes across the army.<sup>144</sup>

Drums appear to have arrived as with the fifes. On January 1, 1782, eighteen drums appeared in bad condition, and the same number remained on June 1. However, on the January return the regiments possessed ninety-two drums, and in June, the sixteen common regiments between the two returns reported 103 drums, indicating that at least eleven more drums appeared in the regiments. Twenty more appear if adding the drums from the two New York regiments, Rhode Island regiment, and His Excellency's Guard. While these separate regiments did not appear on the January music return, the possibility exists that these units received some drums in redistribution from one of the sixteen common regiments, or even that they accepted drums that may otherwise have been distributed to one of the regiments on the January 1 music return. Regardless of the new regiments' status prior to the June 1 date of the music return, the request of drums from the common regiments drops, from forty-five to thirty-nine, indicating the fulfillment of at least six requests for additional drums through repair or new issue.<sup>145</sup>

An examination of the January 1 and June 1 music returns reveals the change or lack of change regarding equipment needs. Fife cases, for example, appear to not have been issued with the large number of new fifes that the regiments received between the two dates. In January, 133 fife cases appeared as wanting on the return. When examining the sixteen common regiments between the two returns, the regiments still required 131 fife cases, making the two acquired negligible in consideration of the size of the request. Drum cases fared marginally better as the January request of 144 cases dropped to 109 for the common regiments. The cases, though left

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<sup>144</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782.

<sup>145</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782.

off the November 1, 1781 music return, remained consistently high throughout the period from February 25, 1781 to June 1, 1782, with the lowest of either request being the 109 drum cases previously mentioned. This indicates that most musicians of the army possessed no suitable instrument case. Lieutenant Hiwell laments the declining state of the drums in a letter dated January 27, 1782, where he describes the need for a number of articles to keep drums in repair, or no drums would survive until the spring.<sup>146</sup> Winter weather appears to be a leading cause of the drums wearing, especially if no cases exist to protect them.

Unlike the cases, other equipment requests improved when comparing the common regiments of the January 1, 1782 and June 1 music returns. The sixteen regiments requested a total of sixty-six drumsticks in January and reduced the request to forty-five in June. As mentioned previously, the order of drumsticks likely counted in pairs due to the need for both to play the drum. Similarly, the drum slings request dropped from twenty to only three in June. The drum cord request also dropped from seventy-five to fifty, as did the drumhead request from ninety-seven to fifty-nine. Finally, the snares requested in January numbered fifty-two while in June only twenty-eight appeared in the wanting category. The drum components likely cost less than a case, or simply were available while cases required construction and cost not associated with the instruments themselves. The remaining equipment listed included blank books, which negligibly only increased from two requested to three requested, and “Cords for Cats” or “Cats,” which both listed two requested of each regiment on both returns. The last remaining request category on the return appeared as “Sheets of Paper for Fifers,” on this return while previously the heading described “Sheets of Paper for music.”<sup>147</sup> The extreme upward trend in paper

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<sup>146</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

<sup>147</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782.

requested continued on the June 1 music return with 196 sheets requested for the sixteen common regiments, and even more, 244, requested for the entire army. The 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiments requested zero sheets of paper, making the amounts trend upward in the other units. No obvious reason exists for the increased request except that the fife majors or fifers needed the paper for new songs to be learned by some or all of the fifers.

The final extant music return from Lieutenant Hiwell dates one month later than the last and retains the similar title to the June 1 return, “Inspection Return of the Music in the Army under the immediate Command of his Excellency General Washington – July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1782.”<sup>148</sup> Slight changes in the title include the replacement of the preposition, ‘of’ with the preposition, ‘in,’ after the word, music, and retention of the first word, ‘Inspection,’ which only previously appeared on the June 1, 1782 music return. Additionally, no location appeared on the document heading where past returns showed the location next to the date. Washington arrived at Newburgh, New York, on March 31, 1782 and formally resumed command of the Northern Department on April 4.<sup>149</sup> This return likely originated at West Point but may have listed Newburgh on the top, had the location been included. The overall layout remains consistent with past music returns and utilizes slanted headings on the top, and again breaks down the reported information to the regimental level. All regiments from the June 1, 1782 music return remain on this return, but the July 1 return includes two New Jersey regiments, the Invalid Regiment, and the Corps of Sappers and Miners. Similar to the first two returns dated February 25, 1781 and November 1, 1781, Hiwell included a note on the bottom blank space saying, “the New

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<sup>148</sup> John Hiwell, “Inspection Return of the Music in the Army under the immediate Command of his Excellency General Washington – July 1st, 1782,” GLC02437.10502, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed October 10, 2014).

<sup>149</sup> Wright, Jr., 173.

Hampshire line which is not included in the above, will want a large proportion-” Hiwell signed the document with an abbreviated first name: “Jon Hiwill Lt Arty Insp Music Army-”<sup>150</sup>

The musical leadership represented on the return of July 1 show nearly every regiment with a drum major, except His Excellency’s Guard and the Corps of Sappers and Miners. This total of twenty-three drum majors compares to the similarly high, though slightly less number of fife majors at nineteen. The 7<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiments as well as His Excellency’s Guard continued to lack a fife major as on the previous June 1 return, and the 1<sup>st</sup> New Jersey Regiment and Corps of Sappers and Minors also lacked a fife major. Interestingly, the total number of twenty-three fife majors inaccurately compares to the columns above as twenty-two appear and two units note no fife majors. The number likely reflects a mistake but could denote another fife major, such as Lieutenant Hiwell, not already listed on the form.

The musicians on the return lend for comparison to the June 1 return when reduced to the twenty regiments common to both returns. In this comparison, His Excellency’s Guard will count as a regiment. Fifers count 121 ‘fit for duty’ but reduce to 108 when just counting common regiments, a decrease from the 115 fit fifers of June 1. ‘Learners’ number fifty-three but reduce to forty-six, a slight increase over the forty-four listed on June 1. Adding the fit and learners together reveals an average under eight fifers per regiment and marginally lower than the nearly eight per regiment average from June 1. While averages serve well for analysis, the individual companies concerned themselves with their own fifer or drummer. The artillery regiment holds the distinction of being the only regiment reporting a full number of the ten authorized fifers, and

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<sup>150</sup> Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.



when compared to the month prior, two more fifers count as 'fit for duty,' making six fit and four learners. Several other regiments maintained nine fifers.<sup>151</sup>

A similar analysis of the drummers reveals that the number of drummers from regiments common to both the June 1 and July 1 music returns generally increased. The 154 'fit for duty' drummers of July 1, when combined with the twenty-eight learners, averaged above nine per regiment, an increase over the June 1 average of under nine per regiment. Four regiments reported a full complement of ten drummers: the 1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts, 3<sup>rd</sup> Massachusetts, 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut, and the 4<sup>th</sup> Connecticut, which actually maintained eleven drummers. The actual increase in numbers of drummers only accounted to nine more in July, at 182, than the 173 listed on the June 1 return. However, the increase in trained musicians, a positive change of twenty-four more, indicates a significant improvement in a short period of time.<sup>152</sup>

The July 1, 1782 music return offers insights into the progress of supplying drums and fifes to the army. Fifes classified as good in June numbered 151 and reduced to 120 in the common regiments, a reduction partially explained when looking at the fifes classified as bad, which increased from ten to twenty six. This still leaves an unexplained disappearance of fifteen fifes, but they may have been transferred to other regiments or destroyed. The number of drums appears more stable as the 123 reported as good in June reduced slightly to 119 in July, a reduction of four that resolves when considering the drums classified as bad. Originally reporting eighteen, the common regiments in July reported twenty-three bad drums, accounting for an additional drum somehow. When considering the situation regarding fifes and drums, the army

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<sup>151</sup> Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

<sup>152</sup> Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

appears to have stabilized the drums while still losing ground on the supply of fifes in this short, one-month period between the two returns.<sup>153</sup>

A change in format, not already explained, occurred on the July 1 music return with regard to fife and drum cases. The previous four returns listed cases in the wanting column only. The July 1 return lists 'Drum Cases' and 'Fife Cases' under the 'good' and 'bad' headings for the first time, while maintaining their listing in the wanting category. This creation of four more columns dedicated to cases suggests that the army either: acquired or made some cases since June 1, 1782, or that by listing the condition of the cases already on-hand, Hiwell could justify the need for cases more easily to the Commissary General or even General Washington or the Congress in a time of fiscal restraint.<sup>154</sup> The appearance of the cases confirms the conclusion drawn from earlier returns that instrument cases, in the numbers present, failed to meet the needs of the army and likely contributed to a quicker destruction of instruments. The request for fife cases under the wanting category increased from 152 in June to 168 in July, which reduces to 154 when only considering the twenty common regiments between the two returns. Drum case requests similarly remain high, originally with 140 wanting in June and then 152 in July, but only 131 when adjusting the number to common regiments. No significant impact on the number of cases occurred in the month between the June and July returns, though the addition of the new columns warrants further insight.<sup>155</sup>

When examining the new columns for cases, only six fife cases appear on the return for the entire army, all in the 2<sup>nd</sup> New York Regiment. While classified as good, not even a single

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<sup>153</sup> Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

<sup>154</sup> Wright, Jr., 173.

<sup>155</sup> Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

bad fife case exists. Drum cases, while more prevalent at forty-two good and twenty-four bad, still only number a combined sixty six, less than half of the 157 drums annotated on the return. The fife cases requested under the wanting heading closely follow the number of combined good and bad fifes in each regiment, though some request an additional case or two for unknown reasons. The 2<sup>nd</sup> New York Regiment only requested one fife case as the regiment maintained seven fifes with six cases. Drum cases appear no more numerous than four per regiment, though many maintain no cases. When combining the number of good and bad drums accounted in every regiment, the requested number of cases appears close to the number of drums on hand, minus any cases present. For example, the Rhode Island Regiment lists seven good drums, two bad drums, and no cases, so under the wanting heading the regiment requested nine cases. The appearance of the cases under the good and bad headings helps to increase attention to the issue, likely one that festered over time, with instruments wearing out unnecessarily due to no adequate protection from the elements.<sup>156</sup>

The equipment listed as wanting on the July 1, 1782 music return illustrates the trend of increasing supply needs over time. Until a resupply of equipment reaches the army, the numbers increase over time, even in the best circumstances. The short one month interval between the June and July returns allow a chance to examine changes over a short time period, where apparently no resupply affected the increasing numbers requested by the regiments. Consumable or wearable items always require replacement, such as the drumheads and slings or carriages or belts. Other items lend themselves to loss, such as drumsticks or drum cords that drape close to the ground.

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<sup>156</sup> Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

The July 1, 1882 music return shows a total of fifty-three pairs of drumsticks requested by the twenty common regiments, a mere increase of one from the previous month's fifty-two. Drum cords similarly remained close but increased in wear as July's wanting annotation of seventy-nine cords revealed a bigger gap over the sixty-four cords requested a month earlier. The twenty common regiments requested fifty-three snares in July, also a slightly larger gap over the thirty-nine requested previously. Drum slings reveal an increasing rate of need attributable to no specific regiment: the July 1 request of twenty-eight slings more than doubles the request for twelve on June 1, but no single regiment dominates the request. The request for drum heads shows the largest increase in numbers, though the drum heads already occupied the largest request of June 1<sup>st</sup> as well at seventy-one. By July 1, the regiments required 100 drum heads, a significant need when the regiments only possessed 119 good and twenty three bad drums, totaling 142 drums. At that rate, more than two thirds of the drums of the army required a replacement head, indicating that wear of drum heads challenged the army's resupply efforts as well as the maintenance effort of the drummers.<sup>157</sup>

The need for paper remained a category of request on the July 1, 1782 music return, though only four blank books appeared for the entire army. An interesting change appears in the column header where, for the first time, the paper is specified for fife majors, reading: "Blank books for Fife Majors."<sup>158</sup> The small number requested, following the previous month's similar request of four by an aggregate of two of the same regiments and two different regiments, indicates that the books either became readily available or just lasted for a long period of time. The next column of "Sheets of paper for Fifers," remained a high request but did decline

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<sup>157</sup> Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

<sup>158</sup> Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

markedly from the previous month's return. In June, the regiments requested 244 sheets of paper while in July the request dropped to 102, or just fifty-four for the regiments listed on both returns. The difficulty in gathering paper for the army, reported by General Washington in February of 1778, appears to have abated.<sup>159</sup>

### Hiwell's Management

The Continental Army dedicated time during winter encampments to gaining control of supply inconsistencies and issuance of needed winter items. Part of the supply inventory process appears in Washington's general orders at various times. In Morristown, during the winter of 1779-1780, Washington directed on January 22, 1780, that "Brigade returns, regimentally digested, are to be made to the Adjutant General on wednesday next of the arms, ammunition, accoutrements, drums and fifes in possession of the respective regiments."<sup>160</sup> Lieutenant Hiwell certainly involved himself in this inventory process as balancing of musical instruments across the regiments arises at various points in Washington's orders and correspondence as well as Hiwell's correspondence. A month later, presumably following the analysis of returns on the musical supplies, Washington communicated a severe shortage of musical instruments, namely fifes and drums, to the Continental Congress War Board: "There is a great deficiency of drums fifes and standards. I presume the necessary measures are taking to procure them with other articles of a similar kind."<sup>161</sup> There appears to have been some miscommunication as the Board of War replied within five days, "We believe there will not be much difficulty in procuring

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<sup>159</sup> Hiwell, Return of June 1, 1782, and Hiwell, Return of July 1, 1782.

<sup>160</sup> Washington, January 22, 1780.

<sup>161</sup> George Washington, "George Washington to Continental Congress War Board, February 23, 1780," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw180058%29%29> (accessed October 22, 2014).

sufficient number of Drums & Fifes, but we wish we knew the number required. Perhaps the Adjutant General could get the Necessary Returns to enable your Excellency to inform us.”<sup>162</sup>

Following Washington’s request of the Adjutant General to gather the requested information, the Board of War appeared to be optimistic of the drum situation. The Commissary of Military Stores, Major Jonathan Gostelow, began manufacturing drums for the Continental army in a factory with three workers.<sup>163</sup> This factory made at least 399 drums from January 1, 1780 to September 1. Additional instruments, including 163 fifes, 54 drums 40 pairs of drumsticks, and 20 drum carriages, arrived soon after August 23, 1780.<sup>164</sup> Washington ordered on August 31: “The Brigade Conductors are to attend tomorrow morning nine o'clock at the Park of Artillery for their proportion of Drums and fifes. The drum and fife Majors are to attend at the same time with all their old fifes for the purpose of having them properly sorted to the same Keys.”<sup>165</sup>

Such attention to the distribution of materials and instruments by the Commander-in-Chief himself shows that Washington believed music to be vital as well as a belief that supply distribution required his oversight. The supervision of the conductors and commissary general, as well as Lieutenant Hiwell, already assigned to supervise music, also shows that Washington desired to supervise equipment as well as personnel. Indications of this appear in his orders, such as on January 22, 1779, when following the order to the brigades to make a return including

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<sup>162</sup> Board of War, “Continental Congress War Board to George Washington, February 28, 1780” George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage064.db&recNum=709&tempFile=./temp/~ammem\\_34ST&filecode=mgw&next\\_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mgw4&fileName=gwpage064.db&recNum=709&tempFile=./temp/~ammem_34ST&filecode=mgw&next_filecode=mgw&itemnum=1&ndocs=100) (accessed October 25, 2014) and Camus, 130.

<sup>163</sup> Continental Congress, “Journals of the Continental Congress—Tuesday, November 11, 1777,” A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:5:./temp/~ammem\\_tmV7:](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:5:./temp/~ammem_tmV7:), (accessed November 2, 2014).

<sup>164</sup> Camus, 130.

<sup>165</sup> Washington, General Orders of August 31, 1780.

drums and fifes, Washington continues by ordering the Conductors or Quarter Masters to make a return of the same listed articles in their possession.<sup>166</sup> These types of orders likely arose after a realization that supplies failed to be evenly distributed, due to ongoing use or misallocation. Lieutenant Hiwell likely knew the same issues existed and may have prompted Washington's orders. The supply problems persisted for years, as General Heath reported to Washington on January 10, 1782, "When orders came for issuing the clothing, there was an exception to the music, as there was a probability of an alteration. I wish to know whether the matter is determined respecting them, as many of them are very naked."<sup>167</sup> The uniforms for the musicians, while constructed of the same materials as the rest of the soldiers, required customization as colors often reversed of their regiments or added lacing to differentiate their appearance. These customizations created extra costs and delayed receipt of uniforms when ordered by the army.

Lieutenant Hiwell worked to supply the musicians of the Continental Army early in the war. While still a sergeant, Hiwell assumed duties as Fife Major for Henry Knox's artillery regiment as early as February 1776.<sup>168</sup> In this capacity, Hiwell signed for supplies received from Jonathan Pollard, the quartermaster of the regiment, such as "one yard and a half of shalloon."<sup>169</sup> Shalloon, while used for wigs, also lined coats. Hiwell likely drew this material for the use of identifying regimental drummers who wore coats signified with lining or reverse colors to denote

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<sup>166</sup> Washington, General Orders of January 22, 1780.

<sup>167</sup> William Heath to George Washington, January 10, 1782, George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 4. General Correspondence. 1697-1799, American Memory, [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:6:./temp/~ammem\\_Lctj::](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mgw:6:./temp/~ammem_Lctj::) (accessed November 11, 2014).

<sup>168</sup> Camus, Raoul F., "Hiwell, John," Grove Music Online, The Grove Dictionary of American Music, 2nd edition, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2083933>, (accessed October 25, 2014).

<sup>169</sup> John Hiwell, "Supply list for officers in Henry Knox's artillery regiment," GLC02437.00310, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed September 21, 2014).

their status as a musician. Drummers sometimes wore lace, feathers, or cockades, in addition to reverse colored coats to denote their musical duty.<sup>170</sup> Hiwell also signed for two square yards of swanskins on July 1, 1776, and unlike the previous supply register, signed as Fife Major.<sup>171</sup> Swanskins, like many animal skins, served as drum heads and suffered from normal wear and tear when in use. Drummers, whether through negligence or normal daily use in the outdoors required replacement drumheads at varying time intervals. Later in the war, Lieutenant Hiwell as Inspector of Music appears to have continued replacing drumheads and supplying the materials to do so. Washington ordered on October 15, 1780: “The Issuing Commissaries are to deliver all their sheep and Calve skins to the field commissary of military stores with the Park of Artillery who will have them properly dressed for Drum heads.”<sup>172</sup> As with other supplies to include instruments, Hiwell likely supervised the distribution of such articles as drumheads to the units most in need of replacement. Camus asserts that Hiwell also “drew quantities of sash cord, presumably to make into drum cords.”<sup>173</sup> Drum cords refers to the rope that maintained tension on both heads of the drums typical of the era and allowed for control of the pitch and influence on the timbre of the drum when played. Clearly Hiwell, over a period of at least five years, worked to improve the supply situation for musicians in the Continental Army. This required replacement of worn, broke, or lost musical items as well as incidental needs and ongoing consumable replacements such as paper for writing music.

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<sup>170</sup> Camus, 57.

<sup>171</sup> John Hiwell, “Receipts for supplies for officers in Henry Knox’s artillery regiment,” GLC02437.00339, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, New York, (accessed September 21, 2014).

<sup>172</sup> George Washington, “George Washington, October 15, 1780, General Orders,” The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw200193%29%29>, (accessed October 25, 2014).

<sup>173</sup> Camus, 131.



General Washington approved of Lieutenant Hiwell's work, demonstrated by a pay bonus issued for the period of December 19, 1779 through July 31<sup>st</sup>, 1780, awarding Hiwell 876 and 20/90 dollars, computed at 129 dollars per month.<sup>174</sup> Despite this apparent approval, Washington again managed the musical training of the army in 1781. On July 20, 1781, Washington's General Orders instructed: "Until further orders the Drum and Fife Majors of the several Corps in Camp are to assemble every day at 10 o'clock A.M. in the wood in the rear of the second line to practice under the direction of the Inspector of Music who will attend for that purpose."<sup>175</sup> The adjutant general, General Edward Hand, also instructed Hiwell in detail, requiring the drum and fife majors to assemble and practice together, with first attention "to acquire a perfect knowledge of the different beats and signals printed out in the regulations" and to establish "uniformity in time" to assist in regulating the march of the army.<sup>176</sup> Hiwell obviously understood his duty to standardize and regulate interpretation of music in the army as several years already passed since his appointment as Inspector and Superintendent of Music, and Washington approved of his previous efforts. Camus asserts that Washington desired the army to appear at a peer level regarding discipline with the French army under the Comte de Rochambeau, as the French forces joined Washington on July 6, 1781.<sup>177</sup> Hand's instructions to Hiwell continued by detailing that the drum and fife majors "are answerable for the conduct of the musick of their regiment," to include "in Camp on Guard, when the Troops are under arms for exercise, or on a march."<sup>178</sup> Again, the obvious nature of the duties of the musicians indicates some lack of satisfaction, at

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<sup>174</sup> Camus, 131.

<sup>175</sup> Washington, General Orders, July 20, 1781.

<sup>176</sup> Edward Hand in Camus, 131-132.

<sup>177</sup> Camus, 131.

<sup>178</sup> Edward Hand in Camus, 132.

least when compared to the French army co-located with the Continentals. This dissatisfaction appears contrary to Washington's past approval of the music and Hiwell's work. It is possible that the Commander-in-Chief confirmed his prior approval as his General Orders of July 27, 1781 released the drum and fife majors so "that they may attend to the instruction of the Drummers and fifers of their respective regiments."<sup>179</sup> The order continued by instructing those regimental musicians "to practise from five to six o'clock every morning and from four to five o'clock every afternoon," which followed the practice of denoting specific music practice times in order to limit the noise affecting the rest of the camp, or even confusing the soldiers into acting on a signal.<sup>180</sup>

The only extant letter of Lieutenant Hiwell exists in the Henry Knox Papers. Hiwell wrote the letter to Major General Henry Knox on January 27, 1782, during the army's winter encampment at West Point, New York. In this letter, Hiwell expressed great frustration and concern over the "the shattered situation of the music of the army."<sup>181</sup> Continuing, Hiwell refers to a "distribution of Fifes last summer," likely referring to new fifes rather than redistribution of older fifes similar to the ordered exchange by Washington in 1780.<sup>182</sup> Hiwell then reminds General Knox that the distribution failed to fulfill the need for the regiments, which Hiwell supported in his November 1, 1781 music return where the regiments still reported a need for sixty-eight fifes.<sup>183</sup> In his January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1782 music return, Hiwell reports ninety-eight fifes as

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<sup>179</sup> Washington, General Orders of July 27, 1781.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

<sup>182</sup> Hiwell to Knox, and Washington, August 31, 1780, General Orders.

<sup>183</sup> Hiwell, Return of November 1, 1781.

wanting.<sup>184</sup> The lack of fifes apparently and obviously hindered the ability of the musicians to train as Hiwell reminds Knox that the winter quarters time period offers the best time for musicians to learn their duty. Hiwell continues to Knox, “Some Regiments have nine or ten Fifers and only one fife to play on,” apparently in reference to 2<sup>nd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiments, all who reported no good fifes on January 1.<sup>185</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> Massachusetts Regiment possessed zero fifes all together, even listing zero under the ‘bad’ heading. Several other regiments reported only two or three good fifes, which may have decreased in number by the time Hiwell composed this letter. Hiwell again refers to the “iniquitous Distribution of the Fifes, Drums & etc,” likely referring to the various cases and components of the drums.<sup>186</sup>

Hiwell continued the letter to Knox by wishing for a method to carry a supply of necessary music articles, and to have the supplies available whenever something was destroyed, indicating that past damage or loss of instruments greatly degraded the music equipment readiness, as no replacements were available. Hiwell also argues for making a stoppage of pay from those responsible for damage to their instruments, an indication that Hiwell did not yet understand or hear of General Washington’s General Orders of January 22, a mere five days before this letter’s composition, where Washington reported Congress’ Resolves that drummers and fifers shall keep their instruments in repair “by stoppages from his pay, in such manner as the commanding officer of the corps shall direct.”<sup>187</sup> The practice of collecting a soldier’s pay for negligence already appeared prior to this time. In March of 1780, a regimental court-martial found a fifer guilty of “disposing of his fife,” and ordered a punishment of thirty lashes and

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<sup>184</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

<sup>185</sup> Hiwell to Knox, and Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

<sup>186</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

<sup>187</sup> Washington, January 22, 1782, General Orders.

stoppage of pay until the cost of the fife was recovered.<sup>188</sup> Hiwell certainly knew of such punishments but likely saw problems with the implementation as his letter reflected a frustration with negligence.

Hiwell laments equipment and maintenance shortages by asserting to Knox, that without a “number of articles sent on to keep the Drums in repair, we shall not have a single Drum fit for use in the Spring.”<sup>189</sup> The January 1, 1782 music return appears to refute this claim as ninety-two ‘good’ drums and only eighteen bad drums appear, but Hiwell may have used hyperbole in his frustration.<sup>190</sup> A continual degradation of drums also appears to have hindered the drummers throughout winter encampments. Hiwell refers to unanswered supply requests to a Mr. Riddish in New England, three months before the writing of the letter, and supposes that want of money caused the non-delivery of the goods. The supply limitations and economic challenges clearly tried Hiwell’s patience, and the letter to Knox appears to be a frustrated call for help, as Knox no longer directly supervised Hiwell. Major General Heath served as acting commander of West Point and the Highlands Department and Hiwell served under Colonel Crane’s Artillery regiment, but also knew General Knox since at least 1776.<sup>191</sup>

The victory in the Yorktown campaign “had a resounding impact that eventually proved to be decisive,” but not immediately for the Continental Army.<sup>192</sup> The British still retained New York City, Charleston, Savannah, and posts in the backcountry and Canada. The Continental

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<sup>188</sup> Ward, 179.

<sup>189</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

<sup>190</sup> Hiwell, Return of January 1, 1782.

<sup>191</sup> Howe, 91-92.

<sup>192</sup> Robert Selig, *March To Victory: Washington, Rochambeau, And The Yorktown Campaign Of 1781*, (Washington, US Army Center of Military History, 2007), 47.

Army remained undersupplied, underpaid, and undermanned. Lieutenant Hiwell continued to manage and improve the musicianship and supplies of the Continental Army. General Washington continued to manage the music through General Orders and Lieutenant Hiwell. In reference to the January 22, 1782 General Orders that ordered drummers and fifers to pay for maintenance and damage to their instruments, Washington reiterated the musicians' duty the next winter, when he ordered that regiments or corps commanders to execute the January 22, 1782 General Order. This February 16, 1783 order instructed those units already supplied to actually charge the soldiers as necessary, while in all other regiments and corps, "most efficacious measures should be taken to obtain a sufficient number of these articles without a moments delay, which are then to be kept compleat in the same manner."<sup>193</sup> The same order continued with an alert to the army of a focus on music in the March inspection. Washington ordered that the Inspector of Music "be present at every regiment and corps with the Inspector of the Army, to examine into the state of the Music; and the number of Instruments in each; he will make report thereof to the Commander in Chief at the conclusion of the Inspection."<sup>194</sup> Hiwell also continued his practice sessions with the musicians, as evidenced by the April 2, 1783 General Order, where Washington instructed all drummers and fifers to "assemble tomorrow morning ten o'clock at Mr. Hiwells hutt for inspection and further instruction."<sup>195</sup> Washington, through direct management, ensured that Lieutenant Hiwell's duties regarding the completion of

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<sup>193</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, February 16, 1783, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw260174%29%29>, (accessed November 11, 2014).

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> George Washington, "George Washington, April 2, 1783, General Orders," The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799, American Memory, <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/mgw:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28gw260328%29%29>, (accessed November 11, 2014).

Music Returns and management of musicians continued throughout the rest of the war, even following the victory at Yorktown.

### Conclusion

The music of the Continental Army regulated the lives and discipline of the soldiers. Following an initial lack of uniformity in music, the Continental Army refined its music through practice, recruiting, and leadership. The attention of the Commander-in-Chief, supported by the Congressional adoption of Baron Steuben's *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, established the basis of army-wide, musical uniformity. The drum beatings and fife tunes played throughout the war gained a greater standardization as musical leadership in fife and drum majors developed. The significant appointment of Lieutenant John Hiwell to Inspector and Superintendent of Music encouraged further refinement and standardization of the army's music. As Hiwell trained fife and drum majors, musicianship and combat effectiveness improved the ability of the army to wage war.

Supply issues plagued the army for the duration of the war. General Washington himself communicated to the Board of War regarding the "upwards of one hundred Drums wanting in this part of the Army and I imagine a proportion in the remainder. I shall be obliged by having means taken to procure them if it is not already done, and forwarded as fast as finished."<sup>196</sup> Lieutenant Hiwell's five extant music returns offer insight into the number of musicians and condition of musical equipment for the Continental army from February 25, 1781 to July 1, 1782. The strength of the regiments' fifers and drummers reflects on the returns, as does the training numbers for 'unfit' or 'learners.' Hiwell's detailed accounting of equipment and musical

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<sup>196</sup> George Washington to Continental Congress War Board, April 22, 1779.

needs, including drum parts and cases for the instruments, portray an army challenged by economic and logistical issues, described by Hiwell as the “shattered situation of the music of the army.”<sup>197</sup> Clearly the musical training and equipment needs required detailed oversight. Hiwell’s leadership also allowed for the continued training and improvement of the fifers and drummers musical abilities in spite of the constant retraining of new musicians that accelerated as Congress restricted the recruiting of musicians. Following his appointment, the Inspector and Superintendent of Music ensured that the camp life of the army continued through the remaining years of the war.

The large number of soldiers and civilians exposed to music during the American Revolution helped to spread musical traditions related to military and social functions. Evening dancing to the music of military ‘bands of music,’ as well as funerals, and even punishments carried out by field musicians helped the early American society to gain acceptance and appreciation for military and wind band music. Later styles, including Janissary Music, required public acceptance of the Harmoniemusik form of bands of music, as well as field musicians. In addition to soldiers and society gaining exposure to music, the use of musical notation improved for many musicians during the war. Fife and drum majors constantly requested paper for writing music, as supported by the wanting categories of Hiwell’s returns. This guided study of music and regular instruction under leading musicians helped to standardize music that remains a part of American culture today. Following the war, the cultural expansion of music and dancing attributes some part of that popularity to the use of music during the war effort. The music of the army, though not a direct combat effort, supported the routine, order, and discipline of the

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<sup>197</sup> Hiwell to Knox.

Continental Army. This support helped the army to achieve ultimate success in the American Revolution.



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